

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

VOLUME XXXIV

Ratification of the Constitution by the States

PENNSYLVANIA

Supplemental Documents

[3]

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1. This paragraph, revised and excerpted from Merrill Jensen's 1976 preface to the Pennsylvania volume, the second volume of *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, recalls the immense debt of gratitude owed to the many generous institutions and repositories, who gladly shared time, expertise, and resources with project editors more than four decades ago. Their collections constituted, and still constitute, critical parts of Pennsylvania's historical record on ratification. We thank them once again on behalf of the entire American people, whose legacy they have helped to preserve, and we apologize for any omissions, which were not intentional. For the entirety of Jensen's prefatory statement, see RCS:Pa., 5–6.

Organization

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

- (1) *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787* (1 volume),
- (2) *Ratification of the Constitution by the States* (27 volumes),
- (3) *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private* (6 volumes),
- (4) *The Bill of Rights* (6 volumes).

Internet Availability

The Pennsylvania supplement volumes and all other volumes will be found on the website of “Rotunda: The American Founding Era,” maintained by the University of Virginia Press (<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu>), and at UW Digital Collections on the website of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>).

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

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

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

The volumes are arranged roughly in the order in which the states considered the Constitution. Although there are variations, the documents for each state are organized into the following groups: (1) commentaries from the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention to the meeting of the state legislature that called the state convention, (2) the proceedings of the legislature in calling the convention, (3) commentaries from the call of the convention until its meeting, (4) the election of convention delegates, (5) the proceedings of the convention, and (6) post-convention documents.

Supplements to Ratification of the Constitution by the States.

Supplemental documents were originally placed on microfiche and

are available in that form for Pennsylvania (Vol. II), Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut (all four, Vol. III), and Virginia (Vols. VIII–X). The original microfiche editions of supplemental documents for Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut were digitized for online viewing. These digitized supplements can be located at UW Digital Collections on the website of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>). Supplemental documents for all of the states will be made available in digital form in the coming years. This three-volume print edition of Pennsylvania supplemental documents is a singular project among the supplements, helping to ensure that the complete story of Pennsylvania ratification remains intact for future generations.

Much of the material for each state is repetitious or peripheral but still valuable. Mostly literal transcripts of this material are placed in the supplements. (Any exceptions to this rule have been clearly indicated.) Occasionally, images of significant manuscripts are also included.

The types of documents in the supplements are:

(1) newspaper items that repeat arguments, examples of which are printed in the state volumes,

(2) pamphlets that circulated primarily within one state and that are not printed in the state volumes or in *Commentaries*,

(3) letters that contain supplementary material about politics and social relationships,

(4) images of petitions with the names of signers,

(5) images of manuscripts such as notes of debates, and

(6) miscellaneous documents such as election certificates, attendance records, pay vouchers and other financial records, etc.

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

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

The Bill of Rights.

The public and private debate on the Constitution continued in several states after ratification. It was centered on the issue of whether there should be amendments to the Constitution and the manner in which amendments should be proposed—by a second constitutional convention or by the new U.S. Congress. A bill of rights was proposed

in the U.S. Congress on 8 June 1789. Twelve amendments were adopted on 25 September and were sent to the states on 2 October. These volumes will contain the documents related to the public and private debate over amendments, to the proposal of amendments by Congress, and to the ratification of the Bill of Rights by the states.

General Ratification Chronology, 1786–1791

1786

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

1787

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

26 October	Georgia calls state convention.
31 October	Virginia calls state convention.
1 November	New Jersey calls state convention.
6 November	Pennsylvania elects delegates to state convention.
10 November	Delaware calls state convention.
12 November	Connecticut elects delegates to state convention.
19 November– 7 January 1788	Massachusetts elects delegates to state convention.
20 November– 15 December	Pennsylvania Convention.
26 November	Delaware elects delegates to state convention.
27 November– 1 December	Maryland calls state convention.
27 November– 1 December	New Jersey elects delegates to state convention.
3–7 December	Delaware Convention.
4–5 December	Georgia elects delegates to state convention.
6 December	North Carolina calls state convention.
7 December	Delaware Convention ratifies Constitution, 30 to 0.
11–20 December	New Jersey Convention.
12 December	Pennsylvania Convention ratifies Constitution, 46 to 23.
14 December	New Hampshire calls state convention.
18 December	New Jersey Convention ratifies Constitution, 38 to 0.
25 December– 5 January 1788	Georgia Convention.
31 December	Georgia Convention ratifies Constitution, 26 to 0.
31 December– 12 February 1788	New Hampshire elects delegates to state convention.
1788	
3–9 January	Connecticut Convention.
9 January	Connecticut Convention ratifies Constitution, 128 to 40.
9 January–7 February	Massachusetts Convention.
19 January	South Carolina calls state convention.
1 February	New York calls state convention.
6 February	Massachusetts Convention ratifies Constitution, 187 to 168, and proposes amendments.
13–22 February	New Hampshire Convention: first session.
1 March	Rhode Island calls statewide referendum on Constitution.
3–27 March	Virginia elects delegates to state convention.
24 March	Rhode Island referendum: voters reject Constitution, 2,714 to 238.
28–29 March	North Carolina elects delegates to state convention.
7 April	Maryland elects delegates to state convention.
10–12 April	South Carolina elects delegates to state convention.
21–29 April	Maryland Convention.
26 April	Maryland Convention ratifies Constitution, 63 to 11.
29 April–3 May	New York elects delegates to state convention.
12–24 May	South Carolina Convention.
23 May	South Carolina Convention ratifies Constitution, 149 to 73, and proposes amendments.

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

1789

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

1790

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

1791

6–10 January	Vermont Convention.
10 January	Vermont Convention ratifies Constitution, 105 to 4.
18 February	Vermont admitted to the Union.
15 December	Bill of Rights adopted.

Calendar for the Years 1787–1788

1787

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1788

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Symbols

FOR MANUSCRIPTS, SHORT TITLES, AND CROSS-REFERENCES

Manuscripts

DS	Document Signed
FC	File Copy
LT	Literal Transcript
MS	Manuscript
RC	Recipient's Copy
Tr	Translation from Foreign Language

Short Titles

Assembly <i>Minutes</i>	<i>Minutes of the . . . General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania</i> [1787, 1788]. For a full citation for each session, see "Note on Sources" (RCS:Pa., 36).
Hiltzheimer, <i>Diary</i>	Jacob Cox Parsons, ed., <i>Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia. 1765–1798</i> (Philadelphia, Pa., 1893).
Lloyd, <i>Debates</i>	Thomas Lloyd, comp. and ed., <i>Debates of the Convention, of the State of Pennsylvania on the Constitution, Proposed for the Government of the United States</i> (Philadelphia, 1788).

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 *Ratification of the Constitution by the States* are cited as “RCS” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the page number. For example: “RCS:Pa., 200.”
- 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:Pa. 2.” All supplemental documents will be available at UW Digital Collections on the University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries website (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>).

Pennsylvania Chronology, 1786–1788

1786

- 7 March Assembly committee appointed to consider Virginia's call for a commercial convention.
- 21 March Assembly authorizes Supreme Executive Council to appoint five delegates to convention at Annapolis.
- 11 April Council appoints Robert Morris, George Clymer, John Armstrong, Jr., Thomas FitzSimons, and Tench Coxe delegates to convention at Annapolis.
- 20 September Council receives report of Annapolis Convention.
- 10 October Assembly election.
- 28 October Assembly receives report of Annapolis Convention.
- 14 December Assembly submits report of Annapolis Convention to a committee.
- 21 December *Independent Gazetteer* publishes Virginia act of 4 December appointing delegates to convention in Philadelphia in May 1787.
- 30 December Assembly elects Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas FitzSimons, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris delegates to convention in May 1787.

1787

- 21 February Confederation Congress calls Convention at Philadelphia to amend Articles of Confederation.
- 28 March Assembly elects Benjamin Franklin to Convention.
- 4 September Assembly session begins.
- 17 September Constitutional Convention adjourns *sine die*.
- 18 September Constitution read in Assembly.
- 28 September Absent members prevent Assembly quorum and call for state convention.
- 29 September Absent members returned by force; quorum declared present; and state convention called. Assembly adjourns *sine die*.
- 9 October Assembly election.
- 22 October Assembly session begins.
- 6 November Delegates elected to state convention.
- 9 November Assembly refuses to require two-thirds quorum for state convention.
- 20 November Pennsylvania Convention meets in Philadelphia.
- 12 December Convention rejects amendments to Constitution and votes to ratify 46 to 23.
- 15 December Convention adjourns *sine die*.
- 18 December Dissent of the Minority of Convention published.
- 26–27 December Riots and celebration of ratification at Carlisle.
- ca. 27 December Beginning of petition campaign requesting Assembly to reject Convention's ratification of the Constitution.

1788

- 19 February Assembly session begins.
- 1 March Antifederalist militiamen march into Carlisle, and rioters released from prison.
- 17–29 March Assembly receives and tables petitions signed by more than 6,000 inhabitants of Northampton, Dauphin, Bedford, Franklin, Cumberland, and Westmoreland counties requesting Assembly to reject ratification of Constitution.
- 29 March Assembly session ends.

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

P E N N S Y L V A N I A
Supplemental Documents
[3]

465. Thomas Noodle

Pennsylvania Mercury, 28 February 1788

Mr. HUMPHREYS, I was observing to my neighbour Goosecap, a day or two ago, that the Centinel, last Thursday, was not as spirited nor as longwinded as usual, and that I was fearful he was out of breath.—“By no means,” said he, “that is only a postscript to the Centinel, No. XV. in Mr. Humphreys’ s paper of last Saturday—He has there come out with a *sassarary*.”—I cannot conceive why he should dodge from one printer to another in this manner, and as I chuse to have my numbers compleat, I have sent my son down to you for that paper.

I find his No. XVI. has made its appearance to day, but there is none of that stimulating zest in it—none of that blood and thunder, for which his writings are so noted.—This also makes me apprehensive, that he has expended all his fire in your paper—Indeed, my neighbour Goosecap told me the XVth Centinel was the most alarming number of them all—that it brought all the horrors of the new constitution into one point of view—into a kind of focus—that it brought them “home to mens bosoms and business”—to their very *feelings*, and that it proved beyond a doubt, that we should have no more peace under it than a toad under a harrow.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,
Thomas Noodle.

Tuesday, Feb. 26th.

466. Pennsylvania Mercury, 28 February 1788

A correspondent cannot help remarking on the shuffling inconsistent conduct of the antifoederal politicians—One half of them decry the constitution, because men of education, great names, and the well-born, were the constructors of it.—The other half declaim against it, because men uneducated, men of common sense and mechanics, had a hand in erecting it. Many of their writers declare it is a constitution, which our rulers (the conspirators and demagogues) are going to rivet upon us: But Luther Martin, at the close of his information, complains heavily, that it is to be *forced* upon us through the medium of the people—that the state legislatures alone ought to decide upon it, and that the people have no right to judge for themselves, whether it is a government they will chuse to live under.

467. Agrarius

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 29 February 1788

MR. OSWALD, The house of representatives, under the proposed constitution, will be the choice of the leading demagogues in the different states, who wish to provide for themselves or friends by means

of the federal *dictator*, the fountain of the power and wealth of the union. *Sinecures*, in the collection of the revenues, in the administration of finance, offices in the judicial, the naval and *military* departments, yielding about 1000 l. sterling a year to the incumbent, will provide handsomely for them all. The *people* and *their* representatives ought to have one common interest—here it will be the revenue—Is it then in human nature to expect that the federal *despot*, and his pensioned train of threescore and five, will at all regard the views of the people, who have no share in their choice, and whose interests will be distinct from their own. The federal oligarchy once installed will soon discern the *inexpedience* of after elections, and, unless they are the most virtuous body of men that ever enjoyed power on earth, it will be their own fault if they do not establish themselves absolute as the *Doge* and senate of Venice. That the annihilation of the state governments is intended, is evident from this circumstance, that the members of the federal government, as well as state legislatures and officers employed under both, are bound by oath *to support the constitution of the United States only* and the test of citizenship is to be made general, that is prohibited in regard to any particular state.

Unbounded as the power of the *executive* is, the *judicial* is equally so. All actions of whatever nature or value may by management of an *attorney* resort to the *federal* courts, either by appeal or original process. Suppose one man owes another 100 dollars, and an action is instituted for the recovery thereof in a court of law, within the state, where plaintiff and defendant live, may not the plaintiff's attorney (by a fiction of law) to save the right of appeal, and the more effectually squeeze money from his client, insert in the writ the name of the real *defendant* and the *United States* as a party to the suit, I am but a poor lawyer; but I know this can be done, and a litigious person may, by these means, drag his opponent and his *witnesses* 1000 miles from home, and finally worry him out of his whole substance.

I do not wonder that Mr. *Wilson* is an advocate for the proposed system of government. A man possessed of his brilliant abilities may hope to act a distinguished part under it. His countrymen are celebrated in history for their attachment to *arbitrary* and their enmity to *republican* governments. In defining the powers of the federal dictator, one would be tempted to believe that he had an eye to the future aggrandizement of a *Stuart*, if any of that ambitious and unfortunate family remains. And indeed it has frequently struck me that the judicial power as exercised in *Scotland*, resembles that proposed for the United States almost in every particular. In that country, where slavery has been reduced into system for ages, all actions may be brought for review

from the remotest court of Shetland or Orkneys, to their highest tribunal at Edinburgh, and, if either of the parties are inclined still further, to the house of peers in England, nearly 1000 miles from where the action originated, frequently to the entire ruin of both parties. And such will be the wretched situation of the subjects of the United States a few years hence. A knowledge of law, as in Scotland, will be found the only road to wealth and power: The substantial yeomanry of America, the most valuable part of the community, will give place to lawyers and statesmen, who, in time, will engross all property, and thus the inhabitants of America will consist of two classes, the very rich and the very poor. The federal dictator will then, no doubt, assume the name of *king* or *emperor*, and what not, and the people, ousted of property and tenants at will, may probably glory in being the subjects of a powerful monarch—a conquering bully with a long sword.—But thank GOD, America is not yet a nation of *helotes* as the Scotch; nor is it fit that our frame of government should be formed on their model.

It is no mistake to say that the precipitation observed in Pennsylvania, in calling the state convention before the people had well read the new constitution, betrayed a suspicion of want of virtue in the people or defects in the proposed system. The Pennsylvania members to the federal convention were every one chosen by the assembly from the city and county of Philadelphia representatives. As soon as the convention broke up, and Congress by their resolve had been pleased to signify their most gracious acceptance of an increase of powers, addresses expressive of the peoples approbation, and praying a state convention might be called, were easily procured in the city by a few leading characters. The county of Philadelphia as one man, is entirely governed by an illiterate, assuming *rustic*, a kind of *mongrell Quaker*, who, on such occasions, acts as a *whipper-in* among the common people. This man, prompted no doubt by his betters, greatly exerted himself in procuring addresses, which were mostly signed at his *nod* on the *drumhead* in the *muster-field*, by people, if possible, more ignorant than himself. These addresses, the effect of coercion, and filled up with the names of men, who could set their marks, were poured in on the assembly then sitting, and forwarded on by the advocates for the proposed system as the sense of the people. Acts of violence still more flagrant, were added to procure the wished for vote, and in the election of members to the state convention the Whipper-in again exerted his influence with success. The states of *New-Jersey* and *Delaware*, each the echo of Pennsylvania, resolving not to be distanced in the federal race, took the start and gained the glorious prize!—*Connecticut* follows—a country governed by four men under the tutelage of Massachusetts—*Georgia*, lately a country

of outlaws, and where the inhabitants consist of two classes, the *lordly owner* of the soil and his *African slave*, formed a fifth member, and *Massachusetts* a sixth.

Much as I honor the men of Massachusetts as patriots, statesmen, and soldiers, their accession to this system of government so pregnant with evils, has almost forfeited my esteem. The carrying trade of America so long engrossed by *British* ships has always been the wish and aim of those enterprising easterlings. To acquire this advantage, they would submit to a government absolute as the *Turkish divan*—Before the late war, they sought this advantage, but the British ships, as subjects of the same government, were rivals too powerful. Since the peace they have suffered in their favourite pursuit by the same means. They have rid their own ports of British ships by a severe tonnage, and could they have obtained similar acts in the different states, they would not have acceded to this constitution. Their ends would have been answered without it—The first act of the new federal government will certainly be to exclude all foreign bottoms from carrying away any American produce, in which case the carrying trade will fall entirely into their hands. A great increase of wealth, power and numbers, will be the consequence to them, and greatly counterbalance the spirit of tyranny so conspicuous in the plan—To guard against this they have already in idea filled up the first offices of state with their own creatures. The honorable *John Adams* is intended by them as federal president, Mr. *Jay*, his premier, or vice president, and the other parts are all cast among them. The middle and southern states will hardly have the honor of naming the federal *jack ketch*.

The declaration of the minority in the convention of Massachusetts, to support, *totis viribus*, the adopted system of government, needs no comment. How the states of *New York* and *Virginia* will probably relish this manœuvre, in the virtuous, disinterested convention of Massachusetts, shall be the subject of another letter.

Southwark, 26th February, 1788.

468. Assembly Debates (Lloyd), Saturday, 1 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Mr. *Oliver* presented a petition from a number of the inhabitants of Wayne township, in the county of Cumberland, praying that this house *may not oppose* the adoption of the constitution for the government of the united states, proposed by the late federal convention. . . .

1. Lloyd, *Debates*, III, 36.

**469. Petition of the Inhabitants of Wayne Township
Cumberland County, 1 March 1788¹**

To the Honourable the Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met,

The Petition of the Subscribers freemen Inhabitants of the County of Cumberland most respectfully sheweth.

That your Petitioners are desirous that order & good Government should prevail & that the Laws & civil Government should not be violated or subverted

That as the members of your Honourable Body are all sworn or affirm'd to do no act or thing that may be prejudicial or injurious to the Constitution of this State as established by the Convention they look up to you as the Guardians of their Rights & Liberties therein secured to your Petitioners

That as the Constitution expressly declares that the Poepel have a right to change alter or abolish their form of government when they think it will be conducive to their Interest or happiness, Your Petitioners believe there is ample Provision made for any change that may be occasioned by adopting the proposed Foederal Constitution

That as the Constitution of Pennsylvania was not formed with a direct view of a Foederal Government, the Right of the Poepel thereto could not be declared in more express terms

That the Necessity of an efficient Foederal Government is so great as to require no proof or illustration

That the proposd Foederal Constitution cannot be verry dangerous while the Legislature[s] of the different States possess the power of calling a convention, appointing the delegates & instructing them in the articles they wish altered or abolished

That your Petitioners believe it is more the duty of their Representatives to cooperate with the Legislatures of the different States in amending the parts that may yet appear to to be defective, than to endeavour to deprive them of the benefit of what is indisputably usefull & necessary

That the objections to the Foederal Constitution are founded on the absurd supposition that the Representatives in Congress must have an interest different from & contrary to that of their Constituents

That as the proposd plan of Government hath been approv'd by Congress & adopted by a convention appointed by the Citizens of this state for the express purpose of approving or condemning the same, the opposition of the Legislature would in our humble opinion be a deviation

from the line of their conduct, a wanton usurpation of undelegated power and a flagrant violation of the Liberty of their Constituents

That Petitions requesting the intervention of the Legislature can only proceed from a desire of authorising the disorder & confusion now spreading through the state by the example of your august body. And

That their promoters ought to be inquired after & published, that they might be treated with that Indignation & contempt justly due to the traitors of their Country.

Wm. Bratton	James Bratton	John Bratton
Wm. Bratton Jur	David Walker	John Cuningham
James Bratton.	Joseph Galloway	James Robison
Samuel Bratton	James Armstrong	William Lauther
George Gilson	Peter Landon	James Caruthers
Alexander Mckeighen		
Wim. Scott		
Joseph Graham		
John Rankin		
Jno Allen		
Saml Holliday		
Isaac Condich		
Jona. Holliday		
[Jona. Halgan?]		
William Humphreys		
John Bealy		
Hugh Robison		
John Little		
William Junken		
James Galloway		
Jas Armstrong		

ENDORSED: Petition of a Number of Inhabitants of Wayne Township in Cumberland County Praying that the Assembly may not Directly or Indirectly Oppose the Adoption of the Feederal Constitution & for other Purposes therein Mentioned—

Read 1 time Mar. 1. 1788.

Petition of A Number of Inhabitants
 of Wayne Township in Cumberland
 County Praying that ~~the~~
 the Assembly may not Directly or Indirectly
 Oppose the Adoption of the Federal
 Constitution & for other Purposes therein
 Mentioned

Read & Pass'd Mar. 5. 1788.

1. MS, John A. McAllister Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia.

470. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 1 March 1788

To the Public.

Having seen a publication in Colonel Oswald's paper of the 6th instant, wherein he takes notice of a piece of mine, published in his paper of the 31st January, while he was in Baltimore, and conceives himself attacked therein by me; I take this method to assure Colonel Oswald and the public, that my said publication never was by me addressed to him, nor did I intend it for his paper, having never seen the *Centinel*, which gave rise to my publication, in any other paper than Mr. *Spotswood's*; to whom, and to whom only, my *manuscript* was addressed. How it came to Colonel Oswald's press, I do not pretend to know; however, knowing Colonel Oswald to be a soldier and a gentleman, and that reciprocal concessions and mutual explanations, where no offence was intended, appear to me to be perfectly consistent with the nicest honor, I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that I meant no offence to Colonel Oswald, and I doubt not but that he, knowing this to be the case, will make such an apology for his publication as will convince the world that there has not been any real cause of difference between us.

ALEXANDER PATTERSON.

Philadelphia, Feb. 29, 1788.

The publication alluded to in the above declaration, was entirely founded on the idea that Captain Patterson meant to offer a public insult to me—the conclusion of his reply to the *Centinel*, I apprehend, fully justified this construction—On no other ground whatever did I retort on my return from Baltimore. But, on a fair and candid investigation of the subject, I am perfectly satisfied with Captain Patterson's honorable and undisguised explanation, and am now convinced that the publication, to which his name appeared, was not by him designed for my paper, and that he intended to give me no offence, nor even to reflect on my conduct as a Printer.

Having no personal enmity towards Captain Patterson, I can but regret that the misunderstanding took place; but at the same time, I cannot suppress the indignation I feel at the *officious busy-body*, who, in my absence, handed a *manuscript* copy of Captain Patterson's reply to the *Centinel* to my press.

ELEAZER OSWALD.

Philadelphia, Feb. 29, 1788.

471. Pennsylvania Journal, 1 March 1788¹

To the PUBLIC.

A News-Paper, entitled, THE FEDERAL GAZETTE, and THE PHILADELPHIA EVENING POST, will shortly be published in this city. It will be

printed, for the Proprietors, at the office of JOHN M'CULLOCH on the east-side of *Third-Street*, three doors above *Market-street*, every *Tuesday*, *Thursday*, and *Saturday* evening.^(a)

The size of the paper will be equal to that of the *Independent Gazetteer*, or the *Pennsylvania Mercury*; and the price to subscribers *Two Dollars and a Half* per annum.

The arrival of the mails, in Philadelphia, at noon, is particularly in favor of an evening paper; as the earliest information can always be given, through this channel, to the citizens.

Information, Patriotism, and Decency, shall ever be the leading principles of the Editor of *The Fœderal Gazette*.

☞ The Printers of News-Papers in the United State, are requested to publish this a few times in their respective papers.

Philadelphia, 1st March 1788.

(a) *The Proprietors intend to publish this paper, at some future period, every evening, Sundays excepted.*

1. Also printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 1 March.

472. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1 March 1788

FAMILIAR LETTERS

between MARGERY and her FRIENDS.

LETTER V.

MARGERY to TIMMY the ROVER.

Germantown, December 23, 1787.

I am exceedingly provoked at you, Tim—You are a most unaccountable creature—You are the same opinionated, self-willed being you ever were—There is no settled principle in you—I know not how there can be, for you have been all things, and tried all things, and gotten weary of all things.—You have, at one time or other in your life, acted all kinds of characters, been in all kinds of business, in all kinds of parties, and in almost all kinds of religions—nay, there was not a religion in the whole known world to suit you, and therefore you have made one of your own—You are a perfect Zimri,

“Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
You’re ev’ry thing by starts, and nothing long;
But in the course of one revolving moon,
Are chymist, fidler, statesman, and buffoon.”

From a review of your roving variable conduct, you ought by this time to learn to distrust yourself, and not rush unadvisedly and head-

long into things—Had you done this, you would have shewn your Philadelphensis, No. 5, either to Doctor Snuffle, or Mr. —— of Scunk-Hall, before you published it; or rather, that they might have prevented your publishing it at all.—What a whining, canting piece of work you have made of it. Do you think any body will mind the cock and a bull story you have “figured to yourself,” about the “man with his cows, horses, clucking hens, and dear little children?”—if any one does, it will be only to laugh at us, and turn our party into ridicule.—The whole piece is but the “Babes in the woods” in prose; and if, instead of that windy cholicky motto of five lines, you had begun it, “Now ponder well, ye parents dear,” I should have been completely taken in.—I heartily wish that paper of your’s had never been undertaken—It is a dead weight upon us, for the Centinel and old Whig are as many papers as we can decently keep up, considering the vast number of paragraphs and extracts of letters we have occasionally to manufacture: But nothing could keep you from it; you would have your own way in setting it a-going, and now, for the credit of our party, we are obliged to give it a lift now and then.—Such a strain-jaw signature too,—Philadelphi, ensis—one is obliged to stop to take breath in the middle.—Tell me, are you not a believer in the ABRACADABRA of Basilides? and did you not contrive the name to make people think there were charms and spells couched under it?—The scheme would not have been such a bad one, at the time of the Cruisades, but the common people now-a-days deal more in common things—I’ll answer for it, you will not find one of them in fifty, who pronounces it rightly—I have heard them call it more than a dozen different ways, and the *ensis* always cleaves like a bun to the rooves of their mouths—You were ever fond of such comet-like tails to your pieces, of which your “Foe to scribbling dunces and Pseudo-patriots,” (which you proposed some time ago to take up) is another example—You have not as yet sallied forth with it, dangling like a dish-clout after you, but how much longer you will be kept from it, is uncertain—I am fearful, not long.^(a)

I entreat you to be cautious, and put nothing out till it has undergone the inspection of the TRIO—Keep your “cattle” at pasture in your own brain, for your “cows, horses and lap-dogs,” have been cutting so many capers in the Gazetteer, that I am fearful you will be taken for a mere mountebank or dog-dancer.

Poorly as I am, I find I must come in; I have other reason for it beside the necessity of remedying the mischief you have done—therefore you may expect to see me to-morrow evening.

Your’s, &c.

MARGERY.

(a) It appears since that Margery had good grounds for her fears—Vide Freeman’s Journal, Jan. 30.

473. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1 March 1788

LETTER VI.

MARGERY to DOCTOR SNUFFLE of Cogue-Hall, College-Green.

Germantown, December 23, 1787.

DEAR SIR, I am surprised you should have suffered Tim to publish that paper of his—I wonder you did not suspect he was big with something; for it is very easy to guess before hand, by his figetting and cackling. He was always a headstrong mule, and I have ever thought he would do more harm than good to our politics—I have written to him about it, and told him my mind pretty plainly.—I was no way apprehensive of offending him, or his leaving our service; for he well knows he has run himself so out of confidence, that there is no party excepting our's that will make even a tool of him.

I find it is high time for me to leave this place—It is beginning to be known that there is an old woman at Mr. Mc——s.—I believe my red cloak has attracted the notice of the people, when I have been taking a walk a little before evening; which I have been accustomed to do in moderate weather, by the skirt of a wood back of the town—Some have supposed me to be a conjuror, and you know nothing will spread through the country sooner then a report of this kind—Various are the conjectures about me—Some think I am the ghost of Korb-macherin that *walks*, and others that I am the celebrated Nanny No-finger—The first I knew of this alarm, was by a couple of young women, and three great country fellows, coming last night to get their fortunes told—I declared I did not understand fortune-telling—They were sure I did; for they had heard I could calculate nativities, and find stolen goods—that it was said I always carried a pack of cards in my pocket, and a black cat without a tail under my cloak; and also that I had the mark of the Devil's paw on my left side.—Nothing I could say, would convince them; they thought I was only afraid to tell—they told me they had silver about them for crosses, and assured me they would never inform upon me—I opened my cloak, that they might see I had no cat under it, and let them feel my pockets, where they found nothing but packets of CENTINELS, OLD WHIGS, and “REASONS OF DISSENT.”—All this would not do, and I was obliged to unlace my jumps for them to examine my side—but this, alas! only confirmed them—You must know the fever which was brought upon me, during the sitting of the Convention, grew so much worse after the adoption, that I found it necessary to consult *our* Doctor. He applied a large blister between my shoulders, which was of much relief to me; but when it came off, it left a great brown mark.—The moment the three country

fellows saw it, they cried with one voice, that it was the Devil's paw—I attempted to explain the cause of it; they would not listen to me, but declared my hide was moreover so yellow and wrinkled, that they were sure I could be nothing else but a witch.

I am far from being well; yet from this you may suppose I need not stay here any longer for the benefit of *the air*; for I am afraid to put my head out of doors, lest I should be caught, and thrown into a horse-pond.—Beside, the servants begin to mistrust me, they have nailed a horse-shoe to the cill of the kitchen door, and Dennis never comes into my room without looking sharply over both his shoulders.

You may therefore expect to see me to-morrow evening—Indeed I believe my presence is highly necessary; for our affairs have gone so wrong, and been so wrongly managed since I have been here, that it will require a dozen Centinels to bring them to rights again—My VIth number is prepared—Sunday as it is, I have been hard at it all day; yet you will see I have been obliged to eke it out with a quotation from Digby's Speech, taking care to stile him "Lord George Digby, afterwards earl of Bristol."—There is something in *great names* for all—It must by all means come out next market-day.—In the mean time, I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

MARGERY.

P.S. Desire Sammy to send out my black jockey-cap and cloth galloshes by Dennis; they are on the mantle-piece in my room—also my double wrapper—It is so cold, that it will be prudent for an ailing body as I am to muffle up well.

474. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1 March 1788

A *friendly* correspondent is induced to take the freedom of suggesting to the consideration of *some* of the printers in this city, the impropriety and injurious effects which (he thinks) will attend the repetition of such *unedifying* publications, as have appeared in several of their late papers, which are contrary to the sentiments of, and disapproved by, their most judicious readers, and can answer no other purpose than to promote animosity and strife, gratifying the *malignant* opinions of *men*, who, under the *specious pretence* of *patriotism*, are *scribbling* to *support* party contention and their own aggrandisement.

The *freedom* of the *press* is a valuable privilege, and a printer should carefully guard against prostitution, or he subjects his character for prudence or judgment to be called in question, as many people are disposed to attribute to him such publications, which the *authors*, by concealing their names, seem *ashamed* or *afraid* to *acknowledge*.—Our

correspondent therefore hopes *such* printers will, on more deliberate consideration, forbear proceeding in a line which can produce no *real* benefit or instruction.

Our correspondent finally observes, the *opposition* to the *federal system* will (he believes) be more likely to weaken, and gradually subside, by *silence* than the *exasperating sarcasms*, which have too much prevailed.

475. Pittsburgh Gazette, 1 March 1788¹

CURSORY REMARKS on the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

It is not my intention to enter largely into a consideration of this plan of government, but to suggest some ideas in addition, and of the same nature with those already made; shewing the imperfections and the danger of it.

The first thing that strikes a diligent observer, is the want of precaution with respect to the *sex* of the president. Is it provided that he shall be of the male gender? The Salii, a tribe of the Burgundians, in the 11th century, excluded females from the sovereignty. Without a similar exclusion what shall we think, if in progress of time we should come to have an *old woman* at the head of our affairs? But what security have we that he shall be a *white man*? What would be the national disgrace if he should be elected from one of the southern states, and a *vile negro* should come to rule over us. Treaties would then be formed with the tribes of Congo and Loango; instead of the civilized countries of Europe. But is there any security that he shall be a *freeman*? Who knows but the electors at a future period, in days of corruption may pick up a man's servant, a convict perhaps, and give him the dominion? Is any care taken that he shall be a man of perfect parts? Moses, the legislature of the Jews, precluded those labouring under any incapacity from entering the congregation of the Lord. Shall we in affairs of a civil nature, leave a door open to bastards, eunuchs, and the devil knows what?

A senate is the next great constituent part of the government; and yet there is not a word said with regard to the ancestry of any of them; whether they should be altogether Irish or only Scotch Irish. If any of them have been in the war of the White Boys, the Hearts of Oak or the like; they may overturn all authority, and make the shilelah the supreme law of the land.

The house of representatives is so large that it never can be built. They may begin it, but it never can be finished. Ten miles square! Babylon itself, unless the suburbs are taken into view, was not of greater extent.

But what avails it to dwell on these things. The want of a *bill of rights* is the great evil. There was no occasion for a bill of *wrongs*; for there

will be *wrongs* enough. But oh! a *bill of rights*. What is the nature of a *bill of rights*? *It is a schedule or inventory of those powers which the Congress do not possess*. But if it is clearly ascertained what powers they have, what need of a catalogue of those powers which they have not? Ah! there is the mistake. A minister preaching, undertook, first, to show what was in his text; second, what was not in it. When it is specified what powers are given, why not also what powers are not given? A bill of rights is wanting and all those things which are usually secured under it.

1. The *rights of conscience* are swept away. The Confession of Faith; the Shorter Catechism, and the Pilgrims Progress are to go. The Psalms of Wats I am told, is the only thing of this kind that is to have any quarter at all.

2. The *liberty of the press*; that is gone at the first stroke. Not so much as an advertisement for a stray horse, or run away negro, can be put in any of the Gazettes.

3. The *trial by jury*, that is knocked in the head, and all that worthy class of men, the lawyers, who live by haranguing and bending the juries, are demolished.

I would submit it to any candid man, if in this constitution there is the least provision for the privilege of shaving the beard? or is there any mode laid down to take the measure of a pair of breeches? Whence then is it that men of learning seem so much to approve, while the ignorant are against it? the cause is perfectly apparent, viz. that reason is an erring guide, while instinct, which is the governing principle of the untaught is certain. Put a pig in a poke, carry it half a day's journey through woods and by ways; let it out and it will run home without deviation. Could old Franklin do this? What reason have we then to suppose that his judgment, or that of general Washington, could be equal to that of Smiley in state affairs.

Were it not on this principle that we are able to account for it, it might be thought strange that old Livingston, of the Jerseys, could be so hood-winked as to give his sanction to such a diabolical scheme of tyranny amongst men. A constitution which may well be called hell-born. For if all the devils in Pandemonium had been employed about it, they could not have made a worse.

Neil Mac Laughlin, a neighbour of mine, who has been talking with Findley, says, that under this constitution all weavers are to be put to death. What have these innocent manufacturers done that they should be so proscribed?

Let other states think what they will of it, there is one reason why every Pennsylvania[n] should execrate this imposition upon mankind. It will make his state most probably the seat of government, and bring

all the offices, and cause a great part of the revenue to be expended here. This must make the people rich, enable them to pay their debts and corrupt their morals. Any citizen, therefore, on the Delaware or the Susquehannah waters ought to be hanged and cursed that would give it countenance.

I shall content myself at present with these strictures, but shall continue them from time to time as occasion may require.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 22 March; Philadelphia *American Museum*, April 1788. This essay is continued in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 15 March. The *American Museum* cites this as Hugh Henry Brackenridge. See also Claude Milton Newlin, *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton, 1932), 318. See Mfm:Pa. 533 (pp. 1053–55) for a continuation of this essay.

476. Thomas Scott to Benjamin Rush

Washington, Pa., 3 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

I am greatly obliged to you for your Correspondence, and hopes Soon to recieve the pamphlet you mention, which will no doubt answer a valuable purpose in this Country—

Altho many who think not for themselves, think not well of the federal Constitution, becaus Tom had long ago told them, that dick had told him, that Herry had told him; that Messrs. Finley, Smiely &c. &c. had told him it was a bad one, yet the voice of oposition is Scarcely heard, except in a small Circle in Fayette county, where Mr. Smiely rides Triumphant on the wings of Fame, and where after rideing the Cirquet of his Small domean, he Collected to the tune of 30 or 40 holy Grunters, and after mounting the Rostrum and retailing to them Centanial, Old Whigonial and other Newspapar nonsense for the space of three hours Concluded, that before that hell-born plan should be the Constitution of the united states, he would spend the last blood in his Vains and farthing in his Treasury, upon the offer of Which Valuable sacrifice some of the audience Concluded it must be a damd. Constitution indeed: In a word he laboured to stir the people up to arms; but could not well direct them to the Emediate object against which their arms should be used, and therefor happily thought of petitioning the Genl. Assembly—The last resort in all desperate and sovereign Cases—that they should Interfer, & by their prorogative royal and absolute power, Not only put a final stop to the progress of this demon in the united states, but bring the authors of it (our delegates in the Contl. Convention) to Conding punishment, for daring to exceed the authority Given them by the sovereign Genl. Assembly—This acct. of the matter I had

from sundry persons of Inteligence & Carrector Who were personally present on that Great ocation, and who thereupon put to me the following questions—what authority has the Genl. Assembly in this business? If they had, Could Mr. Smiely and his party Carry their point &c? To these questions it was easy with me to answer in the negative, How would they be answered in Philada.?

Mr. Finley I am told behaves with Coniderable moderation, but he republished the desent of the Minority in the Pittsburgh Gazette, and published his hampden, which I Inclose you.

Mr. Redick, tho oposed to the new Constitution Behaves with the Utmost Propriety, and advises a Cheerfull Submission to the mind of the Majority &c. Many others act the same part, So that upon the whole I believe nothing very dreadfull is to be apprehended from the oposition in this Country.

I woul[d] be very Glad to know all the states by name who have ratified, or are, with any degree of Certainty, expected to ratify, and those from whom Serious oposition is at this time apprehended.

I indured the most miserable fatigue the first 3 or 4 days of my Journey, but after that mended every day, and reached home the [10th.?] in a tolerable State of health. . . .

1. RC, Rush Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia.

477. Brutus

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 March 1788

If the consequences of adopting the new constitution will be to exonerate the numerous public defaulters and the delinquent states from refunding the *millions* detained by them, from the public treasury, as *Centinel* has, I think, proved in his last number, in Tuesday's paper, I shall no more consider this constitution as from Heaven, but as the works of frail and interested men, and I shall esteem it as my duty to oppose it; hitherto I have been wavering, but this has pretty thoroughly decided me.

478. A Citizen of a Free and Independent State

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 March 1788

The immaculate convention, that is said to have possessed the fullness of patriotism, wisdom and virtue, contained 9 of the principal public *defaulters*, and 25 of this body were *hacknied lawyers*; and these were the most influential members, and chiefly instrumental in the framing the new constitution.

One of the most noted characters in that body, who answers both the first descriptions, and whose conduct upon this occasion savored more of the *Jesuit* than the rest, has lately put his name to an address of congratulation to the Leg—sl—re, on the adoption of *his own works*. A stranger would be led to imagine from it, that the assembly was also friendly to his system. But even here this *ancient artist* has a clue, if the plan should not succeed, for it was handed to him by a vote of coun—l.

Would it not be adviseable for the Supreme Executive Council (since the eastern members have now come down, and that there is a majority opposed to this conspiracy against the liberties of America) to congratulate the house upon the prospect of its being rejected.

Such low manœuvres and base deceptions as are practiced by the advocates of this change of government, ought to be held forth to the world in their proper lights.

February 27, 1788.

479. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788¹

By two gentlemen just arrived from the westward, we are informed, that the people were marching with rapidity from all directions to the town of Carlisle, in Cumberland county, in order to set at liberty seven or eight gentlemen, who were confined in the gaol of that county for interrupting an attempt to hold a public rejoicing on the account of the new constitution having been adopted by the convention of this state. Our informants understood that about five thousand men were collecting; they actually met three hundred in one body on the ice, crossing from this side of Susquehanna, but were not informed of the event.

1. Reprinted fifteen times from Maine to Virginia by 4 April.

**480. Algernon Sidney III
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788¹**

Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant.

Luke 19; 22.

It is remarkable, if we attend to the declaration of independence, that the congress alledge that the people of this country are justified in withdrawing their allegiance from the king of Great Britain on account of various acts of oppression. Among other things, the king is accused “of depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of the trial by jury.” Now it is most certain that the new constitution takes away the trial by jury in many cases, for it is expressly declared that the continental court is to have “appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact.”

Art. 3. sect. 2. If therefore this may be used as an argument for withdrawing our allegiance from the king of Great Britain, it may be used as an argument against the establishment of the new constitution. The trial by jury is one of the essentials of liberty, I will quote a fine passage from an able lawyer, which demonstrates the utility of this noble privilege.

“Upon these accounts, the trial by jury ever has been, and I trust ever will be, looked upon as the glory of the English law. And, if it has so great an advantage over others in regulating property, how much must that advantage be heightened, when it is applied to criminal cases! But this we must refer to the ensuing book of these commentaries: only observing for the present, that it is the most transcendent privilege any subject can enjoy, or wish for, that he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbours and equals. A constitution that I may venture to affirm has, under Providence, secured the just liberties of this nation for a long succession of ages. And therefore a celebrated French writer, who concludes, that because Rome, Sparta and Carthage have lost their liberties, therefore those of England in time must perish, should have remembered that Rome, Sparta and Carthage were strangers, to the trial by jury.

“Great as this eulogium may seem, it is no more than this admirable constitution, when traced to its principles, will be found in sober reason to deserve. The impartial administration of justice, which secures both our persons and properties, is the great end of civil society. But if that be entirely entrusted to the magistracy, a select body of men, and those generally selected by the prince or such as enjoy the highest offices in the state, their decisions, in spite of their own natural integrity, will frequently have an involuntary bias towards those of their own rank and dignity. It is not to be expected from human nature that THE FEW should be always attentive to the interests and good of THE MANY. On the other hand, if the power of judicature were placed at random in the hands of the multitude, their decisions would be wild and capricious, and a new rule of action would be every day established in our courts. It is wisely therefore ordered, that the principles and axioms of law, which are generally propositions, flowing from abstracted reason, and not accommodated to times or to men, should be deposited in the breasts of the judges, to be occasionally applied to such facts as come properly ascertained before them. For here partiality can have little scope: the law is well known, and is the same for all ranks and degrees; it follows as a regular conclusion from the premises of fact pre-established. But in settling and adjusting a question of fact, when entrusted

to any single magistrate, partiality and injustice have an ample field to range in; either by boldly asserting that to be proved which is not so, or more artfully by suppressing some circumstances, stretching and warping others, and distinguishing away the remainder. Here therefore a competent number of sensible and upright jurymen, chosen by lot from among those of the middle rank, will be found the best investigators of truth, and the surest guardians of public justice. For the most powerful individual in the state will be cautious of committing any flagrant invasion of another's right, when he knows the fact of his oppression must be examined and decided by twelve indifferent men, not appointed till the hour of trial; and that, when once the fact is ascertained, the law must of course redress it. This therefore preserves in the hands of the people that share which they ought to have in the administration of public justice, and prevents the encroachments of the more powerful and wealthy citizens. Every new tribunal erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury (whether composed of justices of the peace, commissioners of the revenue, judges of a court of conscience, or any other standing magistrates) is a step towards establishing aristocracy, the most oppressive of absolute governments. The federal system, which, for the sake of military subordination, pursued an aristocratical plan in all its arrangements of property, had been intolerable in times of peace, had it not been wisely counterpoised by that privilege, so universally diffused through every part of it, the trial by the federal peers. And in every country on the continent, as the trial by the peers has been gradually disused, so the nobles have increased in power, till the state has been torn to pieces by rival factions, and oligarchy in effect has been established though under the shadow of regal government; unless where the miserable commons have taken shelter under absolute monarchy, as the lighter evil of the two. And, particularly, it is a circumstance well worthy an Englishman's observation, that in Sweden the trial by jury, that bulwark of northern liberty, which continued in its full vigour, so lately as the middle of the last century, is now fallen into disuse: and that there, though the regal^(a) power is in no country so closely limited, yet the liberties of the commons are extinguished, and the government is degenerated into a mere aristocracy. It is therefore, upon the whole, a duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this valuable constitution in all its rights; to restore it to its antient dignity, if at all impaired by the different value of property, or otherwise deviated from its first institution; to amend it, wherever it is defective; and above all to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the introduction of new and arbitrary methods

of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences may in time imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of English liberty.”—Blackstone’s Commentaries, quarto edition, volume 3, page 379.

In short, it is not only the means of taking away the trial by jury in many cases, but the insecurity of the liberty of the press and the rights of conscience, with the abolition of the freedom of election, and other numerous arbitrary principles, which should make us oppose the new constitution. If we suffer it to be established the world will on account of the gross tyranny which it holds forth, be inclined to suspect, rather than our understandings, our integrity and courage.

(a) This was written before the revolution, in 1772.—The King was always mentioning his love of liberty and the purity of his intentions, till by surprise, by a coup de main, he made himself an arbitrary from being a limited monarch. In this he was greatly assisted by French artifice and French money.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Freeman’s Journal*, 5 March.

**481. James de Caledonia to James Bowdoin
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788**

To His Excellency JAMES B—WD—N, Residing in Boston.

My Lord, The favors which you did me the honor to write me of the 10th ultimo, and the 12th instant came safe to hand. In answer to the first, I had the honor to write your lordship the 24th ultimo per an express, which we sent off with all the *ready* we could raise by subscription, and a present from the B—k: This I find has been serviceable to you: There is nothing like it my lord, every thing is accomplished by *money and offices* in the public bodies in *Europe*; and we found it answered our ends (though but sparingly measured) when the *business* was discussed in this city. I make no doubt my lord but we shall *encompass*, the whole 65 in the lower house, in a few months after meeting; for although the lower house in the island of Britain consists of near 600, yet the executive can almost always command a majority. Since my last we have kept the press going pretty steadily; but I am much afraid my *writing committee*, although they are well inclined, and very industrious, do more hurt than good; they are at present employed in composing for a paper we publish three times every week; and to be sure it is crammed and kept running over with the veriest trash that ever dignified the quill of a school boy. I assisted them in a few *skits* and *squibs*, but they carry it to such a disgraceful length, that I am much afraid I shall have to displace some of them.

I have continued the numbers of the *Freemen* as long as I well could—the *Pennsylvanian* I am yet employed about. I am obliged to you for your compliment on them; I think myself, that they are tolerable, considering I have the argument so point blank against me, and that I am obliged so carefully to avoid the merits: If I had to write on the other side, I flatter myself I could shine. You think these performances will answer the country best; but I dont find they do either for town or country; and I believe I shall stop: For the people of this state are good politicians, and can see through them; and then they have always entertained a jealousy of the conduct and views of our party, so much so, that unless we had been very *dexterous* at elections, we would never have gained any ground.

The Quakers were our main support hitherto, but now they have found us out, they have mostly left us; and if we do not carry our present plan through, my lord, we shall be knocked up in this state.

The scheme of taxing the newspapers in your state has been of infinite service to you on this occasion, as it curtailed a great number of them, and thereby cut off the means of intelligence. We would have had this done here long since, but they are too cunning, they would have made a sad rumpus about it. However, we must lay a heavy tax on every newspaper on the continent, and *license* those which are published: And every political essay must be *examined* before its publication, otherwise you may depend upon it, my lord, all our motions would be scrutinized, and we should not be able to make an additional office, or give a copper of money to a friend, but the public would be informed of it. Another thing, no newspapers must be allowed to go from state to state.

The manouvre of Mr. ———, in setting the people of your state by the ears, was excellent; it has turned out of more advantage to us than I could have conceived; indeed scarcely any thing but the dread of another *Shays* could have induced the tenth part of your convention to have agreed to our *plan*.

The *Cincinnati* have (except some individuals) stuck to us like wax, you will find them the promoters of all our town or county meetings. But there will be more to support than we can well provide for; however, the army will hold the most of them. A great number of half-pay officers, here, at Carlisle, and other places, are very anxious till they get their commissions.

The *public defaulters*, who are numerous have been also very alert with us both in this, and the other states; in the city of New-York they swarm, and buz about surprisngly; their consciences are 50 per cent. lighter, since they find all *old scores* to be rubbed off by our *plan*. It was a

necessary and most excellent device to *clean* our great men; and also, *to take off*, those in the federal convention, who (*in this predicament*) were in opposition to us.^(a) *Old Sawney* the Jesuit, was compleatly gained over by it, and of course the *hero* of the people thought all must be square too.

We have with hard squeezing prevailed upon the old man to lend his name to an address of congratulation; to be sure, it was rather *bold*, to say so much of *his own handy work*; but we took advantage of the *absence* of a number of the western *members* and procured a vote for it, and persuaded the old rogue to sign, as we told him it would all go down smooth, now. You know he had published his speech to answer both sides, whether we should fail or not; and he wished much to avoid being explicit still.

The clamour we raised about the opposition to us being from interested motives and officers of government, is long since out of date, I find, all over the continent: It was of much service to us as long as it lasted; but the people in the different states find very few of the officers of government but what are for it; and I do not know why they should not, for it will encrease the number of offices ten-fold: It was a skin-deep argument of our people, though amazingly useful. But it is now turned against us, for the thoughts of maintaining a standing army and such a number of additional officers, the people think more of, than any other argument against us.

The magic of names assisted us most surprisingly a long time too; but the people consider that, as a stale argument now; they allow the general great merits as a soldier; but not as a statesman; (to be sure we found this very true in convention.) In Virginia, *P. Henry* is now more popular by far than our *Fabius*, who is almost alone. *Henry* is very warm against us, and is backed by nine-tenths of the people with all the leading characters almost.

That *extract* of a letter we published as from the general, has hurt him every where, very much; for the idea held out therein of compelling the states to receive our plan, the people could not bare.

I was happy to find our scheme so superficially investigated in your convention; it was very fortunate, my lord, for the little they have discovered in it has almost ruined us. In the Delaware convention, none were capable of developing it except our friends; and in the Connecticut, Jersey, and Georgia conventions, we were as fortunate.

As to what you say about the *extra* powers which you think I was over straining for, and rather rash in taking, that of controuling and commanding the *militia* was absolutely necessary, as it will be necessary to have the militia at our service; and then it would be fatal to our views

to leave arms in the hands of such militia as ours, under the controul of the state legislatures or corporations. The power to regulate elections you know was thrown out several times, but I slipt it in privately towards the last; to be sure we could have made our sway perpetual without it, but not *constitutionally* so. And as to declarations in favor of liberty of conscience, which you say ought to have been made; we could in that case never have had an established church, which they have in almost every country but this; and nothing assists government more in keeping the people under. It is high time, my lord, to get rid of such a *mungrel* breed of impostures and sectaries from the *real* church.

You have played a good game with the province of Main; a new state they want, do they? A new county they mean! Thank God, I hope we shall have done with making new states, and state governments, and all such things. I think the people have had the government in their hands long enough. I hope we shall be all one state soon.

The post-office I shall attend to; and the arms which in my last I mentioned were collecting, I have employed a number of gun-smiths to repair, after which they will be stored: but I hope our ambassador has made a contract for a sufficient number.

As to *Martin*, he has refused the offer you made him; but we are all employed in *endeavoring* to blacken his character, which we find very difficult, my lord; he has it so well established; and he seems to treat us all with contempt as he carries the people along with him. He has been of infinite damage to us; we tried to confine his publications to his own state, but the printers of this city, out generalled us; and from here they have attempted to send them to New-York, but we intercepted all.

Among other things, he has let out our resolve in convention, not to frame a *federal*, but a *national* government; and you know, I not expecting our secrets to be thus divulged, conceded that a *national* or consolidated government would be a *despotism* on such an extensive continent as ours; they have made a great advantage of this.

There are a number of our partizans that are of more hurt to us than good, though they intend well. One of them (to be sure, is a faithful drudge, and can talk of nothing else but our scheme;) we put him in our convention, supposing he would have been of much service to us; but, my lord, he turned out a perfect *idiot*; for after I had allowed that a dissolution of the state governments must be followed by an arbitrary government, this *quack* politician declared that he saw and rejoiced at it; and his *canting* eulogiums on the divine origin of our scheme was rather of damage to it; as there is no trait in it that savors of divinity, but just the reverse; the plainest man may see, that the slave

trade is protected, that a *pagan*, *deist* or any other gentleman, can hold any offices under it: and that there is not the least security for the Christian religion in it. This man has been of some service to us, by sowing dissensions among the Presbyterians, whose garb he wore for that purpose many years. He is most useful to us as a runner: what the others say of him is very true, he is really a political moscheto, mere froth; but he is industrious in writing to the country parsons, &c. I suppose we will have to give him an office (I know he expects a fat one;) I wish he may be remembered. I thank you for the care you have taken to reserve the office of attorney-general for me; you must make up in salary for what I lose by not getting the chief justiceship.

Among a whole troop of others, who expect our favors, there is a staring, little, crank, crabbit fellow, famous for making ballads and riddles. His New Roof, upon the whole, rather incensed the people; for, although he allowed their *rights* were at the mercy of government, he ridiculed them; and the notion of turning their *rights* into *scantling* they did not like. We have supported this little wretch many years in a *sinsecure*. He is an active man on the committee; I wish you may also remember him among the list of others I sent you.

All our strength lies in the city, almost; and since the Assembly have met we hold our heads very high; I have instructed our runners to act their part; for though (as you say) matters look blue, yet we gain much by seeming in spirits, and making all look well. The country is almost altogether against us; but we have a number of choice spirits in both branches of government, who are so entirely at our service, that I do believe if we wished them to wear *bag wigs*, and turn mountebanks, they would obey us. The knife and fork, my lord, are admirable things, especially when crowned with a few bottles of Madeira: they actually turn the heads of some country members, and make them as supple to us as is possible. But at the same time, my lord, I confess there is a majority of both bodies who think for themselves; these coarse country animals seem to consider themselves to be on a footing with us, and it is impossible to civilize them. I allow there are many among them, had they been brought up in the city instead of the woods, might have shone: but I detest the idea of a countryman setting up for any thing; (though we have to cajole them yet,) if we do but succeed in getting the great wheels running we shall prevent such things in future.

The press is still open against us, and we find it impossible to silence it: we exerted ourselves, and knocked up one paper; but nothing will do. We conducted ourselves according to the plans laid down in the convention last summer; in the first place you know, we endeavored to over-awe and intimidate all writing and printing; this failing, we then

had recourse to the 2d plan, which you know was to take no notice of any of the publications, and endeavor to divert the attention of the people from them; we persevered in this a long time, but found the writers still persevered, and that they were opening the eyes of the people, we then commenced with our writing committee, and endeavored to turn all argument into ridicule; but this failing, I know not what we shall do; for the least stir would bring down the country on us.

Bobby is still in Virginia with his *private secretary*, using his influence and assisting, but it is all in vain, it is against the current there; they are following George up, and keeping him to the charge. Lawsuits, losses and crosses are heaping themselves on *Bobby*, but the office of financier will make all square again; my lord, he is very fond of *handling the dollars*.

I shall do myself the honor to write you again shortly; in the mean time believe me to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
And most *devoted* Servant,

JAMES DE CALEDONIA.

P.S. This is Tuesday morning; Centinel's 16th number has come out this morning; he has discovered one of the 20 places, which you thought could never be found out; it is one of the most hidden and choice places, concerning the public defaulters and delinquent states, and he is making a great splutter about it; I am afraid it will ruin us.

Philadelphia, February 25th, 1788.

(a) *Until we threw out this bait in the federal convention, the deputies from most of the smaller states were opposed to our plan; it was that alone brought the delinquent states of Georgia, Delaware, Connecticut, &c. into our views. For I am certain, my lord, if those states were made to pay up their arrears, and the public defaulters theirs also, the state of Pennsylvania need not to have laid any more federal taxes this two years.*

482. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, I was much astonished at seeing a publication of Captain *Alexander Patterson*, in your paper of Saturday last, accompanied by one from yourself. These publications held out an idea that I had acted as an "officious busy-body." I do now declare that Capt. Patterson handed the paper to me with a request that I would have it published in Philadelphia, and whatever information you have had to justify your hinting at me, was FALSE.

If I have erred, the public will ascribe it to the proper motive: but I must again repeat that in handing it to the press, I acted perfectly agreeable to Captain Patterson's directions.

WILLIAM CRAIG.

483. Thistle

Pennsylvania Mercury, 4 March 1788

Mr. HUMPHREYS, The celebrated "*Chronicle of Freedom*" still teems with abuse of the *saviours* of America, insomuch that it is an indubitable proof of any person's having done well to have a copious shower of dirt thrown at him by the scribblers in the paper of Eleazer (not the high priest) *the apostate*—Oh base perversion of the liberty of the press! was it not sufficient that the spotless character of a Washington had been wantonly traduced and slandered? that thousands of our most respectable citizens had shared the same fate? that the groundless complaints against the post-office had been realized, in the printer of this "immaculate paper," by withholding from the people the important intelligence of the adoption of the constitution by the state of Massachusetts; and, that such interesting information should be only given in scraps, for the sake of burlesque and ridicule? Were not all these circumstances enough? No: the summit of infamy had not yet been attained. This day completed the scene with a torrent of slander, thrown out against the *venerable*, the *philosophic*, the *philanthropic*, the *patriotic* FRANKLIN.

March 3.

484. Carlisle Gazette, 5 March 1788

Messieurs PRINTERS.

By inserting the following you will oblige a select committee from the different districts of Cumberland county.

In a democratical government it is the glorious privilege of the people to be free and unembarrassed in the choice of their laws—the voice of the people being the supreme law of the land, no sophistical stratagems nor deceitful allurements may be used to obtain their consent—people thus dragged into a government will be reluctant and uneasy—the stability and fitness of a constitution, depends greatly on the people being pleased therewith—It is truly lamentable that people of the same vicinity are of such opposite sentiments about government, as they now appear to be—It is likewise surprising that men of sense do press the adoption of a constitution which themselves do acknowledge is faulty, and the good or bad effects of which depend solely upon its adminis-

trators—Men of wealth and affluence possessed of aspiring minds, who have occupied seats in government, are often vain enough to promise themselves and their posterity a high station in life, but are frequently disappointed; leaving posterity to wear the fetters which their fathers by an extravagant lust for dominion have rivetted: likewise the ambitious office hunter, anxiously pursues his contracted and selfish views, though at the expence of his own and his childrens freedom.—The many insidious attempts made use of to establish the proposed constitution, are highly dishonourable to its abettors, productive of much jealousy in the minds of the people, and do fully evince the danger and unfitness of its adoption, and the aspiring views of its propagators.—No judicious and impartial person can read the fictitious and partial representations and the groundless assertions which croud our newspapers, without horror and regret—I pity my countrymen who thus abuse their conscience (if they have any) by fabricating falsehoods to deceive and mislead weak, innocent, unwary & honest minds into the adoption of a constitution, which with its iron sinews, and brazen brows, will tread triumphantly on the necks of posterity. Such Esaus who thus sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, act with a humiliating indignity, infinitely beneath the character of freemen.—In our paper of February 6, we are highly entertained by a fictitious Centinel, who mounts the watch tower with the same patriotic principles of his brother Arnold, and counterfeits a writer who by his unanswerable reasons is gaining ground daily—likewise a piece signed a Freeman, directed to the Minority of the late convention (a convention that does not exist) embellishes our paper of February 13, no doubt this gentleman wishes to retain his freedom tho' it should be at the expence of his fellow men—his design however is evident, viz. to delude and baffle by sophistry and infatuation—to suppose that his pretended arguments need a refutation would indeed be absurd—this is effectually and unanswerably done by sundry writers, but such are the base shifts made use of when reason and argument fail.

Although the written laws and rules of life do in most cases point out our duty; yet by an extraordinary change of circumstances, it may become our duty to act in a very different manner, and such singular cases are to be deemed excepted in those laws.

Those who cultivate and improve that noble and divine sense, called conscience, which nature has designed to be the guide of life and the governing power in man, will find that it can strengthen them in bearing external evils, and in forfeiting external advantages when called thereto by their duty to their friends, their country, and the general

interest—when through the mal-administration of justice, the common cause or general interest is likely to be sacrificed to the caprice of a domineering faction; no person need hesitate a moment in proposing a remedy—When we consider the solemn oath we have taken, wherein we are bound to be faithful, and bear true allegiance to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as a free and independent state, and that we will not directly or indirectly do any matter or thing prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress; we say when we consider this sacred obligation, and then take a retrospective view, First to the dark conclave, the majority of whom trampled their plighted faith under-foot, transgressed the rules of their appointment, and by their secret machinations and deep laid plots issued forth an instrument, called a constitution, which may by the plastic hands of its administrators, be formed into the most arbitrary tyranny, to the total destruction of the government we are sworn to support.

Second, when we look back to the conduct of our legislature, at the birth of this 13 horned monster, how are we surprised to see a majority of them insidiously striving by the force of a deluded mob, (contrary to the rules of the house, and the oaths they had taken) to surprise their constituents into the adoption of a plan that will (if adopted) unhinge the constitution which they, (the members of said house) were then empowered to act under, and solemnly sworn to support.

Third, When we look back to the late convention, there we see the effects of the above hasty measures—we see a convention chosen by only about one-sixth of the free electors, and most of these blindly dragged into the measure? we see the imperious 46, chosen only by about one-tenth of the free electors, and these learned 46, with all the arguments their logic and sophistry could invent, were nonplused and confounded by the plain reasons of a few common farmers, who were notwithstanding, denied the privilege of inserting their reasons of dissent upon the minutes.

Fourth, When we view the imperious few and their cringing tools in our own county, aiding, assisting, and countenancing the above measures, and striving to represent the county as rejoicing as it were upon the spoils of freedom, and that in a riotous manner, contrary to the laws of this state, we cannot help thinking it our duty to join in opposing such measures.

Lastly, Being brought into this dilemma, we view the danger of countenancing the total subversion of a government which we are sworn to support, and therein the suffering condition of the common interest,

and when we put these in ballance with a small deviation from a particular law, partially administred, by which deviation no person is injured, we easily see which ought to preponderate. Our great haste and confusion does not admit of accuracy or exactness. We just conclude these rough truths with observing, that to countenance assaults, batteries, or any personal abuse we detest and abhor, but we join and will join cordially to oppose such unwarrantable and arbitrary measures as are above described.

485. "Z."

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 5 March 1788

MR. BAILEY, Who are the *saviours* of our country, so often mentioned by the dogmatic ass, in Humphreys's paper? are they only two in number? I had always conceived that the people at large were the *saviours* of our country; not doubting, at the same time, but the illustrious Washington acted the part of a firm patriot, and an intrepid soldier: Let this then be granted, it still remains an absolute certainty, that the people themselves freed America from foreign tyranny.

If the brightest character in the world should take an active part in endeavouring to establish the proposed government, his name ought to be abhorred by freemen; while gratitude for past favours might moderate resentment down to pity, yet the love of liberty bears before it every consideration, and compels the sons of freedom to defend their sacred rights and privileges against the encroachments of dominion, however revered the names of the despots might have once been.

The majesty of the people is to be esteemed sacred, and must be supported: It is the peculiar advantage of a freeman that no man is his superior, while his conduct squares with the true principles of liberty, while he endeavours to support inviolate the laws of his country, and worships God with a christian purity of heart. Let us, therefore, hear no more of these great names; the people ever were and ever will be the saviours of their country; and let the well-born and the wealthy know, that the poorest citizen is as good as the haughtiest lordling among them.—This is a mortifying thought to the despots, but, thank God, freedom is our birthright.

March 4th, 1788.

486. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 5 March 1788¹

One of the principal arguments which the advocates for a *change* in government hold out, is, that if after a trial of the new constitution it

will not answer, we can mend it; but such fairy tales cannot deceive people of any understanding, they must only be invented to amuse the weak and foolish among themselves. The fable of the ax-man treacherously supplicating the trees in the forest for a handle to his ax, with which he afterwards destroyed them all, is a sufficient explanation of such a fallacious argument. The freemen of America will remember, that it is very easy to change a *free* government into an arbitrary, despotic, or *military* one: but it is very difficult, almost impossible to reverse the matter—very difficult to regain *freedom* once lost. The struggles now existing between the *people* of France and their government is a striking proof of this; for, that government has lately laid (in addition to the other enormous existing taxes) a very heavy *land tax* of 30 per cent. The people complain of it loudly, but what does this avail? their complaints are treated with contempt, as that government has a large *standing army* at their command, and we find those who dare to complain are banished, or sent to the *Bastille!*—So much for the government of the *well-born few*, and standing armies.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 March.

487. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 5 March 1788

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

LETTER I. from Dr. [Benjamin] R[ush],
to Mr. [Alexander] H[amil]l[ton], New-York.

SIR, I return you thanks for your polite attention in sending the numbers of Publius so punctually; I am well pleased that our scheme of stopping the newspapers containing the antifederal pieces, has succeeded; let Mr. ———¹ know, that 200 dollars will be forthwith transmitted as a small gratuity for his service. I wish, sir, I could prevail on Publius not to be so prolix; if his pieces were shorter, they would answer much better; besides, they want that spirit of declamation necessary to excite the public attention. Most people here say (and I am sorry with too much justice) that the pieces contain nothing but plagiarisms from history and British politics, and general sentiments that apply more forcibly against the constitution than for it. My dear sir, let me entreat you to have the plan changed, argument is out of the question, we have no business with it; by plan is attended with more success than any other. I write scurrilous pieces, abuse private characters, and represent the opposition as a set of rascals and villains, while on the other hand I pronounce the federalists the worthiest characters in America.—I am now the editor of a paper, and I stuff it with ludicrous pieces and an-

ecdotes upon the opposition, which I trust will operate in our favour very forcibly among the lower class, and these are the people whose minds we must bias, if we expect to gain an ascendancy.

The name of [George] W[ashingto]n, was of more utility to our cause than the 60 numbers of Publius; excuse me, sir, for using this freedom with your writings, but, sir, I state facts. The hon. Rob[ert] M[orris] has been in Virginia these several months, and has prevailed on the G[enera]l to publish the letter which was transmitted to you by our committee of correspondence. I was sorry to find that Brutus questioned the authenticity of its being the G[enera]l's; I hope this had no effect on the people of New-York.

We have manœuvred it tolerably well within these few days, and had a *packed council* collected, who prefaced their message to the Assembly, with a congratulation on the adoption of the constitution, by our convention. We were obliged to hire men, to go to the country and bring in all our federal members, before the question was put in council, or we should have lost it, so that we took the antifederalists by surprize. This is the way to do business successfully.

I cannot omit mentioning a very unfortunate circumstance that has lately come on the carpet; I wish it may not operate to the prejudice of our cause; the matter has caused such a perturbation in my mind, that I have not slept ten hours these ten nights with thinking of its consequences, and planning and scheming how to counteract their baneful tendency.—The matter is this, some time ago a piece was published in the Massachusetts magazine, containing some remarks on G[enera]l W[ashingto]n's conduct on account of his continuing to detain a number of his fellow citizens in slavery; unluckily, the piece was republished in Philadelphia, and immediately caught the attention of the Quakers, who are now in consequence thereof changing their sentiments, and declaring, that they cannot join that man or body of men, who would countenance negro slavery.

I never was so nonplussed in my life; the whole world were made to understand, that I was an enemy to negro slavery (tho' in truth I never cared whether the *black beasts* were free or bound, my sentiments on the subject were only with a view to flatter the Quakers, who are averse to it) now, how to act consistently I know not: the Quakers are continually upbraiding me on account of this piece of inconsistency on the part of the G[enera]l, who, they say, "has false ideas of liberty, or else he would have set his negroes free long long ago. These men are as freeborn as himself. *Men are by nature free*; as accountable to him that made them; they must be so, nor can this right of freedom be alienated." In this manner have these men beset me, nor can I answer one

word. For God's sake write me concerning this matter; see if you can advance a few arguments in justification of negro slavery; for I fear that the Quakers will raise such a clamour against the G[enera]l, and make him so unpopular that we cannot have him chosen president-general. In short, my friend, I fear that this very circumstance will knock up the constitution.

I shall write you again in a day or two.

Your's, B. R.

Philad. Feb. 26, 1788.

LETTER II. from Dr. [Benjamin] R[ush], to Mr. [Alexander] H[ami]l[ton], New-York.

SIR, I send you in the bundle accompanying this, the last ten numbers of the Pennsylvania Mercury, in which you may observe how I come on as editor; you see *I throw dirt* in abundance, *some will stick*, no doubt. There are also inclosed seven papers of the Pennsylvania Gazette, containing Mr. [James] Wilson's pieces under the signatures of a Freeman and a Pennsylvanian; his way of removing the objections against keeping up a *standing army* is pretty good, if it satisfies the people; though some of our best friends say, that his arguments apply as well to the people of China or any other country as to America. The *standing army* and the *great powers* of the president are *tender parts*, that ought to be handled delicately, or perhaps it would be better to pass them over in silence, as if they were trifling objections.

Mr. [James] W[ilso]n's *indigence* has hurt our funds exceedingly; a large dividend of the sum subscribed some time ago, for *federal purposes*, has gone towards the support of him and his family; poor man, his practice is not worth mentioning, and being engaged writing for us day and night, we could not see him distressed, you know. I did not attend to this circumstance when I mentioned in my last, making a remittance of the 200 dollars for our friend in the P[ost] O[ffice]; that matter cannot be accomplished for some time, until we receive some of the outstanding subscriptions; in the mean time let the gentleman know, that he may make himself easy on the occasion, for he shall be honorably recompensed.

I wish there could be some way devised to get clear of Mr. W[ilso]n, for he is a dead weight on us, and *Big Bob*² is so much embarrassed with his *bills*, which have come back protested, that all hopes of assistance from that quarter are over: I fear if we do not hit on some method of providing for him very soon, that several of our projects must fall through for want of money. The man is so expensive and inconsiderate, that he is repeatedly making large drafts on us; indeed he is adequate to the expenditure of 10,000l a year if we had it to give

him; he is as lavish of our funds as if he were already attorney-general of the empire.

That incendiary, Centinel, in his last number has given a construction to that clause in the constitution which provides that *no ex post facto law shall be passed*, which I fear will set the states of Pennsylvania and New-York in an uproar; and in its operation ruin both the character and credit of many of our principal men. This clause, while it was pretended to be a declaration in favor of liberty, was intended, you know, to screen the public defaulters; both states and individuals would have been exonerated thereby from all debts due to the United States prior to the establishment of the new government. How this arch enemy discovered the designs of the convention on this head, we have not yet learned, but we begin to fear, that he was himself one of the members of that assembly, who is now letting out the secrets like Martin the scoundrel; if this be fact we are undone. It now begins to be reported, that the inhabitants of the counties in our state adjacent to the city, who are chiefly *Germans*, have caught the contagion, and absolutely declare that they will not suffer their property to be fraudulently taken from them any longer for taxes, while so many states, and so many great men, are millions in arrear.

The Germans are extremely honest and industrious, but very tenacious of their property, indeed so to a fault; now, as soon as they are fully convinced that the new government cancels all the debts due to the United States, and consolidates the whole into one great kingdom, in which the taxes for the future will be *uniform*, and that the people of that state which is many years in arrears will have no more to pay than Pennsylvania or New-York, who are both in advance; and the great men among us who still retain several millions of public money in their hands, will never have to render an account; we may justly apprehend a resentment from these people that may prove dangerous even to our personal safety: For my own part, I confess, I already begin to have some ill boding thoughts on this account; for at all opportunities, and on all occasions, I flattered them, deceived them, and wrought upon their prejudices, in order to bring them over to us, until we should carry the point; and then I proposed to have done with them forever. The appointment I mentioned some time ago under the president general, and *head of the Hospital* department, are employments that must place me in an *easy* and *affluent* situation for the remainder of my days: God grant that this wicked Centinel may not have started an objection which will cause me to die of disappointment.

It will astonish you when I tell you, how expeditiously the people now trace out the public defaulters; indeed names begin to be talked of who one would imagine could never be discovered.

G[enera]l [Thomas] M[iffli]n, the quarter-master-general of the continental army, is almost the first of the list; I tremble to relate the prodigious sums that these wicked anti-federalists suppose him indebted to the public; truly, if he owes so much, I wonder not at the saying of one of his creatures, when some in the Assembly complained of the hurry in calling a Convention, “Cram it down their throats, and let them go to hell with their bellies full.”

The sums supposed by the enemies of our new government, that three delinquents owe to the public, would pay the taxes of our state for three years to come, under a mild and equitable government. I have annexed them to their names for your information.

	Dollars.
Robert the Cofferer [i.e., Robert Morris]	400,000
Billy in the big house [i.e., William Bingham]	100,000
G——l M——n, the Quarter Master Gen. [i.e., General Thomas Mifflin]	400,000
Total	900,000

I shall write in a few days again.

Your’s, B. R.

Philad. *March 4*, 1788.

P. S. I have inclosed a number of observations on the anatomy of negroes, shewing how far they differ from whites; this I expect will help you in your justification of negro slavery, which I hope to receive by return of post. I beg leave to caution you, not to affirm that they are *without souls*, for although I have long entertained doubts on that subjects, yet I have so often given way to the Quakers, that I would appear in their eyes a *monster* if I did not contradict the supposition. If it should cost us 1000 dollars, do not suffer these letters to appear in the New-York papers: treat with the printers, and pledge your honor that we will reward them handsomely.

1. Possibly Postmaster General Ebenezer Hazard.
2. Possibly Robert Morris.

488. Vindex

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 March 1788

To DETECTOR.

SIR, The *Landholder*^(a) represented Mr. Gerry as being a man of a “turbulent obstinacy of spirit”—“inspired with the utmost rage and intemperate opposition to the whole of a system which he had formerly praised,”—that this alteration proceeded solely from his “having failed in a motion founded in barefaced selfishness and injustice,” that he had “assigned reasons in convention, totally different from those he

has published, and that not a single objection was made by him there, which is contained in his letter to the legislature of Massachusetts"—That "neither the reasons he published, nor those assigned by him in convention, can be supposed to have the least affinity to truth," "or to contain the real motives which caused him to withhold his name from the constitution,"—That he had "acted without principle and with duplicity"—That he was "an enemy to America;"—That "his object was self-interest, built on the ruins of his country,"—And "that his opposition proceeded from motives most pitifully selfish and despicable."

These, Sir, are the charges made against Mr. Gerry in a publication circulating through this continent, and re-published remote from the place of that gentleman's residence.

You declare that you know him personally;—that you know him to be "a sensible, modest, polite and discreet man."—You have the insolence to call yourself his "friend," Yet, Sir, with malignant pleasure you could behold a publication circulated throughout this continent, representing this sensible, modest, polite and discreet friend of yours, as the most worthless of human beings, as the veriest rascal that ever betrayed his country, and disgraced human nature.—To vindicate him "publicly," you thought a "silly mode," and as you considered the question "personal," and quite "*unimportant*," to "keep up the ball of contention," was in your opinion "truly pitiable."

To give the more credit to his assertions, the Landholder affected to speak as being perfectly in the secret, and appealed to journals, which he well knew *was locked up from public inspection*, and *consigned to oblivion*. It was then that Mr. Martin, with a generosity which I am sure will never injure him with one man in America, whose estimation is worth having, careless of becoming a "fair object" to such men as you, and equally indifferent to their praise, and to their blame, stepped forth in his defence, exposed the falsehood of the charges, and wiped away the infamous aspersions so illiberally and unjustly thrown upon the man you stile your friend. For this you charge him with having been guilty "of a refinement of Jesuitism,"—of having "tortured his character under the mask of friendship," and of having "grossly traduced him."—On what do you found this extraordinary charge? Why truly you tell us that Mr. Martin has imputed to him *indecent* language, of which you believe him to be incapable.—You had no objection, Sir, even on the credit of an *anonymous* writer to believe him guilty of the charges imputed to him by the Landholder; but you cannot on the authority of a gentleman of honor and veracity, who gives the public his name, believe him guilty of what you call indecent language to the members of the convention, or rather, to the small majority of that convention who

appear so very desirous to get mounted on the backs of the states, and to ride them at their will and pleasure.

To accuse Mr. Gerry of every vice of the heart that could draw down upon him the abhorrence of the good and virtuous, you consider as venial, when placed in competition with the horrid imputation that he could deviate from the nicest decorum, or be guilty of the slightest breach of good manners to the *well born junto*,—and your soul is inflamed with indignation against Mr. Martin, because he has rescued the man, you call your friend, from the imputation of villain, at the expence, as you are pleased to think, of his politeness.—You certainly must be some bright ornament of society, just finished from the school of Chesterfield, perfectly agreeing with your master, that the graces are of infinitely more importance than the virtues, and that it is of no consequence how great a villain a man may be, provided he is but an *accomplished* villain;—and of so much more consequence do you consider Mr. Gerry's politeness, than his patriotism, his virtue, his goodness of heart, his sincerity, his veracity and his honor, that in defence of the *first*, you hold yourself perfectly justifiable to adopt the “silly mode of apologizing in public,” and thereby “keeping up the ball of contention;”—a conduct which you affect so severely to censure in Mr. Martin, though used by him in defence of *these last*. But, Sir, let me tell you, when you call the language attributed to Mr. Gerry, *indecent*, you only prove that you have very extraordinary and mistaken notions of the dignity of those members of convention who were affected by it.—You surely, in fancy, already behold the Imperial diadem irradiating the brow of some one of them, the others encircling the throne, quite lost in the effulgence of the splendor, while poor Gerry, at an immense distance below, appears an object scarce worthy to lick the dust of their feet!—Believe me, Sir, these ideas of yours, are the effect of a heated imagination, deranged by too intense a contemplation of the *superior merits* of the *well born*. Thousands of the free citizens of America, venerate Mr. Gerry for that very conduct, and for those very declarations, the *indecenty* of which appears to you so incredible; they think those declarations strictly just and warranted by the occasion. This comparison of the jockies and the colts, was so happily suited to the subject, that the propriety of it was obvious in a moment to the most common capacity,—it caught like wild-fire through every rank,—and I am informed there never was a paper sought for with more avidity, and every number more speedily purchased up by the people, than the Journal of Mr. Goddard in which it was published. This intelligence I communicate to you, because I have no doubt it will afford you peculiar satisfaction, and as you appear of a disposition so benevolent, it would be a pity you should be deprived of it.

You call on Mr. Martin, to read Mr. Gerry's sentiments in his own words, and if he thinks his feelings wounded on the score of veracity, to remember the alternative before he "*winces*."—Your language, Sir, betrays you,—it savours of the *stable*, but this proof was not wanting to convince me that you are in the service of the *jockies*, and are I suppose to be employed in *rubbing down* the *state filleys*, and *currying* their *hides*, should they succeed in getting them *tamed* and *broke* to their use. But what I pray you is this alternative to which you boast of having reduced Mr. Martin? Either he or Mr. Gerry have attempted, you say, to *impose false sentiments* on their country. And now, Sir, for your proof.—Mr. Gerry, you say, declares that, "whatever system shall be finally adopted, he shall think it his duty as a citizen of Massachusetts to support."—Alas! Sir, your *alternative* will not follow from these premises.—Your charge remains unsupported, and therefore recoils on yourself.

Mr. Martin, I doubt not, would make the same declaration, and that without the least inconsistency. They both think it an odious and a dangerous system—they would both have considered themselves as traitors to their country, had they not opposed it in convention;—they both would consider themselves in the same light if they did not oppose it until it is "*finally adopted*;"—but if Heaven in its wrath, as a punishment for our sins, should permit that event to take place, I do not apprehend either of these gentlemen are so anxious to be lodged in a Bastile, or exalted on a gibbet, as to set themselves in opposition to the government,—on the contrary, I believe they would hold it their duty to use their utmost endeavours to procure it to *be well administered*, and as long as that should be the case, to support it.—But as you are yourself fond of introducing Mr. Gerry's *own words*, and as I suppose you cannot have a very great aversion to the words of your friend when introduced by another, I shall indulge you with an extract from his letter, dated at Cambridge on the twenty-first of January last. "The strong impressions, says he, which I felt, and *still do feel*, that this system, without amendment, will *destroy* the *liberties* of America, inferred on me an *indispensable obligation* to give it my negative."

This, sir, amounts, I think, pretty nearly to proof positive, that he would have thought himself a traitor to his country if he had not opposed it. He proceeds, "If there is at this time so little freedom in America, as that a person in discharging a most important public trust, cannot conduct himself according to the obligations of honor, and the dictates of conscience, it appears to me of little consequence what form of government we adopt, for we are not far removed from slavery." What think you, sir, of this? Doth it not appear as if he thought the *jockies* were making pretty violent exertions to vault into the saddle?

But you do not confine your indignation against Mr. Martin, to the injury done by him to Mr. Gerry, a portion, and I fancy no inconsiderable portion of it, appears to have been incurred by his "presuming to oppose his sentiments against the voice of the people," of which you accuse him.

That he had the consummate presumption to oppose his sentiments to the voice of a majority of the convention, is a charge from which I cannot exculpate him; it is to be sure of a heinous nature: and what aggravates this crime, I am informed he makes it his boast; for which I cannot deny but that he deserves to be well *blackened* by such as you, sir, and I believe he has made up his mind on that subject, and has pretty well reconciled himself to the punishment. But whether he is opposing the voice of the people is not quite so certain—that remains yet to be decided. However, be this as it will, I am told he is so incorrigibly hardened in his iniquity, as to insist that it is frequently the most sacred duty of patriotism to oppose even the sentiments of the people, and to stem the popular torrent, though at the hazard of their lasting displeasure; and that no person deserves to breathe the air of a free country, who would not thus act, when their real interest and happiness demand the sacrifice.—From which principles I confess him entitled, by way of punishment, to an additional layer of *blackening*.—Pray, sir, remember it in your next; nor let the miscreant escape you.

As to the palm of friendship, I scarce believe he has the least inclination to contend it with you; or if the decision was to be in your favor, that he would carry his resentment farther against the judge, than to wish them your friendship as their reward.

And now, sir, one word of advice to yourself before we part:—If ever again you venture to the press, be a little more on your guard;—the *fleecy veil* is too thin, and pervious to the sight, for the *wolf* to have the smallest chance to pass undiscovered:—while you write such *Detectors*, you will *detect* no body but yourself:—under all your professions of friendship for Mr. Gerry, which you have prostituted on the occasion, the bitterness of your resentment against that gentleman, for opposing the proposed constitution, and against Mr. Martin, for having refuted those charges, which were basely made to weaken the effect of that opposition, is too apparent to escape the most common penetration.—You stand forth confessed a servile adorer of the *gilded* image, which the *well-born* sons of pride and ambition have set up in the plains of DARA; the blind worship of which to establish, you would *immolate* at its shrine not only Mr. Gerry and Mr. Martin, but every other free-born American who refuses to bow down and adore it.

(a) *Republished from the Connecticut Courant, in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser of January the 11th, 1788.*

489. "J. H."

Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March 1788¹

Mess. HALL & SELLERS, The following Memorial, drawn up by the Society for the gradual abolition of slavery in Philadelphia, was intended to be presented to the late Foederal Convention, but was withheld, upon an assurance being given by a member of the convention that the great object of the memorial would be taken under consideration, and that the memorial, in the beginning of the deliberations of the convention, might alarm some of the southern states, and thereby defeat the wishes of the enemies of the African trade. While we rejoice in the step which has been taken by the convention to put a total stop to the commerce and slavery of the negroes one and twenty years hence, it is to be hoped the publication of the memorial may have some weight with individual states, to pass laws to prohibit that inhuman traffic, before the power of Congress over that part of the commerce of the states shall take place.

J. H.

*To the Hon. the CONVENTION of the United States of America,
now assembled in the City of Philadelphia.*

The MEMORIAL of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage.

The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, rejoice with their fellow citizens in beholding a Convention of the states assembled for the purpose of amending the foederal constitution.

They recollect with pleasure, that among the first acts of the Illustrious Congress of the year 1774, was a resolution for prohibiting the importation of African slaves.

It is with deep distress they are forced to observe, that the peace was scarcely concluded, before the African trade was revived, and American vessels employed in transporting the inhabitants of Africa to cultivate, as slaves, the soil of America, before it had drank in all the blood which had been shed in her struggle for liberty.

To the revival of this trade the Society ascribe part of the obloquy with which foreign nations have branded our infant states. in vain will be the pretensions of the United States to a love of liberty, or a regard for national character, while they share in the profits of a commerce, that can only be conducted upon rivers of human tears and blood.

By all the attributes therefore of the Deity, which are offended by this inhuman traffic—by the union of our whole species in a common ancestor, and by all the obligations which result from it—by the ap-

prehensions and terror of the righteous vengeance of God in national judgments—by the certainty of the great and awful day of retribution—by the efficacy of the prayers of good men, which would only insult the majesty of heaven if offered up in behalf of our country, while the iniquity we deplore continues among us—by the sanctity of the Christian name—by the pleasures of domestic connections and the pangs which attend their dissolution—by the captivity and sufferings of our fellow citizens in Algiers, which seem to be intended by divine providence to awaken us to a sense of the injustice and cruelty of dooming our African brethren to perpetual slavery and misery—by a regard to the consistency of principles and conduct which should mark the citizens of republics—by the magnitude and intensity of our desires to promote the happiness of those millions of intelligent beings, who will probably cover this immense continent with rational life—and by every other consideration that religion, policy and humanity can suggest—the Society implore the present Convention to make the suppression of the African trade in the United States a part of their important deliberations.
June 2, 1787.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 March.

490. Modestus

Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March 1788

To the PEOPLE of AMERICA.

In the first experiment of any untried plan, every movement should be made with due caution and reflexion. The office of President of the United States will probably become ere long the object of your consideration. When you shall have to determine on the man, whom you will make the first servant of a free people, it will be happy, if you shall all have previously considered the various points that should influence your choice, and all the circumstances in the situation of the favorite candidate, that may render him deserving, safe and eligible.

The first idea that presents itself to me is, that it will be desirable to make the experiment with a character, whose situation prevents an attempt, by a son, to obtain the succession. Should the man of your choice have an ambitious, enterprizing son, of uncertain principles, who, forgetting at once the virtues of his father and his duty to his country, might be likely to attempt to continue in his family by lawless means the powers and honors of a President, it would be well to consider, whether the safety of the nation might not require the election of another.

Another idea which occurs is, that we be not deceived by the political character of the man himself, on whom we may desire to confer this important office. Unhappy would it be for America, if, after calling a citizen to this new and untried office, she should find that the want of occasion alone had prevented the appearance of latent seeds of fell ambition, which nature had planted in his bosom. Let us then search diligently for the men, who, from native virtue and genuine love of their country and mankind, have *already* rejected, in the sight of America, the alluring temptations which ambition and opportunity have heretofore presented to them.

A third cautionary idea is, that we avoid the man who has evidenced a vindictive spirit in his past life. Rather let the President of the United States be the man, who, while he has stedfastly resisted his own and his country's foes, and pursued them till they sought for peace, at least by retiring, shewed no disposition to wound even an enemy, that had ceased to be injurious.

A fourth cautionary idea is, to avoid placing a son of rapine in the seat of dignity and power. Can we find a man, who, having spent the best of his days in the service of America, has, in every period of duty, despised all the secret temptations of opportunity, and declined even the proffered rewards of his grateful country—the man, who, while he was exhibiting this glorious example of disinterested concern for the cause in which he was engaged, used his virtuous influence only in favor of the companions of his dangers and his toils. If you can draw from his retirement such a character as this, you need not fear from him a misapplication of the pecuniary powers with which the constitution may invest him.

A fifth cautionary idea is, not to put into this seat a person of too narrow circumstances, especially if he is a man of expensive habits, and one who has been reduced to that situation by imprudent or ostentatious living. But though a certain clear property may be very proper, an overgrown estate is by no means desirable.

In the sixth place, we should take care to call to this office a man, who really loves the people, of a candid generous temper, and of an observing and reflecting turn of mind. For there can be no doubt that this, like every other human work, will prove, on experience, to have defects. Capacity and a turn for observation and reflection are therefore necessary, to mark the dangers to which liberty, property, and national safety and character may be exposed, by the unobserved doors which may appear to be left open to domestic and foreign enemies. Let us then fix on an able and tried friend to the people, who will

honestly tell them of those opportunities of injuring them, which even his own office may afford.

It may perhaps be said visionary by some, to expect in one individual a concurrence of circumstances and of virtues so favorable to the public happiness. But may it not be said with more propriety, that if the people of America do not see and feel that this blessing is within their reach, they do not deserve to possess it?

491. Thomas Hartley to Tench Coxe
York Town, Pa., 6 March 1788¹

I Yesterday Evening received a Letter from a Friend of ours—dated Carlisle March the 4th 1788—The following is an Abstract—

“The Riot Business has had rather an unfortunate Conclusion—The Prisoners tho bailed refused to leave the Gaol and on Saturday Morning about 750 Men appeared—under Arms from the different Parts of the—County to rescue them—

“The Evening before the Enemies to the Government had marked their Doors with the Letter A. to prevent their being pillaged.

“They were all set at Liberty. [A?] Petition signed by a Number of both Parties to Council—requesting a Stop put to the Prosecution—they now publicly declare (says the Correspondent) they will oppose the Constitution tho’ adopted by nine states[”]—

It is possible you may have a More particular account of this Business before my Letter arrives—but I thought I would mention what I had heard—And am Sir in Haste

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

492. A Countryman
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 March 1788¹

MR. PRINTER, Nothing that has appeared in your paper, has injured the new constitution down among us, more than the publication of Centinel, No. XVI, in your paper of Tuesday week; for, if the people of this state are not to be allowed for the vast sums paid by them towards the union, when many of the states paid nothing, I am sure we ought to determine not to suffer such a government to be adopted. The public defaulters who have filched from the public such immense sums, are also to be skreened. We begin to suspect among us, that it was partly the reason why our deputies, who assisted in framing it, were

for hurrying their plan upon us. And we can easily see the reason of the smaller states, which mostly owed the treasury immense sums, coming into the plan in the federal convention.

And we also suppose it was the reason of Dr. Fr—nl—d's sudden change of sentiments with regard to the new constitution, as he warmly opposed it all along in convention till the last, when the part which skreens defaulters and delinquent states was added.

I am very loth (though it is the duty of every citizen to bring public defaulters to *refund*) to say any thing against any person's character; but when all the argument which I find offered in favor of the proposed system of tyranny is *great names*, it is necessary to examine a little into the *characters* thus held up to prejudice people's minds.

Chester County, Feb. 29th, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Carlisle Gazette*, 19 March.

493. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, In the *Freeman's Journal* of yesterday, among other names of PUBLIC DEFAULTERS, in the most licentious manner held out to the public, without any shadow of proof, we have the name of G——l M——n (meaning, no doubt, the present worthy and public spirited SPEAKER of the honorable House of Assembly of this state, in the words following, viz. "G——l M——n, the quarter-master general of the continental army, is almost the first of the list. I tremble to relate the prodigious sums that these wicked Antifederalists suppose him indebted to the public.

"The sums supposed by the enemies of the new government, that three delinquents owe the public, would pay the taxes of our state for three years to come, under a mild and equitable government. I have annexed them to their names for your information.

	Dollars.
Robert the Cofferer	400,000
Billy in the big house	100,000
G——l M——n, the quarter master gen.	400,000
Total	900,000.

The following certificate from the *commissioners* of the chamber of accounts, will shew that on the settlement of the accounts of GENERAL MIFFLIN, as quarter master general, there were only 3203 continental dollars, equal in value to about FORTY-TWO dollars *specie*.

Philadelphia, 22d October, 1781.

We, the underwritten, late commissioners of the chamber of accounts, do certify, that the accounts of Thomas Mifflin, esquire, late quarter master general to the army of the United States, were a long time since presented for settlement: that from the state of his general account, there appeared to be a balance due to the United States in the year 1780, of three thousand, two hundred, and three continental dollars; and that he informed us he had an account to produce for expences while in the department, which was not included in the aforesaid account. Had it been charged, it is probable, the balance would have appeared in his favor.

We likewise certify, that we have examined the said general account, and excepting a few trifling errors, the whole of his charges appeared to have been for the public service in purchases for the use of his department, and payments made to his deputies; and that the said account with the vouchers thereto, appears as perfect and satisfactory as any accounts, that have hitherto come before us; but that the accounts of his deputies have not been examined, so as to ascertain the exact balance, or to judge on which side it may fall.

WILLIAM GOVETT.

JOHN D. MERCIER.

The original of the above general Mifflin hath lodged with me, and I certify the same to be a true copy.

JOSEPH NOURSE.

late assistant auditor-general.

(A copy)

On this licentious and rude attack of one of the first characters under the American revolution, a friend of his wishes to state the following facts, which can be authenticated from public documents, viz.

1. Since the date of the above certificate, general Mifflin has been twice at New York to settle his accounts with Congress; but a general rule of that body, not to settle with the *principal* of any department, without a previous settlement with all the *deputies*, has hitherto prevented the final adjustment of his accounts.

2. Several of the deputies have lately settled their accounts; and some few of them have declared, that they are not in debt to Congress, and at present not in circumstances to attend at New York for the purpose of final settlement; but *general Mifflin* does not consider himself in any degree responsible for any of his deputies, as scarce any of them were appointed by himself, or by his direction, or at his request; and they generally drew for their own expenditures.

3. General Mifflin received his pay in a very depreciated state, and since the adjustment of his accounts, by the commissioners as above, he has been obliged to pay several sums in *specie*, which he had not charged at all, or only in continental money, and he has a very considerable balance now due to him by the continent.

4. To shew the public sense of general Mifflin's services, let it be remembered, that he was appointed quarter master general in August 1775—resigned in May 1776, and in September 1776, a committee of congress made a request that the commander in chief would direct general Mifflin to resume the quarter master general's department, which, like a true patriot, on account of the difficulty of the times, he did without any rigid regard to his own interest, and in Pennsylvania there is a cloud of evidence of the exertions he made for the public service in the moments of extremest danger.

494. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 March 1788

Nothing, observes a correspondent, will go so far to prevent the new ballooniatic constitution from succeeding more, than the late discovery of the delinquent states and public defaulters being skreened and protected in the enjoyment of the *millions*, which they owe the public treasury. The *expost facto*, and other clauses in the new constitution, have been the subject of much speculation ever since they were first published, but remained for the ingenious author of the Centinel, and a New-York writer, to discover their meaning; and to convince the world, that the public *defaulters* in convention were not inattentive to *their own interests*, however they disregarded those of the people. The deputies from the state of Pennsylvania to the general convention, wished by this step, to lay an additional and extra tax of above 5 millions, upon the people of this state.

495. "A. B."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 March 1788

March 6th, 1788.

MR. OSWALD, By a note just received from *General Mifflin*, I find that I have not fully understood some part of the conversation between us, when he delivered to me the certificate of the commissioners of the chamber of accounts, which I published in your paper of this day; you will therefore be pleased to insert the following rectification of my small mistake in the very words of the note aforesaid, viz.

"My good friend,

"I am much obliged to you for conveying to the *press* the certificate which I delivered to you yesterday—But a little explanation of the following paragraph of your publication is necessary. You have said—

"General *Mifflin* does not consider himself in any degree responsible for any of his deputies, as scarce any of them were appointed by himself, or by his direction, or at his request, and they generally drew for their expenditures."

“In my conversation with you and others of my friends on this subject, I declared that I did not consider myself responsible for my deputies, and gave the following reasons—

1. “Several of the deputies whose accounts are unsettled, were not of my appointment.”

2. “I resumed the department of *quarter-master-general*, in September, 1776, at the earnest request of *General Washington*, and of a *committee of congress*, viz. Mr. *Gerry* and Mr. *Sherman*, then with the army. I have in my possession a certificate of Mr. *Gerry*, and a resolution of *Congress*, certified by their secretary to that effect.”

3. “I received no allowance from *Congress* to compensate for the risque of neglect or mal-conduct in the deputies.

4. “I resumed the department at a time when no other person offered, or could be found to undertake its direction, and a considerable part of the advances to my deputies was made to them directly by *Congress*, without my intervention, or any passage of the money through my hands, or the hands of any persons authorised by me for that purpose.”

496. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 March 1788

A real state of the proposed constitution in the United States.

Adopted by the delinquent counties of *Jersey*, *Delaware*, *Connecticut*, *Georgia*: that is, by a few leading men in those counties; for the *people* in them, have never been allowed any information on this important business, their news-papers having been all muffled by these leading characters. Still the opposition to it among the people in those states is considerable.

In the state of *Pennsylvania* it was adopted by an illegal mob convention, under the direction of the city junto: the majority in this convention were only elected by about 1-12th of the suffrages of the freemen of the state: And so entirely against the real sense of the state that it will be all undone.

In the state of *Massachusetts*, above three-fourths of the people are warmly opposed to it, even the friends of it themselves would not dare to adopt it without considerable amendment. Much fraud at the election of that convention.

Maryland, three-fourths of that state are against it since the *press* has been opened; convention to meet the latter end of April, supposed they will adjourn till they see what their sister southern states will do.

Virginia, 4-5ths of the people and most of the leading characters are decided against it; their convention not to meet till June. That state

will not allow Congress farther than commercial and such general powers, and the impost. They will not allow standing armies, &c. nor part with that grand bulwark of freedom, annual elections and rotation.

North-Carolina is generally opposed to it, convention meets late in July, she will act the same part that Virginia will.

South-Carolina convention meets 12th May, but supposed she will adjourn till July. The country interest, which is two to one in that state, is opposed to it.

New-Hampshire convention adjourned to the third Wednesday in June (to meet in Concord) three-fourths of that state have instructed their respective deputies to vote against it.

New-York convention meets 17th June; except in the city there is few advocates for it: it is expected the city members will be alone in the convention in favor of it.

Rhode-Island, it is almost certain will have nothing to do with it, except it is reduced down to a federal government.

The friends of the proposed constitution will now have to tread back every step they have taken, the people have now discovered their schemes, and will come forward to defend their liberties which was in such danger of being overturned.

The system of deception practised by its advocates, is pretty generally found out by the people; their arts of making each place on the continent believe that every other part but their own was in favor of it, will serve them no longer. Their *runners* and story carriers will no longer be attended to.

497. Philodemos

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 8 March 1788

TO the EDITOR of the FEDERAL GAZETTE.

Sir, The appearance of a new Gazette is at all times interesting to the citizens of a free government, and is particularly so at this time, when the preservation of *the rights of the press* forms a part of the interesting objects of a most critical juncture. Dangers of very *opposite* natures are said to compass it on every side. While some of the opposers of the new Constitution require, that a declaration on the subject should be introduced among the articles of a federal compact, some equally ardent friends of liberty, tremble for the dangers with which this inestimable instrument of freedom is threatened *from itself*. At a moment thus embarrassing the Federal Gazette makes its first appearance in the world. Permit a lover of liberty, and a friend to your liberal art, to suggest a few hints for your reflexion, and for the consideration of your correspondents on this occasion.

As your judgment will sometimes be erroneous, you may give to the public, pieces, *the tendency* of which, you may not at first have perceived. The act of publication throws all their consequences upon you, unless you are possessed of the name of the author. Consider then, at this early stage of your undertaking, whether it will not be proper to make that piece of information an indispensable requisite. The man of just and honorable intentions, will not fear to commit his name to *a firm and independent printer*; but a writer of sinister designs, the dark literary assassin, the scribbling incendiary, or the baneful disturber of the public peace, though he knows the *just pen, however bold*, will ever be encouraged and defended by you, will not acknowledge himself to a single man the author of his malevolent or pernicious publications.

As the authority of just and lawful government is too often placed in the hands of folly, ignorance, and passion, you must expect some of those conflicts with power, which *a free and impartial printer* cannot always avoid. On all occasions it is necessary that you be *cool and firm*, but in these trying situations *a most dignified deportment* must be preserved. Before you commit yourself too far, you should, by means of the best advice, and the most careful consideration of the case, *determine on the conduct you are to observe*, and having done so on good grounds, you should *equally* disregard *the mistaken censures and rage* of your fellow citizens, and *the vengeance* of those, who by holding the powers of government are, for a time, your superiors.

You are to consider whether freedom of publication, extending to *Blasphemy, Immorality, Treason, Sedition, or Scandal* does not destroy the inestimable benefits which result from the liberty of the press. This privilege is certainly *essential* to the existence of a free government, but it consists in *avoiding to impose any previous restraints on publication*, and not in refraining to censure or punish such things, as produce *private or public injuries*. Every freeman has a *right to the use of the press*, so he has to *the use of his arms*. But if his publications give an unmerited and deadly stroke to *private reputation*, or sap the foundations of *just government*, he abuses his privilege, as unquestionably as if he were to plunge his sword into the bosom of a fellow citizen, and *the good of society* requires that *each offence* should be punished. A printer therefore, however independent he may be, should ever remember, that even the freedom of the press—*the choicest gift of liberty*, when *really abused*, is rendered for the time, *a curse*, and not a blessing, and that as *the frequent perversion* of any privilege will ever produce its destruction, to prevent *the licentiousness* is to preserve *the liberty* of the press.

