

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE  
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

VOLUME XXXI

*Ratification of the Constitution by the States*

**NORTH CAROLINA**

[2]



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RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

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Volume XXXI

Ratification of the Constitution  
by the States

**NORTH CAROLINA**

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MADISON  
WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRESS  
2 0 1 9

*The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* is sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Preparation of this volume was made possible by grants from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission; the Division of Research Programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency; the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation; the William Nelson Cromwell Foundation; and the Hamilton Roddis Foundation. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING IN PUBLICATION DATA [REVISED]

Main entry under title:

The Documentary history of the ratification  
of the Constitution.

Editors for v. 31: John P. Kaminski, Charles H. Schoenleber, Jonathan M. Reid, Gaspare J. Saladino, Margaret R. Flamingo, David P. Fields, Timothy D. Moore, Dustin M. Cohan, Thomas H. Linley.

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I. United States—Constitutional history—Sources.

I. Jensen, Merrill. II. Kaminski, John P. III. Saladino, Gaspare J. IV. Leffler, Richard. V. Schoenleber, Charles H. VI. Reid, Jonathan M. VII. Flamingo, Margaret R. VIII. Lannér-Cusin, Johanna E. IX. Fields, David P. X. Conley, Patrick T. XI. Moore, Timothy, D. XII. Stevens, Michael E. XIII. Muller, H. Nicholas III.

KF4502.D63 342'.73'029 75-14149  
ISBN 978-0-87020-921-5 347.30229 AACR2

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## Acknowledgments

The North Carolina volumes were supported principally by grants from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. Substantial aid was also provided by the William Nelson Cromwell Foundation, the Hamilton Roddis Foundation, and the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation.

We thank Christopher Eck and R. Darrell Meadows of the NHPRC; William D. Adams, Peter Scott, and Jason Boffetti of the NEH; Richard W. Graber, Dianne J. Sehler, Daniel P. Schmidt, and Ingrid Gregg of the Bradley Foundation; John D. Gordan III, Charles Dowling, and L. Browning VanMeter, Jr., of the Cromwell Foundation; and Thomas H. Roddis and Philip Hamilton Prange of the Hamilton Roddis Foundation.

A continuing debt of gratitude is owed to the administration and staff of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, especially Dean John Karl Scholz, Emerita Assistant Dean Linda J. Neusen, and Kelly Mallon of the College of Letters and Science; Jan Greenberg of the UW Graduate School; and Dawn-Marie M. Roberts, John G. Varda, and Don Rauls of Research and Sponsored Programs. In the Department of History, we thank chair Laird Boswell, Todd Anderson, Michael R. Burmeister, Jana Valeo, John J. Persike, and Leslie Abadie.

In addition to being our publisher, the Wisconsin Historical Society is our primary research library. The Society's staff continues its invaluable support as does the staff at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Memorial Library, especially Peter C. Gorman and Jesse Henderson of the Library's Digital Collections.

The editors would also like to acknowledge and thank Regina Rush, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia; Donna E. Kelly, Special Collections Section, State Archives, North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources; Tom Kanon, Archivist, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Office of the Secretary of State; and Peter (PJ) Nastasi, Senior Librarian, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library, Albany. Gratitude is also due to the Publications Division, North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources.

Finally, we thank Leanne Abraham and Meghan Kelly, who, under the direction of Tanya Buckingham of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Cartography Lab, prepared the North Carolina maps found on the endpapers.

This volume is dedicated to the Cartography Lab at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, which, over the last four decades, has provided us with fifteen excellent state maps depicting the vote on the ratification of the Constitution.

## 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 North Carolina 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, Connecticut, and Virginia 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. (Because of the importance of the Pennsylvania Supplemental Documents to both the Pennsylvania and the national debate over the Constitution, these documents have been published as RCS volumes 32–34.)

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.

## Editorial Procedures

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

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

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

Many documents, particularly letters, are excerpted when they contain material that is not relevant to ratification. Whenever an excerpt is printed in this edition and a longer excerpt or the entire document appears elsewhere in this edition or in other editions, this is noted.

## 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.
<b>1788</b>	
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 1787–1790

### 1787

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### 1788

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1789

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1790

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## Symbols

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

### Manuscripts

FC	File Copy
MS	Manuscript
RC	Recipient's Copy

### Manuscript Depositories

DLC	Library of Congress
DNA	National Archives
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Archives
NHi	New-York Historical Society
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania

### Short Titles

Abbot, <i>Washington, Confederation Series</i>	W. W. Abbot, ed., <i>The Papers of George Washington: Confederation Series</i> (6 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1992–1997).
Abbot, <i>Washington, Presidential Series</i>	W. W. Abbot, Dorothy Twohig et al., eds., <i>The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series</i> (Charlottesville, Va., 1987–).
Blackstone, <i>Commentaries</i>	Sir William Blackstone, <i>Commentaries on the Laws of England. In Four Books</i> (Re-printed from the British Copy, Page for Page with the Last Edition, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1771–1772). Originally published in London from 1765 to 1769.
Boyd	Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Thomas Jefferson</i> (Princeton, N.J., 1950–).
DHFFC	Linda Grant De Pauw, Charlene Bangs Bickford, Kenneth R. Bowling et al., eds., <i>Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791</i> (22 vols., Baltimore, 1972–2017).

- DHFFE Merrill Jensen, Robert A. Becker, and Gordon DenBoer, eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788–1790* (4 vols., Madison, Wis., 1976–1989).
- Farrand Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (3rd ed., 3 vols., New Haven, 1927).
- JCC Worthington C. Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 . . .* (34 vols., Washington, D.C., 1904–1937).
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**Cross-references to Volumes of  
*The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution***

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

- CDR References to the first volume, titled *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787*, are cited as “CDR” followed by the page number. For example: “CDR, 325.”
- RCS References to the series of volumes titled *Ratification of the Constitution by the States* are cited as “RCS” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the page number. For example: “RCS:N.C., 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:N.C. 2.” The supplemental documents for The Confederation Congress Implements the Constitution are denoted by “Mfm:Cong. 1.” All supplemental documents will be available at UW Digital Collections on the University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries web site (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>). The supplemental documents for Pennsylvania are also published in three printed volumes by the Wisconsin Historical Society Press.

## North Carolina Chronology, 1663–1790

**1663**

Charter from Charles II to the Eight Lords Proprietors

**1665**

Concessions and Agreement

**1669**

Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina

**1691**

N.C. governed by separate deputy governor

**1712**

North and South Carolina separated

**1729**

North Carolina becomes a royal colony

**1770–71**

Regulator Movement

**1771**

16 May Battle of Alamance

**1776**

27 February Battle of Moores Creek Bridge  
12 April Fourth Provincial Congress recommends Halifax Resolves  
that calls for Congress to declare independence from  
Britain

17 December Fifth Provincial Congress drafts and adopts state declaration  
of rights

18 December Fifth Provincial Congress drafts and adopts state constitution

**1778**

24 April General Assembly adopts Articles of Confederation  
21 July N.C. delegates to Congress sign engrossed Articles of  
Confederation

**1781**

14 July General Assembly adopts Impost of 1781

**1783**

17 May General Assembly repeals act approving Impost of 1781  
17 May General Assembly emits £100,000 in legal tender paper  
money

**1784**

- 2 June General Assembly authorizes Congress to regulate foreign commerce  
 2 June General Assembly cedes western lands to Congress  
 2 June General Assembly adopts Impost of 1783  
 20 November General Assembly repeals act ceding western lands to Congress

**1785**

- 29 December General Assembly emits £100,000 in legal tender paper money

**1786**

- Commissioners to Annapolis Convention appointed by Governor and Council

**1787**

- 6 January General Assembly appoints delegates to Constitutional Convention  
 14 March Hugh Williamson appointed delegate to Constitutional Convention by the governor and Council  
 16 April William Blount appointed delegate to Constitutional Convention by the governor and Council  
 18 September N.C. delegates to the Constitutional Convention report to Gov. Caswell  
 26 November *Bayard v. Singleton*  
 5 December General Assembly reads U.S. Constitution  
 6 December General Assembly calls state convention to meet at Hillsborough  
 6 December General Assembly orders 1,500 copies of U.S. Constitution printed  
 22 December General Assembly makes Treaty of Peace the law of the land

**1788**

- 20 February Marcus I published in *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*  
 28–29 March Election of delegates to Hillsborough Convention  
 29 March Riot ending Dobbs County election  
 14–15 July Second Dobbs County election  
 21 July–4 August Hillsborough Convention meets  
 2 August Convention resolves not to ratify Constitution without previous amendments  
 4 August Hillsborough Convention adjourns  
 12, 24 August President Samuel Johnston Transmits Hillsborough Convention Resolutions to Congress and State Executives  
 August–November County petitions circulate calling for second ratifying convention  
 21 November General Assembly calls second Convention to meet in Fayetteville  
 24, 29 November General Assembly elects five delegates to second general convention of the states

**1789**

- 21–22 August Election of delegates to Fayetteville Convention  
31 August Hugh Williamson: Memorial to Congress  
16–23 November Fayetteville Convention meets  
21 November Fayetteville Convention ratifies Constitution 194 to 77 and proposes amendments  
1 December Edenton celebration of North Carolina ratification  
11–12 December General Assembly cedes western lands to Congress  
12 December Wilmington celebration of North Carolina ratification  
16 December New Bern celebration of North Carolina ratification  
22 December General Assembly adopts amendments to U.S. Constitution proposed by Congress

**1790**

- 11 January President Washington transmits North Carolina ratification to Congress



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

**NORTH CAROLINA  
[2]**



**VI.**  
**THE DEBATE OVER THE CONSTITUTION**  
**IN NORTH CAROLINA**  
**6 August 1788–15 November 1789**

**Introduction**

Between 2 August 1788, when the North Carolina Convention refused to ratify the Constitution without previous amendments, and the beginning of the second state Convention at Fayetteville on 16 November 1789, Federalists actively corresponded with each other and published newspaper items and pamphlets. In this section, about sixty different correspondents wrote around 110 letters. Antifederalists wrote only four of the letters printed in this section. Federalists James Iredell and Hugh Williamson were most prolific. Iredell wrote six letters but received twenty-four. Williamson, one of North Carolina's delegates to the Confederation Congress, wrote eighteen letters. North Carolina Governor Samuel Johnston wrote five letters and received eleven. Archibald Maclaine and William R. Davie each wrote eight letters, while John Gray Blount received eight letters. In this section, forty-seven of the approximately sixty correspondents wrote only one letter, while thirty-eight recipients received only one letter. Non-North Carolinians were led by James Madison, a Virginia member of the U.S. House of Representatives, who wrote four letters and received nine. President George Washington wrote one letter and received five.

Letters covered a wide range of topics:

- amendments to the Constitution, which were needed to obtain North Carolina ratification (17)
- the printing and distribution of the debates from the Hillsborough Convention (15)
  - North Carolina's rejection of the Constitution (14)
  - predictions that North Carolina would ratify (12)
  - the circulation of Federalist printed pieces (11)
  - statements that the new federal government was operating (9)
  - Indian problems in the western part of North Carolina (7)
  - the governor and Council's address to President Washington (7)
  - the imminent call of a second North Carolina convention (6)
  - Federalists' increasing strength in North Carolina (5)
  - praise of James Iredell (5)
  - praise of President Washington (5)

Letters also referenced the possible secession of Edenton, the seacoast, and the western counties from North Carolina if the state refused to ratify the Constitution; criticized Antifederalists in general and leaders like Willie Jones, Thomas Person, and Samuel Spencer specifically; called attention to the danger of a second federal convention; and mentioned that North Carolina did not absolutely reject the Constitution, that North Carolina (even Antifederalists) wanted to remain in the Union, and that North Carolina was critical in representing the Southern interest in the U.S. Congress. One Antifederalist letter in this time period was the response of Thomas Person to John Lamb, chairman of the New York Federal Republican Committee, who had written to Antifederalist leaders in states that had not yet ratified the Constitution, seeking to coordinate action. An earlier response from Person seems to have gotten lost, so he wrote another response. See other North Carolina responses to Lamb by Timothy Bloodworth, 23 June and 1 July 1788 (RCS:N.C., 163–64, 165–66).

This section also contains forty-five newspaper items. Some are only a few lines long, while one, “*Americanus*,” was serialized in four separate issues of the *Wilmington Centinel*. Half of the newspaper items appeared in the form of extracts of letters. Nineteen of these extracts were said to have originated in North Carolina, three originated in New York City, and two in Richmond, Virginia. These extracts of letters have been printed in this volume under the date of the letter—not the date of the newspaper in which they were first printed—when there was a long lapse between the date of the letter and the date of printing. That lapse could be as long as six weeks to two months.

Newspaper items touched on a variety of topics. Eleven of the forty-five pieces predicted that North Carolina would ratify. Eight mentioned that a second state ratifying convention was to be called or would soon meet. Five items indicated that amendments to the Constitution were needed to obtain North Carolina’s ratification, but one item declared that previous amendments would have been impossible to obtain. Another article suggested that the state Convention should have ratified the Constitution with recommendatory amendments as had been done by five other states. Five items reported on North Carolina’s rejection of the Constitution, one of which said that the rejection was a significant mistake. Several items mentioned that Federalists were gaining strength or were strong along the seacoast and in the western part of the state, while a couple of pieces suggested that opposition to the Constitution was still strong in the state. One item indicated that North Carolina Federalists were more distinguished than their opponents, while Antifederalists were occasionally referred to as former Loyalists

or as demagogues who selfishly supported their own interests or those of dishonest debtors who wanted to cheat their creditors with depreciated paper money. A couple of items reported that Antifederalist leaders had been burned in effigy. One article indicated that North Carolina's rejection posed real dangers to South Carolina and Georgia because of their separation from the other states in the Union and their proximity to Spanish or Indian territories. Several reports circulated that Edenton, the seacoast, and the west might secede from the state if North Carolina continued out of the Union. One writer even suggested that North Carolina rejected the Constitution because of fears that the federal government would emancipate the slaves. Another writer suggested that North Carolina and Rhode Island, as the minority, had no right to reject the Constitution. Their refusal threatened civil war, whereas unanimity augured greatness for America.

Antifederalist newspaper items stressed the need for a second general convention of the states to amend the Constitution. Another Antifederalist feared the actions of a Northern-dominated Congress, while another writer predicted that many Americans would resettle in the western territories (including Tennessee) to avoid the despotic government under the new Constitution. Finally, one Antifederalist argued that the Constitution was unlawful and that the old Confederation was still in effect.

North Carolina newspapers also reprinted items from other states. On 20 August 1788, the *Wilmington Centinel* reprinted the New York Convention's Circular Letter calling for a second constitutional convention and the New York City procession of 23 July. On 22 January 1789, the *Centinel* reprinted New York Governor George Clinton's address of 11 December to the state legislature announcing New York's ratification. In Edenton, the *State Gazette of North Carolina* reprinted the amendments to the Constitution under consideration by Congress in September 1789 and the act of Congress suspending the foreign tonnage duties on North Carolina merchants until mid-January 1790 (17 September and 1 October 1789, respectively). The *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 16 July, reprinted a lengthy item commenting on Congress' amendments that was first printed in the *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 18 June 1789.

This section also contains a number of other documents. The Hillsborough Convention's proposed declaration of rights and amendments were widely printed in newspapers and broadsides. Two pamphlets appeared—one by James Iredell under the pseudonym "A Citizen of North Carolina" and one anonymously written pamphlet signed "A Citizen and Soldier." Both pamphlets were also printed in newspapers. While

in New York City, Hugh Williamson also wrote an article signed "A Republican" and a memorial to the U.S. Congress supporting the interests of North Carolina merchants. This section also includes the text of ten county petitions advocating that the state legislature call a second state convention to reconsider the Constitution. Each of these petitions has a unique text. Facsimiles of these ten petitions and an additional ten county petitions that reproduce the language of the other petitions are all placed on Mfm:N.C., along with the 3,326 signatures attached. This section also contains the minutes of a mid-January 1789 meeting in Greene County (Tennessee) that discussed Indian relations and the potential cession of Tennessee to Congress.

**Thomas Person to John Lamb**

**Goshen Courthouse, N.C., 6 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Your favour of the 19th. May last,<sup>2</sup> was only received the 23rd. of July & then Open, the third day after our Convention had Assembled, whose Conclusions on the extraordinary Change of Governmt, proposed for Our Acceptance I transmit to you with pleasure,<sup>3</sup> firmly persuaded that our proceedings which were temperate & Calm as well as the Result of our political Contest in the cause of republican Liberty, will be highly pleasing to you & our friends in your State & thro' the Union—

It is my decided opinion (& no man is better Acquainted with the publick mind) that nine tenth of the people of this State are opposed to the adoption of the New System, without very Considerable Amendments, & I might without incurring any great hazard to err, assure you, that a very Considerable Number conceive an Idea of a Genl. Government, in this extensive Country, impracticable & Dangerous.—But this is a Subject on which I feel myself more disposed to concur with better Judges than to Dogmatically decide & only State it as a doctrine gaining ground in this part of the World—Our Convention met at Hillsborough on the day appointed & on the 22nd. resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole house, & continued their discussions from day to day (Sundays excepted) untill the 1st. Inst. on which we called the decisive question when there appeared, for non-concurrence 184— & 83 for Adopting—but recommending numerous amendmts., which were repugnant to their Eloquence & reasoning in debate; a Circumstance something surprising, but that proves nevertheless, that even its advocates think the plan radically bad, by these exertions to render it Virtually better.

Howevr. I can assure you if the total rejection had been proposed, even in terms of Reprobation, the motion would have succeeded, but

we conceived it more decent & moderate to refer it in the mode you will see prefixed to our bill of Rights & Amendments, in Confidence that the Union & prosperity of America may yet be preserved by temperance & Wisdom, in defiance of precipitation & some Arts which I suspect tho' I cannot enumerate or trace them—There is so little Security left now for obtaining Amendments, especially if your State is adoptive, that it probably may be wise in those States, or the Minorities in them, to oppose all representation untill Amendments are obtain'd or to send into the New Congress only such men of unequivocal Characters as will oppose every operation of the System untill it is render'd consistant with the preservation of our Liberties too precious to be Sacrificed to *Authority, name, ambition, or design*.—Your proposition for opening a Correspondence I embrace with great charfulness, it meets wth. my Cordial approbation as well as my Friends, urged only by Motives for the prosperity of the Union—And I have only to lament that such measures were not persued earlier, as they would in my opinion have prevented or abated the mischief which the public cause has already received—I take the freedom to request, that you may forward the proceedings of your Convention, & any thing else you may think conducive to the public weal; our Assembly will meet the 1st. monday in Novr. next at Fayetteville where we would easily as well as Charfully receive any thing wch. you might think interesting to the good people of this State.—I have the Honour to be with profound respect to you Sir & Thro you to the Federal republican Committee Yr. & Their Ass[ure]d. Fr[ien]d. & H[um]bl[e] Servt.

P.S. I forgot Sir, to advert to a letter read in our Convention (which in the first Instance I opposed) from our Delegate Williamson, in which he Arristocratically complain'd, that Congress is perpetually interrupted by a York Delegate (who he says was once a Shomaker—)<sup>4</sup> calling the Yeas & Nays, on which Occasions he says he was *obliged to retire*, as representing a non adopting State;—Some of his Constituants remark that delicacy Shd. have suggested his Voluntary recession; and more particularly as his Nasal Organs were so offended with the Society of a Mechanic.—But some persons are said to have taken his case into Consideration & have *positively determined* not to send *him* again, untill the president of Congress, shall send us Satisfactory attestations, that the Honble. Congress of the States are Composed altogether of the *WELL BORN*<sup>5</sup>

NB. I wrote you a Similar letter to this some time ago and in it Inclosed the proceedings referd to but least you Should not get *that*, I have sent *this*, which is a duplicate, of the former one, Save only that

I have not with me another Copy of the Proceedings of the Convention—I expect you will receive this by my Friend Doctr. Mitchell, & by him I Shall Safely receive any Answer you may think proper to Send.—

1. RC, Lamb Papers, NHi.

2. For the text of a similar letter sent to Virginia Antifederalist Richard Henry Lee, see CC:750–A. Timothy Bloodworth also received a letter from Lamb. For his responses, see RCS:N.C., 163–64, 165–66.

3. Person probably sent Lamb a broadside that included the North Carolina Declaration of Rights and the structural amendments to the Constitution recommended by the Hillsborough Convention on 2 August. For a description of the broadside, the text of the amendments, and a discussion of their adoption, see RCS:N.C., 453–58, 463n–65n.

4. The New York delegate to Congress was the combative Abraham Yates, Jr., who had been a shoemaker in Albany when he was young. Yates, a leading New York Antifederalist, insisted that the Constitution be amended before it was ratified.

5. Hugh Williamson's letter discussing Abraham Yates, Jr., has not been located, but on 7 July Williamson wrote Hillsborough Convention delegate James Iredell outlining the politics of Rhode Island and New York—the only states besides North Carolina which had not yet ratified the Constitution (Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 405–7n). For Williamson's reaction upon learning that his letter was read in the Convention, see his 23 August letter to Iredell (*ibid.*, 429–31n).

### John Simpson to John Gray Blount

New Bern, N.C., 10 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . I think you Shd have Sent  $\frac{2}{3}$  of your Convention Gentlemen to Botany Bay<sup>2</sup> or if that is too Good to Scotland on their Way to their Destined Mansions. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 415–16. The first part of this letter deals with Simpson's financial difficulties.

2. A penal colony had been established at Botany Bay (Sydney, Australia) in 1788.

### Martin's North Carolina Gazette, 13 August 1788<sup>1</sup>

It is to be expected that the first business that will come before Congress will be the amendments to the Constitution, that have been recommended by the conventions of several of the states that have adopted it. Very little doubt can be entertained of the success of the advocates of the amendments, when we reflect that a majority of the members who will compose the new Congress, will be strictly and absolutely bound, not only to vote in favor of, but to exert their abilities and use all legal means to support, those amendments.

The states which have proposed amendments, and the number of their representatives are as follow:

New-Hampshire	3
Massachusetts	8
New-York	6
Virginia	10
South-Carolina	<u>5</u>
In all	32

The states that have adopted it without proposing amendments, and the number of their representatives, are as follow:

Connecticut	5
New-Jersey	4
Pennsylvania	8
Delaware	1
Maryland	6
Georgia	<u>3</u>
In all	27

Majority for the amendments 5.

It is further to be believed that the greater number of the representatives of the last mentioned states, the people of which had scarcely the time to read the federal constitution, before they were called upon to vote for delegates, will see the necessity of securing the rights and liberties of their constituents from the encroachments to which a door is opened, by the ambiguous and indefinite expressions in which so large a share of power is granted away.

1. *Martin's North Carolina Gazette*, 13 August, is not extant. The transcription was taken from the *Georgia State Gazette*, 11 October, which printed the item under the dateline "NEWBERN, August 13."

### **Pennsylvania Gazette, 13 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

A private letter from Richmond to a gentleman in this city, dated August 6th, mentions, that the Convention of North-Carolina had rejected the New Constitution, by a majority of 100 against 76 votes.<sup>2</sup> New-York rejected the proceedings, and Georgia refused to send delegates to the *first* Congress, and yet both these states, in two years afterwards, were among the foremost in zeal and activity in supporting the independence of the United States. North-Carolina and Rhode-Island have probably been permitted to withdraw from the union, on purpose to shew the other states the miseries they have escaped by adopting the government. An attachment to paper money and tender laws, appear in both these corrupted and deluded states, to be the cause of their opposition to the new constitution.

1. Reprinted twenty-four times by 8 September: N.H. (2), Mass. (3), R.I. (2), Conn. (7), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (2), Va. (1), N.C. (1), including the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 8 September.

2. On 13 August the Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Packet* also reported that the North Carolina Convention had rejected the Constitution by a vote of 176 to 76. The *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Freeman's Journal* versions were reprinted seventeen times by 1 September: Vt. (1), N.H. (2), Mass. (8), Conn. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (1).

The vote on ratification in the North Carolina Convention, which took place on 2 August, was actually 184 to 83. The source of the incorrect vote was perhaps the Richmond postmaster, Augustine Davis, who was also the printer of the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*. On 14 August the New York *Daily Advertiser* printed an "Extract of a letter from the Post-Master at Philadelphia, dated August 12, 1788," in which the Philadelphia postmaster (James Bryson) relayed news from the Richmond postmaster that the North Carolina Convention had rejected the Constitution 176 to 76. (For a challenge to the authenticity of the report from the Richmond postmaster, see *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 August, RCS: N.C., 550.) On 14 August the *New York Journal* also reported that "North-Carolina had rejected the new constitution by a majority of 100." The *Journal* added: "It is said, that this intelligence was communicated by yesterday's southern post, it having been written on the post schedule." Both the New York *Daily Advertiser* and *New York Journal* reports were widely reprinted. (Philadelphia postmaster James Bryson was possibly writing to Ebenezer Hazard, the Confederation postmaster general stationed in New York City.) The Pennsylvania *Carlisle Gazette*, 20 August, reported that "Two or three gentlemen lately arrived here from Philadelphia, report, that the New Constitution was rejected by the state of North-Carolina; it is related thus:—The Post-Master of Philadelphia received a note from the Post-Master of Richmond, Virginia, which was written just as the Post was setting off, reporting that an account that instant arrived from North-Carolina, avowing the rejection by a majority of 75—100 voting for it, and 175 against it."

### Nicholas Gilman to New Hampshire President John Langdon New York, 14 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

My present writing is not dictated by an eagerness to make unpleasant communications—but by the united principles of duty and inclination to give your Excellency the earliest notice of every important occurrence.—

From North Carolina we have no official accounts or authentic letters but the enclosed advertizer announces the very unexpected intelligence of a rejection of the new System by a large Majority of the Convention of that State—This report may not be true, yet it becomes me to remark that the delegates in Congress from that State seem to entertain no doubts on the Subject.—Mr. Williamson observes that the opposition are of those who are the Zealous advocates for a paper Currency, that has depreciated fifty  $\frac{3}{4}$  Cent, and who are determined to keep it up untill their debts are paid—This ungracious occurrence is therefore an other striking instance of the baleful effects of that fluctuating medium. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum. At the top of the first page, Gilman wrote: "(private)." The last two paragraphs deal with Congress' difficulty in implementing the Constitution and the likelihood of war in Europe. Langdon (1741–1819), a wealthy New Hampshire merchant, was a delegate to Congress, 1775–76, 1787; a state assemblyman, 1776–82, 1786–87; a state senator, 1784–85; N.H. state president, 1785–86, 1788–89; a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, 1787; a member of the state ratifying Convention, 1788; a U.S. senator, 1789–1801; and governor, 1805–11 (except for 1809).

### **Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 14 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

#### *Of NORTH-CAROLINA.*

The Convention of North-Carolina, have not, *in words*, rejected the new Constitution: But have agreed on a bill of rights, amendments, &c. as necessary to be inserted before they can receive it, by a majority of 102. Yeas 184—Nays 82. They are in hopes that another federal Convention will be called, and then State Conventions—when they expect to have the amendments attended to. They also recommend to their Legislature to redeem their paper-money—and—(a *federal feature*) to lay an impost, *for Congressional use*, similar to such as shall be laid by the new Congress in the ratifying States. The members were, in general, hampered with *instructions*.

1. The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 14 August, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 10 September, which indicated that the original printing was from Petersburg, August 14. The Hillsborough Convention's vote was 184 to 83.

### **George James to Harry Innes Philadelphia, 15 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... I am now on my way to Boston, I shall make but a Very short Stay in that Country I intend to Georgia (from that place) Mr. Brown<sup>2</sup> tells me that Congress will not except [i.e., accept] of the Georgia back lands<sup>3</sup>—I intend to make myself a proprietor in that Country Georgia—I think Sir that you never will get the trade down the Mississippia—untill you combine w[ith] the state of Georgia let Georgia find the lands & the Kentuckyans & the back Inhabitans of North-Carolinia Settle them, nothing but a Strong Settlement to be made by Americans is wanted on the Mississippia to obtain a trade—And as the State of North Carolinia has Rejected to [i.e., the] Constitution Shou'd the Constitution Shine & have a good effect the North Carolians will be obleege to run away & the Mississippia will be the only place that they can go to, And shou'd the new plan of government press hard on the people they will all run away, so, you are sure to have your Countries Settled—And

I am sure that your country will very soon be seperated from the Eastern States,—

1. RC, Innes Papers, DLC. The address page is marked: “a favour/Mr Brown.” Innes (1752–1816), a Virginia lawyer, moved to Kentucky in 1785 after being appointed attorney general for that district. He served as the federal district judge for the District of Kentucky, 1789–1816.

2. John Brown of Kentucky, who represented Virginia in the Confederation Congress.

3. Georgia ceded its western lands to Congress on 1 February 1788. Congress rejected the cession. Georgia again ceded the western lands to Congress in April 1802.

**William Hooper, Sr. to William Hooper, Jr.  
Hillsborough, N.C., 16 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The subject of the new Constitution is So far from your comprehension that it has perplexed some of the wisest men in the world to decide upon its real merit. It will be Sufficient for you at your time of life to ground your conviction upon the determination of the Convention in Pennsylvania<sup>2</sup> & the ratification of the eleven states of the union. That convention consisted of as wise and virtuous men as ever constituted any council upon earth. I personally know several of them and have long been taught to look up with a kind of reverence to such exalted wisdom and Virtue. After all what has been the event, the most solemn & critical discussion has produced the acquiescence of 11 States & the two dissenting states stand a “by word” amongst the nations. With such a majority it is safe to travel, if they are deceived it can be no disgrace to be deceived with them in so young a man as you are. . . .

1. Printed: Sotheby’s Autograph Sale Catalog, 13 May 1987, Item 124.

2. A reference to the Constitutional Convention that met in Philadelphia; not a reference to the Pennsylvania Convention that ratified the Constitution on 12 December 1787.

**Hugh Williamson to Josiah Collins  
New York, 18 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Inclosed is a news Paper which gives you a sample of the Remarks on the unfortunate State of NC. We shall often have the comfort of seeing ourselves classed with the *honest* & *honourable* State of Rhode Island. But having chosen its Company the State cannot complain of the classmen. He who associates with Thieves must expect to be accounted dishonest.

1. RC, Frederick M. Dearborn Collection, MS Am 1649.9 (37), Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 303–4. Collins (1735–1819), a native of England, moved to Boston and then to Providence, R.I., and then to Halifax, N.C., in the early 1770s. He moved to Edenton, where he became a successful merchant and land

speculator. In 1779 he was judge of the Admiralty Court in Edenton. He represented Tyrrell County in the Hillsborough Convention, 1788, where he supported the Constitution. Collins was unsuccessfully nominated as governor but became a member of the Council of State, 1788–89, 1795.

**John Wilson to Samuel Wilson**  
**18 August 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Dear Brother

Having the opportunity of a safe conveyance I have Sat down to write to you, and you expect as usual that I will be longwinded. The first Topic I enter upon is Politics—I have the unhappy news to relate, that the state of No. Carolina is out of the Union. The Convention met at Hillsborough the 3d. Monday in July. Made a House on the very day appointed—after Settling the Rules of the House, the Antifeodralists attempted to take a dead vote<sup>2</sup> upon the Constitution without enquiring what it was. The Feodralists insisted that they were appointed to deliberate and determine upon the Constitution therefore could by no means decide without knowing wt. it was as a Convention. When the Feodralists carried this point, the Antifeodralists refused bringing forward their Objections—The Feodralists proposed a Committee of the whole house that they might have greater privilege of debate The opposite party chiefly remained Silent—The[y] would not bring forward their Objections, nor when the Feodralists brought in Objections and attempted to answer them The Antifeodralists would not Suffer them [to] Speak to any Objection which was not made by some member in the floor—As soon as Committee rose, and made report that they had gone thro' the Constitn. Section by Secn. The Antifeodralists—had transcribed the bill of *Rights* with the Amendments proposed by the Conventn. of Virginia nearly word for word<sup>3</sup>—Called the question for ratifying the Constitution when those amendments would be granted. This was carried by 187. against 83. This cut the Feodralists Short of Speaking generally on the Subject, they proposed ratifying with a few amendments, and those principally of an explanatory nature, but they could scarcely have the priviledge of entering their resolves upon the Journals of the house—Thus you see we are a free and Independent State, Standing upon our Own Importance.—

Without any Spirit of Prophecy, I say we must either Continue *as we are*—or Connect with some foreign Power—

Or fall in to the Union hereafter—One of these I aver must be the Consequence—The two first Supposi[tions], or rather the Consequences that will follow upon them are I think nearly similar—In either Cases we are liable to become the Flanders of America, our State

will be an asylum for the Malcontents of other states—the reins of Government will most certainly be very lax Our Credit cannot be Supported at home nor abroad Anarchy will prevail—

On the last Supposition that of falling into the Union Supposing that should be the case we have irretrievably lost the following Privileges and Advantages 1st. Having any Members on the floor when the Feodral Government begins to operate and Consequently in the 2d. place any Share in making the first laws and the Choice of the Officers of the United States. 3dly. our Quota of the impost of Exise during our Disconnected Situation, which if but one year will I think not be less than £30,000. To which I add in the last place the Low Sneaking Figure we must make as a state to get in to the Union by an act of Grace. when we refused to become one of the first constituents thereof—I wrote you a letter by a Certain Robert Hemphill, if you got it, you have my Sentiments about the Constitution—I expect you got it, The Majority in our State Views Matters in this Light. The Congress will have all our Estates Lives & Liberties in their hands and they are afraid to Trust them—The Minority Says this Constitution was framed by delegates from Sovereign free and Independent States giving up certain Rights and powers therein expressly mentioned to the Feodral power for the good of the whole, and that all that was not expresly mentioned to be given up to Congress is reserved to the states—I think this is the most Clear Acct. that the bounds of a letter is capable of. . . .

P.S. . . . There was only 6 members in the Minority in the Districts of Salisbury & Morgan There names Genl. McDowel (Burk Coty.) Colo. Irwin (Mecklinburg) John Steele (Salisbury Town) Dr. McLean John Sloan and John Moore (Lincoln) and for the Honor of the Clerical line let me inform you that the Revd. Mr. Caldwell was in the Majority Dont forget to write Farewell—

1. RC, Southern Historical Collection, Roll A, L. C. Glenn Papers, #30521, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Endorsed: "Reverend Samuel Wilson at Big Spring near Carlisle Pennsylvania. Hon'd by Mr George Smith."

2. A vote without any preceding discussion or debate.

3. For the amendments of the Virginia Convention, see CC:790; RCS:Va., 1551–56.

### **A Citizen of North Carolina: To the People of North Carolina 18 August 1788**

On 2 August 1788 the North Carolina Convention meeting at Hillsborough proposed amendments and by a vote of 184 to 83 refused to ratify the Constitution until amendments were submitted to the new Congress and a second constitutional convention. By the time the Hillsborough Convention took these actions, eleven states had ratified the Constitution. Looking forward to the

calling of a second state convention, two North Carolina Federalists published pamphlets in late August urging the adoption of the Constitution. Neither pamphlet gives the name of the publisher nor the place of publication. The pamphlets, whose typography is similar, were apparently printed in Edenton by Hodge and Wills, the publishers of the *State Gazette of North Carolina* and the state printers of North Carolina.

The first pamphlet, signed by "A Citizen of North-Carolina" and dated "August 18, 1788," was addressed to "The People of the State of North-Carolina" (Evans 45383). "A Citizen of North-Carolina" was written by James Iredell, who, on 27 August, sent a copy to John Swann, a North Carolina delegate to Congress in New York City. In thanking Iredell, Swann noted "that there is too much good Sense, candor and personal independence among the Majority of that state not to do some justice to the merit of that publication. I mean that they will, at least, allow it a cool, liberal & dispassionate reading; a claim which the Author has an undoubted right to expect" (Swann to Iredell, 21 September, RCS:N.C., 567). In sending a copy of the pamphlet to an unknown correspondent (possibly Governor Samuel Johnston) on 10 September, Iredell cautioned: "you may suppose [it] came from the Clouds, or any where but from Edenton. Designing to conceal its origination from here, it has been sent to different places, but not appeared publickly here yet. The Author wishes to be concealed because a knowledge of the Author generally lessens the effect of any publication" (RCS:N.C., 561).

Copies of "A Citizen of North-Carolina" were also forwarded to former Hillsborough Convention delegates William R. Davie of Halifax and Archibald Maclaine of Wilmington. On 8 September Davie wrote Iredell that the pamphlet "is very well received here," and he promised to "disperse it all the way to Salisbury" in the far western part of the state. Davie could not "help hoping that it will give a determination to the public mind, at present strangely unsettled and wavering" (RCS:N.C., 559). On 13 September Maclaine thanked Iredell for the pamphlet, indicating that he had already received a copy from Hodge by post and stating that "I had no doubt of the author the moment I had given it a reading—I wish you could get the printer to forward a few of them here—Papers of that kind come by the post without charge. . . ." Maclaine expected "to see part of the address in our next paper—Some of the Subscribers will make a point of having it inserted" (RCS:N.C., 561–62). "A Citizen of North-Carolina" has not been located in any extant issue of the *Wilmington Centinel*, that town's only newspaper. The only extant newspaper reprints of the essay are in Hodge and Wills' *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 15 September, and the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 17 September. The *State Gazette of North Carolina* prefaced its reprinting with this statement: "The following is a copy of a Publication, which we are informed, has lately been dispersed in different parts of the state, and is now inserted in this paper by particular desire."

On 3 November the *State Gazette of North Carolina* printed a response to "A Citizen of North-Carolina" by "Antifed. Senior," which was written by a Federalist satirist posing as an Antifederalist. "Antifed. Senior" criticized the Antifederalist penchant for printing paper money and attacked the excessive power of the state legislature and the justices of the peace (RCS:N.C., 595–99).

“A Citizen of North-Carolina” argued that North Carolina’s situation outside the Union was “awful and affecting.” He praised the Constitutional Convention and the conventions of Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York for their patriotic and prudent course of first adopting the Constitution and then recommending amendments. Edmund Randolph, a non-signer of the Constitution and a delegate to the Virginia ratifying Convention, and Antifederalist Melancton Smith, a delegate to the New York Convention, were extolled for voting for ratification once they realized that previous amendments could not be obtained. It was simply impossible, claimed “A Citizen of North-Carolina,” that the Constitutional Convention and eleven state ratifying conventions would endanger the liberties of the people by adopting a new form of government. North Carolina was out of step with the rest of the Union; it had “unfortunately chosen for the present a path leading to misery and ruin, if we continue to pursue it.” Outside of the Union, stated “A Citizen of North-Carolina,” North Carolina would be unrepresented in the first Congress, which would adopt new laws and propose amendments.

“A Citizen of North-Carolina” praised the Constitution’s amending process. Unlike the Articles of Confederation, the new Constitution permitted the adoption of amendments by less than a unanimous approval of the state legislatures, and it prevented precipitate action by requiring more than a simple majority of the states for adopting amendments. The writer closed with a plea that North Carolina “get into the union as soon as we can. One Convention can repair the mischiefs of another.” “A Citizen of North-Carolina” asked the people of North Carolina to petition the legislature to call another state convention. “This fatal disunion,” he said, had to end as soon as possible.

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

##### *FRIENDS and FELLOW CITIZENS,*

The situation in which you are left by the proceedings of your late Convention, is such as requires your most serious attention. Perhaps at no period since your ancestors first settled in this country has your condition been more awful and affecting. You are for the first time separated from your sister states, the early and late companions of all your difficulties and dangers, with whom you have hitherto on all occasions run the race of freedom and glory, with whom but very lately you resolved to conquer or to die. Little was it to be apprehended, that in less than six years after the peace, a peace acquired by your and their joint efforts, and which to the astonishment of all mankind gave glory as well as security to the weaker party, those states who had been the willing and the generous sharers of a common danger, should have become separate! weakened the common cause, still in full force, though not in equal apparent danger subsisting! and thus afforded a triumph to our common enemies, who are watching, if not planning for our destruction! Heaven forbid that this disunion should last long! Happy would it have been, if it had not for a moment existed!

But Regret, with whatever poignancy it may be felt, is now useless. The danger is incurred. Eleven other states have a common united government: We have no share in it. If we can derive pride from the consideration, our independence is increased. We are now not only independent of all other nations in the world, but entirely independent of the other states, except for our share of the debt hitherto incurred, which we are now utterly unable to pay. We may form alliances at our pleasure with Great-Britain, France, Spain, Turkey, the Dey of Algiers, or Rhode-Island. We may make what acts of Assembly we please concerning war, peace, negotiation, commerce or finance. While the other United States are fettered by the necessity of pursuing a common interest, there is no check upon our separate wisdom, or the free course of our own noble exertions.

There are some men possibly, inflated with ridiculous ideas of our own importance, to whom this prospect may be pleasing. There are many weak men perhaps who think danger never exists but when evils are actually and immediately felt. There may be a few (I trust in God they are a very few) to whom confusion and disorder may be the most acceptable objects. But among the great majority, including both parties, those who are averse to the new constitution, as well as those who are friends to it, I believe the idea of an entire disunion is reprobated with horror. I have had the pleasure to hear that was the case with by far the greatest part of the majority in our late Convention, who unfortunately did not scruple to rush into a temporary one.

Taking it for granted therefore, that all rational friends of their country consider a union with the other states as indispensable to their liberty and safety, I shall beg leave to make a few observations on the policy which has brought us into our present extraordinary situation. It is a situation so new, as well as important, that no pains necessary to its investigation can be considered ill bestowed. I shall hope therefore for the honour of your attention, while we examine it together.

The old articles of confederation were framed and executed in the very midst of the war. The necessity of a general opposition to the arbitrary designs of Great-Britain had been felt by every generous mind from one end of the continent to another. A common danger pointed out the propriety of common exertions: common exertions required common counsels. The different states were therefore represented in Congress, who were entrusted with the common protection of the whole. The necessity of a general co-operation in measures of defence in which we are all interested, *in the midst of a danger which none could doubt*, occasioned a ready obedience to every recommendation made by that

representative body, and their recommendations accordingly had all the force of laws. Warmed with such noble principles, in pursuit of one great object, when the same men framed the articles of confederation, they relied perhaps too much on a continuation of the same ardour, and their system was formed on the basis of requisitions, which at that time had never been known to fail. Possibly they might have foreseen its defects, but provided those articles as the only ones likely to be adopted at that period, when some kind of confederation was absolutely indispensable. Whatever might be the cause of it, its defects have been long acknowledged by all enlightened minds, and felt by the most ignorant. None can doubt, that a government must be radically defective, which in a country full of resources and affording the greatest commercial advantages, has not been able to pay the interest of a moderate debt incurred to preserve us from slavery, to keep alive even a passive commerce disgraceful to a great degree, to preserve foreigners and citizens from the operation of fraudulent and dishonest laws, to compel the execution of a treaty of peace most honourable and advantageous to us, and humiliating to our enemies, nor consequently to obtain possession of our full share of the advantages of that treaty, perfidy on one part naturally affording an excuse for perfidy on the other. Our national honour, as well as our national safety was wounded, and every friend of his country felt for the degraded reputation, as well as the diminished importance, of a people lately high in the estimation of all mankind.

In this situation, the universal voice of America almost called out for a remedy. After one or two ineffectual attempts, at length twelve states met in Convention. Among the members of that Convention, I need not particularly point out the illustrious ones entitled to the utmost confidence of their country.<sup>1</sup> That country must be dead to every sensation of virtue, to every emotion of sensibility, to every impulse of gratitude, before that confidence can be withdrawn. The members of that Convention added to their high character before by the generous readiness with which all local objects were sacrificed to the general good. The sacrifice was noble, and does the highest honour to these states, whose members in the first instance, and who themselves in the latter, have thus added an immortal seal to their patriotism and wisdom. Wisdom it undoubtedly was, but a wisdom to which narrow souls could never reach, and which required a high sense of national honour, and an inflexible attachment to the true interest of the union at large, abstracted from immediate tempting advantages, to bring it forth.

Those respectable men that formed the late General Convention (I shall call them so, notwithstanding the gross abuse so ungratefully and

illiberally bestowed upon them) had not only local difficulties to struggle with, but the extreme difficulty itself of forming a wise system of government, combining a proper share of energy in the formation and administration of laws, with that degree of liberty which each state and individual ought unalienably to enjoy. To declaimers who had never thought or read on the subject this may appear an easy task, but to sober considerate men who are forming a constitution that ought not to be lightly changed, and which therefore ought to provide for every contingent case, as well such as are likely to happen seldom, as those which may frequently occur, it must always wear a very formidable appearance. This would be the case in forming a single government. In forming a confederate one, such as our situation required, the utmost attention, moderation, and forbearance were requisite. And as the subject required to be viewed in all possible lights, the mutual aid of a number of sensible men was indispensably necessary, together with the utmost freedom of discussion. What must we therefore think of the modesty of any individual who shall rashly, perhaps without any thought at all, condemn a system, grounded on such worthy motives, and produced by the joint effort of such wise and deliberate counsels! Yet how many instances are there of such individuals who condemn it with the most outrageous abuse!

I mean not in the course of this letter to enter into the particulars of a constitution, the merits of which have been so amply discussed. I shall only observe, that its leading principle is, that in all cases where the peace and interest of the union at large are concerned, we should, as one people united in a common object, be governed by common counsels, and it provides for the execution of these in a regular and peaceable manner by the instrumentality of courts of justice, not leaving us in the condition to which we were exposed under the old confederation, under which, though Congress had great nominal powers (very near equal to those proposed to be given to the new Congress, though the people were not directly represented in it) yet there was no method of enforcing their most material acts of authority but by force of arms, if they possessed this right of enforcing, which is questionable. If they did not, the confederation ridiculously gave an authority, without the means of carrying it into effect. If they did, then every act of disobedience, whether wilful, excusable or unavoidable, might have drawn on a civil war, in which the innocent must have suffered with the guilty. In the one case, the confederation was an absurdity: In the other, the horror and injustice attending its execution, and the danger upon every such extremity of the union being entirely

destroyed, were unanswerable objections against it with every friend to the peace and prosperity of his country.

But whatever may be the defects of the new system, it certainly has one material advantage over the old. By the old confederation no amendments could be made but by the consent of all the states.<sup>2</sup> The necessity of an unanimous consent in any country is a never failing source of weakness and usurpation. It has been found so a thousand times in the seven United Provinces in Europe, where an unanimous consent even of the towns, as well as of the States-General, is necessary for certain objects. This has arisen from an extreme jealousy, and has at critical periods nearly caused their destruction, because some of the towns being very inconsiderable, foreign powers have found it convenient and practicable to bribe them to prevent their concurring in measures their common safety required. On such occasions the stronger party have found it necessary to over power the weaker, and rather usurp an unconstitutional power than suffer their country to be ruined. Rhode-Island at length has reduced America to a similar situation. Her forbearing for years to join in any federal measures, and by her example inducing other states to adopt a separate and selfish policy, reduced America to this alternative, either to suffer in form all the evils of a weak impracticable government unable to correct itself, or by one bold and manly effort to strike into a new road of safety which would not only answer our purpose for the present, but suit us to the end of our journey. The confederation could scarcely be said to subsist but in form, as it had been violated in a hundred instances, or if it had not the *salus populi*,<sup>3</sup> justly called the supreme law, required a new and nobler course. The Convention therefore, did not require an unanimous consent, which was impracticable, but in a manly manner declared, nine states should govern themselves, if the other four did not choose to yield to so large a majority.<sup>4</sup> On such great occasions none but narrow minds will adhere to form; this alternative, or absolute ruin to the whole, seemed the inevitable consequence. Which ought they to have preferred?—Upon a similar principle, future amendments to this system may be made, by three-fourths of the whole, and as this article is very important and generally much misrepresented, I will transcribe it at large, in order that it may be seen, that whether the Congress itself shall choose to propose amendments or not, yet if the *legislatures of two-thirds of the states do*, a Convention must be called for the purpose of consulting on the subject. The article is as follows, viz.<sup>5</sup>

“The Congress, whenever 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; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

The first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article (which are referred to in the above clause) are as follows, viz.

"1st. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

"4th. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration herein before directed to be taken."

This article as to amendments places the subject on a footing altogether new, and is an honour to the constitution proposed which no other in the world can boast. In every other country revolutions of government can only be expected to take place by means of a civil war. The glorious principle of a majority in a fair Convention of the people deciding peaceably for the whole has not yet reached them. The extension of this principle, which formerly existed in the separate states, to the states in their united capacity, at the same time requiring more than a bare majority, to prevent hasty and partial alterations, in my opinion, is entitled to the highest praise. As mankind increase in knowledge, the contemptible vanity of self-perfection gives way to the more enlightened and more just diffidence of any human capacity, however great. The foresight of the greatest minds is nothing, compared to the instructions of experience. Any system therefore that could now be formed would possibly upon trial be found to want alterations, and if such alterations could not be made in a regular and orderly manner, it would be a just exception to any system whatever, let its merit otherwise be ever so great. Thank God no such exception lies to the system before us. It guards wisely against the two dangerous extremes of too much facility or too much difficulty in obtaining amendments. They certainly ought not to be made but when the necessity or utility is very apparent, and when that is the case it ought not to be in the power of one or two weak or wicked members in the union to defeat the real interest of the whole.

This article has justly been deemed so important, that it has been the means in a most happy manner of facilitating the adoption of the constitution in several of the states. The respectable states of Massachusetts-Bay, South-Carolina, New-Hampshire, Virginia and New-York, though approving of the general principles of the constitution, had objections to particular parts of it, and therefore wished for amendments. But they were at the same time sensible of the necessity of a more intimate union of the states, they dreaded above all things a separation of interests and pursuits, they deemed the present situation critical to a most alarming degree, and as no man could insure us against foreign hostility or domestic dissensions till all the different amendments were adjusted, they generously and discreetly said, "We will not break the union; we will unite with you for the present on the terms proposed, that we may have a national government in existence, and we refer to your equity and good sense afterwards in the constitutional mode the amendments we wish to have adopted." This was the language of patriotism, prudence and affection, and none can doubt it will have its fullest effect, in respect to all those amendments which are really essential, and which relate as well to the security and prosperity of one state as to those of another. If there are any of a more local nature, and they should not prevail, we ought not to regret that in this instance as well as others three-fourths of America shall speak for the whole, since all the states individually cannot be expected in every instance to agree.

Would to God that a similar principle of conciliation had governed the decisions of our Convention! Why should we not have followed such respectable examples? If Massachusetts, though I believe the fifth only that agreed,<sup>6</sup> thought the condition of previous amendments dangerous or impracticable, surely our state after the certain agreement of ten, and when it was evident the new government would be put in motion, had much more reason for not insisting upon it at that time. The subsequent examples of four other states (three of which were known to have decided when our Convention met) have added great weight to the propriety of the conduct of Massachusetts. Two illustrious examples of highly respectable individuals in two of those states deserve particular mention, as well in honour to those gentlemen, as to sanction the decisions of the majorities in their respective states. The one is Governor Randolph of Virginia. This gentleman, who has long been esteemed for his many virtues as well as for his abilities, was one of the Delegates from Virginia in the General Convention at Philadelphia. He had objections to the constitution which made him forbear to sign it.<sup>7</sup>

So far as pride could be concerned, his wishes must have been opposed to the general adoption of the constitution without previous amendments, and it is believed if a few only of the states had agreed he would have persisted in this purpose. But when so many as eight states had agreed, and he saw the difficulty and danger of requiring so many states to tread back the ground they had passed, he nobly declared (I had not the pleasure to hear his words—I judge only of the substance from report) that it was now too late to require previous amendments, and that though he still thought amendments necessary, he would not endanger the union by insisting on them as a condition of adoption. He accordingly, with all the warmth of patriotic virtue, maintained the adoption of the constitution in the then situation of affairs as indispensably necessary perhaps to the existence of the union, certainly to its peace and security; and to the exertion of his great abilities it is not improbable Virginia may be in a great measure indebted for her present station in the union,<sup>8</sup> and America at large for the subsequent adoption by New-York in consequence of her illustrious example. In that state [i.e., New York], resides the other gentleman whose conduct I beg leave to state. Being at greater distance, I can only speak of him generally as a distinguished character by name, and who had been remarkable for his opposition to the new constitution. I mean Mr. Melancton Smith, who was a member of the late New-York Convention, and is said, in a debate on the subject of a conditional ratification, to have spoke to the following effect. Having declared his determination to vote against a condition, he urged “That however it might be otherwise presumed, he was consistent in his principles and conduct. He was as thoroughly convinced then as he ever had been, that the constitution was radically defective; amendments to it had always been the object of his pursuit, and until Virginia came in, he had reason to believe they might have been obtained previous to the operation of the government. He was now satisfied they could not, and it was equally the dictate of reason and of duty to quit his first ground, and advance so far as that they might be received into the union. He should hereafter pursue his important and favorite object of amendments with equal zeal as before, but in a practicable way, which was only in the mode prescribed by the constitution. On the first suggestion of the plan then under consideration, he thought it might have answered the purpose; but from the reasonings of gentlemen in opposition to it, and whose opinions alone would deservedly have vast weight in the national counsels, as well as from the sentiments of persons abroad, he was now persuaded the proposition would not be received, however doubtful it might appear,

considered merely as an abstract and speculative question. The thing must now be abandoned, as fallacious, for if persisted in, it would certainly prove in the event, only a dreadful deception to those who were serious for joining the union." "He then placed in a striking and affecting light, the situation of that state in case they should not be received by Congress, convulsions in the northern part, factions and discord in the rest. The strength of his own party who were seriously anxious for amending the government would be dissipated, their union lost, their object probably defeated, and they would, to use the simple figurative language of scripture, be dispersed like sheep on a mountain. He therefore concluded it was no more than a proper discharge of his public duty as well as the most adviseable way of obtaining the great end of his opposition to vote against any proposition which would not be received as a ratification of the constitution."<sup>9</sup>

I cite with the greater pleasure these two respectable instances, not only as a striking proof of the justice of those sentiments which induced two such men to abandon a cause they were warmly attached to, but that in the midst of the party violence to which we have been unhappily witnesses, we may dwell a few moments with delight on the magnanimous virtue which produced such distinguished instances of candour.

If these considerations have no effect, but it is still asked, Shall we consent to a system destructive to our liberties, without taking proper precautions to secure them? Let us calmly ask ourselves, Can we believe not only that the members of the General Convention at Philadelphia, but that eleven State Conventions meeting separately since, could either be so ignorant of the proper principles of liberty, or so indifferent about them, as to consent to any system by which it could be in reality endangered? Is the vital spark of freedom, which so lately set all America in a flame, existing no where but in the breasts of the majorities of North-Carolina and Rhode-Island, and of the minorities of the other states? Surely it is much more probable that those who have taken so much pains to inflame you, condescending to use very little reason with a great deal of passion, are mistaken in entertaining such high ideas of their own superior wisdom, than that North-Carolina and Rhode-Island now remain the only American bulwarks of liberty. I trust in God the other states are not in so desperate a condition, and hope I shall not offend you in supposing that with equal virtue the eleven United States are not inferior to the late majority of our Convention in wisdom and discernment. The business of government is a very complicated thing. It requires other talents, besides good wishes, to undertake it with success. It requires far superior qualities to those of a mere slave of popularity, to frame a system calculated not merely to flatter the

passions of the people it is intended for, but to fix it on a basis of justice which can conciliate the regard, the confidence, the respect of other nations, and give it a fame calculated for duration. Such a system when framed is to be tried by the test of reason, not passion. It is not to be rejected, because plausible objections can be made to it: Plausible objections may be made to any thing, and objections of any kind, before they prevail, ought to be found solid, and not plausible merely. Nothing would be more easy than to detect the sophistry with which many parts of this constitution have been attacked: Nothing more easy, than to shew the improper distrust, and the groundless jealousy with which many well meaning men apprehend that the moment this government is set in motion, the very men whom the people and the legislatures themselves have chosen will conspire against their own liberty, and that of their constituents. But as I before observed to you, I shall not in this letter enter into particulars, but refer you to numerous respectable publications calculated to quiet your fears on this subject. In my opinion, the coolest and most deliberate reason, as well as the most respectable authorities, is on the side of the constitution, and so I am persuaded it will be generally acknowledged when the mist of passion, which has blinded many able, as well as many weak men, is taken off.

In our present situation, what are we reduced to? Have we any national character? Is the state of North-Carolina known to any nation in Europe? No. The *United States of America* are known. But alas! we are to be no longer one of them. We have no alliance with any power on earth. We have no right, if attacked, to call on the other states for assistance. Our own prowess and resources must defend us against all mankind, or we must sink in a conflict, unless assisted by the charity of others. Can we much longer bear so humiliating, so dangerous a condition? What must our feelings be when we see the prosperity of the other states derived from the energy of their new government, while we are deriving additional weakness from the dissolution of the old, without partaking of any of the benefits of the new? Can we blame our sister states? Certainly no. A cruel necessity dictated a change. Certain ruin, or an alteration, became the unavoidable alternatives. We have had our option allowed us. We have unfortunately chosen for the present a path leading to misery and ruin, if we continue to pursue it. But God forbid that we should not instantly stop short, and do every thing to recover the false step we have taken which our situation will admit of. Is there left us any method of relief?

Our situation is certainly bad, but perhaps not entirely desperate. The majority of the [North Carolina] Convention seem not to have

considered what they did as a rejection. But it may undoubtedly be considered so by the other states. After not accepting when the opportunity was allowed us, we have no right to chuse our own time at any period hereafter. All the states ought certainly to start upon equal terms. But it is to be hoped they would judge with liberality, and that if we early should agree by means of another Convention, we might immediately be admitted on equal terms with the other states. We have reason to fear however, that the earliest step of this kind that could be taken, might be too late for us to have a share in the first formation of laws. What an opportunity we have lost! Should North-Carolina have no votes in the first Congress, the first system of laws, which will be the most important of any for many years, may be formed much more injuriously for the southern states than otherwise might have been the case, and the supporters of amendments may be deprived of powerful assistance.<sup>(a)</sup> Whether or not we can possibly be early enough for this no man can say. But let us get into the union as soon as we can. One Convention can repair the mischiefs of another. Let all therefore who think with me promote so far as his influence shall extend the measure of petitioning the Assembly for a new Convention. Let the people on this occasion (it certainly is great enough for their exertion) speak their own sentiments. Let them say whether they wish for an immediate adoption, that we may be a member of the union, or not. They have had an opportunity of much reflexion since the first libels were dispersed among them. I am much mistaken if their native good sense is not beginning to break through a cloud of prejudice. Let them call on all who attempt to dictate to them, for reason, instead of abuse. Let them tell them plainly, calumny of the most respectable characters shall no longer impose either on their passions or their understanding; that they consider it not only grossly unjust in itself, but an attack on their integrity as well as on their judgment, and that it is now too late to persuade them that the great majority of America is composed of men who want [i.e., lack] either virtue or understanding: That it is much more certain that we ought to be a united people, than that their objections to any union at all are founded on any rational principles. This language I trust will be found congenial with the general sentiments of my countrymen, I have seen many symptoms of a change which give me the greatest hopes. I rely on that public virtue which has so often conspicuously shewn itself in this state; on that good sense which though it may for a time be overborne, is sure in the end to rise superior to prejudice. God grant that this fatal disunion, fatal I should have termed it had I been sure it would exist but a day, may last a very short time longer! May we return and embrace with affection those sister states,

with whom we have hitherto shared in adversity and prosperity, and with whom alone, whatever vain ideas we may form, we can enjoy security, freedom and glory! And may those respectable states, with a moderation, and forbearance which will do them honour, be willing to receive us with as much cordiality as if we had never strayed!

A Citizen of North-Carolina.

*August 18, 1788.*

(a) There are two ways in which amendments may be proposed. 1. The Congress, if two-thirds of both houses concur, may propose amendments. 2. On the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, the Congress must call a Convention for proposing them. And such amendments as either the Congress, or such Convention shall propose, will be valid, and for the future form a part of the 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 Congress.” No amendments therefore can be proposed, but through the medium of Congress, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. Those states must be *states in the union*, because the constitution can refer to no states but such as are bound by it. By our not adopting the constitution, the general party through America in favour of amendments lost the benefit of the votes which our Senators and Representatives might have in Congress, and also of that recommendation by the legislature of this state, which might be of great moment towards making up the requisite number of two-thirds of the several legislatures in the union. And if a general Convention should be called, we can have no pretence to form a part of it, unless we are in the union, because the general Convention spoken of in the constitution, must mean a Convention of those states which are *members of the union*; it can never be understood to refer to any state which thought the constitution unworthy of its acceptance, and therefore was in no respect bound by the system which was to be amended. People may rationally correct their own government, but it would certainly be impertinent in others to interfere with it.

1. Likely a reference to George Washington and Benjamin Franklin.

2. Article XIII of the Articles of Confederation.

3. Latin: Safety, or welfare, of the people.

4. Article VII of the U.S. Constitution.
5. Article V of the U.S. Constitution.
6. On 6 February 1788, Massachusetts was the sixth state to ratify the U.S. Constitution (187 to 168). Connecticut, which ratified about a month earlier, on 9 January, was the fifth state to ratify (128 to 40).
7. For Edmund Randolph's objections to signing the Constitution at the conclusion of the Constitutional Convention, see CC:385.
8. For Edmund Randolph's 4 June 1788 speech in the Virginia Convention, see RCS: Va., 931–36, especially pp. 933, 936.
9. For an account of Melancton Smith's speech in the New York Convention, 23 July 1788, see RCS:N.Y., 2283. Smith's reference to scattered sheep may refer to Jeremiah 50:6, Ezekiel 34:6, or another biblical passage.

**Citizens of Tarborough to Governor Samuel Johnston  
Tarborough, N.C., 20 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

To his Excellency Samuel Johns[t]on, Esq. Governor of the State of North-Carolina, and President of the late Convention held at Hillsborough.

WE the undersigned citizens of the town of Tarborough, impressed with the liveliest sense of the important motives which influenced the wise and virtuous members of the Grand Federal Convention, held at Philadelphia, beg leave to approach your Excellency, and express our sincere approbation of the zeal you have displayed, to connect the state of North-Carolina to the General Union, and to those blessings and happy consequences we expect to flow from a free and energetic Government. It is a duty we owe to ourselves, our country and posterity, to publish every testimony of reprobation of the unhappy issue of that public measure which alarmed the attention of our late Convention in Hillsborough, and to record also our unequivocal applause, of the virtue, patriotism and exertion of EIGHTY-TWO STATESMEN,<sup>2</sup> whose wisdom and characters, we trust will preserve all that we conceive precious in this life, to ourselves and future generations.

United in the principles of your Excellency, we contemplated with emotions of pleasure and regret, this small, but wise and firm band, struggling against a torrent of popular phrenzy, excited evidently to extinguish whatever hope remained to restore public faith, revive commerce and promote agriculture; and though their efforts proved unsuccessful, they are not less entitled to our gratitude; at least, their exertions, and the federal principles of our numerous adherents, may preserve us from indiscriminate odium, and probably recommend us at some future hour of calmness and moderation, to our place in the United Government, the only Rock of Salvation on which we can repose with confidence and safety.—Well assured that the most discerning of the majority, begin now to comprehend the danger into which

their conduct was calculated to involve their country, themselves and their fellow citizens—we publish this declaration of our principles, determined to rise and fall with the Union of America; supplicating your Excellency to (employ all constitutional means and influence in your power, to convince the adopting States, or their Executives, that North-Carolina ought not to be included in general crimination, that a considerable part of her most respectable citizens are attached to a federal system, from persuasion, that from it alone they can expect exemption from domestic insurrection, defence from foreign invasion, and continuance of the blessings of peace and general prosperity.)

Tarborough, (N.C.) August 20, 1788

1. This address was first printed in the no-longer-extant Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 28 August. It was reprinted the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 8 September, and the *Wilmington Centinel*, 17 September, and in in thirteen other newspapers by 25 September: N.H. (1), Mass. (2), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), N.Y. (3), Pa. (2), S.C. (1); and in the November issue of the Philadelphia *American Museum*. A one-paragraph summary was printed in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal* on 24 September. The transcription is taken from the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 6 September, which, along with the *Pennsylvania Packet* of the same day, was the earliest reprint. The *Journal* and most of the other reprints prefaced the letter with the following: “By a Gentleman who arrived at Petersburg (Virginia) from North Carolina, we have the following.” The *Newport Herald*, 25 September, reprint was the only one not to include the date of the letter at the end. The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 17 September, printed the following summary: “An address has been presented to Governour JOHNS[TON], of North-Carolina, signed by a number of the citizens, thanking him for the zeal he has displayed to connect that State to the union—eulogizing the Constitution—applauding the virtuous *Eighty-Two* minority—and declaring their determination ‘to rise and fall with the union of America.’ Much commotion is feared in that State.” The *Centinel* summary was reprinted seven times by 15 October: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), N.J. (2), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1). The three reprints in New Jersey and Pennsylvania did not include the final sentence. The text in angle brackets at the end of the address was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 19 September, and reprinted in the *Boston Gazette*, 22 September, and the Exeter, N.H., *Freeman’s Oracle*, 27 September. Only the *Boston Gazette* reprinting was prefaced: “The following was handed to us by a gentleman from North Carolina.”

For Governor Johnston’s response of 3 September, see RCS:N.C., 555.

2. On 2 August, 83 Federalist delegates, not 82, voted against the report of the committee of the whole of the first North Carolina Convention. The report, which was supported by 184 Antifederalists, registered North Carolina’s disapproval of the new Constitution without previous amendments.

### Joseph Clay to John Wright Stanly Savannah, Ga., 20 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . tis reported here that your State has rejected the New Constitution if its true I am sorry for it—I do not like it altogether as it stands but I presume amendments are attainable—and a rejection is very dangerous at home & discredits us abroad. . . .

1. FC, Clay Letterbook, Georgia Historical Society. Clay (1741–1804), a Savannah merchant, served as an assemblyman, 1782–83, 1787–88; as state treasurer, 1782; and as U.S. district judge, 1796–1801. Stanly (1742–1789), a native of Charles City County, Va., came to New Bern, N.C., in 1773 and was a merchant, distiller, and planter who became wealthy during the Revolutionary War by investing in privateers. On 15 March 1789 Stanly was appointed to the Admiralty Court at New Bern, but he died on 1 June. He had been nominated for the Council of State.

**Letter from a Member of the Tipton Party  
Fort Pleasant, N.C., 20 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Your favours of the 21st. and 31st. Ult. Came to hand a few days ago; your Sentiments on our present Situation and the Causes of our Distress Corospond with my own; Such a plan as you propose (though somewhat milder) for regulating our Settlements, was attempted last Spring, but was shortly destroyed by Seviars party, perticularly Elholm, who whilst their influence is as great as it now is, will be Destructive to the wisest and best plans that Can be Divised by the United Wisdom of men and Angles [i.e., Angels].—

Yours by Mr. Houston of the 14th. instant (is a Contrast to the former) was received yesterday evening, which I shall undertake to answer more perticularly, what may be the police [i.e., policy] that governed the determinations of the late N. Carolina Convention, I am not Able to Comprehend. but I by no means think it has placed her Citizens in so dangerous Situation as you intimate. N Carolina was one of those States that on the 4th. July 1776 declared themselves free and independent, and who has as a member of the Union, Supported that independence Against the powers of great Britain, which independence was finely garenteed by the Articles of the difinitive treaty, ratified by his Britanick Magesty Sept the 2nd. 1782.—Now Sir it remains to enquire into the powers remaining with the individual States upon entering into the [first?] Compacts or articles of Confederation and, I think, it will be found that the Sole Sovereignty of each State remained within itself, that the united States (or any other power) had no right to interfere with the internal government or police [i.e., policy] of any individual State, that these powers remains equely entire in every quarter within the Chartered limits of each individual State. Let us now revert to the first principles of government, that all are alike free by nature and has a Equal and unaliable right to enter into Compact and Erect government for their Own Interests and happyness, as to them might Appear most Conducive of the desired end, and Consequently has a right to Alter, Amend, or Abolish their Compacts or plan of government, According to prescribed rules, as they may think fit and no people Can

be Justly Compelled to enter into Compact without their own Consent.—These propositions I believe there is none has Effrontery to Controvert.—Now Sir where is the Just pretext for one Christian people to Commence hostilities upon another merely because it is not Consistant with their intrest or inclination to enter into Compact with them.—Besides N. Carolina has Discovered a willingness to Join the Union, provided the general plan of government is Coincident to the amendments proposed, which perfectly agree with those recommended by the States, that ratified the Constitution. Add to all this the Confusion that at present parvades the American Empire to the numbers, and Ambition of the Antifeederalists, and I beleive it will be found that the United States will have enough to employ themselves in for some time without levying war on N. Carolina, Besides it is well known that there is in N. Carolina respectable Characters who are as good feederalist as any in the union, that Congress will be unwilling to loss [i.e., lose], as they might be a means of bringing the whole State yet peaceably to agree to feoderrel measures—on the Suposision that any was so wicked or designing as to wish to set up a Seperate and independant government,—But to return to ourselves in what manner in our present Situation are we to have security under the Auspices of Congress, it is evident that the rains of feoderel goverment has been relaxed for some time pased, and it will be yet longer before anything Efficacious Can be done by Congress.—With a great deal of propriety you remarked in your Letter of the 27 Ult. that we need not look up to Congress now for [easy?] terms or perhaps any attack—But if Congress was Desire to Countenance, and protect us, will our present Situation Admit of Dalay. Can we who are daily [harassing?] by A distructive Indian war, wait untill our Case is properly represented to Congress—and afterwards till they by there Slow movments Send us releif. if no succour Comes to us untill we Can have it from Congress, our best policy would be to Secure ourselves by flight as soon as posoble,—I am also of Opinion that an application made to general Pickens<sup>2</sup> Would be as fruitless as any other whatever, for if I have not been imposed [— — —] Upon by information, we have not a greater enemy in the Southern District then that gentleman.—and to whome would we apply next! not to Sevier Certainly who has neither principles nor opertunity to Serve any people, it is Obvious to all persons of Desernment that we might enjoyed peace this Summer if it had not been for Seveir and his fellow fugitives, who under the specious pretence of defending us did us every injury in their power, they in the first place hurried us into a war, when they knew that of all people we ware the worst prepared for it, and then they lay at the lower stations untill they devoured the provisions that

people had for the supportt of their own familys, and in the mean time was exerting their utmost influence to divide the people, and make the men that was most Capable to Serve them unpopular, so that nothing Could be done to purpose for our defence and to Crown the whole. Since they left us they have been useing every measure both directly and indirectly to prevent assistance Coming to us, and discourage people from Selling provision on the Credit of N. Carolina, which might have replaced what they destroyed—These are troubles that I Can only mention to you but they are Clearly A demonstration to all persons Capable of reflection in this quarter.—Seveirs Character before I was personally acquented with him, Caused me to watch him with a Jelious eye when we ware most intamate, and the longer I was acquented with him I had the more reason to suspect his wicked designs; but perticularly Since the return of our members from the last N. Carolina Assembly he has set little bounds to his mischeivous wicked plots.—the Salutary Advices of the better inclined part of mankind was intirely Slighted by him, he even seemed Carefully to avoid Conversing with such for fear they would undertake to give him some good advice which he was Determined not to follow.—and now every man of principle has forsaken him and left him to follow the dictates of a wicked hart to his own distraction. You only think perhaps that prejudice may dictate at present, but I Can Assure you that Devested of prejudice, what I write is my uniform Cool diliberate Sentimants.—from what I have wrote you may discover that thare is little probibility of an accommidation between him and me. I assume you Sai [i.e., say] that my Opinion of him is such that abstracted from all personal annomosity. I should by no means Associate with him in private life as other Citizens.

As to Majr. Elholm thare need be no more said of him, then that the Cause of his Coming to America was his Joining to despose the king of Poland for his granting a free toloration in religion to his Subjects, that he sacrificed his native Country, his fortune, and his friends to his Ambition once, and therefore is not to be [t]ruste whare he has no Such ties bind him, in short he is Cordially despised by [the remainder of the letter is missing]

1. RC, Draper Collection, King's Mountain Papers (DD), 9 DD 50, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Only the first four pages of this letter have been located. The Tipton Party, or the "Tiptonites," was a faction in the civil war over the State of Franklin and took its name from John Tipton (1730–1813), a Virginia and North Carolina politician and a recruiting officer and soldier during the Revolutionary War. Tipton originally supported the establishment of the State of Franklin, an illegal government founded in western North Carolina that sought recognition from the Confederation Congress as a sovereign state. Tipton's eventual advocacy for a restoration of allegiance to North Carolina put him at odds with John Sevier (1745–1815), a Revolutionary War veteran who

distinguished himself during the Battle of King's Mountain and the governor of the State of Franklin. The State of Franklin crumbled in 1788. Sevier was charged with treason but never faced trial. Tipton represented Washington County during the Hillsborough Convention, 1788, opposing ratification of the new Constitution without previous amendments. Sevier represented Greene County during the Fayetteville Convention, 1789, voting to ratify the Constitution.

2. Andrew Pickens of South Carolina was authorized by Congress on 26 October 1787 to join with Georgia Governor George Mathews to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Indians (RCS:Ga., 297–98).

### **Wilmington Centinel, 20 August 1788**

On the 25th ult. the honourable the convention of the state of New-York, *ratified* the constitution proposed by that *band of patriots and saviours* of their *country*—the late *Federal Convention*.

When the intelligence of the ratification of the new constitution by the convention of the state of New-York, was received in this town, the citizens, to testify their joy on the happy acquisition of the *eleventh pillar* to the *Fabric of Liberty*, assembled, and with three *Huzzas* hailed the “*NEW ÆRA OR ÆPOCHA OF LIBERTY.*”

Rhode-Island, it is said, intend immediately to call a convention, for the purpose of ratifying the new constitution. If they do not accede to the Union, they are fearful that the state will be divided between Massachusetts and Connecticut.

### **Massachusetts Spy, 21 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

We learn that the rejection of the federal Constitution by the state Convention of Northcarolina, has occasioned great uneasiness among the citizens of that state; but it is hoped peace and tranquillity may speedily be restored.

1. This item was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 August; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 28 August; Exeter, N.H., *Freeman's Oracle*, 30 August; and *Vermont Journal*, 1 September. A slightly different version in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 22 August, referred to North Carolina's “secession” from “the new Confederacy.” The *Massachusetts Gazette's* version was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 August.

### **Boston Independent Chronicle, 21 August 1788**

Had North-Carolina acceded to the Union, the secession of Rhode-Island would have left the senatorial balance against the eastern States; but the *defection* of the former is a counterpoise to the *delinquency* of the latter. Thus in every stage of our political progress as a nation, the hand of Providence is conspicuously evident. The Federal Constitution

must eventually appreciate in the minds of our brethren of North-Carolina, as well as those of Rhode-Island, and its final adoption by those States, upon every principle of sound policy, is inevitable.

**James Madison to Thomas Jefferson**

**New York, 23 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

My last went via England in the hands of a Swiss gentleman who had married an American lady, and was returning with her to his own country. He proposed to take Paris in his way. By that opportunity I inclosed copies of the proceedings of this State on the subject of the Constitution.<sup>2</sup> North Carolina was then in Convention, and it was generally expected would in some form or other have fallen into the general stream. The event has disappointed us. It appears that a large majority has decided against the Constitution as it stands, and according to the information here received has made the alterations proposed by Virginia the conditions on which alone that State will unite with the others.<sup>3</sup> Whether this be the precise State of the case I cannot say. It seems at least certain that she has either rejected the Constitution, or annexed conditions precedent to her ratification. It cannot be doubted that this bold step is to be ascribed in part to the influence of the minority in Virginia which lies mostly in the Southern part of the State, and to the management of its leader.<sup>4</sup> It is in part ascribed also by some to assurances transmitted from leading individuals here, that New York would set the example of rejection.<sup>5</sup> The event, whatever may have been its cause, with the tendency of the circular letter from the Convention of N. York,<sup>6</sup> has somewhat changed the aspect of things and has given fresh hopes and exertions to those who opposed the Constitution. The object with them now will be to effect an early Convention composed of men who will essentially mutilate the system, particularly in the article of taxation, without which in my opinion the System cannot answer the purposes for which it was intended. An early Convention is in every view to be dreaded in the present temper of America. A very short period of delay would produce the double advantage of diminishing the heat and increasing the light of all parties. A trial for one year will probably suggest more real amendments than all the antecedent speculations of our most sagacious politicians. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 539–41.

2. For Madison's letter to Jefferson, 10 August, see RCS:N.Y., 2451–52; Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 225–27.

3. For the Virginia amendments, see RCS:Va., 1550–56, or CC:790.

4. Patrick Henry.

5. Perhaps a reference to the letters sent by the New York Federal Republican Committee to leading Antifederalists in states that had not yet ratified the Constitution. Such letters were sent to Timothy Bloodworth, Willie Jones, and Thomas Person in North Carolina. See RCS:N.C., 163–64, 165–66, 494–96.

6. For New York's Circular Letter of 26 July 1788 calling for a second general convention, see RCS:N.Y., 2335–37n; CC:818–C.

### **Hugh Williamson to James Iredell** **New York, 23 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

By Letters from sundry Correspondents it appears that North Carolina has at length thrown herself out of the Union, but she happily is not alone; The large upright and respectable State of Rhode Island is her associate. This circumstance however does not, I hope, render it necessary that the Delegates from N Car should profess a particular affection for the Delegates from R I: That State was some days ago represented by a Mr Arnold who keeps a little Tavern 10 miles out of Providence & a Mr Hazard the illiterate quondam Skipper of a small Coasting Vessel & now the very leader of Know Ye Justices who officiates at County Courts & receives small Fees not as a Lawyer but Agent for Suitors.<sup>2</sup> These two respectable Delegates with the innate Desire of promoting a bad measure lately voted on several Questions respecting the Organization of the new Gov[ernment] in order to fix it in New York, a Corner of the Union, but before the final Question was taken on the Ordinance they caused a Member to move in Congress for a Vote “That nothing which the Delegates from Rh Is or N C had done or might do in voting on this Subject should be construed as in any measure affecting the Rights &c of their Constituents.[”] This was to be a Bull or Absolution. On this Motion the Delegates from N C moved that the Word North Carolina should be struck out of the Vote of Absolution, And thereon we called for the Yeas & Nays to prove that we did not wish to have N C associated in any Vote with Rh I that we did not wish for Absolution being conscious of having pursued our Duty. That with Respect to the final Vote which was to be taken on the Ordinance we proposed never to assist in such Vote unless N C should confederate for we would not be guilty of parricide by throwing our State out of the Union. On this the Motion was withdrawn; the Rh I gentlemen missed the promised Pleasure of doing wrong & on the next morning they set out Homeward.

I wrote the Governor a Letter concerning the Conduct of some Members when the Business referred to was first moved in Congress and with my usual want of prudent Dissimulation I expressed an honest Indignation by calling Spade *a Spade* This Letter it seems has been read

in the Convention & a Correspondent up the Country writes me that he fears it has hurt me greatly. As I did not consider that Letter as official & one that should be communicated to a public Assembly I took no Copy of it and do not know what it contained but as I am conscious that I never write in the most careless mood any thing but what I think and as I am also conscious that since I have been honoured with a commission from the State I have not in a single Instance preferred my private Interest to the Benefit of the State; that I never have through private Indulgence or inattention omitted a single opportunity of serving the State. Being conscious of no corrupt motive my zeal on a late occasion to serve the State has not been abated at an Hour when I had reason to suppose that the Action would not be popular. Had I supported what I conceive to be a dishonest measure in pursuit of Popularity I should for the first Time, as a public man; had occasion to condemn myself. Doing what I conceive to be the Dictate of Honesty & true Patriotism I mean to abide Consequences, my friends know that I do not depend for a Support on public favour.

The 22nd Amendment so called was certainly a very important one for N C. If an East India Company or a Mediterranean Company should be created it would greatly interfere with her Trade to those Regions.<sup>3</sup> What could have put foreign Troops into their Head? They should have excepted particularly against the Japanese who are Heathen. The 12th Amendment I take for an Original.<sup>4</sup> Others have talked about a *Rebellion in a State* but the N C[arolin]a Convention speaks of the *State being in Rebellion*. Are these the same thing according to the conceptions of Tom Person & Tim Bloodworth Not forgetting the learned Judge Spencer! Is it like the various Expression of *an old turned Hat* & a *turned old Hat*? Perhaps they conceived that the federal Congress might undertake to declare that a State out of the Union was in Rebellion. To obviate this it would have been safer to have required thirteen Elevenths. The other Amendments or Pejorations I fully understand but this one I do not.

Be pleased present my Respects to Mrs Iredell & believe me to be with great Regard Dr Sir

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University.

2. A reference to a 1786 Rhode Island law that allowed a debtor to lodge depreciated state paper money with a judge in payment of a creditor. This lodgment was often announced in a newspaper advertisement beginning "Know Ye." If the creditor failed to claim the money within a short time, the debt was forever cancelled and the paper money was given to the state minus the fees for the judge and the newspaper advertisement.

3. The North Carolina Convention's twenty-second amendment provided, "That Congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce."

4. The North Carolina Convention's twelfth amendment provided, "That Congress shall not declare any state to be in rebellion, without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses."

**New Hampshire President John Langdon to Nicholas Gilman  
Portsmouth, N.H., 25 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Your kind favor of 14th. Inst I've received with the papers, the Conduct of North Carolina in rejecting the feederal Constitution in this stage of the business is truly Astonishing. If the Views of a majority of their Convention (as Mr Williamson observes) are to support their paper medium to the injury of creditors; it is pitiful indeed, and degrading to human nature tho' it is a truth well known that such there are in all the states, who wish to annihilate all debts and reduce all to a level, hence these and ev'ry other Circumstance shews the necessity of an efficient government.

I am not going to find fault, as I am not possessed of all the reasons; but I lament exceedingly that so much time has elapsed without completing the ordinance for arranging the New government. this delay in my opinion is not only injurious; but very dangerous, not a moment should be lost *in fixing* the government.<sup>2</sup>—the trifling consideration where the new Congress should first meet, should not be made an object—Rhode Island have acted like themselves.—I feel indignant at their conduct. I am full in judgement with you that the time is not far distant before a general European War will take place. this will doubtless be to our advantage if our Government should be in Motion, and wisdom our Guide. though on reflection human nature must Revolt at the dreadful Idea

I am with great esteem and respect

1. RC, Personal Papers, Miscellany, John Langdon Folder, DLC.

2. By the words "*in fixing* the government," Langdon meant to set the new government in motion and decide on a location for the meeting place of the first federal Congress. This is not a reference to amending the Constitution.

**Samuel Phillips Savage to George Thatcher  
Weston, Mass., 25 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . No Carolina has after all our hopes, left the poor federalists in the Lurch—it was an Observation of my father to me when he once saw me catch at a falling knife—never to catch at them or a falling Minister—as the chance is great whether both would not injure you, and pray why may not a declining State be among the Number. when I was young I decided going to Jamaica, Guinea & No Carolina as I

then viewd them the Dregs of Earth, and perhaps from Ignorance I have been since more in favour of Carolina—but alas I find I have been deceived by Appearances. After all I fear America must be ruled with a rod of Iron. We baul for Liberty, but it is of that kind that knows no restraint, some ambitious Cromwell will by & by jump into the Saddle and convince us all we are a parcell of Fools who know not the Day of our Visitation. . . .

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library. Savage (1718–1797), a farmer, was a Middlesex County, Mass., judge from 1775 until his death. Thatcher (1754–1824), a Harvard graduate, 1776, was a lawyer. After 1782 he lived in Biddeford, Maine. He was a delegate to Congress, 1787–89, and a U.S. representative, 1789–1801.

**James Winthrop to Mercy Otis Warren**  
**Cambridge, Mass., 26 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . We have had contradictory accounts from N. Carolina. The last Week Russell announced in his paper the rejection of the Constitution by a majority of 100 clear.<sup>2</sup> He was so mortified that he could not help mentioning it three or four times in his paper. Now the story is that the Convention voted by that majority to amend the Constitution, & then adjourned to a distant day, & that they had not then heard of the accession of New York. It is impossible to describe the anxiety of the victorious party in this state upon hearing the first report. They immediately begun to vilify that state as being originally peopled by out-laws & convicts, who were driven from the more civilized parts of the world into the wilds of Carolina, where they had formed a settlement but little superior in morals to the infernal world. . . .

1. RC, Warren Papers, MHi. The address page was endorsed: “Hond. by Mrs. Winslow.” Winthrop (1752–1821), a Harvard graduate, 1769, was librarian of that school, 1772–87. Throughout most of his life he served as a state or county judge. During the debate over the Constitution he wrote the “Agrippa” essays and other unsigned Antifederalist pieces. Warren (1728–1814), a playwright and historian, was married to prominent Antifederalist James Warren. In February 1788 she published an Antifederalist pamphlet under the pseudonym “A Columbian Patriot” (CC:581).

2. Benjamin Russell printed the announcement of the North Carolina Convention’s vote in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 August. The Hillsborough Convention’s vote was 184 to 83.

**New Hampshire Spy, 26 August 1788**

The rejection of the new government by the state of North Carolina is not considered as an affair of the first magnitude. Few tears have been shed in consequence of it, and but few people have troubled themselves much about it.—Perhaps, after she has severely suffered from her *regulators*, *wild boys*, and from what is still worse, her *antifederal*

principles, necessity will oblige, and reason will direct her, to shake off her *rubbish*, and seek shelter from the jaws of anarchy within the walls of the FEDERAL ARK.

### **A Citizen and Soldier Edenton, N.C., 27 August 1788**

Dated August 1788, "A Citizen and Soldier" contained seven numbered letters and was addressed "To the People of the District of Edenton" (Evans 45382). George Sterling, an Englishman living in North Carolina, said that the pamphlet was published in August (preface to George Nicol, 14 December, George Sterling Collection, RCS:N.C., 619). The first letter was reprinted in Hodge and Wills' *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 22 September, and in the Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 15 October. Both newspapers dated the first letter 20 August. No such date appears in the pamphlet printing. All seven letters were reprinted from the pamphlet version in the New Jersey *Brunswick Gazette*, 4, 11, 18, 25 November, preceded by this statement: "The following pieces were received by the printer a few days ago, from a correspondent in North-Carolina; as they will tend to shew, in some measure, who were the leaders of the majority of the Convention of that state, and in what light they are viewed, we doubt not they will be acceptable to our readers."

The authorship of "A Citizen and Soldier" has not been determined. On 27 October Archibald Maclaine asked James Iredell (whom he had already thanked for sending him a copy of the pamphlet) why he failed to "say anything" about "A Citizen and Soldier" in his 8 October letter. Maclaine indicated that he had received "half a dozen copies" of "A Citizen and Soldier" from the printer, and he asked Iredell, "Pray who is the author of this curious performance? . . . I take it to be a young lawyer in your town, with a dash of the Edenton member" (RCS:N.C., 584). "A Farmer" in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 11 June 1789, also thought that "A Citizen and Soldier" might be a lawyer, a "discontented" one. In his second letter, "A Citizen and Soldier" described himself as "a man in obscurity" who had important ideas to communicate "However inelegant his language may be, however he may be wanting in a display of erudition." (Stephen Cabarrus, a merchant and a Chowan County delegate to the Hillsborough Convention, represented the town of Edenton in the state House of Commons. He was succeeded by lawyer William Cumming, who was by no means a young man.)

"A Citizen and Soldier" condemned "the strange, impudent and outrageous proceedings of the late Convention at Hillsborough," where the majority "treacherously rejected" the Constitution. The opponents of the Constitution in North Carolina were the supporters of paper money, *ex post facto* laws, and tender laws. They had brought ruin on the people of the state, who were now living under "anarchy and confusion." "A Citizen and Soldier" called Thomas Person, a Hillsborough Convention delegate from Granville County and one of the Antifederalist leaders in that body, a bold villain and "ruffian regulator," and he denounced him for calling George Washington a "scoundrel." In the Hillsborough Convention, Person was guilty of "wretched obstinacy and base

designs.” But “A Citizen and Soldier” reserved his harshest criticism for Willie Jones, a Hillsborough Convention delegate from Halifax County and the Anti-federalist leader in that body. Jones was described as “the superintendent and principal chevalier of the antifederal junto,” as “a second Judas,” and as a “base, infamous and unprincipled” person. Jones was criticized for his refusal to attend the Constitutional Convention, where he might have worked to improve the Constitution. He had also slandered North Carolina’s Convention delegates and secretly worked to poison “the minds of the unsuspecting.” His actions had thrown North Carolina out of the Union at the very time that the state government “has suffered a temporary dissolution.” North Carolina was “in a state of nature, without law, order or government,” and defenseless against neighboring states and foreign nations. “A Citizen and Soldier” suggested that North Carolina’s future might be improved if the neighboring states divided North Carolina among themselves. That would bring a well-regulated government to those portions incorporated into the other states. He concluded his last letter with a plea to the people of the District of Edenton to secede from the state and join the Union.

