THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification of the Constitution by the States

CONNECTICUT

Supplemental Documents

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Introduction

The supplemental documents are intended to provide a fuller documentation and understanding of the debate over the ratification of the Constitution in Connecticut than was possible in the printed volume. This supplement contains official documents, letters, and newspaper items.

Except for some photographic reproductions (facsimiles), the documents consist mostly of literal transcripts. The documents are arranged chronologically except for those in the grouping on the Connecticut General Assembly, 11 October–1 November 1787.

Facsimiles

This Supplement contains 11 facsimiles totaling 78 individual pages. These facsimiles provide a visual representation of original documents, some of which were difficult or impossible to transcribe.

References to these facsimiles (including the document number, title, and footnotes) appear in the text portion of this Supplement with an indication to visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection's website (https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution) to view the documents themselves. Facsimiles for documents 27 and 47 can be found on pages 39–41 and 69, respectively.

A list of facsimiles can be found at the end of the Table of Contents.

Appendix

Many newspaper items and pamphlets in the ratification debate had a regional or national circulation. These items are printed in *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private* (CC). The Appendix in this volume lists these *Commentaries* items that were printed or reprinted in Connecticut.

Symbols

Manuscripts

FC	File Copy
MS	Manuscript
RC	Recipient's Copy
RG	Record Group
Tr	Translation

Short Titles

Evans	Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (12 vols., Chicago, 1903–1934).

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."
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:Conn. 2." "Mfm" is also used in the running headers as an aide to the reader, and are especially helpful in multipage documents.

Documents

1. Charter of Connecticut, 1662[1]

♦ *To view this document, see Evans 1952, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut, in America* (New London, 1784).

2. An Act containing an Abstract and Declaration of the Rights and Privileges of the People of this State, and securing the same.[1]

The People of this State, being by the Providence of God, free and independent, have the sole and exclusive Right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State; and having from their Ancestors derived a free and excellent Constitution of Government, whereby the Legislature depends on the free and annual Election of the People, they have the best Security for the Preservation of their civil and religious Rights and Liberties. And forasmuch as the free Fruition of such Liberties and Privileges as Humanity, Civility and Christianity call for, as is due to every Man in his Place and Proportion, without Impeachment and Infringement, hath ever been, and will be the Tranquility and Stability of Churches and Commonwealths; and the denial thereof, the Disturbance, if not the Ruin of both.

Be it Enacted and Declared by the Governor, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the ancient Form of Civil Government, contained in the Charter from *Charles* the Second, King of *England,* and adopted by the People of this State, shall be and remain the Civil Constitution of this State, under the sole Authority of the People thereof, independent of any King or Prince whatever. And that this Republic is, and shall forever be and remain, a free, sovereign and independent State, by the Name of the STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

And be it further Enacted and Declared by the Authority aforesaid, That no Man's Life shall be taken away: No Man's Honor or good Name shall be stained: No Man's Person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished: No Man shall be deprived of his Wife or Children: No Man's Goods or Estate shall be taken away from him, nor any ways indamaged under the colour of Law, or countenance of Authority; unless clearly warranted by the Laws of this State.

That all the free Inhabitants of this or any other of the United States of *America,* and Foreigners in Amity with this State, shall enjoy the same Justice and Law within this State, which is general for the State, in all Cases, proper for the Cognizance of the Civil Authority and Courts of Judicature within the same, and that without Partiality or Delay.

And that no Man's Person shall be restrained, or imprisoned, by any Authority whatsoever, before the Law hath sentenced him thereunto, if he can and will give sufficient Security, Bail, or Mainprize for his Appearance and good Behaviour in the mean Time, unless it be for Capital Crimes, Contempt in open Court, or in such Cases wherein some express Law doth allow of, or order the same.

1. *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut, in America* (Hartford, 1786) (Evans 19575), 1–2.

3. Connecticut Courant, 20 November 1786[1]

POLITICAL PARAGRAPHS.

CONNECTICUT.

At the close of the late war, this state was divided into two parties—*Commutation* and *Non-commutation*. Great numbers of people were angry with Congress, for promising some extra pay to officers and soldiers; but when they found that the five years pay, even in cash, would not make good the original contract with the army, and especially when they found that the securities were likely to depreciate, the murmurs ceased—the army was cheated and the people satisfied.

But these promises are yet to be fulfiled. The debt must be paid. The securities in some states are all funded: and they are many of them in the hands of people who have the power to compel us to pay them—in the hands of foreign nations, who are not accustomed to be shuffled out of their debts by such tricks as we employ in cheating one another. The debt must be paid; but will western lands pay it? They will sink a great part of it when they are properly managed. But will they sell for three shillings per acre? Can they be surveyed for twenty-seven dollars per township? Will the state securities alone be paid for them? Had Continental as well [as] State Securities been made receivable for the lands, at a lower price, they would be sold at once—but that insect policy—that selfish narrow system of measures which now disgrace this state, will defeat its own ends and continue the load of debt which we are foolishly bearing on our shoulders. We are like Issachar of old—a strong ass bowing down between two burthens. The leaders of the majority and their adherents may pique themselves now on their political skill, but a few years experience will bury them in ridicule and detestation.

The *Cincinnati* are a great bugbear to some people. Well then, let them alone, and they will lose their importance and their formidableness. The bluster about a society of this kind, always calls to my mind an old woman, who saw a gun-barrell, without lock or stock. "Do'nt touch it, Billy," says the good old Lady, "for it may go off." "But it is not loaded," replies Billy, "No matter," answers this cautious woman; "but it may go off and hurt you." "Why Mamma," cries Billy, "there is no lock on it." "Aye, aye," says madam, "but it may go off, I tell you, for all that."

What shall we say about diminishing the representation of this State? Why it is opposed upon the same principles as towns and counties are annually multiplied. Every man wants to be a judge, a justice, a sheriff, a deputy, or something else which will bring him a little money, or what is better, a little authority. The

people in this state pay annually about twenty thousand pounds to superfluous officers; and what is worse, their business is not half so well done, as it would be by fewer men. Every man knows that one man can tell the minds of a town as well as two, and that when no town can send more than one deputy, the representation is just as equal—and that half the number will do the business in half the time and save three fourths of the expence, which will be several thousand dollars. The people know this and will give instructions accordingly.

We are told that our forefathers came to this howling wilderness to enjoy liberty—well let us then have liberty. Let us not be paying a hundred men for two months service every year, when half the number will do our business better. Mr. H. says that our good forefathers thought not two members for a town too many; but they did not foresee that their descendants would split half the towns in the state and multiply representatives without number. They indeed came to a howling wilderness; but there has been a material change. We now live in a *howling state*—our forests dont howl with wolves, so much as formerly; but our settlements abound with *howlers*. There is a species of howlers who howl for fear of losing their influence and opportunities of putting the peoples money in their pockets. We have those who howl for fear their honest debts will be paid. Some in the legislature, think their own pockets and the peoples liberty the same thing—they think when their seats are lost, the peoples liberty is lost—they therefore howl most grievously about liberty. But the people know this is not the truth, and sooner or later they will howl such howlers into silent oblivion.

But *jealousy*, thou child of hell and father of all mischief, what shall we say to thee?—There are two parties in the state—jealous of each other; *federal men and antifederal*. The federal men suppose the anti-federal to be knaves, designing artful demagogues. The anti-federal suppose the federal to be ambitious tyrannical men, who are aiming at power and office at the expence of people at large.

Particular men, in these classes, may possibly deserve these suspicions; but in general they are ill founded surmises. I am acquainted with both and know that most men in both classes are very honest well meaning men, who are aiming at what they suppose to be the public good. But the anti-federal men think as they have been bred—their education has been rather indifferent—they have been accustomed to think on the small scale—they can think on no other, without an enlargement of their mind. Besides most of them live remote from the best opportunities of information, the knowledge they acquire is late, and is longer in producing conviction in their minds, than in more enlarged minds. Most people wish to do right; when they know what is best they will always do it. Were the anti-federal men in this state to travel, to sit in Congress, to converse with men who understand foreign policy, and with foreign ministers, in short, were they to view this state and the continent in their true connection with other nations, they would think like the federal men and join in their measures. The system of measures now pursuing by the majority of the legislature would, if carried through, inevitably bring disgrace, poverty and ruin upon this state—and at any rate will produce embarrassments innumerable, before people are so enlightened as to change men and measures. I wish parties would be charitable.

The anti-federal men are not generally rogues—the federal men are not generally ambitious—I believe they are equally honest. But people in general are too ignorant to manage affairs which require great reading and an extensive knowledge of foreign nations. This is the misfortune of republican governments. For my own part, I confess, I was once as strong a republican as any man in America. *Now,* a republican is among the last kinds of governments I should choose. I should infinitely prefer a limited monarchy, for I would sooner be subject to the caprice of one man, than to the ignorance and passions of a multitude. I believe men as individuals enjoy more security, more peace and more *real liberty* under a limited monarch, take princes as they rise, than in republics, where people sometimes get furious and make laws destructive of all peace and liberty. Some of the late laws of Rhode-Island are greater stretches of tyranny than have been tolerated in the despotic governments of Europe; and life and property are less secure in Massachusetts, than in the Turkish dominions. Yet I wish not for a change of government—I wish the people to be better informed—I wish to see all jealousy subside, that men who understand true policy best may have their proper share of influence. Our states cannot be well governed, till our old influential characters acquire confidence and authority.

1. Noah Webster was the author of this item. See Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, comp. and Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., ed., *A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster* (New York, 1958), 440.

4. Connecticut Journal, 14 March 1787[1]

Mess'rs Printers, I have lately seen six questions in the New-Haven *Gazette,* which a correspondent of the publishers of that paper wishes that Congress would propose to the several legislatures of the states, and *demand a categorical answer* to each. In the *rear* of his questions he subjoins *two positions,* which he says are as true as the *sacred oracles.* As the good gentleman seems impatient for *categorical answers* to his questions, I fear he cannot be prevailed upon to wait the stated sessions of our assembly—when doubtless they will either *adopt* or *reject* the seven new articles, proposed by Congress to be annexed to our present articles of confederation, which will in effect answer his six questions. But if nothing can satisfy him but *categorical answers* to his six questions, as I pretty well understand the sentiments of the New-England states, to quiet his *anxiety* till the stated sessions of our assembly, I will undertake to answer his questions, and if I should fail in any one point, I hope he will acknowledge at least I manifest a benevolent disposition to quiet his mind, which seems under great perturbation. I therefore most earnestly intreat you, to suffer me, thro' the channel of your paper, to calm the spirits of this distressed correspondent of the publishers of the *New-Haven Gazette,* which may perhaps gratify him, and serve the public.

Yours, A. B.

Q. I. Did you not ratify and confirm the articles of confederation?

Ans. We adopted the articles which Congress drew up, and presented to the states for their approbation, and mean religiously to adhere to them, until others

are presented to us by Congress, and adopted by the states, with the same solemnity, our present articles were adopted.

Q. II. Do you consider the state you govern, a member of the confederacy?

Ans. Yes, and we glory in our union.

Q. III. Have you adhered to the articles of confederacy in every instance?

Ans. We know of no one article we have ever violated.

Q. IV. Will you regularly supply your contingent of money for the federal treasury?

Ans. Our QUOTA of the public debt has never as yet been assigned according to the articles of our federal union, nor has the public ever been made acquainted with the civil list or annual expences of the federal government, when that is done to satisfaction, each state will fund their several quotas of the public debt, and chearfully make provision to defray the expences of the civil list, pay the annual interest of our domestic debt in *Public Securities,* and tax the *consumption* of foreign luxuries in *silver* and *gold,* to pay the interest of our foreign debt, in such a manner, as will oblige the *rich,* the *luxurious,* and their *apish* followers to become *frugal* and *industrious,* by which we hope soon to be able with the sale of the crown lands ceeded by treaty (without depriving the natives of their just claim to lands they never sold) to pay the principal—But should our debt be found to have encreased by the annual interest of *commutation securities* with which we are charged as a subsidy to our army, and *speculators* in public securities, who have purchased them at a depreciated value, that we can no longer pay the annual interest, we will make as open and frank a confession, as the Egyptians did to the prime minister of *Egypt*; as our situation is similar, we may do it in the same words. *We will not hide it from* OUR LORDS, *how that our public securities and our money are all spent.* OUR LORDS *also have our herds of cattle, there is not ought left in the sight of* OUR LORDS, *but* OUR BODIES *and our* LANDS. *So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharoah, for the Egyptians sold every man his field. And the people he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt even unto the other end thereof. Only the lands of the* PRIESTS *he bought not, they did eat their portion which Pharoah gave them, wherefore sold they not their lands.* Doubtless Pharoah had received great advantages from them in the government of his kingdom, for which he was not ungrateful.

Q. V. Will you furnish Congress with power sufficient to conduct the affairs of the whole union,—to render a system uniform throughout the confederacy, and COMPEL the execution of those measures?

Ans. Congress is already furnished with all the powers they saw necessary when they drew the articles of our federal union, and we have solemnly pledged our faith to obey, and when they make known what further powers are necessary to COMPEL the states to submit to their *execution* of them, the states no doubt will be prepared to refuse or comply, as they judge best and reasonable.

Q. VI. Will you sacrifice no part of the sovereignty of your state to the general welfare? Should Congress disperse and be annihilated, will you preserve an entire sovereignty within yourselves, unconnected with your sister states—or will you create a different kind of government over the continent?

Ans. This three-fold question must be answered in three separate divisions.

1st. Until the states know what part of their sovereignty Congress may demand to be *sacrificed* to *appease* this *correspondent,* it is impossible to answer with propriety.

2dly. It is altogether improbable Congress will disperse, until they have assigned the QUOTA of the public debt agreeable to the articles of our federal union, or their refusing to fund the quota and pay the annual interest.

3dly. I presume the New-England states have no desire to be separated from their sister states, and create a different kind of government than that fixed by the articles of our federal union, will carefully guard against *monarchy,* and sacrifice their lives rather than submit to be governed by *lords* and *nobles,* that being the worst tyranny that ever existed; for it is easier to take off one head, than the heads of a thousand.

I remember a saying of *Rambald* recited by *Bishop Burnet, "that he did not imagine Almighty God intended the greater part of mankind should come into the world with saddles upon their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and a few ready booted and spurred to ride them to death."* This CORRESPONDENT therefore may be assured, the New-England states will endeavour to support a republican form of government against every combination that may be formed to subvert it, and will with great reluctance consent to pay an annual revenue to Congress as they tell us, they not only have an absolute power to determine the quantum of it, but to appropriate it as they please, and of the exorbitancy of their demands the states have no liberty to judge. Wherefore, if they have not thus promised they will be very careful how they bind themselves, if that revenue is to be collected by *military execution*—but until they have assigned to each state their quota, and they have refused to fund the debt, and pay the interest, I think it must be below the dignity of Congress to devise compulsory measures to enforce what never has been refused. This correspondent then concludes his six questions with two positions, which he declares to be as true as the *sacred oracles.*

1st. That the confederacy cannot long exist, and secure the welfare of all the states, without a *compulsory* power over the whole, in affairs that respect the whole.

2dly. Thirteen or more independent sovereignties in the neighbourhood of each other, with clashing interests and bounds disputed, cannot exist without a *military force.* We must have one *sovereignty* or *thirteen,* each supported by an ARMY. Then begs to know the minds of the Continent, for at present (he says) we are trifling with all government.

As an individual I have given him my opinion, what are the prevailing sentiments of the four New-England states, and would beg his patience to wait for the *categorical answer* of the states to his six questions, which will virtually be answered by the states adopting or rejecting the seven new articles, which Congress have proposed to be annexed to the thirteen, which we have already adopted.

I think my country can be at no loss to determine to what ORDER of men this correspondent belongs, nor what his *profession,* as he seems desirous of handling the *sword,* would have him remember one *position,* in the *sacred oracles,* spoken by the Divine Author of our holy religion to one of his disciples; *"Put up thy sword into its place,"* and wish in future he would manifest a higher opinion of

the truth of the *sacred oracles,* or not to set so high a value on his own *positions,* which do in reality betray great ignorance, both of sacred and profane history. I would beg leave to ask him how long *England* was governed without a *standing army,* where almost every county claimed separate rights and privileges? Has it not ever since been complained of by the best *whigs,* and supported tyranny and oppression ever since its establishment?

1. The six questions answered in this article were posed in the *New Haven Gazette* of 7 December 1786.

5. A Plain Man
Connecticut Courant, 19 March 1787[1]

(The Printers, to avoid the charge of partiality with which they are threatened, have inserted the following curious performance, *verbatim et literatim* as they found it in the manuscript, which had been transmitted to them by the author.)

Misters PRINTORS,

I Desir to se you manefest your impartiality by printing equaly alike for boath sids, All the larnin and wit seems now to be printed for folks who are in faver of fedral goverment—thay sai tis all on there sid—but I mean to sho um the conterary—For my part I acknoledge bouldly I am wun of what they cal the untifedral parte or faxion that is Ime a strong admirrer of General W——, Mr. W—— and Mr. H——, tho I no these wurthe gentlemen have ben most abominably nicnamed and abused—tis, for that verry reson and becaise I think um good poor mens politicioners that Ime detarmined to stan bye um. To be rite doune plain (Mistors Printors) thay dont intend to pai the public det: and a peny saived is good as a peny arned, so I tel my nabors these are the rite men for us and so we'd better to voat for um at nectx proxying.

I expect nothin elce but to be villinafyed by the wicked witts and varsifiers for givin my sentiments so onestly on men and mesurs.—But Ime a freedman—But Ide have um for to no Ive a good conshens as voyd of Fence as ane wun off um, and that I shudnt cair a bras no nor a Copper fardin (be it nown too um!) if thayd put this present compussissiun into *rim.* I concaite twud run the better for it: Its tru this is the furst tim Ive apeard in printe (there is alwais a furst tim you no) but, an if I gess rite it wont be the laist. For I feal my blud bile whensumever I think how scruvily we're used. Its becaise the men off talons and abellites, on our sid, wont step fourth and shough themselfs—I hop now Ive set um the ecsample thay wont ane more be bakeword—tho I considre our schituation, at this present writing, verry critticle and verry mutch lik men in a beleaguered Tound, or in a fortyfyed Citedel that is beseiged; no sunner can wun shough his faice over the pariput than all the wicked witts and varsifiers let fly there poizened Shifts and envinumed Aroughs directly at him. These are the Rifflemen who alwais lye in ambus, while the Cinshinnatures, with Mr. S. H. P. at there hed, lik hevvy Infanterry cum bouldly on to the mane attak.

Alias! I fere thayve murdered sum off our best men. Its not rite or pollitick perhapst to call our frinds by there rele names in New Pappers, but we can with-

ought harm describ those off um who are ded to all intents and porpusses, unles the freedmen of Conicticot will stan fourth and help um at nectx lexion. viz. William Wimble I count as a ded man. General Ronghead I dont esteme mutch better. And as for Copper, tho hes nation tuff to digh, yet thay sai he has taulked so mutch in faver of Chais and mobs (sinse they grew unpoplar with us) that the peple of his own Tound are quite out with him and wont put him inn debuty agen.

Now my intenshion of inditing this pease for to publish, was, not hugger-muggerly in the dark, butt openlye in dailite to warn our frinds of aproching daneger—fourwarned!—fourarmed!—and to mustre all our strenth on the seccund Munda in Aprell. That is the dai, "the grate, the important dai, big with the fat of Wimble and Conicticot."

frinds and Feller Cittizens

I wil conclud with wun wurd of advise to you, concarning makeing choise of propper parsons to du your bissnes for you at the Genral Assembly. Fredum of lexion is a grate and glorous thing—its the Bullswork and Pollaidum off our Constiteushion. Dont be influnced by anebodies taulking and nonsence. Chuse for youselfs. Chuse then without feaver or or afaction men of simplissity, not men of skrewdnes and larnin: chuse men, who are sumwhat in det themselfs, that thai mai not be two strenous in having laus mad or executed for collexion of dets; nothin puts a poore onest man so mutch out off reddy munny, as being sewed and having sherrifs after him: Chuse sucth men as will make a bank of papper munny, big enuff to pai all our dets, which will sink itself (that will be so mutch clere gain to the state)—Chuse men, as the New-Yorkers du, whose charite and pollicy begins and ends at hum, who wil take cair off their own goverment and let every thing elce go to distraxion. Chuse men who wont comply with the plagy requisishions of Congress. What signifies givin all our munny to Congress? What nede has congress of munny in time of pease? What nede have we off Congress now the war is over?—I no as well as anebody what are the sentimens of our frinds on these pints, and mai take anuther opertunity to relait um; so no more at pressent from

Sharon in Conecticot, March 8th, 1787.

1. Reprinted: *New Haven Gazette,* 22 March 1787.

6. The Republican VI
Connecticut Courant, 19 March 1787

In the beginning of the late war, when we were animated with the noble principles of liberty and patriotism, we had a sense of the importance of our national union. Although this union has been the means of preserving us from political slavery, and of securing to us the most valuable rights of human nature; yet from an inconstancy, which shews the weakness of human nature, our national union seems now to be quite a matter of indifference. Some, whom I may, without unjust reproach, call short-sighted and narrow-minded politicians, suppose it would be better for us to be disunited from our sister states. But a little impartial enquiry and consideration must convince us that our national union

is of the greatest importance to us—for the prevention of civil war—for national defence—and for the success of our commerce.

The union is the only means of securing us from the dangers of intestine wars among the states. Among neighbouring states, there always are interfering claims and jarring interests. For settling these, the confederation points out a peaceable and equitable method. But take away the confederation, let the states be disunited, and there is no other way for settling disputes, but by the dangers and calamities of civil war. For the decision of disputes, war is the last resort of states and nations which own no common judge. Great kingdoms, situated in the neighbourhood of each other, have frequent disputes and wars. Small states, thus situated, are quite as apt to have their contentions. The American states now have their rivalships and jarring interests. If the Union should be dissolved, it is by no means an improbable supposition; that real and imaginary injuries would occasion mutual complaints and accusations between the states; that they would become more and more unfriendly; that animosities would begin, and rise higher and higher; that fresh provocations would imbitter the minds of the people in one state against those in another; that being thus ripened for war, they would have recourse to arms; that hostility taking place of ancient friendship, would cause war to rage with the extremes of rancour and cruelty; that the neighbouring states would join, some on one side, and some on the other; that, the war becoming more fierce, one side in danger of being conquered, would call a foreign nation to its aid; that the foreigners would be victorious, subdue those states which were hostile to them, and oppress those whom they came to assist. Such dangers impend us, if we are disunited. Against such dangers the union alone can secure us.

The union is of the highest importance to us for our defence against foreign nations. The sources of discord among nations are numerous. Wars have been, and, we must suppose, will continue to be, frequent. A war has generally happened among the European nations, as often as once in twelve or fifteen years, for a century past; and for more than one third of this period, the English, French and Spaniards have been in a state of war. The territories of two of these nations border upon our country. England is at heart inimical to us; Spain is jealous. We cannot expect to be exempt from a war with some of these nations any great length of time; for human nature continues the same; and nations jealous and inimical towards each other will have frequent wars. It would be no strange thing, if within ten years, the injustice of England or Spain should force us into a war; it would be strange, if it should not, within fifteen or twenty years. Now if the union were dissolved, the states so powerful, when united, would, when separate, be weak and unable to withstand the attacks of foreign nations. A hostile power might invade a separate state, and conquer it. When he had conquered one state, he might make use of the resources of that to reduce another to his subjection. Having reduced two, he might with the more ease subdue a third. And so he might go on, until we should all find ourselves obliged to groan under the tyranny and oppression of foreigners. The whole world of mankind would look on, and say with a contemptuous smile: Your fate is just: You had a price put into your hands to effect your national defence and pros-

perity, by means of union; but you were such fools that you had not a heart to improve it.

The union is likewise of the highest importance to us, considered with relation to commerce. No civilized nation will content itself to be without the benefits of commerce, which is an object of importance not merely to the merchant, but to all the members of society. It is certainly so to the farmer; for it is this, which makes the produce of our farms valuable. Were there not merchants to buy and export the produce of our farms, that part of it, which we do not want for our own consumption, would be of no value to us; we should be destitute of money, and unable to procure many of the conveniencies of life. Trade is beneficial; but our trade of late has not been upon the right plan. It is, however, getting right. Necessity compels us to increase our exports, and diminish our imports, But still our commerce labours under many embarrassments, from which nothing but union and national respectability can free it. We do find that foreign nations are disposed to take the advantage of us with respect to trade. Our vessels are shut out from Sweden. They are shut out from the English West-India Islands and other plantations. In Great-Britain, some of our commodities are loaded with high duties; others are prohibited. France is more favourably disposed; but in the other European countries, our trade labours under various impositions and discouragements. In private life, we see that one man will take the advantage of another in trade, if he have opportunity. Much more is this the case with respect to one foreign nation and another. The only way for us to put ourselves on a par with other nations in point of trade, is to establish our national respectability.

We never can be any thing as a nation, until our federal head be invested with full powers to order and conduct all national affairs, all concerns that belong in common to the whole confederation. Trade being an affair that concerns the whole confederation, ought to be under the direction of Congress. They must be authorized to restrain or prohibit any branch of trade, according as the public good requires. Then foreign nations will not dare to throw embarrassments upon our commerce; because they will know, that we can and shall retaliate. Were our national council thus authorised, Great Britain would be glad to engage with us in a treaty of commerce, and grant as many advantages in favour of our trade, as she derives from exporting into our country her woolens, her hardware, and other manufactures. If she would not come to such an agreement, Congress might prohibit these branches of her commerce with us; and transfer them to some other nation, which would grant us equal advantages in favour of our trade. Thus we might make advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and trade with them upon the footing of equality. The produce of our farms would bear a better price; commerce would flourish; money would be plenty; all the members of the community would feel the beneficial effects.

All this might be done, if we would only invest our federal head with the powers necessary for regulating the affairs, and advancing the prosperity of the nation. Why should not this power be granted? Power is as safe in the hands of Congress, as in the hands of the General Assembly; for the members of both are equally the representatives of the people. Congress have ever shewed them-

selves worthy of the public confidence. *In those times which tried mens' souls,* the members of Congress signed the articles of confederation, and the declaration of independence; and thus put their all at stake on the success of the common cause. If our arms had been unsuccessful, and Britain had conquered, those patriotic signatures would have pointed out the members of Congress for the first victims of British vengeance. When a body of men have given such signal proofs of their attachment to their country, when their wisdom and firmness have conducted us to independence and glory; it is weak and contemptible for us to give way to unreasonable jealousies, oppose their salutary counsels, and deny them those powers which are necessary for promoting our national happiness.

7. The Republican VII
Connecticut Courant, 26 March 1787

The United States possess uncommon advantages for becoming a great, flourishing, and happy empire. Other nations had their origin in times of ignorance, prejudice and superstition. An ignorant nation is incapable of forming a system of government upon principles of liberty; for this cannot be done, without great political knowledge. Among such a people government must be the offspring of chance; in the confusion of chance, it is no wonder, if some daring spirit seizes the supreme power, and establishes despotic rule. This has most commonly happened in the world; and accordingly we find, that most nations, both in past and present ages, have been subject to despotic power. But the American States were settled at a time, when the gloomy clouds of ignorance and prejudice were vanishing before the rising light of science. Our ancestors breathed a spirit of civil and religious liberty too ardent for their own country; when therefore they came to this new world, and established plans of government of their own, liberty was their great end and aim. When Britain afterwards, by taking such large strides towards subjecting us to tyranny and oppression, broke the friendly connexion between that country and ours, and compelled us to declare ourselves an independent nation: the enlightened sons of America knew the value of civil government established upon principles of liberty, and their generous souls thought no sacrifice too great in defence of such a system.