Since laws restraining the press *do not consist with a free government*, and since it is capable of being *perverted* to purposes of private resentment, malice, or the disturbance of the public tranquillity; since inad-

vertence or design may render it an instrument to distress an *innocent* individual, or distract a *wise* administration, the duties of a printer are *of the first consequence to society*. It is indeed an office of *infinite delicacy and importance*. HUMANITY and CONSIDERATION to prevent all *wanton* attacks, however trivial; FIRMNESS to publish all *just* censures, however *heavy* they may fall, or however *powerful* the objects of reprehension may be; JUSTICE and DELICACY to prevent even the *merited* lash from extending to the *innocent* connections of the unworthy; CAUTION and FORESIGHT to restrain the *ill-timed* reprehension of even a *wicked man* from endangering *the interests or safety* of the state. These rare and valuable qualifications are necessary in the superintendence of an useful and liberal press. Unless nature has bestowed a share of them, 'tis unhappy for the public, and unfortunate even for the well-intentioned printer, that he has undertaken the task, for which he must certainly prove unequal. As no one can possess these estimable qualities in a perfect degree, and as it must ever be the desire of a generous and prudent man, to supply his deficiency in any particular by every precaution, I recommend to you, sir, the most serious and early reflection on the methods by which you can best supply their place. In addition, therefore to the observations I have already suggested for your consideration, I earnestly press upon you one idea more, which is, that you make *the tendency* of the pieces offered by your correspondents, *the great point* which is to induce you to publish or refuse them. Even matter of amusement should be *innocent and chaste*; and papers of a serious nature should either evince that the writers had in view *some good end*, or at least were free from just imputation of *a bad one*.

498. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 8 March 1788

A correspondent remarks, that the writers in opposition to the new plan of federal government have discovered a very curious mode of argument, if argument it may be called.—Their voluminous essays, are founded upon false hypotheses, which they have substituted for positions well established this being the case, every objection yet made to the constitution falls to the ground; for they are nothing more than a train of inferences, unsupported by facts, or common sense. I have often heard, continues our correspondent, of building castles in the air; but now I have seen the attempt made, in good earnest, by these ingenious sons of fancy.

499. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 8 March 1788

Another correspondent expresses his happiness on finding the people of America so generally agreed in adopting the Federal constitu-

tion. The false alarms which were so industriously raised by the friends of anarchy can no longer withstand the resistless force of patriotic truth. Many of the people of Massachusetts were so frightened by the clamours against the constitution, that they sent their delegates to convention with instructions firmly to oppose its adoption; but when these members had heard the real merits, and supposed demerits of the system, tried by the unerring touch-stone of truth, they changed their opinions, went home to their constituents, were released from their obligations, returned to the convention, and joined hands with their federal brethren. In the convention of New-Hampshire we find the same praiseworthy conduct—many of their members were instructed in a manner similar to those of Massachusetts; but, upon a fair and candid examination, their prejudices were removed, and they wished for an opportunity of consulting their constituents, that they might be enabled to give a helping hand to the erection of the federal fabric—for this purpose an adjournment was proposed, and agreed to by many of the federal members, to whom it did not appear enough to carry their point by a small majority, when they had every reason to believe that, at their next meeting, it might pass unanimously.

500. "Z."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 March 1788¹

Mr. PRINTER, It is with very sensible regret that I have seen of late our public papers so entirely devoted to the most acrimonious party disputes, and I think every sincere well-wisher to our country must join me in lamenting them. Whatever may be the merits of the federal constitution, surely the arguments respecting it might have been carried on with reason and moderation. Nor could there be any occasion for that violence and rancour, which can do no good to any cause, and may do injury to the best. Among persons who are strangers to the city, it must surely excite an unfavorable opinion of its inhabitants to see them thus virulent on a subject, which ought to be considered with the most calm deliberation. Nor can much respect be paid to the writings of those who shew in every line a temper totally unsuited to the investigation of principles so weighty and so complex as those, which relate to the government of so large an empire, must necessarily prove. But how much more improper are all those personalities, which have of late made so great a part of the political writings of the day. Surely, these cannot, they ought not to have any connexion with the matter in dispute; they wound the feelings of individuals on both sides; but they can advance neither as to the object in view, unless, indeed, the people were willing to take assertion for proof, and to devote to oblo-

quy any character who might fall under the lash of an anonymous opponent. Least any should be misled by such species of insinuations, it may perhaps be proper to refute, when we meet with them, gross and groundless aspersions of private characters, especially when these may be so situated as not to have it in their power to vindicate themselves. Under such ideas, although I am not used to the labyrinths of political controversy, and have too much regard for my own peace of mind to compromise it for any honor to be reaped therein; yet I feel it my duty to refute charges which I know to be false, and to scatter the effects of censure where I know them to be misapplied.

In several late publications, the idea has been thrown out that some of the gentlemen who voted in convention for the new code of government, were influenced thereto by a consciousness of large debts due from them to the public, the payment whereof they wished to elude: and among others, we find Robert the Cofferer set down for the round sum of 400,000 dollars, Billy in the big house for 100,000, and G——— M———, the Quarter Master-General, for 400,000 dollars more. The last of these gentlemen has already vindicated himself in your paper through the medium of a friend. I believe the charge with respect to “Billy,” is equally groundless—But, “as to Robert the Cofferer,” it is a most wicked calumny, totally unsupported by even the shadow of truth—that gentleman having always, during his administration of the finances, paid the most pointed attention to the adjustment of the public accounts—and so far from a wish to conceal, caused a statement of them to be printed, which was sent to Congress, and a copy whereof is now in my possession. The receipt and payment of monies in that office, were accounted for and stated as the officers of the treasury can testify, with the utmost precision and punctuality every quarter, and I have now certificates to that effect under their hands, dated in November 1784, when the last and final adjustment took place. Perhaps there never was in any country a gentleman entrusted with the finances of a great nation, who conducted them with a more perfect integrity, or with more general confidence and applause, to the utter neglect in the mean time of his own private concerns, which demanded his time and attention, and have suffered greatly by this desertion of them, as well as by other sacrifices of his time made to the public in various instances, but always with more or less injury to his own commercial concerns, which are of a nature as every commercial man knows to be much injured whenever the attention of the principal is withdrawn from them. Jealousies on this score need not, I believe, however, be entertained as to the future; for, I cannot believe that gentleman will ever be fond of taking again a share in public life, while his own engagements so much

interfere; and his attention to a promising young family must daily add new motives for his being desirous to devote himself to them. Let not therefore the mind of any man be warped by such groundless insinuations, any more than by those, which more cruelly reflect on matters of merely a private nature; such as the return of his bills, &c. This misfortune has been caused by events which he could not foresee or prevent; but which his activity to remedy will very soon place out of the reach of observation. They will all be punctually paid to the holders with damages and costs; and at all events, they can be of no consequence to the great cause in debate; but how great must be the malignity of the mind of that writer, who, under the signature of "James de Caledonia," seems to exult in the circumstance, that lawsuits, losses and crosses, are heaping themselves on *Bobby*. Why, if they should, what good does that do him or the public? They cannot surely be pleased with the depression of a great mercantile character who has given bread to thousands, and encouraged our commerce and agriculture perhaps more than any other man amongst us; they will not be pleased to learn, that disappointments or losses have overtaken a gentleman of the most liberal and public spirited mind I ever knew, and whose industry and extensive concerns daily contribute to the common good. No, sir, I say the generous public of Pennsylvania, the worthy citizens of Philadelphia, whom he lately represented in Assembly, they will not be pleased with these circumstances; but even if they should, let them, and let all the world know, that Robert the Cofferer, by a life of industry of active and manly exertion, has acquired a fortune which the laws will secure and preserve to him, which places him vastly above the necessity of wishing for offices or public employments, and which will soon enable him to emerge from the present cloud with a lustre superior to all the efforts of party rage or private malice to the contrary.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* and *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 11 March; Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March.

501. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 8 March 1788

FAMILIAR LETTERS *between* MARGERY *and her* FRIENDS.

LETTER VII.

Mr. B———N TO MARGERY

Carlisle, January 2d, 1788.

A Harvest, my dear Margery!—Yes, we have reaped a harvest already, and tho' it has not proved the most plentiful one, yet we are in hope

the next crop will turn out better—but I must give you a regular account of things.

I duly received your dispatches of the 15th December by Mr. R——, containing the Centinels and Old Whigs. The two other Convention men, Mr. H—— and Mr. Harris, arrived soon after; Mr. H—— was also loaded with them; but Mr. Harris I find is determined to abide by the declaration he made in Convention, that “he should think it his duty to concur with the majority.” Indeed though we have imposed upon him some time past, yet I ever feared he was too solid and upright a man to approve of our design, when he found it was to raise a civil commotion—He has therefore discountenanced our projects, and prevented all those under his influence from joining us.—Mr. W—— who waited to bring up the “Reasons of Dissent,” arrived two days after them, so that we have had a fine supply of ammunition. We have been busily employed since in distributing in different parts of the county—I immediately had old Dobbin up, and paced away, as fast as her broken-windedness would let me, round to all my neighbours, and fell pell mell upon the Constitution, bellowing out all the objections you have mustered up against it, till I quite staggered some of them, and some too who had read it, and told me before they could see no harm in it: For this I must tell you, that I believe the people, if left to themselves, would like it. Indeed as to myself I must confess, though I was in the secret, and knew we intended to attack it, even before any of us were acquainted with what sort of a government it would be; yet when I first saw it, I was really fearful they had out-witted us, and left us nothing to carp at. I put on my spectacles and examined it scrupulously, to try to guess where you would make the first stroke at it, but for my life I could not judge how you would manage it, till I received your first Centinels—and I really give you credit for your ingenuity in turning and twisting things as you have. But this is wandering again from my narrative—To proceed then,

I kept Bryan from school a whole week, riding about the country, and also my two hands, Pat M’Blathery and Old Swinkey—I sent them to attend at all vendues and funerals, and to paste up the papers at mills, meeting-houses, blacksmiths shops, taverns, and cross-roads: so that there was not a hand’s-turn done about the farm from Thursday morning till Wednesday night following—a whole week—During this time I was a sufferer for the good of the cause; for my neighbours hogs and my own broke into my crib, and eat or destroyed almost the whole of my corn.—Old Swinkey had left open the door of an out-house, where I keep my winter apples, and an handsome yearling filly I had, got in at them, and ate so many that we found her choaked next morning; beside all this my English sow farrowed on the day of the riot, and

not a hand being at home to take care of the pigs, she overlaid the whole litter of them except one: but I care not for all this, as it is lost in promoting our schemes; and I know if we succeed, the party will make it all up to me, together with the loss of my own time, and the hire of my hands. But this, you will say, is my own affair, and I am straying from the point.

The effect of all this industry was our preparing the minds of a number of people to be ready to come forth, when we should want them. On Wednesday morning I was in Carlisle, and understood the Federalists intended to have a public rejoicing on account of the adoption. We had for some days expected this, and one or another of us had been in town every day to keep a look-out.—I immediately posted away—called on Mr. —— and Mr. ——, and one or two others we could depend on to give the alarm.—We took different roads to muster up all we could, to meet in town in the evening—many declined it altogether—others said, they were too busy—but some said their hands might go in, and as there was a number of British and Hessian deserters hired about at different places, we easily prevailed on them by promising them plenty of grog, and hinting, that if we could go all lengths we wished, there would be fine plunder.—Accordingly they came in, in the evening, as we directed, in straggling parties, with clubs and bludgeons under their coats, and hid in the skirts of the town, till we should give them notice to sally forth.^(a)—

* * * * *

This account I have drawn up something after the manner in which it will be best to appear—You will see I have given it the *twist*, as much as I could, to our side of the question. There is another account, published in the Carlisle Gazette, of this day, by the Foederalists: From what I have heard, it is a pretty true one, and by comparing that and mine together, you can make whatever alterations you think will be of use to us.

Mr. —— and myself were amongst them: He was disguised in a great coat, and I in an old Hessian's regimentals, with my hat slapped over my face. We expected to drive the federalists away at once; but when we saw it was coming to blows, he and I pushed off with ourselves. You must not think we were frightened; it was because we thought it would not look so well, if we should be caught in disguise: You know it would have appeared rather sneaking—In the evening, after the rum-pus was over, we got a parcel of them to sign the address to the minority, which you sent up, and which you will also see in this day's Carlisle Gazette.—We wrote out their names for them, as most of them could only make their marks.

Now, after so much actual exertion on our parts, let us know what you have done—I hear of nothing but scribbling and scribbling—Indeed some here say they apprehend it is all you can do. For as none of you have ever served, during the war, either as officers or soldiers, they think you have not courage enough to be much depended on—It is true none of us were ever in service, but we rely a great deal, nay altogether, on the boldness of the deserters.—Tell me whether the twenty-seven anti-federalists in the city, have encreased since, and whether there is any chance of finding w[h]ere Shays is.—Luther promised you to do great things; what is he about?

I hope you will write to me fully as before the state of our affairs—and do let me have your serious and candid opinion of the constitution. I want to know whether you think it is in reality as good an one as the foederalists and patriots say it is—You need not be afraid of my turning tail, for if our party schemes could not succeed under it, I would be against it, even if Moses himself had made it. I am, dear madam, your obedient humble servant,

W. B————N.

(a) Here follows an account of the riot, nearly as it appeared in the Freeman's Journal and Independent Gazetteer—excepting some corrections in the grammar and spelling, and a few additional *epithets*. Therefore, it is unnecessary to insert it in this place.

502. Pennsylvania Mercury, 8 March 1788

MR. HUMPHREYS, The following was found among a parcel of mouse-eaten papers in an old trunk—It cannot now be told certainly by whom, or on whom, it was written; but by some of the papers I take it to be relating to the GOTHs and VANDELS.

A FRAGMENT.

—————And Margery was sadly put to it, for the wicked wags had said she was out of breath.

And she put her hand into her right pocket, and got out her thread-case, wherein she used to keep her hints and scraps for the Centinel, written on little slips of paper.

She looked it over and over, examined the needle leaves, turned out her thread and sewing silk, but nothing could she find.

She then got up her work-bag—felt all through and through it—there was nothing in it but an old stocking to darn, with a snuff-box in the toe—a ball of blue yarn—some tape for apron strings—a pair of half-stitched wristbands, and some gussets and patches for Sammy's shirts.

She then rumaged her pockets to the very bottom (holding up one side of her petticoat, while she did it)—She pulled out her scizzars, thimble, some bits of calico, a piece of bees-wax, a short pipe and an old snuffy handkerchief—the last of which she took by the end, and giving it a good shake, down fell a fag end of a newspaper, which by the type appeared to be a Gazetteer—She took it up hastily, and to her great joy, was written on it “Ex post facto laws.”

And Margery’s joy was exceedingly great, for she had begun to wax fearful, lest it was true indeed that she was out of breath.

Now said Margery exultingly “I will once more have at the federalists—I will write me a goodly Centinel—Yea my Centinel XVI, on ex post facto laws.”—

503. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 8 March 1788

Apology for the Dissentients in the State Convention

As natural bodies are made up,
Of higher, lower, bottom, top,
In other words of head and tail,
So bodies politic as well,
Of upper, nether, end should be.
Why then indignant do we see,
Such things as Traddle and humbugum,
And Tadryhash, and hogum mogum,
'Mongst managers of state affairs,
Of which they know no more than bears?
Will not a sample such as these,
With sense not half so much as geese,
Serve properly to represent,
The ignorance by which they're sent,
And shew that in the common weal,
There is a head as well as tail?

There's no philosopher but construes,
That thing a prodigy, or monstrous,
Which from the natural shape departs,
And has not all its proper parts.
'Twas thus devising, the nineteen,
Who in the apostacy were seen,
When first the question was propos'd
The general government oppos'd;
Because when others get a start,
'Twas right to be th' inferior part,

And for the sake of natural order,
 With head above, posteriors under,
 And least the contrary should prevail,
 Did actually themselves *turn tail*.

Then why upbraid assembly men,
 (As if five senses were in them,)
 Because they did from senate fly,
 And only shew'd what's call'd Pope's eye?
 Or why arraign convention members,
 For being soft of under timbers,
 [— — —] the state ship, by holding back,
 When weightiest interest was at stake,
 And still preserving natural order,
 Of stem and stern would go no further—
 They say themselves in their dissent,
 'Twas on this principle they went,
 Because in constitution novel,
 They could not toss up with a shovel,
 To rank of Congress, weavers, coopers,
 And every sort of interlopers,
 To be a draw back on affairs,
 And lurch the house at unawares.

I grant there's not a grain of sense,
 In what they liberally dispense
 And marks the heart bad, or the head dull,
 Of constitution wanting schedule
 Or inventory, or if you will,
 A kind of apothecary bill
 Of rights—For is not instrument
 Which gives the idea of government,
 The schedule or the bill in question,
 And gives in article and section—
 What right *each state* has in the *union*,
 And what the whole have in *communion*?

But still that argument has weight,
 Which turns which way it will the pate,
 Nor should discarded be a phrase,
 Which puzzles half the populace.
 The term itself is good enough
 In British constitution wove,

A *statute* which bank'd out the crown,
 Whose boundary had not been known—
 But where no crown is to oppose,
 What there's to do with it, God knows,
 No matter; for it answers purpose,
 And helps an arguer out in discourse.

I grant I would have studied years,
 To raise objections and bug-bears,
 Before this would have cross'd my wizen,
 As having the least shew of reason;
 Or when suggested could believe,
 That men such nonsense would receive—
 But is there not in all things else,
 A kind of toss up, heads and tails,
 And great effects do oft arise
 From cause too small for human eyes;
 Nor can at all times sages tell,
 By philosophic lore or spell,
 How the inferior means may work,
 Which under inexperience lurk.

When first I heard the phrase I laugh'd,
 As if the devil himself had calv'd,
 The strange absurdity—forsooth,
 "It takes away the rights of both,
 The heart and head:" Though by the bye,
 No mortal can tell how or why—
 Let any man consult his own sense,
 And say how *liberty of conscience*,
 Can be restrain'd in an ill hour,
 By Congress who have no such power.
 Or how the *freedom of the press*,
 Can be molested more or less,
 With which they have no more to do,
 Than with the Alcoran a Jew.
 As well may freedom of the teeth,
 Men use to chew provisions with,
 Be thought in danger, and jaw bone
 Of all dread padlocks save their own.

But still this reasoning good or bad,
 Shews the position I have made,

That authors of this kind of thesis
Are at the fag-end of their species.

But whence is it that most of these,
Were of the Western Country geese,
Because 'tis reasonable that we
The legislative tail tree be.
Let Philadelphia be the head,
And Lancaster the shoulder blade;
And thence collecting in a clump,
A place called Stoney ridge the rump,
The tail will naturally stretch,
Across the Alleghany ridge,
While we submit to stubborn fate,
And be the backside of the state.

Why then complain that ignorance,
Of state affairs should come from hence,
That F——y should hate making roads,
And leave us to trot down like goats—
That S——y should advise t' oppose,
The general government with blows,
Who never handled sword or bodkin,
Or else thing but a spoon or noggin,
It is in spirit of th' allusion,
And truth of allegory shews one,
That state is not a tail-less creature,
Or mutilated allegator,
But every several part preserves,
Nor from the course of nature swerves.

504. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 10 March 1788¹

On the NEW CONSTITUTION.

In evil hours his pen 'squire Adams drew,
Claiming dominion to his *well born* few;
In the gay circle of St. James's plac'd,
He wrote, and, writing, has his work disgrac'd.
Smit with the splendor of a British King,
The crown prevail'd, so once dispis'd a thing!
Shelburne and Pitt approv'd of all he wrote,
While Rush and Wilson echo back his note.

Tho' British armies could not here prevail,
 Yet British politics shall turn the scale;—
 In five short years of Freedom weary grown,
 We quit our plain republics for a throne;
Congress and *president* full proof shall bring,
 A mere disguise for parliament and King.
 A standing army!—hence the plan so base;
 A despot's safety—liberty's disgrace.—
 Who sav'd these realms from Britain's bloody hand,
 Who, but the generous rustics of the land;
 That free-born race, inur'd to every toil,
 Who tame the ocean and subdue the soil,
 Who tyrants banish'd from this injur'd shore,
 Domestic traitors, may expel once more.
 Ye, who have bled in Freedom's sacred cause,
 Ah, why desert her maxims and her laws?
 When *thirteen* states are moulder'd into *one*,
 Your rights are vanish'd, and your honors gone;
 The form of Freedom shall alone remain,
 As Rome had senates when she hugg'd the chain.
 Sent to revise your systems—not to change—
 Sages have done what reason deems most strange:
 Some alterations in our fabric we
 Calmly propos'd, and hop'd at length to see—
 Ah, how deceiv'd!—these heroes in renown
 Scheme for themselves—and pull the fabric down—
 Bid in its place Columbia's tomb-stone rise,
 Inscrib'd with these sad words—*Here Freedom lies!*

1. The *Independent Gazetteer* reprinted this poem from the *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 28 January (CC:481; RCS:S.C., 210–11).

505. Richard Butler to William Irvine
Philadelphia, 11 March 1788¹

I have the pleasure to inform you, that I saw Mrs. Irvine & family on Monday last, all very well; & send pr. post letters for you, & Major Reid from Mrs. Reid, who was well also—all which I intended the pleasure of carrying you & delivering personally; but some little matters of private concern obliges me to stay here a few days.

There has been some disagreeable work at Carlisle: Some fellows who were confined for a riot on a warrant from the *Chief judges* were taken out of gaol by a body of at least 500 men, some armd. with muskets &

other fire-arms, & some with clubs, &c. I was surprised, as were many others, at the appearance of some characters of property &c among them. I don't think the prisoners were their main object; I rather suppose it was a finesse to draw forth & shew their numbers, which they have puffd. considerably, & oppose the new governt. *as they say*. I just mention this to you, as I know the report will get on before me, that you may know the affair rightly. I shall have the pleasure to see you in a few days—

1. Copy, Draper Collection, Irvine Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

506. John Clark to John Nicholson
York, Pa., 11 March 1788¹

E'er this reaches you I presume Captn. Duncan has informed you of the new Years Gift Mrs. Clark presented me with, in short another Daughter and both doing very well hard as the times are, you see we encrease.

I observe an extract of a Letter in Col. Oswalds paper said to be from this County affirming the "Country People don't consider the new Constitution adopted by this State" and holding out an idea of the People commencing "experiments in the Spring." Believe me the People of this County in the choice of Delegates in the late Convention have given full proof of their Foederalism, and if by experiments is meant *Riots* the experiment already made had nearly proved fatal to too many, and I have it from the most riotous of *the Few* who did Assemble, that they have paid their Fines cheerfully, and are ashamed of their proceedings, and they further add that the Federal Plan is likely to remove their Complaints concerning the *Funding Bill* which they say gave rise to their Assembling. No People I believe are better disposed than the Inhabitants of York County and will most Cordially receive the new plan of Government. I am sorry the Rioters of Paxton and Cumberland have behaved so disgraceful, and shameful, in releasing Men who were committed by due course of Law, and who were treated with every lenity. It had been offerd to them to take their own Recognizances for their appearance at Court. This daring attempt to trample on the Laws and bring the Government into contempt I am sure will meet the Contempt of every good man. and I lament that in this State at present it meets with such encouragement in Philadelphia in short if this is not instantly checked I shall expect to see a total Anarchy. Excuse this sketch of affairs it arose from the Publication alluded to, and a recollection that you took so much pains to quiet the minds of the People here after the Riot in York and may those endeavours be still continued.

In perusing the Papers I find from the Intelligence Office that Continental Money is from 10/ to 17/6 or 100 Dollars. Will you be so kind on the receipt of this to inform me if you can procure 17/6 or 100, in Specie; or in the late Emission how much? as I have about 10,000 Dollars which depreciates in my hand, and would willingly dispose of it at the above rate, provided you think I will not get more. My idea is if I can exchange it at that rate to—purchase Certificates with it and risque it in that way to try to repair my loss as far as I can. Do as you know better than me advise me as a Friend what to do with this *Conti*. write me as quick as you can, observe a Letter can now be sent here as our Post goes to Lancaster every Saturday & returns on Sunday. We wish to know when we shall have the pleasure of seeing Madam and you with the Children here. Our Academy flourishes and the Boys make an astonishing progress, we have also one of the best Music Masters. Milly plays prettily on the Spinnet, and promises to entertain you & Madam when you arrive. Don't keep Jimmy so close to the Desk as to prevent his writing to me, I can only at present charge his negligence to you as he started from hence with fair promises—Mrs. Clark joins me in the warmest manner and begs her Compt may with mine be made agreeable to you and Madam.

1. RC, Gratz Misc. Series, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Endorsed: "Answd April 18th 1788."

**507. William Findley to William Irvine
Philadelphia, 12 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . You will find by our papers, one of which I enclose you as a sample, that the trifling and Scarrilous fictrous Letters of Margery, have produced the more masterly satirecal though perhaps not less scurrilous letters of — De Calidonie &c. . . .

1. RC, Irvine Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**508. James Pettigrew to John Nicholson
Easton, Pa., 12 March 1788¹**

I have, this day, had a hint that information has been given you that I have used my endeavours to traduce your Character, & that in A public companie in this Town—if so, I am much Surprised I have not heard from you before now, As I conceive I ought not to lay under the Imputation of a Slanderer without being heard, but if your delicasy has prevented you, Justice to you as well as myself obliges me to mention

it. And I do Asert that your Information (if such as I have heard) is Notoriously false & the bearer of it A Lyar & a Rascal—

As we do in Easton, as well as in Phila. deal in party in our Polliticks, I may thro levity have said something with Regard to your Polliticks Which might have been Misconstrued by some Ignorant or ill designing Officious busy body & presented to you in an unfavourable manner— But Sir as A Gentleman & A Public Officer you have ever been Mentioned by me with the greatest Respect. And I do again Repeat, that your informant is an infamous Lyar & Scoundral—be Asured sir I have ever had too Great A Regard for your character to try to Ingure [i.e., injure] it. & be Allso asured that I have too Much Candure to deny anything layed to my charge, if true—I hope to hear from you soon. & hope allso to know Who has been so much my friend—

1. RC, Nicholson Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

509. Reflection I

Carlisle Gazette, 12 March 1788

To the PUBLIC.

It may seem absurd to offer any thing to the public in its present confused and disordered state; but candid and unbiassed minds will be always open to conviction, and ever ready to embrace the truth. It may be asked whether or not, the people have entertained such a high opinion of their own importance, and infaliability, as to be unwilling to be informed; or if they even were convinced whether or not a foolish pride of their own good sense and judgment, would prevent them from confessing their error.—I will answer that, if there are any such, they are not candid men, they are not good members of society; for as all mankind are in some degree subject to error, it certainly is no disgrace to a person, that he is wiser at present, than he has been at any former period of his life.—Nor is it dishonourable to him to wish to be wiser at any future period than he is at present.—Mankind ought always to endeavour to be rightly informed; they ought always to seek for truth and certainty.—“Certainty is the mother of quietness and repose, and incertainty the cause of variance and contention.” Those who wish to acquire knowledge, and are willing to be instructed, ought to endeavour to keep their minds in a calm and unruffled state.—“All the diseases and disturbances of the mind (says Cicero), proceed from the neglect or despight of reason, that is, by not observing those prescriptions which reason dictates to us, from hindering the mind from being overpowered by violent commotions.”

The intention and design of the author is to make a few remarks upon, and to explain in such a manner as will be comprehensible by the weakest capacity, those parts of the proposed plan of government which have been chiefly objected to. Not to attempt to establish himself a writer, which modesty and a sense of his inexperience would have forbid him to do, in so early a period of life. But being fully persuaded that the judgment of his fellow citizens is obscured and misled by the false insinuations and sophistry of crafty demagogues; he would wish to undeceive them, and convince them of their error. He means to make reason his guide, and the disinterested and impartial public the judge of his observations.

One great objection to the new constitution is the want of a bill of rights:—Could this be removed, the plan itself would be much easier explained. In every form of government, where the people would have their rights secured and inviolate, it seems necessary that either the power of the rulers should be limited, or that they should grant to the people certain privileges, of which they will not deprive them. And it certainly will be acknowledged by every lover of free government, that that form which defines & limits the powers of the rulers, is the most productive of the liberty of the people. Now where there is a bill of rights this cannot be the case; for then the rulers must have the exclusive and absolute power over all the liberties and rights of the people, which are not expressly mentioned in that bill of rights; but where there is no bill of rights, and any powers are granted to the rulers, then all that are not expressly given still remain inviolable in the people. Let us illustrate this by a very simple and plain comparison: suppose a farmer wishes to let a part of his farm to a tenant; if he says I lease you this farm, but I reserve such a particular part to myself, then the tenant has undoubtedly all the remainder vested in him. But if he says I lease you such a particular part, then the owner of the farm has an exclusive and absolute right in all the remainder. This is the very case in a plan of government, where the people have any rights granted to them, all that are not expressly mentioned are taken away and wholly exercisable by the rulers. But if any powers are vested in the rulers, then all that are not expressly named are reserved, and still remain in the people.—It may be asked why the people of Great-Britain have a bill of rights? The Magna Charta of Great-Britain was granted by an absolute monarch, who had all the rights of the people in himself, and who in order to ingratiate himself among his subjects, (that he might prevail upon them to grant him certain supplies, which he needed to carry some particular designs into execution,) and also to atone for the oppressions of which he had been guilty, granted them this instrument, which

has since been often broken and altered. And it is probable, that were it not for the danger of spreading dissensions, jealousies and fears among the people, it would now be rejected as useless; the form of government being so much altered since the time it was granted. It may be asked why many of the states have bills of rights. Those states retain those bills of rights, either as a badge of British slavery, or from the dread of the dangerous consequences of innovations and changes of government. The federal convention being an epitome of, or the whole people reduced to a small bounds, could not give themselves those rights which they already possessed. They were empowered to define in what manner the people of America were to be governed, to draw a line of separation between the powers which were to be vested in Congress, (to enable them to provide for the common safety,) and those that were still to remain in the people. Now in order to draw this line, it became necessary either to define those powers which were to be vested in Congress, or to enumerate those privileges and rights which were still to remain in the people. The latter they could not do; for who would attempt to define the rights of one freeborn American? Who could enumerate the privileges of those who have bravely exposed their lives and fortunes in the late glorious contest for liberty? In order to have given the people a bill of rights, the Congress ought to have been first established, and all the rights, privileges, and liberties of the people, absolutely vested in them; but the people of America wish not to make their rulers absolute, they wish to circumscribe and limit their powers. But the very supposition of a bill of rights in a democratical or republican form of government, is absurd & foolish. To circumscribe the people with a bill of rights, would be the same thing as to put every person in jail, to secure them from a murderer, or other bad member of society. Therefore a bill of rights in a republican form of government is improper; and the question must now be whether or not in considering the proposed plan, it will appear that the powers granted to the Congress are properly defined & limited, and whether they are too extensive.

Carlisle, 7th March, 1788.

510. Carlisle Gazette, 12 March 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of Lancaster county, to his friend in Carlisle, dated February 17th, 1788.

“An expedient to alarm the minds of the people against the Federal Constitution, has been used by some of its opposers in this part, and elsewhere, viz. that, to agree to it, or vote for its adoption, is inconsistent with the oath of allegiance, under which the citizens of this state are

bound to our constitution; and consequently that all who do so are under the guilt of perjury. This idea also seems to be suggested, in a petition said to be preparing for the assembly, which I saw lately published. When the leaders of a party are bent on carrying a point, they too seldom confine themselves to measures which are strictly true and honourable; and in such a time of confusion, as it is with us at present, many are too ready to adopt their sentiments without sufficient consideration.

“This sentiment seems to be founded on the following suppositions:

“1. That the Foederal Constitution will immediately subvert or alter the Constitution of this state, without admitting any alterations, which may be needful, to be made in the way provided by the Constitution itself. That it will subvert it, is intirely taken for granted, and ill founded. That it may require alterations to be made in ours as well as in the Constitutions of other states, is very probable; (the present Confederation does so), but that [those?] [unknown amount of text on the bottom of page cut off] other way, than is provided by the Constitution; I do not know a Federalist, who entertains such an idea.

“2. This sentiment supposes that in taking the oath of allegiance, we considered the Constitution as an unalterable composition, otherwise it could not be said, that to agree or consent to a measure, which might require an alteration of it, was inconsistent with our oath. If any man did swear in this manner, his oath may indeed bind him, while he thinks it lawful, against agreeing to any alterations, however needful. But certainly this is contrary to the Constitution itself, and it would have been an act of profanity, to have paid that respect to a human, which can be only due to a divine composition. I cannot think that any one swears the oath of allegiance in this manner.

“3. It supposes that every alteration, which may be proposed or agreed to, is prejudicial or injurious to the Constitution, as established by the Convention; whereas, alterations may be so far from being injurious or prejudicial, that they may be highly advantageous and conducive to the happiness of the people, which is the grand object of the Constitution itself. Moreover, as itself provides for alterations to be made in it, it is absurd to imagine that it is injurious or prejudicial to alter it, or to consent to any measure that may require an alteration of it.—While therefore our Constitution admits of, and provides for alterations; while those alterations may not be injurious or prejudicial to it; while any man may at any time propose and endeavour to bring about such alterations; while the public interest of the United States, which is to be preferred to the private interest of any of its parts, may probably require some alterations in the state Constitutions to conform them thereto; and while the Federal Constitution does not require that any alterations

should be unconstitutionally introduced in any of the state governments; let no Federalists be uneasy, merely on this account, for his approbation of the proposed Constitution. The notion of an inconsistency between his oath of allegiance and the adoption of the Federal Constitution, depends upon those false principles, above mentioned, which no sensible man could give heed to; moreover, after all the noise, which is made upon this subject; the proposed plan of government may not require any such alterations in our Constitution, as even to touch any of its essential parts.

“I thought to have added some remarks on the petition above mentioned; such as—its presumption, that all the delegates in the Federal Convention, were under the same instructions as ours;—which the signers could not certainly know. That they exceeded their commission; though they were authorised to agree to such alterations and further provisions, as might render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government, &c.—Its extravagant representations of the Federal Constitution; as if it authorized a large standing army, in time of peace; established a public religion; destroyed the liberty of the press; and every right dear to freemen.—Its absurdity, in requiring that the delegates of this state should be brought to account for agreeing to a plan, which the state itself, by a fair representation, has adopted by a large majority; and its applying to the assembly, not to confirm that, which the state has, by the proper authority, already confirmed. But I fear, you will think my letter already too long.—This may be thought by some, a good way of collecting the sense of the people; but I would prefer that sense of the people, which is collected from a meeting of delegates, freely and fairly chosen by the people, to that which may be collected from two or three men, writing a petition and sending it from house to house, to procure a multitude of names, of old and young, wise and foolish, bound and free, many of whom will sign any paper that may be handed to them.”

511. A Friend to the People

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 12 March 1788¹

The immense sums of public money unaccounted for in the hands of individuals have become the subject of general investigation. Three of the principal defaulters have been exhibited to public view by a patriotic writer in the Freeman's Journal of last Wednesday. His statement however, having been challenged as fallacious, and his piece denominated “a licentious and rude attack on one of the first characters

under the revolution," also, that "G———l M———n the quartermaster-general was held out to public view as a *public defaulter* without any shadow of proof;" it seems necessary to consider the matter with candor and impartiality, as being a national affair, for the people of America are one of the parties concerned.

First, no pointed charge was alledged against G———l M———n's honor or honesty; he was supposed in debt to the public the round sum of 400,000 dollars: whether the statement be too large or too little, we are not certain, until his accounts are settled; but one remark by the way of information may not be improper, that is, that the sum was not asserted at random, although it was impossible to state it otherwise than in round numbers: a gentleman of the first information on the continent said, that there was a probability amounting almost to a certainty, that there was a deficiency in the quarter-master-general's department of 4 or 500,000 dollars.

G———l M———n himself seems to consent, that many of his deputies may be in great arrears, but says, he does not hold himself accountable for their deficiencies; the Congress however, do not think altogether as he does, for they, with great propriety, refused to settle his particular account, until his deputies had previously settled their's. The public might be robbed of millions, if the principal of so extensive a department, be admitted to settle his accounts independent of his deputies: what an extensive field would be opened for speculation and fraud, between him and them, if Congress should adopt so absurd a measure? His certificate was procured upon a hasty and superficial inspection of his accounts, to induce Congress to accept of his resignation as quarter-master-general, to render him eligible to a seat in the legislature of this state, for which he was a candidate at that time, and this settlement he himself does not presume to assert to be final; his accounts are still unsettled.

Now, if the establishment of the new government squares all accounts, skreens public defaulters, and cancels all debts due to the United States, prior to its commencement, by means of that clause in the constitution, that provides, "that no *ex post facto* law shall be passed," I do not wonder much that our honorable speaker should be a warm advocate for it; his *pocket* and his *bacon* may be saved thereby, and the public may go whistle for their money.

In regard to *Billy in the new big house*, his delinquency has not as yet been denied; the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was only charged to him, because, his department, although very extensive, was much inferior to the financier, or quarter-master-general's; it is true, there is

a strong presumption that he owes about twice that sum: but it was judged more honorable to state it at too little than too much.

The vindication of Robert the cofferer, by the anonymous scribbler of Z. is too barefaced, indeed; he must entertain a very contemptible opinion of the understanding of the people, if he thinks his unsupported assertions will make them believe, that the financier's accounts are settled; his bare *ipse dixit* will not do; neither his word, nor his affirmation, nor his oath (if he be given to swearing) can persuade us to believe any thing to be true which we know not to be true.

He says, "that the last and final adjustment of the Financier's accounts took place in November, 1784," but this is a groundless assertion, for they are unsettled and unadjusted this present moment. On the 20th June, 1785, the Congress came to the following resolution. "Resolved, that three commissioners be appointed to enquire into the receipts and expenditures of public monies, during the administration of the late superintendant of finance, and to examine and adjust the accounts of the United States with that department, during his administration, and to report a state thereof to Congress." This has never taken place yet; Mr. M——s's influence in Congress kept it back. Probably he had an eye to the new system, that would settle his accounts decently, and let his coffers remain stuffed with public money: This was a tolerable good thought of *big Bob*, he is no fool about money matters, notwithstanding he is a little embarrassed at present.

The sum of 40,000 dollars, was only carried to the debit of his account, at the same time it amounted almost to a certainty, that 400,000 pounds would not balance it; his parade of printing a statement of his accounts, was not satisfactory to Congress, however it cost the public the round sum of 1300 dollars specie. Mi—lleg—n, one of his creatures, attempted to pass them without a single voucher to support his charges; but Congress discovered the fraud, and took the matter in great warmth, as mentioned above, and in this unsettled state his accounts now remain; and as we remarked before, when the great government is fully established and set to work, then let the public go whistle for their money.

This zealous advocate of the Cofferer, Mr. Z. has prudently overlooked the charge of delinquency against him as chairman of the secret commercial committee, in which capacity he was intrusted with millions of public money. The illustrious patriot Henry Laurens, who presided over Congress during some years of the late war, apprehensive of great speculation and abuses of the public money in the commercial department, strenuously strove to procure an investigation and settlement of

the receipts and expenditures therein, but being baffled in all his endeavours by the predominant influence of the Cofferer, he in disgust resigned the Presidentship of Congress, declaring he thought it disgraceful to preside over a body that skreened a public defaulter in so flagrant a manner.

Arch street, *March* 11th.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 13 March.

512. James de Caledonia IV
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 12 March 1788¹

To his excellency JA—S B—W—N, at Boston.

Philadelphia, *March* 10, 1788.

MY LORD, I have now before me your lordship's favor of the 28th ult. (which I received this day.) I expected from the tenor of your last that notwithstanding the high temper of the *people* in New-Hampshire, you could have *procured* (by hook or by crook) a majority in that convention, especially as you had raised so much *cash*, and found *donations* so very useful in your own convention. I have a letter from Mr. La—gd—n, in New-Hampshire, which informs me our friends used every exertion; that they ransacked heaven and earth for means to force on the adoption, but finding the most we could count upon in that convention would be 38 out of 107, they then bent all their manœuvres to procure an adjournment to a distant day, to obtain which, among other arguments, they persuaded the *country members* that *Virginia* and other states would propose to the states a plan of government to *their* minds; and that the same convention would answer to consider it, without going to the expence of electing another convention in that state.

But I find the country members have carried the convention further back in the country at least 100 miles, to a place called *Concord*. How, in the name of wonder, could you suffer this to take place; you knew very well, my lord, that if it had not been for the influence of the town of Boston on your convention, all the little prospect we have left would have been destroyed; for I am confident that if your convention had sat in any other part of your state, our plan would have been rejected by a large majority.

From what you say of the disposition of the people of New-Hampshire, and your state, some of us are truly alarmed; and the threats thrown out by the people of your state against the town of Boston looks very critical; I almost tremble for your personal safety.—However we must endeavor to *ride the storm*. I observe what you say about your new

assembly's being to be elected next month, and that above three fourths of them will be opposed to you; much depends on your exertions at the elections.

I knew the sweet conciliatory speeches made by some of the speakers in the minority in your convention, was just the impulse of the moment, caused by the vast influence of your town; and that upon their returning to the country, they would be as violent against you as their constituents.

We are leaving no stone unturned to procure a majority in the Maryland convention, but I am afraid it is all in vain. You know we were very fortunate for a long time in muzzling the newspapers in that state; but that rascal and scoundrel MARTIN has opened them by letting out our secrets of convention. This villain has been of infinite damage to us: in short, my lord, I cannot speak of him with any temper, I only wish the army was on foot, I would have him blown away from the mouth of a cannon, as a spy. You will excuse me for wandering from the relation of our dismal prospects in Maryland; since the newspapers have been open, the people of that state are falling off from us; and already I do believe above three fourths of the people of that state are opposed to us; and many of the most important characters will be in convention in opposition to us. *Paca, Chace, Martin, &c.* are indefatigable against us. All our people there are at work, and I have sent a number of pieces for publication in their papers, to operate against the opposition, but you know all we can say, will have little effect, as they have all the argument on their side.

They have found out in Maryland that the new constitution was first planned and devised at the annual meeting of the Cin—na—ti; only they say that it was rather more *en l'air militaire*; and that Robert the cofferer presided at that meeting of this military society (as they call it) and that *Gouvero the cunning man* and myself were secretaries to it.

Now how the devil they discovered this, I cannot tell, without some of our people are false; but I cannot think this either, as there is but 53 chosen hands of us on the continent who know what is transacted in the *secret cabinet*: they also say the reason why *Rhode-Island* did not send deputies to our general convention (which we afterwards got called) was because one of the Cin—na—ti from that state, having discovered our intention was to demolish the people's governments, and to establish a military one; he left the society and without saying any thing but to a few confidential friends, exerted himself and prevented any deputies being sent forward to our federal convention. Pray write me how this is.

How fortunate was it, my lord, that we prevailed upon the military part of the Cincinnati not to be so publicly active in this affair as others; it has prevented them from being so much suspected by the people.

Every letter I open latterly brings black tidings; I tremble at the cracking of every seal I break, as every piece of bad news seems to put my *commission* as attorney-general (of the union) farther and farther out of sight. About a month ago I had the *blank* form of it carefully drawn up by a scrivener; but, my lord, a *blank* I am much afraid it will remain: and you know how much I must spend if I live at all, and how I am reduced.

I said that accounts from every quarter were against us; but this truth, my lord, none, but about ten of us in the state know any thing of; for we publish both among our adherents and opponents that every thing is going on favorably elsewhere: and I find our system of deception (which we laid down in the beginning) is carried on with spirit all over the continent; it has been of infinite service to us. And then our stopping all real intelligence, by preventing the newspapers going backwards and forwards thro' the Post-Office, has been a very necessary precaution.

But, my lord, I am afraid now the people have found us out in giving such false accounts they will not believe us in future: you can scarcely believe it; but we absolutely published in this city that our strength in the Massachusetts convention would be three to one; and in New-Hampshire two to one against our opponents, and we made the people believe it to the last.

Ha, Ha! I find you have had our plan adopted (in your papers) by North-Carolina; when in fact their convention do not meet till July; and all that state is almost opposed to us. We published here a long time ago that most in Virginia were in favor of it, and that *Mason, Lee, &c.* had given up all opposition, when you know it is just the reverse; and unluckily *Lee* passed through this city some days since, and contradicted all we had said; and he also told the people that the same system of deception is carrying on in Virginia by our friends; and that people there are generally made to believe that all opposition has ceased in this state, and elsewhere.

I begin to think, my lord, from several circumstances, that the people of America would not submit to our plan, if it was possible even to lugg the majority of nine Conventions into it. We did not recollect sufficiently, that they had been always used to be governed by their own representatives, and their own separate governments:—too great a change from a *free* to a *military government*. We did not consider, that the Americans, above all other people, know black from white. I, for my part, really confess that I advised such a government more from the knowledge I had of my own countrymen, the good people in *Caledonia*, than of the people of this country.

I have yet to relate the strangest affair that has happened for some time. On Saturday week ABOVE ONE THOUSAND ARMED MEN assembled in the space of a few hours, at the borough of Carlisle, and after discharging from jail those scoundrels which I wrote you I had imprisoned for abusing me in effigy, they burned the Mittimus, and dismissed the sheriff: they then declared they would oppose our plan at the hazard of their lives, and soon after retired, without making any farther disturbance, to their respective homes.

Such determined and at the same time deliberate conduct, prevails in opposition to us all over the State, that I really begin to be uneasy. I wish all the arms were collected.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
and devoted servant,
JAMES DE CALEDONIA.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 14 March.

513. Reflector

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 12 March 1788

Mr. PRINTER, Were men to reflect on the magnitude of the momentous subject now in discussion, and the extensive, perhaps indefinite consequences it involves, they would see with abhorrence the rash and dangerous practice (a practice in which Philadelphia took the lead) of confining delegates to a particular vote in the conventions. Whatever propriety there may be in instructing representatives in a legislature to procure or oppose certain measures or particular bills, whose limited tendency may be obvious without the help of discussion—it does not, it cannot surely apply to the framing a constitution which is to be the source of every future public measure, and whose depth can only be fathomed by the collected efforts of wisdom acting in the field of free and ample discussion. It is surprising that any gentleman should accept a seat in convention with a trammelled conscience, and his conviction locked up.—How would a delegate in this situation feel when called on to give that vote on which the happiness or misery of his country may depend—when the light of discussion can only serve to shew the darkness he was in, and his lips be constrained to give the lie to his conscience. He may, indeed, repent of the folly and dogmatical presumption which induced him to a premature decision;—he may lament the inconsiderateness of the people and spurn at the debasing temerity which led him to risque a consequence so serious—But how

will he make reparation to the country he has injured, to the generations of millions he has intralld!

514. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 12 March 1788

Even the *partial* success of the new Constitution (says a correspondent) is now at an end: its advocates themselves now give the matter over, tho' they set the best face on their affairs. The four trifling States of Delaware, Connecticut, Georgia and Jersey, have adopted it, but this was only obtained by precipitancy, the suppression of discussion, and the stoppage of newspapers in the Post-Office; the leaders in these states too were led into it, in some measure, by their states being delinquent, and by the new system they would be discharged from repaying to Pennsylvania, &c. vast sums she lent the Union.

Pennsylvania is said to have adopted it; but it is far otherwise, it was done only by one twelfth of the people, and illegally too.

Massachusetts has been procured by a very small majority, and that too with considerable amendments.

New-Hampshire convention has adjourned till summer; 100 miles farther back in the country; above three fourths of that convention are instructed to vote against it.

The other State Conventions will be all opposed to it; they do not meet this long time. Would it not be advisable to recommend a general thanksgiving throughout the State, to that Providence which has thus defeated such a deep laid scheme against the peace and happiness of America.

It has been the constant practice of the advocates of the new Constitution, ever since its publication, to abuse the characters of all who differed in opinion with them, and in the same moment to extol to the heavens the characters of its advocates; thus we find in the beginning of their paragraphs the illustrious, pious, magnanimous names of its friends, and in the conclusion the nefarious, villainarious, and scoundelarious names of Gerry, Martin, Lee, Clinton, Mason, &c. who have been constantly abused with torrents of scurrility: But when a part of the new system is discovered, which makes it necessary to call on the public defaulters and delinquent States for the *millions* detained by them from the public treasury, as they will by this system be skreened from public justice; Oh they then cry out, Shame upon you, low born gentry, to call such grand big men public defaulters, their characters are sacred; it is blasphemy to touch their names: if they owe the public millions, the people must sit down and bear it patiently, without so much as a murmur.

515. Honesty**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 12 March 1788**

MR. OSWALD, A free paper is surely a blessing in a republican government, although sometimes it may give disgust, and bear too hard on certain characters—this however, is a partial evil, and not to be mentioned in any degree of comparison with the universal evil that would attend the restraint of the press. It is well known to all who know any thing of America, that the patriotic newspapers during the late glorious revolution, contributed greatly to the establishing the independence of the United States—for the good they have done, let them be respected and encouraged to proceed, for they have much more to do.

The revolution was intended, in my view of it, to serve all the people of America, this intention is perverted by the men in every state, whom chance or trick made officers of government—those men now impute their dignity to neither of these, but to their own merit, which is as untrue as that many of them were friends to the country in the times of its difficulty—but the case is plain that those men have got to such a pitch of importance, and hug each other so close in their combinations against the people, that they are afraid of them, and must only murmur out their complaints without expectation of redress from the grindings and oppressions they labour under—Let any one be asked, whether or no he expected 10 years ago, that in case of our success in the war, the yeomanry and mechanics of the country would be taxed beyond their power of paying for the support of their old friends and neighbours who have become officers of government, and who are no way qualified for that business more than they were?—Surely he would answer, he expected no such thing; but he would add, that he is sorry the question now might with great propriety be answered in the affirmative. The wages of the officers of our government were fixed when money was plenty, when provision was high, and when the people were mad with folly, riot, and luxury—all these things have changed, and now one dollar will buy as much of some of the necessaries of life, as three would have bought then; from this statement, the great and mighty in their scarlet robes may be content with the paper money for their wages—if they will not be content, many can be found as wise, as just, and as respectable as they are, who will jump at the business, and be thankful; by many this will be denied, for the present officers of government act as if they had a deed in fee for their honors and emoluments, and conceive that no change should ever be made, in short, they are as vindictive against any person for even saying they have held

their offices long enough, and make too much money by them, as a man would be against Charles Hurst for bringing an old right against the land that was left him by his grandfather, 65 years ago: were we the inhabitants of Calaban's island, where Trinculo governs, this might do well enough, but as we are in a country governed by laws under a constitution made directly to prevent such abuse of the people, I would humbly propose a reduction of the wages of the servants of the freemen of the country, in order that they may no longer lord it over them as they have done—that their children may not treat with insolence the children of better men at schools and other places, because their fathers or grandfathers are officers of government. The constitution, which is a nose of wax, held up all these fine pretty dreams of equality, and although a rotation is one of its chief excellencies, that part of it is blotted out. In those times of calamity, when the industrious, skilful merchant, farmer, and mechanic, with all his care, stock, and severe industry, cannot get a common support for his family, Why should *any man* as governor receive 1500 l. a year? Why should any judge receive 1200 l. a year? Why should any prothonotary receive 3000 l. a year? Why should any land-officer receive 900 l. a year? Why should any comptroller of accounts receive 800 l. a year? Why should any collector of a port make as much money as he pleases? Why should a naval officer make 1800 l. a year? Why should the late county treasurer be allowed to enjoy his speculations in the different monies of the state, without forcing him to refund at least 30,000 l. unfairly obtained? The proofs of this are collected for the inspection of the next council of Censors, as no steps could be taken in it by either assembly or council, as I was informed by several of the members of both bodies.

To enumerate all the other blood-succers of the state, would indeed be troublesome, and of little consequence—for the people seem by their embarrassments to have lost all spirit, and with that all hopes of redress—But how wonderful is this! that men who bravely drove the veteran invader from the land but a few years ago, should now tamely submit to give their children's bread, and the means of educating them, to the most wretched of their old acquaintances, who they by their bravery and fortune exalted into office.—As there must be officers of government, let them have a moderate support—yet not so much as to make them insolent—To ascertain what a valuable consideration for their time and abilities should be, would not be an easy thing; for instance, What should a judge of law have per annum who as a practitioner could not make as much by it as would pay a servant for bringing from the spring as much water as he could drink? How can a man sit down contented with a decision against him, where perhaps his whole

property, his character, or even his life is lost by the weak judgement of such a man on the bench.—Rouse my fellow citizen, and be no longer treated like the ass of old, who tamely stooped to take on his burden—look sharply after your superior officers of government, without losing sight of the inferior; for some of those have a say in the disposing of your property—look well after the county and street commissioners—city and port wardens—overseers of the poor, and managers of the bettering-house, they have done curious things, of which you shall be informed in due time—your own madness and folly furnish magistrates, therefore of them I shall say nothing here, as I am preparing some account of the conduct of many of them in office, which will make a little book about as big as the history of the Irish rogues and rapparees.

Arch-street, March 4, 1788.

516. “W.”

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 12 March 1788¹

Mr. OSWALD, FRANCIS HOPKINSON, the *hero* on the part of the United States, against Workman as the author of *Philadelphensis*, is like the bold Highlander, who, while he defended his head with his broad sword, neglected his legs. Probably the fruits of his eleven dollar piece will knock up his heels and lay him flat on his crupper, some months prior to the establishment of the great government. A few anecdotes of the *Mustard Grinder*, shall forthwith be laid before the public, by one who neither fears him nor hates him, and never supposed Franky to be one of his *betters*, as the little CURR ill-naturedly remarked to a person a few days ago.

March 11, 1788.

1. Also printed in the *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal* on 12 March.

517. Philadelphia

Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 March 1788

Messieurs HALL & SELLERS.

Gentlemen, A writer in your last paper, under the signature of MODESTUS, has delineated the characteristics of the man whom the United States should elect for their first President under the new constitution. I find he is spoken of

As disinterested—and therefore it is certain that he will not fleece us.

As having voluntarily laid down his former powers—and therefore that he will not abuse those he may receive hereafter.

As having no son—and therefore not exposing us to the danger of an hereditary successor.

As being of a most amiable temper—and therefore that he will not be vindictive or persecuting.

The beloved character alluded to certainly answers this description, and possesses the other necessary qualities mentioned by *Modestus*, and many more of less importance. His character, in short, is A TISSUE OF VIRTUES, and as there are some of our countrymen who doubt the safety of the proposed government, it is happy for us that we have such an approved and faithful citizen to employ in the experiment.

518. News-Paper Freedom

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 13 March 1788

To the Editor of the FEDERAL GAZETTE.

SIR, The following directions, by which an editor of a newspaper may, at all times, evade the charge of *partiality* or *indecenty*, and conduct his paper with spirit, are founded upon observation, and long experience of their utility. Should you think them fit rules for regulating your conduct, you are welcome to use them—at any rate, please to let them have a place in your paper, that they may be more extensively useful.

1st. It is necessary that every proprietor, printer, or editor of a newspaper, upon setting out, should chuse a spirited title, expressive of the manner in which his paper is to be conducted; such as, THE PATRIOTIC REGISTER—THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL—THE INDEPENDENT GAZETTEER—THE CHRONICLE OF FREEDOM—THE PALADIUM OF LIBERTY—THE VEHICLE OF TRUTH—THE SCOURGE OF TYRANTS, &c. &c. &c. *ad infinitum*. The use of such titles is, that in fishing for popularity they are most excellent baits; and every person knows that popular favour is the grand pedestal, the chief pillar, which supports every work of this kind—by the bye, you seem to have known the value of popular titles yourself when you chose that of THE FEDERAL GAZETTE.

2. Having fixed upon the title of your paper, you are next to determine upon a fit motto—here it is proper to remind you of the great worth and importance of high-sounding phrases judiciously culled from some eminent author (for, betwixt ourselves, there is a good deal in the “*magic of names*”) who has written with spirit upon the *liberty of the press*—I know none more worthy of your notice than the famous Junius.

3. The title and motto being fixed upon, you are next to form an address to the public.—This is to be a continued repetition of fawning flattery, containing little more than a train of assurances, that you shall

esteem it the greatest honor of your life to contribute, as much as in your power, to the information and amusement of a *discerning public*—an *enlightened people*—*American freemen*, or whatever other *soothing appellation* you may judge most likely to answer your purpose; still remembering that you must frequently break out into the most enthusiastic rhapsodies in telling the people how much you revere the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

4. The necessary arrangements being made, you may venture to publish your first number, which must contain a good deal of entertaining matter as a specimen of your exertions; but, above all, take care to give your own address a conspicuous place—let it occupy a considerable part of the first page, and be continued for two or three months at least. Now the talents of the editor begin to have full scope, now he acts in his proper sphere.—(Many folks would have begun these remarks in this place, omitting my three first articles; but, as I am a little methodical, and am often perverse enough to have my own way, I have set out regularly from the beginning; for the same reason that an architect, in building a house, begins with the foundation rather than the eaves, or the tops of the chimnies.) Here he exercises that despotic sway which, from time immemorial, has characterised his illustrious predecessors; and, vested with the sole power of judging what is, and what is not, proper for the perusal of the people, he examines, scrutinizes, determines upon, accepts, corrects, or rejects the favours of his correspondents; nay, the most momentous intelligence, whether foreign or domestic, as it may best suit his own humour; for let it be remembered that an editor is always the *best* judge of these matters, therefore *his* inclinations, not those of his customers, must be gratified.

5. If the canker-worm of envy, malice, or revenge, against individuals, have long preyed upon your vitals, you have now an opportunity of taking ample vengeance on those enemies to your peace of mind, which, if you be a *man of spirit*, you will not fail to execute effectually; nor need you fear the voice of public censure, the great body of the people will always befriend you, for calumny is their delight. Should your conduct appear reprehensible to a few, you have only to remind them of the doctrine contained in my three first articles, and, to silence their clamours, bellow out incessantly for the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS—if, notwithstanding, they continue to complain and say that the *liberty* of the press has been abused to *licentiousness*, it becomes you to attack them with double virulence. It is true, you may lose your subscribers by such conduct: be it so—what man of spirit would not risk his all rather than be controuled by any man, or any set of men upon earth? One thing I would remind you of—when you throw dirt, take care that it be flung

at the most respectable characters, and that in such a manner as to provoke a prosecution, that you may be drawn forth from your primitive obscurity to public view—for who is possessed of a soul mean enough to brook the idea of “falling into nought, unheard of and unknown,” when he may, by perpetrating some crime worthy of the gallows, transmit his name to ages yet to come.

6. I have often heard an old fashioned phrase, “that it is better for ten guilty persons to escape, than that one innocent person should suffer;” but let this have no weight with you, for, in dealing out your slander, neither age nor sex are to be spared, in conformity to that excellent modern rule, “that it is better one thousand innocent persons should suffer, than that one guilty person should escape,”—on this incomparable rule is founded the glorious privilege of slandering all our fellow citizens indiscriminately, which is modestly called

NEWS-PAPER FREEDOM.

519. Probus

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 13 March 1788

Who spares the wicked injures the well designing.

A Correspondent, Mr. Editor, who wishes to suppress the detestable spirit of defamation, desires your publication of the enclosed letter.

Justice to the American name and character demands that the calumniating assassin, who, under the signature of Philadelphiensis, has aspersed and vilified her most virtuous citizens, and who has practised every art to excite a civil war, should be known as a *renegade European*, who but a short time since fled from the injured laws of his own country. This circumstance connected with the wish, which every good man must entertain, to drive such a pest from society, will readily reconcile your address to the public (wherein you justly reprobate illiberal and insidious slander) with the insertion of this letter in the Federal Gazette.

“The caustic now must come.”

To the author of the inflammatory pieces signed “Philadelphiensis.”

Sir, To the very active part, which you have taken as a political incendiary, and personal defamer of our worthiest citizens, are you indebted for this address—and to the same cause you will be pleased to ascribe that share of public attention, which you are now likely to claim—for, however worthless and abandoned in your private character, you were too insignificant, as an individual, to excite any other sensation than contempt—and, had the conviction of your immoral practices, *in another section of the globe*, operated a becoming change of

conduct, compassion might have succeeded to censure, and the veil of humanity been cast over your crimes.—But when a wretch, who owes his very existence to the unexecuted laws of one country, and who derives his support from the unsuspecting generosity of another, presumes, in defiance of that remorse, which conscious guilt should occasion, to renew his villainies, under a shape more dangerous to society, the great dictate of nature demands that he should be arrested in his bold career, and that his accomplices, who have encouraged his crime, should share in his shame, and partake of his punishment.

The latter consideration will form the subject of another paper—the present is addressed to you, Mr. ——, the amiable agent of this respectable groupe, who have employed you to sow sedition through the land, that in the harvest of rapine and plunder, which civil war would furnish, their poverty might be relieved, and their wickedness be rewarded.

Having been received into a learned seminary, we are to conclude you something of a scholar—if so, you may have read “*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat,*”—the force of the observation is by this time felt, and your guilt-coloured countenance declares the conviction of your folly and your crimes,—but your contrition comes too late, for no second indulgence can be shewn to a scoundrel, whose conscience may so soon again be feared.

The citizens of America must be informed that the villain, who, under the signature of *Philadelphiensis*, has heaped the most unqualified abuse upon the virtuous and venerable characters, who composed the late federal Convention, is a wretch who, but three years ago, absconded from Europe, after committing the base crime of *embezzlement* in a public office.

Blush ye honest and well intentioned opponents of the federal constitution (for some such there certainly are) who have been the dupes of such a defamer—and be covered with endless infamy, ye base and designing abettors of this worthless scribbler.

This is but the portico to the mansion of your character, thou *master Workman* in iniquity—for you have provoked a chastisement from which neither your infamy nor your insignificance shall screen you.

520. “Z.”

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 13 March 1788¹

MR. PRINTER, It is a circumstance much to be regretted for the honor of human nature, that there is scarcely a character on record in history, however eminent his services to the cause of his country, but what has

been exposed to the aspersions of envy or malice, who seem to delight in robbing the virtuous of their well earned honors, and to exult in every occasion of slander and invective, whereby eminent and praise worthy actions may be reduced to the level of their own narrow and sordid conceptions. In America, what exertions have not been made, for the obtaining of liberty and independence? What instances of heroism, disinterestedness, and magnanimity, have not been displayed in their support? All Europe has beheld them with awe and admiration, yet now, when the war is over, and the hour of danger past, only look at our public papers, and you would suppose all the glorious achievements we have beheld, were only the illusions of a dream—that interest and the most degrading motives had actuated our patriots, and that from their height of glory, they are to be hurried downwards to the lowest depths of ignominy and disgrace—Not even the venerable names of Washington and Franklin, are to be preserved from the general ruin, but when in the mad career of political controversy, it becomes necessary—an anonymous writer is to strip them of their laurels, and in the sight of a whole country, scarcely yet free-ed from being eye witnesses of their achievements, their blooming honors are to be prostrated in the dust—One would suppose such writers imagined the people of this country had generally taken pretty large and potent draughts of the Lethaeian stream to have forgotten so soon their own annals, and that it was absolutely necessary to recal these to their view, to preserve the reputation of men, whose names, the pride of human nature, had already conceived of as sacred to a glorious immortality; but so true, sir, is the adage of the poet—

“All human virtue to its latest breath,
Finds envy never conquer’d but by death.”

After having lately perused some attacks made under several signatures on private characters, I was shocked at their want of decency, and the more surprised when these writers ventured to commit themselves and their cause to the public, by asserting facts, so easily disproved by undeniable evidence—general assertions are sometimes made with safety, from the difficulty of reply—no character is so pure, but that some shaft may be levelled at him, by an ill natured mind, with success, but when a writer comes boldly forward, and charges an individual with a large debt to the public, surely, when this can be, I say, disproved by the most clear evidence, such a writer must veil himself in blushes, and retire from the public view, after having deeply wounded, by misrepresentation, the very cause he was desirous to promote; for men will

be very apt to think ill of that cause which requires such advocates to support it.

It has been alledged, sir, in some of the late papers, that “Billy in the big house,” is indebted to the public in the sum of 100,000 dollars, and this is adduced as the reason for his supporting the new constitution, in hopes thereby, eventually to cancel the debt; unluckily, however, for the writer, the annals of Congress, speak a very different language—and influenced solely by a desire of doing justice to a gentleman who is entirely ignorant of my present purpose of defending him; I cannot help quoting to you some passages from the journals of Congress, whereby it will appear, that so far from being in debt to the public, they were always so to him, and in times, when it was fashionable to be grateful, Congress nobly acknowledged their obligations in the following terms:—

April 16, 1778.

Resolved, That Mr. William Bingham, agent of the United States of America, now resident in Martinique, be authorised to draw bills of exchange, at double usance, on the commissioners of the United States at Paris, for any sum not exceeding in the whole, one hundred thousand livres, tournois, to enable him to discharge debts by him contracted on account of the said states, for which draughts he is to be accountable.

March 8, 1780.

The committee of commerce, to whom were referred the letters from William Bingham, the continental agent at Martinique, and also a late memorial from John Benezet, as attorney to the said William Bingham, brought in a report, whereupon,

Resolved, That the board of treasury, be directed to deliver to the committee of commerce, bills of exchange drawn on the honorable John Jay, esquire, minister plenipotentiary, at the court of Spain, for a sum equal to five thousand pounds sterling, to be forwarded by the committee of commerce to Mr. Bingham, or delivered to his agent, Mr. Benezet, in Philadelphia, to discharge in part, the debt due from the United States to the said William Bingham.

June 20, 1780.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee on the memorial of William Bingham, whereupon,

Resolved, That the general of Martinique, in ordering the cargo of the brig Hope to be sold, and the money to be deposited in the hands of Mr. W. Bingham, till the legality of the capture could be proved, (no courts being at that time instituted for the determining such captures,

in that island) shewed the strictest attention to the rights of the claimants, and the highest respect to the opinion of Congress.

That Mr. W. Bingham in receiving the same, only acted in obedience to the commands of the general of Martinique, and in conformity with his duty as agent for the United States.

Resolved, That Congress will defray all the expences that Mr. William Bingham may be put to by reason of the suits now depending, or which may hereafter be brought against him in the state of Massachusetts Bay, on account of the brig Hope, or her cargo, claimed as prize, by the owners, masters, and mariners of the private ship of war, called the Pilgrim.

And whereas the goods of the said William Bingham, to a very considerable amount, are attached in the said suits now depending in the hands of the factors of the said W. Bingham, to his great injury.

Resolved, That the general court of the state of Massachusetts Bay, be requested to discharge the property of the said W. Bingham, from the said attachment, Congress hereby pledging themselves to pay all such sums of money, with costs of suit, as may be recovered against the said W. Bingham, in either or both the above actions.

Resolved, That the navy council at Boston, be directed to give such security in the name of the United States, as the court may require, and to direct the council now employed by Mr. Bingham in the defence of the said actions.

December 24, 1781.

On a report of a committee consisting of Mr. Lovell, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Clymer, to whom was referred so much of a report from the committee of commerce as related to the salary of Mr. William Bingham:

Resolved, That there be passed to the credit of William Bingham, Esq. on the treasury books, the sum of one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and twenty four livres of Martinique, due to him as the political agent of the United States in the French West-Indies, to bear an interest of six per cent. per annum, from the 14th day of June last.

This was done accordingly, and the balance aforesaid paid him with interest on 31st December, 1781, in the sum of hard Dollars 18518 47 90ths, and thus end the accounts of this gentleman, and so it appears, that from 1778 to 1781, from time to time, Congress were still indebted to him, and paying him off in part, &c.—That his goods were attached in their cause, and released by their order; and that finally a large sum was paid him in 1781 for balance of account due him.

Surely every reasonable man must be shocked then at the malicious slander poured on this gentleman, whose big house, so universally aimed

at, seems to point how much envy is concerned in the business of maligning him: As if that which adds elegance to the city, gives employment to its workmen, and encourages the liberal use of fortune's gifts, were of necessity to become the source of popular detraction, and what is worse of the deadly attacks of literary assassins; but no situation is able to protect from the assaults of these, since we have seen of late one learned and amiable gentleman as shamefully and cruelly vilified on the score of poverty, however unmerited, as others have been for their affluence, and consequent style of living.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 18 March; Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 19 March.

521. A Tiffany

Pennsylvania Mercury, 13 March 1788

MR. HUMPHREYS, Eleazer means to die hard, we find from his paper of this morning—Can any thing more clearly prove that his attack on the Post-Master is just, than his known attachment to newspaper information, which he has fully evinced in *suppressing* the *disagreeable federal news* from Boston, and his *eleven-dollar-charge* for publishing another federal piece on Tuesday last—As to his complaint that attempts have been made to injure his paper and thereby to distress his family, I am sorry to say that the blame lies at his own door; let him ask his own conscience who has attempted the ruin of his rising family? The answer must be—that himself by his perverse conduct has done it.

522. James de Caledonia III

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 March 1788

To his Excellency JA—S B—D—N, at Boston.

Philadelphia, March 8, 1788.

MY LORD, When you consider that the weight of the defence and conduct of our scheme (in this state) rests and depends entirely on my shoulders, I am certain your lordship will require no apology for my not writing you more frequently: I have been labouring so incessantly this some weeks past, that I can scarcely hold up my head; and I am now so perfectly worn out, fatigued and disappointed; that nothing but anguish and vexation could have induced me to resume the pen.

I wrote your lordship on the 25th ult. and among other things mentioned the discovery of the part of our plan, which we introduced for to balance Bobby's and the other defaulters' accounts, and to take off old *Dr. Fr—kl—n* and the delinquent states who were in opposition to us in Convention. It was a most excellent device and I thought very

cunningly hid; but at the same time it was rather a high game; and I am now afraid it will be the ruin of us, since they have found it out. They are making a great noise about it all over the state, and I am afraid over the United States—The people already believe that our scheme will defraud them out of MILLIONS; and we cannot contradict it; all our assertions will not avail us to the contrary.

Our main argument, viz. the magic of names, we have now lost; for they are representing the true cause of *Dr. Fr—kl—n*'s signing our plan; and every body knows that General Washington would never have signed if the Doctor had refused.

I begin to think now it was rather unlucky that we have thrown out such abundance of abuse and scurrility against *Mason, Gerry, Martin, Clinton, Randolph, Lee*, and all the others who opposed our scheme; as now they claim a right to retaliate, and you know many of our peoples characters will not bear a *scrutiny*. I was in hopes that since we had escaped so long that none would venture to attack us now; but my lord I was mistaken, and I am now only surprised that they bore it so patiently such a length of time; for we have been abusing every body who opposed our measures in this state, for ten years past, in the most scurrilous and rather wanton manner.

But they have now commenced, and have attacked us in our most tender parts; I enclose you a newspaper in which they have charged our best friends who were in the federal convention, as being public defaulters: and for certain it is but too true; you will find the whole sum charged is not one third of the real amount due by them to the public, nor right apportioned between them; it is impossible to say exactly how much they owe the public; but Robert the Cofferer I don't doubt owes near a *million*, and as to *Billy in the new big house*, a vast sum too, but *Tommy the quarter-master-general*, thinks he is much over rated: and as for old Doctor Fr—kl—n he does not owe perhaps one fourth as much as *Billy*.

Notwithstanding I could say nothing to the purpose in Bobby's favor, yet as he has been and still is so very attentive to my wants, &c. And as I thought I could not make the matter worse than it was, I determined to write something in his defence; and accordingly sat down, and wrote a few lines, but I soon threw by the pen, as I began to consider, that the unsupported assertions of an anonymous writer, would not be of any service in removing the charges, which had been made against him; but just then recollecting that Bobby had printed his accounts, (which by the bye he did at the great expence of 1300 dollars specie at the public charge) and I also recollected that he had *quietly procured* of his creatures in the office of accounts, some certificates; I again sat down,

and resumed the pen, and you will find (by the enclosed piece under the signature of Z) I have made the most of the matter. Though, I am afraid I have ventured too many assertions, as you know Congress never considered his accounts settled, nor don't to this day. Bobby's certificates from his creatures are dated in Nov. 1784, and you must know Congress on the 20th day of June, 1785, did resolve "that three commissioners be appointed by Congress on Monday next, *to examine the receipts and expenditures* of the late *Financier*, and report thereon to Congress." This and some other resolves of like natures, I am in hopes our opponents will not discover in time.

It was a most lucky *hit* that Bobby happened to have so many friends and creatures in Congress; as he would certainly have had to *refund* monstrous sums, if his accounts had been examined by commissioners, and he had been called on for vouchers to support all the charges he made. But Bobby's influence always put off the day of appointing the commissioners.

You will find too that I have asserted that Bobby left his own private affairs, which he sacrificed (says I) to the public good: This I am afraid was too bold an assertion as it is pretty generally known, that on the commencement of the war, he was many thousands worse than *blank*: perhaps such assertions may answer for elsewhere, but in Pennsylvania most people know that he has accumulated his estate in the public line.

They have charged Bobby too, with *millions* unaccounted for, as agent, afterwards chairman of the secret committee of Congress; this is a fact so well know[n] by people at present that I could not think of venturing to deny it; and so I passed it over in silence: and then Bobby in his letter to the Executive Council, in November, 1777, when in that blue time he was retiring from Congress, confesses that one reason of his retiring was to settle the public accounts (and he was then concerned in no other public expenditures.) Indeed the others could in a short time have produced a number of documents against him: It would have been impossible to have buried in darkness such a vast business, such large transactions. I wish Bobby had not been so very *avaricious*, and settled those of his accounts like a man, but gold is very enticing. Old Mr. Lawrence [Henry Laurens] used constantly while he was in Congress to be fretting and working to bring all public defaulters to refund. Many an hour has he laboured on the floor to this purpose; and the old veteran has frequently declared that it was disgraceful to be calling on the people for more money while millions were detained from the treasury by the public defaulters. And when Mr. Lawrence resigned his office of President of Congress, he declared he did it because Bobby was not made to settle his accounts.

Tommy the quarter-master-general has made a bold push in the newspapers to clear himself, I advised him against it, as such a flimsey certificate coming from an officer who had no right to give it, would rather hurt him; and it is a partial certificate too, as it passes over the monies pretended to be advanced to his deputies and clerks, &c. And then he has made a parade of his great and important services. But he forgets (between you and me) that in the dark times of 1777, from the time General Howe appeared at the Head of Elk, till long after Burgoyne's defeat, he was retreated from the tumults of the camp to the peaceable retirement of his farm near Reading.

As to *Billy in the new big house*, I could only say that I supposed the charge against him was not well founded. He is present, and I hope will come forth, and endeavour to say something plausible; as they are making a great stir about him too. I shall write you shortly again.

I am my Lord,

Your Lordship's,

Most obedient and devoted,

Humble servant,

JAMES DE CALEDONIA.

523. No Tiffany

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, Daniel, that little invidious, mean-spirited tool to the *federal hacks*, seems determined to persevere in admitting their *lying* attacks on you through his *Mercury*. But those *tiffanies*, *British deserters*,^(a) *traitors*, *tones*, *ingrates*, and *Doct. Rocks*, are no game for you—"the brutes have already got the staggers;" and it is not for you to retort on every cowardly *jack-ass* that meanly brays from behind the polluted press of *little Danny*. What have those *caitiffs* to do with your charge against the Post-Master-General? Does not *Danny* himself know it to be just? And how dare he suffer *Mr. Tiffany* to publish in his paper a known and acknowledged falsehood?

The next *rhapsody* from that quarter will, no doubt, be on *rum* or *whiskey*, for it is well known Doctor *Rock* has a strange partiality for a "*little drop of the creature*." To collect and publish the history, rise and progress, of most of those *sarling currs*, would undoubtedly afford a vast deal of curious information and entertainment to the public. In all probability I shall undertake the task at a more convenient period. Assure them, in the mean time, that I am

NO TIFFANY.

Thursday Morning.

(a) *Lest any one should mistake or misapply my meaning as to this person, I think it necessary to observe, that ANDREW BROWN, the Editor and Proprietor of the Federal Gazette, &c. and "Master of the young ladies Academy," near St. Paul's Church, is the man, if I may be allowed the expression. And I do now declare him to be one of the greatest cowards, liars, and rascals, the Lord ever permitted to infest Society: Of all the infamous disciples of Galen and the little Admiralty Judge, he is the most infamous. —I have ample proofs of these declarations in my own possession, and whenever he chuses to call for them he shall have them.*

524. Peter Van Galder

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 March 1788¹

MR. OSWALD, Francis Hopkinson in your paper of Tuesday last, under the signature of A.B. has meanly, and cowardly attacked me as an agent in writing or copying pieces against the new constitution. I have set up many nights until ten or eleven o'clock, I confess, in my school room, assisting Mr. Workman; but in what? in correcting a new edition of Gough's Arithmetic, and a new system of Gauging, which are both in the press, as Messrs. Young and M'Colloch can testify. That I have been in gaol in consequence of my imprudence in signing a bond, and liberated by the laws of my country, cannot be controverted. But let the ill-hearted scrub know, that he himself stands a chance to be in gaol on the same account very soon, and that I never was impeached for bribery—this applies.—I took as decided, and as active a part in favor of America, in the late war, as any young man could do; I fought for liberty.

Argument and reason must be far gone with the advocates of the new constitution, when the malice of a little creeping, dirty fellow must be poured forth in its cause against an obscure individual. If the people have no more to fear from the encroachments of the despots, than I have to fear from this pitiful, sycophantizing coward, American liberty stands immoveable.

Hopkinson, recollect that all freemen are equally dear to the commonwealth, and that although some part of your cruel and unprovoked attack upon me is true, yet I call you a *liar* in consequence of many of your assertions.

March 12, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 20 March.

**525. George Clymer to Timothy Pickering
Assembly Room, 15 March 1788¹**

Colonel Hodgdon just calling me out to let me know there would be an opportunity to write you this morning on the Wyoming business, I shall, in three words, tell you it is in the worst possible state. We have two parties in the House; one I detest, the other I despise. The Constitutionalists would rather stimulate than repress any thing that tended to insurgency and civil war, and so systematically refuse any measures likely to settle the peace of the country. The Republicans are bewildered about compensations, and, not agreeing in the mode, fatally acquiesce in doing nothing.

I have been urging the necessity of separating the confirming and compensating parts of the bill not necessarily connected, as the only means of saving us from confusion, but can get no second. I have no hope left.

1. Printed: Octavius Pickering and Charles W. Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering* (4 vols., Boston, Mass., 1867–1873), II, 376.

**526. “Y. Z.”
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 15 March 1788**

Mr. Editor, I believe from my soul, Mr. Workman is not the author of *Philadelphensis*; but if he is, where is the harm? A freeman has a right to speak and write his sentiments. I thought there was something good in the pieces, for the writer’s chief object was to have another federal convention, as a necessary measure to conciliate matters. I have examined all the numbers, and I find that neither the names of Washington or Franklin are even mentioned from the first to the last; yet the contrary has been held forth, to excite public resentment.

Mr. Paine was a very obscure person, and not two years in the country when he wrote *Common Sense*, and yet he was no less esteemed on that account. And Sallust says, that Tullius Cicero was a mere stranger and settled scarce three years in Rome, when he opposed Cataline’s conspiracy, and thereby saved the commonwealth. Now although Mr. Workman did write *Philadelphensis*, yet on the true principles of liberality and national freedom, he is not the worse for it, if he be the writer: He is a citizen of Pennsylvania since June 1784, which is almost four years. Is it not disgraceful to the city, to find argument, on the important object, giving place to such torrents of scurrillity.

527. "Z."

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 15 March 1788

I have been favoured with the sight of another letter from James de Caledonia, entitled No. 3, and addressed to his excellency Ja—s B—d—n, at Boston, which furnishes me with one more occasion of admiring the faculty with which this writer glides over facts in his way, and the ardour with which, in pursuit of his object, he levels every thing before him—Is there a hero to be depressed, or a financier to be degraded, at the touch of his magical pen the one becomes the tool of Dr. F——n, and the other the unconscionable proprietor of unadjusted millions—but, as if it were not enough for him to have the command over individuals, Congress must be subject to the same talismanic empire—see with what facility he bends them to the controul of the Cofferer—how easily he gets rid of their opinions when opposed to him—how he exults in them when favourable—Mason, Gerry, Martin, Clinton, Randolph and Laurens are now the heroes whose laurels he is anxious to perpetuate; while Washington, Franklin, Morris, Mifflin, Bingham, Wilson, and Gouvero form the objects of his indiscriminate abuse—As if he had been appointed the arbiter of merit, he ventures to decide at once on characters, and would fain tear from the roll of fame, names which shall flourish there, when his own shall have been long since forgotten. It is not, Mr. Caledonia, on your verdict that the rank of these gentlemen in the scale of eminence is suspended, whatever you may think of the matter, posterity will do justice to their respective claims. Nor will the public of those United States receive from an anonymous pen, the law by which they shall estimate the value of their citizens. You suppose the assertions of an anonymous writer in favour of Bobby will not be admitted—why are you so vain as to suppose yours will pass more currently against him, although supported by no better pretensions? Be assured that facts will survive the effusions of fancy, and that Robert the Cofferer will be honored and revered in Pennsylvania, when the very names of his adversaries shall be sought after with an unavailing curiosity.

528. **Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 15 March 1788**

‡‡‡ Several pieces replying to Probus in our last, have been received. The writers are mistaken with respect to the person alluded to. If they chuse to apply to the Editor of this paper they may be satisfied on this head.

Their vindication of the supposed author of *Philadelphiensis* will most chearfully be admitted; but the attack on the character of an individual, of whose innocence the Editor is convinced, must be rejected.

529. "Z."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 15 March 1788¹

MR. OSWALD, A writer in your paper of Thursday the 12th instant, hath undertaken to make some reply to what he is pleased to term my scribbling, in that of the 8th. It has therefore again become necessary for me to refute the positions he brings forward, and to show how extremely unfounded are his assertions.

With respect to our abilities for writing, they have nothing in common with the subject in debate; a love of truth, and a wish to do justice to an absent citizen, have impelled me to the field; and while it is so much in my power to vindicate him, I will not be deterred by any ill-timed invective from the pursuit.

This writer assumes the venerable designation of a friend to the people; but as I do not imagine the splendor of a name will be sufficient to give weight to arguments, otherwise unsupported, I will still be satisfied with my modest one of Z—while he remains anonymous, so will I; and I have not the smallest doubt but that although I sign with the last letter of the alphabet, as much reliance will be placed on my *ipse dixit*, as on his, who more magnificently signs with eighteen.

You will observe, Mr. Printer, that Robert the cofferer was charged as owing 400,000 dollars (now by an error of the press, I suppose, reduced to 40,000) to the public, on unsettled accounts in the financier's department; as this was a bare assertion, it was enough for me to meet it with a flat denial, and surely this will be thought the more weighty, when I appeal to facts known to the officers of the treasury, (who will not dispute them) to a printed volume published by Mr. Aitken, and to circumstances of public notoriety, I say, then the accounts for receipts and payments made in the office of finance, were adjusted and settled in November 1784, by the comptroller and register of the treasury; the resolve quoted of June 1785, could therefore only refer to an examination Congress might be disposed to make into the merits of the general administration—Their not proceeding in this business from November 1784, or June 1785, till now, shews that there could have been nothing material for the commissioners to do—for certainly had any balance been due to Congress, they would not have suffered the business to sleep ever since—No, sir, their wants of money would always have impelled them to call for it, where it was their due, and they had always power to compel payment where they had any right to claim it; but, says this writer, Mr. M———s's influence in Congress, kept it back, if so, surely there never was an influence more abused, for it

had been better to have brought the business forward, and had it settled at once in his own way, (if any there was to settle) than to let it lie over longer; but, sir, it is an insult on the understanding of the public to tell them of Mr. M——s's influence over so various and changeable a body as Congress. Mr. M——s has settled the public accounts—he has caused them to be printed—he has appealed in an address prefixed to them to the inhabitants of the United States for their correctness and justice; thus he has rendered a faithful account of his stewardship, to which since 1784, no objection has been made officially to him; Congress it is said have appointed commissioners to inquire and examine into the accounts—well—Why have they not done it? Who are they? Let them come forward—Robert the cofferer will meet them—with the manly stedfastness of conscious integrity—he will meet them, and obtain new glory from the scrutiny; but, sir, May not any man who has had accounts with the public, thus have dark suggestions thrown out against him—of millions unaccounted for—of coffers loaded with spoils, &c. &c. But to what purpose do such illusions tend? only to the disgrace of their authors—they alter not the unchangeable nature of facts—the accounts will always speak for themselves—they will work out their own salvation—to them be the appeal.

How easy to this writer is the use of figures—he never is at a loss for numbers—pounds, dollars, millions, all dance before him in all the mazes of arithmetical calculation; of characters too he is as lavish as of money; now Mi—lleg—n is brought in as one of Robert's creatures, to eke out the piece, although no man was ever more remote from dependence on, or connection with him—chosen by Congress independantly of the financier, he was always unbiassed in his office by any motives, but those of duty and of justice; Congress had laid down his powers and obligations by their resolve of September 11, 1781, and he continued in office long after the financier gave up his own. I believe Mr. M—lle—n to be of irreproachable character, and I shudder at the licentious use this author has been pleased to make of his name, which, however, is too respectable to be affected by it.

This Friend to the People, asserts, that I have prudently overlooked the charge of delinquency against Mr. M——s, as chairman of the secret commercial committee; it was natural for me to overlook a charge I knew not had existence; whenever that charge shall be reduced to particulars, I trust I shall be able to meet it as I have done others; in the mean time, I shall decline answering general assertions on this head, but by general answers: One circumstance, however, this writer adduces on this occasion, which is this, he says, "the illustrious Mr. Laurens, apprehensive of great peculation and abuses of public money

in the commercial department, strenuously strove to procure an investigation and settlement of the receipts and expenditures therein, but being baffled in all his endeavours by the predominant influence of the cofferer, he in disgust resigned the presidentship of Congress." The honor here paid the president, seems to be at the expence of all the other members of Congress, and I should be glad to know on what proof he asserts that Mr. Laurens made these attempts and was baffled in them: I find that gentleman resigned the chair of Congress, December 9th 1778; but it would seem his attack on the cofferer commenced only a month afterwards, for the journals of Congress give the first account of it on that day, January 9th 1779, Mr. Laurens, making this charge verbally, was desired to reduce it to writing, which he did, January 13th, when Mr. Lewis (of New-York) also handed in the substance of a conversation he had had with Mr. Laurens on this subject, of which copy was granted Mr. Laurens, January 15; on the 19th of that month, the whole charge with all papers respecting it, was referred to a committee, consisting of Mr. Merryweather Smith, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Paca, and Mr. T. Adams, who were directed to call on the cofferer, to account and answer for his conduct, and to inquire into facts. Here then was an immediate attention paid by Congress to Mr. Laurens's charge, and a court of inquiry immediately instituted—But mark the result—the committee report, February 9th, 1779, and on the 11th of the same month, we find the following proceedings on record in the journals of Congress, whereby it seems Mr. Laurens acknowledges himself mistaken, like a man of honor, not beyond the reach of conviction; he is anxious to do away, as much as in him lies, the offence he had caused, and becomes an instrument in fixing on these shining annals one vote more to the honor of the Cofferer, which shall endure when "the Friend to the People," and his productions, shall be laid in everlasting oblivion.

IN CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 11, 1779.

Mr. Laurens having yesterday, after reading the report from the committee and other papers referred to, informed Congress in his place, that from a part of Mr. Morris's vindication he recollected a circumstance which had come to his knowledge since this subject had been in agitation in Congress, which might more fully clear up Mr. Morris's conduct; and that as his sole view had been to do justice, it would give him the highest pleasure to be an instrument in doing justice to Mr. Morris, and promised to explain himself this morning; accordingly he produced a paper, containing an extract of a letter from the secret or commercial committee, dated October 25th, 1776, containing advice to Thomas Morris, commercial agent at Nantz, of their having chartered a

new ship at Baltimore, which Mr. Laurens said he was persuaded and has no doubt was the ship Farmer; that his recollection sprung from hearing the words new ship read in Mr. Morris's vindication; that it afforded him the greatest satisfaction to have it in his power to produce an evidence, which in his opinion put it beyond all doubt that the ship Farmer, Captain Dashiell, had been loaded on public account, and moved the house to receive the said extract, and to add it to the other papers which were delivered in by the committee and read yesterday: the said extract was accordingly received and added to the other papers.

The report was then resumed and read, as follows:

The committee to whom was referred the information given to Congress by the honorable Mr. Laurens, dated the 11th and 16th of January, 1779, and that received from the honorable Mr. Lewis, dated the 15th of January, 1779, respecting the conduct of Robert Morris, esquire, in transacting the commercial business of these United States, particularly relating to the ship Farmer, capt. Dashiell, loaded at Baltimore and captured by the enemy, report,

“That your committee having notified their appointment to the said Robert Morris, and furnished him with copies of the above written informations, and having requested his attendance, met according to order and received his defence in writing, dated January 22d, 1779, to which your committee beg leave to refer, as well as to the vouchers referred to by the said Robert Morris in his said defence:

[“]That it appears to your committee that the said Robert Morris, was a member of the secret committee, and from the minutes of the said committee of the 15th of August and 20th and 26th of September, extracts of which are herewith delivered, and from the testimony of J. Brown, then clerk of the said committee, it appears that the said secret committee, from a confidence in the integrity of the said Robert Morris, from a knowledge of his commercial abilities, and from a conviction that his extensive commercial connexions, both abroad and in America, would enable him to execute with facility the continental commercial affairs, requested the said Robert Morris, and authorised him to purchase up produce in the different states on continental account, and to export the same, and entrusted him solely with the transactions of this business:

[“]That it appears to your committee, from the testimony of the said J. Brown, that when the said Robert Morris was entrusted and authorised as aforesaid, it was known and understood by the said secret committee, that his purchases aforesaid were to be made under cover of the firm of Willing, Morris, and company, and exported under the like cover, as circumstances should direct, and that this mode was adopted

to prevent the rising of the price of produce and hire of vessels, which generally happens when it is known that purchases and contracts are making on the public account:

[“]That it appears to your committee, from the testimony of John Brown, Peter Whiteside, and Benjamin Hogeland, (whose depositions are herewith delivered that the ship Farmer was chartered on the continental account, though under the firm of Willing, Morris, and company, and that her load of iron and tobacco, except 50 hogsheads, was purchased and shipped also on the continental account; and that the said ship being thus chartered, and the said load of iron and tobacco so purchased and shipped, were facts well known to the said John Brown, Peter Whiteside and Benjamin Hogeland; the said John Brown being the said Robert Morris’s agent in the transaction, and the said Peter Whiteside and Benjamin Hogeland, being clerks of Willing, Morris, and company:

[“]That it appears from the testimony of John Brown, then clerk of the said secret committee, that the charter party of the said ship Farmer, was lodged in the office before the said committee removed to Baltimore, and therefore known to the said committee before the loading or sailing of the said ship:

[“]That it appears to your committee, that the chartering of the said ship under the firm of Willing, Morris, and company, the filling up the bills of lading, forming the special contract as endorsed on one of them, and drawing the instrument of valuation in the manner and terms as the said several instruments of writing are exprest, were merely precautions calculated to give the whole transaction the colour of a private commercial concern, correspondent to the plan adopted by the said Robert Morris, declared and made known to the said secret committee, and founded on the reasons above suggested.

[“]That your committee are farther confirmed in this idea, from observing that the like measures were taken in the chartering and loading the ship Aurora, and from its being proved to your committee, by the testimony of the said Benjamin Hogeland, the said Robert Morris’s clerk, that the said Willing, Morris and company, did not charter or load any chartered ship for their own account and risque during the time the said Robert Morris was entrusted and authorised as aforesaid.

[“]That it appears to your committee, that the said Robert Morris’s defence in writing is full and explicit on every fact, circumstance and question stated in the information of the honorable Mr. Laurens and Mr. Lewis, and is supported by clear and satisfactory vouchers; and your committee beg leave to refer to the said written defence, particularly

as to such facts, circumstances or questions aforesaid, as your committee have not specially reported:

[“]Upon the whole, your committee are of opinion, that the said Robert Morris has clearly and fully vindicated himself; and your committee are further of opinion, that the said Robert Morris in the execution of the powers committed to him by the said secret committee, so far as his conduct has come to the knowledge of your committee, has acted with fidelity and integrity, and an honorable zeal for the happiness of his country.”

Congress taking into consideration the said report, and the papers accompanying and referred to in the same:

Resolved, unanimously, That Congress agree to the said report.

Thus then, Mr. Printer, perishes the insinuation relative to Mr. Laurens, as the vote in Congress was unanimous to acquit and honor the Cofferer. It may be well here to give you the list of members at that time composing that body, by which it will immediately be seen how vast an addition may be made to praise, when it is known to be the vote of disinterested virtue.

New Hampshire. Mr. Whipple.

Massachusetts Bay. Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Holten.

Rhode-Island, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Collins.

Connecticut. Mr. Dyer, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Root.

New York. Mr. Jay, Mr. Duane, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Floyd.

New-Jersey. Mr. Fell, Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Pennsylvania. Mr. Roberdeau, Mr. Clingan, Mr. Searle, Mr. Atlee, Mr. Shippen.

Delaware. Mr. M’Kean.

Maryland. Mr. Paca, Mr. Carmichael, Mr. Henry.

Virginia. Mr. T. Adams, Mr. Francis Lightfoot Lee, Mr. Griffin.

North-Carolina. Mr. Hill, Mr. Burke, Mr. Penn.

South-Carolina. Mr. Laurens, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Huston.

Georgia. Mr. Langworthy.

Surely, I may be justified, when finding such men approving the Cofferer, and remarking who are the characters endeavoring to traduce him, to conclude with Thomson—

“Compar’d with these, your insect tribes,
“Are but the beings of a summer’s day.”

1. This item, also printed in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* on 15 March, was reprinted in the *Philadelphia Federal Gazette* on 20, 22 March.

530. Pennsylvania Mercury, 15 March 1788¹

The antifederal junto, observes a correspondent, having failed in argument, have descended to the most abusive attacks upon the first characters America can boast of; they have wantonly charged that philanthropic, patriotic sage, the venerable Franklin, as being a *public defaulter*, and that he signed the new plan of government, because, say they, the *ex post facto* clause skreens the delinquent states and *public defaulters*. As to the first charge, it is well known that the groundless assertions of A——— L———'s scurrilous pamphlet is its only foundation. It is also well known, that this venerable philosopher would have had his accounts adjusted long since, had his health and strength permitted him to make the journey to Congress. These antifederal scribblers and tools of tottering power are on their last legs; they are making a last effort, and wish to darken those characters which have hitherto escaped even the envenomed darts of envy. Margery is now employed night and day forging these dark publications.

1. Reprinted: *Carlisle Gazette*, 26 March.

531. Pittsburgh Gazette, 15 March 1788

Messieurs Scull & Boyd.

Gentlemen, I have been lately informed that it has been told in private company in your town, that I, whilst at Philadelphia, carried on a correspondence with the northern insurgents, inviting them to turn their arms against the adoption of the federal constitution. I am extremely sorry to find any person should be disposed to injure my reputation. It is well known by all with whom I have ever conversed on the subject of the constitution, that I ever preferred it to a disunion of the states; and that from the moment in which it was adopted by the state convention, I have used my influence to reconcile the minds of its disapprovers to it. The story is incredible, as the federal constitution was not framed until long after the insurgents were quelled. None can say, in truth, that ever the least attempt has been made by me to promote a private quarrel, much less to involve my country in a civil war, nor can there be a faithful witness corporeal or incorporeal, of my countenancing any disorderly people: ray associates and correspondents are well known to the unprejudiced who know me, to be of a very different stamp.

The circumstance which I suppose may have given rise to the story was nearly as follows: A young gentleman who lodged in the house with

me in Philadelphia, and who is an ingenious partizan in politics, and generally opposed to me, tho' strictly attached to me in personal friendship, was one day reading a publication in which the opposers of the new constitution were some how compared to Daniel Shays, who was the leader of the northern insurgents. This gave rise to a political contest between the gentleman and myself; I alledged that the insurgents, probably had some reason to complain, the gentleman insisted they had none: a Mr. Criswell, from the city of Boston, being present was appealed to, he was rather of opinion they had grievances before they rebelled. I, gaining a little triumph, went on to say, (purely to keep up the spirit of the contest) that altho' the insurgents deserved the chastisement they had received, yet if they would turn their opposition against the gentleman's darling constitution, it would wipe off the odium which rebellion had stamped on them; and on the spot took up the pen and wrote some part of an invitation to them, I wrote and argued by turns until I got tired of both. I threw away the paper, dropt the pen, and never thought of the subject more until several days since I heard of this report. If you, gentlemen, will be so obliging as to insert this letter in your paper, I will trouble you no more on the subject. And if any person (I am persuaded no gentleman after this information, will) shall be so unkind as to promote an idea of my having countenanced any kind of insurrection or violence, I shall most assuredly address such person in a language much more powerful than that of the pen.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

DAVID REDICK.

March 8, 1788.

532. Sommers

Pittsburgh Gazette, 15 March 1788

TO THE PEOPLE.

Friends and Fellow Citizens, Great pains have been taken, and I am sorry to say unworthy means used to recommend the new unweildy consolidated system of general government and gild its defects. The political bait was prepared with art, and puffed off with all the parade and address generally attendant on stage mountebanks or venders of quack medicine. The new aristocratic system would not only remove all complaints but cure all diseases; the supporters of it, like a Monsieur Buzaglo, a Parisian quack, who solemnly engaged to cure the *gout, rheumatism, palsy, dropsy, king's evil, leoprosy, and all chronic as well as nervous disorders without medicine*, declares that your political liberty is perfectly

secure without either a *bill of rights or representation*. Adopt but the glorious constitution, a constitution handed from Heaven, far superior to the production of a weak and mortal man, poverty should then no longer haunt you with her haggard looks, but wealth and plenty should be your attendants, and all would be well. For some time the infatuation was great, and I trembled for the consequences, but now I fondly hope the tide of political phrenzy has got to its height, and is ebbing towards the beach of policy and reason. What have you heard in support of this system, my fellow citizens, but buffoonery and scurrillity, passionate harangues founded on shallow & selfish principles, & honest men brow beat and insulted by the advocates for power and prerogative. But what is this plan of government offered you, and so warmly recommended? What is it but a plan of accommodation and necessity? this is allowed on all hands; it is even admitted by its advocates. For my own part I have no doubt but that you must ere now have observed its glaring defects and dangerous consequences, and am well convinced that the more seriously you consider its nature and tendency, the more you will be opposed to it. Looking up like a grateful *people* to the *names of some, and opinions of others*, many amongst you have become prejudiced in favor of a plan of government you little understand: but, my fellow citizens, let not gratitude to a *few*, entail misery upon the *many*. If this has been the case, let me entreat you to endeavour to break the political spell which has fettered your understandings, dispel the mist of party prejudice, exercise your own judgements, consult with your friends, and endeavour to take a view of your political liberty, your existence as free men through an impartial mirror and proper medium. You have but one criterion left, and that is a spirited and decided appeal to the legislature by petition, by which means alone your sentiments, your number, your importance can be fully known. Your present example tarnishes your former conduct. You fought bravely and bled freely to secure the blessings of liberty to yourselves and posterity, forfeit not these blessings so hardly earned, by a tame acquiescence to slavery and oppression; such conduct is unbecoming the gallant and free yeomanry of Pennsylvania. It behoves you, therefore, my fellow citizens, to be particularly careful and circumspect in your future conduct, to ponder and deliberate well, and not allow yourselves to be duped or betrayed with *names*, however respectable, by the artful and designing; for believe me, every consideration dear to yourselves, and valuable to your posterity, is engaged in the present contest.

It has been the superior policy of the present popular aristocratic party, in imitation of all other despotic majorities, to precipitate the honest unsuspecting yeomanry of Pennsylvania into a surrender of their

rights like thoughtless prodigals, who are often tempted to sign and seal their own ruin over night, and awake to all the anguish of repentance and despair in the morning. It is too evident, that they do not wish you should either reason or reflect; they endeavour to dazzle and blindfold your judgement with *names*; to rouse your passions and play on your foibles; to betray your real interests, by creating in your, perhaps, too easy and susceptible minds, a political, enthusiastic debauch, propitious to their own views and wishes.