Archibald Maclaine asked James Iredell if “A Citizen and Soldier” was “in earnest in his proposed seperation? or is it held out only as a scare-crow?” (27 October, RCS:N.C., 584). On 20 October Willie Jones responded to “A Citizen and Soldier” in a letter to the editors of the *State Gazette of North Carolina*. After stating that he did not “know who wrote it, nor where it was printed, but [that] it was brought from Edenton to Halifax,” Jones refuted the assertion that he had “called the Members of the Grand Convention, generally, and General Washington and Col. [William R.] Davie, in particular, *scoundrels*.” Jones swore “that nothing can exceed the respect I bear for these two gentlemen, unless it be my scorn and contempt for the ‘CITIZEN and SOLDIER’” (RCS:N.C., 580–81). In the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 27 October, “An Honest Man” admitted that “A Citizen and Soldier” was “a clumsy performance,” but he challenged Jones to “stand forward, answer it, give reputation to your 182 who negatived the learned labour of the choicest worthies of our Empire.—Produce to public view your thoughts, your wisdom, your objections to the code handed us from the Federal Convention; or like the grave digger in Hamlet, confess your self: Or in a manly, honest manner, make the best apology in your power.” He further challenged Jones and his “myrmidons” to call a second state convention “and with a clean mouth and sweet blood, assist and support the country you have injured, to peace, happiness and honour” (RCS: N.C., 584–85). On 11 June 1789 “A Farmer,” writing in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, charged that “A Citizen and Soldier” had undertaken “to out-do the Devil himself in maliciousness.” “A Farmer” also accused “A Citizen and Soldier” of writing articles under different pseudonyms, such as “Aratus.” “Aratus” dismissed “A Farmer” and another critic as “*Jackanapes*,” and he begged “leave to inform them for fear of *mistake*, that he may be *personally* heard of by applying to the Printers” (*State Gazette of North Carolina*, 2 July, Mfm:N.C.).

On 14 December 1788 George Sterling sent a copy of “A Citizen and Soldier” to London bookseller George Nicol, “not doubting but the perusal of so elegant a composition, will afford some amusement to yourself and Friends.” The author, stated Sterling, had enumerated and described “the complicated Evils & Grievances that these new Republic’s have laboured under, since the

Era of their political Existence.” The author’s “Oratory & manner may amuse & inform the Reader.” Sterling loosely quoted a lengthy passage from “A Citizen and Soldier” in his preface to a proposed edition of essays by “Centinel.” (See the text in angle brackets in the second letter of “A Citizen and Soldier,” RCS:N.C., 534–35.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE DISTRICT OF EDENTON.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. I.

*My FRIENDS and FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,*

The hour fast approacheth when the trumpet of calamity will reach you. After having unequivocally experienced the impotent feebleness of confederate America, an efficient government was offered to you; which with disdainful scorn, a majority in Convention have treacherously rejected.

I already conceive from my own knowledge, and your well approved attachment to good government, that you are at a loss to discover, the best remedy to extricate us from our present forlorn condition.—I am apt to presume that you are bewildered in your thoughts of the future; and with confidence I hope, that with indignant pride, you feel the fatal blow that your unhappy country hath suffered. Be assured I am no stranger to such feelings; my mind has been on the rack of torture to vent itself to you—my heart hath bled for you, without an ability to express the language of expedience or wisdom.—I have often been led to suppose, from the suggestions of timidity, that *things would come about and times turn better of their own accord*. But this is the language of despair; this is the fainting hope of the dispirited anchorite; this is the whining of a school-boy to the relentless tyrant: This is praying to Jupiter, without putting our shoulders to the wheel.

Trust me, my fellow countrymen, I have no design in addressing you but for our mutual good. I am equally to enjoy or to suffer with *you*. But the God of fate hath blown a blast inimical to our salvation—The sun of North-Carolina hath already set—Clouds and thick tempests compass us and we are as the weary wanderer in midnight darkness.

My present object is, with modest diffidence, to suggest to you the necessity of an appeal to the minority of the state. I may be mistaken, but I address you from the fixed conviction of my soul, that you are at this instant a ruined people. Tyranny and oppression may with tardy step approach you, but anarchy and confusion are at hand. The consequences, which in all human probability, must await the rejection of the constitution, are to the last degree menacing from all quarters.

Let us endeavour to draw the curtain of our fate, let us hold the mirror up to nature—Let us discover the accursed authors of our misery; let us with undaunted stedfastness view the dreadful situation of

our country. Let us examine her wounds; and let us then see, if there is no *balm in Gilead*,<sup>1</sup> if there is no healthful restorative to revive her decayed vigour.

While with the love of a brother I expect you will pardon my rashness, in attempting a subject of such momentous consequence, allow me to call upon you all to offer your mite, in the same blunt manner with myself. Let us communicate freely our sentiments to the world and to one another.

The indignant feelings of a mind unacquainted with reproach hath roused me to address you.—Will you permit a soldier who hath served you, who bleeds with the wounds of his country, in the hour of danger to come forward? Will you permit an humble citizen? and who in each respect, in the hour of peace or war, will not be daunted by the arm of power; who is feelingly alive to the distresses of his parent; who will ever be bold to brand the villainy of men in office; and who as long as he hath an hand to act, a tongue to speak, or a heart to flutter, shall be ready to serve you as A CITIZEN and SOLDIER.

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#### No. II.

*My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen,*

It is a man in obscurity who addresses you, but he addresses you upon points of great importance; on subjects that ensure your being as an *independent people*. However inelegant his language may be, however he may be wanting in a display of erudition, his object he hopes will plead powerfully in his excuse.

For some years past I have been of the fixed opinion, that there were a junto of men in this state who were determined upon the ruin of their country. Laying aside their dangerous and corrupted attachment to those *state instruments of fraud, ex post facto, paper money and tender laws*, nothing can more surely evince to you the justness of this observation, than the strange, impudent and outrageous proceedings of the late Convention at Hillsborough. The constitution which was before that body for their deliberation, according to the opinion of the wisest and best of mankind, is as perfect as any human institution whatever; yet whether it was a good or a bad government for the people of America, was not by any means the real question; but whether it was prudent to be separated from the union of the other states?—As the states one after another came into the measure, the great political controversy gradually changed its ground, and what was once a question on the merits of the constitution, was then only a question of public expedience and policy.

Your deputies must have given you an account of the antifederal leaders and of the manner in which they conducted themselves.—With

minds totally callous to conviction, with understandings incapable to convince, with hearts bent upon the ruin of the people, destitute of language or the tongue of expression, wicked, abandoned and depraved, they have wilfully plunged you into such a forlorn state of human misery, that nothing but the most spirited exertions can possibly save you from destruction.

The history of the world teems with examples of the perverseness and depravity of human nature, with here and there a shade of virtue and patriotism. With the character of a certain political paradox you must be well acquainted. The conduct of this regulator,<sup>2</sup> from his cradle to his exit at Tarb—h (would to God it were the last moment of his existence) has been a continued scene of unexampled depravity. The tortured sense of malevolence cannot discover language capable to represent it. Upon this occasion we find him using all his influence to prevent a Convention in the Assembly, directing the representatives to bind their deputies by an oath of abjuration against the constitution, riding post up and down the country infusing poison into the minds of the people, with the *wretched wheel of misfortune* at his tail, abusing with great scurrility the authors of the constitution, and calling the *sacred name of Washington* “scoundrel.”—I should affront your understandings in recounting to you the mean artifices which he has used to bring about his points at the elections of his neighbouring counties: But to conclude the train of his wretched obstinacy and base designs at Hillsborough, though he allows himself to be convinced, yet he is determined to vote contrary to his conscience—he is determined not to be satisfied by anything that reason or arguments could suggest. Such a degree of unparalleled baseness is without exception, such effrontery, such boldness in villainy, is not to be instanced. And yet this ruffian regulator with all his enormities upon his head, is held up as a leader of the chosen crew!

Neither was there wanting in his aid “*one of the shred of the holy vestment of Aaron.*”<sup>3</sup> This man hath wrote on the subject the most fulsome bagatelle that ever groaned under a press. But his ignorance only equals his impious profanation of truth, when to gain adherents to his party, he hath impudently asserted that he had prayed to the God of Heaven for light upon the new constitution, and that the throne of grace had instructed him.—Here you have a second instance of human depravity and unprincipled baseness.

Let us next turn our attention to the superintendant and principal chevalier of the antifederal junto.<sup>4</sup> You must well have observed that in all street committees or grumblings in the house, this man was always quoted as the Delphic oracle of truth—his say so, or his nod, was sufficient to turn the dye at any one period: Such extensive influence in

one man, has not been known within the memory of the most aged; and must be a glaring instance to you of the dangerous consequence that might be expected in a small republic without any restraint upon his conduct. Notwithstanding every thing that might naturally be expected from the exertions of eloquence and manly observation; notwithstanding the dreadful aspect of our country was painted in the most feeling language—although all the learning, sense and virtue of the house were on the one side; yet the ears of the people were shut; there was no need of argument or persuasion; there was no need of the tongue of an angel—*for this man had said it*. In the building of their fabrick, the *voice* of human creature was not heard: Antic gesture and grumblings were their dumb shew. *This man had said it—it was sufficient*. His G—d—it, was the needle of condemnation. Yet did he in the house endeavour to offer any arguments to support his texts? no. Did he hold up the doctrine which he had before asserted, that however many objections he had against the constitution yet he would be sorry to be out of the union? no. Did he endeavour to reason out of doors with any of the federal party, or to shew the soundness and bottom of his objections? no.—Did he not, drawer-like, produce his bill of fare and desert with a simple motion, and were they not carried? yes. Did he not in a street committee, in the hearing of Col. M——n, abuse the deputies of this state to the federal Convention at Philadelphia for a pack of scoundrels, and say that they all deserved to be hanged? yes. Has not this man said that conviction was out of the question, for he would be damned if he did not vote against it? yes.

But what are his amendments produced in sybil silence—a wretched borrowed song from V——a [i.e., Virginia], *with an express amendment to emit paper money, and to declare the meaning of rebellion*—this is the salve to the whole—and well worthy of the united band.

You tell me that this man is a man of principle and virtue—a man of hitherto good conduct and character. I shall readily admit it without any kind of enquiry, so far as I am at present instructed. But what is all this to the purpose—*at one stroke he has ruined his country*: and were he a pattern of innocence before, it can make no possible atonement for the criminality of his present conduct. The Angels of darkness before they committed rebellion against High Heaven, were as white as driven snow. Cain was virtuous until he slew his brother—Caesar was the hero of his age, a powerful orator, and the man of the people, yet he became a tyrant over them. Anthony was a great soldier, yet he became a whining lover, and deserted his country for a whore. My Lord Bacon was Chancellor of England, the greatest lawyer, the first philosopher of the age, yet he debased the seat of justice by bribery, and was

at once the greatest, basest, meanest of mankind. Silas Deane and [Benedict] Arnold were men of approved conduct in the senate and in the field, yet they each in their turn betrayed the cause of their country. The Perrans in England, were men of the first mercantile consequence, yet committed perjury and were hanged. The great Doctor Dodd, the servant of Jesus, on whose silver tongue hung persuasion, and who was looked upon as a second apostle from Heaven, committed a forgery and was hanged.—As this man survives his political heresy, he can only merit our pity or execration, and to avoid the evil consequences of his influence in future, let us withdraw ourselves from him and his counsels, for his ways are ways of wickedness, and all his paths are iniquity. His inconsistency in saying one thing, and conducting himself in a different manner, must convince you of his designated artifice to lull asleep the watchfulness of the people. His abusing the Deputies from this state to the Federal Convention, and painting their deserts as worthy of the gallows, must plainly evince to you that he is capable of any fetch, however low, to poison the minds of the people.

Col. D— [i.e., William R. Davie], one of the Federal Convention was his r——n,—a man whom well all know, and have reason to admire and esteem,—yet in a trice he will damn him for a scoundrel and have him hanged. Surely the milk of human kindness is wanting here. Dr. Williamson, Mr. Blount and Col. Martin are men high in estimation, and have well merited every office they have filled. But is it not somewhat surprising that this Chevalier who received an ap——t to the F——l C——n did not attend his duty there? No—he had his farm to attend, and he waited for the secret opportunity of dark insinuation—he well knew that his nod could avail nothing in an assembly composed of the wisdom and virtue of America. He knew that his dumbshew could not be of any weight in that august house, he well knew the difference of being the first man in a village and the last man in the city: Yet before the proceedings of Convention came out he loudly exclaimed against the secrecy enjoined upon that honourable body, and cried out that he smelt a rat. No sooner did it reach him, than he damned the whole business, condemned them for scoundrels, abused the piece for vulgarity, and with indecent arrogance sent the authors and the piece to the gallows.

You tell me that this man is a man of wisdom, of wit, and of great fortune. Let it be granted—his money may soon dub him wise and witty, but he is still upon this account the more dangerous in a free country.

Let us examine into his wisdom, and see what depth of understanding and political insight, he possessed upon this occasion; for I pretend

to know nothing of his great achievements in chivalry before.—(He must have known that after a long war, having borrowed money and received assistance from foreign friends, there were certain national and domestic debts necessarily incumbent upon us to discharge. He must have known the very urgent demands that were made upon Congress for payment. He must have known the present suppliant requisitions of Congress to the states. He must have known that the calling the Federal Convention saved us from *a demand* which even foreign ministers blushed to mention. He must have known the great exertion that some states had made to discharge their quotas. He must have known the wretched portion offered by this state. He must have known the piteous situation of Congress. He must have known the contemptible figure which America as a nation made in the eyes of the world. He must have known that Congress had not money in her treasury sufficient to pay her officers. He must have known that the monies advanced by the sister states for their quota of payment towards discharging the public debt, was applied by Congress for the payment of their officers. He must have known that even our Minister Plenipotentiary at London, was paid his expences and salary upon an extravagant Dutch loan. He must have known that Congress were reduced to the humiliating condition of ceding the navigation of the Mississippi to Spain for 21 years. He must have known that Great-Britain had insulted us: had broke her treaty, and had kept possession of all our western posts and frontiers. He must have known the miserable situation of our seamen captive at Algiers, pining in prison or chained to an oar. He must have known the rebellion in Boston, and the massacre of the Georgians by the Indians. He must have known the insurrection at Wyoming in Pennsylvania, at this instant. He must have known the rebellion of the people in Franklin, and that the people of Cumberland were determined to throw themselves into the arms of Spain or Great-Britain. He must have known that the Cherokees and other nations beyond the mountains, threaten us at this instant with a war, their King and their principal Chieftains being inhumanly murdered under the flag of treaty by the emissaries of North-Carolina. He must have known that this country was almost ruined by a set of speculating paper-money ruffians. He must have known that we were the gibe and joke of the world. He must have known that as a people we had lost all public faith, private credit and national energy. He must have known that a separation from the union must have been attended with the awful consequences of perdition and ruin to this state.—*And yet*, with all these grievances under which an infant people with impotent struggles

laboured, he will damn the saviours of our country the Federal Convention, for a pack of scoundrels, go to the Convention at Hillsborough full of damns and G—d damns, blow up an idle fandango about bills of rights and amendments, and what is still more infamous, throw us altogether out of the union. Was this a time to smook a pipe and suck the paw like a surly bear, when your house was on fire? Was this a time like a Jew broker to bargain about fractions, without a single ship in your harbour or a *dollar* in your treasury? Shall this man be allowed to brand the inimitable Washington with the appellation of scoundrel, when he is unworthy to clean his shoes?<sup>5</sup> Shall he be allowed to condemn to the gallows my brother soldier Col. D—, for acting honourably and faithfully? Away with him; he is unworthy of further faith—a second Judas: I tell you he is base, infamous and unprincipled.

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### No. III.

#### *My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen,*

Here then is a character without reason, without argument, without candour or openness, determined not to be convinced, and fixed upon the ruin of his country to satisfy a party and the whimsical caprice of his mind. A spirit of contradiction has checkered his political career from the beginning, and a demon on inconsistency has marked him as her son. Had he contented himself with obscurity, it would have been proportioned to the extent of his capacity, and thus he might have passed without observation. The servile circle of the ring or gambling table was his only alternative to pass without censure. That *humble imitative* line, which many less *credulous* politicians have been contented with, is the path which nature intended him to walk in. Here he might have long continued safe and contemptible. Here the extent of his capacity could only be suspected by the ignorant, and silently measured by the wise. But the moment in which he ventured into the political stream, his conduct has produced a sigh of pity in the breast of sensibility, and drawn down the frown of contempt. Would it not be more commendable in him to retire from a theatre so ill suited to his genius, and in some humble pursuit prepare for the future necessities of his reputation? Yet although he laboured under a total destitution of qualifications essential in a legislator, the spirit of madness has urged him to launch again into the sea of political discussion, when had he before his eyes the well founded fear of the most mortifying shame, if he revered the advice of consistency, decency and propriety, he would have retired from a theatre, which will be dishonoured by his presence as it has been insulted by his pretensions. Loaded with a huge weight of

political iniquity, he smiles horrible, at the prospect of enjoying a renewed opportunity to combat federal designs, and traverse measures necessary for the safe introduction and permanent establishment of the new government. Does it require amendments?—It may. But certainly none will think of calling in its enemies to amend it, any more than they would submit their locks and keys to the file of an artist who had attempted to rob them, or trust their lives with a physician who thirsted to drink their blood.—The period is too critical to place any confidence in quacks, who eager in pursuit of their ambition, destroy their patient with the most inveterate poison.

You tell me, my countrymen, that I am severe. I call upon you to shew me his wishes and labours of zeal for your welfare and the safety of the public. Let them, let the sedulous publishers of his worth tell, where the movements of his achievements are, or the records of his meritorious exertions, that we may join in celebrating his praise and advancing his views. I demand of you to call to recollection the eloquent orations of his persuasive tongue, or point out the finished compositions of his elegant pen at the great crisis of our fate to convince us of error if we were wrong, or to confirm, encourage and serve us if we were right. Are you unable to mention one speech, or appeal to any one single act or publication for any of these purposes? Yet he hath nevertheless mustered fare enough to appear at a second election, after having acted so ignominious a part!—Know then and be convinced of his baseness—he was appointed to an honourable office in the federal convention—if he possessed abilities, under this dignified appointment he might have assisted in rearing a fabric more useful to America—yet he returned the appointment. His friends have not shewn one specimen of his abilities as an argument against the constitution, yet he continually acts the secret, base and unmanly character of a private calumniator—under this dark cloud he has extended the contagion of his councils and poisoned the minds of the unsuspecting.

In thus pourtraying this accursed fiend to your view, I have treated him with the *decency of truth*, which neither his character nor his treatment of others deserves.—Thus much I own to the dignity of my own feelings, while I write under the firm persuasion of his illiberal breeding and disappointed malevolence.

But to return—this business of opposition he hath conducted either because he had no agency in the plan, or because it had been planned by those whom he disliked. Such an excellent system being adopted without his consultation, he disapproves of it from motives of obstinacy and pride, and in his estimation the opposition is an indispensable duty. As it has been effected without his agency and perhaps contrary

to the whim of his mind, he thinks himself bound in honour and by all the motives of personal infallibility, to defeat the success of a contrary resolution.<sup>6</sup> Thus the great interests of society are sacrificed to the vanity, to the conceit and the obstinacy of one individual, who has had credit sufficient to make his passion and caprice interesting to the mob. This diabolical spirit has carried this man to the desperate length of separating himself from America, to live in a state of nature and to herd with tender law and paper money ruffians. Can any character be more singularly despicable or wicked?—Bound down in the trammelled chains of obstinacy to party, he consults his vanity, not the public good—contrary to the conviction of his own mind he vaults without feeling, despises the alarms of conscience, and sells his understanding to satisfy a momentary caprice, although ruin and desolation are the consequence. Can human frailty in any instance appear more despicable? Can vice in human shape appear more detestable? The upright mind must eye with horror this monster of society. The most benevolent temper must view such conduct with melancholy dread, whilst the heart warmed with enthusiastic fire for the love of our country, must with uplifted hands to heaven, cry out

Oh ye powers divine!  
 Who look upon the movements of this nether world—  
 And bring them to account. Crush, crush this viper,  
 Who singled out by a community  
 To guard their rights, shall for a grasp of ore  
 Or paultry office, sell 'em to a foe!

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No. IV.

*My Friends and Fellow Countrymen,*

Having thus attempted to delineate to you the character of the bitterest enemy to your country, it is time to enquire into the nature of our present and probable future situation.

The rejection of the constitution by this state was obviously the interest of the leaders of the majority, who hazarded a diminution of their power and consequence, and who naturally hoped, from a spirit of the most perverse ambition, to aggrandize themselves by the confusion of their country; and whilst they basely evaded an adoption of the constitution, they at once answered their own dangerous purposes, and dismembered you from the union.

On what footing then do we stand at present. Our state constitution has formed three pillars of government—the executive, legislative, and judicial. Writers have observed, in forms of government similar to our

own, that a conjunction of any two of these authorities in the hands of either must create great danger, and inevitably ensure the downfall of the state. But however much we may have reason to see the truth of this observation from past experience, there is at this instant (as some men have advanced) an alarming circumstance of a nature much more to be dreaded. We have (say they) no Executive at all. The constitution has appointed a Counsel to aid and assist the Governor, without which he cannot act. Now it is a melancholy truth, that the Counsel have all either resigned or accepted of seats in the Assembly, which is virtually of itself a resignation. Suppose (say they) that some leading regulator were to rise amongst us, and it is certain were he to start in the neighbourhood of H— [i.e., Halifax] he would have powerful aid, what would be the consequence? Can the Governor of himself interfere? Suppose urgent necessity required, and were he recommended by Congress at this instant to call the Assembly, what authority has he? Suppose an honest federalist should be condemned for treason against the state of North-Carolina, could the Governor grant a pardon. Suppose it were necessary to raise the militia to quell any insurgency, the Governor has no power. Suppose the Indians, not satisfied with over-running the country beyond the mountains, were to make a descent as far as Hillsborough, could the Governor interfere? In fact, (argue these men) without his Counsel he has no power—he is virtually and civilly dead. Our state government is therefore at an end for the present—it has suffered a temporary dissolution.

But this is not all; let us see at what period the eligibility of another Counsel must cease, and at what time our state government must altogether fall to the ground. Congress must soon appoint the day on which the new federal government will take place, eleven states having already accepted of the federal constitution. Our Delegates in Congress must withdraw themselves—the old confederation will be done away—we shall then be in a state of secession from the new government. It is held as a political rule in all republics, that the majority shall guide. America is but one republic. A majority have implicitly accepted—18 to 20, 11 to 13 have adopted the federal system. We are therefore in a state of secession from that majority, and as we have not accepted of the prepared proffer of unity, we are liable to such order and regulation as they may think proper to devise. We shall then have lost the opportunity, the hour is passed when we might have joined the union, but having voluntarily withdrawn ourselves and thrown aside our former rank in the nations, we must start upon a new footing altogether depending on ourselves.

Such will be the melancholy case. Some men have however argued in a different manner, and have made that period altogether at hand, by boldly averring that we are at present in a state of secession and implied rebellion. Under the old confederation (say they) the constitution of the several states were guaranteed to them by Congress, and by the confederation they were all united—they each one and all guaranteed to each other their several state governments. That confederation is dead—the pillar of unity under that system hath fallen—our constitution is therefore deserted by its former prop, and of course hath died its natural death. But if we are not in a state of rebellion, as some have advanced, we are most certainly in a state of nature—We have no government at home, by the Executive being civilly dead—We have no government from abroad, because the foundation stone hath been taken away. We are therefore at this instant in a state of nature, without law, order or government.

However far these observations may be just, is left to yourselves—without however making any such bold assertion; at the present it is a melancholy truth, which will on all hands be confessed, that the *moment on which the new government takes place, killing will be no murder*—theft and robbery will not be felony—vice and virtue will have no distinguished name—there will be an extinction of every social duty, and a final stop to all the wheels of government. Such being our situation at home, how shall we stand in respect to the nations around us? We shall have no name as a state. The peace and dignity of North-Carolina will be no more. The nations of America know us not—the foreign world have not been made acquainted with the title or description that we bear. A people in a state of nature. It is necessary that the world must in future know us by some token with which as yet they are unacquainted. No assembly can be legally held, for the authority to call it together will be done away—it will be an unlawful meeting of a few without the consent of the whole. The people must meet in committees—form a general government for the seat of empire—give the country a name—appoint ambassadors, ministers and consuls to acquaint the world that we are no longer an unknown people, wandering Arab-like in herds, or meeting in political bodies to commit plunder and robbery, but that we are the free independent people of North-Carolina.

As the above is most assuredly the fact of our political death and political salvation. Let us first see the consequence of our present state, a state of nature—then the consequence of our secession or detachment from the union.

\* \* \* \* \*

## No. V.

*My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen,*

It is the fixed and deliberate subject of my mind that the sun of North-Carolina hath set. The virtue of her children is suppressed by the overbearing sway of a depraved majority, who expect to rise amidst the storm of tender laws and paper money speculation. The heart bent upon mischief, the soul abandoned to every suggestion of wisdom or policy, could only have attempted the daring wicked machination of at once separating ourselves from the rest of America, and dissolving an union that even under its former feebleness and consumption, was the sport of nations and the joke of the world.

When we modestly consider the relative weakness and insignificance of North-Carolina compared with the strength and grandeur of the other states, it assuredly argued the utmost degree of impudence and effrontery to reject a constitution which was undoubtedly of more advantage to us than any other state on the continent.

The loss of our former government as (by some) hath been said, will throw us into a state of nature, because our domestic and national constitution will have suffered a political debt. Let us view the consequences naturally to be expected from such a situation—from every circumstance there can be little doubt but that an alteration must speedily take place in the government of the country beyond the mountains—should the Indians overcome the governmental or the independent party in Franklin, a considerable part of our empire will be lopt away, and it cannot admit of a moment's hesitation but that the deserted unhappy people will immediately throw themselves into the arms of Great-Britain or Spain—of Congress they have no opinion, they have already experienced their want of energy and weakness, and they are all generally averse to the new government. At any rate, whatever may be their sentiments upon this subject, Congress cannot assist them at present—it is immediate aid that they want—under oppressed circumstances they will require aid from that quarter on which they think they can best depend. Long previous to the attempted revolution of America in September 1787, the people in that back country had publicly debated upon the necessity and expediency of a separation, and had a general warm side to Great-Britain from their knowledge of the arbitrary government of Spain. Here then we shall have a dangerous and powerful neighbour in the west. On the other hand should not this be the case, as they found themselves deserted by North-Carolina her parent, they will throw off their allegiance here and proclaim independence, and Congress will have no hesitation in taking her into the

union. In this view then we shall have lost so much of our dominion, and have a government not our own in our bowels. Virginia and South-Carolina surround us on the two other quarters. But this is not all, we should be formidable to ourselves—our rulers acting under the impulse of opposite interests and unfriendly passions, would frequently take different sides—thus it would be more natural for us to apprehend danger from one another than from foreign or neighbouring nations. And after we had introduced a foreign army or navy into our country for assistance, it would be difficult to make them depart.

Independent of foreign inroad, there can be little doubt but that a Shays or a Parsons<sup>7</sup> would ever be at hand to raise a civil war—of this indeed, although the difference is wide and great, we have a powerful instance in Massachusetts—one man, *a desperate debtor*, had nearly overturned the government of that powerful and truly military state.

But how do we stand in respect of the ocean—being in a state of nature, we are at present unknown to the nations of the world, and are liable to the seizure and capture of our vessels by any foreign state, or desperado that may sail on the ocean. Should any of your citizens send his vessels to Bourdeaux, they will be liable to be condemned under three views—as enemies to America with whom they are in alliance—as in debt to France, not having joined the American alliance for the security of their debt—as enemies to all the world, for a people in a state of nature are in a state of war. Should you sail to England you will be treated as rebels—separated from America with whom they have a treaty, you stand on the same footing that you did during the war. Should you sail to New-York, your vessels will be liable to seizure there and to be condemned in admiralty for your debt to America, not having paid your quota, and having dissolved yourselves for the express purpose of avoiding it. Should your vessels however not be attached upon any such ground as above related, you are still open to the attempt of any desperado; and what is your recourse, you cannot complain of the injury to any foreign nation or domestic state, for you are in a state of nature without name or acknowledged residence. To be taken is easy—to have a remedy is at best precarious, and the mode is altogether unascertained.

As a nation however should you be attacked, to whom can you complain—you have no master, no superior lord, you are a vassal to none. Should South-Carolina, Virginia and Franklin make encroachments and partition you among them, to whom can you cry out? Should a part, as for instance Edenton, throw herself into the arms of Congress as a fief of the federal empire, or into the arms of Virginia, what redress

have you?—Men in a state of nature are without law—legal government is at an end—private will and force are the governmental rules—of course as one individual may legally abandon you, a part may with equal ease and propriety do the same. Should you arm yourselves, you immediately become enemies to all around you.—Means of defence will be shewn by the neighbouring states, and as they are more powerful they may use the means of offence in like manner. Congress may perhaps throw in her claim to you as possessing a vacant country. The want of union and a good national government is an *invitation* to war, and it is too true that nations will make war not only whenever they have a prospect of making any thing by it, but from personal purposes—revenge for injuries or ambition—or compact to aggrandize or support their families or partizans.

Thus you are open to constant civil war amongst yourselves—you are open to the ravage and plunder of all around you—you are open to subjection, to be a conquered people or partitioned among your neighbours—and you would be likely to become a prey to the artifices and machinations of powers equally your enemies—*Divide and command* would be the *motto*.

But this is not all—the cause of war upon us would be just and ostensible: We have not paid our quota of the national debt, have fallen upon no means of doing it, and in fact are unable—nay if the measure was attempted in the same manner that Virginia has done, it would of itself create civil convulsions. Looking upon it however in this point of view, it might perhaps be a fortunate circumstance to the greater and better part of North-Carolina, that such consequences might take place, and then we should have reason to bless the majority as the best friends our country ever experienced. *Let our neighbour's partition us amongst them.*

Let the Franklin people take as far as Hillsborough, and divide the lower country by the Neuse and waters of Pedee between Virginia and South-Carolina—then might we boast (if such is the object of the majority in Convention) of Halcyon days—then would every man live peaceably under his own vine and his fig-tree<sup>s</sup>—Then should we be supported by the energy of a well regulated government.

If such was the design of the majority in the Convention, it was a deep-laid scheme, fraught with wisdom and political virtue; for I firmly believe it to be the wish of every true lover of his country, that North-Carolina was annihilated. We have already experienced such a train of wicked deadly measures to our interests, that we can have little hopes of seeing better days as long as we are subject to the same men and measures. Nature indeed seems to have intended the mountains for

mountaineers—the low lands for peace, commerce and freedom. And you may as well bring the seas and mountains in conjunction, as unite the separate interests of each.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. VI.

*My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen,*

I am convinced that the majority had no such virtuous object in view as that of a separation of interests by those well marked boundaries which heaven and nature seem to have pointed out. I am convinced their schemes were merely personal and experimental without any fixed object except that of fraud and peculation, and expecting from the confusion of the times, that something would work round to their advantage, especially so long as they kept the arm of power in their hands.

An open avowal on the part of several back country members was made, that should the constitution be on the eve of adoption by the Convention, they had men at hand sufficiently able to prevent any such attempt. One man had 90, another 100 men that he could raise at a call.—In this you have a specimen of the government you may expect—a government of *force*.—By the two several previous amendments to the constitution adopted by the majority at Convention, a power is *demand*ed from America to privilege North-Carolina in emitting paper-money, and a special guard is chosen to point out the meaning of rebellion.<sup>9</sup> Such daring encroachments upon the political virtue of society must at once convince the world, that it was the designated intention of these men to put an end to government. The period will soon arrive when their wishes will be effected, and we shall be altogether outcast from our former protection, and one of two things are the unavoidable consequences—either to shift for ourselves or be subject to the law of force.

After an express mandate of the Convention to make paper-money, we may naturally expect that the next Assembly will follow the *directions of the people of North-Carolina*, and that we shall have paper in abundance—should a minority be refractory, help is at hand to oblige them into measures—the cry in the back country and at our door is loud for paper, and their leaders have already assured them of it, if report is not mistaken. Take a look of the persons chosen for the Assembly—they are nearly the same pious crew whom you lately saw at Convention; and *similes similibus gaudent*,<sup>10</sup> the same cause will always have the same effect; similar men will delight in similar measures.

Even allowing for a moment that the federal legislature will be composed of the most good natured men in the world, they must still act as politicians and establish a precedent for future government. Should

an Assembly even appoint a Convention, and we cannot suppose that they ever will, the proceedings of such Convention will be altogether illegal. Congress cannot at that period accept of any adoption from this country (no longer a state) much less a limited one. Who is to present your amendments? You will have no longer any Delegates to present your adoption—they must soon altogether withdraw themselves—the old representation under the confederation will then be at an end—they cannot be allowed to present your adoption as such. Will any neighbouring state proffer their service? You can have no dependence from this quarter. Your ambassadors will not be received, for their sovereigns are unknown, unacknowledged by the nations of America. There are many previous steps to be taken, and Virginia and South-Carolina your two jealous neighbours, wishing your annihilation for their own increase of empire, will dispute every step that is not strictly politic and legal. Having once separated from the union—having avowed the dismemberment by an express rejection of proffered friendship and amity, your state constitution decayed, your bill of rights annihilated, its pillar stone the guarantee-ship of the other states done away, the confederation dissolved,—you must soon be as if you were a new people just emerged by *accident* or *fate* from the sea. You *may* then appoint ambassadors to treat with Congress, and you *may* be admitted as a *new state*, or be partitioned among your neighbours, or you may be compelled to come in upon unconditional terms—the view of this prospect is at once well founded, awful and melancholy.

Thus rejected by the union, and without any legal government, you must soon be the sport of a wicked set of paper-money plunderers, and subject to every caprice that abandoned counsel can direct. *Sunt lachrymæ rerum.*<sup>11</sup>

For my own part I have not the most distant conception of the next Assembly appointing a Convention—the back country men have already determined not to fix the seat of government at Wake, agreeable to the ordinance of Convention. The cry is loud for paper-money, and we see all around men of the same antifederal features appointed—anarchy and fraud is but too visibly their object. Let us suppose for a moment that a motion is made for emitting paper, and that it is warmly backed by a decided majority, I cannot conceive that you will risk the danger of such a measure, even although the same majority should promise you a Convention; and I firmly trust that on such a measure being set on foot, your Delegates will instantly withdraw themselves from the house. At the same time however that I conceive their intended object is to have a new emission, I am of the fixed opinion that they have no design to call a Convention. Suppose however contrary

to expectation that they do order a Convention; that Convention will not readily meet until the spring, and then the same subject is to be debated paragraph by paragraph, and whether it is better to be in the union than out of it.—From their wild eccentric and mad mode of proceeding at Convention in July last at Hillsborough have you any probable suspicion of what may even then be attempted? They then refused any deliberation upon the subject, having previously made up their minds. They may still have the same opinion—they may incline a total separation from America—they may divide the state into two or three confederacies—they may adopt a monarchy—they may analyze a new system of government altogether, or they may decline making any governmental system whatever. After an experience of their hitherto madness, baseness and treachery, they are not to be entrusted with your affairs.

But let us suppose that a new Convention do adopt the constitution, with amendments similar to some other states, they must then appoint ambassadors to treat with the federal Congress. When they humbly prostrate themselves before the throne of America, two questions must naturally arise to be discussed by Congress:—Can Congress accept of amendments from North-Carolina? Are the proceedings of their last Convention politic and legal?

Let us with candour consider these objections. The Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th September, 1787, recommended a revolution in government to the people of America, and desired Congress to recommend to the several legislatures to call Conventions for the adoption or rejection of the system; adding that it should be a government for any nine states which might accept of it; wisely leaving an opening for one-third to form a partial confederacy by themselves. Our legislature ordered a Convention of the people to deliberate upon the subject, and they have resolved not to accept of it but upon previous amendments, to be submitted to the Congress and Convention of the states which shall be called for the purpose of amending the constitution. Of course the day even of conditional acceptance is such as may or may not happen, and until it does we are to stand separate and alone. The wisdom of the people in Convention at Hillsborough have immutably fixed upon this decree, and until that time it is irrevocable: If the proceedings of Convention have any meaning it must be this. But it may be asked, before what Congress is it to be laid? The present Congress have nothing to do with it—if they have, they have taken no notice of it—and it cannot be laid before the federal Congress, because they will merely represent the eleven adopting states. It cannot be laid before the possible future Convention of amendments, for nine states must

first petition for amendments, and a Convention of the separate states will be directed.<sup>12</sup>—Of course the proceedings of Convention [i.e., the Hillsborough Convention] is not an honest rejection in plain terms, but an artful fraudulent evasion.

It would argue the most consummate folly and vanity, to submit previous amendments to Congress through our ambassadors. An adoption with amendments would not be received, because it is contrary to the proffered system of the Federal Convention—contrary to the terms upon which other states have come in, and contrary to what we have any reason to expect from our having lost the opportunity when it was proffered, and because it does not appear that your Assembly had any authority to call a second Convention. This question necessarily involves itself with the second. Are the proceedings of the second Convention legal?

I have said that the resolution of the first Convention, evading the acceptance to a distant day and upon previous terms, must first arrive, and until that period that it is irrevocable. It is said that the same power which does an act, can at any time undo it, agreeable to a well known political maxim. It is admitted, but the maxim does not apply in the present case. North-Carolina is an inferior body to the superior will of America. Our constitution was reared by ourselves it is true, and is good for every interior purpose, but then it is subject to the law of America, and controuled by the guarantee ship of the other states. Under that national constitution our government subsists. No separate state under the articles of confederation can order a Convention of the people without the leave of Congress. A separate state could not, before the federal revolution, have withdrawn itself by any Convention of the people, without incurring the danger of a rebellion to the other states—it could not alter its republican form of government to a monarchy, or dispose of themselves to a foreign prince—nay it could not even dispose of any part of their territory to a foreign nation or their neighbour, or the full navigation of any great river which passed through their country.—If a separate state could effect any one individual national act without the consent of the whole, the consequences would be civil commotion, partial or universal dismemberment—but as they are all sealed in one bond of union, even the most trivial national act must be by national consent, or it is a direct national injury. Here a revolution was proffered by the consent of the whole. The national confederated head assisted in the creation of a new empire, 11 to 13 have accepted of the proffered terms by the people at large, while 2 to 13 stand out by similar measures of the people.

It is then a question, can a posterior state Convention undo what is already done? Can the state of Georgia withdraw herself now by a second Convention, after her implicit acceptance under a first Convention? Can the state of North-Carolina accept after rejecting? The reasoning is the same. If Georgia can withdraw herself she can do it now, or after the federal legislature have met in Congress. If she can do it now, the example will be followed by others—the whole machinery will be done away—national anarchy and confusion will follow. If she can do it at a future period, the consequences are the same although perhaps somewhat more serious. But the rule is that the lesser shall give way to the greater—that the minority shall submit to the majority. Good sense, good government and sound policy are the foundation of this principle.

In such a case as this, what is to be the standard, the *once* solemn assent of the people at large? If this is not to be the rule and standard of ruling, government will not have a name but in distraction, weakness and want of energy.

Suppose that Georgia by a second Convention were to withdraw herself, and to refuse an acceptance but upon previous amendments, and to send her ambassadors to treat with Congress.

After having agreed with the eleven by mutual consent, she would most assuredly be in a state of rebellion as to them. Here the act of a second Convention may undo what she has once done, but the consequence is rebellion.

Now although we are not in a state of rebellion (in my humble opinion) *at present*, yet any proceedings, either in advance or retrograde of the new government by a second Convention, would be altogether illegal and impolitic. But the consequences are only fatal to ourselves and of no moment to the other states—the whole is a matter of choice, and were the second Convention of this state altogether to reject or to adopt, the consequences are similar. We are now in a state of nature—a rejection will not make us more so—an adoption would not take us out of that state. The Assembly cannot order a Convention, neither can the latter do any act in future that can be legal without the consent of America. The choice was once left to us, to be *alone* or in union. We have chosen the latter under terms, and we must wait until that time arrives. It is the last act we can do. We have thrown the dye—our fate is fixed, and we have chosen for some years to stand upon our own legs—to *pay our national debt with honesty, and to fight against all mankind and against one another.*

But should the federal Congress, the representative of America, order a Convention, it would be a legal mode of proceeding; for then it would not be a partial act, but committed by consent of the majority.

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## No. VII.

*My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen,*

From the summary which I have with candid submission undertaken to lay before you, I consider, my countrymen, that we are at the extreme depression of national dignity and credit: I conceive that we are a lost and ruined people. When you consider the situation of other countries that have borne a near resemblance to our own, what reason can you have to confide in those reveries which would seduce you into an expectation of peace and cordiality with your neighbours or with one another, after your separation from the confederacy? Are you to be lulled asleep from apprehensions of distant discord and hostility? You have seen a revolt in your own country—you have seen the actual revolt and rebellion in Massachusetts—you have seen the Indian war in Georgia—you see the present menacing disturbances in Pennsylvania<sup>13</sup>—and you have seen the advanced and dangerous conduct of your mountaineering rulers. What expectations can you have from a country without energy or power to assist you? They have already separated themselves from the union. It is their fixed intent to continue separate, and to try the experiment of a separate independence. The picture which I have drawn is not too highly wrought. The conquest of this country is easy to be made. The war will at first be desultory and predatory. Plunder and devastation will attend the irregular march. The calamity of individuals will make the principal figure.

Should you be lulled asleep to this awful period by imaginary hope and expectation, you must remain a standing monument of infamy and cowardice to surrounding nations. Be the first to meet the dangerous disease—it will be better prevented than cured. External danger I admit is a powerful director to safety. Your love of liberty must when the rude shock arrives give way to its dictates. The destruction of life and property—the continual effort and alarm attendant on danger, will rouse you when perhaps it is too late to resort for repose and safety in the sword. But wherefore the risk of being less free—is it not safer to attempt its support?

Take a view of the country in which we live—is it not sufficiently able to form a state of itself? Is it not upwards of 100 miles square, bigger than Maryland, Delaware, New-Jersey or Rhode Island? The real greatness of a state consists in the virtue and unanimity of her people. To our distinguished honour, we were unanimous in Convention<sup>14</sup>—let us still *stick* together. See the necessity, the expediency of such a measure, and try if we cannot reconcile the Legislature to allow our

independence. Let us then throw ourselves upon the mercy of the federal Legislature, either to be a fief of the general government, or to be an independent country joined in union with America. By such means we may advance our own interest, and perhaps suit the policy of our back country rulers. View the single stage of investigation through which you must pass—Congress will afford you the most powerful assistance, to support your independence against a state at once tyrannous and rebellious. Seize then the opportunity with ardour—political torpor is the most dangerous state under which a free people can labour. When the body becomes insensible of injury, the constitution loses its healthful spring—it is exposed to the violence of disease—to the rot of mortification.

Your future interest and welfare altogether depend upon your present choice. Life is at stake. Your fortune and the endearing happiness of your children are at once in the scale of your decision. The voice of heaven must prompt you to make a quick and manly determination. Meet together and consult for your safety. It is safer and happier to be *citizens* of the union than *subjects* of North-Carolina. Is allegiance due when protection will be withdrawn? Will you tamely submit to your ruin by the hands of desperadoes?—Cowards die often—a brave man ne'er but once.<sup>15</sup> Join hands with me in being at once

A CITIZEN and SOLDIER.

As *citizens* let us act with firmness and temper “*according to the laws.*” Let us pursue every prudent conciliating step with our parent state which wisdom and policy shall dictate. Should all these fail, as *soldiers* let us make a manly choice and live or perish in the field of honour.

*August, 1788.*

1. Jeremiah 8:22: “Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?” The region of Gilead, east of the Jordan River, was noted for its healing balm, which was believed to have broad curative powers.

2. A reference to Thomas Person, who had been a leader in the failed Regulator movement in the late 1760s and early 1770s.

3. The quotation from Alexander Pope, “Memoirs of P. P., Clerk of this Parish,” is perhaps a reference to the Reverend David Caldwell. See Jonathan Swift, John Arbuthnot, and Alexander Pope, *Miscellanies. The Second Volume* (London, 1747), 242.

4. A reference to Willie Jones.

5. The text in angle brackets was loosely quoted by George Sterling, an Englishman living in North Carolina, in his preface to a proposed edition of essays by “Centinel.” See Sterling to George Nicol, 14 December (RCS:N.C., 614–15), and the preface that follows (RCS:N.C., 620–21, at note 10).

6. Perhaps a reference to James Iredell’s 1 August motion to amend the report of the committee of the whole during the first North Carolina Convention (RCS:N.C., 459–61).

Iredell advocated unconditional ratification of the Constitution with six recommendatory amendments to be handled according to the fifth article of the Constitution. His plan was rejected.

7. Daniel Shays and Eli Parsons, leaders of Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts.

8. Micah 4:4: "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it."

9. A reference to the twelfth and twenty-fifth structural amendments proposed by the first North Carolina Convention (RCS:N.C., 456, 458).

10. Latin: Like rejoices in like.

11. Latin: There are tears for things (Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book I, line 462).

12. A reference to the method of proposing amendments to the Constitution by a constitutional convention, which Congress must call if requested by two-thirds of the state legislatures (Article V).

13. The references are to the Regulator movement in the Carolinas during the late 1760s and early 1770s, Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786–87, the ongoing Indian war with the Creeks in Georgia, and the civil war in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley, where Connecticut settlers wanted to remain within the jurisdiction of Connecticut against the ruling of a special court established by Congress (i.e., the Trenton Decree of 1782). The Pennsylvania militia suppressed this rebellion.

14. A reference to the unanimity of North Carolina's delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

15. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act II, scene 2, lines 32–33. "Cowards die many times before their deaths;/The valiant never taste of death but once."

### Massachusetts Centinel, 27 August 1788<sup>1</sup>

#### *Of NORTH-CAROLINA.*

We have yet hopes, that the information given the Post-Master, at Richmond, that the Convention of North-Carolina had REJECTED the new Constitution, was not authentick<sup>2</sup>—as several accounts from that quarter have been received, none of which confirm it—nor the account that the question for *previous amendments, or conditional ratification* had been carried: On the contrary, by last night's Mail we received the following from a friend at New-York,

*dated Aug. 21, 1788.*

"The report of the rejection of the Constitution by North Carolina, is not yet confirmed; and a gentleman who left Wilmington the 1st inst. says, *it cannot be true*: He saw letters from members of the Convention, at Hillsborough, dated but three days before, which informed, that they had gone through the business of the contested elections, and just entered on the Constitution, which was to be debated by paragraphs."

Gov. *Johns[t]on* was chosen President of the North-Carolina Convention, the first day it met.

1. Reprinted in whole or in part nine times by 4 September: N.H. (2), Mass. (6), Conn. (1).

2. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 August, note 2 (RCS:N.C., 498).

**Winchester Virginia Gazette, 27 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Governor *Sevier*, has regained his influence in a great degree, and has lately put himself at the head of *federalists*, and menaces the state of North Carolina, for putting themselves out of the union, by rejecting the new Constitution.

1. This item was reprinted in the September issue of the Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine* and in thirty-two newspapers by 16 October: Vt. (2), N.H. (1), Mass. (8), Conn. (5), N.Y. (6), Pa. (5), Md. (3), Va. (1), S.C. (1).

**Portland, Maine, Cumberland Gazette, 28 August 1788**

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at N: York, to his friend in this town, dated August 16, 1788.

“Nothing new has occurred since my last, save the account of North-carolina’s having rejected the Constitution: This we have no official intelligence of; but it comes too direct, attended with too many probabilities to leave any doubt of the fact. The majority, 176 to 170—Thus have we sorrow mixed with our joy. But I have faith to believe that even this event will be productive of good.

The place for the new Congress to meet at is not agreed upon. It is likely the rejection of the Constitution, by Northcarolina, may be a mean of fixing the place at New-york.”<sup>1</sup>

1. For the debate in the Confederation Congress about the temporary federal capital, see RCS:Congress.

**Jeremiah Hill to George Thatcher  
Biddeford, Maine, 29 August 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Friend,

Yours of the 17th inst: has arrived in safety; and a bright Cloud overshadowed my Soul at its first sight, but the evil tale from N Carolina interspersed a malignant ray, and like Joy and sorry [i.e., sorrow] contended for the preeminence, at length it burst forth in Indignation. What, shall the rebellious Sons of N Carolina marr the Happiness & Prosperity of her Sister States! shall the Seeds of this degenerate vine cause brambles to spring up among the wheat! No, she hath lost her first Love, she hath gone a whoring after strange Gods, she hath polluted herself by her abominations, she hath lapsed from her original, primative purity, let her alone, let her wallow in her filth, let her eat her swine-husks till her poverty & Starvation cause her to look back to her federal Fathers, & sing The prodigal Song,<sup>2</sup> saying, let us arise & go to our fathers and say unto them we have sinned against heaven &

before the face of our dear Country, for why should we starve with Hunger when you have bread enough and to spare, accept of us on your own Terms, & we will shew our repentence by our future Obedience to your united federal Ordinances. but away with this Stuff it deserves pity as well resentment, and I can heartily bewail her degeneracy and pity the faithful few, while I resent the Conduct of those unskilfull Pilots. well this page is pretty well fil[<sup>l</sup>]ed up, let us turn over—Prosperity and adversity are so nearly allied that the former would in a long Series of time loose all its pleasing: Sensations without its kinsman once in a while whet its appetite with a dose of its relishing qualities. on the Contrary a long series of the latters Company would so enure the mind to its essential qualities, that the mind would be lost as to any opposite Condition, & would perhaps enjoy such a State of quietude as to amount to a State of perfect Contentment. if this be true the latter if pursued *ad infinitum* would satisfy its possessors with the Same degree of pleasurable Sensations as the former upon the same principle, but the United States all unanimously adopted the Constitution, they would at first set down in ease & safety & in time loose the very Idea of Liberty & Independency by not having a Something to rouse the mind to watchfulness—this Stage in which we exist is of such a Composition that a series of any thing is not pleasurable, but vicissitudes is delightsome, an old warrior or Sailor will often please himself in rehearsing over the difficulties, Trials, hardships, fatigues, Battles, shipwrecks & Starvations they have gone thro & we are often pleased with the mournful tale. query, is it not best that one of the southern States should reject the Constitution, in order that the Ballance of power might be kept in a proper Equilibrium.<sup>3</sup> this evenness in governmental power is as necessary for its existance as for an Assay Master to have honest Weights & Measures to do Justice in the Market among the Sellers and buyers. . . . my Kind Love to Friend Otis, Sedgwick D[a]ne<sup>4</sup> & believe me to be with perfect sentiments of Esteem

your friend & most Huml. Servant

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library.

2. For the parable of the Prodigal Son, see Luke 15:11–32.

3. A reference to balancing Rhode Island's refusal to ratify the Constitution with North Carolina's. Rhode Island had rejected the Constitution in a statewide referendum on 24 March 1788. See Hill to Thatcher, 6 September (RCS:N.C., 558), for more on balancing regional interests.

4. A reference to Thatcher's fellow Massachusetts delegates to Congress: Samuel A. Otis, Theodore Sedgwick, and Nathan Dane.

**Thomas Willing to William Bingham**  
**Philadelphia, 29 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The News from No. Carrolina is not quite so bad as we at first thot. it appear's, that they don't Consider their proceeding's as an *Absolute rejection*—I think however it smells very strong of it—

Adieu! I long to see you & am Affectionately Yours'

1. RC, Gratz Collection, Old Congress, PHi. Willing (1731–1821), a merchant and banker, served in the Continental Congress, 1775–76. He was a partner with Robert Morris in various mercantile ventures and served as president of the Bank of North America, 1781–91. Bingham (1752–1804), a wealthy merchant, banker, and land speculator, was a delegate to Congress, 1786–88, and a U.S. senator, 1795–1801.

**Crambo**  
**Massachusetts Centinel, 30 August 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*From a SOUTHERN PAPER.*

And so the North Carolina Convention have refused to come into the Union, Mr. Printer. And pray what were the reasons, good Sir? Because they did not like the Constitution, which they considered as being dangerous to liberty, you'll answer, no doubt.—But let me tell you, Mr. Printer, it is no such thing—unless, indeed, they mean that they shall be deprived of the *liberty* of killing a Negro when they please—and truly this *liberty* is worth maintaining. No, Sir, they feared that this Constitution would in time give liberty to their slaves—or prohibit their purchasing others, when they have worked these to death, which is just as bad. They also feared that their paper money schemes would be broken up; and that they should be necessitated to be honest. These, Sir, were some of the reasons why this ignorant State was *left* to reject the Constitution—The other reasons are, that they are destitute of all information, not having a Printing-Press in the State—and most of all, a majority feared, that if they ratified the Constitution, and were called on to *sign* the ratification, they should be forced to expose their ignorance by their X X's—and therefore *said Nay*.

Yours,

CRAMBO.

1. Reprinted in the Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 11 September.

**William Hooper to James Iredell**  
**Hillsborough, N.C., 2 September 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

my dear Sir

I render you many thanks for your kind favour from Halifax & sincerely congratulate you upon the authentick accounts which we have

since had from New York of the new Constitution, having been adopted by that State. North Carolina will become a by-word among the nations. We have been amused here with a story that Wilie and Person have been burnt in effigy. Is it true?

The elections to the westward are almost all in favour of federalism. The Surry members who were all anti after experiencing much abuse are all left out & three federalists elected. Lock & Rutherford left out, Feds in their Stead. Alex Martin is elected. . . . If you or the governour should have any papers which you could spare they will be very acceptable to us. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 431–32n. In the body of the letter Hooper indicates that the letter would be handed to Iredell “by a Mr. Hunter who drives a Waggon.” The address page is endorsed: “To the care of Mr. Bond.”

**Duncan MacAuslan to John Steele  
Fayetteville, N.C., 2 September 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I am glad to hear the Federalists are in such estimation with you—Mr. [William Barry] Groves & a Mr. Jno McKay are Elected here for the Commons & Mr. [Alexander] McCalister Senator—

1. RC, Steele Papers, Nc-Ar. The letter was addressed to “John Steele Esqr./Salisbury/favr/Mr Chambers.” MacAuslan was a Fayetteville merchant and a founding member and junior warden of the Masonic lodge in Fayetteville.

**Pennsylvania Packet, 2 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

The suspension of the Federal Constitution by N. Carolina, if it should be followed by a rejection, would be a most alarming circumstance to the states of S. Carolina and Georgia, who would then be cut off from a connection with the other parts of the Union, by the intervention of a disaffected state; more especially, as they are in the neighbourhood of the British and Spanish settlements, as well as to hostile tribes of Indians, whose enmity to one of these states seems to be implacable. In case of any disturbances, internal or external, in that quarter of the Union, it is somewhat doubtful in what manner military assistance could be afforded, as N. Carolina might probably oppose the passage of troops, from an apprehension that she will naturally entertain, of an attempt to compel her to enter into the Union. These, and many other important considerations, *loudly call* for a speedy meeting of the new government.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal*, 3 September; *New Jersey Brunswick Gazette*, 9 September; *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 15 September; and *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 17 September.

**New Jersey Brunswick Gazette, 2 September 1788**

Nothing can yet be said with certainty respecting the fate of the Federal Constitution in North-Carolina, but from report, party spirit rages with great violence, and we are apt to believe that some of its most able opponents take this opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on those who support it, merely because they have differed in sentiment on other occasions, and because one is *federal* the other *will be anti*.

**Governor Samuel Johnston to the Inhabitants of Tarborough Edenton, N.C., 3 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*To the inhabitants of the Town of Tarborough.*

GENTLEMEN,

You will be pleased to accept my sincere and grateful thanks for your very polite and patriotic address of the 20th of August last, handed to me this day.

Your approbation of the conduct of the minority in the late Convention at Hillsborough, must be highly pleasing to them under the painful disappointment of their endeavours to avoid a separation from the Councils of the United States.

It gives me pleasure to hear from you, “that the most discerning of the majority, now begin to comprehend the dangers into which their conduct was calculated to involve their country.” Impressed with such sentiments, there is every reason to hope, that they will pursue the most effectual means, as soon as possible, to replace this State in the Union, in which situation alone she can appear respectable.

(I am well assured that the citizens of this state, were at no time averse to a federal government, but the proffered system appearing to many, not so perfect as they could wish, and believing that amendments might more certainly be obtained by postponing the ratification, till after the proposed amendments were considered by a general Convention, they adopted the measures which you so highly disapprove: These measures were opposed by the minority, who offered reasons in support of their opinion, which I flatter myself, on a cool and deliberate investigation, will have the weight and influence, which it is to be lamented they had not at an earlier period.)

I have the honour to be, with the utmost consideration and regard,  
Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

1. This item was printed in the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 16 October, which is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 20 October, the earliest reprinting. The full response was also reprinted in the *Wilmington Centinel*, 26

October, and in four other newspapers by 18 November: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Pa. (1); and in the November issue of the Philadelphia *American Museum*. Additionally, the excerpt in angle brackets was reprinted in five other newspapers by 8 December: N.Y. (1), N.J. (1), Md. (2), Ga. (1). The full account was prefaced: "The following is His Excellency SAMUEL JOHNSTON's answer to the Address of the inhabitants of the town of Tarborough (North-Carolina) published in our paper of the 8th of September last." Similar prefatory remarks appeared in all of the reprintings. For the Tarborough address to Governor Johnston dated 20 August, see RCS:N.C., 516–17.

### **Massachusetts Centinel, 3 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

A gentleman from North-Carolina, who arrived here on Sunday last, informs us, that the information announced some days since, that the Convention of that State had negatived the question of ratification of the American Constitution, by a large majority, was authentick—the members from the inland parts of the State (the *Regulators* of ancient memory) being to a man, against the Constitution: While the members from those parts of the State bordering on the sea-coast, were as uniformly in its favour. These last are determined to petition the first Congress under the new government, to grant them the protection of the Union—and to permit them to be represented in the federal Congress.

1. Reprinted nine times by 15 September: N.H. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1).

### **Honestus**

#### **Wilmington Centinel, 3 September 1788**

*For the CENTINEL.*

*To the Freeholders of the state of North-Carolina.*

*My Friends*, Before our convention assembled, I took the liberty to inform you, of the proceedings of the convention at Philadelphia, and that by their forming an entire new government, we might be brought into endless troubles, if agreed to, without proper amendments.<sup>1</sup> I am exceedingly happy to congratulate you, that the firm decision of the greatest part of your appointed members have done justice to their constituents wishes, a duty every member owes to those who honour him with their choice, and not his own will or secret views ought to alter his constituents directions. Had they followed your intention, the majority would and must have been still greater. However, my friends, your wishes have been true and well supported, and it will now be the greatest trial for many of you, to remain firm by those fixed resolves. You ought now to support with steadiness and manly firmness, that decision; because the minority, being highly displeased, that their eloquence has not been able to form a favourite plan of theirs, will let

loose upon you innumerable writings full of the greatest abuses against the understandings of the majority. Also you will be frightened through horrid descriptions of the disadvantages and great misery that will befall us, by opposing the new government, and that we shall be like the out-cast people amongst the Great Mogul's inhabitants. But be not afraid—be firm, and believe no Jesuitical argument, or high-flourishing stiled prognostications. The gentlemen who inform you of all their dreams, have the better insight into futurity than common conjurers. This state cannot and will not be hurt by making its own dictates and alterations, in a form of a government which the makers had no right to form at all. You will not be the only people who oppose it. Though all the northern states got a pitiful majority in its favour, yet the respectable minorities will not submit, and you will soon hear more from all quarters.

In what misery, and total confusion and distress would our state have been plunged, through the entire and tamely acceptance of the new constitution. The instant it was agreed to, our paper currency would have been refused by all merchants, which only waited for that point. Figure to yourselves the misery and endless law-suits, if all old debts and now out-standing bonds were asked from you in hard money? This was a great object for the lawyers; and as our state has, since the war, and still does deal in paper money, we had the greatest right to support our cash and our families from falling into such distress. Add to this a still greater evil, which our specie certificates would have involved us in. The real holders of the said certificates who really delivered their property for them, or served our cause with their persons, have been obliged to sell them for the paltry price of two shillings and sixpence in the pound. Speculators and monied men, (who perhaps were at all times against our cause) have them now in their hands; and the moment we had agreed to that new government, they had an undoubted right to sue our state in the new president superior court; the execution would have been obtained in hard money, and the citizens at large would have paid those certificates in full with hard money. That is a true fact, and would have taken place directly, you may depend upon; also the new president's new laid taxes must have been paid in hard cash. Now by our differing and rejecting the new constitution, as it stands, and to propose proper alterations, we gain all this advantage, not to be dragooned into exorbitant payments. We can pay our quota of our national debt very well, if properly regulated. This you will believe from a true friend to our old constitution.

1. See "Honestus," *Wilmington Centinel*, 18 June 1788 (RCS:N.C., 160–62).

**Extract of a Letter from Richmond, Va., 5 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a Letter from Richmond, (Virginia) dated September 5, 1788.*

“You doubtless have heard of the fate of the New Constitution in the State of North-Carolina, but we do not now consider their rejection of any great consequence. I have it from a friend who has lately been travelling a good deal through that State, who may be depended on, that they are repenting of what they have done, and begin to dread the consequences of being left out of the Union. The members chosen for their new assembly, that meets early in October, are said to be nearly all federal, and it is expected, as soon as they meet, a New Convention will be called.”

1. Printed: New York *Independent Journal*, 20 September. Reprinted fourteen times by 9 October: N.H. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3), Va. (1). Three Massachusetts and the New Hampshire reprints omitted the first sentence.

**Jeremiah Hill to George Thatcher**

**Boston, 6 September 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir,

... I want very much to hear what you are doing respecting the Constitution I imagine if our Court [i.e., the Massachusetts General Court, the state legislature] has not some information soon it will be adjourned still further, it now stands to the eighth day of October— At first hearing the news of N. Carolina rejecting the Constitution it seemed sensibly to hurt my feelings, but upon looking over the Matter, it had a very different Appearance, & that which at first appeared to be a misfortune, now appears to be a favorable Circumstance, for seeing we had lost a northern State,<sup>2</sup> it appears best in order to keep the ballance of power to have a Southern one lost too. if N. Carolina had accepted the Constitution it might [have] been a material disadvantage to us at the northward in the arrangement of Matters under the new Government, & as matters now Stand we are upon par, & I make no doubt but that both of them will soon find it for their advantage to accede to the wishes of their Sister States, & become worthy members of the great whole—we are impatiently waiting for orders to work on the great wheel, tho’ we allow it in many Cases to be best to make haste slowly, still the mind is rambling forward into futurity after the glittering Toys that play before the Eyes of our Imagination, and that pleasing Something never fails to cheer the heart & make the present Toils & Fatigues less burdensome. Hope that is ever on the wing of Imagination is always looking out for something to ballance the difficulties of the day, having a few little matters to attend too before I fix my few each

I must conclude at present, make Bro. Otis, Sedgwick &c.<sup>3</sup> accept of my good wishes & believe me to be your affectionate friend.

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library. Hill (1747–1820), a merchant in Biddeford, Maine, was town clerk, justice of the peace, and state representative. In 1789 he was appointed U.S. customs collector for Biddeford and Pepperellborough in the District of Maine.

2. Rhode Island had rejected the Constitution in a statewide referendum on 24 March 1788.

3. Thatcher's fellow Massachusetts delegates to Congress—Samuel A. Otis and Theodore Sedgwick.

**Benjamin Lincoln to Theodore Sedgwick**  
**Boston, 7 September 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I am sorry that North Carolina has rejected the constitution—I cannot feel on the occasion as you do—I am very apprehensive, soldiers may have apprehensions but no fears, that the Anties in Virginia will find aid and support by their brethren in North Carolina besides I think it will have its influence in calling the general convention proposed by New York<sup>2</sup>—may Heaven avert the design—Rhode Island that little trollop of a sister will take support be flattered in her wickedness and encouraged in her obstinacy. . . .

1. RC, Sedgwick Papers, MHI. In the remainder of the letter Lincoln mentions Governor John Hancock's candidacy for U.S. vice president and Lincoln's opposition to a second general convention of the states. Lincoln (1733–1810), a Hingham, Mass., farmer, was a major general during the Revolution. He was the Confederation secretary at war, 1781–83, and led state troops in suppressing Shays's Rebellion in 1786–87. He was a Federalist delegate to the Massachusetts ratifying Convention, 1788; lieutenant governor, 1788; and collector of the port of Boston, 1789–1809. Sedgwick (1746–1813), a Stockbridge, Mass., lawyer, was a state representative, 1780, 1782–84, 1787–89 (speaker, 1788–89); a state senator, 1784–86; a delegate to Congress, 1785–86, 1788; a U.S. representative, 1789–96, 1799–1801; and U.S. senator, 1796–99; and an associate justice of the state supreme court, 1802–13.

2. The New York Convention on 26 July 1788 unanimously approved a circular letter sent to the states and Congress calling for a second general convention to consider amendments to the Constitution (CC:818–C; RCS:N.Y., 2335–37n).

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Halifax, N.C., 8 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir

As the publication came by some unknown hand in my absence I had no opportunity of returning it to the printer in the manner you requested, it is very well received here, and I shall disperse it all the way to Salisbury; and cannot help hoping that it will give a determination to the public mind, at present strangely unsetled and wavering—[Thomas] Person and Mr. [Willie] Jones are both holding out

the doctrine of opposition for five or six years at least; Mr. Jones says we must have that time at least, before their Judiciary are let in upon us, he is continually haranguing the people on the terrors of the Judicial power, and the certainty of their ruin, if they are *obliged now* to pay their debts; We are almost lead to believe there is some thing more than a mere mistake in point of principle *in his* conduct.

I set out for Salisbury the day after tomorrow in but an ill state of health; I am however in expectation that the change of air will be of service to me

Make my respectful Compliments to the Governor and believe me with much esteem

[P.S.] I think the Governor is right with respect to *<the uni>formity* of Petitions,<sup>2</sup> the measure must how*<ever be>* promoted and I wish you would corr*<espond>* with the Gentlemen at Newbern on *<this>* subject. I will take care of this business to the Westward.—

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. The text in angle brackets is missing because of a tear in the manuscript.

2. Probably a reference to the county petitions to the General Assembly requesting that a second state ratifying convention be called (RCS:N.C., 585–94).

### From James Iredell

Edenton, N.C., 10 September 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

I inclose you two Blank Writs<sup>2</sup> in case you should have occasion for them: If not, I beg the favour of you to return them to me. I think it safest, as I know not what agreement you may make with Taylor, to ask the favour of Colo. [William R.] Davie to fill up either or both as there may be occasion. Be pleased to tell him I took the liberty to request it. Though either of the other Gentlemen would readily do it, I mention Colo. Davie because the others might possibly be employed on the other side. If any accident should prevent your seeing him be pleased to ask Mr. [William] Hooper or Mr. Moore.

Our latest news, such as it is, you will find in the inclosed Papers. They are *Edenton* Papers, mind. Congress have not yet passed a definitive vote on the time and place of the new Congress meeting. The choices mentioned in some votes for the different purposes (and which were not objected to) were: the first Wednesday in January for chusing the Electors of the President: the first Wednesday in February for the choice of the President: the first Wednesday in March for the new Congress to meet. Upon the last Vote New York had the Majority for the place: But it seems the Vote is not sufficient. Baltimore came very near.

I inclose you some Copies of a late Publication which you may suppose came from the Clouds, or any where but from Edenton.<sup>3</sup> Designing to conceal its origination from here, it has been sent to different places, but not appeared publicly here yet. The Author wishes to be concealed because a knowledge of the Author generally lessens the effect of any publication. . . .

1. FC, Iredell Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 433–34. The recipient, possibly Governor Samuel Johnston, has not been identified.

2. The writs were perhaps the petitions requesting that the legislature call a second state convention to consider the Constitution (RCS:N.C., 585–94).

3. Perhaps a reference to Iredell's essay signed "A Citizen of North Carolina" and addressed "To the People of the State of North Carolina," 18 August 1788 (RCS:N.C., 502–16n).

### Old Honesty

Wilmington Centinel, 10 September 1788

Messrs. BOWEN & HOWARD.

Ever since the publication of your paper of the 3d instant, which contained that frightful piece under the signature of *Honestus*,<sup>1</sup> my head has been in a state of torpidity.—I have been visited by the most skilful gentlemen of the faculty, but to no purpose: They declare that my situation is dangerous, and that I cannot have any relief. I am unable to determine what measures to pursue for my recovery. One of my physicians advised me to renounce every idea of federalism, and submit to the sound reasoning of *Honestus*. A lawyer who was present, advised, that I should commence a suit against *Honestus*, as the case appeared actionable, also it was evident that *Honestus* was the cause of my distress.

As I have hitherto been a useful member of society, my recovery may perhaps be beneficial—I therefore request the advice of your most skilful political correspondents to remedy my complaint.

I am your's, &c.

1. See RCS:N.C., 556–57.

### Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell

Wilmington, N.C., 13 September 1788<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for the address,<sup>2</sup> which however I had from Hodge the post before I received yours—I had no doubt of the author the moment I had given it a reading—I wish you could get the printer to forward a few of them here—Papers of that kind come by the post without charge, and he is to send forward a parcel of his proposals for

the laws. Let him know if you please that I received his letter &c and that I and my friends in this quarter will procure him Subscriptions

I expect to see part of the address in our next paper—Some of the Subscribers will make a point of having it inserted—Howard<sup>3</sup> is a rank antifederalist, and what is, if possible, much worse for himself; for he is a fool—On my return, I found that he had published a very stupid and Scurrilous piece by way of answer to my address (which you saw at Hillsborough) to the electors of Wilmington—This publication has the signature of William Tatham who had left the place on his way to Europe.<sup>4</sup> I expostulated with Howard, not without bitterness, and sent him an apology, requiring him to insert either that or my letter—After promising upon his honor, to insert the apology *as his own*, he altered his mind, wrote to me and wanted some alteration in it, respecting Mr Jones—I wrote him again, desiring him to return the apology if he did not choose to adopt it, when he informed me, that he should publish in his next paper not only the apology but our correspondence and they appeared accordingly, but the former, as what I dictated; not as his own. I have with a few others, withdrawn my Subscription, and intend to procure another printer, as this man is entirely under the influence of Walker<sup>5</sup> and two other fools and Scoundrals, and Bowen his partner, and the man whom we engaged, is God-knows-where, having purchased some figures in wax work, with which [he] is going about as an exhibiter of Shows.<sup>6</sup>

We have in this quarter a very indifferent representation in every respect. Yet I think we shall have another convention called. The people in general cannot bear the idea of being out of the union—Mr Jones's opponents declined the poll, but a new one started up without effect. He had a majority of 50 votes Mr Grove assures me that Steele is returned for Salisbury, and that Rutherford and Locke are left out, though I do not know who are chosen for Rowan county.<sup>7</sup> Your friends here are well, but the county as well as the town has been and still is sickly—My friends join me in best respects to you and all friends at Edenton

	Senator	[House members]	
New Hanr.	Tim Bloodworth	J P. Williams	T. Devane
Brunswk.	Lewis DuPré	Jas. Leonard <sup>8</sup>	J Cains
Bladen	Thos. Brown	S. Cain	John Brown
Robeson <sup>9</sup>	John Willis		all good men
Cumberland	A. McCalister	W B. Grove	John Mackay
Duplin <sup>10</sup>	James Kenan	Dickson	
Sampson	Hardy Holmes	D Dodd <sup>11</sup>	Lewis Holmes
Onslow <sup>12</sup>		R W Snead	

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. The address page is docketed as "Ansd."
2. See Iredell's essay signed "A Citizen of North Carolina" and addressed "To the People of the State of North Carolina," 18 August 1788 (RCS:N.C., 502-16n).
3. Caleb D. Howard, who, along with Daniel Bowen, printed the *Wilmington Centinel*.
4. Maclaine's address endorsed Edward Jones for the North Carolina General Assembly. Howard published two pieces under the name "William Tatham" criticizing Maclaine's endorsement. Jones was elected and served until 1792, when he became solicitor general, a position he held until 1827.
5. John "Jack" Walker, a wealthy and physically strong individual who was also seeking election to the General Assembly and was criticized by Maclaine.
6. Bowen, Howard's printing partner, was noted for his collection of waxworks, which included likenesses of George Washington and other famous historical figures. For further details, see Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 438n.
7. For the General Assembly of 1788, Willie Jones of Halifax County and Basil Gaither of Rowan County were elected to the state Senate. John Steele of Salisbury and David Caldwell and Thomas Carson of Rowan County were elected to the House of Commons.
8. Leonard's given name was Jacob, not James.
9. Robeson County elected Elias Barnes and Neill Brown to the House of Commons.
10. In addition to Robert Dickson, Duplin County elected Charles Ward to the House of Commons.
11. David Dodd was not elected to the House of Commons for Sampson County. In addition to Lewis Holmes, Sampson elected William King.
12. Onslow County elected Thomas Johnston to the Senate and Reuben Grant and Daniel Yates to the House of Commons. R. N. Snead was not elected.

## A Republican

### New York Daily Advertiser, 17 September 1788<sup>1</sup>

The State of North-Carolina, by not adopting the new Constitution, is lately become the subject of much criticism and censure. In this instance, having done what is supposed to be wrong, it is hardly admitted that ever she did any thing that was right. We are told that during the war, her exertions were trifling—that she had never contributed to the national expence—and that she now refuses to confederate, from a desire to promote the fraudulent tender of paper money.—Charges against the unpopular are usually listened to with avidity, but happily none of these charges are well founded, however current they are in circulation. During the whole of the late war, whenever the neighbouring states were invaded, North-Carolina was sure to lend them assistance. We have seen in the course of one campaign, six or seven thousand men of the North-Carolina militia in one of the neighbouring states, or on their march to its relief; and she now counts three or four thousand of her citizens who fell a sacrifice in Georgia or South-Carolina, to their zeal for the safety of the Union. We say nothing of her continental line, nor of those who fell within the state while the enemy

pervaded every part of it. Is it probable that such armies were supported without money? Surely not.—But North-Carolina has uniformly paid and supported her own militia, though they were in the continental service, and she has furnished provisions to a considerable part of the continental troops in the Southern armies. Who has paid for the vast stores that have been consumed by such bodies of armed men? In other states, commissioners have been appointed to settle the claims of individuals against the United States, and certificates for many a million, have been issued by those commissioners; but no such officers have had occasion to settle accounts in North-Carolina, because the state has taken upon itself all the debts that were due to her citizens by the Union, except a small balance that was due to her continental line. These debts have amounted to several millions. Some part is already paid—there is a large balance remaining. From the public accounts it would *appear*, that in the year's 1782 and 1783, North Carolina had paid nothing towards the specie requisitions, while South-Carolina had paid her quota, but this is a difference only in *appearance*—for the state last mentioned, has a specie credit for all supplies furnished the army from the beginning of 1782, while North-Carolina, that furnished large supplies, stands without any credit, because she has not brought up her accounts. For several years North-Carolina has been oppressed by discharging the debts she had assumed to her continental line, and some others of her citizens—but she has lately begun to make effectual payments into the national treasury. On the last year she paid near thirty thousand dollars in specie, and we are told that she has another large payment ready to be made. It is true that paper money has been issued in that state, and it was made a legal tender, but it is also true, that the general sense of the people is not in favor of fraudulent payments—on the contrary, it is common for juries, in actions of debt, to consider the depreciation, and assess damages accordingly. Has the virtue of their citizens done the same thing in other states, where bad money is a legal tender?—But North-Carolina has not adopted the new Constitution, and therefore it is alledged that she is antifederal, and an enemy to good government. This is the last charge, and like the rest, it is worse founded than people are apt to believe. It is now generally agreed that the new Constitution will admit of some amendments—they have been pointed out. It will also admit of several explanations or alterations, by which it may be rendered, not a better system, but a safer one against the machinations of wicked men. Some of those explanations will doubtless be made by the general concurrence of the states, because they obviate powers, which no man can advocate:—But North-Carolina has proposed one amendment, marked No. 7,<sup>2</sup> which

others of the states may not be disposed to make, and yet experience has taught her, as well as Virginia, that such amendment is extremely proper. The state wishes to see the alterations made which she has pointed out, and for this very reason, she wishes to see the new government commence. If eight states only had confederated, when the Convention of North-Carolina sat, perhaps they ought to have made the ninth, but ten states had confederated, consequently the general system was secure.

The pause that North-Carolina has made can occasion no delay in the necessary measures, and no state, except herself, can be injured by it. We are told, indeed, that she ought to have adopted the new system, that so she might have assisted in making the proposed amendments; but she replies that, if other states are seriously disposed to make reasonable and profitable alterations, they can do it in a short time without her assistance; but if they are dissembling—if they are about to drop the spirit of accommodation, and to hold by majorities what they have gained by accident, she is safest where she stands. A cautious politician has little faith. Let us attend to the Convention. On the 2d of August it was thus determined “Whereas this Convention has thought proper neither to ratify nor reject the Constitution proposed for the government of the United States; and as Congress will proceed to act under the said Constitution, ten states having ratified the same, and probably lay an impost on goods imported into the said ratifying states; *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the legislature of this state, that whenever Congress shall pass a law for collecting an impost in the states aforesaid, this state enact a law for collecting a similar impost on goods imported into this state, and appropriate the money arising therefrom to the use of Congress.” It was also on the same day “*Resolved unanimously*, That it be recommended to the general assembly to take effectual measures for the redemption of the paper currency, as speedily as may be consistent with the situation and circumstances of the people of this state.” These acts afford the clearest proof that the Convention of North Carolina was not actuated by the dishonest spirit of paper money. They are also in proof that she wishes to co-operate with the union, and hold herself in readiness to confederate whenever certain steps are taken, which may readily be taken without her assistance. If it shall be urged that she might now confederate without any danger, and that her efforts would be of use to other states, whose interest is nearly the same, the writer confesses that he is of the same opinion. He thinks that some alterations which equally affect the several parts of the union, will certainly be made, because the spirit of a nation is not to be resisted. But there are two or three alterations which respect the southern states,

that they may have a greater security against illiberal or oppressive combinations; these alterations he suspects will not be made, because the most trifling seeming advantage is seldom relinquished; but he apprehends no danger from the consequence. The evils which North-Carolina apprehends are of such a nature, the measures would be in themselves so iniquitous, and so abhorrent to the feelings of every southern man, that despotism itself would hardly attempt them, and all its arts and auxiliaries would never be able to put them in force. Be this as it may, in all abstract questions of this sort concerning the expediency of measures, people are apt to differ, and North-Carolina in the present case has chanced to differ from her sister states; but notwithstanding of such difference, it should be remembered that she has hitherto been second to few of the states in substantial attempts to serve the nation. Her late conduct is free from every charge of selfishness or dishonesty, and we are bound to believe that she is determined to support the Federal Union.

September 16.

1. Reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 6 October, and the *Wilmington Centinel*, 5 November. In his letter of 22 September, Hugh Williamson told James Iredell that he had written "A Republican" (RCS:N.C., 569).

2. The seventh structural amendment to the Constitution proposed by both the North Carolina and Virginia conventions provided "that no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate" and that no treaties ceding land or rights be ratified "without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively" (RCS: N.C., 456).

### **Wilmington Centinel, 17 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Accounts from the Western counties in this state, mention the people being very much dissatisfied with the doings of the convention; that they generally have chosen federalists to represent them in the next assembly.—In the county of Rowan, Generals [Griffith] Rutherford and [Matthew] Lock are left out, in consequence of their voting against the constitution in the convention—Messrs. [David] Caldwell and Gator<sup>2</sup> are chosen in their room, and Mr. [John] Steele for Salisbury. In the county of Lincoln, there were federal and anti-federal candidates: the anti-federalists had not a single vote; Col Robert Dickson, Dr. [William] McLane, and Mr. Perkins<sup>3</sup> were chosen. Mecklenburgh have chosen Major Grimes,<sup>4</sup> Caleb Phifer, and—[Joseph] Douglass, Esquires. The county of Surry have elected federalists also—have not heard the gentlemen's names who are chosen.<sup>5</sup>

1. Reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 29 September, and in seventeen other newspapers by 20 December: Vt. (1), N.H. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1),

Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (1), N.C. (1), S.C. (1), Ga. (1). Between 2 and 23 October the first sentence alone was also reprinted in five other newspapers: Mass. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (1), Md. (1), S.C. (1).

2. Probably a reference to Basil Gaither, who was elected to the state Senate from Rowan. Caldwell was elected to the House of Commons with Thomas Carson, who served in the previous General Assembly. This explains why Carson is not listed; he was elected to another term.

3. In addition to Maclaine, John Moore was elected to represent Lincoln in the House of Commons.

4. Joseph Graham was elected to represent Mecklenburg in the state Senate.

5. Surry elected John Armstrong to the state Senate and George Houser and William T. Lewis to the House of Commons.

### John Swann to James Iredell

New York, 21 September 1788<sup>1</sup>

I received your favor of 27th. August enclosing a Copy of an Address to the good people of No Carolina.<sup>2</sup> You will now give me leave to thank you for that enclosure. I do hope and flatter myself that there is too much good Sense, candor and personal independence among the Majority of that state not to do some justice to the merit of that publication. I mean that they will, at least, allow it a cool, liberal & dispassionate reading; a claim which the Author has an undoubted right to expect.

No Carolina, you know Sir, has been generally considered to depend, in some measure, on her neighbours for her politicks: at least it is affirmed that She discovers on all occasions, an imitative disposition. An opinion which has been so unexpectedly contravened by her late Conduct that you will find no difficulty in figuring to yourself the extreme astonishment manifested on all hands at the News of her rejecting the Constitution. the thorough investigation which that Subject had undergone; the late period at which it was taken up by our State, added to the Example of so many respectable States, had induced a kind of Repose in the public Mind with regard to the Event of her deliberations, from which the transition was not very difficult to Censure & crimination. Hence the reason, probably, that all were so ready in agreeing to impute her Conduct to the *very virtuous Motive* of preserving paper money & tender Laws. indeed some, taking a retrospective view of her conduct since the revolution and finding her more delinquent in complying with requisitions &c. have not hesitated to pronounce her of little moment to the Union. however this like all other violent Gusts, was too impetuous to last long, & I now have the pleasure to assure you that her Conduct is considered in a much less censorious light. the resolutions passed by the Convention were too evincive of a federal

disposition at least, not to have had considerable influence in changing the public opinion.

Congress have at length finished the preparations necessary to give the New Government Effect after a great deal of debating & perhaps some warmth; occasioned by the indecision, or rather division of the Members about a place the most proper for the first meeting &c &c—this Question, Sir had the power to collect all the delegations from the different parts of the Union, so that there has not been a fuller Congress since the declaration of Independence—However this business being settled, Congress, I fear, like all other Bodies about to expire, will scarcely have a Witness of it's dissolution.

I am Dear Sir with perfect Respect & Esteem

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHi. Swann was serving as a North Carolina delegate to Congress.

2. For Iredell's essay signed "A Citizen of North Carolina" and addressed "To the People of the State of North Carolina," 18 August 1788, see RCS:N.C., 502–16n.

### **Hugh Williamson to James Iredell** New York, 22 September 1788<sup>1</sup>

Before this Time you must have heard that the new Gov[ernmen]t is to originate on March next before which Time Virginia could not have made all her Elections, with Time for the Members, say from Kentucke, to attend. The new Congress is to meet in New York, a Place very eccentric. Eastern Members will be able to attend with too much Ease, this will give them a legislative Advantage, an improper one. Had N. Car. been in the Union her five Members in the House of Represent: would have readily turned the Scale in favour of a more Southerly Position. My Patience and Temper have been tryed by this Question and the more so perhaps because for some Time past I have not considered it proper to vote on the Subject. I think that all Attempts to induce our Assembly to call another Convention immediately will be to little Purpose, for whatever we may publicly say I do privately think that a Want of honesty is at the Bottom with many of our Oppositionists. If they seriously have alterations at Heart I think they had best adopt in order the sooner to secure them by legal compulsion. Be pleased to calculate N Hampshire, Massachusetts N York Virga: N Car & S Car: call for Amendments & a strong Body in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Representatives from the six States requiring Amendments<sup>2</sup> will be 37 while those from the other seven States are only 28. To say nothing of the Help the amending Corps may get from Pensylvania: and from Maryland. In this Case they may compell Amendments by

refusing to vote supplies except for a very limited Time until the Amendments are made.

That our State might not be universally abused abroad I have written the Best Apologie I could make for it which you will see in the N York daily Advertiser for 17th Inst.,<sup>3</sup> a Copy of which I have inclosed to Mr Collins.

Be assured that I am with the utmost Regard

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. The address page is docketed as "Ansd."

2. By the date of this letter, six states had called for amendments to the new Constitution through official actions of state ratifying conventions: Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, and North Carolina. Minorities in the ratifying conventions of Pennsylvania and Maryland also desired amendments. Rhode Island had not held a convention.

3. See "A Republican," *New York Daily Advertiser*, 17 September (RCS:N.C., 563-66).

### **New York Hudson Weekly Gazette, 23 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

A gentleman of respectability from North-Carolina, informs, that the final question, respecting the federal constitution, was taken by the convention of that state on the 10th day of its session, (4 days prior to the arrival of the news of its adoption by this state) and that it was principally owing to their being informed that our convention positively would reject the constitution, that the Carolina majority were induced to such an insulting decision. The gentleman adds, that the most violent of the opposition do not hesitate to declare (since New-York has adopted the constitution) the impossibility of procuring the amendments they wish previous to their coming into the union, and their determination to use their best endeavours in the November session of their legislature, to have another convention immediately called, for the express purpose of adopting the constitution and joining their interest with the other states in effecting amendments in a constitutional way.

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 13 October; *Newport Herald*, Providence *United States Chronicle*, and Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 16 October; and *New Hampshire Spy*, 18 October.

### **Extract of a Letter from Wilmington, N.C., 26 September 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Wilmington, (N.C.) Sept. 26.*

"You have heard long ere this the *wise* decision of the Convention of this State: Many of the members were convinced of the propriety of adopting the Constitution, but were bound up by promises, and some

say more, (by bonds) to vote against it.<sup>2</sup> The opposition, you will observe, were chiefly from the western parts of the State. Were the votes taken individually, there certainly would be a large majority of Federalists as the seaports, and towns adjacent, are much in favour of it. I cannot see what they could promise themselves by opposing the wisdom of that honourable body, and eleven States. The heads of the opposition have been burnt in effigy at Tarboro’.”<sup>3</sup>

1. Printed: *Massachusetts Centinel*, 25 October. Reprinted in the Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 5 November, and the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 11 November.

2. Some delegates seem to have received instructions before departing for the first North Carolina Convention. William Lenoir of Wilkes and William Lancaster of Franklin both stated during the Convention that they were bound by the instructions that their constituents had given them. Lancaster believed “that every Delegate was bound by their instructions.” See *Convention Debates*, 30 July (RCS:N.C., 412, 423).

3. On 2 September William Hooper wrote James Iredell asking for verification of the report that Willie Jones and Thomas Person had been burned in effigy (RCS:N.C., 554). Hooper again commented on the effigy burning in a letter to his brother on 23 October (RCS:N.C., 581). For another report of the burning, see “Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C.,” 7 November (RCS:N.C., 601).

### Satannical Instructions, 26 September 1788<sup>1</sup>

(*The following SQUIB has been in circulation some days past:—as it will evidence who our OPPONENTS to the new Constitution were—it may apologize for this State’s conduct in rejecting it.*)

#### SATANNICAL INSTRUCTIONS

To W. J—s, Esq. *his Satannick Majesty’s Delegate to the Hillsborough Convention.*

At the time a Convention was call’d to debate  
The new Constitution, and fix on its fate,  
The devil afraid all his influence to lose,  
If he could not prevail on *this State* to refuse,  
Summon’d all his fell imps and succeeded to send  
As a member, his truly and worthy old friend,  
Who could turn and pervert wholesome *food* into *stones*—  
Who was crafty and vile—in one word, W—Y J—s.  
To him Satan gave such instructions as these—

DEAR BROTHER,

I know you will do as I please—  
Therefore go to the House, and by fair means, *or foul*,  
Get this new plan rejected—snarl, bark, *hiss*, and growl—  
Prevent all sound argument; drown every voice  
By bawling and brawling, and all kinds of noise—

Speak least in the House—labour most out of doors—  
 Gain o'er to our cause all the back country *boors*—  
 Set good sense aside, and rely on your number—  
 Good sense in that House is at best useless lumber—  
 Let the fed'ralists talk 'till they can talk no longer—  
 If all *fools* side with us—we shall muster the stronger—  
 Tell them over and over, how glorious 'twill be,  
 When we and *Rhode-Island* alone shall be free—  
 How with *paper* we'll flourish, and cut a great dash,  
 While our neighbours are curs'd with that evil "*hard case*;"  
 While in other States, laws, will dishonesty crush,  
 We may dare to be *rogues*, and no man need to blush—  
 While the others will soon of this folly repent,  
 We may pay off *our debts* with scarce *fifty per cent.*  
 And finish the picture by telling them all,  
*Reject we shall stand—adopt we shall fall.*  
 In order to prove yourself truly my friend,  
 Revile that great *Fabius* whom *Heaven* did send,  
 Let *Washington's* name, by your unhallow'd tongue  
 Be curst and defam'd every day, right or wrong.  
 Say that those who have fram'd this new infamous plan,  
 "*Ought all to be hang'd to the very last man,*"  
 Do not even except your own worthy relation,  
 But consign him and all to "eternal p——n."<sup>(a)</sup>  
 The next thing, dear brother, I'd have you to seek,  
 Is to do all the mischief you can to Cross-Creek—  
 I can't bear to think that the government *seat*  
 Should ever be fix'd in a place call'd *Fayette*,  
 You know that the *Marquis* was not of my friends—  
 I never could get him to answer my ends:  
 To prevail on the members to second my views,  
 And not let *Fayette* be the place that they chuse:  
 Say the Scotch in those parts are so numerous grown,  
 They'll all get the itch, if they go that town.  
 To keep them in health this proposal you'll make,  
 Let us all go to *graze* in the county of *Wake*.  
 Such the Devil's Instructions to *W—y* have been,  
 And *how* they've been followed, we've all of us seen.