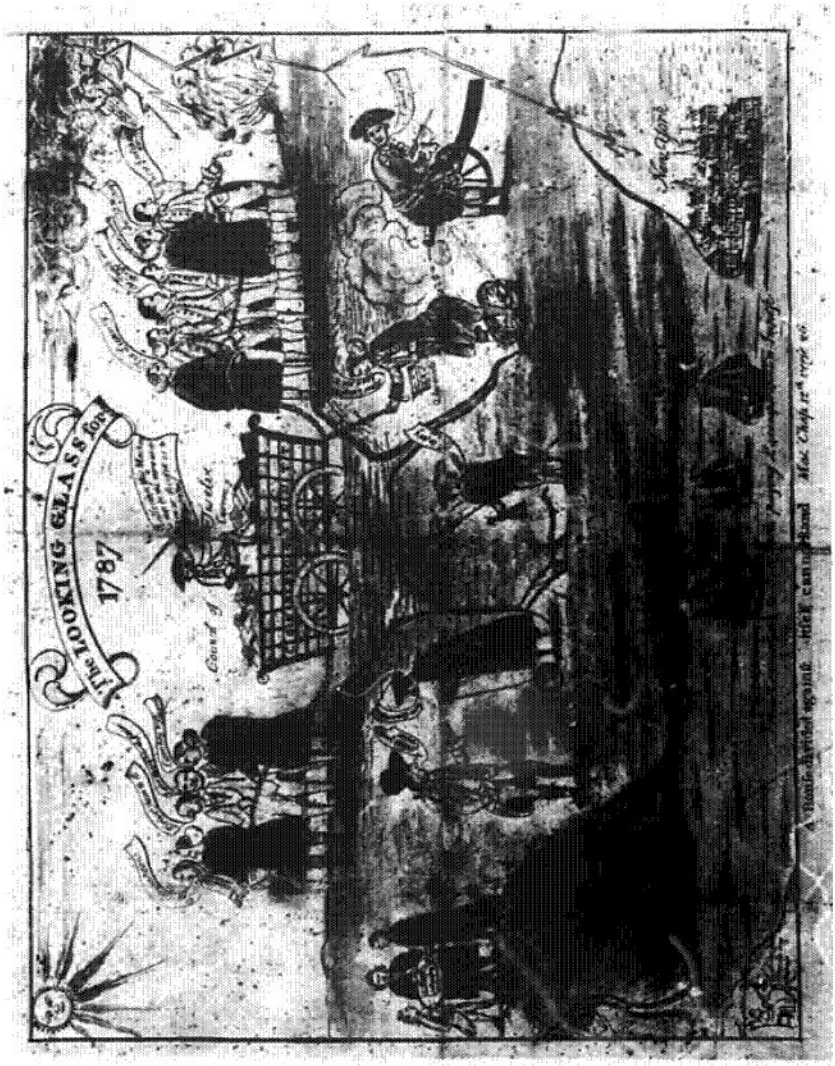
Heretofore, those nations, which have enjoyed the greatest portion of liberty, have generally laboured under some disadvantages, which have tended to hinder their attaining to the highest degree of political happiness and greatness. The countries, which they have inhabited, have been small in extent, and of an unfavorable soil. The ignorance of the times, in which they had their origin, has necessarily caused their systems of government to be imperfect. Yet, notwithstanding these disadvantages, those nations have been distinguished for their power and prosperity. The cause of this prosperity is, that free governments encourage industry, by affording security to property; and give room to the mind of man to act out its native strength and dignity, by securing to each citizen his personal independence. In addition to the benefits resulting from a system of liberty more perfect than any other nation ever yet enjoyed, we are so happy as

to possess a most extensive and fertile territory. One part of this is inhabited, is rapidly increasing in population, and daily sending forth its hardy sons to change our uncultivated regions into fruitful fields, and to transform the haunts of a savage race into the seats of civilized society. Our country is bordered by lakes, intersected by rivers, and indented by arms of the sea, which open the way for commerce to add its golden blessings to the rich produce of our fields. At the present time, when our country is only partially settled, we are, in our united capacity, so powerful, as to be free from the danger of foreign conquest. If we continue united, the rapid population which takes place, and the frequent new settlements which are made, will soon raise us to the zenith of power and respectability. The fair prospect of liberty, wealth, power and fame opens to our view. These we and our posterity may long enjoy, if we will only be wise for ourselves.

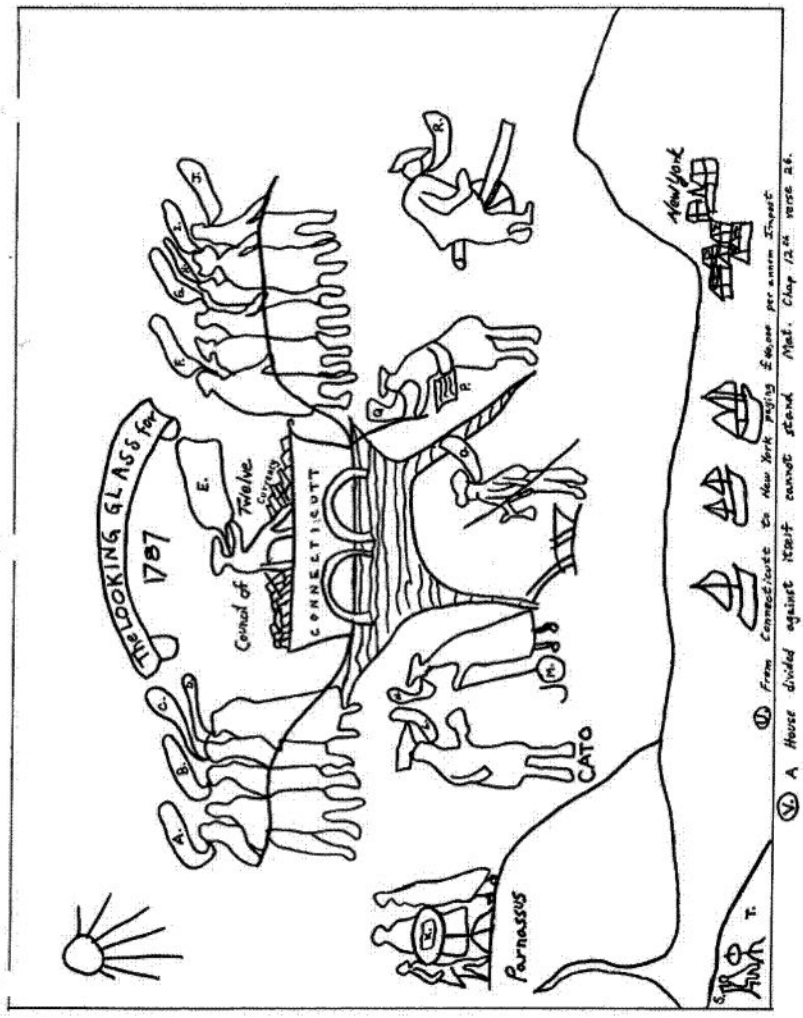
The question is coming to a decision, whether we shall be wise enough to avail ourselves of the advantages which we possess; or whether we shall choose those paths of folly which lead to national ruin. The liberal-minded friends of mankind in other countries behold our situation, with feelings warmly interested in our welfare. This is the only fair theatre, which liberty has ever yet had, to exhibit to the world the benign influence of her sway upon the happiness and dignity of human nature. We are about to resolve the question, whether mankind have good sense and virtue enough to be free; or whether their folly and depravity are such that they must be slaves. If we who had our origin in times of light and knowledge, who possess a country blessed with the various bounties of nature, who are in a good measure free from the vices of old and declining nations, and who by our noble exertions have raised high the expectation of the friends of liberty throughout the civilized world, should, by our incanstancy, jealousy, faction and folly, fall into confusion, and at length submit to tyranny; a double cloud would spread itself over the face of human affairs, and the cause of liberty must be given up for lost. But I cannot admit such a gloomy idea. The morning of our national existence has been fair and resplendent. The spirit of freedom and liberality, which shone forth in America, has spread a gleam of light on the eastern hemisphere; and tyranny, bigotry, and superstition are giving place to the rights of human nature.

There are two different lines of conduct, which we may pursue; and accordingly, as we pursue the one or the other will be the event. We may, if we are so infatuated, rise in tumults, destroy our system of liberty, introduce anarchy, and open the door for tyranny. We may, by a narrow, selfish, jealous, and contemptibly foolish policy, dissolve the union, and leave the way open for intestine war and foreign subjugation. We may, by paper mediums, tender-acts, defrauding public creditors, and establishing injustice by law, bring our governments into odium with all honest men, and make them choose one tyrant in preference to two hundred. On the other hand, by maintaining just laws, which secure to every man the fruits of his honest industry; by setting out and persevering in the resolution of doing justice to public creditors; by attaching ourselves to just government, and discountenancing all popular tumults; by enlarging the powers of the confederation, confirming the union, and supporting a judicious national policy, we may ensure to ourselves the highest degree of national prosperity.

7-A. The LOOKING GLASS for 1787[1]



1. Broadside, Connecticut Historical Society.


The LOOKING GLASS for
1787
Twelve
Council of
CONNECTICUTT
CATO
Parnassus
New York
A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T.
(I) From Connecticutt to New York paying £40,000 per annum Impost
(V) A House divided against itself cannot stand Mat. Chap 12th verse 26.

Transcription of captions on *The Looking Glass for 1787*

A. Pay Commutation
B. Drive them to it
C. I abhor the anti federal faction
D Comply with Congress
E. Gentlemen this Machine is deep in the mire and you ar devided as to [its?] releaf
F. Tax Luxury
G. the People are oprest
H. Confuson to Federal Government
I. Success to Shays
J. Cur'se Independence
K. American Antiquities
L. I despise your Copper
M. AUCTORI CONNEC [a coin minted by Joseph Hopkins, et al.]
N. Curs Commutation
O. take all to pay Taxes
P. Agracola [pseudonym of article in *Connecticut Journal*, September 1786, dealing with the use of public securities (state vs. federal) for the purchase of western lands.]
Q. I fear & dread the Ides of MAY
R. A good Shot by G——
S. Tweedles Studdy
T. As I sat plodding by my taper
U. From Connecticut to New York paying £40000 per annum Impost
V. A House divided against itself cannot stand. Mat. Chap. 12th verse 26

8-A. Governor Samuel Huntington, Speech to the General Assembly 11 May 1787[1]

His Excellency Governor HUNTINGTON'S SPEECH, at the opening of the present sessions of the General Assembly.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The present being the stated season for convening the legislature, the annual business of the May session will of course claim your attention.

You have doubtless received information from the public prints, of the intended Convention of Commissioners to meet at Philadelphia, the present month, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation; a plan first adopted by the Commonwealth of Virginia, and afterwards recommended by the United States in Congress assembled. The nature and importance of this subject, induced me to convene the Council some time since, to advise whether the attending circumstances rendered it necessary to call a special assembly.—The Council upon consultation were unanimous in the negative upon the question; they supposed if the subject should be taken up early by this Assembly, no disadvantage would accrue from the delay to this time, sufficient to countervail the trouble and expence of calling a special assembly; being myself of the same sentiments, this business now remains for your consideration. You will doubtless think proper to turn your attention to it as early as may be, the ensuing week, being the time appointed for the Commissioners meeting.

You will recollect several articles that were taken into consideration the last session, but not compleated.

The bill providing alteration in the punishment of certain crimes, such as Forgery, Burglary, Counterfeiting and Horse-stealing, by subjecting the criminals to servitude.

Also the bill for the encouragement of Manufactures and Agriculture, the growth of Hemp, &c. I cannot but think those subjects worthy of your further consideration.

The embarrassments upon trade, especially the maritime part, are very discouraging at this day; ample relief in this case seems to require some more extensive regulations than any particular state hath power to make—it is a national object of great importance; but some salutary regulations may perhaps be adopted by this state which will prove beneficial; this subject may merit the attention of the Assembly.

You will again bring into view the past requisitions of Congress, which were taken under consideration the last session, but nothing compleated thereon; there is also a later requisition which will now be laid before you.

It will also be necessary to provide supplies to defray the expences of civil government the current year.

The deranged state of our finances, and the natural consequence in some measure, the pressure of debts, both of a public and private nature, appear to be objects of great importance, and call for the attention and wisest exertions of this assembly. It is confessedly the most embarrassing subject that will come

before you, and will doubtless be considered with the attention which a subject of such magnitude justly merits.

It must be desirable to the feeling heart, and is doubtless an indispensable duty to unlade the heavy burthen, and relieve the distress as far as may be in our power, consistent with the principles of justice; but you are sensible for a sovereign power to sacrifice those principles in any instance, is always inexcusable, and will in the event, prove a sacrifice of the true interest of the people.

It will not be expected for me to point out the particular modes of granting relief: Let me only observe, it seems to answer no valuable purpose to lay taxes beyond the ability of the people to pay with punctuality, and without distress; but it appears to me of great importance, that such funds as may be provided, be adequate to defray the debts and expenditures for which they are appropriated; such a measure will operate more in establishing public credit than is readily conceived.

I submit to the consideration of this Assembly, whether it may not be expedient to direct a plain and concise statement to be made, of the debts and expenditures of government, from the commencement of the late war to the present time, including the payments which have been made; and cause it to be published for the information of the good people of this state, that they may be fully acquainted with the application of their monies—informed how great a part of the debt necessarily incurred is already discharged. Will not such a stating, with the payments already made, carry conviction with it, that by the practice of frugality and industry, with wise and prudent management, we may rise superior to our present embarrassments, and that public faith may be fully established.

Gentlemen, You will be persuaded that a spirit of candour in all your deliberations, and its happy consequences, an unanimity of council, are most essential requisites, to promote the peace, the prosperity and happiness of a free people.

1. *Connecticut Courant,* 21 May 1787.

8-B. Connecticut Courant, 21 May 1787[1]

PROCEEDINGS of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the STATE of CONNECTICUT

SATURDAY May 12.

On the question, Whether Delegates should be sent by this state to the proposed Convention to be held at Philadelphia for the purpose of revising and altering the Articles of Confederation.

Col. [Charles] Burrall rose, and in general terms expressed himself to be in favour of the measure, and thought it expedient to send.

Gen. [Jedidiah] Huntington. Mr. Speaker, The measure under consideration is recommended by Congress, and has been either anticipated or acceded to by most of the states; I would therefore from respect to Congress and affection to

our sister states, have this state concur with them. I should stop here, Mr. Speaker, if I had not reason to think that there are some gentlemen who are of opinion that the confederation is sufficient for its purposes, and some who believe we should be better without any—I beg therefore, to be indulged in some observations on the subject.

The confederation was framed whilst this country was smarting under the hand of arbitrary power: it seems to have been the leading object of the framers of it to erect an authority over this country without committing absolutely any power to it; the compact between the several states has not any penalty annexed to it for the breach of its conditions, nor is it provided with any power of coercing a compliance; the observance of it depends entirely on the meer good will and pleasure of each state; whenever therefore any state refuses a compliance with a requisition made agreeably to the confederation, all obligation on the part of the other states is dissolved. If this reasoning is just we have not any confederation—at any rate it is an inefficient one. The importance of a general government, a superintending power, that shall extend to all parts of our extensive territory, to secure peace and the administration of justice between one state and another, and between these states and foreign nations, must be obvious to the least reflection. All rational calculations must very much fail us, if the diversity of sentiments, manners, and local circumstances, the unequal distribution of the public debt, and the jealousies of trade, do not create animosities and contentions of the most serious nature—where and when they will terminate Omniscience only knows. Shall we trust the event to accident, and leave a government to arise out of the distractions of the people? Or, shall we in a cool and dispassionate hour, consult with our sister states on the expediency of making alterations in the confederation, in order to attain the original objects of it? I know that a man removed in his own apprehensions from scenes of danger, with plenty and a kind neighbourhood about him, is apt to hug himself in his ease and security, and think that the independent state of Connecticut is sufficient for all things. Let us then take a view of this sovereign state unconnected with the others. We are without alliance or treaty with any foreign nation, and without the probability of making either, as we have no equivalent to give in exchange for the benefits which others have to bestow on us—we are exposed to the insults and depredations of a single ship of war. But suppose there were no fears from this quarter, what security have we of the peaceable disposition of our neighbours? I remember a gentleman told us last October, in the course of a debate on another question, that the people of Poland were divided up in compassion to them.—Who knows how long it will be before Massachusetts, New-York, and perhaps Rhode-Island, will combine, and in the excess of their affection for this state, divide us up among them? What can we promise ourselves from the turbulent spirit of one, the selfishness of another, or the righteousness of a third?

How long will it be before the relative rights of these states will come into question?—Within twenty years, perhaps within ten, Massachusetts will discover that she has an exclusive right to the fisheries on her extensive coasts—Complaints will be brought to this assembly that our fishermen are driven from Natucket shoals—we shall transmit these complaints to Congress—they will rec-

ommend to Massachusetts to indemnify for the loss and outrage—perhaps they will avail, but I don't believe they will—It is more probable that they will write a long letter of justification to Congress, and close it with reminding them of old continental money and the Penobscot expedition.

I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that my fears may be considered by some to be visionary—that some may attribute my sentiments on government to military habits of thinking, or resolve them into the baneful influence of the Cincinnati. These considerations however cannot dissuade me from speaking what I think to be the dictates of truth and duty. I am an advocate for an efficient general government, and for a revenue adequate to the nature and exigencies of it. This revenue must not depend on the will of any particular state. I am persuaded a sufficient revenue (except in case of an expensive war) may be drawn from the sources which this state has already granted to Congress, bating the limitations and restrictions under which they lye: I mean the regulation of trade for fifteen years, and the five per cent. impost. The introduction of our own shipping into the carrying trade, which yields a certain profit, is an object of great importance—as the variety of soil and climate within the United States is capable of producing every article which either the convenience or luxury of man requires. Should the impost be carried to excess, or should foreigners resist impositions on their ships, and make reprisals by laying counter duties on ours, the natural tendency of both will be to promote the growth and manufacture among ourselves of the articles affected by the impositions—and proportionally increase our true wealth and independence. Manufactures more than any other employment will increase our numbers—in that consists the strength and glory of a people.

Mr. [Abraham] Granger, declared himself to be opposed to sending delegates to the Convention; he conceived it would be disagreeable to his constituents; he thought the liberties of the people would be endangered by it—that the constitution of this state was already sufficient for every purpose, added to the articles of confederation, in which sufficient power was already delegated to Congress, and concluded by saying, that he imagined these things would have a tendency to produce a regal government in this country.

Mr. [Hosea] Humphry, on the same side with Mr. Granger, observed, that he thought it would be best to oppose the measure in the first instance—that if Connecticut should send, and the Convention should recommend to the states any alteration in the articles of confederation, and a majority of the states should comply with such recommendation and adopt the measures proposed by it, the majority would compel the minority to comply also, however opposed the latter might be to any change in the fœderal government; and he concluded by saying that he approved of the wisdom and policy of Rhode-Island, in refusing to send delegates to the Convention, and that the conduct of that state, in this particular, was worthy of imitation.

Col. [Thomas] Seymour declared himself to be in favour of sending delegates to the convention. He was happy he said that the motion for a general convention of the states, had come from so respectable a quarter as the state of Virginia—

that he was pleased that it originated there—that that state conceived the affairs of the union to have arrived to an alarming crisis—that he was fully of that opinion—that the state of Vermont was ballancing between Canada and the United States—that the settlements on the Ohio were rapidly increasing, and at the expence of the more settled parts of the western states, who were much drained by constant emigrations—that New-York was too much attached to her local interests and had become unfederal—that the affairs of the Massachusetts were still unsettled, and that Rhode-Island by her iniquity had justly become the reproach and scorn of her neighbours:—That this was a melancholy picture, and gave just occasion for the remark of Virginia, that the affairs of the United States had arrived to an alarming crisis; he flattered himself that the convention would find a remedy for all these evils, and that efficiency might be given to the fœderal government, that every part of the United States, however disjointed at present might be brought to promote the great objects at first proposed by their union.

Mr. [Daniel] Perkins was opposed to the measure, and said that the state would send men that had been delicately bred, and who were in affluent circumstances, that could not feel for the people in this day of distress; if we send we shall be under double obligation to adopt what the convention shall recommend, for if we say A, we must say B.

Col. [Jeremiah] Wadsworth. It is allowed by every body that the present confederation does not answer the purposes of a fœderal government, and notwithstanding the solemnity with which we have declared the articles of the confederation shall be inviolably preserved, we find they are intirely neglected, and there is no power in the fœderal government to enforce them. One gentleman says we should oppose any alteration in the first instance, lest a majority of the states should recommend an alteration and force us to a compliance, and approves the conduct of Rhode-Island in refusing to send delegates to the convention. I presume this house will not copy Rhode-Island in any of their vile acts of legislation; they have forfeited all claim to the confidence of the United States, and of the whole world—their acts are a disgrace to the human race. Mr. Fitch finds fault with us for censuring that state; I hope we shall always dare to tell them the truth, and while they make laws that are founded in injustice, I shall claim and take the liberty to say what I please about those laws. Col. Seymour well observes it is an alarming crisis, and that we have much to hope from the convention. It is alarming indeed when there is not any force in the fœderal government, and when there are not wanting men who boldly declare that it would be better to go back to Great-Britain. It is said, Sir, there is not wanting at least one member of assembly who wishes we had been conquered by the British at any period of the war. Mr. Perkins objects to having any power to enforce the acts of the fœderal government. If there is to be no power of coercion, there is to be no government; if his objections are serious they go to the destroying all government; for without power to enforce obedience there can be none. We are also told our delegates will be men delicately bred, that don't know or feel for the people. Are we so stupid as to send delegates that are unacquainted with our situation and circumstances? Have we been so? if we have, let us emerge

from this stupidity, and send men that live in the country, have been hardly bred and know what our wants are.

No state has more reason to wish for an alteration of the articles of confederation than Connecticut. Fertile and well cultivated, we have large exports from the produce of our land, and we consume much foreign produce—the profits of importation go entirely to our neighbour states; there is collected by them at least one hundred thousand dollars impost which we pay. The 8th article of the present confederation is universally reprobated, yet not altered, and if it remains as it is this state will finally be ruined. Capt. Granger fears arbitrary power and the destruction of the poor, and says we shall all become asses—This state may well be compared to the strong ass, couching down not only under two but twenty burthens, and they will finally crush us out of existence.

Mr. [Elisha] Fitch declared himself to be against sending delegates to the convention; the privileges of the people he was afraid would be exposed; that he would not see them abridged, but would ever support them to the last degree.

Mr. [James or Samuel] Davenport.[2] The determination of the present question may be important; it is certainly a serious time as it respects government; much has been said on the subject, but I cannot refrain from offering my sentiments upon it. The gentlemen opposed to sending delegates to the convention, say that the articles of confederation need no revision—that they are fully adequate to the purposes for which they were intended; this amounts to a declaration that we want no continental government, for what power has congress now? they have it is true the power of demanding money, but have they the power of collecting it? The conduct of this house in treating with neglect, if not with contempt, their requisitions, determines that they have not. Besides, is this agreeable to the sentiments of this assembly? Have not they heretofore by their acts given additional powers to Congress, by granting them the impost and the right of regulating trade? and has not there been great clamour against the state of New-York for not granting the same additional authority to Congress, and have not some gentlemen in fact urged that measures ought to be taken to coerce it, when at the same time the requirements of Congress, made in virtue of the confederation, were refused to be complied with by us. But view us disconnected—What would have been the consequence of a disunion the late war? Was not all the strength of the United States necessary? and that too when the resolutions of Congress were most critically attended to and observed, when they were of more force than law—and we may be under the necessity of this united force hereafter. But is not an efficient national government necessary to preserve peace between the states; their interests are in some measure opposed, and contentions very easily arise when this is the case, unless there is a controuling power.

Some of the gentlemen are afraid of the measure which the southern states may wish to adopt, and say that the nature of their governments and that their feelings are more arbitrary and despotic than ours—Is this the case? Have not they run into the extremes of democracy? Georgia, the most southern state, as much influenced we should suppose by such principles as any, has by her constitution provided, that no one person shall be elected governor two years successively. Some of the other states have made provisions not very dissimilar; the

gentlemen who were in Congress from those states at the time of framing the confederation, and who assisted in that business, were purely republican. I would ask, is it likely we never shall be disturbed from abroad? Why are additional troops ordered out to Canada? besides, we are officially informed there is a prospect of trouble from the western settlers, and the treaty which is on foot with Spain, and which is disrelished by some of the states, may be a means of creating a necessity for union and united strength.

This convention was first proposed to remedy the evils arising from the embarrassments of our trade. This is an object we have much at heart; I am glad the southern states are alarmed, that they wish to consolidate the union; they have been heretofore opposed to fœderal measures, their interests have been opposed to trade regulations—I hope something may be effected by the convention, and that we may send delegates.

Mr. [Joseph or Samuel] Hopkins[3] said he had very little to expect from the proposed convention, yet he concluded by saying he should be for the measure out of compliment to the sister states.

Mr. [John] Welton was in favour of sending, because according to present appearances, and unless some alteration takes place, the union will soon be entirely at an end.

Mr. [Charles] Chauncey. I am for sending members to the convention; but I am anticipated by the gentlemen who have gone before me—they have left little to be urged on the subject. I have not been before this session honoured with a seat in this house; but being often a spectator in the gallery, I have constantly heard complaints that Congress had not power enough—that this state had large demands against the united states—that if Congress had power to regulate our trade and establish a system of revenue, we might be paid, or at least know what was due to us. I have often heard it urged that all the evils we feel were for want of a well regulated federal government; we have something to hope and nothing to fear from the convention. But I will not detain the house, the reasons for sending delegates are too many and too obvious to escape our notice.

Col. [Benjamin] Hinman was in favour of sending, and expressed his approbation of the measure.

(*Several other gentlemen spoke on the subject, but we have not been able to collect the purport of their observations.*)

1. These debates are also printed as CC:25. They were also printed in the *American Mercury* on 21 May and were reprinted in five other Connecticut newspapers by 1 June.

2. The speaker of the Federal remarks below was probably James Davenport who voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention in January 1788, Samuel Davenport voted against ratification.

3. The speaker was probably Antifederalist Joseph Hopkins who spoke often in the debates of this and other legislative sessions.

9. Middlesex Gazette, 28 May 1787[1]

"LITCHFIELD, May 21."

Last Thursday evening arrived in this town from Hartford, Col. Samuel Canfield, and Uriah Tracy, Esq. with orders from the General Assembly to repair to the town of Sharon, and put a stop to the insurrection that appeared to be raising in that town. The same evening they set off, accompanied by the Sheriff and one of his Deputies, and arrived at Sharon about day-break; and soon arrested five Persons, who were supposed to be the principal actors and abetters in the insurrection, viz. Dr. John Hulburt, Dr. Jonah Barns, William Mitchell, (who was said to act as their Captain) Hezekiah Frisbie, and John Lord; all of whom (excepting Barns, who was permitted to remain on account of illness) were conducted to, and safely lodged in our goal, on Saturday last, in order for examination.—It is hoped this early and spirited exertion of our Assembly, will prevent any further disturbance, in that town. Much praise is due the gentlemen employed on this occasion, for their prudence, humanity, and judicious proceedings.

1. This item was probably reprinted from the *Weekly Monitor* of 21 May. It was also reprinted in the *Norwich Packet* of 31 May and in at least twenty newspapers from Maine to Georgia by 12 July.

10. New York Daily Advertiser, 31 May 1787

Extract of a letter [from] a gentleman in Hartford, to his friend in Albany dated the 18th instant.

"Yesterday morning an express arrived with dispatches for his excellency the Governor, from Brigadier-General Swift, at Sharon, advising that many of the inhabitants of that part of the state were embodying themselves in order to join the Insurgents of Massachusetts; that 100 had enlisted in one town; and that, although he had been personally among them, he had not been able to prevent their pursuing these measures.—His Excellency immediately communicated these dispatches to the hon. House of Assembly, who thereupon appointed a committee, to be joined by another from the council, to report to the house what measures would be most proper for them to adopt.—In the afternoon the committee brought in their report, which was agreed to by the house.—The substance of which was, that some proper person be appointed, forthwith to repair to that part of the state, which borders on Massachusetts, and there with General Swift, to enquire into the occasion of this insurrection, and to pursue such measures, as they shall think most proper for its suppression, and the restoration of the public peace. Col. Canfield, (a member of assembly) is appointed, and I have no doubt, from his and Gen. Swift's characters, but the most prudent, salutary and decisive measures will be adopted.—The Col. set off this morning for Sharon."