^(a)“O *Washington, Washington*, (exclaims a mercenary hirely, in the Pittsburgh Gazette of the 26th January) why didst thou not accept of all the gold and honors a British monarch had to give thee? Why didst thou not seize on the liberties of America? Why didst thou not distribute thy favors amongst thy faithful, well chosen bands who waited.” why did not this sagacious gentleman add, *and are still waiting*, “but thy nod to crown thee with regal power. Who must not then have bended the knee, and cried *God save the king*.”

Alarming, indeed, my fellow citizens! such sentiments but too evidently discover the views of the secret junto and their abettors, and is sufficient to awaken the best disposed and most credulous to a sense of their danger, but I hope the independent yeomanry of Pennsylvania are not unacquainted with their rights and privileges. You have fought for and are entitled to a government of *laws*, not of *names*; and your happiness depends upon a *full and unequivocal declaration of those rights and privileges in the most full, explicit, and direct terms*. Does this artful, abstruse, and ambiguous plan of government offered to you by our modern patriots, secure these inestimable blessings? No. You are sacrificing your best birth rights at the shrine of ambition and despotism, and courting popularity *for the day*, to become execrable and miserable *for ever*.

These are the honest suggestions, my fellow citizens, of a man, unconnected with party, and independent in principle, whose wants are gratified, who lives peaceably and plentifully on his farm, by labor and industry, who never wished for more than he acquired, and whose political tenets are not governed by the sallies of *vanity and ambition*, but the admonitions of reason, and a contrite heart.

But what says the virtuous conventional minority, the real friends to liberty and mankind? Thank God we have still many left, pure and untainted, that neither the badness of times, want of money, misfortune nor popular clamour could sway from their duty or tempt them to betray the interest of their fellow citizens.

“I had not the smallest doubt,” says this excellent man, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, whose letter to the house of assembly I have now

before me, “but that from the ardour for a reformation in government, the first applause would be loud and profuse. I plainly foresaw, that in the dissention of parties, a middle line might probably be interpreted into want of enterprise and decision. But these considerations, how seducing soever, were feeble opponents to the suggestions of my conscience. I was sent to exercise my best judgement, and to exercise it was my firm determination; being instructed by even an imperfect acquaintance with mankind, that self approbation is the only reward which a political career can bestow, and that *popularity* would have been another name for *perfidy*, if to secure it I had given up the *freedom of thinking for myself*.” Again, he says, “my opinion always was, and still is, that every citizen of America, *let the crisis be what it may*, ought to have a full opportunity to propose, through their representatives *any amendments which in his apprehension tends to the public welfare*.”

The only check to be found in favor of the democratic principle in this system of government, so warmly recommended, is the house of representatives, which is a *mere shadow*, or as the worthy and patriotic Richard Henry Lee, of the same state, Virginia, with more propriety calls it a “*mere shred, or rag of representation*,” Nothing can be a greater insult to the understandings of the freemen of the United States, for without a *full, fair and equal representation* you cannot enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty. If you therefore value these blessings my fellow citizens, support them, for it is better to insist on amendments now, while the passions of men may not be altogether engaged, than coolly to give up your dearest rights, to be regulated by a system of government, so glaringly erroneous and defective. Power once transferred, especially where it will be explained with great latitude, may bring sorrow in the execution. For to say, as too many does, that to prevent anarchy we must sacrifice our liberty, is really and truly saying, that we must *drown* ourselves for fear of being *hanged*. The object of our visionary, pliant politicians, is seemingly to work up your minds, with state nostrums, *into a political delirium*. In this situation you may not unaptly be compared to a sick man, in the transports of agony and phrenzy, when your political physicians may with safety and impunity, *open a vein, and gradually sink you by a loss of blood and spirits, to an abyss of the vilest slavery and misery*.

Nothing, my fellow citizens, can be more certain than this, that in a country so extensive and unbounded as America, the general government proposed, organized as it is, cannot enforce its laws on proper principles, or carry its powers into effect without military aid, which must soon destroy all elective governments in the country, produce tumult, and finally establish despotism. Is it not reasonable, then to

conclude, that the general government in the hands of a few, far removed from you, its numbers unknown to you, and none of these elected oftener than once in two years, will be generally forgot, contemned or neglected, and their laws, or rather mandates or ordinances disregarded, unless such a *well chosen trusty band* (as the writer I have quoted speaks of) be continually kept accoutred and equipped, to enforce the execution. This mode may make the government for a time *feared*, but never *respected*. Therefore, my fellow citizens, resistance must ensue: for either neglected laws, or a military execution of them will naturally lead to a revolution, and your political liberty, as free citizens, must be either lost or secured by your own exertions. "Neglected laws," says a judicious writer, "must lead to anarchy and confusion, and a military execution of laws, is only a shorter way to the same point—despotic governments."

Absurd principles, my fellow citizens, have in all quarters of the world, been obtruded on mankind, by political quacks and impostors, to prevent human reason, and juggle them out of their natural privileges. Under many governments that instinct has been stifled which teaches even animals to resist oppression and tyranny. The *many* by this means have submissively submitted to be vassals to the *few*, who rule them with a rod of iron.

This will be exactly your situation, for you are not only determined to impoverish yourself by the importation of European *gewogaws and trifles*, but must also forsooth, copy her manners, adopt her politics, and *becomes slaves*.

May true knowledge, my fellow citizens, open your eyes, and secure to you the rights to which reasonable beings are entitled: rouse all the powers which latent nature has bestowed on you, to oppose the subversion of social laws: treat with contempt the man that would impose on you by artifice; condemn those mysteries which hold the world in chains and darkness; allow not your credulity to be longer a stumbling block in your way to happiness, but *with one accord reassume the use of your faculties, and again become the admiration of the world, by vindicating like freemen, the honor of the human race*.

Greensburgh, 5th March, 1788.

- (a) Does this writer mean to compliment or insult general Washington. I am persuaded this great and patriotic man would not allow him to tug a trace in his carriage, of this I am well convinced, he would not be admitted to the honor of a place behind it.

533. Pittsburgh Gazette, 15 March 1788¹

CURSORY REMARKS on the NEW CONSTITUTION.

(continued from our paper of March 1.)¹

Having seen the mischiefs of this government, it remains to be considered how it shall be opposed. Doubtless by the force of arms. Reasoning having failed, the bayonette is now the alternative.

This being settled, it remains to be enquired under what leader the war shall commence. F——y and S——y are the only two on this side the mountain between whom the choice must rest. With respect to the first of them, his abilities are undoubtedly great, but I should suppose he would be deficient in personal activity. I do not know to what it may be owing, but I observe that his legs are stiff; and if in battle he should happen to have his horse shot under him, he might be unable to make his escape, and so fall into the hands of the enemy.

The other of these is more alert, and would unquestionably make the best executive officer. He has given every ground of confidence in the firmness of his mind, by declaring that he will spend the last shilling of his fortune, and the last drop of his blood in opposing this government. As to his fortune I do not well know what it is, having never been at his house, or having seen that tract of land on which he lives; but as to his blood, I will venture to say he has as much of that as any other man. It is not your fat, corpulent people who have most blood. On the contrary, the pinguidinous parts absorb this fluid, and it is your thin men who have most.

Taking these two things into view, the advantage of head on the one hand, and of activity on the other, I hesitate to say to which of them we ought to give the supreme military command. S——y has to plead in his behalf, some experience in service, I am told that had it not been for him general Washington would have lost the battle of Brandywine.

A third thing comes into view, viz. how we shall commence our operations; whether wait on these low grounds until this government is organized, and begins to exercise some acts of jurisdiction over us, or to meet it in Cumberland Valley, and there give it battle. I would be for adopting a middle resolution, that is to seize the passes of the Alleghany mountain, and wait there for its arrival. By rolling rocks upon it, we might be successful in greatly annoying it on its approach.

It will be asked how shall we be able to subsist our troops in that quarter, carriage on the mountains being difficult and expensive. Indeed if we go all to war, as in so glorious a cause, who would wish to stay at home. I don't know how the ground will be cultivated and provisions raised. In this case, should it happen, a very great support may

be derived from the racoons and opossums, which the soldiers may knock down with their pontoons at pleasure; but in the mean time I would not neglect the means of defence nearer home. Would it not be adviseable to repair the old indian forts that are found up and down this country. The bastions of some of them are still endless but the mounds are considerably reduced. Who knows but it may have been to defend against some such government as this that these fortifications were erected by the original inhabitants, Some Washington of a warrior having beaten off the Mohawks, so then in conspiracy with some old Giach Sumo of a Franklin, may have formed the design to overturn the liberties of the nation: less pardonable in old Giach, because he could not live long to enjoy the fruits of his usurpation.

But happy was it that some immortal Tradlach of these times, saw the villainy, and suggested to the inhabitants the constituting these places of defence.

It is well known, and indeed it could not be expected to be otherwise, that we have some disaffected amongst us, who actually approve of this new constitution, and have said in my hearing, that all that is said against it by the dissentients in the state convention, and by others, is the most perfect nonsense. I may at a future day take the liberty of naming some of these, but in the mean time shall be silent. But will any man believe that so respectable a body of men, as the dissentients would put nonsense in print, I do not say but that there may be nonsense published, but is it certain that those whose names are affixed, had any hand in the composition, or are all answerable for it? No more than I am who neither signed nor saw it before it came out in the Gazette.

The writer of these remarks is not a man of great estate. It might be said to me at any time, as to the sick of the palsy, "take up thy bed and walk," and I could in three hours settle my affairs, and be ready for Kentucky. This shews that I am not one of your overgrown men, but have a fellow feeling for the common people, who will have no more chance under the government, than toads under a harrow. Who is it that drives a shuttle or keeps a school, can expect to be elected president of the United States? This government is made for men of property, and those who have nothing to lose have no business with it. Nay, it will prevent those revolutions where men have an opportunity of scrambling for a living. It is a hard thing to be obliged to drudge on from day to day, and make a fortune by the common means of industry. I should like to live in the same state with the children of Israel, before the time of the judges, "where every man did what was right in his own

eyes." If this should come to be the case amongst us, I know what I shall do, I will make a grab on the stores at Greensburgh.

It is in order to prevent a thing of this kind that you monied men are chiefly in favor of this constitution. They know that without it we shall soon be at the ears with one another, and they will have no security for what they have acquired.

1. For the first part of this essay, see Mfm:Pa. 475 (pp. 962–64).

534. Assembly Debates (Lloyd) on the Petitions Against the Adoption of the New Constitution, 17–29 March 1788

*Assembly Debates, Monday, 17 March 1788 (excerpt)*¹

The house met pursuant to adjournment.

Petitions from 231 inhabitants of the county of Northampton were read, praying that the constitution proposed by the late federal convention may not be adopted, and that the delegates representing this state in the congress of the United States may be instructed to that purpose.

Ordered to lie on the table. . . .

*Assembly Debates, Saturday, 22 March 1788 (excerpt)*²

. . . Messrs. *Clarke, Piper, M'Calmont* and *Bale*, presented petitions from 600 inhabitants of the county of Dauphin, 450 inhabitants of the county of Bedford, 188 inhabitants of the county of Franklin, and 930 inhabitants of the county of Cumberland, remonstrating against the constitution proposed by the late federal convention for the government of the United States, and adopted by the convention of this state.

Ordered to lie on the table. . . .

*Assembly Debates, Monday, 24 March 1788 (excerpt)*³

. . . Mr. *Oliver* presented a petition from 387 inhabitants of the county of Cumberland, remonstrating against the constitution proposed by the late federal convention for the government of the United States, and adopted by the convention of this state. . . .

*Assembly Debates, Saturday, 29 March 1788 (excerpt)*⁴

. . . Mr. *Barr* also presented a petition from 519 inhabitants of that county [Westmoreland], praying that the federal constitution may not be adopted, and desiring the house to take measures for reprehend-

ing the gentlemen who represented this state in the general convention, for going beyond their powers in framing such a system of government, and submitting it to the people for their consideration and ratification. . . .

1. Lloyd, *Debates*, III, 152.
2. *Ibid.*, 193.
3. *Ibid.*, 198.
4. *Ibid.*, 232.

535. "Y."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 March 1788¹

MR. OSWALD, Your correspondent Z, is truly a modest, pretty writer; the gentle, good-natured creature, how he feels for the gentlemen who have been slandered in the public papers! There is not a feature of sycophantising in his pieces; what candor and impartiality runs through them! He has generously stood forth, and vindicated the characters of both parties: does not he therefore deserve much praise? He is a patriot indeed.

But, sir, as the jockey observes, what a stranger in this city might say of our newspapers: might not a stranger also rationally infer, from our publications, that the leaders and tools of the mock-federal faction in this city seem to be, and really are, a very vulnerable set of mortals. For Z, their representative general, growles and moans most deplorably when any of the great Bashaws (that is who are to be in future) are slightly touched; though this mirror of party sympathy can be as silent as a lamb, when other respectable characters who are opposed to the *big government* are bedaubed with the scavenger's shovel.

We have seen the Honorable Judge B——n *bewitched*, *bepaupervised*, *bedeviled*, and *bedaubed*; we have seen the Reverend Dr. E——g, *besnuffled*, *bedirtied*, *bewiskeyed*, and *belied*, with many others, by the menials of despotism, times without number: all this we have often seen with stoical apathy, and really never would have mentioned our indifference, but only to shew the contrast of the dispositions and characters of the parties. To men in certain circumstances, truth comes with a poignancy almost insupportable. Those who cannot bear a *rub* or a *knock*, should be cautious of giving any.

Mr. Z has mentioned a *learned* and *amiable* gentleman, who has been mal-treated by reason of his poverty; we would wish that the tender hearted dear soul, would tell us who this said injured amiable gentleman is: whether he be *federal* or *antifederal*; for his impartiality and candor must be a little drollish, if he only sympathises and laments for

his own folks. Besides Mr. Z, has not broke his heart in writing much in favor of the *poor*, although an AMIABLE, & *learned* gentleman; no, much to his honor, be it said, his *sensibility* and *benevolence* are, as they ought to be, for the rich and the great. This savors nothing of the partial sycophant.

Dr. E——g's ill usage was nothing; notwithstanding a reputable congregation of Christians were insulted thereby; but when Hum-Strum, without the most distant intention of offending, mentioned, or squinted up at the new mitre, then there was a growling and grumbling, as if Episcopacy were unmitred, and the cassocks of our Right Rev. Fathers conjured into Scotch-bonnets, for Presbyterians.

As Mr. Z, has nobly stood forth in justification of a couple of *big men*, for which no doubt he will be handsomely rewarded, we hope he will continue at the job, and help to clear all who have been slandered, giving his labor in behalf of the poor, for God's sake, for this is Christian-like.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 19 March.

536. Impartial

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 18 March 1788

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

SIR, PLEASE to give the following a place in your paper.

"No man's reputation (says Butler) is safe where slander is become a trade, and railing a commodity where men may get a living by defaming others, and eat upon any mans credit, that has any reputation to lose; where a scribbler at once satisfies his itch for writing, his petulance, malice, or envy, and his necessity."

This is amply verified in the present day, for *our* papers of late have teemed with the lowest scurrility, party prejudices have risen to so great a height, that the innocent suffer alike with the guilty, the tongue of slander makes no distinction. *Probus*, in your paper of Thursday evening last, attacked the character of a citizen of this city, whom he supposes to be the author of *Philadelphiensis*, in a language that would have appeared perfectly in character had it issued from the mouth of a wheel-barrow man; but quite inconsistent with the signature of *Probus*. The unjust and cruel aspersions cast upon Mr. W. must meet with disapprobation from every impartial man. How undeserving he is of such mean reflections, those who have known him during his residence in this section of the globe, can testify; those who knew him in another section of the globe, know, the accusation to be without foundation.

But, Mr. Editor, it is not Probus alone, that torments the public, with such illiberal and ill-grounded reports, (reports that are the productions of their own brain). On the contrary, on every day are the public pestered with the low ribaldry that flows from the pen of some scurrilous genius. It must be a bad cause indeed, that requires such a sacrifice of veracity as to rob a fellow citizen of his reputation, in order to support it: the proselytes that are gained on either side by such measures, are, I believe, very few. The evil tendency it has towards blowing into a greater flame, the dissensions that already subsist, is evident. But seditious and designing men, take pleasure in kindling and blowing up discontents against the government, that when they are inflamed, they may have the fairer opportunity of robbing and plundering, while those that are concerned are employed in quenching it. Nothing delights them so much as civil commotions, and, like a porpoise, always play before a storm.

The proposed form of government, we have reason to expect, and (perhaps to hope,) will be established, from the majority that is already in its favour: would it not, therefore, be better for the opposers of it to join, and give it a trial. If after that, they find it to answer the expectation they have *already* formed of it, let them then take such measures to stop its farther progress, as are consistent with the principles of *freemen*: the more mild and cool they are in their proceedings, the sooner they will make proselytes of some, who now consider it as the salvation of our country. No system of government was ever perfect; this also has its faults; but as there are no means provided to amend those faults, with out (if I may be allowed the expression) of amending the whole—it is better to adopt this, than live any longer under a government of no stability, where national faith is at its lowest ebb.

March 17, 1788.

537. "G. R."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 March 1788

Mr. OSWALD, When I come to town I always have an opportunity of reading your papers, but my avocations have prevented me near a fortnight past from enjoying that pleasure. I assure you I was astonished at the discovery made by the *Centinel*, in the Gazetteer of Tuesday the 26th ultimo, relative to the design of the CONSPIRATORS, in exonerating their DELINQUENT ASSOCIATES, who have hitherto retained in their hands, *unaccounted millions of the public monies*,^(a) and have since morning read all the pieces on this subject, published by you and Mr. *Bailey*. Can this be true said I? Is there no clause to secure to congress the vast

property intended as a fund to pay off our domestic debt as well as *the other property of the United States in the several great departments?* For my part I thought these things *pertained* to the *United States*, let what body soever represent them. But determining to examine the constitution itself on this point; judge how I felt for that writer (who I noticed on a former occasion) when I discovered in the 4th article of that work, sect. 3, paragraph 2, these words—“The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory OR OTHER PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES, *and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to PREJUDICE ANY CLAIMS OF THE UNITED STATES or of any particular state.*” Now, sir, will you advise me any longer to give credit to what is written by men who thus pervert and suppress the excellencies of a work which they examine but to mar and detract.

Philadelphia, March 14, 1788.

(a) *Are not the sums a little exaggerated?*

538. Public Justice

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 March 1788¹

“HE THAT RUNS MAY READ.”

Mr. OSWALD. In this day’s paper I observe your correspondent, Mr. Z, again comes forth in defence of his master, Robert the Cofferer; how far this disingenuous writer has succeeded, I shall leave the candid public to judge.

The patriotic writer under the signature of *A Friend to the People*, in your paper of Thursday, advanced that the accounts of *Robert the Cofferer*, as Financier, and also as chairman and agent of the secret commercial committee of congress, were yet unsettled, the great importance of this subject requires that it should be deliberated with candor.

For the first charge, viz. Bobby’s delinquency in the capacity of financier; he adduced the resolve of congress of June 20th, 1785 (a long time after Mr. Z’s *pretended* settlement) for appointing “commissioners to examine the receipts and expenditures of monies by the financier:” but these commissioners *Bob* dreaded, and had influence enough to prevent being appointed. So that this charge yet remains good against him. The *Cofferer’s* accounts as financier are yet unsettled; and of course he retains the balance, whether it is 400,000 dollars, more or less, is yet to be ascertained.

As to the *pretended* settlement of his accounts as financier, if he could have produced *square* accounts, well supported, to the commissioners

(which were intended by congress to be appointed to examine them) he would have been anxious to have such commissioners' scrutiny; and instead of his conduct upon that occasion, he should have procured the appointment of the commissioners, to silence the clamors then against him as a public defaulter. His whole behaviour and conduct upon that occasion evinced a dread of investigation, it augured a very great balance due the public.

The second charge, viz. That Robert the Cofferer, as chairman, agent and treasurer of the secret commercial committee, has not settled his accounts, Mr. Z, has not dared to deny; the truth of it is, the Cofferer could never be prevailed on to render any account of the millions of public money advanced him in that capacity.

Mr. Z, instead of answering to these charges, brings forward an old rusty report of a committee, and a resolution of congress of 1779 adopting the report: which committee was appointed to report on a particular charge of fraud, referred to them, against the Cofferer, viz. "for throwing the loss of the ship Farmer (captured by the British) upon the public, when he chartered and freighted it on his own account and risk." This charge, which had been made by Mr. Laurens, the committee found was not supported by *legal* evidence; on the contrary, we find the cofferer's clerks proved it to be groundless: Therefore the committee as candid men, not only considered it proper to clear the Cofferer, but also to endeavor to remove the stain left by the charge: this they did by passing an encomium on Mr. M———s's "conduct *as far* as came to *their knowledge*." And we find Mr. Laurens also joins in restoring the Cofferer's character to the level on which it was before that charge was made against him.^(a) But what has this particular charge to do with the charge of the non-settlement of the Cofferer's accounts. Mr. Laurens's name was adduced on no other charge. The writer before mentioned, signed *a Friend to the People*, or any other that I saw, ever squinted at the affair of the ship Farmer; and Mr. Z, must have brought that forward to divert the attention of the people from the charges of default and delinquency, which have been made and supported against Robert the Cofferer. Such shuffling and pitiful evasions characterises all Mr. Z's performances, that I am apt to think he is a certain attorney, whose conduct upon every occasion is notorious only for such low manoeuvres and shifts: however, these attempts to deceive cannot but be seen through; they are only the works of a moment, they must flee before truth.

I again repeat the charges which have been made and supported, and are yet good and substantial, viz.

ROBERT THE COFFERER *has not settled his accounts as Financier; in which capacity he had the handling of millions of money.*

Secondly. ROBERT THE COFFERER *has not settled or even rendered his accounts as chairman, agent and treasurer of the secret commercial committee: in which capacity was trusted to him monstrous sums of public money; and by his not rendering any account of, the balance cannot be very small.*

Thirdly. *It has been proved that by the EX POST FACTO, and other clauses in the new constitution, the public defaulters (as well as delinquent states) will be skreened from paying into the treasury their respective balances.*

So that, as the *Friend to the People* observed, the public may go whistle for their money if the *great government* be set in motion, consequently the people of Pennsylvania will be robbed of millions of money, which has been dragged from them for the public use.

Is there any encouragement for the people to give such unlimited command over their purses, persons and property, to congress, as is contained in the new system; when public defaulters are allowed to rob the treasury of such monstrous sums of public money, and not brought to refund; when congress still continue over the administration of the p—st-o—e^(b) a man who deserves to be consigned to eternal infamy! an officer who has devoted the P—st-O——e to be the vehicle and instrument of works of despotism and darkness?—An office alone established for the welfare of the people hath he sold to the conspirators and public defaulters; who are attempting to enslave their country.

Southwark, March 15, 1788.

(a) *By the report of the committee and resolves of Congress, which Mr. Z introduced into his last, we find that Willing and Morris, made every contrast, chartered and loaded every vessel for the public, in their own name; so that it was never known whether the vessels were on their own account or the public's, till they arrived; and it was then allowed that the cofferer often took advantage of this circumstance, and claimed those vessels which were so fortunate as to escape the enemy and arrive safe: and as the chance of safe arrival was very small, so consequently the value of the cargo was enormous. But it was impossible to prove it against him; No! Bobby understood traffic better.*

(b) *E. Hazard, who never hazarded a doit in the cause of America.*

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 19 March.

539. A suffering public Creditor**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 March 1788**

MR. OSWALD, The patriotic writer under the signature of *A Friend to the People*, has settled the *hash* with *Robert the Cofferer*; he has proved that the assertions of Mr. Z. are groundless: and that the Quarter Master-General is in much the same predicament.

Z then comes forward, and endeavors in his second essay, to support his master *Billy in the great, big house*: and attempts to prove that the big house was not built with public money; but in this too he fails: he brings forward a set of resolutions of Congress not at all to the purpose. He seems to forget the draught of the Court of France for 40 or 50,000 dollars; which Billy had received of Congress many years before, and applied to private purposes. It is very hard that Congress should have to pay such large sums twice, for the same thing. But this is a trifle in comparison with some other *clever* transactions of *Billy's*. In a short time, a few facts, worth from 50 to 100,000 dollars each, shall be laid before the public; who, it appears, will be robbed of millions by these blood-suckers, if the *great government* be set in motion.

Second, near Spruce-street, March 14, 1788.

540. Z the 2d.**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 March 1788**

MR. OSWALD, It would seem that some of the party-scribblers are provoked that any person should have stepped forward on behalf of an absent friend, who has so generously and so repeatedly devoted his whole time, and has in various instances risked his personal credit and fortune in defence of his country and the liberties of his fellow-citizens. I have already said in my first number that I am no political writer; nor have I any view than to prevent the opinion of good and well-meaning men from being warped or led astray by groundless insinuations or wicked *inuendos*.

During that period of the late war, when *Robert the Cofferer*, acted as financier, it is notorious that his management of the public monies, rescued this country from destruction, by the great savings he made in every public department, and also by the large sums he advanced out of his own private purse for various enterprises, *even* against the enemy, *after all the foreign subsidies and loans had been entirely exhausted*. No other man of a public or private character ever did as much before him, or could then have done as much. Let me ask his most inveterate enemies—Did he not nominate Mr. J. Swanwick treasurer for the continental taxes in the state of Pennsylvania? Did not all public monies go

through the hands of said treasurer, or of Haym Salomon the continental broker? Was ever one farthing of public money fingered by the pretended cofferer? Were not all public accounts regularly settled at the expiration of every third month, between the said treasurer and said cofferer? How then comes it to pass that this worthy man should be thus wantonly accused of being a public defaulter? It is true, the general accounts were stated in November 1784; but were not settled: the settlement will, however, soon take place, because the commissioners of the *Treasury of Congress*, have at last sent them forward to Mr. M——, in Virginia; and I make bold to say there is no balance due thereon or claimed from him as financier; or if any is claimed, it will prove to be utterly groundless.

As to the accounts respecting him as chairman of the secret commercial committee, on which so much stress is laid, it is not the fault of Mr. M——, if its agents who were employed by him in Europe, or on this continent, have not produced or settled their accounts with him: let the blame lay where it ought; it is too hard so wantonly to run down a patriot, and the very best friend of his country: it is ungenerous to insult an individual in the hour of his difficulties.

541. Truth

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, The treachery and cunning of the writers in favor of the *proposed constitution*, dishonor human nature. I have been told by a gentleman of veracity, that a few weeks ago a junto of them composed a piece, under the signature of An Old American, with the base intention of answering it themselves, and sent it to you for insertion, as if it came from the opposite party. At the very time it was wrote they had their answers prepared, and immediately after it appeared in the Independent Gazetteer: you may observe it attacked by a Bricklayer in Humphreys's paper, then in yours; again by Gomez in yours; now in Hall and Sellers's by a Carpenter, &c. &c.

When men descend to such dirty, disgraceful methods to deceive the public, one would suppose their cause must be bad indeed. They set out upon their system foolishly by discovering their real sentiments, viz. that the *better sort* of people, that is the *rich* ought to govern; but this plan was found to be very unpopular and to give great offence. Now they strive to represent the opposition as despising the middling sort of people and enemies of mechanics: but the citizens of America will not be so easily convinced that the *well born* are their true friends.

If my information concerning the authors of the piece alluded to be questioned, let it be remembered that the sentiments in it were diametrically opposite to those of the friends of freedom who compose the opposition. These men despise the idea of supposing one man better than another on account of *birth* or *fortune*; *virtue only ennobles*, this is their motto.

March 17.

542. Carlisle Gazette, 19 March 1788¹

The following letter was received from a Gentleman in Philadelphia, dated Feb. 28, 1788.

Dear SIR, It gave me great pain to find that CARLISLE, above every part of the state should have been the theatre of a violent opposition to the new government. Have the friends of science in Philadelphia—and has the legislature of Pennsylvania bestowed so much labour, and lavished so much money upon your town to so little purpose? I should have rather supposed that the influence of your College would have chased ignorance and folly out of the county of Cumberland.

I wish your people would recollect WHO opposed the establishment of a College in Carlisle—and WHAT the arguments were, they used against it. The same men now fill your county with false and inflammatory publications against the new government. Remember how they told you that the College was a PARTY institution, and that it was intended to destroy the constitution of Pennsylvania.—Has this been the case? Is it not open alike to men of all parties? Have not many of its enemies practically confessed their mistakes by sending their sons to it to be educated? Has it not drawn a good deal of money into your town and county, and made them both known in every part of the United States?

I do not believe the new government to be without some faults.—But whoever saw any thing perfect come from the hands of men, or I might ask further—did the Supreme Being ever make any thing that man did not find fault with?

I wish it was universally impressed upon the minds of your people, that there can be no LIBERTY, where there is no LAW, and that nothing deserves the name of LAW, but that which is certain—and universal in its operation upon all the members of a community.

The clamors that have been raised, from the want of a bill of rights, have been reasoned and ridiculed out of credit in every state in the union. There can be only TWO securities for liberty in any government, viz. REPRESENTATION and CHECKS. By the first the rights of the

people, and by the second, the rights of representation are effectually secured. Every part of a free constitution hangs upon these TWO points—and THESE form the two capital features of the proposed government of the United States. Without them, a volume of rights would avail nothing, and with them, a declaration of rights is absurd, and unnecessary—For the PEOPLE where their liberties are committed to an EQUAL REPRESENTATION, and to a COMPOUND legislature (such as we observe in the new government) will always be the sovereigns of their rulers, and hold all their rights in their own hands. To hold them at the mercy of their servants, is disgraceful to the dignity of freemen. Men who call for a bill of rights, have not yet recovered from the habits they acquired under the monarchical government of Great-Britain.

I have the same opinion with your people, of the danger of trusting arbitrary legislative power to any body of men, but no such power will be committed to our new rulers. Neither the house of representatives—the senate—or the president can perform a SINGLE legislative act by themselves. A hundred principles of action in man will lead them to watch—to check—and to oppose each other, should an attempt be made by either of them upon the liberties of the people. If we may judge of their conduct by what we have too often observed in all the states, the members of the fœderal legislature will much oftener injure their constituents by voting agreeably to their inclinations, than against them.

But are we to consider men entrusted with power, as the reservoirs of ALL the depravity of human nature?—By no means.—The people do not part with their full proportion of it. Reason and revelation both deceive us, if they are all innocent, wise, and virtuous. Is not history as full of the vices of the people, as it is of the crimes of kings?—What is the present moral character of the inhabitants of the United States?—I need not describe it. It proves too plainly that the people are as much disposed to vice, as their rulers, and that nothing but a vigorous, and efficient government can prevent their degenerating into savages, or devouring each other like beasts of prey.

To look up to a government that secures property—ensures order—cherishes virtue—patronises science—and protects from every species of violence, affords a pleasure that can only be exceeded by looking [up?] in all circumstances to a general Providence. Such a pleasure is before us, and our posterity under the influence of the new government.

I write of the establishment of the constitution as certain. New Hampshire will, no doubt adopt, and New York must follow the three Eastern states, and New Jersey, in adopting it. Private letters leave us no room to doubt of its being adopted by South and North Carolina.—Maryland

will be nearly unanimous, and General Washington has declared it his opinion, that it will be ratified by two thirds of the convention of Virginia.

By the last packet, many letters have been received in Philadelphia, which shew that our new plan of government is highly approved of by the friends of America, more especially by the great and good Dr. Price.

I beg your pardon for the length of this letter. I cannot conclude it without taking notice of the testimony that has been borne at a meeting of sundry inhabitants of your town, (of which William Brown was chairman) against the necessity and usefulness of LEARNING in government. Perhaps those men have forgotten, or perhaps they never knew that Locke, Sidney, Huntington, Montesquieu, and all the great writers upon liberty and government were men of deep and extensive learning.—They forget too, the characters of the men who composed the first Congresses, and to whose patriotism they owe their present liberties. A great majority of them were men of learning.—They mistake further, in supposing that the opposition to the foederal majority was carried on by a few plain farmers and mechanics. However much I am disposed to honour the natural talents of these men, yet I am forced to add that in the convention they spoke only as it was given to them, by two or three men out of doors, who have more “logic, and sophistry” than any dozen of the foederal majority. Had these farmers and mechanics, been properly educated in early life, and thereby enabled to have comprehended the WHOLE of the great subject of government, I have no doubt, but MOST of them would have thought, and acted very differently, from what they have done.—Their FEELINGS I believe are just and true to the interests of their country.—Their OPINIONS and conduct only (which are under the direction of interested men) are wrong.

With great respect, yours, &c.

1. This letter was probably written by Benjamin Rush. See also Rush to Jeremy Belknap, Philadelphia, 28 February 1788 (Mfm:Pa. 461).

543. Carlisle Gazette, 19 March 1788

LIBERTY.

A Poem inscribed to the Sons of Freedom who appeared armed in Carlisle, Saturday the first March, instant.

Hail glorious liberty from clime to clime
Offspring of heav'n celestial gift divine;

Immortal Greece rever'd thy sacred name,
 And martial Rome advanced thy rising fame;
 Alas! what darkness now prevades those lands,
 Where once there reign'd,—now tyranny commands.
 Thou deigns with smiles to chear our western climes,
 And copious displays of freedom bless our times;
 Despotie fiends pursue thee to those parts,
 Unsheaths their swords, let's fly their pois'ned darts;
 But dire defeat awaits satanic guile;
 Virtue will triumph in our happy soil;
 Avaunt ambition, injurious caitiff fly,
 Dire vengeance all your motions doth descry;
 The Goddess smiles protection to the brave,
 Consigns the tyrant t' an infamous grave.
 In every breast new nervous ardour flames;
 In every soul triumphant freedom reigns.
 To arms! to arms!—despotie tools confound;
 Defeat the slaves—from every breast resound!
 They march in order, flamed with martial fire;
 Liberty's charms does every heart inspire;
 Their foes appal'd, with horror at the sight,
 Stood trembling pale, despair and sore affright;
 Assail'd their souls, disarmed their insolence,
 Humbled their pride, laid low their arrogance.
 Pursue the blow! thro' law! thro' danger! flames!
 Be firm, undaunted—immortalize your names;
 Honour and justice shields the generous brave;
 When heav'n forsakes the wretched timid slave.
 Triumphs of freedom bless our happy soil,
 While fearless bands despises dangerous toil,
 Th' admiring world, by glorious deeds shall see,
 We dare preserve the sweets of liberty.—
 Thro' every stage of life, thro' wounds and death,
 That hallow'd sound lips with our latest breath!

544. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 19 March 1788

Carlisle, March 5.

"Dear Sir—You are no stranger to the *fracas* which happened here on the 26th and 27th of December last, between the federalists *who would rejoice* and the antifederalists *who would not let them rejoice*, on the adoption of the new Constitution. A number of oaths were sworn by

the former against the latter before John Agnew Esq. This ultimately issued in a Warrant from some of the Justices of the Supreme Court for securing twenty persons who had either refused to rejoice, or suffer others to do it.—By virtue of this warrant seven persons were confined in the jail of Carlisle. There they remained for a few days, when 1500 respectable citizens, all armed, approached the suburbs of the town, halted, and deputed five of their number to apply for the relief of their fellow-citizens, then in the prison of the county of Cumberland. They were politely received, and the prisoners liberated, by the sheriff, with the following—I don't know what to call it; but here it is—

“Be it known, that I Charles Leeper, Esq. Sheriff of Cumberland county, do hereby discharge from their imprisonment in the gaol of this county of Cumberland, the following persons, viz, James Wallace, William Petrikin, Thomas Dickson, Samuel Greer, Bartholomew White, Joseph Young, and Joseph Steel.

CHARLES LEEPER, Sheriff.”

The citizens then marched off with the greatest decorum, and “offered violence to no man.”

545. Philo-Centinel

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 19 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, A writer in your paper of yesterday has pretended to have discovered a section in the new constitution, which prevents the injurious operation of the *ex post facto* clause, in screening public defaulters and delinquent states, as illustrated by the Centinel in his 16th number. The section he has adduced is evidently a provision made for the regulation and disposition of the territory of the United States and its general property, and to declare that the constitution should not be so constructed as to prejudice the claims of the United States or any particular state thereto: This is the obvious meaning of the words; besides a strained or implied construction would be of no avail against so positive a prohibition as is contained in the *ex post facto* clause against making any law that may affect defaulters and delinquent states, especially when it is considered that the convention have declared their sense on this subject by article 6th where provision is made for debts, &c. due by the United States, but none for those due to them; and farther by that section, which declares that all taxes shall be uniform throughout the union.

March 18th

546. Pennsylvania Gazette, 19 March 1788¹

The real friends of liberty and good government, says a correspondent, must be convinced, by the late lamentable disorders in Cumberland, that nothing can save this devoted country from all the horrors

and miseries of anarchy, but the most unremitting pains on their part to establish the general government. Since the rising of the Foederal Convention we have had two different Houses of Assembly, one of which ordered a State Convention to be called, and the other provided for the session expences, &c. as ordered by the first; from whence it appears, that our lawful and constitutional legislature have seen no cause to oppose or obstruct the adoption of the foederal constitution. Our State Convention has also set and formally adopted it under the sacred authority of the people. Our Supreme Council, our constitutional Executive, have, without any obligation so to do, very properly expressed their satisfaction, by congratulating the legislature on the adoption—yet a few of the minority keep up a paper war—and even seem disposed to commence a civil war. It is very certain they will find themselves mistaken in such proceedings, for their conduct in attempting to govern *a real majority* must be considered as *a gross and violent tyranny*, and, whatever they may suppose, *will not be endured*. Their conduct is hostile to *the liberty* of every Pennsylvanian, and to *the independence* of the United States. Can they be weak enough to suppose, that such *violence* will not alarm every man of *reflection and property* in the State Conventions, every *real friend* to the peace, liberty and safety of the union. Yes, we trust it will. We are sure, that many of THE WISE AND GOOD in those respectable assemblies will see, that the adoption of the government is the *only* way to avoid THE RUIN OF THEIR COUNTRY.

The people of Carlisle and its vicinity are the only persons in Pennsylvania who have shewn any public symptoms of disapprobation of the new foederal constitution. It is a small minority to carry things with so high a hand. We understand no county in the state is so much in arrear for taxes: That is, none have so much avoided to pay *the soldiers* who have *fought* for us, *the ally* who has *assisted* us, and *the public creditor* who has *lent* us money *in the time of need*. Oh gratitude and justice, whither are ye fled!

The appointments of the State Conventions to meet the end of April, in May and in June, leaves a considerable interval before we can obtain additions to the present number; but, if we remember that six states have adopted, that none have yet refused, and that it was too reasonably feared that some might dissent, we shall confidently expect its adoption by nearly the whole number. All, we trust, will finally be included in one fold.

Though there is *very little* opposition to the proposed foederal constitution in South-Carolina, it appears that a principal ground of objection with its opponents *there* is, that it will finally invest the foederal legislature with a power *to regulate or prevent* the importation of slaves. The Minority of Pennsylvania, who were always friends to the abolition

of negro slavery, and the states of Rhode-Island and Massachusetts, who consider slaves as *freed* by coming into their jurisdiction, can never expect to agree with the gentlemen in Carolina, who oppose on such principles.

The anti-foederal junto in this city and in the counties, observes a correspondent, are using all their endeavours to stir up the people of this state, and to throw us all into confusion. Already we recognize some of the first fruits of their labours, in the rising of the people of Cumberland county to let out of jail the rioters confined there. This junto seem disposed to sacrifice the peace and order of the state, and indeed every other consideration, at the shrine of popularity, to obtain which they prostitute every thing that is valuable to men of any character. Their base attacks upon that great statesman, Dr. Franklin, whom they stile a *public defaulter*, ought to be held in abhorrence by every good man. It is well known that this truly venerable Philosopher would have adjusted his public accounts long since, but for his extreme age. As to his signing the new constitution on account of the *ex post facto* and other clauses in it, which they say cancels all debts due by delinquent states and *public defaulters*, it is most absurd. Would any body suppose that the venerable Franklin would be swayed by such motives? No! He signed it as a cure for all our evils, as a government which would restore this devoted land to its proper station among the nations of the earth.

1. The third paragraph and the final paragraph were reprinted in the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* and *Pennsylvania Packet* on 20 March. The third paragraph was also reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* on 22 March. Thirteen other newspapers throughout the country reprinted one or more paragraphs.

547. "D. P."

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 20 March 1788

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

Sir, I arrived in this city on Tuesday evening from Fort Pitt, and on Wednesday morning at my lodgings, I was astonished at the erroneous account, in the Freeman's Journal, of the friends to the new constitution in several counties of the state.

Though I am not engaged in politics, as a friend to truth and fair play, I cannot refrain myself from giving you a plain statement of uncontrovertible facts—facts which will make Mr. Investigator blush, if not hardened in the ways of falshood and deceit.

In my journey for above three months thro' various parts of the state, from Philadelphia to Sunbury, thence to Cat-fish in Washington county, through Bedford and Fort Pitt, I did not meet with ten persons opposed to the New Constitution, except in a district near Carlisle in

Cumberland county. The clergy—the farmers—the lawyers—men of property and sense, of what ever profession, are its advocates: The vagrants only (except in Philadelphia of whose citizens I cannot at present form a judgment) are against it.

A tavern keeper, on the west side of the Allegany mountains; refused a dinner till I gave him assurances of my being Federal. I heard a worthy Presbyterian minister in Bedford pronounce the new constitution in a sermon (for in those parts it is no strange thing to even preach in favour of it) the best system of government which has ever been formed—“under it,” he was sure, “the people of America would lead peaceable and happy lives, in all godliness and honesty.”

You are welcome, sir, to make what use you please of this information. Nothing but a wish to undeceive the public could have led me to trouble you. I am ready to come forward with my name in support of these facts.

March 20th.

548. “Z.”

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 20 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, How arduous is the task of following writers determined on misrepresentation through all the mazes of political deception, especially when no reasonable hope can be entertained that those who are bent on detraction, will be won from the pursuit, however cogent may be the arguments or documents with which they are opposed; the impartial public, however, and those whose liberality and candor of mind render them proper judges, will easily distinguish between facts and assertions, and whatever may be the latter, it is only the former that must decide.

I shall now reply to some publications, under various signatures, that have appeared in your paper since my last: although they furnish little new matter for observation, we find in them the same string of unsupported statements that we have already combated. It may not be improper, however, to make a few comments on these publications.

With respect to the financier’s accounts, it has been already observed, that they have been long since in the possession of Congress, who have at no time made any official objection to them since November 1784, when they were delivered to them; the presumption, therefore, naturally is, that they have no such objections to make. It is said, in June 1785, they passed a resolve that they would appoint commissioners to investigate these accounts; but a resolve never acted upon, and of so old a date, must be considered as a nullity. I would appeal to any man, whether the blame, if there be any, be not in Congress. Here is a public

officer appointed; he resigns and renders an account of his stewardship, as he conceives it fully adjusted, and supported by all proper vouchers and documents; the accounts and vouchers are delivered in, and here is a public body thus receiving these accounts, without any objection during the space of nearly four years; surely it must be supposed by all men conversant in accounts, that no objections having been pointed out for so long a time, argues, that there could none have been made; for how long is a public servant thus to be kept in a state of suspense, and liable to torrents of abuse on accounts rendered? In the course of how many years is he safe from new remarks and pursuits respecting them, and what man would ever be found willing on such terms to have any thing to do with public measures, when he knows not at what time they are to have an end?

It is said, Robert the cofferer, had influence enough in Congress to prevent the appointment of commissioners; but is it imagined the public will believe an assertion like this? Does it not counteract the very purpose of its author, and prove the old government insufficient, since nothing worse than such influence is apprehended from the new; how inconsistent are these writers with themselves; they oppose the new government, because, say they, under it defaulters are to be skreened, at the very time when they alledge the same thing to exist under the old. Now if neither the old nor new government be secure and safe, what government are we to resort to? The truth is, the accounts are with Congress; whenever they are disposed to make objections to them, it will be time enough to answer them; until this happens it must be concluded they have none to make. But what authority, even on their own statement, have these writers to conclude a balance due to the public of 400,000 dollars, or any sum on these accounts, or those of the commercial committee, supposing them unsettled? Does it follow on their own principles that, because accounts are not adjusted, the cofferer must be in debt? No, sir, it is a mere assertion; a sum conjured up solely for purposes of party to amuse the public, and gratify the censorious and malicious; and there is a double mixture of fell ingredients in the charge made, as it is for the first time in the absence of the cofferer; and when of course, he is not in the way to take his own remedy, or provide a suitable antidote for it.

With respect to Mr. Laurens, it had been asserted that he resigned his chair as president of Congress, because he was baffled in his endeavors to have the public accounts adjusted; in answer it has been shewn, that this could not be true, since his first public effort on this head was made a month after his resignation; and it has been proved from the journals of Congress, not only that the committee and Mr. Laurens were on investigation satisfied with the propriety of the cof-

ferer's conduct as to the ship Farmer, but further, that they were equally satisfied with his conduct in every other part of it, in the business committed to him that had come to their knowledge; but the satisfaction of Congress with the cofferer's transactions, as to the commercial and secret committees, is more fully evidenced by their unanimous vote, February 20, 1781, to appoint him superintendant of finance; an office of so high a nature, they would not, could not, have voted to any gentleman of whose conduct they had had previously any right to complain.

I shall now take my leave of these writers, and leave the public to decide on the facts that have been offered to them what ought to be their opinion, contenting myself with this concluding observation, that it is endless to enter into argument with those whom prejudice has blinded; and that accounts about which so much has been said, will not be affected by their decision; but resting on their own merits, will form their own justification, whenever they are brought to the test of the proper examination; and thus the new constitution is so far from preventing that (as your correspondent G. R. has justly observed) express provision is therein made for it.

549. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 20 March 1788

FAMILIAR LETTERS *between* MARGERY *and her* FRIENDS.

LETTER VIII.

MARGERY to Mr. B——N of Cumberland County.

Philadelphia, January 7th, 1788.

DEAR SIR, I thank you kindly for the small fillip your riot at Carlisle has given to my hopes.—My spirits have indeed for some time past been upon a rapid ebb—The three adoptions in the course of a fortnight, treading as it were “upon the kibe” of each other, untuned my whole frame—Things went in Delaware and Pennsylvania nearly as we could have expected; but what hurt me exceedingly was the *unanimity* of New-Jersey—we had at least expected a dissentient or two from the county of Essex, which would have saved appearances—It had been proposed to send Jonathan up to Trenton, at the time the Convention was sitting, to try what he could do; but it was overruled on account of his having been driven out of that state with disgrace—However I was of opinion he might as well have gone; things could not have been worse, and there was not a man among us could have put on his effrontry, after so many severe *manual exercisings*.

I have made some alteration in the account of the riot, which you drew up: we do not intend to publish it yet awhile, till the noise is a

little abated; for people here speak of the deserters and new-comers with a great deal of contempt, and it is also known that you had several refugees among you—The story we have made of it, may therefore have more effect by and by—it will be like having the last word.

Our trio have thought that “An Address of Thanks” to the minority would not be amiss—I have sketched out one for you, and we advise that you get a few of your acquaintances together, in order that it may be resolved upon—Let them meet in Carlisle, for it is said here (and I fear it is the case) that the people of that town are foederal. There will be no occasion for many to meet about it, as it will only make it more expensive—if there are but enough to elect a chairman, secretary, &c. it will be sufficient—You can take a small back room in a tavern, where you may have things as private and snug as you please—but be sure to call it “a meeting of a number of respectable inhabitants of the borough of Carlisle,”—and put no date to it,—this will make it more difficult to be contradicted.

You complain that we do nothing but scribble—why, what would you do without scribbling? it is the principal thing, which has fomented the riot you had, and I believe nothing would have been done without it—I wrote letters some time ago to our friends to the eastward, General Shays, Job Shattuck, and General Arnold; copies of which I shall sub-join.—The first part of Luther’s information made its appearance last Saturday—but the supercilious fellow has done nothing but puff up his own consequence—there is so much in it of “I did this, and I did that, and I said t’other,” that you would think there could not have been a convention without him.

You desire my opinion of the Constitution—my “*serious candid* opinion”—“there’s the *rub*.”—Yet you shall see what dependence I have on you, by telling you what I *really* think of it.—You are so much acquainted with the first principles of government, to know, that it originated from *necessity*—that if all mankind were virtuous and honest, it would have precluded that necessity—but as the world is circumstanced, the more orderly and well-disposed were obliged to institute modes and means to keep the licentious and turbulent in order and regulation—that the honest and industrious should find protection for their lives and property against the vicious and predatory—of course that government, which provided most effectually for these premises was the best—But fortunately for us! and fortunately for all those factious unrestrained spirits, which have flourished so long upon the imbecillity of human institutions, that the science of government has heretofore been so imperfect—After all the restrictions and provisions which the wisest men could suggest and impose by their wisest laws, there was still latitude sufficient left for the ingenuity of subtle roguery and daring

enterprisers—That grand and high-conceived scheme of Henry the IVth of France, and his minister Sully, to put a stop to all wars, and the calamities attending them, by confederating all the kingdoms of Europe together, would have proved, if it could have been carried into execution, a most severe, if not effectual check to triumphant political villains, and through them it would have crushed all their gradations and dependencies down to the menial fomenters of sedition and insurgency—It was however too extensive and visionary to succeed—Villainy was respited, and has continued to flourish to the present day.

But here, my friend, our prospects are changed—I tremble—I quake—I am nervous all over—What the virtue of Henry and wisdom of Sully could not produce, has been effected by the united councils of the patriots and statesmen of America.—I see an effulgent luminary rising in our western hemisphere, before which our dark and long-gathering projects of faction and anarchy must vanish like putrid fogs and noxious vapours.—Yes, my friend,—when I saw those very men, who fought for, and established the liberties of their country, called together to frame a constitution, by which they should be handed down, and secured to their posterity, I shuddered for the result.—They were men, possessed not only of wisdom and valour, but the tenderest attachment and most watchful jealousy for the liberties of that country, which they had liberated—They had before them all the errors, inadvertencies and misconduct of other nations and governments, from the earliest period of civilization to the present time—They had all the lights to guide them, which could be obtained from the most discerning and enlightened philosophers, historians and legislators, of every age down to the eighteenth century—But they moreover had what no people ever had before them—they had their country at peace, and a time of perfect tranquility to deliberate on the momentous subject. The event is such as might have been expected—They have produced a Constitution, which is the combined result of all the wisdom of Grotius, Puffendorf, Barbeyrac, Bacon, and Burlamaqui—of Harrington, Locke, Seldon, Montesquieu, and Sidney—and of the united sagacity, virtue, and patriotism of the foederal worthies of the United States—It is a constitution planned to secure the liberty and happiness of the people by repelling tyranny on one hand, and licentiousness on the other—In fine, it is a constitution, which, if I believed in the scriptures (though by the abandoned wicked life I have led you may be sure I do not) would make me conclude the MILLENIUM or thousand years of peace were approaching—Oh! that I and my household were wise and honest—that instead of seeking to thrive by turbulence and discord, we had considered the peace and happiness of the people—Oh! that I

had educated my children in the paths of virtue, that they might now promote the welfare and prosperity of their country!

MARGERY.

550. Come on Cooly

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, When our distresses are so great; money so scarce, and hard to come at; taxes so enormous and difficult to collect: instead of establishing a government, which will require numerous additional expensive offices; a vast standing army; a suberb and burthensome presidential court; which will be continually making new offices, and granting pensions to favourites. I say, instead of all this if we should only give Congress powers to regulate commerce, and other general powers; retaining the internal powers over the purse and sword, &c. And at the same time taking care to lower the salaries of our present officers; we would then do very well.

The president has £.1500 per annum.		£.500	might be deducted
The chief justice £.1200 ditto.		500	ditto
The assistant judges £.600 ditto— reduced to <i>specie</i> is about £.390, rather much—but judges ought to be independent.			
Prothonotary of supreme court £.2000		1200	ditto
Ditto county ditto £.800		400	ditto
Treasurer £.1200		600	ditto
Collector of customs £.2000		1200	ditto
Land officers £.2200		1000	ditto
Surveyor general £.1800		1200	ditto
Comptroller general and clerks £.800 rather much, however he ought to be independent.			
Recorder of wills £.1200		700	ditto
Ditto of deeds £.1000		500	ditto
Naval officer £. 900		400	ditto
County treasurer £.1800		1200	ditto
Attorney general £. 250			
Street commissioners } County ditto } City wardens }		5000.	ditto
		<hr/>	
		14,400	

So that we find this monstrous sum might be saved annually, and the officers still have sufficient.

Upon looking over this list I was struck with seeing the most of these offices in the possession of those who wish to encrease the number of offices, by establishing the new constitution: and was much surprised to see that most of my old friends, the constitutionalists, had retired from office, there being but two or three to be seen among them all. This shews who are most fond of offices.

551. "G. R."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 March 1788

Mr. OSWALD, I do not wish to enter into any altercation with Philo-Centinel, but I must insist that sect. 3, art. 4, of the federal constitution, *expressly provides* for *every claim*, which the United States have against defaulters or delinquent states; and also provides for *every claim* of the particular states—The words I again repeat, "*and nothing in this constitution, shall be so construed as to prejudice ANY claims of the United States, or of any particular state.*"—Can language be more explicit?

I apprehend, a man of common sense will never infer from these words, "no ex post facto law shall be passed," that it is intended to screen those, who retain balances of public money in their hands; which are certainly parts of the *general property* mentioned by that writer.

The federal convention, after providing for *the claims of the United States*, have only done justice in securing to the public creditors their dues by the 6th article.

A wilful perversion is chargeable upon the gentleman who replied to my observations on this subject, in your paper of yesterday; he mentions a section in the constitution, "which declares that all *taxes* shall be uniform throughout the union;" and there is not a word like it in that work.

It is true in politics, as in common life, "Honesty is the best policy," and if he, and some inflammatory writers, were to conform themselves to the practice of it, the harmony of this state would not be placed in jeopardy, nor the minds of some weak individuals distracted, on a subject wisely calculated to ensure the public welfare, and to perpetuate the blessings resulting from our late glorious revolution.

March 19, 1788.

552. Probus

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 March 1788

To the author of those *terrible* publications signed "Philadelphiensis," *supposed* to be B——— W———, of the University, and Member of the Philosophical Society.

SIR, To the active part you have taken in those terrible performances of yours, in attacking the new constitution; you were indebted for my last paper which I dedicated to you in the *Federal Gazette*: And to the same cause you will be pleased to ascribe that share of public attention which I shall now claim in your behalf. In my first essay I made some few slight touches at your character, and glanced at some of your transatlantic conduct, in *embezzling* of property trusted to your care; and upon your delinquency being discovered of your making off for America. But these are mere trifles compared to the anecdotes which I shall now relate of you, for yours and the public's consideration.

In the first place your spending a thousand pound bank note at a mead house between your master's house on the *Strand* and the bank, one morning: For which being turned out of your place; you was soon after apprehended for stealing a dead ox out of the Hay Market, and having made your escape, you next was very near being again taken up for going on the high way and committing many outrages there. After this we find your name recorded on the *black* journals, for having your 25th wife, while the 24 first were still living; but being pardoned on account of your youth, being only 16; you then attacked and robbed the royal regiment of foot guards, while marching over Hounslow-Heath, of a months pay the poor soldiers had been just receiving; with this booty you commenced swindler as a banker, and having taken in most of the capital merchants in London, you failed with full coffers: But the fraud being discovered, you retired to Cork. It is said that the failure of the *Cais des Comptes*, or bank at *Paris*, was principally caused by your frauds. From Cork we find you sailed to Bourdeaux in a large East India ship, which you seized in Cork harbour, (having put all the ships crew overboard) which having sold to some Jews in Bourdeaux, you commenced an Irish baronet, and set up your coach; but it getting abroad who you were, you retired in the night to the water side, and having plundered the king's custom-house of about £.100,000 in dollars, you agreed with a captain of an Irish smuggling cutter for half that sum, to carry you and your booty away. But being ship-wrecked on the *Lizard*, you were cast ashore on the coast of England, from which place you travelled on foot to London, and arriving there without a copper in your pocket, you were constrained to make an attack upon the king's carriage, while surrounded with 500 guards; but wounding the king in the attempt, and being taken, you was once more thrown into limbo. This, my dear sir, is but the portico of the mansion to your character; for you have provoked a chastisement, from which nothing will protect you; my Gazettee was established for the purpose, and I shall bedaub you and all the rest.

This is the man my fellow citizens, who has dared to attack the new constitution and its framers! Blush ye opponents to it, who have been the dupes of such a villain. Read thou villain in grain, thou L—— M——, thou second Thomas Paine, thou four years old citizen, read “Quos Deus vult perverdere prius demantat.” The force of this observation, thou villain, is by this time felt; and your guilt coloured countenance declares the conviction of your folly and crimes—but your contrition comes too late.

The candid public will require no other proof, I hope, than what I have advanced; as to my name, I would leave it at the printer’s, but it would be of no service, and might occasion disputes.

553-A. Quid

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, A writer in your paper of this day, under the signature of Truth, has come forward and accused the writers in favor of the new constitution with having composed a piece signed the Old American, “with the base intention of answering it themselves, sent it to you for insertion as if it came from the opposite party, and further, that at the very time it was wrote, they had their answers prepared.” I profess myself, Sir, to be an enemy to the new proposed constitution, and if the gentleman, (Mr. Truth) can prove what he has advanced, it must, I think, greatly tend to weaken the cause the federalists have espoused; because a person would be naturally led to suppose that, the constitution was so very faulty, that its admirers could say nothing in favour of it, and therefore were necessitated to descend to such low and disgraceful practices. But, Mr. Printer, I am sorry to observe that his assertion is very probably without any foundation—it appears to proceed from a malignity of disposition, which has of late disgraced too many of the writers, particularly those who are opposed to the new constitution, and unless Mr. Truth can prove to the public what he has advanced, and support it on just grounds, the charge will of course fall, and he it is to be hoped, will sink into oblivion, and not attempt to deceive the world again with such false, gross, and ungenerous assertions.

March 18, 1788.

553-B. “W.”

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, In consequence of being supposed the author of Philadelphiaensis, I am liberally loaded with the foulest terms in the English

language; and that is not the worst of it, for I am told that some pronounce me unfit to breathe the vital air.

The impression already made on the public mind could not be easily effaced, in short, any declaration I might now make would be vain; therefore, I shall not trouble myself on that head. To meet with scurrility and abuse in a newspaper is not my case alone; the malice, therefore, of the scribblers should have been heard with unconcern; but the attack *in terrorem* of the author of Probus upon my character compels a reply. This *sanctified* writer has shewn some share of address in fixing the scene of my iniquity at the distance of 3000 miles. Mr. Brown, the editor of the Federal Gazette, having informed me that Probus is endeavoring to substantiate the charge, I therefore keep back my justification until I shall have seen the full extent of his villainous and ill-founded accusation. And then let him take care, if I do not transfer the vermilion of my "guilt-coloured countenance" to his *immaculate* one. The anecdotes of the Mustard Grinder shall appear in due time.

March 19, 1788.

554. *Maryland Journal*, 21 March 1788¹

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in York-Town, (Pennsylvania) to his Friend in this Town, dated the 8th Instant.

"As the Affair at Carlisle, on the 1st Instant, may be much exaggerated, I use the Freedom to give you an Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in that Town, dated the 4th Instant:

"The RIOT BUSINESS has had rather an unfortunate Conclusion—The Prisoners, though bailed, refused to leave the Gaol, and on Saturday Morning, about 750 Men appeared under Arms, from the different Parts of the County, to rescue them.

"The Evening before, the Enemies to the Government had marked their Doors with the Letter A, to prevent their being pillaged.—They were all set at Liberty, and Petitions signed by a Number of both Parties, to Council, requesting a Stop put to the Prosecution.

"There is, no doubt, a considerable Faction in Pennsylvania against the Constitution lately recommended by the General Convention; but I apprehend it arises more from a Fear that they may part with some of their Power (however necessary to the general Weal) than a Conviction of real Imperfection in the System.

"I imagine it is a Part of their Plan to hold forth to the other States, that the Minority in Pennsylvania is very formidable, and these Riots are intended to give it a high-coloured Tinge. I trust their Influence will not be extensive, and that the good Sense of the United States will

join in establishing a general Government which promises Safety and Protection to Person and Property.

“From the best Information I can receive, there is scarcely a dissenting Voice from here to the City—we are all in favour of the Constitution.—The People over the Mountain, as well as those of Cumberland, Franklin, Dauphin and Berks, are divided; but the Majority still appear very strong, we have no Reason to suppose it lessened—and a little Patience for a few Months, will, probably, give us an Opportunity of seeing America rise to that Rank and Importance, which her Situation and Circumstances entitle her to.”

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 27 March; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 29 March; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 12 April; and ten times from Maine to Virginia.

555. Petition of the Inhabitants of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, to the Pennsylvania General Assembly, 22 March 1788¹

To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met. The Petition of the Subscribers Freemen and Inhabitants of the County of Franklin most respectfully Sheweth.

That your petitioners are desirous that order and good government should prevail, and that the constitution of this state should not be violated or subverted,

That as the members of your honorable body, are all sworn or affirmed to do no act or thing prejudicial or injurious to the constitution or government of this state as established by the convention, they look up to you as the guardians of the rights and liberties therein secured to your petitioners, and pray that they may be protected therein.—

That your petitioners, are much alarmed at an instrument called a constitution for the United States of America; framed by a convention which had been appointed by several of the states, “solely to revise the articles of the confederation, and report such alterations and provisions therein as should when agreed to in congress and confirmed, by the several states, render the Foederal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the Union:” Inasmuch as the liberties, lives and property of your petitioners are not secured thereby.

That the powers therein proposed to be granted to the government of the United States are too great, and that the proposed distribution of those powers are dangerous and inimical to liberty and equality amongst the poeple,

That they esteem, frequent elections, and rotation in offices, as the greatest bulwark of freedom.

That they conceive standing armies in time of peace are not only expensive but dangerous to liberty, and that a well organized militia will be the proper security for our defence.

That the liberty of the press, that palladium of freedom, should not be insecure or in danger.

That the rights of conscience should be secured to all men, that no man should be molested for his religion, and that none should be compelled contrary to their principles and inclination to hear or support the clergy of any one religion.

That the right of trial by Jury, should be secured both in civil and criminal cases.

That the government as proposed would be burthen-some, expensive and oppressive, and that your petitioners are averse from paying taxes to support a numerous train of offices erected thereby, which would be not only unnecessary but dangerous to our liberties.

That your petitioners conceive, the majority of the deputies of the general convention who have been appointed by this state, have exceeded the powers with which they were delegated, that their conduct is reprehensible, and that they should be brought to account for the same as the precedent is highly dangerous and subversive of all government.

That your petitioners observe, this proposed constitution hath not been approved by the congress of the United States as directed by the articles of the confederation; and your petitioners desire, that it may not be confirmed by the legislature of this state, nor adopted in the said United States, and that the delegates of congress from this state be instructed for that purpose,

And your Petitioners as in duty bound, will ever pray

Saml. Dougal	Daniel McMullon	Charles Widney	William Lauther
Noah Abraham Esqr.	Wm. Taylor	Daniel McMilan	Edward Kelly
Robert Elder	[Jno?] McClure	William Wright	Bars; Doyle
Robt. Wilson	Saml. Coulter	Jonathan McClure	Felix Doyle
Randel Alexander	James Coulter	Samuel Mears	Cors. Harken
James Alexander	John McMullon	Jame Mears	Thos. Donnelly
William Alexander	hugh McClure	James McMullon	Edward Dougherty
Thos. [Barker?]	Edwd. Murphy	Ephraim Donnelly	James Ardery
John McCray	Andw. Miller	Saml: Moore	George Ardrey
William Hunter	John Douglass	Alexr. Moore	John Ardery
James Mcneely	Jaem McClure	Nathaniel Paul	Richard Morrow
William Elder	Cornelius Hutcheson	George Paul	Andrew Morrow
John Campbell Miller	Philip Hutcheson	Samuel Gammel	John Rows
Wm Paul	Jan Widney	John Campbell	John Widdne
Ennes McMullon	Joseph Moore	James Lauther	William Campbell

[Joseph McMaken?]	Robert Anderson	Noah Abraham Junr	Thomas McCurdy
Robert Elder	Joshua Anderson	John Neilson	William McKibons
James Walker	Thomas Johston	Alexr Potts	John Newcome
Saml. Walker	James Gibson	Peter Foreman	Samuel McCord
John Davids	Saml. Bigham	John Potts	Robert Murray
Archibald Elliot	Andrew Douglass	James Potts	Walter Brandon
George Bohanan	Henery Varner	Robert Potts	Jos. Brandon
John Bohanan	Cornelas Hegin	George Wagoner	Vincent gribble
George Bohanan Junr	James Carmudy	Andrew Foreman	Ritchard Brandon
John Campbell	John Hermanns	Allexander Hopper	David Cambell Senior
David Campbell	Henry Wernor	Robt Allexander Junr.	James Bryan
[Adam Long?]	Abraham Wernor	Robt. Mcconnel	Charles Bryan
William Wilson	[John Mc Clean?]	John Noble Senr.	Nath Bryan
John Elder Sener	James Moor	John Noble Junr	Golden Bryan
Henry Hakenberry	James Ardrey Senr	Joseph Noble	Patrick Mccormick
Peter Hakenbery	Joseph Brown	John Widerrow Senr	Allen Brown
James Hakenbery	William Queen	John Widerrow Junr	John Mccay
Gasper Hakenbery	Joseph Killgore	Saml. Widerrow	Wm. Mackey
John Elder Juner.	Nehemiah Killgore	Wm. Widerrow	James Mackey
David Elder Juner.	James [L.?] Killgore	John Sharp	Robt Mccormick
Jermiah Hakenbery	George Lucas	John Johnston	Patrick Davison
David Elder Sener	Nathaniel McCall	Robert Alexander	John Davison
John Templon	Brab Zom Gibons	Hugh McCurdy	Wm Davison
Edward Batton	William Darlentoan	James MCurdy	Thos Sharp

6. To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met. The Petition of the Subscribers Towns and Inhabitants of the County of Franklin most respectfully Sheweth.

That your petitioners are ignorant that order and good government should prevail, and that the constitution of this State should not be established or altered.

That such members of your honorable body, as well known or supposed to be, as are or may be prejudicial or injurious to the constitution and government of this State as established by the constitution, they look up to you in the guardianship of the rights and liberties therein secured to your petitioners, and pray that they may be protected therefrom.

That your petitioners are much alarmed at an enactment called a constitution for the United States of America, framed by a convention which had been appointed by a resort of the States solely to organize the articles of the confederation, and which said constitution is now pending when agreed to in congress and confirmed by the several States, under the Federal Constitution, and adapted to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the Union: Inasmuch as the liberties, lives and properties of your petitioners are not secured thereby.

That the powers therein proposed to be granted to the government of the United States are too great, and that the proposed distribution of these powers are dangerous and inimical to liberty and equality among the people.

That they esteem frequent elections, and rotation in office, as the greatest bulwark of freedom.

That they conceive standing armies in time of peace are not only expensive but dangerous to liberty, and that a well organized militia will be the proper security for our defence.

That the liberty of the press, that pillar of freedom, should not be interfered or in danger.

That the rights of conscience should be secured to all men, that no man should be molested for his religion, and that none should be compelled contrary to their consciences to bear or support the troops of any one religion.

That the right of trial by jury should be secured both in civil and criminal cases.

That the government in this paper would be burdensome, expensive and oppressive, and that your petitioners are averse from paying taxes to support a numerous train of officers created thereby, which would be not only unnecessary but dangerous to our liberties.

That your petitioners conceive the majority of the deputies of the general convention who have been appointed by these States, have exceeded the powers with which they were delegated, that their conduct in whatever respects and that they should be brought to account for the same as the president in highly irregular and unconstitutional manner.

That your petitioners desire, that the proposed constitution hath not been approved by the congress of the United States as directed by the articles of the confederation, and your petitioners desire, that it may not be confirmed by the legislature of this State, nor adopted in the said United States, and that the delegation of congress from this State be instructed for that purpose.

That your petitioners are in duty bound will ever pray

Saml Douglass	John Campbell Miller	John Douglass annual 1802
ex cathedra	W Paul	James (some years)
Robert Eric	Ernes Mcmillan	(constituted 1800, some 1801)
John Wilson	James Mcmillan	Henry Fairchild
Randal Anderson	John Taylor	James (some years)
James Alexander	John McQuinn	James (some years)
William Alexander	Elm Gutter	James (some years)
John Baird	James Gutter	James (some years)
John H. Cox	John McMillan	James (some years)
William Hunter	Hugh McQuinn	James (some years)
George H. Gault	John McQuinn	James (some years)
William H. Gault	John McQuinn	James (some years)

556. Veritas**Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 22 March 1788**

Mr. Editor, Having seen in the newspapers of this city, an account of the late riot at Carlisle, as the same appeared in the Carlisle Gazette, I am at a loss which to condemn most, the baseness of those who descended to such notorious falsehoods in forging that account, or the want of prudence in the printers, who *first* published it in their paper.

That a considerable number of people who are riotously disposed, near the town of Carlisle, have rescued, from the goal of that place, some of their comrades, who had been confined for a former riot is true; but that "their number amounted to 1500, with many respectable men among them," is not true. On the contrary, their number was not more than one sixth of 1500, and that composed of desperate and abandoned fellows, whose infamy and ignorance testify, that they are actuated by no rational principle of opposition to the Federal Constitution. No, sir, they are, in general, men of infamous characters and bankrupt fortunes, who having nothing to lose themselves, ardently wish for a civil war in this state, that they may come in for a share of the plunder. Indeed, their lawless proceedings sufficiently prove what sort of men they are.

One good thing, however, will be the result of their outrageous conduct: it will afford one important argument in favour of an energetic and coercive federal government; for I hesitate not to say, that the riotous proceedings of Shays and his followers in Massachusetts, of Franklin and his associates at Wyoming, and of this banditti at Carlisle, must shew to a demonstration, to every unprejudiced mind, the absolute necessity of a firm federal government; therefore, though they may be temporary inconveniences, they must eventually serve the common cause, in establishing order and good government; since every man of common sense will readily allow, that the licentious proceedings of an uncontrouled rabble, is the worst kind of despotism.

20th March 1788.

557. Obediah Forceps**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 March 1788**

MR. OSWALD, The following being denied a place in the Federal Gazette, by its *impartial* editor, thou wilt oblige one of thy readers by inserting it in thy truly free and Independent Gazetteer.

FRIEND PROBUS, I have read thy very elegant production in the Federal Gazette of Thursday evening, and was much delighted with the softness of thy style. Verily thou art endowed with an amiable disposi-

tion, not to be equalled in this *section* of the globe. What a happy thought when thou didst propose thyself as principal of an academy for the tuition of young ladies. How profusely thou art calculated to infuse sentiments of benevolence, delicacy and morality, in our rising youth. Though it is an universal remark by physiognomists, that thy face is emblematic of rancorous envy, villainous hypocrisy, and bestial rage; yet I think thy Probus bespeaks thee to be as mild and amiable as a lamb. What a shame it was for *No Tiffany* to call thee, “the greatest coward, liar, and rascal, the Lord ever permitted to infest society”—What harsh language to a *man* (pardon me the insinuation) of thy angelic temper. Do not fret Probus, for thy beloved friend the Janus faced *Galen*, will soon be able to assist thee; he will distil a little of the quintessence of invective and slander, into thy inkstand: But I would advise thee not to invent any scandalous reports against the supposed author of Philadelphiaensis, as the person’s character alluded to, has been as immaculate at his departure from the noble *section* of the globe, that gave him birth, as thine is, and has been remarkable for treachery and deceit in this. A word or two between ourselves, and then I shall conclude. Thou shouldest recollect how thou fledest thy country thyself, thou shouldest also recollect, when in the service of the British king, how thou didst *imbezzle* his money, and consequently desert him afterwards. I mention nothing of your other mal-practices, but be cautious, perhaps people would ill-naturedly expose thee. I will be a watchful guardian over thy future conduct, least farther temptations should again induce thee to embrace the broad way to destruction.

I am, thy Friend,
OBEDIAH FORCEPS.

March 18, 1788.

558. Philo-Centinel

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, Your correspondent G. R. in your paper of this day, appears to be some low quibbling lawyer, versed in torturing and misapplying words to answer purposes contrary to their nature and intention. He has converted a section in the new constitution relating merely to land and disposition of the territory of the United States and its general property, into a provision for the recovery of the arrearages of taxes and monies due by defaulters, and thus conjured up a champion on behalf of the people against the ex post facto clause; but such chimeras will not be received by an interested Congress, who would be expressly authorised and sanctioned by the constitution itself to gratify their friends and perhaps many of themselves in the character of public

defaulters, as well as to skreen the delinquent states, (which has an equal voice in the senate;) they would ridicule the exposition G.R. has made, and appeal to the express prohibition of passing any ex post facto law or laws made after the fact, and also that section where the convention have declared their sense upon this subject by making express provision for debts due *by* the United States only, and not for those due *to* the United States.

Your correspondent G. R. recurring to quibbling has charged me with a wilful perversion of the constitution in my last, where I said that by the new constitution the taxes were to be uniform; this writer ought to have read the constitution before he ventured such an assertion, he would have found such a provision made in the 2d section of the 1st art. viz. "Representatives and *direct* taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union according to *their respective numbers* which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, &c." And every species of *indirect* taxes, it is declared by section 8th of same article, "shall be uniform throughout the United States."

It was observed besides, very justly, by the Centinel in his 16th number, that the new constitution was an original compact between those states, or rather those individuals that acceded to it, and therefore all contracts, debts, engagements, &c. existing under the old confederation would be cancelled, unless specially provided for, under the new constitution, and that the convention judged so by making special provision for all engagement debts, due by the United States under the confederation.

March 21st, 1788.

559. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 March 1788

A correspondent says, that the preamble of the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania, mentions that the constitution is "to remain in force therein forever, unaltered, except in such articles as shall hereafter on experience be found to require improvement, and which shall by the same authority of the people, FAIRLY DELEGATED AS THIS FRAME OF GOVERNMENT DIRECTS be amended or improved."

In the 47th section of the constitution it is declared, "the said council of censors shall also have power to call a convention to meet within two years after their sitting, if there appear to them an absolute necessity of amending any article of the constitution which may be defective, explaining such as may be thought not clearly expressed, and of adding such as are necessary for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people; but the articles to be amended, and the amendments

proposed, and such articles as are proposed to be added or abolished, shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject.” It is certain therefore that the convention which sat in this state for the purpose of ratifying the new constitution, whereby the union of the states was to be consolidated, and the independence and sovereignty of the state of Pennsylvania accordingly abolished, was an illegal convention, and directly opposed to the clear and fundamental principles of the constitution.

560. Pittsburgh Gazette, 22 March 1788

Who is it at Greensburgh that writes himself Sommers?^(a)
 Some son of a gun among the new comers;
 Some pedlar arriving from Conococheague,
 Or jail-bird put in, just for stealing a pig—
 What is it to them, how writers debate,
 About the affairs of the general state?
 ’Tis well; if relieved, from more natural fears,
 The one vends his pack, the other saves his ears.

(a) A nonsensical publication against the new constitution, signed Sommers, and dated Greensburgh.

**561. David Duncan to William Irvine
 Pittsburgh, 23 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Mr. Brackinridge Still Keeps writing in our Papers god Knows when he means to Quit. Mr Smiley & Finley it is Said is Alarming the People much with the new Constitution and Even inviting them to Raise in Arms against it, in fact I Cant Say what will be the Event of with the State we are at a great Loss to Know which Side is Right I am for my Own part amind not to Say much Either for or against it but I am Shure there is Somthing wanting in At this present Juncture to Strengthen it. . . .

1. RC, Irvine Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**562. Assembly Proceedings on the Petition of Philadelphia
 Newspaper Printers, 24–29 March 1788**

Printers’ Petition, 20 March 1788¹

To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met.

The Petition of the Subscribers, Printers of Newspapers in the city of Philadelphia,

Humbly Sheweth, That, from the first establishment of a Post-Office in this country, the printers of newspapers have been accommodated, and the public greatly benefited, by the transmission of newspapers between the colonies and provinces (now states) in the mails.

That, this practice, so conducive to the preservation of liberty, and useful to the people, in maintaining harmony, removing prejudices and mistaken jealousies; and cultivating a good understanding between the distant colonies, was singularly beneficial on the approach of, and during the late glorious contest with Great Britain, as it afforded the means of regular and constant intercourse and intercommunication of sentiments between them.

That, in consequence of a regulation of the Post-Master-General of the United States, this ancient and highly advantageous practice has been discontinued since the beginning of the present year, for reasons unknown to your petitioners; and your petitioners are thereby prevented from affording that satisfaction to the public of the occurrences in other states, as formerly, which is so important to the safety, interest, and harmony of the United States.

That, your petitioners do not desire any newspapers should be conveyed with the mails, but such only as are sent to, and exchanged with news printers.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that, your Honorable House will take the premises into consideration, and be pleased to instruct the delegates of this commonwealth in the Congress of the United States, to inquire into the premises, and to procure for your petitioners and their fellow printers throughout the United States of America, the restoration of this their necessary and long accustomed privilege, or such other relief in the premises as to your Honorable House may seem meet.

HALL and SELLERS,
THOMAS BRADFORD,
DUNLAP and CLAYPOOLE,
FRANCIS BAILEY,
Philadelphia, March 20, 1788.

ELEAZER OSWALD,
MELCHOR STEINER,
DANIEL HUMPHREYS,
JOHN M' CULLOCH.

*Assembly Minutes, Monday, 24 March 1788*²

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

A petition from a number of the Printers of news-papers in the city of *Philadelphia* was read, setting forth, that by a late regulation of the Post-Master-General of the United States, they are prevented from af-

foring that satisfaction to the public of the occurrences in other states as formerly, being deprived of the benefit of a transmission of newspapers between this and the other states; and praying this House to instruct the Delegates representing this state in the Congress of the United States to procure this their necessary and long accustomed privilege.

Ordered to lie on the table.

*Assembly Debates (Lloyd), Monday, 24 March 1788 (excerpt)*³

The house met pursuant to adjournment. Mr. *Lewis* presented a petition from a number of the printers of news-papers in the city of Philadelphia, setting forth, that by a late regulation of the post-master-general of the United States, they are prevented from affording that satisfaction to the public of the occurrences in other states as formerly, being deprived of the benefit of a transmission of news-papers between this and the other states; and praying this house to instruct the delegates representing this state in the Congress of the United States, to procure this their necessary and long accustomed privilege. . . .

*Assembly Minutes, Thursday, 27 March 1788*⁴

The petition of the printers of news-papers in the city of *Philadelphia*, read *March* 24th, was read the second time.

Ordered, That it be referred to Mr. *Lewis*, Mr. *M'Lene* and Mr. *J. Heister*, to report a draught of instructions to the Delegates representing this state in the Congress of the United States, if they deem it necessary.

*Assembly Debates (Lloyd), Thursday, 27 March 1788 (excerpt)*⁵

. . . The petition of the printers of news-papers in the city of Philadelphia, read *March* 24th, was read the second time, and referred to messrs. *Lewis*, *M'Lene* and *J. Heister*. . . .

*Assembly Minutes, Saturday, 29 March 1788 (excerpt)*⁶

The committee to whom was referred, *March* 27th, the petition of divers printers in the city of *Philadelphia*, made report, which was read; and on motion, and by special order, the same was read the second time: Whereupon,

Resolved, That a copy of the petition of divers printers of the city of *Philadelphia*, together with a copy of this resolution, be transmitted to the Delegates of this state in Congress, and that they be instructed to make with all due diligence full enquiry into the truth of the facts

therein contained, and that if the abuses therein complained of shall on such enquiry be found to exist, the said delegates shall use their best endeavours in Congress to obtain redress of the same, in order that a knowledge of public events may have a free circulation throughout the United States of *America*.

*Assembly Debates (Lloyd), Saturday, 29 March 1788 (excerpt)*⁷

. . . Mr. *Lewis* also presented the report on the printers petition, which on motion was read a second time.—The following is the resolution offered by the committee, but it was prefaced with a train of observations and reasoning tending to shew the ground of complaint made by the printers, of the refusal of the postmaster to carry their news-papers free of expence.

Resolved, that a copy of the petition of divers printers of the city of Philadelphia, together with a copy of this resolution, be transmitted to the delegates of this state in congress, and that they be instructed to make with all due diligence, full enquiry into the truth of the facts therein contained, and that if the abuses therein complained of shall on such enquiry be found to exist, the said delegates shall use their best endeavors in congress to obtain redress of the same, in order that a knowledge of public events may have a free circulation throughout the United States of *America*.

Mr. *Clymer* was against adopting the report in that form, because he conceived it was not founded on that information which mr. Hazard had given in the public papers, from which it clearly appeared that the post-office had nothing to do with the carriage of news-papers, but that the mode of conducting that business was by the riders, who stipulated with the printers, for this purpose, at a price which was agreed between them, and allowed as a perquisite to the riders. The committee perhaps had not viewed the business in this light, and therefore he moved to re-commit.

Mr. *Fitzsimons*. The preamble to the resolution seems in part to confirm the charges made by anonymous writers against that department, and it would be highly imprudent in this house to countenance such without we had an opportunity of informing ourselves fully on the subject. This part of the report in my opinion implies a censure which we shall hereafter learn is ungrounded, and what will then be our feelings? I think the prefatory part had better be left out; as for the resolution, it is well enough, for I think it right the matter should be left to congress, to do what they judge proper on this occasion, as they have the means of acquiring information, and it is a subject specially belonging to them.

Mr. *Clymer* thought it implied a censure that was calculated to inflame the public mind unnecessarily, and therefore wished it to be omitted.

Mr. *Lewis*. If the report, sir, is calculated to do those things with which it has been charged, I hope it will be rejected; but if it appears in a different point of view, the house will not object to the resolution.

The printers in this city have not thought proper to make an immediate application to congress, but have addressed the legislature to instruct their delegates to procure for them the privilege of transmitting their newspapers free of expence, which they alledge is a necessary and long accustomed privilege. The committee to whom their petition was referred, did not find that the house was disposed to enquire into the truth of the fact therein set forth, nor did they know of any authentic information. There were publications, sir, on each side of the question, but I look upon neither of them to be authentic information to the house, but as it is a subject of considerable importance, and the minds of some people seem to be agitated about it, the committee were led to offer a resolution which if adopted, puts it in a fair way of being decided. It is alledged that owing to some late regulation of the post-office the means of communicating public events is cut off, and that too at a very interesting period: this charge if well founded, is of a serious nature, and being of a serious nature, it is the duty of the house to take such steps as will lead to ascertain the truth of the fact; when if it should be found groundless, and I have no doubt but it will, the calumniator ought to be made known. But what can the house do more if the charge was true: they cannot displace the post-master, nor can they alter the regulation. The first of these belongs to congress, and the other is dependent upon it; there then is the proper place to have the business decided: the resolution offered you goes no further than to bring about such an examination. It conveys no censure on the post-master, nor was it intended so to do. I believe there has been no cause for the complaint and clamour which has been made, and I have a perfect reliance that it will turn out so.

The object of the report I have endeavored to state, and honorable gentlemen must see thro' a different medium from me, to imagine that the preamble has the least appearance of censure on the conduct of that officer. Nothing more is meant than to refer the case to the proper tribunal.

Mr. *Clymer* thought it would be giving pain to the postmaster to see his official information neglected; for the publication, under his signature, appeared to be as authentic information as any that could be obtained.

Mr. *Fitzsimons* wished a full enquiry might be made, but he did not wish to convey a censure even by implication, for he was well satisfied

that the case was placed in a true point of view by the post-master general, and that after the fullest enquiry nothing more would be discovered. He could not help thinking but that the publication of the post-master will be generally thought authentic information, for there was a wide difference between it and those of anonymous authors.

Mr. *Lewis*. There are charges by anonymous writers made against the post-master, and against a great many of the superior characters in the United States, most if not all of which I believe equally groundless: but do not force us to believe, sir, that what is offered in extenuation by the person charged is to be considered as authentic information;—I think gentlemen will not imagine, that the denial of a public officer that a charge is groundless is sufficient to acquit him; and therefore if I am not mistaken, the publication of the Postmaster ought not to prevent further investigation.

The question was now taken on the resolution and agreed to. . . .

1. Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 10 May. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 13 May; Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 14 May; and twice in both New York City and Charleston and once in Boston. The petition was prefaced: "The following Petition was presented to the Legislature of this Commonwealth on the 24th March last, and read a second time on the 27th of March." Excerpts from the Assembly minutes were published by the *Gazetteer* immediately after the petition.

2. *Minutes*, 158. The *Pennsylvania Packet*, 31 March, printed the proceedings. Its version was reprinted eleven times from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire.

3. Lloyd, *Debates*, III, 198.

4. *Minutes*, 174.

5. Lloyd, *Debates*, III, 216.

6. *Minutes*, 196.

7. Lloyd, *Debates*, III, 232–[235].

563. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 25 March 1788

A correspondent informs us that the author of the Centinel is discovered; *that he cannot but view with horror, the unparalleled audacity of the creature who has thus dared to call in question the characters of our worthy citizens, before he has acquired one himself!* Our correspondent adds, that he would shew who this Mr. Centinel is, if he could prevail on the person who made the discovery to give up his name, that he has obtained his permission in case one single number more appear, to shew the world who the person is that has taken so much pains to sow discord not only in Pennsylvania, but throughout the United States, with his name in full length, to support what he has asserted. Before he exposes the author, he is willing to give him this opportunity of TURNING to something more reputable than that of defaming his fellow citizens, that however disreputable it may be to discover secrets, yet his con-

science will not admit of his suffering the thing to go on any longer unpunished.

564. Pennsylvania Mercury, 25 March 1788

A CARD.

The "Carpenter" presents his compliments to the author of the piece signed "Truth," and informs him, he is apprehensive he will not stand the Test—that he will not, as Shakespear says, "bear *canvassing* under his broad Cardinal's hat."—He is sorry to find him falling so far below the dignity of his *title*, by endeavouring to throw the calumnies of his own party upon the federalists—If the "Old American" has been so imprudent and *unlucky*, as to let out the secret, that "the anti-federalists despise the mechanics and tradesmen," Mr. "Truth" ought not to be so ungenerous as to lay his scribblings at the door of the federalists, who are known to be composed chiefly of the classes of men, which the "Old American" pretends to despise.—He would observe to him, that it is only for the idle and unprincipled to promote sedition and anarchy, they are the only means by which they thrive; but as the mechanics and tradesmen are the industrious part of the community, it is their interest that there should be a good government to support and protect them—therefore are they federal.

The "Carpenter" can only answer for himself, and assures Mr. "Truth," *upon the honor* of a MECHANIC, that he knew nothing, nor had ever heard of the piece signed "And Old American," till he saw it in the Gazetteer: but he trusts, that if he will enquire of the editor of that paper, he will be informed, that the pieces signed "A Bricklayer," and "Gomez," were not handed in by the same person as the above.

The "Carpenter" must confess he is of opinion Mr. "Truth" was the author of the "Old American," and that he being impatient of controul, and desirous of trying his own abilities at scribbling and defamation, took a gambol to himself in the Gazetteer, without consulting the anti-federal committee.

Monday.

565. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 25 March 1788

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia,
to his friend in this town, dated March 14, 1788.*

"The scurrility and illiberality with which many of the honorable members of the late convention have been treated, is perhaps unparalleled.—They have been held forth to the public as "conspirators, public de-

faulters, and an infernal junto.”—It would be endless to recapitulate all the disgraceful epithets and monstrous slanders that have been employed to tarnish the reputation of men, who not only deserve well of America, but have justly merited the applause of the lovers of freedom in every part of Europe. Such is the licentiousness of our public prints, and yet we are told that the liberty of the press in this country is a meer chimera. What such incendiaries want, I cannot determine; but from every appearance it seems, as if their intention was to destroy all government, to introduce anarchy and wild uproar, and to blast our fairest hopes.

“Among the numberless abusive publications which have disturbed our political horizon, the pieces signed *Philadelphiensis*, have not been the least virulent and conspicuous.—The writer is at length discovered, and Mr. BENJAMIN WORKMAN, one of the tutors in the college of Philadelphia, has the *honor* of thus illuminating, with his refined ideas, the minds of our citizens. America, no doubt, is an asylum to the distressed of all nations; Mr. WORKMAN has found her such to him, and in this point of view, she has a claim to his gratitude. After the embezzlement of a considerable sum of public money in Europe, about three years ago, he took refuge among us; and now his transcendent abilities are employed to detract from the merits of the greatest worthies we have ever known. Of what consummate modesty must he be possessed! How admirable his fortitude, to snatch the *laurels* from the brows of those patriots whose valour and abilities broke the force of Great-Britain, and established American Independence!—But Americans are passive—they can tamely see their Fabius and Nestor abused by every fugitive vagrant.—The slanderer will be despised, the virtuous had in everlasting remembrance, notwithstanding the perverseness of human nature.”

“There is a lust in man no charm can tame,
Of loudly publishing his neighbour’s shame;
On eagles wings immortal scandals fly,
Whilst virtuous actions are but borne and die.”

566. John Nicholson to James Pettigrew
Philadelphia, 26 March 1788¹

I recd. your letter of the 12th. Instant—I had been informed sometime before the receipt of your letter, & upon enquiry of Captn. Wm Craig was told the information was true that You had used expressions against me, that untill that time, I should not have supposed you could

descend to. I endeavoured to learn what was the reason you had for expressing yourself in such manner & language, but could not gather particulars, fully, & as I had been conscious *first* that I never injured you (for I thank my God I have wilfully injured no man) & next that my Conduct was defensible & not justly reproachable, I had resolved that I would make enquiry into the thing—And I still thought If it were so, you would on reflection be so much the Gentleman as to Make the proper Concessions, but your letter hath anticipated me—I think the expressions you were said to have made, Were that *I was a damnd Rascal*. I am of opinion that what you have said in your letter is fully satisfactory on the Subject & your friendly attention to the business hath imposed an obligation on

1. FC, Nicholson Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

567. Reflection II

Carlisle Gazette, 26 March 1788

To the PUBLIC.

The history of different nations hath fully proved that changes and establishments of forms of government have generally been bought at a very high price, but that a people immediately after they have shaken off an arbitrary and tyrannical form, and while their minds are yet intoxicated with the new acquired idea of something which they call liberty, of which they commonly entertain very vague and imperfect conceptions, should unanimously and peaceably adopt a firm and lasting form of government, of sufficient power and energy to secure and defend the rights and liberties of the people, is what hath never yet been realized by any nation. Mankind are too fond of extremes, as soon as they are delivered from the galling yoke of slavery, they become averse to every kind of government, besides they are generally prejudiced in favour of that form under which they live and always dread innovations. We may say of constitutions what Heroditus says of laws. "If one should lay before a people laws of all sorts and bid them choose the best, every one would approve of the laws of his own state." It must therefore discover much wisdom and foresight in the people of the United States of America, and also the excellence of the new plan of government, that so many of them approve of it: And yet it seems a matter of wonder to a reasonable man, that even such a number as there are should shew an inimicable disposition towards it, who suffer themselves to be imposed upon by designing men, and entirely neglect and lose sight of the constitution itself by the medium of inflammatory

pieces, which are the productions of wicked and interested men, or of their base tools whom they employ to bear the infamy which they themselves merit;—productions that are void of all reason, truth or even probability, replete with mere suppositions without argument, or the least authority.

The construction and division of the great legislative body in the new constitution, one part of which arises mediately, and the other immediately from the people, the situation, make and different powers granted to these two parts that they may be a proper balance and check to each other, with the sage admonitions and advice of the president, without allowing him a negative, must strike a conviction to the impartial and unbiassed mind of the excellence of the new federal plan of government, which is irresistible.—The members of the house of representatives are to be chosen every second year by the people of the several states, here the time between the elections is sufficiently short, and each state is to define what qualifications are necessary for its electors. Each representative must be an inhabitant of that state for which he is to be chosen.—“No person shall be a representative who shall not when elected be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen,” Some have endeavoured to make ignorant people, and those who are not well acquainted with the English language, believe that the meaning of those words are, that the person who is to be elected must not be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen, which easily discovers the mean shifts that those are often put to, in order to support a bad cause, who are in the wrong. It is said that the number of representatives are too few; but I believe that this objection is raised only by those who are very fond of being in office, and who, provided they were in places of power and profit, would not feel one disagreeable sensation at the misery and oppression of the people. The other branch of the legislative body—the senate shall consist of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof. Some think it improper that small states should have the same number of senators as large states; but this seems nothing more than strict justice, for the design of all government being to prevent oppression and injustice; the end of government could not be properly answered, if any state how small soever, was placed in such a situation that it could not possibly have any where an equal voice. But might they not object with the same reason that each county in the state hath an equal voice in the executive council? The length of the time which they are to remain in office is also objected to. But are they not liable to be removed from office at any time? Certainly they are. They are always impeachable and subject to be turned out. As to the duration of their office, without allowing

the legislatures of the states an opportunity of discontinuing them, this is not strictly speaking six years, for the longest time they possibly can be in without giving the state legislatures this power, is one third two years, one third four years, and one third six years, the mean between which, is four years, therefore if we consider them as a body, four years is the proper length of their time of office. This manner of election is designed for security, and a safe and regular method of conducting the business, or as it is said in the state constitution, the great idol of the people of Pennsylvania, concerning the executive council. "There will be in every subsequent year be found in it a number of persons acquainted with the proceedings of the foregoing years whereby the business will be more consistently conducted, and moreover the danger of establishing an inconvenient aristocracy will be effectually prevented." Every person who shall be chosen a senator, must be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be elected, and must have arrived at the age of thirty years, this will be an effectual preventative against the inexperience and aspiring ambition of youth, and will cause that the senate be always filled with the most enlightened sages and wisest politicians of America.—A senator also must have been nine years a citizen of the United States, this will prevent foreigners who bring with them all the prejudices which they entertain in favour of those governments under which they have been educated, from being admitted into a share of the government, until they have shaken off their acquired habits, and enlarged their contracted ideas.

March 17, 1788.

568. Deliberator

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 26 March 1788

THE REAL FEDERALIST, No. I.

TO the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

Fellow-Citizens, That the present Confederation is inadequate to the objects of the Union, seems to be universally allowed. The only question is, What additional powers are wanting to give due energy to the federal government? We should, however, be careful in forming our opinions on this subject, not to impute the temporary and extraordinary difficulties that have hitherto impeded the execution of the Confederation, to defects in the system itself. Taxation is, in every government, a very delicate and difficult subject; hence it has been the policy of all wise statesmen, as far as circumstances permitted, to lead the people by small beginnings and almost imperceptible degrees, into the habits of taxation: when the contrary conduct has been pursued, it has

ever failed of success, not unfrequently proving the ruin of the projectors. The imposing of a burthen-some tax at once on a people without the usual gradations, is the severest test that any government can be put to; despotism itself has often proved unequal to the attempt. Under this conviction, let us take a review of our situation before and since the Revolution. From the first settlement of the country until the commencement of the late war, the taxes were so light and trivial as to be scarcely felt by the people: When we engaged in the expensive contest with Great Britain, the Congress, sensible of the difficulty of levying the monies necessary to its support, by *direct* taxation, had recourse to an anticipation of the public resources, by emitting bills of credit, and thus postponed the necessity of taxation for several years; this means was pursued to a most ruinous length; but about the year 1781 it was wholly exhausted—the bills of credit had suffered such a depreciation from the excessive quantities in circulation, that they ceased to be useful as a medium. The country, at this period, was very much impoverished and exhausted; commerce had been suspended for near six years; the husbandman, for want of a market, limited his crops to his own subsistence; the frequent calls of militia, and long continuance in actual service, the devastations of the enemy, the subsistence of our own armies, the evils of the depreciation of paper money, which fell chiefly upon the patriotic and virtuous part of the community, had all concurred to produce great distress throughout America. In this situation of our affairs, we still had the same powerful enemy to contend with, who had even more numerous and better appointed armies in the field than at any former time. Our allies were applied to in this exigence, but the pecuniary assistance that we could procure from them was soon exhausted; the only resource now remaining, was to obtain by *direct* taxation the monies necessary for our defence: the history of mankind does not furnish a similar instance of an attempt to levy such enormous taxes at once off a people so wholly unprepared and uninured to them—The lamp of sacred liberty must indeed have burned with unsullied lustre, every sordid principle of the mind must have been then extinct, when the people not only submitted to the grievous impositions, but cheerfully exerted themselves to comply with the calls of their country; their abilities were not equal to furnish the necessary sums—indeed the requisitions of the year 1782 amounted to the whole income of their farms and other property, including the means of their subsistence; perhaps the strained exertions of *two* years, would not have sufficed to the discharge of this requisition: How then can we impute the difficulties of the people and their failure of a due compliance with the

requisitions of Congress, to a defect in the Confederation; for any government, however energetic, in similar circumstances, would have experienced the same fate. If we review the proceedings of the States, we shall find they gave every sanction and authority to the requisitions of Congress, that their laws could confer; that they attempted to collect the sums called for in the same manner as was proposed to be done in future by the general government, instead of the State Legislatures.

It is a maxim, that a government ought to be cautious not to govern over-much, for when the cord of power is drawn too tight, it generally proves its destruction: The impracticability of complying with the requisitions of Congress has lessened the sense of obligation and duty in the people, and thus weakened the ties of the Union; the opinion of power in a free government is much more efficacious than the exercise of it; it requires the maturity of time and repeated practice to give due energy and certainty to the operations of government, especially to such as affect the purses of the people.

The thirteen Swiss-Cantons, confederated by more general and weaker ties than these United States are by the present articles of Confederation, have not experienced the necessity of strengthening their Union by vesting their general diet with farther or greater powers; this national body has only the management of their foreign concerns, and in case of a war can only call by requisition on the several Cantons for the necessary supplies, who are sovereign and independent in every internal and local exercise of government—and yet this rope of sand, as our Confederation has been termed, which is similar to that, has held together for ages (tho' surrounded by many ambitious and warlike nations) without any apparent change.

I am persuaded that a due consideration will evince, that the present inefficacy of the requisitions of Congress, is not owing to a defect in the Confederation, but to the peculiar circumstances of the times.

The wheels of the general government having been thus clogged, and the arrearages of taxes still accumulating, it may be asked, What prospect is there of the government resuming its proper tone, unless more compulsory powers are granted? To this it may be answered, that the produce of imposts on commerce, which all agree to vest in Congress, together with the immense tracts of land at their disposal, will rapidly lessen and eventually discharge the present encumbrances; when this takes place, the mode by requisition will be found perfectly adequate to the extraordinary exigencies of the Union. Congress have lately sold land to the amount of eight millions of dollars, which is a considerable portion of the whole debt.

The interested and designing had availed themselves of the present crisis, and under the specious pretence of having discovered a panacea for all the ills of the people, they wished to establish a system of government, that would prove more destructive than the wooden horse filled with soldiers did in antient times to the city of Troy: This horse was introduced by their hostile enemy the Grecians, by a prostitution of the sacred rights of their religion—In like manner, my fellow citizens, are aspiring despots among yourselves prostituting the name of a Washington to cloak their designs upon your liberties.

I would ask how was the proposed Constitution to have showered down those treasures upon every class of citizens, as has been so industriously inculcated and so fondly believed by some.—Would it have been by the addition of numerous and expensive establishments? By doubling our judiciaries, instituting federal courts in every county of every state? By a superb presidential court? By a large standing army? In short, by putting it in the power of the future government to levy money at pleasure, and placing this government so independent of the people as to enable the administration to gratify every corrupt passion of the mind, to riot on your spoils, without check or controul?

A transfer to congress of the power of imposing imposts on commerce, the unlimited regulation of trade, and to make treaties, I believe is all that is wanting to render America as prosperous as it is in the power of any form of government to render her; this properly understood would meet the views of all the honest and well meaning.

What gave birth to the late continental Convention? Was it not the situation of our commerce, which lay at the mercy of every foreign power, who, from motives of interest or enmity, could restrict and controul it, without risquing a retaliation on the part of America, as Congress was impotent on this subject? Such indeed was the case with respect to Britain, whose hostile regulations gave such a stab to our navigation as to threaten its annihilation, it became the interest of even the American merchant to give a preference to foreign bottoms; hence the distress of our seamen, shipwrights, and every mechanic art dependent on navigation.