(a) *Mr. W. J.*<sup>2</sup> is said to have taken great liberties with the name of General Washington, and all the members of the General Convention in Philadelphia, not excepting his nephew Col. D—y.<sup>3</sup>

1. This poem was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 22 October, under the dateline "NORTH-CAROLINA, SEPT. 26." The original printing is not extant.

2. Willie Jones.

3. William R. Davie.

### State Gazette of North Carolina, 29 September 1788<sup>1</sup>

Extract of a letter from Wilmington, dated Sept. 18.

"Federalism gains ground here, more I fancy from timidity than virtue; but in new countries we must not investigate causes too closely.— Let us if possible get another Convention—the latter end of a feast is preferable to the beginning of a fray. We are to be sure in a deplorable condition, but as it may be worse, we must endeavour to mend."

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Herald*, 9 October; *Charleston City Gazette*, and *Virginia Centinel*, 15 October; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 30 October; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 1 November; and *New Hampshire Spy*, 21 November.

### John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson London, 30 September 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

... North Carolina has refused to ratify the new constitution by a majority of *one hundred votes*<sup>2</sup>—*six* only voting to receive it unconditionally. The report however subjoins that a delegate or delegates are appointed to negotiate amendments with the new Congress, and upon condition that these are adopted, she will reunite with her sister states. The account of this unexpected event comes confirmed by different private letters from persons in Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York, two of which have been read to me. One by Mr. Smith dated 23d of Aug: another by Mr. Eddy, a day or two earlier. Neither of them mention any particulars of the debate, or the reasons, private or ostensible which are said to have influenced the Convention—no not even the date of their non-assent. The clearest notice of the affair I obtain from a young Mr. West, son of an episcopal clergyman of that name in Baltimore, who says he was on a visit with his father at Mount Vernon about the 10th of Aug: where he heard Colo. Humphreys express his surprize at the decision of North Carolina, the certainty of which he knew by a private letter from North Carolina; an official account of the proceedings of her Convention not being arrived when Mr. West sailed on the 13th. From this gentleman and a Dr. Shofe who came passengers together, I learn what is above hinted concerning an appointment to negotiate amendments &c. &c. Upon the whole evidence I am inclined to believe the fact, altho it does not come quite untinged with obscurity.

You may recollect perhaps some statements of mine in a former letter concerning the internal affairs of North Carolina and likewise the coercive management of certain persons at one of the elections for conventional delegates. To these circumstances and to the interference of some able members of the late *minority* in Virginia, rather than to any holy political zeal for the liberties and welfare of their own peculiar country, do I venture to attribute the non-assentive vote of their convention. Perhaps after all no serious detriment and some substantial benefit to the union may result from an event that being totally unlooked for in America to some seems not a little untoward. Certainly eleven states, and among those the three leading ones in point of population, *light* and opulence are sufficient to cement the new union beyond the hazard of imbecility or dissolution. I take it for granted the organization of the fœdral government will not be retarded either by the contumacy of Rhode-Island or this hesitation of North Carolina. Nor will their voluntary absence from the first ensuing Congress deprive us of the first talents in our country. The absence of Virginia or of New York might have been regretted on such an account. But even if all the essential appointments to office were now made ere the two seceding states take their new rank possibly neither America in general nor these states in particular wou'd have just cause to complain. At the same time from the equity and moderation of the eleven fœdral states and their truly republican desire to conciliate every citizen of the late thirteen united states so far as it can be done without trenching upon the wisdom of their fresh league, little doubt need be entertain'd that sensible and satisfactory amendments will be speedily adopted and established. In what mode these amendments shall next be brought forward is now the chief remaining question to be determin'd? . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 643–46. Cutting (c. 1755–1831), an apothecary during the Revolution, studied law with John Lowell of Boston in 1783 and went to England to complete his legal studies. In June 1787 he was “a ministerial amanuensis” to John Adams, U.S. minister to Britain. Cutting visited Paris in September and October 1787 and was hired as an attorney by a group with claims against South Carolina.

2. The majority was actually 101. On 1 August, Abner Neale, a delegate to the first North Carolina Convention from Craven County, voted in favor of James Iredell's motion for unconditional ratification. The vote on Iredell's defeated motion was 184 to 84. According to an account in the New York *Daily Advertiser*, 5 September, Neale did not take part in the 2 August vote on the report of the committee of the whole “owing to indisposition.” The report of the committee of the whole, which, according to the Convention majority, was neither a ratification nor a rejection of the Constitution, was approved 184 to 83 (a majority of 101).

**John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson**  
**London, 6 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Truth, lovely truth, obliges me to correct the intelligence transmitted in my two last concerning the purport of the proceedings in North Carolina. It is true that the Convention of that State have *not* ratified the new foederal constitution. But it is not true either that they have absolutely abstracted the state from the Union or manifested a disposition to remain detached therefrom. Neither is it fact that the middle course they have attempted to hold has been taken by so large a majority against so small a minority, as I had reason to believe when I last wrote you.

The day before yesterday the New York packet arrived in fifteen days from Halifax. Having recently come in from a rural excursion I knew it not when Mr. Gardner's letter was writing at the other end of the town early yesterday morning; I mean the introductory note I gave him to you. And even now I cannot furnish you with any accounts which proceed directly from North Carolina itself. But I believe you may rely upon the authenticity of the following extract, namely "State of North Carolina, In Convention Aug. 2. 1788." "Resolved, That a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from inroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of Government, ought to be laid before Congress, or the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said Constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the Constitution aforesaid on the part of the state of North Carolina." Yeas 184. Nays 82.<sup>2</sup> By another account from Virginia, dated Aug. 14th, and which I credit as genuine from its intrinsic probability, it appears that on the opening of the Convention, a motion was made for the question to be put immediately upon the supposition that every member had made up his mind on the subject and therefore an immediate determination wou'd save both expence and debate.<sup>3</sup> This measure it is thought might have been carried, had not one of the principal supporters of the new government in a most animated and excellent speech, proved the extreme indecorum and impropriety of such preceptance in a business so serious and important:<sup>4</sup> whereupon the motion was withdrawn and the Constitution being discussed clause by clause in a Committee of the whole Convention the result was conformable to the principle of the above resolution. It seems to have been taken for granted by this body that Congress wou'd soon call a fresh general Convention to consider

of the proposed amendments; and likewise that after deliberating hereon their decision wou'd again be submitted to a new Convention in each state; and that the state of North Carolina not having rejected the Constitution absolutely will not be precluded from calling a Convention again to adopt such an ultimatum shou'd they think proper so to do. Previous to their dissolution, two recommendations to the state legislature pass'd—the *one* to make the most speedy and effectual provision for the redemption of the paper money now in circulation, the *other* to lay an impost for the use of Congress on goods imported into North Carolina, similar to that which shall be laid by the new Congress, on goods imported into the adopting states. These two recommendations are to be transmitted with dispatch both to Congress and to the Executives of the several states.

Through the whole of the discussion of these subjects the Convention manifested every disposition to adhere to the Union and promote the general welfare: But many being previously and positively instructed by their constituents,<sup>5</sup> and themselves perceiving or thinking they perceived objections to the new constitution which their own vote might have a strong tendency to remove, they thought themselves justified in thus postponing the ultimate decision of the important question, until it shou'd be re-considered by the several states, and such amendments made as might be found universally conciliating.

Most of the amendments proposed by the committee were the same that Virginia and other states recommend. Two only being *local* to North Carolina And these two (which are not communicated to me) it is said do not militate with the great principles of the fœderal system.

This supplement to my later letter altho I have sketch'd it in great haste, contains the substance of all that is known here relevant to North Carolina.

I have the honor to be, with great consideration and unaffected regard & attachment Your Most Obedt. Servt.,

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC.

2. The final vote in the first North Carolina Convention was 184 to 83 (a majority of 101, not 102). The vote represented Antifederalist support for and Federalist opposition to the report of the committee of the whole, which reserved North Carolina's assent to the new Constitution until it was amended. For additional information on the varying reports of the first North Carolina Convention's final vote, see Cutting to Jefferson, 30 September (immediately above, at note 2 and note 2).

3. Willie Jones, the Antifederalist leader from Halifax County, made this motion during the Convention. See *Convention Debates*, 23 July 1788, RCS:N.C., 228–29.

4. A reference to Federalist James Iredell's 23 July speech in response to Jones' motion (RCS:N.C., 229–31).

5. On delegates to the North Carolina Convention being instructed by their constituents, see “Extract of a Letter from Wilmington, N.C.,” 26 September (RCS:N.C., 569–70, at note 2 and note 2).

### **Bumclangor**

**State Gazette of North Carolina, 6 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Masters the* TYPOGRAPHS *of* EDENTON,

Your vehicle of genius, wit and use now being organized at Edenton, receive from a strange commixt brain, a modern POLITICAL ANECDOTE.

PANURGE.

A French writer of eminence somewhere tells us, in his comparisons of the ancient and modern eloquence, that there was a species of rhetoric successfully practised by them, unknown to us, which he calls dumb eloquence; and to exemplify this, relates that a Persian Prince invading a Scythian territory, the Chief sends him a bow, a frog and a mouse, emblematic of his fate. The Persian retreats, dismayed by this inexpressible energy of eloquence in dumb shew.—Had our excellent author attended the State Convention at Hillsborough, how would he have confessed his error.—A gentleman of the law, equally known for genius and integrity, was speaking in support of the constitution, when up starts a man, a very cacus, a leader of the opposition, tucking up his jerkin, presenting forward his brawny b–tt–ks, with a huge clap of his clumsy paw, discharging a dreadful *bumclangor*, emitting a thick tophetic stench, more foetid and pestiferous than the deadly steams of the Lake Avernus,<sup>2</sup> to the total discomfiture of the loquacious rhetorician, blasting all his laurels. The whole assembly shook with applause, echoing and re-echoing sounds on sounds—as when some god-like hero amongst the annalled Greeks, returned victor from the Olympic games.

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Centinel*, 29 October.

2. In Roman tradition, the entrance to the underworld.

### **Celebration Toasts Encouraging North Carolina Ratification 10 October 1788–19 October 1789 (excerpts)**

By 4 July 1789 the new federal government under the Constitution was being implemented. Congress was establishing the executive departments, creating the federal judiciary, enacting a wide variety of laws, and starting to debate amendments to the Constitution. Eleven states had already ratified the Constitution; only North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet adopted it. Congress was also considering commercial legislation in which North Carolina and Rhode Island were to be considered as foreign countries. Various towns and counties in those two states floated proposals that sought the protection of the

federal government should they secede from their state and join the Union. Federal officials (President George Washington, Vice President John Adams, and members of Congress) judiciously avoided responding to these initiatives.

In late November 1788 North Carolina called its second state convention to reconsider the Constitution. Generally, it was expected that this second convention would ratify the Constitution when it met in Fayetteville in mid-November 1789. Rhode Island's legislature, however, remained obstinate and repeatedly refused to call a state convention until January 1790.

Throughout the country, various celebrations, particularly those held on the 4th of July 1789 commemorating American independence, celebrated the adoption and implementation of the Constitution. These celebrations included orations, military parades, artillery salutes, fireworks, illuminations of buildings, balls, and dinners at which either eleven or thirteen toasts were offered. Toasts usually honored George Washington, the Constitution, the Constitutional Convention, America's European allies (particularly Louis XVI of France), Lafayette, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the heroes who had died during the War for Independence, and the hope that North Carolina and Rhode Island would soon ratify the Constitution and complete the Union.

Accounts of several celebrations in North Carolina are printed in this volume (RCS:N.C., 789–91n, 793, 796–97). Excerpts from out-of-state celebrations that include toasts encouraging North Carolina to ratify the Constitution are included here in this grouping. For the full newspaper accounts of these celebrations, see Mfm:N.C.

*Baltimore Celebrates First Federal Elections, 10 October 1788*<sup>1</sup>

8. May the Patriotism of North-Carolina and Rhode-Island rise superior to their *Prejudices*.

1. Printed: *Maryland Journal*, 14 October. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 October; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 18 October.

*Society of Black Friars Anniversary Festival  
New York, 10 November 1788*<sup>1</sup>

9. The Federal Edifice; may the two remaining Props be speedily raised to its Support.

1. Printed: *New York Independent Journal*, 12 November. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, 14 November; *Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette*, 26 November.

*York and Lancaster, Pa., Celebrate Departure of Their U.S. Representative  
York, Pa., 23 February 1789*<sup>1</sup>

13. May the States of North Carolina and Rhode Island soon consider their true interest, and be united to the combined States, or sink into nought.

1. Printed: *Pennsylvania Herald, and York General Advertiser*, 25 February. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 4 March; *New York Morning Post*, 9 March; *New York Daily Gazette*, 10 March.

*Cumberland County, N.J., Celebrates Departure of Its U.S. Senator*  
25 March 1789<sup>1</sup>

11. A speedy Reformation to Rhode-Island and North-Carolina.

1. Printed: *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 April.

*Society of the Cincinnati Celebrates American Independence*  
Philadelphia, 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>

11. May the eleven soon be encreased to thirteen.

1. Printed: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 8 July.

*Militia Celebrates American Independence*  
Philadelphia, 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>

12. May a political reformation take place in the states of Rhode Island and North-Carolina.

1. Printed: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 9 July.

*Militia Celebrates American Independence*  
Philadelphia, 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>

12. North-Carolina and Rhode-Island; may they soon perceive their true interests and embrace the Union.

1. Printed: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 9 July.

*Boston Celebrates American Independence, 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>*

By the Cincinnati.

. . . A restoration of the two stray sisters of the American Family.

1. Printed: *New York Gazette of the United States*, 11 July.

*Former Army Officers and Whig Inhabitants Celebrate American Independence*  
Georgetown, Md., 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>

4. May he that is above, ever smile on the eleven confederated States, and convince the other two of their error.

1. Printed: *Georgetown Times & Patomack Packet*, 9 July, which is not extant. Reprinted in the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 16 July, both under the dateline

“GEORGE-TOWN, July 9.” The transcription is taken from the reprinting in the *Federal Gazette*.

*Richmond, Va., Gentlemen Celebrate American Independence, 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>*

13. May the wisdom of the non-adopting states soon complete that union which constitutes the strength and safety of America.

1. Printed: *Richmond Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 9 July, which is not extant. This account of the celebration was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 16 July; *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 16 July; *New York Packet*, 20 July. The transcription is taken from the *Pennsylvania Packet* reprinting.

*New Brunswick, N.J., Celebrates American Independence  
4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>*

. . . a bower of eleven arches having been previously erected before the door of Mr. Eghert, emblematical of the union, and decorated with laurels and evergreens, representing nature almost to perfection. On the outer arch was affixed an invitation to North-Carolina, (who was raised at a distance from the others) with a hand stretched out to receive them.

1. Printed: *Brunswick Gazette*, 7 July, which is no longer extant. The transcription is taken from the only located reprinting in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 July.

*Society of the Cincinnati Celebrates American Independence  
Savannah, Ga., 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>*

13. May North Carolina and Rhode Island, by a speedy Adoption of the Federal Constitution, complete the Number of the Thirteen United States.

1. Printed: *Georgia Gazette*, 9 July. Reprinted: *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 5 August.

*Friendly Society Celebrates American Independence  
Cheraw District, Marlborough County, S.C., 4 July 1789<sup>1</sup>*

12th. May Divine Providence influence the councils of North-Carolina, to accede to the federal union.

1. Printed: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 2 September, under the dateline “Charleston, July 14.”

*Marlborough, Mass., Celebrates the American Victory at Yorktown, Va.  
19 October 1789<sup>1</sup>*

6. The Minority of Rhode-Island and North-Carolina.

1. Printed: Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 29 October. Reprinted: *New York Morning Post*, 7 November; Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 12 November; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 November; *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 2 December.

### **Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 13 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Private and public accounts from North-Carolina, leave us no room to doubt of the accession of that state in a short time to the federal government.

1. Reprinted in twenty-five newspapers by 13 November: Vt. (1), N.H. (1), Mass. (4), Conn. (3), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1), Pa. (5), Md. (2), Va. (3), N.C. (1), Ga. (1). The only North Carolina reprint located was in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 3 November.

### **Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 16 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in North-Carolina,  
dated October 12, 1788.

“The citizens of this state, notwithstanding the exertions of many persons of distinction among us, still seem disposed to reject the new constitution, as it now stands—many however, have been brought over, and we have some hopes that the ensuing assembly will recommend another convention, to re-consider the subject.”

1. Reprinted nine times by 6 December: N.Y. (2), Pa. (2), Md. (3), Va. (1), Ga. (1). Because the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 16 October, is not extant, the transcription is taken from the *Virginia Herald*, 23 October, the earliest reprinting.

### **Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston New York, 17 October 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I think it clear that North Carolina must depend on her own Prudence or her own strength for the Measure of Peace that she may enjoy with the neighbouring Indians. . . .

1. RC, Frederick M. Dearborn Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 432–33. The rest of the letter deals with the settlement of accounts between the states and Congress and various attacks by Indians in the western territory.

### **Willie Jones: To the Printers State Gazette of North Carolina, 20 October 1788**

Mess. HODGE & WILLS,

A small pamphlet, signed, “A *CITIZEN and SOLDIER*,”<sup>1</sup> addressed to the inhabitants of Edenton district, lately fell into my hands. I do not know who wrote it, nor where it was printed, but it was brought from Edenton to Halifax.—The writer asserts, that I called the Members of

the Grand Convention, generally, and General Washington and Col. Davie, in particular, *scoundrels*—To this I answer that I never said so of the whole, or any one of these gentlemen. I know as little of many of the Members of that Convention, as this angry soldier (who perhaps never drew a sword in the service of his country) knows of me; therefore it would have been wrong for me to call them scoundrels.—As to General Washington, I have long thought and still think him the first and best character in the world. As to Col. Davie, I have a personal regard for him; I *think* him an honest man and a valuable member of the community, and I *know* him to be a man of genius, and knowledge in his profession. To make short of the matter, I swear that nothing can exceed the respect I bear for these two gentlemen, unless it be my scorn and contempt for the “CITIZEN and SOLDIER.”

Be pleased to publish this in your paper, and you will oblige, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,  
WILLIE JONES.  
*Halifax, October, 1788.*

1. See RCS:N.C., 502–16n for the pamphlet.

### **Wilmington Town Meetings, 21 and 25 October 1788**

[For the opposition to and the proceedings of these meetings, see Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell, 27 October 1788 (RCS:N.C., 583–84).]

### **William Hooper to Thomas Hooper**

**Hillsborough, N.C., 23 October 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Dear Brother

. . . The temper of the Western country has taken an entire change with respect to the new constitution and were the members of the next Assembly to act the sentiments of their constituents, or their own, unbiassed by the influence of a few designing demagogues I am convinced that a convention would immediately take place which might give this state an early and proper share in the first councils of Congress & prevent those baneful effects which must otherwise arise from the infatuated and base measures of the last convention. Jones (Wyllie) still bears about him the political zeal and animation of his party and will not fail to give vent to them at the next Assembly, could any thing have been wanting beside his natural pride and obstinacy to have rivetted him in an opinion or rather in a conduct which he had erroneously begun, the indignity pointed at him at Tarboro' would have done it effectually.<sup>2</sup> I am told that he treats the consequences which are threatened to ensue from the councils which he dictated at the convention

with most unbecoming levity & dogmatically devotes to contempt all who were opposed. The Governour on his way home mortified him exceedingly. Well “Mr Johnston you have heard of the honour that has been done me at Tarboro. I never had before the honour of being publickly exhibited.” “NO. Mr Jones and never could have had in more suitable company” alluding to T. Person whose principal mortification I am told arises from having been paraded in a negro’s short coat & proper appendages.

Your Election at Wilmington did not terminate as I expected. I apprehended that the contention would have been zealously kept up by the Partizans of Jones & McKingus which would have divided the votes of the better kind and would have let in Walker with his white boys to have borne off the prize. Billy Green’s opposition had the pretensions to success that might have been supposed. I wish that Jones’s elevation may not be too much for a mind not remarkable for its steadiness It may be prudent in him frequently to apply for rules of conduct to the friendly counsellor to whom he owes all his importance

I have said nothing to Billy upon the subject of the warlike expedition which he undertook against the heroes of the Swamp and which terminated so much to his pain and disgrace. I flatter myself that what he suffered on that occasion will deter him from further Knight’s errantry and after the cautious and reprehension which you so affectionately thought proper to bestow on him it would be preposterous in me to add any thing on that score.

He ill brooks my animadversions on his political interferences. Having been unfortunate enough in a late letter<sup>3</sup> to him to have said, that neither from age, genius or education he could be supposed capable of Judging of a question so momentous as that of the constitution and which had puzzled the wits of the wisest men of the present age—I find that his blood has risen, & he has not failed to express it; but in very decent & respectful terms to me. It matters not a straw what he thinks on the subject provided he does not carry his zeal and infatuation into vociferation and thereby expose himself. . . .

1. RC, Hooper Collection, Nc-Ar. Thomas Hooper (c. 1746–c. 1821) was a Wilmington and Charleston merchant. During the war, he was suspected of being a Loyalist, but all of his South Carolina property was restored to him after 1786.

2. For an earlier report that Antifederalist leaders Willie Jones and Thomas Person had been burned in effigy at Tarborough, see “Extract of a Letter from Wilmington, N.C.,” 26 September 1788 (RCS:N.C., 570, at note 3 and note 3). For a later report of the burning, see “Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C.,” 7 November (RCS:N.C., 601).

3. See William Hooper, Sr., to William Hooper, Jr., 16 August 1788 (RCS:N.C., 500).

**Portland, Maine, Cumberland Gazette, 23 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Newyork, dated October 14.

“There is a considerable stir in different parts of Northcarolina, in favour of the new Constitution. It is the opinion of several gentlemen from that State that another Convention will be called upon the subject.—I have this day seen two letters from different parts of that State:—These mention a number of gentlemen, members of the late Convention, who have since lost their election for assembly men the ensuing year, for no other reason than because they had voted against the Constitution. Others, who had been in the court the preceeding year, were dropped at the election for the same reason.—The people of many counties had become dissatisfied at the non-adoption of the constitution, & clamoured loudly for another Convention. This spirit is not confined to the counties that have uniformly been federal—it prevails much in those counties, whose delegates in the late convention voted against the Constitution.”

1. Reprinted seven times by 11 November: N.H. (3), Mass. (3), N.Y. (1).

**Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell**

**Wilmington, N.C., 27 October 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... It would be in vain to attempt petitions in this and the neighbouring counties, unless persons of some degree of popularity would undertake to forward the business—In most of them there are none that will stir a foot, and I have no communication with the press—Bowen, indeed, is at last returned, after an absence of several months, and appears very unhappy at the disputes with his partner, who has been dangerously ill, as well their journey-man. He has been told by myself and my friends (who not only patronized but presented him with a liberal donation to defray the expense of removing here) that we would not have any-thing to say to a press conducted by Mr. Howard without an explicit and satisfactory apology for his conduct. Bowen agrees that he shall either do this, or relinquish the business; but nothing is yet done.

There has been a county meeting of Onslow, and a petition agreed on.<sup>2</sup> On saturday evening, we had one for this town<sup>3</sup>—It had been proposed for the preceding Tuesday, when the meeting was too small. At that time however [James] Read & [John] Huske attended, and endeavored to throw cold water on the business—The former with much cunning; the latter with bare-faced impudence—He went so far

as to reprobate meetings of that kind, for this memorable reason,—that something might be proposed, which if adopted, would disgrace the town. When it was shown that his argument proved too much, and would operate as forcibly against all assemblies of whatever kind, he still pertinaciously maintained his proposition, until I told him it was stupid nonsense, and an insult to the understanding of every man to whom it was addressed—On Saturday Read absented himself altogether, & Huske, after informing the chairman, with as much importance as he could assume, that he did not think any instructions were necessary, sneaked off, without hearing any thing that might be offered

An instruction to our member to promote the recommendation of the convention for sinking the paper-money, and the passing of a law for ascertaining the value of contracts, passed unanimously. That for calling a new convention, was carried against one dissenting voice—This will be further supported by the signatures of most of those who were absent. As you did not in your letter of the 8th say anything of a publication, I thought myself indebted to the printer for half a dozen copies.<sup>4</sup> Pray who is the author of this curious performance? Is he in earnest in his proposed separation? or is it held out only as a scare-crow? I take it to be a young lawyer in your town, with a dash of the Edenton member. I understand W Jones has published an answer;<sup>5</sup> but I have not seen it. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 444–46n.

2. The Onslow petition with twenty-six signatures was submitted to the Assembly by 11 November (RCS:N.C., 590–91, 702).

3. The Wilmington meeting was held on Saturday, 25 October.

4. Probably a reference to “A Citizen and Soldier” (RCS:N.C., 502–16n). A portion of the pamphlet was reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 22 September 1788.

5. For Jones’s response in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 20 October, see RCS:N.C., 580–81.

### **An Honest Man: To Willie Jones, Esquire State Gazette of North Carolina, 27 October 1788**

TO WILLIE JONES, Esquire.

A Putanist in oaths has as little credit given to his off-hand swearing, as a common prostitute, when she bridles up, acts the prude and lectures on chastity. Your seeming scorn and spurn at the Soldier and Citizen,<sup>1</sup> is but a poor evasion. It is true it is a clumsy performance; it charges heavily; stand forward, answer it, give reputation to your 182 who negatived<sup>2</sup> the learned labour of the choicest worthies of our Empire.—Produce to public view your thoughts, your wisdom, your objections to the code handed us from the Federal Convention; or like the

grave digger in Hamlet, confess your self: Or in a manly, honest manner, make the best apology in your power.

You are a member of the General Assembly, have unburthened yourself of the burthen of being a Councillor of the state; call together, embattle your myrmidons, head and command them, redress, if possible, your errors, bring forward a new and second Convention, and with a clean mouth and sweet blood, assist and support the country you have injured, to peace, happiness and honour; to a stand and rank amongst the civilized trading nations of the earth: Then you may once more be seated in the breast of  
An HONEST MAN.

*October 23, 1788.*

1. For “A Citizen and Soldier,” 27 August and Jones’s response, 20 October, see RCS:N.C., 502–16n, 580–81.

2. On 2 August, 184, not 182, members of the first North Carolina Convention supported the report of the committee of the whole, which withheld North Carolina’s assent to the new Constitution until amendments could be secured. Many Federalists, including the author of this piece, interpreted the Convention’s vote as a rejection of the Constitution.

### **County Petitions to the North Carolina Legislature Calling for a Second State Convention August–November 1788**

Soon after the North Carolina Convention refused to ratify the Constitution without previous amendments in August 1788, word arrived in North Carolina that New York had become the eleventh state to ratify the Constitution. That left only North Carolina and Rhode Island out of the new Union. North Carolina Federalists soon mounted a statewide petition campaign to encourage the state legislature to call another convention to reconsider the Constitution. Writing from Wilmington, Archibald Maclaine explained some of the difficulties in circulating petitions: “It would be in vain to attempt petitions in this and the neighbouring counties, unless persons of some degree of popularity would undertake to forward the business—In most of them there are none that will stir a foot” (to James Iredell, 27 October 1788, RCS:N.C., 583). Manuscript copies of petitions circulated to be submitted to the legislature that was scheduled to assemble in Fayetteville during the first week of November 1788.

Twenty manuscript petitions have survived representing more than 3,325 signatures. Other non-extant petitions are mentioned in letters, newspapers, and legislative journals. Some of the surviving manuscript petitions have the same prefatory text, while others are unique. The petitions stated that the first North Carolina Convention was unaware

of New York's ratification, that North Carolina would be omitted from the first federal Congress' deliberations over important laws and amendments to the Constitution, that union with the other states was "indispensably necessary to our freedom and happiness," that the "Horrors of Anarchy" would occur in North Carolina out of the Union, and that "the Evils which undoubtedly will arise from this our nonacceptance of said Constitution, are too many to Enumerate." Beginning on 5 November, Governor Samuel Johnston submitted the petitions to the legislature, which were read in the Senate beginning on 10 November. On Tuesday, 11 November, the House of Commons received and read nineteen petitions from the Senate; and assigned consideration of the petitions to Saturday, 15 November.

The surviving manuscript petition from Camden County is the only document that indicates the procedure used for the transmittal and/or signing of the petitions. In a separate document of 24 October 1788 that was submitted with the petition, Camden County Sheriff Caleb Grandy indicated that the freemen met at the courthouse to discuss the state's situation. A petition "was laid before the people & Unanimously agreed to—& Signed by the Persons present." The signatures on other petitions often appeared on separate sheets of paper, suggesting that these separate sheets circulated throughout the county independently of each other.

Ten different versions of the petitions exist. An example of each version is printed here with the signatures omitted. Facsimiles of these ten petitions with their attached signatures and the ten duplicate petitions with their signatures are placed in Mfm:N.C. Except for the petition from Halifax town and county, all of the petitions are in North Carolina State Papers, in the library at Duke University. The Halifax petition is in the North Carolina State Archives.

#### **Camden County, N.C., 24 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

At a meeting of the freemen of said County Assembled, at the Court House to Consider of the deficulties in Which the State was likely to be involved by the late Rejection of the Fœderal Constitution—Joseph Jones Esquire in the Chare—the Draught of a petition to the Assembly was laid before the people & Unanimously agreed to—& Signed by the Persons present—viz a Copy of which is annexed &c.

Caleb Grandy Sheriff

The Honble. the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina

The humble address and PETITION of the Freemen of the County of Camden, in County Meeting assembled.—

## GENTLEMEN

We your PETITIONERS in the anguish of our hearts, beg leave, while we lament the impending evils with which we and the State in General appear, to us, to be threatened, HUMBLY TO PRAY that you will with the utmost exertions apply yourselves to avoid the calamities which at this very hour, we fear are Nearly approaching—the most dreadfull of Temporal tribulation—annarchy and Civil War.—

A Retrospect of a *few* years past is as painfull as it may be Necessary and impress us with indignation for the past and dread of the future—One Uniform Spirit of Misrule Seems to have predominated in our publick deliberations—Whence is it that the debts contracted in this State during the late war, in proportion to the aid afforded was far greater, the impositions on the publick by your Officers and boards of Officers more flagitious—your paper Currency in War and at present More depreciated your annual legislative expences increased to a far greater extant—your legal Jurisprudence more fluctuating and less energetic,—your feeble efforts for discharging the National debts and Supporting publick and private Credit at home and abroad attended with far less Success than we believe in any Other State. And why is it with horror and Grief we ask these questions, that we of all the States in Union, Should be the only one which by the decision of our Convention at Hillsborough last Summer, is precluded from any legal or Regular mode of participating in It, and at a time too when we were absolutely certain that the New Constitution had Succeeded to the confederacy, why did we with open Eyes, anti curtius like, leap into so dreadfull a Gulf for the political destruction of our country—is it our crime or is it Our Misfortune, is the collective Wisdom, or the collective Virtue of North Carolina, indeed, incompetent to the exercise of the Necessary powers of good Government, we are not Ready to believe this.—Is it then the effect of an illicit lust of domination, of Misguided ambition, of Sinister intrigues, or of party caballing,—Our Sense of approaching danger, and Our experience of the past, excite these painfull questions.—

We your PETITIONERS presume not to point out Specific Measures to Remedy the disasters we lament, it is not within *our* Capacities. But to feel for the present and fear for the future, where the danger is evident is common to the lowest of our Species, nor is an endeavour, however weak, to deprecate—less So.—

We therefore HUMBLY PRAY that the General assembly will earnestly & without delay, proceed by Such Means as the Collective Wisdom of the State, unprejudiced and uninterested Shall conceive most likely to Remove the evils we complain of, & before every other Consideration, in the present alarming crisis, Such as will procure Our admission to

the Union of the United States of America.—depending on the Wisdom and Virtue of Congress for Such amendments in future to the New constitution as Shall, to the Satisfaction of the Reasonable, Secure the good government and political Safety of the whole, and be as Nearly as may be assimilated to the conveniency and internal policy of each Seperate State, And your petitioners will pray &c—

1. The Camden petition had 289 names affixed.

### **Halifax County and Town, N.C.<sup>1</sup>**

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina  
The petition of sundry Inhabitants of the County & Town of Halifax  
whose names are hereunto subscribed

Humbly sheweth

That whereas the late Convention of this State did not think proper either to ratify the Constitution proposed for the future Government of this State or to reject it, and at the time of their Session the important event of the Ratification by the State of New-York was not known which has placed us in a still more critical situation than we were in before, eleven states being now members of the new Union, from the benefits and protection of which we are altogether excluded: Your petitioners being fully persuaded that the liberty prosperity and safety of this State indispensably depends upon a firm Union with the other States, and also considering the particular disadvantage that may be sustained, if we should not have a share in the first Formation of the Government and in proposing and voting for such amendments as may be thought proper in the manner prescribed by the Constitution; do earnestly desire that you will be pleased to recommend the Choice and meeting of a new Convention as early as possible for the purpose of reconsidering and determin[ing] on the said Constitution—

1. The Halifax petition had 125 names affixed. It was received by the House of Commons on 14 November. Petitions with very similar wording were submitted to the legislature from the counties of Carteret (103 names), Duplin (26 names), Edgecombe (231 names), Hyde (471 names), Johnston (346 names), Martin (329 names), Sampson (44 names), and Dobbs (29 names). The Sampson County petition was received by the House of Commons on 13 November.

### **Hertford County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>**

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina.

The Petition of the Subscribers, Inhabitants, of the County of Hertford. Humbly sheweth.

That your petitioners, being deeply impressed with the present critical Situation of our Country; Eleven States having formed a new union in which we have at present no share, and beleiving that the adoption of the new Constitution is now indispensably necessary to our freedom and happiness, do earnestly pray that you will be pleased with as little delay as possible to recommend the choice of a new Convention, for the purpose of again considering on a Subject So Momentous to the *Liberty* and *Safety* of this State.

1. The Hertford petition had 66 names affixed.

### Lincoln County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina,  
Fifth Nov. 1788

The Petition of a number of the free holders and freemen of the County of Lincoln in said State Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners impressed with a deep sense of the Horrors of Anarchy which appears a probable Consequence of the separation of this State from the Fœderal Government, as well as, the enumerable Political evils necessarily consequent on the Cramping our Commerce & destruction of our Credit—And Ardently desirous that great Numbers of the Citizens of said County may have an opportunity of expressing the change of their sentiments on the great subject of the Federal government, as well as that the uniform Friends of the true interest of the State may have another opportunity of exerting themselves for the preservation of the same from impending Ruin—I Do most cordially & hum[b]ly pray that the Gen. Assembly would order a new Convention with all the powers of the former, to reconsider the proposed Constitution, and with as much attention to aconomy of the State as may be                   And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever Pray

1. The Lincoln petition had 212 names affixed. The wording was similar in the Rowan County petition (375 names).

### Mecklenburg County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>

State of North Carolina Mecklenburg County—Fayetteville Nov. 1788

The Petition of Captain Thomas Alexanders Company To the Honourable the Assembly of North Carolina—

Whereas the United States in Convention assembled have thought it most advantageous to our national Interest both as to our Character abroad, and the better Government of the Nation at home to lay aside

the Articles of Confederation, as unequal to the End thereby proposed and form a federal Constitution in stead thereof, therein declaring, that if nine of the s[ai]d States should accept sd Constitution it should be binding on each State for adopting it—

Now we your Petitioners having certain intelligence that ten of our sister States have adopted the sd Constitution, with recommending some amendments thereto, do think that the Plan adopted by our late Convention will not be productive of that good Which we would hope they intended, seeing we are thereby precluded from a Vote in Congress relative to the Amendment of the Constitution—we further, do conceive it the Interest as well as the Inclination of the Whole State to be in Union with our sister States,—we also do think it will be greatly to our Damage as individuals as well as the Detriment and Discredit of the State to be disunited from the rest of the Family,—we therefore dreading the Consequences are truly alarmed at the Prospect—Therefore do pray that the Assembly of the State of North Carolina may think it proper to direct a new writ of Election to issue for the Choice of a new Convention to deliberate and determine on the federal Constitution: that this State may, once more have an Opportunity of [discovering?] a temper of Mind to *Harmonize* with her Neighbours in the general Plan of national Government—This is the earnest Request, and humble Petition of us the Subscribers.—

1. The Mecklenberg petition had 44 names affixed.

#### **Onslow County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>**

To the Honourable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina—

The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Onslow County—in Committee Assembled—

Sheweth,

That Whereas the late Convention of this State, did not accept, nor reject the proposed Consti[tu]tion for the Government of the United States, but proposed sundry Amendments to be made previous to its Adoption—which we your Petitioners think irregular & that as it has already been adopted by eleven States, we Pray the Legislature to take the same under their Consideration—and as it is essensual to the Interest of this State to be recieved into the Union at as early a period as possible, to the end we may have a Vote & derive Advantages in common with the other States, & join in a constitutional way with the other States in proposing the necessary Amendments.

Your Petitioners humbly pray that you will call a new Convention as speedily as practicable for Reconsidering the said Consti[tu]tion.

1. The Onslow petition had 26 names affixed.

### Randolph County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>

To the Honourable the General Assembly of North Carolina now sitting at Fayattville Greeting The Petition of Sundry inhabitants within the County of Randolph Humbly Sheweth—

That our Minds are deeply impress'd with the truth of that Maxim by which was brought about our glorious Revolution to wit: "By *UNION* we stand by *DISUNION* we fall" and we think that Union is as Necessary at this time, as at any period during the War, for the preservation of our Independant Republican form of Government as well as for the preservation of our Lives, Libertys, and property.—That we have a just Sense of the Miserable State we must Shortly be Reduced to Should we Seprate from our Sister States with whom we have fought, Bled, & Nobly Conquered—And who to [— — —] their great willingness to Continue in union with us have given up one of their greatest Local benefits for the general good to Wit their *IMPOSTS* a sum Sufficient for the present to pay off our part of the Intrest of the Foreign debt and which may in future, by the increase of Commerce be also sufficient to pay the Principal—

That we believe in our Concienses the future happinesses & prosperity of this State depends on our firm Union with our Sister States and the Speedy Ratification of the Fœderal Constitution what ever the opposers of it may, from ill grounded fears, prejudices, or selfintrested Motives, say to the Contrary. Not doubting but that the Congress when organized will in a Constitutional Manner make every Amendment which may be thought Necessary for the general good of the Union Under this firm beleif we pray that your Honourable body will Call a New Convention to Reconsider the fœderal Constitution & Ratify the same on the part of this State That we may, in Union, have a share in Common with the other States in framing the Fœderal Laws, Choosing the great officers of Government, and making all the Necessary Amendments to the Constitution—And Your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray

1. The Randolph petition had 330 names affixed. The wording was similar in the Chatham County petition (65 names).

**Richmond County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>**

To the Honble the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the County of Richmond in the said State.

Sheweth.

That altho' many of your Petitioners are of the number of those, who would rejoice, to see amendments to the New Constitution, proposed for the Government of the United States; They nevertheless most ardently wish to be in the Union.

That the Idea of a separation from Allies pointed out by Nature from Friends so deservedly esteemed, with whom they oft times have jointly suffered, fought, bled and conquered [and indured with?] your Petitioners exceedingly disagreeable.

That without a single Ally on the face of the Earth, tho' our Citizens are brave & our Resources immeasurable, we cannot reasonably expect to stand alone. How unequal, in our present situation, must a Contest be with a single Power. How great the the whole Expence of forming new Treaties with the several Powers of Europe? And the whole necessary & unavoidable Expence of keeping the State, at all times, ready for Defence, how ruinous?

That the Interest of the Southern States and of this State in particular must in the opinion of your Petitioners, inevitably sustain the most capital & irreparable Loss, in the want of the Representation from this State in the first Congress to meet at New York on the first Wednesday of March next.

That we consider the Honble the General Assembly as the Guardian of our Liberties and Honor and is the only Guide under Heaven to extricate us from the Labyrinth we are in, which we, with all submission apprehend can in no wise be brought about without another State Convention, We therefore most humbly implore your Honorable Body to take such measures as to your collected Wisdom shall seem best to call together another State Convention to be freely chosen by the People for to meet at a period so early, that should the said State Convention think it for the Good of the People to adopt the New Constitution already adopted by eleven States, our State may, in that case, be in time to enjoy the vast Advantage of having our own delegates to advocate our Cause in the first Congress, and by [- - -] the other Southern States, more assuredly to obtain most of the Amendments recommended by our late Convention. And from Petitioners as in duty bound will pray.

1. The Richmond petition had 55 names affixed. It was received by the Senate on 11 November.

**Surry County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>**

State of North Carolina

The Honourable the General Assembly of said state at Fayetteville  
November Session 1788.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of surry County.  
Humbly Sheweth—

That your petitioners have scarcely words capable of Conveying the dreadful Ideas which present themselves to us, when we consider the unhappy, and alarming Situation of ourselves and many thousands of our fellow Citizens in this state at this Juncture—Being deprived of the wise Councils of Congress and the aid of the National Government—

The late Convention of this state having rejected the Feederal Constitution held to us for Exceptance by the Convention of the United state at Philadelphia—September 1787 by which we are intirely Unrepresented in the once friendly and National court of our Country.

The Evils which undoubtedly will arise from this our nonexceptance of said Constitution, are too many to Enumerate—Therefore our Eyes are towards Your Honourable body, as children to an Indulgent parent Imploring your aid, that in your Wisdom such ways and Means may be found, Sufficient to reestablish us once more in Union with our sister states by whose side we wish to stand forth in defence of our liberty against our National Enemies, & Your Petitioners in Duty bound shall Pray &c—

1. The Surry petition had 103 names affixed.

**Tyrrell County, N.C.<sup>1</sup>**

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina.

The petition of the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the County of Tyrrel.  
Humbly sheweth

That as eleven States in the Union have now agreed to the new Constitution of Government for the united States, and as in the opinion of your Petitioners this State can have no prospect of Liberty or Safety, but by an intimate union with the other States; your Petitioners therefore in order that we may be no longer exposed to the dangers attending a Separation and may as early as possible have a Share in the new Government, which your Petitioners believe to be well calculated for the freedom & happiness of America, do most earnestly pray that you will be pleased to appoint a new Convention with as little delay as the circumstances of the case shall require. That, that momentous subject may be again considered of on the part of this State, more especially

as the Ratification by the State of New York which was not known when our Convention broke up, has added a strong additional reason to the many that subsisted before, for the adoption of it by this State.

1. The Tyrrell petition had 57 names affixed.

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Halifax, N.C., November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

My dear sir

. . . I recd. the papers by Mr. Bond—and I'm glad you had an opportunity of revising those sheets for we have certainly been [grossly?] used in this business. I have not heard from R——n by either of the two last posts; and begin to conclude he has given over the idea of engaging to print them—“On considering this matter, which is of some importance to the Country, as well as ourselves, & as we stand pledged in some measure to the subscribers, I think it will be necessary to cast about for a Printer; and I submit to you whether it would not be well to write to Williamson, who I believe stays this winter in New-York, and who could have it done there or in Philadelphia on the best Terms and in the neatest manner; any of their printers would be glad of the Job on the terms we offered it to R——n.

[“]As to the matter of transmitting the copy, I suppose that might be done by some opportunity from Edenton or at any time from Norfolk by the packet—and could be returned in the same manner—Now Sir, if this plan meets your approbation, I hope you will write immediately to Williamson on the subject; I think you may assure him they would meet with a very extensive and immediate sale, especially as the question is undecided and the public mind is still in great agitation—”

The House of Delegates in Virginia have passed resolutions to the following effect, one, “that application be made to the Congress of the United States, so soon as they shall assemble under the new Constitution to call a Convention for proposing amendments according to the mode therein directed”—another, “that a writing shall be drawn up expressing the reasons which induce them to urge their application so early.”<sup>2</sup>

“A third—(That a letter be sent in Answer to Govr. Clinton circular letter—and a circular letter on the same subject to the other States in the *Union*.)<sup>3</sup>

[“]R. H. Lee and Grayson are chosen for their Senators, both *Anties*. this shews that this denomination of politicians prevails at present at least in the Assembly—Madison lost the election by 5 votes only.—”<sup>4</sup>

It appears to me that the States should immediately concur in calling another Convention, it would satisfy the Honest part of the opposition—and stop the mouths of the rest recommend me to my friend Alfred—and believe me with the most sincere regard

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 457–59n. No place of writing or date was listed. Davie probably wrote this letter from Halifax. In this letter, Davie comments on the progress being made on the publication of the debates of the first North Carolina Convention. The volume was published in mid-June 1789.

2. A reference to the Virginia legislature's 20 November 1788 resolutions requesting Congress to call a second general convention to revise the Constitution (DHFFE, II, 273–79).

3. A reference to the New York Convention's Circular Letter, 26 July 1788, suggesting that the states seek a second general convention to amend the Constitution (CC:818–C; RCS:N.Y., 2335–37n). Governor George Clinton had been president of the New York ratifying Convention.

4. The Virginia legislature elected two Antifederalists to the U.S. Senate—Richard Henry Lee had 98 votes and William Grayson had 86, while James Madison received only 77 (DHFFE, II, 366).

### **Antifed. Senior**

#### **State Gazette of North Carolina, 3 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*An ANSWER to the Letter addressed to the People of the State of North-Carolina.*

BY A CITIZEN OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua, in ea civitate quae libertate usa est.

CORN. NEPOS.<sup>2</sup>

*Sine Larva.*

Sir, Supposing your late address, however generally directed, could only be intended for the anti federal party; being one of the leaders of that party, and a member of the late Convention held at Hillsborough, I undertake to thank you for reminding us of the critical situation we are in and that it requires the most serious attention.—You are right, though you might have spared yourself that trouble, it being a situation we are too well pleased with, to be inattentive to.

Will you be pleased to recollect that our cause of complaint (I here speak of all America collectively) against the European tyrant, was his monopoly of all power and too lordly an exercise thereof over those he esteemed his vassals; in fine that hostilities were commenced, that victory declared for the states, of which we (North-Carolina) are one. Was it not a natural consequence to wish to enjoy the fruits of victory? and how could we be said to enjoy a privilege we did not exercise? The inestimable gem we won by our joint endeavours was divisible, and who

shall hinder us from the occupation of our particular portion? We have occupied it for a considerable time illimitably; the pleasure arising from its use has so strongly captivated our souls, that we will not submit to the dictation of the other states how far we shall extend it, or how we again shall subdivide it among ourselves. I fortunately happen to be of a party which has acquired more than an equal share procured by our ingenuity, and we are not disposed to run the risk of having our hands weakened by a simple submission to the award of arbitrators. And sir, being so circumstanced, we do exult in consideration of our independence being encreased, that we are now independent of all nations and states, our own not excepted, having gained such an ascendancy in the Assemblies and Courts, (for we are both representatives and magistrates, we make and interpret the laws) so that in a short time I hope to see our aristocracy as firmly established as those of Venice and Genoa.

As for the public debt incurred, it may or may not be a debt as we are pleased to consider it; if we ever discharge it, it will be merely *ex gratia*,<sup>3</sup> and that perhaps in a currency to be struck for the very purpose, which by the laws of the land being declared a tender in all cases whatsoever, will serve to pay debts due to foreigners as well as citizens. This will serve also as a confutation of your assertion that we are without pecuniary resources; only remember when put to our shifts during the administration of the late Governor Nash,<sup>4</sup> to whom was delegated the whole power of legislation in that particular, what an inundation of money he produced, beyond the power of arithmetic to calculate. Do you think the secret buried with him, and that source of credit and riches dried up to the fountain head?

True (you say jeeringly) we may now form alliances at pleasure,—and we may let it alone also. Is there any indispensable necessity for them? No!—Encompassed almost by the United States, we need fear no invasion by land from foreigners; the policy of those states will not permit troops to march through their territories to make war upon us, so that in that article we are safe; and although it may be alledged that forces may be landed immediately on our own coasts, the same answer a little varied, will again serve, to wit, the United States will assist us through fear, if not through affection; through fear of being attacked by the same power after our subjugation on the side of South-Carolina or Virginia.

Beside you write as if it was impossible for a state or nation to exist without forming alliances. I am sorry, sir, you read your bible to so little purpose as to have forgot that the Jews lived altogether independent of and unmixed with every other nation forty years in the wilderness, and then suddenly bursting forth from their obscurity, were so warlike,

so well appointed and so strong in finance, that the nations though sometimes trebly combined, fell before them like timorous sheep before a band of prowling wolves.

“Possibly we may be inflated with the ridiculous idea of our own importance”—If there be any earthly excuse for pride, have we not a temptation to be proud? Have we not in our resistance of a tyrant King disengaged ourselves from his yoke? Is there any thing sweeter than after such a conflict to impose that burthen on the necks of others, with which our own shoulders are yet galled? Our arms being too short to reach the tyrant and his emissaries, we therefore tried it on those nearer to us, and I do assure you it proved exquisite pastime; their curvetting, their writhing and twisting was to us (the imposers) a delectable pantomime, and we have never dropt the representation for a single day, for the play was for our own benefit.

Ye have voted us into authority and we have extended that authority; as members of legislation during the session: we are your sovereigns, when and where we take special care also of our juridical jurisdiction, so that between session and session, all judicial contests are decided by us, sometimes with, but much oftener without a jury, the authority of which is now reduced to an empty sound. Was the Rump Parliament under Oliver Cromwell’s best modelling, ever more absolute? and being so firmly established, you will scarcely persuade us to part with that, which no man or set of men were ever known to relinquish for slenderer arguments than those of guns and swords.

One of the Apostles says, “He that provideth not for his family, is worse than an infidel.”<sup>5</sup> There is but little difference between him who provideth not, and him who having provided the means wasteth them.

If we conform with the eleven states, we must pay up in proportion the public debt, pay a much heavier land and capitation tax than at present we are disposed to do, and must pay off also our British debts; thus we venture the beggaring or at least reducing our families to shorter and more sordid appointments than become our dignity. It is immaterial by what means we became great men—being so, it is our duty not to consent to any measures tending to diminish our consequence. Charity ought to begin at home, and when it becomes a question who shall suffer, thou or me? that reverend *judge* SELF, has seldom been known to decide unnaturally, except in the case of a few romantic fools, whose example we are not ambitious to imitate.

As to your pious hope that the notion of a disunion is generally reprobated, even by those who voted against the constitution, that hope, though not altogether groundless, is to be indulged *cum grano salis*,<sup>6</sup> i.e. allow a large sum of paper-bills to be emitted, time for it’s utmost

depreciation, and time for paying debts public and private, with the currency so depreciated, and I will admit that perhaps there are many who then will care not, although the new constitution should be adopted; but who are they? wretches of no note or consequence, who never had a vote in an Assembly or a seat in the Courts.

The two instances of disinterested virtue, you hold up for our imitation in the persons of Governor Randolph and Mr. Smith, we dare not pattern after; they are great by genius, family, fortune, education and profession—they may safely make such concessions, and still remain patricians; but for us, the progenitors of many of whom are as uncertain, as those of the fatherless babes under the tuition of the overseers of the poor, to aspire to the practice of such sentiments, would be flat insanity—raised upon the stilts of popularity for imaginary qualifications, without genius, family, education or profession, for such to stoop, is never to rise again.

We thank you for your information relative to the deficiencies of the old constitution. For those very deficiencies we adore it; we plainly saw its given powers could not be carried into execution, yet were willing it should be suspended in *terrorem*,<sup>7</sup> to fright naughty boys (not of our party) whose veneration for “it” made them think an infringement of any article thereof sacrilege, while we (of the junto) with the spirit of an Alexander, with true heroic petulance, cut in two its gordian knots at pleasure, enacting *ex post facto* laws, law for extending the jurisdiction of the county court magistrates in and out of court, law for stay of execution, which in its effects amounted also to positive law for the alteration of written and sealed contracts, &c. and not content to fix upon our subjects those badges of slavery, we attempted to tyrannize over their minds and consciences, prescribing for their belief a political transubstantiation in the case of paper currency, where every bill on its face carried an impudent assertion, that it was equal in value to gold and silver, with a fraudulent promise that it should be redeemed with that species of money at a future day; to the belief of which (less modest than Lord Peter in the Tale of a Tub)<sup>8</sup> we did not condescend to offer even his or any other arguments, but trounced in the Courts many who ventured to judge for themselves by eyes, nose, teeth, or any other organ or distinguishing faculty Heaven had bestowed upon them, taking especial care notwithstanding to spare our own countrymen more than strangers, who dared to dispute our infallible ordinances.

My good sir, entertain a better opinion of us—we are not those vain creatures you are disposed to consider us—we are more modest and reasonable than to expect that after eleven states upon mature deliberation had adopted the constitution, they would tread back the ground

they had gained—such a requisition was only thrown out to amuse: we never hoped for or desired such a confession, since so long as it shall be refused, so long shall we have a feasible apology for refusing to adopt the federal constitution (thereby becoming the assassins of our beloved principle). Nor do we alledge that the members of the Grand Convention, held at Philadelphia, or that the eleven state Conventions met since separately, are so ignorant of the proper principles of liberty, or so indifferent about them, as to consent to a system by which the general liberty of mankind would be infringed. No we feared and doubted them only for our special and particular liberty; the liberty of (our party) remaining free to trample upon the rights of all those who are not in the Assembly and commission of the peace.

If we have no national character, we have a provincial one, which each of us often enjoys the secret satisfaction to hear echoed from a thousand mouths; which proves that the juices of the apple and peach in this young country, are as efficacious to inspire a mob with noise, impudence and mischief, as is the spirit of barley in the old.

I shall now take my leave of you by observing, that like *wisdom* you cry aloud in the street, and no man (of my party I hope) regardeth you—that the best reasoning, couched in the most elegant language, delivered in the most affectionate terms, with decorum, decency and temper, and proceeding from the lips even of an angel, will never persuade the sordid and mischievous heart out of what it esteems its immediate interest to retain.

1. This Federalist satire of Antifederalism is written as a response to James Iredell's "A Citizen of North Carolina" (RCS:N.C., 502–16n).

2. Latin: "All men are branded with the name of tyrants, who possess themselves of permanent sway, in a state which had before enjoyed the blessings of liberty" (Cornelius Nepos, "Miltiades," chap. VIII, in *The Book on the Great Generals of Foreign Nations*). For the translation, see Hugh Moore, ed., *A Dictionary of Quotations from Various Authors . . .* (London, 1831), 283.

3. Latin: A payment made without legal obligation.

4. Abner Nash (c. 1740–1786), who briefly served as the state of North Carolina's second governor, 1780–81.

5. 1 Timothy 5:8.

6. Latin: To be taken with a grain of salt.

7. Latin: To induce fear.

8. A reference to Jonathan Swift's satirical work, *A Tale of a Tub* (London, 1704).

### **Boston Herald of Freedom, 3 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

From Wilmington, North Carolina, we learn that the people of that state are at length sensible of the necessity of adopting the Federal Constitution—and that unless prevented by the Influence of the *English*

*merchants*, who reside in that state, another Convention will be appointed speedily.

1. Reprinted: Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 4 November; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 6 November; Exeter, N.H., *Freeman's Oracle*, 8 November; Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 8 November; and Connecticut *Litchfield Monitor*, 10 November.

### Wilmington Centinel, 3 November 1788<sup>1</sup>

A wonderful alteration, says a correspondent, hath taken place in the political sentiments of this State, within these few months. Mislead by the frenzy and cant of a few popular declaimers—whose oratory and declamation overcame the sober reason of our plain planters, the State was, by a considerable majority, opposed to the Federal Constitution; and the consequence was a rejection by our Convention. Our worthy Governour, and a number of other patriots, warned the majority of the consequence of their conduct—And since they have had time for reflection, they have been made sensible of the danger to which their conduct exposed the State—a conviction thereof has taken place—and as soon as a second Convention can be called, we have hopes of adopting the system—and to come into full communion with the other sisters of the union.

1. The *Wilmington Centinel*, 3 November, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 29 November, the earliest reprinting, under the dateline "WILMINGTON, (N.C.) Nov. 3." The text and dateline was reprinted in nineteen newspapers by 31 December: N.H. (3), Mass. (6), R.I. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (1).

### Wilmington Centinel, 5 November 1788<sup>1</sup>

"The honorable the legislature of this state, met at Fayette-Ville on Monday last. It is said, that the propriety of calling a *new convention*, will be among their earliest deliberations.

His Excellency Governor Johnston, and his Secretary, arrived at Fayette-Ville, on Saturday last.

We learn from Salisbury and Morgan districts,<sup>2</sup> that petitions are in circulation, to be presented to the assembly for calling a new convention, which are signed by all ranks of people with the greatest avidity.

1. All three paragraphs were reprinted seven times by 10 January 1789: Mass. (1), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1), Pa. (2). The first paragraph was reprinted an additional fifteen times by 26 December: Vt. (1), N.H. (2), Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.J. (1), Md. (1), S.C. (1), Ga. (2). The second paragraph was reprinted twice more by 4 December: S.C. (1), Ga. (1). The third paragraph was reprinted an additional twenty-five times by 29 December: Vt. (2), N.H. (2), Mass. (6), R.I. (1), Conn. (4), N.Y. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (2), Va. (1), S.C. (1).

2. The term "district" prior to 1789 refers to North Carolina's judicial districts. See D. L. Corbitt, comp., "Judicial Districts of North Carolina, 1746–1934," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (1935), 45–61. In 1789 election districts were established for Congress.

### **Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C., 7 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Edenton, North-Carolina, to the Printers of this paper, dated November 7, 1788.

"The Federal Constitution seems to be the general topick here. The inhabitants of the sea-ports and all the lower counties are inexpressibly chagrined to find that they had not a sufficient number of advocates to effect its adoption; they are, however, striving hard to gain the assembling of another Convention. The patriots of Tarborough, have strongly and openly discovered their abhorrence of the measures pursued by the anti-federal party, and have proceeded so far in their resentment, as to burn the effigies of a SPENCER, a JONES, and a PARSONS,<sup>2</sup> high anti-federal chiefs. Whether a new convention will be called together or not, I am unable at present to determine; but thus much I may venture to affirm, every man of sense and probity (except a few factious leaders) are warmly in favour of the measure."

1. Printed: Boston *Herald of Freedom*, 11 December. Reprinted eleven times by 25 December: N.H. (1), R.I. (2), Conn. (4), N.Y. (1), Pa. (3).

2. A reference to Thomas Person, not Parsons, in addition to Samuel Spencer and Willie Jones.

### **Wilmington Centinel, 12 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Almost every person, says a correspondent, seems more and more convinced of the bad policy of the decision of our convention, respecting the federal constitution. If they had adopted it in the mode that all the neighbouring states have done, we might have been represented in the first congress; the consequences are evident—this state must pay its proportion of the national debt—if we are not in union with the neighbouring states, certainly our vessels will be considered as aliens, and laid under the same restrictions—perhaps prohibited from entering their ports. It is also evident that great part of the produce of this state is exported and sold to the neighbouring states, from whom we receive the greatest part of our specie. Numberless other causes shew the necessity of another convention being called as speedily as possible, that we may not, with Rhode-Island, be considered as the only two states which are averse to federal measures.

1. Reprinted: *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 1 December.

**Archibald Maclaine to Edward Jones****Wilmington, N.C., 14 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

I was much pleased with the intelligence in yours of the 9th. respecting the number of federalists in the Assembly. If a convention is called, I think they will multiply.

We have reports here of a money-bill, and an instalment bill. The latter or one of that kind has actually passed into a law in S. Carolina,<sup>2</sup> and I am apprehensive it will have bad effects on the federal interest; for it is expressly in the face of the constitution which that State has adopted. If there is (which I think probable) any intention to bring forward a money-bill, the measure must originate with Tom Person; but he never produces his budget till he is pretty certain he has sufficient strength to support it. I flatter myself that he will find his party too weak for such a pernicious measure; for independent of Willie Jones's intention, relative to depreciation, that gentleman however lost to all sense of public virtue in other respects, never can act a part so contradictory to his avowed sentiments in public life. . . .

Though I have written so much, it has been done with great labor—my head is confusion itself. I have had a slow fever all night, and it has not yet left me—So obstinate is my complaint, that I am trying new remedies almost every day. All hopes of going to Newbern are vanished; and poor Josh Wright is little better than I am. If I can get something better, I must take exercise. . . .

1. RC, George Hooper Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Jones (1762–1841), a native of Ireland and a lawyer, came to Philadelphia in 1783 and then moved to Wilmington in 1786. He studied law with Archibald Maclaine and was admitted to the bar in 1788. He represented the town of Wilmington in the state House of Commons, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791–92. He was the state solicitor general, 1792–1827.

2. For South Carolina's installment act passed in March 1787, see *Acts, Ordinances, and Resolves, of the General Assembly of the State of South-Carolina . . .* (Charleston, 1787) (Evans 20715), 14–16. See also RCS:S.C., xl.

**Peter S. Du Ponceau to Edward Jones****Philadelphia, 17 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

My Dear Friend:

. . . The observations you make on my politics are just in a great measure. My zeal, I own, has carried me farther than my interest justified. But my principles have [– – –] as pure as they are solid, and as they are fixed and invariable, I have ever thought a Democratical government the most suited to the dignity of the human species, and the suggestions of pride, interest or ambition have no weight with me. A gentleman, according to the idea I have of the word, can be found

among all classes of people, and the childish pomp of human greatness appears to my eyes in the most pitiful light. Merit, education and riches will always create sufficiently high positions among mankind without the help of the paltry splendor of titles, crowns, and coronets. The efficiency of Government ought to consist in dealing out power to great men without [– – –].

The people may be well governed without being restrained too much, and the simpler is the machine of government, the more easily it is put in motion.

Of all the nations that I have seen, there is none more easily governed than the American. They may be led by gentleness, but like the generous horse, they will kick against the lash. At the same time that I profess these sentiments, I esteem a man who adopts different ones, and particularly when that man is known to me to be possessed of strict honor, justice and integrity. For this reason I rejoice to see you called to the important duty of a legislator of your State.—I hope you will think seriously of the important trust committed to you, and remember that now you are answerable for all your steps, to God and your country. I hope your State will adopt the new Federal Constitution. I wonder how they can be so blind as not to see that, if they do not adopt it, their vote will be lost on the question of amendments. Opposed (as I might be) to the system, had I the honor to be in your place, I would, without hesitation, give my vote for it. “Let the will of the people be done,” has always been my constant motto. The man who will do them good against their will, paves the way for him who will do them an injury. They have an undoubted right to be, [– – –] if they choose; and the true patriot at present, is he who will yield to the torrent, and reserves his strength for another opportunity. I shall thank you for your [– – –] of the constitution, which you have promised to send me. No doubt it will be an able, and what is still better, an honest one. Who knows but that you may make a convert of me to your principles? . . .

1. Printed: W. Hooper, “Biographical Sketch of Edward Jones Esq., Late Solicitor General of the State of North Carolina,” *North Carolina University Magazine*, V (1856), 349–51. The author of the sketch indicated that the manuscript was mutilated. Du Ponceau (1760–1844) was a French-American linguist. He emigrated from France in 1777 and during the war served as Baron von Steuben’s secretary. After the war Du Ponceau moved to Philadelphia, where he studied Native American languages and written Chinese. He was admitted to the American Philosophical Society in 1791.

**Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell**  
**Wilmington, N.C., 17 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Mr [James] Hogg also mentions, first that there is no prospect of a convention, and finally that there will not be one—He adds, that

by private information from Virginia, of which it is expected will be authenticated, that the Assembly of that state, have been prevailed upon by Mr [Patrick] Henry, to refuse doing any thing towards the organization of the new government. Though a man of sense, Mr Hogg is, I think, a very bad politician, and so credulous that he is as ready to swallow what he fears as what he hopes. I have had no letter from [Edward] Jones by the boat which brought Mr Hogg's (perhaps he did not know of it) but there was, I am told by Mr G Hooper, a sensible man, a passenger, who knows nothing of Mr Hogg's news, but the election of a governor, and yet seems well acquainted with what is doing, as well as what is said, at Fayetteville. I should have told you that in Jones's last letter of the 9th he says that there had, on the preceding evening, been a secret meeting of federalists, in consequence of previous notice, when it appeared that they thought they had a majority, though a small one. . . .

Since I w(rote the above, I) have had a letter from Mr Jones of the 13th. w(herin he mentions) his doubts of a convention, which was to be trie(d the next day.) that there would not be more than four or f(ive either way) . . .

. . . Mr Jones makes no mention of Mr Hogg's news from Virginia I lose my ideas as fast as they rise, and my memory is good for nothing—I should have told you, that a scale of depreciation is much talked of, and that Willie Jones has promised to bring it forward; and it is said that T. Person concurs in this, and even says, that he intends the paper-money not to be any longer a tender; but with this condition,—that £70,000 more be emitted—I have as small an opinion of one of these gentlemen as I have of the other; and therefore would not trust either of them—Mr Jones would in my opinion sacrifice any thing rather than give up the party which he has so scandalously patronized. The inflexibility of his pride will soar above every other consideration.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 451–53n. Words within angle brackets are conjectural readings.

### **Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 20 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from North-Carolina, dated November 15, 1788*

“I thank you for the papers which you were pleased to favour me with, and am happy to find the Legislature of your state so disposed to call a national convention for the purpose of considering on the proposed amendments to the New Government.<sup>2</sup> The positive and determined resolution which still seems to prevail here, of declining to accept it as it now stands, I fear will not prove so favorable to the political

character of this state as I could wish—but however some characters may view our conduct, I am well assured that no man in our convention, had the most distant idea of breaking off from the union—and I trust we shall never be found wanting in raising our supplies, or affording the necessary assistance to promote the interest of the Thirteen United States. I have heard, with concern, the many illiberal reports that have gone forth to our prejudice—but such measures are by no means calculated to preserve peace and harmony among us. If the friends to the new government wish to establish the Union upon a firm basis, they will readily join in bringing about another convention to reconsider the subject, in order to render it mutually satisfactory—and if it should then be found defective I am sure they would prove enemies, instead of friends, to the Union, if they did not join heart and hand, in removing such parts as may appear exceptionable.”

1. Reprinted eleven times by 30 December: N.H. (2), Mass. (3), N.Y. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (2), S.C. (1). The 20 November issue of the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette* is no longer extant. The transcription is taken from the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 2 December, the earliest reprinting. The reprintings all appeared under the dateline “Petersburg, Nov. 20.”

2. See William R. Davie to James Iredell, November 1788, note 2 (RCS:N.C., 595n).

### **Extract of a Letter from New Bern, N.C., 30 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Newburn, North-Carolina, to a gentleman in this town, dated Nov. 30, 1788.*

“Our Legislature are now assembled at Fayette-Ville; they have had a vote in the House whether a new Convention should be called or not, which passed in the negative by a majority of 8; since which I am informed they have voted again, and it passed in favor of a Convention, and it is confidently believed the new Constitution will be adopted.”

1. Printed: *Newport Herald*, 25 December. Reprinted thirteen times by 13 January 1789: N.H. (2), Mass. (8), R.I. (1), Conn. (2).

### **Americanus**

#### **Wilmington Centinel, 3–25 December 1788**

This Federalist essay by “Americanus” was serialized on the first page of four consecutive issues of the *Wilmington Centinel*, 3, 10, 18, and 25 December. No reprintings have been located.

To the Members who composed the majority in the late Convention.  
*Gentlemen,*

“There are certain primary truths, or first principles,” says an elegant and enlightened writer,<sup>(a)</sup> “upon which all subsequent reasonings must

depend, which contain an internal evidence, and antecedent to all reflection, on combination, command the assent of the mind: where it produces not this effect, it must proceed, either from some defect in the organs of perception, or from the influence of some strong interest or passion."<sup>1</sup>—This truly sensible Author, in illustrating the foregoing, enumerates a number of mathematical axioms, and then proceeds to mention some in ethics, and politicks, as necessary to direct his subsequent reasonings.

In imitation of the above manly procedure, I will lay down the following political axiom, as it frequently presents itself for practice in the letter of the above sciences, and perhaps in the former—that human affairs may be so combined or circumstanced that a deviation from our judgment, both individually and collectively in a legislative capacity, becomes necessary, just, and rational.

Under cover of this position, and the secondary one in the quotation give me leave, Gentlemen, to unburthen a mind, oppressed by your conventional transactions, and still agravated by your subsequent deportment. You see, Gentlemen, the above principle places your conduct in the most advantageous and admissable point of view possible for investigation.

In addressing you, Gentlemen, I shall speak to the following points.

First. Shew that the adoption of the Constitution would have been your duty, admitting your wisdom to have been superior to all the States that had gone before you in that matter.

Secondly. Examine the grounds and evidences, upon which you have been pleased to pay your abilities a compliment of such astonishing magnitude, then, if execute the first, you fail to be supported by the examination in the second, I will.

Thirdly, examine how the secondary position will fit your case; which is, a defect in the organs of perception, or the predominancy of interest or passion, which prevents the assent of the mind to primary truths: fourthly and lastly, throw out a few reflections which may arise from a consideration of the foregoing particulars. You see, gentlemen, the plan—you will please attend (for your own sakes) the progress of its completion.

As to the first point. The great superiority of the ten states who had entered the union prior to the issue of your convention, is a consideration alone sufficient, to enable me to come up to my declaration under the first point; every other consideration is derived from this, and is immediately, or finally, under its government. A goodly number of those states, are greatly superior to North-Carolina, separately considered. What superior energy and decision must then attend their federal exertions? Again, the federal operations diffusing themselves so

extensively and minutely, through all the internal transactions of the states, in a united capacity, and also through that reciprocal intercourse which must naturally exist among them, as separate and independent states; so that jarring interests, and clashing pursuits, with respect to us will necessarily ensue; in all which cases, the probability of our ascendancy, is, as but one to ten; (this you see is admitting matters as much to my disadvantage, or to your advantage, as they can possibly bear) from whence it may very clearly be infered, that the examples of our imbecility and insignificance, would be in proportion as the importance of the Union exceeded us.

When power is at command, and interest in view, what will not be attempted?—Here let experience whisper.—Let the records of time come forth—The power of the Union cannot be disputed, and that we are an interesting object, is not a wild supposition (as yourselves, Gentlemen, in the Convention appeared to be possessed of very exalted ideas of our importance) and that the primary object of the Union, comprehensively speaking, is greatness, or national importance, are positions, Gentlemen, you dare not deny; does it not then follow, that whatever obstructs its advances towards the desired object, will be removed? But it may be objected, that we will not interfere with the towering views of the confederacy. Will we have no need of alliances? Will we not wish to dip into commercial schemes? Shall we have no territorial disputes? Or if they should happen, shall they always issue to our honour and satisfaction? Yes Gentlemen, these things will inevitably insue, and over which the Union will in every instance prevail. Is it morally possible the Union would foster and cherish a sovereign and independent State in their very bosom? Would it not be a distracted and unprecedented policy, considered in every point of view? Is it not infinitely more likely the Union would find it both for its honour and interests, to swallow up our political existence? Dreadful then, must be the Federal Constitution indeed! Which, rather than adopt, you chose to throw matters into such a predicament, that the dissolution of our existence, as an independent State, became morally certain.

If the liberties of America, were the destined immolation for that altar of ambition, raised by the Philadelphia Convention, and the State of North-Carolina with a sagacity peculiar to itself alone, had discovered the hellish scheme; even then Gentlemen, I say the adoption of the Constitution would have been your duty, consistent with every idea of true policy: this will appear in a moment from the superiority of the Union—from the counter progress of our several pursuits—from the certainty of our sinking in every dispute; which particulars I have already clearly demonstrated. There can no possible answer be given to this, unless you meant to suffer martyrdom for your cause; and then

you would not have had the honour to have been the first that had died for the cause of ignorance. Upon your own principles, gentlemen, you must admit it to be the necessary policy of Congress, when put in motion, to stop the mouths of those who had so early discovered their ambitious views, and proclaimed their wickedness to the world, thereby implying an invitation to all who might have a sufficiency of penetration to see as you did, to combine against them. If you will allow them consistency, you admit this.

On the other hand, if you had adopted the constitution, you would have had the fairest prospect, in a constitutional way, of opening the eyes of your infatuated brethren in the other states, and of exposing the wickedness of the Philadelphia Convention. Strength of reasoning, as well as eloquence, is generally united with that wonderful forecast and sagacity of which you have given the world an unparalleled specimen, and our existence as a state, would have been in as good a situation as the rest; besides, as there were a number of states who wished for amendments, similar it seems to those you desired (the amendments of the most powerful state I believe you substituted in the gross)<sup>2</sup> what might you not have done, when united with the first state in political sentiments, when to their abilities (of which your substitution is a virtual acknowledgment) you had united your sagacity and courage? The other states, also, craving amendments, would have followed at a proper distance; so that you had a moral certainty of having your wishes answered, and a federal government in existence at the same time; but your rejection has absolutely deprived you of those advantages, and your friends of your assistance.

[10 December] Having fully come up to my undertaking under the first point, I shall now enter upon the second, which you know, was to examine into the reasons, and evidences, upon which you have complimented yourselves in so extraordinary a manner.

The only moral certainty we can have for the faithful and judicious discharge of delegated trusts, is by fixing our choice upon men of understanding and experience, and whose moral characters generally comport with the first and acknowledged principles of government. This description will necessarily take in the most dignified characters, and those who hold the most conspicuous and weighty charges in the several departments of government. It also still further supposes them to be generally past that period of life in which the unruly passions but too frequently interfere, and to have arrived more immediately under the guidance of reason. If I am right thus far, I think I may clearly assert, that the Philadelphia Convention comes fully under the description in every particular; at least, there is every moral evidence which

things of such a nature can possibly admit to induce the belief. A majority held the first places of trust in the late war, which effected a revolution that attracted the notice and admiration of the earth; and not a few have acquired characters both in the cabinet and field, equal to any of the most exalted nations of Europe can produce. Their importance was not the work of a day—was not the fortuitous production of tumultuous war; a goodly number were conspicuous characters for a series of years prior to the revolution—they were the virtual choice of the freemen of America, through the mediation of their several state representatives, in whom there always exists a presumption of judgment superior to the people at large.<sup>3</sup>

If the above premises are true, I may fairly conclude it must have been a truly august and important assembly—august, from the respectability of its members—important, from the weighty object of its deliberations, and consequently the result of their united councils, claimed without exception, the highest esteem—the profoundest veneration.

Now, gentlemen, after having taken a summary view of the grand convention, I shall turn to you, and see whether you will rise in the scale of comparison (as you ought) after having made a virtual annunciation of your superiority.

Have you, gentlemen, or a majority of you, shewn in the elevated trusts of society? Have you given equal proofs of your abilities? And have your opportunities been equal to those with whom you are contrasted? Have you approached to them with respect to military fame during the war? And where is your name? Has your patriotism, as members of the republic abstractedly considered, been a matter of acknowledged notoriety? Or ever has any of your professional abilities been extensively confessed? No! no! is the reply of general knowledge to each of those solemn interrogatories. I acknowledge a number have filled, and continue to fill, respectable stations enough, but entirely of a secondary nature with respect to those with whom you are compared. A number also have acquitted yourselves worthy of your respective trusts, and a number of you indifferently enough God knows. And a circumstance well worthy of observation, and which is strikingly against you, is, that by far the most respectable characters of the convention were of the minority.

Upon the whole, it sufficiently appears, that you stand entirely destitute of any grounds or colour of reason, for complimenting your abilities in the manner before specified; but on the other hand, there appears to have been an infinite propriety of evidences for passing a compliment in its nature the very reverse, without you mean to say, that

knowledge and integrity are not always found in the conspicuous characters, but rather in the more humble and private walk of life.—Such a mode of reasoning will then lead from one descent to another, til ultimately those endowments are only to be procured in the very scum of God's creation.

[18 December] Having found you upon examination, to fall infinitely short of the least grounds, or colour of reason upon which you can be justified for your conduct as it is couched under the second point, which you know was the condition upon which you were to try on the secondary position, and see whether or not it might fit, and wear it, if you saw fit, until you grew, or shrunk from its dimensions; which you remember is the fourth point, which is:—

When the assent of the mind cannot be commanded by the internal evidence of primary truths or first principles, it must proceed from a defect in the organs of perception, or from the predominancy of some strong interest or passion.

There are certain points of depression, as well as exaltation (or opposite extremes) betwixt which human affairs and passions are in a perpetual and contrary progress. This will not only hold good with respect to individuals, and smaller societies, but will apply to States and Empires, and even the world of mankind in one collective view. And not a contemptible example of its verification (though upon a small scale) lies in case now before us. Those persons who were most remarkable for their opposition to the cause of freedom during the war, are now equally remarkable for their opposition to the Federal Constitution: where the observation will not hold, it is clearly resolvable upon the latter, or disjunctive part of the position. Again, the extreme and groundless jealousies, and which can so easily be blown into a pitch of violence, among the weak and uninformed part of mankind, together with the selfish and interested views of individuals, and Ignorance the mother, and Pride her first born, and brother of all the rest of this hopeful progeny, will enable me, I hope, to come up to my engagement under the third point.

As ignorance embraces objects of the first magnitude; and as selfish and contracted views are endangered by a due application of an efficient and just system of laws; no wonder then the Federal Constitution has furnished matter for such eminent displays in both these points of view. Of the above strange inconsistency, which we find at one time quietly acquiescing to unlimited transatlantic coercion—at another, not delegate a trust of acknowledged utility to their own citizens. Citizens to answer purposes of acknowledged utility, we find immediate advantage taken by a class in whose compositions, ignorance, interest and

pride alternately and occasionally prevailed. And in proportion as the conceived operations of the Federal Government would militate against their particular views of interest, was the degree of opposition generally ascertained; opposition thus flowing from such sources, what might not be produced? No wonder the united councils of America should be treated as the offspring of tyranny and ambition; and its authors as well as the several majorities in ten States, virtually be declared to be destitute of any reputable share of understanding. From the vociferating and remote politician, who from strength of lungs, and corporeal activity, moved in an orb of perhaps some miles diameter, down to the numerous Satellites, whose splendour was circumscribed by the walls of a Dram-shop, has the united wisdom of America been trampled upon, and deemed unfit for the reception of such a catalogue of worthies. Men are fond of being important, and according to the number of defects discoverable in the constitution, were their several degrees of importance estimated. If the constitution had been adopted, North-Carolina would have appeared no wiser than the other states—would have been (the majority I mean) no greater than those gentlemen who composed the trifling minority; but now the majority rises superior to all the states—yea to the very universe itself. Again, as the operation of the Federal laws would be anticipated to the disadvantage of particular views, and local interests, would a proportionable degree of opposition be created, and these two descriptions mutually act upon each other; the object of the one being important—the other of importance also, but coupled with an interest. From these sources would necessarily flow, unanimity and dispatch in your conventional business, and the propriety of investigation be consequently discarded. I don[']t say, Gentlemen, that each of you come absolutely under this description, but I assert that there can no other rational solution be given both of the conduct and issue of your convention. Both your conduct during the convention, and final rejection, cannot be the result of superior knowledge, and experience, because I have already made it sufficiently obvious, that you are not possessed of the universally acknowledged criterion, or indiceum of these divine acquirements, but rather of their reverse, consequently the solution must come exactly home to your case, and exhibit your conduct as directed by interested views, and ultimately merging in ignorance, the great reservoir of the scourges of human nature—which concludes what I had to say on the fourth particular. Gentlemen, you see where you are placed, you may make any further applications which you see necessary, I am sorry it has turned out no better with you, rather sorry you had not endeavoured to deserve a better place.

[25 December] I come now to the last point, which was to make a few general reflections, as they might occasionally arise out of the foregoing considerations.

Your proceedings, gentlemen, in the convention, will directly tend to exhibit the state of North-Carolina a spectacle of ridicule and contempt to a sneering universe, as the result of your united councils, and the understanding of your constituents, will be measured by their complection. If it has not this effect, to our insignificance alone we will be indebted for the exemption.

It will also have a tendency to awaken that vindictive spirit, the guardian of national honor, which, collected from ten sovereign independent states, must be extremely chaste and delicate indeed; consequently their decisions with respect to us, may be equally severe and irresistible in their operations. You have given a mortal stab to the already wounded faith of North-Carolina, by vainly attempting to prevent the adoption of a system of laws, calculated for the support of public faith and national integrity. And by the complection of some of your proposed amendments corroborated by a number of legislative acts, you have very clearly exhibited a melancholy example of the depravity of human nature, when enveloped with ignorance, regulated by low and selfish pursuits, which, when once insinuated into the national councils, never ends but in the contamination of the whole body politic. You have stamped an infamous stigma upon the national honor of North-Carolina, which a century of virtuous exertions may not be sufficient to efface. You have accumulated the debts of the state, while at the same time you have done every thing in your power to put it beyond her reach to answer the just demands which now lie against her.

Not contented, gentlemen, with plunging yourselves into damnation, you have cast about, and wickedly endeavoured to draw in all around you, as if conscious of the impending wrath of Heaven, you meant to lessen its weight by encreasing the objects of its vengeance. How else can be resolved your filling the minds of the ignorant with such dreadful apprehensions of the consequences of the constitution being adopted, thereby setting the whole machinery of government on fire, that amidst the smoke and confusion, you might plunder and rob at pleasure.

If those evils are to come forth in consequence of the adoption of the federal constitution, and were of such magnitude as justified you in rejecting what ten states had adopted, why have you not exhibited them to the public by a train of judicious reasonings thro' the medium of the press? This criminal silence will be viewed by an impartial world in a light greatly to your disadvantage. Certainly, gentlemen, you must have very weighty reasons which induced you to declare yourselves wiser

than the majorities of ten states. Therefore, as a member of the government, and one of your constituents, I now, in this public manner, call for those reasons, or the principles upon which you mean to justify your rejection. The gentlemen of the minority are pleased to say, you are not able to give those reasons in the manner above specified, and that there is not one in your number equal to the task. If you are not, gentlemen, in God's great name! upon what principles do you mean to acquit yourselves to your countrymen for the sacred trusts committed to your care, which appears to have been basely betrayed? Step forth, then into public notice, and exculpate yourselves before it be too late. The mangled rights of your country call upon your exertions in this way. Either justify yourselves to an impartial world, or in sackcloth and ashes confess your ignorance in the sight of God, and in the face of your injured country.

Ye few, whose influence have led the greater number into this labyrinth of iniquity, go forth in time, like the good repenting King of old, when the celestial messenger of vengeance stood prepared to destroy his royal residence, and say—Is it not (here name every man himself) that has betrayed the trusts committed to my charge—but, as for these SHEEP, what have they done?<sup>4</sup>

November, 1788

(a) *The Federalist*, No. 30.

1. This passage is loosely quoted from the first paragraph of *The Federalist* 31, which was written by Alexander Hamilton and first printed in the *New York Packet*, 1 January 1788 (CC:403).

2. A reference to the amendments recommended by the Virginia Convention on 27 June 1788 (CC:790). The North Carolina Convention also recommended these amendments along with six new amendments on 1 August.

3. All of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were elected by state legislatures or were chosen to fill vacancies at the discretion of state governors. No delegate was chosen by a popular election.

4. 1 Chronicles 21:15–17. The “good repenting King of old” is a reference to the biblical King David.

### Henry E. Lutterloh to Timothy Pickering

Wilmington, N.C., 8 December 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . Our Assambly has left business yesterday And has appointed a New Convention to reconsider the acception of the New Constitution in October Next. Their disputes & decisions are equal all consist in Sounds & contradictory Resolves. what their next Meeting will produce time will show, but will be of No Consequence to the New Governt at large as a Sufficient Number have Fixed it. . . .

1. RC, Pickering Papers, MHi. Docketed: "recd. Feby. 21, 1789." Lutterloh, a native of Germany, came to America to join the Continental Army. He served as a deputy quartermaster general of forage, with the rank of colonel in the New York and Virginia lines of the Continental Army, 1777–80. After the war he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. Lutterloh eventually settled in Fayetteville, N.C. In 1790 the N.C. General Assembly authorized Lutterloh to conduct a lottery to raise money to bring skilled foreigners to the state. Pickering (1745–1829), a Salem, Mass., lawyer, was active during the Revolutionary movement. He served as adjutant general of the Continental Army, 1777–78, and as a member of the Board of War, 1777–80, and he became quartermaster general in 1780. He moved to Pennsylvania in the mid-1780s and represented Luzerne County in that state's ratifying Convention in 1787, where he voted in favor of ratifying the Constitution. He served as U.S. postmaster general, 1791–94; U.S. secretary of war, 1795; U.S. secretary of state, 1795–1800, before being dismissed by President John Adams. He moved back to Massachusetts and became active politically against the policies of Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, including advocating New England's secession from the Union.

**The Ratification Debate Abroad: A Proposal to Publish  
the "Centinel" Essays in England, December 1788**

*George Sterling to George Nicol, 14 December 1788*<sup>1</sup>

a warm and particular friend of yours, requested me to address the inclosed papers to your care, having proposed me the Honor of patronizing and recommending them to the friends of Government—with that view, you will herewith receive — numbers of a Political Paper, signed Centinel, which hath engaged the attention of the most distinguished writers on the subject of Government, throughout all America. the spirit with which the Centinel developed innumerable defects in the new American Constitution, the maleconduct of its advocates, and the secret springs which impelled them to subvert the old Confederation, are striking proofs of his superior information, political and literary talents.

My wish is, that these Papers be immediately Published, with the Title: page and preface annexed, as there can be no doubt of their meeting a most favorable reception, in Great Britain, and other Countries. From my knowledge of the Authors I can promise another volume ready for the Press in the space of a few months, and which will contain matter of so interesting a nature, as unavoidably to attract the attention of every nation in Europe, as well as that of the Continent of America.—this vol. I shall also transmit you, provided we agree on the present plan.

My proposition therefore is, that you Print this Volume at our joint expence, in such manner as you shall think most advantageous to the success of the undertaking; that after deducting the incidental charges, the net profits be equally divided between us, on the event of my requiring the same. I imagine you can have no objection to these Terms,

and I shall not hesitate to say, that you will meet with *Friends*, as soon as you make known your intention to publish them; many of whom know me, tho' you do not, but on a prospect of this business being carried into effect, that will follow as a matter of course. I am well acquainted in London, and my residence in America will be probably but of short duration. I have both procured and composed a variety of interesting materials, which I shall publish on my arrival at home. In the mean time I am certain that my correspondence with you may be rendered a lucrative one, and that on a little consideration you will coincide with me in that opinion. The present Crisis of American affairs is pregnant with some great event, I therefore wish to establish a Correspondence with a Bookseller of reputation in the Intrest of Government, which I profess myself to be, and which I believe they do not doubt. to you I give the preference, and should my proposal be accepted, you may be assured that every transaction with me will be regulated on principles of the strictest Honor and liberality.

These papers are sent in Print in preference to a manuscript Copy in order to satisfy you, that as they have already appeared here, without having incurred either censure or trouble to the Author or publishers; you cannot possibly run any such risque, by re-printing them in London

When this comes to Hand, you will please to write me as underneath. And if it does not suit you to engage, please to say so in your letter, and oblige me in the meantime by making the offer to some Printer, or Bookseller, in Government's Intrest—but by no means to any other. N.B. direct for me by the Captain of the British Packet that sails next to New York, to be inclosed to Mr: Foxcroft His Majesty's *Agent* there, 'till called for

North Carolina 14th. Decr: 1788

I have also inclosed the Pamphlet<sup>2</sup> from which the long quotation in the Preface was taken, not doubting but the perusal of so elegant a composition, will afford some amusement to yourself and Friends.

The persons thro' whose Hands these papers may pass to you, know nothing either of me, or the Subject of this Letter; neither do I wish they should for the present.

1. RC, Sterling Collection, Nc-Ar. Sterling was an Englishman living in North Carolina in December 1788. Nicol (c. 1740–1828) was a London bookseller and publisher. Sterling enclosed with this letter the draft preface to a proposed volume of "Centinel" essays (immediately below) that he hoped Nicol would publish in England.