11. Middlesex Gazette, 4 June 1787[1]

LITCHFIELD, May 28.

The Persons from Sharon, who were imprisoned in our Goal last Week, on Complaint and Suspicion of enlisting Men, for the Purpose of assisting others, in releasing the Criminals at Barrington, were examined on Tuesday last, and discharged from Confinement; excepting Mitchell, who was remanded to Prison for Trial at the next Superior Court, on an Indictment for High-Treason.

1. This item was probably reprinted from the *Weekly Monitor* of 28 May. It was also reprinted in the *Norwich Packet* of 7 June and in at least nine newspapers from Maine to Georgia by 12 July.

12. Connecticut Courant, 18 June 1787

Messirs. PRINTERS, Please to insert in your paper the inclosed Original Letter, which appears to have been written from the person who formerly signed himself a A PLAIN MAN. On the dissolution of a certain great body, it was found, not a thousand miles from the state house.

N. B. You are desired not to publish the names at large, nor even the initials.

Harefurd, June 7, A.D. 1787.

Dere and lovin Wiff,

These is to informe you that i ame at present wel as i hop these few loins wil find you.

Yu may rekolekt at partin i sade i wud rite down all that waz dun and send it tu yu in a letter—I shud fust giv yu for to understan that mi adress tu the publick was not in vane: for [I larnt?] on cumming to lexion the freed men had tuk my advis and kep inn moste of our beast men—howsumdever: for ort I can se tha mite ass well awl bin ded (ass i suposd tha wud) for mater of enny gud tha did us—for no bodde mindid nothin abought um—i own i waz disapinted! i thot thayd bin ass krank ass cud bee, when tha seed how thare frinds stuk tu um—butt fraull that tha wear so darn'd fraid of their *skins* that tha darsnt sai there soals wear there one.

This is a desput plaice for givin nicknames, thayd maid a laffinstork off awl our frinds befour, yu no, and soe no sunner had i cum amung um than they cauld me *Jack* and sed Ass how I came to covur Peter Blacklegs for papper munny.

So as i was jest now sayng, ass sun ass we comed to the Cort Hous. I lukt upp and seed thayd gott a gallerey—and the wiked witts and scrablers ware awl their makin funn and peekin at us—for mi part I was madd ass a dogg and so was a gud menny more. So we got captain ——, him tha caul in derishon Capt. Peter Blacklegs to tak up the mater, and he drawd up a bil (with the help off his frinds) not for to hev enny thing we taukd off or did put intu the nuse papper. But twas unpoplar, so tha wudnt stan by him and it was kikt owt dors—thys maid owr sid cowed and for mi own part i didnt say scaice nothin.

Its tru i was in hops, after lexion, that we shud had papper munny, and tendre ax and mobbs and awl them sort of things for to pai owr detts withe in a jiffin!!!—

but alias? awl owr hops are blaisted. Howsumdever we got rid of the plagey requirsishans of Congres awl at wun dash, and voated weed du nothin atall abought it; becaise tha sai ass how the convenshon now settin at Felladelfa is to pai awl the dett. soe Gurnel —— told uss, and that maid us send dilligates.

Butt I hant bin soe ducid madd in awl mi dais, accep when I hered Chaise woz defeated and that tother time there when I woz caul'd befoar the Kourt at Grate Barrintown and find for fiteing with an Ingian, ass I wos when tha brot inn a bil to retailat poor Road Iland and taukt soe aginst there Ass embli and cheetin and papper munny—then mi blud bild, and yet I darsnt sai wun wurd in feaver off um, tho i wil sa i thinck um the most vartousest stat in the unin—tha understan pollysticks and public consarns and how to eese the poore pepels burdins mutch better then us; and soe that maks um haited and railld att—and sum of our fin orriters proposd that them there parsens who didnt lik thare mesurs shud fli ass Lotte did from sodum and cum and liv in owr vartous stat—but for mi part Ive a gud minte to swop and goe and liv among um, for Ime shure I shud be a grate man, prehapts a Cenniter or Guvner in a yere or tu.

Atter awl, I was gladd to find the U—— H—— wos better than the loar—thares wun gentileman inn particlar who desarves mutch preys—his name is —— Ime tould he sed a gud dele in feavor of mobbs and aginst sendin to brake upp that thare wun whitch wos beginnin in our parts—he alsoe tride to du sundery uther gud things to sav expense, wun of whitch wos to starve thre quarters of the invaileads of the armi belongin to our stat—sum foakes think it ant pollytick to lett our invaleades starve, when were obliged to help to maintane thos of uther states; ass its a contiental charge, butt for mi part ime glad when I kan git a nock at the old armi.

And now, dere and lovin Wiff, ive rit the most remarcabel perticlers that has accurred—I hop we shal rise soone—yu no I never was soe longe from hum befoar, and soe yu ma wel think ime a leetel humsic—this Sitty is a nashon grate plais, butt dont bee fraid off what we joked about—I dont think the Sitty ladys, tho thare ducid fine, luk hafe soe hansum as yu yust to be.—And so I subscrib miself you lovin husban and yours to sarve til deth,

———— ————

13. Joel Barlow, An Oration at the Meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati Hartford, 4 July 1787[1]

♦ *To view this document, see Evans 20219, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. On 23 July 1787, the *Connecticut Courant* printed the following advertisement: "Just Published and now selling, By Hudson and Goodwin, An Oration, Delivered at the North Church in Hartford, At the Meeting of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, July 4th 1787. . . . By Joel Barlow. . . ." Other advertisements offering Barlow's oration for sale appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette* on 27 July, the *Middlesex Gazette* on 30 July, and the *Connecticut Journal* on 8 August.

14. David Daggett, An Oration
New Haven, 4 July 1787[1]

◆ *To view this document, see Evans 20314, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. On 11 July 1787, the *Connecticut Journal* advertised that "Mr. Daggett's Oration, Pronounced last Wednesday, in the Brick Meeting House, in this City, on the celebration of Independence, Is in the Press, and will be published on Friday next." In its next issue on 18 July, the *Journal* announced that the oration was "Just Published." Other advertisements appeared in the *Connecticut Courant* on 23 July, the *Middlesex Gazette* on 30 July, and again in the *Connecticut Journal* on 8 August.

15. Weekly Monitor, 3 September 1787

We learn, that the hon. OLIVER ELSWORTH, Esq. has returned to his seat at Windsor, from attending the august Assembly of the States at Philadelphia; but nothing has yet transpired—The public must therefore remain patient, 'till the dissolution of that honourable body, which is daily expected.

16. Norwich Packet, 13 September 1787

Although at present it appears to be the *Vox Populi,* that the decisions of the federal convention be agreed to in every punctilio; yet, we ought not to boast too soon.—The connoisseurs in politics prophesy that when it is put to the respective States to ratify the system adopted, an opposition will shew itself, either on the right hand or the left.

17. Peter Colt to Aaron Burr
Hartford, 17 September 1787[1]

I had the pleasure of receiving your Favour of the 6th. Instant by Colo. Platt. It is very difficult to give any Satisfactory advice respecting the paper alluded to.—Mr. Imlay is authorised to Issue *Certificates* for the Interest due on Continental Loan Office Certificates up to Decr. 1782;—since which no provision is made by this State for payment of Interest on Continental paper—Those certificates being receivable, for part of the Impost on Merchandize, sell at 5/6 to 6/ on the Pound and at those rates are in as much demand as any of our public paper.—Last May Sessions, there was a hard push made by those Gentlemen who are for *Fœderal Measures,* that Some further provision should be made for paying the Interest on the Fœderal Debt: but they could not effect it—amongst other Arguments *against* the measure, urged by the *Anti Fœderalists,* was that the present Convention, (then soon expected to be convened) would doubtless devise some general Mode of effecting this Business & that *we* ought to lye on our Oars untill *their* determination was known: This was a mere trick—& what may be stiled *Shunage* as they were Enemies to any effective Continental Goverment—& will most assuredly set their faces against the doings of the Convention whenever they are made publick—As to the original Certificates, they are no better

(after the Interest is drawn) than any other Continental paper; & are from 2/3 to 2/6 on the pound. I should suppose they would command Cash at N. York Sooner than with us.—I know of no other use to which they can be applied but speculating in the Western Lands—So much for paper—

I had some [– – –] acquaintance with Colo. Platt before—I find him a Gentleman of information & of amiable Manners—I do not mean a *Beau* Garçon—tho he is attentive to the Ladies—His lodging at Coll [Jeremiah] Wadsworth, (& being one of so large a party) has in some Measure rendred any [– – –] attentions from me unnecessary—My *very sircumscribed circumstances* in *Life* & *Business,* compels me to move on a more economical plan than what we have done Some few Years past when I thought myself in pretty easy Circumstances—But I had made my Calculations on *paper*; & *that* has vanished—

Mrs Colt joins in Love to Mrs. Burr, the young Ladies & yourself

It will always be one of our first objects, & pleasures to be rancked amongst those of your acquaintances [– – –] esteem as friends—adieu

1. RC, Burr Papers, New-York Historical Society.

18. Observator V
New Haven Gazette, 20, 27 September 1787

[20 September 1787]

The Necessity of adopting the Reform which may be recommended by the FEDERAL CONVENTION.

There is one stroke in the portrait of America, singularly characteristic of the great body of the citizens, which justly deserves a particular consideration; and that is their public virtue, when put to the trial, and, what I have specially in view, their natural disposition to be governed by reason.

They have uniformly, from the first settlement of this country, to this day, been opposed to the government of a tyrant, and would never yield obedience to unconstitutional, oppressive, or unreasonable laws: and this opposition has been, in some instances, contrued into a disposition to trample on all order and lawful authority, and some have stigmatized them with the character of being a lawless, disorderly set of men. Such a character, how well soever it may apply to individuals, is by no means applicable to the great body of the citizens of America; which I shall endeavour to prove and illustrate, by shewing, that on all proper occasions, they have given the highest proofs of public virtue, and their willingness to submit to any wise and judicious national measures, or, to any form of government, evidently calculated to promote, and secure the equal good of the whole. In other words, the great body of the citizens of America, are naturally opposed to a government supported by the sword; but will chearfully submit to a government founded in and exercised on the principles of reason and justice; and are disposed to take the most rational measures to accomplish national purposes. I say, the great body, or majority of the people, because I do not think the disposition and conduct of any unprincipled, selfish and ambitious man, nor of any factious body of men, such as the insurgents in the Massachusetts state,

nor of any particular legislative body, such as that of Rhode-Island, ought to be considered as any part of the real character of the citizens of America.

It may be asked, by way of objection, why the Americans, being disposed to be governed by reason, should be thought singular, since all nations suppose they are governed by reason also? In answer to this it may be observed, that the governing part of the nations on the eastern continent, may be, and undoubtedly are oftentimes, under the governing influence of reason; But the circumstances of those nations, and this, being in many respects different, such examples will not well apply in the present case. *There* not one in a thousand has any thing to do with government. The body of the people have nothing to do but to submit to such laws as are made, whether reasonable or unreasonable. They have no alternative, unless it be to rise up in open rebellion, and by force of arms destroy every kind of government. *Here,* not only the form of government, but even the laws must, either directly or indirectly, pass the sanction of a majority of the people, before they can have a free operation.

But place the eastern nations on the same footing with the Americans, at the commencement of the late revolution, and from what hath actually taken place here, and from what would probably take place there, under the same circumstances, we may distinguish the difference in their real characters.

Suppose then, that in any of those nations, all rank, distinction and subordination should be annihilated, what would be the probable consequences? Most likely in such a case, a number of candidates would set themselves up for the supremacy,—each of whom will collect all his friends, connections, and dependents to support him in his claim. A long civil war would ensue, and finally, some one would gain his point; and in order to secure himself in his usurpation, he would extirpate his opposers, and gratify his adherents with their property. In all this, not the equal good and happiness of the people, but the gratification of the ambitious humour of some despot would be the object. And as the object itself would be base, so would the means made use of, and measures taken to accomplish the proposed end, be base, unjust and unreasonable also.

Let us now consider the apparent disposition and actual conduct of the Americans, from the commencement of the late revolution to this day, in a variety of instances.—When the parliament of Great-Britain passed acts, subversive of their just rights, unconstitutional and oppressive, they did not immediately oppose in a hostile manner, neither did they quietly put their necks under the yoke; but they acted like reasonable men, having a just sense of the importance of their liberties, and of the miseries they would involve themselves in by a forcible opposition. They therefore took the whole matter into serious consideration, examined every circumstance, conferred with one another throughout the states, and finally came to a fixed determination, which was in the first place, to remonstrate and petition, and if that did not avail, to oppose by force of arms, let the event be what it would. In their first setting out, they were actuated by the most patriotic and reasonable motives, that could influence the human mind in such circumstances. Had this have happened in any other nation, actually circumstanced as America was, it is most probable they would have made every

abject concession, and sacrificed their liberties, rather than undergo the evils which would result from an opposition,—or if they should determine otherwise, it would become a partial contest, and all the advantage the people would derive from it would only be, that of obtaining a new master. Again,

After the Americans separated from Great-Britain, and found themselves entering on a long and distressing war, they made it their object to obtain and secure, the equal freedom and happiness of the whole nation; and the measures they took to accomplish that end were founded in reason. They did not therefore set up a king to "go in and out before them," who might eventually have it in his power to bring all those evils upon them, which they were striving to be relieved from; But they instituted a council of the states, not armed with regal power, but invested with advisory authority. And this authority, such as it was, was implicitly obeyed; not because Congress had power to enforce their requisitions, but because it was reasonable they should be obeyed. Not because the people were ignorant and credulous, but because they were enlightened and well informed, and clearly saw the reason and necessity, of conforming to such a mode of administration. And in the choice of their civil and military officers, it was not favour or affection, interest or connections, but apparent merit, which gave the preference. Hath this been the case in any other nation? Hath not the obedience of the people been obtained and secured only by a power capable of enforcing obedience? And have not most offices been filled with favorites instead of men of real merit?

When Congress thought it expedient that the states should enter into some special covenant or agreement for the better support of the confederacy, and proposed the articles of that covenant to the people, for their approbation, they did not agree to it without examination and consideration: nor did they finally assent to it because some great man, or men, on whom they were dependent, required it.—nor because there was an army nigh to enforce their compliance. Nothing like this. They took it up, and examined it coolly,—considered it maturely, and ratified it like free men, dependent on no man; because it appeared at that time necessary and perfectly reasonable. In other nations, such a matter being referred to the people, would have been accepted or rejected, as THAT man who had the greatest influence among them should require.

It is worthy of notice, that the prevailing disposition of the citizens of America, to conform themselves to the dictates of reason, and such a system of government as should be most conducive to the equal benefit and happiness of the whole nation is not peculiar, and confined to the body of the people, who hold themselves as subjects, but is diffused to the highest order and rank of men in the country. The members of congress, who were the first, and most influential characters which the nation could produce, had every advantage to deceive the people, and establish a despotic controul over them, had they been so diposed; yet, the articles of confederation, drawn up by that body, and designed to answer the purposes of a national constitution, breathe the spirit of perfect freedom, and prove that their disposition and sentiments, were congenial with those of the body of the people. Did any King, Potentate, Prime Minister, Parliament or Assembly, ever, in any other nation, draw up a constitution for the government

of the people, without reserving some prerogative, privilege or benefit peculiar to themselves, not dependent on, or common rest of the rest of the people?—But the same disposion and patriotic sentiments were most illustriously displayed by General Washington and the other officers of the American army.—At the close of the war, General Washington had a veteran army under his command, who, he must be sensible, were affectionately attached to him—the most perfect confidence of the citizens, he knew was secured to him, and therefore, he could not doubt of obtaining imperial dignity, if he should attempt it: These circumstances were sufficient to have excited the ambition of any man, but a Washington. Virtue and reason only, must have restrained him. The officers of the army also, were under every temptation to encourage such a design. By such a measure, they were sensible, they should be first noticed in an imperial court.—That honour, employment, and reward would await them there; while on the other hand, to return to the rank of common citizenship, and partake in common with others, the bounties of providence, in some honest industrious occupation,—What higher evidence could men give of their patriotism, and of their being governed by rational principles and motives? But these sentiments were not confined to the officers, the same spirit ran through the army. The army had served long and faithfully; had suffered innumerable hardships; were, confessedly, under providence, the saviours of the country; and at their dismission had received but a small part of their hard earned wages. Were they, as all other armies would have been, guilty of rapine and plunder, taking their pay wherever they could find it? No, nothing like it,—to their immortal honor be it spoken, they acted not like mercenaries, who fight for plunder and pay. They reasoned acted like freemen. They saw the impoverished state of the country, and the difficulties there would be in the punctual payment of their wages. They satisfied themselves, therefore with the expectation of the country's doing them justice, as soon as it should be in their power; and when they were discharged, they returned peaceably to their own homes, without committing any disorderly act worthy of special notice. On reviewing the situation and circumstances of the American army, at the close of the late war, from the commander in chief to the last soldier,—the temptations they were under to tyranize over the people, and secure themselves dignity and wealth,—and the reasons and motives which influenced them to forego these advantages, evidently in their hands, and peaceably to disband, and mingle in common with the body of the people, every man must acknowledge, that a parallel instance is not to be found in history, and that the rational and disinterested procedure of the Americans, in every capacity, and in all national concerns, is peculiar to themselves.—Once more,

By the experience of a few years practice, it was found, that the federal system was defective.—Every state holding an independent, consolidated sovereignty, the system could not embrace the general interests of the confederation, in the manner it was intended. It was found necessary therefore, to remedy these defects, by adopting a more perfect system of government; or, as it was expressed by Congress, to revise the federal system. In this case, how do the people proceed? Do they obstinately persist in holding that degree of absolute sovereignty, which the present system grants each state? Do they, on this pretext, renounce all pretensions to a union, and each state set up an undissembled separate gov-

ernment? Or do any of the states form a scheme of government, consistent with their own local views, and attempt to enforce it on the rest? No, none of these things.—They proceed in the most reasonable way, that reasonable men could suggest. The language of their whole conduct in this affair is this,—We are sensible there is a defect in the federal system, and that it does not, and in the nature of things, cannot, answer the purposes it was intended.—We are willing and desirous to give up every local and partial advantage, and harmonize with our brethren throughout the states, by sharing equally with them the burthens of the union and participating with them, the advantages which may be derived from national resources.—we are not ambitious to obtain a pre-eminence one over another, but are content to be established on an equal footing. In short, we are willing, that a system of government be devised, on the principles of a solid union, and equal benefit.

This is, apparently, a part of the genuine language of the body of the citizens of America, so far as they have proceeded in this business. And to shew their sincerity, and how desirous they were to have their views accomplished, they selected men of the most distinguished characters for wisdom, knowledge, integrity and patriotism, to meet in a general convention, for the purpose of considering the whole political interest and state of the nation; and devising a form of government suitably adapted to the situation and circumstances of the United States. From the days of Noah to the present times, history cannot produce an instance of a people, so great in numbers,—so far separated and extended as to situation and territory, and so different as to their local interests, ever taking so rational measures, to unite their wealth and power, and to establish a permanent government.

* * * *

[27 September 1787]

On the whole therefore, it is indisputably manifest, that the body of the citizens of the United States, in their various ranks, characters, situations and circumstances, have, on all occasions of moment, shewn a disposition, singularly characteristic, to be governed by reason, and not to be duped by the intrigues of designing men, or to be unwarrantably influenced by distinguished characters, or frightened into obedience by threats, nor compelled by force.

One thing only remains, to complete and establish a character, which no other nation can pretend to, and that is to adopt the system of government, which will in a few days be proposed to the people by the convention. To be determined to adopt this system, before it is made public, and the people have time to consider it, will be inconsistent with what I have been observing, and therefore shall not propose it; and shall only observe, that independent of the merits of the form of government to be proposed, there are some special reasons for adopting it, which have occurred, most likely to many, perhaps not every one, for which reason I take the liberty to mention some of them.

1. The members of the federal convention are, confessedly, men of the first character in this country, for wisdom, knowledge, integrity, and patriotism. We may therefore be assured, that the subject they are convened upon, will be thoroughly investigated, examined, and maturely considered,—that there will be as

little partiality and selfishness, in the deliberations and determinations of this council, as in any body of men the country could select; and, that the particular interest of the individual states, and the general interest of the whole, are, and necessarily must be, better known and understood, by the present convention, than by any individual on the continent, or by the assembly of either of the States. From these circumstances we have every reason to conclude that the form of government to be proposed by the convention, will be the best calculated to promote the equal benefit of the whole nation, and the best adapted to the circumstances of the States, of any form, which the States, (by any method they can possibly propose,) could devise.

2. If the form of government prescribed by the convention be rejected, it is by no means probable, the States can ever convene another body of men on the same business; and even, if it were possible, another convention, in all respects equal to the present, cannot be found.

3. Although I sincerely believe, the body of the citizens of the United States honestly wish to adopt, and further such measures, as appear to them well calculated to promote the general good, yet, if by any means, or for any reason, they should be induced to reject the proposals of the convention, there are in this country, like all others, ambitious, aspiring, and intriguing men, who stand ready to avail themselves of the advantages which the confusion, naturally and unavoidably resulting from such a rejection would put in their hands.—The variety of evils that would necessarily be produced by such an event, it were in vain to attempt to describe: Imagination can better suggest them.

The reasons therefore, for accepting the form of government, soon to be proposed by the convention, independent of its merit, are many and great; so great, that if there be reasons sufficient to reject it, they must be weighty indeed.

But it is presumed, that no great need be said, in order to prepossess the minds of people, in favour of the proposed federal system, on account of any excellency we may no suppose it to possess: It will undoubtedly carry its own recommendation.

Without doubt, opposition will be made to it, and many engines set to work, to influence the people to reject it; but this is no argument why it should be rejected.—Should a form of government be sent down from heaven, it would be opposed, because it would oppose the views of some individuals. Let the prescribed form be what it may, it will interfere with the views, designs, and interest of many individuals, all of whom will oppose it, and by every argument that can be made use of will try to prevent its adoption. A man who aspires to a Dukedom or Earldom will oppose it, because, by this, the prospect of establishing a monarchy in this country will be destroyed, and consequently, his ambitious views cut off. A Governor may oppose it, because, the federal system, if established, may place him in a subordinate sphere, whereby his dignity and importance may be eclipsed. An Assembly man may oppose it, because the importance of the state assemblies may be diminished, whereby he might lose some of his importance among his neighbours, and many occasions of "*uttering his wise sayings*" in the assembly, on political subjects. And a Custom-house officer will op-

pose it, because he may think himself in danger of losing his salary and perquisites. But among all the losses that individuals may apprehend will fall upon them, by the adoption of the proposed form of government, I do not believe, (from what hath ever yet appeared) that the great body of the citizens of the United States WILL LOSE THEIR REASON.

19. Oliver Wolcott, Sr., to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.
Litchfield, 24 September 1787 (excerpt)[1]

I think that the Representation in this County this Autumn has been considerably improved—The South Farms People under the Influence of Capt. James Stoddard had at least a considerable number of them, Meetings before the last Election, to consider of Grievances and to fix upon good men for the objects of their Choices, that they might not be Mistaken in the particulars Ephraim Smedley a most ill natured Malcontent, Applyed to Mr. Adams for a position for Councillors—Adams told them that it was improper for him to furnish him with one considering his publick Character but advised him to Apply to Isaac Baldwin Jr & Ebenezer Marsh who he told him were well acquainted with proper Reasons to stand Candidates—The consequence of which he applyed accordingly they furnished him with a Nomination, and shall only say that Dr. Johnson, Mr. Huntington, Mr Mitchell Mr Treadwell, Mr. Sturgis nor I were in the list—Smedley was sent off with this into the Northern Parts of this County, and a [Timy Boras] thro' Woodbury to the Southward—

This Acct. which I have recd. I believe is true and I suppose can be ascertained—This Nomination has been farr less Successful & I am told than that which was sent out the last spring, in sundry Towns, I am told it was hissed at, and the Agent treated with the greatest Contemps—tho they said they were imployed by the People in Litchfield generally, and mentioned Dr. Smith & Mr [Reeve?] in particular, which evinces what Villan[y] these Fellows are capable of—in the Town it had not it is said much effect against me particular[ly?] as I am told I had more Votes than any one except Mr Williams—I hear the Doings of the Convention are in Collier's Press—The next Assembly will be an important one, I hope it will be well chosen—

1. RC, Wolcott Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

20. Connecticut Courant, 24 September 1787

HARTFORD, September 23.

Monday last the Convention, lately convened in Philadelphia, broke up. Their proceedings will be given in our next.

21. Weekly Monitor, 24 September 1787

☞ We with pleasure assure our readers and the public, that the long expected, and anxiously wished for, *Form of Government,* devised and submitted by the late grand Federal Convention of the United States, came to hand on Saturday eve-

ning last, and will be struck off in a hand bill this day; it having arrived too late for insertion in this week's paper.

22. Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth to Governor Samuel Huntington New London, 26 September 1787

♦ *To view this document, visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

23. Comments on the Prospects for Ratification of the Constitution by Connecticut, 25 September 1787–12 January 1788

William Samuel Johnson to Samuel William Johnson, New York, 25 September (excerpt) [1]

. . . It is yet impossible to foresee what will eventually be the Fate of it with the People, we only know that it is very well received on its publication in Philadelphia, & most that we hear in this City, & from Connecticut, & N. Jersey is extremely favourable, but it is known that Parties are forming in al[most?] every State to give it opposition, & it must be some time before we can know the Event. . . .

Henry Knox to George Washington, New York, 3 October (excerpt) [2]

. . . The people of Jersey and Connecticut who are not commercial embrace it with ardor.

James Madison to George Washington, New York, 14 October (excerpt) [3]

. . . An opposition is known to be in petto in Connecticut; but it is said not to be much dreaded by the other side.

Lambert Cadwalader to Edward Lloyd, New York, 23 October (excerpt) [4]

. . . I sincerely congratulate you on the fair Prospect there is of our soon becoming happy at Home & respectable abroad under the Operation of the new Government which from everything I can learn will very probably take Place in the Course of the ensuing Year. . . . The Legislature of Connecticut have agreed to call a Convention—Seven eighths of the House agreed to the Measure.

New York Journal, 20 December (excerpt) [5]

Connecticut convention, in the course of a few weeks, will decide the important question—Whether this decision will be *the great voice of the people,* cannot be pre-determined.

Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Philadelphia, 29 December (excerpts) [6]

Much opposition is expected in New-York. . . . but the federalists in it appear pretty confident that the new constitution will be adopted, tho' not without a

severe struggle. We here entertain no doubt of Connecticut, Massachusetts, & New-Hampshire. One thing I will say, because so far as my knowledge and information reaches it is true—that the most enlightened and the worthiest characters, are patrons of the new constitution.

Roger Alden to Samuel William Johnson, New York, 31 December[7]

The opposition have many Characters of extensive knowledge and great influence—but their efforts have failed in some of the States, particularly in Philadelphia—the Question was carried in the State Convention, 46 against 23—in Delaware and New Jersey by an unanimous vote—Connecticut is the next on the list of dates—the Convention meets next Thursday—of 175 the whole number, 112 are decidedly for the measure—among the remaining 63 some are undetermined—the good sense and influence of the majority may make some converts among them.

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 January 1788

We are assured by the same hand, that there is the greatest probability that neither New Hampshire nor Connecticut will finally decide on the very important and interesting subject of the adoption or rejection of the *new Constitution,* until Massachusetts shall have closed *their* deliberations, the interests and views in trade, the religion and politics of these states being exactly similar, and the latter having hitherto been accustomed to take the lead in all questions of great political moment.

Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 January (excerpt)

Extract of a letter from a Member of Congress, dated New-York, Dec. 28 1787.

Gentlemen here who have pretty good information of what is doing in the eastern states say, that Connecticut will be three to one in convention for the constitution. . . .