By these regulations too, we were limited in markets for our produce, our vessels were excluded from their West India islands, many of our staple commodities were denied entrance in Britain; hence the husbandmen were distressed by the demand for their crops being lessened and their prices reduced. This is the source to which may be traced every evil we experience, that can be relieved by a more energetic government. Recollect the language of complaint for years past, compare

the recommendations of Congress, founded on such complaints, pointing out the remedy, examine the reasons assigned by the different States for appointing delegates to the late Convention, view the powers vested in that body; they all harmonize in the sentiment, that the due regulation of trade and navigation was the anxious wish of every class of citizens, was the great object of calling the Convention.

This object being provided for, by the Constitution proposed by the general Convention, people overlooked and were not sensible of the needless sacrifice they were making for it. Allowing for a moment that it would be possible for trade to flourish under a despotic government, of what avail would be a prosperous state of commerce, when the produce of it would be at the absolute disposal of an arbitrary unchecked general government, who may levy at pleasure the most oppressive taxes; who may destroy every principle of freedom; who may even destroy the privilege of complaining.

If we had been in doubt respecting the nature and principles of the proposed government, view the conduct of its authors and patrons—that affords the best explanation, the most striking comment.

The evil genius of darkness presided at it's birth; it came forth under the veil of mystery, its true features being carefully concealed, and every deceptive art has been and is practising to have the spurious brat received as the genuine offspring of heaven-born Liberty. All communication of sentiment between the patriots on the continent has been as much as possible cut off, as well as all real intelligence, by the stoppage of papers, &c. in the Post Office,—and misinformation, deception, and delusion substituted in its place. So fearful were its patrons that you should discern the imposition, that they have endeavoured to hurry on its adoption with the greatest precipitancy; they endeavoured to preclude all investigation; they endeavoured to intimidate all opposition: By such means as these, have they surreptitiously procured a packed Convention in this State, favorable to their views; and here again investigation and discussion was abridged, and every fraudulent means used to bias and prejudice its members—indeed bribery was made use of, by a proffer of lucrative offices to those members who should give up their opposition to this system of tyranny. Thus despotism seemed already triumphant, and the genius of liberty appeared to be on the eve of her exit, about bidding an eternal adieu to this once happy people.

After so recent a triumph over British despots, after such torrents of blood and treasure have been spent, after involving ourselves in the distresses of an arduous war, and incurring such a debt, for the express

purpose of asserting the rights of humanity, it is truly astonishing that a set of men among ourselves, should have had the effrontery to attempt the destruction of our liberties. But in this enlightened age, to dupe the people by the arts they are practising, is still more extraordinary.

The fate of this system of military tyranny being now determined, the purport of this and the future papers under this signature is, to point out the dangers we have escaped by its defeat, and to take into consideration the additional powers we really ought to grant to Congress, as a diplomatic body; and also to endeavour to calm and soften the rising resentment of the people towards the planners of the wicked conspiracy against their sacred rights.

Philadelphia County, 24th *March*, 1788.

569. Tullius

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 26 March 1788

To the PRINTER of the FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

—————“*In order to arrive at a, HAPPY END, we must fix a WISE BEGINNING. Never did any Conjunction require so much prudence as this.*”

DEMOSTHENES.

SIR, Great stress has been laid on the knowledge, the jealousy, and that ardent love of liberty which characterise Americans—as qualities that must *ever* watch over their rights, and shield them from encroachment and oppression. The idea would be just, if taken in a less unlimited sense. It would be comprehensively just, if the sense, were always awake—if knowledge were hereditary—and if the divine flame of liberty should never twinkle or be subject to extinction: But the experience of all ages has shewn that there is no stability in man. He may be virtuous to day and corrupt to-morrow. Alive to his rights at one period, and slumbering over them at another.

It is not enough to confine the measure of human rights to the virtuous: We should endeavour to mete out the blessing to ages of depravity (and these will sooner or later take place) as a restorative to virtue. The miseries consequent on depravity are of themselves sufficiently dreadful, without the addition of slavery,—an addition, which once made, *will* rivet shackles on posterity too who may deserve a better fate. The surest way to avoid the evil, and preserve the dignity and happiness of man, is to *begin right*—by clearly defining the powers intended to be delegated by the people to their rulers for the sake of protection—and expressly enumerating the rights to be reserved. Here would appear the *quid pro quo*—and *by appearing*, these rights would be universally understood, and *remembered*. The transition from freedom to

slavery would be less easy—for the rights of the people being constantly impressed upon the mind, and the principles of the government fully understood—nothing would be left to the sport of implication, or the construction of arbitrary controul.

Permit me to conclude with the opinion of an honest man—that able statesman and philosopher, Mr. Jefferson: which, tho' it respects religious tyranny founded on certain laws of Virginia, is nevertheless applicable to any subject, and the present important period.^(a)—He says—“Get rid, *while we may*, of those tyrannical laws. It is true we are *yet* secured against them by the spirit of the times. I doubt whether the people of this country would suffer an execution for heresy, or a three years imprisonment for not comprehending the mysteries of the Trinity. But is the spirit of the people an *infallible*, a *permanent* reliance? *Is it government?* Is this the kind of protection we receive in return for the rights we give up? Besides the spirit of the times may alter—*will alter*. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may commence persecutor, and better men be his victims. *It can never be too often repeated*, THAT THE TIME FOR FIXING EVERY ESSENTIAL RIGHT ON A LEGAL BASIS, IS WHILE OUR RULERS ARE HONEST, AND OURSELVES UNITED. From the conclusion^(b) of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be *forgotten*, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves—but in the sole faculty of making money; and will never think of uniting *to effect a due respect for their rights*. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war (say, the present system of government) will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive, or expire in a convulsion.”

(a) *Notes on Virginia*, P. 171.

(b) Mr. Jefferson wrote this *before the peace*.

570. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 26 March 1788

Is there any reason to presume, says a correspondent, that a new Convention will not agree upon a good plan of government? Quite the contrary; for perhaps there never was such a coincidence of sentiment on any occasion as the present; the opponents to the proposed plan, at the same time, in every part of the continent, harmonized in the same objections: Such an uniformity of opposition is without example, and affords the strongest demonstration of its solidity. Their objections, too, are not local, are not confined to the interest of any one particular state, to the prejudice of the rest; but, with a philanthropy and liberality

that reflects lustre on humanity, that dignifies the character of America, they embrace the interests and happiness of the whole Union; they do not even condescend to minute blemishes, but shew that the main pillars of the fabric are bad, that the essential principles of liberty, safety and happiness are not to be found in it, that despotism would be the necessary and inevitable consequence of its establishment.

571. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 March 1788

TO THE PUBLIC.

A new æra in politics has commenced; not argument, to argument, nor even sophistical quibbling, to legitimate reason; but the momenta of eternal truths are evasively opposed, by disgraceful scurrility. The characters of private citizens are torn to pieces without remorse, and the peace and happiness of whole families, sacrificed at the shrine of an invidious party, to gratify revenge, or wilful wickedness.

I have been accused of writing politics, and the public have been officially advertised thereof, by Francis Hopkinson, who by some lucky hit or other, pretends to have discovered the secret. In Hopkinson's opinion my crime is capital, and so of course, I stand convicted; but thank GOD the little sycophant does not yet act (except in his own sinecure office) in the double character of *judge* and *jury*. His intellectual knowledge was unequal to combat the arguments of the essays, but his rancorous heart urged him on to attack the moral character of the supposed writer: According to the adage, *if you cannot answer his reasonings, blacken his reputation, and you still have a chance of success.*

When Mr. Wilkes' private character was traduced in the public papers, and himself thrown into prison on account of his political writings; a writer in his behalf, observes, "If ever we should be curst with a set of *knaves, fools, and traitors* in power, and a private man should expose their *frauds, follies, cheats, and treasons*, what have such men to do in their defence? The only refuge or asylum, they have to fly to, is, to defame the discoverer, and to rail at, and traduce his *moral character*; in order, that the truth of his assertions may be called in question, that he may be deemed a liar, and that prejudice may anticipate and weaken the force of his reasonings."

Has the malicious, cruel, and unprovoked attack on my private character proceeded from a love to virtue, and an hatred to vice? Is it the rebuke of a christian friend to awaken repentance? Or is it the work of cursed party on account of my supposed political writings; and the productions of the parasites and mean bullies of a declining party, through a spirit of revenge? A moments consideration answers the

queries: The rebuke of a Christian friend has our good for its object; but in the present instance premeditated villainy aiming at the absolute destruction of character and even at the life itself, if the public resentment could be wrought so high, was obviously the intention.

Hopkinson's charge amounts to this, that a person who has been scarce four years in America, without a large fortune, and in the humble station of a tutor in the University, should not presume to write politics. But the bare mentioning of this supposition betrays his ignorance of liberty, and exposes his folly and his baseness. Every freeman in America has a right both to write and speak his sentiments on national subjects, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of GOD or of his country; nor should his arguments have less weight on account of his poverty, nor on account of any other consideration whatever. I maintain, therefore, that nothing short of ignorance, want of liberality of sentiment, prejudice, or perhaps the bribery of a party, could have induced Hopkinson to risque his reputation in his wicked and unprovoked attack. His pretence that he made it a matter of conscience, is so pitiful a subterfuge, that it only increases the great aggregate of his folly and his sin.

That as an industrious individual, I have been a more useful citizen of the United States, during my residence therein, than Francis Hopkinson, I shall prove when I come to the justification of my private character: This I reserve for a future publication; in the mean time, let this friendly admonition have its weight with Mr. Hopkinson, that he had better be cautious for the time to come; or he may purchase a correction, from which neither his insignificance nor his influence shall protect him. He has given no small provocation already, in abusing a person who is his equal as a freeman, and probably his superior in many other respects.

BENJAMIN WORKMAN.

March 25, 1788.

572. Federal Argument

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 March 1788

I Have heard a great many disgraceful stories of that scoundrel L——r M——rt——n, who let out so many of our secrets of the federal convention; such as his buying a carriage several months before he paid for it; that he detains all his clients' money which he is employed to sue for; and that the people still continue to give the rascal more business—that he makes the Nabobs as well as others pay him his office fees; that he is a d——d rogue, and as great a villain as in America; that he is a Presbyterian; that he is building a house in Baltimore in

the face of the well-born, and without consulting them; that notwithstanding the complaints made against him, he still continues in the office of attorney-general, contrary to the intent of our best friends; that he continues to write in the papers, and endeavors, contrary to the instructions of the federal convention, to persuade the people not to adopt their constitution, when they had expressly ordered conventions to be called to assent to and ratify it; that he takes all opportunities in conversation at courts and otherwise to run it down; and that he was a boy when at school.

I thought I would endeavor to collect these anecdotes, so that such a rascal might be properly known, and less heed given to what the impudent fellow has *dared* to publish. I inquired particularly if he was a public defaulter; but I found to my sorrow he was not: but several things I have heard of his ancestors, which I think ought to be mentioned as it will shew that he is a chip of the old block, viz. his great uncle's wife's grandada's nephew's seventh son by his fourth wife, had the gout in his upper jaw-bone, and was confined as a most dangerous, obnoxious and troublesome pest to society for many years, in the stone house near Trenton; the cause of his outrageous, villainous conduct for which he was so confined, it was said was owing to a failure in the *spinal marrow* of his crooked *brain*—That the said L——r M—rt—n's uncle's second son's wife's nephew was discovered in the act of shooting at 39 wild Peacocks which had been rooting under the Foundation of his father's barn, to make a *roof* over their heads, in which they could have *protected* the grain in the barn.

These and sundry other villainous traits, I thought it my duty in conscience to lay before the public; and any farther hints that shall be handed me, or that I can collect, I mean also to have published.

Any gentleman who may wish to assist in this very patriotic undertaking, will send their *hints*, &c. to No. 2, Race near Fourth-street, Philadelphia; or to the Secretary of the Writing Committee at the *pestle and mortar*, near St. Pauls.

N. B. Wanted some real anecdotes of the supposed author of Philadelphiaensis.

573. Veritas

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, A writer in your paper, under the signature of *Probus*, has charged Mr. Workman with crimes that are impossible for any person to perform, and which, I think, are more the production of *Probus's* romantic brain, than the actions of any individual; such as that

of defeating a regiment of troops, and of attacking the king's coach, when it was guarded by 500 men.

I think, Mr. Oswald, that when a man can have the impudence to charge a citizen with such crimes, as have been placed to Mr. Workman's account, and mask himself by a feigned name, he must be lost to all honor and honesty: Perhaps *Probus* thinks that gentlemen who have lately come into America, may be scandalized with impunity, and abused without inquiry—If he has any sense of honor left, he will boldly step forward and publish his name in your paper, and Mr. Workman will then have an opportunity of answering him—He has been so kind as to tell us “he would leave it at the printer's, but it might occasion disputes;” and why need he fear a dispute if he has told the truth? But I rather think he has not told the truth; and this I suppose is the reason why he fears a dispute, as it might cause an investigation, and that might discover that he only aimed at scandal.

But his leaving his name at the printer's (even though he should do it) would not give Mr. Workman an opportunity of proving his innocence *publicly*, which he ought to have, since he has been *publicly* accused.

To conclude, unless *Probus* publish his true name in your paper, I shall think he is a cowardly fellow, and one who strives to injure Mr. Workman's character either through malice or envy, and I trust, every one who has read his piece will be of the same opinion.

574. A Public Creditor

Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 March 1788

On the FUNDING SYSTEM.

From the best estimate that can be made at present, it appears the state of Pennsylvania has, without any authority, assumed *one million four hundred and forty six thousand three hundred and sixty-eight dollars* more than her proportion of the public debt of the United States; and it is now very evident she cannot support the load, and that the *whole debt* must *revert* to the United States, at least on the adoption of the *new government*, if not before. Because, if the system was suffered to continue, it would be injurious to the state, and also to the union, as our citizens would be thereby unequally burthened, and the plan would stand in the way of such measures as must be fallen upon to restore national credit. The principal of what is called the funded debt of Pennsylvania (after deducting the trifling sum of eighty odd thousand pounds paid into the land-office) is about *two million three hundred and three thousand nine hundred and forty pounds*; the annual interest of which is *one hundred and thirty-eight thousand two hundred and thirty-six pounds*.

Besides, she has a great quantity of other debts, some of which also bear an interest.

I would ask, how or where the state is to find money to pay such an enormous interest, when it is agreed upon all hands that the *impost duties and excise* will have to be given up to Congress; and there is as little reason to believe she can retain her funding tax?—More especially, as we are told by the committee of ways and means in the General Assembly now sitting, *that there will be* (with all these means in operation) *a deficiency in the revenues of the state, for the present year 1788, of £73,774, exclusive of the requisitions of Congress.* And it is well known the treasury is by no means able to discharge the engagements of the state with any degree of regularity, and that there is a continual scramble for interest and every other demand; notwithstanding “the taxes are collected with decent punctuality,” and the people can pay them, and all debts due to the state, at a difference of 50 per cent. below specie.

I know it will be answered, in fact it has been already asserted by some of the framers of and friends to the system, that the annual interest of the debt in question must be set off against the *annual demands* of the union; which, together with the present funding tax of £76,945 17 6, and the arrearages of taxes due, will not only be sufficient, “but leave a surplus, out of which the requisitions of the United States for the payment of interest may be discharged.” Much depends upon the solution of this question; for if the state cannot have this annual credit, the whole fabric must fall to the ground, even by their own calculations.

The author of a late *little* pamphlet speaks of state requisitions and quotas. This is framing the subject to his own ideas; for who, but himself, ever thought of quotas or requisitions under the proposed government, which in point of revenue has it in view to *consolidate* the whole into one great national fund? Or does he wish to make us believe, that all the other states in the union must conform to the plans and convenience of a few people in Pennsylvania?

It was the duty of the legislature to adopt measures for the relief of the public creditors, *until Congress should be vested with power to make provision for the debts of the union*; but it was improper to go further, and they should therefore have let the funding system remain as it stood under the act of the 16th of March, 1785. But it is said, “the requisition of Congress of September 1785 made some alterations necessary, in order to avoid interfering with continental regulations.” The truth is, the legislature did not chuse to comply with the requisition in the way directed by Congress, but in such manner as best suited their own plans; hence arose the exchange of certificates, by what was called *a loan to the state.*

The little regard paid by the states to the authority of Congress has done infinite injury to this country, and at the same time affords the clearest proofs of the weakness and insufficiency of the present government to carry into execution such resolutions or laws, as are necessary for the support of the union. If Congress had power to call forth the resources of the thirteen states without obstruction, they could then, and not till then, frame a system of revenue and finance that would restore public credit, and enable them to do equal justice to all their citizens. But if individual members of the union shall have it in their power to with-hold supplies to the foederal treasury until they obtain discounts of self-created claims, there will be an end to the whole business, and of all national government. If it was possible that Pennsylvania could be saddled with such an unjust load of debt (I call it unjust, because it is not only an over-proportion, but we have adopted a great quantity belonging to citizens of other states; and besides, the system is anti-foederal, and therefore unwarrantable) and which in all probability could never be paid, our posterity would have reason to curse the *speculation* to the latest ages; especially when they beheld that the whole domestic debt besides was sunk by proper and constitutional means. But we have reason to hope, that a wise and impartial Congress will be their faithful *guardians*.

I do not mean, by any thing I have said, that the public creditors in Pennsylvania should not receive what they are justly entitled to.—But at the same time I am for having it done in the way that will be most advantageous both for the state and its citizens, and the union at large, viz. *By one uniform plan of taxation and revenue, that shall produce an united fund and equal burthen upon all the citizens of the thirteen states.* The debt was contracted upon the credit of the whole, and there is no other way in which it can be paid, consistent with justice and true national or foederal principles, but the one which has been just mentioned.

Let us take a short view of the situation in which we may suppose these affairs will stand, immediately after the adoption of the proposed government.

Congress will then enforce an immediate compliance with all past requisitions, the neglect of which has been so long and so justly complained of, and upon an estimate of the debts and revenues of the union, can determine whether it will be necessary to levy a tax, in addition to the duties on commerce, for the support of government, payment of the public debt, and other necessary expenditures.

An efficient government will *restore confidence*, and there cannot remain a doubt but Congress will be able, in case they should think it proper, not only to prolong the payment of the instalments of the foreign debt,

but to procure a new loan at 3 or 4 per cent. per annum as a temporary relief, until their revenues are brought properly into operation.

But it may be said, they have been for some time in the way of discharging the interest of the domestic debt in other certificates, called indents, or facilities, which it is likely may be continued, and that no other provision will be made but that and the sales of western territory, at least for some time, or until the interest on certificates is brought up even, that is, paid to an equal period.—This is supposing the worst that can possibly happen; but admitting it should be the case, what will be the consequence? Under the existing requisitions, the interest has been ordered to be paid in this way to the first of January, 1787, and the different states have been called upon from year to year to levy their proportions thereof in taxes. Notwithstanding, only three states, that we know of, have made the provision required, which is the cause of the interest being so low in value. But under a government possessing energy to effect the great and necessary purposes of the nation, provision will be made for the redemption of these certificates by the due collection of a general tax, to be levied throughout the United States for that particular purpose.

We may suppose that the states who have complied with the aforesaid requisitions have paid their proportions of indents into the continental treasury, and therefore the delinquent states must comply in like manner, so as to be on a footing with those who have done their duty. In which case ample provision will be made for the redemption of all certificates, issued for interest due previous to the first of January, 1787; and this will make said indents in a short time much more valuable to the holders than they are at present, and perhaps equal to the *paper money* of Pennsylvania.

It is possible the present body will make one more requisition before the meeting of the *new Congress*; but whether they will order the domestic interest for the year 1787 to be paid in real money, or indents, cannot as yet be determined; but I think we may easily conclude, that *no more paper* will be thrown into circulation.

Pennsylvania is now in the payment of a half year's interest *that was due last October*, and may possibly *begin* to pay another in the course of the current year (after the treasurer has done with the present half year, and collected £20000 of the paper money for burning) and which it is likely will be the last we can think of discharging under the present system.

I shall conclude for the present, by offering the following position for the consideration of such persons as may chuse to examine it impartially.

That under a government possessing power to call forth the resources of the thirteen states for the establishment of a foederal fund, the interest of the debt will be better paid, and public credit more effectually restored and supported, and *with greater ease to the people*, than by any state systems that can possibly be devised.

Philad. 24th March, 1788.

**575. Purported Letters from George Bryan to John Ralston
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 March 1788¹**

Messrs. HALL & SELLERS, *The original Letters I send you for publication, and which will be left in your hands for inspection, afford one proof amongst a thousand, that the indefatigable Monster, the CENTINEL, is endued with a zeal and activity in every work of mischief always commensurate with its extent; for who but himself, to serve any cause whatever, would condescend to a correspondence with one of the sourest, narrowest, and most illiterate creatures in the state.*

X.

Philadelphia, 7th March, 1788.

DEAR SIR, Last Tuesday the post from New-England brought sad tidings for some folks here. The Convention of New-Hampshire, it seems, by 70 *against*, and 40 *for*, have adjourned till 17th June. Had the final adjustment of the new system been put, it would have been rejected by a great majority. The friends of it, therefore, to let it fall easily, proposed the adjournment, and the others gave way. This disaster we consider as fatal to the business. So do its advocates here, and they are in the dumps, and some of the members of the General Convention are apologizing for their conduct. Before this news came, the party was up in the skies, as their behaviour seemed to express. Yet their success at Boston was so moderated by the propositions for amendment, which, however superficial, broke the sanctity of the new Constitution. Besides, the president of the Boston Convention, *Hancock*, has written to our Assembly, sending their doings and the amendments, and desiring, that this state would adopt similar amendments.—On the whole, as New-York is not likely to concur; nor Virginia, tho' General W. lives there; nor Rhode-Island; and as N. Carolina Convention meets not till 17th July, and will be much swayed by Virginia; as Maryland is much divided, if not on the whole against; I have no doubt there will be another General Convention. Georgia acceded to it, because pressed by an Indian war, and wanted aid immediately.

Failing, the conspirators against equal liberty will have much deceit and wicked conduct to answer for. They have seduced the post-officers

to stop all news-papers from state to state, that contained investigations of their plan, so that the dissent of the minority of Pennsylvania did not get to Boston before their Convention rose. Every little town furnished a flaming account, like those of Carlisle, Bethlehem, &c. asserting how much the people of their place and neighbourhood approved the new plan. These were circulated and re-printed from Georgia to New-Hampshire, with parade. This deceived the people into a notion that there was a general approbation. In Virginia, at this moment, from the suppression of intelligence and by false letters, it is generally supposed that the opposition in Pennsylvania had vanished; and at Boston, the news of the disturbances at *Carlisle* reaching Boston, before the Convention there rose, the whole was confidently denied. As the Convention of Massachusetts was finishing, a vessel is made to arrive at a port 15 miles off, with account that N. Carolina had adopted, tho' that Convention sits not before July. Again, as the Convention of New-Hampshire was near finishing, this falshood is newly published at Newport in Rhode-Island, and another vessel pretended, to seduce another adoption. These are but a specimen of these arts and inventions. But a lying tongue is but for a moment. The people every where will see and feel their frauds. Yet these are generally the doings of the first men in many of the states. I say nothing of the fraud of calling Conventions hastily in all the New-England states, save Rhode-Island, which has called none, in New-Jersey, in Pennsylvania and Delaware. In the southern states (all except Georgia) the calls of Conventions have been deliberate and distant; so in New-York. I am glad of the prospect we have, because it will prevent the danger of confusion and bloodshed. For if nine states had been nominally led into the plan, while the body of the people in many of them were still averse, civil war must have ensued, as the Conspirators would have endeavoured to set their scheme in motion, without funds to support the necessary standing army. This danger now seems to be over, for which we ought to be thankful.

In Cumberland county all are against it, except a small group in Carlisle, and a few, very few, scattered in the country. This small group, in October, met and censured their county representatives for attempting the breaking up of the late General Assembly, to prevent the calling of the people of every county east of Bedford, to elect Convention in nine or ten days; with other matters favoring the new plan. These were paraded in the Carlisle Gazette as the sense of the people, and by the party published here and elsewhere. The county resented it, and warned these men not to repeat the artifice. Yet on the 25th December the

same people attempted to rejoice on occasion of the adoption by the Convention of Pennsylvania. They were hindered: some blows ensued. Next day the same men, armed, made another essay; they were overpowered, and the effigies of two leading members of Convention were burned in contempt. Upon this, a letter with many affidavits was dispatched to Mr. M'Kean, pressing his warrants for 20 persons, charged with riots; among others Justice [John] Jordan. The business being irksome, Mr. M'Kean, alledging it was indelicate for him to act where he was ill-used, persuaded Mr. Atlee, and laboured me to send up our warrant. I represented the danger of risquing insult to our precept, advising delay, and the rather, as no hasty steps had been taken to bring the city rioters to justice. Mr. A. and Mr. Rush sent up their warrant. It lay some time in Carlisle, unexecuted, to bring the accused to submit and ask pardon. Nothing being done however, in this way, about 26th of February the sheriff was set to work. Eight or nine refusing to give bail, they were imprisoned. By the last accounts from Harrisburg, large numbers were assembled, from York and Dauphin, as well as Cumberland, to set the prisoners at large. This gives much uneasiness to the Conspirators here. Even the Chief Justice, 'tis said, had before the news came consented to drop the prosecution, as the members of Council feared the event. But he wrote to Mr. Atlee too late, if he has written. We hope no further mischief will ensue; tho' the Conspirators in Carlisle told Mr. M'Kean in their letter, they feared that their dwellings would be pulled down. Here, in October, we were forced to hold our tongues, lest well dressed ruffians should fall upon us. At this day the case is otherwise. Yet many are still silent, lest, the new plan being adopted, they might hereafter be ruined for opposing. Since it was commonly safe from immediate attack, some of us have been open and avowed, and risqued all the malice of these men. The common people are latterly too much of our opinions to hurt us. Indeed, none but *gentlemen mobs* have been active in Philadelphia.

In Montgomery, the current of the county is against the plan, the friends of it are silent; Berks very few, who favour it; the same in Dauphin. In the town of Lancaster there is a party, but few elsewhere in the county. In York, the opposers are very numerous. In Franklin they are the great body of the people. In Bedford and in the overhill counties very few are for it. Of Northumberland I can say little. Our friends in Bucks and Chester are much increased. The Quakers are changed generally. The solid Quakers here greatly dislike it; but they do not intermeddle. Their young people favour it, and in this city,

Baltimore, New-York, Boston, &c. there is a majority for it; most so in Boston. *Shays* insurrection has been made a great engine of terror to dispose people of that country to receive chains, if the western counties can be kept down. *Shays* and his adherents were roused to what they did by excessive taxes; perhaps contrived to dispose the New-England states to receive the new system, to which they would otherwise be averse.

Since writing the foregoing, we have accounts from Carlisle, that about 1000 armed men appeared there, and demanding of the sheriff to open the prison, set at liberty the persons charged as rioters, and burned the commitment. The inhabitants of the town, in the mean while, kept close within their houses, and the armed men soon went away without doing any thing further. Mr. James Hanna, a constitutionalist, attorney at law at Newtown, was this day very unexpectedly chosen to succeed Colonel Hart, as recorder of deeds and register of wills of Bucks county. Mr. Dubois, nephew of Mr. Henry Wynkoop, was a competitor, yet, to the surprize of every body, and astonishment of Gerardus Wynkoop, Hanna had 36 votes, and Mr. Dubois but 26. Mr. Irwin, son of Arthur Irwin, of Tincum, in Bucks county, had 5 votes.

The peculiar reason why the party for the new constitution is large here, is the supreme influence of the Bank, the weight of Mr. Morris, the bankrupt and dependent state of the traders generally, the hopes that by giving large powers to Congress, no foreign ship will be allowed to carry off the rice, tobacco, flour, &c. but it shall be limited to American bottoms. These, and a vain delusion, that present distress, caused by too large use and consumption of foreign goods, and the consequent shipping off of specie, would be relieved. At Boston all ranks have been taught to believe it would be a cure for every sore; so infatuated are the inhabitants.

The Assembly is not doing much. A short session is talked of. A day has been spent on the subject of Wyoming, but to no purpose. R. Morris is absent in Virginia. He has been there some months. Our river is yet shut, but this cannot last above a day or two.

I am, Dear Sir, Your very humble Servant,
GEO. BRYAN.

To Mr. John Ralston,

Allen township, Northampton County.

P.S. We learn by Mr. Ellicot, late a Commissioner for Pennsylvania in running the lines between us and Virginia, that beyond doubt Maryland will reject the new constitution of the general government. He is just come from Baltimore.

Philadelphia, 12th March, 1788.

DEAR SIR, I wrote a letter addressed to you on Saturday, the 8th instant. It contained a state of present intelligence as to the designed constitution of the United States. But there was a mistake in giving the vote of New-Hampshire adjournment till June. Instead of 70 to 40, it was 56 for and 51 against; which shews its advocates nearly escaped a sudden rejection. The other numbers, 70 to 40, were the estimated size and strength of the parties, of the advocates and opposers. Those in favour of the plan cry out, that the others came fettered with instructions; yet this base practice was begun by their friends in Pennsylvania. The place where the Convention of New-Hampshire sits on the 17th June is Concord, 100 miles farther inland, as I am told, than Exeter, where this body sat, which bodes no good to the *federal* party, as they falsely call themselves.

Saturday a person arrived by the stages from North-Carolina. He assures that there is no doubt that the new plan will be rejected by that state.

The Conspirators are fully detected in stopping the transmission of intelligence from state to state by tricks in the post-offices. Being charged with it early in February, they stiffly denied it. It is at length become too palpable to all. Sure no business of a public nature has proceeded upon such base tricks of fraud and surprize!

I am, dear Sir, with compliments to all friends,

Your very obedient Servant,

GEO. BRYAN.

To Mr. John Ralston,

Allen township, Northampton County.

[P.S.] Old Col. Hart is dead. Robert Whitehill has lately married a widow Montgomery, of Upper Octorara, Chester county.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1 April; *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 9 April; *Carlisle Gazette*, 30 April.

576. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 27 March 1788

Mr. Editor, Returning home at a late hour, a night or two ago, I observed a paper on the pavement; on taking it up and examining it, I discovered it to be the copy of a letter from our celebrated Centinel to L. M. [i.e., Luther Martin] esq. attorney general of Maryland.

As the contents concern the public, they are undoubtedly public property; I therefore request you will give them a place in your paper.

Philadelphia, 15th March 1788.

Dear Sir, I have yours by Mr. G. Neither the style, nor the matter, are well suited, I apprehend, to a correspondence between two persons associated as we are.

You are pleased to say, that my Centinels have done harm in Maryland; that the falsehoods in them are too barefaced to pass on people of tolerable sense; and that your planters are not to be gulled unless the cheat is well wrapped up; that they see our drift, &c. &c.

Now, sir, if the fact be as you say, with me it follows, that you have either neglected your duty, or are ignorant of it. Whatever you may think of your Maryland wisdom, the mass of the people are alike every where; they have neither the means nor the understanding to judge for themselves; they surrender their understandings to their leaders, and are guided by their passions only; on these we work, and steer them at our pleasure. It was your business to work your planters to this temper, and your not having done it, is a decided proof of your incapacity to execute the part of our plan intrusted to you.

You ask, what in God's name could induce me to call Washington a conspirator? that I might have insinuated and hinted at him, but to attack him openly was madness in the extreme. I answer, that my Centinels were designed for the back counties of this state, where the services of this great man are but little remembered, and not for the banks of Potowmack.

Your apprehensions lest the *ex post facto* objections should be exposed, are groundless. You ought to know, that the blockheads we have in training, will never pretend to ask the meaning of an *ex post facto* law; and if they did, it would be impossible for them to understand it. The truth is, the objection was necessary to give colour to our charge against Morris and the other defaulters. You ask, if they are really defaulters? really I can scarce tell you. We have the run against them; and the truth of the fact, you know, is neither here nor there.

But the charge of bungling, in which you are so very free, may well be retorted on you. To give you one out of a hundred instances—In your publication you say, that the New York members left convention with a resolution not to return, and that they told you so. Now it is notorious, that when the convention were about to send for these members, you rose in your place, and informed the house, that it was unnecessary; these gentlemen having assured you on their leaving town, that they intended to return in a few days. What say you to this—! Yet you talk of my barefaced falsehoods.

Your pompous conclusion too; where you offer to give up wife, children, and estate (you are wise not to hazard yourself) for your country, is a piece of palpable stuff, that would not pass on your great grand mother, much less on people of tolerable sense.

A truce however with these recriminations—. We are linked and must draw together; all I desire is, that you keep a good countenance, trust

a little more to the credulity of the people. I tell you they have the stomach of an ostrich, they can digest any thing that flatters their humour. Had we been as squeamish as you, we should not have been able to parry our Council's address, congratulating the assembly on the new government—'Twas an ugly rub, but we instantly threw in pieces into the papers, asserting that it was done by a few of the council in the absence of the rest—the truth is, (a devilish bad truth too) that there were no less than eleven members present, and not a dissenting voice amongst them—We have it here, that the eastern shore are unanimous against you—that in Baltimore, you will not dare to appear at the election; and the complexion of your letter seems to give some colour to these reports. Pray don't neglect to advise me of the progress of affairs—I observe what you say of governor R. I am of your sentiment; he is not to be depended on—if your state adopt the government, I have no doubt but he will turn tail immediately.

Yet after all, when I contemplate this noble government with its checks and balances so admirably contrived to secure the liberty, and advance the glory of America, I am sometimes struck with remorse, at the damnable opposition we are giving to it. On the other hand, the recollection that I have for ever debarred myself from its advantages bears me up and stifles all compunction.—In these agitations I could address it as the devil did the sun—"and with no friendly voice, tell it how I hate its beams," I am nevertheless unshaken in my main progress. The truth is, my situation is a desperate one; I am known here, and if this government is established, I shall pass off like an exhalation, never to be seen again.—I am to be saved but by a tempest—let it once be raised to its full tumult, and I am content to abide its consequences.—You have heard of the affair at Carlisle, we shall foster that infant spark, and in due time, fan it to a flame.—Adieu, and take care that your milk and water proceedings in Maryland, do not mar our prospects.

CENTINEL.

577. Antilon

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 28 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, I have waited with a good deal of patience in hopes Mr. Centinel would have put his best foot foremost, and shewn by what operation of law or common sense, the public debts are extinguished by the adoption of the new government—In his yesterday's publication he says he has shewn it; he has indeed asserted it, but I dont find that he has any where attempted to prove it. He assumes a principle not true, of course, his reasoning would terminate in error—it stands thus—Public debts are due to the present government of America, they are

not transferred to the future government, therefore, they must sink with the present government. Now it is extremely clear, that these public debts are due and owing to the people of America, and not to the present government—they have indeed empowered their representatives to recover and receive them, but the property continues vested in themselves—let the representatives be moulded into what form they will, still the property of the people must remain—Supposing therefore, that the new plan had been silent as to this public property, and that the clause which provides for it had not been made, the operation of the common law would have kept the debts alive, and would have given to the new government a power of recovering them.

As well might the Centinel take it for granted, that his own private debts are cancelled when his creditor puts on a new coat, or turns off a clerk or agent, as that the people of America are to lose the debts due to them, by appointing a new set of governors.

Either the Centinel is not clear in his notion of *ex post facto* laws, or he supposes us ignorant. An *ex post facto* law, is a statute making an action *illegal* and *punishable*, which was not *illegal* or *punishable*, when the party committed it; therefore, if a special law was necessary (which I deny) to compel defaulters to account to the new government, it would be wrong to term such a law an *ex post facto* one, because the default had been actually committed, the debt actually existing, before the passing of such special law—Upon the Centinel's own principles then, if he will consider them with candour, the *ex post facto* clause in the federal constitution does not stand in the way of impeaching defaulters.

Let me ask this candid gentleman, What would have been his comment, had this clause been omitted? Would he not have levelled his shaft, at so vulnerable a point?

I have no belief that the clause was inserted with any such view, as the Centinel supposes; it would not have answered the purpose—besides, these gentlemen defaulters (if they are defaulters) would have found themselves plaguily bit in the execution of the scheme—the people are not to be duped so easily, nor do they stand much on forms in such palpable cases.

March 25, 1788.

578. A Friend to Equal Liberty

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 28 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, I have discovered the author of Centinel, and the next publication that comes out, I will inform the public of the real author. For my conscience cannot suffer me to remain silent, while the new

constitution is so much abused. And then it is a most dangerous, sacrilegious thing to call on the big men to refund the public dues; I wonder how any body dare do it; this hurts me more than any thing; my conscience is very large, and I would allow common people to be made to refund, but it is a heavy stretch to my conscience to have our grand-men, that could buy the half of us, treated like us little human people.

But the worst consequence of such publications will be that we will have another general convention called; this will be a great sin, a monstrous shame, for we shall then have a bill of rights as long as my arm, or perhaps longer; jury-trial and such things we shall again be troubled with; and the civil law will not be established to the great loss of the lawyers; and the king and standing army will be squeezed out of the constitution; the militia too then cannot be marched against the negroes or Indians: but the worst of all, our property, &c. will not be ready to be taxed by the great people, and all heretics will be secured in their own way of worship. Every ugly fellow too may then complain by means of the press, when perhaps he may be justly corrected by our officers of government.

579. A Candid Observer

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 29 March 1788

To the People of Pennsylvania.

I Am one among the few, who trusting entirely to the wisdom and integrity of the people of the United States, have hitherto waited with anxious silence for their awful and interesting determination upon the constitution now under discussion, which not only involves the fate of the present generation, but is also to entail happiness or misery upon millions yet unborn.

A person would naturally suppose, that the dignity and importance of the subject would be sufficient to procure respect or at least decency to the writers upon it, provided they do not first themselves transgress, and employ the weapons of personal abuse—But instead of this, we find the most respectable characters of the United States—characters who have endeared themselves to their countrymen, by the most disinterested exertions, and generous valour, treated in *your* public papers as the most villainous assassins, and desperate conspirators.

My countrymen, I lamented that you who should love those worthies from gratitude, and venerate them for their abilities and virtues, should be even supposed thus to repay their unwearied services, and unremitted ardour in your welfare; and I am heartily rejoiced that one of your

fellow citizens by his researches, has been able, in a great measure to exculpate you from this charge, and fix the authorship of one of the most inflammatory publications that has appeared, upon one Benjamin Workman, who having never experienced the worth of those he attacks, cannot have the same ties of gratitude and honor by which you are, no doubt, voluntarily bound.

When this *fat cat was let out of the bag*, when a gentleman positively charged Mr. Workman as the author of *Philadelphiensis*—when he promised to support his charge with undeniable evidence, and left his name with the printer for that purpose, I supposed that Mr. Workman would have either assented to the charge, by a becoming silence, or, conscious of his innocence, have boldly called for the testimony, confronted it and proved it false to an impartial public—But how widely different is his conduct from this, which innocence would dictate, and reason confirm. It has never appeared that he has demanded the evidence, and indeed he has not positively denied the charge, but has endeavoured to shift the thing from his shoulders, and amuse you, by a promise of some *anecdotes* of his accuser, whom he very wittily denominates, a *mustard grinder* or *fiddler*.—Can he have the presumption to suppose that you are thus to be deluded? The investigation is now into his own character, and not into Mr. H——n's, who has been too long a citizen of Pennsylvania, and too long trusted by you in an office of importance, to be shaken in his reputation by Benjamin Workmen, labouring under a load not to be removed by *anecdotes*.

I admit that undeniable truth, that every man, whether born in the country or whether a three year old citizen, has a *right* to communicate his sentiments to the public, and that the *writing*, and not the *author* should be chiefly considered—But this is only the case where candid investigation and fair arguments are employed.

But when a person who was not in the country during your bloody contest, and unparalleled exertion for liberty, who never experienced with you, your trying times, tells you, that your Washington whom you have seen exposed to the fatigues of a sultry sun, and the piercing pangs of the wintry blast, for your sake; whom you have seen crossing the Delaware amidst surrounding and tremendous islands of moving ice, for you alone, is a despot, and a conspirator, ready to imbrue his hands in the blood of the expiring liberty of his country, I say, when he *merely asserts* this, you are to chuse whether you will give most credit to Benjamin Workman, or to general Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and the rest of your most distinguished worthies, who composed the late general Convention.

580. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 29 March 1788¹

A correspondent rejoices to find the representation of Dr. Ewing, Dr. Davidson, and Mr. Patterson to the General Assembly, that they have not been the authors of, or any way concerned in, the “anonymous and abusive publications,” signed Philadelphiensis and Centinel. This open declaration, adds our correspondent, at the same time, that it must endear those gentlemen to their fellow-citizens, cannot fail to show to the world, the light in which the publications alluded to, are viewed by every good man.

1. Reprinted: *Carlisle Gazette*, 23 April.

581. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 29 March 1788

A writer, in a morning paper, says, That God in his own time will baffle the influence of the malignant mercenary Pseudo-Centinel, Pseudo-Constitutionalists Pseudo-Patriots, and anti-federalists.—If the federal constitution be at all faulty, it is because it seems to lean too much to our petty arbitrary sovereignties, which are in such great danger of being subjected to the influence of juntos of mercenary aspiring oppressive demagogues, who will fleece us, and row us into deeper and deeper waters, if not some how prevented by adorable Providence; but with regard to such men, it is not material whether they affect to be called democratics, aristocrats, plebians, or republicans; names are but names, and used as a pretext to cover the basest purposes.

582. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 29 March 1788

Extract of a letter from Montgomery, March 27.

“The paper of *Hall and Sellers* was handed to us yesterday, containing two letters with the signature of Mr. Bryan. This fraudulent base affair, must be a disgrace to the mock-federal *junto* all over the continent; and I am sure, the real authenticated intelligence contained in the letters will be of no service to them. The worthy Mr. Ralston, is much abused I see; and *say* the well born, Mr. B. has much disgraced himself by corresponding with a countryman; but I would inform Mr. X. that we count ourselves *nearly* as well born as though we were citizens of Philadelphia. Mr. Ralston is very much esteemed wherever he is known in the state, as an open-hearted sensible man, and though he has not studied Algebra, he has had as good an education as most of us, and was the choice of his country for a series of years as a representative, which office he very ably filled, at a very perilous time; and acquired

the acquaintance and friendship of the Honorable Mr. B. and many other gentlemen of the city: And yet it is said, Mr. B. is much disgraced by “condescending to correspond” with him.

“This is the first publication of any kind, either of intelligence or otherwise, that has ever appeared (in that *very impartial* paper) against the new constitution. And if the junto could in a *more honorable* way often procure and publish a similar letter (even though directed to a *countryman*) it would be of real service to the state.”

583. Philanthropos

Pennsylvania Mercury, 29 March 1788

MR. HUMPHREYS, I would not choose to disturb the peace of my own mind, by entering into any party dispute with Centinel, while I address a few remarks to some of my fellow citizens, who may be imposed upon by this infuriated writer, as it is the case with some worthy honest men.

In his 17th number, he aims the most deadly stroke, at least as much as he can, at the most exalted characters that ever America, or perhaps any other country, could boast of. It is said there is a family likeness amongst brethren; if so, I think we may guess the pedigree of this writer, for he seems to be the enemy of mankind: for even a Washington in the field, a Franklin in the cabinet, a Morris at the head of finance, cannot escape his venom. And here take one instance of the similarity mentioned above, viz.—When the serpent at first entered the garden, he does not fall on pell mell, but comes on slowly—for instance, says he, Is your liberty abridged by being debarred the use of that fine pretty fruit? Is it reserved for some more favoured son of the family, some of the great, and the well born? Just so Centinel, in his 16 numbers, comes on gradually, but is afraid to speak out plainly, until he have the minds of as many of his readers, as he can, prepared, and now in his 17th number falls on Washington himself, and Franklin too though he does not name him, and declares that they are both guilty of villainy, and (if our author is not in close contact with the father of lies) such villainy as would make a man shudder: for my own part I think it is not in the power of words to set this author in a clearer light than by attending to the above remark; but some may think that I am some way connected with the well born, &c. to which I answer the reverse is the case, and that I am utterly unconnected with both parties, as far as scribbling is concerned, being one of those who depend on industry for support; but of which I, in a great measure, despair if this author and the junto succeed in throwing the state into anarchy and confusion. But others may say, be that as it may, this old gentleman, or gentlewoman, speaks

of recovering millions for us, but be assured a few thousands for himself is the grand object. He esteems us and our money just as a fox would esteem a fat goose and a bushel of oats; indeed if this was founded in truth, and he could save millions to us, I would be as fond of it as he, and I think much more so; for I expect to pay my part of the public taxes, while he expects to live by them—but no impartial man, who reads the proposed Constitution, will pay any regard to it—It there appears as plain as words can make it, that any man retaining public money, may be called to account. But to prove all this was premeditated. Our author says, he stated that the General Convention contained a number of public defaulters—Now all men know, that these men were freely voted for by the several Legislatures, and they were freely voted for by the people at large; and surely, if the absurdity could be believed, it would be right, if they premeditated it themselves: nor can Centinel deny it, for he forgets that in another number, when he thought to make it answer his purpose, he cried out loud about the freedom of election being abridged by the new Constitution; but any thing and every thing, just as it may serve a turn. He then puts the question, could it be supposed seven years ago? &c. But say, my countrymen, say what would we have done seven years ago with any poor reptile, that would have dared to have spoken so of our beloved Washington, and him too who has been every day, from that time to the present moment, more and more rivetted to the affections of every honest hearted American, and in nothing more than in his earnest application to the construction of a government; without which his country cannot exist (at least it cannot exist to use his own words, at the signing of it, without having another wrote in lines of blood.) But though I would gladly take my leave of this author, I must lead your attention to one general, but plain and easy remark—Having insinuated and hinted a number of horrid things, he then draws the conclusion, as though all was in full proof before us. He first makes a man of straw, then beats him down with all his might; another of the favourite plans of the junto is to tell us vulgarly of big Bob, little Frank, Billy in the big house, &c. Now if this is not intended to insult our understandings, it must mean something, and so it follows that if Bob be big, if Frank be little, and Billy lives in a big house, then the New Constitution must be wrong: again he attempts to take advantage of the unhappy distinction which subsisted but too long (and by his means too) in this state by addressing himself to many worthy men foolishly called constitutionalists; but this I trust will fail him like the rest of the broken reeds. I will give him one description of these people, that he will not be able to work upon, and that is those who are honest and sensible,

and who wish to have full protection, and I hope the remainder will be but small. But to have done, my friends, I would earnestly beseech you to consider that this will soon come to be a serious matter, one way or other. We ought to look into the proposed constitution carefully, and disdain to be led by any old interested Parasite, or any young inexperienced stranger, who may please to come among us, and fall a bellowing and braying like a wild asses colt. Let us convince such fools, that we are not to be bought and sold so cheap, but that we can think and act for ourselves—That we are our mothers sons, and that our fathers begot us.

584. Pennsylvania Mercury, 29 March 1788¹

As there seems to be some sentiments in the following extract of a letter, rather new, how far they do honor to the head and heart of the writer, is left to a candid public to judge. The original letter is left in the hands of the printer, in case any gentleman should doubt its authenticity.

Extract of a letter from a Presbyterian clergyman in one of the back counties, to his friend in this city.

“A political phrenzy bordering upon madness, seems to have seized prevailing numbers, who are urged on, in their wild career, by a junto, in city and country, of malignant, mercenary Pseudo-Centinel, Pseudo-Constitutionalists, Pseudo-Patriots, and anti-foederalists; but God in his own time, will baffle their influence; for, he will cause judgment to return to righteousness, and put it out of their power to enrich and aggrandize themselves, upon the ruins of their fellow men. Methinks it would be no great difficulty to make it appear that all their arguments taken from a fear, as they pretend, *of a consolidation, absorbtion of different jurisdictions, a melting down into one, to our mutual injury*, by a continental supremacy, including all the essential articles of a good energetic government, involve a contradiction, and flow from gross ignorance or something far worse, and which I shall not name. What? did not our independence upon Britain, throw us into a state of mutual, reciprocal dependence, one state upon another? And can this union or dependence exist under the influence of 13 or 20 petty, jarring independencies or sovereignties? Can there be so many governments in one, or one in so many? What—would the nations of the earth take no notice of us? Would we not soon be in as deplorable circumstances as the petty sovereignties of ancient Greece? What—are not all our lines of division, not those of God or nature, but those of the mercenary, arbitrary policy of Britain, and a few adventurers from there?—And were not these, in many respects, jarring jurisdictions for its own profit and

aggrandisement, and that they might gratify the demands of some needy favorites and greedy expectants, by putting them into lucrative places of preferment?—If so, what can prompt men, who affect to be called patriots and whigs, to wrangle, with so much sophistry and warmth, for their respective sovereignties, unless it be ignorance, or designs of similar import? Were we in fact, under a proper federal constitution, including a proper respect to local circumstances, might not the one third of the officers on the civil list, if well chosen, be sufficient? Would not the wisdom of the citizens of all the states be more fit to call to an account the officers of such a constitution, than that of any one state is fit to call those of its own to an account? Can we suppose such officers would be more omnipotent than those we already have, who, in many instances, are more than omnipotent, because they can reconcile contradictions, make laws, which they say are just, and violate them at pleasure, without any difficulty? This is above what the Almighty can effect. Can we suppose such officers, narrowly inspected by the wisdom of all the states, would be more dangerous to our liberties than the venal, democratic demagogues we have been under for some time past? These, my friend, are the outlines of some thoughts, which have occurred to me, while musing upon our scarecrow political bickerings—Methinks, if they were enlarged a little, and set in a proper light, by some honest able statesman or politician, they might be of use to prevent designing men, from confounding and imposing upon the citizens of the respective states, by attempting to persuade them, that the annihilation of their arbitrary sovereignties, first formed by Britain for its own mercenary purposes, would endanger their liberties; whereas, in reality, there would be little thereby in danger, but too great numbers of them, who wish to fill unnecessary places of lucrative aggrandizement—You seem to have, in or about the city, some men of a large share of malignant, interested ingenuity, which are incessantly bamboosling numbers of honest simpletons by their sophistry and plausible pretexts—The independence of this and that state, or some kind of a chosen-phrase, is, by those men, held up to view as a matter of mighty magnitude; whereas the establishing of national independence, is what we ought to have in view, if we wish or expect to be regarded by the nations of the earth—Our independence on them, dependeth, under God, on our dependence upon a union with one another—In so far as we are not melted down into one, in whatever concerns the good of the whole, our national independence is injured—If this be not true; if our state independencies, which are so arbitrary, be of so great importance and national utility, we will do well to multiply them.—Let every county or hundred, &c. be made an independent state, &c. &c. This plan will

probably meet the ideas of our *numerous would-be-ats*, and does not appear impracticable, when we consider that we have some counties as large, if not larger, than some of our states—in a few words, it appears to me, my friend, that if the foederal constitution proposed to be adopted, be at all faulty, it is because it seems to leave too much to our petty, arbitrary sovereignties, which are in such great danger of being subjected to the influence of juntoes of mercenary, aspiring, oppressive demagogues, who will fleece us and row us into deeper and deeper waters, if not some how prevented by adorable providence; but with regard to such men, it is not material, whether they affect to be called democratics or aristocrats, plebeians or republicans—Names are but names, and oftimes used as a pretext of the basest purposes.”

1. Also printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on 29 March and reprinted in the *Carlisle Gazette*, 16 April.

585. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 29 March 1788

SERMON II.

“My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.” Hosea IV. 12.

I Again address the inhabitants of the western country under the appellation of “my people.” From my residence amongst them, I conceive myself most naturally to belong to them, and they to me. This will not only justify me in speaking my sentiments on affairs, which concern them, but has made it my duty. I ask then why is it that so many of the inhabitants of this country are opposed to the new federal constitution. It is from the want of knowledge. I do not mean to say that they are less capable of judging than their neighbours, on the contrary, from the experience which I have had of their understanding in the capacity of magistrates, jury men, or in the common concerns of life, I have conceived as highly of them in this respect as of any other people. But they are distant from the means of information, and are at the mercy of vague reports and the judgment of others. How else could they be led to oppose a government which must so greatly advance their own interest. For without the energy of such a constitution, how can we expect the opening of the Mississippi river, the surrender of the posts on the lakes, the support of troops on the frontiers, and the protection of settlements about to be made on Muskingum.

It is true this constitution will be adopted let the voice of this country be what it may; but it must greatly affect the character of the inhabitants to have been a drawback. On this very account a man is made to blush when he travels to other parts, and is obliged to acknowledge that he is from these settlements.

The simplicity of those whom we send to represent us in the public bodies, is at the bottom of this misfortune. There is a knot in Philadelphia consisting of a few persons whom I could name, who, under pretence of great affection for the western country members, associate with them at the sign of the black bear, and play them off, sometimes to revenge themselves on the richer merchants, or for purposes of private advantage, by obtaining local laws, &c. This is the origin of the funding system, the attacks upon the bank, the breaking up the assembly, &c.

Our representatives coming home communicate the same impressions to their countrymen, and we become the laughingstock of the commonwealth.

“My people is destroyed for lack of knowledge.”

Ignorance has done more mischief in the world than villainy. For if men were intelligent, rogues could not deceive them. All the prophets from Moses to Malichi constantly complain of the want of understanding in the people. They do not so much arraign their bad intention, as their mistakes. If prejudices could be removed, and they would hearken to those who have it in their power to inform them, it would be well; but on the contrary they give their ear only to those, who are less informed than themselves. “My people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them.”

586. Candour

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 31 March 1788

MR. OSWALD, I generally come to town every two weeks with the produce of my farm, and constantly inquire of a *grocer*, who I commonly deal with, and who is much of a politician, whether any new publications have come out in defence of the new constitution, which I make it my business to buy, as well as some times, those against it.

But although I understand there has been a writing committee appointed, and a newspaper set up for to assist the other papers in defending it, yet though I am sorry to say it, our friends seem to be very deficient in argument: The publications of our people contain in fact only scurrility. Great names, I am glad, is out of sight, that was a paltry argument; but I wish that some good sound argumentative pieces would come out and put the antifederalists out of countenance; indeed, if our writers do not exert themselves soon, I shall begin to think our cause is not quite good.

587. Squib**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 31 March 1788**

MR. OSWALD, A publication in one of your late papers, under the signature of *Federal Argument*, has trounced that rogue L——r M——r——n properly; the d——d r——l deserves ten times as much; but one thing he is charged with, which does not read quite square, viz, that he detains his clients' money and still gets more business; it might do to make some *other* charges against him, but it is not very probable that he could get more business while he cheated his clients. I wish our people would stick at *probables*, because the people will not believe us at all.

**588. Benjamin Franklin to the Printers of the Pennsylvania Gazette
March 1788¹***On the Abuse of the Press*

MESSRS. HALL AND SELLERS, I lately heard a remark, that on examination of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* for fifty years, from its commencement, it appeared, that, during that long period, scarce one libellous piece had ever appeared in it. This generally chaste conduct of your paper is much to its reputation; for it has long been the opinion of sober, judicious people, that nothing is more likely to endanger the liberty of the press, than the abuse of that liberty, by employing it in personal accusation, detraction, and calumny. The excesses some of our papers have been guilty of in this particular, have set this State in a bad light abroad, as appears by the following letter, which I wish you to publish, not merely to show your own disapprobation of the practice, but as a caution to others of the profession throughout the United States. For I have seen a European newspaper, in which the editor, who had been charged with frequently calumniating the Americans, justifies himself by saying, "that he had published nothing disgraceful to us, which he had not taken from our own printed papers." I am, &c.

A. B.

"New York, March 30, 1788.

"DEAR FRIEND, My Gout has at length left me, after five Months' painful Confinement. It afforded me, however, the Leisure to read, or hear read, all the Packets of your various Newspapers, which you so kindly sent for my Amusement,

"Mrs. W. has partaken of it; she likes to read the Advertisements; but she remarks some kind of Inconsistency in the announcing so many Diversions for almost every Evening of the Week, and such Quantities

to be sold of expensive Superfluities, Fineries, and Luxuries *just imported*, in a Country, that at the same time fills its Papers with Complaints of *Hard Times*, and Want of Money. I tell her, that such Complaints are common to all Times and all Countries, and were made even in Solomon's Time; when, as we are told, Silver was as plenty in Jerusalem as the Stones in the Street; and yet, even then, there were People who grumbled, so as to incur this Censure from that knowing Prince. '*Say not thou that the former Times were better than these; for thou dost not enquire rightly concerning that matter.*'

"But the Inconsistence that strikes me the most is, that between the Name of your City, Philadelphia, (*Brotherly Love*,) and the Spirit of Rancour, Malice, and *Hatred* that breathes in its Newspapers. For I learn from those Papers, that your State is divided into Parties, that each Party ascribes all the public Operations of the other to vicious Motives; that they do not even suspect one another of the smallest Degree of Honesty; that the antifederalists are such, merely from the Fear of losing Power, Places, or Emoluments, which they have in Possession or in Expectation; that the Federalists are a set of *Conspirators*, who aim at establishing a Tyranny over the Persons and Property of their Countrymen, and to live in Splendor on the Plunder of the People. I learn, too, that your Justices of the Peace, tho' chosen by their Neighbours, make a villainous Trade of their Office, and promote Discord to augment Fees, and fleece their Electors; and that this would not be mended by placing the Choice in the Executive Council, who, with interested or party Views, are continually making as improper Appointments; witness a '*petty Fidler, Sycophant, and Scoundrel*,' appointed Judge of the Admiralty; '*an old Woman and Fomenter of Sedition*' to be another of the Judges, and '*a Jeffries*' Chief Justice, &c. &c.; with '*two Harpies*' the Comptroller and Naval Officers, to prey upon the Merchants and deprive them of their Property by Force of Arms, &c.

"I am inform'd also by these Papers, that your General Assembly, tho' the annual choice of the People, shows no Regard to their Rights, but from sinister Views or Ignorance makes Laws in direct Violation of the Constitution, to divest the Inhabitants of their Property and give it to Strangers and Intruders; and that the Council, either fearing the Resentment of their Constituents, or plotting to enslave them, had projected to disarm them, and given Orders for that purpose; and finally, that your President, the unanimous joint choice of the Council and Assembly, is '*an old Rogue*,' who gave his Assent to the federal Constitution merely to avoid refunding Money he had purloin'd from the United States.

“There is, indeed, a good deal of manifest *Inconsistency* in all this, and yet a Stranger, seeing it in your own Prints, tho’ he does not believe it all, may probably believe enough of it to conclude, that Pennsylvania is peopled by a Set of the most unprincipled, wicked, rascally, and quarrelsome Scoundrels upon the Face of the Globe. I have sometimes, indeed, suspected, that those Papers are the Manufacture of foreign Enemies among you, who write with a view of disgracing your Country, and making you appear contemptible and detestable all the World over; but then I wonder at the Indiscretion of your Printers in publishing such Writings! There is, however, one of your *Inconsistencies* that consoles me a little, which is, that tho’ *living*, you give one another the characters of Devils; *dead*, you are all Angels! It is delightful, when any of you die, to read what good Husbands, good Fathers, good Friends, good Citizens, and good Christians you were, concluding with a Scrap of Poetry that places you, with certainty, every one in Heaven. So that I think Pennsylvania a good country *to dye in*, though a very bad one *to live in*.”

1. Printed: Albert Henry Smyth, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin Collected and Edited with a Life and Introduction* (10 vols., New York, 1905–1907), IX, 639–42. A draft manuscript is in the Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

589. James Pettigrew to John Nicholson
Northampton County, Pa., March 1788¹

I this moment recd. your favour by Mr. Arndt. Am Extremely happy you have don justice to my declarations in this business. Cannot help again Assuring you that I have ever held your character in the highest Esteem which many of the verry best people in this place will anytime vouch for—’Tis next to impossible that such an expression could have escaped me of any good man—but be Assured sir that if anything ever did which bore the least cimmilarity to it, it has been at some gay moment. When in dispute with some of our Violent politisions I have said something thoughtlessly tho I am certain Inocently to tantalise them. Which has been made use of to ingure [i.e., injure] me in your good oppinion—I will that I may have it in my power to do you the most ample justice make it my business to find out Where this language should have happened & if any one person Who is reckon’d a person of truth will say that I have insinuated a thing of the kind even in Jest. I will make you such Acknowledgements for my imprudence (for I am sure I am not intentionally guilty of any crime) as one gentleman ought to Expect from another—

1. RC, Nicholson Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Endorsed: “Letter from Mr. Pettigrew Recd March 1788.”

590. A Retailer of Scraps

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 1 April 1788

A new era in politics has commenced—the momenta of eternal truths are evasively opposed by disgraceful scurrility.

WORKMAN.

Mr. Editor, It has long been the complaint of many worthy citizens, that our presses have teemed with the most wanton, and scurrilous abuse, instead of liberal argument, and candid investigation, when any momentous political question has been submitted to public discussion. This complaint is, every day, becoming more general, and is now allowed to be just, even by those writers who have long gloried in their *darling privilege*, their “*birthright*,” of slandering, with impunity, the most illustrious characters America can boast of: this will evidently appear to every reader, who will but turn his eye to my motto, and to the worthy author of it; should any scruple to acknowledge the truth of his assertion, they may have their doubts removed, by perusing the *works* of this Workman. I have patiently submitted to the drudgery of reading over his XI numbers of *Philadelphiensis*, and, for my soul, I cannot discover a single argument, in the whole of them, which has any thing to do with the merits, or demerits, of the new plan of federal government. I shall not presume to show the public how justly he merits their countenance, and support, for having excelled in the genuine, the sublime Billingsgate; but, shall proceed to prove the truth of my motto, by a few *valuable* extracts from his *political* essays, which shall be fairly quoted. In his address to the public, from which my motto is taken, are the following expressions—

“In Hopkinson’s opinion my crime is capital, and so of course, I stand convicted; but thank God the *little sycophant* does not yet act (except in his own sinecure office) in the double character of *judge* and *jury*.”

“Has the malicious, cruel, and unprovoked attack on my private character been the productions of the *parasites* and *mean bullies* of a declining party, through a spirit of revenge? I maintain, that nothing short of ignorance, want of liberality of sentiment, prejudice, or perhaps the *bribery* of a party, could have induced Hopkinson to risque his reputation in his wicked and unprovoked attack.”

Having used the expression, “mean bullies,” he next apes the undaunted bruiser, the genuine bully.

“Hopkinson, had better be cautious for the time to come; or he may purchase a correction, from which neither his insignificance nor his influence shall protect him.”

Let us next cull a few fragrant flowers from Philadelphiensis, beginning with No. I. Speaking of some writers who had recommended to the printers to be possessed of the names of their political correspondents, he says,

“The friends of this despotic scheme of government, were driven to the last and only alternative from which there was any probability of success; namely, the abolition of *the freedom of the Press*,”

“The *haughtiest lordling* and friend to arbitrary government in America, must hang down his head and blush upon reading your ill-timed hint.”

“I make no doubt but it is the wish of a thousand of our *well born* as well as of yourself, that the printers would comply with your request: it must natively be the wish of every *little petty* tyrant in the United States.”

“In Boston the liberty of the press is now completely abolished; and hence all other privileges and rights of the people will in a short time be destroyed: No wonder then that the printers in Boston would exert themselves in favour of this new government: Their present condition is a drawing in miniature of that in which the adoption of the new constitution will certainly place the whole union; so that after the nature of the *prince of darkness*, they wish to have all their fellow citizens in the same dreadful situation with themselves.—Russel, I would not hire a mob to bear you aloft as an object of hatred and contempt, nor would I bribe them to *hang you in effigy*, although you really deserve it.”

Not having used a single reason to prove the constitution defective in any particular, he concludes, No. I with this elegant rhapsody.

“Ah! what glorious days are coming; how I anticipate the brilliancy of the American court! Behold that gilded chariot, set with diamonds, and drawn by eight Arabian horses; off with your hats you paltrons, here is the president going in state to the senate house to confirm the law for the abolition of liberty of the press. Men and brethren will not these things be so? Yes most assuredly, if we adopt the new constitution in its present form, these things will be so. *Rouse then! rouse!* my fellow-citizens! and show yourselves to be freemen: This is the most important object that ever presented itself to your understanding: The independence of America, which God himself vouched safe through his infinite mercy to confer upon us, must end in a curse, if this *tyrannical* government be suffered to be established. But forbid it Heaven!”

No. II.

The author, though a citizen of but three years old, claims to himself a share of the trophies won by the heroes of America, in the following curious paragraph:

“The river of tyranny may now be clenched, that will bind forever the freedom of America in the indissoluble chains of cursed slavery. In the adoption of the new constitution in its present form, *we* will lose more than all that *we* have fought for, and gained in a glorious and successful war of seven years; yea, and still more than this, our very character of *citizens* and *freemen* will be changed to that of *subjects* and *slaves*.”

He then goes on with his usual cant—

“The Congress and President are to have an absolute power over the *standing army, navy, and militia*; and the *president*, or rather *emperor*, is to be commander in chief.”

What shall we say to his use of the words “proceedings” and “silence,” in the subjoined sentence, shall we charge him with a bull, or a blunder? perhaps that would be reckoned a national indignity.

“From the *proceedings* of the convention, respecting *liberty of conscience*, foreign politicians might be led to draw a strange conclusion, *viz.* that the majority of that assembly were either men of *no* religion, or all of *one* religion; such a conclusion naturally follows their *silence* on that subject.”

To his chagrin, on finding the worthy Quakers of Pennsylvania, to a man, federal, he is constrained to give vent, thus,—

“I cannot help taking notice of the inconsistency of some Pennsylvanians, in respect to this new government. The very men, who should oppose it with all their influence, seem to be the most zealous for establishing it. Strange indeed! that the professed enemies of *negro* and every other species of *slavery*, should themselves join in the adoption of a constitution whose very basis is *despotism* and *slavery*.”

He then goes on to claim a share in obtaining American independence, as before;

“For what did *we* withdraw *our* allegiance from Great Britain; was it because the yoke of George the third was not sufficiently galling, that *we* cast it off, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, in order to accommodate *ourselves* with one of *our* own construction more intolerable? or, was it because the tyrant was three thousand miles off, that *we* revolted, in order to appoint one at home, who should correct us with scorpions instead of whips? If this were your design, I congratulate you on your success; hesitate not a moment then in the adoption of the new constitution: It is a perfect model, and answers your intention completely. It certainly is capable of carrying *tyranny* and *despotism* to their ne plus ultra.”

No. III.

Here our author shines unrivalled. Here the force of my motto must be felt.

“I say there cannot; and I affirm it, that there is not a man in the United States, except some *base assassin* or *mean coward*, who can be indifferent on this momentous occasion. Is there any one now among us who can remain unconcerned or neutral? If there be, I say he is not a *man*; no certainly, he is unworthy of that character; such a *wretch* can have no claim to the title of a free citizen of America, he is a *pitiful sycophant*, a *cringing spaniel*, a *menial slave*.”

“The people will be *abject slaves*, toiling to support a government, which they curse in their hearts; a government composed only of an *emperor and a few lordlings*, surrounded by thousands of *blood suckers*, and *cringing sycophants*.

NO. IV.

In this number Philadelphiensis attempts to rob general N———n of his military honors, not recollecting that he, not captain M’Clain, was *commander in chief* of the invalids, during the sitting of the federal convention. Had the C———r G———I adverted to this indignity, it is not probable that he would have taken so much pains, in transmitting the writings of this incendiary to his deluded countrymen at Carlisle, &c. I allude to the following paragraph.

“But before Congress should be vested with greater powers than they now have, their number ought at least to be tripled,—suppose two hundred and sixty; that is, twenty members for each state. But this matter I shall leave for the discussion of our next federal convention; if we should have the good luck to see their High Mightinesses once more *locked up in the State-house*, guarded by Captain M’Clain’s old battle-axe battalion.”

He next gives us some more of his railing rants—

“What compensation then are you to receive in return for the liberties and privileges belonging to yourselves and posterity, that you are about to sacrifice at the alter of this *monster*, this *Colossus of despotism*? Why really the return you deserve, if you are mean enough to be gulled after this manner; *poverty, slavery, and broken heads*.”

“I think it is pretty obvious, that our *standing army* will have *other fish to fry* than fighting a foreign enemy; there is work enough cut out for them of a domestic nature, without troubling them on other occasions.”

“Congress are to have an absolute power over the *standing army, navy and militia*; so that it is out of the question whether a particular state be, or be not, able to build a ship of war; she must meddle with no such matter; it belongs to the *Emperor*, and our well born Congress to build and maintain a navy. Congress having a large national debt already accumulated, the Emperor, themselves, and their judges, lawyers, revenue-collectors, dependents, flatterers, &c. &c. and above all the

standing army, at least *double officered*, to provide for, will find themselves at their wits-end to devise *ways* and *means* for all their purposes.”

The genuine “*amor patriæ*” has such effect upon the mind of this three-years old citizen, that he concludes this number with prayer, to save *his* dear country from tyranny.

“The Congress must procure money to pay the *standing army punctually*, come of other matters what will; their very existence depends on this. For a neglect of payment might, and really would, cause a mutiny in the military; and then down tumbles the federal constitution, whose *mighty basis* was said to be at the center of the earth: The standing army will be its grand supporters,—now if these give way, the building itself will be instantly levelled to the ground. And Heaven grant that Columbia may never see such another erected again on her domain. Amen. So be it, good Lord deliver us.

No. V.

This number was written shortly after the adoption of the constitution by the convention, of this state. A petition from a few hundreds of inhabitants of Cumberland county, and from them only, had been presented to the convention, praying for an adjournment; because these petitioners were not suffered to dictate to the people of Pennsylvania, an attempt is made to inflame their minds in this very singular, and curious performance. He begins thus,

“If the arbitrary proceedings of the convention of Pennsylvania do not rouse your attention to the rights of yourselves and your children, there is nothing that I can say will do it. If the contempt and obloquy with which this body has treated your petitions, can not bring you to think seriously, what will? When a few *Demagogues* despising every sense of order and decency, have rejected the petitions of the people, and in the most supercilious manner, triumphed over the freemen of America, as if they were their slaves, and they themselves their lords and masters. I say that if such barefaced presumption and arrogance, such tyrannical proceedings, be not sufficient to awaken you to a sense of your duty and interest, nothing less than the goad and whip can succeed: your condition must be like that of the careless and insecure sinner, whom neither the admonitions nor entreaties of his friends, nor even the threatnings of awaiting justice, could reclaim or convince of his error; his reformation is neglected until it is too late, when he finds himself in a state of unutterable and endless woe.”

And then proceeds—

“If the petitions of the freemen of America, couched in decent and respectable terms, will not be attended to; then be it known, that their

demands must and will be granted: If no better will do, the *ultima ratio regum* must secure to the people their rights.”

“Ah my friends, the days of a cruel Nero approach fast; the language of a monster, of a Caligula, could not be more imperious. I challenge the whole continent, the *well born and their parasites*, to show an instance of greater insolence.”

“The indignity offered to the people and their petitions, by the *haughty lordlings* of the convention, proclaims the chains of despotism already firmly rivetted.”

“My fellow citizens, this is an awful crisis; your situation is alarming indeed; yourselves and petitions are despised and trampled under the feet of *self-important nabobs*; whose *diabolical plots* and *secret machinations* have been carried on since the revolution, with a view to destroy your liberties, and reduce you to a state of slavery and dependence.”

“I trust, these *petty tyrants* will soon find to their confusion, that their own imprudent zeal has defeated their designs. As a *villain*, who secreted to *rob* and *murder* in the secret hour of night, issues forth from his lurking place before the people have retired to sleep, and thus frustrates his *infernal design* by impatience; so in like manner the lust of dominion has urged these *despots* on to the adoption of the measures that will inevitably, and I hope immediately, unhinge every part of their *conspiracy* against the rights of their fellow-men, and bring on themselves infamy and disgrace.

“Figure to yourselves, my brethren, a man with a plantation just sufficient to raise a competency for himself and his dear little children; but by reason of the immoderate revenue necessary to support the *emperor*, the illustrious *well born Congress*, the *standing army*, &c. &c. himself and his children must become servants and slaves, or else perish with hunger and want. Do I exaggerate here? No truly. View the misery of the poor under the despotic governments of Europe and Asia, and then deny the truth of my position, if you can. Even in the freest country in Europe, a lady’s lap dog is more esteemed than the child of a poor man. O God, what a monster is man! that a dog should be nourished and pampered up by him with dainties.”

Some may perhaps wonder, and say what have we to do with the poor of Asia and Europe? For my part, if ever No. XII shall appear, I expect it will give us an account of the inhabitants of the magnetic moons.

“But the members of the Federal Convention were men who have been all tried in the field of action, say some; they have fought for American liberty: Then the more to their shame be it said, *curse on the villain* who protects virgin innocence only with a view that he may himself become the ravisher.”

“The convention was composed of a variety of characters; *ambitious men, Jesuites, tories, lawyers, &c.*

I trust that the truth of my motto is, by this time, as clearly demonstrated, as any proposition in Euclid has ever been, either by Simpson, Whiston, or any other person; but lest this may not be the case, I shall, in a few days, give you a few extracts from the remaining numbers, some of which are highly seasoned.

591. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 1 April 1788

If an impartial and unprejudiced person should take a serious and candid view of Mr. Francis Hopkinson’s extraordinary conduct; first, in abusing a gentleman in his trifling and parasitical allegory of the *new roof*; and secondly, in his wicked and scurrilous attack on Mr. Workman of the University, in two or more publications, one under the signature of A. B. in the Independent Gazetteer, and another signed, A *Candid Observer*, in that *pure paper*, called the Federal Gazette: Can he, I say, as an impartial observer, or as a *man* and a *christian*, suppress an awful sigh for the weakness and depravity of human nature?

Mr. Hopkinson at the hazard (yea, certain loss) of his character, his peace of conscience, and the reputation and happiness of his own family, and at the expence of truth, honor, and friendship, has basely and wickedly traduced the *good name* of men who in a single instance had never injured him, not perhaps even in thought. Miserable and infatuated man! the load of public infamy and secret guilt, under which he was labouring prior to this last and perfecting stroke of his character, was palpable enough without increasing it. Who could imagine that the judge of the admiralty of Pennsylvania, who ought to have some character to lose, should basely carry on a secret correspondence with a worthless constable or catchpole, whom he flatters or lures with the hopes of reward, to say, or perhaps to *swear* that he saw a gentleman sign one of the political essays under the signature of Philadelphiensis. But this appears a groundless falsehood.—It is worthy remark, that Mr. Hopkinson, blinded by folly, published his wicked attack, before he and the Catchpole had planed a consistent story, as they differ in their accounts very materially now; and that Hopkinson promised to send Mr. Workman the Catchpole’s declaration, but dreading that a contradiction would be detected, he has thought proper to break his word for the present, until he and his ’squire shall have formed a more plausible and consistent scheme.

Here then are the contradictory and foundationless stories of Mr. Hopkinson and his informants—But were it true that Mr. Workman is

the real author of those essays; are there not two thirds of the freemen of America who admit the justness of the sentiments and arguments therein; these brave men instead of criminating the supposed author, or loading him with scurrility and abuse, esteem and honor him merely on that account.

Hopkinson, to complete his crimsoned character, with an adroitness consequent to villainy, pleads the crimes of another for the extenuation of his own; but his infamy must now be exposed, and the treacherous sycophant exhibited in propria persona. Conscious of his guilt, and fearing that he might provoke an investigation of his life, through his absurd attack on Mr. Workman; he cowardly writes under anonymous signatures; and jesuitically endeavours to divert the public mind from viewing himself; but all his cunning and address shall not avail him; his character and that of Mr. Workman's must undergo an ordeal without favour or affection. Mr. Workman, invites, yea, he challenges Mr. Hopkinson and every other person who may think themselves concerned, to come forth and publish what they know of him, but no piece on this subject shall be noticed if it be under an anonymous signature.

Mr. Workman, as a teacher, has probably benefitted America more than any man in that line of life on the continent ever did; he has since September, 1784, taught, in his public and private hours of attendance, 110 persons the branch of navigation, of which about 70 already act as officers on board American ships; he has also in the same time perfected 15 Captains of American ships, in the Lunar observations; besides qualified a number of youths for other useful departments; and as Cicero justly observed, "*Quid munus reipublicæ majus aut melius affere possumus, quam si juventutem bene erudiamus.*"—This is a short sketch of the man represented by Mr. Hopkinson as employed in the base practice of defaming the names of *Washington, Franklin, &c.* He declares solemnly, that he never recollects to have written the names of these illustrious men in a political sense in his life. He makes this declaration for the information and satisfaction of his friends; and not through a principle of fear or anxiety in being the supposed writer of the political essays under the signature of *Philadelphiensis*, for on that account he is not in the least concerned.

Blush Hopkinson, if conscious guilt can produce one on your countenance, that you have not only *belied* a person who never injured you, (according to your own acknowledgement,) but basely endeavoured to ruin him in his person and property; you have done all you could to inflame the public mind against him, with a view to injure his person; and to finish your job consistently, you address the trustees of the University to dismiss him forthwith from their service.

Hopkinson, you say that your reputation cannot be shaken by any thing Mr. Workman can say; but hear the truth, Sir; he never intended, nay, so much as dreamt of shaking you or your reputation; and for the honor of humanity, and for the sake of your innocent offspring, he wishes he could draw a veil over your folly and your crimes; but you have added insult to wilful perfidy, in your last publication under the signature of *A Candid Observer*: You are careful in advertising the public that “Mr. Workman was labouring under a load not to be removed by anecdotes”—And likewise your low cunning in observing that the investigation was into *his* character and not into *yours*; must, compel him, in his own defence, to exhibit the vile wretch in his true character.

B. WORKMAN.

March 31, 1788.

592. *New York American Magazine*, 1 April 1788¹

DEBATES of the CONVENTION of the State of PENNSYLVANIA on the CONSTITUTION, *proposed for the Government of the UNITED STATES*. Taken accurately in short hand, by THOMAS LLOYD. In two volumes, octavo, vol. I. JOSEPH JAMES, Philadelphia.

The first volume only of these debates, is come to hand, which contains the speeches of Thomas M’Kean and James Wilson, Esquires. Most of this volume is filled with the speeches of the latter gentleman, whose great political abilities are displayed throughout the whole course of his arguments. His reasoning is concise and clear, his arrangement tolerably methodical, and his style perspicuous and elegant.

Mr. M’Kean’s arguments are very concise, but judicious and generally well expressed.

The volume under consideration may be considered as a very useful publication, and calculated to diffuse a true knowledge of the principles of government in general, and particularly of the New Federal Constitution. It may however be enquired, why has the compiler suppressed the speeches of the most able men on the opposite party? Are they to appear in the second volume? and if so, will they not be misplaced? It is presumed that the principles of the Constitution, like those of the Christian religion will bear the severest scrutiny; and that its cause will even gain strength by discussion. The omission of the anti-federal arguments as stated by the opposition, may give uneasiness to some warm friends to the Constitution. On this subject however it is necessary to suspend our opinion, till the appearance of the second volume.

1. For the exact dating of the March issue of the *American Magazine*, see the *New York Packet*, 1 April.

593. Reflection III**Carlisle Gazette, 2 April 1788**

To the PUBLIC.

The very existence of our government being dependent upon elections, it ought to be one of the greatest objects of our policy how these are to be appointed and regulated, and to whom such appointments and regulations are to be entrusted. The objections that are made against that part of the proposed constitution which respects elections, are so many and ill-founded, that it would be an useless and unprofitable undertaking, to attempt to enumerate and answer them.—Let us examine the extent of the power which is to be vested in the New Fœderal Congress, for the appointment and regulation of elections. “The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.” Here the whole power of the Congress, which they have over elections is confined to those of senators and representatives; and the power which they have over the elections for senators, is only partial. The modes of elections through the several states are very different, now experience may soon discover a necessity of establishing an uniform mode of election throughout the whole; therefore the general government ought to have it in their power to adopt any of those methods which may be most preferable, and be most for the advantage and security of the people, or even to establish a new manner if it should appear most eligible. But it does not seem to be the intention of the constitution that this power should even be exercised by the general government, unless the legislatures of the several states should abuse it, and render themselves unworthy of that privilege. It is said that the places of elections should be fixed, and ought to be a part of the constitution. It seems difficult in many cases to determine what ought to be a part of the constitution, and what ought more properly to belong to the laws, subsequently made under that constitution; the reports of the council of censors, will put it beyond every doubt, that there are many clauses in the constitution of Pennsylvania, which ought not to be a part of it, as it was impossible to provide for the public exigencies without violating them. And there being much danger in altering and amending constitutions, and as that constitution which must frequently be broken, is of very little or no consequence at all: we draw a very fair and natural conclusion, that those things which will soon and often require amendments, ought not to be a part of the constitution. The places of holding elections may,

for the benefit and ease of the electors, and also to obtain the most full, just and equal representation, often require to be changed, that changes will be necessary, experience in Pennsylvania hath fully evinced. And the freemen of America wish not to be deprived of this important privilege, this criterion of liberty. It is true, in some of the states, the places of elections, which would be most proper, might be ascertained; but this could not be done in every state.—It is asked, may not the Congress appoint the places of election for this state all on the banks of the Lake Erie, or in Philadelphia. I may ask with as much propriety, why the assembly of this state do not appoint their elections in Pekin, the capital of China, or on the top of the Andes in South America. The answers to these questions must certainly be evident to every person who knows what kind of a government exists in America. But it is said that the assembly cannot appoint the places of elections out of their respective counties; I ask why may they not? For there is no clause either in the bill of rights or constitution of the state which can prevent them. But let us examine whether there is any probability that the Congress shall ever make either the places or manner of elections disadvantageous to the people? The members that are to compose that body, have the same interest with their constituents, they are subject, their estates and property are subject to the same laws to which those of their fellow citizens are subject—the laws made by themselves, they have no emolument separate or different from theirs, only during their continuance in office; each house is to keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same with the names of the persons voting for or against any question, this will give the people an opportunity of knowing whether there are any person in either house, who would dare to attempt to deprive any person of an equal vote, the people have then a power of turning such person out of office. Now where can the danger arise? That any of the members chosen to compose the great legislative body of the United States, should endeavour to deprive their constituents of a fair and equal election, would be the same thing as if a man would use all the means in his power, to take away his own natural life. It being shewn that the regulations of elections could not be a part of the constitution, and it being allowed by all that the people themselves could not exercise this power in their natural capacities, there seems to remain but two convenient and proper methods of exercising this power, the one is by the state legislatures, the other by the great legislative body of the United States. The state legislatures consisting of a greater number, than those sent by the same state to the legislature of the United States, and being consequently supposed to know better what places would be most convenient to the

inhabitants of that state; it would seem that the power of appointing the places of election should be exercised by them; but not absolutely, for this would not only make a single state superior to the whole United States, but would be giving the state legislatures too much power, especially as some of them consist of single bodies of men, and they having not only the directions of their own state elections, but also of the elections for the president of the United States.—Is there not much more danger in trusting to a single body of men, who have already sufficient power, than to two, and those two subject to the qualified or recommendatory negative of a third? There certainly is. Therefore it being reasonable to suppose that the state legislatures should be best acquainted with what manner, but especially what places of elections will be most for the ease and advantage of the people; and it being dangerous to vest this power in them without any check, it must undoubtedly be most proper, that the state legislatures should possess this power, subject to the controul of the legislative body of the United States, which is the method pointed out in the New Foederal Constitution.

594. Deliberator

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2 April 1788

THE REAL FEDERALIST, NO. II.
TO the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

Fellow-Citizens, How have the advocates of the proposed government combated the objections urged against it? Not even by an attempt to disprove them for that would the more fully confirm their truth, but by a species of reasoning that is very congenial to that contempt of the understanding of the people, that they so eminently possess, and which policy could not even prevent frequent ebullitions of; they seemed to think that the oratory and fascination of great names and mere sound would suffice to ensure success; that the people would be diverted from a consideration of the merits of the plan, by bold assertions and mere declamation. Some of their writers, for instance, painted the distresses of every class of citizens with all the glowing language of eloquence, as if this was any demonstration of the excellence or even the safety of the new plan, which, notwithstanding the reality of this distress, has been proved to be a system of tyranny and oppression; other writers have told you of the great men who composed the general Convention, and given you a pompous display of their virtues, instead of a justification of their plan of government; and others again, urge the tyrants plea—they endeavour to make it a case of necessity. Now is the critical moment, say they; these and some such other fallacious arguments are

all that have been offered in justification of a system at which enlightened patriotism shudders.

That there is a number of worthy characters among the signers to the new plan is allowed, but that the majority of them are more noted for their ambition and cunning than their patriotism must also be allowed; and, though I am sorry to say it, many of the most influential members are the principal public defaulters. And we must also here recollect the information of the Hon. Mr. Martin, where he informs his Legislature that many lent their names on condition that they would and should renew and continue their opposition to it if they found it did not meet the approbation of the people of their respective states. Does not even Dr. Franklin say, in his speech, published some time since, that he signed it in accommodation to the majority, and not his own sentiments, for he had uniformly opposed it till just before the Convention rose; and then, it is since discovered, it was an *interested motive* that swayed him. Has not two other members of that body, deputies from this state, also declared they opposed it and only signed *in accommodation*?

The injunction of secrecy imposed on the members of the late Convention during their deliberations, was obviously dictated by the genius of aristocracy; it was deemed impolitic to unfold the principles of their intended government to the people, as this would have frustrated the object they had in view.

The greatest minds are forcibly impressed by the immediate circumstances with which they are connected; the particular sphere men move in, the prevailing sentiments of those they converse with, have an insensible and irresistible influence on the wisest and best of mankind; so that when we consider the abilities, talents, *ingenuity*, art and *consummate address* of a number of the members of the late Convention, whose principles are despotic, can we be surprized that men of the best intentions have been misled and deceived? Is it derogating from that great *hero* WASHINGTON to suppose him fallible on a subject that must be novel to him? his other arduous undertakings must have engaged all his attention and prevented his applying to the intricate science of government; as a soldier and hero he stands unequalled in the annals of time. And we find even he declared upon signing that it was not in conformity with his own sentiments but with those of the majority.

But if we were to consider NAMES as an argument in favour of this system (which I am happy to find is no longer the case) I am sure that the people of America would place equal confidence in those tried patriots who reprobate the system: The names of Lee, Randolph, Chace, Martin, Paca, Mason, Gerry, S. Adams, Clinton, Henry, Burke, &c. have

always been equally respected on the continent as the others. These withstood the prospect of acquiring great and valuable offices, under the new plan; they withstood the first torrent of popular flattery and clamor; they bore the abundance of abuse and scurrility heaped on them from all quarters; and all this have they done for the good of the people; whom they have come forward to protect from the chains forged for them in the secret conclave.

That the powers of Congress ought to be strengthened, all allow, but was this any proof of the necessity of adopting the proposed plan of tyranny? Is it a proof that because the Convention harmonized so much in the first essay, upon so difficult and arduous an undertaking, that a future Convention will not, or that after the subject will be fully investigated, and the important objections maturely considered by the people, another Convention appointed by them will not agree upon a plan of government agreeable to the sentiments of America? The late Convention must indeed have been inspired, as some of its advocates have asserted, to admit the truth of these positions, or even to admit the possibility of the proposed government, being such a one as America ought to adopt; for this body went upon original ground, foreign from their intentions or powers, they must therefore have been wholly uninformed of the sentiments of their constituents in respect to this form of government, as it was not in their contemplation when the Convention was appointed, to erect a new government, but to strengthen the old one. Indeed they seem to have been determined to monopolize the exclusive merit of the discovery, or rather as, if they considered darkness was essential to its success, they precluded all communication with the people, by closing their doors; thus the well disposed members, unassisted by public information and opinion, were induced by *those* arts that are now practising on the people, to give their sanction to this system of despotism.

Is there any reason to presume that a new Convention will not agree upon a good plan of government? Quite the contrary, for perhaps there never was such a coincidence on any occasion as on the present, the opponents to the proposed plan, at the same time, in every part of the continent harmonized in the same objections; such an uniformity of opposition is without example, and affords the strongest demonstration of its solidity. Their objections too are not local, are not confined to the interests of any one particular state to the prejudice of the rest, but with a philanthropy and liberality that reflects lustre on humanity, that dignifies the character of America, they do not even condescend to minute blemishes, but shew that the main pillars of the fabric are bad,

that the essential principles of liberty and safety are not to be found in it, that despotism would be the necessary and inevitable consequence of its establishment.

Philad. county, 31st *March*, 1788.

595. A Friend to Law and Order

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2 April 1788

Mr. PRINTER, Mr. Bryan's letters, which were published last week, are not the only ones, that have been intercepted by the friends of good government; and it is to be hoped, that a number of other letters will speedily be laid before the Public.—The following was lately picked out of the pocket of a traveller in the stage, by a gentleman of great honour and love to his country, who hopes to be taken notice of according to his merits, as soon as matters are settled. Unfortunately the caitiff, who wrote it, has used only initials, instead of names at length, both in the signature and superscription, in hopes of escaping detection; but means are in use which, it is expected, will speedily drag the villain forth into open day-light. The little judge is watching under the eaves of the school-houses every night; the post-offices and the houses where letters are deposited, to go into the country, are all examined, to discover the hand writing; and we are dealing with a servant, whose master is believed to know something about it; so that we can hardly fail of success.———Yours,

A FRIEND TO LAW AND ORDER.

To L. X. ESQUIRE, New-York.

Philadelphia, 13th March, 1788.

My dear Sir, I am glad to find, that you concur with me in opinion, that the Constitution, proposed by the late Federal Convention, will never be generally received, without amendments. On the other hand, you are certainly right, in wishing that the opposition to its adoption *in toto* had been conducted, from beginning to end, with strict attention to decency and good manners; but this was hardly to be looked for. *Like begets like*; and so much abuse on one side, however right it would be to despise it, is very apt to excite the like conduct on the other side.—Besides, it is in literary contests as in real warfare, a number of irregular people follow the banners of a party, for the sake of plunders and mischief; and I am not without suspicion, that we have some amongst us, who, like the Austrian Hussars, are equally mischievous on both sides. These things however, are of little consequence. Our huckster women scold every day, with the same poignancy as the newspapers; and I never knew them produce any important consequence.

But you refer to the word CONSPIRATION, and ask me, if I really believe that a conspiracy has been formed, for the purpose of establishing a despotic government in this country. My friend, I have not the least doubt of it. Where, when, or how this conspiracy was hatched, I cannot pretend to say at present; but I have full faith that the time will come, when the whole mystery will be fully disclosed.—I will take the liberty of stating a few of my ideas on this subject.—This conspiracy was not hatched in the late Federal Convention, but before it met. Many of the members of the Convention, were far from being engaged in it; but it is now no secret, that some of the members would have given us a more naked system of tyranny, if they could have prevailed. Several members acquiesced in the system proposed, for fear of a worse. Doctor Franklin, in the speech which has been published and, I believe, is genuine, plainly enough intimated, that he opposed the Constitution, in its present form, as long as he could do it with any prospect of success. General Washington was placed in a situation, in which he was bound to acquiesce in the decisions of the majority and, perhaps, that great man's character would, if possible, be still more perfect, if he had less diffidence in his own judgment, and did not sometimes listen to the advice of men, who are not possessed of a twentieth part of his understanding. But there was a number of the conspirators in the Convention, perhaps a majority;—and there were many of them out of doors, ready to attempt to force down the most arbitrary system that could possibly be devised.

It is near a twelvemonth, since I was told, very seriously, that there was a communication between people in the different parts of the continent, to bring about a new revolution, at the expence of our liberties; and a number of circumstances were told to confirm it.—I confess, at that time, I disbelieved it; but, from what has since happened, I have altered my opinion. The precipitancy and violence which was used and attempted, in different parts of the continent to fasten the new Constitution about our necks, before the people at large could know what was doing; the similarity of language and conduct, in different places at the same time, with the new and extraordinary appearance of *Mobs with powdered hair*, made me think seriously of what I had heard before. But, above all, when I reflect upon the attempts which are continually made, to prevent the communication of intelligence, between those who are not friends to the proposed Constitution *in toto*; or who wish for amendments; the stopping of news-papers, the breaking open of packets and destroying them, on the roads; the continual miscarriages of letters by every species of conveyance, if written by the friends of liberty, and which, I have no doubt, are intercepted by the conspirators

and their tools:—in short, when I observe the same system of fraud, circumvention and violence, pervading most parts of the continent at once, I cannot ascribe it to accident; but to a preconcerted design amongst the chosen members of a conspiracy.—I have no doubt, however, that the great body of the people are yet disposed to remain free and assert their liberty; and that they will finally reject the pretensions of a combination of men, who, assuming to themselves the name of *the better sort of people*, seem to think that the right of governing this country belongs to them in the same manner as James the First, and Charles the First of England, were vested with despotic power, *jure divino*.

I have written the more freely, as the bearer of this is a gentleman, who can be depended upon;—and yet, for fear of accident, I must refer you to the hand-writing and initials.

Yours sincerely,

B. Y.

596. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2 April 1788

MR. BAILEY, *Having long lamented that too many Newspapers have not only become the evidence, but also in a great degree the cause, of the decline of Patriotism; and counting an impartial Newspaper one of the most useful means of preserving a love of liberty, and of enabling us to know our situation—Impressed with this thought, I sent the following to the Federal Gazette in reply to the piece which is chiefly quoted in this; it hath been with Mr. M'Culloch near two weeks, but was not admitted to a place in that paper. Your publishing it in your free paper, will be of some use to the public, (not merely from the information it conveys) by enabling your customers to form a true estimate of the influence under which the Federal Gazette is conducted.*

FOR THE FEDERAL GAZETTE.

The comparing of Newspaper information to straws and feathers, which, though they are light, shew what way the wind blows, was a thought suggested by a sensible and agreeable writer. Though this observation commonly holds true, it hath not been well supported for these few months past: The Federal Gazette, though a new one, hath given a specimen of this—I allude to a note from a correspondent in No. 3. He says, "The great political question now is, whether America shall or shall not have a government that will make of thirteen states a united people, happy amongst themselves, and respected by other nations."

As this state of the case is founded in mistake, I beg leave to give such a state thereof as truth will support, after the most strict scrutiny.

The great political question now is, Whether the states of America, united by their solemn faith and common interest, shall continue to

be a federal republic, so constructed in its forms, and vested with such complete and extensive general powers, as will embrace every federal object, and render the general government great, energetic and respectable; and preserve to the states their independence, in the full and free exercise of their internal sovereignty, and consequently the people free, intelligent, prosperous and happy: or, Whether they shall adopt a consolidated government, of such a nature, and so extensive, as never did, nor never can, in the nature of things, preserve confidence in government, or happiness and political freedom to the people.

He further says, "The opposition in Pennsylvania to the proposed plan originated with a few individuals, and did not arise so much from its being really objectionable, as a constitution for the United States, as from a dislike to any compact whereby this state would be obliged to conform to measures that might be contrary to the selfish or interested views of these individuals, who are indefatigable in endeavouring to persuade people that it will destroy their liberties, &c."

The first statement might possibly be a mistake in opinion, but this must proceed from design, as it is a wrong state of facts, and of such facts as are easily known.

Notwithstanding the people's unsuspecting confidence in the Federal Convention, and their raised expectations of such a reform in the Confederation as had been long desired, yet the people no sooner examined the system, mysterious as it was, but they saw it to be not such a government as they wished for, not such a government as braced or improved, but destroyed, the Confederation; and the more they examined, and the better they understood the system, the more they disapproved it. This was generally the case amongst the independent farmers over the state; and even in the towns, where its almost only support lies, there is probably a majority against it—at least there is a decided majority, even in Philadelphia, who would do nothing for it—They would not even obey the rioters call, to elect a state convention; and these opposers were not the needy or ambitious office-hunters; they were not the dissipated tools, flatterers, or dependents of the great; they were, in a great degree, the honest, the early, and independent Whigs, viz, that class of them, who not only always supported the government of the State, but were foremost in supporting federal measures, and vesting competent powers in Congress; they were such as knew how to value their liberty, and how with moderation and firmness to contend for it.

A word, sir, of its introduction and support, and I shall have done. The new consolidated system, with some federal features, originated with a Convention not authorised to destroy, but to improve, the Confederation; chosen by Legislatures who were not empowered by the

people to call such a Convention.—It was introduced to the people of Pennsylvania by the majority of the last Assembly, in the form of a mob, aided by all the terrors of riot; it was hastily chosen by about one-sixth of the freemen of the State, the majority of the citizens disregarding the precipitate and irregular call, chusing to understand before they would act; it is supported by such, either of State officers or others, as look forward for power or preferment, aided by those who cannot lose by changes, and by a number in every town who affect to be the Well Born and possess more discernment than others, and who despise every thing that doth not come up to their ideas of grandeur: The instruments used are, the glare of great names, the terrors of our situation, unfounded expectations of great things to be produced by the system, false news from different states, and delusory arguments.

That this is a just opinion of the times, and a true state of facts, the impartial page of future history will record, when the dark intrigues and low deceptions of the present day shall be remembered only as a solemn lesson to future ages and rising nations.

597. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2 April 1788

To the PRINTER of the Freeman's Journal.

SIR, Suffer me to use your paper for the information of such gentlemen as have, it seems, lent their belief to a recent report that I am the author of *Centinel*. I assure them the report is *not true*—Those who know me will, I trust, allow full credit to the assertion of

G[EORGE] TURNER.

Philad. *March* 31, 1788.

598. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 2 April 1788¹

To the Printer of the Independent Gazetteer.

SIR, Since a report, now in circulation, ascribes the papers signed *Centinel* to the subscriber, he thinks it proper to declare in this public manner, that such report is *devoid of truth*.

G. TURNER.

April 2d, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 April.

599. A Citizen

Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 April 1788

To G. B———N, Esquire.

You have, for a long period past, been suspected as the cause of the disturbances and opposition that have taken place, in consequence of

the ratification of the foederal government by the state of Pennsylvania; but it was believed you would act with too much caution to suffer yourself to be detected, and thereby expose yourself to the resentments of a people, whom you had so much injured and abused. But, quos Deus vult purdere, prius dementat—a discovery has fortunately been made of your nefarious correspondence, which appears (in Hall and Sellers's last Gazette) in all its glaring turpitude and infamy.

What palliation of your conduct can you offer for sowing the seeds of sedition through the state, which you fondly imagined would ripen into anarchy and civil war? Should such an event take place, you perhaps might expect "to ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm"—but you would find yourself mistaken—all your artifice would be but a feeble protection against the resentment of an exasperated people, and you would probably become the first sacrifice at the shrine of popular discord.

You have been busily employed in fomenting that very spirit in the community, which, as a judge, it is your duty to repress and to punish—in promoting dissention and dissatisfaction, instead of mutual harmony and confidence—and lessening the authority of the government and alienating the hearts of the people.

I know no language too strong to express the malevolence of your disposition, in daring to violate the names of the most respectable characters on the continent, and calling them a band of Conspirators.—Men, who from the most pure and patriotic motives abandoned their private pursuits and their domestic endearments, in order to devote their time to the formation of a government better calculated for the wants and weakness of our country—a government, which has already been approved of by a majority of the people, and which has been contemplated in Europe, as a monument of political virtue and wisdom.

But you have not confined yourself to raising jealousies and distrust among the people.—You have dared to attack the commercial characters of the city, and boldly asserted that they are influenced in their politics by the deranged state of their affairs.—You have declared them bankrupt traders, who would not have supported the foederal government, but from an expectation of bettering their fortunes by enjoying an exclusive carrying trade, under the operation of the new system.

What must be the opinion of foreigners, concerning the solidity of our merchants, when they find one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania asserting, that they are in a bankrupt state?

You ought to have nerves of adamant, to meet the resentment that must naturally arise in the minds of so large and respectable a class of the community, whose credit is their best support, and which you basely

and wantonly attempt to deprive them of. The very object, the desire of which you attribute to them as a criminal inducement, has long been the ardent wish of every good citizen who loves his country, to see her in a situation to attain. Instead of which, you wish us to continue to view, with unavailing sorrow, the commerce of our country the devoted means of enriching foreign nations, whose partial restrictions have excluded us from enjoying any participation of their trade, in return.

What must the carpenters, blacksmiths, joiners, and the numerous train of artificers dependant on the various branches of shipbuilding, think of a man, who would doom such useful and meritorious citizens to poverty and wretchedness, in order to keep the country in shackles to a party, to which he has attached himself. These very men are now emigrating to other countries, to gain a subsistence for themselves and families, and, instead of commiserating their misfortunes, and the necessities of the times which compel them to expatriate themselves, you deem it criminal to support a system, which can alone give them bread.