2. A reference to "A Citizen and Soldier," 27 August (RCS:N.C., 502–16n).

*A Draft Preface to a Proposed English Edition of the "Centinel" Essays*<sup>1</sup>

At no former period were the Affairs of the United States of America more worthy the attention of the European politician. Having obtained

their Independence, thro' a variety of extraordinary and unexpected circumstances, they flattered themselves with an assurance of enjoying a prosperity superior to their former experience; and also with a Trade, both foreign & domestic, that would rival and astonish the rest of the Universe. But these prospects, alas! have proved delusive; and after a *Self Government* of thirteen years, they find themselves poor at Home and contemptible abroad. Bankruptcies, the almost total want of Cash or any other circulating medium which the people could rely on, the Stagnation of Trade, the Annihilation of Commerce, and the fall of every species of property, are Evils daily and distressingly felt, and which Constitute as well the common topics of conversation, as that of just and general complaint. To remedy these grievances, and, if possible, to give energy to their Congressional Government, a Convention of all the States was called at Philadelphia, in May 1787. but instead of pursuing the object of their appointment, and the instruction of their Constituents, they undertook to frame and promulgate an intire new System, an incongruous Government, subverting the most essential barriers of Freedom, as formerly enjoyed by the individual States; and thereby erecting an imperium in imperio on the ruins of the general wreck.

When we consider the nature of Mankind, and the characteristic cunning & Jealousy of those people, we cannot wonder that this unexpected political Phænomenon should meet with considerable opposition; and altho' the calamitous situation of the Country rendered *any change* desirable, yet, many times & cautious persons were averse to its sudden adoption—Amongst its opponents, the *Centinel* first distinguished himself; and in the most pointed terms reprobated the System, Stigmatized the framers of it, as *Conspirators*, against the legal Constitution of their Country, and as *public defaulters* to a very large amount; Altho, these Men were of the first eminence & estimation, in the different communities from which they were chosen.

During the late Contest the distinction of parties was known by the Appellation of Whigs and Tories, who *heartily* hated one another; no sooner had these epithets in some measure lost their acrimony, than another takes place, attended with the same rancorous virulence, which, from all appearance, threatens consequences that may shortly produce another revolution. Every American Citizen is now either federal, or Antifederal, and looks with a jealous Eye on the conduct of his Neighbour, who will not be allowed to Steer a middle course, so as to avoid the impending Storm, ready to burst, from each of these fiery Elements.—a more efficacious method to divide & perplex the people could not have been proposed by the Demon of discord, than this offspring of the General Convention [i.e., the Constitution], which, in

the Opinion of good Judges, bids fair to dissolve the Union. Notwithstanding the Federal Writers have painted the advantages to be derived therefrom in the most captivating colours, yet an idea of its numerous defects & inadequacy to the security of public liberty, rapidly gains ground, and predominates in a majority of the States.

In vain do the Federalists assert, that when their favorite Constitution gets into full operation, Agriculture will flourish, Commerce expand her wings and convey the produce of the United States to the most distant Nations—that Gold and Silver will once more find its way to America, cause Arts and Manufactures to rear their drooping heads, and of course employ the various classes of their Starving Mechanics—These descriptions, however flatteringly predicted, are not credited by a Suffering people, whose glaring wretchedness is the most powerful testimony of their total inability to support any expensive Government, much less to recover their lost Credit with the European Merchts.

The extraordinary perfection, ascribed to the new Constitution, was first insisted upon by the Men whom Centinel hath branded as public defaulters, and who it is imagined might escape with the Spoil, in case they could evade an inquiry, 'till the new System was fully organized; because, by that change in the Government of the Country, there could be no existing power competent to an investigation of their delinquency; nor of course a Tribunal, which could take Cognizance of any Suit to be instituted against them, for recovery of the public treasures. This will serve as a clue by which the Secret movements may be discovered, that precipitated so important a Subject, as that of the new Govt; without serious and *deliberate* consideration. But these interested advocates, with a few Proselytes, having been defeated in the field of fair Argument; have taken new ground, and graciously admit, that it is liable to some objections, and may therefore be amended—Amendments are accordingly contended for, as may be seen by the proceedings of the Assembly of Virginia,<sup>2</sup> subjoined to these papers.

At this period of the Controversy, one would have imagined, that the distinction of Federal, and Antifederal, would have been disregarded; but the supporters of the System have been Sufficiently ingenious to continue it with accumulated enmity. And they are now pleased to make an additional discrimination of *federal* and *Antifederal* amendments.

Rhode Island, unmoved by these commotions, and consistent in her conduct, has uniformly opposed every political innovation. And her last Assembly, with a Majority of more than two thirds viz 29 in number declared they would not concern themselves with the new Government.<sup>3</sup>

North Carolina, a Country abounding in Lumber & Naval Stores, with the Assistance of Great Britain, would undoubtedly have been one

of the first Provinces in North America; but in her present condition, without her former Trade to Europe, and the West India Islands, she emphatically feels her indigence: discontented with herself, no wonder she quarrels with the Continental politics & measures, and is averse to a succession of expedients, that only tend to augment the Catalogue of her distresses. *She has also* refused to adopt the new Governmt. without previous amendments,<sup>4</sup> and if these should not take place, we may expect to see in *her* the obstinacy and perseverance of Rhode Island.

The Political disposition of New York & Virginia, two important and powerful States as any in the Union, has sufficiently appeared from the resolutions of their Legislatures. they are strongly determined in their exertions for Amendments, and without their concurrence in the proposed Governmt. it is easy to predict, that its debility or inefficiency will be greater than that of the old Confederation.

Massachusetts, after a long and dubious contest, ratified with a small majority, which was with great difficulty obtained thro' the sole medium of Stratagem, and false representations, And in the Act of ratification recommended a variety of amendments;<sup>5</sup> but in the State of New Hampshire, the dissensions of their Convention were so warm, that they adjourned without doing any business; however, they afterwards followed the example of Massachusetts and ratified with the like amendments.<sup>6</sup>

At Philadelphia, the greatest finesse & address was made use of, to carry this important point; the federalists were extremely active, but the Western Counties of Pennsylvania by no means approved the precipitate conduct of the Citizens—At Carlisle, an inland Town about One hundred & twenty Miles from their Metropolis, the people displayed a riotous spirit, burnt the effigies of their Chief Justice [Thomas McKean], and Mr. [James] Wilson an Attorney of some Art & plausibility, who was supposed to be one of the principal framers of the new System; And at this moment there is a Strong Antifederal party in that State.<sup>7</sup>

From an accurate calculation of the Sentiments of the people at large, throughout the United States, it has been asserted that there is a majority of four fifths of them for Amendments; which gives a complexion to American affairs, diametrically opposite to the apprehensions & wishes of the federalists, who, notwithstanding their pretended concessions, are extremely averse to the least alteration of their favorite plan—This then being the case, there can be no doubt, but, that on the organization of the new Governmt., a great and perplexed diversity of sentiment will arise, relative to the Subject of amendments. If a new Convention should be called to obtain them, it will be a most arduous

task to answer the desires & expectations of the Several States; but should the Federalists obstinately oppose the measure, it will in all human probability endanger the future existence of the Union; and if one link of the Chain should be broken, there is reason to expect a chapter of events, filled “with Anarchy and wild Uproar.”

The perusal of the Centinel will give the Reader some Idea of the Situation of political Affairs on the American Continent: he will observe Characters treated with licentious freedom, whom the world have been taught to admire & revere as Patriots & Heroes. The manners & opinions of this People have undergone a remarkable change—they find the Revolution has deceived their Expectations—that the Legislators & Heroes of this new Empire, mistaken in their political Arithmetic, in separating from the Parent State, have brought on themselves, & the People under them, numberless unforeseen Evils & Difficulties.

The powers of Oratory are but vainly employed in reasoning against the common Sense & feelings of the people, or in persuading them of their independence & prosperity, when they experience, public burdens & Taxes, far beyond their abilities to discharge. America being a young Country will have numerous wants, & consequently for many Years to come, her Imports will exceed her Exports. Let an Individual purchase more than he sells, he will find himself in debt—the same Axiom will hold good of a Country, Deeply involved in debt, both foreign & domestic, with their Commerce discouraged & circumscribed, the Americans experience the maintenance of their present Governments an oppressive Burthen, & the change proposed will only aggravate the evil, as it is evident, it will be attended with the Creation of new offices, & an accumulation of Expence. To those who are acquainted with their distress & poverty, it is a mystery, how they will procure the *necessary means* of putting the new Machine in motion.

Specie, comparatively speaking, they have none, and Paper Money is entirely destitute of confidence & credit: To what expedient they may have recourse, it is difficult to determine. Some have thought *the Sale of their back Lands* would be sufficient; but when we estimate the Expences daily accruing for their defence and protection, & the *paucity of monied* Purchasers, these Hills and Mountains, so much boasted of, can afford no reasonable prospect of relief. It would far exceed my Abilities particularly to describe & enumerate the complicated Evils & Grievances that these new Republic’s have laboured under, since the *Æra* of their political Existence—A North Carolina Writer, under the Signature of *a Citizen & Soldier*, in a Pamphlet, addressed to the People of the District of Edenton, published in August (1788) hath furnished us

with an Enumeration of this kind. As his Oratory & manner may amuse & inform the Reader, we shall beg leave to present him with a Quotation from the Passage alluded to Speaking in the severest Terms of the depravity of one of their political Characters, who strenuously opposed the Adoption of the New federal Constitution, he thus expresses himself.

⟨—“He must have known that after a long war, having borrowed money & received assistance from foreign friends, there were certain national and domestic debts necessarily incumbent upon us to discharge. He must have known the very urgent demands that were made upon Congress for payment. He must have known the present suppliant requisitions of Congress to the States. He must have known that the calling the federal Convention saved us from *a Demand* which even foreign Ministers blushed to mention. He must have known the great exertion that some States had made to discharge their quotas. He must have known the *wretched portion offered by this State*. He must have known the piteous situation of Congress. He must have known the contemptible figure which America as a Nation made in the Eyes of the world. He must have known that Congress had not Money in her treasury, sufficient to pay her Officers. He must have known that the Monies advanced by the Sister States for their quota of Payment, towards discharging the public Debt, was applied by Congress for the payment of their Officers. He must have known that even our Minister Plenipotentiary at London, was paid his expences & salary upon an extravagant Dutch Loan. He must have known that Congress were reduced to the humiliating condition of ceding the Navigation of the Mississippi to Spain for 21 Years. He must have known that Great Britain had insulted us: had broke her Treaty, & had kept possession of all our Western Posts & Frontiers. He must have known the miserable Situation of our Seamen captive at Algiers, pining in prison, or chained to an Oar. He must have known the Rebellion in Boston, & the Massacre of the Georgians by the Indians. He must have known the insurrection at Wyoming in Pennsylvania at this instant. He must have known the Rebellion of the People of Franklin, and that the people of Cumberland were determined to throw themselves into the Arms of Spain or Great Britain. He must have known that the Cherokees and other Nation’s beyond the Mountains, threaten us at this instant with a War, their King & their principal Chieftain’s being *inhumanly murdered, under the flag of treaty by the Emissaries of North Carolina*. He must have known that this Country was almost ruined by a set of speculating *paper Money Ruffians*. He must have known that we were the *gibe* and *joke* of the *world*. He must have known that as a People, we had lost all *public faith, private Credit & national Energy*. He must have known that a Separation from the Union

must have been attended with the awful consequences of perdition & ruin to North Carolina.<sup>8</sup> *And yet*, with all these grievances under which an infant people, with impotent Struggles laboured, he will execrate<sup>9</sup> the Saviours of our Country, the Federal Convention, for a pack of Scoundrels, go to the Convention at Hillsborough full of d–mns & G–d d–mns, blow up an idle Fandango about Bills of Rights & Amendments, & what is still more infamous, throw us altogether out of the Union. Was this a time to smook a pipe, & suck the paw like a surly Bear, when your house was on fire? Was this a time, like a Jew: Broker, to bargain about fractions, without a *single Ship* in your harbour, or a *Dollar* in your Treasury? Shall this Man be allowed to brand the inimitable Washington with the Appellation of *Scoundrel*, when he is unworthy to clean his Shoes?”<sup>10</sup>

So much for the Philippic of this North Carolina Demosthenes, & tho’ we may not admire the vulgarity of some part of his Oratory, yet it affords us a just picture of the deplorable Situation of the United States—

Hence let the Abbe Mably, Doctor Price & other theoretic Politicians learn that America, after a Trial of her Republican Systems, finds herself involved in a variety of Embarrassments, apparently insuperable. She is now making her final Experiment, which must unavoidably terminate, either in absolute Despotism, or in an immediate Dissolution of the present Union—

George Sterling.

North America,  
December 14th. 1788

1. MS, Sterling Collection, Nc-Ar. For the “Centinel” essays, see the headnote to CC:133.  
2. For the text of the amendments proposed by the Virginia Convention on 27 June, see CC:790.

3. On 1 November, the Rhode Island General Assembly rejected a motion to call a state ratifying convention to consider the Constitution. The *Newport Herald*, 6 November, reported the vote as 40 nays and 14 yeas (a majority of 26), while Jeremiah Olney, in a letter of 3 November to Alexander Hamilton, reported the vote as 44 nays and 15 yeas (a majority of 29, which agrees with the figure reported in Sterling’s preface). See RCS:R.I., 424, 427.

4. For the list of amendments proposed by North Carolina during the first Convention, see Convention Debates, 1 August (RCS:N.C., 453–58).

5. Massachusetts narrowly ratified the Constitution (187 to 168). For more on Sterling’s reference to Massachusetts’ ratification being obtained through “the sole medium of Stratagem, and false representations,” see the section “Recommendatory Amendments” in the introduction to the Massachusetts Convention (RCS:Mass., 1116–21). For the text of the amendments proposed by the Massachusetts Convention on 6 February, see CC:508.

6. The first session of the New Hampshire Convention adjourned on 22 February. The second session began meeting on 18 June and ratified the Constitution (57 to 47) on 21

June. For the text of the amendments proposed by the New Hampshire Convention on 21 June, see CC:785.

7. See "The Carlisle Riot and Its Aftermath," 26 December 1787–20 March 1788 (RCS:Pa., 670–708).

8. "This state" instead of "North Carolina" in the original.

9. "Damn" instead of "execrate" in the original.

10. The quotation in angle brackets is taken from the second letter of "A Citizen and Soldier," 27 August (RCS:N.C., 534–35). Much of the capitalization in the quoted portion has been changed from the original.

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Halifax, N.C., 19 December 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

My Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 7th. this evening; which relieved me from some apprehensions that you might not have got the letter I addressed to you at Newbern.<sup>2</sup> I am sensible of the delicacy of our situation with respect to the correction and publication of the debates, and I really begin to feel no small pain on the subject of getting them printed; enclosed are Robinsons and Turnbolls letters to me on this subject: from which you will be convinced that the business is altogether impracticable in Virginia; you know best whether it could be done at Edenton—At Newbern the Printer is not equal to such a task at Wilmington I suppose the foolish quarrel between M—ne and the Printer would probably embarrass the business, perhaps prevent it altogether;<sup>3</sup> thus situated I think it cannot be done on this side [of] Philadelphia, unless Wills and Hodge would undertake it<sup>4</sup>—We are pledged in some measure to the proprietors of the copy to see this matter effected, and the difficulty of the business has given me infinite concern; I have written to Williamson on the subject, and expect some answer by the next or following post. Supposing from Robinsons silence he did not mean to undertake it himself; I would much rather they had been printed under his direction than our own, as it would have precluded all possibility of reflection with respect to corrections or alterations; I have had some of my speeches which were most defectively taken or rather copied (for I believe it was in the copying we were injured) copied over again in a fair Hand, making no alterations except when the sense was entirely perverted; in this I hold myself perfectly justifiable: with respect to the sanction of Mr. Robinson, I wish most sincerely he would give us a fair copy, compared and corrected by his short-hand manuscript; but this I know we need not hope—the whole of the pages we have except a few are copied by a *little boy* the son of Mr. Turnbull; this is the reason that the copy is so blotched and incorrect; and he would not take the trouble to copy it

again himself—you will perceive by a note at the bottom of this letter respecting a speech of Spencers that the delicacy he pretended on the subject of the copy and corrections appearing in his hand writing was all *affectation*—*nulla fides fronti say'd poor [Strap?]*<sup>5</sup>—There was nothing Sir in all this appearance—The money was all he was concerned in—As to the curiosity of the Public on this subject; I am well convinced nobody will trouble their heads in this about the correction of the proof or the copy, and every body will expect to see it grammatical English at least; taking it for granted that this much was the business of the Stenographer—

I have not yet received the remainder, but shall forward them to you immediately as soon as they come to hand: for Gods sake my dear Sir get us out of *this hobble* about the printing; This is our principal embarrassment; as to producing a fair copy, it seems to me also necessary if they are sent to the Northward; I have thought on that subject, and find it cannot be done at this place, I wish you would therefore see whether it can be done if necessary at Edenton—The whole may be printed in a volume about as large as the first volume of the Virginia debates,<sup>6</sup> and I think Hodge might soon execute it, and make a considerable sum by it, especially as the political ball is to be kept up until November next.

R—n [Robinson] sent me 2 vols of the Vga. Debts. [i.e., the Virginia Debates] one of which I forward with this—Adieu, let me hear from you on this interesting business as soon as you come to a conclusion. . . . P S. pray consult Gov. J—n on this business he can advise us.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 461–62.

2. See Davie to Iredell, November 1788 (RCS:N.C., 594–95).

3. For the conflict between Archibald Maclaine and Caleb D. Howard, a printer of the *Wilmington Centinel*, see Maclaine to Iredell, 13 September 1788 (RCS:N.C., 562).

4. Hodge and Wills, printers to the state, also printed the *State Gazette of North Carolina*. They published the proceedings and debates of North Carolina's first Convention (Evans 22037).

5. Latin: Appearances can be deceptive. Perhaps a reference to the character Strap in Tobias Smollett's novel *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, which was published in 1748.

6. The Virginia Convention debates and proceedings were published in three volumes. The first volume, which contained 194 pages, was published in 1788 (Evans 21551). The second and third volumes, consisting of 195 and 228 pages respectively, were published in 1789 (Evans 22225).

### John Wright Stanly to Joseph Clay

New Bern, N.C., 20 December 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . Our State has indeed Rejected the proposed Constitution—but having Called a Convention to Meet in Octr. next, will readily, I believe,

adopt it, if in the intrin amendments should be made—without them, Our leaders seem determin'd that our State shall stand or fall by itself—

My private Opinion however is, that we cannot long stand unsupported, & that it would have been good policy to have concurred with our Sister States in endeavouring to bring about the desired amendments & in the mean time to have been represented in the New Congress & had a Share in the formation of the Commercial System & Laws of the Union. . . .

1. RC, Unbound Manuscript Collections, Connecticut State Library. The letter was addressed to “Joseph Clay esquire” in Savannah. It was endorsed as “Favour’d by Jas. Bryson esqr,” of Philadelphia, who Stanly identified as surveyor general of post roads toward the end of the letter.

### A North-Carolinian

#### Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 26 December 1788

Mr. BROWN, I observed that the extract of a letter, under the Boston head, inserted in your paper of Wednesday evening last,<sup>1</sup> contains an affirmation, that “every man of *sense* and *probity* (except a few factious leaders) are warmly in favor of the measure,” or new constitution. He also says, that the *advocates* of the new constitution are *insufficient* to effect its *adoption*: and, of course, there are very few men of sense in North-Carolina. I shall only assert, that the gentleman is mistaken; for one half of the gentlemen that are *doubters* to the new constitution, are *men of sense*. And, at the same time, you may remember the proverb, “The best of men may be mistaken.”

1. A reference to an extract of a letter from Edenton, N.C., 7 November, that was originally printed in the Boston *Herald of Freedom*, 11 December (RCS:N.C., 601) and reprinted in the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 24 December.

#### Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 27 December 1788<sup>1</sup>

##### *Extract of a letter from Richmond.*

“You will observe, in the 25th article of the proposed amendments of the North-Carolina convention, the source of all their aversion to the new constitution. The appreciation of their paper credit would involve, in ruin, a great majority of the enterprising men in that state. However, their imbecility, as a state, will oblige them either to become a province of the United States, or accede to the constitution. North Carolina amends. art. 25—“That Congress shall not directly or indirectly, either by themselves or through the judiciary, interfere with any one of the states, in the redemption of paper money already emitted and now in circulation, or in liquidating and discharging the public

securities of any one of the states: but each and every state shall have the exclusive right of making such laws and regulations, for the above purposes, as they shall think proper.<sup>12</sup>

“The correspondent, who favoured us with the above, believes the foregoing remark to be very just, and that the opposition, in several of the other states, arises, in a great measure, from their *paper money and funding systems*. It is painful, adds our correspondent, to view the contracted policy of the leaders of the party in Pennsylvania, who have long used all their little influence, to persuade the public creditors, that the funds of the state are preferable to those which will be established by the United States, under the new government: and that the taxes are lighter now than they will be under *one uniform plan of taxation and revenue*, which must produce an *equal burthen* upon all the citizens of *the thirteen states*. Such reasoning must proceed, either from base ignorance, or rank anti-federalism!”

1. The first paragraph alone was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 30 December; *Maryland Journal*, 6 January 1789; *New York Daily Gazette*, 15 January; *Winchester Virginia Gazette*, 21 January; and *Boston Gazette*, 2 February.

2. For the list of amendments proposed by North Carolina during the first Convention, see *Convention Debates*, 1 August (RCS:N.C., 455–58).

### **John Kinchen to Richard Bennehan Halifax, N.C., 2 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The new Constitution would set us all right and the industrious prudent man would once more reap the fruits of his Industry and Labour.—However with Concern I mention it that this is what poor old Kinchen cannot expect under any Government, as the complication of Disorders which now and for several months have afflicted him must in a short time bring him to his final Dissolution. I hope there is another world for him to go to where he will enjoy better Health, and see his departed friends. . . .

1. RC, Cameron Family Papers, #133, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The address page was endorsed: “Favor of Mr. Estes.” Kinchen (c. 1745–1794) was a native of N.C., a lawyer, and a planter. He practiced law in Hillsborough but owned a plantation outside of town called Tar Hill. He was a member of the Provincial Council, 1775–76; an Orange County representative in the Second and Third Provincial congresses, 1775; and Orange County’s representative in the state Senate, 1778. Kinchen returned to his earlier home of Halifax around 1780. He was nominated three times as a delegate to the Second Continental and Confederation congresses but was defeated. In 1782 Kinchen was nominated to be state attorney general but was defeated. He served in the Council of State, 1788–89. Bennehan (1743–1825), a native of Va., a merchant, and a planter, learned the mercantile business in Richmond County and Petersburg, Va., and moved to Orange County, N.C., in 1768 to

operate and partially own a store. He accumulated much property and became a wealthy planter. He was also instrumental in establishing Raleigh as the state capital and in founding the University of North Carolina.

**Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C., 2 January 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Edenton, North Carolina,  
to a gentleman in this town, dated Jan 2.*

“As to politics, you know my sentiments are entirely *federal* and I have endeavoured to investigate the many objections held up against the new government, and, as far as I can discover or judge of, the barrs that do, and probably will, prevent this state from confederating, are mere trivial objections, one only excepted, which our men of fortune and leading gentlemen begin to speak freely of—namely, a distrust and jealousy of the powers and partial conduct of the Northern States, already too glaring not to give alarm—that of fixing the Congress at nearly one end of this great continent. Unless some more *central* place is preferred to that of New York, I believe I shall turn *anti* myself. Baltimore, Alexandria and Fredericksburg are thought of here, as being the most convenient for the whole of this continent. We look forward to have canals cut from our great Sound to your Bay, should Congress be fixed at either of those places.”

1. Printed: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 29 January.

**James Iredell to William Cumming  
Edenton, N.C., 6 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I return you your Bills you were pleased to leave with me. I suppose, with regard to that concerning Executions, you will think it proper to wait to see the Maryland act.<sup>2</sup> But I have great doubts about its propriety in many respects. I think it would militate with the principles of the New Constitution, and I am so sure of that being adopted in November next that I don't think it is worth while to prepare a Bill which would be useless if it is, or immediately cause a quarrel between our Legislature and the General Government. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 465–68n. The rest of the letter deals with the difficulty of collecting debts. Cumming (1724–1797) was born and reared in Annapolis, Md., where he became a lawyer. He moved to Edenton, North Carolina, in 1762. He represented Currituck County in the Assembly, 1762, 1764–65; and Edenton in 1783–84, 1788. He served in the Confederation Congress, 1784–86, when in 1786 illness forced him to leave Congress.

2. See “An Act empowering the wardens of the port of Baltimore to levy and collect the duty therein mentioned,” *Laws of Maryland . . .* (Annapolis, [1791]) (Evans 23537), chapter XXII. The act was passed on 10 December 1790 and provided that the wardens

of the port of Baltimore, if approved by the U.S. Congress, could levy and collect tonnage duties on vessels entering the port.

**Joseph Wilson to James Wilson**

**Crowders Creek, Lincoln County, N.C., 11 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I shall Just inform you, that in our Political Character as a State Considered, North Carolina is in a Lamentable situation at present—Disconnected with & Separated from the united States—Deeply in Debt—Credit both at *home* & *abroad*; nearly Sunk & Sinking every Day—Money Scarce, (except depreciated paper Currency) Taxes high—People murmuring at the expence of Government—the expence of Government increasing every year—Private Interest Steadily pursued—The Publick good Seldom attended to or even Consulted. In one word Vice predominates: and Virtue Sinks—It is not the fault of our Constitution—The fault is not in our Laws. They are good & wholesome—No the fault lies in the Depraved nature & dispositions of Mankind—Liberty is not to blame—Independence is free of the Charge—Avarice, Luxury, & Licentiousness has ruined many potent States & Empires, and if Providence prevent not will in a very short time be the ruin of America—They themselves effecting what no Power in Christendom could effect, had they conducted themselves Virtuously & persevered in the line of Duty, guided by reason & Sound Policy. . . .

1. RC, L. C. Glenn Papers, #30521, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Addressed to “Mr. James Wilson of Rockey-spring—Franklin County Pennsylvania.” The letter was endorsed: “Hond. by Mr. McConnell.” James Wilson (1757–1843) represented Greene County (later Tennessee) in the Hillsborough and Fayetteville conventions, 1788, 1789. Wilson opposed the Constitution in the former, but he did not vote in the latter.

**Abraham Jones to John Gray Blount**

**Mattamuskeet, N.C., 12 January 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . You are acquainted with the mistake in Our County respecting our anual Election which has render'd us inaccessible to any of the Proceedings of the Late General assembly, Especially in this end thereof, I have been (as an Individual) Very anxious to hear from that Body especially with respect of the Grand political debate between the Feodst. & antifeod. if it Should be Convenient to You Sir, to transmit any of the Proceedings by Mr. Mayo so that I may thro.—Your kindness have a View of them You will Lay an Obligation on. . . .

P.S. If by any means You Could (procure or) Lend me One of the Journals of our Late Convention You would in a particular manner Oblige [me].

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 453–54. Jones represented Hyde County in the Fifth Provincial Congress, 1776, and in the state House of Commons, 1778–79. He was appointed one of two colonels in the county's militia, 1779, serving until 1783. Jones represented the county in the state Senate, 1781–88. Another politically active Abraham Jones died in 1788. It is unclear which man served in the state legislature mentioned in this note.

### Greene County, N.C.: Meeting of Inhabitants, 12–13 January 1789<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the Subscribers the 12 Day of January 1789 to consult on some plan to defend our Frontiers from the common Enemy, Unanimously agree that it is a Voluntary Plan and not under the authority of any State or name of States; nor in Opposition to the Laws of any State or the United States but merely to defend our selves from the Savage Enemy.

#### Present

Mr Outlaw	Mr Buckingham	Mr Taylor	Mr Gould
Mr Roddy	Mr Gibson	Mr Smith	Mr Adear
Mr McCay	Mr Cosby	Mr Henderson	Mr Gillaspie
Mr Gest	Mr Weir	Mr Lee	

Unanimously agreed that Coll Gest be chosen Chairman

Agreed unanimously that Henry Rowan be chosen Clerk for said Committee

Upon Motion of Mr Cosby seconded by Mr Adear the House adjourn'd till to morrow at 8 OClock—

On the 13th of January the Council met agreeable to adjournment, and it appeared from the Report of Some Members present the names of Mr Buckingham and Mr Gillaspie were not inserted in the list of members.

On Motion of Mr Outlaw seconded by Mr Smith their Names were entered on the List.

The Members of Assembly from Green County at the general Request of the Meeting gave Information that the General Assembly have made no Provision to Assist the Frontiers in defending themselves from the Savages. Except a Small Station of 36 men Including Officers on the north Side of Tennessee, that they de[c]lared the Campai[g]n ordered by General Martin<sup>2</sup> in August last was contrary to the Orders of the Governor and Council, and therefore Refus'd to pay any part of the Expencc incurred thereby And Resolved that the Fines Levied on any person for Refuseing to Obey sd Martins Orders should be Restored

That an Act was passed Consigning to Oblivion the supposed Offences and misconduct of Certain persons among our Selves.<sup>3</sup>—

That agreeable to a requisition of Congress and also from Genl Win<sup>4</sup> the Indian Agent for the Southern District a Commissioner was appointed to make Peace and fix out a Certain boundary between us and the Indians.

That the Treaty was to be held in may next at the upper [Ford?] on french Broad above the mouth of Swanano. That the Commissioner was directed to purchase the Land south of French Broad if possible and that the People in that Quarter were directed to continue in possession of sd Land til the Treaty.—

Wherefore after maturely considering the said Information and our present distressed Situation we conceive that our Lives and properties are in Continual danger til peace is made. As the Indians still continue their depradations, unless we agree on some plan to defend and secure our selves from their Inroads. We conceive also that General Martin is a Person unworthy our Confidence as an Officer from the Partial Representation he has given of

Witness his Conduct at the Treaty of Hopewell, from his not residing in the district and from the declaration of the Assembly that He has not Acted agreeable to the Orders of Government. In order therefore to secure our lives and properties from the present Dangers that threaten by the frequent Incurtions of the Savage Enemy We Unanimously agree to adopt the following Plan. Viz 1st. That we mutually lay aside all Animosities and Disputes that so much Distract us, And unite against the common Enemi and make legal Application for Redress of Grievances.

2nd That we recommend it to the people to Petition the next Assembly to divide the State at the Apalachian Mountain, or cede the Territory West of said Mountain to Congress with such restrictions and Reservations as will Guarantee to us our Just rights and priviledges.

3rd That Sencible of the disagreeable Situation under which we Labour by the rejection of the feederal Constitution by the State of No. Carolina we thinck it would be good policy and of Great Advantage to this Western Country to Raise a fund to d[e]fray the expence of sending some person to lay before the first meeting of Congress under the new Constitution our present situation and to Express our Earnest desire to be admitted into the Union as soon as Possible.

4th That the peculier Situation of the People of this Country and So. of French Requires that the People should appoint a Council of Safety for the regulation of their Affairs & whose Business it Shall be to endeavour to hold Talks with the Indians, to procure an Exchange of Prisoners and bring about a Peace if Practicable, to make any contract or Agreement with the Indians they may thinck most Advantageous for this Country and lay the same before the Commissioners at

the Treaty in May if they think Proper; if the Indians do not agree to a peace or truce they may keep out Spies and call for Assistance when ever it shall be necessary to defend the Settlements or pursue after any party of Indians who come in with a hostile Intent

5th That John Sevier keep the Command of the Inhabitants on the frontiers, or any that may come to their Assistance, when ordered to march for defence of the Country: that we Endeavour to Raise by Voluntary Contribution a Support for the Commander and the Spies and Scouts that may be Necessary till the peace

6th We also concieve that it would be good Pollicy and of Essential service to this Country if the Indians will Agree to give up any of the Country South of Tennesse River to our Council of Safety. That they agree to give them a Compensation for the same in Blankets and Linsey and that the Inhabitants pay the Same by Voluntary Contributions; and lay the same before the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in may next.

7th We are also of Opinion that this Plan if Justly carried into Effect will Intitle our brave Voluntiers to a right of preem[p]tion in a Legal and Constitutional Manner Proportioned agreeable to their Services and Expenses.

8th They Unanimously agree that his Honour John Sevier by and with the advices of the Council of safety hold all the Talks with the Indians.

9th We also agree that every man in this Convention Raise what Cash he can by donation from their Different Neighbourhoods and deliver the same to the Committe of Safety in one month from this Date to Raise a fund to defray the Expenche of a representative to Congress.

10th Also recommend to the Different Captains companion in this Country to divide themselves into three Classes in order to march with twenty Days provision when Called on by the Council of Safety to the Assistance of the frontiers.

11th We also request John Sevier, Alexander Outlaw Archibald Rowan, David Campbel Joseph Hamilton to draw a representation of our Situation and our Earnest Desire to be in the Feederal Union and lay it before the Council of Safety for their Revisal as Copies may be circulated as soon as Possible to be Sign'd by all Friends

12th We also agree to request William Nelson to wait on Congress with Such Instructions and powers in him Invested as the Council of Safety think right to give him, and that he be furnished with two hundred silver Dollars to defray his Expences. And in case Mr Nelson refuse to wait on Congress We request Alexander Outlaw to Attend that Honourable Body.

13th We also Agree to Request Joseph Hardin to wait on Cumberland Settlement with our Plan of Safety and Redress of Grievancies and with such Instructions and requisitions as the Council of Safety thinck right to give him.

14th We also agree to meet at Green Courthouse on the first tuesday in February next to Consult with any number of Gentlemen who shall Attend from Washington and Sullivan Counties to Consult on our Voluntary Plan of Safety and that we Send a Request to the Inhabitants of said Counties to meet at the time and place above mentioned and that each County Previously Mentioned Elect five Members on the twenty third of this Instant—Likewise the Settlemts of Littel Pigeon and South of French Broad, Elect three members and the Settlemts above the mouth of Little Pigeon Elect three Members to attend at the time and place above mentioned

15th We the Subscribers agree to Persevere in supporting the above plan and in recommending to the People in general as the most likely Method that we can devise at present for the safety and protection of our Country

1. MS, Governors' Papers, Nc-Ar.

2. A reference to Joseph Martin (1740–1808), who represented Sullivan County in the state House of Commons, 1782–83, and the state Senate, 1783–84, 1786–87, 1789, and served as North Carolina's agent to the Chickamauga and Cherokee Indians. For Martin's appointment as Indian agent, see "An act for appointing an agent, and holding a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, and for other purposes," *Acts of Assembly of the State of North-Carolina . . .* ([Halifax, 1783]) (Evans 18069), chapter XXI, 30. Martin also served as one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Hopewell (1785–86). In 1788, Martin suffered a major military defeat during hostilities between the Chickamauga Indians and western settlers.

3. A reference to "An Act once more to extend an Act, entitled 'An Act to pardon and consign to Oblivion the Offences and Misconduct of certain Persons in the Counties of Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Hawkins,'" *Laws of North-Carolina . . .* (Edenton, [1789]) (Evans 22036), chapter IV, 3. The original act seems to have been passed on 6 January 1787 (Evans 20596), chapter XXIII, 22.

4. A reference to Richard Winn (d. 1818), who became superintendent for Indian affairs in the Southern Department.

**John F. Grimké to Henry W. Harrington  
Charleston, S.C., 16 January 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

I received your Letter dated the 28 Novr. last only a few days ago, & am sorry to find confirmed the disagreeable News relative to your not calling a Convention before November next: a long & distant period before you can even *begin* to give Us (the Southern States) your Interest in Congress: before which I make no doubt the Middle States will have laid the ground-work of a strong opposition to these States, for they

will be found more similar in Interests than the Eastern States & Us & therefore there will arise more Competition & consequently more Jealousy. but however it is better that you join Us late, than never & that you become united to our Interests rather than opposed to them.

I wish you most sincerely much Success in your endeavours to obtain a Seat in your next Convention, when I make no doubt your State will almost Unanimously acquiesce in the acceptance of our Glorious Constitution, as I hear that even wiley Jones has apostatized from anti-federalism.—another St. Pauls Conversion<sup>2</sup> if it is really so, tho' I confess I have as little faith as St. Peter had.<sup>3</sup> . . .

[P.S.] Pray inform my Friend, Mr. Pegues that I have the Federalist for him but the Bearer thinks it too burthensome for him. . . .

1. RC, Harrington Papers, #314, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The last paragraph dealing with the first federal elections in South Carolina is printed in DHFFE, I, 205. Grimké (1752–1819), a South Carolina lawyer-planter, was a member of the state House of Representatives, 1782–90 (speaker, 1785–86); a justice of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions, 1783–1819; intendant (mayor) of Charleston, 1788–89; and a delegate to the state ratifying Convention, 1788, where he voted to ratify the Constitution. Harrington (1748–1809), a wealthy planter and experimental farmer, was a native of London, England. He moved to South Carolina, where he served as a militia captain in 1775. In July 1776 he married a daughter of Major James Auld of Maryland and the couple moved to North Carolina, first to Anson County and then to Richmond County. Harrington was commissioned a colonel in 1779 and then a brigadier general in 1780. He was successful in suppressing Tories who were aiding the British. In turn, Tories and the British devastated his plantation. He was a Richmond County delegate to the state House of Commons, 1780; a state senator in 1781, 1783, and 1785; and a member of the Council of State, 1792.

2. A reference to the conversion of Saul (or Paul) on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1–18).

3. Possibly a reference to Peter's doubt that caused him to sink into the sea in the midst of the storm (Matthew 14:30–31).

**Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell**  
**Wilmington, N.C., 20 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . What has become of the debates of our convention?<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hooper was so much indisposed, and when he was able to see company, had so many people about him, that I forgot to mention the subject. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 468–71n.

2. A reference to the publication of the debates from the Hillsborough Convention.

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Halifax, N.C., 23 January 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear sir

Yesterday I reced the remaining copies of the debates, amounting to nineteen, nearly as rough as the former, accompanied by a long letter

from Robertson, apologising for the delay and the imperfection of the copy.

Inclosed is the letter you sent by our friend Mr. Dawson of which Williamson had sent me a duplicate, I also inclose to you his letter to me of the 24th of December.<sup>2</sup> It is as he says Hobsons choice with *us*—it must be printed under his direction—and we must be the guarantee—This renders it still more necessary, that it should be printed immediately—I could get a young man here to copy it instantly, for 20/ a day—but as Governor Johnston desires to correct his speeches, it will be impossible, and if done, you must have it done at Edenton, it would take too much time, trouble & expense, which I see must all fall on you and myself to be sending them backwards and forwards, such a distance. I shall forward the whole by Mr. Blount who goes down in a few days, Mr. Granberry who carries this being without any servant.

I shall write you again in a few days by Mr. Blount. My compliments to your good family and the Governor and believe me with the most sincere friendship and esteem

1. RC, Emmet Collection, New York Public Library. Davie indicated that his letter was being carried by Josiah Granberry of Chowan County.

2. The enclosed letters have not been found.

### **James Iredell to John Steele**

**Edenton, N.C., 17 February 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Few things that ever happened to me in my life affected me with greater surprise and pleasure, than the distinguished and I am sure most unexpected honour of having the new County that has been formed out of Rowan called by my name. . . . My opportunities of rendering any public service have been very few, but no Man's heart is more warmly disposed to the public Interest than mine. I think neither you nor myself could give stronger proofs of it than in supporting with all the earnestness in our power a Constitution which, in my opinion, gave us the only chance of being rescued from the dreadful evil of universal Anarchy, which is as far removed from true liberty, as Despotism itself. But unfortunately few can be sufficiently sensible of this danger, though all are deeply impressed with the other—

The Manuscript of our Debates came to my hands very lately. We were afraid we should have no other resource but getting them printed at New York, and had wrote to Dr. Williamson accordingly, who engaged to see the work well done. Finding however that Hodge & Wills would have an interval in the publication of the Laws, owing to circumstances that were unavoidable, I have made an agreement with them, and hope the whole will be printed by the beginning of May. They

would not purchase the Copy, but have agreed to give Credit for the expence, and I think there can be no doubt but that will be reimbursed by the sale. I think to have 1000 Copies struck off, and you shall have a large share of them.

I enclose you our two latest News papers, and sincerely assure you that I am with very great respect and esteem,

1. RC, Steele Papers, #689, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The file copy, located in the Iredell Papers at Duke University, is printed in Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 479–80.

### **Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C., 17 February 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Edenton, N.C. of Feb. 17, to the Editors hereof.*

“Scarcely a person within an hundred miles of the Sea is opposed to the new federal government—The opposition arises entirely from the people in the back settlements.—The Governor is a staunch federalist, and has the success of the new government much at heart.—I suppose you need not be reminded, that at the last session of the Assembly a resolution passed for the election of members to meet in Convention at Fayetteville, next November, for the purpose of *again* deliberating on the Federal Constitution:—The inhabitants are apprehensive that the proceedings of the New Congress will militate with the interests of this State, except it joins the Union, which apprehensions I doubt not will have a happy tendency to promote.”

1. Printed: *Boston Gazette*, 30 March. Reprinted eleven times by 14 April: N.H. (1), Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (3), Pa. (2).

### **Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell Wilmington, N.C., 22 February 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

As Mr Carmichael is going directly to Edenton, I would not omit thanking you for the copy of the bill which you were so obliging as to inclose in yours of the 11th.

From the information you give me about the publication of our debates, I suppose we may possibly have them by the time the next convention meets, at which I shall not be present I hope, however you will be a member, and that you will be able so to dispose your business at Newbern, as to attend. Notwithstanding I am of opinion that a great majority are already prepared to adopt the new government *next fall*, it will be proper there should be in the convention a few men who may have it in their power to prevent the majority from running into absurdity.

Inform me what further sum will be necessary to publish the debates, and let me know what you think will be my proportion I think you once mentioned some other publication which would require the aid of your friends—I will very clearly contribute. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 482–84n.

**Hugh Williamson to William Blount**  
**New York, 22 February 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Inclosed are extracts or excer[p]ts from three News Papers. By the daily of 17th Inst you will see that I have taken some Liberties with a N Carolina Publication & contrived to work Col Robertson's Advertisement into an Article of Intelligence for the Benefit of our Western Friends.<sup>2</sup> Some other Papers have since taken the Article of Intelligence from the Daily Advertiser. In another Paper of 12th Inst you have a very sensible Letter of Mr Madison which might reconcile any moderate Antifed to supporting a good federal man by his Vote &c<sup>3</sup> In another Paper of 17th you have an Article under the Alexandria Head respecting Kentucke People that looks serious and the more so because I think it probable. Considering how many Letters I write you—do not expect they should each of them be long.

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

2. A reference to an "Extract of a Letter from Edenton, in North Carolina, January 22, 1789," in the New York *Daily Advertiser*, 17 February 1789, which deals with Indian affairs in the District of Tennessee. Attached to the extract was a statement by Lt. Col. James Robertson, 22 November 1788, describing the opening of a road from Campbell's Station "at the lower end of Clinch Mountain" to Nashville.

3. James Madison's 13 January letter to Thomas Mann Randolph was printed in the New York *Daily Advertiser*, 12 February 1789. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 415–17.

**Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston**  
**New York, 23 March 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Hitherto I consider myself in the Service of the State as a Member of Congress & shall continue so to do till the new Government is in Operation, hence I claim the Right of franking Letters, but in the mean while I attend diligently on the Board of Commissioners to see if possible whether a thorough acquaintance with the Charges of other States cannot be of some Use to us in the statement of our own. There is a Report in Town that the King of Spain is dead—one of his Sons & that son's Wife certainly are dead of the small Pox, at least Mr Gardoqui is in Mourning on that Account. If the King is dead we shall soon find other measures pursued respecting the Mississippi. On this Subject I

have some Information that I cannot venture to commit to Paper without a Cypher. It is a Subject that so deeply concerns our State or many of its Citizens that I never lose Sight of it and hope on some Occasion to be able to shew that on this Head, I have done the State some Service.

1. RC, L. W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 514–15.

**Lemuel Burkitt to Thomas Ustick  
Hertford County, N.C., 24 March 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Dear Brother.

Altho personally unknown, yet by your Character you are well known to me. I should think myself very happy if I had a more intimate Acquaintance with you: But the immense Distance which intervenes between us unhappily prevents it.—I would wish to maintain a Correspondance with you. I hope, and believe, God has converted my Soul into the Faith of his Son Jesus Christ. I have been in the Ministry 17 Years.—I have the Care of a Baptist-Church in Hertford County & the Counties adjacent consisting of about 230 Members. We belong to the Carolina Association, called by the Name of the *Kehuky* Association; which formerly corresponded with the *Philadelphia* Association. Our Association contains 42 Churches, which consist of about five Thousand Members. Some of our Churches seem very lively in Religion, and lately admit of a considerable Growth. I received Intelligence lately from Virginia, where I understand 750 have been baptized within 12 Months past, in one Church; and 347 in another. There appears to be a great Work of the Lord in the State of *Georgia*, at present. Our Association hold and maintain the Doctrines of *Believer's Baptism* by Immersion; *Particular, eternal, and unconditional Election*; *Justification by the imputed Righteousness of Christ*; *Regeneration & Perseverance in Grace*.

We have lately had an Unanimity of Sentiments amongst the Baptists in North Carolina; and all Names and Epithets which formerly subsisted amongst us are superseded, and we are hence forward to be known by the Name of the "*United Baptists*." I hope, if the Lord permit, to attend your next Association, in order to renew our Correspondance.

With Regard to political Matters our *State* seems much divided at present; especially with Respect to the new Foederal Constitution. I had the Honor to represent the County of Hertford in Convention for the Deliberation of the same; but had the Misfortune to differ from those respectable Characters who fabricated the new System. I published my Sentiments on the proposed Plan of Government; a Copy of which I

have inclosed. I pray the Lord to bless you, and earnestly crave an Interest in your Petitions at the Throne of Grace.

Dear Brother, believe me, I am with the greatest Respects, your affectionate and loving Brother in the Lord.

P.S. If you wish to write to me, and you will direct your Letters to the Care of Mr. Lemmon Merc[han]t in Edenton, I shall have it forwarded to me as soon as possible—

1. RC, American Baptist Historical Society, Atlanta, Ga. Docketed: "To Thomas Ustick Pastor of the Baptist Church Phi[ladelphi]a." Burkitt (1750–1807), a Baptist minister, was pastor of the Sandy Run Baptist Church in Bertie County from 1773 until his death. He authored several religious works and was active in establishing new churches and installing pastors. Burkitt represented Hertford County in the Hillsborough Convention, 1788, where he opposed the Constitution. (See "Elkanah Watson: Memoirs of Hertford County Election," 27–28 March 1788, RCS:N.C., 179–80.) Ustick (1753–1803), a native of New York City and a Baptist minister, trained with the Reverend James Manning at the College of Rhode Island (Brown University), graduating in 1771, and was ordained in 1777. At the time he received Burkitt's letter, he was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia, where he served from 1782 until his death. Ustick was also a bookseller, a librarian, and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, 1784–91.

**Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount**  
**New York, 26 March 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . & though our State is not formally in the Union I flatter myself that our representations will not be neglected. It is rather too hard to require that every Vessel from N: Carol: bound for any Port in the French West Indies should be obliged to clear at Wilmington.

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 470–71.

**Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston**  
**New York, 30 March 1789<sup>1</sup>**

By a Vessel from Wilmington I received a Letter dated the 13th Inst. in which is the following paragraph viz. "The French Consul of this State who you know resides here, informs me that no Vessel from North Carolina, will in future be admitted to enter any Port in the French West indies, unless they clear from the Port, where he is, to wit, Wilmington."

Tho I had no instructions on this head I conceived that such a Measure should not be passed over without diligent Attention, since it is probable that more than three fourths of our Vessels bound for the French West indies pass out by Ocracoke and to oblige those Vessels to call at Wilmington would be insufferable.

The present situation of our State is doubtless some what singular, as we are not formally in the Union and have no claims under Treaty

to definitive privileges. In the mean time knowing that the State is considered by Foreigners as growing into much importance, and that they take for granted that we shall presently confederate, I presumed that the Representations of a Delegate from North Carolina would not be neglected. Accordingly, I prepared a Memorial on the subject of the late Regulation which I put into the hands of the Minister of France. I also stated at some length to the Consul General of France, my objections to that measure. I shall not trouble you with a transcript of those papers, for I am sure you will do me the Justice to believe that as a Publick servant, I endeavoured not to commit the honor of the State. I must however in general observe that I never had occasion to converse with those Gentlemen on any subject concerning the Commercial Interest of our State, but they seemed desirous to meet our Wishes by promoting our Interest. With respect to the regulation in Question, I have the satisfaction to observe that you need not apprehend being troubled with the Complaints of our Merchants on that Subject. Our Trade will be permitted to move in its usual Channel, till a better one can be formed and I think the time is not very far distant when the Citizens of Our State must profit considerably by Commercial Regulations to which the Court of France will probably agree.

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

### **Extract of a Letter from Salisbury, N.C., 1 April 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Salisbury, N. Carolina, to his friend in this town, dated April 1.*

“Since the adoption of the federal government by so great a majority, and the appointment of the *great* Washington to the presidential chair, anti federalism seems to decline fast—Our most respectable characters in the state, who distinguished themselves in the late revolution, both in the field and cabinet, exert themselves in favor of the new government—and our late Convention would beyond all doubt have accepted and ratified the Constitution, had it not been for a few turbulent, designing characters, whose villainous principles would sooner suffer them to see their country ruined, than to sacrifice their own interest; the majority of the people, however, begin to see their error, and I am persuaded, that in a few months the state of North Carolina will adopt and ratify the new government.”

1. This item was originally printed in the *Georgetown Times and Patowmack Packet*, 30 April, which is no longer extant. The transcription was made from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 May, the earliest reprinting. The item was reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*,

28 May, and twelve other times by 15 June: Vt. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1).

**Jeremy Belknap to Ebenezer Hazard**  
**Boston, 20–22 April 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir

. . . By this Time I suppose you have got the Vice Presidt & in a day or two more will have the Presidt with you & thus the political machine will be set a going.—May a blessing attend its movements—I think it must be a great advantage to Genl Washgt to have a man of so much political knolg as Mr Adams constantly at his Elbow—An union & mutual Confidence between two such truly great Characters must augur well to the United States—What will become of N Carl & R Isld? Do they not both owe money to the Continental Treasury? & if so How is it to be paid? How will you manage your P Office matters with them if they still continue to excommunicate themselves? . . .

I am Dr. Sir yr. affectionate friend

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: “The Belknap Papers,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 5th series, Vol. III (Boston, 1877), 115–19. Belknap (1744–1798), a Congregational minister and historian, graduated from Harvard (1762) and served as a minister in Dover, N.H., for about twenty years before moving to Boston in 1787 to become the minister of the Federal Street Church, which he served until his death. Between 1784 and 1792 Belknap published a three-volume history of New Hampshire. Hazard (1744–1817) was postmaster general of the United States, 1782–89. Hazard served as Belknap’s literary agent.

**Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston**  
**New York, 27 April 1789<sup>1</sup>**

With this you will receive Copies of the Laws of sundry States which have been forwarded according to a Recommendation of Congress for the use of the Legislature of Our State. I am not informed whether our State has returned like Copies of its Laws for the information of the Legislatures of other States.

On Thursday next the President of the United States G: Washington is to take the Oath and enter upon the Duties of his Office. The new form of Government will then have commenced and my privilege of Franking Letters as a Member of Congress will probably be disputed I should then apply myself wholly to the Business of the public Accounts but some weeks must elapse before the Commissioners of the United States can make any progress. One Member of that Board has just taken his seat in Congress as a Representative from Georgia. (Mr. Baldwin) and by a special Vote of Congress any two of the Board are not allowed

to act, unless the third is present. a third Commissioner must therefore be appointed by the President and he is not Authorised to make such appointment, untill Congress shall have taken measures for that purpose and as the Revenue System engages all their Attention at present some time must necessarily pass before the third Commissioner can be ready to Act; in the mean while I propose to visit N. Carolina and to collect some Evidence of which I think we may avail ourselves considerably in the settlement of our Accounts. I am the more convinced of the usefulness of such Evidence from the Rules that the Board of Commissioners have already laid down for their General Government respecting the claims of particular States. However attentive I have been to the Board of Commissioners you observe that I have hitherto considered myself a Member of Congress by which I might the better avail myself of any opportunity to serve the State by having access to all the Public Offices &c.

It is obvious that the Revenue System now before Congress must inevitably press with much weight on the Commerce of N. Carolina. The Duty of one Dollar per Hhd. on time is calculated for the Meridian of Rhode Island and that on Spermaceti Candles, Cheese and Malt will have the like Operation: hitherto N. Carolina has been treated with more respect; they have only talked of duties on Naval Stores & Corn, I will try if possible to beg the Indulgence of another year.

The Foreign Tonnage Duty of half-a Dollar ~~per~~ Ton must nip our trade, suppose that 500 Vessels clear annually from N. Carolina for other States in the Union, and the Number is much greater, these Vessels at 40 Tons must pay Ten Thousand Dollars Tonnage: by such a Tax the Value of our produce must be reduced; for we have not the Monopoly. in the mean time, I do not see any means by which this particular Grievance can be escaped or procrastinated. it is a Measure that would be of great use to us if we were in the Union by promoting Ship building.

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

### **Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C., 4 May 1789<sup>1</sup>**

From a Northern paper.

Extract of a letter from Edenton, May 4.

“Though we are not in the union, we are not the less attentive to all the proceedings of Congress. Some of the regulations proposed in the new revenue bill might be of use to the commerce of this state if we formed a part of the union—as matters are circumstanced they must injure us greatly. We are doubtless to be considered as foreigners with whom there is not any commercial treaty, and in this case our vessels

must pay the duty of half a dollar the ton in every port of the United States; but the small profits of our coasting trade are not equal to this charge, hence it must follow that our coasting vessels must be laid up, and many valuable citizens be ruined. Our sand-banks along the sea-coast, are inhabited by two or three hundred families—a hardy race of men, who are all pilots. They own small vessels, and support their families chiefly by the coasting trade, for they can raise no provisions. During the late war those men suffered greatly by the restraints laid on trade, but they had recourse to military duty and other temporary expedients for providing sustenance. It is extremely remarkable, that during the late war there was not a single instance of one of our bankers<sup>2</sup> being guilty of treasonable practices against the state. They had it constantly in their power to introduce armed vessels belonging to the enemy, and plunder all the lower parts of the state.—Though they were poor and were tempted by large bribes, the love of their country always prevailed. They never took the wages of treason. Some of them were seduced by stratagem on board the armed vessels of the enemy, but they never failed on such occasions to support their principle by leading the deceiver into trouble. Are not such a race of patriots entitled to the protection of the state? Was it to be expected, that men who live in the interior parts of the state, merely because they are not immediately supported by commerce, should have been so forgetful of the ties of gratitude, and the obvious claims of fellow citizens, as to give up those men to destruction, and with them to sacrifice many thousands more who live on our navigable waters! But so it is—we refuse to bring them into the union, and being out of the union their little vessels become useless, and they must lose the means of procuring bread for their children. They must perish or remove to some other state. Instances without number might be given of the bad effects that are like to result from our present political situation—this alone may stand for a sample.”

1. Printed: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 4 June. Reprinted in the *Pittsfield, Mass., Berkshire Chronicle*, 17 August, and *Newport Herald*, 20 August, both under the dateline of “Edenton, June 4.”

2. A reference to inhabitants of the North Carolina sand banks on the Atlantic coast—not a reference to a financial institution.

### **Hugh Williamson to President George Washington New York, 5 May 1789<sup>1</sup>**

One of the Commissioners, Mr Baldwin,<sup>2</sup> who were appointed from different Parts of the Union to settle the Accounts of individual States

with the United States, having lately vacated his Seat by accepting an Appointment in Congress it is probable that another Commissioner will in due Time be appointed. Whenever this Subject is taken up I would humbly submit to your Consideration that though North Carolina has not hitherto adopted the new Constitution she is not the less deeply interested in the general Settlement of old Accounts for being as to Numbers the fourth State in the Union, her Citizens must pay a considerable Part of the national Debt. That State has seldom offered to Congress any Candidate for public Employment and at this Juncture none of her Citizens can have any Reason to expect Employment unless it should be at the Board mentioned, since the Affairs of the old Confederation are the sole Objects of its Concern. If any Gentleman should be found in North Carolina equally fit for the Trust with those who may offer from other southern States, perhaps giving him the Place might not at this Time have a bad Effect. I presume that Judgment, Discretion & Integrity rather than meer clerical Abilities will be required in those Commissioners. With this View of the Subject, I beg Leave to call to your Recollection Mr Benjamin Hawkins & Wm Blount who have both enjoyed a great Share of the public Confidence in North Carolina. Having served long with both of those Gentlemen in different Employments I could speak of them with some Degree of certainty, but you know them both and having mentioned their Names I shall not take the Liberty of saying a Word more on the Subject except to request you would do me the Justice to believe that the ardent Desire I have to serve North Carolina and to see that State once more in the Union, rather than private Friendship for the Parties, has induced me to claim this Share of your attention.

With the utmost Consideration & Respect I have the Honour to be Sir Your most obedient and very humble Servant

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.
2. Abraham Baldwin of Georgia.

**North Carolina Governor and Council:**

**Address to President George Washington, 10 May 1789<sup>1</sup>**

The following ADDRESS of the Governor and Council of this state, has lately been presented to General *Washington*, President of the United States; to which he has been pleased to return the ANSWER thereto subjoined.

*To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire,  
President of the United States.*

Sir, Amidst the congratulations which surround you from all quarters, We, the Governor and Council of the state of North-Carolina, beg leave

to offer ours, with equal sincerity and fervency with any which can be presented to you. Though this state be not yet a member of the union under the new form of government, we look forward with the pleasing hope of its shortly becoming such; and in the mean time consider ourselves bound in a common interest and affection with the other states, waiting only for the happy event of such alterations being proposed as will remove the apprehensions of many of the good citizens of this state, for those liberties for which they have fought and suffered in common with others. This happy event, we doubt not, will be accelerated by your Excellency's appointment to the first office in the union, since we are well assured the same greatness of mind, which in all scenes has so eminently characterised your Excellency, will induce you to advise every measure calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by a mere difference in opinion. Your Excellency will consider (however others may forget) how extremely difficult it is to unite all the people of a great country in one common sentiment upon almost any political subject, much less upon a new form of government materially different from one they have been accustomed to, and will therefore rather be disposed to rejoice that so much has been effected, than regret that more could not all at once be accomplished. We sincerely believe America is the only country in the world where such a deliberate change of government could take place under any circumstances whatever.

We hope your Excellency will pardon the liberty we take in writing so particularly on this subject; but this state, however it may differ in any political opinions with the other states, cordially joins with them in sentiments of the utmost gratitude and veneration for those distinguished talents and that illustrious virtue, which we feel a pride in saying we believe, under God, have been the principal means of preserving the liberty and procuring the independence of your country. We cannot help considering you, Sir, in some measure, as the father of it, and hope to experience the good effects of that confidence you so justly have acquired, in an abatement of the party spirit which so much endangers a union on which the safety and happiness of America can alone be founded. May that union, at a short distance of time, be as perfect and more safe than ever! And in the mean while, may the state of North-Carolina be considered, as it truly deserves to be, attached with equal warmth with any state in the union, to the true interest, prosperity, and glory of America, differing only in some particulars in opinion as to the means of promoting them!

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

By order and on behalf of the Council,

JAMES IREDELL, President.

By order,

WM. JOHNSTON DAWSON,  
Clerk Council.

May 10, 1789

1. Printed: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 9 July. The address also appears in the Council Journal (Nc-Ar). President Washington's response of 19 June (RCS:N.C., 653–54) was printed immediately after the address. The address and Washington's response were reprinted in the *Fayetteville Gazette*, 24 August, and in twenty-one other newspapers by 22 August: Vt. (1), Mass. (2), R.I. (4), Conn. (1), N.Y. (4), N.J. (1), Pa. (5), Md. (1), Va. (1), Ga. (1). Governor Johnston sent the address to James Madison on 22 May 1789 to forward to President Washington (RCS:N.C., 646). Washington's response of 19 June was entered on the Council Journal on 29 July. The address and response might have been printed as a broadside; some printed version circulated in North Carolina. (See John Williams to James Iredell, 11 September, RCS:N.C., 683). Various newspapers mentioned the address to Washington and his response. (See Mfm:N.C.)

### Ode on George Washington

State Gazette of North Carolina, 14 May 1789

POET'S CORNER.

ODE,

On the Establishment of the CONSTITUTION, and the Election of GEORGE our President.

“God of our fathers! need we trace  
The mis’ries of a former race,  
To learn true conduct from recorded woes?  
But now our errors, and our crimes,  
Drew down thy judgment on the times,  
Black o’er our heads a tempest rose.

Soon all the Heav’ns were in a flame,  
Pointing to blast our peace and fame:  
But, oh! thy mercy turn’d the storm aside,  
Deign’d to becalm the raging seas,  
Deign’d to diffuse the swelling breeze,  
And to the port of peace our vessel guide.—

Our pilot sav’d through such a wat’ry war,  
Sits at the helm and points to hope’s bright star;  
And, God his guide, he bids us boldly go,  
Whatever rocks oppose, whatever tempests blow.”

**Hugh Williamson to President George Washington  
Edenton, N.C., 21 May 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Immediately on my arrival here I attempted to learn the State of our Western Affairs & am informed by the Governor That a Treaty is to be held on or about the 24th Inst at the War-Ford on French Broad. This Treaty is, on the Part of the United States, to be conducted by the Agent for the Southern Department and a Commissioner from each of the three southern States, Georgia, S Carolina & N Carolina. Mr Steel, as I had formerly the Honour to mention, is the Commissioner appointed by this State. Governor Johnston has given Orders to Jos: Martin as Brigadier for the District including French Broad to attend at the Treaty with all the Indian Prisoners lately taken by any Parties of our Citizens; it seems there are a good many Prisoners. Genl Martin is also ordered to have a Guard in readiness if the Commissioners require one. Mr Sevier who has for some Years occasioned so much trouble in the Western Country, as the Governor of a new State, has lately submitted to the Government of North Carolina and taken the Oaths accordingly.

I am not yet informed what are the Sentiments of my fellow Citizens in the Northern & Western Parts of this State concerning the new Government; you will learn in a few Days the Sentiments of the Governor and Council,<sup>2</sup> but the People who live near the Sea Coast are far from being neutrals on this Subject, the Remarks of some of them give me painful Sensations; They declare that they must remove out of the State or perish with their Families unless we come into the Union.<sup>3</sup> The Bankers in particular, a numerous hardy Race, live by the coasting Trade & raise no Provisions. The Alien Impost on their small Vessels would destroy them. Those Men who (many of them) are Pilots, never in a single Instance during the late War assisted the Enemy nor betray'd their Trust. Their Cause alone would have its Weight but the Mercantile Interest seems to be unanimous and extremely uneasy in their present humiliating Situation.

1. RC, RG 59, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, DNA. For a similar letter from Williamson to James Madison, 21 May 1789, see immediately below.

2. See the 10 May 1789 address of Governor Samuel Johnston and the North Carolina Council to President Washington (RCS:N.C., 642–44).

3. For other references by Williamson to a Federalist secession from North Carolina, see Williamson's letters to James Madison, 24 May, and Nicholas Gilman, 28 May (RCS:N.C., 647, 648). Federalists in New York and Rhode Island also threatened secession if their state failed to ratify the Constitution.

**Hugh Williamson to James Madison  
Edenton, N.C., 21 May 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I am just informed by Gov Johnston that a Treaty is to be held on the 24th Inst at french broad by the Indian Agent for the southern

Departm & the three Commissioners from the states of Georgia, South Carolina & North Carolina. That Sevier lately called Governor of an insurgented State has submitted to the Gov of North Carolina and taken the accustomed Oaths. There is an End to the new, so called, State. Our Governor and Council have prepared a very pretty Address to the President of the U.S. which may possibly pass through your Hands.<sup>2</sup>

Our People near the Sea Coast are in great Pain on the Idea of being shut out from the Union. They say that unless they can continue in the Coasting Trade without the Alien Duty they must starve with their Families or remove from the State. Can no Exception be made in favour of such apparent Aliens for so long as to the first of Jany. next?

Be so good as give forbearance to the inclosed & oblige

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Williamson's letter to President Washington, 21 May, contains similar information (immediately above).

2. Governor Samuel Johnston sent his and the Council's 10 May address to Madison on 22 May (immediately below).

**Governor Samuel Johnston to James Madison  
Edenton, N.C., 22 May 1789<sup>1</sup>**

The inclosed Address<sup>2</sup> was voted unanimously and contains, I believe, the genuine Sentiments of much the greatest part of the Inhabitants of this Country [i.e., North Carolina]; The State of North Carolina having no Agent or any person in a publick Character at this time in New York, I take the liberty to request the favor of you to deliver it, my Motive for troubling you on this occasion rather than any one else, arises from my knowledge of the benevolence of your disposition and the readiness you have on all occasions discovered to promote the Union & happiness of all the States

I am very happy to find that the New Government is in so fair a way of being firmly established, notwithstanding the unwearied diligence of some factions and some weak and uninformed men in opposing it, the conciliating and accomodating Spirit which is observable from the Debates which have appeared in print is a happy presage of what the Publick may hope from the Wisdom of the present Congress. I beg you will pardon this Liberty and believe me, with every Sentiment of the most friendly regard and highest Esteem.

P.S. The reason why this address was not forwarded sooner arose from my indisposition

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. See RCS:N.C., 654–55, for Madison's response.

2. For the address, see RCS:N.C., 642–44.

**Mathew Carey to Christopher Carey**  
**Philadelphia, 23 May 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Dear Father

. . . Two of the states, Rhode Island & North Carolina, notorious for fraud & villainy, have refused to accede to the new plan of government; but before the close of the present year, they will be glad to unite with the other states.

I remain, dear father, yr. aff[ectiona]te son.

1. FC, Mathew Carey Letterbook, Lea and Febiger Collection, PHi. Mathew Carey (1760–1839), a native of Ireland and a newspaper publisher there, arrived in Philadelphia in 1784. In February 1787, he founded the *Philadelphia American Museum*, a monthly magazine with a national circulation. Carey's father Christopher (d. 1797) still resided in Ireland.

**Hugh Williamson to James Madison**  
**Edenton, N.C., 24 May 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

We are told that Genl [Thomas] Person the bell Weather of Opposition in this State continues indefatigable in his Endeavours to preserve the Spirit of Antifederalism in the State. Our Judges, two of them at least, there are three, continue most malignant anti's.<sup>2</sup> They seem to think that the new Court will cast a Shade on them. Whether the constitution will or will not be adopted by the next Convention has been as I am told a Subject of Wager at ten to one on both sides according to the zeal of the Parties. To the best of my Belief the true Anti's in the State do not wish to hear that Congress have adopted many of the modifications or alterations proposed by this State & Virg[ini]a. One Position however appears to be pretty certain viz that the Inhabitants of Edenton District<sup>3</sup> are extremely unanimous, nine Counties. It is generally understood here that unless the People bordering on Virg[ini]a in the Northern and Western Parts of the state shall agree to confederate we must of necessity adhere to the other States and divide this State leaving the Genly<sup>4</sup> who care nothing for Commerce to shift for themselves. By the way, I verily believe that the desire of eluding all Taxes and defrauding the Nation leaving the Burden on other Shoulders is the great Object of our Antifeds. Qu: Would it not be proper for your Congress to call upon this State very pointedly for its Quota of the annual Supplies? Perhaps you cannot with Propriety charge us with the civil List, but you will doubtless charge us with our Quota of the Interest of all the liquidated Debts, foreign and domestic. On such a Call it might fairly be intimated to the State, that her not thinking fit to be governed as the other States are affords no possible Excuse

for not discharging a Debt, & that full Payment will be expected. You know that our Assembly is to meet about two Weeks before the Convention meets & I verily believe that a pointed Call of Congress for Money would help the Federal Party more than any other Argument. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 183–84.
2. The three judges of North Carolina's Superior Court of Law and Equity were Samuel Ashe, Samuel Spencer, and John Williams.
3. The term "district" prior to 1789 refers to North Carolina's judicial districts. See D. L. Corbitt, comp., "Judicial Districts of North Carolina, 1746–1934," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (1935), 45–61. In 1789 election districts were established for Congress.
4. Perhaps an abbreviation for "generality."

**Hugh Williamson to Nicholas Gilman**  
**Edenton, N.C., 28 May 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

It is considered in this Part of the State as very uncertain what will be the fate of the new Constitution at our next Convention. You are to note that the District of Edenton<sup>2</sup> containing nine Counties, about the sixth Part of the State, is federal almost to a Man and I verily believe that if the State does not confederate, this District with the other two Districts on the Sea Coast will dissolve all connection with the interior Inhabitants and pray Congress to consider them as the State of North Carolina or as a separate State under some other Name. The Inhabitants in general seem to consider their present degraded and injured Situation as not to be endured. The Idea of losing Trade is extremely displeasing to them. Some of them have expressed their wonder to me that Congress are not about to lay a heavier Tax on British Bottoms and an additional Tax on all goods imported in British Bottoms or in other Words in Vessels belonging to Nations not in Treaty. I consider it as certain that unless we accede to the Union in the next Fall the State will be divided. I am inclined to believe that the Anticipation of such an Event will effect an Adoption of the new System. . . .

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library.
2. See Williamson to James Madison, 24 May, note 3 (immediately above).

**Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison**  
**Warren, N.C., 1 June 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear friend!

I have had the pleasure to receive your favour of the 5th of may, with the report of the committee and the newspapers, and I can assure you I concur in every thing and from the bottom of my heart.—The Character of the president, will give dignity and energy to our government, and will together with the favourable appearances stated by you tend

to reconcile all parties to it.—I having know[n] the determination of the President never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature was fearful that even our melancholy situation would not (altho' the choice should be unanimous) call him forth. My fears arose from my love for him I thought his character was as perfect as human nature is capable of being that he wanted no additional lustre and might eventually loose But I was [w]rong and he is right indubitably.—Your scheme of impost being temporary is highly approved here. Go on as you have begun and all things will come right.

a circumstance trivial indeed, but from its effect here, important, deserves to be told The opponents had predicted that Congress being once possessed with power, the friend[s] to the new Government would never consent to make any amendments, Your motion on that great and delicate subject directly contradicts it. and they swear that they will never forget Bland, Grayson and their other friend[s] for suffering any business however important to be done in Congress prior to the subject of amendments and moreover for suffering this important prophecy by their tardiness to be contradicted

If you can do something by way of amendment without any material injury to the system, I shall be much pleased, and as far as I can learn it will be pleasing to my country men or a majority of them I mean. we certainly are more friendly than we were at the meeting of our Convention,<sup>2</sup> several counties who were much opposed to it, are now decidedly very friendly and I count on its being adopted at Our next convention.<sup>3</sup>

I wish the senate may do something effectual on the Indian department I have had letters from McGillivray and some of my friend[s] in that quarter and I believe there will be great difficulties in accommodating a line of boundary between the white people and the Indians, and without such a line we may hope for peace in vain. If our commissioners should not succeed I have promis'd our western people and the Indians to pay them a visit. The indians hope every thing from Congress and the whites are afraid that their speculative views will be blasted, if the business should be left wholly in the power of Congress.

Pray excuse the liberty I take in requesting the favour of you to present my congratulations to the President, this I would do myself altho' N. Carolina hath hitherto been in the Opposition But I would not put his politeness to the trouble of answering it just now when he must be overwhelmed with the functions of his office

I am to go on tomorrow to Wilmington for a fortnight, from whence I will write to you again If you should have leisure to write to me sometime, address to me via Petersburg to the care of Mr. Gracie. Adieu my dear friend and believe me yrs.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.
2. A reference to the first North Carolina ratifying Convention at Hillsborough, which met 21 July–4 August 1788.
3. A reference to the forthcoming second North Carolina ratifying Convention at Fayetteville, which would meet 16–23 November 1789 and ratify the Constitution (194 to 77).

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Halifax, N.C., 4 June 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I have not heard from you since you left this place, and as I shall leave this place for Newbern about the 12th. of this Month, it becomes necessary that the debates, should be here if possible before that time. You are sensible as well as myself how important the sale is to *us* as the expence will ultimately & entirely fall upon us—The books can't be sold, and the money collected in time to fulfill your engagement with the Printer; so that we shall have the money to advance without any doubt.

The Anties here were remarking with great triumph the fulfilment of their prophecies with respect to Congress never taking up the subject of Amendments; when we critically received an Account of Mr. Madisons notification that he would move this subject; nothing ever gave me so much pleasure—and this coming from a Federalist has Confounded the Anties exceedingly. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 497–98. The address page was endorsed: “By Mr. Smith.”

**Samuel Johnston to Nathaniel Dukinfield**  
**Edenton, N.C., 9 June 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The Government under the new Constitution is at last in harbor tho the states of R. Island & No. Carolina have not acceded

You are well-acquainted with the Publick Character of the President. he is a Man of great Moderation, firmness and integrity and tho not possessed of the most Splendid Talents or a great Share of Literary knowledge he has an excellent understanding improved by experience in a long course of Publick service. The Vice President tho a Man of more extensive reading and long in Office of great importance has not so much the Confidence of the People in general, he has heretofore been considered by some a man of a factious disposition too attentive to the trifling form and [– –] of Business and working in that greatness of mind so necessary to men and sacred to Officers of high trust in the State. A Majority of the Members as well of the Senate as the House of Representatives are men of very Respectable Characters, both

with respect to Morals & Abilities. every thing which we have a right to expect is to be hoped for from their Exertions

Great pains has been taken by a few factions and some weak Men to poison the minds of the People with some Jealousies for which there does not appear any good foundation, they have succeeded too well in this State. We are to have a Convention in November next when the New form of Government is to be reconsidered and when I hope we shall succeed better than we did in July last, more especially as it is asserted that some alterations may in the interim take place which will be a salus to those in the opposition for changing their Opinion.

1. FC, Hayes Collection, #324, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

**William R. Davie to James Madison**  
**Halifax, N.C., 10 June 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My private acquaintance with you would by no means warrant a correspondence of this kind, but the interest we have in your public character and exertions will sufficiently apologise for the freedom.

You are well acquainted with the political situation of this State, its unhappy attachment to paper money and that wild scepticism which has prevailed in it since the publication of the Constitution. It has been the uniform cant of the enemies of the Government, that Congress would exert all their influence to prevent the calling of a convention, and would never propose an amendment themselves, or consent to an alteration that would in any manner diminish their powers. The people whose fears had been already alarmed, have received this opinion as fact, and become confirmed in their opposition; your notification however of the 4th of May<sup>2</sup> has dispersed almost universal pleasure, we hold it up as a refutation of the glomy prophecies of the leaders of the opposition, and the honest part of our antifederalists have publicly expressed great satisfaction on this event. Our Convention meet again in November, with powers to adopt the Constitution and any amendments, that may be proposed; this renders it extremely important that the amendments, if any, should be proposed before that time—and although we may be nominally a foreign State, yet I hope the alterations will come officially addressed to the people of this Country, an attention however trifling in itself, that will be of importance in the present state of the public mind here.

That farrago of amendments borrowed from Virginia<sup>3</sup> is by no means to be considered as the sense of this Country; they were proposed amidst the violence and confusion of party heat, at a critical moment

in our Convention, and adopted by the opposition without one moment's consideration—I have collected with some attention the objections of the honest and serious—they are but few and perhaps necessary—they require some explanation rather than alteration of the power of Congress over elections—an abridgement of the jurisdiction of the federal Court in a few instances, and some fixed regulations respecting appeals—they also insist on the trial by jury being expressly secured to them in all cases—and a constitutional guarantee for the free exercise of their religious rights and privileges—the rule of representation is thought to be too much in the power of Congress—and the Constitution is silent with respect to the existing paper money an important and interesting property. Instead of a Bill of rights attempting to enumerate the rights of the individual or the State Governments, they seem to prefer some general negative confining Congress to the exercise of the powers particularly granted, with some express negative restriction in some important cases.—I am extremely anxious to know the progress of this delicate and interesting business; and if you could find leisure from the duties of office and the obligations of Friendship to give me some information on this subject, it might perhaps be of some consequence to this Country, and would in any event be gratefully acknowledged by your mo[st] obt. humle. servt.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

2. On 4 May 1789, Madison gave notice in the U.S. House of Representatives that he would introduce amendments to the Constitution on the fourth Monday of the month (*Gazette of the United States*, 6 May 1789).

3. For the text of the amendments proposed by the Virginia Convention on 27 June 1788, see CC:790. For the amendments proposed by the first North Carolina Convention at Hillsborough, see *Convention Debates*, 1 August 1788 (RCS:N.C., 453–58).

**Abraham Baldwin to Joel Barlow  
New York, 14 June 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

[In discussing amendments to the Constitution, Baldwin writes:] . . . There is no such thing as antifederalism heard of. R.I. and N.C. had local reasons for their conduct, and will come right before long. . . .

1. RC, Baldwin Collection, Yale University. The address page is endorsed: “Recd—Paris—Aug 25.” Baldwin (1754–1807) was born in Connecticut and graduated from Yale College in 1772. He moved to Georgia in 1784. He was a delegate to Congress, 1785, 1787–88; a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, 1787; a U.S. representative, 1789–99; and a U.S. senator, 1799–1807. Barlow (1754–1812) was a poet, a lawyer, and a diplomat. A Yale College graduate (1778), Barlow went to Europe in May 1788 as an agent of the Scioto Land Company, an endeavor that ended disastrously in France. In the mid-1790s he negotiated treaties with the Barbary States.

**Tench Coxe to James Madison**  
**Philadelphia, 18 June 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . ☞ At some future day I should wish the powers of the general government extended to the declaring in what places canals *may* be cut, without giving them the power of providing for the expence, but at present this would be a dangerous Idea. I much doubt whether the *federalists* of N. Cara. would consent to adopt the constitution, if it contained such a power. You will see however infinite advantages, both pecuniary & political in a canal at the dismal Swamp in Virginia, and another at the head of the Delaware peninsula. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 239–41. Coxe (1755–1824), a Philadelphia merchant and a commissioner to the Annapolis Convention, was a prolific Federalist essayist. Elected to the last Confederation Congress in 1789, Coxe served as assistant secretary of the U.S. Treasury, 1789–92, and commissioner of revenue, 1792–97. In the first part of the letter Coxe comments on Madison's proposed amendments to the Constitution; in the last part of the letter Coxe discusses the impost bill under consideration by Congress.

**President George Washington to Governor Samuel Johnston**  
**New York, 19 June 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Gentlemen,

It was scarcely possible for any Address to have given me greater pleasure, than that which I have just received from you: because I consider it not only demonstrative of your approbation of my conduct in accepting the first office in the Union, but also indicative of the good dispositions of the citizens of your State—towards their Sister States, and of the probability of their speedily acceding to the new general Government.

In justification of the opinion which you are pleased to express, of my readiness “to advise every measure calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by mere difference of opinion,” I take the liberty of referring you to the sentiments communicated by me to the two Houses of Congress. On this occasion, I am likewise happy in being able to add the strongest assurances, that I entertain a well-grounded expectation that nothing will be wanting on the part of the different branches of the general Government to render the Union as perfect, and more safe than ever it has been.

A difference of opinion on political points is not to be imputed to Freeman as a fault; since it is to be presumed that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their Country. If the mind is so formed in different persons as to consider the

same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences, as it happens to be placed in different points of view, and if the oldest, the ablest and the most virtuous Statesmen—have often differed in judgment as to the best forms of Government—we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice that so much has been effected, than to regret that more could not all at once be accomplished.

Gratified by the favourable sentiments which are evinced in your address to me, and impressed with an idea that the Citizens of your State are sincerely attached to the Interest, the Prosperity and the Glory of America; I most earnestly implore the Divine benediction and guidance in the councils, which are shortly to be taken by their Delegates on a subject of the most momentous consequence, I mean, the political relation which is to subsist hereafter, between the State of North Carolina and the States now in Union under the new general Government.

1. RC, Governors' Papers, GP/17, Nc-Ar. The *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 9 July, printed Washington's response immediately after the address to him from Governor Johnston and the North Carolina Council (RCS:N.C., 642–44). Washington's response was reprinted in the *Fayetteville Gazette*, 24 August, and in seventeen other newspapers by 22 August: Vt. (1), Mass. (1), R.I. (4), N.Y. (4), N.J. (1), Pa. (5), Ga. (1).

**James Madison to Governor Samuel Johnston**  
**New York, 21 June 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I lost no time in handing to the President the address inclosed in your favor of the 22 of May,<sup>2</sup> and have postponed an acknowledgment of the latter in expectation of being able at the same time to cover the President's answer. This has been and continues to be delayed by a very serious indisposition. We hope that he is not in much danger, but are by no means without our fears also. His disorder commenced in a fever which has greatly reduced him, and is terminating in a very large tumor which, unless it degenerate itself into a dangerous malady, will probably be remedial.

In the inclosed paper is a copy of a late proposition in Congress on the subject of amending the Constitution.<sup>3</sup> It aims at the twofold object of removing the fears of the discontented and of avoiding all such alterations as would either displease the adverse side, or endanger the success of the measure. I need not remark to you the hazard of attempting any thing of a controvertible nature which is to depend on the concurrence of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of both Houses here, and the ratification of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the State Legislatures. It will be some time before the proposed amendments will become a subject of discussion in Congress; The bills relating to revenue, and the organization of the Judiciary and Executive

Departments, being likely to remain for some time on hand. This delay proceeds partly from the intricacy and partly from the novelty of the business. At every step difficulties from one or other of these sources arrest our progress. After the first essays the work will become every day more easy. . . .

1. RC, owned by John Gilliam Wood, Edenton, N.C., 1973; RC (microfilm copy), Hayes Collection, #324, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 249–51n.

2. For the letter, see RCS:N.C., 646.

3. Madison may have enclosed a copy of either the *New York Daily Advertiser*, 12 June, or the *Gazette of the United States*, 13 June.

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**New Bern, N.C., 1 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir,

I have been here and in Beaufort thence three weeks past, having w(aited) with anxiety, before I left Halifax s(everal) days for the Arrival of the debates. I perceive by your letter to Mr. Sitgreaves you have forwarded 40 copies to my care—supposing they w(ill) probably be sent in my absence ⟨I⟩ mentioned the matter to Mr. Kinchen authorising him to open your letter to me, and do whatever you recommended—and in order to affect ⟨it I⟩ left with him £5—to hire an ex(press) to carry those destined for the upper ⟨dis⟩tricts—All which he assured Me ⟨to⟩ be punctually executed, and those ⟨in⟩ Halifax District immediately ⟨ini⟩tiated for sale—I am ⟨manuscript torn⟩ the proportion allotted for this District and Wilm(ington) cannot be immediately sent on, as the sale ⟨has⟩ become more and more dull, and the cri⟨manuscript torn⟩ of election being the moment for sale—⟨I⟩ hope you will devise some means that ⟨manuscript torn⟩ Gentlemen here and Mr. Jno. G. Blount ⟨in?⟩ Washington to have them sent forward I know my friend you are already weary of this letter and the trouble you have already had—but ⟨manuscript torn⟩ is an important matter *to us*.

⟨I s⟩pent eight days very agreeably at Beaufort ⟨manuscript torn⟩ some benefit in point of health; I have been a week here—you know New-bern is ⟨manuscript torn⟩ very temple of dulness—and will expect the ennuis is growing fast upon me however [I set?] out tomorrow and hope to leave it all be(hind)

My most respectful Compliments to the Governor and your family and believe me ⟨with⟩ the most sincere esteem

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Endorsed “By post” and marked “Ansd.” The manuscript is badly torn. Many missing words have been supplied within angle brackets from the transcription in Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 499.

**James Iredell to John Gray Blount**  
**Edenton, N.C., 1 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I have received your favour of the 26th., and hope to avail of the opportunity you have been so obliging as to acquaint me with by forwarding you about 100 Copies.<sup>2</sup> Of those you will please to retain what you think proper for Washington and transmit the remainder when you can to Mr. Sitgreaves. He is entitled to ten more for the Newbern Subscribers, and Mr. Maclaine to fourteen more for those at Wilmington. The rest are for sale. Colo. Davie and myself proposed allowing a Commission for the trouble of selling &c. The Management of this at Washington I beg leave to submit to you, as you shall think proper. If any are sold at Washington I will be much obliged to you if out of the sales you will give such a gratuity for the trouble of conveying them there as you shall think sufficient.

Your Brother Jacob returned in perfect health a few days ago. Steele had returned, having done nothing; the Indians saying we were no People, having no head, and that they would not meet with us. Such was the report your Brother heard.

I am Dear Sir Yours very respectfully

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

2. Likely a reference to the debates of the first North Carolina Convention, which were published in mid-June 1789.

**Hugh Williamson to James Madison**  
**Baltimore, 2 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

The Post Master at Petersburg informed me on this Day Week that a Letter in your Hand for me had but two days before that passed through his Hands. I verily believe that unless you can persuade Congress seriously to take up & agree to some such Amendmts as you have proposed North Carolina will not confederate but of this more particulars when I have the Pleasure of seeing you which I hope will be about the End of next Week.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

**Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 2 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

As the circumstance of having two of the American States still continue in their refusal to join in union with the others, is a matter of speculation, and engages much of the public mind, it may not be amiss, at this time, to make a few general observations on this subject; in which it will appear, that strong natural and political reasons oppose

their present disunion, and both must forcibly operate to effect their future junction: We proceed to examine some of the causes resulting from both these principles—and it may from the former be fairly argued, that nature has evidently designed these States, at least for many years to come, to be one united nation, and with her unerring hand, pointed out innumerable blessings to be derived to the inhabitants of this western world from such an union: For their encouragement to persevere in completing this noble fabric as a temple to the goddess of Liberty—a relief from the scourge of tyranny—the ill directed zeal of superstition and bigotry—and an asylum to the oppressed of all mankind: The reciprocal wants of men arising from local situation and other circumstances, are here provided for by the kind Author of nature, in giving to America a participation of the various climates of the world:—Here a brother's arm, nerved by the bracing zephyrs of the west, shall be extended to the aid of a brother enfeebled by the scorching beams of a vertical sun—Here the riches, which a fertile soil and favorable climate give to the sons of the south, shall be wafted by their hardy brethren of the north, to every part of the globe—The blood, become almost stagnant by the chilling frost of northern latitudes, shall be forced from the heart by the generous juice of the southern grape—The industrious worm, wrapt in his little orb, shall (unfolded by the genial ray of a tropical sun) expand his silken wings over the fair daughters of Columbia—while the fleecy tribe shall willingly yield their snow white vestment to cloath the arm by which they are cherished and protected.

Having viewed some of the natural, we proceed to notice some of the political ties, which ought to cement this continent in one firm, efficient union: The first of which arises from the propriety of observing that maxim, so essential to the support of any government, and more especially a republican, that the minority should ever quietly submit to be governed by the majority: However, in objection to this, some fine-spun arguments have been sophistically urged to prove, that each individual State possesses within itself all the sovereignty of a distinct nation; but such ideal, chimerical assertions, cannot make an impression on the mind deeper than the surface of the paper which contains them. What do we mean by sovereignty, but the deposit of supreme power: Can there be thirteen deposits of supreme power existing at the same time, directed to similar ends, and for the same purposes: Shall the language of the several States to the general government still be what McFingal<sup>2</sup> has heretofore well described it,

“You shall be Viceroy's it is true;

“But we'll be Viceroy's over you.[’]”<sup>3</sup>

No—rather let our united language in future, not thus:

We'll be a nation, it is true,  
And for that end the means pursue.

It is certain, without practising on this principle, we can never claim that character. Of what and will be the possession of sovereignty in each State, without the ability to support it! the madman sees in the watry mirror a crown dazzling with diamonds, and plunging to grasp the fancied object, perishes in the attempt. Who doubts of the natural independency of every son of Adam; but who will contend that both his power and liberty are not compleat under the operation of a good government.

These States, in that united act by which they abjured the British government, not only pledged themselves to each other for every possible risque in their contest to be rid of usurpation and tyranny; but also their joint exertions to raise a future government, calculated to secure their freedom and happiness—and no one of them has now a right to recede from the original contract, or oppose those measures which a majority of their fellow-citizens have deemed as necessary to effect this valuable purpose; nor is their conduct in dissenting from the union to be justified on any principle of government—having a tendency to bring on their country greater evils than these it has been contending to avoid—the horrors of a civil war. The States alluded to are indebted to the others for their joint efforts in emancipating them from a foreign yoke: they have a part of the expence incurred by the war to discharge—for which justice cannot withhold her claims: many more reasons could be urged to shew the impropriety and ill tendency of their present defactions—but it is yet to be hoped, that the passions of men, their little views, and mistaken interests, will not be suffered to frustrate the benevolent design of Heaven, marked by every circumstance of our natural situation, and so often exemplified in our progress towards the rank and character of a nation.