James Madison to Edmund Randolph, New York, 10 January (excerpts)[8]

. . . In Connecticut & Massachusetts, the opposition [to the Constitution] proceeds from that part of the ~~state~~ people who have a repugnancy in general to good government, to any substantial abridgement of State powers, and a part of whom in Massts. are known to aim at confusion, and are suspected of wishing a reversal of the Revolution. . . .

The Connecticut Convention has probably come to a decision before this; but the event is not known here. It is understood that a great majority will adopt the Constitution. . . .

Massachusetts Centinel, 12 January

The state Convention of Connecticut have been in session several days.—From the information we have been able to collect, we have good reason to expect, that the Bells of this town [Boston] will soon announce the erection of

the FIFTH PILLAR of the GREAT FEDERAL EDIFICE; in the ratification of the Constitution by that State.

1. RC, Special Collections, William Samuel Johnson Correspondence, Columbia University (printed CC:93). This letter, and all other letters below, are excerpts.
2. RC, Washington Papers, Library of Congress (printed CC:126).
3. *Ibid.* (printed CC:159).
4. RC, Lloyd Papers, Maryland Historical Society (printed CC:184).
5. CC:362 for national circulation.
6. RC, Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (printed CC:393).
7. RC, Papers of William Samuel Johnson, Library of Congress (printed CC:396).
8. RC, Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

24. New Haven Gazette, 11 October 1787[1]

The Town of Derby, at a legal Town-meeting, on Monday last, Resolved *unanimously,* to instruct their Representatives in the general Assembly to use their influence that a Convention should be called as soon as possible for the purpose of taking into consideration the Constitution proposed by the fœderal Convention, in conformity to the recommendation of Congress.

1. This item was reprinted four times in Connecticut and was reprinted or summarized eight times from Maine to Pennsylvania by 27 October.

25. Norwich Packet, 11 October 1787

It is a maxim with moralists that *example* is more efficacious than *precept*; the same principle will also apply in a political view. Is it not then surprising that those deemed the patterns of our country (whether in point of knowledge, office, or riches) do not let their conduct be characteristic of those social and necessary virtues of prudence, œconomy, frugality and temperance?—unless they do, they greatly injure that community to whom they are so justly indebted.

* * * *

One happy effect of adopting the proposed form of Continental government will be the entire destruction of the aristocratic influence in the seaport-towns; and a sure preven[t]ative against cabals being formed by those in the different states, who have too long supposed that *they* and *their connections* were the only proper persons to fill the seats of government—to the exclusion of the honest and independent FARMERS.

* * * *

Public bodies are to be considered as naturally refractory, turbulant, and knavish; ever disposed for war, and never at a loss for pretexts in support of there various claims. The present rupture in the *United Provinces* has already begun to kindle the fire of four potent powers. A certain proportion of carnage and bloodshed and that only is necessary to bring about a compromisation—The idea (in fact) of justice and equity in such cases is wholly out of the question: the ends of the contending must be answered and until they are, no solicitations however

reasonable and just, will avail any thing.—The drama must finally be closed with the right of *domination* and *controle*: policy will be and as a (titular) argument, but in truth it can lay no claim to be heard.—The general idea held out is, that the Stadeholder must be supported in his office with its usual powers and prorogatives.—Not a word is suggested by them as to the abuse he makes of the delegation, but by the party agrieved.—An offer if first made to mediate; the citizens object upon the principle that they will not be heard, of course justice will be evaded: this refusal is followed by a determination that if they (the subjects) do not re-instate the Stadtholder in his former administrationship, they will interfere.—Thus we see it centers in that darling principle so sacredly maintained by all public bodies, *the right of dominion*: a right *often abused* especially since the *prerogative* is always supported by *uncontrolable power.*

26 A–F. The Connecticut General Assembly, 11 October–1 November 1787

26-A. House Proceedings, Thursday, P.M., 11 October[1]

Attend Hearing public Letters in Upper House—

26-B. House Proceedings, Friday, P.M. 12 October[2]

Assigned Friday P. M. 12th.—Viz.—Report of Convention to Tuesday Morning [16 October]

26-C. House and Council Proceedings, Wednesday–Thursday, 16–17 October

[For a photographic copy of the draft resolutions of 16–17 October and the broadside printing of the resolutions, see Mfm:Conn. 27, 28.]

26-D. House Proceedings, Thursday, A.M., 1 November[3]

passed Resolve for Inhabitants of Weston to choose Delegates to Convention with Fairfield & Stratford

[Engrossed Resolution][4]

"Resolved by this Assembly that the Inhabitants of the Town of Weston Incorporated by this Assembly who by Law may Vote in Town Meeting be and hereby are allowed to Vote in Town Meeting on the second Monday in November next for Delegates to attend the Convention appointed to be held in Hartford on the first Thursday in January next in the several Towns of Fairfield and Stratford to which said Inhabitants respectively belonged before said Incorporation in the same manner as though said Town of Weston had not been incorporated, and that they be warned to attend Said Town Meetings in the same manner as the other Inhabitants of said Towns of Fairfield & Stratford shall or may be warned."

26-E. House Proceedings, Thursday, 4:00 P.M., 1 November[5]

The House having by Message, as usual, acquainted the Governor with their Desire, if (as apparently) consistent with the present Situation of public & important Business, to close their Session, & retire every Man to his [Seat] & thereupon being formally introduced into the Council Chamber, attend a solemn

Prayer prefered very suitably to the Occasion by the Revd. D Stiles and his Excellency's valedictory address particularly recommending many good Things such as Unanimity, Patriotism, Virtue & Religion and especially, as a probable Means thereof, Education & Literature throughout the State. Whereupon the Assembly was adjourned in common Form Sine Die,

Jedidiah Strong Clerk
Vale, valeto, valeat, valeta

26-F. Representation of Towns in the House of Representatives[6]

Roll of Representatives

New Haven October 1787
J Strong Clerk

No. Towns in County of	Hartford	14
	New Haven	13
	New London	11
	Fairfield	10
	Windham	13
Exclusive Barkhemp-	Litchfield	20
stead & Colebrook	Middlesex	6
unrepresented	Tolland	9
Total No.		96
Barkhempstead and Colebrook unrepresented		2
		98

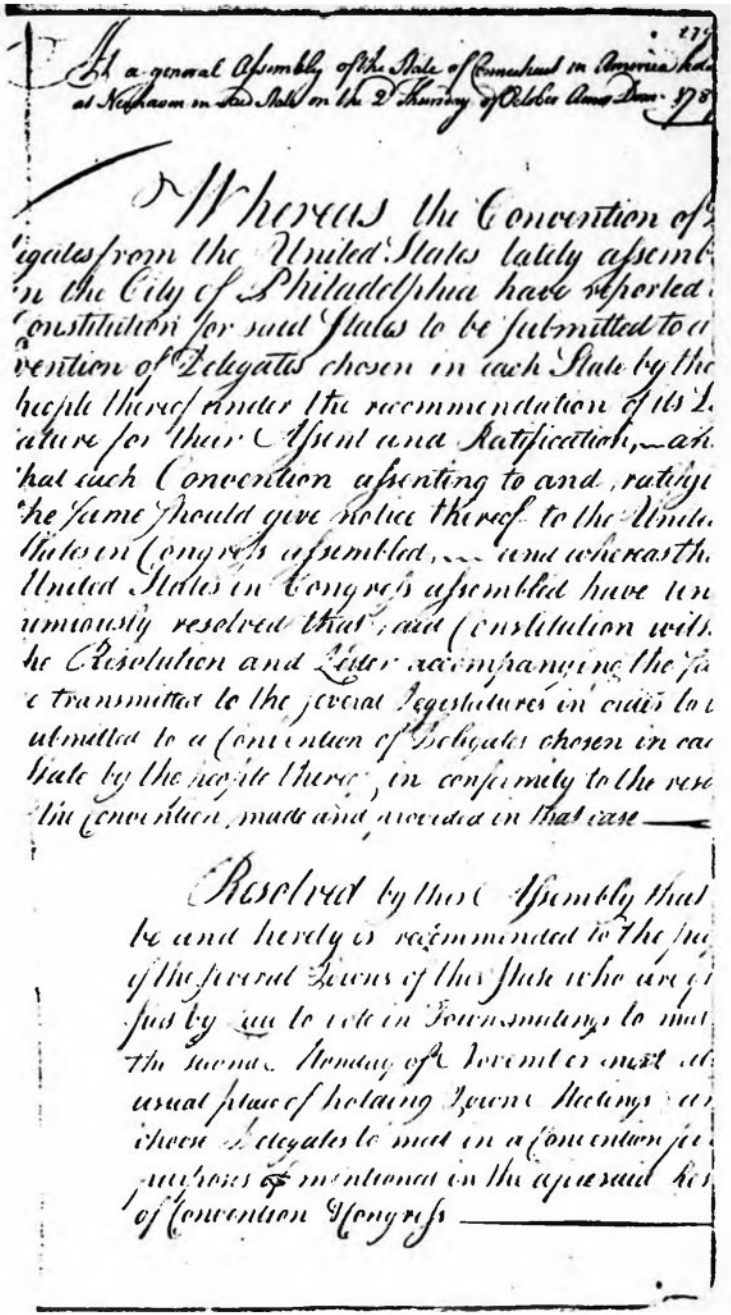
77 Send Two Members to Parliament.
19 Send One Member to Parliament.
2 Send no Member to Parliament.
98

N Haven October 1787
J. Strong [Clericus]

1 Weston created Oct. 1787
99

1. MS, Journal of the House of Representatives, Connecticut State Library.
2. *Ibid.* These proceedings are not among the daily entries of the Journal, but are on the verso side of the last page of the "General Assembly Rolls" for the October 1787 session.
3. *Ibid.*
4. MS. Records of the State of Connecticut, IV, 9, Connecticut State Library. The draft of this resolution is in Connecticut Archives, Towns & Lands, vol. X, document no. 127, Connecticut State Library.
5. MS, Journal of the House of Representatives, Connecticut State Library.
6. *Ibid.* Located in the "General Assembly Rolls," this document precedes the roll for the October 1787 session.

27. Draft Resolutions Calling the State Convention, 16–17 October 1787[1]

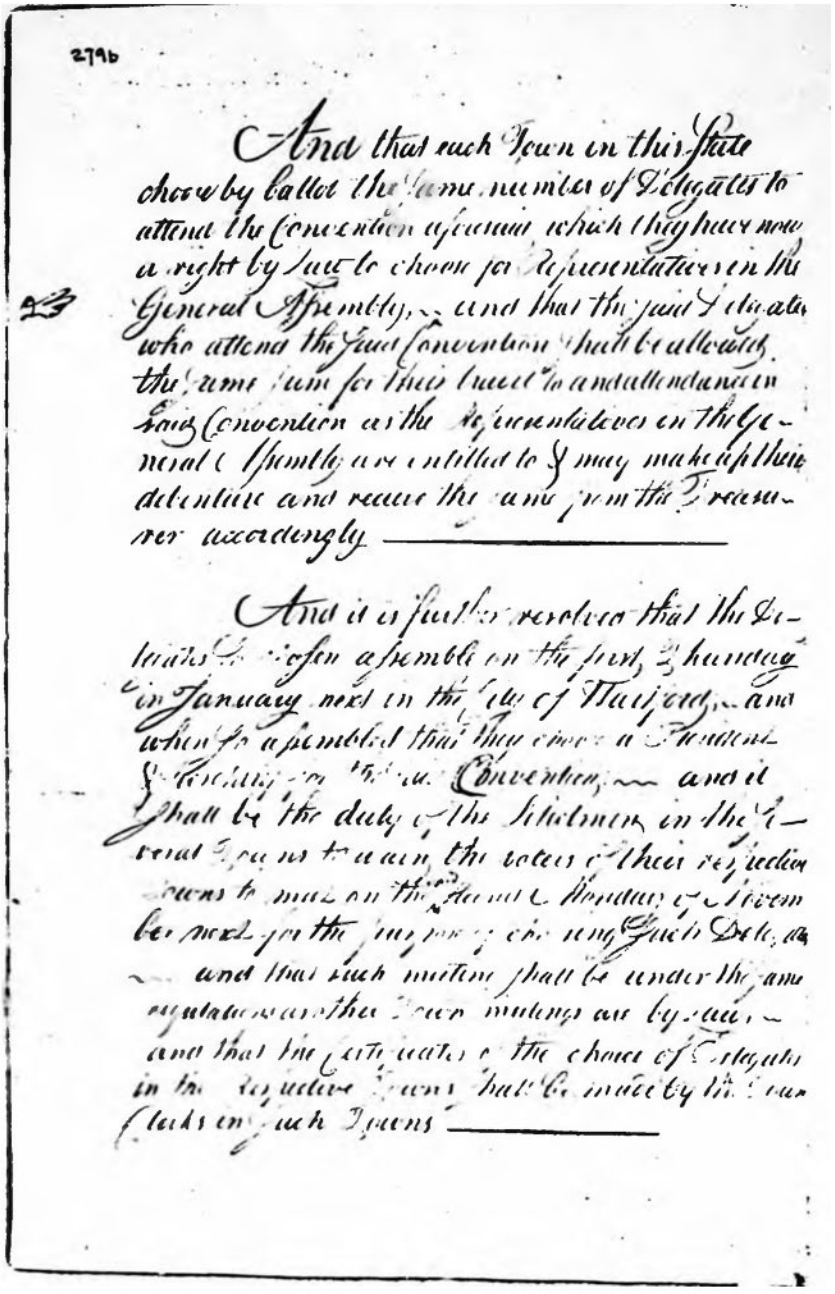


In a general Assembly of the State of Connecticut in America held at Hartford in said State on the 2d Thursday of October Anno Dom. 178

Whereas the Convention of Delegates from the United States lately assembled in the City of Philadelphia have reported a Constitution for said States to 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, and whereas the United States in Congress assembled have unanimously resolved that said Constitution with the Resolution and Letter accompanying the same transmitted to the several Legislatures in order to be submitted to a Convention of Delegates chosen in each State by the People thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the Convention made and provided in that case

Resolved by this Assembly that it be and hereby is recommended to the Inhabitants of the several Towns in this State who are entitled by Law to vote in Town meetings to meet on the second Monday of November next at the usual places of holding Town Meetings in said Towns and chuse Delegates to meet in a Convention for the purposes mentioned in the aforesaid Resolves of Convention & Congress

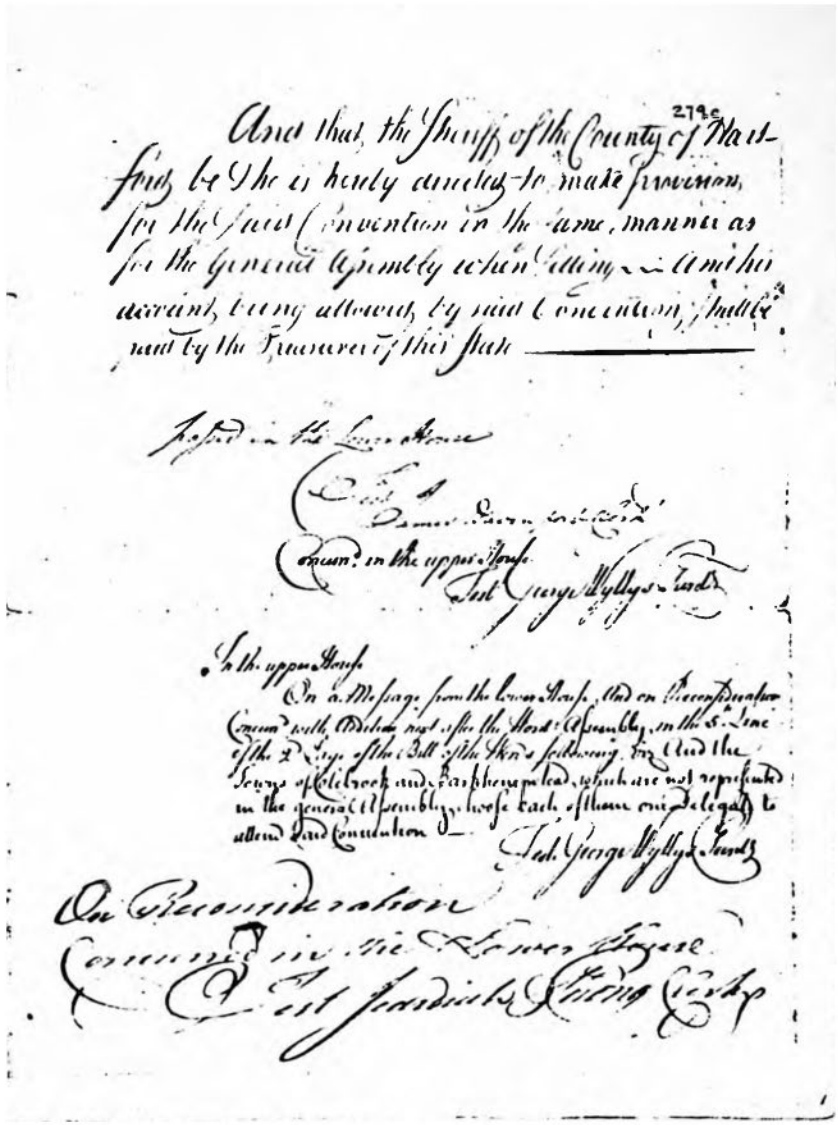
1. MS, Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, 1st Series, Vol. XXXVII, document no. 279, Connecticut State Library.



2796

And that each Town in this State
chuse by ballot the same number of Delegates to
attend the Convention aforesaid which they have now
a right by Law to chuse for Representatives in the
General Assembly, and that the said Delegates
who attend the said Convention shall be allowed
the same sum for their travel to and attendance in
said Convention as the Representatives in the Ge-
neral Assembly are entitled to & may make up their
debentures and receive the same from the Treasu-
rer accordingly ———

And it is further resolved that the De-
legates so chosen assemble on the first Thursday
in January next in the City of Hartford, and
when so assembled that they choose a Moderator
& Secretary in the said Convention, and it
shall be the duty of the Selectmen in the se-
veral Towns to warn the voters of their respective
Towns to meet on the second Monday of Novem-
ber next for the purpose of choosing such Dele-
gates and that such meeting shall be under the same
regulations as other Town meetings are by Law
and that the certificates of the choice of Delegates
in the respective Towns shall be made by the Town
Clerks in such Towns ———



28. Resolutions Calling the State Convention, 16–17 October 1787[1]

♦ *To view this document, visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. Broadside, Connecticut Broadsides, Miscellaneous Acts and Orders, Vol. I, 1775–1808, p. 27, Connecticut State Library.

29. Bill for Printing the Resolutions for Calling the State Convention 18 October 1787[1]

Octr. 18, 1787 The State of Connecticut to Josiah Meigs Pr.
To paper and printing 200 Copies of a Resolve[s?]
of the General Assembly at 2 1/4 d £1: 17: 6
New Haven, Oct. 18, 1787.
Errors excepted

Pr. Joseph Meigs

New Haven Oct. Session 1787 General Assembly

In the Lower House, The above Account, is approved amounting to One pound seventeen shillings & six pence & the Treasurer is directed to pay the same to Josiah Meigs accordingly

Test James Davenport Clerk
Concurrd in the upper House
Test George Wyllys Secrety

1. MS, Connecticut Archives, Finance & Currency, 1st Series, vol. V, document no. 243, Connecticut State Library.

30. Connecticut Gazette, 19 October 1787

On Tuesday last, the General Assembly of this State, now sitting at New-Haven, appointed a Convention to meet at Hartford, on the first Thursday of January next:—the choice of Delegates to attend the Convention, be made the second Monday in next Month.

31. Gouverneur Morris to Jeremiah Wadsworth New York, 26 October 1787 (excerpt)[1]

* * * * * * *

P.S. I learn that the Constitution is very agreable to Connecticutt Excepting always that certain People called Cincinati do not think it sufficiently energetic and that a certain Person called Jeremiah Wadsworth declares it to be highly objectionable on that Score but is willing to take it for the present in Hopes of Something better by and bye. All this is very well and in Scripture Phrase *being interpreted* from the Language of your Country into that of mine does I suppose mean We do in our Hearts approve but fear that Praises from our Lips would give offence or at least alarm to our weaker Brethren—again adieu

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

32. A Metallurgist, New Haven Gazette, 1 November 1787

As we have (by the gracious interposition of Divine Providence) after a long and bloody struggle, obtained our independence, the question now very naturally arises, by what ways and means the same is to be supported: On consideration of this important and most interesting question, I perceive it the voice of almost every individual, by way of answer, that 'tis necessary we should, as much as possible, curtail our importations, and to erect and institute the manufacture of such necessary articles, as we should otherwise be under a necessity of importing; this would give a great spring to industry, and make employ for thousands of our poor, who have neither ways nor means to busy themselves, and prove the salvation of the tottering structure.

If these propositions are true, what can our Legislature do better, than to hold out some encouragement to excite the people to engage in the various manufactures necessary, and likewise to grant some small premiums as a reward to those Genii, who have made any notable discoveries subservient to such manufactures; and for my own part, I could wish that Mr. *Casca*, who appeared in your paper of the 18th ult. might be held up to view among the first, as meritorious of the premium, on account of his liberal communication of a corrosive menstruum for the solution of Copper; 'tis well known to all that are acquainted with the use and merchandize of the article of verdigrease, that very large sums of money are annually drawn out of this country for the importation of that one article; 'tis also equally notorious to those acquainted with the manufacture, that it is performed by corroding the copper with a suitable menstruum. Should it be objected that the menstruum is too corrosive, and reduces the metallic substance too far towards a calx, still it may answer the public a valuable purpose by precipitating the same with a calcareous substance from Danbury, which would produce a plenty of that valuable pigment called Verditer.

I have only to suggest further, that Mr. *Casca* might be desired to furnish the menstruum whenever the manufacture is set up, and that he might be desired to make if fully adequate to the solution of *Copper*.

33-A. Draft of a Speech by Benjamin Gale, 12 November 1787[1]

Dr. Gales Objections to The New Plan of Goverment proposed by the Convention Holden at Philadelphia at a Town Meeting Holden at Killingworth the 12 Day of Novr for the Choice of Delegates

Gentlemen It is Now six Years since I have presumed to offer my Sentiments on Any Subject In Your Meetings unless when The Town Clerks office was removed from the first to the Second Society—with Liberty Mr Moderator I will once More upon this Occasion as ~~it is~~ a Question submitted to Your Consideration of the utmost Importance and Consequence to You and Posterity that Ever was submitted to Your determination unless when the first Articles of Confederation of the States were proposed to You which to My Astonishment and surprize You

then passed with Fewer Remarks and [Less?] objections Than I Ever saw a 4d Tax Passed since I have been *a voter* ~~*Legal Voter*~~ In ~~a Town~~ This Meeting

A New Constitution is again Laid before You ~~to Adopt or Reject and~~ and You are Directed to Choose Delegates to a Convention to be Holden at Hartford In January Next Either to Adopt or Reject it—Before You Choose delegates for That End I presume You will Hear The New Constitution read, and any Remarks made for or against it, and Then to take the Minds of The Town Whether You will Adopt or Reject it, and after that doubtless You will Choose such Delegates as will Act Agreable to the Mind of the Town—

As I beleive it to be the Last Time I shall Offer my Sentiments to this Meeting upon this or any Other Occasion I beg Leave I may have Liberty to declare my Sentiments on this Important Subject fully freely Deliberately and Calmly, That I may not Omit any thing, or say any thing Unadvisedly, or be misrepresented Abroad In what I do say, I have Committed every thing to Writing that I shall say Upon the Subject—I would In the first Place Gentlemen Suggest to You What I beleive Every Man of Common sense must know to be true. That *All Power* is in the Hands of the *People,* You were often told so when we first began our Controversey with Great Brittain, and Often highly Complimented upon it—More Laterly You have been by *Political Writers* such as are driving at Innovation Treated with Contempt and Dispised You have been Called the *Rabble*—The *Multitude*—These Ears of Mine have heard You Called so, and that by a Doctr In Divinity—and Popular Elections Treated with Contempt saying Both of Our Representatives both In Congress and our Assemblies they are Not only the *Legal* but the *Real substantial Representatives* of their Electors ie About the same proportion of Grave Sound well Qualified Men Trifling desultory Men—wild knavish Scheemers—and Dull Ignorant Fools in the Delegated Assemblies as in the Body of the Electors—Thus Gentlemen You have been Represented by the Flaming Zealots for this N Conn—and Now Gentlemen These seeming Patriots have not Left the Matter to the Determination and Decision whether this New Plan or Form of Goverment shall be Accepted or rejected to our Representatives In General Assembly where by our Present Articles of Confederation it is Left see Article 13 but they have referred it Back to You to be decided and I will Tell You their Reasons for so doing This New Form of Govt is drawn up in so Artfull a Manner, Doubtfully Expressed In such a Blind Mysterious form of Words as is hardly to be understood by men of the Best Sense—Most Learning, Judgment and Penetration, it is really Dificult to Determin, In what Sense it is to be Understood, the Diction is so Calculated that the words may be taken in Divers Senses, and they have Taken Care in Every Town to have ~~Creatures~~ *those who* Already Provided for by Places of Preferment and Profit and raised Expectations of Still further Promotion to support it—and the your Determination upon this Important Subject is Hurried on In a Most Unreasonable Manner—You have not Allowed You a Fortnight for Consideration Upon this Grand and Important Subject before You & to make Choice of Delegates to fix the Fate of this Country forever—

I would Just remind You any Rights Given up Into the Hands of the Civil Magistrate Never was again Restored—nor Never was Recovered Back Without

the Shedding of Blood—This Gentlemen is a Solemn Truth—Now for the People thus to be Hurried and Drove to Determin Upon so Important a Subject on which our Liberties depend and will Last for Ages is Cruel and to me it is Demonstration—There is a Design some where, Where I will not determin—but shall Read You some Things That have been made Publick to the World and then Leave You to Judge for Your selves but before I proceed—to do this I will make some Few objections to this New Plan of Goverment Presented to You Either to Adopt or Reject—but it will Take up too much Time to make Objections to Every Particular which is really Exceptionable—I will Touch only Upon Those which I Look upon as Fundimental which to All Intents and Purposes Robs the States of their Freedom Sovereignty and Independance and Every thing which we Now Value and All the Bussiness Left for our Assemblies to Do may be as well transacted in Our Town Meetings as to be at the Expence of our General Assemblies—

My First objection to Art 1 Sect 1 The Right of Taxing The States is vestd By this New Constitution wholly in Congress not only by Direct Taxes or Rates but by Excise and Impost They may first Lay what Impost they Please, as much Excise as they please and Then Levy what Rates they Please by direct Taxation—Now I submit to any one who have any understanding or knowledge of the Large Salleries Granted by Congress to All Officers Employed by them and Then say wr You Think You Can Ever support the Charges of this New Goverment pland out by this Convention I must first Observe to You Congress have already fixed Upon us an Interest of 99,000 a Year only for the Commutation Granted to the Army viz 90 thousd to the Officers for their Commutation Securities, and 9000 to the Soldiers This Annual Interest You must Pay if this New Constitution—Congress have Taken Care to Conceal from us what is the Annual Amount of the Expences of the Fœderal Goverment Under ~~The Present~~ Situations we Now are However some of the Expences they have Laid us Under has Leaked out by one Means or Other and I will venture to Tell you That we have Ever since the Peace been at the Expence of [11111 9/10th of?] a Dollar for Embassendors to the Courts of Europe beside the Expence salleries of their Secretaries which Sums I do not remember so as to Ascertain the Sums Precisely—but this I take to be Their Saleries Exclusive of the Other Expences of their Embassies—Now I Challange any Man to Tell me of what Advantage these Embassendors have been to us Ever since the Peace has there one Advantage accrued to us In Trade or Commerce—on the Contrary the States have been Publickly Affronted by a Late Advertisement In our Papers that Unless our vessels had a Clearing from the French Consuls they should not be admitted in any of the Ports of France At Least in the West Indies Now I submit it to You Gentlemen whr you Can Give to this New Constituted Congress Powers Not only to Tax us In this State to any Amount they Please both by Impost Excise and Direct Taxes on our Estate to Pay 99000 Interest Annually to our Officers and Army and Pay such Exorbitant Salleries to All Officers they have Already Appointed over and such as they shall Appoint of which we shall have them in Plenty when we have but 5 Representatives in that Legislative Body and not only so but to make Laws for us in All Matters that relate to this N Form of Goverment—I Presume None of you would be Willing That any

5 of the Best Men In this State Should have the sole Right to Tax You by Excise Impost and Direct Taxes and Make Laws for this Whole State Especially if they should Tell us as Congress have Told us In their Public Printed Resolves without any Reserve—see Page 15—Now Gentlemen If Congress will Speak out in this High Tone Now what will they not

1. MS, Benjamin Gale Papers, Bienecke Library, Yale University. Significant words crossed out by Benjamin Gale have been transcribed and lined out.