It is well known that you support a constant correspondence with incendiaries in every county in the state, who retail your seditious publications through their respective districts, tending to delude the people with false and abusive representations, and dealing out invectives and scurrilous insinuations against the first characters in the union. A practice so subversive of the peace and first principles of society must meet with the execration of every honest man.

But you are careless of such considerations. You have long aimed at acquiring fame, though, like the fellow that fired the temple of Diana, you can only do it by kindling the flames of civil dissension in the bowels of your country.

It was remarked in a season of general felicity, when brighter prospects opened on us, from the adoption of the foederal government in this state, that you became downcast and disconsolate. The daemon of disappointed ambition governed you, you derived fresh torments from the happiness which your fellow-citizens seemed to enjoy.

Your pale and haggard looks expressed a consciousness of guilty designs:—But, fortunately for mankind, your mind, however fruitful in mischief, and possessed by malice and misanthropy, can never keep pace with the hideous obliquity of your heart.

If that spirit existed in the government, which is becoming the dignity of a great people, a punishment would long since have awaited you, as a bold seditious writer, who has never felt remorse for the injuries he has committed, or been under any restraint from a regard to virtue, humanity, or his country.

600. A Pennsylvanian**Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 April 1788¹**

*QUERIES to the Honorable G——e B——n, Esquire, one of
the J——s of the S——e C——t of Pennsylvania.*

Do you *conscientiously* believe, that the friends of the federal Constitution *here* consider the adjournment of the New-Hampshire Convention as *fatal* to the business, as you have asserted in your letter to Mr. John Ralston?

Which of our members of the General Convention are apologizing for their conduct?

Has the President of the Boston Convention, Mr. Hancock, *really* written to our Assembly, desiring this state would adopt amendments similar to those proposed there, when he knew that our Convention had risen, and existed no more?

Are Gen. Washington, the President Franklin, the Vice-President, the Supreme Judges, and the majority of our Council, two thirds of our State Convention, and two thirds of our Assembly, really CONSPIRATORS, as you have termed them?

Were you not sworn, when you took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to this commonwealth, to make known to some proper officer all CONSPIRACIES which you should thereafter know?—and if you know these men to be CONSPIRATORS, why do you not discharge your *conscience* and your *duty*?

Do you really believe the friends of the federal government have seduced the Post-Office to stop all news-papers from state to state?

Do you really believe that the dissent of the Pennsylvania minority did not reach Boston till after their Convention rose?

Do you really believe the disturbances at Carlisle, which were subsequent to the rising of our Convention, were known in Boston while their Convention was sitting, when you assert that the dissent of the minority of our Convention was not received before their Convention rose?

Did you really believe, Sir, when you wrote that TISSUE OF TRUTHS to Mr. Ralston, that the lying tongue was but for a moment?

Do you admire or esteem the present rulers of Rhode-Island, that you so often mention the part that state has acted on the present occasion?

Did you think Mr. Ralston was unacquainted with facts which had happened in Carlisle in October and December, that you thought it necessary to write him an account of them?

Why did you advise delay in the case of the Carlisle disturbances, if you thought those honest men were opposing *Conspirators*? You should

have told the Chief Justice that it was a lawful attack upon a set of abettors of a conspiracy, and you should have “*labored him*” to apprehend those Conspirators.

Is it not strange that the Conspirators should write letters to the Chief Justice, and is it not passing strange that you, Mr. J——e B——n, should not issue your precept to apprehend all the parties to such a correspondence?

Who do you mean by “*the common people*,” in a free and *equal* government, Mr. J——e B——n?

Do you really believe the sentiments of the Quakers on the subject of the new Constitution are generally changed—and What are the places at which you commonly meet *the solid Quakers*?

Do you really believe, Sir, that the legislature of Massachusetts “*contrived*” excessive taxes, to compel the New England states to receive a system of government which was not even thought of?

Do you really believe 1000 men, or one third of the number, were ever in arms at Carlisle?

How could you, a justice of the peace throughout the commonwealth, and a judge of the highest criminal court of Pennsylvania, recite this deplorable event, without one expression of regret for the distraction of your country?

Do long standing debts unpaid, part of which are spunged by the act of limitation, entitle a man to reflect on the bankruptcy of his fellow citizens?

Were you not a b—k——t trader before you were a J——e?

Are not all the wealthiest merchants, as well as the unfortunate, decidedly in favor of the federal constitution?

Though Mr. Morris is a decided friend to the federal constitution, has he not been absent from the state ever since its adoption, so as to prevent him from using any influence?

Have not many uninterested in the Bank, and many who have been engaged in the several contests with it, been decided in favor of the federal constitution, and do you not know this to be the case?

Do not parts of your letters tend to foment insurrection in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania in particular, and in the United States in general?

Art thou *an officer of peace*? doest thou these things?

1. Reprinted: *Carlisle Gazette*, 7 May.

601. Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 April 1788

Messrs. HALL & SELLERS, In the postscript to the hon. Judge Bryan’s first letter, published in your last Gazette, it is asserted that Mr. Ellicott

had declared that the *proposed new confederal government* would certainly be rejected by the state of Maryland.—The hon. Mr. Bryan must have been misinformed on this occasion; for Mr. Ellicott has constantly given it as his opinion, that there was an equal chance of its adoption.

602. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 April 1788

We are informed from good authority, that petitions are circulating in the vicinity of Carlisle, in Cumberland county, praying for a further emission of PAPER MONEY, to be made a LEGAL TENDER. Tho' the adjournment of the Legislature till September renders it impossible that these petitions can be even presented, yet there is no doubt but that they would receive a negative from every member of the House. The present emission, though but 100,000 l. is out, and it is not a tender, is depreciated 30 per cent. We cannot but remark, that this depraved or unwise measure is adopted in a county, wherein the new constitution of federal government is more opposed than in any other part of Pennsylvania. This is a fact worthy the notice of both the friends and enemies of the constitution. The prayer of every wise and good American should be—FROM THE EVILS AND TEMPTATIONS OF PAPER MONEY, GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

603. A real Friend to the University *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 3 April 1788

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

Sir, I had not read the representation of Dr. Ewing, &c. to the General Assembly, till I saw your paper of last Saturday evening, in which a correspondent rejoices to find that the Doctor, Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Patterson “have not been concerned in the anonymous and abusive publication, signed Philadelphiensis, Centinel,” &c.

This does not appear from their representation. Their words are as follow. “But if Dr. Smith designs by the assertion, to give currency to the unsupported suspicions, that any of the anonymous and abusive publications, which have taken their rise from the political disputes *of this state*, have been the productions of any of our pens, we take the liberty of assuring your honorable house, and our fellow citizens at large, that the charge is without any just foundation; and we challenge him, with the assistance of all the printers in Philadelphia, to prove us, or any of us, to have been the authors of any such publications.”

The charge brought against them, if I understand it, is not *altogether* on account of the political disputes *of this state*, but the political disputes in *this state*, and their opposition to the new federal government. To

condemn this constitution to blacken our brightest characters, and to deluge our country in blood, are the objects of the papers signed Philadelphiensis, and Centinel: and for the honor of the University, I hope to see an explicit disavowal of all such publications by Dr. Ewing and his colleagues. In two other places, in their representation, I find they speak of the disputes *of this state*. If they all along mean the anonymous and abusive pieces which have lately appeared *in this state*, it is unfortunate that it was not so expressed.

The papers of Philadelphiensis and Centinel have, in every part of America, dishonored Pennsylvania; and it is incumbent on men, who think a public vindication of their character necessary, to speak unequivocally respecting them.

March 31st, 1788.

604. Watchman the Third

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 3 April 1788

Mr. Editor, We are furnished with a fresh supply of scurrility in the *garb of religion*, replete with many *hard strained pulpitical expressions of sanctity*, which has flowed from the immaculate *B. Workman*, and published with his signature in this morning's Independent Gazetteer, against Judge Hopkinson, unjustly charging the Judge with propagating falshoods against him. Mr. W—— is too insignificant a creature to be noticed by so worthy and reputable a citizen as Mr. H——, any farther than what his infamous publications under the signature of Philadelphiensis have led to. Mr. W—— had much better endeavour to acquit himself of the imputations he lies under, from his *nefarious practices* in Europe, than affect to lament sympathetically the loss of Mr. H——'s character, which he threatens shall *undergo an ordeal*. It is evident from the design of those publications that Mr. B. W—— is the vilest, and most unparrelled ——, that was ever permitted to infest society.—I am not possess'd of a sufficiency of his own scurrilous language to depict his character, or even give a faint idea of the wretch,—this being the case, the community at-large will be able to judge in future, what credit to give to Mr. B. W——n's publications,—I would advise him and his accomplice to be cautious in future how they attempt to traduce such a character as Mr. H——'s.

Arch street, 1st April 1788.

605. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 3 April 1788

A correspondent says, that the pieces signed Centinel, &c. are certainly held in universal abhorrence; for when any one (except judge B——n and B——n W——n) even but suspects himself to be pointed at

as the author, he is immediately solicitous to clear himself from the imputation.

606. "C. D."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 April 1788

I have seen an abusive piece in your paper of the 11th instant,¹ against B. W. of the University—the author Francis Hopkinson; this 'squire of renown, notifies the people of the United States, that B. W. is the author of the political essays under the signature of Philadelphiensis; possibly he is the author, and possibly he is not. Well, there is nothing amiss in Franky's merely supposing him to be the writer of those pieces, and giving that intelligence to the world, since he says he made it a matter of *conscience*; but the low pimping methods by which he seems to have gained his knowledge, shews him to be what I, and indeed thousands in this state have thought him to be these several years past—a *little dirty fellow*.

As a short reply to that piece, I wish to give the good people of these states a few of the outlines of the character of Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, Judge of the Admiralty of Pennsylvania, called sometimes, the *mustard grinder*, *Franciani*, *Franky*, the *exquisite fiddler*, &c. &c. &c. Now be it known unto all the good people of these United States, even from New-Hampshire unto Georgia, that the following remarks pertain to the said Franky alone.

1st, Franky says—"B. W. brought no recommendations except his own pretty face"—indeed may be so—Well as the adage goes—a *handsome face is a silent recommendation*—But if ever little Franky should take a trip to Europe, it will positively be necessary for him to take a whole wallet full of recommendations; because his *frosty sheer-water face* might designate him a species of the Ouran-Outang, or at least one of the large American monkies: Besides recommendatory-letters and certificates are often useful to *petifoggers* and *insignificants* there, where music and ballad-making would not avail them a single stiver.

2nd, Franky closing his important intelligence to the people of the United States, with this observation, that "B. W. and P. V. G. are no more than the venal instruments of men, who having some *character* to lose, sculk behind these *ragged screenes*," once more advertising us, that *the want of character*, and the idea of *raggedness* always haunt him, since he proposed to take a *suit of clothes* by way of a *bribe*—I'll tell you the story.—"Gentlemen," says Franky, "I'm in great want of a *suit of clothes*, you see I'm quite *ragged* and *shabby*, and my *breeches* will scarce cover my posteriors."—To be sure he got a *suit of clothes* to cover his little

ragged back, and a *quarter cask of wine* to moisten his clay—but for certain, he run the gauntlet about the bribe—and would have been trounced, as unprincipled rascals generally are when they are detected in such dirty tricks, only for the late general Reed, who *screened* him.

The articles and other official documents of Franky's impeachment, for the *bribery* mentioned above, may be seen in the Journals of the House of Assembly. But the fact is so recent, and so well known, that nothing further needs be said in proof.—“Now it lies with you citizens of the United States, to judge whether *much* confidence should not be placed in the patriotism of” Francis Hopkinson, your *sinecure* and 'squire of renown. Instead of lifting up the lion's skin, strip off the coat, jacket and breeches, and then “behold good people” the long *armed monkey* in his own dirty *pelt*.

1. The piece appeared on 1 April. See Mfm:Pa. 591.

607. The first Discoverer

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 April 1788

MR. OSWALD, I always thought we had found out the author of *Centinel* till lately, when I chanced on a piece of paper lying in the street, which contained their names; knowing how important it is for our party to know the real authors of this publication, *that they may be able to answer it*, I take the first opportunity of laying them before the public through the medium of your very impartial paper, viz. *J———n J—n—s, Jamie the Rover*, and *M———l M—g—n O'B———n*.

608. Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 April 1788

We are authorised to assure the public, that Mr. Ellicot denies having given George Bryan the information he mentions in the postscript of his letter to Mr. Ralston—on the contrary, he told him “from present appearances he thought the Constitution would without doubt be adopted.”—The conversation passed at Mr. Rittenhouse's, when, at the same time, George Bryan asked Mr. Ellicot, what the people of Maryland thought of Mr. Martin's information? observing “it had done great service in this state.”—Mr. Ellicot answered “it was totally disregarded *there*.”

609. Honesty

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 April 1788

MR. PRINTER, An acquaintance of mine in the country some weeks since, riding between his house and a tavern, where he had been trans-

acting a piece of private business, chanced upon the enclosed letter which lay open among the dirt in the road, and having washed it he was so struck with it, that he sent it down to me for publication; but I, thinking that it could not be genuine, as I could scarcely believe it was in human nature to be guilty of such an infamous and enormous scene of villainy as is related in it, I kept it back, and it was not until I had heard of the late atrocious conduct of the party in the base affair of Mr. B's. letters, that I could believe the contents of the letter, which, though reluctantly, I now hand you for publication.

HONESTY.

Philadelphia, March 7th, 1788.

DEAR DANIEL, We were infinitely obliged to you for your industry in intercepting the letters and papers you forwarded us hitherto; and will depend on your future exertions. You may rely upon our promises to you being performed in due time, a good fat office shall be at your service. I was glad to hear that the expence you have been at in this business, was fully repaid you by the money, &c. you found in many of the mercantile letters, &c. you opened by mistake, as the funds of our people is hard strained from many quarters, although they were large at first; indeed it would surprise you to see what numerous *purchases, presents*, &c. we have made, and also of the *various kinds of services* which we are continually paying for.

You must not be at all bashful in opening any letters, bundles or packages which you may think may contain any anti-federal matter; and even if they should prove to contain other matter, it may be curious and serve for some amusement, or perhaps you may find something valuable in them, such as paper money, bank notes, certificates, bonds or notes, &c. all which I have picked out letters, &c. which I have intercepted, which by the bye, I was much better pleased with, than if they had contained political matter.

If you should even be discovered in this business, our party will make you amends for any damage you might be put to. It was a most excellent plan of our people, it was first started in the general convention, (that is among our chosen ones there;) but it was found more particularly useful when we failed in shackling the press in many of the states. We have now full 50 employed in different parts of this state, in intercepting all real intelligence, and in circulating delusion—and I am told the same of the other states. Indeed this and the post office has been the chief cause of most of our success hitherto: We expect to hear from you again shortly; in the mean time, I am, dear Daniel, your humble servant.

610. Valerius**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 April 1788**

MR. OSWALD, Among the abundance of *palpables* in that *pure* paper called the Pennsylvania Gazette, a writer starts up and tells us, that a petition was coming from Cumberland county, praying for the revival of the tender laws, &c. this is so gross a falsehood, and the county being so distant, I could not forbear contradicting it; as so far from this being the case, that this truly patriotic county has always shewn an aversion to paper-money and paper-money-makers. I observed in some late newspapers remarks upon the smallness of the number of the petitions against the new constitution; it is well known this measure was started by an individual in *Franklin* county, who took this step notwithstanding he was desired to desist by the party who oppose the new constitution; and with his sole exertions in the counties of Franklin and Cumberland procured the signature of above four thousand of the freemen of those two counties; and if we may be allowed to judge from the tenor of the petitions of the temper of the people, they exhibit a strong picture; for they not only petition and remonstrate against the constitution, but desire that the deputies from this state to the federal convention be called to account. Some few of the same petitions had, indeed, come in from other counties; but those were obtained by straggling copies of those from Franklin, and had begun so late that the Assembly adjourned before they could make any head. All the counties beyond the mountains, it is well known, are unanimously against the constitution, and not a single petition came from there; no, it was against the advice of the party in opposition. For it is well known if they had adopted this measure universally in the state, they could have procured the names of above forty thousand of the inhabitants to petitions against the constitution, but other measures much more *solid* are on the carpet, and which, I make no doubt, will procure the desired amendments, and so restore peace and concord to this distracted land.

611. A Friend to Sound Learning**Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 5 April 1788**

Mr. Editor, The public have long been entertained with many *instructive* pieces, that have flowed from the pens of those fertile geniuses, Probus and the supposed author of Philadelphiensis—the *modest* compliments that have passed between them, would *almost* serve as a lesson of instruction to any *gentleman* who wishes to be educated in the flowery branches of scurrility, and I have not a doubt but, that under such able

tutors, they would soon arrive to an *equal* degree of proficiency—I would propose the establishment of a seminary for the purpose of instructing those who have been bred up in ignorance of this *amiable* qualification; so *delectable* a study, would give a farther *polish* to the mind, and render the student fit for the *social* converse, those *master pieces* in *calumny* now *alone* enjoy.

How agreeable must it be to listen to the *mild* epithets of *villain*, *scoundrel*, *liar*, and receiver of *bribes*, which the above mentioned authors have so freely and *publicly* bestowed upon each other, so habituated are they to this *enviable* language, that they bear it without a murmur—and do not, like some hot-headed fools, storm and threaten direful vengeance upon the author—but custom, custom, Mr. Editor, makes every thing familiar to us.

What a *superior* advantage do they possess over the greater part of mankind, buoyed above the fear of being called to an account for their *genteel* expressions, they boldly dash forward as rivals in a race, each *positively* determined to gain the *goal* of *defamation* before his opponent.

O 'tis excellent to have it in one's power not to suffer, "nor *might* nor *greatness* in mortality to escape censure, but by black wounding calumny to strike the whitest virtue."

I have mentioned a proposal for instituting a school for scandal—in order that it may claim the *patronage* of a generous public, I would beg leave to propose * * * * as provost, because, that, as his knowledge in this *useful* and *necessary* part of our education, is much more extensive than any other person who might offer himself a candidate, he is of consequence more *adequate* to the *arduous* undertaking of composing a grammar, and forming *rules* necessary for *young* beginners—as a dictionary will also be wanted, he has only to open the flood gate of his brains, and the words proper to be inserted will *stream* from him, faster than he can pen them. The provost being chosen, suffer me to mention Philadelphiensis as an *humble tutor*; for although they are now rivals in *scurrility*, yet I hope when this school is perfectly established they will go hand in hand, in mutual friendship—drop all animosity, and strive to do that *justice* to their pupils which their *extraordinary* abilities enable them to execute.—After the pupils come to have a knowledge of the *theory*, it will be necessary to invent some *anecdotes* of our most reputable characters, (the more untrue, the better field for displaying their abilities) and then practise upon them in the public papers.

The pupils may in a short time arrive at so great a height of perfection, in the *sublime* language of *scurrility*, that they will be able to graduate with considerable *eclat* to their masters, and when once enter'd

upon the stage of life, they can display their abilities, by traducing all sorts of characters, be they as chaste as *ice*, or pure as *snow*.

I already anticipate the pleasure the friends to *literature* would enjoy from so *useful* an institution.

Methinks I see modesty veil her face, and the tongue of slander, which even kings are unable to restrain, bear away the palm.

612. Justice

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 April 1788

MR. OSWALD, A writer in a late paper, among other charges which he humorously introduces against Mr. Martin, observes, that he purchased a carriage a few months before he paid for it—This alludes to an affair, which to my knowledge, has been misrepresented with a view to injure him, and as I am acquainted with the circumstances, and shall mention names, any person may satisfy themselves of the truth of the following relation.—Mr. Bringhurst made a phaeton for Mr. Martin—he received it about the time Continental money was called out of circulation, of which money he had a large sum with him, but found it difficult to exchange it, unless on terms of great disadvantage, he, therefore, paid Mr. Bringhurst what specie he had, and gave him his note for the balance. This note Mr. Bringhurst transmitted to Baltimore, to a gentleman who is now dead, but who once was among the most respectable mercantile characters, with an order to receive the money, to which gentleman Mr. Martin made the payment. More than a year I believe had elapsed, when Mr. Martin, being at Gray's-Ferry, on his return to Baltimore from this place, was, to his great astonishment, arrested at the suit of Mr. Bringhurst. He returned here, and a respectable merchant of this city, I think Mr. Caldwell, being at Mr. Fox's, where he alighted, immediately became his bail.

Mr. Martin arrived at Baltimore, with feelings not a little exasperated against the gentleman to whom he had paid the money, and who, by not remitting it, had exposed him to the injury he had sustained, and instantly applied to him on the subject. At first he did not recollect the transaction, but having recourse to his books, he found the receipt of the money regularly entered, on which he apologised to Mr. Martin, by assuring him that in the multiplicity of his business, and the variety of affairs which engaged his attention, he had entirely forgot to send Mr. Bringhurst the money, or to notify him of the payment, and at the same time, declaring, it was not in his power to command the money, entreated Mr. Martin to do him the favor of making the advance, and

receiving it at a future day.—At that time the gentleman was greatly embarrassed in his circumstances, from heavy losses he had sustained, Mr. Martin pitied his situation, and anxious to discharge the gentleman who had become his bail, remitted the money, at the time of the return of the writ, to J. D. Sergeant, Esquire, who paid it to Mr. Bringhurst, which money was accompanied with proper vouchers of the payment having been before made to Mr. Bringhurst's order, which Mr. Martin sent to do himself justice, and free himself from the imputation of indulging himself in an article of luxury at the expence of an honest tradesman—Those vouchers, I suppose, are at this time in the hands of Mr. Sergeant, at least, I am confident he cannot have forgot the transaction,—I am informed, Mr. Martin, with great difficulty, got the money repaid to him about eighteen months after.—Thus, Sir, by buying a carriage a few months before it was paid for, he had to pay for it twice, and with difficulty, after a considerable length of time, got reimbursed the second payment.

I fancy, Sir, if the other anecdotes which malice or party-zeal would wish to circulate, concerning that gentleman, were examined into, they would be not more to his disadvantage.

I have furnished the above relation from a certainty, that the carriage alluded to, must be the phaeton I have mentioned, for as to the coach he lately received from this city, there are several gentlemen, among others, Messrs. John and James Whitehead, who know it was received by him in discharge of a debt which had been due to him some years.

Philadelphia, April 2, 1788.

613. Robert Morris to the Printer

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 April 1788¹

To the PRINTER of the INDEPENDENT GAZETTEER, Philadelphia.

Richmond, 21st March, 1788.

SIR, From some of your Gazettes which have lately reached me, and particularly from one of the 13th instant, I find that I am charged as a public defaulter to a very considerable amount. This assertion is made to support a charge against the federal constitution, which those writers say is calculated to screen defaulters from justice. Without pretending to inquire whether the constitution be, in this respect, misunderstood or misrepresented, I readily agree that if, on fair investigation, that fault shall really appear, an amendment ought to be made.

I stand charged in a two fold capacity: first as a Chairman of Committees of Congress, and secondly as Superintendant of the Finances. But it so happens, that in *neither of those capacities did I ever touch one*

shilling of the public money. At an early period of the revolution, I contracted with the committees to import arms, ammunition and cloathing, and was employed to export American produce, and make remittances, on account of the United States, for the purpose of lodging funds in Europe. To effect these objects I received considerable sums of money. The business has been performed, but the accounts are not yet settled. Among the various causes which have hitherto delayed the settlement, I shall only mention here that I have not yet been able to obtain the required vouchers for delivery of articles in distant parts of America, nor the duplicates of some accounts and other needful papers which were lost at sea during the war. It was my intention to have gone in person to New-York, where alone (since the removal of Congress) this business can be finally adjusted; but circumstances unexpected obliged me to come to this country. I therefore employed a gentleman to proceed on the settlement of those accounts, but during the investigation obstacles arose which he was not sufficiently acquainted with the transactions to remove; and as some of the deficient vouchers are to be obtained in this state and South-Carolina, he came on hither and is now in pursuit of them. I have indeed been less solicitous on this subject than otherwise I should have been, from the conviction that there is a balance in my favor; so that no charge could justly lie against my reputation. Nor could my interest suffer by the delay; for the *date* of a certificate to be received for the balance was immaterial.

As superintendant of the Finances *I have no accounts to settle.* As I never received any of the public money, none of it can be in my hands. It was received in, and paid from, the public treasury on my warrants. The party to whom it was paid was accountable; and the accounts were all in the treasury office, open (during my administration) to the inspection of every American citizen. The only point of responsibility, therefore, in which I can possibly stand, is for the propriety of issues to others by my authority. It is true, that I caused a statement of the receipts and expenditures to be made and printed, but this was not, by any means, intended for a settlement with congress, but to be transmitted by them (if they should think proper) to the several states; for *I have ever been of opinion that the people ought to know how much of their money goes into the public treasury, and for what purposes it is issued.* Perhaps some persons may remember, that in conformity to this opinion I caused the receipts (even during the war) to be published (monthly) in the Gazettes; and the expenditures, as I have already mentioned, were open to public inspection. This mode of conduct was reprehended by some, and perhaps justly. My fellow citizens will judge whether it looks like the concealment of a public defaulter. As to the suggestion that the

United States in Congress were influenced by me to neglect the duty of calling me to account, I shall not attempt to refute it. Everyman who feels for the dignity of America, must revolt at such an insult to her representatives.

Before I conclude, I think it necessary to apologise for having written this letter, to all who may take the trouble of reading it, A newspaper is certainly an improper place for stating and settling public accounts, especially those which are already before the proper tribunal. But I thought it in some sort a duty to take notice of charges which, if not controverted, might have influenced weak minds to oppose the constitution. This was at least *the ostensible reason* for bringing me forward on the present occasion. With what decency or propriety it has been done, I leave to the reflection of the authors. Their exultation on my “losses and crosses” is characteristic. To every pleasure which can arise from the gratifications of such passions they are heartily welcome; and the more so, as I hope and expect the enjoyment will be of short duration.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 9 April; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 10 April; Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 April; *Carlisle Gazette*, 23 April.

614. Benjamin Rush to John Montgomery Philadelphia, 9 April 1788¹

During the last winter, & part of this Spring, it has pleased God to visit my family with several Afflictions. In the month of Januy: we buried our youngest Son with a pleurasy. On the 2nd of March I was seized with the same disorder, and lay for nine days in such a Situation that my recovery is thought the next thing to a miracle. For my own part I had taken leave off life. I not only settled all my worldly Affairs, but gave the most minute directions with respect to every thing that related to my funeral. It pleased God to enable me to do this, with an uncommon degree of composure, for the promises of the Gospel bore up my soul above the fear of death, & the horrors of the Grave.—O! my friend the religion of Jesus Christ is indeed a reality. It is comfortable in life, but in a near view of the last enemy, its value cannot be measured or estimated by the pen, or tongue of a mortal.—

As soon as I recovered, Mrs Rush read your letter to me containing an acct: of the last disturbances at Carlisle. I lament the prevalence of that ignorance in your county which favours so much, the designs of bad men. But my friend, be not discouraged. It is the prerogative of man to bring evil out of good, but it is the prerogative of God to bring good out of evil.—Heaven has *permitted* Mr Bryan & his colleague in the University to shew themselves in their proper colors. I view them as oxen decorated with ribbons, parading the streets of a great city pre-

vious to their being led to the place of their destruction. The new Government *will be* established, nor will its establishment be followed with a civil war any where. Then will its enemies become like the enemies & opposers of independance—infamous, and contemptable.—I suppose you have seen Geo: Bryan’s detested letters. They infallibly prove that he is the Author of the Centinel.

Our College—will revive with the Commerce—Agriculture—& Manufactures of our Country with the establishment of the new Government *all will end well.*

Let *no time* be lost in purchasing part of the public buildings. One half, or One third part of them will serve our present purpose, we have now, 1000 Dollars of unfunded Certificates, & may have 1000 more as soon as we call on Mr. Bingham for his Subscription.—The rest may be bought for 2/6 up to 3/ in the pound. If we delay the purchase ’till *nine* states adopt the government, these Continental Certificates, commonly called Balloons, may rise to 5/– or 7/6 in the pound.—

1. RC, Rush Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia. The letter does not include the name of the recipient. L. H. Butterfield indentified the recipient as John Montgomery (*Letters of Benjamin Rush* [2 vols., Princeton, 1951], 455–57n).

615. Thoughts at the Plough Carlisle Gazette, 9 April 1788

To the public.

You have been highly honoured by a rich stroke from the hand of one of our modern writers in Carlisle, under the signature of Reflection. The gentleman introduces himself to the public in a very elegant manner, when he puts it as a question, “whether or not the people have entertained such a high opinion of their own importance and infaliability as to be unwilling to be informed; or if they even were convinced, whether or not a foolish pride of their own good sense and judgement would prevent them from confessing their error. If by the people, he means the Federal Convention, who called themselves the people, the question may doubtless be answered in the affirmative? for they shut themselves up from information; but if he means the people at large, or such of them as opposed the new constitution, it may with propriety be answered in the negative; for they have anxiously contended both for time and means of information.

It is evident however, the gentleman entertains a high opinion of his own importance and infaliability, when he prefers his opinion to that of the majority of the thirteen states, in saying “the very supposition of a bill of rights is absurd and foolish;” the gentleman proposes explaining such parts of the constitution as have been chiefly objected to, so

as to be comprehensible by the weakest capacity; this the public will be highly indebted to him for; but he must likewise assure them that the new Congress will always adhere to his explanation, for it must be observed the new constitution admits of a variety of explanations. The gentleman considers a bill of rights very dangerous to the liberties of the people; but has not by all his reflection produced an instance wherein their liberties have been hurt by a bill of rights. Politicians [i.e., politicians] do, indeed, differ about this point. Some consider a bill of rights necessary, others not; but few have had the effrontery to say, "it is absurd and foolish." He says where there is a bill of rights the rulers must have the exclusive and absolute power over all the liberties and rights of the people, which are not expressly mentioned in that bill of rights;" and he endeavours to illustrate this by comparison.

I must deny this assertion, and will disprove it by a similar comparison:—Suppose a landlord has three fields, one of which he designs to let upon rent; and says to his intended lessee, I lease you this field, but, pointing to another field, says, I reserve that to myself; and all this time there is nothing said about the third field; the question then would be, whether has the landlord or the tenant the right in that third field, of which there was nothing said? I presume this reflecting gentleman himself would not hesitate to say, that the landlord having the right of the soil by preoccupation, &c. would easily retain his right. I think by a little attention to the design of government, it will appear, that to have a bill of rights inserted in a constitution, is neither "absurd nor foolish," but on the contrary is reasonable and wise. One great design of government is to secure and defend the rights of the people by proper laws. A political constitution is a rule to make these laws by. Now for a people to demand of the legislature laws for the protection of their rights, and at the same time neglect or refuse to declare what those rights are, is indeed both "absurd and foolish." It is somewhat similar to Nebuchadnezzar's demand; he forgot the dream, yet demanded of his wise men, both it and the interpretation. I think it is a self-evident truth, that the law makers should know what rights and privileges they are to make laws for the protection of; and as the constitution is their rule, in it those rights ought to be inserted; the people being the sovereign have a right to insert such bills as they please, provided they are not contrary to the law of nature; and their being denied of this right is a deviation from the principles of democracy—The rights of mankind are, perhaps, as well known at this day as they ever were, and yet likewise the science of government as well understood; and yet the line of separation between those rights, which ought to remain in the people, and those necessary to be given up to government is not yet known. It is

rare to find two governments, the powers of which are of equal extent. The different situations of countries, the various dispositions of nations, and their various degrees of knowledge and civilization, render it in some degree necessary, that the powers of their governments should be of various extents; and if we confine our ideas to one particular government, we will, even then, find it very difficult to ascertain the exact bounds to which its powers either does, or should extend. It has hitherto been a general disease in governments, for the rulers to extend their powers beyond their due bounds; likewise they frequently retain all power which they once get possession of. Our late Federal Convention affords us a striking instance of the readiness of rulers to embrace all opportunities of over-stretching their power.

It is by steps of this kind that people are reduced to a state of abject slavery; thus we see, that from a state of natural and equal liberty, (which certainly took place at first among men) mankind are now arrived to that degree of inequality that a whole nation will, as it were, tremble at the voice of an individual. Now since it is the case, that rulers have a proness to break over the limits let to them, it behoves the people to use all means and methods to secure to themselves such rights as are not necessary to be given up to government, and to enumerate them in general and comprehensive terms, and likewise such as they resign to government, and thus by a double barrier, set limits both to the rulers and ruled.

N. B. The learned and able discussion of the New Constitution, in the second number, signed Reflection, must remain unnoticed at this time; but the readers are referred to the 117th number of the Carlisle Gazette to a piece signed an Old Whig.

East Pennsbro', April 1st.

616. Carlisle Gazette, 9 April 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town, dated March 22, 1788.

Dear Sir, "———Our new Government junto are greatly in the dumps, on account of New Hampshire convention, and affairs with you—By accounts from Virginia the elections are going in favour of members in declared opposition to the new Government. Our accounts from North Carrolina is, that they will not adopt it in its present form—Many here are like to be hurt greatly by our big man's^(a) bills coming back from England protested, said to amount to 100,000 pounds, however, none of them is yet paid; he is in Virginia, how it will end is not known; many hope it will kick him up, if he goes, the bank goes also.—

Bank stock 12 1-2 discount; the opposition to the new constitution seem on the growing hand here.”

(a) Robert the Cofferer.

617. “X.”

Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 9 April 1788¹

Mr. PRINTER, The intercepting and publishing in Messrs. Hall and Sellers’s Gazette of the 26th of March ult. two private confidential letters from the hon. Mr. Bryan, addressed and forwarded by him to Mr. John Ralston of Northampton County, has justly incurred the severest censure of every good man, as it is a violation of that confidence without which society cannot exist. A seal in all civilized nations has ever been deemed sacred, but especially in mercantile Communities; this therefore is a most alarming precedent and the more so on account of the dignified character of the party who has received the injury.—The Federalists, as they falsely stile themselves, have found that they have presumed by this treacherous display of private correspondence, and have endeavoured to palliate the villainy by insinuating that these letters were perhaps received by Mr. Ralston and lost out of his pocket: to obviate this and establish the turpitude of the procedure, you are authorised to assure the public, by a gentleman, that he has seen the answer of Mr. Ralston to a letter of the hon. Mr. Bryan, informing him that he did not receive the aforementioned letters, or even hear any thing concerning them, till a few days ago, when he heard there were such letters published in the Gazette.

1. Also printed in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* and *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 9 April.

618. Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 9 April 1788

It is not to be supposed, says a correspondent, that the people of Pennsylvania will *now* consent to grant such great additional powers to Congress as was proposed in the Address of the minority of the Convention. The judicial powers will be much more clipped than has been proposed, and other parts of the system farther curtailed; for the people have been so thoroughly alarmed at the enormity of the conspiracy and the violent conduct of its advocates, in endeavouring to force on the adoption of it *in toto*, that they are determined to grant none but the necessary additional powers to Congress, such as, to regulate commerce and other general affairs, and collect the impost. Had the mock

federalists assented to the amendments proposed at that time, the Constitution so amended would have passed the states without a dissenting voice.

619. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 9 April 1788¹

The curious paragraphs lately published by the advocates of the new Constitution, observes a correspondent, which were the astonishment of us all, and the cause of so much speculation, can only be accounted for by supposing they were designed to deceive other states in the Union, as sure none could have been so foolish as to insert such falsehoods to be of any use on the spot. One paragraph tells us that all the leading characters in the opposition to the new Constitution have acquiesced in its adoption; another, that the present Assembly have declared in favour of it; another, that a petition is coming from Cumberland county praying for more paper money and tender laws, and to be excused from all taxes; another, that there was but nine hundred men assembled at Carlisle; another, that above half the people in the state are in favour of the new Constitution. *Such are the means used to forward the adoption of the proposed system of slavery.*

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 10 April.

620. Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 April 1788

A correspondent, who professes himself a friend of decency, truth and reason, is a good deal surprized at that part of the letter of Judge Bryan, which declares, that the dissent of the minority of the Pennsylvania Convention did not reach Boston *till after* their convention rose.— How the Judge came to hazard that assertion he knows not, but the truth is, that the hon. Rufus King, Esq; tho' strongly in favour of the adoption of the proposed federal constitution, carried the reasons of dissent of the Pennsylvania minority to Boston, when he went to take his seat in the Massachusetts convention, and, with a frankness and candor that does him and the cause honor, gave the same to a printer, and procured it to be published before the convention took up the consideration of the constitution. This is the truth. Before gentlemen attempt to brand their fellow-citizens with the odious epithet of *Conspirators*, before they assert that their opponents have *secreted* a particular piece of important information, they should really be *better founded*. Mr. Bryan, as a judge of our three superior courts, and as a legal guardian of religion and learning, in his capacity of a trustee of the University, should be a man of candor, and should take pains to remove the

improper impressions which this assertion may have made on the minds of those, who have opposed the new government from principle. The case of Mr. Ellicot also requires explanation; for that gentleman declares that he had not arrived in Philadelphia on the 7th of March, when the letter is dated, which says, that he stated that the fate of the Constitution in Maryland would be unfavorable. This gentleman denies his ever having given such an opinion to Mr. Bryan, or any other person. He has always thought, that, even if certain characters opposed to the government should get into the Maryland Convention, they would not be able finally to prevent the adoption by that state. One reflexion, says our correspondent, must be made by every wise and good antifederalist in Pennsylvania on this occasion—which is, that the most sensible and learned counsellor they have in the state, either from his carelessness or bad designs, is not to be relied on.

A correspondent asks, what the candid opposers of the New Constitution in Carlisle will think of a gentleman, who has asserted that there were 1000 men assembled in that borough to release the persons committed there last winter? Will not this affect all his other information?

A writer in the Independent Gazetteer has undertaken to contradict our correspondent, who informed us that petitions for a further emission of PAPER MONEY were in circulation in Cumberland county. We have authority to say, that the paragraph we inserted was founded on a letter from a very judicious and respectable character resident in the county of Cumberland. Our correspondent again observes, that this medium, destructive of public and private virtue, of public and private property, of public and private character, would, if the petitioners desires should be complied with, be made a LEGAL TENDER.

621. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 12 April 1788

A correspondent says, that the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania, which in this country is certain and fixed law, and paramount to every act of assembly, declares that it is *forever to remain unaltered*, except two-thirds of the council of censors shall agree to call a convention for the purpose of amending the constitution, and that the amendments “shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such convention, for the previous consideration of the people. It is certain therefore that the convention which sat in this state for the purpose of ratifying the new constitution whereby the consti-

tution of the state of Pennsylvania was to be altered, was an illegal convention. It is our duty therefore to prosecute immediately according to law those printers who publish any thing in favor of the state convention or of the new constitution. It is childish and nugatory to think that we can ever support our liberties if we do not punish the violators of the laws and the constitution. We should bring them to justice, according to a sentence of the Roman orator, which has been adopted as a salutary maxim in the English law, *ut Paena ad paucos, Metus ad omnes perveniat.*

622. Providence Gazette, 12 April 1788

Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, dated April 2.

“Yours of the 17th ult. came to Hand Yesterday. I immediately sat out in Quest of the Answer to the Protest of G. B——n, alias the Pennsylvania Minority. After making due Enquiry of some political Connoisseurs, I found they knew nothing of any such Answer, either prepared or preparing. Should any such Thing appear, “*pamphletwise or otherwise,*” I will instantly forward it. The Report, I think, must be without Foundation. There were indeed a Number of Pieces published in the Papers; in the Course of the Winter, with the Signatures of *A Freeman,* and *A Pennsylvanian,* as full Answers to said Protest.”

623. Benjamin Workman Defends Himself

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 15 April 1788

In the *Federal Gazette* the following paragraphs first appeared, and have since been copied into the New-York and other papers. *Federal Gazette*, No. X. “A correspondent rejoices to find the representation of Dr. Ewing, Dr. Davidson, and Mr. Patterson to the General Assembly, that they have not been the authors of, or any way concerned in, the anonymous and abusive publications signed *Philadelphiensis* and *Centinel*. This open declaration, adds our correspondent, at the same time that it must endear those gentlemen to their fellow-citizens, cannot fail to shew to the world, the light in which the publications alluded to, are viewed by every good man.” *Federal Gazette*, No. XII. “A correspondent says, that the pieces signed *Centinel*, &c. are certainly held in utter abhorrence; for when any one (except Judge B——n and B——n W——n) even but suspects himself to be pointed at as the author, he is immediately solicitous to clear himself of the imputation.”

To what pieces the Professors alluded, under the denomination of “*anonymous and abusive publications,*” I know not; but I firmly believe,

that the political essays, under the signatures of Centinel and Philadelphensis, were not those to which they alluded. My opinion is founded on a knowledge of their political sentiments: I know them to be warmly opposed to the proposed constitution, and that they esteem the obnoxious parts, which these writers have so clearly pointed out, as dangerous to liberty. From such premises then, how can a conclusion be drawn, that these gentlemen should apply the epithet, *abusive*, to publications containing sentiments so congenial to their own? A conclusion betraying such a want of firmness, an inconsistency of character, and an evident violation of honor and truth, in gentlemen of worth and education, must be rejected as foundationless.

That these pieces “are certainly held in universal abhorrence,” is certainly a gross mistake: For since that ungenerous sycophant, Hopkinson, made his scurrilous attack on me, as the supposed author of Philadelphensis, I have been honored with the notice and esteem of several of the first characters in the state, and merely on account of being the supposed writer of those essays. That one gentleman has publicly denied being the author of Centinel, is true; but what his motives were in making this public denial, he has not mentioned; and I am very certain, that the paragraphist had no just grounds in supposing them to proceed from an utter abhorrence, in which he must have held the pieces. But be that as it may, my determination is, that the public shall never have my denial or my acknowledgement; notwithstanding a few interested individuals may really hold those pieces in utter abhorrence, and may extend their abhorrence to me as the supposed author. And hence all future attempts to obtain information on this subject will be vain; I shall view, with sovereign contempt, all the abuse and scurrillity, with which the malice or folly of party can load me. But let this not be construed into a declaration that I have finished with Hopkinson.

If it were not reported that the address of our Professors, being perverted in its meaning and intent, by these fallacious paragraphs, had actually misled several people in New-York respecting these essays, I should neither have troubled the public nor myself on so trifling a subject; but this indicates an evident necessity, that I should represent the matter in its true light; for since the public are concerned, the truth ought not to be concealed from them. If the friends of the proposed constitution had seasoned their writings with candor and truth, they might have succeeded better; and be the issue what it may, the writings of some of its advocates must terminate in the dishonor of their cause. The discussion of a national subject, so important in its consequences, ought not to be disgraced with scurrillity and misrepresentation.

From what I have actually experienced, in consequence of the abuse I have met with in the public prints from Hopkinson and others, this general inference may be deduced; that the calumny of base parasites is panegyric and their praise is obloquy. And that the supposed author of *Philadelphensis* is at this juncture in possession of the esteem and friendship of a respectable majority of the freemen of America.

624. Reflection IV

Carlisle Gazette, 16 April 1788

To the PUBLIC.

Many are the objections that are offered against that part of the New Fœderal Constitution, which contains the powers that are to be granted to Congress. We will consider those two clauses, which vest in Congress a power of laying and collecting taxes, duties and imposts; and of raising and supporting armies, which I believe are most objected to. That those powers should be vested in the general government, is not only demonstrable in theory; but the experience and practice of all nations have found it absolutely necessary. Have the people found that the present Congress have had too much power; we think they have not; and will the powers of the new Congress be more extensive? We say they will have more power to provide for the common defence and general welfare, and interest of the United States; but no better, if not a worse opportunity to enslave them, and deprive them of their liberty. The present Congress may make what demands on the states they may think proper; some states will perform and discharge their part, others will not. Those demands may be frequently made, until those states which will comply with the requisitions of Congress, will be rendered poor and helpless. When the Congress have got all the money which they can exact in this manner, they may then borrow as much as they please, and pledge the United States for the payment of it; with this money they may pay the armies which they have power to raise, and with them and making use of those states who have complied with their requisitions, who will naturally be exasperated against those that are delinquent, they may surprise the people out of their liberty; or having reduced them to a state of poverty and imbecility, sell them an easy prey to some foreign power. But under the New Constitution such an attempt made by either house will be effectually prevented by the negative of the other, and that of the president, and all the states being obliged to comply with the requisitions of Congress, and these being uniform throughout the whole, the people themselves will in a certain

degree be able to judge whether those requisitions are greater than what the exigencies of the union require, and as a "regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time;" they will thereby be enabled to reach the greatest certainty; wherefore it appears that the power granted to the New Congress, is not so dangerous as that which the present Congress possess. As to the power of raising armies, the present Congress have this power. Many seem to confound the power of raising troops, with the actual and constant keeping up a standing army; perhaps it will be found always necessary to keep up a few regular troops, as it hath been since the late war; but we have not the most remote reason to suppose that Congress will keep up a standing army as an instrument of oppression. That Congress should be obliged always to call upon the people, and wait until they could have an opportunity of collecting their opinions, and to obtain power from them to raise an army, would be dangerous to an extreme. The Congress must have this power, and we cannot suppose they will ever exercise it but when necessity obliges them. But it may be asked, had we a Congress vested with such powers before the revolution? Great Britain considered these states then as a part of herself, and was unwilling to have recourse to severity, until all gentler methods failed; and this gave America an opportunity of preparing for a defence.—It may again be said, we will always have a well regulated militia; from what experience hath already taught us, we have the strongest reason to doubt this assertion; but suppose we had the best disciplined militia that our most sanguine expectations could imagine, will these step forth for your defence without any power in government to compel them, or provide for their subsistence? Yet suppose all this could be effected, represent to yourselves an army of the most useful and industrious members of society, and suppose this raw and inexperienced army, to engage with regular and experienced troops, is there not the greatest reason to suppose that a number of those valuable citizens will perish, and perhaps the whole army be defeated, and how shall society bear the loss of its most useful members?—Where is the man of property who would not rather pay a trifling sum to support an army, than to expose his life and health to the unaccustomed dangers, fatigues and toils of war? It certainly is the worst policy to expose the lives of the most valuable citizens, when the idle and worthless will answer the same purpose. And does not the majority of a regular enlisted army, consist of the most idle and useless citizens? And if we on the other hand should allow Congress the power of raising armies, without giving them also the power of raising money, to provide for

their subsistence and other exigencies of government; we shall again be embarrassed with still greater inconveniencies: for what is any government without proper resources? Or what is either an army or a well disciplined militia, without any means of support? and experience tells us, that bear requisitions are not sufficient. From what hath been said on these two clauses, it will easily appear that the other powers granted in the New Constitution are also necessary. Congress cannot provide for the exigencies of government, and the welfare of their constituents, unless they have sufficient power granted them: Every cause must be adequate to the effect which is to be produced.—Give your general government sufficient power, and then, and not till then will you have a right to demand of them that they promote your interest, and provide for the general welfare of their country. But I believe there are many who would not consider the powers granted to Congress too extensive; did they not believe that they may assume other powers, we say they cannot: their powers are expressly defined and completely limited; and by arrogating to themselves other powers than those laid down in the Constitution, they as effectually break that Constitution, as if they assumed any power which they were expressly forbidden to exercise. If they had other powers, what would be the signification of the following words in the letter from the President of the General Convention, to the President of Congress, which is annexed to the Constitution?—“It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved.” Or what would be the meaning of this clause of the Constitution, that the Congress shall have power “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution, in the Government of the United States.” Could they assume any other powers than those given in the Constitution; this clause would render them useless; for they could make no laws to carry them into execution. Were there any attempt made to define the rights of the people in this Constitution, we would consider it as very dangerous to the liberty of the people; for then the Congress might suppose that the rights of their constituents were limited, and that they had a right to exercise all other powers which were not expressly granted to the people; but there is not a single right of the people expressed in the whole Constitution, for that would have been superfluous, as all the rights and powers were originally in the people, and therefore it was only necessary to define those which they were to give up, to provide for the general welfare. Upon the whole, those who will carefully examine the Constitution, will find that

the powers of Congress are not too extensive, and that they are perfectly limited.

Carlisle, 2d April, 1788.

625. A Farmer

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 16 April 1788¹

The FALLACIES of the FREEMAN detected by a FARMER.

Some weeks since there was published in the Carlisle Gazette an Address to the Minority of the late Convention of this State, under the signature of a *Freeman*, which I then supposed had been written by some well-meaning person of that place, who had not yet entered the porch of political knowledge, who was unacquainted with the nature of sovereignty, and incapable of distinguishing ministerial agency from the exercise of sovereignty; I therefore took no especial notice of it, until happening to see a Philadelphia Newspaper, I found the Address had originated there, and was ascribed to a gentleman who is far from being ignorant, as I had candidly supposed the author to be, but who hath habituated himself to presume much upon the supposed ignorance of the people, and whose expectations of future support and grandeur hath probably been very influential in framing and promoting the proposed system of government:—Upon this discovery, I read the Address again with more attention, and resolved to communicate, thro' your useful paper, the result of my observations thereon. I do not, however, design to answer the Address in detail, but to establish and explain such general principles as may assist people in judging for themselves, and have a tendency to detect the sophistry which characterises the performance. In order to do this, I shall explain,

First, The NATURE of SOVEREIGNTY.

Second, Of a FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

Third, Of a CONSOLIDATED GOVERNMENT.

Fourth, The NATURE of MINISTERIAL AGENCY.

Fifth, Examine the ADDRESS to the MINORITY (the occasion of these Enquiries.)

Sixth, Conclude with some GENERAL OBSERVATIONS on the TIMES.

I return to the *first* then: From the very design that induces men to form a society that has its common interests and to promote and secure which it ought to act in concert, it is necessary that there should be established a public authority, to order and direct what ought to be done by each individual as he stands in relation to the society itself, or to the individual members thereof; and this public authority consisting

of that portion of natural liberty which each member surrenders to the society to be exercised for the common advantage, is the sovereignty which is often called political authority. If this sovereignty or political authority be vested in and exercised by the whole people, as in some of the ancient republics, or if it be delegated to representatives chosen by the people from among themselves, as in modern times, the government is called a democracy. If on the contrary the sovereignty be in a particular class of citizens who have not a common interest with the people at large, or body of the nation, it is called an aristocracy; and if in a single person, a monarchy or despotism; and these three kinds may be variously combined and modified as in the British government and others, but every nation that governs itself by its own laws let the form of government be what it may, is a sovereign state.

Sovereignty therefore consists in the understanding and will of the political society, and this understanding and will is originally and inherently in the people; the society having rested it where and in what manner it pleases, he or they to whom it is delegated is the sovereign and is thus vested with the political understanding and will of the people for their good and advantage solely.

The power of making rules or laws to govern or protect the society is the essence of sovereignty, for by this the executive and judicial powers are directed and controuled, to this every ministerial agent is subservient, and to this all corporate or privileged bodies are subordinate: this power not only regulates the conduct, but disposes of the wealth and commands the force of the nation. To keep this sovereign power therefore in due bounds hath fundamental laws, which we call constitutions and bills of rights, been made and declared. Scarcely hath the wisdom of man, matured by the experience of ages, been able with all the checks, negatives and balances either of ancient or modern invention to prevent abuses of this high sovereign authority.

Here I may possibly be misunderstood; it may perhaps be objected, that in Great Britain the *King* is called the Sovereign, and that he is an executive and not legislative officer. True, the King of Great Britain is the Supreme Executive of the nation, but it is not this alone that constitutes him a Sovereign; he hath a negative over the Legislative, the laws are made by and with his consent, and are called the King's Laws; he calls, prorogues and dissolves his Parliament when he pleases; the Parliament indeed so manage, that the necessity of the case obliges him to convene them frequently, but he is not obliged to do it by the Constitution; so that, properly speaking, it is the King and Parliament of Great Britain which is sovereign.—However, if the Legislative authority were to be distributed in various portions, that man, or body of

men, who should be vested with the sole and uncontroled power of taxation, would eventually become the sovereign, for whoever can command our whole property has the means in his power of ruling us as he pleases, because (as Montesquieu says) "sovereignty necessarily follows the power of taxation.["]

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 18 April. For the continuation of this essay, see the *Freeman's Journal*, 23 April (Mfm:Pa. 648).

626. A Bostonian

Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 April 1788

Mr. OSWALD, I have this moment seen a paragraph in your paper of this day, asserting that "A gentleman from New-York, saw in the newspapers of that place, the answer of the General Court (or House of Representatives) of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to Governor *Hancock's* speech, in which they absolutely, in the most pointed terms, disapprove, and reprobate the proceedings of the Convention (general as well as state).

That this gentleman may have seen this, or any other erroneous information in a New-York paper, I can very easily believe. But that the legislature of Massachusetts, ever did as a body reprobate the proceedings of the *general and state convention*; I certainly never can believe, unless it be produced by authority from their own journals.

I am well acquainted with the political sentiments of my native state, and from this knowledge I am persuaded that there is a respectable majority in favor of the new federal constitution in point of *number*, that the majority is far more respectable in point of *independent men*, and that men of large landed property are almost unanimous in the question. That there are some respectable and independent men of great abilities and integrity opposed to it, I am free to allow; but where on earth is a political institution to be found that has not been theoretically disapproved, before the practice had pointed out theoretical errors? In this instance, it is remarkable, that what the general convention have produced as *a system of practice*, formed by four months consideration of the various passions, interests and situations of the people to be governed, is opposed upon general theoretical principles which would as well apply to the old eastern world, as they do to this new western hemisphere.

But to return to the point. I shall consider it a favor personally rendered to me, if you will write to your correspondent printer in New-York (who no doubt keeps a file of papers) for the very paper alluded to, and give us in your *Gazetteer* the full amount of this reprobation,

cloathed with all the authority that it is capable of. If this does not appear in course, you will permit me to suppose that you are misinformed, and in the mean time I presume that the public will suspend their opinion.

I am your most obedient servant, A BOSTONIAN.

P. S. I do not pretend to judge of the charges against the Post Master General; but if you apprehend the desired paper cannot be obtained by that conveyance, please to order it by the stage.

Philadelphia, April 15, 1788.

(Under the fullest conviction that no reliance or dependence can be placed on the present capricious and despotic *Post-Master-General*, the author of the above may rest assured that the printer of the *Gazetteer* hath already sent to New-York for the paper in question, by the very mode pointed out; and that as soon as he shall be able to obtain it, the answer of the legislature of Massachusetts to governor Hancock, shall be faithfully inserted in this paper.)

627. "Z."

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 16 April 1788

MR. OSWALD, One would expect from the title of Fabius' publication, which he calls *observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention*, that he would directly proceed to point out the expediency of a *standing army*, and that the liberty of the press, the liberty of conscience, trial by jury, &c. ought to be abolished immediately; but instead thereof he urges the necessity of adopting the constitution on a supposition that another convention would be equally or more divided than the last; this is a palpable mistake; for if the last convention had not concealed themselves from the public, they dare not have advocated, or even mentioned many things in the constitution so dangerous to liberty, and so opposite to the principles of the revolution, which are now foisted into it.

April 15, 1788.

628. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 16 April 1788

The fate of the new constitution, observes a correspondent, is now determined; its warmest advocates scarcely squeak; the patriotic writings have awakened the people of this state to a proper sense of the danger they were in, and they are determined to assert their liberties like men: The *Centinel*, in particular, has been of infinite service in explaining the latent mischiefs of this system of tyranny, and the conduct of its promoters. This publication has acquired the approbation

of every good man, for its ability and candour, elegance of composition, and for its spirited and patriotic ardour, while it is dreaded by the *junto*, their sycophants and tools, as the key to all their juggling and dark politics.

629. "M."

Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 April 1788

I shall not here make any comment on the variety of *romantic* and groundless stories, articles of intelligence, &c. published by way of extracts of letters, notes from correspondents, and anonymous essays, or of the torrents of abuse and scurrility, that have appeared in the newspapers since the birth of the new Constitution: I trust they can be of no service to any cause among an honest people, therefore none have answered or taken notice of them. But I shall confine myself to a few observations on the laughable attempts of some anonymous *scribblers* to invalidate the *solid facts* contained in Mr. Bryan's letters. The writers of these skits, paragraphs, essays, &c. whoever they are, must have a very contemptible opinion of the understanding of the people, if they suppose that the unsupported assertions of anonymous scribblers will be credited, especially as the *facts* are so well authenticated with the name of as respectable a character as is in the state, who I know equally despises the abuse and scurrility of a news-paper, as he pities the authors of it.

One *scribbler* says, that *Mr. King* carried the Reasons of Dissent of our Minority to *Boston*, and had it published. This is so far from being the case, that lately, since the legislature of Massachusetts has seen these unanswerable reasons of dissent, they have publicly reprobated the new constitution in the strongest terms, in their answer to Mr. *Handcock's* speech; and it is now doubted whether they will not have the whole reconsidered by that state. The same scribbler says, Mr. *Ellicot* denies having said what is contained in the postscript of Mr. B——'s letter. Be this as it may, many people can attest to the truth of what is in Mr. B——'s postscript, if Mr. *Ellicot* makes it necessary: But I trust there will be no occasion. The signature of J——e B——n is not to be doubted in *Pennsylvania*, from the insinuations of any anonymous party scribblers. But what says the next scribbler? Why, he denies the affair of the Post-office, even since the legislature of this state have taken up the matter, upon the petition of all the printers, and instructed our Delegates in Congress to enquire into the cause of the stoppage of news-papers in the post-office, &c.

Another scribbler denies that there were so many as 1000 armed men at Carlisle; the idea of so many determined men is not pleasing to this

scribbler; whereas there were above that number armed, and at least 500 without arms, besides the deputies from the militia of a neighbouring county. What does the printers of the Carlisle Gazette say in one of their paragraphs, made by themselves, viz. "It is with pleasure we announce to the public, that the militia, who on this occasion amounted to about fifteen hundred men, who are generally men of property and good character, and all evinced, both by words and actions, that they intended to persevere in every measure that would oppose the establishment of the new Constitution, at the risk of their lives and fortunes." And the same paper says, that they did not remain in town more than half a day, or hurt any thing, except "firing a few shot into the sign of a tavern-keeper who was supposed to be a federalist." I give their account of it, because they are of the party *called* federalists, therefore they could have no intention of deceiving their own friends. But, if there was any occasion, I am confident 30,000 men could be assembled at a very short warning by this state.

In the same manner has the affair of the petitions been misrepresented; for it is well known that this was the work of one individual, unadvised by the party in opposition to the constitution; indeed, it was forbid by the most of the opposition, as contrary to their system of conduct; and yet this individual obtained above 4000 signatures in only two counties. If petitioning had been adopted by the opposition generally, I am confident that five sixths of the state would have signed. Having detected and exposed these fairy tales and stories of party, I shall take no notice of similar ones published on the same occasion, as they are all equally groundless.

630. "Q."

Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 April 1788

Messrs. HALL & SELLERS. In your last Gazette a writer, without a signature, has addressed a few lines to you on the subject of Judge B——n's letters. I know not how those two extraordinary papers came into the hands of the person who sent them to you, but if a seal was violated, the measure, when proved, will certainly meet with much censure and no praise. I say "*when proved,*" because at the time they were sent to you I am satisfied you neither had the confession of Mr. Bryan's friend, nor could you know that Mr. Ralston had not received them. But while we reprehend the breach of a seal, *let us not lose sight of the pernicious nature and tendency of the letters.* One paragraph unjustly stabs the whole body of the post-officers; another wantonly and falsely stabs the whole body of the merchants, and perpetrates, in the sight of astonished foreigners,

a suicide of the mercantile credit of Pennsylvania. A third paragraph clandestinely fosters a contempt of government in the bosom of the commonwealth, while a fourth, pregnant with gross sedition, is calculated to re-ignite the fire of civil war in a sister state. And could this indignant and patriotic apologist recount the injuries to his honorable and dignified friend, without remembering *one* of the outrages in those baneful epistles, against decency, against truth, or against his country. Is it a mere nothing, that a man possessing the delegated powers and dignities of the state has branded with conspiracy the lawful doings of most of the legislatures, and six conventions. The writer has not confined his censure to the mere interception of the letter, but extends it to the act of *publishing*. In his zeal for his friend, he has very politely attacked you through the medium of your own paper. What, are the presses to be no longer free, when the misconduct of a *dignified* character is to be laid before the bar of the public? But where is the harm of publishing Mr. B——'s letters. He is not ashamed of them I hope. It is to be presumed from his station they are not false, and no body will say they are not as *decent* as they are *true*. But why is a charge brought against the foederalists? How does it appear that they have opened the letters? Though we know they are a great majority, we do not suppose this writer will assert there are no other people in the state. But how could there be any design against Mr. Bryan, or any suspicion of him, to lead to the opening of these letters? They are not superscribed by him. His packets and letters have surely not been so much on the roads of late that his hand writing is become universally known. I hope the worthy judge could not have procured a superscriber from any consciousness of what he was about. But I will not dwell longer on these odious productions. Giving up the conduct of the person who procured the letters as ever so censurable, yet two things appear to me very clear; 1st. that Mr. B——n cannot be defended; and 2dly, that the letters, when discovered, ought not to have been concealed.

631. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 April 1788

We learn, by late letters from Washington county, that there is but a small opposition to the new Constitution in that and Westmoreland county, and that only a trifling dissatisfaction prevails in Fayette county, which it is expected will cease as soon as nine states adopt the government.

632. *A Foe to Falsehood*

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 17 April 1788

Mr. Editor, Scarce a day passes without new proofs of antifederal baseness. Dr. Smith in his memorial to the General Assembly, relative

to the college, had introduced the following reflection upon the University, as managed by the present professors—"It is said to be more devoted to political and party cabals, than to the advancement of sound and real literature."—The provost and two of the professors, to use their own words, "were apprehensive that the above *groundless imputation*, might possibly have an undue influence upon the minds of some members of" that "honourable house," whom they knew to be truly federal: they therefore endeavoured to exculpate themselves in a petition to the Assembly, in which are these words "If Dr. Smith designs by the assertion to give currency to the unsupported suspicions, that *any* of the *anonymous* and *abusive* publications, which have taken their rise from the political disputes of this state, have been the productions of *any* of our pens; we take the liberty of assuring your honourable house, and our fellow-citizens at large, that the charge is without any just foundation."—and again, "The subjects of public discussion in this state, have been sufficiently treated without our assistance; and we are too closely employed in the business of our professions, to find time to take an active part in the political disputes of the state, either by intermixing with their councils, or by writing for the public information; and much less to abuse the characters either of private persons, or public bodies, by illiberal invectives."

This I, in common with many of my fellow-citizens, thought sufficiently explicit, and rejoiced that such a disgraceful stigma had been wiped away from the University.

Some, however, whom I thought very uncharitable, hesitated not to say, that the petition was artfully and evasively drawn up; and to my unspeakable surprise, their opinions were supported by B. Workman, an under tutor in the University, in Oswald's paper of last Tuesday, in these words,

"To what pieces the Professors alluded, under the denomination of "*anonymous and abusive publications*," I know not; but I firmly believe, that the political essays, under the signatures of Centinel and Philadelphensis, were not those to which they alluded. My opinion is founded on a knowledge of their political sentiments: I know them to be warmly opposed to the proposed constitution, and that they esteem the obnoxious parts, which these writers have so clearly pointed out, as dangerous to liberty. From such premises then, how can a conclusion be drawn, that these gentlemen should apply the epithet, *abusive*, to publications containing sentiments so congenial to their own? A conclusion betraying such a want of firmness, an inconsistency of character, and an evident violation of honor and truth, in gentlemen of worth and education, must be rejected as foundationless."

Now, Sir, which are we to believe? the Professors, or their *ostensible* scribbler?—When we reflect that this wretched *tool* has formed his political creed from theirs, and dares not differ in opinions with them, and besides, that he would not presume to publish to the world their sentiments, without their permission; I say, when we reflect on these circumstances, we must surely feel for the indignity offered to the majesty of the people, by an address to their representatives, which appears to have been drawn up (if B. Workman is to be believed) with all the insidious arts of a double-faced Jesuit. The authors ought to have known, that men who are capable of deceiving the people by such low cunning, pitiful evasions, and disguised hypocrisy, are a disgrace to human nature, and commonly receive their merited reward.

633. A Genuine Shayite

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 17 April 1788

Mr. Editor, The “*conspirators*” still go on to “cram the system of tyranny down the throats of the people.” Not satisfied with having administered the poisoned dose to the deluded populace in six of our states, they have the daring effrontery to offer it to the others, none of which I fear (unless we except the loyal and truly respectable state of Rhode Island) will have firmness enough to reject it. Is it not intolerable, sir, that the tories, jesuits, lawyers, public defaulters, and other infamous characters of the “conspiring conclave,” that such fellows, I say, with Washington and Franklin at their head, should have more influence, in the different states, than the *antifederal patriots*? Even in Maryland (though the *honourable Mr. Martin* lives there) they seem to possess the confidence of the people.

Amazing infatuation! surely the people do not remember, that the “conspirators” have been the cause of all our miseries; that they first prompted us to rebel against the mild and equitable government of Great Britain; that they took an active part in the rebellion; that they finally prevailed with us to shake off our allegiance to our righteous sovereign, and made us an independent and wretched people; and that they would now have us to be governed, after having fought for freedom. If the people would only recollect these things, they would, I am confident, act like men, and hurl destruction on the guilty heads of the CONSPIRATORS.

634. The People

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 17 April 1788

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

Sir, A writer who signs himself Brutus, in the Freeman’s Journal of yesterday, tells us, that the “people” of this city had bedaubed “the sign

of the Federal Convention, that it had narrowly escaped being set on fire, and that the landlord had stowed it away in a lumber room, as the people had threatened damage to the house.”

The author of such notorious falsehoods intends such information either for the insurgents at Carlisle, or to mislead the good people of the back counties; he never imagined they would be believed here. The virtuous, the peaceable, and the federal citizens of Philadelphia, have never been guilty of such outrages; and the wretch who has the audacity to insult them by such a publication is fit only to herd with savages.

“The people of the town” bedaubed the sign—“the people of the town” were about to set it on fire—and “the people of the town threatened damage to the house:” It is false, Brutus! the people of the town have done none of these things. While the slanderer of a Washington is permitted to remain amongst us, one (not of the people) may be found hardy enough in the dead hour of the night to enterprise in this way; but let Brutus and him take care, lest they make too great encroachments upon the patience of

THE PEOPLE.

635. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 17 April 1788

By a gentleman who left Baltimore last Monday afternoon, we are informed that Mr. Martin declares he will make no further opposition to the new plan of government, seeing so great a majority of the people of Maryland are in favour of it; that Mr. Martin’s writings, like Centinel and Philadelphiensis in this state, have made no impressions on the minds of the people, tho’ in the language of antifederalism, they are ranked with the Bible^(a); that he is despised in every county except one, and in all probability will not be suffered to continue in the office of Attorney General another year.

(a) See an advertisement in the *Freeman’s Journal and Independent Gazetteer*.

636. No Conspirator, Tory, Plunderer, Dependant, or Office-Hunter Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 April 1788

Our new political *Fabius*, ingeniously divides the opposers of the new constitution into three classes. First, honest, but mistaken men; second, men designing to plunder if they could but involve us in a civil war; and third, *tories*, who are for bringing America once more under the British yoke. But the sharp sighted gentleman has not yet mentioned a single name among the virtuous minority of the conventions of Penn-

sylvania and Massachusetts, under the description of a *plunderer* or a *tory*; they are all therefore as yet, *honest* but *mistaken men*. Well, taking this for granted; I shall divide its advocates into three classes also; and without supposing a *tory* among them. First, conspirators, base designing men, and generally of the well born too, who wish to crush liberty, and to reduce the poorer part of their fellow citizens to a state of dependance and slavery; second, their flatterers and dependants; third, a few *honest* but *mistaken men*, who were either surprised into acquiescence, or deceived through the fascination of names; the number of the last description, is however reduced almost to a cypher. Of the first or second class, Fabius is certainly one; he has perhaps a view to a valuable commission in the standing army if he be any thing of a soldier. If a lawyer; then he can scarce fail of a *good fat birth* in some department of the federal judiciary; for judges, lawyers, attorneys, &c. will be multiplied like locusts without number.

If the fellow be no more than a dependant or a clerk, then he may be appointed a commissioner in the new *federal stamp office*, or a commissioner in the *excise-office*, &c. So that upon the whole, if the big government goes on, he is certain of making his jack some way or other; but if it be kicked up, and another convention called, either to frame a new one, or to amend the one proposed, then poor Fabius's hopes of agrandizement are all blasted, he will be compelled to follow some honest employment; he must either work or starve, or perhaps turn highwayman, if he cannot brook industry. No wonder then that the patriotic Fabius should tremble at the thoughts of another convention; now it's neck or nothing with him, there is no second chance of another *dark conclave*.

April 15, 1788.

637. One of the People

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 April 1788

TO ROBERT the COFFERER, Esquire.

SIR, Your Address to the public in the Independent Gazetteer of the 8th instant, has put even your advocates to the blush; they had presumed too far from the limits of truth and decency, but you have entirely lost sight of them. I am at a loss which most to admire the meanness or the supercilious arrogance that characterise your performance, the pitiabable quibbling or the omnipotence you assume over the United States, with whom *you will not condescend to account for the immense sums of public monies entrusted to your disposition*. You say you "stand charged in a two-fold capacity; first as Chairman of Committees of Congress,

and secondly as Superintendent of the Finances. But that it so happens, that in *neither of these capacities did I ever touch one shilling of the public money.*” Is this the language of an honest, ingenious mind? Was ever so daring an attempt made to mislead the public and screen delinquency? To give the more weight to the assertion, the denial is put in *italics*. Unfortunately for Mr. Morris the records of Congress are in existence; it appears by the report of a committee of that honorable body, adopted on the 11th February, 1779, that Mr. Morris was a member of the Secret or Commerical Committee, and that this committee had authorised and entrusted him solely with the purchasing of produce in different states, and exporting the same on the continental account; and it further appears, that all such contracts were made in the private firm of Willing and Morris. Ten years have elapsed and no account has been rendered to Congress of these expenditures, an ample time to have procured every necessary voucher; the pretences therefore of the obstacles to a settlement must be unfounded; the public will not be satisfied with the vague assertions of an interested party, but will reasonably presume that every thing is not square where so much backwardness to a settlement has appeared. As Financier you disclaim the jurisdiction of Congress to call you to account, because you did not in the first instance handle the public money, although it was dispensed pursuant to your orders; this is really a distinction without a difference, but perhaps necessary to prevent too close a scrutiny into the propriety of the expenditures, as the mode you have adopted of publishing the accounts without any previous inspection into the vouchers or reality of the services, effectually prevents the detection of speculation or favoritism to minions. However, you cannot recur even to this subterfuge to veil your transactions; for it is a notorious fact, that by an arbitrary assumption of power you, when Financier, seized upon the *purse-strings*, through the medium of your clerk (Mr. Swanwick) whom you appointed deputy treasurer of the United States, and thrusting a worthy, able, and long experienced officer out of the management of his own office, and when questioned by a committee of Congress wherefore you had presumed to substitute your deputy in the place of the treasurer of Congress, you alledged in your justification, that Mr. Hillegas the treasurer, was incompetent to the duties of the office; and yet you descend to so low a quibble as to say that you never “fingered” the public monies. No body has charged you with passing the public funds through your pocket, or of counting over those vast sums of monies yourself; no, we all know you employed a sufficient number of clerks and cashiers, and doubtless did not forget to charge their services; but what evidence is this that you may not have in your possession large, very large, sums of public

monies? Did not this circumstance of introducing your *own clerk* in the place of the *proper officer* of Congress particularly show an aversion to any *disinterested* observation or check upon your transactions as Financier? Is not the assertion of some of the best informed men that large sums of money were allowed by the Financier to particular persons without a voucher to justify the payment, highly probable?

What is the amount of your defence? Do you not in the face of a resolution of Congress of June 20th, 1785, (for calling you to account) declare that you are not to render to them settlement of the millions trusted to you by them as Financier? Do you not pretend that after 10 long years you have not had time to account for the many millions paid to you as Treasurer and Agent to the Commercial Committee? Materials are collecting to elucidate this subject, which before long, will be laid before the public.

638. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 April 1788

Time, that discoverer of all solid truths, will shew that the new constitution will never be received by the union as a government. The state of New-Hampshire are becoming more averse to it; the Massachusetts House of Representatives in their answer to *President Hancock's* speech, have reprobated it in the strongest terms, so it is probable it will be *reconsidered* by that state; Rhode Island have rejected it; New-York will crush it at least by two-thirds; five-sixths of the people of Pennsylvania are determined not to receive a system of tyranny adopted illegally by the other *sixth*, under the influence of a mob; Maryland will, if they do not reject it immediately, adjourn the decision to June or July; Virginia rejects it, and so of North-Carolina; South-Carolina is doubtful, but it is probable they will not differ with her sister states to the southward. Notwithstanding the people have been so much deceived and kept in the dark by the mock federalists, still providence will enable them to rise superior to all the wicked arts practised to ensnare their liberties.

639. No Conspirator, &c.

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 April 1788

MR. OSWALD, In your paper of yesterday I made some observations on *Fabius's* ingenious division of the different kinds of opponents to the system of slavery, proposed as our future government; and I endeavoured, *in turn*, to mark out the different species of its advocates, and their different views *and expectations* on its adoption.—But I would

wish to know who *Fabius* means by the term *tories*—I wish he would explain himself; he, and several other writers, have frequently used the word *tory*; but I question if they know the true meaning of the word. I hope he does not include the *Quakers*, that respectable society, whose principles are so truly republican, among those whom he supposes *hold* the divine right of kings; such is the true difinition of a *tory*.

640. Like for Like

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 19 April 1788

Looking over one of Oswald's papers, I observed a piece addressed to "Robert the cofferer," I must confess I was not a little surprized, that, after Mr. Morris's letter to the printer of the Independent Gazetteer, which was published, and which this writer who renews the attacks upon Mr. Morris as a "defaulter," *seems* to have read, any more attempts should be made upon the character of this gentleman, who will ever be honored by every friend to America, as I had supposed his enemies would have retired into their obscurity, after ample confutation.

But notwithstanding the reasonableness of my expectations, notwithstanding that propriety, and the least regard to decency or truth, would diverted these scribblers to slink again into nothingness, yet a fellow who calls himself "one of the people" has the daring effrontery to come forward, and exhaust himself in useless declamation and empty sounds—How different is his conduct from Mr. Morris's, who with an honest confidence, the true characteristic of innocence, does not trust to false signatures, but signs his piece with his proper name, that all may know from whence it comes, and where to look for the support of the truth of all that is advanced, whilst his opponent skulking for protection behind the secrecy which his signature affords, from thence magnanimously discharges his pop guns, with all the intrepidity and courage of a hero—How many are the methods that baseness can use to defame e'en virtue's self? Let this writer either lay down his pen, or use it to acquaint us with his proper name—Let him contend on equal grounds, or not contend at all—

Villain, "stand forth I dare thee to be tried."

But ah! you flinch, too well you know, that such a trial, would blast you, as your writings are already blasted, it would curse you in *person*, as you are already cursed as an *author*. As Mr. Morris has given you his name to his publication, cease lying, make known your name, and render

LIKE FOR LIKE.

641. No Conspirator**Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 19 April 1788**

Mr. Editor, To what miserable shifts are the CONSPIRATORS reduced! Charges of public delinquency accompanied by a long train of circumstances sufficient to inspire belief in the minds of all except abandoned sceptics and infidels, whose want of faith should for ever exclude them from all pretensions to the christian name; such charges I say, have been answered with a few paltry resolves of Congress, and declarations that the circumstances alluded did not exist; but these will not do. Facts are facts, and facts are stubborn things.

We know perfectly well, that whatever is possible is probable, and the possibility of probability is, in Logic, a solid argument in favour of the truth of the fact; for what has been may be; and as similar causes must produce similar effects, so if any man with a nose on his face ever was a public defaulter, all other men who have noses on their faces may be public defaulters too; any thing in their characters and conduct to the contrary notwithstanding.—To illustrate this, let it be remembered, that a boy took up the stock of a gun and pointed it towards his grandmother: the old lady called for help, accusing her grandson of a conspiracy against her life; the boy declared that he meant no harm, and that his grandmother was in no danger because there was no barrel to the stock. “But it might have gone off notwithstanding” cried the frightened matron “and this was only a scheme to obtain my estate under pretext of accident.” All the old women in the country agreed with her, that it was a crime with malice prepense, and that the accusation was well founded. But we have a more recent illustration of this principle given by that celebrated philosopher, Signior Falconi.—He has proved that a wooden Indian can shoot an arrow with as much accuracy as old king Tammany himself, were he alive. How absurd then is it to presuppose a necessity of Bobby’s having handled the public money, to prove he has filled his coffers with it! It is not even necessary that he should be a living being, to be guilty of the crime.

But though the possibility of a probability be a solid argument in logic: yet the improbability of a thing is no proof of its impossibility; for the same famous philosopher has also proved, that a body of any shape and size may be put through a hole of the same shape and half its size, without a derangement of its parts; and though the improbability of the thing takes firm hold in our minds, yet the possibility of it is established beyond a doubt by the testimony of our senses. In like manner we all know, that Bobby, Billy, and the others, have their coffers well filled; we have no occasion to inform our minds how they have

been filled; that they are full is sufficient for our purpose; and unless, they prove that they came honestly by it, every penny of it, we have a right to pronounce them *knaves* and *public defaulters*.

What a ridiculous thing it is to see Bobby's, Billy's, and Tommy's friends coming forward to vindicate them! Do not we all know, that the testimony of friends is no testimony, unless against the accused! Look into the laws of the holy inquisition, and you will there find, that no evidence of any relation, friend, or acquaintance of the accused is admitted, except it be against him; and on this side of the question all enemies, thieves, robbers, murderers, and criminals of every kind may give testimony, for which they are rewarded with a full reprieve from the gallows, the wheel, and the stake. This is the mode by which rigid justice discover crimes, and punishes the guilty.

I know it has been said, that "no accusation is so easily made or readily believed, by *knaves*, as the accusation of knavery." This the conspirators think a cutting stroke to us; but it is, on the contrary, positive proof against them: for, admitting the fact, we always expect the best information, when the greatest rogue turns state-evidence; since no person is so likely to find out knavery, as he who is a proficient in both profession and practice.

As for old Ben, he has been long known. He has not only rebelled against, and assisted in curtailing the dominions of his earthly king; but he has also encroached upon the prerogative of the skies: for when Jove meditates vengeance against the guilty sons of men, he is so impious as to snatch the red flaming thunderbolt from his right hand, and baffle his intentions. These are such undeniable proofs of his being a public defaulter, that we may venture to pronounce him guilty, and go on with our subject.

The conspirators affect to be geometricians, and are perpetually talking of demonstration; hence we frequently hear them say, that this or that thing "is as clear as any proposition in Euclid;" and hence also, they pretend to laugh at our arguments, because they are deduced from probable possibilities only: they should at the same time give our concise mode of disputation, by assertion, its merited applause; for we can say in five words, "Washington and Franklin are conspirators;" but to refute this charge by mathematical logic, may perhaps require five thousand words.

But geometrical reasoning is a defect in logic, and a celebrated writer on this subject has proved, that those who are accustomed to this kind of argument never fail to commit the following errors, which we find verified in the conduct of the conspirators:

1. "*They take more care of the certainty than of the evidence, and endeavour to convince the mind, rather than enlighten it.*"

2. "*They prove things that have no need of proof.*"—Thus Euclid proves that any two sides of a triangle taken together, are greater than the remaining side. And in like manner the conspirators prove, that as six states out of thirteen have adopted the constitution, it is only necessary that it should be ratified by three of the remaining seven, to have it established by nine.

3. "*They affect to demonstrate things not to be by the impossibility that they could be.*"—This is very common in Euclid. It is, however, evident that, although they may *convince* the mind, they do not inform it, which ought to be the principal end of all science.

The conspirators have even attempted to justify their prohibition of *ex post facto* laws, on a supposed principle of justice, that a man before he commits an act should be informed whether it be a crime or not, and that no power should be lodged any where to make actions crimes, after the power of abstaining from them was lost.

They also pretend, that to compel persons to render to every one his due is a law of God and our Saviour, which never required the assistance of any human statute; and that the ten commandments, the sermon on the mount, and the invariable custom of the whole human race, from the beginning of the world to the present day, constitute a principle, in common law, which no court on earth can refuse to receive as authentic. They further say, that the laws which make public agents accountable for the money which passes through their hands, stand upon no better foundation in any country; but that they are, in all places, the *vox naturae, Dei, et populi*; the *lex non scripta digito hominis, sed Dei*; and a great deal of such stuff.

All these absurdities the CONSPIRATORS fall into, by attempting to prove the truth of their positions from scripture; to *our* honour be it told, that *we* credit no such flimsy, antiquated authority. No, no; "*The HONOURABLE Mr. MARTIN'S genuine information, and the letters of JUNIUS,*" are our unquestionable authority; and it is with very sensible regret, that I have lately read an advertisement, in the Independent Gazetteer, and Freeman's Journal, which only places the writings of those *immortal* men on a par with the ridiculous absurdities contained in the Bible; but as this has been done by our own friends, I can pardon the indignity, that we may avoid quarrelling among ourselves.

To conclude, the conspirators, in spite of all their reasoning, must now confess, that the state governments will be very insecure under the new constitution; nay, that a man will not be permitted either to eat, drink, or sleep, wear his clothes, as he pleases; this I prove, neither by

the perplexing labyrinths of logic, nor by the vague testimony of scripture; but by a recent, an undeniable, and a well known fact:—Let any person take a walk to the corner of Fourth and Chesnut-streets, where the *conspirators* of the federal convention, sit in state, on a tavern keeper's sign, with an air of majesty intolerable to freemen; for, not content to be on a level with their fellow-citizens, they are highly exalted, (I should be extremely happy in seeing them every one, *in propria persona*, suspended by the neck), and seem to look down with an air of contempt upon the rest of mankind. Nor is this all, they have already begun to use an unreasonable stretch of power—they have already thrown a new roof over the tavern keeper's house, and, in all probability, they will soon demolish the house altogether, and erect a new one, fashioned to their own minds, in its stead.

Such presumption in the *conspirators*, when only six states have joined them in the plot, shows us what we may expect, after it shall have been adopted by nine.

642. A Pennsylvanian

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 19 April 1788

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

Sir, You set out with great professions of impartiality, candour, and decency. But it is pretty plain, after all your refined apology for the title of your paper, that you are truly federal in your sentiments. I hope, however, that you have no objections to insert a little antifederal intelligence, or anecdotes of antifederalists.

A gentleman who lives beyond Susquehannah, being lately in this city, told me, that several of the Presbyterian ministers in Cumberland and Franklin counties are turned antifederal. Mr. J——n at Big Spring, had always his eyes open to see the danger of the proposed constitution, and his people are greatly enlightened. The warm declamations he makes against the new government, cause their affections to glow to himself. Dr. N——t, alas, continues blind! The antifederalists threaten to hang him: but they may save themselves the trouble; for neither hanging nor burning, nor clubs nor ax helves, will make a Scotsman change either his religion or politics. There is a clergyman in one of these counties, who preached two sermons in favour of the new government. His congregation met and resolved to withdraw their subscriptions for his salary, unless he would preach three sermons against it, Whereupon he complied with their desires, and so has secured his beef and potatoes for another year. You know a good man may still retain his sentiments, whatever he says or swears, when he is forced, and when good is derived therefrom.

To force a man against his will,
He will be of the same mind still.

Priest O'Lavry told a Presbyterian minister, "You get your bread by preaching down purgatory, and I get mine by preaching it up; so it is of great use to us both." In like manner, the proposed constitution suits to preach either up or down. I hope you will not be offended if I add, that it serves also to print either for or against, and so is of great use both to federal and antifederal printers.

643. Pittsburgh Gazette, 19 April 1788

The writer of SOMMERS, says a correspondent, as a citizen and free-man of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, has an equal right with the governor of the state, or the president of Congress, to speak and write his sentiments on the general government, or on any other subject, *scurrility and defamation excepted*, these subjects being monopolized, and already exhausted by the *Western Oracle* or *Modern Hudibrass*. The piece alluded to was wrote some time before the writer left this country on a tour to the southward, of importance to the commonwealth, and which if successful, cannot fail of becoming generally beneficial to the United States. The writer being perfectly independent in principle, and easy in circumstances, is far above the calumny of a doggrell rhymist, who would *bark at the sun* and *bay the moon* could he thereby secure a smile from his federal-leagued patrons.

Better and much more noble to abjure
The sight of men, and in some cave secure,
From all the outrages of pride, to feast
On nature's sallads, *and be FREE at least.*

**644. James Pemberton to John Pemberton
Philadelphia, 20 April 1788¹**

Dear Brother;

The fore part of the last week was a time of very agreeable repast in receiving letters from thee after a long excusable cessation; between the 12th & 16th inst. thy several acceptable favrs. of 12t & 23d of 1st mon, 2d. & 14th. 2d mon came to my hands, that to Sister of 2d. 2d mo ☞ Packet arriving a few days before;^(a)—The retreat into England must have been very expedient to thyself, and valuable companion, after such a series of incessant labour, and exercise of body, and mind, as you had undergone, and I am glad to find it has answered the de-

sired purpose to each of you, and should you again return to Scotland, having the advantage of a more favorable season of the year, I hope you will notwithstanding give greater attention to your bodily frames, and proceed with a deliberation more fitted to your Constitutional Strength, than heretofore, thou may recollect the frequent observation of our friend D. Stanton of endeared memory, that it was necessary to consider we are composed of flesh as well as Spirit, and a due regard to such consideration was both necessary, and justifiable, the expediency of which rule he was convinced of, tho. he did not at all times practise it, when zeal for the cause he was engaged to promote animated his mind—

Yesterday morning our friend J. Thornton Spent about an hour with me when I communicated to him such parts of thy late letters as time allowed, he sett off to return home in the afternoon, has been favoured to possess an easy calm state of mind, since as before our late General meeting, and expects to be ready to embark in the first Ship offering in the next month having a view to the Grange for Liverpool, and the Pigou Captn. Sutton the last of which arrived within an hour after his leaving town and the other daily expected; J. [Field?] has informed me, that the Pigou will be expeditiously dispatched—

At our meeting for Suffrs. on 5th day last among other matters which came before it, was an Epistle to the meeting for Sufferings in Maryland which is to be held to morrow, exciting them, by a fresh application to the Legislature to revive the subject matter of the address of their last yearly meeting which through want of due care was inattentively passed over without much consideration, and should the proposed Foederal System of Government take effect, that State will lose the opportunity of exhibiting a proof of regard to impartial Justice, and the equitable rights of men; but as yet Six States only have adopted the new plan, one of which (the Massachusetts.) has acceded to it with divers exceptions, or recommendations of amendment, and great uneasiness, and opposition appear among the Politicians in this and other places, numerous publications daily coming out on the subject, so that its establishment remains doubtful, and the first principles being in divers respects erroneous, and particularly so in regard to the flagrant evil of Slavery, and its infamous traffic, it can not be expected that a Government on such an unjust foundation can be durable; animosity, dissensions, and commotions will be most likely to attend it, and some very disagreeable consequences have already ensued on the disputes among the people of the western Counties of this State;—the proceedings of the Convention were kept so very close, and restricted from public view

through the whole of their debates, and deliberations, that no opportunity offered of making either remarks on their consultations, or of offering any proposals to them—

The late Accounts recd of the extraordinary exertions for relief of the oppressed Africans by a suppression of the infamous Traffic is a proof of the kindness of Divine providence in enlightening the minds of men to see the Evil, and animating them to unite for its removal, wch. I hope will be effected in due time, that the British nation may not be longer liable to the Guilt of the oppression, and murder of thousands annually of their fellow-men; we have obtained a good law here, but much labour still remains necessary among the Slave-holders in these new States, as also to promote the moral & religious welfare of the Negroes who have been restored to their just rights of freedom.

I observe thy intimation of the demurr on the acceptance of one of our Committee's bills drawn on Dublin of wch. I recd a hint sometime ago from thence, but believe the occasion of uneasiness has been long since removed;

Our meeting for Suffrs apprehending there would not be occasion to expend the whole of the generous donation of Friends in Ireland for the purpose for which it was first intended, mentioned to this effect in a letter to the national meeting, and there being about that time a prospect of distress in that Kingdom, through the commotions then prevailing, induced us to think, it might be wanted for Sufferers there, which was also remarkt on that letter, to which they replied that as they had freely raised it for the assistance of the distressed in America, they did not chuse to make use of any part of it for the like purpose among themselves, whereupon I gave our friend Samuel Neale an account of the Concern of our Friend A Benezet for strengthening the hands of the few well disposed persons who had formed an association in this City to promote the Relief of the Blacks who were subjected to many impositions, & cruelties by designing men, to enslave them, after they had justly obtained their freedom, in the prosecution of which well intended business many difficulties, and considerable expence had attended, and their funds small, and proposed to his consideration, whether if the remaining part of the Irish donation should not be wholly wanted for its original design, the Donors would consent to appropriate a sum for the benefit of that Society, which I conclude, that his desire of doing good may have induced him to open to Friends too publicly, without a previous consultation with the Committee immediately appointed to the care of that donation, and a clear state of the proposal made to them, that they might fully understand it, as

Friends in London had of the Negro School, [an]d allotted £500 p[er] y[ear] for its promotion—

Soon after this proposal to S. N. our attention was drawn [to the] Suffering Emigrants in Nova Scotia, and a sum was agreed to be drawn for on Ireland to forward to them some reliefs in provisions &c. and perhaps, the bill drawn might get to hand before the minute of our meeting authorising the Committee here to draw, or the letter of that Committee on the occasion, from whence, and for want of a full explanation a misunderstanding had taken place—

We have transmitted last month to the National Meeting a full Account of the distribution of the provisions &c. Sent to Nova Scotia, and of the expenditure of the mony out of their donation, since the last forwarded to them in 1784, so that, I hope the matter will appear to their satisfaction—

A Ship or Brig. is to sail in a few days for Bristol, the packet also in a short time, and the Pigou will not be detained long, by some or all of these oppots. I purpose again to write to thee, and may now conclude with mentioning that Sister sends me word she is as well as usual, has recd thy letter of 23. 2n mo. p[er] Sutton, and intends writing soon—S. [Errilons?] concern lays still in the Second day meeting, where it looks likely to remain; I communicated to him thy advice wch. is well suited to his case, wch. he acknowledges, & now having also a late letter from G. Dellwyn perhaps he may be more contents, he J. Thornton O.Jones & wife, Jos. Bringhurst, and divers others desire send love to thee, and I desire mine & wife's to thy worthy companion; Gra Fisher lays in a very low declining State;

(a) Thy letter of the 18:11 mon from Edinbro. is also recd.
 ☞ Sutton.

1. RC, Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Endorsed: "From my Brother Ja; Pemberton Recd at Colchester 5th mo; 31st."

645. Detector

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 22 April 1788

Mr. Editor, In the Independent Gazetteer, of last Saturday, we were favored with a new specimen of antifederal calumny, under the forged title of "Extract of a letter from Charleston, (S.C.) April 9, 1788." The inconsistency, the slander, and the base falshoods, of that wretched and infamous performance, must excite, in every honest mind, indignation and contempt for the author, and the utmost abhorrence of his principles.

The first remark that occurs on reading this pretended extract is, that perhaps not a single citizen of Carolina could be found, who is so totally callous to every sense of honor, decency, and truth, as to be capable of writing it; but that it is a genuine Philadelphia production, the last effort of the miserable dregs of antifederal drudgery.

Why the respectable name of R—tl—ge is introduced as a butt for calumny I am at a loss to conceive; it must have been to gratify a cowardly personal resentment; we are told, that he is principally concerned in iniquitous paper money laws, for which reason he is a *friend* to the constitution; and in another place that, many are *enemies* to it from the same motives: such contradictions are ill calculated to gain belief. If, as this writer asserts, the characters of a majority of the members of the federal convention had been friendly to such villainous measures: instead of a clause prohibiting paper money emissions, it is more natural to believe that we should have had one authorizing such emissions, and perhaps legal tenders into the bargain.

The abuse of the illustrious Washington is the most daring that has yet been thrown out against that worthy man, whose services in the cause of liberty and his country shall be had in grateful remembrance by ages yet unborn, and will receive fresh lustre from the additional laurels acquired by his present conduct. He is represented as an insignificant booby, who has not spirit to judge for himself; but “depends principally upon the *Connecticut poet* (who was his aid de camp) as an adviser.” The worthless slanderer here discovers himself, and with all the virulence he is master of, renews *his old grudges* against the Fabius of America (and his aid de camp).

Doctor Franklin’s character is proof against the attacks of either envy, malice, or falshood, and the only charge brought against him is “his extreme old age;” but to the enemies of America (for such are the enemies of Washington and Franklin) be it told, and let them burst with spite at the information, that “his extreme old age” has not prevented him from devoting his knowledge and experience to the formation of a constitution, which is justly esteemed a master piece of human wisdom, and is the best legacy he could bequeath to his country.

I would not here be thought to have the least inclination to vindicate the characters of men, who are as far superior to my panegyric as they are to the calumny of infamous slanderers, whose abuse is an undeniable testimony of real worth and merit in the men whom they attempt to traduce.

On the contrary, I am firmly of opinion, that the abuse of such men serves an excellent purpose, and injures the antifederal interest more

than any other steps they could possibly take; for the citizens of America have still virtue enough to retain a grateful sense of the important services which those truly great men have so recently rendered their country.

My chief object is to show what credit is to be given to such vile forgeries; for forgery supplies a greater part of all the antifederal intelligence in this city, and this letter from Charleston, like the news from Boston, a few days ago, brings to my mind the advertisement of a tobacconist, in this city, some years since, who proposed supplying his customers with Scotch snuff, informing them at the same time that it was manufactured in this city; in this however he acted like a man of candour. I wish the antifederal scribblers would pursue the same line of conduct, and not father their wretched falshoods on the honest citizens of the other states. If they be ashamed to own them, they should charge them all to their friends in *Rogue Island*, whose sentiments are congenial to their own.

646. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 22 April 1788¹

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

Sir, Please to inform the uncandid remarker upon Mr. Workman's unnecessary apology for the members of the faculty of the University, published in the Federal Gazette of the 17th instant; That they perfectly understood the meaning of their expressions, in their address to the assembly, and that they desired that others should understand them in the fullest and most extensive sense of the words. That we had no mental reservation whatsoever about the pieces which Mr. Workman has mentioned, nor any particular reference to them, more than to other publications; but that we totally and explicitly disclaimed having any hand in them, or any anonymous and abusive publications whatsoever, without limitation or exception, which have taken their rise from the political disputes which have subsisted in this state. We have done this, to contradict the groundless slander of Dr. Smith, "that our university was more devoted to party and political cabals, than to the advancement of sound and real literature;" and we did it in the most expressive language we could devise, and appealed to the unwearied industry of Dr. Smith, with the assistance of all the printers in Philadelphia, to convict us, if he could. A candid remarker would not have abused us in public, without some evidence from this quarter, and without knowing whether Mr. Workman might not possibly have been as ignorant of our political sentiments and conduct, as himself.

We disown his interpretation of our expressions, and he is so far from being our ostensible scribbler, as the uncandid foe to falshood asserts, that he has never written any thing, on political subjects, by our desire, direction, encouragement, or approbation.

JOHN EWING.
 JAMES DAVIDSON.
 ROBERT PATTERSON.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 23 April.

647. Reflection

Carlisle Gazette, 23 April 1788

Messieurs PRINTERS. When Reflection presumed to address the public through your useful Gazette, he did not tell them, that he was able infallibly to explain the New Fœderal Constitution; nor did he assure them that every person would put the same construction upon it that he did;—Because if he had done the former, it would have supposed that he set too high an estimation upon the correctness of his own judgment, which he thinks every person to a certain degree ought to doubt; and to do the latter he well knew was impossible. He only wished to draw the attention of the people to the Constitution, which he was afraid they had lost sight of by the medium of objections and inflammatory pieces, which have been published against it; being convinced, that those who give it that examination, which its importance demands, will be fully persuaded of its excellence; and to enable them the better to understand it, he ventured to make a few remarks, which he conceived he was authorized to make from the Constitution itself, and the plain dictates of reason, upon some parts of it which have been most objected to; and for the justness of truth of which he appealed to the people at large. Yet notwithstanding it appears that some person has been dissatisfied with this manner of addressing the public, it being foreign to that practiced, by those who write on the opposite side; their only hope of success being founded in drawing the people's attention as far from it as possible. But this honest Plowman seems very discontented, and it is no wonder he should, for it certainly is sufficient to put any man out of humour to plow up the frozen soil in very cold weather, and at the same time study politics, and the abstruse science of government. Reflection will not attempt to make any remarks on his publication, as his questions can all be answered by any person of the least discernment, and the propositions which he takes as self-evident cannot be demonstrated any other way than to shew their impossibility,

and consequently to prove their opposites.—And it would also be ungenerous to expose a man for every mistake and blunder, which he may commit, when he is dissatisfied, and in a peevish fit.

Carlisle, 14th April, 1788.

648. A Farmer

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 23 April 1788¹

The FALLACIES of the FREEMAN detected by a FARMER.

(Continued from our last.)

Secondly. I Shall proceed to define a FEDERAL REPUBLIC:—A Federal Republic is formed by two or more single or consolidated republics, uniting together by a perpetual confederacy, and without ceasing to be distinct states or sovereignties; they form together a federal republic or an empire of states. As individuals in a state of nature surrender a portion of their natural liberty to the society of which they become members, in order to receive in lieu thereof protection and conveniency; so in forming a federal republic the individual states surrender a part of their separate sovereignty to the general government or federal head, in order that, whilst they respectively enjoy internally the freedom and happiness peculiar to free republics, they may possess all that external protection, security, and weight by their confederated resources, that can possibly be obtained in the most extended, absolute monarchies.

The peculiar advantages and distinctive properties of a federal republic are, that each state or member of the confederation may be fully adequate for every local purpose, that it may subsist in a small territory, that the people may have a common interest, possess a competent knowledge of the resources and expenditures of their own particular government, that their immediate representatives in the state governments will know and be known by the citizens, will have a common interest with them, and must bear a part of all the burdens which they may lay upon the people, that they will be responsible to the people, and may be dismissed by them at pleasure; that therefore the government would be a government of confidence and possess sufficient energy without the aid of standing armies, that the collectors of the revenue would at least have the bowels of citizens, and not be the offscourings of Europe, or other states who have no interest in, or attachment to the people; that if one or more of the states should become the prey of internal despotism, or foreign foes, the other states may remain secure under the protection of their own state government; that if some popular and wealthy citizen should have influence enough to attempt the liberties

of one state, he might be stopped in his career by the interposition of the others, for his influence could not be equally great in all the states; that if the general government should fail, or be revised or changed, yet the several state governments may remain entire to secure the happiness of the citizens; and that the members of a confederated republic may be increased to any amount, and consequently its external strength without altering the nature of the government, or endangering the liberty of the citizens.

The perfection of a federal republic consists in drawing the proper line between those objects of sovereignty which are of a general nature, and which ought to be vested in the federal government, and those which are of a more local nature and ought to remain with the particular governments; any rule that can be laid down for this must vary according to the situation and circumstances of the confederating states; yet still this general rule will hold good, viz. that all that portion of sovereignty which involve the common interest of all the confederating states, and which cannot be exercised by the states in their individual capacity without endangering the liberty and welfare of the whole, ought to be vested in the general government, reserving such a porportion of sovereignty in the state governments as would enable them to exist alone, if the general government should fail either by violence or with the common consent of the confederates; the states should respectively have laws, courts, force, and revenues of their own sufficient for their own security; they ought to be fit to keep house alone if necessary; if this be not the case, or so far as it ceases to be so, it is a departure from a federal to a consolidated government; and this brings me to the next particular, which is to shew what is meant by a consolidated government.