When the revolution took place, by divine permission, the people of these states formed for themselves such constitutions as then seemed good to them. Before the middle of the war every state had completed its own constitution, and they jointly framed another, as a national constitution—under the name of THE CONFEDERATION. The Carolinas, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, New-Jersey, New-York, and the four New-England States, divided their legislative power into two branches, but the CONFEDERATION, the GEORGIA constitution and the PENNSYLVANIA constitution kept all the legislative power in one body. The above eleven states have continued to be governed by two branches, nor has there

ever been a complaint against their Senates, except by DANIEL SHAYS, who, with his followers, were desirous of abolishing at once both *the Senate* and *the courts of Common Pleas!* On the other hand we find, that the CONFEDERATION has been changed for the Federal Constitution, which has two branches, that the Constitution of GEORGIA has been amended by dividing the legislative power, and that a majority of near three to one in our legislature [i.e., the Pennsylvania legislature] have countenanced such division. As there is not the least doubt that a great majority of the people approve of this alteration, and see the propriety of conforming our constitution [i.e., the Pennsylvania constitution (1776)], as Georgia has done, to that of the United States, it is to be hoped every man will take care to express his wishes on the subject, by signing the memorial or petition to the Legislature for calling a [state constitutional] convention.

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, 7 July.

2. John Trumbull, *MFingal: A Modern Epic Poem, in Four Cantos* (Hartford, Conn., 1782) (Evans 17750), 54.

3. A reference in Trumbull's *MFingal* to Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act III, scene 2, lines 106–9, where Stephano says: "Monster, I will kill this man. His daughter and I will be king and queen—save our Graces! and Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys. Dost thou like the plot, Trinculo?"

**Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison**  
**Warren County, N.C., 3 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear friend!

I arrived a few days past from Wilmington, and had an opportunity of hearing the sentiments of a number of people in five counties through which I traveled who were originally opposed to the new government. They have, most of them, changed their opinions, and are now friendly to it.

I am anxious to know the fate of your attempt to mend the constitution, and whether anything can, with certainty, be done that will conciliate its opponents. If it should appear in the investigation that there are difficulties greater than you seem to apprehend, I wish that the subject could be postponed 'till after the meeting of our Convention.

The opponents here will, I expect, avail themselves of every thing to strengthen their party.

The Resolution of the assembly of Pennsylvania respecting the circular letter from the Legislature of Virginia certainly do[e]s them great credit,<sup>2</sup> and altho' I approve it in toto, yet If something can be done without a material alteration of the system I hope their senators & representatives would readily assist.

We have in this State a strong predilection for paper money, our folly buoys us above experience and will in the end prove ruinous to many of our citizens. The first emission of our money (£100.000) depreciated to 10/. the second (£100.000) depreciated the whole sum to 16/. the dollar. Most of our debts for the last two years to the merchants have been at from 500 to 600 [per] Cent currency on sterling, and those and credit sales at from 16/ to 20/ the dollar. Our sinking fund meeting no encroachment has reduced our paper to £150.000. and money has appreciated, at ready money sales by sheriffs and constables; it is some times at 9/ and often at par. This great appreciation alarms the debtors and will probably induce a dislike to the general government from a conviction that gold or silver only must be sought for in payment of debts.

The Grasshopper has very much injured our crop of Tobacco, some people have re-planted three & four times, with but little success.

I have the honour to be with great & sincere esteem thy dear friend

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

2. On 2 December 1788, Governor Beverley Randolph of Virginia transmitted to Thomas Mifflin, president of Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council, a copy of the Virginia legislature's 20 November 1788 application to Congress for calling a second general convention to consider amendments to the new Constitution. Randolph's message and Virginia's application were first read in the Pennsylvania legislature on 6 February 1789. Pennsylvania responded with a resolution gently rejecting Virginia's call for a second convention, requesting that President Thomas Mifflin

assure his Excellency Governor *Randolph*, that, accustomed to sentiments of the highest respect and deference for the legislature of *Virginia*, it must ever be painful to the House [i.e., the Pennsylvania legislature], when obliged to dissent from the opinion of that Assembly [i.e., the Virginia legislature] upon any point of common concern to the two states, as members of the union; and, particularly, in a measure of such importance as the one now proposed, the calling of a Convention of the states for amending the foederal constitution, the necessity of which they are not able to discern, though it is so apparent to and so earnestly insisted on by that legislature.

For Pennsylvania's legislative actions on Virginia's call for a second general convention and the remainder of the text of Pennsylvania's resolution, which was adopted 41 to 20 on 5 March 1789, see *Minutes of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in their Second Session . . .* (Philadelphia, [1789]) (Evans 45554), 55–56, 58–61, 112–13, 124–26.

### Extract of a Letter from North Carolina, 3 July 1789<sup>1</sup>

*Extract of a letter from North-Carolina, July 3.*

“The exertions that have been made by many friends to the new government, in this state, give me reason to hope, that we shall have a convention in the fall, that will extricate us from our lonesome and

disagreeable situation; but still I have my fears, unless Congress should take up the subject of amendments before, as many seem still determined to reject it, until some objections are removed, particularly as one of your greatest supporters of the Constitution has admitted that there are many.”

1. This item was originally printed in the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 9 July, which is no longer extant. The transcription is taken from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 July, the earliest reprinting. The item was reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 20 August, and in sixteen other newspapers by 5 August: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), R.I. (2), N.Y. (6), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Va. (1). It was also reprinted in the July issue of the *Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine*.

### **U.S. Board of Treasury to Governor Samuel Johnston New York, 3 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

In consequence of your Excellency’s Letter of the 26th. of May. last in which you inform us that the State of North Carolina has on hand near One thousand Hogsheads of Tobacco of an excellent Quality for sale, the proceeds of which when sold, would be immediately paid into the Treasury of the United States; and that you should be happy to treat with any purchaser whom we might recommend for such purpose on our agreeing to accept his Bills;

We beg leave to recommend to you for this purpose Mr. Royal Flint of this City: should that Gentleman or his proper attorney agree with you for the purchase, and accept Bills drawn by yourself or other person duly authorised, and in favor of the State of North Carolina, payable at the Treasury of the United States, for the amount of the Tobacco so purchased; We hereby agree that on such Bills being duly transmitted to this Office, the amount thereof shall be past to the Credit of the State of North Carolina, at the Treasury of the United States.

For the greater certainty in transmitting the Bills, it may be well that they should be drawn in triplicates of same term and date, and that the first and second should be forwarded to this Office & the third remain in the proper Office in the State.

We shall only add that if the State of North Carolina should at this juncture by the sale of this Tobacco, come to the relief of the General Treasury, it will be rendering a Service honorable to themselves, & highly acceptable to the Union.

1. FC, Governors’ Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar. The letter was signed by Samuel Osgood, Walter Livingston, and Arthur Lee, commissioners of the Board of Treasury. The Board of Treasury preceded the U.S. Department of the Treasury, which was established in September 1789 under the new Constitution.

**Governor Samuel Johnston to James Madison**  
**Edenton, N.C., 8 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I had the pleasure of receiving your Letters of the 21st and 22d. of June by the last post<sup>2</sup> and feel very sensibly the Obligation you have conferred on me, by the trouble you have taken in this Business at a Season when you were too much engaged to have any time to spare without inconvenience.

Every one is very much pleased with the President's answer to our Address.<sup>3</sup> I have agreeably to your Wishes published them and send you a Copy that you may if you think proper have them inserted in some of the New York papers, I shall be very glad if they should have such effect as you suppose, tho I should be sorry to see any material Alterations take place in the Constitution, yet the addition of a little Flourish & Dressing without injuring the substantial part or adding much to its intrinsic value, such as a pompous Declaration of Rights, may have a happy effect in complimenting the Judgment of those who have themselves up in Opposition to it and afford a *Salvo* to some well disposed men, who were unwarily drawn into these measures, for changing an Opinion which they had too hastily adopted

I can easily conceive that you will at first meet with a great many perplexities in your progress of carrying the Constitution into effect, but these will gradually lessen as you proceed, and Precedents once formed on solid principles will prevent difficulties from recurring on the same points

People in general appear to be very well pleased with the proceedings of Congress and in nothing more than that accomodating Spirit by which the members seem to be actuated. Some of your people from Norfolk & Portsmouth who either have Distilleries or an Intention to erect them, were here the other day clamoring very loudly against the impost on Molasses, but as the Views of the People here did not correspond with theirs, it had very little effect, indeed I should be sorry if the Duty on that Article should be lessened. Since our Imports from the West Indies have been reduced within so narrow a Compass, it has become an Article of much more general Consumption in most of the States than it formerly was and will be productive of a considerable Sum to the Revenue! With the most sincere Regard and Esteem, I am  
 My dear sir Your most Obedient Servant

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

2. For Madison's letter to Johnston, 21 June, see RCS:N.C., 654–55. Madison's letter to Johnston of 22 June has not been located.

3. A reference to President Washington's 19 June response to Governor Johnston and the North Carolina Council's address of 10 May. For the 10 May address and President Washington's response of 19 June, see RCS:N.C., 642–44, 653–54, respectively.

**Baron de Poellnitz to James Iredell**  
**New York, 8 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Great as there is, and always will be the Satisfaction of myne to Keep up a Corespondance with you Sir, I do not wish to be troublesome, So as to divert you so often by it from that Time which you employe So Usefully for to promote the Satisfaction and felicity of your Countrymen

—But as this very instant I have had at my House Mr: Scott who informes me that he has to Day an opportunity of a Vessel going to N[or]d: Ca: I can not resist the Temptation to beg the favour to Send me those of Your performances upon the federal Govr'mt: who are printed, and of which you make Mention in your last, in returne to which I beg to accept a Examples: of Hamlts: federalist, which even, Tho no doubt you have, may be Usefull in duplo to be put in hands of Some of the Unbelievers<sup>2</sup>—

We are put in heigh Spirits by the Expectation that your State will Soon joine Our happy Union, and I Think the most Sanguine Hopes of Success may be rationally entretained, in Consequence of the enlightened Exertions of His Exelley: Johnson and his, and your friends; to the former Honble. Gentlemn: I beg my most humble respects, and pray Assure His Exelley: that I shall for ever gratefully acknowledge the Gracious reception given to me whil'st I was at Edentons; I beg also my Humble Compliments to Mistrs Iredell, and to Excuse this Scrawl wrote for want of Time in great haste

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University.

2. See Iredell to Poellnitz, 15 April 1788 (RCS:N.C., 146–47n), in which Iredell referred to his “Marcus” essays responding to George Mason's objections to the Constitution. For Iredell's reply of 25 July 1789, which enclosed his “Marcus” essays, see RCS:N.C., 665–66.

**Daniel Smith to Governor Samuel Johnston**  
**Sumner County, N.C., 24 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

The enclosed Letter from Colo. Robertson I have thought fit to send you, believing that it might convey as clear an idea of the devastations committed by the Indians in this Country as any thing that I could say. He speaks only of the County of Davidson, the other two Counties in proportion to their numbers have suffered accordingly. I assure you sir

many of the settlers here, being worn out with war, nothing being done by Government for our protection, the Federal Constitution not being agreed to, no Cession made to Congress, all these evils operated so forcibly on their minds, that had the Spaniards promised us effectual protection, I am persuaded, many here would have been for coming under their Government, in hopes of getting their Calamities alleviated.

But Sir for two or three weeks past our prospect has not been so gloomy; the Indians have been but little among us, by which we begin to have favorable hopes of the Treaty; it begins to be generally believed that this fall the State will agree to the Federal Constitution and probably the Cession Act may take place.<sup>2</sup>

What I would most particularly intercede with your Excellency to do, is to give Congress such information of Our Distresses as may induce them immediately upon the Constitution being agreed to, or the Cession Act made, to give us some effectual protection.

We are here very anxious to know what effect the Treaty will have with the Indians, or indeed whether there will be any at all with them, We hope that the Commissioners will represent to the Indians that we are under the protection of the United States altho not as yet in the Union.

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

2. For North Carolina's act ceding its western lands to Congress, which passed on 12 December 1789, see "An Act for the Purpose of ceding to the United States of America, certain Western Lands therein described," in *Laws of North-Carolina . . .* (Edenton, [1790]) (Evans 22741), chapter III, 3-4.

### **James Iredell to Pierce Butler**

**Edenton, N.C., 25 July 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I rejoice, not only that the new government is in motion, but that you have a share in conducting it, flattering myself it is a situation personally agreeable to you as well as highly useful to your Country.<sup>2</sup> I can scarcely permit myself to doubt that the extreme obstinacy of our People will last longer than Nov. next, when our new Convention is to meet, especially should capital amendments be proposed, which I think would have a most happy effect upon them. I do not mean amendments that would weaken any essential power (for in my opinion your strength is not an atom too much), but such principally as shall tend to obviate their fears of abuse by a misconstruction of the powers granted. Besides these, possibly 2 or 3 obnoxious powers may be modified without much injury. God grant the proposition may come in time for us. Possibly the adoption or non adoption of this State may depend upon

that very measure, & if we do not adopt them God Almighty knows what will become of us, or whether we shall be ever in the Union. The degree of anarchy we shall be thrown into may be attended with irremediable Evil, I dread to think of. . . .

I am ever, my dear Sir, with the truest respect, Your faithful & obed. Servt.

P.S. I beg the favour of your acceptance of a Copy of the Debates of our Convention.

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 507–8. Butler responded on 11 August (RCS:N.C., 671–73).

2. Butler was elected as a U.S. senator from South Carolina.

**James Iredell to Baron de Poellnitz**  
**25 July 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I had very great pleasure in receiving the letter you did me the honour to write me on the 8th. Inst.<sup>2</sup> and am extremely obliged to you for the Copy of the Federalist which you were so kind as to inclose, a work indeed which I had long seen & read with infinite delight, but I think you have done me a great favour in enabling me to impart the satisfaction of perusing it to some person to whom, its merit strange as it may seem, is hitherto unknown! In my opinion, it is one of the greatest political publications which have ever yet appeared in the world, and I am sure it will be read with admiration by every Country in Europe.

What I mentioned in my letter as a ~~little composition~~ publication of my own was I believe “Answers to Mr. Mason’s Objections”, a Copy of which, as you are pleased to desire it, I now inclose you. I wrote one or two other little things on the subject, but have no copies of them by me ~~and the publication of this in a Pamphlet was entirely the work of the Printer.~~ My Zeal I fear far outran my discretion, for I was fully convinced in my own mind that the fate of America depended on the adoption of the Constitution in that ~~immediate~~ particular period, and I had long been ashamed of the disgraceful light in which we appeared, not only to every other Country in the world, but even to ourselves. So that I confess my heart & soul was in the subject, & still is. ~~I beg your acceptance of a Copy of our Debates.~~ Every effort will be made to procure the adoption by this state in Nov next. I think myself unfortunate in not being able to be a Member ~~myself~~ but the interests of a great many Clients about that time absolutely indispensable—For mere private Interests of my own should prevent me. The governor I believe tho’ will be a Member & he is as Zealous as myself. He is very much pleased with your kind remembrance of him, and desires me to assure

you he ever thinks of you with the greatest respect, & will at all times be happy in hearing of your prosperity. . . .

I am, with very great respect,

1. FC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 508–10n.

2. See Poellnitz to Iredell, 8 July 1789 (RCS:N.C., 663).

### **Extract of a Letter from Huntington County, N.C., 26 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Huntington county N.C. dated July 26.*

“Our small county is become highly federal. The bench, bar and grand jury, and above 300 of our citizens, have already signed the petition for calling a convention, and we may expect 300 more signers to it. The anties have circulated a remonstrance against the measure in several of the neighbouring counties, drawn up in such indecent language, that many of their most sensible men will not sign it, by which means they will fall greatly short of the numbers they expected. I never saw so indecent a piece intended to be presented to any publick body.[’]”

1. Printed: Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 21 August. There was no Huntington County in North Carolina.

### **William Polk to John Gray Blount Tarborough, N.C., 27 July 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . What has become of our Western Map—is there any probability of its ever coming to maturity & of being any use to us beyond the Big Hill—That Country is fast settling many have gone there during this Spring & from the Tempory Treaty by Mr. Steele made great hope of a much larger

How goes on Election business you will be in the House I hope as well as Brothers W. R. & T. My own is not secure but a great probabi[li]ty of success the Constitution will go down with the back Country NOW.

Make my most respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Blount & believe me to be with very great esteem & Friendship

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 494–95. Polk (1758–1834), served in several major battles during the Revolutionary War rising to the rank of militia lieutenant colonel. In 1783 he became surveyor general of the Middle District (Tennessee), which he represented in the House of Commons. He returned to Mecklenburg County in 1786, which he represented in the Commons, 1787–88, 1790–91. He served as federal supervisor of internal revenue for the district of North Carolina, 1791–1808. He was Grand Master of Masons, 1799–1802, and served as the first president of the State Bank of North Carolina, 1811–19.

**George Lux to George Read  
Baltimore, 28 July 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . By the address of the Governour & Council of North Carolina to the President,<sup>2</sup> it is to be hoped, that State will speedily accede to the union, and if so, we can easily dragoon the State of Rhode Island into proper measures, as we shall have the Towns of Newport & Providence to back us<sup>3</sup>—I fear, lenient measures will not do with such a stiff-necked people, so immersed in dishonesty. . . .

1. RC, Richard S. Rodney Collection, Book C, Delaware Historical Society. Endorsed: "By Post." Lux (1753–1797), a well-educated, wealthy Baltimore merchant, wrote under the pseudonym "Aratus" in 1782 and may have used that pseudonym in other publications (RCS:Md., 30–45n). Read (1733–1798), a wealthy New Castle County, Del., lawyer, signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In 1789 he was one of Delaware's U.S. senators.

2. For the address of Governor Samuel Johnston and the North Carolina Council to President George Washington, 10 May 1789, and Washington's 19 June response, see RCS:N.C., 642–44, 653–54, respectively.

3. Both Federalist strongholds, Newport and Providence considered seceding from Rhode Island to join the Union if Rhode Island failed to ratify the Constitution.

**North Carolina Council Proceedings, 29 July 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

At a Council began and held at Edenton on the 29th. day of July.  
A. D. 1789.

Present

His Excellency Samuel Johnston esquire.

The Honorable James Iredell esqr. President

The Honorable

Josiah Collins	} Esquires
Demsey Conner.	

4 O'clock, ead. die

. . . Council Assembled, agreeably to Adjournment

Present as before. . . .

Read. The Answer of the President of the United States, to the address of the Governor and Council,<sup>2</sup> . . .

Ordered that the Clerk enter the same on the Journal of the Council.

The said Answer is in the following words.

[President George Washington's response to the address from Governor Johnston and the Council appears here. See RCS:N.C., 653–54.] The Governor at the same time informed the Council that as he understood it to be their sense as well as his own when the said Address was agreed to, that the same together with the Presidents Answer should

be published as early as possible, he had taken the liberty to have it published immediately after he received it, thinking it would be improper either to summon a Council for the particular purpose of laying the Answer before them, or to defer it 'till he had Occasion to convene them for some other purpose.

Resolved, That the Council highly approve of the Governors conduct in causing the address and answer to be published as early as possible, it being their Wish and intention that the same Should have been done when the address was agreed to—

1. MS, Council Journal, Nc-Ar.

2. A reference to President Washington's 19 June response to Governor Johnston and the North Carolina Council's address of 10 May. For the 10 May address and President Washington's response of 19 June, see RCS:N.C., 642–44, 653–54, respectively.

### **Extract of a Letter from New York, 29 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Messrs. HODGE & WILLS,

I beg the favour of you to publish in your paper, the enclosed extract of a letter from New-York, together with the report therein referred to, which I have been fortunate enough to receive since the letter came to hand.

I am, gentlemen, Your very humble servant                      A SUBSCRIBER.

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, to his friend in North-Carolina, dated July 29, 1789.*

“You know that I was from the first warmly opposed to the Constitution, and principally because the Congress were not expressly prohibited from dangerous exercises of power, which might be attempted, though they could not be fully justified under the Constitution. I confess, when the adoption took place, I lost all idea of amendments; supposing that when the Congress were in possession of power, they would not of themselves take any steps to diminish it, and would be jealous of any other endeavours for that purpose. You judged more favourably, and concluded that they would propose some material amendments, if with no other view than to give more general satisfaction. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that I was yesterday in the House of Representatives, when the Committee of Eleven (one from each state) made their report on the subject. It consisted of most satisfactory amendments indeed; the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE, the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, the TRIAL BY JURY in all common law cases, and other things I do not so particularly remember, are all included, and guarded in the plainest manner. My heart warmed when I heard the report read, and I am assured there is no reason to doubt that these amendments will

take place. I wished to send you a copy now, but as they are but just printed, I fear I cannot get one in time. I will, however, send you one by the earliest opportunity. You now will exult over me perhaps, on the superiority of your opinion to mine. It is supposed, however, that the critical situation of your state, had much weight with some of the Members; and in particular, that this event may be in a great measure ascribed to the address of your Governor and Council to the President,<sup>2</sup> which is here universally applauded, and the Members in general say, they are heartily willing to remove any fair scruple of North Carolina, when her sentiments are so moderate and becoming. I hope, indeed, that since so many states have adopted, North-Carolina will at all events come in. Her remaining out of the union can now only serve to embarrass the General Government, and perhaps totally ruin herself. Since the fervour of party has abated, I have indeed had very serious thoughts about the danger of disunion—and I have been the more alarmed in consequence of the accounts some of my friends give me, that the people in England and Nova-Scotia, plume themselves very much on the separation of your state from the others, and with the utmost ridicule and contempt say, we never shall agree but under the nursing protection of Great Britain. It is full time indeed to look about us when such language is held by people who we well know wish America ill, and have nothing so near their hearts as our destruction and disgrace. But as now all parties are like to be satisfied, I hope we shall unite to a man, to shew them that in a very short time we shall be superior to their malice, as we have already to their cost shewn we entertained the utmost contempt for their power.”

1. Printed: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 20 August. Reprinted in the *Fayetteville Gazette*, 14 September, without the prefatory text signed by “A Subscriber.”

2. For the 10 May address of Governor Johnston and the North Carolina Council to President Washington, see RCS:N.C., 642–44.

### **James Madison to Governor Samuel Johnston New York, 31 July 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I was duly honored with your favor of the 8th instant,<sup>2</sup> inclosing a copy of the President’s answer to the address of the Executive of your State.<sup>3</sup> The arrival coincided with the very moment when the subject of amendments had been resumed, and was certainly not an unpropitious circumstance. You will find the result of a commitment of the business in the inclosed paper. From the dispatch and concord which have latterly prevailed, I have no doubt that something will be effected during the present session, at least so far as may depend on the House

of Rep's. For the Senate I cannot answer, though I have no reason to suppose that any difficulties will be encountered there, if the plan of alterations be not extended beyond its present limits.

Delays which could not be avoided have postponed the passage of the collection bill so long that a short interregnum in the customs will be unavoidable. In the neighboring ports, however, it will not go beyond a day or two. The Judiciary system has been sent from the Senate and will probably be taken up to day in the House of Rep's. It is pregnant with difficulties, not only as relating to a part of the constitution which has been most criticised, but being in its own nature peculiarly complicated & embarrassing. The Senate have proceeded on the idea that the federal Gov't ought not to depend on the State Courts any more than on the State Legislatures, for the attainment of its ends and it must be confessed, that altho' the reasons do not equally hold in the two cases, yet not only theoretic propriety, but the vicious constitution and proceedings of the Courts in the same states, countenance the precaution in both. At the same time it seems scarcely practicable to carry federal justice home to the people on this plan without a number of offices & a degree of expense which are very serious objections to it. The plan of the Senate is perhaps disagreeable with encountering these objections without securing the benefits for which the sacrifice is to be made. In criminal matters it appears to be particularly defective, being irreconcilable as it stands with a *local* trial of offenses. The most that can be said in its favor is that it is the first essay, and in practice will be surely an experiment. In this light, it is entitled to great indulgence, and if not material improvement, should be made in the H. of Rep's, as is likely to be the case, will, I trust, remain that proof the public candor whenever it may make its appearance.

With the highest respect and sincerest regards,

1. Typescript, Johnston Collection, Hayes Library, Nc-Ar.

2. See Johnston to Madison, 8 July 1789 (RCS:N.C., 662–63n).

3. A reference to President Washington's 19 June response to Governor Johnston and the North Carolina Council's address of 10 May. For the 10 May address and President Washington's response of 19 June, see RCS:N.C., 642–44, 653–54, respectively.

### **William R. Davie to James Iredell**

**Tarborough Court, N.C., 4 August 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The debates were forwarded immediately by Mr. Kinchen to Hillsboro; the sale is but slow here I hope they will find a greater demand among the Western politicians.

I have distributed the first copies of the Address you sent me and I believe they will have a good effect<sup>2</sup>—the politicks of this district begin to assume a federal aspect, & I have some hopes there will be a majority returned in favor of the Constitution.

My Compts. to your family and the Governor and believe me with the most sincere friendship

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 510. Endorsed: "Favd. by Mr Bond." Docketed: "Recd. Aug. 13th."

2. Perhaps a reference to the address of Governor Samuel Johnston and the North Carolina Council to President George Washington, 10 May 1789, that was printed with Washington's response in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 9 July (RCS:N.C., 642–44). See also John Williams to Iredell, 11 September (RCS:N.C., 683).

### **William Loughton Smith to Edward Rutledge**

**New York, 9 August 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The Committee on Amendmts. have reported some, which are thought inoffensive to the federalists & may do some good on the other side; N. Car[olin]a only wants some pretext to come into the Union, & we may afford that pretext by recommending a few amendmts. . . .

1. RC, Smith Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. Printed: George C. Rogers, Jr., ed., "The Letters of William Loughton Smith to Edward Rutledge . . .," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LXIX (1968), 13–24. Smith (1758–1812), a Charleston, S.C., lawyer, was a member of the S.C. House of Representatives, 1785–90, and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–97. Rutledge (1749–1800), a prominent Charleston, S.C., lawyer and planter, served in the First and Second Continental Congresses and signed the Declaration of Independence. He served in the S.C. House of Representatives, 1776–95; S.C. Senate, 1796–98; the state constitutional convention, 1790; and as governor, 1798–1800. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the S.C. Convention in May 1788.

### **Pierce Butler to James Iredell**

**New York, 11 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My Dear Sir:

I was on Friday last honored with your very kind and very acceptable letter of the 25th of July.<sup>2</sup> I am indeed much gratified by your friendly remembrance of me. I do with truth assure you, that neither time nor a long separation have weakened those strong impressions that the goodness of your heart and the fineness of your feelings made on me in our early acquaintance; but on the contrary, convince me daily of your inestimable worth. I have long considered North Carolina fortunate in claiming you to aid in her councils, and promote her welfare.

I am sure, if she is sensible of the justness of your opinions, she will be led to true honor and substantial happiness.

I am unfortunate in the miscarriage of your letters, as the one above referred to is the only one I have received since last February twelve-months. I wrote you then a pretty long letter from Charleston, which I hope got to your hand—I wish to know if it did.

I am truly concerned at the loss your family have sustained in the death of Mrs. Blair and her son. “In every friend we lose, we die.” How just the observation! You inform me that your two dear children have been at the point of death. I am only surprised that they have lived so long; and still more so, that you, so attached to a domestic scene, can think of keeping your children in Edenton, where, if I do not greatly mistake, I was assured scarce ever a child was raised to manhood. Why not retire to a more healthy situation? Assuredly Edenton has full seeds of putrefaction in her river and many stagnate ponds.

Am I to hope for the satisfaction of seeing my friend on the floor of the Senate? *The Southern interest calls aloud for some such men as Mr. Iredell to represent it—to do it justice.* I am almost afraid to enter on the subject of the Constitution, yet I will confess to you, from whom I can conceal nothing, that I am materially disappointed. I find locality and partiality reign as much in our Supreme Legislature as they could in a county court or State legislature. Never was man more egregiously disappointed than I am. I came here full of hopes that the greatest liberality would be exercised; that the consideration of the *whole*, and the general good, would take place of every other object; but here I find men scrambling for partial advantages, State interests, and in short, a train of those narrow, impolitic measures that must, after a while, shake the Union to its very foundation. I once fondly thought that we should by our example contradict the assertion of Mr. Gillies, the Grecian historian,<sup>3</sup> and evince to the monarchies of the East, and mankind in general, that there can exist such a thing as a free, tranquil, and happy Republic, securing to the individual his dearest rights. But, indeed, I am more than short-sighted if we shall do so, unless we very soon turn from the recent error of our ways, and determine to feel for all alike. I write freely to you, but my opinions are only for you. Perhaps I am something like the fox in the fable, having lost my own tail,<sup>4</sup> I wish North Carolina to do likewise. I confess I wish you to come into the confederacy, as the only chance the Southern interest has to preserve a balance of power. Col. Davie and Mr. Williamson can witness for me that I was strongly federal; and that I conceded many points for the purpose of bringing about the Union, and a form of government less exceptionable than that of the old Confederation, where every power

was centred in one set of men; but I could not suppose that those *concessions* would be so soon abused and taken advantage of. Yet so it is; the acts of Congress will speak for themselves. I inclose you some of them. Pray give me your opinion of the Judiciary, Tonnage, and Impost bills. Some *gentry* proposed in the Impost and Tonnage bills some regulations with a view of forcing North Carolina into the Confederacy; I opposed it; I told the House you might be led, but not forced. If you wait for substantial amendments, you will wait longer than I wish you to do, speaking *interestedly*. A few *milk-and-water* amendments have been proposed by Mr. M[adison], such as liberty of conscience, a free press, and one or two general things already well secured. I suppose it was done to keep his promise with his constituents, to move for alterations; but, if I am not greatly mistaken he is not hearty in the cause of amendments.

It is at the moment I write as warm as I have felt it in South Carolina. Will you be able to decipher this? I write in much hurry, without being able to look over what I have wrote. You will be pleased to recollect it is for *yourself*, and not the public. With best respects, &c., I beg to subscribe myself, as in truth I am,

Your affectionate friend,

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 511–13n. Butler (1744–1822), a native of Ireland and a South Carolina planter, was a member of the S.C. House of Representatives, 1776–89, and a delegate to Congress and the Constitutional Convention, 1787. He served in the U.S. Senate, 1789–96.

2. See Iredell to Butler, 25 July (RCS:N.C., 664–65).

3. A reference to John Gillies, who wrote *The History of Ancient Greece, Its Colonies, and Conquests . . .* (2 vols., London, 1786).

4. A reference to one of Aesop's fables, "The Fox that had Lost His Tail." In the fable, a fox accidentally loses his tail in a trap. Recognizing his own shame, the fox tries to persuade other foxes of the benefits of being without a tail and encourages them to voluntarily part with theirs. The other foxes do not fall prey to the first's logic, rightly suspecting that the first had already lost his tail. The moral of Aesop's fable: "It is common for men to wish others reduced to their own level; and we ought to guard against such advice as may proceed from this principle" (Mons. de Meziriac, ed., *Aesop's Fables, Together with the Life of Aesop* [Chicago, 1897]).

### Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell Wilmington, N.C., 11 August 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>

For above a month past I have been tortured with the rheumatism, so that I have been incapable of all business, and at times unable to turn or raise myself in bed—It is in my arm shoulder and neck, and I now write with difficulty, and at intervals

I have heard nothing of the debates since I received yours with seven copies—This is the more mortifying, as I believe some of them would

sell here and at Fayetteville. Exclusive of some palpable errors, they are in many places defective. No notice is taken of my calling upon Spencer to declare whether the Judges had enforced [the] treaty of peace. This must have been *intentional*, and is the more provoking, as in some places I have no reason to be pleased with the figure I make in the groupe. How we shall get a few copies forward I do not know, & I am incapable of exerting myself. At all events, you must not suffer by the publication. . . .

I am very much pleased with the address of the Govr & Council and the President's answer.<sup>2</sup> Among such as mean well, it must have a powerful effect, but we have a set of mean swindling Scoundrels, who with all their bellowing for liberty are fit only to be the slaves of a tyrant.

Jones will be opposed in his election by W Hill, whose merit (from a foolish publication which I have not seen) consist in being a *native*, and having *sucked in the laws of the country with his mothers milk*. If he imbibed any wisdom that way, it could be nothing but the arts of a huckster, and the dexterity of purchasing poultry and other stolen goods from slaves. He is supported by some of the scotch merchants, by major Walker, and by Mr. John Huske, who though upon terms of intimacy with Jones, declared openly, that he would vote for any one who opposed him. Huske is again a candidate in the county for the convention. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 513–15.

2. See RCS:N.C., 642–44, 653–54.

### **Hugh Williamson to James Iredell New York, 12 August 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Major Butler has just Sent me two Packages to be forwarded by the first Vessel & these contain the Articles of public Note so fully that I shall not Send a Single Paper. The N. C. Debates are considerably read in this Place especially by congress Members. some of whom, who formerly had little Knowledge of the Citizens of N. C, have lately been very minute in their Enquiries concerning Mr. Iredell. By the Way I have lately been asked by a Senator whether I thought you would accept of a Judges Place under the new Govt. if it required your moving out of the State as we are not in the Union. To this as you may Suppose I reply'd that I was not prepared to answer, the Question being so complicated. A[n]s[were?] How far the Removal. What the Allowance &c.

I am So often asked what I think our State will do that I have left off answering except that we will probably do right if Congress set us the Example. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 515–16. Endorsed: "Ansd. Aug. 29th. 1789."

**Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C., 12 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Edenton, (North Carolina) to his friend in this town—dated August 12, 1789.*

“The time for appointing members to meet in convention is fast approaching; the people in the lower counties, where I have been, are all determined Federalists, and are resolved not to give any their votes who are not perfectly Federal. Several gentlemen of good information from the back counties, with whom I have conversed, give me the pleasing intelligence of an alteration in the sentiments of the people, who, it seems, from rank *anti*'s are now become perfect *fed*'s; so fully are they convinced of the ill policy of seperating themselves from the Union, and of the excellency of our Constitution.

JONES, the celebrated leader of the antifederal faction, appears convinced of his error, and has declared that he will not attend the Convention this time; he has been frequently heard to declare, that, when he was at the last Convention, and had scrutinized the characters of those who were against the Constitution; he blushed to think he was seconded by such a vile herd of infamous fellows.

It is the opinion in general here, and from the best information I can procure, I am confident the Federal Constitution will be adopted by this state, at their next Convention.—When this desirable event takes place, poor Rhodeisland will be the only mark of wickedness and folly for the finger of scorn to point at.

I am very happy in reflecting that but so small a part of what *was* the 13 States has had the unpardonable stupidity to refuse the good things offered in the Constitution, that New Testament which confirms to us our political salvation.”

1. Printed: Boston *Herald of Freedom*, 8 September. Reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 1 October, and eight other times also by 1 October: R.I. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (3), Pa. (2).

**Extract of a Letter from New Bern, N.C., 13 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Newbern, N.C. to his Correspondent at Philadelphia, August 13, 1789.*

“The general opinion in Newbern, is, that the New Constitution will be adopted by the State Convention which meets in November. This opinion is founded on the present one of the Antifederalists,—some among the foremost of these, have said, ‘they shall vote for the Constitution.’”

1. Printed in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 3 September, and reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 September; and in the *New York Packet* and Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 September.

### **Extract of a Letter from Wilmington, N.C., 13 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Wilmington (N.C.) dated August 13, 1789.*

“Our election for members of assembly and convention comes on next week; and it is generally supposed, that this state will adopt the federal constitution.”

1. Printed in the *New York Journal*, 27 August, and reprinted eight times by 9 September: Mass (1), N.Y. (3), Pa. (4).

### **James Madison to Richard Peters New York, 19 August 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... Some amendts. are necssy. for N. Carola. I am so informed by the best authorities in that State.—I set out with an apology for not writing sooner, I must conclude with one, for writing so much, & still more for writing so scurvily.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 346–48. Peters (1744–1828), a Philadelphia lawyer, graduated from the College of Philadelphia, 1761. He was secretary to the Continental Board of War, 1776; member of the Board of War, 1777–81; member of the Confederation Congress, 1782–83; state Assembly, 1787–90 (speaker, 1788–90); and federal district judge, 1792–1828.

### **Letter from Edenton, N.C., 29 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

A letter from Edenton, in North-Carolina, dated August 29th, says, “The federal party here have great hopes from our convention, which is to sit in a few weeks. A number of the counties, that were formerly anti-federal, have now returned federal members, and seem desirous of coming into the Union.”

1. Printed: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 September. The transcription is taken from the *Federal Gazette*. The version in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* differs slightly in capitalization and spelling. The piece was reprinted in the *New York Daily Gazette*, 21 September.

### **Hugh Williamson: Memorial to the U.S. Congress New York, 31 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

In August 1789 Congress implemented a tonnage act that levied a duty on all ships entering American ports based upon its carrying capacity in tons. The act differentiated between American-built and owned ships, American-built but foreign-owned ships, and all other ships. The act treated North Carolina and Rhode Island as foreign countries in commercial matters, thus requiring their inhabitants to pay foreign tonnage duties. In a memorial to Congress, Hugh Williamson requested that Congress reconsider the act and suspend the

duties on North Carolinians and Rhode Islanders for a brief time. On 11 September Congress considered such a proposal that would suspend the foreign duties until 15 January 1790. Representative Thomas Sumter of South Carolina objected saying that the suspension of the duties on North Carolinians “was on the petition only of an individual (Dr. Williamson) who had presumed to speak the sense of the state without warrant, and contrary probably to the truth of the fact. He said the house had no evidence of the wishes of the people of that state. If the application itself was not an insult to the house, he said it was highly unjustifiable.” Representative James Madison of Virginia responded “in defence of the petition—Said it came from a respectable character in North-Carolina, who had now in his pocket a commission from that state as [a] member of the old Congress. That he still was a representative of that state, and had a right to petition in behalf of the people.” The vote was taken and the provision for suspending the duties to 15 January 1790 was passed (*Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 15 September 1789).

The act suspending the foreign tonnage duty on North Carolina and Rhode Island was printed in the *State Gazette of North Carolina* on 1 October 1789 with the preface: “We are happy in communicating to the public, the inclosed copy of an act of Congress, which has been transmitted by a gentleman at New-York; and which, so far as it concerns this state and Rhode Island, was probably obtained in consequence of a memorial presented by our worthy citizen, Hugh Williamson, Esquire, on behalf of this state, and an application, the particulars of which we are not acquainted with, on behalf of Rhode-Island.”

To the Honourable the Congress of the United States.

The Memorial of Hugh Williamson a Citizen of North Carolina in Behalf of the Merchants and other Citizens of that State who are Owners of Vessels sheweth,

That in Consequence of the late Tonnage Act, whatever was the Intention of Congress, the Citizens of North Carolina are treated within, the United States as Foreigners in sundry Ports and their Vessels are compelled to pay the Alien Duty of fifty Cents per Ton. The Operations of this Measure are extremely grievous to many good Citizens of that State and may prove unfavourable, as your Memorialist conceives, to the general Interest of Commerce. It is generally known that the Waters of North Carolina, except at Cape Fear, do not admit of large Vessels, hence it is that a great Part of our Staple is exported in small Coasters to the Northerly States to be carried to distant Markets in their larger Ships. Our Bankers on the Coast,<sup>2</sup> a Sett of Men whose Fidelity was conspicuous during the late War, are supported chiefly by this Trade and many other Families depend on small coasting Vessels for their Support. It is admitted that the Profits of a coasting Trade are generally very small, for which Reason this Branch of Commerce must be absolutely destroyed if the Alien Tonnage Duty continues to be leyed on our Vessels. If small Vessels shall be prevented from exporting our Produce, part of it must perish on Hands; since large Vessels, fit for the

European Trade, can hardly enter our Ports. By such an Event the general State of Commerce might be injured as well as our own Citizens.

Your Memorialist begs it may also be considered that one Thousand Vessels nearly are cleared every year in the several Ports of North Carolina and that four hundred of those Vessels at least are owned in other American States. That the Revenue Law, now in Force in North Carolina, imposes a Duty of *five Shillings per Ton on all Vessels belonging to foreigners* with whom there is no Treaty. There is also a Duty of twenty per Cent imposed by the same Law on all goods imported in such Vessels *in addition to the Duties payable on similar Goods* imported in our own Vessels. American Produce is not taxed. The Citizens of North Carolina have not hitherto considered the Citizens of other American States as Foreigners, when compared with themselves; nor are they desirous to be considered as Foreigners in the other States, but if they continue to be treated as such under the Laws of the Union, the public Officers of that State will find it necessary to adopt the same Ideas however unpleasing to a great portion of their fellow Citizens. They must inevitably demand the Alien Duty from Vessels belonging to the Citizens of the other States. This Measure would bring little Comfort to a starving Citizen but it would give an additional Wound to a Branch of the national Commerce by throwing it into a different Channel.

Your Memorialist has taken the Liberty to remark that the Citizens of North Carolina do not consider themselves as Foreigners. They are at this Instant paying Taxes as Members of the Union for the Benefit of the national Treasury and they conceive it as very probable that within a few Months they shall formally have adopted the new Constitution. Delegates are already chosen who are to meet in Convention in November next to determine that Question.

Your Memorialist having the Honour of a Commission to represent the State of North Carolina in Congress according to the original Form of Government, holding also another Appointment under the State<sup>3</sup> he flatters himself that Congress will be pleased to consider his present Application as consisting with the Duty he owes the State.

Your Memorialist is aware that the National Revenue might be materially affected by any general or permanent Alterations in the Tonnage Law, he flatters himself nevertheless that his Constituents have a Claim to the particular Attention of Congress as they stand at this instant in a singular Point of Light, wherefore he entreats that Congress would be pleased to take the Premises into their serious Consideration and suspend the Operation of the Tonnage Law, at least for a few Months, so far as it is supposed to regard the Citizens of North Carolina as Foreigners.

1. FC, North Carolina State Papers (1788–1789), Duke University. The memorial was printed in the *Providence Gazette*, 5 September; *New York Weekly Museum*, 5 September; *New York Journal*, 10 September; *New York Daily Advertiser*, 18 September; and *New York Daily Gazette*, 19 September.

2. Coastal inhabitants—not a reference to a financial institution.

3. Williamson was a North Carolina delegate to the Confederation Congress and had recently been appointed as a commissioner to settle North Carolina's accounts with Congress.

**Abishai C. Thomas to John Gray Blount**  
**New York, 1 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Congress have been on the business of amendments, they have passed the representatives & are now before the Senate, I cannot enclose them, until a water conveyance offers—

Genl Lincoln, Mr. Cyrus Griffin, & Col. Humphries, Commissioners to treat with the Southern Indians Sail'd yesterday about 2 oClock for Savannah, but Doctor Williamson has memorial'd [Congress?] on the Subject of N. C. Vessels paying [the] 50 Cents Tonnage, his memorial is committed. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 503–4. Thomas served as a business agent for Blount first in Washington, N.C., and then in New York City from January 1789 to September 1790. Thomas had drinking and gambling problems that landed him in prison.

**Arthur Campbell to Archibald Stuart**  
**Washington, Va., 2 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I lately took a tour to the Superior Court of the Western Circuit N. Carolina in order to have an interview with the Chief Justice Spencer, who is the principal leader of opposition in that State to the new federal Constitution. I was gratified in my expectations, and am now possessed with a view of the Wheel within the Wheel, or the private, as well as the ostensible reasons of the conduct of the majority in their late Convention.

I most anxiously wish that you would communicate to Mr. Madison in Congress, to endeavour to have such alterations as may be thought proper forwarded to the States early in November.<sup>2</sup> It will do more than any thing that can be thought of to overturn the projects of a junto in this State as well as N. Carolina. The wish is to keep out of the union several years, from sinister motives of a few. The Amendments will gratify the great body of the People, and may cause the real motives of the junto to be discovered.

Altho I wish the foregoing sentiments to be communicated in a private way, yet if you judge it of use, you may copy the paragraph and

mention my name, to your friend who I know is closeminded and can improve a hint.

1. RC, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Campbell (1743–1811), a planter, was a Washington County justice of the peace and county lieutenant. He served as a delegate to Virginia's fifth revolutionary Convention, 1776, and in the House of Delegates, 1776–79, 1782–84, 1786–88. Stuart (1757–1832), a Staunton, Va., lawyer, served in the House of Delegates, 1783–85, 1786–88, and as a delegate to the Virginia ratifying Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution, 1788.

2. A reference to the amendments to the Constitution proposed by James Madison in the U.S. House of Representatives.

**James Robertson to Esteban Miró**  
**Nashville, N.C., 2 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I must beg your Excellency's permission to take this early opportunity of thanking you for the honor you did me in writing by Mr. White.

I Still hope that your Government and these Settlements, are destined to be mutually friendly and usefull, the people here are impressed with the necessity of it.—

We have just held a Convention; which has agreed that our members shall insist on being Separated from North Carolina.—

Unprotected, we are to be obedient to the New Congress of the United States: but we cannot but wish for a more interesting Connection.—

The United States afford us no protection. The District of Miro is daily plundered and its inhabitants murdered by the Creeks, and Cherokees, unprovoked. your removeing the latter Savages would bind us, ever to remain a gratefull people.—

For my own part, I conceive highly of the advantages of your immediate Government. But my estate, here, is Such that I could not flatter myself to equal it by removeing to any part; our lands Satisfying my utmost wishes and being infinitely before anything I have seen elsewhere.—

I thank you for the diminution of the duties in my favor.—

1. Printed: Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., "Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765–1794," *American Historical Association Annual Report for the Year 1945* (Washington, D.C., 1946), III, Part II, 279–80. Miró (1744–1795) fought against the British in West Florida during the American Revolution. In 1782 he became acting governor of Louisiana and then governor from 1785 to 1791. Robertson (1742–1814), a pioneer in settling Tennessee, Indian agent, and soldier, was a native of Virginia, who moved to N.C. with his parents around 1750. In the 1770s he was one of the leading organizers of the Watauga Association and an agent for the Association in dealing with Indians. With a group in the 1780s, Robertson helped to establish Nashville (later Tennessee) in western North Carolina. Robertson represented Davidson County (later Tennessee) in the N.C. General Assembly. After Tennessee statehood, he assisted in negotiating treaties with the Indians. He represented

Davidson County in the Tennessee constitutional convention, 1796, and in the Tennessee state Senate, 1798.

**Extract of a Letter from North Carolina, 3 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in North Carolina,  
dated Sept 3, 1789.

[“]From the elections which have taken place for members to our Convention, which is to meet in November, I think you may rest assured, that this state will adopt the New-Constitution.”

1. Printed in the no-longer-extant issue of the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 12 September. The transcription is taken from the Richmond *Virginia Gazette*, 17 September, the earliest reprinting. Reprinted in eleven newspapers by 7 November: Mass. (3), N.Y. (4), Pa. (3), Va. (1), and in Elizabeth Town, N.J., *The Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine*, August and September issue.

**Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston  
New York, 5 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

You have been informed that a Peace with the southern Indians is taken up by Congress as a serious Object and the Business seems now to be in a fair Train. Twenty thousand Dollars are appropriated to discharge the Expences and the Commissioners Genl Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin & Col: Humphries sailed on Monday last for Georgia to attend at a Treaty to be held on this Month; They have with them a Guard of fifty Continental Soldiers. It appears to me that the Safety and Peace of our Citizens in the Western Country is more or less affected by every Treaty that is held with southern Indians. Two Cherokees who lately arrived here by Land with their Complaints are gone in Company with the Commissioners. I wished to take an early Opportunity of impressing the Commissioners with the absolute Necessity of prevailing on the Indians to relinquish all Claim to the Lands on which our People have settled With this View I threw a few Sentiments on that Subject into the Form of a Letter which I handed the Commissioners.<sup>2</sup> Inclosed you have a Copy. It is a Subject to which I never have adverted but with Pain, for though I never knew a Man of more humanity or more Integrity than the Gentleman who was at the Head of the Commissioners who made the Hopewell Treaty yet I cannot admit of a Doubt but the Settlers must be quieted even though it becomes necessary to make another Purchase of those Lands from the Indians.

You have also inclosed the Copy of a Memorial I thought it my Duty to present to Congress in behalf of our Commerce.<sup>3</sup> I hope the Paper does not require other Explanation. The Subject is under Commitment

& you shall be informed whether Congress think fit to alter their Law. I am aware that our Wishes may not be a little thwarted by numerous Petitions come or coming from Rhode Island. Those People seem to be asking things that are not safely to be granted.

1. RC, John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University.
2. See Williamson to the U.S. Indian Commissioners, September 1789 (Mfm:N.C.).
3. See Hugh Williamson: Memorial to the U.S. Congress, 31 August 1789 (RCS:N.C., 676–79n).

**Francis Child to Hugh Williamson and Abishai C. Thomas  
Hillsborough, N.C., 6 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I have the pleasure to inform you, that as far as I have heard from the several Counties in this State, I have every reason to believe, that our next Convention, will adopt the Constitution, as the greatest part that I know, are Federalists. . . .

1. FC, Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers, Correspondence of the Comptroller, Nc-Ar.

**John Sitgreaves to John Gray Blount  
New Bern, N.C., 10 September 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Guernsey handed me last Evening your Letter with fifteen Copies of the Debates instead of 16 as you mentioned, as I took them out of the Bags myself I am inclined to think the mistake was probably with yourself, & that Guernsey is not culpable. . . .

[P.S.] I still continue very weak & much oppressed by fevers

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 506. Sitgreaves (1757–1802) immigrated from England to New Bern, where he studied law. He was aide-de-camp to General Richard Caswell during the Revolutionary War and became commissioner of confiscated property in the New Bern district. Sitgreaves served as clerk of the N.C. state Senate, 1778–80; as a delegate from New Bern in the state House of Commons, 1783–84, 1786–88; and as a delegate to the Confederation Congress, 1785. Sitgreaves was a U.S. district judge for North Carolina, 1790–1802.

**Wilmington Centinel, 10 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

The amendments to the constitution of the United States, proposed by congress will undoubtedly satisfy the minds of *all* its enemies.<sup>2</sup>—Not a door is left open for complaint, should the amendments be ratified by three fourths of the legislatures of the several states. Every friend to the Union may now with pleasure anticipate the adoption of the constitution by this state, and of its again becoming one of its members.

The enemies to the federal constitution in this state, says a correspondent, have nothing to boast in the completion of so desirable an object to them, as amendments to the constitution, this state not being represented in congress.

It is an almost unparall[el]ed instance, of a public body possessed of power, abridging it, and fully contradicts the grand argument of the opponents to the constitution, that—“*if Congress are once possessed of the power vested in the constitution, they never will relinquish or amend it conformable to our wishes.*”

1. Reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 24 September, and in twelve other newspapers by 27 October: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (2), N.Y. (4), Pa. (1), Md. (1). (Three of the reprints only included the first paragraph: N.H., Mass., and R.I.)

2. With his speech of 8 June 1789, James Madison initiated the process of amending the Constitution. Madison's effort represented the fruits of a promise he had made to constituents during his campaign for election to the U.S. House of Representatives. On 25 September, both houses of Congress had come to an agreement on twelve proposed amendments to the new Constitution.

### John Williams to James Iredell

Montpelier, N.C., 11 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . I thank you for the few copies of the address of the Governor & Council & answer,<sup>2</sup> I wish there had have been more of them, as I intend to take them to the back Country, and to dispose of them in a manner in which I doubt not but they will have the desired Effect, Col Davie had a short time before favored me with about the same number which I had disposed of up & down my own county & which had been particularly pleasing, an[d] met the approbation of all I heard speak of them; Except our freind (if he is within yr. number) Genl Person

you say you think that I should be pleased with the answer. I was very much so, but I assure you Sir not more than I was with the address it self, which in my opinion was a well advised thing, at a proper time, and Will I am purswaded answer very salutary purposes as well with the Presedent and congress of the united states, as with the citizens of this State I am also much pleased with what you Inform me Mr. Madison wrote the Governor<sup>3</sup> & shall make use of that paragraph in you[r] letter to Evince to those to whome I shew it the probable Effect which the address may have &c.

I have not heard who is Ellected to the convention in many counties, in this they will be divided on the constitution as they will I am told in Orange Rowan & Several of the upper counties, in Mecklenburg all for it, & none could be Elected who were agt it, in Randolph all against it, but have heard of no other county where they were all so. I hope there will at least be a majority found for it. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 521–22. Williams' plantation Montpelier was situated near Williamsboro in Granville County. Williams (1731–1799), a native of Hanover County, Va., and a lawyer, moved to Granville County, N.C., around 1742. He was appointed deputy attorney general for the Hillsborough district, 1768. In 1774 Williams and other partners formed the Transylvania Company for selling land in Kentucky. Upon his return to North Carolina, he served as a delegate from Granville County to the state House of Commons, 1778 (speaker). Williams served in the Continental Congress, 1778, where he signed the Articles of Confederation, and on the state Superior Court of Law and Equity, 1779–99.

2. A reference to Governor Samuel Johnston and the North Carolina Council's address to President George Washington of 10 May and President Washington's 19 June response. For the address and President Washington's response, see RCS:N.C., 642–44, 653–54, respectively.

3. Probably a reference to the 31 July letter from James Madison to Governor Samuel Johnston (RCS:N.C., 669–70). See also Madison to Johnston, 21 June (RCS:N.C., 654–55).

### **U.S. Act Suspending Tonnage Duties on North Carolina and Rhode Island, 11 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

One of the most important issues facing the first federal Congress under the Constitution was to establish a revenue. It was thought that a national tariff would provide most of the money needed to fund the federal government during peacetime. Consequently Congress quickly considered an impost bill, a tonnage bill, and a collection bill. It was felt that Rhode Island and North Carolina, the only two states that had not yet ratified the Constitution, should be treated as foreign countries in commercial matters. (The draft bill for collecting duties on imported goods was printed in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 11 June 1789.)

Congress passed the Tonnage Act on 20 July 1789. Scheduled to go into effect on 15 August 1789, the act provided that each ship or vessel entering an American port would pay a duty based on its carrying capacity in tons. Ships were to be divided into three categories: (1) American-built and owned ships, (2) American-built but foreign-owned ships, and (3) all other ships. American-owned or built ships would be assessed 6¢ per ton, all ships built in the United States and owned in whole or in part by foreigners would be assessed 30¢ per ton; and all other ships would be assessed 50¢ per ton.

North Carolina had only a limited direct foreign commerce. It had an active coastal trade run by "sand bankers" on its coast who indirectly imported foreign goods from and exported North Carolina produce to a number of American ports, especially to several ports in Virginia and South Carolina. The assessment of foreign tonnage duties on North Carolina merchants was expected to have a devastating impact on the state's commercial viability. Federalists used this economic "sword of Damocles" in their arguments in favor of calling a new state convention to reconsider the Constitution. Several Federalists wrote friends and federal officials seeking a delay in implementing such a draconian measure against North Carolina. On 31 August 1789, Hugh Williamson, stationed in New York City as one of North Carolina's two commissioners appointed to settle Revolutionary War accounts with Congress, wrote a memorial

to Congress requesting on the behalf of North Carolina merchants that a suspension of the duty on North Carolina be granted (RCS:N.C., 676–79). Congress obliged on 16 September 1789 with an act suspending the foreign tonnage duty on North Carolina and Rhode Island until 15 January 1790. North Carolina Federalists would continue to use the threat of foreign duties as a reason why North Carolina should ratify the Constitution and return to the Union.

An Act for suspending the operation of part of An Act intituled,  
“An Act imposing duties on Tonnage”

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that so much of an Act intituled “An Act imposing duties on tonnage,” as may be construed to subject the Ships or Vessels belonging to the Citizens of the States of North Carolina, or Rhode Island and Providence plantations, to the payment of any greater tonnage duty, than is by the said Act, imposed on Ships or Vessels belonging to the Citizens of the United States, be and is hereby suspended in its operation, until the fifteenth day of January next.

Read the third time and passed the House of Representatives.

John Beckley Clerk

1. Printed: DHFFC, VI, 1964. Taken from the engrossed House Bills, HR, DNA.

### **Extract of a Letter from Fayetteville, N.C.**

**12 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Fayette-Ville, North-Carolina, dated September 12.*

“I think there is not a doubt that the Convention which is to meet here in November, will adopt the Constitution—the amendments will do the business. . . .”

1. Printed: *New York Gazette of the United States*, 14 October. Reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 5 November, and in ten other newspapers by 30 October: R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (2), Pa. (4), Md. (1), Va. (1).

### **John Reid to Daniel Smith**

**Caswell County, N.C., 14 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

The len[g]th of time, nor the distance we are Seperated has not made me forget you. And I am now happy that I have it in my power to write to you by Mr. John Winsor. Their has been in this Country for Some time past; Great devisitions Amongst the people Respecting the New form of Government. But I flatter myself, it will in A Short Time be at an end; as it is Generally Believed this ensuing Convention will Exceed to the New Constitution, I will be Verry happy to receive a letter

from you, by the bearer, with your opinion Respecting your Country, And the disposition of the Indians at Present, And if Any Friendship may be expected from them at a future day. I have Sent you one paper which [is] all [I] have.

1. RC, Smith Papers, Tennessee Historical Society. Reid was a bookseller and commercial mapmaker who moved to New York City.

**Archibald Maclaine to John Hay  
Wilmington, N.C., 17 September 1789 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I know nothing of Mackay's opinion, if he has any, with respect to the new government, & Moore's I suppose will be governed by his customers—upon the whole, I am not dissatisfied with the Cumberland election, though I am sorry you lost a seat in the Senate by the duplicity of Campbell and Mackay. You should make it a rule, not to be departed from: that a Scotchman is not to be depended upon against one of his own countrymen.

So far as I am informed of Elections,<sup>2</sup> I am pleased with them—There are many good men elected who were left out last year—I am certain there are some, and I believe many, who will vote differently than what they did, when they had the honor to be Willie Jones's puppets—By the way, I do not hear any thing of him, nor who are elected for Halifax & Northampton If he is a member, he has now a fair opportunity of changing sides, without incurring the charge of inconsistency, as the amendments proposed and carried, by such a large majority, can leave no room to doubt of their adoption. In any event, I do not believe that W. Jones will a second time lead such a number by the nose. . . .

The merchants here, as I understand, for I have not lately been among them, appear more displeas'd at the high tonnage, than the impost on goods They have the less reason for this, as the tonnage on foreign shipping is equal; for I am decid'd in opinion that their ought to have been a discrimination with respect to foreigners in treaty with us; but we see by this the power of the Southern interest

Jones goes off to morrow for Newbern, & from thence to Fayetteville immediately. Lest I should not meet a favorable opportunity direct to you I send my packet by him—He intends to accompany you to Hillsborough, as an humble factor to their Honors. . . .

1. RC, Morris Family Papers, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina. Hay (c. 1757–1809), a native of Belfast, Ireland, purchased 2,800 acres of land in Duplin County in 1779 and sailed to Virginia the same year, taking a loyalty oath to the Patriot

cause on arrival. In 1780 he settled in North Carolina, where he practiced as a lawyer. Hay represented Sampson County in the state House of Commons, 1784–85, 1785; Cumberland County, 1786–87; and the town of Fayetteville, 1790, 1793–94, 1799, 1805. (He had moved to Fayetteville in 1786.) He represented Cumberland County in the Fayetteville Convention, 1789, where he voted to ratify the Constitution and served on a committee to recommend amendments to the Constitution.

2. A reference to the 21–22 August elections to North Carolina's second Convention in Fayetteville, which would ratify the Constitution on 21 November (194 to 77).

**Hugh Williamson to President George Washington**  
**New York, 19 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I took the Liberty some Time ago to mention a Citizen of North Carolina as a Gentleman who might discharge the Duties of a Judge with Honour to himself and Satisfaction to the Public.

Mr James Iredell, who is Brother in Law to Governour Johnston, is the Gentleman to whom I referred. At the Beginning of the late Revolution he held an Office under the Crown, he resigned it immediately and in Order to cut off the Bridge he accepted of a Judge's Gown in the superiour Court. That Office he quitted after some Time and was afterwards for some Years Attorney for the State.<sup>2</sup> He is in the first Practice as a Lawyer, his Abilities and learning are extensive and he seems generally to be measured as the Standard of Integrity; his private Life is amiable and without Reproach; his Diligence is great and I believe there is not a man in the State who does not think him entitled to any Degree of public Trust.

If you should at any Time be disposed to make farther Enquiries concerning Mr Iredell, he is well known to Major Butler and probably to some other Members of Congress. I have the Honour to be with the utmost Consideration Sir Your most obedt servant

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.

2. Iredell served as comptroller and, later, collector of customs for Port Roanoke in Edenton, and in 1774 he was appointed a deputy king's attorney. Iredell also served on the Superior Court of Law and Equity, 1778, and as state attorney general, 1779–82.

**Another true Federalist**  
**Fayetteville Gazette, 21 September 1789**

To the PEOPLE of AMERICA.  
 NUMBER I.

*Friends and brethern,*

As the federal constitution is the key that has opened the gates into the endless mazes of political disquisition, and as the subject is of the

first magnitude, affecting not only the present generation, but successive races yet in their loins, it therefore becomes a duty in every person interested both to speak and to hear.

Of all the performances which have yet come forward on that interesting subject, there is none that approximates to an equality with a recent publication under the signature of "*A true Federalist.*"<sup>1</sup> That author, with a sagacity which would have done honour to the greatest statesman of ancient or modern times, has not only exhibited the certain operation and consequences of that constitution, but has stripped it of its false and deluding dress, so liberally laid upon it by its designing advocates. He has also, in the most unanswerable manner, blown away those visionary evils with which the good people of this state have been persecuted, as the certain consequence of our non-acceptance thereof.

As this publication has occasioned an absolute and entire renovation in my political principles, I think it my incumbent duty to shew to the world the ground of my present conversion, as you will find it in No. I. and II. of the true Federalist.

In the first instance the author gives us to understand, that the proposed constitution was the result of a coalition between the Nationalists and the Aristocrates, two parties in the grand convention, thus stiled from the aspect of their political principles, and that, with an address truly astonishing, they pushed it into the world as the production of a third party in the convention, stiled FEDERALISTS. Now, is it possible that regal and aristocratical principles, however blended, could bring forth a constitution calculated for the meridian of a free and enlightened people? Can a clean thing come out of an unclean one? Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots? It is a folly to draw inferences from this fact; the evils it will produce are more in number than the hairs of our head.

I was formerly led to believe, that the majority in our late state convention were directed by certain selfish principles, which was the occasion of their rejecting the constitution; but I now find there were no exceptions made, nor no privileges asked, but what equally concerned all the other states; the conclusion then, drawn from this quarter, is, that their proceedings were rested upon the soundest policy and most brilliant patriotism. Again, I find the boasted, choleric, and decisive reasoning of the minority, to consist merely in sound, while the manly, though unmusical arguments of the majority remained unanswered. The manner in which the minority have taken to do away the presumption of self-interested views, is beautifully exposed. There are, it seems, but seven places to contend for;<sup>2</sup> yet we find twenty or thirty will interest themselves in supporting that government on which those places

depend; besides a number of other places in the judicial arrangement, will have a similar effect, as every candidate will expect his lot to fall among the loaves and fishes, which is a prospect rich and delicious to those who have hitherto lain among the pots—for are not the gleanings of the federal courts better than the vintage of the state judiciaries.

That plausible, though futile argument of unconditional adoption, in order to procure the necessary amendments so frequently trumpeted forth by the federalists, is blasted to nothing, and its horrid consequences strikingly adumbrated by a person having his hands tied in such a manner that he can neither bear it, nor untie them, when his very existence depends upon their liberty.

The difference between our conditional delay, in order to gain the necessary amendments, and the mode so speciously advocated by the federalists, I am informed bear the same proportion to each other, with respect to their salutary operations, as a deadlift to a lever; and that difference every rustic knows to whom the knowledge of the hand-spoke has ever made its way. The important consequences of our present posture of lying upon our oars (a metaphor which both decorates and braces this part of the authors argument) I never yet conceived; and perhaps it never has been noticed in all the investigations this great subject has undergone. I say, it will come home to the case of North-Carolina with great power, producing events of the first magnitude.—We are possessed of almost boundless territory to the West, which our assembly are not to cede. One half of confederated America, in consequence of their heavy and insupportable taxes, will fly to us for shelter, and become our subjects; for, being forced by the federal government to receive in addition to the salutary chastisements of the whip, the tremendous lash of scorpions, then will the state of North-Carolina exceed the whole of the confederated states, by the whole of her present numbers. This event, equally certain and important, will not only endanger, but probably annihilate the very existence of the confederacy, and consequently North-Carolina bid fair to give law to the whole of the present union.

Before I finish this number, it will be necessary to obviate an objection which possibly may be brought against the *true Federalist's* mode of reasoning; that is, that his conclusions are drawn from premises not true; or in other words, that he asserts facts to answer his purpose, and proceeds upon them accordingly. To these objections I will oppose the confessed maxim in the law, that innocency, and consequently truth is presumed of every person till the contrary appears; another auxiliary maxim also, that every declaration of a person's mind, in the nature of a will, is to be so construed, that the intent of the party may be fully

come up to. Now it is clear this declaration partakes richly of the nature of a will. The sentiments therein contained, are rich legacies bequeathed to all the world, infinitely superior to any of the pecuniary kind. All the difference between this, and a will executed under all the legal solemnities, is, that in the first case the legacies vest before the testator's death—in the latter, not till after his death; for in the first case, as soon as any person makes himself master of the ideas, and adopts them as a rule of action, they are with respect to such a person, a vested legacy. Now it is obviously the interest of the true Federalist to invalidate and blast the federal constitution; so that if those maxims should be denied, an extensive and proper operation, both his reasoning and my conversion, will fall together. It is to be lamented, that this important circumstance has been disregarded by all the states now in the new union, in this unlawful dissolution of the old confederation. The necessary solemnities of its dissolution not being observed, consequently it yet remains in full vigour and force, and the state of North Carolina entitled to all the privileges of that confederation now as much as ever it was. It is absolutely necessary to keep those principles in view, as a direct reference to them will be necessary to obviate a number of objections which may be brought against the substance of my next number; for upon this point hangs the force of the author's reasoning; and consequently the basis of my late conversion will instantly melt away, should the above maxims not prevail.

I am, dear friends, Your real well-wisher, ANOTHER TRUE FEDERALIST.  
*Hillsborough, August 20, 1789.*

*(Remainder next week.)*<sup>3</sup>

1. "A true Federalist" has not been located.
2. The "seven places" referred to North Carolina's five U.S. representatives and two U.S. senators under the proposed Constitution.
3. The subsequent issue of the *Fayetteville Gazette* is not extant.

### **Letter from Washington, N.C., 21 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Washington, North-Carolina,  
dated Sept. 21, to the Printer hereof.*

"At our last election in this county, I was elected one of the members of the Convention, which is to meet in November next. From accounts from the different parts of the state, I am in doubt whether the Constitution will be adopted; there is a strong party of Anti-federals in the back country, and some in the lower part of the state."

1. Printed: *New Jersey Journal*, 14 October. Reprinted seven times by 25 November: Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1).

**U.S. Congress: Resolution to Transmit Proposed Amendments  
to the Executives of the States, 24–26 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Congress of the United States  
In the House of Representatives  
Thursday the 24th of September 1789

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the President of the United States be requested to transmit to the Executives of the several States which have ratified the Constitution, Copies of the Amendments proposed by Congress, to be added thereto, and like copies to the Executives of the States of Rhode Island, and North Carolina.

Attest

John Beckley, Clerk  
United States of America  
In Senate September 26th 1789

Resolved that the Senate do concur in this Resolution.

Attest

Sam. A. Otis

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/89/Commons/Dec 1789, Nc-Ar. A manuscript list of the twelve amendments to the Constitution proposed by Congress is in North Carolina State Papers (1788–1789), Duke University.

**William Johnson: Receipt for John Steele  
Salisbury, N.C., 25 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Reced. from John Steel Six Copies of the debates of the Hillsboro Convention to be sold at 10s. each, and if not sold to be returned when demanded—

1. MS, Steele Papers, #689, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. There were at least two William Johnsons (or Johnstons) active in North Carolina politics around this time. This Johnson may have been the one who represented Montgomery County in the state House of Commons, 1789, and the Fayetteville Convention, 1789, where he supported the Constitution. During the Revolutionary War, he was an adjutant for the Montgomery County militia.

**John Steele to James Iredell  
Salisbury, N.C., 26 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir,

Your very polite letter by Colonel Davie, and One dated in Feby. last I have had the honor to recieve.—

Since I recied. your first I have been generally from home—which I trust will operate as an apology with you for not answering it sooner

I have communicated the Contents to such gentlemen as had a share in proposing that name to our new County, and they receive your acknowledgements with sentiments of very high respects.<sup>2</sup>—

We regret extremely that you are not of the ensuing Assembly or convention—because no man has done more for our common cause on a former occasion, and there is no man from whom we might expect so much at the ensuing struggle.—A struggle I fear it will be, because the State (except your district) seems much divided—If an adoption shou'd take place, we will rejoice; but if it shou'd be rejected, we must like *Good Christians* mourn for the sins of our Country men—

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University.

2. For Iredell's response to the naming of a county after him, see Iredell to Steele, 17 February 1789 (RCS:N.C., 633).

**Amariah Jocelin to Jeremiah Wadsworth**  
**Wilmington, N.C., October 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The Convention of this State meets shortly for the second time, to deliberate on the Constitution. What will be the result, cannot, as yet be determined, nor even prognosticated. The matter of Amendments, on which the former Convention grounded its dissent was, I conceive a mere fiction. Tho' it would be adjudged a high offence against the dignity of the State to charge what is called, a Public and solemn act with any kind of duplicity & deception. But if one may be allowed to examine the secret springs of action and from thence form a private opinion, there will appear in this case some reasons to conclude that the former Convention were greatly influenced by other motives besides that of the dangerous tendency of the Constitution. A depreciated paper Currency,—the numberless obligations & contracts connected therewith, and the scarcity of hard money, (it is presumable) was a motive with many, perhaps the most.—Other considerations, connected with the absolute sovereignty of the state had a weight with others.

The absurdity of persisting in the resolution of the former Convention, and of continuing out of the Union is obvious to every one, yet there are not wanting those, who continue inflexible and fabricate new arguments, to persuade the people that it is their interest to adhere to the resolution of the former Convention. Among those in circulation, one is, that it will increase the trade of the State.—another, that it will increase population, and another, that should the State adopt the Constitution, it would give the northern states a preference in the freighting business, and put it in their power to raise upon them the price of

freight &c. These with other arguments, of the like nature, have an influence on the minds of those whose views, and politics are circumscribed within the Limits of their own private interest, So that were it not that Congress has taken up the subject of amendments, and appear to be seriously engaged in it, I should not hesitate to predict a second non compliance on the part of this State. But by being met with by Congress on their own ground, contrary to what was expected, and what has been industriously circulated throughout the Country by the opponents, I cannot but hope they will find themselves so cut off from every reasonable objection, as well as plausible pretext, as to be under the necessity of adopting the Constitution, in order, if for no other reason, to preserve a consistency in their public resolutions.

P.S. I have never, untill this time read Mr. Burkes observations on the Cincinnati.<sup>2</sup> I am much pleased with it; not only on account of the justness of the remarks, on the nature and tendency of that Society, but for that independency of spirit which runs through the piece, and for his sentiments respecting the government of So. Carolina, which are applicable to the government of this state, & perhaps some other of the Southern States. For however democratic they may be in their Constitution, they are in their exercise and operation, almost, if not altogether, perfectly aristocratic.

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society. The address page was endorsed: "Recd New-York Novr. 10th 1789 & Forwarded by Sir your very ob[edient] serv[an]t Daniel Redman."

2. Aedanus Burke's widely circulated pamphlet *Considerations on the Society, or Order of Cincinnati* . . . (Charleston, S.C., 1783) (Evans 17862) severely criticized the Society of the Cincinnati that had recently been established.

### **Benjamin Hawkins to John Jay Warrenton, N.C., 6 October 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I have taken the liberty to enclose the letter for Mr. Jefferson to you, it contains some seed of the *Dionaea Muscipula*,<sup>2</sup> which I have procured for him. Our Convention are to meet on the 3rd. monday of november, and it is expected that there will be a majority in favour of the Constitution. The opponents are secret but steady in their opposition.

Our change is owing more to the Character of the President of the United States than to the adoption by eleven States: surely so much never did depend on the life of one man, as has and does depend on his!

I request the favour of you to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Jay and to believe me with great & sincere esteem.

1. RC, Jay Collection, Columbia University Library. The letter was endorsed “an[swere]d 23 Octr 1789.”

2. The Venus flytrap.

**Arthur Iredell to James Iredell**  
**Guildford, England, 6 October 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I received a few Days ago, my dear Brother, Your most wellcome Packet by Captn. Clark. It was well that it proved really valuable to me, for, sending it as a Letter by the Post, & not as a Parcel by the Coach, from Liverpool to London, the Postage came to one pound six Shillings! However I was so well satisfied to receive It, upon any terms, that I have only laughed a little at the Captain’s Expence.

Baffled as You were in the Convention by a Majority, whose Heads were no otherwise of Value than as they might be counted, & whose Hearts were, in general, I fancy, of no Value whatever,—the Struggles made by You & Your Party reflect the brightest Lustre upon your Characters. Your Abilities & Patriotism have been fully established; and in the Event I doubt not they will be crowned with the Success they deserve. I could say much of the Part *you* took on that memorable Occasion, if I did not fear to offend Your Delicacy. Allow me, however, to say thus much, that I feel a considerable Degree of Pride in being so nearly related to a Man, whose Eloquence is only exceeded by the unvarying Rectitude of his public & private Conduct—It was impossible that you could add any thing to my Affection; but you have taught me to respect Your Talents, & to venerate Your Principles, even more than I have been accustomed to do. The Country & the Times You live in open a fine Field for the Exertion of both, and I anticipate with no inconsiderable Delight the Good it is likely You will do, & the Rewards You are likely to receive. Such Talents as Your’s, my dear Bror., are rarely to be met with, & there is no object of laudable Ambition to which You may not reasonably aspire. I perceive You are now at the Head of the Council<sup>2</sup>—When did that Event take Place? & by whose Appointment. You cannot do me a greater Favor than by communicating to me as much Information about Yourself & the State you live in as possible—I am at present as ignorant about your Governmt. as the Face of your Country—& a Pamphlet, from the Journals of a Convention down to a Provincial Kalendar must have It’s Charms for me. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 527–29. The balance of the letter from James Iredell’s brother deals with personal matters. Arthur Iredell (1758–1804), a native of England, was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1782 and an Anglican priest who lived most of his life in England. The brothers’ wealthy uncle Thomas disinherited James and left Arthur a large estate in Jamaica, where Arthur died in 1804 while visiting.

2. James Iredell was elected a member of the Council of State on 11 November 1788 and served as its president for the ensuing year.

**Extract of a Letter from Salisbury, N.C., 19 October 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Salisbury, North-Carolina, to his friend in George-Town, on Patowmack, dated the 19th of last Month.*

“Our new Convention meets the 1st Day of November,<sup>2</sup> and if one may judge of the Character of the Members, we shall certainly be one of the Confederate States soon.—The Coasting-Law lately made by Congress, has distressed our seafaring People much, and should the Adoption of the new Constitution be postponed by our present Convention, a Revolt in the lower Counties, will, beyond all doubt, be the Consequence.

Our Paper Medium is depreciating daily, and Credit very low.”

1. First printed in the no-longer-extant 4 November issue of the Georgetown *Times and Patowmack Packet*. The transcription is taken from the *Maryland Journal*, 10 November, the earliest reprinting. The extract was reprinted fifteen times by 7 December: Vt. (1), N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (4), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Va. (1).

2. North Carolina’s second ratifying Convention, which was held in Fayetteville, did not begin meeting until 16 November.

**Alexander Hamilton to President George Washington**

**New York, 20 October 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . P.S. I have just seen a letter from a private gentleman of considerable intelligence now in N: Carolina, who gives an ill picture of the prospect there, respecting the adoption of the Constitution.

1. Printed: Syrett, *Hamilton*, V, 456–57.

**David Humphreys to President George Washington**

**Petersburg, Va., 28 October 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear General,

I am taking occasion by a water conveyance to inform you, that we are thus far on our way to New York. But my principal object is to mention the political intelligence which we obtained in North Carolina. The general prevailing opinion in that State (so far as we could ascertain it from repeated enquiries) is, that the Constitution will be adopted. However, many of those who are opposed to it think otherwise. I believe the information, most to be depended upon was given by Judge Williams of the Supreme Court (then sitting at Halifax) Mr. Ireton of the Council, & Colo Davie, viz., that the State is divided into ten Districts, that the members of seven of them taken collectively are equally divided

for and against the adoption of the Constitution, and that the remaining three have a decided majority in favor of it. For example; Edenton District comprehends five Counties, & each County sends five Members, who are said to be every one for the adoption. The other two reputed federal Counties [i.e., Districts] are those beyond the Mountains.

I have taken considerable pains to hear how the persons appointed to offices in the several States are considered by their fellow Citizens; & am happy to assure you that the appointments in general have met with almost universal approbation. The selection of Characters to fill the great Departments has afforded entire satisfaction: particularly in the Judiciary. I heard it repeatedly said in Halifax, that the Supreme Court would be the first Court in the world in point of respectability. These things cannot but augur well.

We met your relation Colo Washington, with his family, on their way to Charles Town.

I will not intrude any longer on your time, than to assure you, that I am with the most unalterable & perfect friendship My dear General

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Humphreys was returning from negotiations with the Southern Indians in Georgia.

### **State Gazette of North Carolina, 12 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

CHARLESTON, (S.C.) Oct. 19.

The place where the permanent seat of government of the United States will be fixed depends almost entirely on the State of North Carolina adopting the constitution; if she does the votes in the Senate will be equal for the Patowmac, and the decision remain with the Vice-President, but in the lower House there is a prospect of a majority.

1. No Charleston, S.C., newspaper dated 19 October has been located containing this one-sentence statement. It was also reprinted in the Georgia *Augusta Chronicle*, 21 November, under the Charleston dateline of "October 19."

### **Samuel Johnston to James Iredell**

**Fayetteville, N.C., 13 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir

I am here among a great number of busy people without being able to form a Conjecture with respect to what will be the result of the mighty Bustle. The Principle business which I have heard mentioned, relates to an alteration in the Court System, some mode of calling in the Specie Certificates, altering the Land Tax so as to make it more equal, incorporating the Towns of Newbern Edenton Halifax & Wilmington a great variety of other matter is talked of but very little brought forward in form

There is still a violent & virulent Opposition kept up to the new Constitution but the Friends of that measure count upon its being adopted by a considerable Majority, my particular Situation prevents my mixing much among the people, indeed were it otherwise my health would not, admit of it, for we have been all laid up with violent colds & fevers Mr. Dawson and myself were confined only a day or two, my Brother was dangerously ill for several days but is now in a fair way of doing well. Mr. Dawson and myself are almost quite well we take no other Medicine at present but Porter and Hoar-Hound Tea. I have not been able to recover my Appetite

I hope soon to have agreeable Accounts of you and your Family and remain Affectionately Yours

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 536–37n.

**Abishai C. Thomas to John Gray Blount**  
**New York, 15 November 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . [P.S.] pray have a Letter ready written to inform me of the adoption of the constitution & send it in a Balloon if you can find no other conveyance the moment it takes place. . . .

1. RC, John Gray Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. The address page is endorsed: “Care of the Hon. Josiah Collins.” Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 514–15.

**VII.**  
**THE NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY**  
**CALLS A SECOND STATE CONVENTION**  
**5 November–6 December 1788**

**Introduction**

On 5 November 1788 Governor Samuel Johnston submitted his opening message to the North Carolina General Assembly along with the public papers that he had received since the last legislative session. Included among these papers were petitions from numerous counties requesting the legislature to call a second state convention to reconsider the Constitution. The Senate read the petitions on Monday, 10 November. Led by Antifederalist Willie Jones, the Senate then recommended that a conference of the two houses consider the measure on Wednesday, 12 November. On 11 November, the Commons received and read the petitions and rejected the Senate's request for a conference, preferring instead to consider the matter alone on Saturday, 15 November. On that assigned day, the Commons voted 55 to 47 to reject a resolution calling a second convention. On 17 November the Senate reconsidered the call of a convention, approving it by a vote of 30 to 15. On 19 November, the Commons proposed several amendments calling a second convention. On 20 November the Senate concurred with the Commons' alterations, and on 21 November the Commons accepted the Senate's concurrence. (For several newspaper announcements of North Carolina's call of a second convention, see Mfm:N.C.) On 20 November the Commons also adopted a resolution that provided that convention delegates would not receive travel and allowances if they were already serving in the legislature. The Senate concurred on the same day.

On Wednesday, 19 November, the Commons also resolved that the General Assembly elect five delegates to attend a second general convention of the states that might be called by Congress to consider amendments to the Constitution. The Senate concurred on 20 November. On 24 November the Senate nominated Samuel Johnston, James Iredell, Thomas Person, Timothy Bloodworth, Samuel Spencer, Allen Jones, Joseph McDowall, Sr., Lewis Dupre, Matthew Locke, and Alfred Moore. The Commons also nominated James Gallaway and Joseph McDowall the elder. Johnston and Iredell indicated that they could not accept

such an appointment. Later in the day, the legislature in a joint ballot elected Bloodworth, Person, McDowall, and Locke. On 25 November the Commons nominated John Macon as the fifth delegate, but he withdrew his name from consideration. The Senate nominated William Lenoir as the fifth delegate, while James Gallaway removed his name from consideration. On 29 November Lenoir was elected the fifth delegate. The text of the legislative proceedings in calling North Carolina's second convention is taken from Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*. Footnotes to the proceedings cite both Clark's volumes and page numbers as well as the page numbers from the 1788 printed journals of the House of Commons and the Senate. Clark's *State Records*, the source usually cited in secondary histories, standardized punctuation, indentation, capitalization, and italicization from the 1788 printed journals.

**Silas Cooke to Henry Marchant**

**New Bern, N.C., November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Dear Brother,

. . . Our Legislature are now Assembled at Fayette Ville, they have had a Vote in the house whether a new convention should be called or not which passed in the Negative by a Majority of 8 since which I'm informed they have voted again and are to send Members to a convention to meet in the Month of November next who it is confidentially believed will adopt it.

I am Affectionately Your friend & Bro

1. RC, Marchant Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society. Docketed: "Answered Decr. 24, 1788."

**Governor Samuel Johnston to the North Carolina General Assembly  
Fayetteville, N.C., 5 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Gentlemen—

In Pursuance of your Message of Yesterday I herewith send you such of the Publick dispatches & Documents, as appear to me of importance & claim your immediate Attention.

The first object which calls for your serious Attention, is the Proceedings of the late Convention of the People at Hillsborough, and the situation into which the State will be cast on the meeting of the Congress of the States United under the new Federal Constitution, as this State will not be represented in that Congress & her Interests may be

eventually affected by their Proceedings you will consider of the best method to obviate any inconvenience which may arise from the Particular circumstances of our Situation, & direct such mode of Communication as may appear most eligible, untill the New Constitution is altered, so as to meet the approbation of the People of this State, & they become United with the other States. . . .

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/80/Commons/Nov 1788. Printed: *Journal of the House of Commons* (Edenton, 1789) (Evans 22034), 3–4. Hereafter cited in Part VII as *House Journal*.

### **Senate Proceedings, Thursday, 6 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the House of Commons the following Message:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We herewith send you a Message from His Excellency the Governor, with the several public dispatches therein referred to, which we propose referring to the Committee on Revenue, except those already referred.

The foregoing being read, it was ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We have received your Message enclosing an Address from His Excellency the Governor, of yesterday's date, together with the Papers therein alluded to, but do not wholly agree to the references by you made.

It is the opinion of this House that the papers relating to Indian Treaties be reported on by the Committee appointed on the papers relative to the disorders in the Western parts of this State. That the File of papers relating to the several Conventions, Letters from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and those from the Governor of Virginia, be submitted to the consideration of the Committee appointed to report what Bills of a public nature are necessary to be passed at the present Assembly.<sup>2</sup> As to those not herein mentioned we agree that they stand referred as by you proposed.

On motion of Mr. Johnston, seconded by Mr. Macon, ordered that Mr. Blount be added to the Committee appointed to prepare and introduce Bills of a public nature, and that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons: . . .

Received from the house of commons the following message:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We herewith send you a Message this day received from His Excellency the Governor, addressed to the General Assembly, together with

the Letter and Documents therein referred to, which we proposed referring to the Committee on Revenue.

The foregoing being read, it was ordered that the following be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We agree that the Message from His Excellency the Governor, of to-day together with its inclosures, be referred to the Committee appointed to report on the present states of the public revenue. . . .

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 484–85. *Journal of the Senate* (Edenton, 1789) (Evans 22035), 4. Hereafter cited in Part VII as *Senate Journal*.

2. The Senate proposed to the House of Commons the creation of this committee on 4 November and appointed Caswell, Jones, Charles Johnson, Lenoir, Bloodworth, Hunt, Willis, Amis, and Gaither (*Senate Journal*, 2.). The House of Commons on the same day appointed Person, James Stewart, Cabarrus, Steele, Grove, Cumming, Joseph McDowall, Gowdy, Mebane, and Horne (*House Journal*, 2–3).

### **House of Commons Proceedings, Friday, 7 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We agree that the several Papers, relative to Indian Treaties & to the several Conventions, from the Secretary of Foreign affairs & the Governor of Virginia, be referred as by you proposed.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 17. *House Journal*, 6.

### **Senate Proceedings, Monday, 10 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Read sundry Petitions from the Inhabitants of the different parts of this State on the subject of the proposed plan of Federal Government.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Jones, seconded by Mr. McCawley, it was ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

From the number of Petitions and other papers before this Assembly on the subject of the Federal Constitution, we proposed that the two Houses assemble in Conference on Wednesday next [i.e., 12 November] at 9 o'clock in the Morning, in the room where the House of Commons sit, in order fully to hear and deliberate on that subject, as well as to determine on the propriety of convening a Second Convention in this State.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 493–94. *Senate Journal*, 7.

**House of Commons Proceedings****Tuesday, 11 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate the following Message: [Here appears the Senate's message of 10 November (immediately above).]

Received from the Senate Sundry Petitions from the Counties of Camden, Hertford, Randolph, Johnston, Tyrrell, Hyde, Richmond, Carteret, Dobbs, Chowan, Lincoln, Onslow, Rowan, Surry, Mecklenburg, Martin, Chatham, Currituck and Edgecombe, setting forth the grievances under which the inhabitants of this State labour by the decision of the late Convention on the proposed plan of Government for the United States, and praying that the General Assembly would recommend another Convention to take under further consideration the said plan of Government; which Petitions being read, a motion was made that this House should agree with the Senate, that the two Houses meet in Conference To-morrow to take under consideration the propriety of calling another Convention, which was objected to; the question being put was negatived. . . .

On a motion made by Mr. Cabarrus and seconded by Mr. Gowdy,

Resolved, That this House will proceed to take under Consideration the several Petitions this day received from the Senate, praying for another Convention, on Saturday next [i.e., 15 November].

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We have received the Message of the Senate proposing a Conference of the two Houses on the propriety of Convening another Convention, with which we do not Concur.

We have determined to take under Consideration the several Petitions relating to this subject, on Saturday next [i.e., 15 November].

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 31–33. *House Journal*, 10, 11.

**Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 11 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Mr. Webb presented a Petition from sundry of the Inhabitants of Richmond Co. praying that a Second Convention may be convened in this State, which was read and ordered to be sent to the House of Commons. . . .

Received from the House of Commons . . . the following Message: [Here appears the Commons' message of 11 November (immediately above).]

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 494, 499. *Senate Journal*, 7, 8.

**House of Commons Proceedings****Thursday, 13 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Mr. Holmes presented a Petition from Sundry of the Inhabitants of Sampson County, praying that the General Assembly recommend to the Inhabitants of this State to convene a second Convention to take under consideration the proposed Constitution for the future Government of the United States.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 42–43. *House Journal*, 14.

**House of Commons Proceedings****Friday, 14 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Mr. Goodrom Davis presented the Petition of Sundry the Inhabitants of the Town of Halifax, praying that another Convention be convened to take under consideration the proposed Constitution for the future Government of the United States.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 48. *House Journal*, 16.

**House of Commons Proceedings****Saturday, 15 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

The House met according to adjournment.

Mr. Charles Ward presented a Petition from Duplin County, praying for a second Convention, &c.; which being read, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr. Maclaine presented a Petition from Mecklenburg County, praying a Second Convention, &c.; which was ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr. Baker presented a Petition from Hertford County, praying a second Convention, &c.; which was ordered to lie on the Table. . . .

The Order of the Day for taking under Consideration the several Petitions laid before this Assembly, praying that a second Convention be Convened for the purpose of taking under Consideration the Constitution or plan of Government proposed for the future Government of the United States of America, being called for and read,

Resolved, That the House Resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to take under Consideration the propriety of Convening a second Convention. The House Resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House accordingly and chose Mr. Mebane Chairman. After some time spent therein Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair and Mr. Chair-

man reported that the Committee had taken under Consideration the propriety of Convening a second Convention to take under further Consideration the proposed Constitution or form of Government for the United States of America and had come to the following resolution thereupon, to-wit:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Committee that it is not now expedient to call a new Convention.

The House taking this resolution into Consideration Concurred therewith.