33-B. Draft of a Speech by Benjamin Gale, 12 November 1787[1]

At a Town Meeting Holden In Killingworth 12 Novr 1787

Gentlemen There is now Laid Before You a New Form of Goverment for your Consideration, and then to say, whether You will Reject the Present Form of Goverment, Prescribed by the Articles of our Fœderal Union, or Adopt that prescribed and Pointed out by the Convention Holden at Philadelphia Or Not—Before You Proceed to the Choice of Delegates to Determin upon that Matter, no Doubt You will hear the New Constitution read, and any remarks made for or against its being Adopted by this State, and then proceed to the Election of Delegates, who may act agreable to Your Minds—I Think it is now Five Years since I have Presumed to Lay before You any of my Sentiments unless at the Time, when the Town Clerks office was removed from This Place, and have Good reason to think, it is the Last Time I Ever Shall, on this or any Other Occasion, as the Subject is of the Last Importance both to us of the Present Day, and to Posterity I beg Leave I may have Liberty to do it Fully, Freely, Calmly and Deliberately—That I may not Omit any thing through Forgetfulness, or say any thing Undadvisedly, That I should be Unwilling to have Canvassed Either Publickly or Privately—and that what I say, may not be misrepresented Abroad, I have wrote Every word I propose to say upon this Occasion

I would In the *First* Place suggest to You what every Man of Sense must Acknowledge, That *All Power* is in the Hands of the *People Originally,* and that they have a Right to say, In what way and by what *Rules* they will be Governed—& What Power they will retain In Their *own Hands*—and what Powers they will give into the Hands of *their Civil Rulers,* and when that is Done, the *People* have no right to Complain if their Civil Rulers do not Exceed the Powers *Delegated* to them, nor have our Civil rulers any right to Go beyond the Powers Delegated to them, nor is any of their Acts Valid; whenever they Exceed the Limits Given by the *People.*—That is to say, by the Constitution—or the Compact Made between the *Rulers* and *Ruled*—

Again In every Free State as Civil Rulers to whom the Affairs of Goverment are Committed must have a *Support,* and There are various Charges and Expences Both In War and Peace, which must be paid by the *People*—It is ever Deemed the Right of the *People* to know [*how*?] the Money Demanded from them by their Rulers is Applyed to the Purposes for which they Pay or in other Terms they have a Right to Know how it is Applyd

Before I Enter Immediately Upon the Consideration of this New Plan of Goverment I would Just take Notice what Reasons have Been Assigned for a New

form of Goverment—the Complaint is the *Weakness of the Fœderal Goverment, we now Have.* And this Complaint has been so *Loud,* and so *Long,* that many very Worthy Honest People are made to Belive it, and In Order to Undeceive You In this Matter I must Tell you This Complaint began Immediately Upon Congress making the Grant of Commutation as it is Called, which has sadled These States with the Interest of 99,000 Annually, viz 90 Thousand to the Officers, and 9000 to the Soldiers, which they have been persuaded was Good for nothing and have sold them from 2/ to 3/ on the Pound and now the *Holders* of them Final Settlement Notes, and our *Commutation Gentry* are Clamouring for more Power to be Granted to Congress—that is to Say, a Military Goverment to be Erected over us—In Order to Obtain their Commutation Securities and those final Settlement Notes which the Present Holders of them have purchased at the Nominal Value—This Vote for Obtaining Commutation was Obtained from Congress by *a Pretended Mutiny of our Army* at their Cantonments on Hudsons River, and that Vote was Obtained in Congress it self by but One Single Vote, viz, the vote of Coll Dyer, who wrote Immediately up to the Assembly how the Affair Hapned, and that he was actually put in fear, and that he dare do no otherwise than Comply with that Vote, although against his own Private opinion, This Gentlemen I have been Authentically Inform[ed] of by those that were Present ~~and Heard it Read~~—*Again* Gentlemen by the Present Articles of Our Fœderal Union Congress Never Demanded any thing More of us than that Each State should Raise Cloath and Equip Thir Quota of Men, In Time of War, and Each State to pay their Proper Proportion of The Expences of the Fœderal Goverment and the Charges of War or the Debt Contracted by the War ——

Now Gentlemen No Man I believe will Charge the States with not fullfilling their Engagements of Furnishing their *Quota* of Men, at Least it was done with as much Punctuality as the Circumstances of Affairs would Admit and as to Paying them we know we paid them with Paper—and We know it Depreciated—What Did this State do—they did All that Men Could do, that not Silver and Gold In their Pockets to pay them, We setled Accounts with them we made Every Allowance to them that was reasonable we gave them our Publick Obligations for the Discount upon Interest to be paid In Silver and Gold with Interest till Paid—We did more we Furnished their Families with Provisions at a Rate in Proportion to their Wages at a price [20 prCt?] Below wt we could feed our own families—This I know to be True for I Carried Wheat my self to Capt. Baldwins House or hired it Carried to the Mill to pay my own Tax so far I think was Just and Honest Gold Could not be paid where it was not to be Had—Thus we Treated our Soldiers and Officers they Returned to the Army and Were Satisfied—they Declared themselves Satisfied

The Next News we Hear of their Transactions is they are Petitiong Congress for More Money and Complaining of their Hard Usage—To which Petition there is four of the General Officers of the Connecticut Line of the Army have signed it the Evidence of it the Army have themselves furnished us with In A Pamphlet I have in my Hand which they themselves have Published to the World In order to prove their Just Right to Half Pay and to their Commutation Granted them by Congress in Leiu of Half Pay which is in these words and I thank them

for making it Publick at their own Expence—See Page 21—How Just How fair this Representation You who know our own Officers and All Their Circumstances, and how you have [streightned?] your own Families to support theirs Can Judge as well as my self

The Officers of our Army Just before the Conclusion of the War Appointed a Committee to Wait on Congress to settle Their Commutation In Leiu of Half Pay and we find their Comee Writing Back to the Army At their Cantonment on Hudsons River In his Letter Dated Philadel of 8 Feby 1783—In which he writes as Follows Fol 25—I thank the Officers of the Army Likewise for this Intelligence had they Never Caused it to be Published the World must have Remained in Ignorance of their Whole Conduct—But for what reasons Congress were Unwilling to Refer the Soldiers to the Justice and Uprightness of their Several States I Can Assign No Reasons but what Genll M'Dougal Assigns as a Reason Congress were Determined to Get *Funds* That is, to Alter the Articles of our Fœderal Union and to Convert Each States Paying their Equal *Proportion* of the Public Debt Into a Fixed Permanent *Revenu* and to be Collected by Officers of their own Appointment. Besure I can form No other Idea what was the Intent Meaning and Determination of Those who Genll M'Dougal Stiles his best Freinds In Congress Unless it was to Alter the Confederation from Each States Paying their Proportion of the Publick Debt Into a Fixed Permanent Revenue and for that Reason would Risque Every thing before they would Recommend it to the States to make Compensation to their Soldiers on Account of the Depreciation of their Wages which had been Paid In Continental Money—

The Comee of the Army Not succeeding according to their Wishes in fixing their Commutation the Next Thing we Hear from them is a *Farsical Account of a Pretended Mutiny* and Dispatches were Repeatedly sent to Congress by his Excellency General Washington who was Imposed Upon by Their Artfull Inflamitory Papers dispersed In Camp, untill they Obtained the Vote for their Commutation which they Likewise Tell us Page 44 &c

It would really be musical to the Last degree, to read Their own Account of that Farsical Mutiny of our Army, by which They Obtained a Vote in Congress By [A?] Majority of one Vote to Saddle these States with an Interest of 99000 a Year was not the Liberties of my Country Endangred by it—But from that moment they Obtaind the Vote of Commutation Their *Trumpeters* have been Alarming the States that the Fœderal Goverment is too Weak to Effect the Designs of Goverment they well know unless they Can Effect a Change of Goverment by this New Constitution and take the Militia out of the Hands of our Governours and Put them under the President of Congress to Enforce Submission by a Military Goverment they Never Can, Nor Never will Obtain Their Commutation Securities, at the full Nominal Value

Upon the Requisition of Congress for an *Impost* to be Laid on All Foreign Articles of Commerce which Congress Propose to be Converted Into What they Call a *Revenue* The States Many of them Complyed with it, but No Two States Complyed alike, nor any one State agreable to the Requisition of Congress—I have seen the Acts of Every State on the Continent and there was not any Two States alike in their Complyance—*Rhode Island* Refused to Grant it in any Shape, and I admire and Thank them for that resolution, as the States Never had agreed

to Allow to Congress a *Revenue* ~~nor I hope Ever will~~ and if they Attentively read the Resolution of Congress of the 16th Decr 1782 I presume they Never Will—which Resolution is in the Following Words See fol 15 In their Printed Address—Now if Congress Claim a *Right* to raise a *Revenue* by the Articles of Confederation—I desire to know in what Article of the Confederation the States have Promised to do it, the Word *revenue* is not In the Articles of Confederation, and [if?] they may demand as much Money as they Please, and Appropriate it as they Please, and the States have no Constitutional Liberty to Judge of the *Exorbitancy* of their Demands, we are Already In a Most Dreadfull Situation Indeed [!?] and by our New Constitution should we Comply with it we Give the Militia Into the Hands of Congress to Enforce Obedience by Sword and Bayonet—Congress by the Articles of Confederation were to Assign to Each State their Proportion of the Public Debt—Have they Ever done this—I answer NO—or has any One State ever Refused to pay their Proportion of the Publick Debt By Funding the Debt and Providing for the Payment of the Interest Annually I Answer NO there has not one State Ever refused—Let me Ask those [who] Complain of the Weakness of the Fœderal Goverment what State has refused to Comply with the requisitions of Congress In any one Particular that by the Articles of Confederation they had a Right to Demand their Complyance? I will Answer for them In NO One Instance—Congress Never has Assigned to any one State their Proportion of the Publick Debt Nor has any one State refused to Fund it, for Pay it we Cannot Untill we Can Discharge it by the Annual Produce of our Farms—Congress has kept 13 Commissioners Ever since the War with Large Salleries to Ascertain the sum total of the Publick Debt and to this Moment we know no more what our Publick Debt is nor what Each States Proportion is, than we know what sort of Moral Intelligences Inhabit the Moon and why they do not I Cannot Conceive Unless for the same reasons that they would not return the Soldiers to the States to which they Belonged for to make Good the Depreciation of their Wages which Gen McDougal Tells us they were determined not to Do untill All Prospects of Obtaining *Continental Funds was at an End*

Notwithstanding They have Never Assigned to Each State their Proportion of the Debt nor has any one State ever refused to Fund Their Proportion of the Publick Debt whenever they Assign it nor has any one state Complyed with an Impost Agreable to the Requisition of Congress Yet the Cry has been Raised against *Rhode Island*—and They have Denominated It *Rogues Island* and Every ~~Dirty~~ Pen has been dipt in Gall to Render her Infamous and What has Rhode Island Done why she had the Fortitude to deny to Congress what Congress had No Right to Demand by the Articles of Confederation—But it will be said Rhode Island has Done More, they have Emited a Paper Medium and Made it a Legal Tender to Discharge any Debt—This I own was not Right and With regard to that I highly Blame them—But had not Rhode Island the Example of Congress for All This—Did not Congress [do no?] More—They Uttered Large Emission of Bills wh they Engaged to redeem in 18 Years—when they Began to Depreciate Did not Congress Declare to the Possessors of those Bills that they should Bona Fide be Paid to the Possessors In Gold and Silver according to the Nominal Value on the Face of the Bills?—Did not Congress Afterward Recommend it to the States to Make Tender Acts to make it a Legal Tender In all Payments whatever—

and In Consequence of those Acts was not Large Sums have been paid to Private Persons and what is Worse to the Widow and Orphan and Thereby they have been Deprived of their Whole Substance and Living—and Afterwards did not Congress resolve Those Bills should Pass 40 for 1 and Thereby deprive the Possessors of the Bills 39 Parts in Forty of their Substance—All this Passes in Silence while Rhode Island is made the Song of the Drunkard and Brot as an Irrefragable Prooff that the Power of Congress must be Enlarged I.E Converted Into a Military Goverment In Order that the Purchasors of Publick Securities from 2 to 3/ on the Pound might be Paid at the Nominal Value and the Officers of the Army Receive their Commutation Securities In full Sale—Let me Ask You Gentlemen Is there not the Same Reason that Every Continental Bill Emited by Congress Should be Paid According to the Face of the Bill? There Certainly is the Same Reason both in Justice and Equity and Much Greater for it is very Certain Congress by the Articles of our Fœderal Union had a Right to Emit Bills and if they Had it is as certain they ought to Pay them according to the Face of the Bill A Failure In Congress In that Respect Most Certainly must be Looked Upon as Great as In a Single State and I think it by No means Certain that Congress had a Right to Engage the Officers of the Army Half by the Articles of our Fœderal Union and it is Quite Certain if they Had not a Constitutional Right Their Granting Commutation is in itself a Nullity—By the Articles of Confederation the States were to Raise Cloath arm and Equip their Quota of Men In a Soldier Like Manner and it has been a Usage Time Immemorial for Every State that Raises Men to Appoint their Wages If we Raise our Men for 40/ pr Month or if we Please to Give them 10 Dollars Congress has No Right to Interfere and if they have no Right to Diminish their Wages sure I am they have no Right to Add to them Unless the Confederation Expressly Gives them that Right—Upon the Whole I am free to own there is the Strongest Reasons to Say all this Routt about the Weakness of the Fœderal Goverment has been raised by the Honble Society of the Cincinnati as they are Now Called to Enforce the Collection of their Commutation Securities which they will be Able to Do by the Proposed Amendment of our Form of Goverment which I will now proceed to shew from the Articles them selves by Way of Objection to Them—

1. MS, Benjamin Gale Papers, Bienecke Library, Yale University. Significant words crossed out by Benjamin Gale have been transcribed and lined out.

34. Newspaper Reports of Election of Delegates to the State Convention 12 November 1787

Connecticut Journal, 14 November[1]

New-Haven, Nov. 14.

Monday last, the Inhabitants of this Town, qualified by Law to vote in Town-Meeting, convened at the State-House, and made choice of the Hon. Roger Sherman, and Pierpont Edwards, Esqrs. Delegates, to represent them in the State Convention to be holden at Hartford, on the first Thursday of January next.

The Meeting was full—harmonious—and the Delegates chosen by a very great Majority.

The Gentlemen chosen by other Towns, so far as we have received Information, are as follow, viz.

Litchfield, Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Mr. Strong. Hamden, Mr. Goodyear. North-Haven, Mr. Basset. Waterbury, Capt. Welton, Mr. Hopkins. Branford, Mr. Hoadley, Col. Gould. Guilford, Gen. Ward, Col. Eliot. Durham, Gen. Wadsworth, Capt. Hall. Middletown, Gen. Parsons, Mr. Miller. Wallingford, Col. Hall, Mr. Whiting. Cheshire, Mr. Beach, Mr. Brooks. Stratford, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Mills. Milford, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Mallet. Woodbridge, Capt. Osborn, Mr. Newton. Southington, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Barns. Derby, Mr. D. Holbrook, Capt. Holbrook. East-Haven, Mr. Davenport. New-Hartford, Col. Austin, Mr. Goodman. Harwinton, Mr. Prindle, Col. Wilson. Bristol, Mr. Peck.

New Haven Gazette, 15 November

At a very full meeting of this town on Monday last, for the purpose of chusing delegates to sit in Convention at Hartford on the 3d Day of January next, the Hon. ROGER SHERMAN, Esq. in the chair:—

The Constitution proposed by the late Federal Convention for the government of the United States was read, and the meeting proceeded to their choice, when the Hon. ROGER SHERMAN, and PIERPONT EDWARDS, Esquires, were elected by very great majorities.

Virginia has directed a convention to meet next May, with powers not only to accept or reject, but to *amend* the new constitution.

LIST of DELEGATES to the STATE CONVENTION.

Guilford, Gen. Ward, Col. Elliot. *Branford,* Col. Gould, Mr. Hoadley, *Woodbridge,* Mr. Newton, Capt. Osborne. *Stratford,* Hon. William S. Johnson, Esq. Elisha Mills, Esq. *Milford,* Gideon Buckingham Esq. Mr. Mallet. *Waterbury,* Joseph Hopkins, Esq. Capt. John Welton. *Hambden,* Mr. Goodyear. *North-Haven,* Mr. Bassett. *East-Haven,* Mr. Davenport. *Cheshire,* Mr. Beach, Mr. Brooks. *Wallingford,* Col. Street Hall, Samuel Whiting Esq. *Durham,* Gen. James Wadsworth, Mr. Daniel Hall. *Litchfield,* The Honourable OLIVER WOLCOTT, Esq., Jedidiah Strong, Esq. *Southington,* Mr. Curtis, Mr. Barns. *Middletown,* Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, Asher Miller, Esq. *New-Hartford,* Col. Aaron Austin, Mr. Goodman. *Harwinton,* Mark Prindle, Esq., Col. John Wilson. *Bristol,* Zebulon Peck, Esq. *Killingworth,* Theophilus Morgan, Esq., Hezekiah Lane, Esq. *Derby,* Mr. Holbrook, —— Holbrook, esq. *Washington,* D.N. Brinsmade, Esq.; J. Whittlesey, Esq. *Bethlehem,* Mr. W. Hawley. *Watertown,* Col. D. Smith, Thomas Fenn, Esq. *Newtown,* Gen. J. Chandler. *New-Milford,* Col. S. Canfield, Daniel Everit, Esq. *Woodbury,* Daniel Sherman, Esq.; Dr. Orton. *Southbury,* Col. B. Hinman.

Norwich Packet, 15 November

The following gentlemen are chosen Delegates to attend the Convention to be holden at Hartford, the first Thursday of January next; for the purpose of approving or disaproving of the Federal Constitution.

Norwich.	His Excellency *Samuel Huntington, Esq.*
	Gen. *Jedidiah Huntington.*
Bozrah.	Capt. *Isaac Huntington,*
Franklin.	*Eli Hyde, Esq.*
Lebanon.	Hon. *William Williams, Esq.*
	Ephraim Carpenter, Esq.
Windham.	Hon. *Eliphalet Dyer, Esq.*
	Col. *Jedidiah Elderkin,*
Preston.	Col. *Jeremiah Halsey,*
	Mr. *Wheeler Coit.*

Connecticut Gazette, 16 November

Names of Delegates chosen to attend the Convention of this State, from the following Towns.

NEW-LONDON. Hon. *Richard Law, Esq. Amasa Learned, Esq.* NORWICH. His Excellency *Samuel Huntington, Esq.,* General *Jedidiah Huntington.* LYME. His Excellency *Matthew Griswold, Esq. William Noyes, Esq.* STONINGTON. Maj. *Charles Phelps, Nathaniel Miner, Esq.* GROTON. Mr. *Joseph Woodbridge,* Capt. *Stephen Billings.* PRESTON. *Jeremiah Halsey, Esq.* Mr. *Wheeler Coit.* BOZRA. Mr. *Isaac Huntington.* COLCHESTER. *Rev'd Robert Robins, Daniel Foot, Esq.* MONTVILLE. Mr. *Joshua Raymond, jun.* LEBANON. Hon. *William Williams. Esq.* Mr. *Carpenter.* PLAINFIELD. *James Bradford, Esq. Joshua Dunlap, Esq.* VOLUNTOWN. *Capt. Moses Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Dow.* CANTERBURY. *Capt. Moses Cleveland, Capt.* —— *Bacon.* NEW-HAVEN. *Hon. Roger Sherman, Esq. Pierpoint Edwards, Esq.* GUILFORD. *Gen. Andrew Ward, Col. John Eliot.* BRANFORD. *Doct. William Gould, Mr.* —— *Hoadley.* STRATFORD. *Hon. William S. Johnson, Esq.* —— *Mills, Esq.* HARTFORD. *Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Col. Jesse Root.* WETHERSFIELD. *Hon. Stephen M. Mitchel, Col. John Chester.* EAST-HARTFORD. *Hon. William Pitkin, Esq. Elisha Pitking Esq.* EAST-WINDSOR. *Gen. Erastus Wolcott, Mr. John Watson.* WINDSOR. *Hon. Oliver Elsworth, Esq. Gen. Roger Newbury.* ENFIELD. *Capt. Daniel Perkins, Mr. Joseph Kingsbury.* MIDDLETOWN. *Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, Asher Miller, Esq.* CHATHAM. *Ebenezer White, Esq. Mr. Hez. Goodrich.*

American Mercury, 19 November

The following gentlemen are chosen Delegates, to attend the Convention of this State, on the first Thursday of January next, in this city.

Hartford, Col. Wadsworth, Col. Root,
East-Hartford, Hon. William Pitkin, Elisha Pitkin, Esq.

Coventry, Jeremiah Ripley, Ephraim Root, Esq'rs.
Mansfield, Constant Southworth, Esq. Mr. Nat. Atwood,
Tolland, Jeremiah West, Samuel Chapman, Esq'rs.
East-Windsor, Hon. Erastus Wolcott, Mr. John Watson,
Windsor, Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, Roger Newbury, Esq'rs.
Glastenbury, Capt. Joseph Mosley, Capt. Wait Goodrich,
Middletown, Gen. Parsons, Asher Miller, Esq.
Simsbury, Col. Noah Phelps, Daniel Humphrey, Esq.
Wethersfield, Hon. S. M. Mitchel, Hon. J. Chester, Esq'rs.
Enfield, Capt. —— Perkins, Mr. Joseph Kingsbury,
Suffield, None chosen
Granby. Mr. Hezekiah Holcomb,
Farmington, Hon. J. Treadwell, Maj. William Judd,
Bristol, Zebulon Peck, Esq.
Norwich, His Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq.
General Jedediah Huntington,
Lebanon, Hon. W. Williams, Esq. E. Carpenter, Esq.
Berlin, Gen. Selah Hart, Col. Lee,
Litchfield, Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Jed. Strong, Esq'rs.
Goshen, Mr. Daniel Miles, Mr. Adino Hale,
Harwington, Mr. Mark Prindle, Col. —— Willson,
Southington, —— Curtiss, Esq. Mr. Asa Barns.
Hartland, Mr. Isaac Burnham, Mr. —— Wilder.
Chatham, White, Esq. Mr. Goodrich.
Pomphret, Jonathan Randall, Esq. Doctor Simon Colton.
Ashford, Simeon Smith, Esq. Mr. —— Dow.
Waterbury, Joseph Hopkins, Esq. Capt. —— Welton.
Haddam, Mr. Cornelius Higgins, Mr. —— Brainard,
Saybrook, Maj. William Hart, Capt. S. Shipman.
Durham, Hon. James Wadsworth, Esq. Mr. —— Hall.
Killingworth, Mr. —— Morgan, Hezekiah Lane, Esq.
East Haddam, Gen. Throop. Col. Chapman.
Lyme, His Excellency Matthew Griswould, Esq. William Noyce, Esq.
New-Haven, Hon. Roger Sherman, Pierpont Edwards, Esq'rs.
Colchester, Mr. —— Foot, Rev. Robert Robbins.
Derby, Mr. D. Holbrook, Capt. Holbrook.
Windham, Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Esq. Col. J. Elderkin.
Stratford, Hon. Wm. S. Johnson, Elisha Mills, Esq'rs.
Newtown, John Chandler, Esq.
Preston, Jeremiah Halsey, Wheelar Coit, Esq'rs.
Hebron, Mr. —— Ingraham, Mr. —— Marvin.
Woodbury, Daniel Sherman, Esq.
Southbury, Col. Benjamin Hinman.
Bethlem, Mr. —— Hawley,

Washington, Mr. —— Brinsmade, Mr. —— Whittlesey,
Danbury. —— Whittlesey, Esq.
Warren, Eleazer Curtiss, Esq.
Milford, Mr. —— Mallet, Mr. —— Buckingham,
Woodbridge, Capt, Samuel Osbourn, Mr. —— Newton.
Winchester, Mr. McEwen.
Canaan, Col. Charles Burrall.
Stonington, Charles Phelps, Nathaniel Minor, Esq'rs.
Groton, Mr. J. Woodbridge, Capt. Stephen Billings.
Bozra, Mr. Isaac Huntington.
Montville, Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun.
Plainfield, James Bradford, Joshua Dunlap, Esq'rs.
Volentown, Mr. Moses Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Dow.
Canterbury, Capt. Moses Cleaveland, Capt. —— Bacon,
Guilford, Gen. Andrew Ward, Col. John Elliott.
Branford, Col. William Gould, Mr. —— Hoadley.

Connecticut Courant, 19 November

The following Gentlemen are chosen Delegates to the Convention to be held in this City in January next, viz.

Hartford, Col Jere. Wadsworth, Col. Jesse Root.
East-Hartford, Hon. Wm. Pitkin, Capt. Elisha Pitkin.
Coventry, Mr. Ephraim Root, Mr. Jeremiah Ripley.
East-Windsor, Hon. Erastus Wolcott, Mr. John Watson.
Wethersfield, Hon. S. M. Mitchell, Col. John Chester.
Farmington, Hon. John Treadwell, Maj. Wm. Judd.
Mansfield, Mr. Constant Southworth, Mr. Atwood
Tolland, Col. Chapman, Dr. West.
Bristol, Capt. Zebulon Peck.
Windsor, Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, Gen. Newberry.
Middletown, Gen. Parsons, Mr. Asher Miller.
Enfield, Mr. Kingsbury, Capt. Perkins.
Berlin, Gen. Hart, Col. Lee.
Glastenbury, Capt. Joseph Mosely, Capt. Wait Goodrich.
Simsbury, Col. Noah Phelps, Mr. Daniel Humphry.
Granby, Mr. Hezekiah Holcomb.
Norwich, His Excellency Governor Huntington, Gen. Jedidiah Huntington.
Litchfield, The Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Mr. Jedidiah Strong.
Goshen, Mr. Miles, Mr. Hale.
Harwinton, Mr. Prindle, Mr. Wilson.
Hebron, Mr. Daniel Ingraham, Mr. Marvin.
Waterbury, Mr. Joseph Hopkins, Capt. Welton.
New-London, Hon. Richard Law, Mr. Amasa Learned.
Lyme, Hon. Matthew Griswold, Mr. Noyes.