Thirdly. The idea of a CONSOLIDATED GOVERNMENT is easily understood, where a single society or nation forms one entire separate government, and possess the whole sovereign power; this is a consolidated or national government. Whether a government be of a monarchical, aristocratical or democratical nature, it doth not alter the case, it is either a federal or a consolidated government, there being no medium as to kind.—The absoluteness of a despotic sovereignty is often restricted by corporate bodies, who are vested with peculiar privileges and franchises—and by a just distribution of the executive and ministerial powers; but although these may contribute to the happiness of the people, yet they do not change the nature of the government. Indeed, monarchies can never form a federal government; they may enter into alliances with each other; for monarchy cannot be divested of a competent proportion of sovereignty to form a general government without changing its nature. It is only free republics that can

completely and safely form a federal republic; I say free republics, for there are republics who are not free, such as Venice, where a citizen carrying arms is punished with instant death, and where even the nobles dare not converse with strangers, and scarcely with their friends, and are liable by law to be put to death secretly without trial—or Poland which, in much the same words that are expressed in the new system, is by a league with the neighbouring powers guaranteed to be forever independent and of a republican form; yet a writer of their own says, that the body of the people are scarcely to be distinguished from brutes; and again he says, we have reduced the people of our kingdom by misery to a state of brutes; they drag out their days in stupidity, &c. Free republics are congenial to a federal republic. In order that a republic may preserve its liberty, it must not only have a good form of government, but it must be of small extent; for if it possess extensive territory, it would be ruined by internal imperfection. The authority of government in a large republic does not equally pervade all the parts; nor are the political advantages equally enjoyed by the citizens remote from the capital as by those in the vicinity; combinations consequently prevail among the members of the legislature, and this introduces corruption and is destructive of that confidence in government, without which a free republic cannot be supported; besides, the high influential trusts which must be vested in the great officers of state, would at particular times endanger the government, and are necessarily destructive of that equality among the citizens, which is the only permanent basis of a republic; in short, the diversity of the situation, habits, manners, and interests of the people in an extensive dominion, subjects the government to a thousand accidents, which would embarrass a republican government. The experience of nations and the nature of things, sufficiently prove, that the government of a single person, aided by armies and controuling influence, is necessary to govern a large consolidated empire.

And on the other hand, if the territory be small, the republic is liable to be destroyed by external force, therefore, reason and observation points out a confederation of republics, as the only method to preserve internal freedom, together with external strength and respectability.— Small republics forming a federal republic on these principles, may be resembled to divers small ropes plaited together to make a large and strong one, if the latter is untwisted, the small ropes are still useful as such, but if the former are untwisted, they are reduced to hemp, the original state.

To apply these principles to our present situation without respect to the proposed plan of government; in order to render the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the confederating states, it is

necessary not only that the general government should be properly constructed in its forms, but that it should be vested with powers relative to all the federal objects of government, these objects are not only the powers of making peace and war, &c. but also with the power of making treaties respecting commerce, regulating and raising revenues therefrom, &c. to make requisitions of money when necessity requires it, from each of the states, and a certain well described power of compelling delinquent states to pay up their quota of such requisitions. Perhaps if each state had its own share of the domestic debt quoaded, so as they might each pay their own citizens, the general revenues would be sufficient for the other demands of the union in times of peace, if the government itself be not made too expensive by too great a number of officers being created. Congress ought, however, to have all powers which cannot be exercised by one state, without endangering the other states, such as the power of raising troops, treating with foreign nations, &c.—The power of levying imposts, will, by the particular states, be irregularly exercised, and the revenue in a great degree lost or misapplied, therefore, it ought not to be left with the states, but under proper checks, vested in the general government. All these the minority were amongst the foremost willing to have vested in the federal head, and more than this, had never been asked by Congress, nor proposed by the greatest advocates for congressional power, nor is more than this consistent with the nature of a federal republic. When the existing confederation was adopted, powers were given with a sparing hand, and perhaps, not improperly at that period, until experience should point out the discriminating line with sufficient experience, well knowing that it is easy for a government to obtain an encrease of power when common utility points out the propriety, but that powers once vested in a government, however dangerous they may prove, are rarely recovered without bloodshed, and even that awful method of regaining lost liberty is seldom effectual. It is now however evident that the power of regulating commerce, being of a general nature, ought to belong to the general government, and the burthen of debt incurred by the revolution hath rendered a general revenue necessary, for this purpose imposts upon articles of importation present themselves, not only as a productive source of revenue, but as a revenue for which the governments of the particular states are for well known reasons, incompetent.—The danger of entrusting a government so far out of the people's reach as Congress must necessarily be, strongly impressed the public mind about four or five years since, but now a conviction of the advantage and probable safety of such a measure, pervades almost every mind, and none are more willing for putting it in operation, under

proper guards, than the opposers of the new system; they are also willing to admit what the majority of the states may judge proper checks in the *form* of the general government as far as those checks, or the distribution of powers and responsibility of those who be vested with those powers, may be consistent with the security of the essential sovereignty of the respective states. The minority of the convention (who I really believe, in their address, express the serious sentiments of the majority of this state) opposed vesting such powers in Congress as can be most effectually exercised by the state governments in a full consistency with the general interests of the confederating states, and which, not being of a general nature, are not upon federal principles, objects of the federal government, I mean the power of capitation, or poll tax, by which the head, or in other words, the existence of every person is put in their power by the new system as a property, subject to any price or tax that may be judged proper; I do not mean to say that this implies the power of life and death, although it certainly implies the power of selling the property, or if none is to be had, of imprisoning or selling the person for a servant, who doth not chuse, or is not able to pay the poll tax; the minority also objected to vesting Congress with power to tax the property, real and personal of the citizens of the several states, to what amount, and in what manner it may please, without any check or controul upon its discretion; also to the unlimited power over the excise; if this could extend only to spirituous liquors as is usual with us, the danger would be less, but the power of excise extends to every thing we eat, drink, or wear, and in Europe it is thus extensively put in practice. Under the term duties, every species of indirect taxes is included, but it especially means the power of levying money upon printed books, and written instruments.

The Congress, by the proposed system, have the power of borrowing money to what amount they may judge proper, consequently to mortgage all our estates, and all our sources of revenue. The exclusive power of emmitting bills of credit is also reserved to Congress. They have, moreover, the power of instituting courts of justice without tryal by jury, except in criminal cases, and under such regulations as Congress may think proper to decide, not only in such cases as arise out of all the foregoing powers, but in the other cases which are enumerated in the system.

The absolute sovereignty in all the foregoing instances, as well as several others not here enumerated, are vested in the general government, without being subject to any constitutional check or controul from the state governments.

It remains to examine the nature of the powers which are left with the states, and on this subject it is not necessary to follow *Freeman* through the numerous detail of particulars with which he confuses the reader. I shall examine only a few of the more considerable. The *Freeman* in his 2d Number, after mentioning in a very delusory manner divers powers which remain with the states, he says we shall find many other instances under the constitution which require or imply the existence or continuance of the sovereignty and severality of the states; he as well as all the advocates of the new system, take as their strong ground the election of senators by the state legislatures, and the special representation of the states in the federal senate, to prove that internal sovereignty still remains with the states; therefore they say that the new system is so far from annihilating the state governments, that it secures them, that it cannot exist without them, that the existence of the one is essential to the existence of the other. It is true that this particular partakes strongly of that mystery which is characteristic of the system itself; but if I demonstrate that this particular, so far from implying the continuance of the state sovereignties, proves in the clearest manner the want of it, I hope the other particular powers will not be necessary to dwell upon.

The state legislatures do not chuse senators by legislative or sovereign authority, but by a power of ministerial agency as mere electors or boards of appointment; they have no power to direct the senators how or what duties they shall perform; they have neither power to censure the senators, nor to supercede them for misconduct. It is not the power of chusing to office merely that designates sovereignty, or else corporations who appoint their own officers and make their own bye-laws, or the heads of department who chuse the officers under them, such as commanders of armies, &c. may be called sovereigns, because they can name men to office whom they cannot dismiss therefrom. The exercise of sovereignty does not consist in chusing masters, such as the senators would be, who, when chosen, would be beyond controul, but in the power of dismissing, impeaching, or the like, those to whom authority is delegated. The power of instructing or superceding of delegates to Congress under the existing confederation, hath never been complained of, altho' the necessary rotation of members of Congress hath often been censured for restraining the state sovereignties too much in the objects of their choice. As well may the electors who are to vote for the president under the new constitution, be said to be vested with the sovereignty, as the state legislatures in the act of chusing senators. The senators are not even dependent on the states for their wages, but in conjunction with the federal representatives establish their

own wages. The senators do not vote by states, but as individuals. The representatives also vote as individuals, representing people in a consolidated or national government; they judge upon their own elections, and, with the senate, have the power of regulating elections in time, place and manner, which is in other words to say, that they have the power of elections absolutely vested in them.

That the state governments have certain ministerial and convenient powers continued to them is not denied, and in the exercise of which they may support, but cannot controul the general government, nor protect their own citizens from the exertions of civil or military tyranny, and this ministerial power will continue with the states as long as two thirds of Congress shall think their agency necessary; but even this will be no longer than two-thirds of Congress shall think proper to propose; and use the influence of which they would be so largely possessed to remove it.

But these powers, of which the *Freeman* gives us such a profuse detail, and in describing which he repeats the same powers with only varying the terms, such as the powers of officering and training the militia, appointing state officers, and governing in a number of internal cases, do not any of them separately, nor all taken together, amount to independent sovereignty; they are powers of mere ministerial agency, which may, and in many nations of Europe, are or have been vested, as before observed, in heads of departments, hereditary vassals of the crown, or in corporations; but not that kind of independent sovereignty which can constitute a member of a federal republic, which can enable a state to exist within itself if the general government should cease.

I have often wondered how any writer of sense could have the confidence to avow, or could suppose the people to be ignorant enough to believe, that, when a state is deprived of the power not only of standing armies (this the members of a confederacy ought to be) but of commanding its own militia, regulating its elections, directing or superceding its representatives or paying them their wages; who is, moreover, deprived of the command of any property, I mean source of revenue or taxation, or what amounts to the same thing, who may enact laws for raising revenue, but who may have these laws rendered nugatory, and the execution thereof superceded by the laws of Congress. This is not a strained construction, but the natural operation of the powers of Congress under the new constitution; for every object of revenue, every source of taxation, is vested in the general government. Even the power of making inspection laws, which, for obvious convenience, is left with the several states, will be unproductive of the smallest revenue to the state governments; for, if any should arise, it is to be

paid over to the coffers of Congress;—besides, the words “to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, &c.” give, without doubt, the power of repelling or forbidding the execution of any tax law whatever that may interfere with or impede the exercise of the general taxing power, and it would not be possible that two taxing powers should be exercised on the same sources of taxation without interfering with each other. May not the exercise of this power of Congress, when they think proper, operate not only to destroy those ministerial powers which are left with the states, but even the very forms? May they not forbid the state legislatures to levy a shilling to pay themselves, or those whom they employ, days wages? The state governments may contract for making roads (except post-roads) erecting bridges, cutting canals, or any other object of public importance; but when the contract is performed or the work done, may not Congress constitutionally prevent the payment? Certainly they may do all this and much more, and no man would have a right to charge them with breaking the law of their appointment. It is an established maxim, that wherever the whole power of the revenue or taxation is vested, there virtually is the whole effective, influential, sovereign power, let the forms be what they may: By this armies are procured, by this every other controuling guard is defeated. Every balance or check in government is only so far effective as it hath a controul over the revenue.

The state governments are not only destitute of all sovereign command of, or controul over, the revenue or any part of it, but they are divested of the power of commanding, or proscribing the duties, wages, or punishments of their own militia, or of protecting their life, property or characters from the rigours of martial law. The power of making treason laws is both a slower and an important defence of sovereignty; it is relative to and inseparable from it; to convince the states that they are consolidated into one national government, this power is wholly to be assumed by the general government. All the prerogatives, all the essential characteristics of sovereignty, both of the internal and external kind, are vested in the general government, and consequently the several states would not be possessed of any essential power, or effective guard of sovereignty.

Thus I apprehend, it is evident that the consolidation of the states, into one national government (in contradistinction from a confederacy) would be the necessary consequence of the establishment of the new constitution, and the intention of its framers—and that consequently the state sovereignties would be eventually annihilated, though the forms may long remain as expensive and burthensome remembrances, of what they were in the days when (although labouring under

many disadvantages) they emancipated this country from foreign tyranny, humbled the pride, and tarnished the glory of royalty, and erected a triumphant standard to liberty and independence.

It is not my present object to decide, whether the government is a good or a bad one, it is only to prove in support of the minority, that the new system does not in reality, whatever its appearances may be, constitute a federal but a consolidated government.—From the distinguishing characteristics of these two kinds of government which I have stated, some assistance perhaps may be derived in judging which of them would be most suitable to our circumstances, and the best calculated to promote and secure the liberty and welfare of these United States.

A few general observations shall conclude this essay. It is commonly said by the friends of the system, that the dangers which we point out are imaginary, that we ought to depend more upon the virtue of those who shall exercise those powers; that we talk as if we supposed men would be possessed of a daemon as soon as they should be vested with the proposed powers, &c. I shall in answer thereto join with a sensible reasoner in saying, that I will not abuse the new Congress until it exists, nor then until it misbehaves, nor then unless I dare; but it is a fact, that all governments that have ever been instituted amongst men, have degenerated and abused their power, and why we should conceive better of the proposed Congress than of all governments who have gone before us, I don't know; it is certainly incumbent on the supporters of this system, first to prove either that the uniform testimony of history, and experience of society, is false, or else that the new system will have the divine influence to inspire those who exercise the powers which it provides, with wisdom and virtue in an infallible degree. Surely the conduct of the framers and promoters of the new constitution, do not present mankind as more worthy of confidence now, than they have been in other periods of society. For proof of this let us examine facts. The legislature of the various states, elected members for a federal convention, without having authority for that purpose from their constituents; this gave no alarm, as necessity perhaps justified the measure, but how dangerous is the smallest precedent of usurped power, for the general convention when met, far out did the example—they were strictly bound by the law of their appointment to revise the confederation; the additional powers with which it ought to have been vested were generally understood, and would have been universally submitted to. This convention not only neglected the duty of their appointment, but assumed a power of the most extraordinary kind, they proceeded to destroy the very government which they were solemnly enjoined to

strengthen and improve, and framed a system (to say no worse of it) that was destructive not only of the form, but of the nature of the government whose foundations were laid in the plighted faith and whose superstructure was cemented with the best blood of the United States. The legislature of this state, whose leading members were also self-chosen members of the general convention, no sooner had it in their power, than notwithstanding the solemn trust reposed in them, and still more solemn oath to preserve the constitution of this state inviolate, proceeded upon the expected last day of their session to call a convention, in order to adopt the proposed system of government before the people could be acquainted with it; and to carry this into execution, they added violence to perfidy, and by the aid of mob compelled members, sanctified by their presence, that usurped exertion of power, which their faith and trust obliged them to discountenance. The consequence was, that about one-sixth of the citizens only obeyed the irregular call of the assembly, and elected members to the state convention: one-third of those members, and who were chosen by nearly one-half of the voters who did elect, voted against the adoption of the new constitution, and being refused the right of entering their testimony on the minutes, laid their conduct and their reasons before their constituents. About five out of six of the people, whether disdaining to obey a call which neither the general convention or assembly were authorised to make, or whether being taken by surprise, they were not sufficiently informed to act with decision, and therefore did not choose to act at all: I cannot tell, but so it is, that they have not yet publicly declared their sentiments for, nor have done any thing in favor of the proposed system: In this situation Pennsylvania hath adopted the system. It is a very serious question, whether supposing nine states had agreed to it in this manner, the system would be practicable, whether general confidence would not be necessary unless we had greater resources. In addition to Pennsylvania, Georgia, Delaware, New-Jersey, and Connecticut, have also adopted the system; these states are not only small, but in a high degree delinquent, and there is no provision made in the new constitution to compel delinquent states or persons to make up their deficiencies. The convention of Massachusetts have adopted the system with a solemn disapprobation, they have pointed out amendments on the same parchment with the act of ratification, and have solemnly enjoined those who may be the first deputies in the new Congress to exert their every endeavours to have these amendments made part of the constitution, and to add weight to them, they have officially requested Pennsylvania and the other states to concur in their propositions of amendment. The New-Hampshire convention have,

on motion of the friends of the system, adjourned until June, in order to prevent an immediate rejection, which otherwise was unavoidable, the adjournment was carried by only three voices. At present there is and will for some months be a solemn and serious pause, a time of deliberation, the result of which will fill an important page in the history of human society. For my own part I think the heaviest clouds are dispersed, and the gloomy darkness admits the chearing rays of hope, which promise meridian splendour to the sun of liberty. Most of those who were from the best motives friends to the system, have penetrated the shade of mystery in which it was wrapped, they see the snares, and discover the delusions with which it is replete, they see that every other system of government whether good or bad, is easy to be understood, but that this system excels all of the kind which hath come to their knowledge in darkness and ambiguity; they have been informed too, that this mysterious veil was the fruit of deliberation and design.

Whilst posts are prevented from carrying intelligence, whilst newspapers are made the vehicles of deception, and dark intrigue employs the avaricious office-hunters, who long to riot on the spoils of their country, the great body of the people are coolly watching the course of the times, and determining to preserve their liberties, and to judge for themselves by the principles of reason and common sense, and not by the weight of names.

1. The first part of this essay was printed in the *Freeman's Journal* on 16 April (Mfm:Pa. 625). The Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* reprinted the first part of the essay on 18 April and the final part of the essay on 22 April.

649. "Q."

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 23 April 1788

Fellow Citizens! What a terrible mistake hath been committed against Mr. Morris! he hath been charged with unaccounted millions of the public money as Chairman of the secret and commercial Committees; but we now have it *proved officially*, that is by his own information, that he never fingered a shilling of public money in that capacity. No! No! good people of the United States, if your money is unaccounted for, received in 1775 and 1776, twelve and thirteen years ago, it was not as Chairman of that Committee, in which capacity he had only the ordering of the money into the hands of the agent, it was only as agent that he fingered it, and you know he hath been so busily employed since he had no time to account for the public money, and being Chairman and Agent both at the same time, you know he could better determine with precision when money was wanted and how it was applied.

As to the business of the public money while he was Superintendent of Finance I hope you will believe he hath *fingered* none of it in that capacity. Poor Hayam Solomon, Broker to the Office of Finance, could have best told from whose fingers he received the public money to buy up the notes which were issued by Mr. Morris for the pay of the army and other public expences, and into whose hands he paid the profits that arose from the discount at which they were purchased up, but he is dead and no statement of his accounts is laid before the public, although Mr. Morris's friend Z thinks that the Broker aforesaid and the receiver of continental taxes (and not Mr. Morris himself) received all the public money and paid it away, it is probable that some of the people who were sent with goods to camp to be sold to the army for these notes at double and treble their specie value could tell who fingered the profits arising from that part thereof; for although the public hath paid the outermost farthing *in specie* for the debts these notes were issued for, yet none of the profits of the "Broker to the Office" nor these stores, nor any other profits made thereon were accounted for or paid to the public, and whatever part of them may have been finally lost is so much clear gain to him. Mr. Morris assures us in his validictory advertisement when winding up the affairs of his administration, and when no more opportunity remained to speculate thereon, Oct. 11th, 1784, "that although he was no longer in office, yet he had kept as much of the public money (but not in his own fingers) as would pay them all when they were come to maturity and presented for payment."

But my Fellow Citizens all these monies and profits together with the use and interest of the money, when apportioned on the people of the United States from New Hampshire to Georgia inclusive: what is it to each? A mere trifle. A poll tax of less than 15 s. per head laid under the new government would raise it—and is a very pretty thing for an individual, it will enable him to deal out favours to some of us to a greater amount, so that we have a chance to become gainers by paying it. For although a number of contingent circumstances had like to have lost him this money as rapidly as he got it, yet we are told by himself he will soon be extricated and so be able again to distribute his bounties. But lo! what generosity he professes. If you will have these accounts as well as those of other public defaulters settled, why the new constitution must and shall be altered in that particular, but that amendment need not come in till the thing is adopted, it will then, with the other amendments respecting the liberties of the people, be graciously granted to us, for they only want these privileges from us that they may shew their bounty in giving them back to us again!

650. Algernon Sidney IV**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 23 April 1788**

To the People of the United States of America.

————— *Latet Anguis in Herba.*

VIRGIL.

It appears to me that we have been very neglectful of our interests in suffering the society of the Cincinnati to be established among us.— For a little time there was a wise jealousy of this society, which was considerably increased by the admirable pamphlet written against it by Cassius. The society accordingly thought proper to make some alterations in their constitution, and determined that the honor should not be hereditary. With this many have been in some measure appeased, but if we give the matter due attention, we shall find, that it is the part of wisdom to be still suspicious. That the honor is not hereditary, does not make the society less dangerous for the present; and even this alteration might with no great difficulty be set aside at some future period of time.—The danger from the Cincinnati consists greatly in their being able to pervade every state in the union, and to induce them to act unitedly for the destruction of their common liberties.—Not a long time after its institution, a committee from both houses of the legislature of Massachusetts were appointed to inquire into the existence, nature, object, and probable tendency or effect of the society of the Cincinnati. In their report, they say, among other things, (the report is printed in the Pennsylvania Journal) “that the said society takes upon itself the power of adopting such measures as after full consideration they shall judge best for promoting certain important, public, and national purposes; for which purpose the people of these United States have constituted and established their respective legislatures and Congress.” Thirdly, they say, “Although it is the duty of all the citizens in their respective capacities and general conduct to afford their aid to the several powers of the established government, lawfully exercised for the preservation of the common rights, and for promoting the union of these confederate states; yet for any class of men to form themselves into a select society, and convene expressly for the purpose of deliberating upon, judging of, and adopting measures concerning matters proper only for the cognizance of the legislative, and their determination thereon, or of such other bodies as are known in the constitution, or authorised by the laws of the land, savors of a disposition aspiring to become independent of all lawful and constitutional authority, tending, if unrestrained, to imperium in imperio, and consequently to confusion and the subversion of liberty.

4thly. The said society by its institution, assumes also the power of raising funds, and receiving donations unlimited by the authority of the legislature, which funds may hereafter be increased to an enormous value; and although really intended for lawful and laudable purposes, may be converted to uses unlawful and dangerous.

5thly. Moreover, as it has been found by experience that power and influence are inseparable from property, and as the constitution of the said society provides with great caution and precision for regular and stated meetings, as well in districts and states, as in a general assembly of delegates from all the states, and also for the most accurate correspondence and information, an undue influence may thence be obtained, destructive of the liberties of the states, and the existence of their free constitutions." And the report concludes

"7thly. The danger as aforesaid is by no means lessened by the admission of foreign military officers into the said society; who, however respectable their characters are, yet are the subjects of, and strongly attached to a government essentially different, in principles as well as form, from the republican constitutions in the United States."—The jealousy which is entertained in this report of the French, appears, if we reflect upon the conduct of that nation, to be wise. They lately invaded the unhappy island of Corsica, and without any pretence to reason, annihilated the free government of the country, and established, notwithstanding the heroic endeavours of the brave and virtuous Paoli, who has been unjustly blamed, because he could not effect impossibilities, an arbitrary one upon its ruins. I would hold that man as a villain who is not fired with a generous indignation against such detestable proceedings.—The French have lately by their intrigues, sowed dissensions among the free citizens of Geneva. They have destroyed the freedom of the republic, and forced many of its citizens to emigrate into other countries.—Happy is the country that gives an asylum to persecuted virtue!—They have attempted, as yet in vain (thanks be to the Almighty!) to destroy the freedom of the Cantons of Switzerland,—They have supported, and are willing to support the Turks in Europe, through which not only the Greeks are unredeemed from a foreign and unjust yoke, but the whole Christian world is scourged and insulted. They wished to cast off a descendant of the illustrious house of Nassau from his just throne, through whose family, under Heaven, a considerable part of mankind have gained their liberties, and by treachery and deceit, to erect in time, an arbitrary government in the United Provinces, to correspond as much as possible with their own. They wish by their intrigues to annihilate the thirteen independent sovereignties

of these United States, and to consolidate them into one national despotic government. This they will effect in time, if we are not vigilant in the defence of our liberties, through the society of the Cincinnati, as through them they can remit what money they please for the purpose of corrupting the people. I could wish, therefore, that I had the powers of those Athenian orators (as Milton says)

—————Whose resistless eloquence
 Wielded at will that fierce democracy,
 Shook the Arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece
 To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne;

that I might rouse my fellow-citizens to a due regard to their situation.—It is properly said by the celebrated Count de Mirabeau, in his valuable pamphlet on the order of Cincinnatus, who has considered the subject, perhaps with as much ingenuity, as impartiality, and who has been infamously persecuted by the court of France for the freedom of his sentiments, that the liberties of America and this order cannot exist together, and that if she is willing to be free, she must extirpate it. Liberty is a most valuable blessing. But it is not to be gained by the timid and the slothful. It is to be obtained by firm-minded men, who will struggle for it, by men who are sagacious to suspect, bold to execute, and patient to endure.

651. A Mechanic

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 23 April 1788

I am one of that class of citizens who suffer as much by the dullness of the times, and scarcity of cash, as most others perhaps; and I as ardently pray that they may mend, and to that end I wish our general government was clothed with the necessary *federal* powers to regulate commerce and our other general concerns; but at the same time I am not content that we should give up our sacred privileges and birth-rights, which were handed down in trust for us and our posterity, and which we so lately spent so much blood and treasure to defend. Neither am I carried away with the bombastic or artful declarations or insinuations of the *designing* or *interested* among the advocates and promoters of the proposed system of slavery, who tell us that it will not only relieve all our complaints, but cure all our sores, like *Monsieur Buzaglou*, a *Parisian quack*, who solemnly engaged to cure the *gout*, *rheumatism*, *palsy*, *dropsy*, *king's evil*, *leprosy*, and *all chronic as well as nervous disorders*, without *medicine*—or when they tell us our political liberties are secure without

either a *bill of rights or representation*, and with a standing army. When I hear such *Canterbury tales*, it always makes me think of the promises of cures made by *interested quacks*, who would not stop at poisoning hundreds of the people, if they could but vend their vile medicine; so it is with many of the most noisy advocates for the new system of office-making; they anxiously look forward with eager eye to the numerous fat and lucrative additional offices, civil and military; *which we will have to support with the toil of our bodies and sweat of our brow*. And for my part, I consider that the new constitution without amendments so far from relieving our distresses, would increase them ten fold by the enormous taxes which must necessarily be laid to support a superb presidential court and numerous list of civil officers in every department, and an immense standing army; and that all the little advantages we would gain by regulations of commerce (which could be but very small for a number of years) would be out balanced by the extravagance and luxury of our numerous *upstart quality* (who would form our *American court*) in using foreign merchandise, manufactures, and even laces, trinkets, toys, and gewgaws, by which all our money would be shipped out of the country: and which is the principal cause of our present distress, although it is all layed on the weakness of our present government.

What have we heard, my fellow-citizens, in favor of the new system, but sophistry, tales, calculated only to deceive old women or children, buffoonery, scurrility, passionate harangues, founded on shallow and selfish principles, and honest men browbeat and insulted by the advocates for offices, power and prerogative. For some time the infatuation was great, and I feared the consequences; but the tide of political phrenzy has reached its height, and ebbing fast towards the beach of policy and reason: and I have no doubt but that a very great majority of the freemen of Pennsylvania (who have been peculiarly blessed with the assistance of a *free press* above all other states on this important occasion) are warmly opposed to the chains forged for them, and I am confident will act as a majority ever should when their liberties are at stake; but I trust that there will be no occasion, as the good people in Maryland will, I don't doubt, amend the constitution, and thus unite every individual to support it.

These are the free and unbiassed sentiments of a disinterested person, who has not before much interfered, and who neither enjoys any public place nor wishes any; but who, anxious to have the new constitution so amended, as that our liberties may be established on a solid basis, and so prevent confusion and anarchy, by uniting every individual in the union to give his hearty concurrence to it.

652. "Z."**Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 April 1788**

The paper under the signature of M. in the Pennsylvania Gazette of last week is really a curious production. The publication of it is a pretty strong proof of the impartiality of the press. Were I a printer, I would publish anti-foederal truths, or anti foederal arguments, but I really would not publish transparent falshoods, and contradictions of real facts.

One of the *solid facts* in Mr. B——n's letters is unfortunately demonstrated not to be fact at all, by the very foederal characters of the Maryland convention. There will undoubtedly be a greater majority in that body, than in any convention which has not been unanimous.

That the reasons of dissent were published in Boston by means of Mr. King, and before their convention took up the constitution, is an absolute fact. The people of Massachusetts will certainly agree with M. in thinking Mr. B——n a *respectable* character, *not to be doubted*, when they remember the publication of the reasons of dissent there, and see his assertion—with a declaration that their legislature "*contrived*" oppressive taxes, to make the people receive a government that was not thought of at the time of Shays's insurrection.

M. tells the public that the Carlisle printers are foederalists, and yet that they with pleasure announced the determination of 1500 militia to oppose the constitution. This gives us very accurately M's idea of "*solid fact.*" Oh M. thou art a wise one!

By M's account there must be some despotic people among the anti-foederalists of this state. We see they murmur against the acts of a convention chosen by the people themselves, and wish not to be governed by the majority, and yet they will attempt to controul members of their own party in the freeman's right of petitioning, for they presumed "*to forbid*" it, says M.

If petitioning had been adopted by the opposition generally, says M. I am confident five sixths of the state would have signed. Here is another specimen of *solid fact*. I am at a loss to form an opinion of what this writer can mean by hazarding such assertions. Were Judge B——n the most honorable man upon earth, the support of this false man must render his character suspected. The silence promised in future can scarcely save him.

653. Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 April 1788

The men who object to the new government, says another correspondent, because the mode of altering the old confoederation was not

strictly *constitutional*, remind us of the conduct of the loyalists in the beginning of the late war, who objected to *associating, arming and fighting*, in defence of our liberties, because these measures were not *constitutional*. A free people should always be left in a condition competent to all their wants, and with every possible power to promote their own happiness. The people, as the sovereigns of a country, are above all constitutions, and a *majority* of them have a right to alter, or abolish, their constitutions at *any* time, and in *any* way they may think proper. The contrary opinion is the doctrine of Hobbes, and other advocates for passive obedience, accommodated to the present state of government in the United States. While the royal parasites tell us that “kings give and grant liberty to their subjects,” the office-holders under our state governments tell us, that we have no liberty but what is conferred upon us by our constitutions. To say that a government can be altered only in *one way*, or at *any one* time, when a majority of the people think otherwise, is to annihilate freedom, to check all improvements in government, and to prostrate unborn generations at the feet of that body of men who framed the government. Nature revolts at the idea as highly tyrannical, and the spirit of America, it is to be hoped, will reject it with abhorrence, by speedily adopting the new constitution.

654. A Foe to Falshood

Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 24 April 1788

Mr. Editor, Permit me to inform the professors of the university that I am now fully satisfied with their explicit disavowal, of having had any mental reservation respecting the anonymous and abusive publications signed Centinel and Philadelphiensis; but I would at the same time inform them, that I am not an “uncandid remarker” nor does want of candor form any part of my character. Let my fellow-citizens, with the scrutinizing eye of truth, investigate my conduct, and judge whether it has been uncandid.

The professors, in their address to the assembly, denied that they had written any of the anonymous and abusive publications which had taken their rise from the political disputes of this state. In consequence of this, sundry paragraphs appeared in the Federal Gazette, approving of their conduct in disavowing such infamous performances. These had their due weight with the people, who perceived that no man of character could brook the idea of being even suspected as the authors of those seditious and inflammatory performances; and that none were

concerned in them but a few abandoned characters, who, being themselves bankrupts, both in fortune and reputation, cared not what calamities might befall their country, provided they could stir up a civil war, and come in for a share of the plunder.

This far their denial produced the best effects, both in vindicating their own characters, and in placing those seditious publications in the worst point of view. But when a writer, in the Federal Gazette No. XIII, under the signature of *a real friend to the university* comes forward and complains that the address of the professors had been vaguely and evasively drawn up; and when Workman, one of their own under tutors, in Oswald's paper of the 15th instant published to the world that he was well acquainted with their political sentiments, that he knew the pieces signed Centinel and Philadelphiensis were perfectly agreeable to their opinions, and that of course they did not include them under the general term of *anonymous and abusive publications*; when these strictures, I say, had been made on their address to the assembly, by their friend, and their sub tutor; when they were suffered to pass uncontradicted, and consequently were tacitly acquiesced in by the professors, and when many of their fellow-citizens, believing Workman, complained of the insult offered to the assembly, and to the people at large; I say, sir, when these things had happened their silence was criminal, and was a strong circumstantial evidence of their guilt.

You will observe, that Workman's falsehoods appeared on Tuesday morning, and that three days had elapsed before the publication of my remarks, in the Federal Gazette. This surely was a sufficient time for the professors to have come forward, and to have done justice to themselves, and to the public, by exposing Workman's base untruths, if they had thought proper. When this had not been done, was it the part of an "uncandid remarker" to call on the professors to justify their conduct, and deny Workman's charges if they could? I trust it was not.—Admitting Workman's charges to be true, (which they then appeared to be,) must not the professors have appeared to the world, as guilty of an unpardonable evasion, and want of truth, in their address to the assembly? most certainly. So that in no respect were my remarks "uncandid."

On the contrary, I am confident that, after a more mature deliberation, the professors themselves will allow, that I have given them my own sentiments, and those of many of their fellow-citizens, with frankness and candor; and that in so doing they have had an opportunity of fully and fairly denying every anonymous and abusive publications tending to foment sedition, to stir up a civil war, and to traduce the most respectable characters in America.

This they have done, like men who value their reputation, in a manner which must be completely satisfactory to the public, and highly honorable to themselves.

The citizens of America, notwithstanding the raving falsehoods of a contemptible scribbler, must now be perfectly satisfied, that not one reputable person, in this city, has been concerned in any of the abominable antifederal performances that have been published, from time to time, in some of our newspapers. But that antifederalism and infamy go hand in hand.

655. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 24 April 1788

☞ The Public in general, and the Subscribers to this paper in particular, are respectfully informed, that the proprietors have agreed to discontinue the publication of it: this, therefore, will be the last number.

Subscribers who have advanced money may have it refunded by calling on the Printer; and those who have not paid, may, if agreeable, pay a half-quarter's subscription to the printer.

656. Benjamin Workman Defends Himself

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 24 April 1788

Mr. OSWALD, In the present political disputes, one *solemn truth* in my favor, and sanctioned by the authority of names in your paper of this day, has been published; namely, that I am neither the *tool* nor *hired scribbler of a party*: This circumstance removes a large portion of the charge exhibited against me; for if I be one of the writers against the proposed constitution, I must have acted as an independent freeman; the political essays which some have ascribed to me, must therefore be accounted the sentiments of a free citizen unbiassed by the influence of party or hopes of a pecuniary reward. As *charcoal* and *chalk*, have been plentifully and alternately applied to me since Frankey made his attack, I have at last had the good luck to be *white-washed* in a part, that I hope all the ingenuity of falsehood cannot blacken again. Perhaps by another turn of the wheel of fortune all the remaining charcoal may be white-washed over, and then poor Frankey will have lost his eleven dollars in the very way he least expected. In regard to my last publication being an unnecessary apology for the faculty of the university, I disown it. I did not intend to apologise for them, they may make their own apologies.

April 23d, 1788.

657. A New Federal Song**Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 24 April 1788***To the Tune of W——'s March.*

1.

A Tavern-keeper spoke, a federal sign was made,
 Saints, Conjurers, Cincinnati, Lawyers, and men o' the
 blade,
 With Defaulters, Deists, Bankrupts, and Office-hunters, just
 39,
 Their faces, figures, and attitudes all painted quite fine.

2.

This *Conclave* being reared on the post near the *inn* door,
 Attracted the attention of every comer and goer:
 Its beauties were admired for near half a long day,
 But how transient are the goods of this world you will say.

3.

Some mischievous *Anti's* seeing it cut such a dash,
 The next time they passed by, threw up a great *splash*.
 The face of this most beauteous sign was now all over
 spotted,
 And the ears, mouths, and noses of these patriots much
 blotted.

4.

The famed *wisdom and virtue* of the union here collected,
 Which had for such a length of time so much lustre
 reflected,
 Was now on a sudden, when at its meridian glory,
 All besmeared with the *tagh* of Jamie the Rover.

5.

As for '*Simons* and the *Caledonian*, their eyes were turned
 green,
 And *General Tommy*, *Benny* and *Bobby*, were also unclean.
Bob seemed to hold guineas and Jamie to beg,
 But *old Harry* had hold of the *man* with one leg.

6.

In short, the shape of *most* the figures were altered,
 And instead of *masqued patriots*, rose up rogues ready
 haltered.

All that was wanted to complete the black scene,
Was a gallows that would hold at least ten or fifteen.

**658. A Well-Wisher to the Prosperity of the United States
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 25 April 1788**

An infallible Scheme for paying of the Continental Debt, and defraying the current Expences of Government, without any additional Tax either grievous or burthensome to the laborious or industrious Subjects of the United States, by an old Financier, and now humbly offered to them (with some Additions) by

A WELL-WISHER to the PROSPERITY of the UNITED STATES.

The great distress of this unhappy country is too visible to all, except those who have the power to redress it. We may observe through the whole continent one universal complaint of the decay of trade, general bankruptcies, deficiency of money, and rapaciousness of tax-gatherers; and yet I cannot find amongst all the schemes proposed to lessen these evils, any one in particular which seems likely to succeed. But what is still an addition to this melancholy prospect of affairs, is the unbounded luxury and extravagance, both in dress and entertainments, in which persons of some property, as well as those of no property, seem willing to indulge.

We are affected in quite a different manner from all the nations upon earth; for, with others, wealth is the mother of luxury, but with us poverty has the very same effect: with others scarcity is the parent of industry, but with us it is the nurse of idleness and vice. We labor to imitate the kingdoms of Europe in nothing but their extravagance, without having the same plentiful aids of commerce, or applying ourselves to the study of fair-dealing to maintain it. So that, in short, by our own ill management, we are brought to so low an ebb of wealth and credit, that our condition seems incapable of relief.

But, having the interest of this our common country much at heart, I do not intend this essay as a detection of our present grievances, but as a remedy against them; and for that purpose, I have labored to find out such a scheme, as will discharge our public debt, without oppressing the citizens, and that in so short a time, that we may neither complain of being loaded with long-continued taxes, nor quite despair of being once more in a condition to have, at least, the appearance of honesty and industry, if nothing better.

Let us consider what those vices are, which at present prevail most amongst us; upon inquiry we shall find them to be Fraud, Treachery, Deceit, and Ingratitude, with their auxiliaries, Perjury, Drunkenness, Blasphemy, Slander, and Infidelity.

Would it not then be worthy of our consideration, and that of the different legislatures, to inquire whether a moderate tax upon every particular vice, would be more conducive to our welfare, than the cramping of our foreign and domestic trade? Such a tax must of necessity yield a vast revenue, and prove the most infallible scheme for our prosperity.

But before I proceed to particulars, it may not be amiss to premise, that this tax is not designed for any one state or county; but to extend itself universally over the whole continent; because, different vices may flourish in different states, or even counties of the same state; like different plants in their different soils: as perjury in one, fraud in another, deceit and ingratitude in a third, treachery in a fourth, plunder and rapine in a fifth, and so of the rest. However, in some states, I take PERJURY to be the most important and particular staple vice—And, lest any disputes may hereafter arise about the nature of perjury, or what persons are to be subject to this tax, I must here also premise, that every lye, confirmed by an oath, is undoubtedly perjury, whether before a chancellor, a magistrate, or behind a counter; and therefore, we do not doubt, but the trading part of our people will be great benefactors to the public in this particular article, as well as those who retire from trade with a moderate competency, under the great law batteries provided for their protection by the legislative.

These two things being premised, let us suppose that in this extensive empire 500 persons are guilty of this little infirmity of perjury each day, which computation must be allowed very moderate, if we recollect that this number is not above a two hundredth part of the inhabitants of any one of the middling states, Virginia and Massachusetts being left out of the number. And if we further consider what strong inducements our people have to practice it from its being often so exceedingly beneficial; if we consider the use made of it in all sorts of traffic, the great demands made for it in law suits, the great advantage of it in elections, and the undeniable profit of it in all prosecutions, we shall think the number 500 still more reasonable. Let us suppose every one of this number to be perjured only once every day (which is a very favorable supposition) and subject only to a tax of one-fourth of a dollar for each offence; for which sum, perhaps, he may procure either the death of an enemy, an estate for his friend, or a fortune for himself (all which are esteemed very desirable); the tax will be by far too inconsiderable to make any one murmur, and yet will yield the sum of 125 dollars per day, towards discharging our national debt. Besides this tax, though very low, may in reality be very profitable to mankind, particularly to attornies, doctors, gamblers, taylors, invoice makers, whether on salt-

water or land, sheriffs, with their deputies, runners, and all that host of worthies, tavern-keepers, auctioniers, brokers, and other honest traders, will scarce think it answerable to the expence of time, to forswear themselves for any profit, from one shilling to a quarter dollar inclusive; but will at least, for every transgression expect to gain sufficient to defray the tax. However, I would have all sworn constables, and all collectors of this and many other taxes, entirely exempt from any penalty, as privileged persons; because, by that means, they will be enabled to be very serviceable in their respective situations.

CONJUGAL INFIDELITY, as the world is at present, would furnish the public with a large sum, even at a very moderate tax; for it is now made an essential part of the polite gentleman's character; and he that has prevailed on the greatest number, proportionably rises in reputation. Let us then compute that in the several parts of this continent, 1000 per day were liable to be taxed for this genteel vice, only at the small sum of a dollar hard money (no paper currency to be taken in any of these taxes) the revenue arising from this impost would amount to £.375 per day; and in one year to upwards of £.136,500 current money of Pennsylvania, &c.

I know it may be here objected, that I have computed upon too small a number, and that I might justly account rather upon 4 or 5000 a day in the several states of the union—but although I own this objection to be very strong, if we were to consider the opportunities of balls, play-houses, *night-sermons*, *horseracing*, card playing, private banqueting, and many other commodious scenes for that kind of entertainment; yet I would rather chuse to err on the right side, in too small, than too great, a computation.

I know the clergy will make strong remonstrances against this tax; and plead, that it is designed to oppress them; that all nations of the earth allow them a toleration in this particular point, as they are frail mortals; and what is still worse, that such a tax would be the most effectual means to drain them of their whole revenues; but as I would not have such pious laborers justly complain of the least rigour, I shall readily agree to their being exempted.

DRUNKENNESS I would only tax at six pence, as it might be prejudicial to trade, as well as the revenue, to discourage it, and consequently subject the proposer to penalties—Let us then compute that only 20,000 persons (which is not the two-hundredth part of the people in the United States) were daily liable to be taxed, the amount would be £.500 per day. And how extremely moderate this computation is, may appear to any one who considers, that beside the usual opportunities of taverns, billiard tables, and private houses, there are public feasts,

weddings and christenings, and many other irresistible inducements to this manly vice, which perhaps, if nicely calculated, would daily furnish us with two-thirds more than our computed number, and by that means greatly conduce to the public good—But however, I would by all means exempt all country justices of the peace, whether they had the rudiments of their education on the fore-castle of a trading sloop, brig, or other vessel, in the taproom of a two-penny beer-house, or in the yet more laborious and ingenious occupation, of repairing old soles, and heels; or otherwise, in the due management of a cart, waggon, or dray; because, it would be rather degrading to see such respectable personages insulted by meaner officers, as often as they might be discovered in such a condition.

SWEARING would be a most universal benefit towards augmenting these funds; because it serves to season the discourse of all ranks and degrees of men, and may also be serviceable to ladies, upon any sudden and unexpected suspicion of irregular conduct. It is the principal ingredient and decoration of all modern jests, jokes, gibes, love-speeches, disputes, threats, and promises, and consequently capable of affording an incredible revenue; however, let us suppose 80 thousand persons per day liable to a tax of 5d or 6d only, for each offence of this kind, which considering the great number of taverns, tippling houses, markets, shops, and gaminghouses, in the different states, is a very considerable number; yet, even this article, will furnish us with £.2000 per day, which would amount to a large sum, if only collected for six months in each year.

I am already apprehensive, that all military persons will expect an exemption from taxes on this account; because they may plead precedents for many generations, may alledge the power of custom, the decency and agreeableness of it, when properly interspersed with other discourse, or, that the censorious world, would perhaps suspect they knew nothing of GOD, if they did not sometime or other mention his name, and many other reasons of equal weight: but though these remonstrances are very just, yet as this is the only means by which standing armies in times of profound peace, can possibly conduce to the national good, it will be hard to exempt them—However, as the military power would infallibly be liable to this tax in all its branches, and thereby be utterly impoverished. I believe it may not be improper to allow all foot-soldiers and field officers, ensigns, naval officers, cabin boys and commissaries, 40 or 50 oaths a day, entirely free from any tax or penalty.

As for SLANDER, supposing only 40,000 per day, taxed at the foregoing moderate rate of 6 d for every offence, this article would daily

afford the public (at the lowest computation) £.1000, and as this is a favorite talent, we might have ventured to tax it much higher; but I would not wish to discourage so charitable a disposition, especially where it may promote the interest of my country.

As to the ladies, I have been always too great an admirer of their's to desire any restriction should be laid on their pleasures, either private or public; and therefore I would have them taxed only half as much as the men for every little error of this kind; because slander in men is an unnatural talent, and generally practised to ingratiate themselves with the opposite sex; whereas, this gentle failing in females, is innate, and impossible to be restrained; which is an unfortunate circumstance that demands our utmost lenity and compassion. I think assemblies, gossiping houses, and all places of public resort for ladies, ought to be exempt from any penalty; because it is so material a part of the discourse and amusement of those places, that to tax them for each offence would be in effect to enjoin them perpetual silence, which (if it were possible) would be as great a mortification to themselves, as a disappointment to all slayers of reputation, and dealers in news.

Luxurious articles of every denomination should also be liable to a tax; and under this head, all family bibles, common prayer books, lives of the saints, psalm books, and such other books of divinity as are seldom used, unless to enter the births and baptisms of children in them. This being a purpose so repugnant to those sacred writings, that a tax of (at least) ten dollars a year should be laid upon all such books, whenever the owner of them could not give satisfactory proof of their having opened them at either public or private devotions, above once or twice in a year; always reserving and excepting, nevertheless, to petty beaux, and little misses, four Sundays, annually, for the sole purpose of admiring each other at any church, chappel, or other house of worship they may think proper, when and where it may be allowed them to turn over the leaves without reading a syllable of their contents; as the very appearance of such books, in a public place, might be the means of setting a good example to those who never touch them upon any pretence whatever: but as I should not wish this to be considered in the nature of a partial tax, nor to bear hard upon those who have been many years used to indulgence, and of course, might think any restraint of this kind an attack upon their liberty; from these considerations I would willingly allow all old bachelors and widowers above the age of 40, and all maiden ladies above the age of 35, respectively, one whole year free of this tax, hoping that at the expiration thereof, they might conform to the rules prescribed by the laws of their country.

Let us now only consider the several sums arising from the tax on a few only, of our most simple vices; according to the computation made of them, and the equity, and infallibility of the scheme must appear as demonstrable as any proposition in Euclid.

For perjury at 125 dollars per day or 3750 per month, } will amount in current money	£. 1406 5 0
Conjugal infidelity £.375 per day, or per months to }	11250 0 0
Drunkness £.500 per day, or per month	15000 0 0
Swearing £.2000 per day, or per month	60000 0 0
Slander £.1000 per day, or per month	30000 0 0
Total per month	£. 117656 5 0

which in the course of one year will amount to one million, four hundred and eleven thousand, eight hundred and seventy five pounds like current money.

But lest by the universal poverty of our people, which is much to be feared, or by their growing more virtuous, (an unnatural change that can never be reasonably apprehended) this daily income should fall short of what we have computed, I must beg leave to offer some other improvements of this scheme, which will undoubtedly answer all deficiencies; and for this purpose, if a severe tax was laid on all men who presumed to marry, until they arrived at the age of knowing something of themselves, or of some occupation; whereby they might even hope to obtain some honest and competent livelihood. And upon all young women who contracted matrimony before they arrived at the age of discretion, to know any thing to qualify them for housekeepers and mistresses of families, except the art of bedizining, painting, and dressing themselves a la mode de le Harlequin (excepting and always reserving, with or without discretion, all ladies above the age of sixty, who might have a desire to enter into the holy order of matrimony; it being presumed at that period of life, that they would not contaminate future generations by transmitting any issue of so late a marriage.) If any should prove fool-hardy enough to transgress a law so calculated for the happiness of mankind, each offence would be of material benefit to the public; and if providentially it should prove an effectual restraint, there must of consequence be fewer children in each family, and of course, the number of poor throughout the United States, must proportionably decrease.

As to the scheme of taxing Bachelors which hath lately been proposed by many honorable members in different assemblies of the States,

I must beg leave to think it highly improper; because bachelors of all ranks and degrees, are real benefactors to the public, by not furnishing either beggars, or oppressors of beggars, one of which must infallibly be the consequence of marriage in this great empire.

And as a further advantage I would earnestly exhort all young Clergymen, who, with more passion than prudence, shall dare to commit matrimony before they have acquired some small property, besides a second hand volume of sermons; that in such case they may be liable to a most rigid, and severe tax, equal at least to a prohibition; because such offenders must inevitably multiply beggars, live in contempt, and die in poverty.

These and many other expedients, might easily be furnished upon any emergency, to furnish considerable sums for the continental debt. But as there will probably remain a surplus if this plan be adopted over and above our public debt, I would allow 100,000 l. for sallarries to such persons as shall be appointed collectors, and I hope this will be considered as an adequate provision, though generally, above one half of every tax is expended in paying the officers for collecting it. The overplus (if any) may be deposited in the Treasury of the United States, for any other laudable, or pious use.

Thus would a moderate tax upon our vices, apparently contribute to save this extensive Empire from utter ruin. Many persons who have not the least excuse for their irregularities at present, (except the commendable public-spirited contempt for religion) might then plead in their own defence, that their immoralities had contributed to save their country. And by these means we might be furnished with a multitude of patriots who probably would never prove so in any other respect: therefore I must publicly declare that there can be no other method, half so good as the one proposed to make private vices, public benefits.

659. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 25 April 1788

A correspondent remarks, that the federalists winch and growl like *wounded monsters*, if a single fact be stated concerning one of their characters. An extract taken from a letter lately received from Carolina, having barely noticed some of R—l—ge's malpractices, in consequence thereof, some cringing insignificant in Brown's *Federal Gazette*, laments and bemoans, pitiously, that such *great men*, should have the truth published concerning them. The present controversy, continues our correspondent, will be of lasting importance to the country, for the characters of the great and influential men must undergo thorough investigation; and though some slanders may be propagated, yet many of their mis-

deeds will be exposed to the public view, that otherwise would never have been known; and thus their fellow-citizens will be on their guard in future.

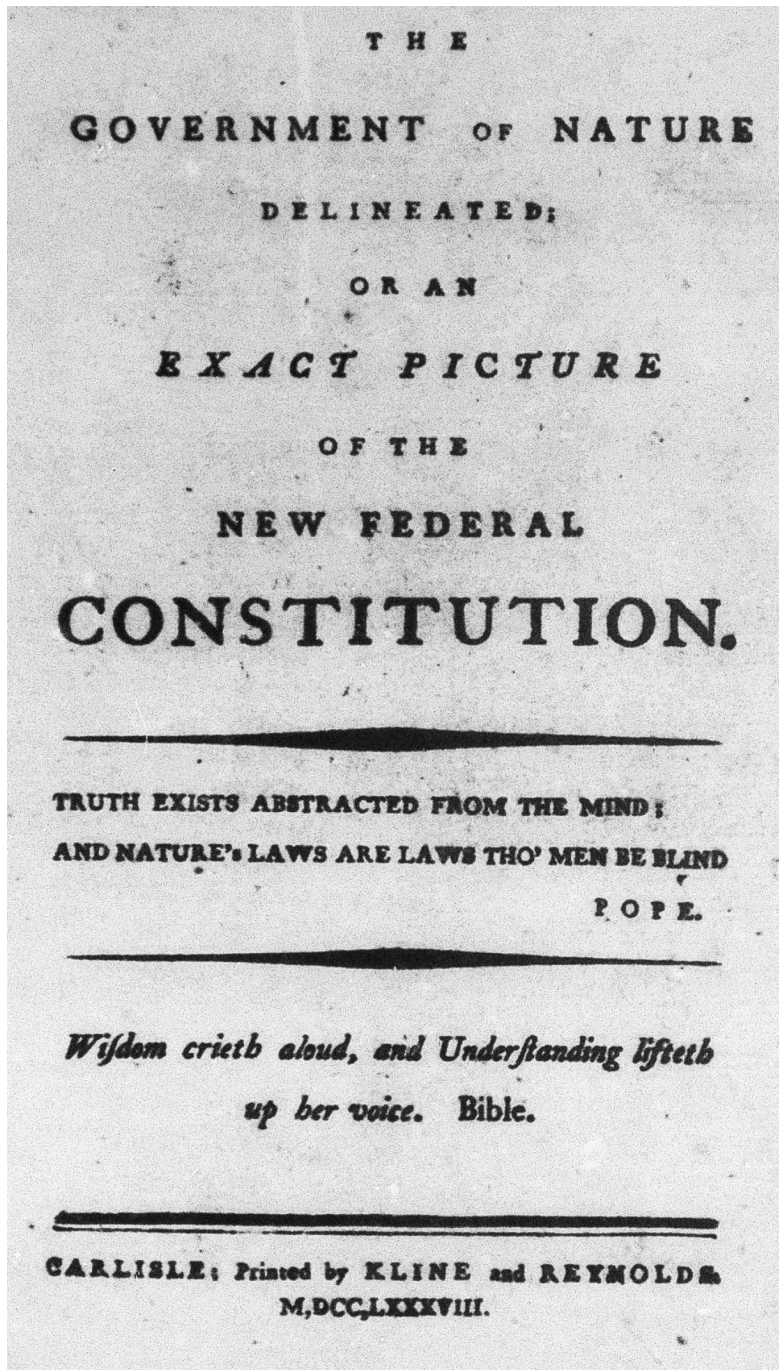
Another correspondent observes, that the party who call themselves *federalists* will soon change their name, since the term *federalism* has been so clearly proved, in an ingenious essay in the Freeman's Journal, to mean a conspiracy, and this without any strained construction. It may be presumed that the bulk of the *federalists* would not be well pleased to have themselves called conspirators, in common conversation, and yet this is a necessary consequence of their being denominated *federalists*.

660. William Gray to Tench Coxe
Sunbury, Pa., 26 April 1788¹

Agreeable to your Direction I have Sent the Returns and the Account which will be hande[d] you by Mr. Lynch who will Recv. the Surveying fees &c.—I Likewise Send you the warrants Certified as you requested the other Seven you wrote Concerning are at Mr. Wallises yet. I fancy he Could Lay all the Nine for you Could you and him agree, if he Lays them they want no Certificates, if not you may Get them from Him & Send them up by the Bearer and I will Certify them at any time and Send them to you there is no News here only them dmned antifeederal Petitions are Signing here very fast—

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

661. Aristocrotis: The Government of Nature Delineated; or An Exact Picture of the New Federal Constitution, Carlisle, Pa., c. 27 April 1788¹



D E D I C A T I O N.

To his serenity the right respectable, most honourable highly renowned J—S W—N, political hackney writer to the most lucrative order of the bank, patroness of the most illustrious R—T M—S, and principal fabricator of the New Constitution.

S I R,

AS your distinguished docility to the well-born, and the partial friendship of the great man, your patron, hath lugged you into all the honorary missions and dignified appointments of the nation, these several years past, and turned the eyes of all the full-blooded gentry in America towards you, as the only person fitted by nature to organize the government upon true despotic principles, I therefore beg leave to offer this small sacrifice to your vanity (an innate virtue of all our fraternity), upon the altar of adulation. It is true, the unwearied assiduity, and indefatigable zeal with which you served your friends, and pushed forward the rising grandeur of our party hath procured you the hatred of the people; but you know, Sir, to be hated by the vulgar is a compliment to your understanding, and a mark of honour. Let me congratulate you, illustrious sir, on the high prospect of having all your numerous lucubrations, unremitting studies, and well concerted schemes happily realized beyond your most sanguine expectations

D E D I C A T I O N .

pectations, as an ample reward for all your services and sufferings, the time of your deliverance draweth nigh ; the reparation of your shattered fortune, and your emancipation from a state of servile dependance upon bankers and brokers is just at hand ; the adoption of the constitution is making rapid progress, and it is hoped will soon receive the finishing stroke, and then sir, you may take an everlasting farewell of poverty. The great influx of treasure from every corner of the land, into the ten miles square, will fill your coffers, and if possible, satiate the cravings of your pecuniary appetite. Now, as in times past, you have been a willing instrument, and ready minion to others ; so then, in their turn, others will cringe at your nod, and bow at your image, will beg and pray to participate a share of the pensions, perquisites, sinecures and salaries, with all the tribe of lucrative offices, which will then be at your disposal.

I would entreat you, dear sir, that when you arrive at the summit of your desires, you would deign to look back to your former condition, and make some provision for the relief of your insolvent brethren in time to come: that you would procure congress to constitute the *ten miles square* into a Sanctum-Sanctorum, a place of refuge for well-born bankrupts, to shelter themselves and property from the rapacity of their persecuting creditors. You know, sir, in the capital of your native country, there is an asylum similar to this, of great utility to unfortunate debtors. As I have selected you from the whole group of illustrious names which embellished the new constitution,

for

D E D I C A T I O N .

for the patron of my first essay, and have honoured you with this public dedication; it is to be hoped, when you come to your kingdom, you will remember these marks of respect ---- I remain, sir, with great solicitude for your elevation.

ARISTOCROTIS.

The Government of Nature delineated, &c.

THE present is an active period; Europe is in a ferment breaking their constitutions, America is in a similar state, making a constitution—For this valuable purpose a convention was appointed, consisting of such as excelled in wisdom and knowledge, who met in Philadelphia last May. For my own part, I was so smitten with the character of the members, that I had assented to their production, while it was yet in embryo; and I make no doubt but every good republican did so too; but how great was my surprize, when it appeared with such a venerable train of names annexed to its tail, to find some of the people under different signatures; such as *Centinel, Old Whig, Brutus, &c.* daring to oppose it, and that too with barefaced arguments, obstinate reason and stubborn truth. This is certainly a piece of the most extravagant impudence to presume to contradict the collected wisdom of the United States; or to suppose a body, who engrossed the whole wisdom of the continent, was capable of erring. I expected the superior character of the convention would have secured it from profane fallies of a plebeian's pen; and its inherent intalibility, debarred the interference of impertinent reason or truth. It was too great an act of condescension to permit the people, by their state conventions, "to assent and ratify," what the grand convention prescribed to them; but to enquire into its principles, or investigate its properties, was a presumption too daring to escape
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resentment. Such licentious conduct practised by the people, is a striking proof of our feeble governments, and calls aloud for the pruning knife, viz. the establishment of some proper plan of discipline. This the convention, in the depth of their united wisdom hath prescribed, which when established, will certainly put a stop to the growing evil. A consciousness of this, is, no doubt, the cause which stimulates the people to oppose it with so much vehemence; they deprecate the idea of being confined within their proper sphere; they cannot endure the thoughts of being obliged to mind their own business, and leave the affairs of government to those whom nature hath destined to rule. I say nature, for it is a fundamental principle, as clear as an axiom, that nature hath placed proper degrees and subordinations amongst mankind, and ordained a few* to rule, and many to obey.--- I am not obliged to prove this principal; because it

* If any person is so stupidly dull as not to discern who these few are, I would refer such to nature herself for information.--- Let them observe her ways and be wise. Let them mark those men whom she hath endued with the necessary qualifications of authority; such as the dictatorial air, the magisterial voice, the imperious tone, the haughty countenance, the lofty look, the majestic mien. Let them consider those whom she hath taught to command with authority, but comply with disgust, to be fond of sway, but impatient of controul; to consider themselves as Gods and all the rest of mankind as two legged brutes. Now it is evident that the possessors of these divine qualities must have been ordained by nature to dominion and empire; for it would be blasphemy against her supreme highness to suppose that she confers her gifts in vain. Fortune hath also distinguished those upon whom nature hath imprinted the lineaments of authority. She hath bespied her favours and lavished her gifts upon those very persons whom nature delighteth to honour: indeed instinct hath taught those men that authority is their natural right, and therefore they grasp at it with an eagerness bordering on rapacity.

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it would be madness in the extreme to attempt to prove a self-evident truth ; but with all due submission to the infallible wisdom of the grand convention, let me presume to examine whether they have not, in the new plan of government, inviolably adhered to this supreme principle.--- The exorbitant power, which the people of this country possess, of electing their rulers, is directly repugnant to this superlative principle of nature, and tends to the subversion of all order and good government ; for they may and often do advance those men to be rulers, whom nature had ordained for subjects, and to neglect the natural rulers. This is a gross inversion of the law of nature, and ought to be cashiered ; but the vulgar opinion is so strong in favour of this unnatural practice, that it would be dangerous to divest them of it all at once. It might enflame their turbulent minds, and excite them to commit some outrageous action, in support of what they have been taught to consider as their " natural, inherent, and unalienable rights."--- The venerable convention foresaw this, and accommodated their plan to humour these mistaken notions of the people, so far as was consistent with the honour, dignity and rights of the more illustrious descended, whose title to rule is founded on the law of nature.

In article first, section first, of the new plan, it is declared, " that all legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the united states ; which shall consist of a senate"---very right, quite agreeable to nature ; " and house of representatives"---not quite so right---This is a palpable

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palpable compliance with the humours and corrupt practices of the times—but what follows in section 2d is still worse: “ the house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states:” this is a most dangerous power, and must soon produce fatal and pernicious consequences, were it not circumscribed and poised by proper checks and ballances: but in this is displayed the unparalleled sagacity of the august convention; that when such bulwarks of prejudice surrounded the evil, so as to render it both difficult and dangerous to attack it by assault and storm, they have invested and barricaded it so closely as will certainly deprive it of its baneful influence and prevent its usual incroachments;—they have likewise stationed their miners and sappers so judiciously, that they will certainly, in process of time, intirely reduce and demolish this obnoxious practice of popular election. There is a small thrust given to it in the body of the conveyance itself. The term of holding elections, is every two years; this is much better than the detestable mode of *annual* elections, so fatal to energy; however, if nothing more than this were done, it would still remain an insupportable inconvenience; but in section the 4th it is provided, that congress by law may alter and make such regulations with respect to the times, places, and manner of holding elections, as to them seemeth fit and proper: this is certainly a very salutary provision, most excellently adapted to counter-balance the great, and apparently dangerous concessions made to the plebians in the

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first and second sections, with such a prudent restriction as this they are quite harmless: no evil can arise from them, if congress have only the sagacity and fortitude, to avail themselves of the power they possess by this section: for when the stated term (for which the primary members was elected) is nigh expired, congress may appoint next election to be held in one place in each state; and so as not to give the rabble needless disgust, they may appoint the most central place for that purpose. They can never be at a loss for an ostensible reason, to vary and shift from place to place until they may fix it at any extremity of the state it suits. This will be the business of the senate, to observe the particular places in each state, where their influence is most extensive, and where the inhabitants are most obsequious to the will of their superiors; and there appoint the elections to be held. By this means, such members will be returned, to the house of representatives (as it is called) as the president and senate shall be pleased to recommend, and they, no doubt, will recommend such gentlemen only as are distinguished by some peculiar federal feature; so that unanimity and concord will shine conspicuous through every branch of government. This section is ingeniously calculated, and must have been intended by the convention to exterminate electioneering entirely; for by putting the time of election in the hands of congress, they have thereby given them a power to perpetuate themselves when they shall find it safe and convenient to make the experiment. For though a preceding clause says, "that representatives

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atives shall be chosen for two years, and senators for six years; yet this clause being subsequent annuls the former, and puts it in the power of congress, (when some favourable juncture intervenes) to alter the time to four and twelve years. This cannot be deemed an unconstitutional stretch of power, for the constitution in express terms, puts the time of holding elections in their power, and certainly they are the proper judges when to exert that power: thus by doubling the period from time to time, its extent will soon be rendered coeval with the life of man; and it is but a very short and easy transition from this to hereditary succession, which is most agreeable to the institutions of nature, who in all her works, hath ordained the descendant of every species of beings to succeed its immediate progenitor, in the same actions, ends and order.

The indefatigable labourious ass, never aspires to the honours, or assumes the employment of the sprightly warlike steed, nor does he ever pretend that it is his right to succeed him in all his offices, and dignities, because he bears some resemblance to the defunct in his figure and nature. The lamma, though useful enough for the purposes for which he was intended by nature, is every way incompetent to perform the offices of the elephant; nor does he ever pretend to usurp his elevated station. Every species of beings, animate and inanimate, seem fully satisfied with the station assigned them by nature; but perverse, obstinate man, he alone spurns at her institutions,

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stitutions, and inverts her order,* he alone repines at his situation, and endeavours to usurp the station of his superiors. But this digression has led me from the subject in hand: I was treating of the powers congress possesses over elections. I have already discussed this point so far as the times and places are concerned. The next object that presents itself is the power which the new constitution gives to congress to regulate the manner of elections. The common practice of voting at present is by ballot; by this mode it is impossible for a gentleman to know how he is served by his dependant, who may be possessed of a vote; therefore this mode must be speedily altered for that of *viva voce*, which will secure to a rich man all the votes of his numerous dependants and friends and their dependants. By this means he may command any office in the gift of the people, which he pleases to set up for. This will answer a good end while electioneering exists; and will likewise contribute something towards its destruction. A government founded agreeable to nature must be entirely independent; that is, it must be beyond the reach of annoyance or controul from every power on earth. Now in order to render it thus, several things are necessary.

1st. The means of their own support must be within the immediate reach of the rulers: for this purpose they must possess the sole power of taxation. As this is a principal article, it ought, in all

* This is only to be understood of the inferior class of mankind; the superior order have aspiring feelings given them by nature, such as ambition, emulation, &c. which makes it their duty to persevere in the pursuit of gratifying these refined passions.

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all things to have pre-eminence; and therefore the convention has placed it in front. "The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes duties, imposts and excises," so that they shall never be at a loss for money while there is a shilling on the continent, for their power to procure it is as extensive as their desires; and so it ought, because they can never desire any thing but is good and salutary; for there is no doubt but the convention will transfer their infallibility to the new congress, and so secure them from doing evil. This power of taxation will answer many valuable purposes, besides the support of government. In the first place, in the course of its operation, it will annihilate the relicks of the several state legislators; for every tax which they may lay, will be deemed by congress an infringement upon the federal constitution, which constitution and the laws of congress being paramount to all other authority, will of consequence nullify every inferior law, which the several states may think proper to enact, particularly such as relate to taxes; so that they being deprived of the means of existence, their pretended sovereignties will gradually linger away.

2dly. It will create and diffuse a spirit of industry among the people; they will then be obliged to labour for money to pay their taxes: there will be no trifling from time to time, as is done now; the new government will have energy sufficient to compel immediate payment.

3dly. This will make the people attend to their own business; and not be dabbling in politics—things they are entirely ignorant of; nor is it proper

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per they should understand. But it is very probable that the exercise of this power may be opposed by the refractory plebians, who (such is the perverseness of their natures) often refuse to comply with what is manifestly for their advantage; but to prevent all inconveniency from this quarter the congress have power to raise and support armies. This is the second thing necessary to render government independent. The creatures who compose these armies, are a species of animals, wholly at the disposal of government; what others call their natural rights they resign into the hands of their superiors, even the right of self-preservation (so precious to all other beings) they entirely surrender, and put their very lives in the power of their masters: so that they having no rights of their own to care for, they become naturally jealous and envious of those possessed by others, they are therefore proper instruments in the hands of government, to divest the people of their usurped rights. But the capital business of these armies will be, to assist the collectors of taxes, imposts, and excise, in raising the revenue; and this they will perform with the greatest alacrity, as it is by this they are supported; but for this they would be in a great measure useless; and without this they could not exist.

3rdly. To render government entirely independent, they must have the sole and absolute command of the militia without restriction or reserve, either to time or place, principle or conscience; and with this power the constitution hath amply furnished them—see article 1st. sect. 8. “the congress shall have power to provide for
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calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions, to provide for organising, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the united states." By this clause the militia is divided into two classes, viz. active and inactive; the active militia will be those employed "in the service of the united states," or in other words in the service of congress; they will consist of young men chiefly, who will not be attached to any particular place, on account of their families: or such eccentric genius's as by their superior address or daring spirit may gain an ascendancy over the minds of the vulgar, and so become the heads of liberty factions.

Such persons as these will best suit the purposes of government; and if they are judiciously culled and picked, will compose a very respectable army; from which many great advantages may result to government. 1st. They will assist, in conjunction with the standing army, to quell insurrections that may arise in any part of the empire on account of pretensions to support liberty, redress grievances, and the like. 2dly. This power will enable congress to fulfil their engagements with foreign nations, their allies; should they stipulate in the treaty of alliance, to furnish a number of troops (in consideration of a certain sum of money) to be employed in the service of these allies, when they are engaged in war, the active militia will always be ready. Such treaties as these will likewise grow into a lucrative branch of commerce: the Swiss Cantons find their

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their accounts in a traffic somewhat similar, and the prince of Hesse Cassel, and other German princes who are excellent financiers, raise a great part of their revenues by such dealings.

Now, the very letter of the above quoted sections gives congress such a power as this; and in article 6th, it is declared, "That all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the united States; viz. by the president and two-thirds of the senators, [see art. 2d. sec. 2d.] shall be the supreme law of the land."-- Another clause says, "that congress is to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the land;" therefore the militia, by virtue of these powers given to congress, may be transported to Europe, Africa or Asia, to execute the treaties of congress, because they are the "supreme laws of the land." Although there are nothing in this constitution, but what bears an exact resemblance to nature, yet there is no feature or lineament in the whole portrait pleases me equal to this. It is nature itself in miniature. With what heavenly ideas must the framers of these articles have been inspired; how artfully and ingeniously they have conveyed to congress the absolute disposal of their subjects. It is true they have reserved to the several states the business of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress. By this reservation, the states are constituted drill-serjeants and fuglemen to train up soldiers for the general government; an employment too mean and servile for the dignified congress; but every way suitable to the quality of discarded states, or deposed sovereigns. The

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The second class or inactive militia, comprehends all the rest of the peasants; viz. the farmers, mechanics, labourers, &c. which good policy will prompt government to disarm. It would be dangerous to trust such a rabble as this with arms in their hands. They might employ them in opposing the supreme laws of the land, instead of employing them to execute them. 4thly To render government independent, the people must be divested of all the privileges they have wrested from their rulers in times of anarchy and confusion. In modern times the people for the most part have these privileges arranged together in one instrument, which commonly serves as a preliminary to their constitution—this instrument, they call their bill of rights. § These rights are claims which the people have extorted from weak, timid, irresolute rulers—However the grand convention in framing the new constitution, hath omitted the dangerous ceremony, and left it in the power of congress, to irradicate every vestige of so daring an encroachment. One particular article provided for in these bills of rights, is the liberty of the press, which the people pretend ought never to be restrained, altho' it is undeniable that it has ever been the vehicle of slander; and the source of innumerable evils; it hath filled the world with seditions, insurrections, rebellions, conspiracies, murders, heresies, and the most dangerous innovations of every sort; where-

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§ Dr. Rush, in the state convention, amongst many other wise and learned sayings, hath the following remarkable observation, "I am happy sir, to find that the convention hath not disgraced this constitution with a bill of rights"—whether ought Pennsylvania to reward such candid declarations with a suit of tar and feathers, or with a hempen neck-lace.

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ever it is tolerated it is impossible to divest the people of those dangerous privileges, which they have usurped in times of turbulence and disorder; through this channel they will receive early intelligence of the schemes of government, & be ready on the slightest offence, to unite in support of what they deem their natural and unalienable rights; so that it might prove difficult for the best appointed army, that congress could possibly raise or support, to repel their fury, or reduce them to obedience; but as there is no provision made for its security in the new frame of government, congress may abolish it at pleasure, which they will soon find it their interest to do, and its own native licentiousness will furnish them with reasons plausible enough to form a preamble for the act; as none but friends of government will then have an opportunity of communicating their sentiments to the public, or displaying their genius: so none but they will care to acquire sentiments, or cultivate genius. Learning will then flourish in its native soil, and science run in its proper channel; for a knowledge of letters among the vulgar is the bane of good government. Another privilege which the people possess at present, and which the new congress will find it their interest to deprive them of, is trial by jury—for of all the powers, which the people have wrested from government, this is the most absurd; it is even a gross violation of common sense, and most destructive to energy. In the first place it is absurd, that twelve ignorant plebians, should be constituted judges of a law, which passed through so many learned hands:—first a learned legislature
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after many learned animadversions and criticisms have enacted it—Second, learned writers have explained and commented on it—Third, learned lawyers twisted, turned and new modeled it—and lastly, a learned judge opened up and explained it. Yet after all these learned discussions, an illiterate jury (who have scarce a right to think for themselves instead of judging for others) must determine whether it applies to the fact or not; and by their verdict the learned judge must be governed in passing sentence; and perhaps a learned gentleman be cast in an action with an insignificant cottager.

Secondly. Common sense recoils at the very idea of such a pernicious practice as this, because it makes no difference between the virtuous and the vicious, the precious and the vile; between those of noble birth, and illustrious descent, and those of base blood, and ignoble obscure pedigree—for an ignorant stupid jury, cannot discern the merit of persons--it is the merits of the cause they examine; which is just reversing the question, and beginning at the wrong end. Thirdly. This custom is fatal to energy, for tho' a law should be expressed in the most pointed terms, a jury may soften and mitigate, and in a great measure destroy the spirit of it. The lawyers also suffers by this practice; because, there being no appeal from the verdict of the jury with respect to the fact—the action therefore, often ends in the same court in which it originated, but where no jury interferes an appeal lies to a higher court, where higher fees must be given to lawyers, and greater numbers of them employed; and so much better chance for them to amass fortunes. [It

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[It appears as if some discerning lawyer indicted that nice clause in the constitution, which gives to the continental supreme court an appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact; it seems so happily calculated to their advantage.]

There are many other rights claimed by the people besides these mentioned; but as they are of little consequence, I shall leave the discussion of them to the new congress themselves, who no doubt will be quick sighted enough to discern them, and prudent enough to provide for their removal. But before I conclude, I must take notice of an incumbrance upon government, which have been more general in its operation than any yet mentioned; viz. religion. There has been but few nations in the world, where the people possessed the privilege of electing their rulers; of prefixing a bill of rights to their constitutions, enjoyed a free press, or trial by jury; but there was never a nation in the world whose government was not circumscribed by religion. It intermingled itself so much with the Jewish system, that it is difficult to distinguish between some of the functions of the magistrates and those of the priests. In some stages of their commonwealth, the high priest was also the supreme civil magistrate. Religion had also a decisive influence in the Grecian and Roman systems of jurisprudence; their augurs could in many cases put a negative on the decrees of their senates; and countermand the orders of their consuls and dictators.-- In our own times, the most absolute rulers in the world, find their power abridged by religion. The grand signior possesses an authority very
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similar to the principle of nature which I have stated ; yet his power is limited by religion ;---- for wherever it interposes, the will of the sovereign must submit to its decrees ; " When the koran hath prescribed any religious rite ; hath enjoined any moral duty ; or hath confirmed by its sanction any political maxim. The command of the sultan cannot overturn that which an higher authority hath established." Even the Venetian government, which of all other seems to be formed on the best model, (though much inferior to our new plan) is nevertheless embarrassed with religion ; but what need I mention particulars, since every government in the world, as I observed before, has, in a lesser or greater degree felt this inconvenience. Indeed it seems to have formed an essential part of them ; such a part as could not be expunged without annihilating the whole systems ; and though this might have been done, yet the shallow brains of those antiquated legislators, could not devise a possibility of avoiding the same radical evil in any new system they could frame ; so that this direful incumbrance has hitherto proved too powerful for the united efforts of all the legislators and philosophers that ever appeared in the world to conquer. But what is the world to the federal convention ! but as the drop of a bucket, or the small dust in the balance ! What the world could not accomplish from the commencement of time till now, they easily performed in a few moments, by declaring, that " no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust ; under the united states." This is laying the

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ax to the root of the tree; whereas other nations only lopped off a few noxious branches. This is purifying the fountain, the streams must of course be pure. By this provision, the convention hath prudently removed the distemper from the head, and secured it from contamination.--- The certain method to preserve the members from catching the infection. Religion, is certainly attended with dangerous consequences to government: it hath been the cause of millions being slaughtered, whose lives and services might have been of use to their masters; but in a peculiar manner the christian religion, which has these several centuries past prevailed over a great part of Europe, and is professed by a great many of the vulgar in this country, is of all others the most unfavourable to a government founded upon nature; because it pretends to be of a supernatural divine origin, and therefore sets itself above nature. Its precepts are likewise so rigid and severe, as to render it impossible for any gentleman of fashion or good breeding to comply with them in any sense, without a manifest violation of decorum, and an abandonment of every genteel amusement and fashionable accomplishment; but another capital objection against this singular system of religion is, that it prohibits slavery, which is so essential to government, that it cannot exist, with any degree of energy, without it, for all the subjects of a good government ought to be slaves in a political sense; or as they were anciently termed, vassals; that is, their persons and property must be entirely at the will and disposal of their masters

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ters; which is ingeniously provided for in the new constitution, under the articles of taxation and discipline of the militia.

The congress must certainly extirpate from their dominions such a religion as this that is an enemy to so many good things. By this means the clergy may be annihilated*, who have always been an ambitious, aspiring and restless set of men, ever grasping at honours and distinctions, which is the unalienable prerogative of those of illustrious descent: they also by their address and cunning, gain an ascendancy, and assume an authority over the people, which is only proper for the rulers to possess; but perhaps it may be urged that some sort of religion is necessary to awe the minds of the vulgar, and keep them in subjection to government. I grant, weak, feeble governments, such as our present systems, may stand in
need

* When first I perused this constitution, I expected the clergy, to a man, would have opposed it; but in this I am happily deceived; they are the most strenuous advocates it has got; this appeared to me unaccountable, that an order of men, ever jealous of their own power and interest, should favour a constitution which would eventually destroy both; but I presume they have secret assurance that one or two denominations of clergy, are to have fixed stipends established under the new constitution. This, they expect will relieve them from their state of dependance they are now in. It is natural for them to wish something surer for a living, than the good will of the people, their hearers. It is very well to amuse them with such alluring stories as these, while their services is needed. Working on their avarice & ambition is the sure way to engage them; and when the constitution is once established, and they no more useful, but rather hurtful, sound policy will dictate evasions plausible enough to disengage gentlemen from the accomplishment of their promise; and the most noisy and dangerous of them, may have their mouths stopped, by bestowing sinecures on them in the civil, military, or naval department: such as the collector of taxes, excise, or impost duties: this will suit them much better than their present employments; for preaching is a great restraint upon gentlemen of modern morality.

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need of the visionary terrors of religion for their support; but such an energetic government as the new constitution, disdains such contemptible auxiliaries as the belief of a Deity, the immortality of the soul, or the resurrection of the body, a day of judgment, or a future state of rewards and punishments. Such bug-bears as these are too distant and illusory to claim the notice of the new congress. The present state of punishments, which will be within their immediate reach to inflict, will answer the end infinitely better. But if some religion must be had, the religion of nature will certainly be preferred by a government founded upon the law of nature.--- One great argument in favour of this religion is, that most of the members of the grand convention are great admirers of it; and they certainly are the best models to form our religious, as well as our civil belief on. This religion also admits of proper degrees & distinctions amongst mankind; but the other does not; for it commands to call no man upon earth master or lord. From these remarks, I think it is evident, that the grand convention hath dexterously provided for the removal of every thing that hath ever operated as a restraint upon government in any place or age of the world. But perhaps some weak heads may think that the constitution itself will be a check upon the new congress; but this I deny, for the convention has so happily worded themselves, that every part of this constitution, either bears double meaning, or no meaning at all; and if any concessions are made to the people in one place, it is effectually cancelled
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in another; so that in fact this constitution is much better and gives more scope to the rulers than they durst safely take if there was no constitution at all; for then the people might contend that the power was inherent in them, and that they had made some implied reserves in the original grant; but now they cannot, for every thing is expressly given away to government in this plan. Perhaps some people may think that power, which the house of representatives possess, of impeaching the officers of government will be a restraint upon them; but this entirely vanishes, when it is considered that the senate hath the principal say in appointing these officers, and that they are the sole judges of all impeachments. Now it would be absurd to suppose that they would remove their own servants for performing their secret orders perhaps. For the interest of rulers and the ruled will then be two distinct things. The mode of electing the president is another excellent regulation, most wisely calculated to render him the obsequious machine of congress. He is to be chosen by electors appointed in such manner as the state legislators shall direct: but then the highest in votes cannot be president, without he has the majority of all the electors; and if none have this majority, then the congress is to chuse the president out of the five highest on the return. By this means the congress will always have the making of the president after the first election; so that if the reigning president pleases his masters, he need be under no apprehensions of being turned out for any severities used to the people; for though the congress may not have influence enough to procure

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him the majority of the votes of the electoral college, yet they will always be able to prevent any other from having such a majority, and to have him returned among the five highest, so that they may have the appointing of him themselves.

All these wise regulation, proves to a demonstration, that the grand convention was infallible. The congress having thus disentangled themselves from all popular checks and choices; and being supported by a well disciplined army and active militia, will certainly command dread and respect abroad, obedience and submission at home; they will then look down with awful dignity and tremendous majesty from the pinnacle of glory, to which fortune has raised them upon the insignificant creatures, their subjects, whom they have reduced to that state of vassallage and servile submission, for which they were primarily destined by nature. America will then be great amongst the nations* and princess amongst the provinces: her fleets will cover the desarts of the ocean and convert it into a popular city; and her invincible armies overturn the thrones of princes. The glory of Britain§ shall fall like lightning before

* That is if we may credit the prognostications with which our federal news-papers and pamphlets daily teem.

§ Britain, once the supreme ruler of this country, but her authority was rejected; not as a great many believe, because her claims was tyrannical and oppressive; but because her dominion excluded those from monopolizing the government into their own hands, whom nature had qualified to rule. It is certainly no more than the natural right of rulers "to bind their subjects, in all cases whatsoever." This power is perfectly synonymous with that clause in the constitution, which invests congress with power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers," &c. and that which says "the constitution, laws, and treaties of congress

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fore her puissant arm ; when she ariseth to shake the nations, and take vengeance on all who dare oppose her. O ! thou most venerable and august congress ! with what astonishing ideas my mind is ravished ! when I contemplate thy rising grandeur, and anticipate thy future glory ! Happy thy servants ! happy thy vassals ! and happy thy slaves, which sit under the shade of thy omnipotent authority, and behold the glory of thy majesty ! for such a state who would not part with ideal blessings of liberty ? who would not cheerfully resign the nominal advantages of freedom ? the dazzling splendour of Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman greatness will then be totally eclipsed by the radiant blaze of this glorious western luminary ! These beautiful expressions, aristocracy, and oligarchy, upon which the popular odium hath fixed derision and contempt, will then resume their natural emphasis ; their genuine signification will be perfectly understood, and no more perverted or abused.

I shall now suggest a few directions to my worthy friends, the inventors and advocates of this admirable constitution—1st. that the people may be brought speedily to “ assent and ratify” this constitution, they must have very short time given them for consideration ; it may take well enough with them while they know it only by report, but if time and leisure is allowed them to

examine

grefs shall be the supreme law of the land ; any thing in the constitutions or laws of any of the states to the contrary notwithstanding.” But nothing less would satisfy Britain, than a power to bind the natural rulers as well as subjects.

§ Our friends in Pennsylvania and some other states, have wisely anticipated this advice, and thereby carried their favourite scheme. But I am sorry to find that Virginia and several other states have given too much time for the plebeians to scrutinize and cavil ; which may perhaps disconcert the whole plot, so artfully contrived.

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examine it, they will surely reject it. 2dly. every thing like argument in its defence must be carefully avoided, and instead thereof, the profound wisdom of the convention, the great men of which it was composed, particularly the names of a Washington and a Franklin, must be rung in the people's ears: it must be declared a crime bordering on blasphemy, to say any thing against the production of such men as these; and if any thing is wrote concerning it, it must be panegyrick, eulogium, or rhapsody; but by all means avoid reasoning, or you will betray the good cause in which you are engaged. 3dly. All who presume to speak or write against this constitution, must be branded as enemies to their country and to the union of the states; to impress this upon the minds of the vulgar, they must be termed antifederalists*, all their personal faults must be searched out and exposed; and the people must be warned not to listen to their reasoning on the subject, as they are interested persons, being either officers of government, or expectants of offices, and that their opposition arises from sinister views, and selfish motives, and not from a conviction

* I hope none of my friends will imagine that I wish for a federal union, because I have called the new plan of government the **FEDERAL CONSTITUTION**. I assure my friends (by whose interest I expect to receive my share of the loaves and fishes when they are a dividing after the constitution is established) I abhor every idea of a federal union; I am decidedly for an incorporate or consolidated union; and I am sensible that this sort of union is effectually secured by the new constitution, & the only system capable to exalt the rulers and reduce people: but I have applied the word federal to the constitution, to charm the vulgar, who are enthusiastically fond of it; and as few of them are capable to distinguish betwixt the name and the thing, they may be brought to adopt it under this plausible sanction; also by calling the constitution federal, we can apply the odious term antifederalists to our opponents with more propriety,

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viction of its evil: but beware of encountering their arguments, or you will certainly expose this darling constitution to popular execration. 4thly. The people must be told, that the revenue of the nation will be chiefly raised by impost under the new constitution, and that internal taxation will seldom if ever be recurred to; this will amuse them in the mean time while they possess the power, but we hope congress will have more wisdom than to verify this prophecy, as it would be very injurious to the interest of our well beloved brother Robert Morris, and all our brethren in high life throughout the nation: a land, but in particular a high poll-tax, will be the most effectual method of collecting the finances; some other articles, such as stamp duties; a tax on candles, leather, soap, &c. may turn to a very good account; and the money raised from the sale of the active militia to foreigners, will be no contemptible source of revenue. 5thly. All communication between the people of the different states must as much as possible be prevented--- therefore our own friends only must be posts and post-masters, and they must have full power to break open all packets, letters, & papers of every sort, and if they contain any thing against the new constitution they must be suppressed, if not closed up again and sent to the persons to whom they are directed; and it is requested of all our trusty friends throughout the country, that they intercept all papers, which come in their way; examine their contents, and if possible destroy them, if they contain any thing against this glorious plan. 6thly. The militia must be disarmed; for this purpose all the public arms must be called in,
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upon pretence of having them cleaned ; this will not only deprive our enemies of using them against us, but they will be ready to put in the hands of our friends, or men raised by them for the establishment of the constitution if coercion is necessary. 7thly. The distress of the people must be magnified as much as possible, they must be told that they are ruined and miserable, that they are all bankrupts; and that all these calamities is occasioned by their feeble governments (although in fact it is by their own extravagance); and that the new plan will effectually relieve all their wants, and redress all their grievances; although in reality it must be their own industry and economy; but this they must not know for the present. 8thly. They must be told that the new congress will immediately pay off all the debts of the union; but if they ask you how you must evade the question the best way you can; for if you tell them the truth, that it will be by levying high taxes on themselves, they will be sure to spurn your argument and constitution too. 9thly. The high and elevated station, to which this will raise America amongst the nations, must be held forth with great vehemence. The people are mighty fond of pomp and splendor, and will almost grant any thing to raise their country to grandeur and magnificence. 10thly. They must be told that anarchy will inevitably be the consequence, if they reject the proposed plan; for there are no more wise men on the continent capable to frame another system; and the same men which composed the late grand convention will not meet a second time. Finally, These directions, if strictly observed, may be of great utility; but they are not to be implicitly confided in. Standing armies are the most pro-

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per instruments, both for maintaining and establishing a good government; therefore to secure all beyond a doubt, a standing army must be speedily provided; for this purpose application must be made to our good ally, the French king, to furnish us with a number of troops; and so as not to alarm the people too soon, they may be landed with a pretence to invade Canada. His majesty must also be instructed to demand troops of congress, to assist in this expedition, according to the treaty of alliance. Ten or twenty thousand could be raised in a trice; and I am confident our friend Robert, and all our other monied friends, bankers and brokers, will supply the necessary demands of money, they may easily be got ready to take the field against next summer, or fall. It could be no loss if they were not needed; they would be so many ready made soldiers for the new congress, who would, no doubt, purchase them at a high price, and the French troops might return in peace to their own country.

A P P E N D I X.

Since writing the foregoing strictures, I have seen Martin's information to the house of delegates of the state of Maryland. This arch enemy has let out secrets that certainly never was intended to be discovered; he hath with uncommon audacity, defected the great convention, and exposed its intentions to public view; yet I cannot think he has destroyed its infallibility; all he has told, only proves that the majority were no patriots, nor lovers of their country; and what of all that; we can prove they were lovers of themselves; and that self-love is the noblest passion of the soul, and the best motive that human actions can spring from. Now if the grand convention acted uniformly from the best motive, self-love, were stimulated by the noblest desires, self-aggrandisement, and influenced by the choicest principles, self-preservation, there can be no doubt of their infallibility. This truth being established, it necessarily follows, that it is gross prophanity and unpardonable crime for fallible creatures to presume to scrutinize their work, or arraign their production, before the bar of their corrupt depraved reason. The centinel in his 16:h number, has

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has also discovered a secret of some importance; viz. that the expost facto clause, in connection with several others, serves, what he calls public defaulters, from being obliged to refund the millions they owe the public, & secures the delinquent states from being called upon for their arrears due to the continental treasury! How this head discovered the insinuation of this important clause I cannot divine. It was veiled over so nicely with a semblance of liberty, that I expected it would ride its quarantine without being observed; but nothing can escape the penetrating eye of this wicked counsel. I wish some means were devised to silence him.--- Money, and the promise of lucrative offices has a fascinating influence; and has hitherto been of great service to our cause; many have been bought off whose opposition would certainly have injured us. I wish every stratagem were tried of this nature to allure the centinel to join us, or at least to be silent: he has done great mischief, and is still doing more; and he seems to possess such a determined spirit as not to be intimidated by threats. The people seem very much alarmed at the tendency of the expost facto clause.

Several of the Philadelphia papers issue with pieces exposing the principal public defaulters; but I hope the present Congress will not be induced by this to commit such a piece of cruelty, as to call them to account, and oblige them to refund the sums they owe. If they postpone it till the new government is established, they can then settle them decently without any injury to themselves: nor can the public complain of fraud or injustice done them, since they have tacitly given their consent to it, by ratifying the new constitution. The provision made in the constitution for cancelling the public debts, was certainly dictated by the first principle of nature, viz. self-preservation; the most influential members in the convention being public defaulters, were impelled to take this step for their own security; and who in their senses can blame them for providing for their own safety, when it was in their power. I am happy to find that the system of intrigue and chicanery on which our whole scheme was founded, is still carried on with success all over the continent. The directions I have suggested has been anticipated I find by our friends; by this means six conventions have been lugged in to adopt the plan;--- although I don't like the idea of amendments which Massachusetts has introduced; it may be attended with bad consequences; other states may follow the example, and so spoil the whole plot; that such a fatal catastrophe may be prevented, we ought to employ our whole skill, and bend our whole manoeuvres. The adjournment of New Hampshire Convention, is very alarming; yet I hope that state may be brought to reason: a few donations might answer a good end. I long for the assent of nine states; we could then settle all disputes by applying the ultimo ratio regum, as General Washington expresses it; this is the most effectual mode of reasoning; may we speedily have it in our power.

F I N I S.

1. The *Carlisle Gazette*, 9 April, reported: "Now in the PRESS, and speedily will be Published—The Government of Nature delineated, or an EXACT PICTURE of the New Federal Constitution." "Aristocrotis" was probably William Petriken. For the dating and authorship of this pamphlet, see John Montgomery to William Irvine, 27 April (immediately below and CC:713).

**662. John Montgomery to William Irvine
Carlisle, Pa., 27 April 1788¹**

this is only to Acknowledge the receipt of your Letter by Col Ried all is quite here at Present Petrikens Pamphlet has made its aparence it is foolish thing

I am surprized at the sum asked for the Publick Buildings when it is well Known that they are going to ruin and distruction and that Congress has no right to the Soil and that in Case they were ours we must purchase that also however I wish most Sincerely that the Purchase was made and that before the new goverment is Established for if the bargain is not Concluded prior that that Event I Shall Dispair of it do use all your Endeavours to Secure those Buildings for us make another trail before that you leave new york the sooner that the Purchase is made the Better as we Shall be able to get the nessarry repair made before the winter to accomodate the College Dr. nisbet is now Living at the works our Commencment will be on the first wensday in may I wish that you Could be here then.

Maryland State Convention met last monday on tuesday a motion was made to take up the new Constitution and Debate them by paragraphs on the Question after a prety long Debate 58 agt 5 for it So that we realy affirm that the Constitution will be adopted in that State we are assured that thire is 64 in favr of it and only 12 oposied all the Delagates was not present when the above vote was taken

thire is no Doubt of verginia we are well assure that thire will be a prety Large-Majority in that State in favr of the Constution as also in South Carolina.

1. RC, Irvine Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**663. Benjamin Workman Defends Himself
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 29 April 1788**

If the remarks of the malicious slanderer, published in the expiring number of the Federal Gazette, were not closely connected with the last address of Messrs. Ewing, Davidson, and Patterson, I should have treated them with the unnoticed contempt they deserve; but when real signatures appear in the controversy, silence might be construed into

conviction, and calumny receive a certain stamp of authenticity, if not contradicted; therefore I find myself urged to answer.

The construction or interpretation of the Faculty's address, given by this incendiary, as far as it respects me, is superlatively ungenerous and fallacious: I insist upon it, that I have not infringed on, or violated truth, in the least degree, in any of my publications. What I asserted with regard to my knowledge of the sentiments of the Professors, is incontrovertible; and if it were necessary, the proof should follow the assertion. It was *supposed* that they did not particularly allude to the pieces signed Centinel and Philadelphiensis, as *abusive* publications, and on that supposition a natural conclusion was deduced; and should they explicitly declare, that the allusion was particularly to them, then the conclusion is annulled, and this is all that can result from it.

As to the "possibility of my being ignorant of their political sentiments and conduct," it is a quibble unworthy of a comment. Possibly many of Francis Hopkinson's associates are ignorant of his *impeachments* for *bribery*, &c. by the General Assembly in 1780; but a possibility of their ignorance thereof does not cause it to be less true.

In my publication, I had no intention of *apologizing* for the Faculty, or of *interpreting* their address; and they are mistaken in supposing so. And I say, that I never wrote an untruth about them. I did not assert that they were the authors of *anonymous and abusive* publications; on the contrary, I believe, their publication was true and unequivocal on that head; and I apprehend that neither the Faculty nor any teacher in the University ever neglected the education of the youth, by devoting their time to party politics, or in writing abusive publications. That insinuation I conceive to be a groundless slander; and no doubt, the Professors' address has removed it.

The Professors have declared, that I was not their *ostensive scribbler*; and to make the declaration more general, I say, I am neither the *tool* nor *hired scribbler* of any man, or set of men in the world; nor have I propagated falsehoods of any one in public or private, Hopkinson not excepted.

As a freeman and a free agent, I hope I have acted, and that I ever shall act consistently, neither transgressing on probity nor infringing on conscience; and I wish to let the public know, that I trust the influence, fear, or bribery, of any *party* or faction whatever could not bias me to write for, or advocate a cause, contrary to my private sentiments.

There is no man has a right to question me, whether I be, or be not a political writer; and if any one assume such a right, I am not bound to answer him; I hold myself amendable to the laws alone; and let the inquisitive gaze and gape, and feed on their astonishment; for I assure

them, they shall have no satisfaction on that head from me; besides if I could, and really did disclose the genuine author of *Philadelphiensis*, perhaps one part of the people would not believe me, and the other might be too much elated on the discovery.

The scurrilous writers inculcate the idea of a *civil war* commencing in consequence of the essays which they pretend I have had a hand in; but I trust the *civil war* will never exist any where out of their own *chaotic understandings*, where it now rages pretty violently. If these essays mentioned above have in the least contributed towards having the proposed constitution amended, they have benefited the liberty of millions—These are my sentiments.

In regard to Hopkinson addressing the Trustees of the University to dismiss me from it, I now inform him and all whom it may concern, that I am perfectly easy on that account; because I disregard the place I hold in it; and I think, I would not violate my sentiments for one ten times more valuable. My abilities as a Mathematician (small as they are) can hardly fail to procure me a decent livelihood in any place where literature is encouraged; when a noted pettifogger, the scorn of lawyers, enjoys a *sinicure* of 300 l. a year, as Judge of the Admiralty of Pennsylvania.

Hopkinson, (or some one of his compeers,) the writer of the malicious pieces against the University, in the *Federal Gazette*, winches when the Professors denominate him, "*an uncandid remarker*;" and labors to persuade them, that "*want of candor does form any part of his character*;" and pretending to have coalesced with them in sentiment on account of their last address, he immediately commences their firm friend: but let this *man of candor* publish his real name, and I fear that the Faculty will have little reason to triumph in the acquisition of *his friendship*; for my own part, I should rather set the malice of any scoundrel at defiance, than covet his interest.

April 28th, 1788.

664. *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 30 April 1788

Extract of a letter from Franklin county, 24th April, 1788.

"The necessary arrangements," as they are termed here, have taken place in these counties; committees of observation and correspondence are appointed in every township, who correspond with the militia officers and leading men in every county in the state; the counties of Cumberland, Dauphine, and Franklin, appear to take the lead, and have been long since repairing and cleaning their arms, and every young fellow who is able to do it, is providing himself with a *rifle* or musket, and amunition: They have also nominated a commanding officer, it is

said to be General ——, and say that they can turn out, at ten days warning, TWENTY THOUSAND expert woodsmen, completely armed; this is I believe very true, as all the counties, this side the Susquehanna, are nearly unanimous, and near three fourths of the other counties. They say the strength of their opponents are in the city, and give out that it will be in vain for them to make any resistance; they mean to make * * *¹ and are promised assistance from a neighbouring state, who, I find, are as warmly opposed as this state to the system. The *lawyers*, &c. when they precipitated with such fraud and deception the new system upon us, it seems to me, did not recollect, that the militia had arms; however, it will be an awful lesson to tyrants, if they should feel the resentment of an enraged people; I can assure Mr. Wilson, that the people are now as *determined* to secure their liberties as he is *anxious* for power and offices; and let the worst come to the worst, the opposition have the constitution of the state, the established law of the land, on their side; this yet remains good and firm, any doings, or *acts of a faction, or illegal mob convention, to the contrary notwithstanding. A civil war* is dreadful, but a little blood spilt now, will perhaps prevent much more hereafter. However, another general convention being called, will prevent any thing like it happening; the people appear anxious for farther powers being granted to Congress; and are generally agreed, that those offered by the minority of the convention of this state would be quite sufficient, and all their rights and privileges would be then secured by the proposed bill of rights, consequently unity and harmony would follow: on the other hand, if the votaries of power and offices do not agree to peaceable measures, by having another general convention called, I dread the consequences to themselves.

“N.B. I hear no more of the attempt to execute the order of Council to disarm the militia, I believe the *sub-lieutenants* in most of the counties refused to deliver up the arms, it was well enough, for the people were determined not to part with them. It is hinted that since the western members went down, they cancelled the order.”

1. At this point the *Independent Gazetteer* printed two lines of asterisks, indicating that the material perhaps too sensitive to print was omitted.

665. Andrew Ellicott Defends Himself *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 April 1788

In consequence of finding my name mentioned in the postscript to the Honorable Judge Bryan’s letter, dated the 7th of last month, and published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, I feel myself interested in stating the information I have constantly given with regard to the subject there alluded to.

Immediately after I arrived in the city of Philadelphia, many of my acquaintance enquired about the probable fate of the new foederal government in the state of Maryland. I informed them, that the opposition in that state was much more considerable than I at first imagined, or could reasonably have expected, and if certain well known political characters were sent to the convention, and interested themselves in opposition to the proposed general government, its fate would be very doubtful, and probably rejected. But I am very confident that I have never at any time expressed myself in the terms held out in the postscript to Mr. Bryan's letter. By this declaration I would not be understood to insinuate anything to the prejudice of Mr. Bryan, who must certainly have been misinformed on this occasion. Mr. Bryan's information was second-hand; his letter, as before observed, is dated the 7th, and the first time he conversed with me on that subject was on the 16th following. I have at all times given my opinion freely with regard to the adoption of the general government by the state of Maryland. That opinion I had taken up from attending to the disposition of the people, and not from either an attachment to party or prejudices for or against the proposed foederal government. Every citizen of a free country has an unquestionable right to give his opinion on any political point, and when it is done with decency and candour, none but the base and narrow minded will reply or answer with abuse and scurrility. Such I hope may always meet with the contempt they justly merit.