On the question to concur with this resolution, the Yeas and Nays were required by Mr. W. T. Lewis and seconded by Mr. E. Jones, which are as follows:

Yeas:—Messrs. Brown of Bladen, Cain, Cains, McDowall, McDowall, Jun., Nixon, J. Allen, B. Douglass, Graves, Anderson, Jo. Stewart, Hardiman, Killebrew, J. Hill, B. Davis, Mitchell, Hamilton, Gowdy, J. Jones, Randal, J. H. Bryan, Ussory, J. Douglass, Bonds, Mebane, Yates, Moye, Porter, Bethell, Phillips, Jas. Stewart, Blair, Hawkins, Montfort, Brown of Wilkes, Herndon, Sanders, Hinton, Handley, Branch, Tatom, Vick, Knox, Lindley, Person, Holmes, Martin, W. King, Lennard, Lanier, Carson, Devane, Mears, Maxwell, Scott.—55.

Nays:—Messrs. Horn, Pugh, Sheppard, Cabarrus, Fulford, Crecy, J. P. Williams, G. Dauge, Grove, P. Dauge, Sawyer, McKay, Baker, W. Ward, J. Bryan, Maclaine, W. Williams, Slade, Tindall, Phifer, Grant, Everagin, D. Davis, Skinner, Harvey, Bell, Caldwell, Barnes, N. Brown, Houser, W. T. Lewis, Walton, Clendenning, Spruill, G. Davis, Cumming, E. Jones, Steele, Lassiter, M. King, E. Williams, May, Withrow, H. Hill, Hardin, Outlaw, J. Moore.—47.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 51–52. *House Journal*, 17.

### **Senate Proceedings, Monday, 17 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Agreeable to the order of Saturday for postponing until this day the consideration of the Petitions and other Papers on the subject of the Federal Constitution, the House now proceeded on that business.

When on motion of Mr. Caswell, seconded by Mr. Blount, it was

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House a new Convention be called by this Assembly, for the purpose of reconsidering the New Constitution held out by the Federal Convention as a Government of the United States.

The Yeas and Nays being required on this Resolution by Mr. McDowall, seconded by Mr. Overton, are as follows, to-wit:

In favour of this resolution—Mr. Dupree, Mr. McDowall, Mr. J. Hill, Mr. Chas. Johnston, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Caswell, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brickell, Mr. Reddick, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Amis, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Overton, Mr. Graham, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Nesbit, Mr. T. Johnston, Mr. Keaton, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Blount, Mr. Gaither, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Macon, Mr. McKinnie, Mr. Singleton, Mr. Auld, Mr. W. Brown, Mr. W. Hill, Mr. Webb and Mr. Stewart.—30.

Against this resolution—Mr. B. Williams, Mr. McAllister, Mr. Payne, Mr. Ramsey, Mr. Gray, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Jones, Mr. Hargett, Mr. Binford, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. McCawley, Mr. Tipton, Mr. Lane, Mr. Lenoir and Mr. T. Brown.—15.

So the foregoing resolution was agreed to.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. W. Jones, seconded by Mr. Graham, the House resolved as follows, viz:

Resolved, That it be recommended to such of the Inhabitants of this State as are entitled to vote for Members of the House of Commons at the annual Election to be held in each County, on the third Friday and Saturday in August next, to vote for three Persons in each County & one Person in each Borough Town having a right of representation agreeable to the Constitution of this State; to sit as a State Convention, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed Federal Constitution for the future Government of the United States, and on such amendments, if any, as shall or may be made to the said Constitution by a Convention of the States previous to the meeting of the said Convention of this State; which Election shall be conducted agreeable to the mode and conformable to the rules and regulations prescribed by Law for conducting the Elections of Members of the General Assembly; and any Citizen within this State being a freeholder shall be eligible to a seat in the said Convention, Sheriffs and returning officers excepted.

Resolved, That the Sheriffs of the Counties in this State do advertise and notify the people of their Counties and Borough Towns of the time, place and purpose of holding said Election, at the same time and in the same manner as the Law requires them to advertise Elections for Members of the General Assembly.

Resolved, That the Persons so Elected to serve as a State Convention do assemble and meet together on the last Monday in October next at such place as shall be appointed for the meeting of the General Assem-

bly, then and there to deliberate and determine on the said Constitution and on the amendments, if any, and if approved by them to confirm and ratify the same on the behalf of this State and make report thereof to Congress and to the General Assembly.

Resolved, That the Members of the Convention be allowed twenty Shillings per day for their attendance and going to and returning from the place where they shall meet; and that they be authorized to make such allowance to their Clerks and Door-keepers as they shall think reasonable, and the Treasurer is hereby directed to pay the same on a Certificate signed by the President of the Convention; provided, that such persons as shall be Elected Members of the General Assembly as well as of the Convention, shall be allowed Mileage for coming to the Convention only, and not for returning.

On passing the foregoing resolution it was moved by Mr. Caswell and seconded by Mr. Charles Johnston, that the words *third Friday and Saturday in August next* be expunged as the time appointed for holding Election and *the 15th and Sixteenth of December* inserted; this being objected to and the question being called for and taken thereon, was carried in the negative; whereupon, on Motion of Mr. Caswell, seconded by Mr. Bloodworth, it was ordered that the Yeas and Nays be taken on this question, which are as follows, to-wit:

For the amendment proposed—Mr. McDowall, Mr. Charles Johnston, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Caswell, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Reddick, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Overton, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Nesbit, Mr. Keaton, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Blount, Mr. Gaither, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. McKinnie, Mr. Auld, Mr. W. Brown, Mr. W. Hill and Mr. Stewart.—21.

Against the Amendment—Mr. Dupree, Mr. Williams, Mr. McAllister, Mr. J. Hill, Mr. Payne, Mr. Ramsey, Mr. Brickell, Mr. Gray, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Roddy, Mr. Amis, Mr. Jones, Mr. Hargett, Mr. Graham, Mr. Binford, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Bunn, Mr. T. Johnston, Mr. McCawley, Mr. Tipton, Mr. Macon, Mr. Lane, Mr. Lenoir, Mr. Singleton, Mr. Thos. Brown and Mr. Webb.—26.

So the resolution was not amended. . . .

On motion, Ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We herewith send for your Concurrence several Resolutions entered into by this House for the purpose of convening a Second Convention in this State.

Adjourned till To-morrow Morning, 10 O'clock.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 514–17. *Senate Journal*, 13–14.

**House of Commons Proceedings, Tuesday, 18 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Mr. Goodrom Davis presented the Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the County and Town of Halifax, praying that a Convention be recommended to take under further Consideration the Federal Constitution; which was read, & ordered to lie on the Table.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 59. *House Journal*, 19.

**House of Commons Proceedings  
Wednesday, 19 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

A resolution adopted by the Senate recommending another Convention to take under further Consideration the proposed Constitution, & sent to this House for Concurrence; in the resolution as it came from the Senate the number of Members recommended to be Elected for each County was *three*, a motion was made and seconded that the word *three* should be struck out and the word *five* inserted; this motion was objected to, the question being put was carried in the affirmative; whereupon, the Yeas and Nays were required by Mr. Phifer and Seconded by Mr. Lindley, which are as follows:

Yeas:—Messrs. J. Brown, Cain, Horn, Pugh, McDowall, Cabarrus, Grove, McKay, B. Douglass, Graves, Jo. Stewart, Dixon, C. Ward, E. Robertson, J. Hill, B. Harris, E. Mitchell, Hamilton, Gowdy, J. Jones, W. Williams, Ussory, J. Douglass, Bond, Mebane, Yates, Grant, Wood, Caldwell, Phillips, N. Brown, W. T. Lewis, Spruill, J. H. Bryan, Hawkins, Montfort, Brown of Wilkes, Herndon, Branch, Tatom, Cumming, E. Jones, Vick, Person, Martin, M. King, Lennard, Lanier, Withrow, J. P. Williams, Devane, Scott, T. King, Hardin, Outlaw, W. King.—56.

Nays:—Messrs. McDowall, Jun., Nixon, J. Allen, Fulford, Creecy, T. P. Williams, G. Dauge, P. Dauge, Sawyer, Hardiman, Fort, Killebrew, Baker, W. Ward, J. Bryan, Moore, Maclaine, Slade, Tindale, Phifer, Everagin, D. Davis, Skinner, Harvey, May, S. Allen, Bell, Porter, Barnes, Houser, Walton, Clendenning, Blair, Jas. Stewart, Hinton, Sanders, Handley, G. Davis, Knox, Steele, Lindley, Holmes, Lassiter, E. Williams, Moy, Carson, H. Hill, Maxwell.—48.

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:  
Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We have received the Message of your House accompanied by sundry resolutions, recommending to the people of this State to elect members in another Convention, &c.; with which we do not concur as it now stands. We therefore propose the following amendments, to-wit: That

the first resolution be amended to read thus: "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House a new Convention be recommended for the purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution held out by the Federal Convention as a Government for the United States."

In the second resolution we propose as an amendment, that the number of Persons to be Elected as members for each County be altered from *three* to *five*.

In the fourth we propose as an amendment that the resolution be altered to read "the third Monday in November," instead of the last Monday in October.

Should your House agree to those amendments you will make the resolutions conformable and we will then concur. . . .

Resolved, That the present General Assembly proceed to ballot for five persons to represent this State in a Convention of the United States, in case such Convention is appointed for the purpose of amending the Constitution, proposed at Philadelphia the 17th September, 1787.

Resolved, That it be recommended by this Assembly to the Convention which is to meet on the third Monday in November, to reconsider the new Constitution, that they also Consider the propriety of allowing the Town of Fayetteville a member to represent the said Town on the same terms with the other District Towns in this State.

On the question to agree to the last resolution the Yeas and Nays were required by Mr. Person, which are as follows:

Yeas:—Messrs. J. Brown, Cains, McDowall, McDowall, Jun., Grove, McKay, B. Douglass, Anderson, Jo. Stewart, Dixon, Hamilton, Gowdy, W. Ward, Moore, Maclaine, Slade, Ussory, Phifer, Mebane, Wood, Bell, Caldwell, Porter, Bethell, Phillips, Barnes, N. Brown, Houser, W. T. Lewis, Walton, Clendenning, Jas. Stewart, Herndon, E. Jones, Steele, Holmes, Martin, M. King, Leonard, May, Withrow, Carson, Maxwell, Scott, T. King, W. King.—46.

Nays:—Messrs. Horn, Nixon, Cabarrus, Fulford, Creecy, T. P. Williams, G. Dauge, P. Dauge, Sawyer, Graves, E. Roberson, Hardiman, Fort, Killebrew, J. Hill, B. Harris, Mitchell, J. Jones, Baker, J. Bryan, J. H. Bryan, Bonds, Yates, Grant, D. Davis, Skinner, Harvey, Mayo, S. Allen, Spruill, Blair, Hawkins, Hinton, Sanders, Handley, Branch, Cumming, Vick, Knox, Person, H. Hill, Hardin, Outlaw.—43. . . .

Received from his Excellency the Governor the following message:  
To the Honourable the General Assembly:

Gentlemen:

I herewith lay before you a letter from the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, with sundry papers referred to in that Letter.

SAML. JOHNSTON.

At the same time received the Letters, &c. above referred to; which being read, were referred to the Committee on Public Bills, & sent to the Senate.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 66–69. *House Journal*, 21–22.

### Senate Proceedings, Thursday, 20 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>

Received from the House of Commons the following Message:  
Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We have received the Message from your House, accompanied by Sundry Resolutions recommending to the people of this State to Elect Members in another Convention, &c., with which we do not concur as it now stands; we therefore propose the following amendments, viz: That the first resolution be amended to read thus:

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House a New Convention be recommended for the purpose of reconsidering the New Constitution held out by the Federal Convention as a Government for the United States.”

In the Second Resolution we propose as an amendment that the number of Persons to be Elected as Members for each County be altered from *Three to Five*. In the fourth we propose as an amendment that the Resolution be allowed to read “the third Monday in November” instead of the “last Monday in October.” Should your House agree to those amendments you will make the resolution conformable and we will then Concur.

The House [i.e., the Senate] taking the foregoing into Consideration Concurred therewith; whereupon, on Motion of Mr. Lenoir, seconded by Mr. Singleton, Ordered that the Yeas and Nays be taken on that part of the proposition of the House of Commons increasing the number of representatives from a County from *Three to Five* in the proposed Convention; which are as follows, viz: For Five Members from each County and for Concurring with the House of Commons Messrs. Du-

pree, McDowall, Ben. Williams, J. Hill, T. Johnston, Gregory, Payne, Ramsey, Caswell, Kenan, Robertson, Brickell, Hunt, Amis, Jones, Bryan, Binford, Bloodworth, McCawley, Keaton, Blount, Macon, McKinne, T. Brown, Auld, W. Brown, W. Hill, Stewart and Humphries.—29.

For three members from each County and for rejecting the proposition of the House of Commons—Messrs. McAllister, Reddick, Roddy, Graham, Dixon, Nesbit, Bunn, T. Johnston, Gaither, Willis, Tipton, Lane, Lenoir, Singleton & Webb.—15.

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We consent to the whole of the amendments by you proposed to be made in the Resolutions of this House relative to the calling a Second Convention and now send it for your Concurrence.

Received from the House of Commons the following Resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended by this Assembly to the Convention which is to meet on the third Monday in November to reconsider the New Constitution, That they also consider the propriety of allowing the Town of Fayetteville a Member to represent the said Town on the same terms with the other district Towns in this State.

The House [i.e., the Senate] taking this Resolution into Consideration, Concurred therewith.

Whereupon, on Motion of Mr. Hunt, seconded by Mr. Macon, Ordered that the Yeas and Nays be taken thereon, which are as follows, viz:

For Concurring with the Resolution—Messrs. Dupree, McDowall, McAllister, Ramsey, Kenan, Roddy, Robertson, Amis, Graham, Dixon, Nesbit, Bloodworth, T. Johnston, McCawley, Gaither, Willis, Armstrong, Tipton, Lenoir, Singleton, T. Brown, Auld and Webb.—23.

For rejecting this resolution—Messrs. Williams, J. Hill, Chas. Johnston, Gregory, Payne, Caswell, Brickell, Hunt, Reddick, Jones, Bryan, Bunn, Blount, Harvey, Macon, Lane, McKinnie, W. Brown, W. Hill, Stewart and Humphries.—21.

Received also, a Resolution proposing that this Assembly make choice of five Persons to represent this State in a Convention of the United States; which was read, Concurred with & returned. . . .

On motion of Mr. Macon, seconded by Mr. Blount,  
Resolved, That no person be allowed pay as a member of the State  
Convention and General Assembly for the same time.

Sent for Concurrence.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 526–28. *Senate Journal*, 17–18.

### **House of Commons Proceedings**

#### **Friday, 21 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate the resolution of this House for appointing five persons by ballot to represent this State in a Convention of the States, should one be called, and recommending to the next Convention of this State to take under consideration the propriety of allowing the Town of Fayetteville a Member in General Assembly, Concurred with. . . .

Received from the Senate a resolution of that House declaring that no person should be allowed pay as a Member of the General Assembly & as a Member of the State Convention for the same time; which being read, was concurred with and returned. . . .

Received from the Senate the following Messages: . . .

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We consent to the whole of the amendments, as by you proposed, to be made in the resolution of this House relative to the calling a second Convention, and now send them for your concurrence.

At the same time received the resolutions above referred to; which being read, were concurred with and returned,

Mr. Person, on behalf of himself and others, moved for leave to enter a protest against the concurrence of this House to the resolutions above referred to. Ordered that he have leave.

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We herewith return the resolutions of your House for calling another Convention, Concurred with as amended.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 82–84. *House Journal*, 26–27.

### **North Carolina Resolutions Calling a New Convention**

#### **17–21 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

In Senate 17th Novem. 1788

1 Resolved that it is the opinion of this House a new Convention be recommended for the purpose of reconsidering the new constitution

held out by the Foederal Convention, as a Government for the United States.

2 Resolved that it be recommended to such of the Inhabitants of this State as are intitled to vote for members of the House of Commons, at the annual Election to be held in each County on the third Friday and Saturday in August next to vote for five persons in each County, and one person in each Borough Town having a right of representation agreeable to the Constitution of this State, to set as a State Convention for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed Foederal Constitution for the future Government of the United States, and on such amendments, if any, as Shall or may be made to the said Constitution, by a Convention of the States, previous to the meeting of the said Convention of this State; which election shall be conducted agreeable to the mode and conformable to the rules and regulations prescribed by Law for conducting the elections of members of the General Assembly; and any Citizen within this State, being a free holder, shall be eligible to a seat in the said Convention, Sheriffs and returning Officers excepted.

3 Resolved that the Sheriffs of the Counties in this State, do advertise & notify the people of their Counties & Borough Towns of the time, place and purpose of holding said elections, at the same time and in the same manner as the Law requires them to advertize elections for members of the General Assembly.

4 Resolved that the persons so elected to serve in a State Convention, do assemble and meet together on the third Monday in November next, at such place as shall be appointed for the meeting of the next General Assembly, then & there to deliberate & determine on the said Constitution, and on the amendments if any, and if approved by them, to confirm and ratify the same on behalf of this State, and make report thereof to Congress and to the General assembly.

5 Resolved that the members of the Convention be allowed twenty shillings per day for their attendance at, going to & returning from, the place where they shall meet;—and that they be authorized to make such allowance to their clerks and Door Keepers, as they shall think reasonable, and the Treasurer is hereby directed to pay the same on a Certificate signed by the President of the Convention: provided that such persons as shall be elected Members of the General Assembly, as well as of the Convention, shall be allowed Mileage for coming to the Convention only and not for returning.—

Alex: Martin S.S.

By order

S: Haywood cs

In the House of Commons 21 November 1788

The foregoing Resolutions were Read and Concurred with

Jno: Sitgreaves, Spkr

By Order

J Hunt CHC

1. MS, North Carolina Papers, Ratification of Constitution, Duke University. The resolutions were printed in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 4 December 1788, and the *Wilmington Centinel*, 10 December, and as a broadside. They were reprinted in twenty-seven newspapers by 16 January 1789: N.H. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (2), Conn. (5), N.Y. (3), N.J. (2), Pa. (8), Va. (1), S.C. (1). The resolutions were also reprinted in the December 1788 issues of the Philadelphia *American Museum* and the Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine*.

### Senate Proceedings, Saturday, 22 November 1788<sup>1</sup>

Received also the resolution of this House declaring that no Person in the next Assembly shall receive pay for his services as a Member thereof and of the Convention at the same time. Endorsed, Concurred with. And the following Message:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We herewith return the Resolution of your House for calling another Convention, Concurred with as amended.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 535. *Senate Journal*, 20.

### Senate Proceedings, Monday, 24 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>

On motion of Mr. Macon, seconded by Mr. Overton, Ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker &c.:

No place having got a Majority of votes at the late balloting for a place at which the next Assembly shall be held, we now propose that the General Assembly proceed to that choice on Friday next at 4 O'Clock in the afternoon. We also propose that five persons be made choice of at the same time to represent this State in a Convention of the United States, and Nominate His Excellency Samuel Johnston, Mr. Iredell, Mr. Person, Mr. Bloodworth, Judge Spencer, Mr. Allen Jones, Mr. McDowall, Sen., Mr. Dupree, Mr. Lock and Mr. Alfred Moore. . . .

Received from the House of Commons the following Message:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We do not concur with you in postponing the balloting for a place for the sitting of the next Assembly until Friday next, but propose to ballot this Evening at 4 O'Clock, as proposed in a former Message on

that subject. We consent that five persons to represent this State in a Foederal Convention, be also ballotted for at the same time and approve of the nominations by you made, and have added thereto Mr. James Gallaway and Joseph McDowall, the elder.

The foregoing being read, it was ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We consent to ballot this Evening agreeable to your last proposition. . . .

Adjourned till 4 O'Clock P.M.

The House met according to adjournment.

On motion of Mr. Bloodworth, Ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We are now ready to proceed on the balloting agreed on, & have appointed Mr. Hunt and Mr. Dixon to conduct the same on the part of this House.

It is our opinion that the Superintendents have the like power with respect of taking the votes of the indisposed Members as were given those of the last balloting. . . .

Mr. Hunt and Mr. Dixon, on the part of the Senate, and Mr. Steele and Mr. Hamilton on the part of the House of Commons, now proceeded to the balloting, which being ended Mr. Dixon reported, That Fayetteville is made choice of as the place at which the next Assembly will sit.

That Timothy Bloodworth, Thomas Person, Joseph McDowall and Matthew Locke, Esqrs., are appointed Members from this State to a Convention of the United States, and that there still remains one representative to the Foederal Convention to be ballotted for.

The House taking this report into Consideration, Concurred therewith.

The house adjourned until to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 538, 542, 544. *Senate Journal*, 21-23.

### **House of Commons Proceedings**

#### **Monday, 24 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate the following Message: [Here appears the Senate's message of 24 November (immediately above).]

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We do not concur with you in postponing the Balloting for a place for the sitting of the next Assembly until Friday next, but propose to

ballot this evening at 4 O'clock, as proposed in a former Message on that subject. We consent and propose that five persons to represent this State in a Federal Convention be also balloted for at the same time, and approve of the nominations by you made, and have added thereto, Mr. James Gallaway and Mr. Joseph McDowall the elder. . . .

Received from the Senate the following Message:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We consent to ballot the Evening agreeable to your last proposition.

Mr. Cabarrus informed the House that His Excellency the Governor, had been applied to for his consent to serve as a member to the Federal Convention, should one be recommended by Congress, who gave for answer that he could not. He at the same time informed that Mr. Iredell could not serve should he be Elected.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 93–95. *House Journal*, 30.

### House of Commons Proceedings

#### Tuesday, 25 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hamilton, from the joint Balloting for the place at which the next Assembly shall be held and five Delegates to represent this State in the Federal Convention, should one be called, Reported, That the next Session of the General Assembly was to be held at Fayetteville.

That Timothy Bloodworth, Joseph McDowall, Thomas Person, Matthew Locke, Esquires, were elected Delegates, and That one Delegate was yet to be Elected.

The House taking this report into Consideration Concurred therewith. . . .

Received from the Senate the following Message:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

One person to represent this State in a Convention of the United States being yet to be balloted for, we propose that the two Houses proceed to make choice this afternoon at four O'clock, and nominate Mr. William Lenoir.

At the request of Mr. Gallaway his name is withdrawn from the nomination.

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We agree to ballot this evening as by you proposed for the one person yet to be made choice of to represent this State in a Convention of the United States, and have added to the nomination Mr. John Macon. . . .

The House adjourned until 4 O'clock P.M.

Met according to adjournment.

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We propose, at the request of Mr. Macon, that his name be withdrawn from the nomination as one of the Members to represent this State in a Convention, &c. We are now ready to proceed to balloting heretofore agreed upon & have appointed Mr. Horn & Mr. Mitchell to conduct the same.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 100, 102, 105–6. *House Journal*, 32–33.

### **Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 25 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Whereupon, on Motion of Mr. Macon, seconded by Mr. Blount, ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

One Person to represent this State in a Convention of the United States being yet to be balloted for, we propose that the two Houses proceed to make that choice this afternoon at 4 O'clock, and nominate Mr. William Lenoir.

At the request of James Gallaway, Esq., his name is withdrawn from the nomination. . . .

Received from the House of Commons the following Message:  
Mr. Speaker, &c:

We agree to ballot this Evening as by you proposed for the one person yet to be made choice of to represent this State in a Convention of the United States, and have added to the nomination Mr. John Macon.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 544–46. *Senate Journal*, 23–24. The Senate journal indicates that the motion was seconded by “Mr. Bloodworth.”

### **Senate Proceedings, Thursday, 27 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We propose that the two Houses proceed to ballot on Saturday next at 4 O'clock in the afternoon for the Delegate yet to be made choice of. . . . We nominate for Delegates, Mr. Lenoir, Esq., and Judge Spencer.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 556–57. *Senate Journal*, 27.

### **House of Commons Proceedings, Friday, 28 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate the following Message: [Here appears the Senate's message of 27 November (immediately above).]

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the Senate:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We agree to ballot at the time by you proposed for the officers mentioned in your Message of this day, approve of your nominations.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 117. *House Journal*, 37.

### **House of Commons Proceedings**

**Saturday, 29 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate the following Messages: . . .

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:

We are ready to proceed on the balloting and have appointed Mr. McKinne and Mr. McCawley to superintend the same on the part of this House.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 125–26. *House Journal*, 40.

### **Senate Proceedings, Saturday, 29 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Pursuant to order, the House now took up the consideration of the resolutions introduced by Mr. Jones, which are as follows:

Whereas, the representation of the peple of this State is so numerous, that it is already become burthensome to the people;

And whereas, the said representation is also very unequal and oppressive in as much as there are many Counties which have not hitherto paid Taxes into the public Treasury sufficient even to defray the expence of their representation in the General Assembly, and yet the said Counties stand upon the same footing as to the number of representatives as those Counties which contribute the greatest proportion of taxes towards defraying the Expences of Government & payment of public Debts;

And whereas, representation ought to be distributed to the different parts of the State in proportion to the share which such parts respectively bear of the public burthens.

Resolved, therefore, That the Convention directed to meet for the purpose of considering the Constitution proposed for the Government of the United States be and they are also authorized to take under consideration the subject of representation, and to alter and amend the Constitution of this State agreeable to the principles hereinbefore mentioned; and such alteration and amendment as they shall make in this respect shall be a part of the Constitution and be equally binding on the people as any other part of the Constitution.

A concurrence to these resolutions being objected to by Mr. Bloodworth, seconded by Mr. McCawley, and the Yeas and Nays called for and taken by way of determining the question are as follows, viz:

For the resolutions—Messrs. Dupree, Williams, J. Hill, Chas. Johnston, Gregory, Payne, E. Gray, Reddick, Montgomery, Jones, Bryan, Binford, Bunn, Keaton, Harvey, Blount, Macon, McKinne, W. Hill, Humphries, Gallaway and Stewart.—22.

Against the resolutions—Messrs. McDowall, McAllister, Kenan, Roddy, Amis, Hargett, Graham, Dickson, Nesbit, Bloodworth, T. Johnston, McCawley, Gaither, Daugan, Willis, Armstrong, Tipton, Lenoir, Singleton, T. Brown, Webb, Holmes.—22.

An equal number of votes appearing for and against the resolution, it devolved on the Speaker to determine the question, who gave it as his opinion that the resolutions should not pass—so they were rejected—whereupon, on motion of Mr. Blount, seconded by Mr. Hargett, the House resolved as follows, viz:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the people of this State to authorize and direct their representatives to be Elected for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed Federal Constitution for the future Government of the United States, to take into their serious consideration the second and third articles of the Constitution of this State, and to alter them that the legislature may be less expensive and its measures be more stable and uniform.<sup>2</sup>

Sent for concurrence. . . .

Adjourned till 4 O'Clock p.m.

The House met according to adjournment.

Ordered that the following Message be sent to the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker, &c.:

We are now ready to proceed to the balloting and have appointed Mr. McKinne and Mr. McCawley to superintend the same on the part of the House.

Pursuant to the determination of the two Houses, Mr. McCawley & Mr. McKinne on the part of the Senate, and Mr. Skinner and Mr. Mebane on the part of the House of Commons, now proceeded to conduct the balloting; which being ended Mr. McCawley reported that William Lenoir, Esquire, is appointed Delegate from this State to a Convention of the United States . . .

The House taking this report into Consideration concurred therewith.

Adjourned till Monday morning 10 o'clock.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 566–69. *Senate Journal*, 30–31.

2. This resolution found in the Legislative Papers (LP/84/Senate/Nov–Dec 1788), Nc-Ar, is dated 30 November 1788. A similar attempt to instruct the Convention delegates to amend the state constitution had failed in December 1787, when the legislature passed resolutions calling the first North Carolina convention (RCS:N.C., 51–52).

**House of Commons Proceedings****Monday, 1 December 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Mr. Mebane, from the joint Balloting for one Delegate, Report, . . .  
That William Lenoir, Esquire, was Elected Delegate. . . .

Mr. Person called for the resolutions entered into during this Session for the calling another Convention, and moved, and was Seconded, that they be read through; Whereupon they were accordingly read. He then moved that the first resolution be again read, which was accordingly read in the following words, to-wit:

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House a new Convention be recommended for the purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution held out by the Federal Convention as a Government for the United States.”

This resolution being read, Mr. Person then moved and was seconded by Mr. Bethell, that the House reconsider the said resolution, which was objected to. The question being put “will the House reconsider this resolution or not,” was carried in the Negative; whereupon, the Yeas and Nays were required by Mr. Person, which are as follows, to-wit:

Yeas—Messrs. McDowall, McDowall, Jun., B. Douglass, Graves, Jo. Stewart, Dixon, Hardiman, Killebrew, J. Hill, Hamilton, Gowdy, J. Jones, Randall, J. H. Bryan, Jo. Douglass, Bonds, Mebane, Moye, Porter, Bethell, Phillips, Jas. Stewart, Blair, Hawkins, Montfort, Branch, Tatom, Lindley, Person, Holmes, Withrow, Maxwell.—32.

Nays—Messrs. J. Brown (Bladen), Horn, Pugh, Cains, Cabarrus, Fulford, Creecy, T. Pool Williams, G. Dauge, P. Dauge, McKay, Baker, W. Ward, J. Bryan, Moore, Maclaine, W. Williams, Slade, Phifer, Yates, Grant, D. Davis, Skinner, Wood, Bell, Barnes, N. Brown, Walton, Clendenning, Spruill, Hinton, Sanders, G. Davis, Cumming, E. Jones, Knox, Martin, Lennard, Lanier, May, Carson, H. Hill, T. King, Hardin, Outlaw, Cocke, Everagin, Steele, Grove, Caldwell.—50.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 127, 129–30. *House Journal*, 40, 41.

**House of Commons Proceedings, Wednesday, 3 December 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate a Resolution of that House recommending to the people of this State to authorize and direct their representatives to be elected for the purpose of deliberating on the Federal Constitution, &c., to take under their consideration the Second and third Articles of the [state] Constitution, which being read was rejected.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 153. *House Journal*, 47.

**Senate Proceedings, Saturday, 6 December 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

On motion of Mr. Gallaway, seconded by Mr. Hill, the House

Resolved, Whereas, the General Assembly have thought it necessary to appoint five Delegates to go to a Federal Convention for the purpose of taking up the amendments proposed by this State, as well as of the different States, to be adopted into the Constitution proposed for the future Government of the United States;

And whereas, it is necessary should such Convention be called to make provision for the allowance to be made to the Honble. Gentlemen by this General Assembly appointed.

Therefore, Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor, be and he is hereby authorized and directed that upon this receiving official notice of the call of a Federal Convention that he notify the Honble. Gentlemen by this State appointed to attend on that business of the time & place appointed for holding such Convention, and that he draw a Warrant or Warrants in favour of each of the Gentlemen for the same allowance as is given to the Delegates of this State in Congress, for four Months in advance.

Sent for Concurrence. . . .

Received also the resolution of this House relative to Delegates appointed to attend the Federal Convention;

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XX, 591, 593. *Senate Journal*, 38, 39.

**House of Commons Proceedings  
Saturday, 6 December 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

Received from the Senate

. . . a Resolution authorizing His Excellency the Governor, to notify the Gentlemen appointed to represent this State in a Convention, should one be called, & grant them Warrants on the Treasury to enable them to attend, &c.; which being read, were severally Concurred with and returned.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 180. *House Journal*, 54.

**General Commentaries on Calling  
the Second North Carolina Convention  
6–30 November 1788**

**William Blount to John Gray Blount**

**Fayetteville, N.C., 6 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

The Assembly formed on Monday. [Alexander] Martin & [John] Sitgreaves are Speakers. Govr. Caswell would not accept. I believe there will not be a new Convention called by this Assembly. Willie Jones I think is inflexible. Johnston will probably be continued Governor. No Party Spirit has yet appeared openly on any Subject but the public papers are not yet got over a Reading in both Houses. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 433–34.

**Samuel Johnston to James Iredell**

**Fayetteville, N.C., 8 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

The Assembly met here the f[irs]t day and chose their Speakers, since that I cannot hear that any material Question has been agitated in either House, at first a great number of our Friends were very warm for a New Convention and were very sanguine in their Expectations within these few days. they begin to have apprehensions that they are at present too weak especially in the Senate many of the Members who are in favor of that measure being absent. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 446–48n. The rest of the letter primarily deals with the danger of Indians in western North Carolina. On the evening of 8 November, Federalists held a secret caucus in which they believed they had a small majority in the legislature to call a second state convention. See Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell, 17 November (RCS:N.C., 604).

**Extract of a Letter from a Member of the North Carolina  
General Assembly, Fayetteville, N.C., 10 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from a member of the North-Carolina general assembly to his friend in this city, dated Fayette-Ville, 10th Nov. 1788.*

“Our general assembly is now sitting at this place. A great many of the counties have petitioned for writs of elections for a new convention, to reconsider and ratify the constitution on the part of this state. The anti-federalists are still numerous, and, very many of them, callous to reason. To-morrow we expect to bring forward the petitions to introduce the matter: the opposition will run high; but I am in hopes we will

carry—though I believe it will be by a small majority. If we cannot have a new convention, anarchy will most probably be the consequence.”

1. Printed in the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 December. Reprinted twenty times by 19 January 1789: Vt. (1), N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (4), N.Y. (6), Pa. (3), Md. (1).

### **Newspaper Report of House of Commons Proceedings 10, 15, and 18 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

*Fayette-Ville, November 10, 1788.*

Petitions were introduced from the counties of Camden, Hertford, Randolph, Johnston, Tyrrell, Hyde, Richmond, Carteret, Dobbs, Chowan, Lincoln, Onslow, Rowan, Surry, Mecklinburg, Martin, Chatham, Currituck, Edgcomb, Sampson, and the town of Halifax, praying that the General Assembly would recommend to the inhabitants of this state to elect members to represent them in another convention, for the purpose of taking under further consideration the constitution proposed for the future government of the United States. . . .

*November 15.*

The Commons went into a committee of the whole house, to take under consideration the propriety of calling another convention, to take under further consideration the constitution proposed for the future government of the United States—Mr. Mebane in the Chair. After some time spent in committee, the Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. Mebane reported, that the committee had come to the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the committee, that it is not now expedient to call a new Convention.

On the question to concur with this Resolution, the yeas and nays were required by Mr. W. T. Lewis: there were Yeas 55, and Nays 47.

*November 18.*

. . . The Commons, after receiving a resolution from the Senate for calling another convention, proposed to come into the measure provided the Senate would adopt amendments as to the number of members from each county, and the time of the meeting of the convention, which were accordingly made.—The number of members from each county is to be five, and one from each borough-town, to meet in convention the third Monday in November next.

1. Printed: *Wilmington Centinel*, 26 November. The first paragraph was reprinted in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 24 December 1788; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 January 1789.

**Charles Johnson to James Iredell**  
**Fayetteville, N.C., 14 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I shall now recur to the present scene, though nothing of any consequence has yet occurred. On the day appointed a House was formed. We have since chosen our officers of State, a list of whom is inclosed.<sup>2</sup> An attempt has been made to bring on the business of a new Convention. *It was introduced in our House by General Caswell*, as we counted upon carrying the resolution there, and expected that the question being carried in the Senate would add greater weight to it in the Commons, where we were most dubious of our strength. But Willie Jones, with his usual adriotness in the finesse of the House, set forth the necessity of a conference, and moved the previous question, which he carried by a very great majority indeed—at least four to one—so few were there that could understand the nature, meaning and extent of the previous question. To evince clearly how much that party excels ours in all the mysteries of political manoeuvre, I need only mention that the very measure proposed by Willie Jones (that of a conference of both Houses) after he had defeated the resolution introduced by Gen. Caswell, was rejected by the Antifederal party, with Parsons at their head. You will perceive that this afforded no great cause for triumph, though they exult extremely; nor do I think it by any means a fair trial of strength. The business will again be brought on, and I hope with more success—at least we must endeavor to have fairer play. A great number of petitions have been presented, many from counties formerly anti-constitutional. Another circumstance will operate for a new convention; many want to reconsider the seat of government—even this must be risked. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 449–51n.

2. No list has been located.

**Governor Samuel Johnston to James Iredell**  
**Fayetteville, N.C., 14 November 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The Question with respect to a New convention is to be taken up in the House of Commons to morrow. The event in my Opinion doubtful. . . .

I am my dear Sir, with the most sincere affection and esteem—

1. RC, Johnston Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 448–49n.

**Richard Caswell to Francis Child****Fayetteville, N.C., 16 November 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... Yesterday the House of Commons Resolved no New Convention shall be called 55 to 49.<sup>2</sup> it's to be taken up in the Senate to Morrow, the result there I flatter myself will be otherwise and may produce an Alteration in the Commons—I propose leaving this in the Course of the present week

1. RC, Members of the First Continental Congress, Pierpont Morgan Library. Child (d. 1792) was a clerk under and succeeded Richard Caswell in 1785 as North Carolina comptroller. The letter and the address page indicate that “Mr. McClure” carried the letter to Child in Hillsborough.

2. The Commons' journal lists the vote as 55 to 47.

**Henry W. Harrington to John F. Grimké****Beausejour on the Pedee, N.C., 28 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

I this afternoon received certain intelligence from Fayetteville, that on the 15 Inst. the Question for another State-Convention to meet on the 29th December next being put, was carried in the Senate, but lost in the Commons. that the Senate had since, on Motion of Major General Caswell; agreed that another Convention consisting of five Members from a County should be called, without the time of there meeting been mentioned, which was also agreed to by the Commons—that on Monday last the Senate again proposed that the Convention should meet on the ~~2d Monday~~ 29 December, to this the Commons would by no means agree, but proposed in their turn, that the *Election* for Members of the Convention should be held on the same day in August as the annual election for Members of the Genl Assembly & that the Convention should *meet* on the third Monday in Novr next, which is two weeks later than the annual meeting of the General Assembly, to *which* the Senate thought best to agree, for the temper of the Commons did not seem to promise that the Federalists could obtain an earlier period; this, disgraceful & distressing as it is, we are glad to catch at, as it may be the means of this State adopting the excellent & justly admired New Constitution, a year or two sooner than its self-interested opposers expect!

The appointing the Govr & c & c the Balloting for the place of the next meeting of the Convention & of the Genl Assembly (both at Fayetteville) with the Tax bill & a Bill brought in by the Members from the Western-waters, to make over the whole, or a large Tract of their Country to Congress, is the principle business done this Session, it is expected this last Bill will not pass the third reading, or be laid over until

we shall be in the Union, to obtain that most desirable situation I shall throw in my mite & endeavor to obtain a seat in the next Convention &c Assembly

That You may have Health & good weather on your route to Charleston & have the happiness to meet your Lady & Little-Ones in perfect Health is the sincere wish of

[PS] Please to give our good Friend Mr Pymes the earliest acct. of the price & demand of Cotton at Philadelphia

1. RC, Gratz Collection, Continental Officers, PHi. The address page was endorsed: "Per Mr Jno Brown/Cheraw Post rider." The first paragraph alone was printed with many changes in capitalization and punctuation as an "*Extract of a letter from North Carolina, to a respectable gentleman in this city, dated November 28, 1788,*" in the *Charleston City Gazette* on 16 February 1789 and reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 March; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 March; and *Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette*, 1 April.

### **Extract of a Letter from New Bern, N.C., 30 November 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Newburn, North-Carolina, to a gentleman in this town, dated Nov. 30, 1788.*

"Our Legislature are now assembled at Fayette-Ville; they have had a vote in the House whether a new Convention should be called or not, which passed in the negative by a majority of 8; since which I am informed they have voted again, and it passed in favor of a Convention, and it is confidently believed the new Constitution will be adopted."

1. Printed in the *Newport Herald*, 25 December. Reprinted thirteen times by 13 January 1789: N.H. (2), Mass. (8), R.I. (1), Conn. (2).

**VIII.**  
**THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES**  
**TO THE FAYETTEVILLE CONVENTION**  
**21–22 August 1789**

**Introduction**

The election of convention delegates and state assemblymen took place on Friday and Saturday, 21–22 August 1789. Each county could elect five convention delegates and each borough town could elect one. As the election neared, Federalists were hopeful that a sufficient change in people's attitudes had taken place so that the Constitution would be ratified. Several general reports in letters and newspapers reflected Federalist optimism. Benjamin Hawkins saw a "decidedly federal" change in Warren County.

Some Federalists were concerned over James Iredell's refusal to stand for election in Edenton. As a newly elected member of the state Council, Iredell could not serve in the state legislature, and on several occasions he indicated that he would not be a convention delegate because of professional conflicts. (The meeting of the convention would conflict with court sessions during which Iredell was committed to represent several clients.) In several letters, Hugh Williamson encouraged Iredell to seek election. Williamson himself suggested that he might seek election from Edenton if Iredell decided not to serve in the convention. (Williamson, a resident of Chowan County, was ultimately elected as a delegate from Tyrrell County.) In the end, Iredell did seek election from Edenton but was defeated in a caustic election in which the Federalist vote was split among several candidates. John Mare was chosen. Archibald Maclaine was sorry to hear that Iredell had been defeated. Maclaine thought that Iredell "would have had considerable weight" in the convention.

Perhaps the biggest surprise was that Willie Jones chose not to stand for election. Maclaine, himself too ill to serve as a delegate, reported that Jones might vote for ratification if he were elected. "The amendments [proposed by Congress] will furnish him with a sufficient justification." Maclaine was disheartened to hear that "That fool [Samuel] Spencer is again chosen for Anson" County. Federalist John Stokes was pessimistic that he would be elected for Rowan County, because many of his supporters had been cut off when the new Iredell County was created out of Rowan. Stokes, however, was elected. Federalist optimism was justified as they won a sizeable majority of delegates.

Some time after the election, a county or borough official (usually the sheriff) gave the winning candidates handwritten certificates authenticating their elections. Some certificates listed the names of all five victorious candidates, while others listed only one candidate's name. Over sixty certificates are located in "Papers of the Convention of 1789" at the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. All but three of the certificates indicate that the delegates were either "elected," "duly elected," or "legally elected." Three certificates, however, indicate that the delegates had been unanimously elected—John Sevier of Greene County, Caleb Phifer of Mecklenburg County, and the entire five man delegation of Surry County. The sheriff of Mecklenburg County even indicated that Phifer had received 848 votes, while another certificate indicated that another Mecklenburg delegate had received 590 votes. For facsimiles of all the election certificates, see Mfm:N.C.

The *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 27 August, listed the election results for Edenton and for only six counties. The first two paragraphs of the report indicated that the Chowan candidates for the state Senate, Commons, and Convention had been "*unanimously* chosen."

### **Hugh Williamson to James Iredell**

**New York, 5 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Your favor of the 11th ult. came to hand three days ago. The post in cold weather seems to move slowly. I am very glad that the subject of the new Constitution is to be again before the citizens of North Carolina. Presuming that the same cause that prevented your attendance at the last meeting of the Assembly will prevent you from attending at the next Convention and Assembly, I shall, in such case only, assure the inhabitants of Edenton of my readiness to serve them; but if you can make it convenient to attend as the representative of that town, which I heartily wish, I shall offer to serve some of the counties as delegate in the Convention only. I have, as you may believe, the business much at heart, and wish to add my small mite to the endeavors of our friends. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 465.

### **James Iredell to Hugh Williamson**

**Edenton, N.C., 22 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I am extremely glad you propose offering yourself for Edenton. It was what I much wished, and had in prospect view, for I never have been reconciled to our suffering you so easily to be out of our last Convention. I cannot at any rate be a Member of Assembly, as being a

Counsellor, and it would be a means of my losing Edenton Court, which nothing but such an extraordinary & important business as that of the Constitution could permit me to think of.<sup>2</sup> Possibly I may aim to be in the Convention, tho' I must sacrifice Newbern Court to it, but if I should it must be for some County, as I never could consent to interfere with the election of any Gentleman who might be chosen the Member of Assembly for our Member in the Convention also. One certainly ought to be chosen for both stations. I am therefore very happy in thinking you in all probability will be that Person<sup>3</sup> and I am sure I could go to the Convention with infinitely higher spirits were you to be a Member of it.

I sometime ago received the favour of your letter on the subject of our Debates. I had an opportunity of sending it instantly to Colo. Davie, but have not heard from him since. I should have wrote sooner, but have been from home, & we have been very unhappy about Mrs. Blair, whose life seemed in most imminent danger, but thank God she is now in a fair way of recovery. Davie & myself are in a critical situation. We were ~~employed~~ engaged to get the Debates printed having no doubt we could sell the Copy, which we were empowered to do, upon condition to receive gratis about *100 Copies* for the Subscribers. We can't dispose of the Copy here or in Virginia, & I dare say he has not much more Cash to advance than I have for the publication. So that we know not what to do, & a number of People who think everything can be done ~~Exactly~~ Just as they wish it are very impatient about it. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 471–73n.

2. See James Iredell to the Electors of Edenton, c. August 1789 (RCS:N.C., 732–33n).

3. Williamson was elected to the Fayetteville Convention from Tyrrell County but was not elected to the General Assembly.

### **Hugh Williamson to James Iredell New York, 24 January 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Some Time ago I wrote you that in Case our State should agree to try the Effects of a new Convention I should be glad to take a Seat in the same if chosen. There can be no great Harm in saying that Edenton may be more effectively represented both in Convention & Assembly than by its present Member.<sup>2</sup> To the best of my Recollection the Convention sits very near the Time when the superiour Court of Newbern sits. I have nevertheless some Hope that there is not an absolute Interference and that you will be able to represent our Town in the Convention though probably not in the Assembly. I am verry indifferent about whether I am in the Assembly or not, my Object is the

Convention but I would also of choice serve in the Assembly also, for if the Constitution is adopted some interesting Business comes on before the Assembly. If you can serve Edenton in both Capacities, so much the better for the public & in that Case I shall offer for one of the Counties in Convention only and I think the competition for that particular Office will not be very great. If you can serve for the Convention only, I shall be glad to serve the Town in the Assembly & shall offer to serve one of the Counties, or in the other Case, in Convention. I have not yet determined for which of the Counties I should offer with greatest Prospect of Success. If Captn: [Josiah] Collins should not be disposed to serve for Tyrrell or if his Business should make it inconvenient for him to attend I presume that with the Interest of the Lake Company I might secure an Election for the Convention in that County.<sup>3</sup> In our own County of Chowan the double Representation will doubtless engage the chief competition but there will probably be sundry Candidates even for the two additional Seats in the Convention.<sup>4</sup> I shall thank you for your advice on the whole of this Business. . . . believe me to be with great Esteem

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 474–75.

2. William Cumming represented Edenton in the House of Commons in 1788.

3. Williamson was elected to the Fayetteville Convention from Tyrrell County.

4. Under the North Carolina constitution (1776), each county was eligible to choose three members as representatives to the General Assembly—two members to the House of Commons, one to the Senate. For the purposes of the two state ratifying conventions, each county was eligible to select five delegates. The difference between these numbers explains Williamson's reference to "two additional Seats in the Convention."

### **Extract of a Letter from Edenton, N.C., 28 January 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from Edenton, in North-Carolina, dated Jan. 28, 1789.*

"You are doubtless informed that the general assembly of this state, at their last session, have agreed to recommend the choice of a second convention, which is to meet in November next, in order to consider of the new constitution. You will doubtless have pleasure in learning that we are disposed to give this interesting question a second hearing—but you may possibly ask, why is the time of meeting put off to a day so distant? In answer to this question, you may be informed, that little was to be gained by calling the convention at an early day, though considerable trouble and expence must have accrued from the measure. You recollect that our state is of great extent. There are some of the western members who live near five hundred miles from the seat of government. When you consider the incidents that attend travelling across mountains in winter, and in bad roads, you must allow those

members three or four weeks to come to the seat of government, or to return home. Our assembly adjourned about the middle of December. The most distant members may have reached their homes by the middle of January. The people may have been duly informed, and an election of delegates made by the 10th of February. The members thus chosen, might have been required to attend in convention by the 20th March. Let them be supposed to adopt the new constitution in six days, or in six hours, if you please, and the business must have remained unfinished till the general assembly had met and taken measures for electing senators and representatives. Let the executive require a special meeting of the assembly—the members could not be expected to meet before the first of May; but it chances to be an agreed point in this state, that a special meeting of the assembly is not to be effected at any time between the middle of April and the 1st of October. This fact is best explained by those who are acquainted with our crops, and the nature of our climate. You will admit that it was not worth while to call a special meeting of the assembly in October, when the annual meeting was to be in November. Hence it is that our assembly has put off the meeting of the convention to the time mentioned. The annual election for members for the assembly, is to be in August, and the members of the convention are to be chosen at the same time. The assembly is to meet on the 1st Tuesday in November, and the convention is to meet on the 3d Tuesday in that month.<sup>2</sup> Doubtless the same members will generally serve in both capacities, and a considerable saving will be made to the public. In the mean while, both parties will observe with great attention the proceedings of the new Congress—and we flatter ourselves, that the wisdom and moderation of that honorable body, will soon evince, that we have much to hope, and nothing to fear from the operations of the new government.”

1. Printed: New York *Daily Advertiser*, 6 March. Reprinted twelve times by 2 April: Mass. (3), R.I. (2), Conn. (3), N.Y. (2), Pa. (2). Additionally, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 March, and the Pennsylvania *Carlisle Gazette*, 1 April, only reprinted the first sentence of the letter, while the Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette* did not reprint this letter until its issue of 25 November 1789.

2. The second North Carolina Convention began meeting on 16 November 1789, the third Monday.

### **Hugh Williamson to James Iredell**

**New York, 12 February 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... I have written to Sundry Friends that I shall offer for Edenton both in Assembly & Convention if you cannot Serve but if you can Serve the Town in Assembly then I will offer for some County in Convention only.<sup>2</sup> Your Letter states a fact of which I was afraid viz that the courts

will prevent you from Serving in the Assembly. I think it probable that I may be at Home at or before the Election, Some farther Evidence as I take it respecting the Object of my late Appointm[en]t must be collected in the State which may require the attendance of Col. Thomas or myself.<sup>3</sup> Should this be the Case I shall try to come as I wish at the Same Time to make Some Arrangements for the Settlement of my Family. By the Way I wish my growing attachment to domestic Life may not become too Strong.<sup>4</sup> I do not wish ever to possess that absolute Apathy and want of concern for the Interest of the Nation which I have often blamed in others on whose Services their Country had a Claim.

Be So good as give furtherance to the inclosed & believe me to be with the most perfect Esteem

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 477–78.

2. Williamson was elected to the Fayetteville Convention from Tyrrell County. He was not elected to the Assembly.

3. Williamson and Abishai Thomas had been appointed commissioners to settle North Carolina's accounts with Congress.

4. On 3 January 1789 Williamson married Maria Apthorp, the daughter of a wealthy New York merchant.

### John Stokes to James Iredell

Rowan, N.C., 29 March 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . I shall be a candidate for a seat in the next Convention, but think my success doubtful as the Iredell line divides my interest—I am left in Rowan & half my interest is in Iredell.

I am Dear Sir with regard and esteem

1. RC, Gratz Collection, Old Congress, PHi. The address page was marked: “favd. by Mr. [John] Steele.” Stokes (1756–1790), a native of Lunenburg County, Va., and a lawyer, was a lieutenant and then a captain in a Virginia regiment of the Continental Army, 1776–80. He saw considerable action and was severely wounded, losing his right hand to a British sword. After the war Stokes moved to Halifax County, N.C. In 1784 he presented his license to practice law to the Rowan County court. In 1786 Stokes moved to Montgomery County, where he represented the county in the state Senate, 1786–87. In 1787 he was elected to the Confederation Congress but did not attend. Stokes represented Rowan County in the state House of Commons and the Fayetteville Convention, 1789, where he voted to ratify the Constitution. In 1790 he was judge of the U.S. District Court in North Carolina.

### Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Edenton, N.C., 25 May 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . I have some Desire to have a Seat in the next Convention & shall try before I go to the Northward to look out some County that may promise me their Suffrage. Having doubts whether on Acct of my office

I may be eligible in the Assembly and not caring much about what Laws they may pass I shall not offer for a Seat there else I should offer for this Town, many of the Inhabitants having proposed it. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 482–83. The first part of the letter deals with getting North Carolina Revolutionary War expenses to Congress for final settlement and various means to encourage Northern emigrants to settle in western North Carolina rather than in Kentucky.

**James Iredell to the Electors of Edenton  
Edenton, N.C., c. 15 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Gentlemen,

Having had the honour to be applied to by several Gentlemen, to know if I should offer myself as a Candidate at the present Election, and being under the unfortunate necessity of declining to do so, I think it my duty to acquaint you with the reason which forbids my aspiring to so great & flattering a mark of distinction.

I trust no Person who knows me will believe that I should be capable, from any views merely interested, of declining any public service it was in my power to perform, but from a late Act of Assembly which imposes a severe penalty on Members who do not attend punctually<sup>2</sup> it is probable the Assembly will now meet on the very day appointed, instead (as it has usually been) of nearly a fortnight later, and that being the case I could not attend in Time to be of any service, without being absent the whole of Newbern Superior Court, if not of Edenton, and I could not neglect both or either without prejudicing very materially many Clients who have entrusted with me concerns of the utmost consequence to them. And I sincerely assure you that I can think of no expedient which would prevent my absence being the cause of great injustice to them, as also perhaps to other Persons, to whom I am opposed & whose causes might be prejudiced, or delayed owing to my absence[.] At the same time I have the best reason to believe no indulgence would be granted by the Court to any Lawyers Business on account of his being a Member of Assembly.

I hope this reason will be satisfactory to all who are pleased to wish I should have the honour to represent them. I feel indeed great reluctance in parting with the satisfaction I lately enjoyed (tho' on another occasion) in representing a Town to which I am attached by the strongest possible ties, and whose recent proof of confidence & regard I shall reflect upon with gratitude & pleasure to the last moment of my life.

I am Gent. with the greatest respect Your faithful & Obed. Sert.

1. Typescript, Charles E. Johnson Collection, Nc-Ar.
2. For the act mentioned, see "An Act to Compel the Attendance . . .," NCSR, XXIV, 906–7. The act was passed during the General Assembly of 1787.

**John Hamilton: To the Electors of Edenton**  
**State Gazette of North Carolina, 13 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*To the Independent Freeholders and Electors of Edenton.*

Gentlemen,

When a person offers himself as a servant of the public, it is natural to enquire into his pretensions, and the good offices which he purposes to effect.

Allow me to observe, that at the request and solicitation of a few individuals, with reluctance, admitted my name to be mentioned as a candidate at the ensuing election. The liberty of representation being a right equally open to all, it occurred to me that at this period I could not possibly give offence, when there was an opposition to the candidate first proposed, and a strong division of sentiments among the people. I did then expressly declare, that individually I was indifferent, and would with pleasure decline, should the people agree in their choice of a member, whose personal and political attachments were unexceptionable.

While with the utmost concern I perceive that matters have since grown to a considerable degree of warmth and animosity, I am satisfied in my own mind, that I have not in the least degree given occasion to stimulate any such uneasiness, having always expressed my sentiments *openly* and with *temper*.

At the same time I cannot but remark, that the conduct of one party, in venturing to carry their point by uncommon modes, must be justly discountenanced by all true lovers of their country, who know and estimate the freedom of election to be the *New Testament* of their civil and political liberty.

Before I state the objects which I wish to see effected, for the good of the town, it might be necessary to obviate the objections that have been raised against myself—so far as I have understood, they are threefold:

1st. That I am not a Freeholder.

2d. That I am a Lawyer.

3d. That my sole purpose is to overturn the Twenty Pound Warranting Law.

The first objection being altogether without foundation, needs only to be answered by averring that I have a freehold: And you will permit me to say, that were it not the case, so far from constituting an ineligibility, it is certain, that as a *freeman* I have the right of representation:

Surely it would be strange that I should be debarred of a right which even any free Mulattoe possesses in common with the first freeholder in the state: The obvious design of the law being this, that in opposition to the landed interest, towns should have a commercial or trading representation.

As to the second objection, that *I am a Lawyer*, if it has any weight, it is neither founded in law, justice, or sound policy; but is fitted merely to answer a captious purpose—It is said they are a dangerous tribe, and a political evil—but if so, it should at the same time be remembered, that they are a *necessary evil*, and the firm barrier to the people against the encroachment of *power*. The history of all ages hath so informed us, and the annals of our own revolution, prove it incontestibly.

As to the third objection, that I mean to overturn the £.20 warranting law—This is an objection that appears to be plausible, and might be well fitted to catch the minds of the people, had it any rational foundation. Unfortunately however, in advancing this proposition, its advocates have proved too much. It supposes me to be a person of consummate abilities, enterprize and address—It argues more than credulity itself can believe—it argues that a young man of four years standing in the profession of the law, of no acquired influence, of very moderate capacity, and of uncouth manners, can by his sole means overturn a law, hitherto *idolized* by the majority of the legislature, the Justices of the peace.

For my own part I know of no way to overturn this law, at present, but by *magic* art, and I believe its professors are very scarce to be met with. My opponents may still say, that my interest is concerned in the repeal of this law; to this I answer that however much it may affect *others*, it is of no injury to me.—But let it be granted, that such is my intention, and that I have a bill prepared for the purpose of abolishing this popular law. In presenting this wondrous production, I must possess an unexampled share of audacity, and at once evince my temerity and insolence. My abortion would stamp me as a monument of mockery and insignificance.

In the most unequivocal manner, however, I do now declare that I shall not be concerned in any such business—if this law is *your choice*, *it is mine*. I shall leave you my family and property as a *pledge*, that with *myself* it shall remain *sacred*.

Matters of a superior nature, demand attention, and it remains that I now state to you the objects which I wish to see effected.

1st. To have the Constitution established; for it is certain, that while we are out of the union we are wandering like sheep upon the mountain without a shepherd<sup>2</sup>—it is certain that property will be precarious,

that public faith and private confidence will be disregarded—it is certain, that commerce must fade, and our country become a wilderness of poverty and shame—we shall be held as a scoff among the nations of the earth, a mark for scorn to hold her finger at, and subject to the inroad and depredation of every public or private invader.

2d. The canal from the head of Pasquotank river into Norfolk is a subject that now lays over for final discussion in the house. As I conceive that such canal would be highly detrimental to your interest, my best exertions, shall not be wanting to prevent its execution.

3d. As I conceive an emission of paper money, to be a species of public robbery, and incompatible with every principle of convenience and sound policy; my best endeavours shall be used to prevent the execution of a measure so fatal to your interest as a trading and commercial town.

Should I receive your approbation in election, I shall hold your choice as an honor to be compensated only by an unremitted attention to *your* interest, and the *public good*.

I am, gentlemen, your's respectfully,  
Edenton, August 10, 1789.

JOHN HAMILTON.

1. Hamilton represented Edenton in the state House of Commons, 1789–93, but not in the Fayetteville Convention, 1789. John Mare represented Edenton in the Fayetteville Convention. Another John Hamilton, who also served in the House of Commons, represented Guilford during the Fayetteville Convention.

2. The reference to scattered sheep may refer to Jeremiah 50:6, Ezekiel 34:6, or another biblical passage.

### **Surry County Election Certificate, 23 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Surry County at An Election begun & held at the Court House the 21 & 22 days of August 1789 Joseph Winston Gideon Edwards, Absolom Bostick, Edward Lovell and George Houser Esqr. was Unanimously Elected for the house of Convention for the afforesd County. Given Under my hand

Hugh Armstrong S

Richmond the 23 August 1789

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar.

### **Mecklenburg County Election Certificate, 24 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

State of North Carolina  
Mecklenberg County

At the Election on the 3rd Friday and Saturday in August 1789, I do hereby Cerifie that Colo. Caleb Phifer was unanimously Elected one of

the Members to Represent the County aforesaid in a State Convention to reconsider the late proposed Federal Constitution, Given under my hand and seal this 24th. day of August 1789.

488 Votes

Geo. Graham Sheriff

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar.

**Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison**  
**Warrenton, Warren County, N.C., 27 August 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear friend!

I have had the pleasure to receive yr. favour of the 24th June. Our Elections ended on saturday last, and appearances as far as I can learn, are decidedly federal, in the County where I live, they were violent in the opposition, and now have changed, I was elected by a large majority, Colo. Davie who attends our court, is in for Halifax, they are all from the town and County federal, Mr. Willie Jones lives in that County but he did not offer. I have a letter from Nashville on the Cumberland of the 25th. July, informing of sundry predatory and murderous excursions of the indians, supposed, of the Creeks.—I send a short extract on a subject some what important, in its consequences, Colo. Morgan and his associates.—“Col. Morgans settlement on the mississippi is come to nothing the land they settled on, overflowed amazingly, and numbers of the adventurers are returned to Kentuckey very Much disgusted.”<sup>2</sup> I believe I dated my last letter June for July.—adieu or the opportunity to Petersburg will be lost.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

2. A reference to George Morgan's settlement at New Madrid in Spanish territory (present-day Missouri).

**State Gazette of North Carolina, 27 August 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

On closing the poll on Saturday evening last, the following gentlemen were *unanimously* chosen to represent this county [i.e., Chowan County] in the ensuing General Assembly and Convention of this state.

Charles Johnson, Esq. *Senate*.—Stephen Cabarrus and Lemuel Creecy, Esqs. *Commons*.—Stephen Cabarrus, Charles Johnson, Lemuel Creecy, Edmund Blount, and William Righten, Esqs. for the *Convention*. . . .

1. Reprinted: New York *Daily Advertiser*, 12 September; Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 September.

**John Auld to Henry W. Harrington**  
**Anson County, N.C., 3 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The Conventioners I am told for our County are Spencer, Wade, May—Gilbert and Jamison, among whom I have reason to believe there

is different Sentiments about the constitution, though I fear the majority will be against it, but am not absolutely confident in my opinion about them as I was not there. . . .

Am dear Sir with respect & affection

1. RC, Harrington Papers, #314, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Printed: H. M. Wagstaff, ed., "The Harrington Letters," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Society, XIII, no. 2 (Chapel Hill, 1914), 14–15. The address page was endorsed: "☞ Toney," a reference to one of Harrington's trusted slaves. Auld (1752–1796), a native of Dorchester County, Md., was an Anson County, N.C., planter and slaveholder. He sat in the state House of Commons, 1783–84, and the state Senate, 1788. He was clerk of the county's Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions in the early 1770s.

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Halifax, N.C., 7 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I have the pleasure of acknowledging your friendly letter by Mr. Blunt, There is something in the sympathy of a friend which can be gathered from no other source. Your Town election Mr Blunt informed me has been attended with some disagreeable circumstances—I think this rather ill policy in Mr Hamilton in his present situation—when the conciliation of every mans regard appeared necessary to his interest.<sup>2</sup>

The elections in this district are generally federal—The members as follows. *Halifax*, Peter Qualls Long, Whitaker, Norfleet, myself for the Town—*Warren* P. Hawkins B. Hawkins, W. Hawkins x Green, & Christmas *Franklin*—Hill. H. x Hill. J.—*Lancaster*, Sherrod, Christmas—*Nash*.—Griffin, Bonds x Vick, Marns, Ellen *Martin*—Williams, Hunter, Bryant<sup>3</sup> Mayo & Stewart, *Edgcomb* Phillips, Blount, Gray, Hilliard & Fort. *Northampton*, Bentford, Peete, Pride x Peebles x Tarver the most of these are also members of Assembly and those marked thus x are the only avowed Anties at present, the others are all staunch federalists or such as say they will now vote for the Constitution on the principle of Union.

The Western elections are of the same complection as far as we have heard—even Orange has a federal representation, thus we may safely hope that our accession to the confederacy will not be postponed beyond November next. I set out in 3 days for Salisbury, and when I meet you here will be able to give you a satisfactory account of our prospects in the back Counties.

My Compts. to your family and the Governor and believe me wt. the most sincere regard.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University.
2. For John Hamilton's candidacy, see his address to the electors of Edenton printed in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, on 13 August (RCS:N.C., 733–35).
3. There was no Bryant among the delegates for Martin County in the Fayetteville Convention.

### **Extract of a Letter from Salisbury, N.C., 7 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from Salisbury, North-Carolina,  
dated September 7, 1789.

“The elections for Convention and Assembly in this state have taken place since my arrival. The majority of the members appear to be federal.”

1. Printed: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 24 October. Reprinted in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 26 November, and in five other newspapers by 25 November: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1). Only the New York *Daily Advertiser*, 29 October, reprinting included the prefatory statement that the item was an “extract of a letter from Salisbury, N.C.”

### **Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell Wilmington, N.C., 15 September 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Until I received your letter of the 2d. I did not know that you had been a candidate for the convention, and I am extremely sorry you were not returned, as I am fully persuaded you would have had considerable weight

I think the elections, as far as I know any thing of them, are more favorable than last year. Phil[emon] & Ben[jamin] Hawkins are both in the convention.<sup>2</sup> Rutherford is not,<sup>3</sup> though [Matthew] Locke is<sup>4</sup>—I have not heard from Halifax. In New Hanover we have Tim. Bloodworth, Pugh Williams<sup>5</sup> John Huske, J A Campbell and John Gambier Scull—I do not know that there is one federal member among them, tho' possibly the last may—W. H. Hill for the town [i.e., Wilmington]. He opposed [Edward] Jones,<sup>6</sup> who is returned for the Assembly. I do not well know who are all for Brunswick, as I am told they have five for the convention, none of whom are in the Assembly—among them are, John Hall, whom perhaps you may remember with my brother, and Will. Lord—Of these two I have hopes—In Bladen, there are two new members, both Young men; but I do not know their political principles, so that excepting Col. [Thomas] Owen, I am uncertain as to that county[.] Robeson members are I believe sure—[John] Hay, [William Barry] Grove, [John] Ingram and a Mr. [Robert] Adam a merchant are for Cumberland, and all sure—I forget the other<sup>7</sup>—For Rowan county & Salisbury, I think we have three votes, [John] Steele, [John]

Stokes & [Maxwell] Chambers. Surry, it is said is federal,<sup>8</sup> Lincoln was so last year, & I believe sends nearly the same members<sup>9</sup>—That fool [Samuel] Spencer is again chosen for Anson—[James] Spiller is a member for Sampson, and [Richard] Clinton who is returned again, is a convert to federalism<sup>10</sup>—

I am persuaded we might have carried our point last year but for Willie Jones; and therefore I am anxious to know whether he is a member. As I do not however believe that he acted from principle, and as he was convinced last Session of Assembly that he had not acquired popularity sufficient to insure the passing of a single bill into a law, I am in hopes he will now take the other side, for which the amendments will furnish him with a sufficient justification. Should I be mistaken, however, there is one thing pretty certain, that he will find a great number of well-meaning members who, ashamed of being led by the nose last year, will prove very restiff. Upon the whole, I think we shall succeed; but I am apprehensive that our success will be accompanied with an evil of a very pernicious tendency,—namely; paper money—Those who wish to defraud their creditors, and those (a still greater number) who think we cannot pay taxes without bills of credit, will be clamorous for another emission of paper

To whom was Payne's expression, "the mechanics must do as the gentlemen bid them", applied—I thought Hamilton was the first gentleman among you;—I am sure Cumming frequently boasted of his *noble* birth

[Samuel] Strudwick, a strong anti, was a candidate for the convention, & within three votes of Col. Campbell [of New Hanover]—I see his son is chosen for Orange<sup>11</sup>—Strudwick has all Judge [Samuel] Ashe's family & connexions<sup>12</sup>—The Judges not only wish to keep their seats, but to keep them uncontrolled.

Mrs. Hooper & her children are gone to stay a month or 6 weeks at Fayette. Mr. Hooper is well, but my brother still in a very precarious state of health. My rheumatism had abated very considerably, but some unfavorable weather made me very uneasy—I question whether I shall ever be well, though I have been taking guinaum<sup>13</sup> now three months, and mean to continue it. I do not know what affect it has had upon others; but I am persuaded from two trials that with me it has increased the pain to a great degree for some time Has it any thing like that affect upon the Governor?

I can hear of no consequ[ua]nce for the debates.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University.

2. Philemon and Benjamin Hawkins were two of the delegates for Warren County in the Fayetteville Convention.

3. Probably a reference to Griffith Rutherford, who served as a delegate for Rowan County in the Hillsborough Convention. Rutherford did not serve at Fayetteville.

4. Locke was one of the delegates for Rowan County in the Fayetteville Convention.

5. Probably a reference to John Pugh Williams, who served as a delegate for New Hanover County in the Hillsborough Convention. Williams did not serve at Fayetteville.

6. Jones served in the House of Commons for Wilmington in 1789.

7. James Moore was the fifth delegate for Cumberland County in the Fayetteville Convention. He opposed ratifying the Constitution.

8. At Fayetteville, three of the five delegates for Surry County were Federalist. See Surry County Election Certificate, 23 August 1789 (RCS:N.C., 735).

9. At Fayetteville, four of the five delegates for Lincoln County were Federalist. Three delegates who served in the Hillsborough Convention—Robert Alexander, William Maclaine (McLean), and John Moore—also served at Fayetteville.

10. Clinton was an Antifederalist during both state ratifying conventions.

11. A reference to William F. Strudwick, who opposed ratifying the Constitution in the Fayetteville Convention.

12. Ashe served on the Superior Court of Law and Equity, 1778–95.

13. Also, guaiacum. A multipurpose medicine made from the resin of a tree native to the West Indies and similar climes of the Americas. Maclaine may have been using the remedy to treat rheumatism, which he mentions, or another ailment, such as gout, for which the remedy was often recommended.

### **Thomas Blount to John Gray Blount**

**Tarborough, N.C., 19 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... I have this moment received a Letter from Colo Polk informing me that he is not elected & saying that there was not one federalist elected either for Convention or Assembly in his County he says he has seen a Letter dated at Nashville 22d July signed by Colo Robertson which contains a paragraph, in these words, “Major [Charles] Gerrard will be of the Convention for Davidson County & Col. Wm Blount for Tennessee[”]—

1. RC, John Gray Blount Papers, Duke University. The letter was delivered by “Captain Baldwin.” Thomas Blount (1759–1812), a native of Craven County, N.C., and a merchant and planter, was an officer in the Continental Army and the state militia during the Revolutionary War. He spent part of the war as a prisoner in England. After the war, he was in the mercantile business with his brothers William and John Gray. Thomas Blount, who resided in the town of Tarborough, represented Edgecombe County in the Fayetteville Convention, 1789, where he voted to ratify the Constitution. He represented Edgecombe County in the state House of Commons, 1789, 1792–93. Blount served in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1793–99, 1805–9, 1811–12.

### **John F. Grimké to Henry W. Harrington**

**Charleston, S.C., 29 September 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... I should be glad to hear how your Election business has gone on, whether favorable or not to our wishes & federalism. Mr Benjn:

Smith lately arrived from Wilmington says, that they are all fœderal for his County, the antis having been rejected there. May you have had the same Success.—I am, Dr. General, with Esteem

1. RC, Harrington Papers, #314, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The unprinted paragraphs indicate that the letter was carried by a Mr. Hull, formerly a corporal under Grimké.

### **Greene County Election Certificate, 15 October 1789<sup>1</sup>**

State of No. Carolina

Greene County

These are to Certify that John Sevier Esquire was Unanimously Elected one of the Members for the county of Greene to represent them in Convention

Given Under My hand this 15th October 1789

James Richardson—H Sheriff

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar.

### **Charleston City Gazette, 24 October 1789<sup>1</sup>**

A letter from the Governor of North-Carolina to a gentleman in this city, mentions, that from the returns he had received of the elections for members of the convention, the friends of the union might entertain the most flattering hopes of that state's soon adopting the constitution.

1. This item was transcribed from the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 9 November, which reprinted it under a "CHARLESTON, October 24" dateline. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 November, reprinted it under a "CHARLESTON, (S.C.) October 20" dateline. The report probably appeared in the daily Charleston *City Gazette* on one of these two dates. A slightly different reprint appeared in the Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette* on 21 November. The item was reprinted a total of seventeen times by 9 December: Vt. (1), N.H. (1), Mass. (1), R.I. (3), Conn. (1), N.Y. (3), Pa. (5), Md. (1), Va. (1).

**IX.**  
**THE SECOND NORTH CAROLINA CONVENTION:**  
**FAYETTEVILLE**  
**16–23 November 1789**

**Introduction**

In compliance with the General Assembly's resolutions of 17–21 November 1788, delegates to a second North Carolina Convention met in Fayetteville on Monday, 16 November 1789, to reconsider the new U.S. Constitution. The General Assembly was also meeting in Fayetteville when the Convention assembled. Because so many legislators were delegates to the Convention, the Senate on 16 November proposed that the legislature adjourn for several days so that the Convention could proceed with its business. After several adjournments, the legislature agreed to begin meeting again on Monday, 23 November. Delegates met for seven days, assembling at 10:00 each morning. On the first day, 261 delegates attended. (Thirteen additional delegates sporadically arrived, including George Ledbetter of Rutherford County, who arrived on 23 November, the last day of the Convention and two days after the final vote on ratification took place.) The Convention unanimously elected Governor Samuel Johnston as president even though he had not sufficiently recovered from a recent illness to attend. Charles Johnson was elected vice president and immediately began to preside. John Hunt and James Taylor were appointed secretaries, while Peter Gooding, James Mulloy, William Murphy, and Nicholas Murphy were appointed doorkeepers. The delegates appointed a committee of elections and a committee to draft rules.

On Tuesday, 17 November, the Convention accepted the rules committee report and read both the General Assembly's resolutions calling the state Convention and the U.S. Constitution. Hugh Williamson and John Stokes moved that the Convention immediately adopt the Constitution. The motion was opposed. John Steele and John Skinner then moved that the Constitution be considered in a committee of the whole. Opposition was expressed, and a vote was taken on Williamson's motion, which was defeated. Delegates also decided that the Convention should consider an ordinance authorizing Fayetteville's representation in the Convention and the state legislature.

On Wednesday, 18 November, the Convention agreed to consider the Constitution in a committee of the whole with John B. Ashe serving as chairman. William R. Davie and Timothy Bloodworth moved that 300

copies of Congress' twelve proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution be printed, and John Hay presented an ordinance for Fayetteville's representation, which was ordered to lie on the table.

On Thursday, 19 November, the committee of the whole continued its discussion of the Constitution. William Porter and Thomas Person then moved that 350 copies of the Convention journal and other Convention business be printed. On the following day, 20 November, Samuel Johnston attended and took his place as president of the Convention. Chairman Ashe delivered the report of the committee of the whole at the end of the day's proceedings.

On Saturday, 21 November, the secretary reported proposals to print the Convention journal by Sibley and Howard. The report of the committee of the whole was considered and read. James Gallaway objected and proposed an alternative report, containing five proposed amendments to the Constitution. Gallaway's report was read and rejected by a vote of 188 to 82. The delegates then reconsidered the report of the committee of the whole and voted to ratify the Constitution, 194 to 77. Following the vote on ratification, Convention delegates directed President Johnston to deliver North Carolina's ratification to President George Washington. Gallaway and Joseph McDowall then moved for the Convention to recommend that the General Assembly request Congress to call a second general convention to propose the five previously considered amendments to the Constitution. The Convention rejected Gallaway's proposal but agreed to submit the proposal to a committee that would prepare recommendatory amendments that were thought to be necessary. The committee consisted of William R. Davie, Benjamin Smith, James Gallaway, Timothy Bloodworth, John Stokes, Samuel Spencer, and John Hay. Six delegates received permission to be absent after this day, and the Convention accepted the ordinance allowing Fayetteville to be represented in the Convention and in the state legislature.

On Monday, 23 November, the Convention agreed that Hodge and Wills, the state printers, should print the Convention journal and transmit copies of it to the counties along with the journals and laws of the present session of the legislature. Gallaway reported that the committee on amendments had unanimously agreed to a report recommending eight amendments that should be considered by a second general convention of the states. (Only two of the previously proposed five amendments were included.) The Convention agreed to the report. The Convention then unanimously thanked President Johnston and Vice President Johnson for presiding over the Convention and adjourned.

## Delegates to the Fayetteville Convention

The following roster lists the delegates elected to the second North Carolina Convention. Unlike the roster for the first North Carolina Convention (RCS: N.C., 216–21n), which records Antifederalists' support for and Federalists' opposition to the report of the committee of the whole, this roster *is* a record of delegates' votes *supporting or opposing ratification*. Votes in favor of ratifying the Constitution are indicated by (Y). Votes opposing ratification are indicated by (N). The second North Carolina Convention ratified the Constitution 194 to 77. Absent delegates are signified by (A) and delegates who had been recorded as in attendance but who did not vote are signified by (NV). For delegates appearing in both the Hillsborough and the Fayetteville conventions, the spelling of delegates' names in this roster has been reconciled with the spelling given in the Hillsborough Convention roster. The names of delegates who did not appear in the Hillsborough Convention have been spelled according to the vote on ratification in the Convention journal (Evans 22738). For further helpful details about delegates to the Fayetteville Convention, see Stephen E. Massengill, *North Carolina Votes on the Constitution: A Roster of Delegates to the State Ratification Conventions of 1788 and 1789* (Raleigh, N.C., 1988).

### OFFICERS

President: Samuel Johnston  
 Vice President: Charles Johnson  
 Secretaries: John Hunt and James Taylor

### DELEGATES BY COUNTY

#### ANSON

Jesse Gilbert (Y)  
 David Jamieson [Jameson] (Y)  
 Pleasant May (N)  
 Samuel Spencer (N)  
 Thomas Wade (A)

#### BEAUFORT

Silas W. Arnett (Y)  
 John Gray Blount (Y)  
 William Brown (A)  
 Alderson Ellison (Y)  
 Richard Grist (Y)

#### BERTIE

William Johnston Dawson (Y)  
 John Johnston (Y)  
 Francis Pugh (Y)  
 David Stone (Y)  
 David Turner (Y)

#### BLADEN

Thomas Brown (N)  
 John Cowan (Y)  
 Joseph Gaitier [Gautier] (N)  
 Thomas Owen (Y)  
 Duncan Stewart (N)

#### BRUNSWICK

William Gause (Y)  
 John Hall (Y)  
 Dennis Hankins (Y)  
 William E. Lord (N)  
 Benjamin Smith (Y)

#### BURKE

John Carson (Y)  
 William Erwin (Y)  
 Charles McDowall (Y)  
 Joseph McDowall of  
 Pleasant Gardens (Y)  
 Joseph McDowall of  
 Quaker Meadows (N)

#### CAMDEN

Henry Abbot (Y)  
 Peter Dauge [Dozier] (Y)  
 Charles Grandy (Y)  
 Isaac Gregory (Y)  
 Enoch Sawyer (Y)

#### CARTERET

Malachi Bell (Y)  
 John Easton (Y)  
 John Fulford (Y)

- Wallis [or Willis] Styron (Y)  
John Wallace (Y)
- CASWELL  
Robert Bowman (Y)  
Robert Dickins (N)  
John Graves (N)  
Robert Payne (Y)  
John Womack (N)
- CHATHAM  
James Anderson (NV)  
Robert Edwards (N)  
John Ramsey (Y)  
John Thompson (Y)  
William Vestal (NV)
- CHOWAN  
Edmund Blount (Y)  
Stephen Cabarrus (Y)  
Lemuel Creecy (Y)  
Charles Johnson (Y)  
William Righton (Y)
- CRAVEN  
John Allen (Y)  
Joseph Leech (Y)  
Richard Nixon (NV)  
Thomas Williams (N)
- CUMBERLAND  
Robert Adam (Y)  
William Barry Grove (Y)  
John Hay (Y)  
John Ingram (Y)  
James Moore (N)
- CURRITUCK  
Andrew Duke (Y)  
Samuel Ferebee (Y)  
William Ferebee (Y)  
Spence Hall (Y)  
Thomas P. Williams (Y)
- DAVIDSON  
William Dobins (Y)  
Robert Ewing (Y)  
Charles Gerrard (Y)  
James C. Mountflorenc (Y)  
Joel Rice (Y)
- DOBBS  
Simon Bright (Y)  
Richard Caswell  
(Died before taking seat)  
Nathan Lassiter (Y)  
Benjamin Sheppard (Y)
- DUPLIN  
Robert Dickson (N)  
James Gillespie (N)  
James Kenan (N)
- James Pearsall (N)  
Lavan Watkins (N)
- EDGECOMBE  
Thomas Blount (Y)  
William Fort (Y)  
Etheldred Gray (A)  
Jeremiah Hilliard (Y)  
Etheldred Phillips (Y)
- FRANKLIN  
William Christmass (Y)  
Henry Hill (N)  
Jordan Hill (NV)  
William Lancaster (NV)  
Thomas Sherrod (Y)
- GATES  
John Baker (Y)  
David Rice (Y)  
Joseph Reddick [Riddick] (Y)
- GRANVILLE  
Peter Bennett (N)  
Elijah Mitchell (N)  
Thomas Person (N)  
Edmund Taylor (Y)  
Thornton Yancey (N)
- GREENE  
John Allison (Y)  
George Doherty (NV)  
Alexander Outlaw (Y)  
John Sevier (Y)  
James Wilson (NV)
- GUILFORD  
David Caldwell (N)  
Daniel Gillespie (N)  
John Gillespie (N)  
William Goudy [Gowdy] (N)  
John Hamilton (N)
- HALIFAX  
John B. Ashe (Y)  
Lunsford Long (Y)  
Marmaduke Norfleet (NV)  
Peter Qualls (Y)  
John Whitaker (Y)
- HAWKINS  
Elijah Chesson [Chezon, Chisholm] (Y)  
Nathaniel Henderson (Y)  
John Hunt (Y)  
James White (Y)
- HERTFORD  
Henry Baker (Y)  
Henry Hill (Y)  
Robert Montgomery (Y)  
Hardy Murfree (Y)  
Thomas Wyns (Y)

## HYDE

John Alderson (Y)  
 John Eborne (Y)  
 James Jasper (Y)  
 Michael Peters (Y)  
 James Watson (Y)

## IREDELL

Adam Brevard (Y)  
 David Caldwell (Y)  
 Musentine Matthews (Y)  
 John Nesbitt (Y)  
 Adlai Osborn (Y)

## JOHNSTON

William Bridges [Bridgers] (A)  
 Hardy Bryan (Y)  
 William Hackney (NV)  
 Matthias Handy (Y)  
 Samuel Smith (Y)

## JONES

John Hill Bryan (Y)  
 Frederick Harget (Y)  
 Jacob Johnston (Y)  
 Edward Whitty (Y)

## LINCOLN

Robert Alexander (N)  
 John Caruth (Y)  
 Joseph Dickson (Y)  
 William Maclaine [McLean] (Y)  
 John Moore (Y)

## MARTIN

Thomas Hunter (Y)  
 Nathan Mayo (Y)  
 John Stewart (Y)  
 William Williams (Y)

## MECKLENBURG

Joseph Douglas (N)  
 Joseph Graham (Y)  
 Caleb Phifer (N)  
 James Porter (N)  
 Zachias [or Zaccheus]  
 Wilson (N)

## MONTGOMERY

James Crump (Y)  
 William Johnston (Y)  
 David Nesbitt (Y)  
 James Tindall (Y)  
 James Turner (Y)

## MOORE

Cornelius Dowd [Doud] (N)  
 William Martin (N)  
 Donald McIntosh (N)  
 Neill McLeod (N)  
 Thomas Tyson (NV)

## NASH

John Bonds (Y)  
 Howell Ellen [Ellin] (NV)  
 Hardy Griffin (Y)  
 William Skipwith Marnes  
 [Mearnes, Mearns] (Y)  
 Wilson Vick (Y)

## NEW HANOVER

Timothy Bloodworth (N)  
 John Ablen Campbell (N)  
 John Huske (N)  
 John G. Scull (N)

## NORTHAMPTON

John Manley Bentford  
 [Benford, Binford] (Y)  
 Robert Peebles [Peoples] (N)  
 Samuel Peete (Y)  
 Halcott B. Pride (N)  
 Samuel Tarver (Y)

## ONSLOW

George Mitchell (A)  
 Robert Whitehurst Snead (Y)  
 John Spicer (Y)  
 Edward Ward (A)  
 Daniel Yates [Yeates] (NV)

## ORANGE

James Christmass (Y)  
 Joseph Hodge (N)  
 Alexander Mebane (N)  
 Thomas H. Perkins (N)  
 William F. Strudwick (N)

## PASQUOTANK

Thomas Banks (Y)  
 Devotion Davis (Y)  
 Edward Everagin (Y)  
 John Swann (Y)

## PERQUIMANS

Joseph Harvey (A)  
 Samuel Johnston (Y)  
 Benjamin Perry (Y)  
 John Skinner (Y)  
 Ashbury Sutton (Y)

## PITT

Shadrick Allen (Y)  
 James Armstrong (Y)  
 Benjamin Bell (Y)  
 William Blount (Y)<sup>1</sup>  
 Samuel Simpson (Y)

## RANDOLPH

William Bailey (Y)  
 Nathan Steadman (Y)  
 [Listed as "N. Stead"  
 in the tabulation.]

- Reuben Wood (Y)  
Zebedee Wood (N)
- RICHMOND**  
Darby Hanegan [Hennegan, Harragan] (N)  
Duncan McFarland (N)  
William Robinson [Robeson] (N)  
Alexander Watson (N)  
Edward Williams (Y)
- ROBESON**  
Sion Alford (Y)  
Elias Barnes (Y)  
Neil Brown (Y)  
John Cade (Y)  
John Willis (Y)
- ROCKINGHAM**  
William Bethell (N)  
Isaac Clarke (N)  
John Dabney (N)  
James Gallaway (N)  
Abraham [or Abram] Phillips (N)
- ROWAN**  
George Henry Berger [Barringer] (N)  
Maxwell Chambers (Y)  
Bazel [or Basil] Gathier [Gaither] (Y)  
Matthew Lock [Locke] (N)  
John Stokes (Y)
- RUTHERFORD**  
James Holland (Y)  
William Johnson [Johnston] (Y)  
George Ledbetter (A)  
Richard Lewis (Y)  
William Porter (Y)
- SAMPSON**  
Richard Clinton (N)  
Hardy Holmes (N)  
William King (N)  
James Spiller (Y)  
James Thompson (N)
- SULLIVAN**  
Joseph Martin (Y)  
William Nash (N)  
John Rhea (Y)  
John Scott (N)
- SUMNER**  
Edward Douglas (Y)  
Samuel Mason (A)  
John Overton (Y)  
Daniel Smith (Y)  
David Wilson (Y)
- SURRY**  
Absalom Bostick (N)  
Gideon Edwards (N)  
George Houser [Houzer] (Y)  
Edward Lovell (Y)  
Joseph Winston (Y)
- TENNESSEE**  
William Blount (NV)<sup>1</sup>  
John Drew (Y)  
Thomas Johnston [Johnson] (Y)  
Benjamin Menees (Y)  
John Montgomery (Y)
- TYRRELL**  
Samuel Chesson (Y)  
Jeremiah Frazier (Y)  
Simeon Spruil (Y)  
Thomas Stewart [Stuart] (Y)  
Hugh Williams (Y)
- WAKE**  
William Hayes (Y)  
Thomas Hines (Y)  
Henry Lane (Y)  
Joel Lane (Y)  
Britain Sanders (N)
- WARREN**  
Thomas Christmas (N)  
Solomon Green (Y)  
Benjamin Hawkins (Y)  
Philemon Hawkins (Y)  
Wyatt Hawkins (N)
- WASHINGTON**  
John Blair (Y)  
Landon Carter (Y)  
Andrew Greer (Y)  
William Houston (A)<sup>2</sup>  
Robert Love (Y)
- WAYNE**  
David Cogdell (N)  
James Handley (Y)  
Josiah Jernigan (Y)  
Richard McKinnie [McKinne] (Y)  
Burwell Mooring (N)
- WILKES**  
John Brown (N)  
Joseph Herndon (N)  
Benjamin Jones (N)  
William Lenoir (N)  
William Nall (N)

## DELEGATES BY BOROUGH

EDENTON	NEW BERN
John Mare (Y)	Isaac Guion (Y)
FAYETTEVILLE	SALISBURY
John Ingram <sup>3</sup> (NV)	John Steele (Y)
TOWN OF HALIFAX	WILMINGTON
William R. Davie (Y)	William H. Hill (Y)
HILLSBOROUGH	
Samuel Benton (Y)	

1. William Blount was elected as a delegate from both Pitt and Tennessee counties. He resided in Pitt and voted to ratify the Constitution with the other delegates from Pitt. Convention Secretary John Hunt disallowed Blount's request to be paid for traveling to and from Tennessee County. Hunt maintained that Blount, who also represented Pitt County in the House of Commons, should only be paid for his traveling between Pitt and Fayetteville (RCS:N.C., 780–81).

2. On Houston's travels to the Convention, his horse "foundered" causing Houston to arrive after the close of the Convention. The legislature voted only to allow Houston an allowance for his return travel to Washington County. See RCS:N.C., 775–76.