Windham, Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Col. Elderkin.
New-Haven, Hon. Roger Sherman, Mr. Pierp. Edwards.
Stonington, Maj. Charles Phelps, Mr. Nathaniel Miner
Groton, Mr. Joseph Woodbridge, Capt. Ste. Billings.
Preston, Col. Jere. Halsey, Mr. Wheeler Coit.
Bozra, Mr. Isaac Huntington.
Colchester, Rev. Robert Robbins, Mr. Daniel Foot.
Montville, Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun.
Plainfield, Mr. James Bradford, Mr. Joshua Dunlap.
Voluntown, Capt. Moses Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Dow.
Canterbury, Capt. Moses Cleveland, Capt. Bacon.
Guilford, Gen. Andrew Ward, Col. John Elliot.
Branford, Doctor William Gould, Mr. Hoadley.
Stratford, Hon. Wm. S. Johnson, Mr. Elisha Mills.
Chatham, Mr. Ebenezer White, Mr. Hez. Goodrich.
Saybrook, Maj. Wm. Hart, Capt. Samuel Shipman.
East-Haddam, Gen. Throop, Col. Chapman.
Killingworth, Mr. Theoph. Morgan, Mr. Hez. Lane.
Derby, Mr. Daniel Holbrook, Mr. Holbrook.
Pomfret, Mr. Jonathan Randall, Mr. Simon Cotton.
Southington, Mr. Curtiss, Mr. Asa Barns.
Hartland, Mr. Isaac Burnham, Mr. Wilder.
Ashford, Mr. Simeon Smith, Mr. Dow.
Franklin, Mr. Eli Hyde.
Haddam, Capt. Cornelius Higgins, Mr. Brainard.
Lebanon, Hon. William Williams, Mr. Carpenter.
Woodbridge, Mr. Newton, Capt. Osborn.
Milford, Mr. Gideon Buckingham, Mr. Mallet.
Hambden, Mr. Goodyear.
North-Haven, Mr. Basset.
East-Haven, Mr. Davenport.
Cheshire, Mr. Beach, Mr. Brooks.
Wallingsford, Col. Street Hall, Mr. Samuel Whiting.
Durham, Hon. James Wadsworth, Mr. Daniel Hall.
New-Hartford, Col. Aaron Austin, Mr. Goodman.
Washington, Mr. D. N. Brinsmade, Mr. J. Whittlesey.
Bethlehem, Mr. W. Hawley
Watertown, Col. David Smith, Mr. Thomas Fenn.
Newtown, Gen. John Chandler.
New-Milford, Col. Samuel Canfield, Mr. D. Everett.
Woodbury, Mr. Daniel Sherman, Dr. Orton.
Southbury, Col. Benjamin Hinman.
Fairfield, Hon. Jonathan Sturges, Mr. Thadeus Burr.
Danbury, Mr. Whittlesey.
Warren, Mr. Curtis.

Winchester, Mr. Mecune.
Canaan, Col. Charles Burral.

We have not been able to obtain the names of the Gentlemen chosen by the other towns in the state.

Middlesex Gazette, 19 November

Names of Delegates chosen to attend the Convention of this State, from the following Towns.

HARTFORD, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Col. Jesse Root.
Wethersfield, Hon. Stephen M. Mitchel, Col. John Chester.
East-Hartford, Hon. William Pitkin, Esq. Elisha Pitkin, Esq.
East-Windsor, Gen. Erastus Wolcott, Mr. John Watson.
Windsor, Hon. Oliver Elsworth, Esq. Gen. Roger Newbury.
Enfield, Capt. Daniel Perkins, Mr. Joseph Kingsbury.
Glastenbury, Capt. Mosely, Capt. Williams.
Farmington, John Treadwell, Esq. Maj. Wm. Judd.
Berlin, Gen. Selah Hart, Col. Stanley.
Southington, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Barns.
Harwinton, Mr. Prindle, Col. Watson.
Bristol, Mr. Peck.
Simsbury, Col. Phelps, Mr. Humphrys.
Granby, Mr. Holcomb.

NEW-HAVEN, Hon. Roger Sherman, Esq. Pierpont Edwards, Esq.
Guilford, Gen. Andrew Ward, Col. John Eliot.
Branford, Doct. Wm. Gould, Mr. —— Hoadley.
Durham, Gen. J. Wadsworth, Daniel Hall, Esq.
Wallingford, Col. Street Hall, Sam'l Whiting, Esq.
Derby, Mr. Daniel Holbrook, Capt. Jos. Holbrook.
Hamden, Mr. Goodyear.
North-Haven, Mr. Basset.
Cheshire, Mr. Beach, Mr. Brooks.
Woodbridge, Capt. Osborn, Mr. Newton.
Milford, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Mallet.
East-Haven, Mr. Davenport.
Waterbury, Joseph Hopkins, Esq. Mr. John Welton.

NEW-LONDON, Hon. Richard Law, Esq. Amasa Learned, Esq.
Norwich, His Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq. General Jedediah Huntington.
Lyme, His Excellency Matthew Griswold, Esq. William Noyes, Esq.
Stonington, Maj. Charles Phelps, Nath'l Miner, Esq.
Groton, Mr. Joseph Woodbridge, Capt. Stephen Billings.
Preston, Jeremiah Halsey, Esq. Mr. Wheeler Coit.
Bozra, Mr. Isaac Huntington.
Colchester, Rev. Robert Robins, Daniel Foot, Esq.
Montville, Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun.

WINDHAM, Col. Dyer, Col. Elderkin.
Canterbury, Capt. Cleaveland, Maj. Bacon.
Mansfield, Mr. Southworth, Mr. Atwood.
Lebanon, Hon. William Williams, Esq. Mr. Carpenter.
Plainfield, Ja's Bradford, Esq. Joshua Dunlap, Esq.
Voluntown, Capt. Moses Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Dow.
Canterbury, Capt. Moses Cleveland, Capt. Bacon.
Danbury, Mr. Whittlesey.
Newtown, Gen. J. Chandler.
Stratford, Hon. William S. Johnson, Esq. Elisha Mills, Esq.

LITCHFIELD, Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Esq. Jedediah Strong, Esq.
New-Hartford, Col. Austin, Mr. Goodman.
Goshen, Mr. Hale, Mr. Miles.
Canaan, Col. Burrell, Mr. Hale.
Norfolk, Mr. Humphry, Mr. Humphry.
Salisbury, Col. Porter, Mr. H. Fitch.
Warren, Maj. Curtis.
Sharon, Mr. Gillet.
New-Milford, Col. Canfield, Mr. Everitt.
Woodbury, D. Sherman, Esq. Doct. Orton.
Washington, Mr. Whittelsey, Mr. Brinsmaid.
Southbury, Col. Hinman.
Bethlem, Mr. Hawley.
Watertown, Col. D. Smith, T. Fenn, Esq.

MIDDLETOWN, Asher Miller, Esq. Gen. Samuel H. Parsons.
Haddam, Capt. Cornelius Higgins, Hezekiah Brainard, Esq.
Chatham, Ebenezer White, Esq. Mr. Hezekiah Goodrich.
East-Haddam, Gen. Dyar Throop, Col. Jabez Chapman.
Killingworth, Hez. Lane, Esq. T. Morgan, Esq.
Say-Brook, Maj. William Hart, Capt. Samuel Shipman.

TOLLAND, Dr. West, Col. Chapman.
Bolton, Mr. Carver.
Hebron, Mr. Marvin, Col. Jones.
Coventry, Capt. Ripley, Mr. Root.

Connecticut Journal, 21 November

Additional LIST of Members chosen to attend the State Convention.

Norwich, *His Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq.*
General Jedidiah Huntington.
Lyme, *His Excellency Matthew Griswold, Esq.*
William Noyes, Esq.
New-London, *Hon. Richard Law, Esq.*
Amasa Learned, Esq.
Windham, *Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Esq.*
Col. Jedidiah Elderkin.

Windsor, *Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, Esq.*
General Roger Newbury.
Lebanon, *Hon. William Williams, Esq.*
Mr. Ephraim Carpenter.
Fairfield, *Hon. Jonathan Sturges, Esq.*
Thaddeus Burr, Esq.
Farmingtown, *Hon. John Treadwell, Esq.*
Major William Judd.
East-Hartford, *Hon, William Pitkin, Esq.*
Elisha Pitkin, Esq.
Wethersfield, *Hon. Stephen M. Mitchell, Esq.*
Col. John Chester.
East-Windsor, *Hon, Erastus Wolcott, Esq.*
Mr. John Watson.
Hartford, *Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Col. Jesse Root.*
Enfield, *Capt. Daniel Perkins, Mr. Joseph Kingsbury.*
Glastenbury, *Capt. Mosely, Capt. W. Goodrich.*
Berlin, *Gen. Selah Hart, Col. Lee.*
Simsbury, *Col. Phelps, Mr. Humphry.*
Granby, *Mr. Holcomb.*
Stonington, *Major Charles Phelps, Nath'l Miner, Esq.*
Groton, *Mr. Joseph Woodbridge, Capt. Stephen Billings.*
Preston, *Jeremiah Halsey, Esq. Mr. Wheeler Coit.*
Bozra, *Mr. Isaac Huntington.*
Colchester, *Rev. Robert Robbins, Daniel Foot, Esq.*
Montville, *Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun.*
Canterbury, *Capt. Cleveland, Major Bacon.*
Mansfield, *Mr. Southworth, Mr. Atwood.*
Plainfield, *Ja's Bradford, Esq. Joshua Dunlap, Esq.*
Voluntown, *Capt. Moses Campbell, Mr. Benj. Dow.*
Danbury, *Elisha Whittlesey Esq*;
Newtown, *Gen. John Chandler.*
Goshen, *Mr. Hale, Mr. Miles.*
Canaan, *Col. Burrell.*
Norfolk, *Mr. Humphry, Mr. Humphry.*
Salisbury, *Col. Porter, Mr. H. Fitch.*
Warren, *Major Curtis.*
Sharon, *Mr. Gillet.*
New-Milford, *Col. Canfield, Mr. Everitt.*
Woodbury, *D. Sherman, Esq, Doct. Orton.*
Washington, *Mr. Whittelsey, Mr. Brindsmaid.*
Southbury, *Col. Hinman.*
Bethlem, *Mr. Hawley.*
Watertown, *Col. D. Smith, T. Fenn, Esq;*

Haddam, *Capt. Cornelius Higgins, Hez. Brainard, Esq;*
Chatham, *Ebenezer White, Esq; Mr. Hez. Goodrich.*
East-Haddam, *Gen. Dyar Throop, Col. Jabez Chapman.*
Killingworth, *Hez. Lane, Esq; Theop. Morgan, Esq;*
Saybrook, *Major Wm. Hart, Capt. Samuel Shipman.*
Tolland, *Mr. Jeremiah West, Col. Chapman.*
Bolton, *Mr. Warner.*
Hebron, *Mr. Marvin, Mr. Ingraham.*
Coventry, *Capt. Ripley, Mr. Root.*
Pomfret, *Mr. Jonathan Randal, Mr. Simon Cotton*
Hartland, *Mr. Isaac Burnham, Mr. Wilder.*
Ashford, *Mr. Simon Smith, Dr. Dow.*
Franklin, *Mr. Eli Hyde.*
Winchester, *Mr. Mecune*
Lisbon, *Rev. Andrew Lee.*
Norwalk, *Major Rogers, S.C. Silliman, Esq;*
Stamford, *J. Davenport, Esq; J. Davenport, Esq;*
Cornwall, *Mr. Patterson.*

New Haven Gazette, 22 November

LIST of DELEGATES to the STATE CONVENTION.

HARTFORD COUNTY

Hartford. Col. Wadsworth, Col. J. Root.
Berlin. Gen. S. Hart. Col. Lee.
Bristol. Capt. Z. Peck.
East-Hartford. Hon. W. Pitkin, Capt. E. Pitkin.
Enfield. Mr. J Kingsbury, Capt. Perkins.
Farmington. Hon. J. Tredwell, Maj. Judd.
Glastenbury, Capt. J. Moseley, Capt. Wait Goodrich.
Granby. H. Holcomb, Esq.
Southington, Capt. J. Curtis, Mr. Asa Barns.
Suffield. (none elected.)
Simsbury. Col. N. Phelps, D. Humphreys, Esq.
Wethersfield. Hon S. M. Mitchell, Esq.
Windsor. Hon. O. Elsworth, Esq. Gen. Newberry.

NEW-HAVEN COUNTY.

New-Haven. Hon. R. Sherman, P. Edwards, Esq.
Branford. Col. Gould, Mr. Hoadley.
Cheshire. Mr. Beach, Mr. Brooks.
Derby. J. Holbrook, Esq. Capt. J. Holbrook.
Durham. Gen. J. Wadsworth, Mr. Hawley.
East Haven. Mr. Davenport.

Guilford. Gen. Ward, Col. Elliot.
Hambden. Mr. Theophilus Goodyear.
Milford. Mr. Mallet, G. Buckingham, Esq.
North-Haven. Mr. D. Basset.
Wallingford. Col. S. Hall, S. Whiting, Esq.
Waterbury. J. Hopkins, Esq. Capt. John Welton.
Woodbridge. Capt. Osborn, Mr. Newton.

NEW-LONDON COUNTY.

New-London. Hon. Richard Law, Amasa Learned, Esq.
Norwich. His Excellency SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, Esq. Gen. Jedidiah Huntington.
Bozrah. Mr. Isaac Huntington.
Colchester. Rev. R. Robbins, D. Foot Esq.
Franklin. Mr. Eli Hyde.
Groton. Mr. Jos. Woodbridge, Capt. Stephen Billings.
Lisbon. Rev. Andrew Lee.
Lyme. His Excellency Matthew Griswold, Esq; William Noyes, Esq.
Montville. Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun.
Preston. Col. J. Halsey, Mr. W. Coit.
Stonington. Maj. Phelps, Mr. N. Miner.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

Fairfield. Hon. J. Sturges, Esq; Thaddeus Burr, Esq.
Danbury, Elisha Whittlesey, Esq.
Newtown. Gen. J. Chandler.
Norwalk. Maj. Roger, S. C. Silliman, Esq.
Stamford. John Davenport, Esq; James Davenport, Esq.
Stratford. Hon. William S. Johnson, Esq; Elisha Mills, Esq.

WINDHAM COUNTY.

Windham. Hon. E. Dyar, Col. Elderkim.
Ashford. S. Smith, Esq; Hendrick Douw, Esq.
Canterbury. Capt. M. Cleveland, Capt. Bacon.
Lebanon. Hon. Wm. Williams, Esq; Mr. Carpenter.
Mansfield. Mr. C. Southworth, Mr. Atwood.
Plainfield. Mr. James Bradford, Mr. Josh. Dunlap.
Pomfret. Mr. J. Randall, Mr. Cotton.
Voluntown. Capt. M. Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Dow.

LITCHFIELD COUNTY.

Litchfield. Hon. OLIVER WOLCOTT, Esq; Jedidiah Strong, Esq.
Bethlehem. Mr. W. Hawley.
Canaan. Col. Burral.
Cornwall. Mr. Patterson.
Goshen. Maj. Miles, Adino Hale, Esq.
Rutland. Mr. Isaac Burnham, Mr. Wilder.
Harwinton. M. Prindle, Esq; Col. J. Wilson.
New-Hartford. Col. A. Austin, Mr. Goodman.
New-Milford. Col S. Canfield. Daniel Everit, Esq.
Southbury. Col. B. Hinman.
Warren. Major Curtis.
Washington. D. N. Brinsmade, Esq. J. Whittlesey, Esq.
Watertown. Col. D. Smith, T. Fenn, Esq.
Winchester. Mr. Mecune.
Woodbury. D. Sherman, Esq. Dr. Orton.

MIDDLESEX COU[N]TY.

Middletown. Asher Miller, Esq. General Samuel H. Parsons.
Chatham. Mr. E. White, Mr. H. Goodrich.
East Haddam. Gen. D. Throop, Col. Chapman.
Haddam. C. Higgins, Esq. H. Brainard, Esq.
Killingworth. T. Morgan, Esq. Hezekiah Lane, Esq.
Saybrook. Maj. Hart, Capt. Shipman.

TOLLAND COUNTY.

Tolland. Dr. West, Col. Chapman.
Bolton. Dr. Warner.
Coventry. E. Root, J. Ripley, Esq.
Hebron. Mr. D. Ingraham, Mr. Marvin.

1. The proceedings of the New Haven town meeting were reported seven times from Rhode Island to Georgia by 15 December.

35. Public and Private Commentaries on Election of Delegates to the State Convention, 12 November 1787

Ezra Stiles Diary, New Haven, 12 November[1]

This day Election thro this State of Members for a State Convention at Hartford in Janry next to consider the new Constitution of the United States formed by the Convention at Philada. Last Sumer, and by Congress transmitted to the several States for their Ratification or Rejection in State Conventions expressly assembled for that purpose. For New Haven Messrs. [Roger] Sherman and [Pierpont] Edw[ar]ds chosen.

Humphrey Pratt Diary, Saybrook, 12 November[2]

Cloudy Day and Some Rain a Day to Choose Delegates for Convention Majr. [William] Hart and Capt. S[amuel] Shipman.

Ezra Stiles Diary, New Haven, 19 November[3]

We hear that of the Elect last Mondy 103 out of about 130 Members are Federal or will probably vote for the Constitution!

Boston Gazette, 19 November

STATE of CONNECTICUT

Among other respectable characters, the following are made choice of to meet in convention, in Hartford, on the first Wednesday in January next, (to take into consideration the Plan of Government proposed by the late Federal Convention) viz. Governour [Samuel] Huntington and General [Jedidiah] Huntington, of Norwich; Judge [Richard] Laws and Mr. Amasa Learned, of New London; Hon. Matthew Griswold, Esq. of Lyme, late Governour of Connecticut; Judge [Roger] Sherman, and Mr. [Pierpont] Edwards, Barrister at Law, of New-Haven; and Mr. Samuel Holton [William Samuel] Johnson, A. M., of Stratford.

Nicholas Gilman to William Irvine, New York, 20 November (excerpt)[4]

. . . I have seen a list of the Members chosen for the Convention in Connecticut and there appears to be a very large majority who are known to be in favor of the new p[lan?]. . . .

Massachusetts Gazette, 23 November

The town of Fairfield, in Connecticut, having unanimously agreed to send delegates to the convention of that state, the honourable Jonathan Sturges and Thaddeus Burr, esquires, were chosen.

The city of New Haven, in the same state, at a meeting of the inhabitants holden for the purpose, have chosen, by a very great majority, the honourable Roger Sherman and Pierpont Edwards, esquires, delegates, to represent them in the state convention.

Besides the above, we have accounts from eighteen other towns in Connecticut that have chosen delegates. From which it may reasonably be expected, that the representation of that state will [be] completed the first in the Union.

Massachusetts Centinel, 24 November[5]

CONNECTICUT.

The Convention for Connecticut is chosen—among the gentlemen elected are the Hon. *Roger Sherman,* and *Oliver Wolcott,* Esquires (these gentlemen were members of the Federal Convention), Generals [James] Wadsworth, [Samuel H.] Parsons and [Andrew] Ward, the Hon. Mr. [William Samuel] Johnson, and Mr. [Jedidiah] Strong, with the other most distinguished characters of the State.

James Madison to Archibald Stuart, New York, 25 November (excerpt)[6]

. . . The election in Connecticut is over and the Returns it is said by those who [know] the members & their characters, reduce the adoption of the Constitution in that State, to certainty. . . .

Albany Gazette, 29 November

The following respectable Characters, form part of the Delegation to the Connecticut State Convention:

His Excellency Gov. [Samuel] Huntington, His Excellency M[atthew] Greswold (late Gov); The Hon. Lt. Gov. [Oliver] Woolcott; Chief Justice [Richard] Law; Wm. Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, Oliver Elsworth, Members of the late Federal Convention; Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth—and the whole delegation (except a very small number) is composed of the most worthy federal characters in that state.

James Madison to Edmund Randolph, New York, 2 December (excerpt)[7]

. . . No recent indications of the views of the States as to the Constitution have come to my knowledge. The elections in Connecticut are over and as far as the returns are known, a large majority are friendly to it. Docr. [William Samuel] Johnson says, it will be pretty certainly adopted; but there will be opposition. The power of taxing any thing but imports appears to be the most popular topic among the adversaries.

New Hampshire Spy, 4 December

The principal towns in Connecticut, at their late election of members to represent them in state convention, have discovered much wisdom in making choice of the most enlightened characters in that state to debate upon the new Constitution.

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 22 December[8]

The onvention for Connecticut is chosen—among the gentlemen elected are the honorable Roger Sherman, and Oliver Elsworth, Esqrs. (these gentlemen were members of the federal convention, and therefore the most improper and ineligible) generals [James] Wadsworth, [Samuel H.] Parsons, and [Andrew] Ward, the honorable Mr. [William Samuel] Johnson (a *disqualified* lawyer who endeavored to persuade his countrymen to submit to the British arms) with the other most distinguished characters in the state.

1. MS, Bienecke Library, Yale University.
2. MS. Connecticut Historical Society.
3. MS, Bienecke Library, Yale University.
4. RC, Dreer Collection, Old Congress, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (printed CC:273).
5. This item was reprinted nine times from Massachusetts to South Carolina by 27 December. For an expanded Antifederalist version of this item, see *Independent Gazetteer,* 22 December (below).
6. RC, Sol Feinstone Collection, American Philosophical Society Library.
7. RC, Madison Papers, Library of Congress (printed CC:314).
8. This item was reprinted once each in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina by 19 January 1788.

36. New Haven Gazette, 15 November 1787[1]

FEDERAL INFORMATION

A Correspondent proposes, in order to quiet the minds of the good people throughout the United States, and more especially, in the state of Connecticut,

from their well grounded fears that the members who are to compose the Congress under the New-Constitution will all turn rogues immediately on their appointment to that office, and at the same time effectually to guard against the possibility of danger in future arising from the abuse of authority delegated by the constitution:—To appoint the Financier of Connecticut, (as by the late resignation of his Comptrollership he is out of employ, and can attend to the duties of the proposed office) Conservator General and Supreme Dictator to the New-Constitution, with full, sovereign and compleat powers to take care NE QUID DETRIMENTI RESPUBLICA CAPIAT: and that he remain in office during life, and be empowered to appoint his successer.—Such a measure, it is imagined all parties must at once see the propriety of, and heartily unite in.

1. Reprinted *New York Journal*, 27 November 1787.

37. Newport Herald, 15 November 1787

Extract of a letter from a respectable member of the legislature of the State of Connecticut to his friend in this town, dated November 7.

"Our legislature finished the business of their sessions last week: the greatest unanimity has attended their consultations, and cordiality their determinations. Every breast glows and heart beats high with the expectations of an effecient, respectable continental government, which will be able to protect our national liberties and privileges, secure our persons from insults, and property from molestation, and ensure domestic ease and happiness, which is the great end of all good government. Enclosed I forward you the act respecting the State Convention, and think I can venture to predict its acceptation in this State and ratification by the Convention; perhaps I am too sanguine in my expectations, as we naturally believe what we wish."

38. William Samuel Johnson to Robert Charles Johnson New York, 17 November 1787 (excerpt)[1]

I have just now received your favr. of Tuesdy. last & I am very glad you found an opportunity to speak in Town Meeting, that you succeeded so much to your wish, & met with so much applause. It will be very adviseable for you to take the first opportunity (as Cicero & many of the best speakers have done) to write down your speach, with such additions &c as may occur & so make it as perfect as you possibly can but without engaging expressly to give a copy for the press. Tell the applicants upon this point, that you will reduce what you can recollect &c to writing, but must take the advice of your Friends before you permit it to be printed. Such modesty will do you no disservice & you will have opportunity to let me as well as others look over [it?] before you let it go out of your hands.

1. RC, William Samuel Johnson Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

39. American Mercury, 19 November 1787

To the Printer of the AMERICAN MERCURY.

Sir, The following extract from Peters's History of Connecticut may be worth publishing, as the town meeting at Wallingford, for the purpose of electing Delegates for the Convention, will probably chuse Mr. Peters's Hero for one of their Delegates.

"Colonel Street Hall, of Wallingford, a loyalist, was appointed General over these supreme multitudes. They soon acquainted the General Assembly & Consociation, that, by the authority that England had been reformed, by the same authority should Connecticut be reformed: & Mr. Hall sent a letter to the judges of the county court, then sitting at Newhaven, purporting, that it was not agreeable to the people for them to continue their proceedings, or that any executions should be granted; and concluding thus, "*You that have ears to hear, hear* what is said unto you;—for *we shall quickly come!*" The judges, without hesitation or adjournment, ran out of the court, and went home as privately as possible. The merchants, the gospel ministers, the lawyers, and judges, who had with great zeal inculcated the divine right of the people to resist kings, found themselves in a starving condition under the exertion of that boasted right. The General Assembly and Association, however, again convened, and after much fasting and prayer, resolved, that the conduct of Street Hall, Esq. and his associates, was seditious and treasonable; and ordered the Attorney General, Colonel Elihu Hall, to indict his nephew Street Hall, for treasonable practices. The Attorney General refused to comply with their mandate, whereupon he was dismissed, and James Hillhouse, Esq. appointed in his place, who indited Street Hall; but no sheriff dared serve the warrant. Street Hall ordered his people to prepare for battle, and be ready at a minute's warning; and rode about with one servant in defiance of the General Assembly, who likewise prepared to support their power."

40. Middlesex Gazette, 19 November 1787

ANECDOTE.

A Sea Captain lately from sea was asked by one of his neighbours, how he liked the New Constitution? Why, Sir, (says he) I have not attended much to the plan; but the gentlemen who formed it are such noble characters, that had they condemned me to have been hanged, I should have taken pride in having it put into execution.

41. New Haven Gazette, 22 November 1787

PROCRASTINATION, an Anecdote.

General Wronghead, who on more occasions than one, during the late war imitated the conduct of the great Fabius in his attempts to save the state *by delay,* commanded a brigade in the year 1776. An action happened between our army and the British troops on York Island, during which the General, adhering to

his prudent maxim, made *no great ado,* and his brigade being under the most perfect discipline, made as *little pother* as their commander. The next morning after the action the commander in chief summoned a council of all the general officers, Wronghead only excepted. Stimulated by this pointed piece of neglect, he waited upon his Excellency, and begged to know if he had not something for him to do as well as for the rest. "Sir," said his Excellency, "I had something for you to do yesterday, but you did not do it, to day I have nothing."

42. Norwich Packet, 22 November 1787[1]

Seven States, we learn, have already so far acceded to the fœderal constitution, as to appoint a Convention for the purpose of making their opinion known to Congress, agreeable to the recommendation therein stated.—They are, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia.

1. Reprinted: *American Mercury,* 26 November.

43. Connecticut Gazette, 23 November 1787[1]

Virginia has directed a convention to meet next May, with powers not only to accept or reject, but to *amend* the new constitution.

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

1. The second paragraph was reprinted in the *Middlesex Gazette* on 26 November.

44. New York Journal, 24 November 1787

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in the state of Connecticut, to his friend in this city.

"It is very doubtful whether the constitution will be adopted by *nine* states—some of the southern states have *powerful* objections to it, and strong parties are forming against it—for my own part, I wish it had fixed a revision in twelve years; this would have given a *sufficient* opportunity for trial; and the body of the people will never be able to make a tolerable judgment of it, until after experiment."

45. William Samuel Johnson to Samuel William Johnson New York, 29 November 1787 (excerpt)[1]

I am much obliged to you for your several favours down to the 24th of Octor. It is a very great satisfaction to us to hear so frequently from you, & especially of the continuance of yr. Health, & that degree of prosperity that attends yr. affairs. Betsey informed you that we came here near three Weeks ago with a view to my taking possession of the College, but they were so much behind hand in their repairs of the Building that I am hardly yet settled, But hope I shall be so in a

few Days, when Mamma proposes to return again to Stratford for the Winter, but with intention to remove here in the Spring unless the experience of this Winter sho'd discourage me with respect to this undertaking. Hardly had I arrived here before I was inform'd that I had been Elected a Member of the State Convention of Connecticut which is to meet at Hartford early in Janry. to decide upon the new Constitution, & the Trustees of the College think it of so much consequence that they wish me to attend it, notwithstanding the prejudices it may be of to their affairs, so that you see I cannot yet disengage myself from Politicks. At this Election, I hear, yr. Brothr. acquired much reputation by a speech in Town Meeting in Defence of the Constitution, & was not [far?] from being chosen a Member of the convention, which would have given me such satisfaction & [– – –] me from a tedious winters Journey. Massachusetts, N. Jersey, Pensilvana, Delaware, Maryland, & Virginia have also appointd. Delegates & Pensilvania & Delaware are already in session so that the present appearance is that probably nine States at least may adopt the constitution. It is very evident however that very many are engaged against it & are doing their utmost to prevent its taking effect, both by private insinuations, & news Paper publications.—

1. RC, William Samuel Johnson Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

46. New Haven Gazette, 29 November 1787

To the printer of the New-Haven Gazette.