I have frequently heard the proposed foederal government both condemned and applauded, without either condemning or applauding it myself. I have no doubt but it has both defects and excellencies. There may perhaps have been as good, and there has certainly been infinitely worse governments. I think I shall not be singular when I assert, that the advantages of any form of government can only be discovered when reduced to practice. Experiment will ever be found preferable to theory. The imperfections of any piece of mechanism are best discovered when the machine is put in motion, and from the same principle the necessary amendments or alterations will become obvious. From these, and other considerations, I am in favor of the adoption of the general government previous to any amendments; and more so, as it points out a mode to have the necessary alterations made at a future period. And that such alterations will be made, I have not the smallest doubt, as the proposed government is wholly by representation—and in all cases where the power proceeds from the people, and is lodged in a short periodical delegation, the wants and disposition of the people will always accompany the representation. I have now for the first time published my opinion on this great political question. I neither suspect the

judgment or principle of those who think different from me, nor feel any particular attachment to those who correspond in sentiment.

Baltimore, April 21st, 1788.

666. Philodemos

Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 April 1788

To the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES.

The progress of events is steadily carrying forward the great business of your general government. May the God of our fathers direct this all-important matter to that issue which is *really right!* The great opportunity for consideration and discussion afforded to the states, who have elected late, appears to have operated in favor of the constitution. In Maryland, all its faults have been pointed out with little ceremony, and the most delicate proceedings of the General Convention have been laid open without reserve. Yet we find their Johnson, Lee, Goldsboroughs, Plater, Hemsley, Carrol, Lloyd, Hanson, M'Henry, and other characters, who were early active in the revolution, now decided in favor of the adoption. These gentlemen are not ignorant of liberty and government, nor of the interests of Maryland and the union, not enemies of the people of America, nor un-interested in her fate. Maryland contains no patriotism, no genius, no virtue, if they be denied to that list of names and many of their respectable colleagues. Does it appear from this choice, that the people of Maryland have been influenced by the active and numerous exertions of their Attorney-General. Do they appear to consider him as having just conceptions of what they deem necessary to their welfare and honor, either in their capacity as a separate state, or as a member of the confederacy. Compare the real conduct of the worthy citizens of Maryland with what was asserted to be their sentiments, and it was predicted would be their conduct, by the opponents to the constitution. Mark the dilemma in which the gentlemen in opposition are involved. If their assertion, that Maryland was unfavourable, was true at the time, then has the constitution stood the test of examination, and gained friends on the freest investigation. If, on the other hand, the assertion was not true, then they have passed on you important information not founded on fact, the impressions of which it is now your duty to erase from your minds.

Further discussions of the constitution are daily becoming less necessary for the people; for in almost all the states they have chose their Conventions. Yet a constant remembrance of the present condition of our country should be had in mind. The relaxation of government, consequent on a change from monarchy to liberty, and inevitable in

the war,—suspension and instalment laws, paper mediums, and legal tenders, corrupting those who handled property—ardent spirits, flowing thro' the land like the brooks and rivers, corrupting the morals and destroying the constitutions of the mass of the people—the interruption given to the education of our youth—the avocations of many from the sober habits of private citizens, to the irregularity and dissipations of the military life—the influx of foreign luxury, unknown in former times—the derangement of all business—these, and many other unfavorable circumstances, were found to exist at the conclusion of the war, or have taken place since that period. How painful to the man of virtue and spirit is this situation! how noble—how extraordinary—is the spectacle we are now exhibiting to the world! A people, exposed from adventitious circumstances to a condition so dangerous and corrupting as that above described, magnanimously binding themselves with the restraints of just government. Let us then not be discouraged by the unworthy measures of some of our fellow-citizens, nor let us be prevented from prosecuting the good work by the mistaken, tho' honest, jealousy and apprehensions of others.

It has been urged to you, that the terms on which we stand with foreign nations are rendered less advantageous than they might be, were we respectable in our general government. Those who have been honored with the charge of your public affairs have long known and felt this unfortunate truth; but a leading member in the British Parliament has lately stated it as a consideration which ought to suspend all arrangements on their part, concerning the intercourse between America and Great-Britain. Tho' the late arret of his Most Christian Majesty is exceedingly favorable to the commerce of the United States, particularly in putting us on a footing with his own subjects in all the ports of India belonging to his crown, yet the same difficulty stands in the way of more important advantages. In short, commerce, whereby we are to vend the surplus of our produce to foreign nations, is circumscribed and suspended, by our standing in the light of separate commonwealths, instead of ONE CONFEDERATED REPUBLIC.

The question before you at this time does not involve the permanent acceptance and adoption of the foederal constitution for ever, or without amendments. You are called seriously to consider the condition of your affairs at home, and the state of your connexions abroad—to reflect what must be the consequences of your continuing longer in the predicament described—and then to determine, whether it is not better to cure a great number of these certain and ruinous evils by the adoption of the government proposed, accompanied as it is with opportunities and provisions for amendment. In resolving this momen-

tous question, I do not wish you to be too far influenced by the distracted state of our affairs. If the liberty and safety obtained by the late revolution will be lost or endangered, take care how you proceed. But let us view the government with candor, and let us consider it, as it is, bottomed on the state constitutions. It may not be perfect—it certainly is not perfect. But I ask its candid and sincere opposers, where is the constitution, or when has existed the country more fortunate in its frame of government, than America would be under the combined operations of the state and foederal constitutions? I admit again, that the constitution is not perfect; but shall we hesitate to accept a constitution better than any heretofore enjoyed by any nation, when the alternative is lawful tenders, insurrection and anarchy at home, and neglect and contempt abroad? Surely no. Let us then make the trial of the proposed government, understanding on both sides, that every wholesome alteration and amendment may hereafter be adopted, which shall be necessary to preserve the peace, liberty and safety of the people, and to establish the dignity and importance of the United States.

Were the honest opponents of the foederal constitution to place themselves on the shores of France, Great-Britain or Holland, and thence to view with impartiality the situation and character of this country—were they, in addition to the melancholy evils already enumerated, to see the miserable state of our public and private credit in Europe, and the blessings of worse governments there better administered—they would fly to the foederal constitution, as the first step to the restoration of order and prosperity at home, and honor and dignity abroad.

It cannot be feared, that amendments will be refused or prevented after the adoption. The people and the states will have all power, and if they will not then have wisdom and virtue enough to make wholesome amendments, they cannot be expected to form entirely a new and more perfect system.

The United States, under the proposed system, will be defended from religious tyranny, paper tenders, perpetual or even long grants of military revenues to the executive, and from orders of nobility, or any other anti-republican distinctions. They will have the independency of the judges secured, and will always be certain of a concert of the state legislatures and executives against incroachments of the foederal legislature or executive; and they will enjoy constitutions founded in every instance upon the great principle, of representation and political obligation being inseparable. They have rejected feudal principles, the foundation of the European tyrannies, from their habits, and do not now retain them in their laws; for the state legislatures have in some instances already reduced their descents to the principles of republi-

canism, on perfect equality, and all the rest may do the same without controul. With such securities for liberty, who will hazard the dangers with which it is threatened from a continuance of the present system.

667. James Pemberton to John Pemberton
Philadelphia, 3 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

Dear Brother;

. . . I had little doubt, that if the exercise of our friend Geo: Dillwyn continued for France way would be made for his procedure, and the favorable opportunity that has offered will I trust tend to his encouraging confirmation, and that the friends engaging on the weighty embassy will be a mutual strength, and Comfort to each other;—By some of the late accounts from that Country, it appears, that the illiberal sentiments of Bigotry which have long prevailed are subsiding, and the light and sense of liberty gradually advancing, some edicts having been made there for the more free exercise of Religious freedom;—B. Franklin a few days past communicated to me the paragraph of a letter he has lately Recd from a Person of great eminence in that Kingdom, who tells him, they have taken some steps towards a general Toleration, but he thinks it will not be fully compleated until they shall adopt the sentiments, and follow the example of the Virginians, who by a late act of Assembly have set asside every restriction on Religious Liberty.—

There seem also to be stirrings among the people in various parts; and a prevailing conflict between the opposite Spirits of Truth, and Error, Light & darkness, a number of Germans of this City, & parts adjacent seeing the errors, & impositions of their Teachers of the Lutheran & Calvinists professions, have separated from the societies they belonged to, and set up meetings of their own, in which they spend sometime in silence, and give liberty for each other to impart exhortation, and Counsel—Willm Savery having the advantage of speaking their language, has sometimes attended their meetings from a motive of concern for their welfare, and seems attached to them rather more than some of his brethren approve; great prudence is necessary on his part for his own sake, as also for the real benefit of the people, who may be in danger of going on faster than they are rightly led, and fall into mistakes—

The Blacks have also collected a Congregation of their Colour who meet in like manner, which has engaged the attention of some of our well disposed young people, who have not sufficient experience & weight to make proper distinctions, and to conduct so, as to be truly helpful to those people in their unsettled State. . . .

The numerous accounts, and publications we have recd on the Subject of the Slave Trade, shew the commendable exertions of the benevolent in favour of that afflicted, and oppressed People the Blacks and tho the desired success may not immediately attend their humane Endeavors, I hope those Advocates for their relief will not be discouraged from persevering with firmness, the Alarm sounded in England will I hope call the attention of other nations to view the detestable practice in a proper Light, and at Length accomplish the long wished for Object—it is evident, that the Inhabitants of Grt. Britain have hitherto been ignorant of the stain of blood & murder which lays upon the nation—It is generally agreed, that the conclusion of the Convention on the Subject, will not restrain the Assemblys of the Separate States from passing any prohibitory laws which they may judge expedient to abolish that infamous traffic; but it would have been far more consistent with former declarations, and the principles of Justice in that body to have manifested their abhorrence of it, then would their proposed System have yielded some hope of Stability; Maryland has lately adopted the plan, and makes the Seventh State which have agreed to it. . . .

1. RC, Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

668. James Pemberton to James Phillips
Philadelphia, 4 May 1788¹

I wrote thee 30. 3 mo ☞ prince William Henry Packet, and am since favd. with thine of 28. 2 mo & 3. 3 mo ☞ Pigou & Harmony wch. were very acceptable; notwithstanding the Opposition given by avaricious & self interested men to your noble pursuit, I hope it may tend to illustrate the Subject,—and produce more Advocates; the depraved state of mankind occasion every reformation from long accustomed evils to be attended with difficulty, which many years experience have given us on this side in the like labour numerous proofs of, and also instances of divers who were most Opposed to our endeavours becoming warm defenders of the cause; and I hope the Lamp you have lighted will by your firmness, and perseverance, shine with greater lustre to the conviction of your Rulers, and those of the neighbouring nations of Europe, that the guilt of blood may be removed from the professors of the Christian name.—

The late interesting intelligence of the combined Efforts of benevolence raised in your kingdom, are circulated thro. these States by means of our news papers, which have been found to be the most ready and useful mode; I have not been inattentive to the distribution of the

Treatises in such manner as I judged would be most effectual to promote the design of their publication; there is much labour still necessary here, particularly in the southern states to awaken them to a sense of their inequity and of their danger; The Convention have not only fallen greatly short of the wishes of the multitudes, but erred against conviction, and their acknowledged duty; If the new system of Government takes place one of the first objects should be to alter and amend it, and on this head, it is expected there will be pressing Solicitations; Maryland has lately acceded to the plan making the seventh state, it seems yet doubtful whether Virginia, Carolina, New Hampshire, and New York will come in to it.—

The letter from your Abolition Society to ours being mislaid by our venerable president B. F. we did not get it untill within a few days past, his various engagements, and advanced age were the cause, and also prevent his attending the meetings of the Society at any time, a Special meeting is now called for its reception, and I expect a Committee will be appointed to prepare an answer to be sent p[er] the Pigou or Harmony to sail soon.—

I am much obliged by thy present of the Cameo's, which have mostly distributed according to thy List; and the others to such persons as I expect will value them; Dr Franklin sent me also a dozen for the same purpose—

I was in hopes the late Law enacted by our Assembly would have been printed before now, that I might have sent thee a compl[ete] Copy p[er] this opportunity but Bacley has gone on very slowly with it.—

Our friend Jas. Thornton has taken his passage in the Grange for Liverpool to sail ab. 21st. or 25. Inst. I have reminded J. Cruckshank of thy request relating to the Books—If our friend R. Jones has not embarked please to present my respectful remembrance to her,—the last letter from my brother is dated at Lancaster 3d. 3 mon.—

1. FC, Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**669. Benjamin Rush to Jeremy Belknap
Philadelphia, 6 May 1788¹**

I beg your acceptance of my thanks for the volume of the debates of your convention. They do great honor to your State, and will remain I hope as a lasting monument of the good Sense—virtue—and knowledge that characterised the year 1788 in the United States of America.—

The commerce in African Slaves has breathed its last in Pennsylvania. I shall send you a copy of our late law respecting that trade as soon as

it is published.—I am encouraged by the Success that has finally attended the exertions of the friends of universal freedom & justice, to go on in my romantic Schemes (as they have often been called) of serving my Countrymen.—My next Object shall be the extirpation of the *Abuse* of Spirituous liquors. For this purpose I have every year for several years past republished the enclosed tract two or three weeks before harvest. The effects of this *perseverance*, begin already to shew themselves in our State. A family or a township is hit with the publication one year that neglected, or perhaps ridiculed it the year before. Associations are forming in many places to give no Spirits at the ensuing harvest. The Quakers & Methodists take the lead in these Associations, as they have often done in all enterprises that have Morality, or the happiness of Society for thier Objects. Many Store keepers among the Quakers now refuse to buy or sell Spirituous liquors.—In a short time, I expect there will be an Act of the Quaker Society to forbid the Sale or even use of them altogether, except as a Medicine.—

As my opinions upon the Subject of the foederal government have been often misrepresented, by our antifoederal Scriblers, I have to beg the favor of you to republish the enclosed extract of one of my letters to my friend Dr Ramsay of Charleston in some of your papers.—It contains my principles fairly stated. I believe I gave *a part* of them in my last letter to you.

The minority of Pennsylvania have nearly exhausted their malice. There will be no Opposition by arms in any County in this State to the goverment, when it is set in motion.—Mr Bryan like his brother Shays will now be left a solitary example of political insanity & wickedness. All will end well.—The last thing that I can believe is, that providence has brought us over the red Sea of the late war, to perish in the present wilderness of Anarchy & Vice.—What has been, will be, & there is nothing new under the sun.—We are advancing thro' *Suffering* (the usual road) to peace & happiness. Night, preceeded day, & Chaos, Order, in the creation of the world.—

PS: Dr Clarkson & his amiable family are all well.

1. RC, Belknap Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

670. A Bostonian

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 May 1788

To the PRINTER *of the* INDEPENDENT GAZETTEER.

Philadelphia, May 4, 1788.

SIR, Having been absent from town, I did not 'till this day see the Independent Gazetteer of the 28th of April. In that paper you have

republished the article “to which one of your correspondents had reference” when he declared that “a gentleman from New-York saw in the newspapers of that place, the answer of the General Court (or House of Representatives) of the commonwealth of Massachusetts to Governor Hancock’s speech, in which they absolutely, and in the most pointed terms, disapprove and reprobate the proceedings of the convention (general as well as state).”

You will readily agree with me, that you have been misinformed on this subject, and that no such answer was given; since the article in question is only an extract of a letter informing us of what some members of the Massachusetts Assembly *wished* the House to do, and what the House *did not do*, the matter (as the informant himself tells us) having subsided.

It is not necessary to make any comment on this letter-writer’s opinion, either as to “*antifederalism*” or “*toryism*,” for it is but the opinion of one man, which can receive no additional authority by being put upon paper; and probably there never was a political controversy that did not produce contradictory letters, each pretending to express the general sentiments of the whole country; this arises from a misapprehension of only one word, for by putting PARTY in lieu of PEOPLE all contradiction ceases.

Permit me, in turn, to give the public an extract of a letter, the original of which may be seen by any gentleman who desires it, and you know my address; it will be perceived that the New-York extract contains nothing new to me, and had the assertion been less positive, and confined to a proposition, I would have produced this account immediately.

“Boston, March 9, 1788.

“The next day the address was debated, and the amendment advocated by a very few only, many of these, finding it impossible to censure the Convention through the Legislature, voted for all conversation on the subject to subside; the address was recommitted with a vote of the House, that nothing for or against the constitution should be introduced; this I wish had not been done, as there was strength enough to have carried the address in its original form.

“I must do a leading part of the minority the justice to say, that their good conduct has continued in the trial of strength in the Legislature, they have given up their party, rather than sow sedition in the country, when it can no longer effect a decision.”

So far as any matter of opinion may be contained in the above letter, I do not pretend to affix more authority to it than naturally belongs to

an opinion; but the reputation of the gentleman who wrote it, and his means of information, place it beyond a doubt as to matter of fact.

I have been induced to trouble the public with this eclaircissement, because I considered a formal declaration of the representative body of a people, as a circumstance of serious concern, which would much influence the public mind. You in particular will be satisfied with the investigation, since the peculiar excellence of a free press is “*to set the truth in fairest light.*”

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,
A BOSTONIAN.

671. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 May 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Boston, of a late date, to the Printer.

“Certainly it is a melancholly consideration, that a general stagnation of public information, southward of us, has, for some months past, taken place. Were our country invested with a military enemy, spiritedly engaged in intercepting all communications, perhaps, it could not be more so. European intelligence we receive of a later date than American occurrences, not 200 miles from us, or from some parts of the United States. The error here is of so singular a nature, as to excite the astonishment of the most considerable characters among us, and sufficiently produces a general alarm. A remedy we have been informed was in contemplation; if effected, you will be so obliging as to favor us with your paper as heretofore.”

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May.

672. Reflection V
Carlisle Gazette, 7 May 1788

To the PUBLIC.

A very notorious writer against the new plan of government (Centinel) has pretended that he has made a very important discovery, which he conceives will operate very strongly against the proposed constitution, which is, that public defaulter[s] will be skreened, because Congress have not the power of passing *ex post facto* laws. A person that was not acquainted with the publications of this author would suppose that this was rather a burlesque wrote by some person who is a friend to the constitution, than the real production of one who is opposed to it.—Perhaps he thinks that by his former productions, he has framed and new modelled the minds of the people, and so inflamed their

passions, that they are ready without the least hesitation to bow to the shrine of falshood and error, provided the responses are conveyed to them by him. After a great number of preparatory publications, to give the constitution the finishing blow, he ushers forth the three latin words, *ex post facto*, upon which he supposes he can put any construction he pleases, and that the people will listen to no other. But little does he think that this deadening blow will fall upon the Centinel, little does he think that he himself lifts up the lion's skin; little does he think that the people by this will discover that he is determined to carry his point at all events whether right or wrong. Let us shew the meaning of those words, and point out the danger which might possibly result, it is in the power of the legislature of the United States to pass *ex post facto* laws. *Ex post facto* signifies some thing done after another thing that was committed before. An *ex post facto* law signifies a law made subsequent to some transaction, by which that transaction is to be judged and determined; or to make some act illegal and punishable, which was not so at the time it was committed. Now did the new constitution vest in Congress a power to make such laws, and had they a disposition to exercise it, could either the lives or property of the people of the United States be secure? Dangerous would it seem if the Congress had it in their power to make any act criminal which was not at the time it was done. Dangerous would it seem if the new Congress would have it in their power to make all those pieces which are now published against the constitution before its adoption, high treason. Dangerous would it seem had they it in their power to root the industrious farmer of his rightful possession, by making a title which hath hitherto been defective, sufficient and legal. But will public defaulters be exempted from performing their stipulations, because Congress have not the power of passing *ex post facto* laws? This I conceive will depend upon one single point, that if there are any laws under the present constitution to compel those who have received any thing in trust from the public. The proposed constitution cannot possibly without an *ex post facto* law skreen them. A legislative body may void or annul a law as to the time to come; but every act done or agreement entered into during the time the law was in force, must, without the power of an *ex post facto* law, be judged and determined by that law. Therefore if public defaulters can be called to an account under the present constitution, as they certainly can, the proposed one is so far from exempting them, that it renders it impossible they can be exempted by taking away the power of passing *ex post facto* laws. I shall conclude with making a few remarks on one other clause of this constitution, which is that "no religious test shall ever be required, as a qualification for any offices or

public trust under the United States." I must confess that I was once strongly in favour of a religious test, not because I conceived that a test would in the least prevent an infidel from holding any office, as he would not consider this test the least binding upon him;—but that if such persons knew that they had not the same privileges of other men, they would not dare to publish to the world their opinions, and poison society with their baneful influence. But when I considered again the divine authority of religion, and that those offices and places of trust are to be filled by men of the people's own choosing, who ought to be the judges of those who are most fit to fill those offices, and also that where there is no test, the people will have a better opportunity of knowing such persons;—with a variety of other reasons. This clause seems to be one of the most excellent parts of the constitution.

Carlisle, 28th April, 1788.

673. Philodemos

Pennsylvania Gazette, 7 May 1788¹

To the Printers of the United States.

The Liberty of the Press is at all times interesting to the citizens of a free government, and is particularly so at this time, when the preservation of *its rights*, forms a part of the interesting objects of a most critical juncture. Dangers of very *opposite* natures are said to compass it on every side. While some of the opposers of the new Constitution require, that a declaration on the subject should be introduced among the articles of a foederal compact, some, equally ardent friends of liberty, tremble for the dangers with which this inestimable instrument of freedom is threatened *from itself*. At a moment thus embarrassing, permit a lover of liberty, and a friend to your liberal art, to suggest a few hints for your reflexion.

As your judgment will sometimes be erroneous, you may give to the public, pieces, *the tendency* of which you may not at first have perceived. The act of publication throws all their consequences upon you, unless you are possessed of the name of the author. Consider, then, whether it will not be proper to make that piece of information an indispensable requisite. The man of just and honorable intentions will not fear to commit his name to *a firm and independent printer*; but a writer, of sinister designs, the dark literary assassin, the scribbling incendiary, or the baneful disturber of public peace, though he knows the *just pen, however bold*, will ever be encouraged and defended by you, will not acknowledge himself to a single man the author of his malevolent or pernicious publications.

As the authority of just and lawful government is too often placed in the hands of folly, ignorance and passion, you must expect some of those conflicts with power, which *free and impartial printers* cannot always avoid. On all occasions it is necessary that you be *cool and firm*, but in these trying situations *a most dignified deportment* must be preserved. Before you commit yourselves too far, you should, by means of the best advice, and the most careful consideration of the case, *determine on the conduct you are to observe*, and having done so on good grounds, you should *equally* disregard *the mistaken censures and rage* of your fellow citizens, and *the vengeance* of those, who, by holding the powers of government, are, for a time, your superiors.

You are to consider whether freedom of publication, extending to *Blasphemy, Immorality, Treason, Sedition, or Scandal*, does not destroy the inestimable benefits which result from the liberty of the press. This privilege is certainly *essential* to the existence of a free government, but it consists in *avoiding to impose any previous restraints on publication*, and not in refraining to censure or punish such things as produce *private or public injuries*. Every free man has *a right to the use of the press*, so he has to *the use of his arms*. But if his publications give an unmerited or deadly stroke to *private reputation*, or sap the foundations of *just government*, he abuses his privilege, as unquestionably as if he were to plunge his sword into the bosom of a fellow citizen, and *the good of society* requires that *each offence* should be punished. A printer therefore, however independent he may be, should ever remember, that even the freedom of the press—*the choicest gift of liberty*—when *really abused*, is rendered for the time *a curse*, and not a blessing, and that as *the frequent perversion* of any privilege will ever produce its destruction, to prevent *the licentiousness* is to preserve *the liberty* of the press.

Since laws restraining the press do *not consist with a free government*, and since it is capable of being *perverted* to purposes of private resentment, malice, or the disturbance of the public tranquility; since inadvertence or design may render it an instrument to distress an *innocent* individual, or distract a *wise* administration, the duties of a printer are *of the first consequence to society*. It is indeed an office of *infinite delicacy and importance*. HUMANITY and CONSIDERATION, to prevent all *wanton* attacks, however trivial; FIRMNESS, to publish all *just* censures, however *heavy* they may fall, or however *powerful* the objects of reprehension may be; JUSTICE and DELICACY, to prevent even the *merited* lash from extending to the *innocent* connections of the unworthy; CAUTION and FORESIGHT, to restrain the *ill-timed* reprehension of even a *wicked man* from endangering *the interests or safety* of the state—these rare and valuable qualifications are necessary in the superintendence of an useful

and liberal press. Unless nature has bestowed a share of them, 'tis unhappy for the public, and unfortunate even for the well-intentioned printer, that he has undertaken the task, for which he must certainly prove unequal. As no one can possess the estimable qualities in a perfect degree, and as it must ever be the desire of a generous and prudent man, to supply his deficiency in any particular by every precaution, I recommend to you, the most serious reflection on the methods by which you can best supply their place. In addition, therefore, to the observations I have already suggested for your consideration, I earnestly press upon you one idea more, which is, that you make *the tendency* of the pieces offered by your correspondents *the great point* which is to induce you to publish or refuse them. Even matter of amusement should be *innocent and chaste*; and papers of a serious nature should either evince that the writers had in view *some good end*, or at least were free from just imputation of *a bad one*.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *American Museum*, August 1788.

674. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 May 1788¹

It is impossible (says a correspondent) to tell the influence which the American revolution will have upon the happiness of mankind. The spirit of liberty which has of late appeared in France was transplanted from the United States, It was first excited by the translation and republication of the *Farmer's Letters*, and since by the *Declaration of Independence*, and many other American productions, which were pregnant with just ideas of liberty. This noble spirit has been encreased and still further diffused among all ranks of people by the French officers and soldiers, who served in America during the late war, and who caught it from the American citizens and soldiers. The just ideas which have at last pervaded the English nation upon the subject of the commerce and slavery of the Africans, originated in Philadelphia. From the effects of our conduct upon the opinions and actions of two of the first nations in the world, what may we not expect, when we shall have made greater improvements and progress in political knowledge and happiness?—The praises of our foederal constitution have been echoed back from every civilized and enlightened part of Europe. Philosophers and the friends of mankind have suspended all other enquiries, and now fix their eyes solely on the conduct of the United States, as if all the happiness and dignity of human nature was to be determined by it. The oppressed and distressed every where wait only for the news of the general adoption of the government, to quit their chains; while the tyrants of Europe, and their mercenary dependents, *only*, view the whole

system of our foederal republic as visionary and impracticable and insist upon it that man was made (through the medium of anarchy) only for SLAVERY and for KINGS.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 10 May.

**675. William Petriken to John Nicholson
Carlisle, Pa., 8 May 1788¹**

I received your favr. per Mr. Hasslet fo[r] [which?] I return you my sincere thanks the Bearer Mr. James Lamberton one of our most active and zealous friends has full powers given him by a County Committee to engage a printer upon the Best terms he can it is a matter of great consolation to us that we are assured of your assistance in this important business our printers here is perhaps two of the most ignorant infamous vilians that ever infested Society but I hope we will have emediate reliefe if a good ingenious impartial printer comes to this place the fellows that prints here now will have to trounce off for their is not Feederalists enough to support a news-paper for themselves they publish now what nonsense and ribaldrey they please—and we are denyed the opportunity of answering them but if our own press was once established they Shall have sufficient payment Stock and intrest we have made up a volunteer company all antifederalist we have a private Article oblidging ourselves to oppose the establishment of the new Constitution at the risque of our lives and Fortunes the colnel who is a Federalist was oblidged to admite us tho with great reluctance into the Battalion our uniform is blue Coats faced with white edged with Scarlet applets on each Shoulder Cocked hats white Jackets & Britches & black getters we have 70 already and are daily encreasing all we want is arms and I am affraid this will be Difficult to procure there is plenty in the magazine here useless but then it is Federalists has the disposal of them perhaps our friend in Phia. could make some intrest for us we will give good Security for their Safty we hear that Maryland has also ratyfyed this cursed instrument but this is so far from discouraging us that it rather Stimulates us with resentment we are determined to oppose it at all events pray Sir be so good as cummunicate your Sentiments freely do you think opposition is in vain or will it be established in Spite of all we can do, do you hear how the people is affected in other States and in other parts of this State does many of them Seem determined to assert their liberty or is the majority willing to resign it into the hands of others where they perhaps think it will be Safer then in their own this I would wish to know from you as we are in a great measure Shut out from inteligence that can be credited here yesterday 11 S[t]udents

took degrees here they all made flaming orations each Seemed to vie with another who would abuse the people with the most invective: Fools, ignorant Barbarians, destitute of honor, honesty, and every principle of Justice and truth, the dupes of Selfish demagogue, wrapped up in their ow[n] narrow selfish ideas, interested knaves, villains &c. &c. was the mildest and most refined epithets they bestowed on them, the principle Doctor of the Sorbone then closed the excersises of the day amongst other things he said that the villainy of this country was become proverbial through the world that the greater part of our public acts Since the revolution had been a continued Scene of injustice that the greatest knave had the best chance to be elected into any office in the gift of his countrymen and that the majistrate durst not execute the laws for fear of being turned out of office at the expirati[on] of his time indeed I thought it was well he durst not for if the laws be So iniqu[i]tous as he represented them they are best unexecuted the great Drift of all their discourses was to prove the mass of the people to be void of every liberal Sentiment destitute of understanding and integrity fitted by nature for drugery and labour only and that none but Such as had Received a Colege education was capable to occupy any office or public trust because none but they have any Sense of honor or Justice fine encouragement this for the people of this State to contribute of their Substance for the Support of a seminary where their children will be instructed in Such excellent principles and Such wholesome doctrines instiled into their mind Mr. Moore Says that the people is a term of reproach in france but if they are such their as Doctor Nesbit and his disciples represents the people of Pensylvania it ought indeed to be a term of execration he even exhorted his pupiles to Shun the company of the common people least they Should be tainted with the contagin for none but knaves wished to be in the Society of knaves excelent doctrines to prepare the way for the new constitution quit[e] congenial with its Spirit and scope Dickinson Coledge will be a Choice nursery for Federal officers and rulers. You See I have wrote you a long letter I Should now ask your Pardon for trespassing So much on your time and patiance but you deserve it all you must consider it as doing penance for your condecending to coresponde with an obscure ignorant Mechanic who never Spent an hour in Coledge in his life nor perhaps never will he must ever be contented to remain a barbarin while he exists I dare not ask you to write I know the multiplicity and urgent nature of your Business besides your many other engagements leave you very little relaxation but tho all this might be got over their is a great obstacle in the way still it is dickinson doctrine that knaves only corespond with knaves and altho I am conscious of no act of knavery

in the common acceptation of the word yet in the sense above described I can not refuse the charge I Should therefor be very loath to draw upon you the imputation of knavery by urging you to continue our correspondence altho no other consideration could induce me to forgoe the pleasure and advantage, you may advise on it if you think their is no danger you may perhaps drop me a few lines yet, I assure you I Shall keep the honor you do me a profound secret if the letter is not intercepted and published by hall and Sellers but this I know the Bearer will have a struggle for it before he give it up its not the first Federalist he has Dressed and I presume it would not hurt his conscience to do so again but I forget myself I am Sure your wearied reading Such nonsense

P.S. I once heard that Mr. Oswald intended to set up a printing office here if he could meet with encouragement I am persuaded if he sent good workmen he would have 7 or 800 if not a 1000 Subscribers before 6 months

1. RC, Nicholson Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Endorsed: "Letter from Mr Wm. Petriken May 1788."

676. Thomas Rodney Journal, Saturday, P.M., 10 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

I omitted to Note that the first night after I got to E. Webbs, a Young Man of the name of Thomson (of Springfield Township) came there to Convey a Mr. Ellit contractor for the Army so far on his way towards the head of Elk—This young man came in next morning to my room & brakfasted with me—In conversation with him he said he had been a good deal in the back Country; that the Indians were all quiet on the Frontiers of Pensylvania and as low on the west Side of the Ohio as the Miami—That the Wyoming people were quiet, but that there had lately been a battle Among the inhabitants of Washington County between those who were for, and those who were against the Foederal Constitution and that Eight Men had died of their wounds they received in the Action. he believes all the the people in that County were engaged in the quarrel on the one Side or the other. This young man from his sentiments appeared to be in favour of the Foederal Constitution, but expressed himself cautiously. he also added that the Inhabitants of Washington had openly declared that if the Chief Justice MKean came into that County they would put him to death. He said the back counties are Chiefly Inhabited by Germans & that the Germans are all against the New constitution. From the general Idea of the better sort in this part of the Country they seem much afraid of the Foederal constitution in its present form without a bill of rights and I apprehend the inferior

class are totally against it, from their current Sentiment against proud & Lordly Idea's. . . .

1. MS, Brown Collection, Delaware Historical Society.

677. The Federalist's Political Creed
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 10 May 1788

MR. PRINTER, Though *religious creeds* have long since been deemed quite useless, or rather indeed extremely prejudicial to the interests of virtue and true piety; yet I must at the same time be of opinion, that *political creeds* are of a very different nature, and that no government, and least of all an arbitrary one, can be supported without some such summary of its *credenda*, or articles of faith. Our late C———n, sensible of the truth of this maxim, have taken care to draw up a very full and comprehensive *creed* for the use of their creatures and expectants, who are obliged to believe and maintain every article of it, right or wrong, on pain of political damnation. And to do those slavish expectants justice, there never was on earth a set of more firm and sincere *believers*, nor any who were willing to run greater risques in defence of their political dogmas.

This political creed however is no new invention: 'tis the old *tory system* revived by different hands. And the articles of it can be a secret to no one, who has the misfortune to converse with any of its advocates: But as such doctrines and maxims would better become the slave of a *Bashaw of three tails* than the subject of a free republican government, I shall just take the liberty, by way of specimen, to mention a few of these articles for the sake of your more uninformed readers. And

1. They maintain that the *revolution* and the *declaration of independence*, however important at those periods, are now to be considered as mere farces, and that nothing that was then done ought to be any bar in the way of establishing the proposed system of arbitrary power.

2. That as most of the European nations are in a state of vassalage and slavery, the Americans easily may be brought to a similar situation, and therefore ought to be reduced to the same abject condition.

3. That to compass this end, a large standing army should be kept up in time of peace, under the specious pretence of guarding us against *foreign* invasions and our frontiers against the savages; but in reality to overawe and enslave the people, who, if provoked at the violation of their rights, should at any time dare to murmur or complain, the military should be employed to *bayonet* them for their arrogance and presumption.

4. That to say the late convention was not authorized by the people at large to form an *aristocratic, consolidated* system of government for them, but merely to recommend alterations and amendments of the good old articles of confederation, is downright treason and rebellion.

5. That to assert that it was a shameful departure from the principles of the revolution and republicanism, and a base violation of the trust reposed in them, is a crime of the deepest dye, and never to be forgiven.

6. That if any man in the course of his writings should happen to give offence to a haughty favorite of the junto, it should be an express condition in the admission of every person into the new administration, that he concur in the prosecution of the author, or printer (or both if the name of the author can be extorted or discovered, no matter how vile and infamous the means) to the utmost rigor of the law, and even in contradistinction to all law and justice.

7. That the trial by jury, whether in *civil* or *criminal* cases, ought to be entirely abolished, and that the judges only of the new federal court, appointed by the *well born* in the ten-mile-square, should determine all matters of controversy between individuals.

8. That the trial by jury ought likewise to be abolished in the case of libels, and every one accused of writing or even publishing a libel, ought to be tried by *informations, attachments, interrogatories*, and the other arbitrary methods practised in the court of *star-chamber*.

9. That a libel is whatever may happen to give offence to any great man, or old woman; and the more true the charge, the more virulent the libel.

10. That an unrestrained liberty of the press should be granted to those Who write and publish against the liberties of the people, but be absolutely denied to such as write against unconstitutional measures, and the abominable strides of arbitrary power, which have recently been attempted by any of the rump conclaves or conventions.

11. That the people indeed have no rights and privileges but what they enjoy at the mercy of the rich lordlings, who may, of right, deprive them of any or of all their liberties whenever they think proper.

12. That the freemen of America have no right to think for themselves, nor to chuse their own officers of government, who ought to be named and appointed by the *king elect*, the *half king* and the *senate*; these being evidently much better judges of what is for the good of the people than the people themselves.

13. That a *bill of rights* and other explicit declarations in favor of the people, are old musty things, and ought to be destroyed; and that for any set of men to declare themselves in favor of a bill of rights, is a

most daring insult offered to General *Washington* and Doctor *Franklin*, who, it must be allowed by the whole world, are absolutely *infallible*.

14. That those men are best qualified to conduct the affairs of a free people, who breathe nothing but a spirit of tyranny, and who, by their violent, illegal, and unconstitutional (*consolidating, energetic*, as they are pleased to stile it) procedures, have well nigh reduced the good people of this great continent to the very eve of a civil war: And that as soon as *nine* states should accede to the new system of slavery, every one who would presume to lisp a syllable against it, ought to be taken up, imprisoned, and punished at the discretion of the judges of the supreme federal court.

Such are a few of the many articles of the *political creed* of the *federal hacks*, and how firmly they believe and diligently act up to them, is a matter of equal notoriety and grief to every real patriot in America.

678. A Patriotic Citizen

*Pennsylvania Mercury, 10 May 1788*¹

*To the WELL-MEANING FEW who are opposed to
the new plan of federal government.*

Gentlemen, As a friend, a fellow-citizen, and a patriot, I now address you.—That six-sevenths of the people of the United States are firm friends to the proposed system, is a well-known fact. But, though this ensures the ratification of the constitution, by a very respectable majority, and there is no doubt but that a few revolving months will set this masterpiece of political wisdom in motion, yet something still is wanting to complete the great work—I wish for the concurrence of *every real whig*, of *every honest citizen* amongst us; as for individuals who are anti-federal from interested motives, and designing incendiaries who are enemies to the peace and rising greatness of America, we have very small reason to hope that the former will sacrifice their paltry pelf, or the latter their infamous principles, for the general good: we ought, however, to guard against their weak but desperate efforts, by warning our fellow-citizens of the base motives which actuate those sons of sedition.

When men err through mistake, the criminality of the act ought, in my opinion, to be much extenuated, if not entirely pardoned, because of the honesty of the intention: your conduct, therefore, my worthy fellow-citizens, is only reprehensible in this; that you have suffered yourselves to be imposed on by the scurrilous declamations of designing men; that you have mistaken falsehood for truth, and defamation for argument; and that you have refused to place a reasonable confidence

in the chosen patriots of your country, while you have reposed a mistaken and unlimited one in men who, under the borrowed mask of patriotism, have strained every nerve to destroy private reputation, to sow sedition through the land, and to force the wounds of civil discord, which have been so recently healed, to bleed afresh.

But it is not yet too late to retrieve your lost honor, and to come in for a share of that endless fame, which the enlightened citizens of America shall acquire by the transactions of 1787 and 1788. Suffer yourselves to be deceived no longer, dare to act like men, be your own advisers, let reason resume its place, and I will venture to affirm, that you will act the part of good citizens, in giving your support to a system which is approved of by a truly respectable majority of the people, such as we never before had an instance of.

This circumstance alone should procure the acquiescence of every honest, of every reasonable man; for as the very basis of republican government is, that a majority, even a bare majority, shall govern, how absurd is it to suppose that *one seventh* of the people should pretend to controul *six sevenths*?

Had the writers opposed to the constitution confined their strictures to the system itself, and pointed out its defects (or what they thought its defects) with manly candor and decency, they had merited the thanks of their country, and clearly evinced that they were actuated by patriotism, not by that self-interested, turbulent and seditious spirit which uniformly characterises their inflammatory essays.

Finding this constitution proof against all attacks, by argument, they have cautiously avoided reasoning on the subject; but have asserted, in plain English, that the framers of it, and those who have ratified it, are all villainous conspirators, and consequently that this plan of government is calculated to enslave the people of America, to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water, and to force them to make bricks without straw. What an insult to the freemen of America! "They chose delegates to the federal convention who are traitors and conspirators against their liberties!—They are abettors of the treason in approving of the conspirators conduct!" The degrading insult has been felt, and has rendered the incendiaries infamous in the eyes of many, who were at first wavering, but are now decidedly federal. Shortly after the promulgation of the constitution, one of the anti-federal champions, in this city, poured forth a whole torrent of abuse against the federal convention, and particularly pointed his calumny at their illustrious president: the citizens of Philadelphia, to their immortal honor be it told, were fired with a manly resentment, and burned with indignation against the slanderers of their beloved Washington. One prudent step

was taken by the incendiary party—They perceived that they had trespassed too far on the patience of the people, who had not yet forgot the tribute of gratitude due to their worthy chief; for this reason, in their German translations, which they circulated through the back counties of this state, they took care to leave out their infamous slander of this truly great and good man. It had been much to their credit to have acted thus at all times; but this was impossible, they soon found all their hopes of duping their fellow-citizens ideal and vain; their disappointment was succeeded by envy, malice, rancour and despair, and these infernal passions have produced a plentiful harvest of the most scurrilous abuse and slanderous falsehoods that ever disgraced an enlightened country, or a free press.

So glaringly absurd has their slander been, that it has operated in a manner directly contrary to what they intended, and has prevented due faith being given even to their probable assertions, agreeably to the old adage—*A liar, tho' he speak truth, is not believed.* This may be the cause why no person has thought worth while to refute such charges. But it may not be amiss to examine, what foundation the incendiaries had for applying the appellation of conspirators to the members of the federal convention.

Much might here be said of the patriotism, integrity, abilities, and past services, of almost all the gentlemen who were honored, by their respective states, with seats in that august assembly; but as gratitude for past services is rather unfashionable, and the “authority of great names” is no authority, let us consider them independent of their patriotic bravery in asserting the rights of mankind, of freedom, and their country.

Let us remember that they are citizens, possessed of a considerable share of property in the United States, their security for the peaceable enjoyment of which, must rest upon the just administration of an equitable and well established form of government. Such men are seldom Catalines in any country: conspiracies are usually formed and executed by desperate and abandoned wretches, who have neither fortune nor reputation to lose, but may perchance gain something, by such an event.—Let us consider them as men, who have, in common with their fellow-citizens, their respective connections in society, their circles of friends, and a rising offspring, all of whom must inevitably participate in the miseries of their country; and say, what motives could induce such men to conspire against the liberty and happiness of all who are near and dear to them, and to consign them to endless misery.—Let us consider them as fellow-citizens, not one of whom may, perhaps, ever be elected to a seat either in the federal senate, or in the house of representatives, and, if he should, that he may be speedily removed, be

forced to share in the general calamity, and obliged to wear those galling chains he had forged for others. Common sense, self-interest and self-preservation, independent of every other motive, must certainly have prevented such men from meditating the overthrow of American freedom, when they well knew that, like Sampson, they must be crushed by the fall and perish in the ruins.—Let us also recollect that they have appealed to the people at large to judge of the uprightness of their conduct, and have submitted to their decision that plan of government which is the result of more than four months deliberation. Surely this is an undeniable proof of conscious integrity; for that the “well-born” (as they are called) should endeavour to enslave their country, and at the same time, leave it in the power of the meanest citizen, to put on, or reject, the chains, at his option, would argue them totally void of that understanding and precaution which even their enemies do not deny them. If they had had any designs hostile to the liberties of the people, they would rather have endeavoured to procure the ratification of the constitution by a few, for instance by the legislatures of the different states. But the truly equitable mode of deciding on this system, pointed out by the federal convention, has, like many more of its greatest perfections, been highly censured.^(a) This I only mention to shew that men who are thus capable of finding fault with its best parts, are very suspicious characters indeed, and, if their objections be not the result of ignorance, it is by no means a breach of charity to conclude that they are enemies to the peace, liberty, and happiness, of their country.

Finally, let us bear in mind that the people are the sole, the great source from which all powers delegated to the federal government, by this truly democratic constitution, are to flow; and that if ever they be enslaved, it must be by a spontaneous surrender of their liberties; for they are not only vested with the power of election, of impeachment, and dismissal from office for misdemeanors, and of further punishing the culprits by the violated laws of their country; but they will always enjoy the invaluable privilege of making such alterations in their constitution as may, from time to time, be found necessary, still farther to secure those liberties which have been purchased by the martyrdom of their fathers, and this, too, they will be enabled to effect in a manner unknown in the political revolutions of other countries—without the effusion of human blood.

Thus it appears that the incendiaries have neither truth, probability, nor reason on their side, when they bestow on the chosen patriots of America the name of *conspirators*, which I fear is too applicable to themselves.

Blush, ye well-meaning citizens, who have associated with such men as are the ringleaders of anti-federalism (*alias* sedition) in the United States. Who are they? Let us examine—We must pass over the three states of Delaware, New-Jersey and Georgia; not even one opposer of the constitution having been found in the conventions of those states—In Connecticut nearly one-third were against it; but these like peaceable citizens and good republicans immediately acquiesced in the decision of the majority—In Massachusetts a considerable part of the minority have acted the same praise-worthy part, and none now persevere in anti-federalism but a few, who were, not long since, enrolled under the banners of SHAYS.—Who were the opposers of federal measures in Maryland? None but *Luther Martin* and his *ten* followers—Thus we perceive, that in six of the states which have adopted the constitution, the opposition, comparatively speaking, is almost nothing—In the convention of Pennsylvania, 'tis true, we have had *twenty-three* dissentients, who are well known to be the mere echoes and tools of a few individuals in Philadelphia, who are apprehensive that their loaves and fishes are in danger: The greater part of these twenty-three were of the anti-federal minority in our General Assembly, who were for copying after the worthy example of Rhode-Island, in refusing, even to call a convention to deliberate on the proposed plan; and who were also the avowed advocates of our ruinous paper-money measures.

With these, then, and the respectable groupe of Rhode-island, you are joined in opposing the almost unanimous voice of United America. Let the idea of being connected with such be no longer harboured in your bosoms. Turn with indignation from them, and their infamous principles. And join the patriotic sons of freedom, who are now about to complete the glory and independence of America.

(a) See *Luther Martin's* genuine *information*.

1. Reprinted: *Carlisle Gazette*, 21 May.

679. An Assenting Constituent Pittsburgh Gazette, 10 May 1788

To the Dissenting Assemblyman.

SIR, You have great merit in answering an objection which has been made to the constitution of Pennsylvania, the want of an efficient *check* on the enacting laws hastily. There is not an upper, but there may be an outer house; the dissenting members absconding or receding when the vote is about to be taken. The *many* can enact laws, but the *few* may prevent. It is in fact putting the government into the hands of the *minority*, for without them cannot any thing be done that is done. But this

is analogous to things in nature. The tail is a small part of the fish, and yet it directs the whole body. The rudder of a ship is small, compared with the hull and rigging, and yet it moves it any way. what wonder then, that the minority by *turning tail*, should govern the whole legislature?

I acknowledge this will considerably affect the system of education; alertness and speed of foot be coming the necessary qualification of a legislator; for if a member is not swift in running off, the check may be lost, the vote being taken before he fairly disappears. There will hence be two kinds of motions in the house, that to the speaker and the other to the door.

It may be well to study wrestling. A scuffle may ensue, the minority endeavouring to get out, and the majority to keep them in. There is a kind of wrestle called Cornish hug, which is taking each other by the waistband of the breeches, with the arms crossed. This I would much recommend. Trips will be of great use. There is the back lock and the cross buttock; but masters in each branch must be employed to teach the art. I knew one Archy Dyfart in Octorara, when I was a boy, who understood what is called the inside lift. He would have made an excellent tutor in an academy of this nature.

On the principle of strength of body, skill in jostling, and agility of heels, it will be improper to send old and weak men to the house, because they will be unable to exercise this *check* to advantage.

A doctor must be paid to attend the house, with plaisters for the broken shins of the members, over benches in running off. A boy also to pick up wigs, hats and the like.

But to avoid any kind of disorder and confusion, it would be advisable in all cases where the vote does not come too quick upon them, to withdraw insensibly, by slipping out one by one, under pretence of making water, for instance; until they are all gone.

Great is the excellence of this check, and the inventor of it deserves as great a premium as the discoverer of the longitude. Nevertheless it will be proper to exercise it modestly, and not be retrograding always on every negative, lest they make a farce of the business. For it may look a little odd to see them running out hurry scurry, every moment, like boys at a baring, when the master gets in at the chimney.

On the same principles that I justify the minority, which is the *mob* of the house, in withdrawing, I would apologize for the *mob out of doors* in bringing them back; viz. this is a *secondary check* in the constitution, and marks the glory of it, giving perfect safety, which no other government on earth has. That they have the right to bring them back on the principles of the constitution, there can be no doubt. Each member is the representative, not of his particular county only, but of the whole

state. Every constituent has therefore an interest in the attendance of each member. On his departure may he not take him up and bring him back to his duty?

Indeed, had the *mob* no right, yet it would be impossible to hinder them from exercising this check; for when they see men running and others after them how can they tell but that they have stolen money from some of their colleagues, who may wish to have them back in order to be searched. At the last time this check was *exercised*, which was about the calling a convention, when the seargent at arms with the clerk, the door-keeper, and one or two more, were sent after Findley, they running and he running, what could the mob think, but that he had been guilty of some misdemeanor. No wonder therefore that before he could turn the corner of the second square, there were above a thousand at his heels.

There is only one thing against this check, and that is, the indignity done to the members; and the consequent indecency of chasing them like men escaped from the wheel-barrow, and ferreting them out of garrets and cellars, in order to retake and bring them back to their places. Another thing is, that breaking up the house, unless they can be retaken, the work they leave undone is all lost, which may often cost the state great sums of money; but this might be laid as a tax upon their own estates, and so this excellent check still preserved.

Having thus acknowledged the use of this *negative* and shewn the right of the *minority of the constituents*, viz. a mob to *counter check* this, the constitution of Pennsylvania, like a double geered mill, will be allowed by all good judges to be the best that the wit of man can devise.

680. John Armstrong to David Rittenhouse
Carlisle, Pa., 17 May 1788¹

As a punctual discharge of the publick Tax has always been matter of principle with me, and for some years past have had no other way of discharging it in my power, than from the Interest arising from my Certificates—you can Scarcely imagin[e] how much you will Oblige me by paying the April Interest (if in your power) to Captn. Matthew M'Connel, who will herewith present my Certificates—or a receipt to the treasurer here to the amount, which mode, I'm told is sometimes followed, and may nearly answer me the same purpose.

I could with great freedom of inclination say something to you on the perplexed politicks of the present hour, but when I consider to whom I should thus write, and the habitual impediment arising from a paralytic complaint in my head, I am obliged to suppress these wishes,

and only in simplicity tell you, that with an eye fixed on some amendments in a Constitutional way, as early as they can conveniently & properly be made; I am calmly & decidedly in favour of a general & immediate adoption of the proposed national System of Government.

I beg you will please to present my Compliments to Mrs. Rittenhouse.

1. RC, Roberts Autograph Collection: Old Congress, Haverford College Library, Treasure Room.

681. An Assenting Assemblyman
Pittsburgh Gazette, 17 May 1788

Messieurs Scull and Boyd, The Dissenting Assemblyman seems to call in question the right of the mob, to bring in austriquent members. Is there not an implied contract on the part of the representative when he takes his seat, that he will discharge the duty of it? Is he not stiled the servant of the people? If he departs from his duty; if the servant runs away, may not the party who has an interest in his labour, take him up, and bring him to his work again?

I confess it was a doubt with numbers at the time the minority receded, whether not being a house they had a right to compel the attendance of those absconding. For this reason I had proposed in my individual capacity to go out and bring in a couple of them. I had fixed on Findley and W—— of Washington as two that I could manage. I had a right to arrest Findley on two principles. He was the representative of my particular county, and my own representative: I had actually voted for him. But I tho't with myself that it would look a little odd to see me carrying him along, like a sheep on my back. His working and kicking would naturally drag me from side to side, and I should be a good deal plagued with him. I was therefore well enough pleased to see the mob take it in hand.

They had a right undoubtedly; because he was their representative. "Every member tho chosen by one particular district, when elected and returned, serves for the whole realm. For the end of his coming thither is not particular, but general; not barely to advantage his constituents, but the commonwealth." 1 Blackstone 159 4, Inst. 14.

It has been said that the arrest of the members by the mob, was a breach of privilege. An arrest hindering them from attending the house; or compelling them when there to vote otherwise than as their judgment directed, would be a breach of privilege. But not an arrest to save delinquency: "These privileges being indulged only to prevent the members being diverted from the public business." 1 Blackstone 165.

In this view of the case, a mob becomes a useful thing in a government. "Labefactatem rempublicam tumultus suffulciunt, instaurantque

Tacit." Prosecutions are said to be instituted against some of the mobility. Is it possible that the high misdemeanor of deserting the senate house, thereby attempting, quantum in ipsis, to dissolve the government, the injustice of leaving the debt of the sessions of the year on the state to no purpose, almost all the bills which had been published for consideration, lying unfinished on the table; the injury in not having them passed into laws, the benefit being lost: the indignity of having the legislators of Pennsylvania chased in mistake for stealers of handkerchiefs; by oyster men throwing down their wheel barrows; is it possible that all this should go unpunished, and that a poor fellow of the mob, who thought he was doing his duty, and actually was doing it, should be indicted at the sessions, and brought to trouble? It is absurd, and I hope we shall have no more of it.

**682. Nathaniel Bedford to Benjamin Rush
Pittsburgh, 19 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I sincerely congratulate you Sir, upon the philanthropic Time you so ardently displayed, when called upon by your Country to take a seat in the ever memorable state Convention of 1787, A period the most [important?] since the Christian Aera that [- - -] [- - -] of history has handed down to us [- - -] bringing about an Event that not only concerns the sons of America, but in which the human Species at large are highly interested, by seeing before them an Example so worthy of Imitation, where Heroes & Patriots assemble, to Assert the rights of mankind, by forming a System of Government in which no more of the liberty of the Individual is given up than what seems to be absolutely necessary for the good of the whole I am with the greatest respect & Esteem

1. RC, Correspondence of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Library Company of Philadelphia.

683. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 20 May 1788

A correspondent says, that in the oath or affirmation, which every citizen of Pennsylvania takes, it is mentioned, "I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state." We are precluded therefore from altering the constitution, except in the mode which itself prescribes, that is by a council of censors calling a convention for that purpose. If we contend for the new constitution which alters it in a different manner, we are guilty of perjury. The new constitution takes away the independence from the state of Pennsylvania, which we had expressly sworn to maintain; for the new congress are to have power to lay what internal taxes

they please upon us, and may march our militia to the remotest part of the union, in which condition it would be absurd to call us an independent state. It is said by the Prophet, "because of oaths the land mourneth." The vengeance, the dread vengeance of an offended God will pursue their violation.

684. Carlisle Gazette, 21 May 1788

A DIALOGUE, between an Anti-federalist, and a Federalist.

Anti-federalist. Good morrow neighbour John, how do you come on at your plowing?

Federalist. Middling well William, I am stopped a little by the rain, but we have good encouragement, we are blest with a fine spring.

Anti. But how do you like our public measures, and the arguments about the new Constitution?

Fed. Truly I have, until just lately, like the rest of my political brethren, lent a deaf ear to all arguments on the opposite side, and, like a good Catholic, made ignorance the mother of devotion; but I now find myself so disappointed in my expectations, that indeed William, to tell you the truth, I could wish myself your brother in politics as well as in occupation, and were it not that I would be called a turn-coat, I would publicly declare myself on the other side of the question;—for though our writers have all one text, viz. civil government, yet they differ so widely in doctrine, that I am both angry at, and ashamed of them.—To enumerate all their inconsistencies, would be a tedious task indeed.—Our greatest hero, W——n, contradicts himself most egregiously, he says, "a state government is designed for all cases whatsoever, consequently what is not reserved (by a bill of rights he must mean) is tacitly given," whereby he shows the necessity of a bill of rights, but, like a good lawyer, he altered his tone when in state convention, for there he says "in a civil government it is certain, that bills of rights are unnecessary and useless."—In the Gazette, No. 120, one of our quaking friends says a bill of rights, in a state government, is indispensable: but our Reflecting explainer, reprobates the very notion of it in all republican governments. The American Citizen in No. 118, says, that neither the present confederation, nor proposed constitution, have any bill of rights, nor takes any notice of the liberty of the press:—yet article 2, of the present confederation, expressly says, "each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Now this I think is an extensive bill of rights, though it is denied there is any; likewise the proposed constitution, secures the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by

jury in criminal cases, which certainly is part of a bill of rights; Dr. F——s——e considers the new plan a consolidation, when he says, that the exercise of the sovereignty of the people, is happily by the new constitution, lodged in Congress: but a writer under the signature of a Freeman, says, it is not a consolidation; but that there are permanent marks and lines of sovereignty in each state.—In a letter said to be from Philadelphia, in No. 137, (written I think with a quill of a Carlisle goose) we have curious observations, the gentleman observes, “there can be no liberty where there is no law;” he must be understood to mean civil law, and every body knows liberty existed before civil law or government, and does now exist where is no system of laws; but that law is necessary to preserve liberty none will deny. He further says “there can be only two securities for liberty in any government,—viz. representation and checks,” and by the drift of his discourse, what he means by checks, is nothing else than the different branches of the new Congress, who he supposes will be checks on each other: for he says “a hundred principles of action in men will lead them to watch—to check—and to oppose each other, should an attempt be made by either of them on the liberties of the people,” this is in effect taking it for granted, that there are no checks in the constitution, to hinder them from such attempts, and that all depends on the will or dispositions of the members of Congress. Thus, by the gentleman’s own argument, the new constitution will owe its “capital features,” to the will of its administrators—I think none need hesitate to say, that the depravity of human nature is such, that we have reason to suspect, that principles of avarice, &c. will as readily lead them to indulge—to colude—and to support each other, as to watch, check and oppose each other.—I have been mortifyingly disappointed in my expectations from the aforesaid Reflecting explainer, you know he proposes to explain the parts of the constitution that are objected to, so as ignorant people, like me, might understand them; but his very first number cloyed my appetite, so that I could digest no more of them; he makes the disinterested the judge of his observations; therefore all rational beings, in these states especially, are excluded from judging; as they are all highly interested. I presume the above contradictions cannot be reconciled by logic, what sophistry might do I know not—I wish Hermenius would try his pen—in short the contradiction which pervade our arguments have made me that I can believe nothing more of the kind. The writers on our side of the question, are much like almanac-makers, all pretending to tell the weather, and few or none hitting the truth.

Anti. Why John, you are an Anti-federalist to all intents and purposes.

Fed. I dont know what I am, but I suppose I must be something when the pinch comes; but let me have your sentiments, what do you think of the Reflections, and our Presbyterian Clergymans letter?

Anti. Why sir, I think it must be grating to the ears of sensible men, to hear so many reiterated arguments, especially as they are on the degenerating hand; as to the Reflections, time dont admit to point out one half of the absurdities contained in them, nor is it necessary as you have done this in some degree yourself; but at your request, I shall give my opinion on such of them as at present occurs to my memory—I find his first number is chiefly against a bill of rights, likewise I find some observations upon it, signed thoughts at the plough—and I shall make some additional observations. The common interest, or the preservation of the natural and advantageous rights of the body politic, is the thing to be aimed at by all civil government, the moment this ceases to be the object, that moment civil polity is at an end, and its opposite (despotism) takes place; now since this is the case, every plan of government wherein this provision is fully, and explicitly made, has undoubtedly a bill of rights, therefore it is impossible in the nature of things, that civil government can exist without a bill or declaration of rights, the contrary supposition would be as vain, as to suppose a superstructure without a foundation, or an obligation without promises. Therefore, I say, that properly speaking, the proposed constitution is not a plan of civil government; because what should be its whole and only object, viz. the rights of the people is left insecure and doubtful—for proof of this assertion the following may suffice—you know that by section 2, of the new plan, the president, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the senate (which may be only 10) can make such treaties as they in their wisdom or wickedness (which ever may prevail) may think proper;—which treaties will be the “supreme law of the land,” paramount to all the laws and constitutions in the thirteen states, and there is no limitation here but THEIR WILL; and here I would observe, that as it is impossible to know upon what conditions treaties can be obtained (as the opposite party will have half of the bargain) it is highly necessary that there should be a particular declaration of rights, which ought not to be violated by any treaty—I presume the advocates for a bill of rights, mean no more than to have their rights secured; they do not insist on having a catalogue of them drawn up in form like a bill of scantling. Had the ten commandments been interspersed through the bible, so as to have had only one in a chapter, or one in a book, we would have had the decalogue, as surely as we now have when they are all adjoining one another in one chapter; in like manner had our

rights been sufficiently secured in different parts of the constitution, we would have a bill of rights: but that this is not the case is evident to every person who reads it. Our ingenious author (Reflection) says, "when the people have any rights granted to them, all that are not expressly mentioned are taken away, and wholly exercisable by the rulers;" if this be the case, God keep us from the adoption of the new constitution! for, as you observe, we have the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by jury in criminal cases secured to us, therefore all our other rights (according to his own argument) "are taken away and wholly exercisable by the rulers!"—He says in his second number "the senators are always impeachable and subject to be turned out, surely he is not in earnest—I would ask the gentleman how two-thirds of the number present are impeachable in case of a treaty, when their will is the "supreme law, &c." moreover they have the power of trying all impeachments—he considers it dangerous to trust the different legislatures with the management of their own elections, without a check, though he allows they are the most competent judges: but he does not tell wherein the danger lies—here he comes short in his explanation, the strangest, much less "the weakest capacity" cannot tell by his explanation what this danger is—however, we may guess his meaning, viz. the people would have too much liberty—time place and manner of elections, would be very convenient powers in the hands of Congress—we might then be saved the trouble of electioneering—we might have our elections in seed time, harvest, or the depth of winter, and in some remote corner of the state, convenient to the standing army, who may, by the supreme law of the land, and their superior force be enabled to vote and carry the elections at will; and we may easily guess that they would vote for those on whom they depend. Attempts of this kind you know have been made in Carlisle; and in Philadelphia have been actually carried into execution. Moreover, we would be obliged to vote by voice, and may be happily conducted, for we dare not give a wrong vote if we should be so minded, lest we should provoke some military gentleman, or young courtier to "lay his hand upon his sword."

He says in his fourth number, that "their powers are expressly defined, and completely and perfectly limited;" and by arrogating to themselves other powers than those laid down in the constitution, they as effectually break that constitution, as if they assumed any power which they were expressly forbidden to exercise, true, they are limited, and so is the devil, but what are they limited by—not the proposed constitution, as has been observed, but their own will and indeed, in most cases, their will is the constitution, and the proposed plan just a declaration that it shall be so.

As to the supposed Clergyman's letter, it carries few features of that character; however he smells strong of consolidation; I find he longs for a sight of the grand parlour 10 miles square; no doubt he wishes for admittance into that holy of holies, prepared for the sons of Aaron, &c.

Fed. Is there hopes of the different states agreeing upon amendments.

Anti. There is such a similarity in their proposed amendments, that we have reason to believe they will readily agree.

Fed. I would be happy to hear that matters were compromised upon good terms, and for the present I shall bid you good evening, and will return and spend a few more serious thoughts against our next meeting.

Cumberland county, May 2, 1788.

**685. Benjamin Rush to Jeremy Belknap
Philadelphia, 29 May 1788¹**

Enclosed I send you a pamphlet which contains a fresh proof of the progress of justice & humanity in the State of Pennsylvania.

Our Accounts from South Carolina & Virginia of the certainty in the one, & great probability in the other case of the Adoption of the foederal government are very agreeable & flattering. The Antifoederal Spirit is nearly extinct in this city as well as in every part of the State. Dr. Ewing has attempted to exculpate himself [from] the charge of Anti-foederalism, & Geo: Bryan (the Shays of our State) is fallen into universal contempt. *All will end well.*

1. RC, Belknap Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

**686. George Bryan to Mrs. George Bryan
Carlisle, Pa., 31 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Last night Genl Irwin of this County returned from N. York, by way of Philadelphia, by whom we have all the news which are going. . . .

[Notation on address page:]

To be delivered with Speed. The Foederals are gaining Ground in this part send me Help—Mr Scheif sent it here

1. RC, George Bryan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**687. An American
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 May 1788¹**

To the People of the United States.

Although discussions of the Federal Constitution, almost without number, have already taken place, one point of great magnitude admits of further observation—*The power of effecting amendments.*

It has been frequently asserted that amendments can be as easily effected *before* the adoption as *after*. Let us for a moment apply our cool and close attention to this point, and let us do it with all possible candor. To amend *before* the adoption will require that *all* the states, who are to become members of the new confederacy, should adopt *all* the amendments, that shall be adopted by *any one*. For example, if five amendments should be proposed by a new general convention, and adopted by *one* state, *every* other state that should not adopt them all, would effectually reject the constitution: that is, *the consent of the whole thirteen will be necessary to obtain any one amendment, however salutary*. But to amend the constitution *after* its adoption will require the conventions or legislatures of *only three-fourths* of the states; that is *ten out of the whole thirteen*. Hence it clearly follows, that to obtain amendments *after* the ratification will be as much *less* difficult than to procure them before the ratification, *as ten is less than thirteen*. It has been urged, that the officers of the federal government will not part with power after they have got it, but those who make this remark really have not duly considered the constitution; for the new Congress will be *obliged* to call a federal convention, on the application of the legislatures of *two-thirds* of the states, and all amendments proposed by such federal conventions are to be *valid*, when adopted by the legislatures or conventions of *three fourths* of the states. It therefore clearly appears, that *two-thirds* of the states can procure a general convention, for the purpose of amending the constitution; and that *three fourths* of them can introduce those amendments into the constitution, although the President, Senate, and federal House of Representatives were *unanimously* opposed to *each* and *all* of them. *Congress therefore cannot hold any power which three-fourths of the states shall not approve on experience.*

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 5 June.

688. An American Citizen
Pennsylvania Gazette, 4 June 1788

On the SOVEREIGNTY, or Supreme Power of the United States of America, as it will stand, according to the true interest and operation of the foederal and state constitutions, in the event of the adoption of the new act of confederation, proposed to the people by the late general convention in September, 1787.

The actual seat of the sovereign power in every country, or the body in which it is really invested, is that, which can *at all times* alter, amend or add to the constitution of the government. The following article of the proposed foederal constitution effectually and absolutely reserves

that sovereign power to the state legislatures and state conventions, chosen by the people.

“The Congress, when two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall *propose* amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by *the legislatures of three fourths* of the several states, or by *conventions in three fourths* thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.”

Congress, we see, may *propose* any amendments that appear necessary, but cannot *adopt* or *ratify* one. As to important business of amendments or alterations of the constitution, they will be a mere council of advice, whose proposed alterations will always be rejected, if four states of the thirteen shall disapprove them. It appears clearly, then, that Congress cannot make or alter the supreme law of the land—that is, the constitution of government,—and of course that *they will not hold the sovereign power*.

Where then will this power, paramount to all others, lie? The above article says that Congress, on the application of two thirds of the state legislatures, shall call a convention for proposing amendments. Here is an instance of *high powers* wisely deposited in the hands of *the state legislatures*, for they can *compel* the fœderal legislature, who we have seen are not the sovereign, to institute amendments which Congress absolutely disapprove, and which may diminish and reduce their powers. But should the state legislatures wish dangerously or unwisely to enlarge their own jurisdiction, by depriving Congress of such powers as are *safe and necessary*, there is left in the hands of the fœderal legislature, a right to require that the amendments and alterations proposed shall be considered by a convention in every state, *chosen by the people themselves*.

The powers of THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA it appears therefore will be,

1st. That they alone will chuse *all* the legislative, executive, judicial and military officers of their general and state governments, or that they will chuse those who are to appoint them.

2dly. That they *alone* will chuse all the members of the state legislatures and state conventions, to which bodies are specially reserved the right to ratify alterations and amendments of the foederal constitution, not only *independently of Congress*, but altho' such alterations and amendments should be contrary to *the unanimous opinion* of that body. Truly then may we affirm, that the supreme or sovereign power of the United

States of America, in the event of the adoption of the proposed foederal constitution, will not be vested in Congress, but that it will remain in the people themselves.

689. Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, 7–10 June 1788 (excerpt)

TO CORRESPONDENTS. . . .

We are sensible, that many of our friends would be pleased at the insertion of the best *Political pieces*; but such is the state of *party*, that our correspondent who recommends the measure, will easily perceive the danger to which it would expose our work. Every *Political piece* is written, either *entirely* on the one side, or *entirely* on the other. If therefore we publish *any thing*, we must publish *every thing*, or our impartiality will be arraigned; and even if we publish every thing, we shall be encountered with this maxim (of general use in political warfare) “if you are not *for* us, you must be *against* us.” We hope (and the present circumstances of the Magazine encourage us) that our exertions will be acceptable to the public, in the path which we have hitherto pursued; and we know, that the citizens of America, however widely they may differ in opinion on the *forms of government*, will be unanimous in supporting a work devoted to useful science and rational amusement.

690. Pennsylvania Gazette, 11 June 1788

In consequence of the ratification of the foederal government by Pennsylvania (says a correspondent) a convention will become absolutely necessary to alter our state constitution, as soon as nine states concur in the adoption of the foederal constitution. Till this be done, it will be impossible for our legislature, consistent with their oaths, to make the proper arrangements for supporting the new government. Georgia and Virginia have appointed provisional conventions, to alter their constitutions. A Council of Censors are now unnecessary to call a convention in Pennsylvania, for the people, by their delegates in the late state convention, solemnly abrogated *certain parts* of their state constitution, by ratifying the general government. It is to be hoped the good sense of Pennsylvania will never suffer itself to witness a second time the session of that expensive, idle and laughable body of men, called a Council of Censors.—Should this be permitted, and a certain junto be a majority there (as they certainly will be) we may expect their first act will be to censure those conspirators (as they will call them) in our legislature, who called the late state convention, as also every other act that shall be done by Pennsylvania under the new government.

**691. John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush
Carlisle, Pa., 12 June 1788¹**

our College Muster very thin only four new Schrolars in place of the Eleven who took Degrees and beside three or four younge lads from Balto who dont return this has a disagreeable aspect I now begin to fear that we will fail unless some very Exstrodinary Exertion are made which I Dont Exspect inclosed I Send a Copey of an anual Subription pepar agreed on by the Board of trusties at our last meeting I need not urge you to use your Best Endeavours to procure assistance for Seportg a Simanary of which you are the father and f[r]eind the Laying of its foundation is owing to you, and a very few assistants do my friend Exert your Self on this Bussiness Else we are undone

our unhappy Disturbance here has a very Bad Effect on the Colledge the Antis Consider it as a nurssery of fediarals posioned by Dr nisbet they will not give us any assistance but are ussing all thire influence (which is but litle) to hinder Students to Come and are Depreictiotg Lernning they Say that it is uncessarry in a Common Wealth we have had Disturbance at a Late Election for a Justice for the Borough those new Comers are—Determined to Distroy the peace of this town they have taken the most unjustifiable methods to Carrie thire plan they have but few lots but those few they Devid into three or four parts making So many freeholders only for the day and for the purpose of voting and Some of those lotts morgaged for the purchass money not a farthing of which is paid and not only moragaged but it is Said is also moragaged in Philada So the marchants with whom they Dale having obtained pattants Since the purchass thire was a prety Genrl Engagement federals against Antis Robt Miller & Stephoen Duncan had a Considerable Share in it the antis was beat of the Ground thus my friend is our present Setuation the holding the Election was I think Eleagal not haveing an order from Council which power a late law gives them to issue thire order when they may think proper this Eleagal Step was taken by the advice of old margery who Seems to Delight in promoting mishife where ever She is the reputable inhabitants of this place took no notice of him nay they Shuned him and did not Call to See the Chife Justic so offen as they woud have done on acct of the old fox being with him the Chife Justice has Done himselfe great honor Every thing was Conducted by him with great propritty and many actions trayd, which give Genrl Satisfaction he is much Esteemed in this place and many of the Dirty antis ackknowlage his merit

I have not Seen Dr nisbit Since his return I hope that Something has been Done in procuring the Intrest for him altho it is a lose to

take in paper yet it will help to Keep him from Starving but not from Complaining

our Porspects of haveing the new Government Established Brighten I hop verginia will soon make the ninth Pillar and a substansial one god grant it but even then we shall have trouble in this State with those Bloody Antis federals who are in Difrent parts formg into inpedented Compnays preparing to resist and to oplay to great Braitian for assistance such are the Sentiments of old margery which he thro out in a Conversation with Mr. J McCl[ene] at Chambersburgh Genl [— —] present McCl[ene] joined the Judge said that it he was of the Same opinion—we Shall never have peace in this State as Long as that old incendarrie lives I wish that he was in the Seven towers or anywhere but in this State Shall be glad to hear from you soon

PS do my friend Speak to your friends in Councial and requist that no order be granted for holding an Election for Justice in this place untill the new Government is fully in force or untill the present temper of the people is Subsided and that no Commision be greanted to Mr. Steel who is highest in votes as he is not voted by the real freeholders it is said the Effigies of the Chif Justice and Mr Wilson was Dressed in his back buildings and that the Antis has now Dressed the Effigies of Dr nisbet notwithstanding the old gentleman is praying for them that they may be cured of Ignoranc Barbarity and Savage manners this he dos Every Sunday as it is uncertain what lenth those people may proceeded I woud wish my name Concelled I am an old offender and thire resentment is particularly pointed at me.

1. RC, Benjamin Rush Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia.

692. Cassandra

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 June 1788

Mr. PRINTER, The cry of adopting the constitution proposed by the late federal convention IN TOTO, seems to have subsided. Even those who of late so very devoutly held it up as the work of divine legation, to which whosoever should add, or from which whosoever should take away, his part should be taken out of the book of life;—even these blind persecuting zealots relent. It seems now to be admitted that amendments are absolutely necessary; and amendments too of the most essential consequence to the liberty of the subject and the security of the individual states. To this principle the states of Massachusetts and South-Carolina have formally borne testimony by the acts of their state conventions; and though the conventions of some of the other states have ratified the plan of government without exception or reserve, yet the

sense of the people seems to be sufficiently manifest, that the proposed system of government is calculated more for the benefit of the future rulers than for the good of the people; and that some alterations, either in the form of a bill of rights or otherwise, are indispensably necessary. Few men are found hardy enough to contradict this opinion. In fact, the people of this continent are infinitely better agreed than they are aware of; and yet they are in great danger of being played off one against another and set together by the ears, when, if the votes of the freemen were fairly taken, ninety-nine in a hundred would be found to be still attached to the same principles of liberty which first united us against the tyrannical attempts of Great-Britain. We have still one common interest. Different orders of men are not yet established, except in contemplation; and those who bestride the continent in the fancied views of their own future importance, dare not as yet fully discover themselves. Why is it then, that we may not yet be a happy and united people? Every part of the continent seems agreed that the powers of Congress should be increased; that the regulation of foreign trade should be in their hands, and that they should be clothed with every power that is not destructive of those liberties which are secured by the constitutions of the separate states. Is there any man who wishes to go farther? If there be, he must have interested motives and sinister views; such as he will hardly venture to explain.

The only question that seems to make any difference amongst us appears to be, Whether we shall adopt those amendments, in which we seem all to be agreed, before we raise up a body of governors and rulers with a separate interest, whose wish and inclination it will be, to leave the people as small a share of liberty as possible; or whether we shall trust to our future rulers to do it hereafter? At present it is in our own power; hereafter it will be at the will and pleasure of our rulers to secure the liberties of the people.

The continent most certainly ought to be united; but we ought as certainly to secure our liberties before the new government is set in motion.

WE SHALL NEVER DO IT AFTERWARDS.

693. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 June 1788

Nothing, says a correspondent, but the passions of ambitious, impatient, or disorderly men will plunge us into commotions and civil war, if time should be taken fully to examine and consider the proposed system of government. Men who feel easy in their circumstances, and such as are not sanguine in their expectations, relative to the consequences of the proposed change, will remain quiet under the existing

government; but as to those who expect employments under the new constitution; as to those weak and ardent men who always expect to be gainers by revolutions, they are very little to be regarded; and as to those who designedly avail themselves of this weakness and ardor, they are to be detested and despised.

It is natural for men who wish to hasten the adoption of a measure, to tell us, now is the crisis; now is the critical moment which must be seized, or all will be lost and we shall be ruined and undone: This has ever been the custom of tyrants and their vile dependents in all ages. If it be true, what has so often been said, that the people of this country cannot change their condition for the worse, it still behoves them to endeavor deliberately to change it for the better. The fickle and uneasy, in any community, are the proper tools for establishing despotic governments. But it is the deliberate and cool-thinking men who must establish and secure governments on free principles—before they decide on the plan proposed, they will inquire whether it will probably be a blessing or a curse to the good people of this continent.

Our object all along has been to *reform*, not to annihilate and destroy, our federal system, and to strengthen our governments,—to establish peace, order, and justice in the community; but a new object is now presented to us. The plan of government proposed is evidently calculated totally to change our condition as a people, whose true interests have not been consulted by the framers of it. Instead of being thirteen republics under a federal head, it is clearly designed to make us one consolidated government. A *king* and *consolidation* have been the favorite themes and objects of several of our *lordly* men for some time past—But whether such a change can ever be effected without convulsions and civil wars; and whether such a change will not totally destroy the liberties of this country—it now becomes us seriously to consider and to determine.

694. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 June 1788

The indignation, says a correspondent, of every real friend to liberty in America, must be roused at the base attempts that have been made by the *federal hacks* to hurry on the adoption of the new system of power, and to shut the door against examination—These very attempts have created suspicions and jealousies that those who framed them have secret views, which they wish to hide from the public eye. What, continues our correspondent, could be the views of those who precipitated the decisions in this city, of those who made and countenanced the outrageous attacks on the country members of assembly, at their dwelling, which ought to have been considered as their castle; of those who

attempted to shackle and restrain the press? What could be the views of those gentlemen in Boston who countenanced the printers there in shutting up the press against a fair and free investigation of the system in the usual way? Why should some of the members of the general convention fly to their states, and, regardless of a propriety and decency of deportment, precipitate measures for the adoption of a system of their own making? And why should we be forced to receive a scheme of government prepared by a few lawyers, who entertain sentiments and opinions unfriendly to liberty and republicanism—such as Gouverneur Morris—Hamilton—Rufus King—Doctor Johnson of Connecticut—Wilson, &c.—without first having an opportunity of examining it with care and caution? And why should the *many* resign their birth-rights into the hands of the *few*, the *well born*, as Mr. Adams calls them? Perhaps some of them, like *Cæsar*, are panting for an *Imperial Crown*.

But let those violent men now be told that Americans are entitled to an honest and faithful government; to a government of *laws not men*; to the freedom of the Press and Trial by Jury of the vicinage, which the new constitution has totally annihilated; and, therefore, it cannot, must not, be established:—nothing, concludes our correspondent, but a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS in favor of the people at large, founded on the principles of equal liberty, can possibly save this devoted country from internal commotion—For

“The birthright we hold
 Shall never be sold,
 But sacred maintain to our graves;
 Nay, ’ere we comply,
 We’ll gallantly die,
 For we must not, nor will not be slaves.”

695. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 June 1788¹

The citizens of America, says a correspondent, have, in the course of thirteen years, acquired more immortal honor, more unfading laurels, and more well-won fame, than all the heroes of antiquity and conquerors of modern times. They are the only people who ever assumed the military character, and without discipline, without experience, and surrounded by a thousand difficulties, ventured to oppose the well-trained bands, the hardy veterans, of a powerful tyrant. Nor did they oppose them in vain—Engaged in one common cause, inspired with the same generous flame, they were successful in asserting their own rights, the rights of their country, of their posterity, and of mankind—They burst the bands of tyranny, and taught others how to become

free. They provided a last retreat for liberty, and “an asylum for the oppressed of all nations.” But they have shown themselves no less wise in council, than brave in the field: they have calmly and deliberately formed and adopted a plan of government, which (when we consider the heterogeneous materials afforded for its construction by thirteen distinct states, almost all of them different in their interests, manners and customs) may justly be called a masterpiece of human wisdom. While the revolutions of government, in other countries, have given rise to most horrid scenes of carnage and bloodshed, America alone can boast of a constitution framed by her chosen sages, and, after the most mature deliberation, approved of by the people at large, without tumultuous disorders, or intestine broils, notwithstanding the industrious efforts of a few desperate incendiaries.

Under this constitution the government must needs be wisely administered, so long as the people remain uncorrupted; for they, by their representatives, are to be their own legislators. What a pleasing prospect this to the philanthropic mind! O blest Columbia! thy sons shall revere those laws, to which they themselves shall have given birth, and which shall be calculated for the general good. Hence we may reasonably hope, that the utmost harmony shall pervade every part of the Union; that Justice, with all the moral and social virtues as her attendant train, may take up her residence amongst us; that public faith and private credit shall again raise their drooping heads; that a due tribute of respect awaits the American name at foreign courts; that our flag shall be displayed in every quarter of the globe; that agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, shall impart their blessings, and enrich our country—In short, that we shall become a great, a powerful, and a happy people. But though we have good reason to expect all these things, as the eventual result of a good government, yet we should not be unreasonably sanguine in our hopes, nor expect that a human performance can work miracles. This, our correspondent mentions, lest any should weakly imagine that this constitution should do every thing for them: let such bear in mind, that tho’ a good government be an excellent encouragement to industry, and the best security for the fruits of their labours, yet still, by far the greater part of our national character, and of the success of our citizens in life, must ultimately depend on their own exertions; and, without this, Independence is but a bubble, and the best Government on earth but a mere farce. May our citizens ever bear in mind, how much their happiness depends on themselves!

1. Reprinted three times in Philadelphia and fifteen other times throughout the country. On 5 January 1789, the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* prefaced this account with the following statement: “The following paragraphs *originally* appeared in the Pennsylvania

Mercury of the 28th of June last, when the federal constitution had been adopted by *nine* states: we again find it inserted, *verbatim*, in an European newspaper, under the London head of the 9th August, as if they were original English paragraphs. When we consider the sentiments they breathe, we are at a loss to account for this piece of literary fraud in our *worthy British friends*, who have taken so much pains hitherto in giving the most unfavourable accounts of our country. They however afford a specimen of *British accuracy* and *judgment*; for what man of common sense would ever think of applying the sentiments they contain to the people of *Great-Britain*."

696. Pittsburgh Gazette, 28 June 1788

On Friday the last, the 20th instant, the news arrived at this place of the adoption of the new constitution by Virginia, making the ninth state. On Saturday evening following, the inhabitants of this town and the adjacent country, to the number of about fifteen hundred, assembled on Grant's Hill, a beautiful rising mount to the east of the town, having the two rivers, the Alleghany and Monongahela, and their junction forming the Ohio, in prospect. Occupying the verge of the hill, they were addressed by Mr. Brackenridge, as follows:

O, my compatriots: I have great news to give you. A union of nine states has taken place, and you are now citizens of a new empire: an empire, not the effect of chance, nor hewn out by the sword; but formed by the skill of sages, and the design of wise men. Who is there who does not spring in height, and find himself taller by the circumstance? For you have acquired superior strength; you are become a great people.

Man is not born for himself only, he ought to serve others; yet how can he serve himself or others, but by means of a happy government? O, rare art! O, excellent science! All that is good and great amongst men; all that is happy and illustrious, springs from thee!

Moses led a people from the wilderness; Romulus built a city, and Numa gave it laws; the sages of Greece laid the foundation of republics; but had these the experience of ages for their guide? or combating with the pre-conceived opinions of men, were they able to establish what they had in view? Existing in the infancy of the nation, what could they do more than frame a model, commensurate with its territory? Remaining small, unable to resist impression, and conjoined with no neighbouring body, it was crushed by others. Becoming extensive, exceeded the plan of the founder, and like a cone placed on the verticle point, *fell by its own weight*.

Subdivisions in a small government were unnecessary; in a great one they could not be effected. And who ever heard that an excellent machine could be formed of one wheel. O, republics of America, I contemplate you as I do the globes of heaven: rolling each in your several orbits; yet bound by eternal laws neither to recede from nor approach

the centre. You are yourselves illustrious, but you form a system by an union of your powers: a union not inconsistent with your subordination, yet firmly, and undeviateingly securing your attachment to the whole. The amphictyonic counsel; the Achaian league; the late confederation came short of this. The idea of Henry the Great in conjoining the kingdoms of Europe, was similar; but this noble fabric is as far superior to all these, as are the works of mature design, to those of early counsel.

Yet this noble fabric rises as it were from the marshy ground? *Instabilis terra, Inabilis* [nada?]; soil on which you cannot stand; fluid in which you cannot swim; amidst popular opinions and the discord of states, it ascends and acquires a solid foundation by its own weight. O noble pile! On the four sides of thy pedestal are the names of the patriots who framed thee. At a distance are the shades of Plato, Montesquieu, and Hume. They rise from Elysium, and contemplate a structure which they may have imagined, but could never have expected to see upon the earth. Thy base overspreading our extensive tract of country, [— — —] than the pyramids of Egypt. Thy age bids fair to outlast their date. In vain shall the rains beat upon thee, and the elemental fury of the winds.

But who are those fell monsters who growl at the shadow of thy structure. They are the oponents of the new system. O, ignorance, where is thy cave? Whence do thy vapours and thy fogs arise? In vain, O monsters, with Cerberus in your train, do you bark at the noble structure. Your howlings are its praise, like the sound of tempests that assault the battlements.

What inferior race is that which croak along the bog? animals which live by the credulity, the want of discernment, and the changing temper of the populace. *Ranae palustres*, O, frogs of the marsh, local demagogues, insidious declaimers, your pond is about to be dried up. No more amongst the weeds, and in the muddy fluid, shall you lift your hoarse voice. The marsh is drained; the dome aspires, and the bright tinges of the rising day, gild its summits.

It stands on an arch embracing the independent governments: an arch excellent in its curvature. Like the bow in the clouds, "It encompasseth the heavens with a glorious circle, and the hands of the most high hath bended it."

Yes, sages may have thought of such a model; but they had not a theatre whereon to erect their works. Their projections are considered as reveries, and have perished with them. O, happy age! though late in the world, with thee it has remained to see almost perfection in a combination of social interests. On this new continent the organization has

taken place, and the eyes of all men are attentive to its movement. What is the war of the Russians and the Turks? What are the councils of the European kingdoms, to this great experiment? A bender may be stormed; battles may be fought on the black sea; Christian kingdoms may be allied, and the balance of power adjusted with a steady hand; but kingdoms have been allied, wars have been waged, and cities have been sacked before this period. Here is a new thing upon the earth; a government devised in the conclave, by philosophers and heroes; and established in less than one year, over a territory more extensive than Alexander conquered, or Caesar ever saw. Millions yet unborn shall inhabit it, and those millions will exult, and thank the wisdom of those who have devised it for their reception. Safe from wars amongst yourselves, O, posterity, you may cultivate your fields and pursue every art and science: safe from the invasion of foreign force, you may triumph in your superior strength, and resist all impression. Europe keep thy distance, or come only in peace to our shores. Barbarians of the south, savages of the north, vandals and goths of other times, we hurl you our defiance. Issuing from the heat of summer, or collecting from the snows of winter, you shall alike fell resistance. Strong shall be the girdle of your empire; like that wall which prohibits the raving Tartar; like the eternal mountains which bar the ocean.

With you, O, men of Pittsburgh, it remains this day to celebrate the event. You gave your approbation when this plan of government was first produced; your voice has been heard, and it has done you honor. These hills, and those mountains in distant prospect, were they indued with vital motion, would assent with you. These lucent streams which run gently by; yonder, Ohio himself, who receives their waters, could he speak in vocal language, would approve the sound; with hoarse murmurs he will approve it; & kiss his natal banks with greater rapture than before. For on these hills, and by these streams, will those live, who shall trace at early dawn and in the evening shade your foot steps. Shall place your names with the heroes who have lived before them, and have thought wisely on this subject. Join then in a loud acclame, and let future ages know that you are worthy of them, in having handed down this palladium of liberty, and by preserving it entire and unbroken, let future ages shew themselves worthy of you.

Three cheers were now given, and the hats thrown into the air. Nine piles of wood were then alighted, representing the nine states which had adopted the constitution. At intermediate distances, four piles were left uninflamed, representing those which had not adopted it. Fire was kindled in them, but oppressed by green leaves and heavy boughs; in spite of all that could be done the pile of New-Hampshire burst out,

and gave a luminous splendor; that of Rhode-Island not having sent delegates to the general convention, or called a convention of their own, had brimstone, tar and feathers thrown into it; yet, still some boughs of wood that were at the bottom, caught the flame, purged off the noxious vapour and materials. That of New-York and North Carolina at length took fire, and exceeded even the other piles. The whole thirteen now in one united blaze began to burn. The youths of the village danced round them on the green; and the Indians who were present, the chiefs of several nations, on their way to the treaty at Musingum, stood in amazement at the scene; concluded this to be a great council, seeing the thirteen fires kindled on the hill.

697. Cumberland County Circular Letter, 3 July 1788¹

East Pennsborough, Cumberland Co. 3d: July 1788

Sir[,] That ten States have already, unexpectedly, without amending ratified the Constitution proposed for the government of these united States, cannot have escaped the notice of the friends of Liberty.—That the way is prepared for the full organization of the government, with all its foreseen and consequent dangers, is too evident, and unless prudent Steps be taken to combine the friends to amendments, in some place in which they may confidently draw together and exert their power in unison, the liberty of the american Citizens must lie at the Discretion of Congress, and most probably, posterity, become Slaves to the Officers of Government.—

The means adopted and proposed by a Meeting of Delegates from the Townships of this County for preventing the alledged Evils and also the calamities of a civil War, are, as may be observed in perusing the proceedings of the said meeting herewith transmitted to request such persons as shall be judged fit within the Counties respectively, to use their influence to obtain a meeting of delegates from each Township to take into consideration, the necessity of amending the Constitution of these united States, and for that purpose to nominate and appoint a number of Delegates to represent the County, in a general conference of the Counties of this commonwealth, to be held at Harrisburg on the third day of September next, then and there, to devise such amendments, and such mode of obtaining them, as in the wisdom of the Delegates shall be judged most satisfactory and expedient.—

A Law will no doubt be soon enacted by the General Assembly for electing eight Members to represent this State in the New Congress. It will therefore be expedient to have proper persons put in nomination

by the Delegates in conference, being the most likely method of directing the views of the Electors to the same Object and of obtaining the desired End.—

The Society of which you are chairman is requested to call a meeting agreeably to the foregoing design, and lay before the Delegates the proceeding of this County, to the intent that the State may unite in casting off the Yoke of Slavery and once more establish Union and Liberty—

by order of the meeting

I am, with real Esteem Sir
Your most obedt. Servt—
Benjamin Blyth Chairman

1. RC, Peter Force, Pennsylvania Misc., Box 11, Library of Congress.

**698. Benjamin Blyth to John Nicholson
Cumberland County, Pa., 3 July 1788¹**

You are Earnestly requested to Call a meeting of Some of the best informed men of Your County from Each Township with Design to Consider of the Necessity of Sending Delegates from the Countys to represent You in a General Conference of the State in Order to conclude upon Such Amendments and Such mode of Obtaining them as the Conference in their Wisdom may Judge Proper the time and place of Meeting is as you will see by Our resolutions the Necessity of the Measure need not be Urged Confiding in your Friendship & Integrity we hope you will Exert yourself for the good of Mankind—

Benjn. Blyth, C. M

At Mr. James Bells—

In a meeting of Delegates from the Several Townships of the Before-said County Benjn Blyth—in the Chair, Called for the purpose of Advising the most Eligible mode of Obtaining Such Amendments in the Constitution proposed by the general Convention for the government of these United States, as May remove the Causes of Jealousy and fears of a Tyranical Aristocracy. The foundation of which Appears to be in many parts of the Said Constitution and Secure and hand Down to Posterity the Blessings of Dear bought Freedom; and thereby most Cordially Engage Each State and Every Citizen, not Only for wrath but Conscience Sake to Aid and Support the Officers of the Government in the due Execution thereof; After Seriously Considering the Importance of the Subject and the Duty of Citizens; Have come to the following Resolutions Viz—Resolved that it is the Opinion of this meeting

that the Constitution proposed by the General Convention of the United States is in Several parts Distructive of that Liberty for which so much blood and Treasure has been Spent—and Subversive of the Several State Governments by which the Rights & Liberties of the People have been Guarded and Secured That it is the Indespensible Duty of Every Citizen to Use all lawfull means to Obtain Such Amendments in the Said Constitution or Take Such measures as shall be Necessary for the Security of religion and Liberty—Resolved that it is the Opinion of the members of this meeting that it will be Expedient to Collect as Soon and as Accurately as Possible the Sentiments of the Citizens of this State Touching Such Amendments and Such mode of Obtain[ing] them as Shall be to said Citizens most Agreeable—Resolved that in order to Effectuate the foregoing resolutions that a Circular Letter be written Signed by the Chairman a[nd] Addressed to such Societys in Each County as have Already be[en] formed for Political purposes and to such as Shall be form[ed] in Any County where none is Yet formed or to Such perso[ns] as shall be Judged fit requesting that measures be Tak[en] to Call a metting of Delegates from Each Township withi[n] the respective Counties to meet as soon as Conveniently may be and take into Consideration the necessity & prop[ri]ety of Amending the Constitution of the United States & for that purpose to Appoint Delegates to meet in a General Conference of the State at Harisburgh on the Third Day of September 1788—then and there to Consider and Devise a plan the most Likely to Succeed in Obtaining the Desired Amendments—Resolved by the meeting tha[t] five members be Chosen by the County Cumberland or thr[ee] Out of the five to represent Said County in the Conference to be held at Harisburgh the 3d Day of Sept. 1788—the place and time Aforesaid—

B. Blyth, C. M

1. RC, Harrisburg Constitution, New York Public Library.

699. Charles Biddle Autobiography, c. 3 October 1788 (excerpt)¹

... There was some disturbances this year in the legislature about calling a convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution. A motion was made for that puropse the 27th of September. After some debate the further consideration was postponed until the next day. The next day nineteen members opposed to the measure stayed from the House, by which means a quorum could not be made. The reason they gave for staying away was that the business did not come [squarely?] before them. The Sergeant at Arms was sent for them. When he returned he informed the Speaker and other members present, he had

seen the absent members at the house of Alex. Boyd; that he informed them he was directed by the Speaker and other members to require their attendance. Mr. Robt. Whitehill, one of the leading members, replied that there was no House, that they had not made up their minds and therefore would not attend. The day after (the 29th), those members not attending, the Sergeant at Arms and Clerk were sent after them. They saw most of the members, but they refused to attend. It is mentioned in the Journals of the House that Mr. [James] McCalmont and Mr. [Jacob] Mily appeared by which means a quorum was made. The fact is some gentlemen went to Boyd's where most of the absent members lodged and there found McCalmont and Miley, and finding they could not persuade them, forced them to the House by which means they had a quorum and the resolution for calling a convention was adopted. Upon a memorial being presented to Council from the members who had been dragged before the House complaining of the conduct of those who had forced them there, and requesting they should be prosecuted, an order was given to the Attorney General to issue writs against them. Some of the gentlemen ordered to be prosecuted were very intimate friends and they expected that I would not vote for this measure but would oppose it. Altho' it was a very disagreeable business to me, I conceived it my duty, and therefore voted for it. I dined in company with one of them the day the resolution passed Council. He was displeased at first but was soon satisfied it was right. Some of my friends who knew how I would vote wished me to stay from the Board that day, but I refused this way of getting off doing what, altho' disagreeable, was my duty to do.

The dragging McCalmont and Miley to the House and some gross insults offered in the November following to the members at Boyd's, who were most of them those who had left the legislature in September (altho' it happened long after) was one principal reason of the removal of the seat of government from Philadelphia. Many of the Country members declaring they could not speak their sentiments freely or give their votes freely, without risking their being insulted; from this time until they effected their purpose they were continually attempting to remove from the city. Unfortunately many of the principal people in the city looked upon and treated the western members with great contempt. It was therefore natural for them to resent such treatment. They considered the inhabitants of the city as their enemies and only wanted an opportunity to injure them; which they were determined to do without regarding the consequences to the state of themselves. A little more attention being paid to them by the citizens of Philadelphia would I believe have prevented their removing the seat of government, which

was attended with a great expense to the state, and of no advantage whatever either to the members of the legislature or any others, except to the tavern keepers and those who kept boarding houses in Lancaster. Indeed I believe to most of the members it was a disadvantage, for during the winter in the city, they could transact business for themselves and their neighbors which they could not, by any means do as well in Lancaster. The western members were certainly to blame to let their resentment get the better of their judgment. I believe now (1809) with little management they could be brought back to the city, which if [th]ey were it would be long before they would again leave it. . . .

1. MS, Autobiography, Biddle Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**700. Samuel Bryan: Responses to Questions by Aedanus Burke
21 November—post-5 December 1789**

700—A. Samuel Bryan to John Nicholson, 21 November 1789¹

Judge Burke of South-Caroline, a gentleman of distinguished patriotism & abilities is now engaged in writing a regular History of the late remarkable revolution in Government, a work I have every reason to believe will be highly advantageous to the interests of republicanism—He has written to me requesting information and materials & [en]closing a number of queries, a copy of which I have taken [the] liberty to send you and to request your assistance in answering as many of them as convenient—I would wish particularly to have a statement of the various produce of the different imposts on imports in this State for the years 1781-82-83-84-85 & 86—with a view to elucidate one of the principal causes of the distresses of the people the foundation of the late Revolution in Govt.

Mr. B. has enjoined secrecy on me.

General Convention of 1787-

1. In what State and in what year was the measure proposed? What were the causes which led to the measure? by what men, or body of men or party? Or was it for the purpose of investing Congress with any additional and what powers then deemed necessary? Tell particularly.
2. What was the State of navigation, trade, and the General, and particular State police of the Union about the latter end of the year 1786? Or at that time was there in the States in general, and in any, and what particular State, what is commonly called *Anarchy*? or a spirit in the people of Licentiousness? or of enmity to their magistrates, or opposition or dislike to order and Government? Was the embarrassments of the U.S. at that period & since the peace owing to this kind of spirit? or to other & what causes? Tell particularly.

3. To what cause necessity or pretext, was it owing, that after the peace, the commerce and navigation of the U.S. was ruined? Why their credit abroad & confidence at home lost? To what cause is it to be ascribed their issuing paper money? Or what States did issue such money? The terms of redeeming it in each State, the consequence of such paper emissions—its intrinsic value.
4. Was there in 1786 or at any time before that period any influential men, or any, and what party, and in what States, whose views, interests or sentiments were unfavorable, or otherwise to the popular Govt. or favorable to a regal one? Or if so from what motives? Or was there any party and who were they inclined to avail themselves of the popularity of a certain *personage* to bring about any, and what revolution in the Government?
5. When the different States appointed delegates to the Convention, what was the general opinion of the people of Pennsylvania or its neighbouring States concerning the powers & duty which those delegates were about to execute? Or was it in contemplation of the people, or of any and what part that the republican system of Govt. should be overturned, or materially altered? What was the opinion of the people, their attachment, or dislike to the Confederation? If it was deemed practicable were it amended by conferring more authority in affairs relating to commerce? or what other affairs?
6. What is your opinion, whether confederate Republics can manage the affairs of the Confederacy, in the mode of the old Confederation; or by putting the powers of the Confederacy into high departments, & parcelling it out after the form of a regal Govt. as at present?
7. What are the special words of the act of Pennsylvania & neighbouring States, by which authority is given to their respective delegates for the Convention?
8. At what time did the General Convention meet, & in what part of Philadelphia? And in what manner public or private, was the business or debates conducted? Or if the Convention was split into any and what parties? Or if a certain personage took any and what active part, in framing the system? The history and proceedings of this Convention is particularly requested.
9. Did the Cincinnati meet at the time the Convention sat or not? What part was taken by that Society then or afterwards.
10. What were the public opinion & expectations of the Convention's proceedings while they sat? Or did the public or any party, expect any system of gov't. like that which was offered, or not?
11. When the new system the result of their deliberations, was offered to the Public, what was the effect produced on the minds of the

public upon the subject? Or did the people split into any and what faction or party in consequence.

12. What part or side was taken by the following classes of citizens of Pennsylvania & elsewhere vizt.

Cincinnati	Mechanics	
Civil Officers	Seafaring men	
Monied men	Creditors	
Merchants	Debtors	
Lawyers	Middle Country	} Inhabitants
Divines	Sea Coast	
Men of Letters	Back Country	
Whigs	Foreigners—	
Tories		
Women		

Which of all these were instrumental, and to what extent, and from what views or motives for or against the system?