3. On Saturday, 21 November, the Convention ratified the Constitution and then approved an ordinance allowing Fayetteville representation in the Convention and in the state legislature. Therefore, the Fayetteville delegate, John Ingram, was seated only after the vote on the Constitution had taken place.

### General Assembly Resolution Requesting Voting Rights for Tarborough, November 1789

In December 1787 the General Assembly passed a resolution requesting that the proposed state ratifying convention approve borough status for Fayetteville, which would allow the town separate representation in the state legislature and in the convention. The Hillsborough Convention rejected this consideration and Fayetteville's Convention delegate was unseated. On 19 November 1788, a similar request by the legislature was made to the Fayetteville Convention, which approved the measure, but only after the Convention had already voted to ratify the Constitution without John Ingram, the Fayetteville delegate, voting.

Sometime during the November 1789 legislative session, the House of Commons proposed a resolution granting Tarborough voting privileges. The undated draft resolution is found among the Papers of the Convention of 1789 in the State Archives of North Carolina. No reference to the resolution has been found in the Convention journal.

Whereas the last Genl. Assembly did on the 19 November 1788 Resolve that it be recommended by this Assembly to the Convention which is to meet on the third Monday in November to reconsider the new Constitution, that they also consider the propriety of allowing the town of Fayettevill a member to represent the said town on the same terms with the other District Towns in this state. And whereas this present Genl. Assembly have equal powers with the last And whereas the Town of Tarborough is equally entitled with the Town of Fayettevill to a representation

Resolved that it be recommended by this Assembly to the said Convention that they also consider the propriety of allowing the Town of Tarborough a member to represent the said Town on the same terms with the other District Towns in this state.

### **General Assembly Resolution on Convention Pay**

*House of Commons Proceedings, Friday, 20 November 1789<sup>1</sup>*

*Resolved*, That the members of Assembly who have attended at this place as members of the Convention also, shall not be allowed for travelling and attending otherwise than as members of Assembly, and not for both; and that those who are members of Convention only shall be allowed according to the resolution of the last Assembly for calling the Convention.

*Senate Proceedings, Friday, 20 November 1789<sup>2</sup>*

Received from the house of commons a resolution directing that the members of Assembly who have attended at this place as members of the Convention, shall not be allowed for travelling and attending otherwise than as members of the Assembly, and not for both; and that those who are members of Convention only shall be allowed according to the resolution of the last Assembly for calling a Convention; which was read, concurred with and returned.

1. Printed: *Journal of the House of Commons* (Edenton, 1790) (Evans 22739), 18. [Hereafter cited in Part IX as *House Journal*.]

2. Printed: *Journal of the Senate* (Edenton, 1790) (Evans 22740), 15. [Hereafter cited in Part IX as *Senate Journal*.]

### **North Carolina General Assembly Temporarily Adjourns 16–21 November 1789**

*Senate Proceedings, Monday, 16 November 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>*

On motion of Mr. Bloodworth, *Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the house of commons:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

This being the day fixed on for the meeting of the Convention, we propose that the two houses adjourn until Thursday next in order to forward that business.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Monday, 16 November 1789 (excerpt)<sup>2</sup>*

Received from the senate the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

This being the day fixed on for the meeting of the Convention, we propose that the two houses adjourn until Thursday next, in order to forward that business.

*Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the senate:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen*,

We have received your message proposing that the two houses adjourn till Thursday next, in order that the Convention may meet; we cannot agree to this proposition, believing it would be more eligible for the Assembly to adjourn from two days to two days, and therefore propose in lieu thereof that the two houses adjourn to Wednesday next.

*Senate Proceedings, Monday, 16 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>3</sup>

Received from the house of commons the following message:  
[Here appears the House of Commons message of 16 November (immediately above).]

*Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the house of commons:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen*,

We agree that the two houses adjourn till Wednesday next, agreeable to your proposition.

*Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 18 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>4</sup>

*Ordered*, That the following messages be sent to the house of commons:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen*,

We propose that the two houses adjourn till Friday next at nine o'clock in order that the business of the Convention may be proceeded on.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Wednesday, 18 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>5</sup>

Received from the senate the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen*,

We propose that the two houses adjourn till Friday next at nine o'clock in order that the business of the Convention may be proceeded on.

*Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the senate:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen*,

We have received the message of your house proposing that the General Assembly adjourn till Friday next, with which we concur.

*Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 18 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>6</sup>

Received from the house of commons the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen*,

We have received the message of your house proposing that the General Assembly adjourn till Friday next, with which we concur.

*Senate Proceedings, Friday, 20 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>7</sup>

On motion of Mr. Macon, *Ordered*, that the following message be sent to the house of commons:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

It is our opinion that the two houses adjourn till Monday morning nine o'clock, in order that the business of the Convention may be completed.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Friday, 20 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>8</sup>

Received from the senate the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

It is the opinion of this house that the General Assembly adjourn till Monday next, in order that the business of the Convention may be completed.

*Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the senate:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

We cannot concur with your proposition for an adjournment till Monday next, but propose that the two houses adjourn to to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

*Senate Proceedings, Friday and Saturday, 20–21 November 1789 (excerpts)*<sup>9</sup>

Received from the house of commons . . . the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

We cannot concur with your proposition for an adjournment till Monday next, but propose that the two houses adjourn to to-morrow morning seven o'clock. . . .

[21 November]

On motion of Mr. Bloodworth, *Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the house of commons:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

It is the opinion of this house that the General Assembly adjourn till Monday next, in order that the business of the Convention may be completed.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Saturday, 21 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>10</sup>

Received from the senate the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

It is our opinion that the two houses adjourn till Monday morning nine o'clock, in order that the business of the Convention may be completed.

*Ordered*, That the following message be sent to the senate:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

We consent that the two houses adjourn to Monday next as by you proposed.

*Senate Proceedings, Saturday, 21 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>11</sup>

Received from the house of commons the following message:

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,*

We consent that the two houses adjourn to Monday next as by you proposed.

1. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 14.
2. Printed: *House Journal*, 17–18.
3. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 14.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Printed: *House Journal*, 18.
6. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 15.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Printed: *House Journal*, 18.
9. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 15, 16.
10. Printed: *House Journal*, 19.
11. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 16.

## Fayetteville Convention Monday 16 November 1789

### Convention Proceedings, 16 November 1789<sup>1</sup>

At a CONVENTION begun and held at *Fayetteville*, on the Third *Monday* of *November*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Nine, agreeable to the Resolutions of the last General Assembly, bearing Date the Seventeenth of *November*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Eight.

The returning officers for the several counties and borough towns, certified that the following persons were duly elected to represent the same in Convention, *to wit*, For

*Anson county*—The Hon. Samuel Spencer, Esq., Jesse Gilbert, Pleasant May, Thomas Wade, David Jameson.

*Beaufort*—John G. Blount, William Brown, Richard Grist, Alderson Ellison, Silas W. Arnett.

*Bertie*—John Johnston, Francis Pugh, William Johnston Dawson, David Turner, David Stone.

*Brunswick*—Benjamin Smith, William E. Lord, William Gause, John Hall, Dennis Hawkins [i.e., Hankins].

*Bladen*—John Cowan, Duncan Stewart, Thomas Owen, Joseph Gaitier, Thomas Brown.

*Burke*—Charles M'Dowall, Joseph M'Dowall, Joseph M'Dowall, jun. William E. Erwin, John Carson.

*Craven*—John Allen, Richard Nixon, Joseph Leech, Thomas Williams.

*Cumberland*—John Ingram, John Hay, William B. Grove, James Moore, Robert Adam.

*Carteret*—John Easton, Malachi Bell, John Fulford, Wallace Styron, John Wallace.

*Currituck*—William Ferebee, Thomas P. Williams, Samuel Ferebee, Andrew Duke, Spence Hall.

*Chowan*—Stephen Cabarrus, Charles Johnson, Lemuel Creecy, Edmund Blount.

*Camden*—Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Enoch Sawyer, Henry Abbott, Charles Grandy.

*Caswell*—John Wommack, Robert Dickens, John Graves, Robert Payne, Robert Bowman.

*Chatham*—Robert Edwards, William Vestall, John Thompson, John Ramsay, James Anderson.

*Dobbs*—

*Duplin*—James Pearsall, James Gillespie, Robert Dickson, Lavan Watkins, James Kenan.

*Davidson*—Charles Gerrard, Joel Rice, Robert Ewing, James C. Mountflorencia, William Dobbin.

*Edg[e]comb*—Etheldred Phillips, Thomas Blount, Jeremiah Hilliard, Etheldred Gray, William Fort.

*Franklin*—Henry Hill, Thomas Sherrod, Jordan Hill, William Lancaster, William Christmass.

*Guilford*—John Hamilton, William Gowdy, Richard D. Caldwell, Daniel Gillespie, John Gillespie.

*Granville*—Elijah Mitchell, Thomas Person, Thornton Yancey, Peter Bennett, Edmund Taylor, jun.

*Gates*—David Rice, Joseph Riddick, John Baker.

*Greene*—John Sevier, Alexander Outlaw, John Allison, George Doherty, James Wilson.

*Halifax*—Lunsford Long, John B. Ashe, Peter Qualls, John Whitaker, Marmaduke Norfleet.

*Hertford*—Thomas Wynns, Robert Montgomery, Hardy Murfree, Henry Hill, Henry Baker.

*Hyde*—John Eborn, James Watson, John Alderson, James Jasper, Michael Peters.

*Hawkins*—Nathaniel Henderson, James White, John Hunt.

*Johnston*—Samuel Smith, Hardy Bryan, William Bridgers, William Hackney, Matthias Handy.

*Jones*—Frederick Hargett, Edward Whitty, John H. Bryan, Jacob Johnston.

*Iredell*—Adlai Osborn, Adam Brevard, Musentine Matthews, John Nesbitt, David Caldwell.

*Lincoln*—Joseph Dickson, John Moore, William M'Laine, Robert Alexander, John Caruth.

*Moore*—William Martin, Thomas Tyson, Donald M'Intosh, Neill M'Leod.

*Martin*—John Stewart, William Williams, Nathan Mayo.

*Mecklenburg*—Zachias Wilson, Joseph Douglass, Caleb Phifer, Joseph Graham, James Porter.

*Montgomery*—William Johnston, James Turner, James Tindall, David Nesbitt, James Crump.

*Northampton*—John M. Benford, Halcott B. Pride, Samuel Tarver, Robert Peebles, Samuel Peete.

*New-Hanover*—Timothy Bloodworth, John G. Scull, John Huske, John A. Campbell.

*Nash*—Howell Ellin, Wilson Vick, William S. Marnes, John Bonds, Hardy Griffin.

*Onslow*—Robert W. Snead, John Spicer, Daniel Yates, George Mitchell, Edward Ward.

*Orange*—James Christmass, Alexander Mebane, Thomas H. Perkins, William F. Strudwick, Joseph Hodge.

*Pasquotank*—Edward Everegain, John Swann, Thomas Banks, Devotion Davis.

*Perquimans*—His Excellency Samuel Johnston, John Skinner, Joseph Harvey, Benjamin Perry, Ashbury Sutton.

*Pitt*—William Blount, Shadrick Allen, James Armstrong, Samuel Simpson, Benjamin Bell.

*Rowan*—George H. Berger, Bazel Gaither, John Stokes, Maxwell Chambers, Matthew Lock.

*Randolph*—Zebedee Wood, Reuben Wood, Nathan Stead[man].

*Richmond*—Edward Williams, Alexander Watson, William Robinson, Duncan M'Farland.

*Rutherford*—William Porter, James Holland, Richard Lewis, William Johnston.

*Rockingham*—William Bethell, James Gallaway, Isaac Clarke, Abram Phillips, John Dabney.

*Robeson*—John Willis, Elias Barnes, Neill Brown, John Cade, Sion Alford.

*Surry*—Joseph Winston, Gideon Edwards, Absalom Bostwick, Edward Lovell, George Houser.

*Sullivan*—John Rhea, William Nash, John Scott, Joseph Martin.

*Sampson*—Richard Clinton, James Spiller, James Thompson, Hardy Holmes, William King.

*Sumner*—Daniel Smith, David Wilson, Samuel Mason, Edward Douglass, John Overton.

*Tennessee*—John Montgomery, John Drew, Thomas Johnston, William Blount, Benjamin Menees.

*Tyrrell*—Thomas Stewart, Hugh Williamson, Jeremiah Frazier, Simeon Spruill, Samuel Chesson.

*Washington*—Landon Carter, Robert Love, John Blair, William Houston, Andrew Greer.

*Warren*—Benjamin Hawkins, Philemon Hawkins, Solomon Green, Wyatt Hawkins, Thomas Christmass.

*Wayne*—Richard M'Kinne, Burwell Mooring, David Cogdell, Josiah Jernigan, James Handley.

*Wake*—Joel Lane, Thomas Hines, Henry Lane, Britain Sanders, William Hayes.

*Wilkes*—John Brown, William Lenoir, Joseph Herndon, Benjamin Jones, William Nall.

<i>Town of Salisbury</i> —	<i>Hillsborough</i> —	<i>Halifax</i> —
John Steele.	Samuel Benton.	William R. Davie.
<i>Edenton</i> —	<i>Newbern</i> —	<i>Wilmington</i> —
John Mare.	Isaac Guion.	William H. Hill.

Pursuant to which the following members appeared and took their seats, *to wit*,

The Hon. Samuel Spencer, Jesse Gilbert, John G. Blount, Richard Grist, Alderson Ellison, Silas W. Arnett, John Johnston, Francis Pugh, Wm. Johnston Dawson, David Turner, David Stone, Benjamin Smith, William E. Lord, William Gause, Dennis Hawkins [i.e., Hankins], John Cowan, Duncan Stewart, Thomas Owen, Joseph Gaitier, Thomas Brown, Charles M'Dowall, Joseph M'Dowall, John Carson, William W. Erwin, Joseph M'Dowall, jun., John Allen, Richard Nixon, Joseph Leech, Thomas Williams, John Ingram, John Hay, William B. Grove, James Moore, Robert Adam, John Easton, Malachi Bell, John Fulford, Wallace Styron, John Wallace, William Ferebee, Thomas P. Williams, Samuel Ferebee, Andrew Duke, Spence Hall, Stephen Cabarrus, Charles Johnson, Lemuel Creecy, Edmund Blount, Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Enoch Sawyer, Henry Abbott, Charles Grandy, John Wommack, Robert Dickens, John Graves, Robert Paine, Robert Bowman, Robert Edwards, William Vestal, John Thompson, John Ramsey, James Anderson, James Pearsall, James Gillespie, Robert Dickson, Lavan Watkins, James Kenan, Charles Gerrard, Joel Rice, Robert Ewing, James C. Mountflorencia, William Dobbins, Etheldred Phillips, Thomas Blount, Jeremiah Hilliard, Etheldred Gray, William Fort, Henry Hill, Thomas Sherrod, Jordan Hill, William Lancaster, William Christmass, John Hamilton, William Gowdy, Richard D. Caldwell, Daniel Gillespie, John Gillespie, Elijah Mitchell, Thomas Person, Thornton Yancey, Peter Bennett, Edmund

Taylor, David Rice, Joseph Riddick, John Baker, John Sevier, Alexander Outlaw, John Alleson, George Doherty, James Wilson, Lunsford Long, John B. Ashe, Peter Qualls, John Whitaker, Marmaduke Norfleet, Thomas Wynns, Robert Montgomery, Hardy Murfree, Henry Hill, Henry Baker, John Eborn, James Watson, John Alderson, James Jasper, Michael Peters, Nathaniel Henderson, John Hunt, James White, Samuel Smith, Hardy Bryan, William Hackney, Matthias Handy, Frederick Hargett, Edward Whitty, John Hill Bryan, Jacob Johnston, Adlai Osborn, Adam Brevard, Musentine Matthews, John Nesbitt, David Caldwell, Joseph Dickson, John Moore, William M'Lean, Robert Alexander, John Carruth, William Martin, Thomas Tyson, Donald M'Intosh, Neill M'Leod, John Stewart, William Williams, Nathan Mayo, Zachias Wilson, Joseph Douglass, Caleb Phifer, Joseph Graham, James Porter, William Johnston, James Turner, James Tindall, David Nesbitt, James Crump, Halcott Briggs Pride, Samuel Tarver, Robert Peebles, John M. Benford, Timothy Bloodworth, John G. Scull, John Huske, John A. Campbell, Howel Ellin, Wilson Vick, William S. Marnes, John Bonds, Robert W. Snead, John Spicer, Daniel Yates, James Christmass, Alexander Mebane, Thomas H. Perkins, William F. Strudwick, Joseph Hodge, Edward Everegain, John Swann, Thomas Bankes, Devotion Davis, John Skinner, Benjamin Perry, Ashbury Sutton, William Blount, Shadrach Allen, James Armstrong, George H. Berger, Bazil Gaither, John Stokes, Maxwell Chambers, Matthew Lock, Zebedee Wood, Reuben Wood, Edward Williams, Duncan M'Farlane, William Porter, James Holland, Richard Lewis, William Bethell, James Gallaway, Isaac Clarke, Abram Philips, John Dabney, John Willis, Elias Barns, Neill Brown, John Cade, Sion Alford, Joseph Winston, Gideon Edwards, Absalom Bostick, Edward Lovell, George Houser, John Rhea, William Nash, John Scott, Joseph Martin, James Spiller, James Thompson, William King, Daniel Smith, David Wilson, Edward Douglass, John Overton, John Montgomery, John Drew, Thomas Johnson, Jeremiah Frazier, Benjamin Menees, Hugh Williamson, Simeon Spruill, Samuel Chessan, Landon Carter, Robert Love, John Blair, Benjamin Hawkins, Philemon Hawkins, Solomon Green, Wyatt Hawkins, Richard Clinton, Thomas Christmass, Richard M'Kinne, David Cogdell, Josiah Jernigan, James Handley, Joel Lane, Britain Sanders, Thomas Hines, John Brown, William Lenoir, Henry Lane, Joseph Herndon, Benjamin Jones, William Nall, John Steele, Samuel Benton, William R. Davie, John Mare, Isaac Guion, William H. Hill, Nathan Stead[man], Samuel Peete, William Hayes.

Mr. Stokes proposed for President his Excellency Samuel Johnston, Esq. who was unanimously chosen as President; at the same time proposed the Honourable Charles Johnson as Vice-President, who was unanimously chosen Vice-President, and conducted to the chair in absence of the President.

John Hunt and James Taylor were appointed Secretaries to this Convention.

On a motion made by Mr. Davie, *Resolved*, That a committee of elections be appointed, consisting of two members from each district. The members chosen are Mr. Overton, Mr. Smith, Mr. Carter, Mr. Martin, Mr. M'Lean, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Stokes, Mr. Lock, Mr. Person, Mr. Mebane, Mr. P. Hawkins, Mr. Davie, Mr. Cabarrus, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Easton, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Kenan, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Grove, Mr. Ingram.

On a motion made by Mr. Blount, *Resolved*, That a committee of five members be appointed, to prepare and draw up rules of order and decorum to be observed by the Convention during the sitting thereof. The members chosen for this purpose, are Mr. W. Blount, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Gallaway, Mr. Davie, Mr. B. Hawkins.

On motion, Peter Gooding, James Mulloy, William Murphy and Nicholas Murphy, were appointed Door-Keepers.

The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

1. Printed: *Journal of the Convention, of the State of North-Carolina* (Edenton, [1790]) (Evans 22738), 1–3. Hereafter cited in Part IX as *Journal*. “Extracts from the *Journal*” for several days of the proceedings were printed in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 3 December, and reprinted in the *Georgia Augusta Chronicle*, 12 December; *New York Packet*, 24 December; *New York Daily Gazette*, 25 December; *New York Gazette of the United States*, 30 December; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 1 January 1790; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 January; and the *Winchester Virginia Gazette*, 23 January.

## Fayetteville Convention Tuesday 17 November 1789

### Convention Proceedings, 17 November 1789<sup>1</sup>

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Darby Harragan [i.e., Hanegan], one of the members for Richmond county, and Mr. Cornelius Doud, one of the members for Moore county, appeared and took their seats.

Mr. W. Blount, from the committee appointed to prepare and draw up rules of order and decorum to be observed by the Convention, reported the following, which were agreed to, *viz.*<sup>2</sup>

I. When the President assumes the chair, the members shall take their seats.

II. At the opening of the Convention each day, the minutes of the preceding day shall be read.

III. No member shall be allowed to speak but in his place; and after rising and addressing himself to the chair, shall not proceed until permitted by the President.

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

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

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

VII. A motion of adjournment from day to day, shall take place of all other motions.

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

IX. The President shall be heard without interruption; and when he rises, each member up shall sit down.

X. The President himself, or by request, may call to order any member who shall transgress the rules: If a second time the President may refer to him by name, the Convention may then examine and censure the member's conduct, he being allowed to extenuate or justify.

XI. When two or more members are up together, the President shall determine who rose first.

XII. A motion made and seconded, shall be reduced to writing if required; a motion may be withdrawn by the member making it before any decision is had on it.

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

XIV. No member shall depart the service of the Convention without leave.

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

XVI. No member shall come into the house, or remove from one place to another, with his hat on, except those of the Quaker profession.<sup>3</sup>

XVII. Every member of a committee shall attend to the call of his Chairman.

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

XIX. Every member of the Convention shall be in his place at the time to which the Convention stands adjourned, or within half an hour thereof, unless sickness prevents, or leave of absence is obtained.

XX. When any question is in debate, it shall be determined before any new motion shall be admitted, unless to amend it, to adjourn from day to day, or for the previous question.

XXI. When the previous question is called for, it shall be put in this form, *viz.* "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon this question, those for the main question shall keep their seats.

XXII. No question shall be put on a motion unless seconded.

On a motion made by Mr. Bonds, *Resolved*, That the resolutions of the last General Assembly for calling the present Convention be read; which resolutions were accordingly read.<sup>4</sup>

On a motion made by Mr. Williamson, and seconded by Mr. Blount, *Resolved*, That the Constitution or plan of government proposed for the future government of the United States of America be read. The Constitution or plan of government proposed for the future government of the United States of America was accordingly read; whereupon, a motion was made by Mr. Williamson, and seconded by Mr. Stokes, in the following words, *to wit*,

“Whereas the General Convention, which met in Philadelphia in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, did recommend to the citizens of the United States, a Constitution or form of government in the following words, *viz.*

(THE CONSTITUTION.)

“*Resolved*, That this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens and inhabitants of the state of North-Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of government.”<sup>5</sup> This motion being objected to, a motion was then made by Mr. Steele, and seconded by Mr. Skinner, that the motion made by Mr. Williamson, together with the new plan of government, be referred to a committee of the whole Convention. This motion was also objected to, and the previous question called for by Mr. Gallaway, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Brown. The previous question being put, “Shall the main question be now put?” was negatived; it was then resolved that the resolution proposed by Mr. Williamson, together with the new plan of government, be referred to a committee of the whole Convention.

On a motion made by Mr. Gallaway, and seconded by Mr. Davie, *Resolved*, That all official papers relative to the Constitution or new plan of government, be referred to a committee of the whole Convention.

On a motion made by Mr. Hay, and seconded by Mr. Grove, *Resolved*, That the resolution of the last General Assembly, recommending to this Convention to take under consideration the propriety of allowing the town of Fayetteville a representation on the same terms with the other district towns in this state, be read.<sup>6</sup> The resolution being read, Mr. Hay then moved for leave to bring in an ordinance to enable the freemen of the town of Fayetteville, to elect one member to represent them in the present Convention, also one member to represent them in the House of Commons in the present Assembly, and hereafter to entitle the freemen of said town to the said right to representation in future Conventions and Assemblies.

*Ordered*, That he have leave accordingly.

The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

1. Printed: *Journal*, 3–5.
2. A manuscript copy of Blount's report of the Convention rules is in Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar.
3. In addition to their rejection of titles and other markers of respectability, Quakers typically refused customs that signaled, or even implied, a hierarchy among people. Doffing, or removing, one's hat was such a custom.
4. For the General Assembly's resolutions calling the Fayetteville Convention, see RCS: N.C., 711–13.
5. A manuscript copy of this motion is in Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar. Another motion on the same page proposed by John Skinner and seconded by Thomas Person called for the Convention to "adjourn until tomorrow 10 oClock." Skinner's motion was recorded as "Withdrawn."
6. For the General Assembly's resolution on representation for the town of Fayetteville, see RCS:N.C., 708, 710. On 21 November the Convention passed an ordinance allowing Fayetteville representation "on the same terms with the other towns in this state" (RCS: N.C., 770, 772–73).

**Fayetteville Convention**  
**Wednesday**  
**18 November 1789**

**Convention Proceedings, 18 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Elijah Chessen, one of the members for Hawkins county, Mr. Benjamin Sheppard, Mr. Nathan Lassiter and Mr. Simeon Bright, three of the members for Dobbs county, Mr. Burwell Moring, one of the members for Wayne county, and Mr. William Bailey, one of the members for Randolph county, appeared and took their seats.

On a motion made by Mr. Stokes, and seconded by Mr. P. Hawkins, *Resolved*, That the Convention resolve itself into a committee of the whole Convention, to take under consideration the proposed Constitution or new plan of government, and such official papers relating to the same as may come before them. The Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole accordingly, and chose John B. Ashe, Esq. Chairman; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Chairman reported, that the committee had made some progress on the business referred to them, but not having time to compleat the same, desired leave to sit again to-morrow.

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

On a motion made by Mr. Davie, and seconded by Mr. Bloodworth, *Resolved*, That the Secretary do contract with the Printers of this place, to strike off three hundred copies of the amendments proposed to the new Constitution or plan of government for the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Hay, according to order, presented "An ordinance to enable the freemen of the town of Fayetteville, to elect a member to represent the

said town on the same terms with the other towns in this state;" which was ordered to lie on the table.<sup>3</sup>

The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

1. Printed: *Journal*, 5.

2. A reference to the twelve amendments to the Constitution proposed by the U.S. Congress in September 1789 and sent to the states for their ratification.

3. The Convention passed this ordinance on 21 November (RCS:N.C., 770, 772–73).

## Fayetteville Convention Thursday 19 November 1789

### Convention Proceedings, 19 November 1789<sup>1</sup>

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Thomas Hunter, one of the members for Martin county, and Mr. Thomas Stewart, one of the members for Tyrrel county, appeared and took their seats.

Mr. Hay informed the Convention that he should to-morrow move for taking up the ordinance to enable the freemen of the town of Fayetteville to elect a member to represent the said town on the same terms with the other towns in this state, for passage.

The order of the day for taking under further consideration the Constitution or plan of government proposed for the future government of the United States, being called for:

*Resolved*, That the Convention resolve itself into a committee of the whole Convention to take under further consideration the Constitution or plan of government proposed for the future government of the United States.

The Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole accordingly, John B. Ashe, Esq. in the chair; after some time spent therein Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ashe reported, that the committee had made further progress on the business referred to them, but not having time to complete the same desired leave to sit again to-morrow.

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

On a motion made by Mr. Porter and seconded by Mr. Person, *Resolved*, That the Secretary contract with the printers of this place to print three hundred and fifty copies of the Journal of this Convention, and such other printing as the business of the Convention may require.

The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

1. Printed: *Journal*, 5.

**Fayetteville Convention**  
**Friday**  
**20 November 1789**

**Convention Proceedings, 20 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Met according to adjournment.

His Excellency Samuel Johnston, Esq. appeared and took his seat as President of this Convention.

Mr. William Righton, one of the members for Chowan county, appeared and took his seat.

The order of the day for taking under further consideration the Constitution or plan of government proposed for the future government of the United States, being called for:

*Resolved*, That the Convention resolve itself into a committee of the whole Convention to take under further consideration the Constitution or plan of government proposed for the future government of the United States.

The Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole accordingly, John B. Ashe, Esq. in the chair; after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ashe reported, that the committee had gone through the reading of the Constitution or plan of government proposed for the United States, and come to a resolution thereupon.

*Ordered*, That the said resolution lie on the table until to-morrow. The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

1. Printed: *Journal*, 6.

**Fayetteville Convention**  
**Saturday**  
**21 November 1789**

**Convention Proceedings, 21 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Met according to adjournment.

The Secretary laid before the Convention the proposals of Sibley and Howard for printing the Journal of the Convention, &c.

Mr. Davie moved, and was seconded by Mr. Mountflorencia, that the Convention take up the report of the committee of the whole Convention, which was accordingly taken up and read; Mr. Davie then moved that the Convention concur with the report; this was objected to by Mr. Gallaway, who proposed that the whole of the report from the word

“Whereas” be struck out, and that the following amendments to the Constitution or plan of government for the United States, previous to the adoption, be inserted in place thereof, *to wit*,

“The Convention, in pursuance of their appointment, have taken under their consideration the Constitution proposed for the future government of the United States of America, as also the amendments proposed by Congress to be made a part of the said Constitution when ratified by three-fourths of the states; and as the said amendments embrace in some measure, when adopted, the object that this state had in view by a Bill of Rights, and many of the amendments proposed by the last Convention; and although union with our sister states is our most earnest wish and desire, yet as some of the great and most exceptionable parts of the said proposed Constitution have not undergone the alterations which were thought necessary by the last Convention: Therefore,

“*Resolved*, That previous to the ratification in behalf and on the part of the state of North-Carolina, the following amendments be proposed and laid before Congress, that they may be adopted and made part of the said Constitution, *viz.*

“That Congress shall not alter, modify or interfere in the times, places or manner of elections for Senators and Representatives, or either of them, except when the Legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the same.

“When Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the Executive power of each state of the quota of such state according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised; and if the Legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by Congress, that then Congress shall not collect the same in such state.

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

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

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

These proposed amendments being read, were also objected to; the question to agree to these amendments being put, was negatived; whereupon the yeas and nays were called for by Mr. Mebane, and seconded by Mr. John A. Campbell, which are as follow, *to wit*,

## YEAS.

Messieurs Spencer,	Person,	Harragan
May,	Yancey,	[i.e., Hanegan],
Jamieson,	Bennett,	Bethell,
Lord,	R. Alexander,	Galloway,
Gaitier,	W. Martin,	Clarke,
T. Brown,	M'Intosh,	A. Phillips,
J. M'Dowall,	M'Leod,	Dabney,
T. Williams,	Z. Wilson,	G. Edwards,
J. Moore,	J. Douglass,	Bostick,
Wommack,	Phifer,	Nash,
Dickins,	J. Porter,	J. Scott,
Graves,	Pride,	Clinton,
Payne,	Peebles,	J. Thompson,
Bowman,	Tarver,	H. Holmes,
R. Edwards,	Bloodworth,	W. King,
Pearsall,	J. G. Scull,	W. Hawkins,
J. Gillespie,	Huske,	T. Christmass,
R. Dickson,	J. A. Campbell,	Mooring,
Watkins,	Mebane,	Cogdell,
Kenan,	Perkins,	B. Sanders,
H. Hill (Franklin),	Strudwick,	J. Brown,
J. Hill,	J. Hodge,	W. Lenoir,
Hamilton (Guilford),	G. H. Berger,	J. Herndon,
Gowdy,	Lock,	B. Jones,
Caldwell (Guilford),	Z. Wood,	W. Nall,
D. Gillespie,	A. Watson,	C. Doud,
J. Gillespie,	W. Robinson,	D. Stewart. [82]
Mitchell,	M'Farland,	

## NAYS.

His Excellency	J. Johnston,	T. Owen,
Samuel Johnston,	Pugh,	C. M'Dowall,
Esq.	W. J. Dawson,	J. M'Dowall, j.
Messieurs Gilbert,	D. Turner,	J. Carson,
J. G. Blount,	Stone,	W. Erwin,
Grist,	B. Smith,	J. Allen,
A. Ellison,	J. Hall,	J. Leech,
Arnett,	W. Gause,	Ingram,

Hay,	J. B. Ashe,	Bonds,
W. B. Grove,	Qualls,	Griffin,
R. Adam,	Whitaker,	Snead,
J. Easton,	T. Wynns,	Spicer,
M. Bell,	R. Montgomery,	J. Christmass,
Fulford,	H. Murfree,	Everegain,
Styron,	H. Hill (Hertford),	J. Swann,
J. Wallace,	H. Baker,	Banks,
W. Ferebee,	J. Eborn,	D. Davis,
T. P. Williams,	J. Watson,	J. Skinner,
S. Ferebee,	A. Alderson,	B. Perry,
Duke,	J. Jasper,	Sutton,
Spence Hall,	Peters,	W. Blount,
Cabarrus,	Henderson,	S. Allen,
C. Johnson,	J. Hunt,	J. Armstrong,
Creecy,	J. White,	S. Simpson,
E. Blount,	S. Smith,	B. Bell,
Righton,	H. Bryan,	Gaither,
Gregory,	Handy,	Stokes,
Dauge,	F. Harget,	Chambers,
Sawyer,	Whitty,	R. Wood,
Abbott,	J. H. Bryan,	N. Stead[man],
Grandy,	J. Johnston,	E. Williams,
J. Thompson,	A. Osborn,	Holland,
Ramsey,	Brevard,	W. Johnson,
Gerrard,	Matthews,	J. Willis,
J. Rice,	J. Nesbitt,	E. Barnes,
R. Ewing,	Caldwell (Iredell),	N. Brown,
Mountflorence,	J. Moore,	J. Cade,
Dobbins,	W. M'Laine,	Alford,
E. Phillips,	Caruth,	J. Winston,
T. Blount,	J. Stewart,	Lovell,
J. Hilliard,	W. Williams,	G. Houser,
Sherrod,	Graham,	Rhea,
W. Christmass,	W. Johnston	Spiller,
E. Taylor,	(Montgomery),	D. Smith,
D. Rice,	J. Turner,	D. Wilson,
J. Reddick,	D. Nesbitt,	E. Douglass,
J. Baker,	J. Crump,	J. Overton,
J. Sevier,	J. Benford,	J. Montgomery,
Outlaw,	S. Peete,	Drew,
A. Allison,	Vick,	T. Johnston,
L. Long,	Marnes,	Menees,

T. Stewart,	Jernigan,	T. Hunter,
H. Williamson,	Handley,	J. Steele,
J. Frazier,	J. Lane,	S. Benton,
S. Spruill,	T. Hines,	Davie,
S. Chesson,	H. Lane,	Mare,
L. Carter,	W. Hayes,	Guion,
Love,	S. Bright,	W. H. Hill,
Blair,	Hawkins	Tindall,
Greer,	[i.e., Hankins],	J. Cowan,
Mayo,	B. Sheppard,	R. Lewis,
B. Hawkins,	N. Lasseter,	Fort,
P. Hawkins,	E. Chesson,	J. Dixon [i.e.,
S. Green,	W. Bailey,	Dickson]. <sup>2</sup> [188]
M'Kinne,		

The Convention again took up the report of the committee of the whole Convention, which is contained in the following words, "The committee report, that they concur with the resolution on the journal of the Convention, in the following words, *to wit*:

"Whereas the General Convention which met in Philadelphia, in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, did recommend to the citizens of the United States, a Constitution or form of government, in the following words, *viz.*

[The text of the U.S. Constitution appears here.]<sup>3</sup>

"*Resolved*, That this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens and inhabitants of the state of North-Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of government."

Mr. Davie moved, and was seconded by Mr. Benj. Smith, that the Convention concur with this resolution; which was objected to, the question was put, "Will the Convention concur with this resolution?" and carried in the affirmative; whereupon the yeas and nays were called for by Mr. Mebane, and seconded by Mr. Hamilton, which are as follow, *to wit*,<sup>4</sup>

#### YEAS.

His Excellency	Pugh,	T. Owen,
Samuel Johnston,	W. J. Dawson,	C. M'Dowall,
Esq.	D. Turner,	J. M'Dowall, j.
Messieurs Gilbert,	Stone,	J. Carson,
Jamieson,	B. Smith,	W. Erwin,
J. G. Blount,	J. Hall,	J. Allen,
Grist,	W. Gause,	J. Leech,
Arnett,	Hankins,	Ingram,
J. Johnston,	J. Cowan,	Hay,

W. B. Grove,	L. Long,	Vick,
R. Adam,	J. B. Ashe,	Marnes,
J. Easton,	Qualls,	Bonds,
M. Bell,	Whitaker,	M. Griffin
Fulford,	T. Wynns,	[i.e., H. Griffin],
Styron,	R. Montgomery,	Snead,
J. Wallace,	H. Murfree,	Spicer,
W. Ferebee,	H. Hill (Hertford),	J. Christmass,
T. P. Williams,	H. Baker,	Everegain,
S. Ferebee,	J. Eborn,	J. Swann,
Duke,	J. Watson,	Banks,
Spence Hall,	J. Alderson,	D. Davis,
Cabarrus,	Peters,	J. Skinner,
C. Johnson,	Henderson,	B. Perry,
Creecy,	J. Hunt,	Sutton,
E. Blount,	J. White,	W. Blount,
Righton,	S. Smith,	S. Allen,
Gregory,	H. Bryan,	J. Armstrong,
Dauge,	Handy,	S. Simpson,
Sawyer,	F. Harget,	B. Bell,
Grandy,	Whitty,	Gathier,
Payne,	J. H. Bryan,	Stokes,
Bowman,	J. Johnston,	Chambers,
J. Thompson,	A. Osborn,	R. Wood,
Ramsey,	Brevard,	N. Stead[man],
Gerrard,	Matthews,	E. Williams,
J. Rice,	J. Nesbitt,	Holland,
R. Ewing,	Caldwell (Iredell),	R. Lewis,
Mountfloreance,	J. Moore,	W. Johnson,
Dobbins,	W. M'Laine,	J. Willis,
E. Phillips,	Caruth,	E. Barnes,
T. Blount,	J. Stewart,	N. Brown,
J. Hilliard,	W. Williams,	J. Cade,
Fort,	Mayo,	Alford,
Sherrod,	Graham,	J. Winston,
W. Christmass,	W. Johnston,	Lovell,
E. Taylor,	J. Turner,	G. Houser,
D. Rice,	Tindall,	Rhea,
J. Reddick,	D. Nesbitt,	J. Martin,
J. Baker,	J. Crump,	Spiller,
J. Sevier,	J. Benford,	D. Smith,
Outlaw,	Tarver,	D. Wilson,
J. Allison,	S. Peete,	E. Douglass,

J. Overton,  
 J. Montgomery,  
 Drew,  
 T. Johnston,  
 Menees,  
 T. Stewart,  
 H. Williamson,  
 J. Frazier,  
 S. Spruill,  
 S. Chesson,  
 L. Carter,  
 Love,  
 Blair,  
 Greer,

B. Hawkins,  
 P. Hawkins,  
 S. Green,  
 M'Kinne,  
 Jernigan,  
 Handley,  
 J. Lane,  
 T. Hines,  
 H. Lane,  
 W. Hayes,  
 S. Bright,  
 B. Sheppard,  
 N. Lasseter,  
 E. Chezon,

W. Bailey,  
 T. Hunter,  
 J. Steele,  
 S. Benton,  
 Davie,  
 Mare,  
 Guion,  
 W. H. Hill,  
 Abbott,  
 J. Jasper,  
 A. Ellison,  
 J. Dickson,  
 W. Porter. [194]

## NAYS.

Messieurs Spencer,  
 May,  
 Lord,  
 D. Stewart,  
 Gaitier,  
 T. Brown,  
 J. M'Dowall,  
 T. Williams,  
 J. Moore,  
 Wommack,  
 Dickins,  
 R. Edwards,  
 J. Gillespie,  
 R. Dickson,  
 Watkins,  
 Kenan,  
 H. Hill (Franklin),  
 Hamilton (Guilford),  
 Gowdy,  
 D. Gillespie,  
 J. Gillespie,  
 Mitchell,  
 Person,  
 Yancey,  
 Bennett,  
 R. Alexander,

M'Intosh,  
 M'Leod,  
 Z. Wilson,  
 J. Douglass,  
 Phifer,  
 J. Porter,  
 Pride,  
 Peebles,  
 Bloodworth,  
 J. G. Scull,  
 Huske,  
 J. A. Campbell,  
 Mebane,  
 Perkins,  
 Strudwick,  
 J. Hodge,  
 G. H. Berger,  
 Lock,  
 Z. Wood,  
 A. Watson,  
 M'Farland,  
 Harragan  
 [i.e., Hanegan],  
 Bethell,  
 Gallaway,  
 Clarke,

A. Phillips,  
 Dabney,  
 G. Edwards,  
 Bostick,  
 Nash,  
 J. Scott,  
 Clinton,  
 J. Thompson,  
 H. Holmes,  
 W. King,  
 W. Hawkins,  
 T. Christmass,  
 Mooring,  
 Cogdell,  
 B. Sanders,  
 J. Brown,  
 W. Lenoir,  
 J. Herndon,  
 B. Jones,  
 W. Nall,  
 C. Doud,  
 Caldwell (Guilford),  
 Graves,  
 Pearsall,  
 W. Martin,  
 W. Robinson. [77]

On a motion made by Mr. Davie, and seconded by Mr. Mountflorencia, *Resolved*, That the President of this Convention, be and he is hereby directed to transmit to the President of the United States of America, a copy of the ratification by this state of the Constitution proposed for the government of the United States of America.<sup>5</sup>

It was moved by Mr. Gallaway, and seconded by Mr. J. M'Dowall, that the Convention enter into the following resolution, *to wit*,

*Resolved* That it be recommended to the General Assembly of this state to make application to Congress, and endeavour to obtain the following amendments to the Constitution for the future government of the United States, agreeable to the second mode proposed by the fifth article of the said Constitution,<sup>6</sup> which when ratified agreeable to said article to become a part of the Constitution; and that the Executive of this state be directed to transmit a copy of said amendments to each of the United States.

#### AMENDMENTS.

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

When Congress shall lay direct taxes, they shall immediately inform the Executive power of each state of the quota of such state according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised; and if the Legislature of any state shall pass a law which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by the Congress, that then Congress shall not collect the same in such state.

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

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

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

This resolution was objected to by Mr. Stokes; the question being put, "Will the Convention adopt the resolution proposed by Mr. Gallaway?" was negatived.

*Ordered*, That the resolution proposed by Mr. Gallaway, and the amendments to the Constitution or plan of government, be referred to a committee; and that the committee prepare and lay before the Convention such amendments to be made to the Constitution as they may deem necessary. That for this purpose Mr. Davie, Mr. B. Smith, Mr. Gallaway, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Stokes, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Hay be a committee.

*Ordered*, That Mr. Hackney, Mr. Marnes, Mr. D. Nesbitt, Mr. Jamieson, Mr. Green and Mr. Clarke, have leave to absent themselves from the service of this Convention after this day.

An ordinance to enable the freemen of the town of Fayetteville to elect a member to represent the said town, on the same terms with the other towns in this state, was read and passed.

The passage of this ordinance was objected to by Mr. John G. Blount, and on the question, "Shall this ordinance pass?" the yeas and nays were called for by Mr. Blount, and seconded by Mr. Hamilton, which are as follow: *to wit*,<sup>7</sup>

## YEAS.

Messieurs Spencer,	J. Thompson,	J. Dixon
Gilbert,	Ramsey,	[i.e., Dickson],
May,	Pearsall,	J. Moore,
B. Smith,	J. Gillespie,	W. M'Lain,
W. Lord,	R. Dixon,	R. Alexander,
J. Hall,	L. Watkins,	Caruth,
Hankins,	J. Kenan,	W. Martin,
J. Cowan,	W. Dobbins,	M'Intosh,
D. Stewart,	Hamilton,	M'Leod,
T. Owen,	Gowdy,	Z. Wilson,
J. Gaitier,	Caldwell (Guilford),	J. Douglass,
C. M'Dowall,	D. Gillespie,	Phifer,
J. M'Dowall,	J. Gillespie,	J. Graham,
J. M'Dowall, j.	D. Rice,	J. Porter,
J. Carson,	J. Sevier,	W. Johnston,
Ingram,	J. Allison,	J. Turner,
Hay,	Qualls,	Tindall,
W. B. Grove,	J. Hunt,	D. Nesbitt,
J. Moore,	J. White,	J. Crump,
R. Adam,	A. Osborn,	Tarver,
Cabarrus,	Brevard,	Bloodworth,
C. Johnson,	M. Matthews,	J. G. Scull,
Creecy,	J. Nesbitt,	Huske,
R. Edwards,	Caldwell (Iredell),	J. A. Campbell,

Snead,  
 J. Christmass,  
 Mebane,  
 Perkins,  
 Strudwick,  
 Hodge,  
 G. H. Berger,  
 B. Gaither,  
 Stokes,  
 Chambers,  
 Lock,  
 Z. Wood,  
 R. Wood,  
 Stead[man],  
 A. Watson,  
 W. Robinson,  
 M'Farland,  
 Harragan  
     [i.e., Hanegan],  
 Holland,  
 R. Lewis,  
 Johnston,

Bethell,  
 Gallaway,  
 Clarke,  
 A. Philips,  
 Dabney,  
 Willis,  
 Barnes,  
 N. Brown,  
 Cade,  
 Alford,  
 Winston,  
 Outlaw,  
 Edwards,  
 Bostick,  
 Lovell,  
 G. Houser,  
 Rhea,  
 Scott,  
 Clinton,  
 Spiller,  
 J. Thompson,  
 H. Holmes,

W. King,  
 D. Wilson,  
 E. Douglass,  
 Menees,  
 L. Carter,  
 Jamieson,  
 Love,  
 Blair,  
 Greer,  
 B. Sanders,  
 W. Hayes,  
 J. Brown,  
 Lenoir,  
 J. Herndon,  
 B. Jones,  
 W. Nall,  
 W. Bailey,  
 Doud,  
 Steele,  
 Davie,  
 W. H. Hill,  
 T. Brown. [136]

NAYS.

Messieurs J. G. Blount,  
 Grist,  
 Ellison,  
 Arnett,  
 Stone,  
 T. Williams,  
 J. Easton,  
 M. Bell,  
 Fulford,  
 Styron,  
 T. P. Williams,  
 S. Ferebee,  
 Spence Hall,  
 Gregory,  
 Dauge,  
 Sawyer,  
 Grandy,  
 Gerrard,  
 J. Rice,

E. Phillips,  
 T. Blount,  
 J. Hilliard,  
 Fort,  
 H. Hill (Franklin),  
 W. Christmass,  
 E. Mitchell,  
 Person,  
 Yancey,  
 Bennett,  
 J. Baker,  
 T. Wynns,  
 R. Montgomery,  
 H. Hill (Hertford),  
 H. Baker,  
 J. Watson,  
 J. Alderson,  
 J. Jasper,  
 S. Smith,

H. Bryan,  
 M. Handy,  
 J. Johnston,  
 Mayo,  
 Benford,  
 Pride,  
 Peebles,  
 Bonds,  
 Griffin,  
 S. Green,  
 T. Christmass,  
 M'Kinnie,  
 Everagin,  
 Swann,  
 Banks,  
 D. Davis,  
 B. Perry,  
 Sutton,  
 W. Blount,

Mooring,  
Jernigan,  
Handley,  
S. Allen,

S. Simpson,  
B. Bell,  
D. Smith,  
S. Spruill,

Chesson,  
S. Bright,  
Guion. [68]

The Convention adjourned until Monday morning ten o'clock.

1. Printed: *Journal*, 6–15.

2. The manuscript of this roll call lists three delegates out of order (including Dickson). The manuscript also does not include Mayo's name. See Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar.

3. The complete text of the U.S. Constitution appears on pages 8–12 of the printed Convention journal. The texts of the resolution and the U.S. Constitution were printed in an undated pamphlet edition. Following the text of the U.S. Constitution, the pamphlet included the texts of the North Carolina Declaration of Rights and the state constitution of 1776. The pamphlet, not listed in Evans, is located in the New York Public Library.

4. This is the vote on ratification.

5. For Samuel Johnston's transmittal of the North Carolina Form of Ratification to President George Washington on 4 December 1789, see RCS:N.C., 808–9.

6. A reference to Article V of the Constitution that provided two methods of proposing amendments. The first method is by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress. The second method is by a convention of the states called by Congress at the behest of two-thirds of the state legislatures.

7. The ordinance allowing Fayetteville representation is immediately below. Among the Convention's loose papers is a resolution from the General Assembly, November 1789, recommending that the Convention also allow Tarborough representation. No record of the Convention's consideration of Tarborough representation has been located. For the Assembly's resolution on Tarborough, see RCS:N.C., 748–49.

### **Ordinance on Fayetteville Representation, 21 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*An Ordinance to enable the Freemen of the Town of Fayetteville  
to elect a Member to represent the said Town,  
on the same Terms with the other Towns in this State.*

Whereas it hath been recommended by the General Assembly by this Convention, to consider the propriety of allowing the town of Fayetteville a member to represent the said town, on the same terms with the other towns in this state; and this Convention, in consideration of the same, deeming it consistent with the justice and policy of the state, that the said town of Fayetteville should be represented as other district towns of this state: *Be it therefore ordained and declared, by the Representatives of the state of North-Carolina in Convention assembled, and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same, That the said town shall and may be [so] represented.*

*And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That this ordinance shall be held and taken, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of this state.*

Done in Convention, the 22d [i.e., 21st] of November, *Anno Dom.* 1789.

SAMUEL JOHNSTON, *President.*

By order, J. HUNT, *Secretary.*

1. The text of the ordinance was printed on the last page of the *Journal* (p. 16). The draft ordinance, which is located in Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar, contains many differences in punctuation and capitalization, as well as the extra word "so," which has been placed in brackets at the end of the first paragraph.

## Fayetteville Convention Monday 23 November 1789

### Convention Proceedings, 23 November 1789<sup>1</sup>

Met according to adjournment.

On a motion made by Mr. Davie, and seconded by Mr. Blount, *Resolved*, That Messieurs Hodge and Wills, Public Printers, be appointed to print the Journals of this Convention, and transmit them to the several counties with the laws and journals of the present session of Assembly; and that they be allowed for this service the sum of thirty-five pounds.

Mr. George Ledbetter, one of the members for Rutherford county, appeared and took his seat.

⟨Mr. Gallaway from the committee appointed to prepare and draw up amendments to be proposed to the Constitution or form of government proposed for the future government of the United States, reported the following:<sup>2</sup>

*Resolved unanimously*, That it be recommended and enjoined on the Representatives of this state in Congress assembled to make application to Congress, and endeavour to obtain the following amendments to the Constitution for the future government of the United States, agreeable to the second mode proposed by the fifth article of the said Constitution;<sup>3</sup> which, when ratified agreeable to the said article, shall become a part of the Constitution: And that the Executive of this state be directed to transmit a copy of the said amendments to each of the United States.

#### AMENDMENTS.

I. That Congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, or either of them, except when the Legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the

same, or in case when the provision made by the state is so imperfect as that no consequent election is had.

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

III. That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected.

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

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

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

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

VIII. That some tribunal, other than the Senate, be provided for trying impeachments of Senators.

JAMES GALLAWAY, Ch.)

*Resolved*, That the Convention do concur with this report.

*Resolved unanimously*, That the thanks of this Convention be given to his Excellency Samuel Johnston, Esq. President, and the Honourable Charles Johnson, Esq. Vice-President of this Convention, for their able and faithful service in the arduous discharge of their duty as President and Vice-President.

The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

SAMUEL JOHNSTON, *President*.

By order,

J. HUNT, *Secretary*.

1. Printed: *Journal*, 15.

2. The text within angle brackets was copied and certified by John Hunt, secretary to the Convention, and then printed in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 17 December, and reprinted nineteen times by 9 April: N.H. (1), Mass. (5), R.I. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (3), Pa. (3), N.J. (1), Md. (2), Va. (1). The eight amendments with the paragraph immediately

preceding them were also printed as a broadside (Evans 22039) signed by Samuel Johnston as president of the Convention and “By order J. Hunt, Sectry.” In a handwritten certification dated 10 February 1790, North Carolina Secretary of State James Glasgow indicated that the broadside was “a true Copy of the Original filed” in his office. The monthly Philadelphia *American Museum* printed the eight amendments in an appendix to its seventh volume (January–June 1790), p. 13.

Representative Hugh Williamson submitted the eight amendments and the paragraph immediately preceding them to the U.S. House of Representatives on 30 March 1790. The New York *Daily Gazette*, 31 March, and the *New York Packet*, 1 April, printed the resolution and amendments. Following the eight amendments, only the *Daily Gazette* printing reported that “Mr. Sedgwick [in the U.S. House of Representatives] opposed the reading of the fore-going paper at that time, as it interrupted the business of the day. But the house ordered the resolutions and amendments to be read.”

3. See Convention Proceedings, 21 November, note 6 (RCS:N.C., 772n).

### **Petition from William Houston, 25 November–20 December 1789**

*Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 25 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Carter presented the memorial of William Houston; which was read, referred to the committee of propositions and grievances, and sent to the House of Commons.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 619. *Senate Journal*, 19.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Thursday, 26 November 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>1</sup>

Received from the Senate the Memorial of William Houston. Endorsed, read & referred to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances; which being read, was referred as by the Senate and returned.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 273–74. *House Journal*, 27.

*Senate Proceedings, Saturday, 5 December 1789 (excerpt)*<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hill delivered in the following report:

Your committee to whom was referred the memorial of William Houston, praying an allowance as member of the late Convention, report—That the said Houston was elected one of the members of the late Convention for Washington county; that by accident he foundered his horse and did not arrive until the Convention had risen: The committee are of opinion that the said Houston be paid only for returning home, and recommend that the Secretary of the late Convention be directed to issue a certificate accordingly. Which is submitted.

H. HILL, Ch.

This report being read, was concurred with and sent to the House of Commons.

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 657–58. *Senate Journal*, 31. A manuscript copy is in the Legislative Papers for the Senate, Nc-Ar.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Monday, 14 December 1789*<sup>1</sup>

Received from the Senate the following Reports Concurred with by that House, which being read, were concurred with by this House and returned, to-wit: . . . on the Petition of William Houston. . . .

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 359. *House Journal*, 52. A manuscript copy is in the Legislative Papers for the Senate, Nc-Ar.

*Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 16 December 1789*<sup>1</sup>

Received from the House of Commons . . . the report on the petition of William Houston . . . ; respectively endorsed “Concurred with.”

1. Printed: Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 694. *Senate Journal*, 42.

*Certificate of Allowance for William Houston, 20 December 1789*<sup>1</sup>

In Consequence of the foregoing Report, I do as Secretary to the late convention Certify that William Houston who was elected a Member of the said Convention is allowed the Sum of Eleven pounds Thirteen Shillings and four pence for returning to the County of Washington for which he was elected a member given under my hand this 20 Day of December 1789.

J Hunt Secry to the Convention

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/92/Senate/Dec. 1789, Nc-Ar.

**An Estimate of Allowances Made to Members of  
the Fayetteville Convention, 23 November 1789**<sup>1</sup>

In Convention 23 November 1789.

An Estimate of the allowances made to the Members, and Secretaries of the Convention.

Name	Attendance	Miles Traveling	Ferriges	Sums	To Whom Delivered
Henry Abbott	8	530	2.8.-	28.1.4	T. P. Williams
Robert Adam	8	—	—	8.0.0	J. Henri
John Alderson	A Member of Assembly				
Robert Alexander	8	370	-.4.-	18.17.4	Self
Sion Alford	8	100	—	11.6.8	Self
John Alleson	—	—	—	-.-.-	—
Silas W. Arnett	8	300	2.4	20.4.-	Self
William Bailey	6	190	—	12.6.8	Self

Name	Attendance	Miles Traveling	Ferriges	Sums	To Whom Delivered
Thomas Banks	8	496	4.7.0	25.17.4	Self
Benjamin Bell	8	240	-5-	16.8.0	Self
Peter Bennett	8	220	—	15.6.8	Self
Samuel Benton	8	160	—	13.6.8	Self
Edmund Blount	8	360	4.0.4	24.0.4	Self
Robert Bowman	8	240	—	16.0.0	Self
Simon Bright	7	240	-2-	15.2.0	N[athan] Lassiter
Hardy Bryan	8	100	—	11.6.8	M Handy
John Cade	8	105	—	11.10.0	Self
David Caldwell	8	300	—	18.0.0	Self
Rev. David Caldwell	8	220	—	15.6.8	Self
John Carson	8	480	—	24.-.-	Self
John Caruth	8	370	-.4.-	20.10.8	R Alexander
Elijah Chizem	6	720	—	30.0.0	Self
James Christmass	8	160	—	13.6.8	Self
Thomas Christmass	8	230	—	15.13.4	Self
William Christmass	8	180	—	14.0.0	Self
Isaac Clarke	8	210	—	15.0.0	J. William Carroll
David Cogdill	8	100	—	11.6.8	R. McKinne
James Crump	8	180	—	14.0.0	Self
John Dabney	8	240	—	16.0.0	Self
Devotion Davis	8	480	-15-	24.15.0	Self
William J. Dawson	8	362	1.8.-	21.10.-	Self
William Dobbins	8	1400	—	54.13.4	Self
Cornelius Doud	7	100	—	10.6.8	Wm. Martin
Edward Douglass	8	1400	—	54.13.4	Self
Robert Edwards	8	120	—	12.0.0	Self
Howel Ellin	8	200	—	14.13.4	Mr Vick
Alderson Ellison	8	300	2.4	20.4.-	Self
William Erwin	8	450	—	23.-.-	Self
Samuel Ferebee	8	560	4.9.-	31.12.4	Self
William Ferebee	8	560	4.9.-	31.12.4	S. Ferebee
William Fort	8	240	—	16.-.-	Self
John Fulford	8	330	1.14.-	20.14.0	Self
Basil Gaither	8	300	—	18.0.0	Self
William Gause	8	240	—	16.0.0	D. Hawkins
Joseph Gautier	8	120	—	12.0.0	Self
Charles Gerrard	8	1400	—	54.13.4	Self
Jesse Gilbert	8	160	—	13.6.8	Self
John Gillespie	8	220	—	15.6.8	Self
Charles Grandy	8	570	1.17.-	27.3.8.	T. P. Williams
John Graves	8	240	—	16.0.0	Self
Solomon Green	8	240	—	16.0.0	T. Christmass
Andrew Greer	8	660	—	30.0.0	Self
William Hackney	6	100	—	11.6.8	M Handy
John Hall	8	140	—	12.13.4	Mr. Scull
Spence Hall	8	640	1.17.-	31.3.8	Self
Matthias Handy	8	100	—	11.6.8	Self
Darby Haragan	7	120	—	11.0.0	Self

Name	Attendance	Miles Traveling	Ferriges	Sums	To Whom Delivered
Benjamin Hawkins	8	240	—	16.0.0	Self
Dennis Hawkins	8	220	—	15.6.8	Self
John Hay	8	—	—	8.0.0	Self
William Hayes	7	74	—	9.7.4	H Lane
Nathaniel Henderson	8	660	—	30.0.0	E. Mitchell
Joseph Herndon	8	370	—	20.6.8	Self
Henry Hill (Hertford)	8	340	-.16.-	20.2.8	D. Turner
William H. Hill	8	180	1.0.0	15.0.0	J Whitaker
Jeremiah Hilliard	8	220	—	15.6.8	Self
Hardy Holmes	8	80	—	10.13.4	Rd. McKinne
George Houser	8	260	—	16.13.4	Self
John Hunt	8	660	—	30.0.0	Self
Thomas Hunter	3	300	-15-	13.15.0	N. Mayo
John Huske	8	180	—	14.0.0	Self
John Ingram	8	—	—	8.0.0	Self
David Jameson	6	160	—	11.6.8	Edd. Williams
James Jasper	8	400	1.9.6	23.16.2	Self
Josiah Jernigan	8	126	—	12.4.0	R. McKinne
William Johnson (Rutherford)	8	480	—	24.0.0	Self
Samuel Johnston, President	8	420	5.15	27.15.-	Mr Dawson
Thomas Johnston			—		
Benjamin Jones	—	—	—	—	—
James Kenan	8	92	—	11.1.4	Mr Watkins
William King	8	80	—	10.13.4	Self
William Lancaster	8	180	—	14.0.0	W. Christmass
Henry Lane	8	110	—	11.13.4	Self
George Ledbetter	1	500	—	17.13.4	Self
Joseph Leech	8	240	.10.	16.10.-	Self
Richard Lewis	8	400	—	23.6.8	—
Lunsford Long	8	300	—	18.0.0	J. Whitaker
William E. Lord	8	180	—	14.0.0	Mr Scull
Edward Lovell	8	300	—	18.0.0	Self
Neill M'Leod	8	100	—	11.6.8	McIntosh
John Mare	8	400	3.0.0	24.6.8	Self
William S. Marnes	8	220	—	15.6.8	Mr Vick
William Martin	8	100	—	11.6.8	McIntosh
Duncan McFarland	8	180	—	14.0.0	Self
Donald McIntosh	8	100	—	11.6.8	Self
Benjamin Menees	8	1300	—	51.6.8	Self
Elijah Mitchell	8	220	—	15.6.8	Self
George Mitchell	—	—	—	—	—
John Montgomery	No				
	Allowance				

Name	Attendance	Miles Traveling	Ferriges	Sums	To Whom Delivered
James Moore	8	—	—	8.0.0	Self
James E. Mountflorece	8	1400	—	54.13.4	Self
Hardy Murfree	8	340	-.8.6	19.15.2	Self
William Nall	8	440	—	22.13.4	Self
William Nash (Sullivan)	8	650?	—	30.0.0	Self
David Nesbitt	6	160	—	11.6.8	D. Caldwell
John Nesbitt	Assembly Man				
Adlai Osborne	8	300	-.-.18	18.0.0	J. Dickson
John Overton	8	1400	—	54.13.4	Self
Thomas Owen	8	64	—	10.2.8	Self
James Pearsall	8	120	—	12.-.-	J. Gillispie
Robert Pe[c]bles	8	320	-2-	18.15.4	Self
Thomas H. Perkins	8	180	—	14.0.0	Self
James Porter	8	320	-2-	18.15.4	Self
John Ramsey	8	88	—	10.10.0	Mr Thom[p]son
William Righton	8	360	4.0.4	24.0.4	Mr. Blount
John G Scull	8	140	-4-	12.17.4	Self
Samuel Simpson	8	250	-4-	16.10.8	Self
Samuel Smith	8	100	—	11.6.8	M Handy
Samuel Spencer	8	130	—	12.6.8	Self
Nathan Steadman	8	190	—	14.6.8	W Bailey
John Steele	8	240	—	16.0.0	Self
Thomas Stewart	5	340	-15-	20.1.8	Self
David Stone	8	330	1.	20.9.0	Self
William F. Strudwick	8	180	—	14.0.0	Self
Wallace Styron	8	410	1.3.-	22.16.4	Self
John Swann	8	300	4.13.0	28.18.8	Self
Samuel Tarver	8	320	-.2-	18.15.4	Mr Peebles
Edmund Taylor	8	170	—	13.13.4	P. Bennett
John Thompson	8	90	—	11.0.0	Self
David Turner	8	330	1.	20.9.0	Self
James Turner	8	140	—	12.13.4	Self
Edward Ward	—	—	—	—	—
Lavan Watkins	8	112	—	11.14.8	Self
Alexander Watson	8	190	—	14.6.8	McFarland
James Watson	8	500	4.-.-	28.13.4	Self
John Whitaker	8	300	—	18.0.0	Self
James White	—	—	—	—	—
Edward Whitty	8	240	-.4.-	16.4.0	Self
Thomas Williams	8	240	[ - - - ]	16.10.0	Self
Hugh Williamson	8	440	1.10.-	24.3.4	Self
Zachias Wilson	8	260	—	16.13.4	Self
Reuben Wood	8	180	—	14.0.0	Z. Wood

Name	Atten- dance	Miles Traveling	Ferriges	Sums	To Whom Delivered
Sibley & Howard for printing 300 Copies of the amendments to the Constitution				6.0.0	Sibley
John Hunt, Secretary for Services	8 Days attendance			32.0.0	Self
James Taylor ditto	8	240	—	40.0.0	Self
John Hunt for extra Services				15.0.0	Self
James Taylor for ditto				15.0.0	Self

Done in Convention 23 November 1789.

Sam Johnston Pres.

An allowance to William Houston a Member of Convention was made in conformity to the report of a Committee of the General Assembly bearing date in the Senate 5 Decr. 1789 for 11.13.4 which I del[ivere]d Mr Blair  
J Hunt Secry.

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar. Payments to Convention delegates as well as other Convention expenses also appear in the year-end accounts of John Haywood, North Carolina's public treasurer, that are appended to the printed House of Commons journals for 1789 and 1790.

**William Blount: Allowances for Convention Service  
24 and 25 December 1789 and 4 December 1790**

*William Blount to John Hunt, Convention Secretary  
Fayetteville, N.C., 24 December 1789<sup>1</sup>*

As yet I have not had any Certificate for my traveling to and from Convention for the County of Tennessee—It will be recollected that I was elected both for the County of Pitt and Tennessee and for the latter I served. For the Time of my Service in the Convention I was paid in my Certificate as a Member of the Senate for the County of Pitt—The Distance from Tennessee to this Place is seven hundred & fifty miles and I charge for coming and returning and request you to make out a Certificate accordingly and if the President does not Sign it I will return it to you.

*Secretary John Hunt to the N.C. General Assembly, 25 December 1789<sup>2</sup>*

I did not think myself Justifiable in making out a certificate for Mr. Blount's attendance & traveling to the Convention from the County of

Tennessee, because his place of residence was in Pitt County, because the Miles he charges for travelling in fact he did not travel & further, because no application for this allowance was made until about the rise of the General Assembly, when the President of the Convention had returned home, & for me as Secretary to the Convention to certify that an allowance was made to Mr. Blount for travelling to & from the Convention as a Member for the County of Tennessee, when he was elected for the County of Pitt also, & the latter being the place of his residence, & from which in fact he travelled, I cou'd not by any means think myself Justifiable in—I did therefore refuse Mr. Blount a Certificate, & Submit to the next General Assembly the propriety of making Mr. Blount an allowance.

*House of Commons Proceedings, Saturday, 4 December 1790 (excerpt)*<sup>3</sup>

The Speaker laid before the house a letter from the Secretary of the late Convention, enclosing a demand made on him as Secretary, by William Blount, Esq. for an allowance for his attendance as a member of Convention for the county of Tennessee, with a statement of his reasons for refusing mr. Blount a certificate; which being read, on a motion made by mr. M'Dowall, and seconded by mr. Taylor,

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this house, that John Hunt, Esq. acquitted himself with great propriety, when as Secretary to the Convention he refused to grant to William Blount, Esq a certificate allowing him the travelling charges from Tennessee, as a member of the Convention, when he only travelled from Pitt; and that no further sum be allowed the said William Blount, for his services as a member of the Convention.

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Printed: *Journal of the House of Commons* (Edenton, 1791) (Evans 23639), 59.

## **Commentaries on the Fayetteville Convention**

**William R. Davie to James Iredell  
Fayetteville, N.C., 16 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My Dear Sir

We have gone on smoothly as yet—The Superior Court bill seems to meet the General approbation—The University bill will certainly pass.—Govr. Johnston is unanimously reelected—He was also elected President of the Convention to day—'tho' too unwell to attend the House—

C. Johnston V. President—The Anties attempted to put S—r upon us<sup>2</sup>—but the business was better managed—

The calculations are greatly in favor of the Constitution its friends say there is no doubt, of this however I am not so confident.

I have been in very ill health ever since I came here—our present business will not help me much—excuse this scrawl—it is now near 12 O'clock at night—I hope to have leisure enough, and better news to send you in a few days—Adieu

I am wt. sincere regard yours

[P.S.] If my bill passes wt. salary suppt. you must be a S—

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University.

2. Samuel Spencer.

### Extract of a Letter from Halifax, N.C., c. 20 November 1789<sup>1</sup>

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Halifax, N.C. dated Nov. c. 20, 1789.*

“Our Convention is setting, and the question now is, to be, or not to be; or whether we shall unite or live exposed to the mercy of our neighbours, Martin, Caswell, Johnson, and Hawkins are the most powerful advocates for the adoption. The opposition is carried on by men who have sacrificed the peace and good order of this State, for many years past, who do not wish to part with the privilege of transferring paper, into gold. One of the *Antis*, whose abilities never extended beyond the driving of hogs to market, was so much ‘done over’ by the powerful arguments of Martins, in a speech that lasted three hours, that he begged leave of the Speaker to fetch his lawyer to the house to plead for him, for says he, the man that spoke last is a lawyer, and I am sure is *fee’d* by the new Congress. To hear their debates is the most diverting thing imaginable, for such a set of Legislators I am confident never assembled in any age or country before; however, I am credibly informed, there is a majority in favour of the new government, so that in a few days you will receive this agreeable piece of news.”

1. First printed in the no-longer-extant 25 November issue of the *Georgetown Times and Patowmack Packet*. Reprinted in nine newspapers by 16 December: Mass. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3), Va. (2). The transcript is taken from the *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 3 December, one of three reprintings on that day. The date of the extract in all of the reprintings was incorrectly given as “Nov. 2, 1789.” The Convention met on 16 November and voted to ratify on 21 November.

**X.**  
**THE AFTERMATH OF RATIFICATION**  
**IN NORTH CAROLINA**  
**22 November 1789–7 June 1790**

**Introduction**

The post-Convention section contains about fifty documents, half of which announced that the Fayetteville Convention had ratified the Constitution. Several letter writers happily referred to the lack of partisanship during and after the Convention. William Dawson believed that Antifederalists had not been fully convinced of the benefits to be derived from the Constitution, but they “cheerfully” acquiesced “in every measure which meets the approbation of the Majority of their Country men.” Richard Dobbs Spaight was “very happy to hear that wisdom has at last presided in our councils, and enabled the Convention to break through that cloud of ignorance, and villainy, which has so long obscured our political horizon.”

Newspapers printed accounts of celebrations in Edenton, New Bern, and Wilmington describing the unfurling of flags, cannon salutes, illuminations, dinners, processions, and toasts. Four newspapers (two in Boston, one in New York, and one in Charleston) extended their series of woodcuts of the grand federal edifice with North Carolina being depicted as the newly added twelfth pillar. Governor Alexander Martin addressed the state legislature, suggesting that North Carolina could still contribute to the establishment of the new nation. The state, he said, had been wise to proceed judiciously in the ratification process, but now it was time for legislators to return home and “reconcile those jarring sentiments, if any shall remain that seemed unfortunately to prevail in different parts of the State.” Martin was happy for the “public peace” and hoped that North Carolinians would embrace their Northern and Eastern brethren.

President George Washington told Congress that North Carolina had ratified the Constitution and sent the official news to each house. Governor Martin sent the Convention’s eight recommendatory amendments to the state executives, along with the Convention’s resolution urging that the states instruct Congress to call a second constitutional convention to draft needed amendments. Charles Thomson, former secretary to the Confederation Congress, wrote President Washington that, with North Carolina’s accession, he now considered “the revolution complete.”

**William R. Davie to James Iredell**  
**Fayetteville, N.C., 22 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear sir

Before this reaches you, the news of our accession to the Union will I am sure have received your congratulations—the circumstance of so respectable a majority as 193 to 75<sup>2</sup> will give great satisfaction to the friends of the new Government, and weight to its operation in this State.—

The Governor has recovered perfectly as well as his brother who has been dangerously ill.

Our legislative business will now begin to move again, and the business of the Convention has terminated with so much moderation—that I hope every thing will go on smoothly.

I must refer to Mr. Moor for a list of the public bills and believe me with great sincerity and Friendship

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Endorsed: “Hon’d. by Col. Leach.”

2. The vote on ratification at the Fayetteville Conention was 194 to 77, a majority of 117. See RCS:N.C., 766–68, for the record of delegates’ votes.

**William J. Dawson to James Iredell**  
**Fayetteville, N.C., 22 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Permit me to congratulate you on the happy decision of the important Question which has so long and so violently agitated the State. the business has been conducted throughout with great moderation, some of the Gentlemen of the opposition to be sure, have been unreasonably tedious trifling and I might add absurd in their objections, which was submitted to by the majority with a degree of patience that astonished every body, on taking the question for its adoption, there appeared Yeas 193 Nays 75.<sup>2</sup> The minority appear to be perfectly satisfied since the dicision, not, because their doubts and fears have been fully removed, but because they have determined chearfully to acquiesce in every measure which meets the approbation of the Majority of their Country men.

The Mr. Johnstons have quite recovrd from their late indisposition,

This is a sudden and unexpected oppertunity or else I should have given you a more particular account of the discussion of the constitution, but, I have no more time to write in, than the [French?] Consul will take to eat his breakfast. Mr. Johnston would have written but he is not yet awake

With the sincerest respect & esteem I am My dear Sir Your Most Obedient Servt.

[P.S.] The Convention meet on Monday to consider of the amendments necessary to be recommended.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Endorsed: "Honored by Monsr. Ducher." Dawson (1765–1796) was born near Edenton in Chowan County. His two grandfathers were a royal governor of North Carolina and a president of the College of William and Mary. Dawson represented Bertie County in both the Hillsborough and Fayetteville conventions, 1788, 1789, where he supported the Constitution. He represented Bertie County in the state House of Commons, 1791–92, and served in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1793–95.

2. See William R. Davie to Iredell, 22 November, note 2 (immediately above).

**Charles Johnson to James Iredell  
Fayetteville, N.C., 23 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Your much esteemed favor of the 8th I received by Mr. Mare,<sup>2</sup> and agreeable to your request I have the pleasure of informing you that on saturday the Constitution was finally adopted & ratified. On the Question the votes were 193, for it, 76 against it Majority 117.<sup>3</sup> Permit me to congratulate you upon this glorious event, which I know will give you the most singular satisfaction, as I believe nobody had it more at heart than you; nor has any person contributed more to bring about the amazing change in the sentiments of the people, that is evident from the great Majority in favr. of the Constitution; even exceeding that at Hilsboro' against it.

We have lost General Caswell who died the 10th. Governor Johnston has been reelected, but will I suppose resign; as he has given his assent to be a Senator in compliance with the general wish of the legislature, who are and will be unanimous in voting him into that office. Several Gentlemen are mentioned & are Candidates for the other Senator viz Mr. W Blount, Hawkins Williamson, Parsons, D White, Bloodworth, Stokes, Osborn, McDowel Mr. Lenoir, B. Smith, Galway &c &c. It seems to be settled & understood that one is to go from the Western Country, but who I can not tell

Upon the Governors resignation, Judge Williams, Mr. Martin & Mr. Blount are spoke of as Candidates, but it is generally supposed that Judge Williams will have the appointment.<sup>4</sup>

I wish the whole Offices were once disposed of & the place for holding the next Assembly fixed, for untill those interesting objects are settled, I'm afraid little business will be done—& I begin already to be tired of this place, to which a severe cough may perhaps contribute.

Believe me sir I am infinitely obliged to you for your information of my Charlie's health; the first account I had of him since I left him. Mr. Cabarrus who lives in the same room & Col. Davie in the next to us,

are well—the Governor & Mr. J. Johnston have been both very ill but are now perfectly recovered. Mr. Cabarrus desires his Compts to you & intended to have written to you, but various business in which he is engaged have prevented him.

With true esteem & respects I am Dr. Sir Your most obt sert.

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 541–43n.
2. Probably John Mare, who represented Edenton in the Fayetteville Convention.
3. See William R. Davie to Iredell, 22 November, note 2 (RCS:N.C., 784n).
4. Alexander Martin was elected governor.

**Governor Samuel Johnston to James Iredell  
Fayetteville, N.C., 23 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

As I expect Judge Spencer will set out as soon as the Convention rises, I take that opportunity to congratulate you on the Adoption of the new Constitution by a Majority of 118.<sup>2</sup> The Anties behave with great good humor on the Occasion, a few amendments will be recommended which I expect will finish the business of the Convention this day, Fayette Ville is to have a Member<sup>3</sup>

I have been very earnestly solicited by a Number of the Members and particularly the Antifederal party to take a seat in the Senate, which I have agreed to. Chas. Johnson is talked of as Govr. Billy Blount will be opposed to him

I was not able to attend the Convention till the two last days of last Week. I now find myself much recovered and better than when I left home.

There has been very little done in the Assembly hitherto so that it is probable they will continue at this place some time longer, I will leave them as soon as I can with decency.

2 O'Clock in the afternoon

I understand Spencer will not go in two or three days

The Convention is adjourned sine die

Be pleased to put the enclosed Letter into the Post Office if no immediate opportunity by Water

Yours affectionately

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. In the postscript to a letter to his wife of 26–27 November (immediately below), Iredell indicated that he had just received this letter from Governor Johnston.

2. See William R. Davie to Iredell, 22 November, note 2 (RCS:N.C., 784n).

3. For the amendments to the U.S. Constitution proposed by delegates at the Fayetteville Convention and for the ordinance passed during the Convention allowing Fayetteville representation “on the same Terms with the other Towns in this State,” see RCS:N.C., 772–73, 773–74, respectively.

**James Iredell to Hannah Iredell****New Bern, N.C., 26–27 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Hannah,

I have the greatest pleasure in thinking that before this letter reaches you, you will have the delightful satisfaction to hear not only that the Constitution has been adopted by 193 against 75,<sup>2</sup> (which was on Saturday) but that both your Brothers had quite recovered, of both which charming events Mr. Dawson was so kind as to write me, though in a great hurry, on the 22d.,<sup>3</sup> and he mentioned your Brother would have wrote too but that he was not awake. It gave me no little Joy to hear that your Brother was able to take the chair that day as President. If my health had not mended before, this would have quite restored it, but thank God my cold has been better every day since I came and now I have scarcely a symptom of it—Mr. Duchane the French Consul was kind enough to notify to me his going to Edenton, & he brought us this excellent news, so that you must be civil to him.—

I wait anxiously for Blount & his Wife, who have not arrived. Give my tenderest love to Annie & James, & remember me to all the rest at home & at Hayes, including my Nephew Tredwell. My heart is now as light as a feather, and I shall be most happy on my return if I find you all well.

God bless you! my dear Hannah! and be assured I am ever Most affectionately yours

P.S. I have just had the pleasure of a letter from your Brother.<sup>4</sup> He is quite recovered, & will undoubtedly be a Senator. Friday.

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 543–44.

2. See William R. Davie to Iredell, 22 November, note 2 (RCS:N.C., 784n).

3. See William J. Dawson to Iredell, 22 November (RCS:N.C., 784–85).

4. See Governor Samuel Johnston to Iredell, 23 November (immediately above).

**Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell****Wilmington, N.C., 26 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Sir

As you may not have had a direct conveyance from Fayetteville, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of informing you, that last night a letter from Mr. Adam a merchant there, and a member of the convention,<sup>2</sup> assures us that the grand question was decided on Saturday the 21st. by 193 votes for the constitution, to 75 against it; majority 118, which is considerably more than were against us last year.<sup>3</sup>

We are told that Mr. Huske, to appear the more conspicuous, walked out at the head of the minority—I suppose Judge Spencer was too

much mortified to push himself forward From the various intelligence we have received, I am very apprehensive of an instalment or valuation law; but as the Assembly are determined to have all the money out of the treasury, even if they purchase certificates with it, I am not altogether without hopes that the evil may be avoided—It seems to be the general opinion of the members that there is no danger of a new emission, though Person, the B[l]ounts &c are very earnest for it—These last are however unpopular and we are told have been petitioned against, as holders of public money—They have besides lost a principal prop, by the death of Caswell. Unfortunately I have received no letters by the last conveyance, otherwise I could have given you a number of particulars which would at least have been amusing

Your representative Mr. Hamilton distinguished himself by supporting Jones's election against Hill's petition—On the question on the concurrence with the report of the committee, which was altogether in favor of the election, the vote was unanimous<sup>4</sup>

I should not omit to mention, that this assembly is said to be the most moderate one that we have had since the revolution, and that there are nearly one half new members

Oblige me with some information about my affairs in Edenton court.

I congratulate you and my federal friends on the happy change in our situation,

Last post I sent my papers and told the rider to bring me a line from you Mr. H or Mr. Moore—but I have not seen him

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 544–45.

2. The merchant-delegate was Robert Adam, a member from Cumberland County who voted in favor of ratification.

3. See William R. Davie to Iredell, 22 November, note 2 (RCS:N.C., 784n).

4. A reference to a 3 November memorial from William Henry Hill to the House of Commons protesting the election of Edward Jones in Wilmington. On 6 November a committee, with John Hamilton as a member, rejected Hill's memorial and confirmed Jones' election (*Journal of the House of Commons* [Edenton, 1790] [Evans 22739], 3, 6).

**Richard Dobbs Spaight to James Iredell**  
**Clermont, N.C., 26 November 1789<sup>1</sup>**

I return you my thanks for the agreeable information you sent me yesterday, “the adoption of the Constitution by our Convention.” I am very happy to hear that wisdom has at last presided in our councils, and enabled the Convention to break through that cloud of ignorance, and villainy, which has so long obscured our political horizon. I am much obliged to you for sympathizing with me in my sore afflictions: I have, indeed, suffered severely. Since the Convention at Hillsborough

in July '88, I have never enjoyed one day's perfect health; and, except two or three months last summer, which enabled me to crawl about a little, I have been very ill, and at present see very little prospect of a speedy recovery, &c.

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 543. Clermont was Spaight's plantation near New Bern.

**Edenton, N.C., Celebration of North Carolina Ratification  
1 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

LAUS DEO.<sup>2</sup>

On Tuesday last the happy event of our Convention having adopted the Federal Constitution, was celebrated in this town with that joy and festivity which the happy occasion only could inspire. At sun rise the union flag was displayed on a flag staff erected in the centre of the town, and the different vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours. At twelve o'clock, a salute of twelve 24 pounders was fired: A large company of gentlemen dined at Mr. Egan's tavern, when the following toasts were drank—

1. The United States of America.
2. The President of the United States.
3. The Vice-President, and all the officers of the United States.
4. The King of France, and the French nation.
5. All the Powers of Europe in alliance with the United States.
6. Our late Convention.
7. The Governor and state of North Carolina.
8. May the new Constitution prove a blessing to the people.
9. Agriculture, arts and commerce.<sup>3</sup>
10. The officers, soldiers and patriots who distinguished themselves in the late war.
11. The fair daughters of Columbia.
12. May the state of Rhode-Island follow the example of North Carolina.

In the evening the cupola of the court house was beautifully illuminated, and twelve lighted lanthorns, representing the twelve adopting states, were suspended to the flag staff, with a dark one for Rhode-Island. In the vicinity of the town there was a large bonfire—Pleasure, joy and satisfaction sat on every countenance, and the day concluded with that harmony and concord which federal principles always must command.

1. Printed: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 3 December. Reprinted in full in the *Maryland Journal*, 18 December, and in four Philadelphia newspapers on 23 and 24 December. The first and last paragraphs were reprinted in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal* on 6

January 1790. Excerpts of the last paragraph were reprinted in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont by 11 January. A similar account was published in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 December 1789.

2. Latin: Praise God.

3. The ninth toast in the Edenton celebration reported in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 December (printed below), substituted the word "Manufactures" for "commerce."

**Edenton, N.C., Celebration of North Carolina Ratification  
1 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

*TWELFTH FEDERAL PILLAR.  
NORTH-CAROLINA.*

It is with a great degree of satisfaction we announce to the publick, the RATIFICATION of the CONSTITUTION of the UNITED STATES, by the respectable State of NORTH-CAROLINA; the intelligence of which agreeable event we received yesterday morning, by Capt. JOSIAH BACON, master of the *Petersburg-Packet*, in FIVE DAYS from *North-Carolina*.—The particulars are:—

The Convention of *North-Carolina* met at *Fayetteville*, the 1st November, and after debating the Constitution throughout, on the 27th November the question of Ratification was put, and passed in the affirmative<sup>2</sup>—

YEAS,	193
NAYS,	75
	<hr/>
MAJORITY,	118 <sup>3</sup>

This intelligence was received at *Edenton*, by express, on the evening of the 30th November. The next morning the colours belonging to the town, and on board the shipping, were hoisted. At *Twelve* o'clock *Twelve* cannon were discharged, in honour of the several States in Union—and a collation provided for the spectators. At three o'clock, an elegant dinner was provided at the Merchant's Coffee-House, and after dinner<sup>4</sup> the following toasts drank:

[Twelve toasts appear here. See the toasts printed in the account taken from the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, immediately above.]

In the evening, *Twelve* large lanthorns were hoisted on the flag-staff belonging to the town; the lanthorn of the Court-House, and several of the houses, were beautifully illuminated; and a very large bonfire made at the back of the town.<sup>5</sup>

1. Printed: *Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 December. Reprinted in full eleven times by 28 December: Mass. (3), R.I. (1), N.Y. (6), Pa. (1). Also reprinted in the December issue of the *Boston Magazine*. Excerpts appeared in seven newspapers by 30 December: N.H. (3), Mass. (3), N.Y. (1). A similar account was printed in the Edenton *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 3 December (immediately above).

2. The dating in this paragraph is incorrect, as is the dating in all of the reprints. The Convention began meeting on 16 November, voted to ratify the Constitution on 21 November, and adjourned on 23 November.

3. The vote on ratification at the Fayetteville Convention was 194 to 77, a majority of 117. See RCS:N.C., 766–68, for the record of delegates' votes.

4. The account in the *Boston Gazette*, 14 December, and the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 16 December, substituted the following phrase for the word "dinner": "about 200 gentlemen partaking of the same."

5. The *Boston Gazette*, 14 December, appended an additional paragraph: "The Bells in this town, in consequence of the above intelligence, rang about one hour on Saturday." Three New York newspapers and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 December, reprint included this paragraph.

### **Deposit of the Journals and Form of Ratification of the North Carolina Convention, 1–4 December 1789**

On 21 November the second North Carolina Convention resolved that Convention President Samuel Johnston should transmit a copy of the state's Form of Ratification to President George Washington. President Johnston also seems to have become the custodian of the original Form of Ratification and the other papers of the Convention. On 1 December Johnston sent the Convention's proceedings to the state legislature. Johnston forwarded the duplicate Form of Ratification on 4 December. On 1 and 4 December the House of Commons approved resolutions calling for the deposit of these records in the office of the North Carolina secretary of state. On 2 and 4 December the state Senate concurred with the House's resolutions.

All of the documents in the following grouping are from the loose Legislative Papers, Nc-Ar, and can be found in the 1789 printed *Journal of the House of Commons* (Evans 22739) (pp. 33 and 38) and *Journal of the Senate* (Evans 22740) (pp. 27 and 30).

*President Samuel Johnston to the General Assembly  
Fayetteville, N.C., 1 December 1789*

Gentlemen

I herewith send you the Journals of the proceedings of the Convention, to be disposed of in such manner as you think proper—

*House of Commons Resolution, 1 December 1789*

Resolved that the Journals of the proceedings of the last Convention be deposited by the Clerks of the General Assembly in the office of the Secretary of this State

S. Cabarrus S.H.C.

By order

J Hunt CHC

*House of Commons Message to the Senate, 1 December 1789 (excerpts)*

Mr Speaker and Gentlemen

We herewith send you several Messages this day received from the Honorable Samuel Johnston . . . the other relative to the Journals of the late Convention we have formed a Resolve on which we send for your concurrence.

S. Cabarrus S.H.C.

By order  
J Hunt, CHC

*Senate Proceedings, 2 December 1789*

[The House of Commons resolution of 1 December appears here.]  
read & Concurred with

Chas. Johnson, Sp.

By order  
S Haywood CS

*President Samuel Johnston to the General Assembly  
Fayetteville, N.C., 4 December 1789*

Gentlemen

I herewith send you a duplicate of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States to be deposited among the Archives of this State in such manner as you may be pleased to order—

*House of Commons Resolution, 4 December 1789*

Resolved that the duplicate of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States be delivered by the Clerk of this House to the Secretary and that he file the same in his office.

S. Cabarrus S.H.C.

By order  
J Hunt CHC

*Senate Proceedings, 4 December 1789*

The foregoing Report was read and Concurred with.<sup>1</sup>

Chas. Johnson Sp

By order  
S Haywood CS

1. The *Senate Journal* (p. 30) states: "Received also a resolution directing that the duplicate of the ratification of the constitution of the United States be delivered to the Secretary of State; which was read, concurred with and returned."

**New Bern, N.C., Celebration of North Carolina Ratification  
2 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

NEWBERN, December 3

Yesterday the inhabitants of this town met at the Palace, to celebrate the ratification of the new Constitution by the Convention of this state, and the company of Newbern Volunteers, under the command of Captain Haslen, having paraded at the Court-House and gone through the manual exercise, with their usual adroitness, marched to the Palace green, where they fired a feu de joy.<sup>2</sup> A short time after, they were joined by Captain Stiron of the ship *Federalist*, and sat down to an elegant entertainment, after which the following toasts were drank, under the discharge of 12 guns:

- 1 The New Constitution,
- 2 The United States,
- 3 The Congress,
- 4 The President of the United States,
- 5 The Judicial officers of the United States.
- 6 His Most Christian Majesty,
- 7 The French and Dutch Patriots,
- 8 The Memory of Gen. Caswell, and of the heroes who fell in defence of America.<sup>3</sup>
- 9 The President and Members of the late Convention,
- 10 The Commerce and Manufactures of the United States,
- 11 May the example of North Carolina be speedily followed by Rhode-Island.
- 12 The Day.