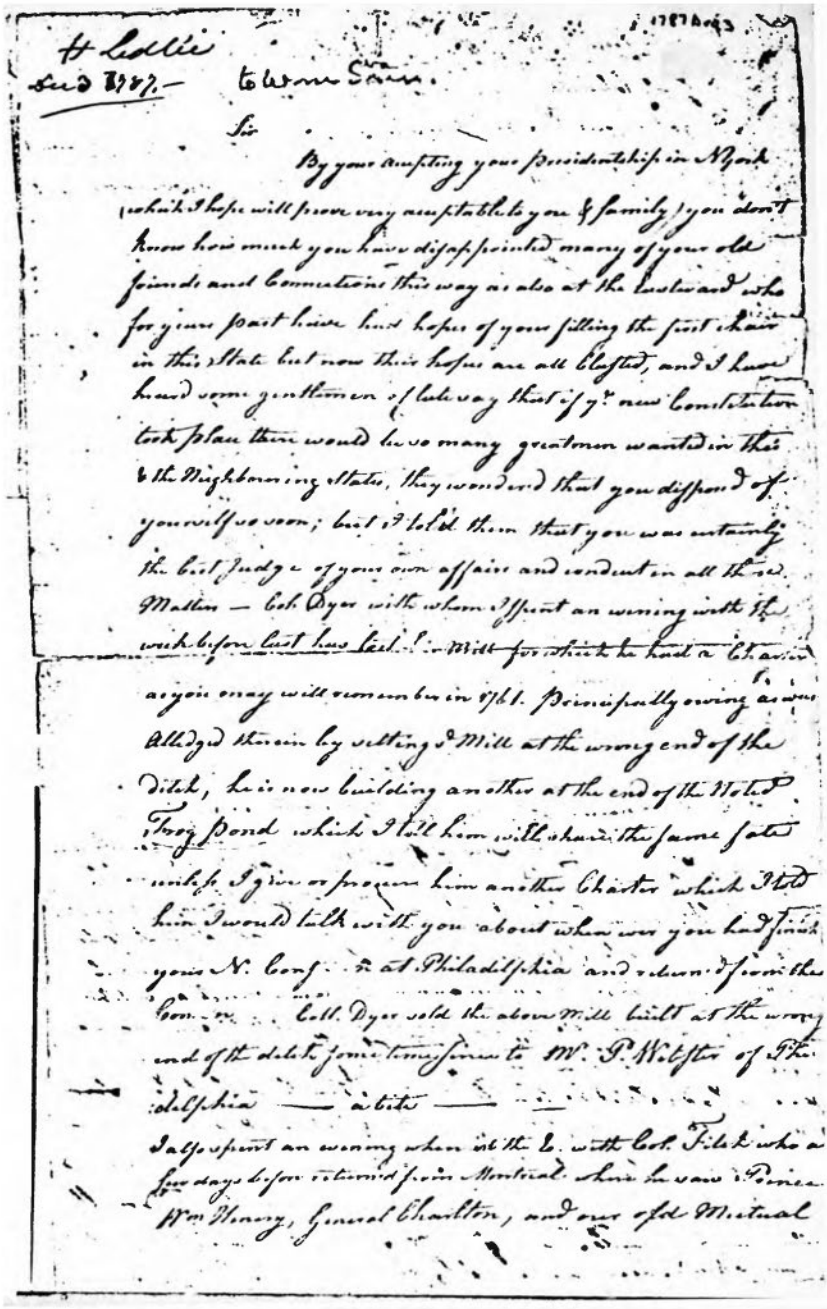
Sir, It is a time of great controversy at present in this State; some are of the mind the state legislatures have had the government of the union long enough; other politicians, who have been used to hold the reins of government, are differently minded. They think the state legislatures ought still to hold the power of taxation, consequently of government, in their own hands.

Now in order to reconcile the difference, please to let a plan be proposed, which (so far as I know) is new; and will liberate us from the present unhappy embarrassments. The plan is this.

Let Connecticut be absolutely disconnected from all the other States. Let it be sovereign and independent, and obliged to pay a proportionable part of the public debt foreign and domestic, and support her own government, and defend herself. Let every town in the State also be sovereign and independent, with the sole power of taxation; and yet in union with each other, so as to make one united nation; let each individual town have power to controul the whole union. Then let them have a Congress or Assembly, no matter what it is called, which shall meet and be invested with power to make war, peace &c. on the credit of these independe[n]t states. And that these United States in Congress assembled may be the more powerful, let two delegates be chosen in each town; the cost will be inconsiderable; the expence will not ordinarily much exceed 1400*l.* a year one from a town is enough provided they set no longer than our State Assemblies commonly do. And in the choice of those delegates, let special care be taken, to elect such as have had much of the governing influence in our state Assem-

blies (they best understand how to govern a nation) let them from time to time make all needed requisitions upon the several sovereign and independent towns; they are numerous, and will all readily comply, not only for their own interest, but out of respect to those worthy characters, their representatives in Congress.

47. Hugh Ledlie to William Samuel Johnson
Hartford, 1–3 December 1787[1]



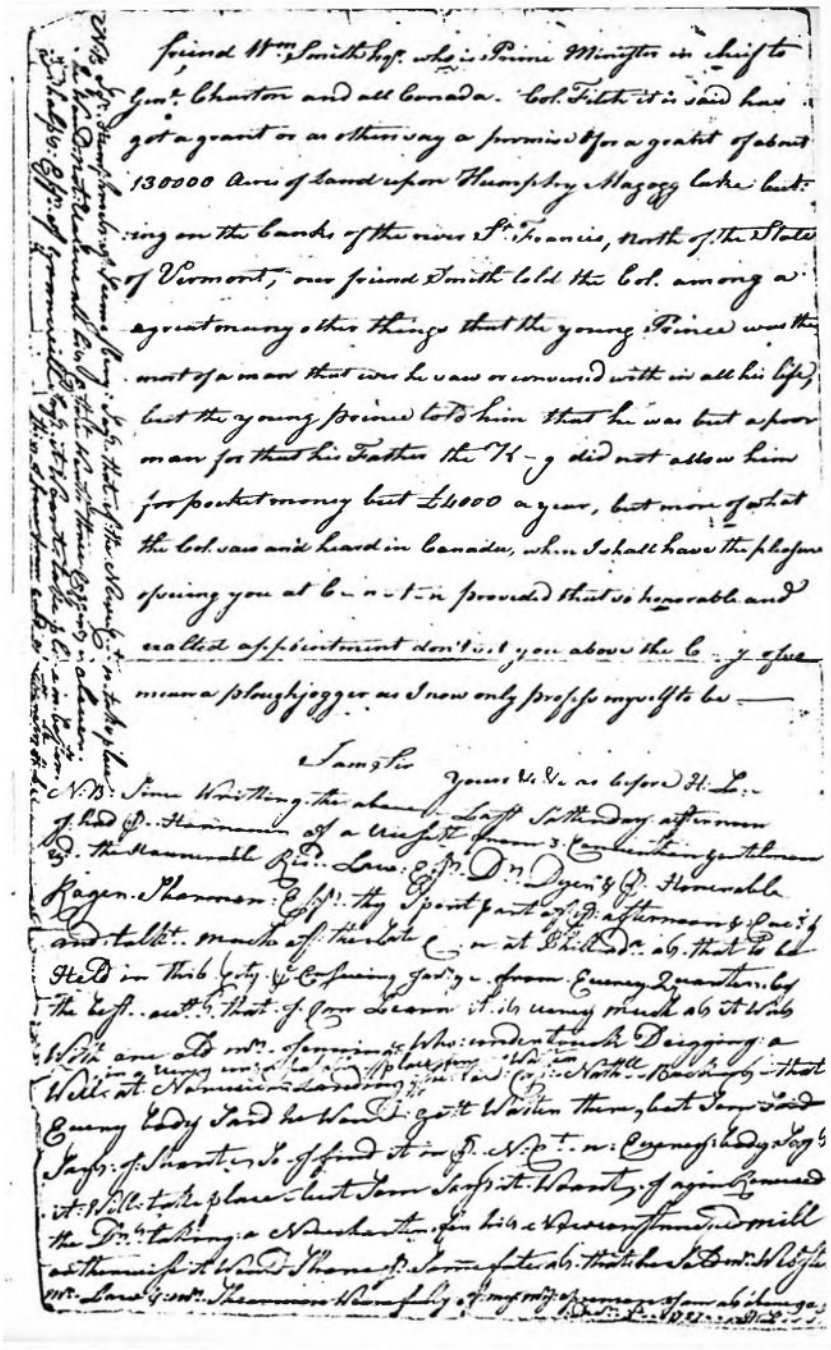
H Ledlie
Decd 1787.— to Wm Sam.

Sir

By your accepting your Presidentship in N York (which I hope will prove very acceptable to you & family) you don't know how much you have disappointed many of your old friends and Connections this way as also at the Eastward who for yours past have had hopes of your filling the first chair in this State but now their hopes are all blasted, and I have heard some gentlemen of late say that if yr new Constitution took place there would be so many greatmen wanted in this & the Neighbouring States, they wondered that you disposed of yourself so soon; but I told them that you was certainly the best Judge of your own affairs and conduct in all these Matters — Col. Dyer with whom I spent an evening with the week before last has lost [illegible] Mill for which he had a Charter as you may will remember in 1761. Principally owing as was Alledged therein by setting d Mill at the wrong end of the ditch, he is now building another at the end of the Noted Frog Pond which I told him will share the same fate unless I give or procure him another Charter which I told him I would talk with you about when ever you had finish your N. Cons[illegible] at Philadelphia and returned from the Con[illegible] Coll. Dyer sold the above Mill built at the wrong end of the ditch some time since to Mr. P. Webster of Philadelphia — a bite —

I also spent an evening when in the E. with Col. Fitch who a few days before returned from Montreal where he saw Prince Wm Henry, General Charlton, and our old Mutual

1. RC, William Samuel Johnson Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.



48. Robert Charles Johnson to Samuel William Johnson
New York, 3 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

With respect to speaking. Believe me, I am much obliged to you for your advice & instruction & shall sincerely thank you to write to me more particularly upon the Subject—I also felt your ridicule of metaphorical high sounding words, & pompous Declamation; but forgive me if I cannot resign my opinion of the effects resulting from the powers of language, the harmony of periods, & the elegance of expression—Will you not laugh at me if I mention an instance? The new Constitution is almost the only subject of Conversation. A Town meeting was called at Stratford for the choice of Delegates to the Connecticut Convention—all our Stratford Orators spoke & were heard with impatience—a powerful opposition—Deacon Bennet was to be the[ir?] Man known to be violent opposer of the Constitution—when they had all closed & the Votes were called for with impatience I mounted the pulpit stairs—& spoke a studied pompous Declamation, in a tone of thunder. I arrested their attention & kept it for upwards of half an hour—still as night I closed amidst a rising murmur of applause—The temper of the house seemed to be changed, & they almost unanimously Voted in my Father & Esqr. Mills; public decided favorers of the Constitution—The Select *Men* beg'd the favour of a Copy of my Speech for the press, & for two Days, by almost every person I saw, I was teazed for a Copy for Meigs. But I knew too well, that it would not bear examination—. Because I spoke in an authorative decisive tone of Voice, harmonious language, & rounded periods; they thout I had instructed them, when in fact I had scarcly offered a single argument in defence of the Constituion. Because I had tickled their ears, they thout that I had informed their minds; and it answered the same purpose as if I had—they were perswaded to act agreable to their true interests, & what is Eloquence, but the power of perswasion? *You,* may speak to the small circle of Philosophers, the men of Sense, who understand argumentative close logical reasoning; but give me the Mob, give me nineteen twentieths of the world, for an audience—The Constitution we flatter ourselves, will be adopted—The Pensilvanian Convention is 2 to 1 in favor of it. In Connecticut a decided superiority. Genl. Parsons says he can ingage to raise 15000 Volunteers who will stake their lives & fortunes on the event Delaware tis thout will follow Pensilvania Massachusets doubtful—expected in favor—Virginia & Georgia in all probability will adopt—New Y. against—Rhod.Island out of the question; as much the scorn & derision of America, as America is of the rest of the World—If not accepted Amer—will in all probability be a scene [of] anarchy & confusion—if adopted it will [take] some time before peace & serenity prevail—I will sacrifice my Life in defence of it—I will wade up to my knees in blood before it shall be established—Energetic Govt. Peace opulence & respectability to America—Slavery & oppression, arbitrary aristocracy, Despotism preferable—is the language You had certainly better come over—& take share in the misery & confusion—or happiness & peace of your Country—A noble theatre for the display of your abilities. I would not be confined in that petty Island "skulk from danger behind the riches of Bermuda"—Dangers in which your Countrymen, your fellow Citizens are involved—for the preservation of their lives their fortunes & their lib-

erties—if we succeed, we shall once more exhibit to the world a scene for admiring Nations to behold—if we fail—tis well the Grave will cover us from disgrace—
I am sorry I cannot send you Meigss Papers by this Vessel
I packed them up for that purpose at S— but the Trunk has not yet arrived

1. RC, Unbound Manuscript Collections, John Lawrence Papers, Connecticut State Library.

49. Governor Samuel Huntington to Jeremiah Wadsworth
Norwich, 5 December 1787[1]

Before I left New Haven, at the rising of the Assembly, I desired the Delegates to meet & agree among themselves which among the members would attend Congress in the first Instance

Am happy to find from Information that you have consented to be one, & conclude that one or two if necessary, of the other members will go forward with you

By my last Intelligence from New York, Congress had not formed, you will doubtless gain early Information when a Sufficient numbers of members are arrived to form a House, whenever that appears to be the case I wish Connecticut may not remain unrepresented; at the same time shall be happy if circumstances admit you to be at Hartford to attend our Convention in January

Please to give me Information at the time when you Set out for Congress, as also the earliest Inteligence of all matters of a public nature what may Transpire during your attendance in Congress in particular, let me expect to hear from time to time what progress the Southern States may make in acceding to the proposed federal Constitution.

1. Copy, Miscellaneous Papers, New York Public Library.

50. Governor Samuel Huntington to Joseph Platt Cooke
Norwich, 10 December 1787[1]

I have Just receivd Advice from the Secretary of Congress, Urging the Necessity of a Speedy, representation in Congress from this state

All the Delegates who expected to attend Congress this Winter as I am Informed, being also Elected to Attend the State Convention in January, Except yourself, must request you to attend Congress as Soon as may be, I expect Col. Wadsworth will also set out for Congress without delay.

1. RC, Special Manuscripts Collection, Berol Collection, Columbia University.

51. Governor Samuel Huntington to Jeremiah Wadsworth
Norwich, 10 December 1787[1]

Since my letter of the [– – –] are referred, I have received advice [– – –] [Con]gress, urging the necessity of a speedy attendance of Delegates from this

State in Congress: therefore think it expedient, that two Gentlemen at least, go forward as soon as may be.

As I am informed Col: Cooke is not a Member of the State Convention, think it advisable that he be one & have wrote him accordingly the enclosed letter, which You will please to forward.

If Yourself sets out immediately to attend Congress I am very desirous that You plan matters in such manner if possible, that You may return & attend the State Convention in January, which I hope will not [take up] any great length of time.

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

52. New Haven Gazette, 20 December 1787

Fairfield, Dec. 13, 1787.

Mr. Meigs,
By publishing the inclosed in your next you will oblige a number of your customers.

Instructions intended for the consideration of the Freemen of Fairfield.

Gentlemen, As the close of a war, in which the world was called upon to attend to a spectacle, the most solemn, interesting, and magnificent, in human affairs—the patient and energetic struggles of freedom against oppression, of justice against power, and of patriotism against venality, corruption, and the lust of domination; the providence of God graciously crowned the efforts of our countrymen, with an advantageous and honorable peace—This blessing, inestimable in itself, was peculiarly endeared to us, by the sufferings we had endured, and by the expence with which it was purchased. For the attainment of such a peace, thro' a series of painful years, our lives had hung in doubt before us, from day to day; our sleep been frequently alarmed by the cry of midnight enemies; the solemn worship of our Creator weekly broken up by inroad and rapine; our property, our houses, and our churches, laid in ashes by the wantonness conflagration. In the field, we fought, and we bled; our fathers, our brethren, and our children, resigned their lives to the weapons of destruction, or yielded them up to the more slow and dreadful enginry of imprisonment, famine, and pestilential disease; while our country, to secure the glorious purchase, poured out millions of treasure, and rivers of blood.

At the arrival of peace, we anticipated the liberty and security, for which such a price had been paid. With the fondest expectations, we already realized the return of that period, when the wisdom, integrity, and unanimity of public councils, the uniform operation of law, the undisturbed administration of justice, and the well directed energy of efficacious government, should secure to every citizen the fruits of his honest industry, and to the public the blessings of commerce, order, and union, and the glory of that righteousness, which exalteth a nation. But we have lived to see these expectations disappointed.

Soon after we engaged in the war, at a moment, when the infancy of our union, the cement of common danger, and the enthusiastic ardour of patriotism shut the eyes, even of good and great men, to the prospect of disobedience, and

disunion, the Congress of these States formed a system of federal government. It is not to be wondered at, that men, who had seen the slightest recommendations from them operate more powerfully, in this country, than the decrees of despotism in any other, and a sense of the common interest produce a series of exertions, which astonished mankind, should fixedly believe, that a political system, which advanced all private and national interest, and injured none, would, when solemnly and universally adopted, possess an influence, sufficient to effectuate all the purposes of a wise and good government. The Confederation was indeed so friendly to public and private happiness, that it not only invited all men of benevolence and patriotism, but all those selfish men, who had discernment enough to understand their real interest, to unite in its support and execution. But experience has sufficiently proved, that these considerations could not secure it a general and energetic operation. We attribute not this fact to the singular depravity of our countrymen: We believe the citizens of these United States are possessed of as much rationality, patriotism, and virtue, as ever belonged to the same number of mankind: far more than ever existed in turbulent Rome, or fluctuating Greece. Nay, further, we believe our countrymen as patriotic at the present hour, as at the commencement of the late war; when extreme impending danger, and the sight of a common enemy, furnished more favourable means of exhibiting our national character. The difference of appearances, we believe, arises merely from the difference in our circumstances, and we are convinced that the mind which will cheerfully be borne forward into the field of battle, by military enthusiasm, will not, of course, coolly set down, under the pressure of debt, and severe taxation.

Unhappily the Confederation contained in itself no principles of union, and secured to Congress no means of executing its resolutions, but such as required understanding to discern them, above the common measure, and a greater share of public spirit to execute them, than ever belonged to the majority of any people. In this system, the citizens of America were *invited* to *conform* to the decisions of government; the inhabitants of other countries have ever been *constrained* to *obey* them. Conformity to such a system is not to be expected, even after habits of submission to government have been long and uninterruptedly fixed, and after uniformity of taxation has forbidden the mind to look for any other mode of political existence; much less may it be hoped for, when such habits are not even begun, and when the mind has not hardly entertained suspicions, that taxes are to be paid at all. The truth is, at least in our opinion, that this plan of government is too gentle, and too merely *persuasive,* effectually to regulate the national concerns of any people, descended from apostate Adam, and inhabiting a corrupted and contentious world.

These remarks exhibit our ideas of the national disease, and of the necessary remedy. We are happy to find our countrymen so generally convinced of the reality, and danger, of this disease, as to convene a most illustrious delegation, from all parts of this continent, for the interesting purpose of providing the remedy.

The hour is arrived, an auspicious one we deem it, in which the citizens of these States are again invited by the still voice of order and authority, to examine, for

adoption, a new system of federal government: a system in which, with the highest pleasure, we find those, which experience has proved the principal defects of the first system, effectually removed. That possesses imperfections, of its own, we doubt not; for it is the work of imperfect man. That it is at the same time, as energetic, more lenient, more friendly to private liberty and happiness, and stained with fewer blemishes, than any constitution of government, hitherto enjoyed by mankind, we are fully convinced. With the most pleasing expectations, we see Congress invested, by this system, with sufficient dignity and authority to make *them,* and *us,* respectable. A solid bond of union appears manifestly laid, in the nature of our political existence, which fairly promises strength and consistency in our public measures, and a national connection in all our public concerns. Means, not deviseable only, but practicable, we flatter ourselves, are involved in it, for discharging that national debt, which justice and reputation unitedly oblige us punctually to discharge. We hail the day, as not far distant, when a power shall exist in these United States, enabled to form treaties, laws, and regulations of Commerce, which shall compel the nations of Europe to recall their unjust restrictions upon America, and to conduct their intercourse with us, upon the plan of reciprocal advantage. We hail the day, when no domestic incendiary shall dare to disturb the peace, and poison the minds, of his honest neighbours, and when persons, in the chair of office shall experience full conviction, that underhand opposition to federal measures is the direct road to infamy, and political annihilation. And still more do we hail the day, when the honest man shall see himself secure of the fruits of his own industry; when law shall not annul, or change, the tenure of contracts, between man and man; when breaches of public faith shall no longer be pleaded, as a sanction for private villainy; when paper, and promises, shall no more be legally deemed a payment of debts; when the distinction between the separate interests of different States shall be forever forgotten; and when the faith, the government, and the character, of Rhode-Island shall cease to pervade, or to threaten, the rest of the union.

Against these evils the system under consideration, in our opinion furnishes effectual provision; and with such a provision it can scarcely contain any defects, sufficient to warrant its rejection. This we esteem the great and effectual remedy of our complicated political disorders. This event, and this only, is the reward of our labours, our dangers, and our sufferings; this alone is the establishment of genuine and rational liberty; and this alone can render the peace, which was bought at so high, and so glorious a price, a real or permanent blessing.

With these great objects in view, we confess ourselves unable to feel the force of those objections, which some of our countrymen (in some instances, we are afraid, neither from honesty nor public spirit) have made against the federal constitution. Free from any jealousy of that power, which, from past experience, we believe as safely lodged with our representatives when met in Congress, as when met in a state assembly, and destitute of every expectation, that the inhabitants of this extensive continent, influenced as they must be supposed to be, by so many different views, and interests, will ever coincide in a system, more agreeable to our wishes, we heartily unite in giving to it our fullest approbation.

With these views, Gentlemen, we commend this important subject to your attention and exertions. From the knowledge we possess of your abilities, integrity, and patriotism, we entertain not a single doubt of your faithful and diligent efforts for its adoption. At the same time we sincerely congratulate you, and the citizens of this county at large, whose representatives have ever, with the highest honour and uniformity, supported federal measures, on the prospect which the present appearance of our country presents us, of the noblest of all political events—the adoption of a wise and desirable system of government, not from servility and constraint, but from the coolness of deliberation, and the freedom of voluntary choice.

53. X to the Printer
New Haven Gazette, 20 December 1787

Mr. Meigs,

Please to republish the inclosed extracts from Dr. Price's Observations. Every true whig who reads the paragraph under the title "PUBLIC DEBT," will cordially apply to the author of the Centinel, who has abused the "*man greatly beloved,*" the following lines of Shakespeare,

"He's fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils——
"The motions of his soul are dark as night,
"And his affections black as EREBUS—
"——Let no such man be trusted——["]

I am, yours &c. X.

PUBLIC DEBTS.

I must not, however, forget that there is one of their debts on which no sinking fund can have any effect; and which it is impossible for them to discharge: a debt greater perhaps than has ever been due from any country, and which will be deeply felt by their latest posterity. But it is a debt of gratitude only, of *gratitude* to that General, who has been raised up by providence to make them free and independent, and whose name must shine among the first in the future annals of the benefactors of mankind."

PEACE.

"No provision is made for enforcing the decisions of Congress, and this renders them inefficient and futile. I am by no means qualified to point out the best method of removing this defect. Much must be given up for this purpose, nor is it easy to give up *too much.* Without all doubt the powers of Congress must be enlarged. In particular a power must be given it to collect on certain occasions the *force of the confederacy,* and to employ it in carrying its decisions into *execution.*"

"Congress must be trusted with a power of procuring *supplies* for defraying the expences of the Union; of contracting debts, and providing funds for discharging them; and this power must not be *capable of being defeated* by the opposition of *any minority* in the States."

"In short the *credit* of the United States, their *strength,* their *respectability* abroad, their *liberty* at home, and even their *existence,* depend on the preservation

of a *firm* political union; and such an union *cannot* be preserved, without giving *all possible weight and energy* to the authority of that delegation which constitutes the union."

"Should the return of peace & the pride of independence lead them to security and dissipation—Should they lose those virtuous & simple manners by which alone republics can long subsist—Should false refinement, luxury, and impiety, spread among them; excessive jealousy distract their governments; and clashing interests, subject to no strong controul, break the federal union—The consequence will be, that the fairest experiment ever tried in human affairs will miscarry; and that a REVOLUTION which had revived the hopes of good men and promised an opening to better times, will become a discouragement to all future efforts in favour of liberty, and prove only an opening to a new scene of human degeneracy and misery.

54. Samuel Huntington to John McClellan
Norwich, 21 December 1787[1]

But stop, I find you do not like French by your not answering my French letter—Come on then old English—Mr. Roger has just informed me that he sets out for Woodstock on Monday morn; it is now late Saturday night & of course you must expect rather a curtailed & abrupt letter: in fact I have nothing to write, but that OLD Norwich is uncommonly lively, owing to the Dancing School, in which there are now upward of 50 Scholars: Public evenings every fortnight: Mr. Griffiths has engaged 40 Scholars at Providence & is going there in the Spring: Miss Wadsworth (Harriet) has been in Town lately & We have had a very agreable Ball at Brown's & another at the Landing &c You are always unfortunate enough to be out of Town, when the enthusiasm of Sociability seizes upon us, I hope we may be fortunate enough to see you before we grow cool: especially on the 1st. of January. Are you going to Convention? we are all [here?] going from Norwich. I had almost forgot to inform you that you are dead: at least we have no reason to the contrary: please to shew them if any you have.

1. RC, McClellan Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

55. Samuel Holden Parsons to Henry Knox
Middletown, 24 December 1787[1]

By a Resolution of Congress the Ohio Company are intitled to sink their military Rights in the Purchase to the Amount of the Seventh of the Purchase Monies. I suppose this must be negotiated in your Office as the Evidence of being intitled is there lodged; Will be so kind as to send me a Form of Acquittance to be signd by those intitled to military Rights? A Copy of the Resolves of Congress by which Officers and Soldiers became intitled to Lands will also be necessary. I will thank you to Send it or refer me to the Times when they paid—if you have made a Roll of those of the Connecticut Line who were intitled to Lands I shall be particularly obliged by a Copy if it is not too lengthy to admit

that Trouble—my Son will deliver you this & will take your Answer if you can prepare One whilst he is in N York, otherwise I must request you to send by the post; I suppose, you can, if not some of my Friends in Congress will frank the Packet—I have contracted with the Commissioners of this State to run the Lines of their Reserve to the Indian Boundary; I beg to know if I can receive any Aid from the Troops in that Quarter and whither a Post will be establishd. the next Season near the Mouth of the *Cuyahoga* or whither Capt. Hutchins will be directed to take the Course of Lake Erie next Spring—if Mr. Armstrong should resign his Appointment in the West Country, I would request your Influence for the Appointment of Mr. Cutler; he is a Gentleman whose presence in that Country will be exceedingly necessary among the Settlers his Qualifications as a Gentleman and a Man of Science you are acquainted with—The Adoption of the fœderal Constitution is certain in this State, the unwearied Endeavors of the Enemies of this plan of Government to prejudice the People against it, have met their deserved Fate here, and more Advocates for its Adoption have been made by them; the People here become more heartily Friends to the propos'd Alteration in proportion to their examining it—

1. RC, Knox Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

56. New Haven Gazette, 27 December 1787

Mr. Meigs,

By giving the following a place in your Paper, you may oblige some of your readers.

Sir, You was so good as to insert in (Vol. 2.) No. 42, of the New-Haven Gazette, a new plan to liberate us out of our present embarrassments; by disconnecting this from all the other States, and making every Town in it a distinct, independent Sovereignty, united into one government for common defence &c. Yet so that each of these *distinct Sovereignties,* may have power to controul the whole union; with a Congress at their head &c.