13. What was then temper & disposition of the two parties against each other? What party names—or if any beside federalist and Antifedl.? Who invented the latter names? What effect had it?
14. Among those who were in opposition to the new-system, was there any preconcert, correspondence or mutual understanding to act with unanimity? Or if not thro' what cause was it neglected or omitted?
15. Among the federalists was there any such preconcert, or system of mutual aid, in any and what States, and what men or party combined to adopt the New Constitution? And what was the nature of such combination?
16. Was there any attempt and what to prevent an investigation of its merits? Or was there sufficient given for that purpose? or take the opinion of the people on it? or any attempt made by the antifederalists to gain time & for what purpose, or to prevent publications on the subject?
17. Or did the federalists use any and what means to prevent any such publications from going forth? or to intercept letters or communications. What use was made of the Post-Office, and by whose means or agency was it done?
18. What were the principal publications for and against the New-System? Who the reputed authors?
19. How soon after the system was offered to the public that the Legislatures and States of Pennsylvania, Jersey, Delaware &c. took it up, and passed it—the history of this business in Pennsylvania.

20. If any arts used to accelerate its adoption? or to elect, or reject for State Convention, such as were friendly, or otherwise to the system? When Convention met, what the temper of the parties? In discussing the system, whether violent, insolent, or otherwise?
21. Who were the leading and influential men in Pennsylvania in favor of it? Their names? Who in Jersey? Who in Delaware and Maryland? Their views and character.
22. In those States who were the Leading and influential Antifederalists? and from what parts of the States?
23. In State Convention of Pennsylvania or Legislature, was there a secession of some of the members? How many and for what cause? Were they not made prisoners and forced back again to form a house? by whom and in what manner—the history of this business—

Was the Constitution adopted in Pennsylvania in consequence of such force put on the seceding members? Was it resented by the public? If not why? How palliated or justified by the federalists? Conduct of minority after adoption? Their portest or address how received by their constituents?
24. Through this whole business, what was the spirit of the populace of the City, or low Country? or were the Anti's in any fear or danger of writing or speaking against the Constitution? Or was there any Mob to crush or punish opposition or was it practicable to raise a mob—the history of this business.
26. If any and what arts used by the federalists to mislead or deceive the people to adopt it? or to suppress the publications or objections of the other party?
27. If any rumours, or false reports spread to defame, or ascribe any and what improper motives to the opposition of the Anti's—What were the arts used?
28. If any and what impediments in the Printing offices—the conduct and character of the Printers in general in this business? Were there any Printers and who & where, who opposed the Constitution? Or were Printers under any and what fear or restraint to publish against the New-System? Or did the Printers act independently or otherwise?
29. How far was the Press instrumental in bringing about the Revolution in Govt.? Or could this be brought about without availing themselves as they did of the partiality of the Printers?
30. Were any Printers, and who abused, or oppressed or had subscriptions withdrawn for publishing against the system? The treatment to Coll. Oswald, Greenleaf and what other Printers?

700-B. Samuel Bryan to John Nicholson, 4 December 1789²

Some days ago I took the liberty to apply to you for some assistance in favor of Judge Burke of S. Carolina & inclosing a copy of queries—however for the present it will be rendering essential assistance, if you could give the total amount of the value of the imports into this Port for the years 82, 83, 84, 85, 86-87 and 1788—[- -] the vessel sails in a day or two for Charleston.

700-C. Samuel Bryan to John Nicholson, 5 December 1789³

You have misapprehended by meaning respecting the information I requested relative to the trade of this Port—perhaps it was owing to my inaccuracy in stating the queries—What I wish to be informed of is, what was the total amount of the value of the importations of the years 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 87, and 88, that is what was the value of the merchandize reported by the Master or Merchants into the offices, upon which the duties were charged—The use that is intended to be made of this information is to state the excessive imports that were made of foreign goods, and thus account for the distresses of the Country, which led to the late change in the federal Government.

You will please excuse the trouble given you.

700-D. Samuel Bryan to Aedanus Burke, post-5 December 1789⁴

1. Previous to the appointment of the Convention there seemed to be in Pennsylvania a general Wish for a more efficient Confederation. The public Debt was unpaid & unfunded. We were deluged with foreign Goods, which it was evident might have paid large Sums to the Continental Treasury, if Duties could have been generally laid & collected, & at the same Time the levying such Duties would have checked the extravagant Consumption. Whilst Congress could only recommend Measures & the States individually could refuse to execute them it was obvious that we were in Danger of falling to Pieces. The opposition of Rhode Island to the five per Cent had made a deep Impression upon Peoples Minds. A Desire of strengthening the Hands of Congress was very general; but no particular Scheme seemed to be digested, except that most Men seemed to wish Congress possessed of Power to levy Duties on imported Goods. At this Time the Convention was proposed & Members were elected for Pennsylvania about the Beginning of the Year 1787;—I do not remember the particular Time. Very little Bustle was made & little or no Opposition. What has been called the anti-constitutional or Aristocratic Party then governed our Councils and the

Representatives in Convention were chosen almost wholly of that Party & entirely from the City of Philadelphia. The Convention met without much Expectation of any thing very important being done by them till towards the Close, altho some Intimations were made, before hand, by some foolish Members (as they were thought) of the Society of Cincinnati that Nothing less than a Monarchy was to be erected & that the people of Massachusetts were driven into Rebellion for the very purpose of smoothing the Way to this Step by their Suppression. Little Regard however was paid to these Speeches till towards the Close of the Session of the Convention, when Surmises were spread from other Quarters that Something injurious to the Liberties of the People was about to be produced. These Surmises were again contradicted in some Degree;—and the Convention rose with favourable Prospects.

2. I am not able to give a particular State of Trade in Pennsylvania in 1786. But in General it was in a very unfavourable Situation. Our Navigation was almost wholly in the Hands of Foreigners, chiefly English; and a great Part of the Negotiation & Sale of Merchandize was in the same hands. The numerous Classes of Tradesmen who depend on Commerce & particularly those who depend on Navigation were distressed. There was no Anarchy nor any considerable Degree of Licentiousness in Pennsylvania. Party Spirit was high; but much more violent on Paper than any where else. The Tories, with the Spirit of Chagrin & Resentment which flowed from their Disappointments & what they called persecution (chiefly arising from the Test law) had taken Side with the Anticonstitutional or aristocratic party in Opposition to the Constitutionals who had before held the Reins of Government. But on the whole we were much more peaceable & orderly than our Neighbours, who read our Newspapers, believed us to be. And Pennsylvania, all along, besides supporting her own Government, had given the most effectual Aid to the United States, particularly in Money.

3. The Ruin of the Commerce & Navigation of the United States was owing to a Concurrence of Causes. Some of the Northern Fisheries had been long nourished by Bounties from Great Britain before the War; and those Bounties were now withdrawn. We had a Deluge of Money at the Close of the War, which raised the Prices of our own Commodities at home and the vast Diminution of Industry increased this Mischief. Trade during the War had fallen into the Hands of successful, but ignorant, adventurers who did not understand Commerce. The English Manufacturers, at the End of the War, were vastly overloaded with those kinds of Goods, which were calculated only for the American Markets, and they crowded them upon us by the Hand of their own Clerks & Agents, in such immense Quantities, that it was impossible for

us ever to pay for them. These Goods were either sold for small prices or trusted out without Discretion & never paid for. But the Exclusion of our Ships from so many of the British & French Ports & the Want of Mediterranean Passes have contributed to the Destruction of our Navigation more than all other Causes.

As to the Paper Money of Pennsylvania which has been issued since the War, it was made in 1785 for the purpose of establishing Funds for payment of the Interest to public Creditors & to lend to such as were under the Necessity of borrowing, at a Time when there were very few private Lenders. I am not well acquainted with the Detail of its Funds, Quantities & Times of Redemption. It has too much fluctuated in its Credit & has been as low as 33 1/3 p Cent Discount. In Jersey the same Motives for issuing Paper money prevailed & its Fate has been similar. I understand it is now at two third of its nominal Value.

4. When the federal Constitution was proposed to the people, the Desire of increasing the powers of Congress was great & this Object had a mighty Influence in its Favor. The popularity of Genl. W. & Doctor Franklin had still more. The people in the Towns who depended, in any Measure, on Trade, expected great Relief from it. The Gentlemen of the late Army, & the Tools of Aristocracy were loud in its Support;—and as the chief Opposition to it was believed to arise from such as belonged to the Constitutional Party, the whole Body of the old Tories, a numerous & wealthy Sett of Men, joined in its Support. There is too much Reason to believe that some Men among us had deeper Views than they chose to declare & wished a Government even less popular than the one proposed; but in Pennsylvania they have been very reserved on this Head. The Opposition was very powerful & their Language was for adopting the Constitution & procuring Amendments afterwards.

5. I have anticipated this Question.

6. The Writer of this had confined his Views of Alteration to be made in the old Confederation to a mere Enlargement of the Powers of Congress, particularly as to maritime Affairs. He thinks the Experiment ought at least to have been tried, whether we could not have succeeded under a Confederation of independent States, before we proceeded to consolidate all power in one general Government.

7. Copies of the Acts of Assembly, which are public, will furnish the best Answer to this Question.

8. The Convention sat in the State house & debated in private. It has nevertheless been said &, I suppose, is beyond a Doubt that the Members were much divided & that the present Form of Constitution was

agreed to as a Compromise, when they had almost despaired of agreeing upon any one.

9. The Cincinnati met shortly before the Convention. Some speeches of Individuals in private Companies were reported to the Effect before mentioned.

10. This is anticipated.

11. When the System was published some Writers in the Newspapers stated many Objections to it. The Party in opposition were the old Constitutional Whiggs for the most part. Numbers of these however &, especially in the Towns, joined in supporting the new federal Constitution.

12. The Cincinnati were in Support of it.

The Civil officers were threatened in News paper publications, if they should oppose, & were mostly in favor it.

Monied Men & particularly the Stockholders in the Bank were in favor of it.

The Merchants in favor of it.

Lawyers;—the greatest part in favor of it.

Divines of all Denominations, with very few Exceptions, in favor of it. They had suffered by Paper Money.

Men of Letters, many of them, were opposed to it.

Whiggs;—the Majority of them opposed to it.

Tories;—almost all for it.

The Women;—all admire Genl. W.

Mechanics;—such as depend on Commerce & Navigation in favor. The others divided according to their former Attachments to the Revolution & Constitution of Pennsylvania or their Prejudices against them.

Seafaring Men followed the Mercantile interest & were strenuous in favor of it.

Creditors were influenced in favor of it by their Aversion to Paper money;—yet some were opposed to it.

Debtors are often Creditors in their Turn & the Paper money had great Effect on Men's Minds. The Public Creditors were much divided, according to their former Predilections & Attachments.

The Counties nearest the Navigation were in favor of it generally;—those more remote in Opposition. The Farmers were perhaps more numerous in Opposition than any other Sett of Men. Most Townsmen were for it.

The Foreigners were chiefly connected with the Mercantile people & were in favor of it. Even the foreign Seamen were made useful to the Support of it in Philadelphia.

13. The Party Names, before the Convention sat, were Whiggs & Tories, which Names were wearing out;—and Constitutionals & those

who called themselves Republicans & who were also called Aristocrats & Anticonstitutionalists. In this last class were included most of the Merchants, most of the monied Men, most of the Gentlemen in the late Army & many of the Mob in the Towns.

The Name of Federalists or Federal Men grew up at New York & in the Eastern States, some Time before the Calling of the Convention, to denominate such as were attached to the general Support of the United States, in Opposition to those who preferred local & particular Advantages, such as those who opposed the five per Cent Duty or who with held their Quotas of Contribution to the general Treasury of the United States. This Name was taken possession of by those who were in favor of the new federal Government as they called it & the opposers were called Antifederalists.

14. Those in Opposition seem to have had no Preconcert, nor any Suspicion of what was coming forward. The same Objections were made in different Parts of the Continent, almost at the same Time, merely as they were obviously dictated by the Subject. Local Ideas seem to have entered very little into the Objections.

15. The Evidence of a preconcerted System, in those who are called Federalists, appears rather from the Effect than from any certain knowledge before hand. The thing however must have been easy to them from their Situation in the great Towns & many of them being wealthy Men & Merchants, who have continual Correspondence with each other.

16. The Printers were certainly most of them more willing to publish for, than against the new Constitution. They depended more upon the People in the Towns than in the Country. The Towns people withdrew their Subscriptions from those who printed Papers against, and violent Threats were thrown out against the Antis & Attempts were made to injure them in their Business.

17. Letters were frequently intercepted, & some of them selected & published by the Federalists. Private Conversation was listened to by Eves-droppers. Pamphlets & Newspapers were stopt & destroyed. This was the more easily done as most of the Towns, even down to the smallest Villages, were in possession of the Federalists. I can say Nothing about the Post Office.

18. The Writer of this has very imperfect knowledge on this Subject.

19. In Pennsylvania the Business of the Ratification was extremely hurried. The Assembly voted, if I remember right, to call a Convention for its Ratification before they were officially notified of its being recommended by Congress; and the Election was hurried through before it was generally known what was doing. Many even in the Counties not

very remote were totally uninformed of any Election being intended before it was finished, I have not Materials to be more particular.

20. In the State Convention the Behavior of the Federalists was highly insolent & contemptuous. Out of Doors, even in Philadelphia, their Behavior was more moderate after the Election for Members of Congress than before. The Election had discovered a Degree of Strength in the Antis which they did not expect & which Nothing but Surprize & the Accident of extreme bad Weather which was unfavorable to the collecting of people scattered thro the Country could have got the better of. There was one Instance of Violence a short Time before which was not generally countenanced.

21. I have not Time to enumerate the Persons w[ho] were active in supporting the Measures.

22. Nor of those against.

23. There was a Secession from the Legislature for the Purpose of preventing Measures from being precipitated. Some of those seceding were made prisoners insulted & dragged back, by the Sergeant at Arms & a Mob of Assistants.

24. The publications of the Day will be the best Answer to this Question

25. The Minds of People in Philadelphia were highly inflamed against the Opposers & some of them were unquestionably over awed;—some of them injured. Nothing perhaps checked this Spirit of Outrage so much as similar Instances in Cumberland County & Huntingdon County & others & a Discovery of the real Strength of Opposition.

26. The usual Arts of Party were used, besides those which have been enumerated.

27. The Adoption of the Constitution by North Carolina was frequently asserted & published in pretended Letters. Other Letters were fabricated & published; but they have slipt my Memory.

28. In General it may be said that Col. Oswald was almost the only Printer who published in Opposition in Philadelphia & that he has been injured in Consequence. I cannot be more particular.

29. The printing presses were notoriously the great Instruments of the American Revolution.—

30. I cannot be very particular on this head.—

1. RC, Nicholson Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Endorsed: "Recd Nov 23d 1789."

2. Ibid. Endorsed: "Recd Decr 4th 1789."

3. Ibid. Endorsed: "Recd Decr. 5th 1789."

4. FC, George Bryan Papers, Folder 1786, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

701. William Findley Autobiography
Washington, D.C., 27 February 1812 (excerpt)¹

... In the last of those years I was also elected into the convention that ratified the Federal constitution and advocated proposed amendments to accompany the Ratification, but I did not argue from dangers where none existed as some others did, for I have always thought candour was one of the best ingredients in an argument, from hence however I was considered in the language of that day as an anti-federalist. In the election for the first congress under the federal Govt I declined being a Candidate and wrote such reasons to my friends in Phila &c., as satisfied them, notwithstanding I was taken up and if the day had not been uncommonly stormy, accompanied with uncommon floods I would have been carried. It was a Genl ticket and carried wholly by one side of the state. During this congress, I was at the same election chosen both to a state convention and the supreme Executive council and at the ensuing election to the first state Legislature under the new constitution. . . .

1. Printed: "William Findley of Westmoreland, Pa. [letter to Governor William Plumer of New Hampshire, Washington, D.C., 27 February 1812]," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, V (1881), 444-45.

702. Alexander Graydon Memoirs (excerpt)¹

... Being now about to enter upon political discussions, I deem it due to those enthusiastically *republican* readers, who think we can never sufficiently praise ourselves, to tell them to stop here; if, from some unlucky notices I may have given, they have not already anticipated me. I am truly sorry that my convictions will not permit me to trace events in the usual strain of panegyric; but I am compelled, in the style of a grumbler, to say, that the patriotism, which had been calculated upon to bear us out with little or no aid from authority, and, which, in the opinion of many, was still in full vigour, was, to the eyes of all sober men, wholly inadequate to the demands which were made upon it. It had the knack, indeed of evading the most important of them, by representing them as spurious; and this was chiefly done, by restricting patriotic duties to the limits of a State. The country of a demagogue is the precise sphere of his influence; and making common cause on this principle, they were every where deaf as adders to the claims of a general interest. The articles of Confederation, receiving cement from the sense of common danger, which prevailed during the war, had occasionally afforded faint marks of continental impression; but as soon as

the fear of subjugation was removed, they were no better than a rope of sand; and the general sovereignty was a very unequal match for the thirteen individual ones. The voice of the United States, was, as it had been observed, but the drone of the bag-pipes. Its buz was heard, but it contributed not at all to the modulation of the music. It could recommend, but not enforce a measure; and hence, the imposition of certain internal taxes, and a duty of five *per centum* on imported articles, essential to the discharge of the public debt and the fulfilment of a stipulation in the treaty of peace, could never be accomplished. The refractory States were not to be moved by considerations of national justice or character; and they were equally regardless of the consequences of a dissolution of the Union.

To rescue the country from the impending anarchy and ruin, the influence of General Washington was called for, and again exerted for its salvation. Nothing less than the weight of his name could have induced the adoption of the new federal constitution, which had been framed under his auspices; and it had become very doubtful, whether the anxious struggle for independence had not been in vain, and the anticipated blessing of self-government, would not be frustrated in its very dawn. The interests opposed to an efficient union of the States, were truly formidable, as well from the conviction of the popular leaders that it would lessen, if not annihilate their importance, as from the too contracted notions of the people at large, and their inability to comprehend the necessity of a general controlling authority. The battle was hard fought on both sides. To the manly sense and patriotic eloquence of the one, was opposed the trite, but seductive cant of sedition and faction, The refined and irresistible reasoning of Publius, the signature to a series of essays chiefly written by Colonel Hamilton, was assailed by incessant volleys of words of dire import, such as monarchy, aristocracy, monopoly, and consolidation. But the last being the lucky hit, from which most immediate effect was anticipated, it was most unmercifully hackneyed in the service.

The Constitution was represented to be a consolidation, not a confederation of the States; and under this shrewd idea, its adversaries very ingeniously endeavoured to ward off the imputation of anti-federalism, now becoming odious. They contended, that *they* were, in fact, the federalists, as the self-styled federalists, were consolidators, aristocrats, and monarchists. Luckily, at this time, there were no French imperialists, or pomoters of universal despotism; or, without doubt, they would have been these too. But the tribunitial arts of the *soi disantes* federal men, were all in vain. Some dire infatuation, according to them, had seized

upon the people; and to perdition they must go, since their best friends were no longer listened to. The grand processions of trades and occupations which were exhibited at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the hint of which, was, probably, taken from the shows of Tamerlane at Samarcand, had completely federalized the populace of these capitals, and given an *eclat* to the business elsewhere, that could not be resisted. Under the “curses” therefore “not loud but deep,” of its enemies, the measure was sullenly acquiesced in; and the Constitution gradually ratified by the States. By this event, the *constitutional party* of Pennsylvania, was laid at the feet of the *Republicans*, who now triumphing under the appellation of federalists, overwhelmed their adversaries with the shortlived odium of *anti-federalism*. . . .

1. Printed: John S. Littell, ed., *Memoirs of His Own Time. With Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution*. By Alexander Graydon (Philadelphia, Pa., 1846), 339–42.

703. Timothy Pickering: Opinions on Constitution¹

For the Virginian opposers (besides George Mason and Edmund Randolph (Governor of Virginia, and late Secretary of State) who were members of the General Convention) see the debates in the Virginia Convention on its adoption. If no one has it in Salem, it may doubtless be obtained in Boston.

For opposers in Massachusetts, see debates in its convention, in which, besides their speeches, you will find their nays to the final vote of adoption.

Vice-president Clinton was then Governor of New-York, and, as I always have heard, a vehement opposer.

Gerry refused his assent in the General Convention:—and, probably at his own desire, was admitted on the floor of the Masstts. Convention, to state his reasons—made a sorry figure—and was severely handled by Judge Dana—as I have heard. Mr. Gray was a member of the convention & can inform. Consult also Mr. Goodhue, who was in the first Congress under the Constitution, and must have accurately learned who were its prime opposers in the principal states. I lived out of world—at Wyoming, from July 1787 to 1791; and heard little of what passed in it. Except what arose from my being chosen a member of the Pennsylvania Convention, at the close of 1787. But I think none of their proceedings were published, excepting a few detached speeches. I cannot now recollect many of the opposers by name: but this I know, that they were those people of that state therein, cant phrase, called *Blue Stockings*—and sometimes *Constitutionalists* (that is, the admirers and supporters of *Franklin’s constitution*, which vested all Legislative power in

one assembly) in distinction from the “Republicans” of that day, who from the beginning had opposed Franklin’s (that is, the first constitution of Penna.) Among those Republicans were all the gentlemen of distinguished characters who have since been decided federalists in that state—including Govr. McKean, who was in the Penna. Convention, & ably advocated the adoption of the federal constitution. And if Genl. Washington had appointed him among the first judges of the supreme court, he would have remained an invincible federalist to this day.

In the Penna. Convention, I particularly recollect the pert opposition of Smiley who used to waste our time in talking about a *consolidation* of the states, as the necessary result of the adoption of the constitution—“true democratic principles” &c.—One Robert Whitehill was another strenuous opposer—I believe Willm. Findley was another: but as to *Galatin* I do not recollect seeing him until 1789 & 1790, when he was a member of the Penna. Convention who formed the present constitution of that state. In the end, however, it lays in my mind that the opposers, in debate, generally signed the act of ratification of the Federal constitution; and that if Robert Whitehill was not left alone, he had not more than two or three associates, who refused to sign it.

Dearborn	}	I can give no information concerning them, as to their
Monroe		
Armstrong		
R R Livingston		

opinions or acts relative to the adoption of the Constitution. But Dearborn having been a meritorious officer of the army, President Washington, (according to a fixed rule with him, where there was fitness of character) gave him an appointment—Marshal of Maine.

Charles Pinckney (minister to Spain) was a member of the Genl. Convention, & I believe he advocated the adoption of the constitution: nay, I think I have heard that he supported the most high-toned propositions thrown out for discussion. But he did not possess *character—recd. no office*—and finally became an opposer of the govt.

I have a faint recollection, that I have heard Connecticut gentlemen say that Granger was not an *original opposer*: but not sustaining the *reputation* which has hitherto led to office in that state, & being of course neglected by that federal govt. & people, he finally displayed his native character in av[ow]ing himself an antifederalist.

Levi Lincoln	}	Mr. Gray and Mr. Goodhue can inform. I think Heath and the
Sullivan		
Heath.		

late Govr. Sumner represented Roxbury in the Massts. Convention. Sumner voted for, & I believe Heath against the constitution.

Saml. Adams, with I believe all the Bostonian (among them Dr. Jarvis) voted for its adoption.

Geo. Mason did not long survive (as it seems to me) the adoption of the constitution. He never had any concern in its administration.

Richd. Henry Lee was a Senator for some time.—

I do not recollect any man in the judiciary department who was hostile to the constitution—unless Harry Innes (I think that is his name) of Kentucky was one

I recollect no books in my possession which can be of use on this occasion. The minutes of the Penna. convention, you will see, regard its State Constitution.

1. AD, Timothy Pickering Papers, Essex Institute Library, Salem, Mass.

704. Benjamin Rush Autobiography (excerpt)¹

. . . VIII. Public Pursuits

Soon after the British army left Philadelphia an attempt was made by a number of citizens to alter and amend the constitution of Pennsylvania, which had been formed in haste. Those citizens united themselves into what they called a Republican Society. I became a member of it. They were soon afterwards opposed by a numerous class of citizens who stiled themselves Constitutionalists, and who were attached to the constitution of the State. Their contest about the constitution soon ended, for it was supported by being exclusively in the hands of its friends, who did not see its defects, or who were too much interested to acknowledge it required any amendment, especially at the time in which it was proposed. The government of the State, as was natural where all legislative power is lodged in a single body of men, was administered in an arbitrary manner. Test [laws] and other laws of an unconstitutional nature were passed, and even outrages upon the persons and property of peaceable citizens, contrary to law, were committed with impunity. These oppressions produced a contest for the power of the State which ended in a few years in the success of the party who had called themselves Republicans. By my activity in this struggle, I made many enemies, and became the subject of much newspaper abuse. My labors were not lost. The light which was thrown upon the subject of government by the controversy in which I bore a part, finally produced the present form of the constitution of Pennsylvania.

During the administration of the government of the State by a single legislature, the charter of the College of Philadelphia was taken away, and the property of the College vested in a new body of trustees. It was now called the University of Pennsylvania. This act was perpetrated

chiefly by the Presbyterians. I heard with pain that sect, with whom I was then connected, blamed for this unjust transaction, and proposed to some of my Presbyterian friends to surrender up the institution to its original proprietors, and to found a College of their own at Carlisle. This proposition gave great offence to the Provost of the University and to some other members of the Presbyterian Society, and exposed me to fresh public and private abuse. The College was notwithstanding established at Carlisle, and the College of Philadelphia was finally thro' the industry and perseverance of its former Provost restored to its just owners. Its funds were afterwards united by common consent in a new Charter with the funds of the university, and the two Seminaries became one, and was called by law the University of Pennsylvania.

From this period till the year 1786 I passed my time chiefly in my professional studies and labors.

The situation of the United States during this time was far from being an agreeable one. The weakness of the confederation, and the injustice of most of the States, in enforcing the circulation of paper money by tender laws, had limited the commerce of our country, and produced universal distress in our cities. In the year 1788 there were produced universal distress in our cities. In the year 1788 there were 1000 empty houses in Philadelphia. Bricklayers and house carpenters and all the mechanics and labourers who are dependent upon them were unemployed. The value of property in and near the city was two-thirds less than before the year 1774. Bankruptcies were numerous and beggars were to be seen at the doors of the opulent in every street of our city. Taxes were heavy and subscriptions for the relief of the poor still more oppressive. In this melancholy state of our country it occurred to thinking men that all our evils originated in a weakness of the general government. These evils were pointed out in many publications in all the States, and a convention was finally called to correct the defect of the confederation. While we were sitting in the year 1787 I received a letter from Mr. Dickinson, who was a member of the convention, calling me to come forward in support of the proposed Constitution of the United States. I had heard enough of its form and principles to be satisfied with it, and readily obeyed the call of my friend by recommending and defending it in a number of addresses to the citizens of the United States. The zeal I had discovered in my publications and speeches at town meetings induced the citizens of Philadelphia to elect me a member of the convention that met in Pennsylvania to adopt or reject the proposed federal constitution. It was adopted by a vote of two thirds of the convention, but its execution was opposed by the minority who dissented from its adoption. I continued to write in its favor until it was

adopted by all the States. In this labor I was assisted and exceeded by Mr. Dickinson under the signature of Fabius, and by Tench Coxe under a variety of signatures. Their performances did equal honor to themselves and the State of Pennsylvania. The opponents of the establishment of the constitution were the same men who had established and adhered to the first constitution of Pennsylvania, and of course hostile to the men who wrote in defence of it. I had resolved and repeatedly declared that I would close my political labors with the establishment of a safe and efficient general government. I considered this as an act of consistency, for to assist in making a people free, without furnishing them the means of preserving their freedom, would have been doing them more harm than good, and would have justly exposed me to their reproaches. I now realized my long contemplated purpose, and in the year 1789 took leave of political life, I hope, for ever.

I review the time I spent in the service of my country with pleasure and pain. I derive pleasure from the recollection of the integrity of all my public pursuits. I sought no honors, and repeatedly refused the offer of profitable offices between the years 1774 and 1789. I befriended the persecuted and distressed enemies of the Revolution, and rescued many of them from ruin and banishment by my influence with the governing powers. I obtained offices and favors for many hundred persons from the new governments of our country. But this constituted but a part of the pleasure I enjoyed in my political pursuits. I was animated constantly by a belief that I was acting for the benefit of the whole world, and of future ages, by assisting in the formation of new means of political order and general happiness. Whether my belief as far as it relates to the last great object will be realized, or not, is yet a secret in the womb of time. Late events have at times induced me to believe my hopes were visionary and my labors lost, and with them the more valuable labors of all the patriots and the blood of all the heroes of the Revolution. At other times I have consoled myself by recollecting that the seeds of all the great changes for the better in the condition of mankind, have been sowed years and centuries before they came to pass. I still believe the American Revolution to be big with important consequences to the world, and that the labor of no individual, however feeble his contributions to it were, could have been spared. It was often said by the philanthropic Dr. Jebb "that no good effort was lost." Still less can it be true, that the American Revolution will be an abortive event in the divine government of the world.

I feel pain in a review of my political life, when I recollect the unfriendly influence which party spirit (the unavoidable concomitant of politicks) had upon my moral and social feelings, and the controversies

and enmities to which it exposed me. In estimating the services of public men, let public gratitude swell to its highest pitch. When the diminution or loss of benevolent feelings, and the pain of public slander and private disputes are mentioned, property, and even life itself are light as a feather when weighed in the opposite scale to them.

To my sons I bequeath a father's experience, and I entreat them to take no public or active part in the disputes of their country beyond a vote at an election. If no scruples of conscience forbid them to bear arms, I would recommend to them rather to be soldiers than politicians, should they ever be so unfortunate as to live in a country distracted by a civil war. In battle men kill, without hating each other; in political contests men hate without killing, but in that hatred they commit murder every hour of their lives. . . .

1. George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* . . . (Princeton, N.J., 1948), 158–62.

705. Noah Webster Memoirs (excerpt)¹

. . . No 18

During the summer of this year, was held the Convention of delegates from the several states, which formed the present Constitution of the United States. Their deliberations were closed & the form of the constitution published in September. On the 15th of that month, two days before the close of the proceedings, Mr. Fitzsimmons, one of the delegates of Pennsylvania, wrote a Note to N W. requesting him, if he should approve the form of the constitution, which was to be proposed to the people, to give it his support. The following is a copy of the note.

Sir. I shall make you no apology for addressing myself to you upon the present occasion, because you must be equally interested with me in the event, and having contributed my mite to the service of our common country, I have some right to call upon others for their assistance. I consider the present moment, as the crisis that will determine whether we are to benefit by the revolution we have obtained or whether we shall become a prey to foreign influence & domestic violence. The business of the convention is nearly at an end, & a few days will bring before the people of America one constitution prepared for their future government. That it is the best which human wisdom could devise, I mean not to assert; but I trust it will be found consistent with the principles of liberty, and calculated to unite & bind together the members of a great country. It is already too evident that there are people prepared to oppose

it, even before they are acquainted with its outline, and it is as easy to foresee that if unreasonable jealousies are disseminated, its adoption may be at least protracted. In my mind, to delay is to destroy. There are so many interests, foreign & domestic, opposed to order & good government in America, as to warrant an apprehension of their interfering, if time is given for cabal & intrigue.

It too often happens that men whose views are upright, trust to the goodness of their cause; while men of opposite views are indefatigable in misrepresenting them.

Under these opinions and from a conviction that your abilities may be eminently useful on the present occasion, I am induced to call your attention to this subject. If as a friend to your country, you can support the act of the convention, I hope you will exert yourself to that purpose. I ask it only upon that condition.

I am Sir your most obed Servt
Thomas Fitzsimmons

Walnut Street
15 Sept. 1787

(Document No. 7)

N. Webster, Esq.

In consequence of this application, N.W. wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "An Examination into the Leading principles of the Federal Constitution," and inscribed it to Dr. Franklin. This pamphlet was written in haste, and was not satisfactory to himself or to friends of the Constitution.

(Miscellanies Vol. 16)

After the close of the Convention, Dr. Franklin presented a copy of the Constitution to the Speaker of the House of Assembly which was read. The bells of the City were rung on the occasion.)²

No 19

In conversing with Dr. Franklin on the subject of the constitution, after it was published, the Doctor said to NW. that he had agreed to the form of the constitution, although it had always been his opinion that the legislative body should consist of one house only. But said the Doctor, "I have been all my life changing my opinions on many subjects, & in this case, I have yielded my own opinions to those of other men." . . .

1. AD, Webster Family Papers, Yale University Library.

2. For the text in angle brackets, see Richard M. Rollins, ed., *The Autobiographies of Noah Webster: From the Letters and Essays, Memoir, and Diary* (Columbia, S.C., 1989), 148–49. For a literal transcription of the letter from Thomas FitzSimons, 15 September, see Mfm:Pa. 142.

**706. Charles Pettit to George Washington
Philadelphia, 19 March 1791¹**

If I were to recount to your Excellency the various conflicts I have had with myself to avoid giving you the trouble of this address, I am confident the recital would plead strongly in extenuation, if not in excuse, for the liberty which a sense of duty at length prevails upon me to exercise.

The desire of standing fair in the opinion of those we highly venerate and esteem, is irresistible; and an apprehension that the imagery on which such opinion is formed and supported, may have been distorted or deformed either by false or imperfect information; or by a series of suggestions which, however plausible in appearance, may have been tintured with ingredients which have imperceptibly insinuated a false colouring,—will excite proportionate endeavours to correct the appearances thus created, by unveiling the truth.

Common fame, tho' sometimes a pretty just delineator of characters, is not unfrequently mis-led by want of due information, or seduced by the suggestions of envy, malice, or the partial views of those who are interested in deceiving her. It is probably owing, in some measure, to my neglect of her, that many of her representations concerning me have had an operation unfriendly to my interests. I have been reputed wealthy, because the public service has afforded me opportunities not inferior to those which have procured wealth to others. My zeal in promoting measures for reviving public credit, and the discharge of public debts, has been imputed to self-interested motives, on a supposition that I had availed myself of large quantities of public securities at a low price. And I have sometimes been reputed a promoter of opposition to order & good government because I have chosen the use of conciliatory measures for leading the people into due order and submission to constitutional authority, rather than to join in measures which I viewed as tending, by undue precipitancy, and unnecessary circumstances of irritation, to provoke opposition rather than to inform the judgment; and to engender and confirm improper prejudices, rather than to weaken and reduce them to a subjection to reason and considerations of sound policy.

Knowing that reports of these kinds have made serious impressions to my disadvantage on many worthy minds, not otherwise disposed to be unfriendly towards me, I have supposed it not improbable that they may have reached your Excellency in a similar manner, especially when I consider the channels thro' which your information concerning me is most likely to have been derived. I have not, it is true, sir, experienced

any direct indications that I have suffered a diminution of your esteem and good opinion, nor do I know that I have any personal enemies (being unconscious of having deserved any) who may have tarnished, or cast an improper shade on my character. But it has been my fortune to be called into view, more than I wished or sought for, as a political character; and, in many instances to be placed in a kind of political opposition to most of those of this State who have lately had the honor to represent it in the national councils. The motives of respect, which have hitherto restrained me from troubling your Excellency with explanations which might possibly have been deemed irksome, still operate to shackle me with an awkward reluctance in stating my real situation, lest, on the one hand I should be charged with folly in neglecting to avail myself of the opportunities of gain which my situations have fairly afforded me; or, on the other, with vanity in assuming uncommon merit. I hope, notwithstanding, to be excused in now stating, as briefly as possible, a few leading facts, holding myself bound farther to support and explain them if your Excellency should hereafter, at a season of leisure, honor me with an intimation that such explanation would be either desirable or acceptable.

With respect to the establishment of an efficient government, my conduct and motives have indeed been grossly misrepresented. I was among those who early perceived the defects and errors of the Articles of Confederation as a system of general government;—who saw the impracticability of obtaining the necessary amendments by the acts of the Old Congress;—and who advocated the measure of calling a general convention vested with due authority for the purpose. It is nevertheless true, that when the new constitution was formed by such Convention, I perceived in it some points which I thought required explanation, and some which I wished to be amended. But I found two parties in the state irritating each other to extremes incompatible with due deliberation and reasonable discussion, in such a manner as precluded me from acting under the banners of either. On such occasions it is usual with the party prevailing to rank among their enemies and opposers every one who does not join them in the conflict. I was therefore thus considered by one party, tho' I was equally distant from joining with the other. Even after the vote of adoption by the State Convention, a large proportion of the people, especially in the western counties, shewed a disposition to resist the operation of it, in a manner which I thought indicated danger to the peace of the State. Having brought my own mind to a full conviction that political safety required the adoption of the constitution as it was, and to trust to the obtaining of amendments afterwards rather than hazard the total loss of a system which

came nearer to perfection than we could reasonably hope to obtain if this should be destroyed, I exerted the little influence I had, with the leading men in those counties, in promoting conciliating measures to lead them to a peaceable acquiescence in what had been done. The plan was happily successful. It produced among themselves some county-meetings, which were followed by a general meeting of deputies at Harrisburg early in September 1788, from every county which chose to send any; at which meeting I was invited to attend. I thought it my duty to accept the invitation, and I have reason to believe I was thereby instrumental in restoring harmony to the State. The result is well known: The petition to the Assembly, to apply, in the manner pointed out by the constitution, for such amendments as they deemed necessary, contained an explicit acquiescence in "the general system of government framed by the late federal convention"; and the idea of opposition to the federal constitution has not since met with shelter in Pennsylvania. And tho' my conduct on this occasion has been much misrepresented, and reprobated by some who from misinformation, or from other causes, have not understood it fairly, it still appears to me as one of the most meritorious political transactions of my life. It was on this ground that I did myself the honor to suggest to your Excellency, in a letter of August 1788, the assurances I then had concerning the disposition of the people of this State; for, altho' the meeting at Harrisburg had not been then held, I had sufficient ground to expect that it would terminate nearly as I then suggested, especially if I were present at the conference.

Respecting pecuniary matters, my conduct and motives have been also much misrepresented. The opportunities which the public service afforded me of obtaining wealth, are well known; and the world has given me credit for proportionate acquisitions. *If* my conduct had justified this opinion, even as far as it might have done without fairly incurring the imputation of fraud, I might have possessed an easy independance in point of fortune, tho' perhaps short of the means of splendid affluence. But while I was in the public service, the public wants were more pressing than those which regarded my private concerns; they therefore demanded and received my preferable attention: Money being constantly wanted for the public service faster than I could obtain it from the treasury, I postponed the drawing out, & appropriating to my own use, a considerable part of the stipulated portion to which I was intitled, at seasons when I could have applied it to private advantage. Trusting to a just, if not a generous settlement at the close of the War, I suffered the public to remain in my debt on the general account, instead of becoming their debtor. The monies which I did

occasionally draw out on account of my stipend, were chiefly vested in the public funds, by loans, together with so much of my other property as remained from necessary expences; more, however, with a view to the public convenience, than to private emolument; being sensible, at the time, that it might be otherwise employed to greater private advantage.

With respect to speculative purchases of public securities, I never have profited by them in any considerable degree. The public opinion seemed to forbid it to those who were concerned in public measures, and deference to that opinion, as well as delicacy, for which I have not been fairly credited, restrained me from it.

If, however, the public promises and engagements had been fairly performed, I should have had much less occasion for regret, than I now experience. In such case, the continental service, if it had not enlarged my fortune and prospects, would perhaps have done them no farther injury than the loss of so much time as it occupied, and the dispossessing me of the valuable offices I held in New Jersey, and of the prosperous train of business in which, by many years labour & study, I was established at the bar; both of which, however, having fallen into other hands in my absence, were not easily to be regained.

This consideration, together with some others, with which it is not necessary now to trouble you, turned my attention to commercial pursuits, of which, in early life, I had some professional knowledge. But so great a proportion of my property was locked up in the hands of the public, that I had no way of commanding even a moderate capital in trade, but by means of private credit. I therefore contracted debts, in confidence that the imbecility of the government, which I supposed to be occasioned merely by the want of arrangement, was the only impediment to the faithful performance of the public engagements; and that this impediment must necessarily be removed at a period not very distant, if the national character, which had been so gloriously acquired, was not to be abandoned at the moment when it solicited enjoyment, and promised an ample reward for the toils, the dangers, and the expence of blood and treasure it had cost in the acquisition. The necessary organizations, however, were slower in their approaches, than my sanguine expectations had suggested; and yet on a retrospective view of circumstances, there seems to be abundantly more reason for thankfulness to the great disposer of events, that the present situation and prospects are obtained, than cause of murmur that they are yet incomplete. As a patriot I sincerely rejoice in the present bright prospects of public prosperity. But it has not been in my power to regulate the demands of those to whom I am indebted, by the slow progress of public measures; nor can I, as a citizen, wholly suppress the feelings of

private injury, when I find occasion to lament that a conduct, which was deemed meritorious in the times of public difficulty and danger, should now, in the bright hour of public prosperity, become the occasion of depriving me of most of the earnings of a laborious life, by a kind of confiscation of a part of it to the public use, and by reducing me to the necessity of sacrificing the greater part of the residue at an under rate for the payment of private debts.

When I did myself the honor to make a tender of my farther services, I conceived I was in the performance of a double duty;—by exhibiting a test of my respect for your Excellency, as well as by offering myself for a situation in which I might hope to derive by future earnings, from a fund which had swallowed up most of my former savings, some provision for the afternoon of life. The employments, however, were otherwise disposed of; and I presume not to question the motives which gave a preference to the present occupants. But vacancies may yet happen; and I respectfully repeat the tender of my services if on any occasion they should be deemed worthy of acceptance.

I beseech you, sir, to pardon this intrusion on your patience and feelings, and to believe that I am far from imputing to you the evils of which I complain. Neither do I mean to seize you with applications for office, nor to besiege you with the solicitations of others in my behalf, however well founded I may conceive my claim to be on the public for retribution. My present aim is merely to obtain a standing in your opinion, founded on a just estimate. If the opinion thus founded should be less favourable than I wish, I doubt not it will be as favourable as I deserve, unless my veracity should be doubted, or some other cause of abatement should remain which has not come to my knowledge, nor been suggested by my imagination.

I do not even wish to break in upon your present important engagements by any immediate attention to this address. A candid consideration of it at some future period of more leisure, is all I hope for. And if you should deem it proper to confine it to your own perusal, it would add to my gratification.

1. RC, RG 59, Department of State, Miscellaneous Letters, National Archives.

Appendix
Items in Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private
that were printed in Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, 1787–88

American Museum, Philadelphia
Carlisle Gazette
Columbian Magazine, Philadelphia
Evening Chronicle, Philadelphia
Federal Gazette, Philadelphia
Freeman's Journal, Philadelphia
Germantowner Zeitung (published in German)
Independent Gazetteer, Philadelphia
Lancaster Zeitung (published in German)
Pennsylvania Chronicle, York
Pennsylvania Gazette, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Herald, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Journal, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Mercury, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Packet, Philadelphia
Philadelphische Correspondenz (published in German)
Pittsburgh Gazette

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:1 Resolution of Congress, 21 February 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 1 March
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 March
Pennsylvania Mercury, 2 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 3 March
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 March
- CC:2–A Benjamin Rush: Address to the People of the United States
Philadelphia *American Museum*, January 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:2–B William Barton: On the Propriety of Investing Congress with
Power to Regulate the Trade of the United States
Philadelphia *American Museum*, January 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:3–A Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 15 February 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 2 March
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 March
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 March

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:3-B Reason
 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 24 March 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 March
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 11 April
- CC:3-C Lycurgus
 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 2 April 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 13 April
 Carlisle *Gazette*, 30 May
- CC:4 George Washington: To the Executives of the States (1783)
 Providence *United States Chronicle*, 15 March 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 April (excerpts)
 Carlisle *Gazette*, 23 May (excerpts)
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, May 1787
 Two Philadelphia reprints in book form,
 22, 25 September 1787
- CC:5-A Americanus
 New York *Journal*, 15 March 1787
 Pennsylvania *Herald*, 24 March
- CC:5-B Extract of a letter from Halifax, via St. Johns
 dated Feb. 3, 1787
 New York *Journal*, 15 March 1787
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 March
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 21 March
- CC:6 Charlestown, Mass., *American Recorder*, 16 March 1787
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 29 March
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 31 March
 Pennsylvania *Herald*, 31 March
- CC:7 Providence *United States Chronicle*, 29 March 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 April
- CC:8 *New Hampshire Spy*, 3 April 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 April
 Pennsylvania *Mercury*, 20 April
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 21 April
- CC:9 Philadelphia *American Museum*, 4 April 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:10 George Washington's Election to the Convention
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 9 April 1787
 Pennsylvania *Mercury*, 13 April

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:11 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 April 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 April
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 April
- CC:12 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 11 April 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 24 April
Pennsylvania Gazette, 25 April
Pennsylvania Journal, 28 April
Pennsylvania Packet, 28 April
Carlisle Gazette, 9 May
Philadelphia American Museum, August 1787
- CC:13 *Newport Herald*, 12 April 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 30 April
Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 May
- CC:14 Benjamin Franklin's Election to the Convention
Massachusetts Centinel, 14 April 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 27 April
Pennsylvania Packet, 28 April
Pittsburgh Gazette, 2 June
- CC:15 Thomas Jefferson: On Violence in America
New Haven Gazette, 19 April 1787 (excerpt)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 11 May
- CC:16-A John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions*
 Preface, *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 April 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 May
Pennsylvania Packet, 3 May
Pennsylvania Mercury, 4 May
Pennsylvania Herald, 5 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 5 May
Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 May
- CC:16-B John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions*
 Letter LIII, *New York Daily Advertiser*, 9 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 15 May
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 16 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 16 May
Pennsylvania Mercury, 5 October
- CC:16-C John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions*
 Sidney, *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 6 June 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:16-D John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions*
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 3 July 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 July
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 9 July
- CC:16-E John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions*
 Senex, *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 15 August 1787
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 18 August
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 19 August
- CC:16-F John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions*
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 September 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:17 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 24 April 1787
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 27 April
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 April
- CC:18-A Albany *Gazette*, 3 May 1787 (not extant)
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 18 May
 Pennsylvania *Journal*, 19 May
 Carlisle *Gazette*, 6 June
- CC:18-B Massachusetts *Centinel*, 16 May 1787
 Pennsylvania *Journal*, 26 May
 Carlisle *Gazette*, 20 June
- CC:18-C Massachusetts *Centinel*, 19 May 1787
 Pennsylvania *Gazette*, 30 May
 Pennsylvania *Herald*, 30 May
 Pennsylvania *Journal*, 30 May
- CC:18-D Litchfield, Conn., *Weekly Monitor*, 21 May 1787
 Pennsylvania *Gazette*, 30 May
 Pennsylvania *Mercury*, 1 June
 Carlisle *Gazette*, 13 June
- CC:18-E Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 24 May 1787
 Pennsylvania *Herald*, 30 May
 Pennsylvania *Gazette*, 6 June
- CC:18-F Virginia *Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 July 1787
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 26 July
 Pennsylvania *Mercury*, 27 July
 Carlisle *Gazette*, 8 August
 Pittsburgh *Gazette*, 15 September
- CC:18-G Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 September 1787
 Pennsylvania *Packet*, 15 September

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:19 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 11 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 May
- CC:20–A Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 17 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 May
- CC:20–C *Pennsylvania Herald*, 25 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 July
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 28 July
Pennsylvania Journal, 28 July
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, July 1787
- CC:21 “Z”
Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 16 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 June
Pennsylvania Gazette, 13 June
Philadelphia American Museum, May 1787
- CC:22 Richard Price: On the American Government
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 16 May 1787
Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 16 May
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 May
Pennsylvania Herald, 16 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 16 May
Pennsylvania Mercury, 18 May
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 May
Carlisle Gazette, 6 June
Philadelphia American Museum, May 1787
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, May 1787
- CC:23 An Enquiry into the Principles of a Commercial System
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 19 May 1787 (excerpt)
Philadelphia American Museum, July 1787
- CC:24 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 19 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 May
Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 May
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 June
Pittsburgh Gazette, 3 August
- CC:25 Connecticut Legislature Debates the Appointment of
Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 12 May 1787
Connecticut Courant, 21 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 May

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 June
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, October 1787
- CC:26 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 May, 6 June
Carlisle Gazette, 30 May
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May
 (except 1st paragraph)
Pennsylvania Journal, 6 June (paragraph 1)
Pittsburgh Gazette, 23 June (except 1st paragraph)
- CC:27 *New York Journal*, 24 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 May
Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 May
- CC:29 Harrington: To the Freemen of the United States
Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 May 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 30 May
Carlisle Gazette, 4 July
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, June 1787
- CC:30-A *Pennsylvania Herald*, 30 May 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 May
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 June
- CC:30-B *Pennsylvania Herald*, 2 June 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:30-C *Pennsylvania Herald*, 13 June 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:30-D Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, 15 June 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 19 June 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 23 June
Pennsylvania Herald, 23 June
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 June
- CC:30-E Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 June 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:30-F *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 July
Pennsylvania Herald, 21 July
Pennsylvania Journal, 21 July
Pittsburgh Gazette, 11 August

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:30-H Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 30 July
Pennsylvania Gazette, 1 August
Pittsburgh Gazette, 18 August
- CC:30-I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 July
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 1 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 1 August
Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 August
Carlisle Gazette, 8 August
- CC:30-J *Pennsylvania Herald*, 8 August 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 10 August
Carlisle Gazette, 22 August
- CC:30-K *Pennsylvania Herald*, 15 August 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 17 August
- CC:30-L *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 6 September
Pennsylvania Herald, 8 September
- CC:30-M *Pennsylvania Herald*, 13 September
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:31 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 June 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 June
Pennsylvania Packet, 6 June
Carlisle Gazette, 25 July
- CC:32 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 5 June 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 13 June
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 20 June
- CC:34 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 June
- CC:35-A *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 June 1787
Carlisle Gazette, 20 June
Pittsburgh Gazette, 7 July
- CC:35-B Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 June
- CC:36 Nestor
Massachusetts Centinel, 13 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 28 June
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, August 1787

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:37 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 18 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 26 June
Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 June
- CC:38 Richard Price to William Bingham
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 June 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 20 June
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 June
Pennsylvania Mercury, 22 June
- CC:39 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 20 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 June
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 June
- CC:40-A *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 June
- CC:40-B Alexander Hamilton Attacks Governor George Clinton
New York *Daily Advertiser*, 21 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 26 July
Pittsburgh Gazette, 8 September
- CC:40-C *Pennsylvania Herald*, 1 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 3 August
Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine*, August 1787
- CC:40-D *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 August
- CC:40-E A Republican
New York *Journal*, 6 September 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 September
- CC:41 *Albany Gazette*, 21 June 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 June
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 June
Pennsylvania Herald, 30 June
- CC:42 Civis
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 August (excerpt)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 22 August (excerpt)
- CC:43 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 June 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 June
- CC:44 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 28 June
Pennsylvania Mercury, 29 June
Pennsylvania Journal, 30 June

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:45 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 30 June 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 July
Pennsylvania Journal, 21 July
- CC:46-A *Maryland Journal*, 3 July 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 July
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 July
Pennsylvania Journal, 11 July
- CC:46-B *Maryland Journal*, 3 July 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 July
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 July
- CC:46-C *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 July 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 9 July
Pennsylvania Gazette, 11 July
- CC:47-B David Daggett, Oration Delivered in New Haven
Pamphlet, New Haven, post-4 July 1787
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
(excerpts)
- CC:47-C James Campbell, Oration Delivered in Philadelphia
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, post-4 July 1787
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788
- CC:47-E *Pennsylvania Herald*, 14 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 16 July
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 18 July
Pennsylvania Gazette, 18 July
Pennsylvania Journal, 18 July
- CC:47-F *New York Journal*, 19 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 24 July
- CC:48 *Connecticut Norwich Packet*, 5 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 2 August
Pennsylvania Herald, 4 August
- CC:50 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 6 July 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:51-B *New Haven Gazette*, 2 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 13 August
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 August
Pennsylvania Gazette, 15 August
Pennsylvania Herald, 15 August
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:51–C *Pennsylvania Herald*, 18 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 August
Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 22 August
Pennsylvania Gazette, 22 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 22 August
- CC:52 Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 26 July 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 August
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 9 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 17 August
- CC:53 Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 July 1787
Carlisle Gazette, 12 September
- CC:54 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 July 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:56 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 30 July
Pennsylvania Packet, 30 July
Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 1 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 1 August
- CC:57 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 2 August
Pennsylvania Herald, 4 August
Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 8 August
- CC:58 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 1 August 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 18 August
- CC:59 An American
Massachusetts Centinel, 4 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 14 August
Pennsylvania Gazette, 15 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 15 August
- CC:60 Boston *American Herald*, 6 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 August
- CC:61 Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 7 August 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 17 August
- CC:62 *New Hampshire Spy*, 7 August 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 18 August
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 August
Pennsylvania Gazette, 22 August
Carlisle Gazette, 5 September

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:63 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 16 August
- CC:64 *New York Journal*, 16 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 August
- CC:65 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 August 1787
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 22 August
- CC:66 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 22 August 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 25 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 25 August
- CC:67 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 22 August 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 24 August
Pennsylvania Herald, 25 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 25 August
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, August 1787
- CC:68 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 August
Pennsylvania Mercury, 24 August
Pennsylvania Journal, 25 August
Pittsburgh Gazette, 8 September
- CC:69 *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 29 August 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 August
Pennsylvania Herald, 1 September
Pennsylvania Journal, 1 September
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 September
- CC:70 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 August 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:71 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 August 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:72 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 6 September
Pennsylvania Herald, 8 September
- CC:73 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 15 September
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 20 September
- CC:74 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 15 September
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 20 September

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:77-A Benjamin Franklin's Last Speech in the
Constitutional Convention
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 5 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 13 December
Pennsylvania Mercury, 14 December
Pennsylvania Herald, 15 December
Carlisle Gazette, 26 December
Pittsburgh Gazette, 5 January 1788
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:77-B Benjamin Franklin's Final Remarks
Newport Herald, 20 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 January
- CC:79 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 September 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 September
- CC:87 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 21 September 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:88 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 September 1787
Pittsburgh Gazette, 13 October (paragraphs 1, 2)
- CC:94 Daniel Shays to the Antifederal Junto in Philadelphia
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 25 September 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 September
Carlisle Gazette, 17 October
- CC:96-A *Delaware Gazette*, 26 September 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 2 October
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 3 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 3 October
Pennsylvania Herald, 4 October
Pennsylvania Mercury, 5 October
Lancaster Zeitung, 10 October
Carlisle Gazette, 17 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 24 November
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, October 1787
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:96-B *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 11 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 11 October
Pennsylvania Herald, 13 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 13 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 24 November

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:97 Strictures on the Proposed Constitution
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 26 September 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:98 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:99 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 September
Pennsylvania Mercury, 28 September
Pennsylvania Journal, 29 September
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 2 October
Carlisle Gazette, 17 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 21 October
- CC:100–A An American Citizen I: On the Federal Government
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
Broadside, Philadelphia, 21 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October
Carlisle Gazette, 31 October
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 13 November
Philadelphia *American Museum*, September 1787
- CC:101 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 September 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 27 September (paragraph 6)
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 September (paragraphs 3, 5, 6)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 28 September
Pennsylvania Journal, 29 September (paragraph 3)
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 2 October (paragraphs 2, 6)
Lancaster Zeitung, 3 October (paragraph 3)
- CC:102 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 September 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 6 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 October
- CC:103 Cato I
New York Journal, 27 September 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 3 October
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 10 November
- CC:104–A *Newport Herald*, 27 September 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 10 October
- CC:108 *Maryland Journal*, 28 September 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 6 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 6 October

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
 Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine*, October 1787
 (paragraph 1)
- CC:109 An American Citizen II: On the Federal Government
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 September 1787
 Broadside, Philadelphia, 21 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October
Carlisle Gazette, 31 October
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 20 November
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, September 1787
- CC:110–A *Massachusetts Centinel*, 29 September 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 8 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 8 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 October
Pennsylvania Herald, 10 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 10 October
- CC:110–B A True American
Massachusetts Centinel, 29 September 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 8 October
- CC:111 Curtius I
 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 29 September 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 18 October (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 October (excerpts)
 Philadelphia *Evening Chronicle*, 20 October (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 16 November (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 June 1788 (excerpt)
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, October 1787
- CC:112 An American Citizen III: On the Federal Government
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 September 1787
 Broadside, Philadelphia, 21 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October
Carlisle Gazette, 7 November
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, September 1787
- CC:120 Boston *American Herald*, 1 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 October
Pennsylvania Herald, 10 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 10 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 October (excerpt)
Pittsburgh Gazette, 10 November
- CC:121 Cæsar I
 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 1 October 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 October

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:123 *New Hampshire Spy*, 2 October 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 13 October, 7 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 15 October
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 23 October
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 November
- CC:124 Foreign Spectator
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 2 October 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:125–A The Address of the Seceding Pennsylvania Assemblymen
 Broadside, Philadelphia, 2 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 October
Philadelphia Herald, 4 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 October
Philadelphia Evening Chronicle, 6 October (excerpt)
Pennsylvania Journal, 6 October
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 9 October
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 10 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 October
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 21 October
Carlisle Gazette, 31 October
Philadelphia American Museum, October 1787
 German-language broadside, Pennsylvania, 1787
- CC:125–B A Citizen of Philadelphia
 Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 18 October 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:128 *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 3 October 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 4 October
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, October 1787
- CC:129 Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 3 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 16 October
Pennsylvania Herald, 24 October
- CC:130 Social Compact
New Haven Gazette, 4 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 19 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 October (excerpt)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October
- CC:131–E A Citizen
Massachusetts Gazette, 16 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 October

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 27 October
- CC:131-G Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 24 October 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 October
- CC:131-H Detector
New York Journal, 25 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 October
- CC:131-I A Pennsylvania Mechanic
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:131-J Galba
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 31 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:131-K Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 31 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:131-L The Jewel
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 November 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:133 Centinel I
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 October 1787
Carlisle Gazette, 24 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 1 December
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December
Broadside, Philadelphia, n.d. (omits 1st and 2nd
paragraphs)
German-language broadside, Pennsylvania, n.d.
- CC:134 James Wilson: Speech at a Public Meeting in Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Herald, 9 October 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 10 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 October
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 11 October
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 17 October
Carlisle Gazette, 24 October
Lancaster Zeitung, 24 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 3 November
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 6 November
Philadelphia *American Museum*, October 1787
- CC:135 The Grand Constitution
Massachusetts Centinel, 6 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 16 October

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Pennsylvania Herald*, 17 October
Carlisle Gazette, 7 November
- CC:136 Blessings of the New Government
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:148 "A"
Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 10 October 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 14 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 15 November
- CC:149 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 10 October 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 12 October
- CC:150 Foederal Constitution
Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 October 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 15 October
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 16 October
Pennsylvania Herald, 3, 28 November (excerpts)
Pittsburgh Gazette, 24 November (excerpt)
Philadelphia *American Museum*, October 1787 (excerpt)
- CC:151–B *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787
No Pennsylvania Reprints
- CC:153 Cato II
New York Journal, 11 October 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 17 October
- CC:154 *Virginia Herald*, 11 October 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 18 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 October
- CC:156–A Meeting of Philadelphia Association of Baptist Churches
New York Packet, 12 October 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 17 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 17 October
Pennsylvania Mercury, 19 October
Philadelphia *Evening Chronicle*, 20 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 31 October
Carlisle Gazette, 7 November
- CC:157 An Old Whig I
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 12 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:158 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 13 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:161 *Boston Gazette*, 15 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 24 October (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Herald, 27 October
- CC:162 Marcus
New York Daily Advertiser, 15 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 November
- CC:166 *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 17 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 October
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 19 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 20 October
- CC:167 A Democratic Federalist
Pennsylvania Herald, 17 October 1787
Philadelphia Packet, 23 October
- CC:168 One of the People
Massachusetts Centinel, 17 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 2 November (paragraphs 8–10)
Pennsylvania Journal, 3 November (paragraphs 8–10)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 7 November (paragraphs 8–10)
- CC:170 An Old Whig II
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 October 1787
Carlisle Gazette, 31 October
- CC:171–A *Pennsylvania Journal*, 17 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 18 October
(paragraph 2)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 19 October
Carlisle Gazette, 24 October
Lancaster Zeitung, 24 October
- CC:171–B *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October 1787
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 23 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 3 November
- CC:171–C *Pennsylvania Herald*, 17 October 1787
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, October 1787
- CC:172 A View of the Proposed Constitution
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 17 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:173 A Citizen of America: An Examination into the Constitution
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 17 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:177 Governor John Hancock: Speech to the Massachusetts
General Court
Massachusetts Gazette, 19 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 31 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 24 November (paragraph 2)
Philadelphia American Museum, November 1787
- CC:178 Brutus I
New York Journal, 18 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 26 October
- CC:181 An Old Whig III
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:183–A An American Citizen IV: On the Federal Government
Broadside, Philadelphia, 21 October 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 October
Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October
Carlisle Gazette, 7 November
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 4 December
Philadelphia *American Museum*, October 1787
- An American Citizen IV: On the Federal Government
Massachusetts Centinel, 7 November 1787 (paragraph 15 of
broadside)
Pennsylvania Herald, 21 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 21 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 November
- CC:189 A Political Dialogue
Massachusetts Centinel, 24 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 November
- CC:190 Centinel II
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 24 October 1787
Broadside, Philadelphia, n.d.
- CC:192 The Report of Connecticut's Delegates to the
Constitutional Convention
New Haven Gazette, 25 October 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 9 November
Pennsylvania Herald, 10 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 November
Philadelphia *American Museum*, November 1787

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:194 Ezekiel
 Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 25 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 5 November
- CC:196 A Republican I: To James Wilson, Esquire
New York Journal, 25 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 30 October
- CC:197–B A Son of Liberty
New York Journal, 8 November 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 16 June 1788
- CC:198 *Newport Herald*, 25 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 14 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 14 November (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Herald, 28 November (paragraph 1)
- CC:201 Publius: The Federalist 1
New York Independent Journal, 27 October 1787
Philadelphia Journal, 7 November
Philadelphia American Museum, November 1787
- CC:202 An Old Whig IV
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 October 1787
 Handbill, Philadelphia, 29 October
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 31 October
- CC:203 "M.C."
Pennsylvania Herald, 27 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 October
Pennsylvania Journal, 27 October
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 October
- CC:204 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 27 October 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:211 *Boston Gazette*, 29 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 November
Pennsylvania Herald, 11 November
- CC:214 Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 30 October 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 November
- CC:216 Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 31 October 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 12 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 13 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 14 November

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:217 Publius: The Federalist 2
 New York *Independent Journal*, 31 October 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 10 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 14 November
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, November 1787
- CC:218 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:219 Ship News
 Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 1 November 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 14 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 14 November
- CC:220 *Albany Gazette*, 1 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 November
- CC:222 Cincinnatus I: To James Wilson, Esquire
 New York *Journal*, 1 November 1787
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 November
- CC:224 An Old Whig V
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 1 November 1787
 Broadside, Philadelphia, n.d.
- CC:225 Foreigner I
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 November 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:227–A Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts General Court
Massachusetts Centinel, 3 November 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 16 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 16 November
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 November
Pennsylvania Herald, 17 November
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 21 November
Lancaster Zeitung, 28 November
Carlisle Gazette, 12 December
Pittsburgh Gazette, 22 December
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 December
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, November 1787
- CC:228 Publius: The Federalist 3
 New York *Independent Journal*, 3 November 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 17 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 21 November
 Philadelphia *American Museum*, December 1787

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:231 An Officer of the Late Continental Army
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 November 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 November
Philadelphia *American Museum*, November 1787
Broadside, Philadelphia, n.d.
- CC:233-A *New Jersey Journal*, 7 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 12 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 14 November
Pennsylvania Herald, 14 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 14 November
Carlisle Gazette, 21 November
- CC:233-B Anecdote
Pennsylvania Herald, 7 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 November
Pittsburgh Gazette, 22 December
- CC:233-C *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 5 December
- CC:234 Publius: The Federalist 4
New York *Independent Journal*, 7 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 28 November
Philadelphia *American Museum*, December 1787
- CC:235 Mathew Carey: The Prayer of an American Citizen
Philadelphia *American Museum*, 7 November 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 December
- CC:236 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 November 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:237-A Philadelphiensis I
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 November 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 November
Carlisle Gazette, 5 December
- CC:237-B Benjamin Russell to Eleazer Oswald
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 4 December 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:237-C Philadelphiensis to Eleazer Oswald
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 December 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints

CC:No.	ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 19 September 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 21 September
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 22 September 1787 <i>Philadelphia Evening Chronicle</i> , 22 September <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 25 September <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 26 September <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 26 September <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 26 September <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 13 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 25 September 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 26 September <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 26 September <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 13 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 25 September 1787 <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 26 September <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 26 September <i>Philadelphische Correspondenz</i> , 2 October <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 13 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 25 September <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 26 September <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 26 September <i>Philadelphische Correspondenz</i> , 2 October <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 13 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 27 September 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 3 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 6 October 1787 No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 10 October 1787 <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 11 October <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 11 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 10 October 1787 <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 11 October (paragraphs 1–2, 5–6) <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 11 October (paragraphs 5–6) <i>Lancaster Zeitung</i> , 17 October (paragraphs 1–2, 6)
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 12 October 1787 No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 1 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October
Appendix I *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, 23 October
Lancaster Zeitung, 24 October
Pittsburgh Gazette, 3 November
- CC:Volume 1 Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Northern Centinel*, 29 October 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Journal*, 19 December
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 24 October
- CC:Volume 1 *Newport Herald*, 1 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 21 November
- CC:Volume 1 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 1 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 1 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 3 November
Pennsylvania Gazette, 7 November
- CC:Volume 1 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 3 November 1787
Appendix I Philadelphia *Evening Chronicle*, 3 November
- CC:Volume 1 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 7 November
Pennsylvania Mercury, 9 November
Lancaster Zeitung, 14 November
- CC:Volume 1 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 November 1787
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:239 Brutus, Junior
New York Journal, 8 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 14 November
- CC:241 Cincinnatus II: To James Wilson, Esquire
New York Journal, 8 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 November
- CC:244 A Citizen of Philadelphia
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 8 November 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:251 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 10 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 23 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 24 November
- CC:252 Publius: The Federalist 5
New York Independent Journal, 10 November 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 28 November

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 December
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:253 *Boston Gazette*, 12 November 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 24, 28 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 November
- CC:257 Publius: The Federalist 6
New York Independent Journal, 14 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 December
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:258 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 November 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:259 A Receipt for an Antifederalist Essay
Pennsylvania Gazette, 14 November 1787
Philadelphia American Museum, July 1788
- CC:260 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 14 November 1787
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 28 November
- CC:263 The News-Mongers' Song for the Winter of 1788
Albany Gazette, 15 November 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 November
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:264 Brutus III
New York Journal, 15 November 1787
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 21 November
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 23 November
- CC:265 Cincinnatus III
New York Journal, 15 November 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 November
- CC:268 An American: The Crisis
Massachusetts Centinel, 17 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 3 December
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:269 Publius: The Federalist 7
New York Independent Journal, 17 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 December
- CC:270–A *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 17 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 December
Pennsylvania Journal, 15 December
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:274 Publius: The Federalist 8
New York Packet, 20 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 19 December
- CC:276–A George Mason: Objections to the Constitution
Massachusetts Centinel, 21 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 3 December
Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal, 5 December
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 December
- CC:276–B George Mason: Objections to the Constitution
Virginia Journal, 22 November 1787
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:276–D Extract of a Letter from New York, dated 7 December
Massachusetts Centinel, 19 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 1 January 1788
- CC:277 Publius: The Federalist 9
New York Independent Journal, 21 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 December
- CC:278 *Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal*, 21 November 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:279–A *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 November
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 November
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:279–B *Philadelphia Freeman’s Journal*, 21 November 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:280 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 November
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:283–A *New Haven Gazette*, 22 November 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 19 December
- CC:283–C *New Haven Gazette*, 13 December 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 26 December
Pennsylvania Gazetteer, 27 December
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 January 1788
- CC:284 A Countryman II
New Haven Gazette, 22 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 December

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:285 Publius: The Federalist 10
New York Daily Advertiser, 22 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 January 1788
- CC:287 Cincinnatus IV: To James Wilson, Esquire
New York Journal, 22 November 1787
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 30 January 1788
- CC:289 James Wilson: Speech of 24 November 1787 in the
 Pennsylvania Convention
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 November 1787 (summary)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 28 November
Pennsylvania Herald, 28 November (summary)
 Dallas pamphlet, Philadelphia, 28 November
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 29 November
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 November
Pennsylvania Mercury, 30 November
Pennsylvania Journal, 1 December (summary)
Carlisle Gazette, 5 December
Lancaster Zeitung, 5 December
Pittsburgh Gazette, 22 December
 Lloyd volume, Philadelphia, 7 February 1788
 (see CC:511)
- CC:290–A *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 24 November 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:290–B John Jay to John Vaughan, 1 December 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 December
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 December
Carlisle Gazette, 12 December
Pittsburgh Gazette, 19 January 1788
- CC:291 Publius: The Federalist 11
New York Independent Journal, 24 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 December
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January 1788
- CC:292 An Old Whig VI
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 24 November 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:295 A Landholder IV
Connecticut Courant, 26 November 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 December
- CC:297 Publius: The Federalist 12
New York Packet, 27 November 1787
Philadelphia Gazette, 23 January 1788

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:299 Virginia *Independent Chronicle*, 28 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 16 January 1788
- CC:300 Publius: The Federalist 13
New York *Independent Journal*, 28 November 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 January 1788
- CC:301 An Old Whig VII
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 November 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 28 November
- CC:302 Philadelphiensis II
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 28 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 November
(excerpts)
- CC:303 A Federal Republican
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 28 November 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:306 Brutus IV
New York *Journal*, 29 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 8 December
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December (excerpts)
- CC:307 Cincinnatus V: To James Wilson, Esquire
New York *Journal*, 29 November 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 15 December
- CC:310 Publius: The Federalist 14
New York *Packet*, 30 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 December (last paragraph)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 13 February 1788
- CC:311 Centinel IV
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 November 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:312 Publius: The Federalist 15
New York *Independent Journal*, 1 December 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 20 February
- CC:316 A Landholder V
Connecticut *Courant*, 3 December 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 June 1788
- CC:317 Publius: The Federalist 16
New York *Packet*, 4 December 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 February 1788

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:318 Centinel V
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 4 December 1787
Broadside, Philadelphia, post-4 December
- CC:320 Philadelphiensis III
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 5 December 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 December
- CC:321 Publius: The Federalist 17
New York *Independent Journal*, 5 December 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March 1788
- CC:324 Cincinnatus VI: To James Wilson, Esquire
New York *Journal*, 6 December 1787
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December
- CC:325 Richard Henry Lee to Governor Edmund Randolph
Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 December
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 December
Pennsylvania Herald, 29 December
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 2 January 1788
Carlisle Gazette, 30 January, 6 February
Philadelphia *American Museum*, December 1787
- CC:326 A True Friend
Richmond, 6 December 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 December
- CC:329 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 7 December 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 December
Pennsylvania Packet, 21 December
- CC:330 Publius: The Federalist 18
New York *Packet*, 7 December 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 March 1788
- CC:333 Publius: The Federalist 19
New York *Independent Journal*, 8 December 1787
Pennsylvania Gazette, 19 March 1788
- CC:335 A Landholder VI
Connecticut Courant, 10 December 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 22 December
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 December
- CC:339-A *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 December 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 29 December
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 December

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Pennsylvania Journal*, 2 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 5 January
Pittsburgh Gazette, 26 January
- CC:339–B John Sullivan: Speech to the New Hampshire General Court
New Hampshire Mercury, 30 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 14 February
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 15 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 16 February
Philadelphia American Museum, May 1788
- CC:342 Philadelphiensis IV
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 12 December
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 12 December
- CC:345 Alfred
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 13 December
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 2 *New York Journal*, 15 November
 Appendix I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 21 November
Lancaster Zeitung, 28 November
- CC:Volume 2 *Newport Herald*, 15 November
 Appendix I *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 4 December
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 December
Pennsylvania Herald, 5 December
- CC:Volume 2 Benjamin Franklin Signing the Constitution
 Appendix I *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 5 December
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 December
Carlisle Gazette, 19 December
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, December 1787
- CC:Volume 2 Benjamin Franklin Signing the Constitution
 Appendix I *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 November 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 December
Carlisle Gazette, 19 December
Philadelphia American Museum, August 1788
- CC:Volume 2 List of Members Who Withdrew
 Appendix I *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 November 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 3 December
Pittsburgh Gazette, 26 January 1788

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 2 Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Northern Centinel*, 20 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 December
- CC:Volume 2 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 November (paragraph 2)
Lancaster Zeitung, 28 November (paragraph 2)
- CC:Volume 2 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 21 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 November (paragraph 1)
- CC:Volume 2 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 30 November 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Journal*, 1 December
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 4 December
- CC:Volume 2 *New Jersey Journal*, 5 December 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 December
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 11 December
Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 December
- CC:Volume 2 *Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 21 December (paragraph 2)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 21 December
(paragraph 2)
Pennsylvania Herald, 22 December (paragraph 2)
Lancaster Zeitung, 26 December (paragraph 2)
- CC:Volume 2 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 14 December 1787
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 2 Timothy Meanwell
Appendix III *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 29 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 2 Plain Truth to Timothy Meanwell
Appendix III *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 30 October 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 2 Timothy Meanwell
Appendix III *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 3 November 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 2 Plain Truth
Appendix III *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 7 November 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 January 1788
- CC:353 The Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention
Broadside, Philadelphia, and *Pennsylvania Packet*,
18 December 1787

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 19 December
Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 December (excerpts)
Carlisle Gazette, 26 December 1787, 2, 9, 16 January 1788
Lancaster Zeitung, 2, 9, 16, January
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 8, 15, 22, 29 January, 5, 12,
 19, 26 February
Pittsburgh Gazette, 26 January, 2, 9, February
Philadelphia American Museum, December 1787
- CC:356 Philadelphiensis V
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 19 December 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:357 Benjamin Rush's Speech of 12 December 1787 in the
 Pennsylvania Convention
 (Dallas Version)
Pennsylvania Herald, 15 December
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 December
Pennsylvania Packet, 17 December
 (Lloyd Version)
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 December
Pennsylvania Herald, 22 December
Pennsylvania Journal, 22 December
Carlisle Gazette, 2 January 1788
Pittsburgh Gazette, 12 January
- CC:362 *New York Journal*, 20 December 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 December
Pennsylvania Mercury, 28 December
Germantäuner Zeitung, 8 January 1788
- CC:365 *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 December
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 December
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 December
- CC:371 A Landholder VIII
Connecticut Courant, 24 December 1787
Philadelphia Gazette, 30 January 1788
- CC:377 One of the People: Antifederal Arguments
Maryland Journal, 25 December 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 January 1788
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:379 Centinel VI
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 December 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 December (with variations)
- CC:382 Philadelphiensis VI
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 26 December
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 December
- CC:383 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 26 December 1787
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:385 Edmund Randolph's 10 October 1787 Letter
 Pamphlet, Richmond, c. 27 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 10 January (summary)
Pennsylvania Herald, 12 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 January (reprint of *Mercury* summary)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 January
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788
- CC:386-A *Maryland Journal*, 1 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 January
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 11 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 12 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 January
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 15 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January
Carlisle Gazette, 23 January
Lancaster Zeitung, 23 January
Pittsburgh Gazette, 16 February
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788
- CC:386-C Brutus
Boston Independent Chronicle, 24 January 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 April
- CC:386-D *Massachusetts Gazette*, 25 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 7 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 February
- CC:386-H A Countryman VI
New York Journal, 14 February 1788 (excerpts)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 3 May

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:388 Samuel Adams and the Constitution
Massachusetts Gazette, 28 December 1787
Pennsylvania Mercury, 10 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 22 January
- CC:389 Luther Martin: Genuine Information I
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 28 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 5 January 1788
Pennsylvania Herald, 16 January
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 January
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:390–A *Massachusetts Gazette*, 28 December 1787
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 January 1788
- CC:390–E *Massachusetts Gazette*, 1 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 15 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January
- CC:392–A An American: To Richard Henry Lee
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 28 December 1787
Pennsylvania Herald, 29 December
Pennsylvania Packet, 2 January 1788
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788
- CC:394 Centinel VII
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 29 December 1787
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2 January 1788
Carlisle Gazette, 6 February
- CC:395 The New Roof
Pennsylvania Packet, 29 December 1787
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 January 1788
Pennsylvania Herald, 5 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 January
Carlisle Gazette, 30 January
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 1 January 1789 (excerpts)
Philadelphia American Museum, August 1788
- CC:401 Luther Martin: Genuine Information II
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 1 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 19 January

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 January
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:402 *New Hampshire Spy*, 1 January 1788
Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 April
Philadelphia Journal, 3 May
- CC:407 An Old Man
Carlisle Gazette, 2 January 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 9 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 12 January
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 January
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 15 January
Lancaster Zeitung, 16 January
- CC: 408 An Address to the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention
Carlisle Gazette, 2 January 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 9 January
- CC:409 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 2 January 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:410 Centinel VIII
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 2 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2 January
- CC:413 Oliver Ellsworth and William Samuel Johnson Speeches in
the Connecticut Convention, 4 January 1788
Connecticut Courant, 7 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 18, 24 January (both speeches)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 19 January (Ellsworth speech)
Pennsylvania Journal, 19, 26 January (both speeches)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 23, 30 January (both speeches)
Carlisle Gazette, 13 February (both speeches)
Lancaster Zeitung, 13 February (Ellsworth speech)
Philadelphia American Museum, April 1788 (Ellsworth
speech)
- CC:414 Luther Martin: Genuine Information III
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 4 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 14 January
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 23 January
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:419 Elbridge Gerry: Defense of Conduct in the
Constitutional Convention
Massachusetts Centinel, 5 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 6 February

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:420 James Wadsworth and Oliver Ellsworth Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 7 January 1788
Connecticut Courant, 14 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 24 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 January
Carlisle Gazette, 20 February
Philadelphia American Museum, April 1788 (Ellsworth speech)
- CC:424–D Reports of the Boston Tradesmen Meeting, 8–9 January 1788
Massachusetts Centinel, 9 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 22 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 23 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 January
Carlisle Gazette, 13 February (except 1st paragraph)
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788 (excerpts)
- CC:425 Luther Martin: Genuine Information IV
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 9 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 1 February
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 9 February
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:427 Centinel IX
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 9 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 9 January
Carlisle Gazette, 5 March
- CC:428 Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Sr., and Richard Law
Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 9 January 1788
Connecticut Courant, 14 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 23, 24 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 30 January
Carlisle Gazette, 27 February
Philadelphia American Museum, August 1788
- CC:430 Tamony
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 9 January 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 1 February
- CC:437 Brutus VIII
New York Journal, 10 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 23 January (last 4 paragraphs)

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:438 Philadelphia VII
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 10 January 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC: 439 Governor George Clinton: Speech to the New York
Legislature, 11 January 1788
New York *Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 17 January
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 19 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 19 January
- CC:441 Luther Martin: Genuine Information V
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 23 January
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 January
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:443 Centinel X
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 12 January 1788
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 16 January
- CC:447 The Report of New York's Delegates to the
Constitutional Convention
New York *Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788
Philadelphia Packet, 17 January
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 19 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 19 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 19 January
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January
Philadelphia *American Museum*, February 1788
- CC:448 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 15 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 16 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 16 January
- CC:451 Luther Martin: Genuine Information VI
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 January
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 25 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 26 January
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January (excerpts)
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:453 Centinel XI
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 January
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 16 January
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 February (errata)
- CC:454 Philanthropos
Pennsylvania Gazette, 16 January 1788
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 January
- CC:455 Brutus IX
New York Journal, 17 January 1788
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January
- CC:459 Luther Martin: Genuine Information VII
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 18 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 26 January
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 January
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January (excerpt)
 Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:460 Luther Martin to the Printer
Maryland Journal, 18 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 26 January
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 January
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January
- CC:467 Luther Martin: Genuine Information VIII
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 January 1788
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 11 February
 Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:470 Centinel XII
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 23 January
Pennsylvania Chronicle, 6 February (all but last
 paragraph)
- CC:471 A Copy of a Letter from Centinel
Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 January
Carlisle Gazette, 6 February
- CC:472 A Freeman I
Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 January
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 5 February

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Carlisle Gazette*, 13 February
Philadelphia *American Museum*, February 1788
- CC:473 Philadelphiensis VIII
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 January
- CC:481 *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 28 January 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 10 March
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March
- CC:484 Luther Martin: Genuine Information IX
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 8 February
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 13 February
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:487 Centinel XIII
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 January 1788
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 6 February
- CC:488 A Freeman II
Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 January
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 12, 19 February
Philadelphia *American Museum*, March 1788
- CC:Volume 3 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 December 1787
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 3 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 December 1787
Appendix I Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 December
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 February 1788
- CC:Volume 3 Franklin and Washington
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 19 December 1787
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 December
Pittsburgh Gazette, 12 January 1788
Pennsylvania Herald, 22 December 1787
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 3 Newspaper Reports of the Calling of State Conventions
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 December 1787
Pennsylvania Journal, 22 December
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 24 December
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 26 December
Lancaster Zeitung, 2 January 1788

CC:No.	ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
	<i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 17 January <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 19 January <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 26 December 1787 <i>Philadelphia American Museum</i> , January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 21 December 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 22 December <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 26 December <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 28 December
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Salem Mercury</i> , 25 December 1787 <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 7 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 8 January <i>Carlisle Gazette</i> , 30 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 25 December 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 26 December <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 26 December <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 28 December <i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 29 December <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 26 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>New Jersey Journal</i> , 26 December 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 1 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 29 December 1787 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 31 December <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788 (paragraph 1) <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 2 January (paragraph 1) <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 26 January (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Newburyport, Mass., <i>Essex Journal</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 18 January <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 19 January <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 19 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 2 January 1788 No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 2 January (first letter) and 7 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Political Society of Richmond, Virginia <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 3 January <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 5 January

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Lancaster Zeitung*, 9 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 January
Philadelphia American Museum, January 1788
- Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 5 January 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 8 January
Pittsburgh Gazette, 16 February
- CC:Volume 3 John Hancock and the Constitution
Appendix I *Massachusetts Worcester Magazine*, 3 January 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 23 January
- Massachusetts Gazette*, 11 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 26 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 26 January
- Connecticut Courant*, 4 February 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 13 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 14 February
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 19 February
Pittsburgh Gazette, 8 March
- CC:Volume 3 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 5 January 1788
Appendix I *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 8 January
(corrected version)
Pennsylvania Packet, 8 January
Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 January
- CC:Volume 3 *New York Journal*, 7 January 1788
Appendix I *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 12 January
- CC:Volume 3 Pillars of the American Republic
Appendix I *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 22 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 23 January
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 January
- Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 29 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 29, 30 January
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 30 January (paragraph 2)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 30 January
(paragraph 2)

CC:No.	ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 January (paragraph 2) <i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 30 January (paragraph 2) <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 30 January (paragraph 2) <i>Germantäuner Zeitung</i> , 5 February (paragraph 2) <i>Philadelphische Correspondenz</i> , 5 February (paragraph 2) <i>Carlisle Gazette</i> , 13 February <i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 23 February <i>Philadelphia Columbian Magazine</i> , January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 9 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 10 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Worcester Magazine</i> , 10 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 23 January <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 24 January <i>Philadelphische Correspondenz</i> , 29 January <i>Lancaster Zeitung</i> , 30 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 15 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 29 January <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 29, 30 January (except 2nd paragraph) <i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 30 January (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Lansingburgh, N.Y., Northern Centinel</i> , 15 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 29 January <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 30 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 19 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 12 February (paragraph 1) <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 13 February (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 19 January 1788 <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 19 January <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 22 January <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 23 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Connecticut Minority <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 21 January 1788 No Pennsylvania reprints <i>New Haven Gazette</i> , 24 January 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 12 February <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 13 February <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 13 February <i>Germantäuner Zeitung</i> , 19 February <i>Carlisle Gazette</i> , 12 March

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 3 Appendix I *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 January 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 3 Appendix I Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 25 January 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 3 Appendix I Litchfield, Conn., *Weekly Monitor*, 28 January 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 7 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 8 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 February
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 19 February
Lancaster Zeitung, 20 February
- CC:Volume 3 Appendix I Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 31 January
- CC:Volume 3 Appendix I *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 January 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 31 January
(paragraph 2)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 31 January
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 January (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 February (paragraph 2)
Lancaster Zeitung, 6 February (paragraph 1)
- CC:493 Luther Martin: Genuine Information X
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 1 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 8 February
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 15 February
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:498 Civis: To the Citizens of South Carolina
Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 4 February 1788
Pamphlet, Charleston, Bowen and Co., 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 April
Philadelphia *American Museum*, May 1788
- CC:501 Centinel XIV
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 February
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 6 February
- CC:502 Luther Martin: Genuine Information XI
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 5 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 12 February
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 February
Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:504 "A.B.": The Raising
Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 February 1788
Carlisle Gazette, 20 February
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 1 January 1789
Philadelphia American Museum, July 1788
- CC:505 A Freeman III
Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 February
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 26 February
Philadelphia American Museum, April 1788
- CC:506 An Old Whig VIII
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 February 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:507 Philadelphiensis IX
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 6 February 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 February
- CC:508 Massachusetts Convention: Amendments to the Constitution
 Hancock's Original Proposal, *Massachusetts Centinel*,
 2 February 1788
Pennsylvania Gazette, 13 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 13 February
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 14 February
Pennsylvania Herald, 14 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 14 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 16 February
 Final Version, *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8 February 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 18 February
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 20 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 February
Carlisle Gazette, 26 March
Pittsburgh Gazette, 19 April
Philadelphia American Museum, February 1788
- CC:511 Advertisement for Thomas Lloyd's Debates of the
 Pennsylvania Convention
Pennsylvania Mercury, 7, 12 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 February
- CC:515 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 8 February 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:516 Luther Martin: Genuine Information XII
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 February
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 25 February
 Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 12 April
- CC:523 Charleston *City Gazette*, 11 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 20 March
Lancaster Zeitung, 26 March
- CC:526 A Citizen of the United States
Pennsylvania Gazette, 13 February 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:529–A *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February 1788
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 February
Germantauer Zeitung, 4 March
Carlisle Gazette, 12 March
Maryland Journal, 6 May 1788 (updated with Md. ratification)
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 May
Pennsylvania Mercury, 13 May
Carlisle Gazette, 14 May
- CC:529–B A Real Patriot
Pennsylvania Mercury, 26 February 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:534 Spurious Centinel XV
Pennsylvania Mercury, 16 February 1788
Carlisle Gazette, 12 March
- CC:547 Philadelphiensis X
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1788
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 February
- CC:552 A Yankee
Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 February 1788
Carlisle Gazette, 12 March (without introductory
 statement)
- CC:553 The New Litany
Virginia Herald, 21 February 1788
Pennsylvania Journal, 1 March
Carlisle Gazette, 26 March

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:554-B *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 February 1788
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 10 March
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 March
Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 March
- CC:556 Centinel XV
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 February 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 27 February
Carlisle Gazette, 19 March
- CC:557 John Adams on the Constitution
New York Journal, 23 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 March
Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 April (excerpts)
- CC:559 John Williams on the Constitution
Albany Federal Herald, 25 February 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 March
- CC:560 Hugh Williamson: Speech at Edenton, North Carolina
New York Daily Advertiser, 25–27 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 5 March
Philadelphia American Museum, June 1788
- CC:565 Centinel XVI
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 February 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 27 February
- CC:566-A Governor John Hancock: Speech to the General Court
Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 10 March
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 11 March (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 11 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 March
Carlisle Gazette, 26 March (excerpts)
Philadelphia American Museum, May 1788
- CC:566-C *New York Journal*, 24 March 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 28 April
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 30 April
- CC:570 James Bowdoin to James de Caledonia
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 February 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:577 The Arraignment of Centinel
Pennsylvania Mercury, 28 February 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:580 The Landholder No. X (spurious)
Maryland Journal, 29 February 1788
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 15, 18 March
Pennsylvania Mercury, 18 March
- CC:581 A Columbian Patriot: Observations on the Constitution
Pamphlet, Boston, February 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 12, 19, 26 March
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 13, 20, 27 March
- CC:593 *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 5 March 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 6 March
- CC:594 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 6 March
- CC:595 "A.B.C."
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:602 Arthur Lee's Report on Virginia Antifederalism
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 March 1788
Pennsylvania Journal, 15 March
- CC:603 *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 7 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:604 Luther Martin: Reply to Maryland Landholder No. X
Maryland Journal, 7 March 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 7 April
- CC:608-A The Fabrick of Freedom
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 8 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:608-B Vocal Music: The Fabrick of Freedom
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 13 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:609 Philadelphiensis XI
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:614 *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 12 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:622 The Landholder XII
Connecticut Courant, 17 March 1788
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 5 April (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 April (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 April (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 April (excerpts)
Philadelphia American Museum, October 1788
- CC:624 Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 18 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 25 March (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Packet, 26 March (excerpts)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 March (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 April
- CC:626 Luther Martin: Address No. I
Maryland Journal, 18 March 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 April
Pennsylvania Mercury, 8 April
- CC:627 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 March 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 31 March
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 1 April
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 April
Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 April
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 April
- CC:629 Virginia *Independent Chronicle*, 19 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 27 March
Pennsylvania Packet, 27 March
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 27 March (omits last sentence)
Pennsylvania Journal, 29 March
- CC:636 Luther Martin: Address No. II
Maryland Journal, 21 March 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 2, 9 April (excerpts)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 10 April
Pennsylvania Mercury, 10, 12 April
- CC:638–A George Washington to Caleb Gibbs
Massachusetts Centinel, 22 March 1788
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 1 April
Pennsylvania Packet, 1 April
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 2 April (with preface)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 April
Pennsylvania Journal, 2 April

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Pennsylvania Mercury*, 3 April
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 8 April
Carlisle Gazette, 9 April
Lancaster Zeitung, 9 April
Philadelphia Columbian Magazine, April 1788
- CC:642 Centinel XVII
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 24 March 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 26 March
- CC:643 *Massachusetts Salem Mercury*, 25 March 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 April
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 April
Pennsylvania Mercury, 20 May
- CC:647 Purported Letters from George Bryan to John Ralston
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 April
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 9 April (without preface)
Carlisle Gazette, 30 April
- CC:649 James Iredell: Address to the Freemen of Edenton, N.C.
c. 28–29 March 1788
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 19 April (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 April (excerpts)
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 April (excerpts)
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Packet*, 1 February 1788
Appendix I *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 4 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 February
Pennsylvania Herald, 5 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 7 February (excerpt)
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 12 February
Lancaster Zeitung, 13 February (excerpt)
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Daily Advertiser*, 2 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 7 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 7 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 7 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 February
- CC:Volume 4 False Reports of North Carolina Ratification
Appendix I *Newport Herald*, 14 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 March

New York Journal, 14 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 20 February

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 6 March
- CC:Volume 4 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 12 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 February
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 13 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 13 February
Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine*, February 1788
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Packet*, 5 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 9 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 9 February
- CC:Volume 4 *Newport Herald*, 7 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 24 March (excerpt)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 25 March (excerpt)
Pennsylvania Journal, 29 March (excerpt)
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Journal*, 7 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 February
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 13 February
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Journal*, 7 February 1788
Appendix I Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 7 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Journal*, 9 February
- CC:Volume 4 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 8 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 February
Pennsylvania Herald, 12 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 13 February
Carlisle Gazette, 20 February
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 9 February 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *Connecticut Courant*, 11 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 March
- CC:Volume 4 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 11 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 13 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 14 February

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 13 February 1788
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 February
Pennsylvania Packet, 23 February
Lancaster Zeitung, 5 March
Carlisle Gazette, 12 March
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 14 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 16 February
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 February (omits last sentence)
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 February
Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 February
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I *Newport Herald*, 14 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 March
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 5 March
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I *New York Packet*, 15 February 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 February
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 26 February
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I New York *Independent Journal*, 16 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 February (substituted 3rd paragraph)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 February
Pennsylvania Mercury, 11 March (last sentence)
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I Accounts from England
Pennsylvania Packet, 18 February 1788
Pennsylvania Gazette, 20 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 20 February
- Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 February
Pittsburgh Gazette, 8 March
- Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 February 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 February 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- Massachusetts Centinel*, 1 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 13 March
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 15 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 15 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 19 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 March
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 5 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 4 March (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 March
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 March (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 11 March (paragraph 3)
- CC:Volume 4 *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1788
Appendix I *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 21 February
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 February (paragraph 2)
Pennsylvania Journal, 23 February (paragraph 2)
Lancaster Zeitung, 27 February (paragraphs 2, 5)
Pittsburgh Gazette, 3 May (paragraph 2)
- CC:Volume 4 *Newport Herald*, 21 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 6 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 8 March
- CC:Volume 4 Reports of South Carolina's Call of a Convention
Appendix I *Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 February 1788
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 13 March
Pennsylvania Packet, 13 March
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 18 March

Boston Gazette, 25 February 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 5 March
Pennsylvania Mercury, 6 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 February 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 25 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 4 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Massachusetts Salem Mercury*, 26 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 March
Pennsylvania Mercury, 6 March
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 March
Pittsburgh Gazette, 12 April

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 February 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 26 February 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 February 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 February
Pennsylvania Journal, 1 March
Pennsylvania Packet, 14 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 11 March
Lancaster Zeitung, 26 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 February 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Packet*, 29 February 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 4 March
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 5 March
- CC:Volume 4 *Providence Gazette*, 1 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 March
Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 18 March
Pennsylvania Mercury, 18 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 19 March
Carlisle Gazette, 9 April
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Morning Post*, 3 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 March
Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 March (2nd letter)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 6 March
Lancaster Zeitung, 12 March (2nd letter)
Carlisle Gazette, 12 March
Pittsburgh Gazette, 12 April (1st letter)
- CC:Volume 4 *New York Journal*, 3 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 March
Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 March
Pennsylvania Journal, 12 March
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 March
Germantauer Zeitung, 18 March
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 18 March
Carlisle Gazette, 26 March

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 March 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 4 March 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 Providence *United States Chronicle*, 6 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 March
Philadelphische Correspondenz, 25 March
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 March 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 8 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 March (paragraphs 1, 2)
Pennsylvania Packet, 19 March
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 19, 21 March
(paragraphs 1, 4)
Pittsburgh Gazette, 12 April (paragraph 1)
Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 18 March (paragraphs 2–4)
Pennsylvania Journal, 19 March (paragraph 3)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 20 March (paragraphs 3, 4)
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 8 March 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 13 March (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Journal, 15 March (paragraph 1)
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 14 March 1788
Appendix I No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 15 March 1788
Appendix I Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 27 March
Lancaster Zeitung, 2 April
Carlisle Gazette, 9 April
- CC:Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 March
Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 20 March (paragraph 1)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 22 March (paragraph 1)
- CC:Volume 4 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 25 March 1788
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 28 March
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 April
- CC:Volume 4 Federalist
Appendix I *Massachusetts Centinel*, 26 March 1788
Pennsylvania Journal, 9 April

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix I *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 27 March (paragraph 1)
Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 27 March
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 March (paragraph 1)
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II Centinel IX (see CC:427)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 8 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 9 January
Pennsylvania Herald, 9 January
Carlisle Gazette, 5 March
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II Centinel XI (see CC:453)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 16 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 16 January
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 February (errata)
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 16 January 1788
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 16 January
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II Genuine Information
Pennsylvania Packet, 22 January 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- Pennsylvania Herald*, 23 January 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- Pennsylvania Packet*, 1 February 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 9 February 1788
 No Pennsylvania reprints
- Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 27 February 1788
Carlisle Gazette, 26 March (extract of letter)
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II "M"
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 26 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 30 January
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II Centinel XIII (see CC:487)
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 30 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 6 February
- CC:Volume 4 Appendix II Philo Centinel
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 31 January 1788
Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 6 February

CC:No.	ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Centinel XIV (see CC:501) Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 5 February 1788 Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 6 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 8 February 1788 (see CC:515) No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 16 February 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 3 March Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 4 March <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 5 March <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 5 March <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 6 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Centinel XV (see CC:556) Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 22 February 1788 Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 27 February <i>Carlisle Gazette</i> , 19 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	James Bowdoin to James de Caledonia (see CC:570) Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 27 February 1788 No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 February 1788 <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 6 March (letter only) Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 6 March (letter only; no footnote) <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i> , 8 March (letter only) <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 8 March (letter only; no footnote)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Original Letters Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 5 March 1788 No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 11 March 1788 Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 17 March <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 17 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Eleazer Oswald's Statement Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 12 March 1788 No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	James de Caledonia to James Bowdoin Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 12 March 1788 Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 14 March

- CC:No. ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
- CC:Volume 4 *New Hampshire Spy*, 18 March 1788
Appendix II Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 April
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 April
Pennsylvania Journal, 5 April
- CC:Volume 4 Philadelphia Newspaper Printers' Petition
Appendix II Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 10 May 1788
Pennsylvania Packet, 13 May
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 14 May
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 2 April 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 April
- CC:Volume 4 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 21 March 1788
Appendix II Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 April
Pennsylvania Packet, 4 April
Pennsylvania Journal, 5 April
- CC:Volume 4 Ebenezer Hazard's Defense
Appendix II *New York Journal*, 21 March 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 March
(with prefatory letter)
Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 25 March
(no prefatory letter)
Pennsylvania Packet, 25 March (with prefatory letter)
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 26 March
(with prefatory letter)
Pennsylvania Journal, 26 March (with prefatory letter)
Pennsylvania Mercury, 29 March (no prefatory letter)
- CC:Volume 4 A True Federalist
Appendix II *New York Journal*, 25 March 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 31 March
- CC:Volume 4 Watchman
Appendix II Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 March 1788
No Pennsylvania reprints
- CC:Volume 4 Purported Letters from George Bryan to John Ralston
Appendix II (see CC:647)
Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 March 1788
Pennsylvania Mercury, 1 April
Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 9 April (without preface)
Carlisle Gazette, 30 April
- CC:Volume 4 The Editors
Appendix II Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March 1788
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 8 April

CC:No.	ORIGINAL PRINTING/PENNSYLVANIA REPRINTS
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 28 March 1788 Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 14 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	A Friend to Law and Order Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 2 April 1788 No Pennsylvania reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Mentor Petersburg <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 3 April 1788 Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 18 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Centinel XVIII (see CC:671) Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 9 April 1788 Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 9 April
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- CC:658 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 April 1788
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- CC:662 Luther Martin: Address No. IV
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- CC:677 Fabius I
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- CC:680 Benjamin Rush to David Ramsay
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- CC:683 A Citizen of New-York: An Address to the People of the
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- CC:684 Fabius II
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- CC:685 Peter Prejudice: The New Breeches
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- CC:688 A Farmer
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- CC:689 A Plebeian: An Address to the People of the State of New York
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- CC:690 Fabius III
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- CC:701 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 April 1788
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- CC:702 None of the Well-Born Conspirators
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- CC:710 Fabius VII
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- CC:713 Aristocrotis: The Government of Nature Delineated
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- CC:716–A Amendments Proposed by William Paca in the Maryland
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- CC:716-B Address of the Minority of the Maryland Convention
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- CC:717 Fabius VIII
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- CC:718 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 April 1788
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- CC:719 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 April 1788
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- CC:722 Fabius IX
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- CC:751 An American: To the Members of the Virginia Convention
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- CC:753 South Carolina Convention Amendments, 23 May 1788
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- CC:770 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 June 1788
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- CC:773 David Ramsay Oration
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- CC:780 A Pennsylvanian: To the New York Convention
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- CC:784 *New Jersey Journal*, 18 June 1788
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- CC:785 New Hampshire Convention Amendments, 21 June 1788
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- CC:799-E James Wilson Oration, Philadelphia, 4 July 1788
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- CC:818–A New York Declaration of Rights and Form of Ratification
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- CC:818–B Recommendatory Amendments
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- CC:818–C New York Convention Circular Letter, 26 July 1788
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Explanatory Note

Pennsylvanians appearing in this index are identified in parentheses by their town or county of residence when known, otherwise simply by (Pa.). Non-Pennsylvanians in the index are identified by their state or country of residence. An asterisk appearing after a number indicates a page of a pamphlet facsimile that was struck out by the author.

To aid the reader, compilations of similar items have been grouped under a common main entry in this index. Such compilations are listed below. In addition to their being grouped under "Pseudonyms," pseudonymous items printed in this volume are indexed individually. Some entries in this index are so unusual that they deserve to be highlighted. The reader should be particularly aware of these entries listed below.

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