The whole company next marched in procession through the principal streets of the town, accompanied by Captain Stiron, in the ship *Federalist*. The ship was elegantly decorated and fired a salute at every corner. In the evening the town was illuminated.

1. Printed: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 17 December. Reprinted: *Maryland Journal*, 25 December, and *New York Packet*, 5 January 1790.

2. French: Literally, "fire of joy." On ceremonial occasions, soldiers fire a salute in quick succession to make a continuous sound.

3. Former Governor Richard Caswell died on 10 November 1789 after suffering a fatal stroke while presiding as speaker of the state Senate.

**Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 3 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

TWELVE UNITED STATES.

By a gentleman from North Carolina, we learn that the Convention of that State, which met at Fayetteville, on the 16 of last month, has

agreed to and ratified the New Constitution of the United States. The final question was put on the 26th,<sup>2</sup> and the votes were,—ayes 193 noes 76—majority 117.<sup>3</sup>

1. The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 3 December, is not extant. The transcription is from the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 December, the earliest reprinting. Reprintings also appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 December, and the *New York Daily Advertiser*, 21 December.

2. The dating in this paragraph is partially incorrect. The Convention did begin meeting on 16 November, but the vote on ratification took place on 21 November, not 26 November. The Convention adjourned on 23 November.

3. The vote on ratification at the Fayetteville Convention was 194 to 77, a majority of 117. See RCS:N.C., 766–68, for the record of delegates' votes.

### New York Gazette of the United States, 5 December 1789<sup>1</sup>

The Ratification of the Constitution by the State of North-Carolina is an event of the highest political consequence to the Union, as it leaves but the shadow of a schism in the Bond that unites the great Federal Republic. This is an additional ray to the fame and glory of our Country, and there is no doubt but Rhode-Island will be illuminated by it, to see wherein her real interest lies (having too long been duped by men who are pretending “*relief to the distressed*,”<sup>2</sup> until they have rendered the name of the state a reproach.)

1. Reprinted nineteen times by 30 December: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (3), Conn. (7), Pa. (4), Md. (1). The *Connecticut Gazette*, 11 December, reprinting added the text enclosed in angle brackets. The three Rhode Island and one other of the Connecticut reprintings also included this additional clause.

2. In advocating paper money in the Rhode Island election of April 1786, the Country party ran on the platform “To Relieve the Distressed.”

### New York Morning Post, 5 December 1789<sup>1</sup>

On Thursday last arrived here, the sloop Wilmington Packet, Captain Bramby, from Wilmington, North Carolina, by whom we have received the important and agreeable intelligence, that the CONVENTION of that State had *ADOPTED* the *NEW CONSTITUTION*, on the 20th of last November.<sup>2</sup>

For the Adoption,	193.
Against it,	75.
	<hr/>
Majority,	118 <sup>3</sup>

1. Reprinted in the Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 15 December, and in the *New York Journal* and *Albany Gazette*, 10 December, with an additional paragraph: “The above account has not, as we have heard, been officially received at the head department—but

its authenticity is not doubted." Other slightly altered accounts appeared in the Pittsfield, Mass., *Berkshire Chronicle*, 14 December; Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 16 December; Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 17 December; Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 17 December; and Pennsylvania *Carlisle Gazette*, 30 December.

2. The Fayetteville Convention voted to ratify the Constitution on 21 November, not 20 November.

3. The vote on ratification at the Fayetteville Convention was 194 to 77, a majority of 117. See RCS:N.C., 766–68, for the record of delegates' votes.

### **New York Daily Gazette, 5 December 1789**

#### FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Notwithstanding the intestine divisions inevitable in a republic, and which even appear necessary to its preservation, since, by furnishing food to the democratic spirit, they keep the state in health, by giving it life and activity; notwithstanding the public debt and increasing luxury of the people; and notwithstanding all the vices and imperfections which are the unhappy lot of human nature: The people of North-Carolina have at length given a proof of their wisdom and affection for the Union of America. This example, we sincerely hope, may soon be followed by the good people of Rhode-Island. The inhabitants of these states enjoy a felicity worthy to be envied, and of which other nations, perhaps, have no conception: so difficult it is, in living under the mildest yoke, to form just ideas of National Liberty, grounded on the Rights of Humanity.

Let us adopt fair reasoning with the people; let it be made clear to them, the great advantages which they will derive from a junction with their sister states; and we may soon expect to see the United States more firmly bound by all the bonds of interest as well as friendship. Then shall we see happy days and political liberty established beyond the power of intrigue to shake it. The United States will not be regulated by partiality, but by general acquiescence, and with the full view of augmenting the general good. No other restraint will be laid upon human actions, than what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the commonwealth. No respect will be paid, but to distinguished merit, in the choice of officers; and we have every reason to believe, that, under the present administration, the greatest powers of our greatest men will at once display themselves and act in concert.

Albany Gazette, 10 December 1789



**Wilmington, N.C., Celebration of North Carolina Ratification  
12 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from Wilmington, December 17.

“On Saturday last the adoption of the federal constitution by this state, was celebrated here. Most of the respectable inhabitants of this town, together with the hon. judges Williams and Spencer, and several other respectable persons from abroad, met at Dorsey’s tavern, where they were regaled with an elegant dinner and a great plenty and variety of good liquor.

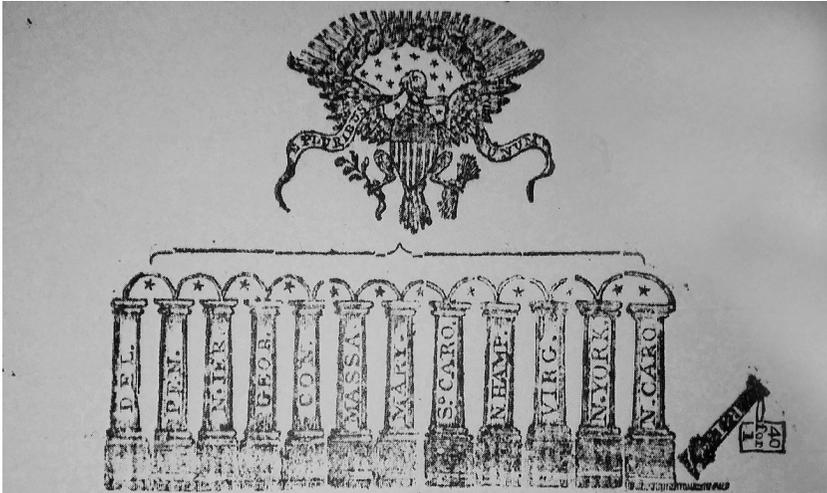
The utmost decorum, harmony and good nature prevailed through the entertainment, party difference subsided at the social table, and every one seemed pleased in the reflection that this state was restored to its station and confidence in the grand American republic.—Thirteen cannon were discharged on drinking the first toast, and one cannon at every toast succeeding. William H. Hill, Esquire, was elected president of the table, who gave the following toasts:

1. The president of the United States, and may the new constitution prove a blessing to the people.
2. The memorable 21st November, 1789.
3. The 4th July, 1776.
4. The general convention of 1787.
5. The minority of the Hillsborough convention.
6. The governor and state of North Carolina.

7. The memory of the brave who have fallen in defence of their country.
8. The agriculture, manufacture and commerce of the United States.
9. The arts and sciences.
10. The foreign powers in alliance with the American states.
11. May the flag of America prove stripes to her enemies.
12. The American Ladies.
13. May the state of Rhode-Island be speedily re-united to the American states.["]

1. Printed: *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 25 January 1790.

**Massachusetts Centinel, 16 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**



The GREAT PALLADIUM of our happy land  
 Connects “*the Union*” by a “golden chain;”  
 Which kept entire, these Federal States shall stand  
 As long as Time’s old annals shall remain:  
 And nations see with joy, the beauteous Dome,  
 “COLUMBIA’s boast, and FREEDOM’s hallow’d home.”

*THE EDIFICE COMPLETED.*

We had the satisfaction to announce in our last, the ratification of the American Constitution by the State of NORTH-CAROLINA. By the last Mails from New-York, we have a confirmation of the intelligence. The Twelve States of America, convened in Federal Convention, which

proposed the Constitution, have now all adopted, ratified and confirmed it. The Edifice may now be declared complete—and on its completion we most cordially felicitate our country.

The following are the periods at which the several States adopted the Constitution of the United States, viz.—

*Delaware*, Dec. 3. *Pennsylvania*, Dec. 13. *New-Jersey*, Dec. 19, 1787. *Georgia*, Jan. 2. *Connecticut*, Jan. 9. *Massachusetts*, Feb. 6. *Maryland*, April 28. *South-Carolina*, May 23. *New-Hampshire*, June 21. *Virginia*, June 25. *New-York*, July 25, 1788. And *North-Carolina*, Nov. 20, 1789.<sup>2</sup>

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 January 1790; without the pillars and the first two sentences, in the *New York Gazette of the United States*, 26 December, and *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 31 December.

2. Some dates are incorrect: Delaware ratified on 7 December, Pennsylvania on 12 December, New Jersey on 18 December, Georgia on 31 December, Maryland on 26 April, New York on 26 July, and North Carolina on 21 November.

#### Charleston City Gazette, 16 December 1789



**Boston Independent Chronicle, 17 December 1789**

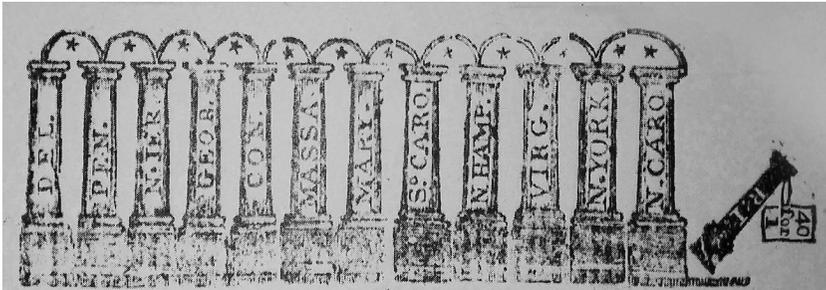
TWELFTH *PILLAR* ADDED TO THE GRAND  
FEDERAL TEMPLE.

---

To rear the sacred TEMPLE to the skies,  
Behold these *Adamantine* COLUMNS rise!  
Where lasting strength unites with beauteous grace,  
UNION the *Arch*  
(a) and LIBERTY the *Base*;  
Where *glorious* PRIDE and *patriot* VIRTUE meet,  
And INDEPENDENCE finds her safe retreat.

All hail POSTERITY! If from your hearts  
Your Father's heav'n-born VIRTUE ne'er departs;  
Then shall THIS TEMPLE stand, till vengeful fire,  
Consume the spheres, and TIME himself expire.

(a) See Hon. Mr. BOWDOIN's Speech In Convention.<sup>1</sup>



1. On 23 January 1788 James Bowdoin, a former governor of Massachusetts, delivered a speech in the Massachusetts Convention in which he described the Constitution as “the key stone of a grand and magnificent arch” (RCS:Mass., 1323).

**Massachusetts Spy, 17 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

By the mail from Newyork, on Friday last, we received the interesting Intelligence of Northcarolina's adopting the present Federal Constitution, by a great majority, viz.

For the adoption,	193
Against it,	75
	<hr/>
Majority,	118 <sup>2</sup>

All the States, excepting the little one of Rhodeisland, are now united under the Federal Government.

The AMENDMENTS to the Federal Constitution, as proposed to the several States by the present Congress, are already adopted by Five of the States, excepting the second article, and by one or two states the first and second articles. For these amendments see our Almanack for the ensuing year.

1. Reprinted in the *Vermont Journal*, 6 January 1790, without the last paragraph.

2. The vote on ratification at the Fayetteville Convention was 194 to 77, a majority of 117. See RCS:N.C., 766–68, for the record of delegates' votes.

### **New York Daily Advertiser, 18 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

By a vessel from North Carolina, arrived yesterday, letters are received dated on the 2d inst. which confirm the account received some days since, of the adoption of the NEW CONSTITUTION, by that State on the 20th ult.<sup>2</sup>

1. Reprinted: *New York Weekly Museum*, 19 December; *New York Packet*, 19 December; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 December; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 December.

2. The Fayetteville Convention voted to ratify the Constitution on 21 November, not 20 November.

### **William R. Davie to James Iredell Fayetteville, N.C., 21 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

My Dear Sir,

We are now in expectation of rising tomorrow, the public business being generally finished and the patience of the *members* entirely exhausted—I must refer you to our friend Cabarrus for the history of the electioneering business—The varied fenesse and intrigue displayed on that occasion, particularly about the Senators exceeded any thing I ever saw—

I inclose you a list of the bills, you will perceive that some objects of considerable consequence have been ~~carried~~ obtained—The University business succeeded to my outmost wish—

As to the business of the debates, I could not wash my feelings up to the application you requested me to make—This matter I suppose will fall on us at last; we must see what can be collected from the sales; after that, we can with some propriety try the purses of the federal state—The debates expected from Wilmington have never reached this place—if they had I am sure they would all have sold—Mr. Maclain has certainly neglected that matter or they might have been sent in The course of Two months.—

I am out on this business for the expence of sending the debates to the Westward and Tarboro; but as I never expected to be reimbursed I kept no account.

I shall set about making preparation to assist you in this business which has fallen so disagreeably on us, if we are not rewarded *Here* we must trust as the saints do to an *everlasting* reward *Hereafter* at all events the loss is to be pocketed by us; "*profit*" no man will suspect you of—

Farewell and believe me with the most sincere regard and Attachment

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. The address page was endorsed: "Hond. by Mr. Cabarras."

**Governor Alexander Martin to the General Assembly  
Fayetteville, N.C., 23 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

To the honourable the General Assembly.

Gentlemen, As the session is drawing to a close, and you [are] about to return to your respective counties, where your constituents will be anxious no doubt, to receive such public information you will please to communicate, who reposing their confidence in you will be influenced with such sentiments of political measures, more or less, as your yourselves appear to be actuated with. And as a great event hath turned up, during your session, not only interesting to this State, but to the united States—the adoption of the federal constitution by our late convention, I beg leave to draw your attention a moment to this subject and empress on your minds a few observations.

That this event must give great joy to our sister States as well as to our friends and allies in Europe, That one important link, late broken in the American Union is restored; That unanimity, the great basis of civil government is about to pervade our councils, to give them Stability and efficiency in their measures, thereby fixing a new stamp, on our national character, by our becoming again a member of this federal body. From this accession of power to the united government, not only additional strength and vigour will be derived to it, but we are made to participate of all the advantages arising therefrom And should there be disadvantages and imperfections in it, as some respectable characters have thought, from our local situation It is presumed the ballance will be greatly in our favor, yet partial advantages ought not to be our only object, but the general good which we have the highest reasons to hope will be effected by the earnest, the Dawn of this new government has already given in opening bright prospects that promise a propitious day to the whole Nation.

Though some of the great establishments have already been formed, in which it is to be wished this State had born her part at an earlier

period, yet an ample field is still open where she yet may distinguish herself, and give weight to the continental Scale. Perhaps the great moral maxim “that all is for the best”<sup>2</sup> is verified in this instance—that this State hesitated, and was not precipitate in adopting a form of Government, intended to last for ages however federal her inclinations might have been without maturely deliberating how far the lives, liberties and properties of her citizens were to be protected and secured by it: A jealousy of their rulers ought to subsist in all free governments as the grand check that fre[e]dom hath over tyranny. From this spirit the british government in theory acknowledged by the greatest politicians and learned societies in the world, as the first model of a free government under heaven, through a long track of time, with all its practical Vices hath derived its chief Support.

Should the new American Government have its defects it is impossible it should arrive at perfection in a day; and what hath been reprobated as a defect may at some future period be acknowledged to approach to perfection as near as the lot of humanity can attain. It is experience and all-trying time after the grand machine is put in motion and make the discovery. This truth the history of all nations evinces. That of our ancestors declares it required a thousand years to shape their government in its present beautiful, though vitiated form. An Alfred laid the foundation and a William III compleated the structure.

Let us remember we heretofore embarked with our Sister States in our bottom, making our common cause, which by the effusion of kindred and united blood spent in its support, hath cemented our several interests in one great family, that hath gained a rank among the nations as an independent sovereignty. That purchased at so dear a price the American government was too precious a prize to ever become the sport and prey of restless faction or enterprising ambition, without affording it the means necessary for its own security, and the protection of its citizens. To arm it with additional powers for this great end, was the object of the federal constitution, which has been ratified by the convention of this state as the future of our government of the United States.

As you Gentlemen, composed a great part of that respectable body, it is greatly incumbent on you, whether as officers of the State, or private persons you appear on your returning among the people you represent to reconcile those jarring sentiments, if any shall remain that seemed unfortunately to prevail in different parts of the State: Happy I am to find the public peace hath not been disturbed, yet invidious distinctions have arisen and been kept up that tend to that end. Let henceforth the Federal and Anti Federal name be heard no more as a

reproach. Let the people be told that the government of the United States is still in the power of their Citizens, and so must remain while composed of the present materials. That the President with all his supposed powers and prerogatives of royalty—the Senators with their ideal aristocratic pre-eminence and authority, together with the members of the house of representatives, after the several periods of their political existence, having expired as limited by the constitution, must all return to the class of private fellow citizens, be amenable for their conduct and feel with them the effects of that government they have administered—May our citizens be led by you to embrace again their Northern and Eastern brethren with former affection, & cordialness in the adoption of this new system of government that be the same perfect or imperfect, though the most perfect at present to be obtained, they be determined to stand or fall in its support.

And as they with the citizens of these States under the old union with all its feeble powers performed wonders in effecting a revolution in favour of liberty and the rights of man, that has astonished the world, let the name of the glorious band of brothers<sup>3</sup> acquired in this great achievement still inspire them to enter the new, now fixed on firmer ground, with joy, and with united efforts maintain and defend it against all its enemies and opposers where ever to be found.

Lastly let them rest assured, that the practice of the great national as well as private Virtues will meet the countenance and protection of Heaven; and that the *God of Virtue and of Liberty*, who hath so remarkably led these States to sovereignty and independence will not forsake them, and suffer them to fall a victim to foreign, or domestic tyranny; but will preserve them in his holy Keeping.

1. FC, Legislative Papers, LP/89/Commons/Dec 1789, Nc-Ar. Printed in the *Journal of the House of Commons*, 22 December (pp. 70–71). Governor Martin's letterbook copy (Nc-Ar) is dated 22 December. All other copies, including the newspaper printings, date the address as 23 December. Printed: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 23 January 1790. Reprinted: *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, 5 February; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 9 February; *Albany Register*, 22 February; and *Virginia Centinel*, 24 February. Martin (1740–1807), a native of New Jersey and a merchant and lawyer, was a 1756 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). He moved to Salisbury, N.C., soon after graduating. He was appointed deputy king's attorney for Rowan County in 1766 and represented Guilford County in the colonial Assembly, 1773–74. A patriot, Martin supported the American cause. He was a delegate to the second and third provincial congresses, 1775, and a lieutenant-colonel and colonel in North Carolina's Second Continental Regiment, 1775–77. Martin sat in the state Senate, 1778–82, 1785, 1787–88, and was speaker except for the sessions of 1778–79. He was governor, 1781–82 (acting), 1782–85, 1789–92. Martin was appointed to the Confederation Congress in 1786 but did not attend. He attended the Constitutional Convention in 1787, but left in August before the September signing of the Constitution. William Pierce described Martin as "a Man of sense, and undoubtedly is a good politician, but he is not formed to shine in public debate, being no Speaker" (Farrand,

III, 96). Martin was a U.S. senator, 1793–99, and a state senator from Rockingham County, 1804–5.

2. Perhaps a reference to Voltaire's *Candide* (1759).

3. Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Act IV, scene 3, line 60.

**Abishai C. Thomas to John Gray Blount**  
**New York, 23 December 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . There has [been] no official accounts come to hand of the ratification of the new Constitution by North Carolina, but you may see by the papers We have had the news, even round by way of Boston, so that it is generally believed,—I am not much obliged to my friends in No. Carolina for their inattention to me on this subject, & I cannot but say I am considerably disappointed and chagrin'd to think that among so many whom I have counted on as such not one has thought it worth while to sit down and write me five words which would have been sufficient, as thus, “Thomas the Constitution is adopted 193/75”<sup>2</sup> However I shall get over it, and it shall go hard with me but I will punish some of you in return. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 523–24. The address page indicates that the letter was carried by “Capt. Miner.”

2. The vote on ratification at the Fayetteville Convention was 194 to 77, a majority of 117. See RCS:N.C., 766–68, for the record of delegates' votes.

**Governor Alexander Martin to Secretary of State James Glasgow**  
**Fayetteville, N.C., 24 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

As a Number of Seals are wanting to be affixed to thirteen Copies of the Resolution and Amendments herewith proposed for the Constitution of the united states to be transmitted to the different states—please to make out a proper Testimonial with your Name inserted as Secretary to the State to the thirteen Copies herewith with the Great Seal thereto, also about 50 Seals which please to forward to Hillsboro the first Opportunity

I am dear sir respectfully yours

Receipt

Recd. Feby. 11th. 1790. Of the Secretary  
 Thirteen Testimonials under Seal annexed to the 13 Copies of the Amendments proposed to the Constitution of the United States also two Testimonials & Acts of Assembly The one for ceding the Western Lands the other ratifying on the part of this State the Amendments to

the constitution proposed by Congress, to be delivered to Governor Martin

WM Oliver

1. RC, Secretary of State Papers, SS-25/Correspondence/1753-1789, Nc-Ar. The second page contains a receipt dated 11 February 1790. Glasgow (c. 1735-1819) served as North Carolina's secretary of state, 1777-98, resigning that position under a cloud of suspicion for fraudulent land deals.

**Charles Thomson to President George Washington  
Harriton, Pa., 25 December 1789 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Be pleased to accept, from my retirement, the compliments of the season and my congratulations on the accession of North-Carolina to the Union. I now consider the revolution complete, and now it is accomplished I cannot without a mixture of wonder, joy and gratitude to the Supreme disposer of events, reflect on what easy terms compared to what it has cost others in similar circumstances, we have obtained a rank among the nations of the earth, and with what tranquillity a reform has been made in our constitution & government, which bids fair to transmit the blessings of freedom, independence & happiness to future generations.

Mrs. Thomson desires with me to be remembered to Mrs Washington  
With the greatest & most sincere esteem & respect

1. RC, PCC, Item 49, Letters and Papers of Charles Thomson, 1781-89, DNA. Thomson (1729-1824), a former Philadelphia merchant and Revolutionary leader, was secretary of the Continental and Confederation congresses from 1774 to 1789.

**Fayetteville Gazette, 28 December 1789<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in London  
to his friend in this town.

“The new federal duties are smart, but they will assist congress to bring about an efficient government—your state keeping aloof from so respectable a body is too ridiculous to make any comment upon the absurdity of the idea.—This country will not long tamely submit to America laying duties on our shipping; this I can tell you of a truth, having been the other day closetted with some of our great men on that head. This idea was received, I could plainly see, from a self-interested merchant, and not the breathing of a liberal patriot and politician; indeed I was told something must be done, and if America had any thing to offer, let her do it, for that other alien nations had asked the ministers of this kingdom, and requested an answer—‘Why is not America treated as an alien nation, supposing her a favourite

one too, and the same alien duties imposed upon her exports as are levied upon ours.' You see how the physic works; our committee is this day summoned upon the business by the laws of trade; your potash will, I am afraid, be the object."

1. The *Fayetteville Gazette*, 28 December 1789, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 23 January 1790, that printed this letter under the dateline "Fayetteville (N.C.), 28 December." Reprintings also appeared in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Chronicle*, 25 January (not extant); *Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 February; and *Newport Mercury*, 26 March.

**President George Washington to Secretary of the Treasury  
Alexander Hamilton, New York, 4 January 1790<sup>1</sup>**

I feel myself very much obliged by what you sent me yesterday.<sup>2</sup> The letter from Governor Johnston I return—much pleased to find so authentic an acct of the adoption by No Carolina of the Constitution.—Yrs sincerely & affectly

1. RC, Hamilton Papers, DLC. Washington misdated this letter as "Monday Mornng 4th. Jany 1789."

2. Presumably a reference to Hamilton's 3 January report on lighthouses.

**President George Washington: Speech to the U.S. Senate  
and House of Representatives and Their Responses  
8 and 11 January 1790**

*U.S. Senate Proceedings, Friday, 8 January 1790 (excerpt)*<sup>1</sup>

. . . ORDERED, That the House of Representatives be informed, that the Senate are ready to meet them in the Senate-Chamber, to receive any communication the President of the United States may be pleased to make to the two Houses of Congress; and that the usual seats will be assigned them.

The House of Representatives having accordingly taken their seats, the President of the United States came into the Senate-Chamber, and addressed both Houses of Congress as followeth:

FELLOW CITIZENS of the SENATE, and HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity, which now presents itself, of congratulating you on the present favorable prospects of our public affairs.—The recent accession of the important State of North-Carolina, to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received)—the rising credit and respectability of our country,—the general and increasing good-will towards the Government of the Union,—and the concord, peace and plenty, with which

we are blessed, are circumstances, auspicious, in an eminent degree to our national prosperity. . . .

*U.S. Senate Response to President Washington's Speech*  
*New York, 11 January 1790 (excerpt)*<sup>2</sup>

. . . Mr. King, on behalf of the Committee, reported an address to the President of the United States, in answer to his speech to both Houses of Congress, which being amended, was adopted as followeth:

“To the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES,

SIR, We the Senate of the United States, return you our thanks for your speech delivered to both Houses of Congress. The accession of the State of North-Carolina to the Constitution of the United States, gives us much pleasure; and we offer you our congratulations on that event, which at the same time adds strength to our Union, and affords a proof that the more the Constitution has been considered, the more the goodness of it has appeared.[’]. . .

*U.S. House of Representatives Response to President Washington's Speech*  
*New York, 11 January 1790 (excerpt)*<sup>3</sup>

*The Address of the House of Representatives to the President of the United States.*

Sir, The Representatives of the people of the United States, have taken into consideration your Speech to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the present session.

We reciprocate your congratulations on the accession of the state of North-Carolina; an event which, while it is a testimony of the increasing good will towards the government of the Union, cannot fail to give additional dignity and strength to the American republic, already rising in the estimation of the world in national character and respectability. . . .

1. Printed: DHFFC, I, 219–20. For the record in the journal of the House of Representatives, see DHFFC, III, 252–61. The letterbook copy of Washington’s speech (Washington Papers, DLC) has variations in punctuation and capitalization. The speech was printed in the *New York Daily Advertiser*, *New York Packet*, *New York Gazette of the United States*, and *New York Weekly Museum*, 9 January, and reprinted at least thirteen other times by 28 January: Vt. (1), Mass. (5), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Ga. (1). On 12 January the *New York Packet* included a paragraph praising President Washington: “The President’s Speech to both Houses of Congress, on Friday last, is replete with every sentiment of patriotism, and is an additional proof of his abilities to fill so respectable and important an office, as the general voice of his country has placed him in. The strictest attention to the duties of his station, and the most ardent zeal for the prosperity, happiness, and dignity of the United States, are discernible through the whole of his admirable Speech.”

2. Printed: *Journal of the Senate* (second session, 1790), 9. The Senate’s response was widely reprinted in newspapers from Maine to Georgia between 16 January and 11 Feb-

ruary. The New York *Daily Advertiser*, 15 January, prefaced the Senate's response with the following: "The Senate of the United States, yesterday at eleven o'clock waited on the PRESIDENT, at his house in Cherry-Street, when they presented him with the following Address, in answer to his Speech at the opening of the session." This prefatory statement, or something similar, often preceded the newspaper reprinting of the Senate's response.

3. Printed in the New York *Daily Advertiser*, 15 January, and reprinted many times from Maine to Georgia by 11 February.

**Oliver Wolcott, Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, Sr.  
New York, 10 January 1790 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Sir, I esteem it to be my duty to embrace every opportunity to write, even though my Letters shall not contain any thing worthy of being communicated—Congress are now convened and the accounts from the different parts of the Union are favourable.—The accession of North Carolina has blasted the last hopes of the Antifederalists—All that now remains is to arrange our affairs wisely. . . . I am Sir, your Obed Son

1. RC, Oliver Wolcott Papers, Connecticut Historical Society. The address page is endorsed: "Favd. by Mr. Brash." Wolcott, Jr. (1760–1833), a graduate of Yale College (1778), was Connecticut comptroller of public accounts, 1788–89; auditor of the U.S. Treasury, 1789–91; comptroller of the Treasury, 1791–95; secretary of the Treasury, 1795–1800. He was governor of Connecticut from 1817 to 1827. Wolcott, Sr. (1726–1797), a resident of Litchfield, Conn., held numerous legislative, executive, and judicial offices during a long political career. Among his offices were: member, state Council, 1771–86; judge, Litchfield County court, 1774–86; delegate to Congress, 1776–78, 1780–83 (signed Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation); lieutenant governor, 1786–96; and governor, 1796–97. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention in January 1788.

**President George Washington Transmits North Carolina Ratification  
to Congress, 11 January 1790<sup>1</sup>**

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Secretary Lear, was received, with the following communications.

*United States, Jan. 11, 1790.*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I have directed Mr. Lear, my private Secretary, to lay before you a copy of the adoption and ratification of the Constitution of the United States, by the state of North Carolina, together with the copy of a letter from his Excellency Samuel Johnston, President of the Convention of said state, to the President of the United States.

The originals of the papers which are herewith transmitted to you, will be lodged in the office of the Secretary of State.<sup>2</sup>

G. WASHINGTON.

Fayetteville, state of North-Carolina, 4th December, 1789.

Sir, By order of the Convention of the people of this state, I have the honor to transmit to you the ratification and adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the said convention in behalf of the people.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, your most faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSTON,  
President of the Convention.

To the President of the United States.

I do certify the above to be a true copy from the original.

TOBIAS LEAR,  
Secretary to the President of the United States.

A copy of the adoption and ratification of the Constitution of the United States, by the state of North-Carolina.

State of (North-Carolina,  
In Convention.

Whereas the General Convention which met in Philadelphia, in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, did recommend to the citizens of the United States, a Constitution or form of Government in the following words, viz.

“We the people,” &c.

(Here follows the Constitution of the United States, verbatim.)

Resolved, That this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens and inhabitants of the state of North-Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of Government.

Done in Convention this 21st day of November, 1789.

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSTON,  
*President of the Convention.*

J. Hunt,  
Jas. Taylor, } *Secretaries.*

By the direction of the President of the United States, I have examined and compared the foregoing with the adoption and ratification of the Constitution of the United States, by the state of North Carolina, which was transmitted to the President of the United States, by Samuel Johnston, President of the Convention of said state, as well as the transcript of the Constitution of the United States, recited in the said ratification, which I certify to be a true copy.

TOBIAS LEAR,  
Sec’y to the  
*President of the United States.* }

The house then adjourned till eleven o’clock to-morrow morning.

1. Printed: New York *Daily Advertiser*, 12 January. Reprinted more than thirty times throughout the country from Vermont to South Carolina by 20 February, including in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 6 February, and in the February issue of the *New York Magazine*. Washington's letter of 11 January was also recorded in his letterbook (Washington Papers, DLC). Washington sent a similar letter to the U.S. Senate on 12 January.

2. On 12 January, Tobias Lear sent the North Carolina Form of Ratification and Samuel Johnston's covering letter to Roger Alden, a clerk in the office of the secretary of state: "I am directed by the President of the United States to transmit herewith to you, to be lodged in the office of State with other public papers under your care, and to be delivered to the Secretary of State whenever he may enter upon the duties of his office; the Form of the adoption and ratification of the constitution of the United States by the State of North Carolina, which has been officially communicated to him by the President of the Convention of said State; and likewise a letter which accompanied the above form of Ratification from Samuel Johnston President of the Convention of the State of North Carolina to the President of the United States" (Letterbook Copy, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, DNA).

3. The text in angle brackets was reprinted in the January 1790 issue of the monthly Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine*.

### Epigram

**Stockbridge, Mass., *The Western Star*, 12 January 1790<sup>1</sup>**

*For the WESTERN STAR.*

EPIGRAM

*On the late adoption of the Federal Constitution, by the state of  
NORTH-CAROLINA.*

Convinc'd of their folly, fatigu'd with their toil, and  
 Afraid of being serv'd up as sauce for Rhode Island,  
 Carolina, the Northern, at length has agreed  
 To the New Constitution 'tis best to accede.  
 "These Yankies and Boobies must have their own head;  
 "Since we can't lead the rascals, WE e'en must be led."  
 So have I observ'd a collection of Boys,  
 In pursuit of some scheme of their puerile joys,  
 Uniting, to draw up the steep of a hill,  
 Some cart, or some waggon, of ponderous wheel;  
 While tugging and straining to gain their career,  
 Some mischievous urchin has lurk'd in the rear,  
 Exerted his strength to defeat the design,  
 And pull'd ninety pounds back, to his forwarding nine;  
 Till finding his efforts too weak for the tide,  
 He gives up his project, and JUMPS ON TO RIDE.

*The correspondent who favoured us with the above production, is requested to continue his favours.*

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet* and Litchfield, Conn., *Weekly Monitor*, 23 January; Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Federal Herald*, 8 February; and *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 17 April.

**President George Washington to Edward Newenham  
New York, 15 January 1790 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The government of the United States seems now to want very little more than the sanction of time to give it all that stability which can be expected from any human fabric—The people meet it with as much fondness as its most sanguine friends could anticipate, because they are convinced that it is founded in principles of national happiness—and the recent accession of the State of North Carolina (which has ratified the constitution of the United States with marks of peculiar good will) leaves the little State of Rhode Island by herself—how long she will be able to stand in that forlorn condition must depend upon the duration of that infatuation and evil policy by which she appears to have been guided. . . .

1. FC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington, Presidential Series*, IV, 585–86. Newenham (1732–1814) represented the county of Dublin in the Irish Parliament. Newenham and Washington had begun to correspond regularly in 1784. Washington described him as “a warm friend to America during her whole struggle” (Fitzpatrick, XXVII, 414, 416–18).

**New York Gazette of the United States, 9 January 1790<sup>1</sup>**

The accession of North-Carolina to the present confederation of the states, is an event that gives sincere pleasure to the friends of our country; especially as the majority is so large and respectable—and the joy excited on the occasion, may be heightened, when the public are assured, as they are from the best authority, that the minority have discovered similar sentiments to those which have done so much honor to the principles of patriotism, and good citizenship, discovered by the minorities in some of the other states.

1. Reprinted twelve times by 6 March: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (2), N.Y. (3), Pa. (2), Ga. (1).

**John Hamilton to President George Washington  
Edenton, N.C., 8 February 1790 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . If it can afford your Excellency a moments pleasure, allow me to assure you, that notwithstanding our late backwardness, a greater degree of affection for your person, and a stronger attachment to the

fœderal government, does not prevail in any part of America than in this State and in this little Corner in particular; and I am proud to say, that a few to the Westward excepted (whose minds have either been deluded by false Insinuation, captivated with the Harlot Charms of an inefficient government, or actuated by Motives of Ambition to be all important in the small Circle) the general body of the people are well affected to the government and ambitious in their zeal for its Support. Being an eye Witness at the late Convention & Assembly, I am fully persuaded of the truth & justice of my Observation.

Hope now elevates, joy brightens the Countenance, and with grateful Veneration to the Disposer of Event[s], we look forward with gladdened heart, to the efficacy of our new government, and behold in the Supreme Magistrate, a Father, a Freind, & Fellow-Citizen.

That Heaven may guide & protect you, is the sollicitous Wish & prayer of Sir Your most devoted & Obedt hu[mbl]e Sert

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington, Presidential Series*, V, 107–9. Hamilton was applying to President Washington to be appointed federal attorney for North Carolina. In recommending Hamilton for this position Governor Alexander Martin wrote: “Mr Hamilton I have but little Acquaintance with, but am informed he is a Man of Learning and Abilities, and has been in the Practice of the Law for some Time past with tolerable Success” (to President Washington, 27 February 1790, Washington Papers, DLC).

**Governor Alexander Martin to Connecticut Governor  
Samuel Huntington, 20 February 1790<sup>1</sup>**

In pursuance of a Resolution of the late Convention of this State, I do myself the Honour to transmit your Excellency herewith enclosed a Copy of said Resolution, together with several Amendments by them proposed to become part of the Constitution for the future Government of the united States. Be pleased, Sir, to communicate the same to the Honourable the Legislature of your State at their next Session. I have the Honour to be with very great Respect, your Excellency’s most obedient humble Servant

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHi. Docketed: “receiv’d March 23–90/answerd March 26–90/No. 1.”

**Connecticut Governor Samuel Huntington to Governor  
Alexander Martin, Norwich, Conn., 26 March 1790<sup>1</sup>**

I do myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 20th Ulto together with the resolution of the convention of the State of North Carolina and the several amendments by them proposed

to become part of the Constitution for the future Government of the United States.

Be Assured Sir that agreeable to your desire those papers will be communicated to the Legislature of this State at their next meeting  
With sentiments of great respect and esteem

1. RC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar. Huntington (1731–1796), a Norwich, Conn., lawyer, had been a judge of the Superior Court, 1773–85 (chief judge, 1784–85); a member of the Council, 1775–84; a delegate to Congress, 1776–81, 1783 (president, 1779–81; signed Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation); lieutenant governor, 1784–86; and governor, 1786–96.

**Thomas Jefferson: Recommendations for Federal Offices in  
North Carolina and the Southwestern Government, 7 June 1790<sup>1</sup>**

North Carolina

District judge.

Colo. Davie is recommended by Steele.

Hawkins sais he is their first law character.

Brown sais the same.

Samuel Spencer.

Steele sais he is a good man, one of the present judges, not remarkable for his abilities, but deserves well of his country.

Bloodworth sais Spencer desires the appointment, but sais nothing of him.

John Stokes.

Steele names him at his own request. he is a Virginian, was a Capt[ai]n in the late war, lost his right hand in Beaufort's defeat. practises law in S. Carolina with reputation & success; has been frequently of the legislature, was a member of the Convention, a federalist, is now a Colo[nel] of militia cavalry, & additional judge of the Supreme court.

Hawkins has understood he is a worthy man.

Ashe names him.

District Attorney.

Hamilton. named by Bloodworth.

Hawkins sais he is now under indictment for extortionate fees & will be silenced.

Hay. named by Bloodworth

Hawkins sais he is an Irishman who came over about the close of the war to see after some confiscated property. he has married in the country.

Arnet. named by Bloodworth.

Hawkins sais he is a N. Jersey man of good character.

Sitgreaves.

Hawkins sais he lives in Newbern where the courts are held. he is a gentlemanly man, & as good a lawyer as any there.

Ashe sais that Sitgreaves is not so brilliant in abilities, but of great rectitude of mind.

Bloodworth sais that Sitgreaves is a gentleman of character & represented the state in Congress in 1785.

South-Western government.

Governor.

Blount.

agreed to be the properest man by Williamson, Hawkins, Bloodworth & Ashe.

Secretary.

Howel Tatham.

Williamson sais he was formerly a Continental officer, is now a lawyer, a man of honor & respectable abilities.

Bloodworth names him, but sais nothing of him.

Brown thinks him illy informed, & more a man of dress than of business.

Robert Hayes.

Bloodworth only mentions his name.

Ashe sais he has been a representative several times, & an officer.

Smith.

Brown considers him as the ablest & best character there.

Hawkins considers him as a very good & able man. he was a leading character in the opposition to Sevier, and so would not be a very agreeable appointment to Sevier.

Judges.

David Campbell.

Brown thinks him not a well informed lawyer, but honest. he is now judge.

Bloodworth & Ashe name him only.

Williamson sais he is of fair character & respectable abilities

Howel Tatham.

see what is said of him above for Secretary.

Ashe proposes him as a Judge, and sais he is of great application, fair & unblemished character.

John Mc.Nairy. Ashe only names him.

Attorney.

Edward Jones.

Ashe proposes him. he has heard that he is a young gentleman of merit & enlightened understanding.

Bloodworth sais he is of good character. has been twice returned for the town of Wilmington.

1. MS, Washington Papers, DLC. Jefferson's draft copy is in the Jefferson Papers, DLC. (For slight differences between the two versions, see Boyd, XVI, 476-78).



## Biographical Gazetteer

The following sketches outline the political careers of the principal North Carolina leaders who participated in the process of ratifying the U.S. Constitution. When known, their political positions are indicated (1) on the Constitution in 1787–1789; and (2) in national politics after 1789.

BLOODWORTH, TIMOTHY (1736–1814)

Antifederalist/Republican

Born, New Hanover County, N.C. Not formally educated but practiced a variety of artisanal occupations before entering politics. Known for providing ordnance to the Continental Army, advocating harsh treatment for Loyalists, and being politically radical. Representative (New Hanover) state House of Commons, 1778–81, 1783–85, 1787, 1791–92, 1794–95 (speaker), 1801; and state Senate, 1788–89, N.C. delegate, Confederation Congress, 1786–87. A vigorous Antifederalist, Bloodworth was one of the state's leading opponents of ratification. Delegate (New Hanover), Hillsborough Convention (1788) and Fayetteville Convention (1789), where he opposed ratifying the Constitution. Unsuccessful candidate for U.S. Senate, 1789. Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1790–91. Lieutenant colonel of the Wilmington, N.C., militia, 1792–93, but resigned in protest over President Washington's proclamation of neutrality. Member, U.S. Senate, 1795–1801. Collector, Port of Wilmington, 1801–7, apparently forced to resign. He died still owing a large sum of money to the United States.

BLOUNT, JOHN GRAY (1752–1833)

Federalist/Federalist

Born, Bertie County, N.C. Surveyor, merchant, and land speculator. Established, with his brothers, a large mercantile enterprise and vast landholding. Never held a national office, but was a person of great political influence in North Carolina. Representative (Beaufort) state House of Commons, 1782–89, 1793–94 and state Senate, 1794–96; Appointed to Annapolis Convention but did not attend, 1786. Delegate (Beaufort), Hillsborough Convention (1788) and Fayetteville Convention (1789), where he supported ratifying the Constitution.

CALDWELL, DAVID (1725–1824)

Antifederalist/Republican

Born, Lancaster, Pa. Presbyterian minister and educator. Graduate, College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1761. Moved to Guilford County, N.C., as a missionary in 1765. Served as minister to several congregations in the Greensboro area until his death. Established his "log college" in 1767, which offered a classical education to leading young men of the South. Represented Guilford County in the Fifth Provincial Congress, 1776. Supported the Patriot cause during the Revolutionary War and had his property burned by British in retribution. Delegate (Guilford), Hillsborough Convention (1788), where he opposed ratification.

DAVIE, WILLIAM R. (1756–1820)

Federalist/Federalist

Born, County Cumberland, England. Lawyer and planter. Emigrated to America with his family in 1763. Graduate, College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1776. Revolutionary War officer. Wounded in the Battle of Stono Ferry (1779) and read law under Judge

Spruce Macay while convalescing. Lieutenant, N.C. militia, 1779; commissioned commissary-general under Nathanael Greene, 1781. N.C. delegate, Constitutional Convention (1787), where he gave five speeches, made two motions, and supported the Connecticut Compromise. In his sketches of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, William Pierce described Davie as “a Lawyer of some Eminence in his State. He is said to have a good classical education, and is a Gentleman of considerable literary talents. He was silent in the Convention, but his opinion was always respected” (Farrand, III, 95–96). Delegate (Town of Halifax), Hillsborough Convention (1788) and Fayetteville Convention (1789), where he supported ratification. In a speech in the Hillsborough Convention, William Porter said that he expected “very learned arguments, and powerful oratory will be displayed on this occasion. I expect that the great cannon from Halifax (meaning Mr. Davie) will discharge fire balls among us, but large batteries are often taken by small arms” (26 July 1788, RCS:N.C., 312). Partnered with James Iredell in getting the debates of the Hillsborough Convention published. Representative (Northampton) state House of Commons, 1784–85; representative (town of Halifax) state House of Commons, 1786–87, 1789, 1791–92, 1793–96, 1798 (left mid-term when elected governor). Influential in founding the University of North Carolina, 1789. In recommending Davie as a federal district judge, John Steele wrote that Davie was known as North Carolina’s “first law character” (to Thomas Jefferson, 7 June 1790, RCS:N.C., 813). N.C. governor, 1798–99. U.S. diplomatic envoy to France, 1799–1800.

IREDELL, JAMES (1751–1799)  
Federalist/Federalist

Born, Lewes, England. Lawyer and jurist. Emigrated to Edenton, N.C., 1768, where he read law with Samuel Johnston. Appointed deputy king’s attorney, 1773. Although sympathetic to colonists’ demands, he wrote several influential political tracts supporting a compromise with Britain. He sided with the revolutionaries after independence was officially declared and was disinherited by wealthy English relatives. Judge, N.C. Superior Court, 1777–1778; N.C. attorney general, 1779–82. Elected N.C. Council of State, 1788 (president). Revised and published code of state laws, 1788–89. Champion of ratification in North Carolina. In February and March 1788 he published responses to George Mason’s objections to the Constitution in newspapers and as a pamphlet under the pseudonym “Marcus.” Represented the town of Edenton in the Hillsborough Convention (1788), where he supported ratification. Partnered with William R. Davie in publishing the debates of the Hillsborough Convention. After the Fayetteville Convention ratified the Constitution, Charles Johnson wrote Iredell that no one else “contributed more to bring about the amazing change in the sentiments of the people” (23 November 1789, RCS:N.C., 785). Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court, 1790–99. In recommending Iredell as a Supreme Court justice, Hugh Williamson wrote that “He is in the first Practice as a Lawyer, his Abilities and learning are extensive and he seems generally to be measured as the Standard of Integrity; his private Life is amiable and without Reproach; his Diligence is great and I believe there is not a man in the State who does not think him entitled to any Degree of public Trust” (to President George Washington, 19 September 1789, Washington Papers, DLC). In commenting on Iredell serving on the northern federal circuit, David Leonard wrote that “He has won the affections of the Bar at Boston, by his urbanity and politeness, and every one here seems charmed with his civility & frankness” (to Benjamin Bourne, 8 November 1792). In reminiscing about Iredell years later, Chief Justice John Marshall wrote that he was well acquainted with Iredell “& always thought him a man of real talents” (to Archibald D. Murphey, 6 October 1827, Charles F. Hobson, ed., *The Papers of John Marshall* [Williamsburg, Va., 2002], XI, 54).

JOHNSTON, SAMUEL (1733–1816)  
Federalist/Federalist

Born, Dundee, Scotland. Lawyer and planter. In 1735, Johnston's family emigrated to North Carolina, where his paternal uncle was the royal governor. Johnston attended Yale, but did not graduate, finishing his education by reading law in Edenton, N.C. Appointed clerk of the court of Edenton, 1755. Represented Chowan or Edenton in colonial assemblies, 1759–75. Johnston was sympathetic to the cause of independence, but opposed radicalism. During the North Carolina War of Regulation (1765–71), he supported the "Bloody Riot Act" which sought the death penalty for rioters who refused to surrender themselves or answer a court summons. Appointed, N.C. Committee of Correspondence, 1773. He was a member of the first four Provincial Congresses, 1774–76, serving as president of the third and fourth. Somewhat aristocratic in bearing, he lost his bid for reelection in the Provincial Congress in 1776. Represented Chowan, N.C. Senate, 1779, 1783–84. He was a N.C. delegate to the Continental Congress, 1780 and in 1781 was chosen as president of the Confederation Congress but declined to serve because of ill-health. N.C. governor, 1787–89. While governor, he served as president of both the Hillsborough Convention (1788) and the Fayetteville Convention (1789), where he supported ratification. Member, U.S. Senate, 1789–1793. Judge, Superior Court, 1800–1803. He was James Iredell's brother-in-law.

JONES, WILLIE (1741–1801)  
Antifederalist

Born in Surry County, Va. Planter and businessman. His father, the land agent of Earl Granville, owned extensive properties. Educated at Eton in England. Returned to North Carolina estate (The Groves) in Halifax. Captain in the colonial forces that put down the N.C. Regulators, 1771. Represented Northampton in the N.C. Colonial Assembly, 1766–68, 1770–71. Elected from Halifax for all five Provincial Congresses, 1774–76. Member, Provincial Council, 1776. President, N.C. Council of Safety, 1776 (governor *ex officio* of independent North Carolina). Representative (Halifax) state House of Commons, 1777–80. N.C. delegate, Continental Congress, 1780. Represented Halifax in the state Senate, 1782–84, 1788. Elected to the state Council of State, 1781, 1787 (as president). Elected as N.C. delegate to the Constitutional Convention (1787), but declined to serve. Represented Halifax County at the Hillsborough Convention (1788) where he led Antifederalists in refusing to ratify the Constitution without previous amendments. Archibald Maclaine wrote to James Iredell that no one should trust Jones. He would "sacrifice any thing rather than give up the party which he has so scandalously patronized. The inflexibility of his pride will soar above every other consideration" (17 November 1788, RCS:N.C., 604). Sensing that opinion in North Carolina regarding the Constitution had shifted, Jones declined to campaign for election to the Fayetteville Convention (1789) and retired from politics. Helped to establish the University of North Carolina and served as a trustee. Helped to found and to locate the state capital in Raleigh.

MACLAINE, ARCHIBALD (1728–1790)  
Federalist/Federalist

Born, Banbridge, Ireland, to Scottish parents. Lawyer. Immigrated to Philadelphia in 1750 and to Wilmington, N.C., in 1752. After failing as a merchant, read law and became an attorney. Although conservative by nature, he identified with the Patriot cause during the Stamp Act crisis and served on the Committee of Safety for the Wilmington District, 1774–76. Represented the town of Wilmington and Brunswick County in the Provincial Congress, 1775, 1776 respectively. Represented Brunswick, in the state Senate, 1777, 1780–

82. Nominated to the Superior Court, 1779, but declined to be a candidate. Representative (Wilmington) state House of Commons, 1783–87. A staunch Federalist, he wrote in favor of ratifying the Constitution under the pseudonym of “Publicola.” He represented Wilmington at the Hillsborough Convention (1788) where he supported ratification. His bad health kept him from being a candidate for the Fayetteville Convention (1789). Throughout his life his career was hampered by his ardent defense of Tories’ rights—including those of his stepson George Hooper—and his irascible temper. In 1782 he was seriously injured by a mob at the Bladen County courthouse while representing a Tory. Not knowing that Maclaine had died a month earlier, Pierce Butler wrote George Hooper from Philadelphia hoping that Maclaine’s health would be restored. “Neither You nor North Carolina can well spare him” (23 January 1791) (DHFFC, XXI, 501).

PERSON, THOMAS (1733–1800)

Antifederalist/Republican

Born, Surry County, Va. Surveyor, planter, and philanthropist. Began his career as a surveyor for Earl Granville, amassing substantial land holdings. Known as a radical and democrat despite his immense wealth. Rose to prominence during the North Carolina War of Regulation (1765–71) as a secret adviser to the Regulators, for which he was arrested in 1770 but released for lack of evidence. An early proponent of individual liberty and independence, he was a delegate to all five Provincial Congresses, 1774–77, and served on the committee that wrote the Halifax Resolves (1776), the first formal call for independence. Member, Council of Safety, 1776. Served as brigadier general in the Hillsborough militia during the Revolutionary War. Loaned the state \$50,000 in 1781, which was never repaid. Represented Granville County nearly continuously in the Colonial Assembly and state House of Commons, 1769–97. Represented Granville County in state Senate, 1787, 1791–92. Represented Granville County at the Hillsborough Convention (1788) and the Fayetteville Convention (1789) where he led Antifederalists in opposing ratification. Hugh Williamson described Person as “the bell Weather of Opposition in this State, [who] continues indefatigable in his Endeavors to preserve the Spirit of Antifederalism in the State” (to James Madison, 24 May 1789, RCS:N.C., 647). Federalists burned him in effigy for alleged derogatory remarks made about George Washington. Unsuccessful candidate for U.S. Senate, 1789. Sponsored legislation chartering the University of North Carolina, 1789. Served on the university’s board of trustees, 1789–95, during which time he made crucial donations to allow it to continue operations. Person Hall is named in his honor.

SPAIGHT, RICHARD DOBBS (1758–1802)

Federalist/Republican

Born, New Bern, N.C. Planter. Great-great nephew of N.C. colonial Governor Arthur Dobbs. Orphaned as a child, he was sent to Great Britain for his education. Graduate, University of Glasgow. Returned to North Carolina, 1778. Served in the N.C. militia at the Battle of Camden (1780). Representative (New Bern) state House of Commons, 1779–83 and 1792. N.C. delegate, Confederation Congress, 1783–85. Representative (Craven County) state House of Commons, 1785–87 (speaker, 1785). N.C. delegate to the Constitutional Convention (1787), where he was recorded as making four speeches and thirteen motions. In his sketches of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, William Pierce described Spaight as “a worthy Man, of some abilities, and fortune. Without possessing a Genius to render him brilliant, he is able to discharge any public trust that his Country may repose in him” (Farrand, III, 95). Represented Craven County at the Hillsborough Convention (1788) where he spoke nearly a dozen times in favor of ratification. Ill-health forced Spaight to retire from public life, 1788–92. Returned briefly to

the House of Commons, 1792, but resigned his seat to serve as N.C. governor, 1792–95. Presidential elector, 1793. Member U.S. House of Representatives, 1798–1801. In the 1790s, his views aligned with the Jeffersonian Republicans. Represented Craven in the state Senate, 1801, and was reelected to serve in 1802. As a leader of the New Bern Republicans developed a feud with John Stanly, the leader of the New Bern Federalists. Stanly killed Spaight in a duel in September 1802 on the fourth exchange of fire.

SPENCER, SAMUEL (1734–1793)  
Antifederalist/Republican

Born, East Haddam, Conn. Jurist and planter. Graduate, College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1759. Appointed clerk of court for Anson County, 1765. Represented Anson in the colonial Assembly, 1766–68. Represented Anson in the Provincial Congress, 1775–76. Member, Provincial Council, 1775–76. Justice, N.C. Superior Court of Law and Equity, 1777–93. As justice, ruled on many important cases, including *Bayard v. Singleton* (26 November 1787) in which the court declared unconstitutional an act of the legislature. Represented Anson County in both the Hillsborough Convention (1788) and the Fayetteville Convention (1789), where he twice voted against ratification. He supported a stronger central government, but objected to the Constitution's lack of a bill of rights. Regarded as the most capable Antifederalist orator in the conventions. Spencer is reported to have died from an infection that resulted from being attacked by a wild turkey.

WILLIAMSON, HUGH (1735–1819)  
Federalist/Federalist

Born, Chester County, Pa. Surgeon, scientist, and scholar. Earned his B.A. (1757) and M.A. (1760) degrees from the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania). Although he studied to enter the ministry he was discouraged by theological controversies within the Presbyterian church and decided to enter the medical profession. He earned his M.D. from Utrecht University (1772). Returned to Pa. in 1768 to begin a private medical practice and engage in scientific pursuits. Witnessed the Boston Tea Party in 1773. In 1775 published *The Plea of the Colonies* (Evans 15713) warning of civil war if the British did not change their policies. In 1777 relocated to Edenton, N.C., to enter the mercantile trade and reestablish his medical practice. As surgeon general of N.C. during the Revolutionary War, he implemented sanitary practices that enhanced the health of soldiers. Treated both American and British wounded after the Battle of Camden (1780). Representative (Edenton and Chowan County) state House of Commons, 1782 and 1785, respectively. N.C. delegate, Confederation Congress, 1782–85, 1788. In early 1787 he published a pamphlet, *Letters from Sylvius* (Evans 20887), in which he criticized paper money and imported luxuries, and advocated import duties to encourage American manufactures. N.C. delegate, Constitutional Convention, 1787, where he served on five committees, delivered nearly eighty speeches (ninth highest) and thirty-five motions. He supported many key compromises that made ratification possible, including on the issue of slavery. On 8 November 1787 he gave a speech at a public meeting in Edenton supporting ratification, which was printed in the New York *Daily Advertiser* in February 1788 and reprinted throughout the country. In May 1788 he wrote a piece for the *New York Packet* rationalizing the Dobbs County riot. In 1788 he was appointed one of two North Carolina commissioners to settle the state's accounts with Congress. He petitioned the first federal Congress in August 1789 requesting a delay in the implementation of import and tonnage duties that treated North Carolina as a foreign country. Represented Tyrrell County in the Fayetteville Convention (1789) where he made the initial motion to adopt the Constitution and then voted for ratification. Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1790--

93, after which he retired from public life to New York City. He wrote the two-volume *History of North Carolina* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1812) during his retirement. In his sketches of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, William Pierce described Williamson as “a Gentleman of education and talents.—He enters freely into public debate from his close attention to most subjects, but he is no Orator.—There is a great degree of good humour and pleasantry in his character; and in his manners there is a strong trait of the Gentleman” (Farrand, III, 95). In the fall of 1788, French Consul General Louis-Guillaume Otto described Williamson as a “Physician and former professor of astronomy—bizarre to an excess, loves to harangue but speaks with sense. It is difficult to know his character well; it is even possible that he might not have any, but his lengthy service has given him much influence in Congress” (Farrand, III, 237–38). Williamson’s North Carolina colleague Archibald Maclaine had a different perspective, adversely commenting on Williamson’s election to the U.S. House of Representatives: “he has the undeserved honor to be a member. He would have made a good pettifogging attorney; but nature never intended him for a legislator” (to Edward Jones, 23 November 1790).

## **Appendix I**

### **North Carolina Declaration of Rights and Constitution, 1776<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Declaration of Rights**

I. That all political Power is vested in, and derived from, the People only.

II. That the People of this State ought to have the sole and exclusive Right of regulating the internal Government and Police thereof.

III. That no Man, or Set of Men, are intitled to exclusive or separate Emoluments or Privileges from the Community, but in Consideration of public Services.

IV. That the legislative, executive, and supreme judicial Powers of Government, ought to be for ever separate and distinct from each other.

V. That all Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by any Authority, without Consent of the Representatives of the People, is injurious to their Rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VI. That Elections of Members, to serve as Representatives in General Assembly, ought to be free.

VII. That in all criminal Prosecutions every Man has a Right to be informed of the Accusation against him, and to confront the Accusers and Witnesses with other Testimony, and shall not be compelled to give Evidence against himself.

VIII. That no Freeman shall be put to answer any criminal Charge but by Indictment, Presentment, or Impeachment.

IX. That no Freeman shall be convicted of any Crime, but by the unanimous Verdict of a Jury of good and lawful Men, in open Court, as heretofore used.

X. That excessive Bail should not be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual Punishments inflicted.

XI. That General Warrants, whereby any Officer or Messenger may be commanded to search suspected Places, without Evidence of the Fact committed, or to seize any Person or Persons not named, whose Offence is not particularly described and supported by Evidence, are dangerous to Liberty, and ought not to be granted.

XII. That no Freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his Freehold, Liberties, or Privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any Manner destroyed or deprived of his Life, Liberty, or Property, but by the Law of the Land.

XIII. That every Freeman restrained of his Liberty is intitled to a Remedy to inquire into the Lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same if unlawful, and that such Remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

XIV. That in all Controversies at Law respecting Property, the ancient Mode of Trial by Jury is one of the best Securities of the Rights of the People, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

XV. That the Freedom of the Press is one of the great Bulwarks of Liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained.

XVI. That the People of this State ought not to be taxed, or made subject to the Payment of any Impost or Duty, without the Consent of themselves, or their Representatives, in General Assembly, freely given.

XVII. That the People have a Right to bear Arms for the Defence of the State; and as standing Armies in Time of Peace are dangerous to Liberty, they ought not to be kept up; and that the Military should be kept under strict Subordination to, and governed by the civil Power.

XVIII. That the People have a Right to assemble together, to consult for their common Good, to instruct their Representatives, and to apply to the Legislature for Redress of Grievances.

XIX. That all Men have a natural and unalienable Right to worship Almighty God, according to the Dictates of their own Consciences.

XX. That for Redress of Grievances, and for amending and strengthening the Laws, Elections ought to be often held.

XXI. That a frequent Recurrence to fundamental Principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the Blessings of Liberty.

XXII. That no hereditary Emoluments, Privileges, or Honours, ought to be granted or conferred in this State.

XXIII. That Perpetuities and Monopolies are contrary to the Genius of a free State, and ought not to be allowed.

XXIV. That retrospective Laws punishing Facts committed before the Existence of such Laws, and by them only declared criminal, are oppressive, unjust, and incompatible with Liberty, wherefore no *ex post Facto* Law ought to be made.

XXV. The Property of the Soil in a free Government being one of the essential Rights of the collective Body of the People, it is necessary, in order to avoid future Disputes, that the Limits of the State should be ascertained with Precision; and as the former temporary Line between *North* and *South Carolina* was confirmed and extended by Commissioners, appointed by the Legislatures of the two States, agreeable to the Order of the late King *George II*, in Council, that Line, and that only, should be esteemed the Southern Boundary of this State, that is to say, Beginning on the Sea Side at a Cedar Stake, at or near the Mouth of *Little River* (being the Southern Extremity of *Brunswick County*),

and running from thence a North West Course through the Boundary House, which stands in thirty three Degrees fifty six Minutes to thirty five Degrees North Latitude, and from thence a West Course, so far as is mentioned in the Charter of King *Charles II* to the late Proprietors of *Carolina*: Therefore all the Territory, Seas, Waters, and Harbours, with their Appurtenances, lying between the Line above described and the Southern Line of the State of *Virginia*, which begins on the Sea Shore, in thirty six Degrees thirty Minutes North Latitude, and from thence runs West agreeable to the said Charter of King *Charles*, are the Right and Property of the People of this State, to be held by them in Sovereignty; any partial Line, without the Consent of the Legislature of this State, at any Time thereafter directed, or laid out in any wise notwithstanding. *Provided always*, That this Declaration of Right shall not prejudice any Nation or Nations of *Indians* from enjoying such hunting Grounds as may have been, or hereafter shall be secured to them, by any former or future Legislature of this State. *And provided also*, That it shall not be construed so as to prevent the Establishment of one or more Governments Westward of this State, by Consent of the Legislature. *And provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall affect the Titles or Possessions of Individuals, holding or claiming under the Laws heretofore in Force, or Grants heretofore made by the late King *George III*, or his Predecessors, or the late Lords Proprietors, or any of them.

### **Constitution (excerpts)**

. . . Whereas Allegiance and Protection are in their Nature reciprocal, and the one should of Right be refused, when the other is withdrawn; and whereas *George the Third*, King of *Great Britain*, and late Sovereign of the *British American Colonies*, hath not only withdrawn from them his Protection, but by an Act of the *British Legislature* declared the Inhabitants of these States out of the Protection of the *British Crown*, and all their Property found upon the High Seas liable to be seized and confiscated to the Uses mentioned in the said Act; and the said *George the Third* has also sent Fleets and Armies to prosecute a cruel War against them, for the Purpose of reducing the Inhabitants of the said Colonies to a State of abject Slavery; in Consequence whereof, all Government under the said King within the said Colonies hath ceased, and a total Dissolution of Government in many of them hath taken Place. And whereas the Continental Congress, having considered the Premises, and other previous Violations of the Rights of the good People of *America*, have therefore declared, that the Thirteen United Colonies are of Right wholly absolved from all Allegiance to the *British*

Crown, or any other foreign Jurisdiction whatsoever; and that the said Colonies now are, and for ever shall be, free and independent States: Wherefore, in our present State, in order to prevent Anarchy and Confusion, it becomes necessary that Government should be established in this State; therefore we, the Representatives of the Freemen of *North-Carolina*, chosen and assembled in Congress, for the express Purpose of framing a Constitution, under the Authority of the People, most conducive to their Happiness and Prosperity, do declare, that a Government for this State shall be established in Manner and Form following, *to wit*,

I. That the legislative Authority shall be vested in two distinct Branches, both dependent on the People, *to wit*, a Senate, and House of Commons.

II. That the Senate shall be composed of Representatives annually chosen by Ballot, one from each County in the State.

III. That the House of Commons shall be composed of Representatives annually chosen by Ballot, two for each County, and one for each of the Towns of *Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Salisbury, Hillsborough, and Halifax*.

IV. That the Senate and House of Commons, assembled for the Purpose of Legislation, shall be denominated the General Assembly.

V. That each Member of the Senate shall have usually resided in the County in which he is chosen for one Year immediately preceding his Election, and for the same Time shall have possessed, and continue to possess, in the County which he represents, not less than Three Hundred Acres of Land in Fee.

VI. That each Member of the House of Commons shall have usually resided in the County in which he is chosen for one Year immediately preceding his Election, and for six Months shall have possessed, and continue to possess, in the County which he represents, not less than One Hundred Acres of Land in Fee, or for the Term of his own Life.

VII. That all Freemen of the Age of Twenty One Years, who have been Inhabitants of any one County within the State twelve Months immediately preceding the Day of any Election, and possessed of a Freehold within the same County of Fifty Acres of Land for six Months next before, and at the Day of Election, shall be intitled to vote for a Member of the Senate.

VIII. That all Freemen of the age of Twenty One Years, who have been Inhabitants of any County within the State twelve Months immediately preceding the Day of any Election, and shall have paid Public Taxes, shall be intitled to vote for Members of the House of Commons for the County in which he resides. . . .

XI. That all Bills shall be read three Times in each House before they pass into Laws, and be signed by the Speaker of both Houses.

XII. That every Person who shall be chosen a Member of the Senate or House of Commons, or appointed to any Office or Place of Trust, before taking his Seat, or entering upon the Execution of his Office, shall take an Oath to the State, and all officers shall also take an Oath of Office.

XIII. That the General Assembly shall, by joint Ballot of both Houses, appoint Judges of the Supreme Courts of Law and Equity, Judges of Admiralty, and Attorney General, who shall be commissioned by the Governor, and hold their Offices during good Behaviour.

XIV. That the Senate and House of Commons shall have Power to appoint the Generals and Field Officers of the Militia, and all Officers of the regular Army of this State.

XV. That the Senate and House of Commons, jointly, at their first Meeting after each annual Election, shall by Ballot elect a Governor for one Year, who shall not be eligible to that Office longer than three Years in six successive Years. That no Person under 30 Years of Age, and who has not been a Resident in this State above 5 Years, and having in the State a Freehold in Lands and Tenements above the Value of One Thousand Pounds, shall be eligible as Governor.

XVI. That the Senate and House of Commons, jointly, at their first Meeting after each annual Election, shall by Ballot elect seven Persons to be a Council of State for one Year, who shall advise the Governor in the Execution of his Office, and that four Members shall be a *Quorum*; their Advice and Proceedings shall be entered in a Journal to be kept for that Purpose only, and signed by the Members present, to any Part of which any Member present may enter his Dissent. And such Journal shall be laid before the General Assembly, when called for by them. . . .

XVIII. The Governor, for the Time being, shall be Captain General, and Commander in Chief of the Militia; and in the Recess of the General Assembly, shall have Power, by and with the Advice of the Council of State, to embody the Militia for the Public Safety.

XIX. That the Governor, for the Time being, shall have Power to draw for, and apply, such Sums of Money as shall be voted by the General Assembly for the Contingencies of Government, and be accountable to them for the same. . . .

XXIII. That the Governor, and other Officers, offending against the State, by violating any Part of this Constitution, Mal-Administration, or Corruption, may be prosecuted on the Impeachment of the General Assembly, or Presentment of the Grand Jury of any Court of Supreme Jurisdiction in this State. . . .

XXXI. That no Clergyman or Preacher of the Gospel, of any Denomination, shall be capable of being a Member of either the Senate, House of Commons, or Council of State, while he continues in the Exercise of the Pastoral Function.

XXXII. That no Person who shall deny the Being of God, or the Truth of the Protestant Religion, or the divine Authority either of the Old or New Testament, or who shall hold religious Principles incompatible with the Freedom and Safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any Office, or Place of Trust or Profit, in the civil Department within this State. . . .

XXXIV. That there shall be no Establishment of any one religious Church or Denomination in this State in Preference to any other, neither shall any Person, on any Pretence whatsoever, be compelled to attend any Place of Worship contrary to his own Faith or Judgment, nor be obliged to pay for the Purchase of any Glebe, or the building of any House of Worship, or for the Maintenance of any Minister or Ministry, contrary to what he believes right, or has voluntarily and personally engaged to perform; but all Persons shall be at Liberty to exercise their own Mode of Worship. *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt Preachers of treasonable or seditious Discourses from legal Trial and Punishment. . . .

XXXVII. That the Delegates for this State to the Continental Congress, while necessary, shall be chosen annually by the General Assembly, by Ballot, but may be superseded in the mean Time in the same Manner; and no Person shall be elected to serve in that Capacity for more than three Years successively. . . .

XLII. That no Purchase of Lands shall be made of the *Indian* Natives, but on Behalf of the Public, by Authority of the General Assembly. . . .

XLIV. That the Declaration of Rights is hereby declared to be Part of the Constitution of this State, and ought never to be violated, on any Pretence whatsoever.

XLV. That any Member of either House of the General Assembly shall have Liberty to dissent from, and protest against, any Act or Resolve which he may think injurious to the Public, or any Individual, and have the Reasons of his Dissent entered on the Journals.

XLVI. That neither House of the General Assembly shall proceed upon Public Business, unless a Majority of all the Members of such House are actually present; and that upon a Motion made and seconded, the Yeas and Nays upon any Question shall be taken and entered on the Journals; and that the Journals of the Proceedings of both Houses of the General Assembly shall be printed and made public, immediately after their Adjournment.

This Constitution is not Intended to preclude the present Congress from making a temporary Provision for the well ordering of this State, until the General Assembly shall establish Government, agreeable to the Mode herein before described.

RICHARD CASWELL, President.

*December* the Eighteenth, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Six, read the third Time, and ratified in open Congress.

*By Order.*

JAMES GREEN, Jun. Sec'ry.

1. *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress of North-Carolina . . . Together with the Declaration of Rights, Constitution, & Ordinances of Congress* (New Bern, 1777) (Evans 15489), 3–9.

## Appendix II

### North Carolina Appoints Delegates to the Constitutional Convention 3–6 January 1787

On 3 January 1787 the North Carolina House of Commons received a message from Governor Richard Caswell forwarding several documents from the Confederation Congress and two letters from Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph that enclosed Virginia's 23 November 1786 act authorizing the election of delegates to a convention of the states proposed by the Annapolis Convention in September 1786 (CDR, 196–98). (The Annapolis Convention report proposed that a convention meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May 1787; Congress affirmed this plan on 21 February 1787, when it officially called a convention.) The House of Commons sent Governor Caswell's message and the accompanying documents to a committee and notified the state Senate accordingly. On 5 January, the committee reported a bill for the appointment of delegates to a convention of the states. The House of Commons and the Senate each read and concurred with the bill three times, which was required by the North Carolina constitution (1776). The House of Commons ordered the act engrossed, which was approved and signed on 6 January.

North Carolina's act for appointing delegates—or “deputies,” as they are referred to in the act—acknowledged the imperfections of the Articles of Confederation that led to the country's “truly critical and alarming situation.” Conditions in the country necessitated increased powers for Congress to enable it “to avert the dangers which threaten our existence as a free and independent people.”

The act authorized the General Assembly to appoint by joint ballot five convention delegates, any three of whom had authority to represent the state “to discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remove the defects of our fœderal union, and to procure the enlarged purposes which it was intended to effect.” The delegates were to report the convention's actions to the Assembly. The act also authorized the governor to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation. On 6 January, the Assembly nominated Governor Richard Caswell, Alexander Martin, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson, William R. Davie, Willie Jones, and Samuel Johnston as delegates. Caswell, Martin, Davie, Spaight, and Jones were elected. (When Caswell and Jones refused their appointments, Governor Caswell and the Council filled the vacancies, notifying Hugh Williamson and William Blount of their appointments on 14 March and 24 April, respectively.) On 6 January the Assembly approved resolutions allowing the convention delegates the same pay as that allowed the state's delegates to Congress.

For the complete proceedings of the North Carolina House of Commons and Senate related to the act authorizing the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the selection of delegates, and delegates' pay, see *The Journal of the House of Commons* . . . ([Newbern, 1787]) (Evans 20594), 67–68, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, and *The Journal of the Senate* . . . ([Newbern, 1787]) (Evans 20595), 66, 70, 71, 74, 75.

**Act Authorizing the Election of Delegates, 6 January 1787<sup>1</sup>**

*An Act for appointing Deputies from this state, to a convention proposed to be held in the city of Philadelphia in May next, for the purpose of revising the federal constitution.*

Whereas in the formation of the foederal compact which frames the bond of union of the American states, it was not possible in the infant state of our republics to devise a system which in the course of time and experience would not manifest imperfections that it would be necessary to reform. And whereas the limited powers which by the articles of confederation are vested in the Congress of the United States, have been found far inadequate to the enlarged purposes which they were intended to produce. And whereas Congress hath by repeated and most urgent representations, endeavoured to awaken this and the other states of the union, to a sense of the truly critical and alarming situation into which they must be unavoidably cast, unless measures are forthwith taken to enlarge the powers of Congress, that they may thereby be enabled to avert the dangers which threaten our existence as a free and independent people. And whereas this state hath been ever desirous to act upon the enlarged system of the general good of the United States, without bounding its views to the narrow and selfish object of partial convenience, and has been at all times ready to make every concession to the safety and happiness of the whole, which justice and sound policy could vindicate:

I. *Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the state of North-Carolina, and by the authority of the same,* That five Commissioners be appointed by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly, who, or any three of them, are hereby authorised as Deputies from this state, to meet at Philadelphia on the first day of May next, then and there to meet and confer with such Deputies as may be appointed by the other states for similar purposes, and with them to discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remove the defects of our foederal union, and to procure the enlarged purposes which it was intended to effect, and that they report such an act to the General Assembly of this state, as when agreed to by them, will effectually provide for the same.

II. *And be it further enacted,* That in case of the death or resignation of any of the said Deputies, or of their declining their appointments, his Excellency the Governor for the time being, is hereby authorised to supply such vacancies, and the Governor is required to transmit forthwith a copy of this act to the United States in Congress assembled, and to the executives of each of the states in the union.

1. *The Laws of North-Carolina . . .* (Fayetteville, [1787]) (Evans 20596), chapter III, 6.

**Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount**  
**Edenton, N.C., 19 March 1787 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

By the last Post I recd a Letter from the Govr. [Richard Caswell] dated at Newbern on the 14th in which he informs me that Willie Jones has declined Serving in the Convention to be held on May next at Philada. and that by the Power vested in him by the Act of Assembly he has nominated me as Successor to Mr Jones of which nomination the Council have unanimously approved. I have heard that there was some maneuvering and jugling at the Assembly respecting the Choice of Deputies to attend at the Convention. But not having met with any Member of that Body since acquainted with Business with whom I chose to converse very freely I remain perfectly in the Dark as to the mode of their playing the Game. Yesterday a gentleman told me transiently that he thought I was under some obligations to Col: Ashe & I presume that he may have been repaying me for some Kindnesses which he thought that I in conjunction with some other friends had designed for some of the Judges. Had there been Time I should have taken your Opinion on this Subject before I had given my Answer to the Governor, he desired to know whether he should forward a Commission & Draught on the Collector. I have written him that I shall accept the Commission Mr Jno Skinner who was with me on some Business when I recd the Letter and some other Gentlemen whose Sentiments I respect that I should not refuse the more especially as there is not any Commissioner formerly appointed from this District. . . .

1. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 270–71.

### Appendix III

## The Report of the Constitutional Convention

### 17 September 1787

#### The President of the Convention to the President of Congress<sup>1</sup>

In Convention, September 17, 1787.

SIR, We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most adviseable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident—Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the fœderal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all—Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. 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; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few

exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, We have the honor to be SIR, Your Excellency's most Obedient and humble servants.

George Washington, President.

By unanimous Order of the Convention,

HIS EXCELLENCY

The President of Congress.

1. Broadside, PCC, Item 122, Resolve Book of the Office of Foreign Affairs, 1785–89, tipped in between pages 98–99, DNA. The original letter has been lost. The above is transcribed from the official copy of the Convention Report, printed by John McLean and attested by Charles Thomson.

### **The Constitution of the United States<sup>1</sup>**

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

#### Article. I.

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after

the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section. 4. 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 chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding

any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

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, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## Article. II.

Section. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the

Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the

Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

## Article III.

Section. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

## Article. IV.

Section. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And

the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

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.

Section. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

#### Article. V.

The Congress, whenever 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; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand

eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

#### Article. VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers; both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

#### Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word, "the," being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erasure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

Attest William Jackson Secretary

Go: Washington—Presidt.  
and deputy from Virginia

Delaware	{ Geo: Read Gunning Bedford junr John Dickinson Richard Bassett Jaco: Broom	New Hampshire	{ John Langdon Nicholas Gilman
Maryland	{ James McHenry Dan of St Thos. Jenifer Danl Carroll	Massachusetts	{ Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King
Virginia	{ John Blair— James Madison Jr.	Connecticut	{ Wm: Saml. Johnson Roger Sherman
North Carolina	{ Wm. Blount Richd. Dobbs Spaight. Hu Williamson	New York . . .	Alexander Hamilton
South Carolina	{ J. Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler	New Jersey	{ Wil: Livingston David Brearley Wm. Paterson Jona: Dayton
Georgia	{ William Few Abr Baldwin	Pennsylvania	{ B Franklin Thomas Mifflin Robt Morris Geo. Clymer Thos. FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouv. Morris

1. Engrossed MS, RG 11, DNA.

**Resolutions of the Convention Recommending the Procedures for Ratification and for the Establishment of Government under the Constitution by the Confederation Congress<sup>1</sup>**

In Convention Monday September 17th. 1787.

Present The States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

RESOLVED, That the preceeding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the Opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the Recommendation of its Legislature, for their Assent and Ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the Same, should give Notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a Day on which Electors

should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a Day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the Time and Place for commencing Proceedings under this Constitution. That after such Publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected: That the Electors should meet on the Day fixed for the Election of the President, and should transmit their Votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the Time and Place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole Purpose of receiving, opening and counting the Votes for President; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without Delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the Unanimous Order of the Convention

W. Jackson Secretary.

Go: Washington Presidt.

1. Engrossed MS, RG 11, DNA.

## **Appendix IV**

### **Moravians in North Carolina**

### **Comment on the Constitution**

### **27 September 1787–1789**

The Moravian Church (officially the Unity of Brethren) is one of the oldest surviving Protestant denominations. Moravians regard themselves as descendants of Jan Hus, a leading figure of the Bohemian Reformation who was convicted of heresy by the Council of Constance and executed in 1415. Moravians date the beginning of their movement to 1457, when the Unity of Brethren gathered in Kunvald, a village about one hundred miles east of Prague. Following intense persecution during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Moravian Church experienced a renewal in eighteenth-century Saxony under the patronage of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a pietist nobleman who invited Moravians to take refuge and form a community on his estates. The community established at Herrnhut in Saxony became the center of the Moravian Church, which, at Zinzendorf's prompting, launched new missionary ventures, including those resulting in North America's Moravian communities.

Following the failure of Moravian missionary efforts in Georgia during the 1730s, the Moravian movement shifted north to Pennsylvania. The foundation of a Southern community eventually came to fruition in North Carolina, when, in 1752, a survey expedition identified a considerable tract of land, some one hundred thousand acres, on which to establish Moravian settlements. Named Wachovia after an estate of Zinzendorf, settlers began to arrive in 1753. Moravians first established a community at Bethabara and eventually settled Bethania, Salem (now Winston-Salem), Friedberg, and Friedland (all in present-day Forsyth County). Moravians' official neutrality during the Revolutionary War caused them to be viewed suspiciously by Patriots and Loyalists alike. For the most part, North Carolina maintained a hospitable stance toward the Moravians. The state exempted them from bearing arms and refused to confiscate their lands for disloyalty to the Patriot cause.

The documents in this appendix present a partial picture of Moravian attitudes toward the Constitution. While some documents merely report on happenings, such as Constitutional Convention delegate Alexander Martin's visit to Salem or other states' actions on or dispositions toward the Constitution, other documents are more revelatory and suggest that Moravians felt a stake in the outcome of the ratification debates, attending elections for members of North Carolina's two conventions, Hillsborough and Fayetteville, and celebrating North Carolina's ratification of the Constitution on 21 November 1789, which Moravians trusted would "benefit the land whose good we seek."

The following collection of documents comes from the fifth volume of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1941), which was edited by Adelaide L. Fries for the North Carolina Historical Commission.

**Salem Diary, 27 September 1787**

Mr. Alexander Martin, who has returned from the Convention [i.e., the Federal Convention in Philadelphia], was here on a visit with several other gentlemen.

**Salem Diary, 18 October 1787**

There was a conference of the masters and house-fathers, to whom there was presented an outline of the proposals of the Convention held in Philadelphia to prepare a Constitution for the country. The same was done the following week in Bethabara.

**Minutes of the Salem Boards, 18 October 1787 (excerpts)**

(House-fathers and masters conference.) . . .

Extracts were read from the proposed New Constitution prepared by the Convention in Philadelphia for the future government of the United States. Special pleasure was voiced over certain points.

**Minutes of the Salem Boards, 27 October 1787**

(Aelt[esten] Conf[erenz].) By virtue of his office [Major Joseph] Winston has sent a circular about in the county, calling a county meeting at Richmond on November 3rd, in order to learn the wish of the people regarding the new Constitution for North America.

**Minutes of the Salem Boards, 30 October 1787**

(Cong[regation] Council.) Mr. [Joseph] Winston, one of the Representatives from this county in the Assembly, has called a county meeting at Richmond. It will be well if two or more Brethren go from here, and the Brn. [Samuel] Stotz and [Johann] Reuz are willing to attend, and we will also write to Mr. Winston personally.

**Salem Diary, 3 November 1787**

The Brn. [Samuel] Stotz, [Johann] Reuz, and [Peter] Yarrell were appointed by Congregation Council to attend a meeting in Richmond, in which an assembly member from our county tried to learn the opinion of the people concerning the proposed new Constitution for the land. It appeared that nearly all were in favor of it.

**Salem Diary, 13 March 1788 (excerpt)**

. . . A meeting of the house-fathers and masters was held, the occasion being that we have seen in the newspapers that some of the northern states, also Georgia, have accepted the proposed new Constitution for this country, and that South Carolina was also in favor of it. Virginia, however, on which state the North of Carolina largely depends, proposed to alter certain sections of the new Constitution, which opinion later changed in favor of the new Constitution. As the election of five members from Surry County for the Convention of the State of North Carolina will soon be held, it was agreed to attend and to vote for those members of the Convention who have those principles.

**Salem Diary, 29 March 1788 (excerpt)**

Br. [Samuel] Stotz and several other Brethren went to the election in Richmond, some leaving yesterday and some today. The result showed that the upper counties of this state are opposed to the new Constitution of the land; on the contrary the lower counties are in favor of it. . . .

**Salem Diary, 16 August 1788**

During this week several of the Brethren went to Richmond, partly to attend court and partly to the election for members of the next Assembly. Colonel John Armstrong, Major William Lewis, and Br. George Hauser, Jr., of Bethania, were chosen. It was learned that since the convention in this State did not accept the new Constitution without conditions, many people have changed their minds and most of them now want it altered.

**Points to be Presented to the 1789 Synod in Herrnhut, Saxony,  
September 1788 (excerpt)**

. . . America is very different and few know of it personally, and for the most part have not seen it for a number of years, since which time the entire situation has changed, there is a new Constitution for the country, and the circumstances in our congregations have changed also. . . .

**Salem Diary, 22 August 1789**

Several of our Brethren went to Richmond to the election of members of Assembly from this county and delegates to the convention.

Joseph Winston was elected senator and Absalom Bostick and [Gideon] Edwards were chosen commoners; these three and Lovel and Br. George Hauser, Jr., were elected for the convention.

**Salem Diary, 26 November 1789**

We heard today that our convention ratified the Constitution of the land on the 20th of this month.

**To the Unity's Vorsteher Collegium, Salem, November 1789 (excerpt)**

. . . The next Assembly will have many members, for in addition to those usually sent there are two for each county, and they will hold a convention which will finally determine whether North Carolina will ratify the Constitution of the United States. It looks as though there would be less opposition this time. . . .

**Memorabilia of the Congregations in Wachovia, 1789 (excerpt)**

. . . We note with approval the ratification by our State of the new Constitution, for we think it will benefit the land whose good we seek as a people of God. . . .

**Appendix V**  
**North Carolina Population, 1790<sup>1</sup>**

By County and Town

	Free Inhabitants	Slaves	Total
Anson	4,305	828	5,133
Beaufort	3,830	1,632	5,462
Bertie	7,465	5,141	12,606
Bladen	3,408	1,676	5,084
Brunswick	1,560	1,511	3,071
Burke	7,515	595	8,110
Camden	2,993	1,040	4,033
Carteret	3,019	713	3,732
Caswell	7,360	2,736	10,096
Chatham	7,589	1,632	9,221
Chowan	1,789	1,647	3,436
Craven ( <i>including</i> Newbern Town)	6,811	3,658	10,469
Cumberland	5,469	1,666	7,135
Currituck	4,116	1,103	5,219
Dobbs	4,978	1,915	6,893
Duplin	4,279	1,383	5,662
Edenton Town	634	941	1,575
Edgecombe	7,103	3,152	10,255
Fayetteville Town	1,021	515	1,536
Franklin	4,842	2,717	7,559
Gates	3,173	2,219	5,392
Granville	6,819	4,163	10,982
Guilford	6,675	516	7,191
Halifax ( <i>including</i> Halifax Town)	7,459	6,506	13,965
Hertford	3,386	2,442	5,828
Hyde	3,072	1,048	4,120
Iredell	4,577	858	5,435
Johnston	4,305	1,329	5,634
Jones	3,141	1,681	4,822
Lincoln	8,384	935	9,319
Martin	4,191	1,889	6,080
Mecklenburg	9,792	1,603	11,395
Montgomery	3,891	834	4,725
Moore	3,399	371	3,770

	Free Inhabitants	Slaves	Total
Nash	5,384	2,009	7,393
New Hanover ( <i>including</i> Wilmington Town)	3,093	3,738	6,831
Northampton	5,572	4,409	9,981
Onslow	3,639	1,748	5,387 <sup>2</sup>
Orange	10,156	2,060	12,216
Pasquotank	3,874	1,623	5,497
Perquimans	3,562	1,878	5,440
Pitt	5,908	2,367	8,275
Randolph	6,824	452	7,276
Richmond	4,472	583	5,055
Robeson	4,793	533	5,326
Rockingham	5,087	1,100	6,187
Rowan ( <i>including</i> Salisbury Town)	14,086	1,742	15,828
Rutherford	7,202	609	7,811
Sampson	4,882	1,183	6,065
Stokes	7,741	787	8,528
Surry	6,493	698	7,191
Tyrrell	3,578	1,166	4,744
Wake	7,729	2,463	10,192
Warren	4,677	4,720	9,397
Wayne	4,576	1,557	6,133
Wilkes	7,607	549	8,156
Total <sup>3</sup>	293,285	100,569	393,854

1. The population figures are taken from *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790: North Carolina* (Washington, D.C., 1908), 8–10.

2. The total number of free inhabitants and slaves for Onslow County is recorded at 3,639 in the U.S. Census of 1790 (see page 10). That total is not an accurate sum of the individual figures for all free inhabitants and slaves within the county, but rather only the total of free inhabitants. This population appendix correctly records the total of free inhabitants and slaves at 5,387.

3. The totals in this population appendix represent the sum of the figures in each of the columns represented in this table. The U.S. Census of 1790 records slightly different state totals for North Carolina: 293,179 (free inhabitants), 100,572 (slaves), 393,751 (total). (See page 8.)

# North Carolina Cumulative Index

## Explanatory Note

People appearing in this cumulative index are identified in parentheses in one of two ways: (1) people from locations beyond North Carolina are identified by their state or country of residence, while (2) North Carolinians are identified by their county or town of residence. North Carolina convention delegates are further identified, also in parentheses immediately following their place of residence, by their vote on ratification in the Hillsborough Convention on 2 August 1788 and/or their vote in the Fayetteville Convention on 21 November 1789. Delegates supporting ratification of the Constitution are marked with a "Y" and those opposing ratification with an "N." Delegates who served in both conventions have designations showing how they voted in both conventions, i.e., "N-N," "N-F," or "F-F." Absent delegates are marked with an "A," while those attending but not voting are marked with an "NV." Delegates whose seats were vacated by the recommendation of the Hillsborough Convention's election committee's report are marked with a "V."

To aid the reader, compilations of similar items have been grouped together under a common main entry in this cumulative index. Such compilations are listed below. In addition to their being grouped under "Pseudonyms," pseudonymous items printed in these two North Carolina volumes are indexed individually. When known, the author's name is placed in parentheses after the pseudonym. Some entries in this cumulative 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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Classical Antiquity	Pseudonyms
Governments, Ancient and Modern	Ratification, Prospects for

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God	Public Opinion on Constitution
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