I learn that some of your readers are well pleased with the plan proposed, and are desirous of having it carried into execution—Others (it seems) think it needs some emendation: I have not yet learned in what particulars; but of my own certain knowledge will correct one passage in it, and then proceed to offer a few things relative to its advantages.

The passage referred to, is respecting delegates being chosen to this new Congress, where it is said "Let two delegates be chosen in each Town, the expence will not ordinarily much exceed 1400*l.* a year one from a Town is enough provided &c" which is inconsistent and unintelligible. The true meaning of the passage is this. Let two delegates be chosen from a Town; the expence will not much exceed 1400*l.* a year more than of one from a Town, provided they sit no longer than is common for our State Assemblies.

I now proceed to point out some of the advantages arising from the execution of this new plan. We should have no further occasion of sending our Deputies twice a year to Hartford, and New-Haven with power to make laws; to grant and levy taxes, and to issue out their Collectors (with all the power of the Militia at

command) to collect their respective rates from the inhabitants, which may be done by voluntarily turning out their property, or by distraint, and when they have collected their taxes, we are ignorant of the disposal of the money; unless it helps to fill the Coffers of our GREAT MEN. The new proposed plan will free us from such oppression, for when every Town is an independent sovereignty, we shall not only make our own *laws,* but having the power of taxation within ourselves, we can convene and act personally and not by representation; and we shall best know our own circumstances, and abilities. We can best judge when, and what taxes to grant and how to collect them; and shall not have the Sheriff upon us or his poor deputy with all the *Posse* of the County at his elbow making his demands upon us; and obtaining them by extorting from the poor what little they have left.

We need not be much concerned about the foreign debts—The Creditors are at a great distance and they will not trouble us—We will pay them when we can—we mean to be honest. As to the domestic debts we will honestly pay them when the public securities are so far depreciated, that every creditor of the public must pay as much by way of tax to redeem them as the debt is worth—and we can take special care that Congress be not impowered to raise money by way of impost, or any kind of tax, direct, or indirect. It may be dangerous. It is best by all means to keep the power in our own hands; and then we may be safe. By all means let every Town have power to determine when it is best to comply with the requisitions of their Congress; and to make laws for their government—The proposed plan or constitution of the states, if established, will deprive us of these rights: and so does our State government as it now stands. The people at large have not the least degree of authority more than two days in a year, and then it consists altogether in electing those who shall have the *absolute dominion* over them, to make what laws, and to affix what sanctions they please; to grant or withhold what taxes may best suit them; to appoint what executive authority civil and military they think best; to settle what stipends they please on all officers of the state, and on themselves for their own service; to withhold the right of their creditors as long as they please, if it be forever: for as they have absolute dominion over all under them; so they are absolutely above law themselves. I see no way to avoid difficulties of this kind but upon this new plan under consideration; and it can't be said that this will altogether do it: for even in these little town sovereignties, we must be governed by the majority of votes or must disband and throw up all kind of society and return into a mere state of nature.

57. Connecticut Courant, 31 December 1787 (excerpt)

We have the satisfaction of informing the public, that in consequence of a vote of the first society in this city, preparations are making for warming the Meeting-House with Stoves, and otherways rendering it convenient for the reception of the Honorable Convention who are to meet here this week. In case the attempts which are making should be successful and the Honourable Convention should judge proper to deliberate in public, we have no doubt but the people will derive much useful information from a full and open discussion of

the principles of the new system of government, by the very worthy and patriotic characters who will compose that respectable assembly.

58. Newspaper Reports of Convention Proceedings on 3 January 1788

Weekly Monitor, 7 January

On Thursday last, the grand State Convention, chosen for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting the Federal Constitution, convened at Hartford.—That venerable and just patriot, MATTHEW GRISWOLD, Esq. in honour of the respectable rank he once held, as well as to his person and character, is elected President.—It is presumed the decisions of this august assembly will soon be known.

Middlesex Gazette, 7 January

The Convention of this State met at Hartford, on Thursday last, when His Excellency MATTHEW GRISWOLD, Esq. was chosen President. They then proceeded to consider the proposed Constitution by Sections; but we have not been able to procure the debates for this week's paper. It is expected the important question will be decided next Wednesday, and we hope in our next to be able to communicate particulars.

59. Newspaper Report of Convention Proceedings on 3–9 January 1788

Weekly Monitor, 14 January

The Catalogue or Roll of the Delegates of the People of Connecticut, certified to have been regularly chosen to attend the Convention assembled in the city of Hartford, in said state, on the first Thursday of January, 1788, *agreeably to a recommendation and resolve of the Legislature, at their sessions in October* 1787—viz.

For the County *of* HARTFORD.

Hartford,	Jeremiah Wadsworth,	Y.
	Mr. Jesse Root.	Y.
Berlin,	Mr. Isaac Lee,	Y.
	Mr. Selah Hart,	Y.
Bristol,	Mr. Zebulon Peck, jun.	Y.
East-Hartford,	Mr. William Pitkin, (*absuit*)	
	Mr. Elisha Pitkin,	Y.
East-Windsor,	Mr. Erastus Wolcott,	Y.
	Mr. John Watson,	Y.
Enfield,	Mr. Daniel Perkins,	N.
	Mr. Joseph Kingsbury, (*nil dicit*)	
Farmington,	Mr. John Treadwell,	Y.
	Mr. William Judd,	Y.
Glastenbury,	Mr. Josiah Mosely,	Y.
	Mr. Wait Goodrich,	Y.
Granby,	Mr. Hezekiah Holcomb,	N.

Southington,	Mr. John Curtis,	Y.
	Mr. Asa Barns,	Y.
Suffield,	Mr. Alexander King,	N.
	Mr. David Todd,	N.
Symsbury,	Mr. Noah Phelps,	N.
	Mr. Daniel Humphry,	N.
Weathersfield,	Mr. Stephen Mix Mitchel,	Y.
	Mr. John Chester,	Y.
Windsor,	Mr. Oliver Elsworth,	Y.
	Mr. Roger Newberry,	Y.
	County *of* NEW-HAVEN.	
New-Haven,	Mr. Roger Sherman,	Y.
	Mr. Pierpoint Edwards,	Y.
Branford,	Mr. William Gold,	N.
	Mr. Timothy Hoadly,	N.
Cheshire,	Mr. David Brooks,	N.
	Mr. Samuel Beach,	Y.
Derby,	Mr. Daniel Holbrook,	Y.
	Mr. John Holbrook,	Y.
Durham,	Mr. James Wadsworth,	N.
	Mr. Daniel Hall,	N.
East-Haven,	Mr. Samuel Davenport,	N.
Guilford,	Mr. Andrew Ward,	N.
	Mr. John Eliot,	N.
Hamden,	Mr. Theoph. Goodyear (*nil dicit*)	
Milford,	Mr. Gideon Buckingham,	Y.
	Mr. Lewis Mallet,	Y.
North-Haven,	Mr. Daniel Basset,	N.
Wallingford,	Mr. Street Hall,	N.
	Mr. Samuel Whiting,	N.
Waterbury,	Mr. Joseph Hopkins,	Y.
	Mr. John Welton,	Y.
Woodbridge,	Mr. Samuel Osborn,	N.
	Mr. Samuel Newton,	N.
	County of MIDDLESEX.	
Middletown,	Mr. Asher Miller,	Y.
	Mr. Samuel H. Parsons,	Y.
Chatham,	Mr. Ebenezer White,	Y.
	Mr. Hezekiah Goodrich,	Y.
East-Haddam,	Mr. Dyar Throop,	Y.
	Mr. Jabez Chapman,	Y.
Haddam,	Mr. Cornelius Higgins,	Y.
	Mr. Hezekiah Brainard,	Y.

Killingsworth,	Mr. Theophilus Morgan,	Y.
	Mr. Hezekiah Lane,	Y.
Saybrook,	Mr. William Hart,	Y.
	Mr. Samuel Shipman,	Y.
	County *of* TOLLAND.	
Tolland,	Mr. Jeremiah West,	Y.
	Mr. Samuel Chapman,	Y.
Bolton,	Mr. Ichabod Warner,	Y.
	Mr. Samuel Carver,	Y.
Coventry,	Mr. Jeremiah Ripley,	Y.
	Mr. Ephraim Root,	Y.
Ellington,	Mr. Ebenezer Nash,	N.
Hebron,	Mr. Daniel Ingham,	N.
	Mr. Elihu Marvin,	N.
Somers,	Mr. Joshua Pomeroy,	N.
	Mr. Abiel Pease,	N.
Stafford,	Mr. John Phelps,	Y.
	Mr. Isaac Foot,	Y.
Union,	Mr. Abijah Sessions,	Y.
Willington,	Mr. Caleb Holt,	Y.
	Mr. Seth Crocker,	Y.
	County *of* WINDHAM.	
Windham,	Mr. Eliphalet Dyer,	Y.
	Mr. Jedediah Elderkin,	Y.
Ashford,	Mr. Simeon Smith,	Y.
	Mr. Hendrick Dow,	Y.
Brooklyn,	Mr. Seth Pain,	Y.
Canterbury,	Mr. Asa Witter,	Y.
	Mr. Moses Cleveland,	Y.
Hampton,	(Unrepresented)	
Killingly,	Mr. Simeon Howe,	Y.
	Mr. William Danielson,	Y.
Lebanon,	Mr. William Williams,	Y.
	Mr. Ephraim Carpenter,	N.
Mansfield,	Mr. Constant Southworth,	N.
	Mr. Nathaniel Atwood,	N.
Plainfield,	Mr. James Bradford,	Y.
	Mr. Joshua Dunlap,	Y.
Pomfret,	Mr. Jonathan Randal,	N.
	Mr. Simeon Cotton,	N.
Thomson,	Mr. Daniel Learned,	Y.
Voluntown,	Mr. Moses Campbell,	Y.
	Mr. Benjamin Dow,	Y.
Woodstock,	Mr. Stephen Pain,	N.
	Mr. Timothy Perrin,	N.

County *of* LITCHFIELD.

Litchfield,	Mr. Oliver Wolcott,	Y.
	Mr. Jedediah Strong, (chosen Secretary)	Y.
Berkhamstead,	Mr. Joseph Wilder,	N.
Bethlem,	Mr. Moses Hawley,	Y.
Colebrook,	(Unrepresented)	
Canaan,	Mr. Charles Burral,	Y.
	Mr. Nathan Hale,	Y.
Cornwal,	Mr. Edward Rogers, (*ab suit*)	
	Mr. Matthew Patterson,	N.
Goshen,	Mr. Daniel Miles,	Y.
	Mr. Asaph Hall,	Y.
Hartland,	Mr. Isaac Burnham,	Y.
	Mr. John Wilder,	Y.
Harwinton,	Mr. Abner Wilson,	N.
	Mr. Mark Prindle,	Y.
Kent,	Mr. Jedediah Hubbel,	Y.
New-Hartford,	Mr. Aaron Austin,	Y.
	Mr. Thomas Goodman,	N.
New-Milford,	Mr. Samuel Canfield,	Y.
	Mr. Daniel Everet,	Y.
Norfolk,	Mr. Asahel Humphry,	N.
	Mr. Hosea Humphry,	N.
Salisbury,	Mr. Hezekiah Fitch,	Y.
	Mr. Joshua Porter,	Y.
Sharon,	Mr. Josiah Coleman,	N.
	Mr. Jonathan Gillet,	N.
Southbury,	Mr. Benjamin Hinman,	Y.
Torrington,	Mr. Epaphras Sheldon,	Y.
	Mr. Eliphalet Enos,	N.
Warren,	Mr. Eleazer Curtis,	Y.
Washington,	Mr. John Whittlesey,	Y.
	Mr. Daniel N. Brinsmade,	Y.
Watertown,	Mr. Thomas Fenn,	Y.
	Mr. David Smith,	Y.
Winchester,	Mr. Robert M'Cune,	Y.
Woodbury,	Mr. Daniel Sherman,	Y.
	Mr. Samuel Orton,	Y.

County *of* NEW-LONDON.

New-London,	Mr. Richard Law,	Y.
	Mr. Amasa Learned,	Y.
Norwich,	Mr. Samuel Huntington,	Y.
	Mr. Jedediah Huntington,	Y.

Bozrah,	Mr. Isaac Huntington,	Y.
Colchester,	Mr. Robert Robbins,	Y.
	Mr. Daniel Foot,	Y.
Franklin,	Mr. Eli Hide,	Y.
Groton,	Mr. Joseph Woodbridge,	Y.
	Mr. Stephen Billings,	Y.
Lisbon,	Mr. Andrew Lee,	Y.
Lyme,	Mr. Matthew Griswould, (chosen President)	Y.
	Mr. William Noyes,	Y.
Montville,	Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun.	Y.
Preston,	Mr. Jeremiah Halsey,	Y.
	Mr. Wheeler Coit,	Y.
Stonington,	Mr. Charles Phelps,	Y.
	Mr. Nathaniel Miner,	Y.
	County *of* FAIRFIELD.	
Fairfield,	Mr. Jonathan Sturgis,	Y.
	Mr. Thaddeus Burr,	Y.
Danbury,	Mr. Elisha Whittlesey,	Y.
	Mr. Joseph M. White,	Y.
Greenwich,	Mr. Amos Mead,	Y.
	Mr. Jabez Fitch,	Y.
New-Fairfield,	Mr. Nehemiah Beardsley,	Y.
	Mr. James Potter,	Y.
Newton,	Mr. John Chandler,	Y.
	Mr. John Beach,	Y.
Norwalk,	Mr. Hezekiah Rogers,	Y.
	Mr. Samuel C. Silliman, (*ab suit*)	
Reading,	Mr. Lemuel Sanford,	Y.
	Mr. William Heron,	Y.
Ridgefield,	Mr. Philip B. Bradley,	Y.
	Mr. Nathan Danchy,	Y.
Stamford,	Mr. James Davenport,	Y.
	Mr. John Davenport, jun.	Y.
Stratford,	Mr. William S. Johnson,	Y.
	Mr. Elisha Mills,	Y.

The Assembly being thus formed, and the Roll called in the State House; on motion of Col. Root, seconded by Col. Dyer, &c.—The Delegates repaired in solemn procession to the north meetinghouse; where, after prayers offered by the Rev. Mr. *Strong,* by order of the President, the proposed CONSTITUTION was read, together with the several public resolves, official letters, &c. accompanying the same, in their order: Whereupon the Lieutenant Governor proposed, that

in order to obtain and facilitate a fair, free, full and advantageous discussion of the important subject, it should be taken up in cursory manner, by single articles, sections, paragraphs, or detached clauses and sentences, as occasion might require; with suitable pauses for any objections, doubts or queries to be freely offered for particular explanation, &c. yet so as to preclude no general remarks or observations which any gentleman might be disposed to make on either side, in the process of such disquisition, or general review, at the close thereof. And being seconded by Gen. Parsons, Dr. Johnson, Judge Law, Mr. Elsworth, Col. Chester, &c. with this addition, viz. 'that no other vote be taken thereon till the one decisive, general question,' it was agreed *nem. con.* and voted accordingly; and thereupon from day to day.

The time was busily employed, with great attention, in examination and scrutiny, with various particular strictures, interspersed with more general dissertations on the distinct and relative parts of the interesting theme, and probable operation, when applied to practice and actual experiment, until the next Wednesday evening;—when the great question being generally called for, was formally proposed, and explicitly answered, by Yea and Nay, as appears by the foregoing Roll, and the following authenticated Ratification or exemplification, viz.—

IN the name of the PEOPLE of the State of Connecticut, We the Delegates of the People of said State, in General Convention assembled, pursuant to an Act of the Legislature in October last, have assented to and ratified, and by these presents do assent to, ratify and adopt the CONSTITUTION reported by the Convention of Delegates, in Philadelphia, on the 17th day of September, A.D. 1787, for the United States of America.

Done in Convention, this 9th day of January, A.D. 1788. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands.

MATTHEW GRISWOLD, President.

State of Connecticut ss. Hartford, January 9th A.D. 1788. The foregoing ratification was agreed to and signed, as above, by 128, and dissented from by 40 Delegates in Convention; which is a majority of 88.

Certified by

MATTHEW GRISWOLD, President.

Test. JEDIDIAH STRONG, Secretary.

The foregoing ratification being engrossed, duplicates on parchments were subscribed, and certified accordingly. The one to be transmitted to Congress, and the other lodged in the office of the secretary of this State.

60. Norwich Packet, 3 January 1788

This day, the convention meet at Hartford to take into consideration the Fœderal Constitution.

The States of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey, have ratifyed and confirmed the new Constitution.

61. An Old Soldier
Connecticut Gazette, 4 January 1788

Observations on the Fœderal Constitution, spoke in the Town Meeting of Stonington, by one of the Inhabitants. Published by desire.

May it please the Moderator, the Gentlemen of Authority, and my Brother Farmers—Upon no occasion since America, or the thirteen United States had an existence, did you ever meet upon a more interesting subject, than the present now before you. I have carefully, and with the greatest attention read the doings of the very honourable Continental Convention. But before I enter upon that important subject, suffer me for a moment to take a retrospective view of a few years past.—When American blood was first shed by the British Janisaries, the whole continent was in a ferment: some of the most timid almost lost their senses, and were for kissing the rod that was thus cruelly, wickedly, and wantonly lifted up against us; and some there were that ought to have been the protectors of our country, and exposed their persons to the arduous conflict, resigned their commissions; whilst others, with a noble ardour and patriotic glow, flew to arms: after a struggle of eight long years conflict, with many severe battles well fought on both sides, with various vicissitudes of fortune, under the command of that wonderful man, his excellency General *Washington,* the Cyrus of the present age, the Americans were crowned with success; and to use his excellency's own expression, though made use of by him upon another occasion, he has with the prowess of many a brave officer, as well as soldier, with the kind and most indulgent permission of heaven, landed us UPON THE BROAD BASIS OF INDEPENDENCE.

It was found necessary to have a national council, and that produced the articles of confederation; which proved amply sufficient, during the late war, for successfully carrying it on: for the recommendations of Congress, like a decree from above, were implicitly obeyed, and strengthened by very powerful contending foes, and some domestic incendiaries.—But peace, all-smiling and indulgent peace, brought to our doors, has made us fat, and we have waxed wanton. Some of the states have paid little or no attention to the wise and absolutely necessary recommendations of Congress; who upon repeated trials, found that they had not that authority that was requisite for a peace administration; this brought forth the Convention composed of the ablest heads, and I firmly believe the best hearts, full of zeal for the good of their country, as any men we could have elected. Their doings I have now in my hands, and with your permission, I beg leave to read them.—After they were read, the gentleman proceeded.—

The new constitution consists of a President, a Senate, and House of Representatives. The lower house are chosen by the people at large in each state, the senate by the thirteen assemblies; which very assemblies are chosen by the people who you have in Connecticut delegated your power to for the great purposes of legislation, and that most delicate of all points, taxation; and the dernier resort,

in all civil causes, as a court of chauncery; and the assembly has authority in all criminal actions to reprieve.—You have experienced great benefit under their wise administration, for almost two centuries. The assembly has authority to appoint the judges of the superior court—Here suffer me to pause—and say, they are a court of the highest respectability, such as are mentioned in holy writ, men fearing God, and hating covetousness. They appoint likewise the judges of the county courts, the generals and field officers of the militia, and all executive officers of consequence. The president is elected by a certain number of men chosen by the thirteen legislatures, equal to the number of persons that represents each state upon the proposed fœderal mode of government.—I could, for many reasons which to me appear very important, have wished they, i.e. the Convention, had recommended that the president and senate were chosen by the people at large. Then I might with propriety say, the new constitution had extremely well guarded the liberties of the people; for whose emolument all governments, whether monarchical, aristocratical, democratical or fœderal, ought to be instituted; that is, all governments ought to be for the benefit of the people, *salus populi, est suprema lex*—that is in English—the safety of the people is the supreme or greatest law. I could have wished still further, that the various branches composing the fœderal compact, were chosen annually. Look into the history of that great republic the Roman commonwealth, you'll find their consuls, prætors, censors, all the curule officers were chosen annually, and a law, that no citizen, whether patrician or plebian, should be chosen a second time, till ten years had elapsed. There are but two instances of the supreme magistrate of the city of London ever being chosen Lord Mayor a second time; one is an antient one, and the other a recent one, in the person of alderman Beckard, more known by that name, than his two mayoralties.—I am perfectly willing to submit it to the wisdom of the thirteen assemblies, whether the people shall choose the president and senators, or let it be as the very respectable convention has recommended, provided all three branches of the fœderal constitution are chosen annually: those that suit the people, will doubtless be re-elected. A bill of rights, or a magna charta, similar to that obtained by the barons of England, would be very pleasing to the people, never to be infringed or altered.

62. Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth
New York, 6 January 1788[1]

I have been confined to my chamber for some days past with the Rheumatism—But sick or well my anxiety for the success of the new Constitution is the same—all depends on Massachusetts and Connecticut—I hope for the best—Write me I beseech you one line

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

63. Roger Sherman, Observations on the New Federal Constitution [7 January 1788][1]

♦ *To view this document, visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. MS, Roger Sherman Collection, Division of Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University. Parts of this item were published in the *Connecticut Courant* on 7 January 1788 under the pseudonym "A Citizen of New Haven."

64. The Landloser
American Mercury, 7 January 1788[1]

To the LANDHOLDER, No I.

SIR, The writer of the following had once a landed interest; but by trusting the public has lost it, and has now no other consolation, but what arises from consciousness of an honest intention to do good, and hope that his interest, tho' lost as to himself, has, and will serve the good of the community.—I am not fully satisfied with the new Constitution; but two things has hindred me from proposing any objections to it by way of the Press, viz. 1. My hearing that the Presses in Hartford were under the direction of certain men, who would not suffer any thing against the Constitution to be published. 2d. Diffidence of my own skill in composition.—But as the honest and good Printers in Hartford, have in the American Mercury No. 181 [24 December 1787], fully removed both these objections, I have concluded to take up my quill, and in my poor broken manner propose my objections to the Constitution, and as you appear disposed to vindicate the same, would beg your reply thereto.

I would begin with the first article, by the 2d sect. of which, it seems the freemen in all the States are to have the priviledge of choosing their Representatives in Congress.

By the 3d Sect. it seems the priviledge of choosing Senators, is to belong to the several Legislatures. By the 4th Sect. it is made the duty of the several Legislatures to prescribe as to times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives in each State.—But the last clause in the 4th Sect. stands thus, "But Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators."

Now Sir I ask, 1st. What assurance have the people of the several States, of holding the priviledge granted them in Sect. 2d. of choosing their Representatives in Congress; since Congress may at any time by law alter every thing relative thereto?

2d. What security have the several Legislatures that they shall hold the privileges granted them in Sect. 3d. of choosing Senators; since Congress may at any time by law alter every thing relative thereto, except the places of choosing?

3. For what purpose is this extraordinary power given to Congress?

Sir those in my condition are certainly, as much the greater part of the people, as the Landlosers are more numerous than the Landholders in the United States. I think therefore we may be allowed to speak, and that some notice ought to be taken of us.

If Mr. Printer will be so good, as to supervise, correct and put what I have wrote into a dress fit for public view; I hope that your generosity will prompt you to answer my questions, tho' no Landholder. And I pray that you would do it in such a plain manner that those may understand you, who have not been to college. If you comply with my desire, and your answers are satisfactory, you shall receive my thanks. If otherwise, I will let you know my objections; and ask a few more questions concerning the Constitution. And if it may be done without offence, make some remarks on what you have already wrote; which is not to my full satisfaction.

From your humble servant,

1. Reprinted: *Norwich Packet,* 17 January.

65. American Mercury, 7 January 1788[1]

The NEWS-BOY's ADDRESS to his Customers, for January 1st 1788.

From last year's mark we now aspire,
To trump our notes a little higher.
Know then—a Queen on Albion's coast,
Eliza nam'd, once rul'd the roast.
Her arms prevail'd on every plain,
Her potent navy rul'd the main,
Peace stay'd at home, and wasting war,
Howl'd round the realm at distance far.
This Queen too coy to be a wife,
Remain'd *intacta* all her life;
And still Virginia's deathless name,
Bears witness to her virgin fame.
But when she left her realm in tears,
And soar'd among the starry spheres,
She turn'd a Goddess in a trice,
(Yet still was prudish, coy and nice)
Of peacock shape, but cloudlike size,
Confess'd the phenix of the skies.
Still fond of virgin fame on earth,
As Scottish princes of their birth,
She yearly visits realms below,
When seed-tobacco's in the blow;
And lest those precious plants be lost,
Scares from Virginian fields the frost:—
For heathen Gods as incense hold,
Tobacco ripe, well cur'd, and old,

When through the pipe the smoak ascends,
From bacon'd cheeks of earthly friends.
  Late when her namesake land to view,
She slop'd it thro' th' etherial blue,
And saw imprinted on the strand,
Old ANARCH'S steps around the land,
And close beside them, in the mud,
As thick as tadpoles in the flood,
The tracks of *wrong-heads*—just as how
Pig-tracks compare with those of sow,
Or, to huge Mammoth's, would compare
Wild asses tracks, or colt to mare;
She scream'd, as earthly peacocks do,
When howling storms begin to brew,
Or as full oft a prudish Miss,
Shrieks, when a rake would steal a kiss,
Or City Belle, who 'mid a brake,
Hears rattles whiz, and sees a snake—
Then swore by every heathen God,
If Jove consenting would but nod,
She'd drive the Anarch out of nature,
And sink his imps all under water,
As long ago adown the steep,
Rush'd hogs and demons to the deep.—
  Then twix't two ample mounds of sand,
By ancient tides left on the strand,
She lay'd an egg of such a size,
As seem'd the labour of the skies;
Which time and heat should make good use on
To hatch a deathless Constitution.
Then to some region up she hover'd
By mortal ken yet undiscovered.
The circling sun for many a day,
Shed on the shell his genial ray,
And burning glasses from each state,
Shot through the egg their focal heat;
When sudden as a flood of fires,
From Etna's opening top aspires,
The bursting egg display'd at last,
Of aspect new a Giant vast!
Crown'd with three rainbows in a tiar
The fourth, far streaming, form'd his hair;
His waving beard was golden wires,
That round his chin flash'd solar fires;
His head divine was face all o'er,

And every side alike before;
Two rows of eyes around it glar'd,
One suns, th' other moons appear'd;
Though arms or legs he had but two,
Twelve wings upon his body grew;
Two from each shoulder cloath'd his waist,
Two from each hip his thighs embrac'd,
Two from each ham, like speckled hose,
Reach'd o'er his insteps to his toes.
It seems that nature had design'd,
Another wing should grow behind,
This, by some democratic ail,
Instead of wing fledg'd out a tail;
But Collins, to whose lot it fell,
To sign off laws he could not spell,
Too poor to purchase other quills,
To sign his paper money bills,
Had pluck'd this region to the stump,
And left abaft a plumeless rump.
I could (but that this rhyming knack,
Ne'er lines the ribs nor cloaths the back)
Tell, how on feet and wings of late
This Giant rush'd through every state
Swift as a ray of solar fire,
Or Franklin's Vulcan on a wire.
Yet had I that superiour light,
By Scottish Seers call'd *second sight,*
Then should extend these deathless rhymes,
Along the flight of future times,
Tell, through that hole in Nature's shell,
By Bowdoin late describ'd so well,
How ANARCH, bellowing in his flight,
Fled down to his primeval night;
How too, the Giant at a sup,
Ate all the race of *wrong-heads* up,—
How then retireing to a steep,
That look'd tremendous o'er the deep,
He felt them sower within like trash,
Which made him vomit all the hash,
That, half digested met the wave.—
There let them rest in watry grave:—
For now the earth, who once a year,
Sails round the sun's resplendent sphere,
Sets sail again—may all her crew,
In health and peace the voyage pursue,

While all aboard, this verse makes willing,
No doubt will turn me out a shilling.
Which 'twixt the poet and myself,
Will make full mod'rate share of pelf.

1. Reprinted: *New Haven Gazette,* 17 January.

66. An Insurgent
Weekly Monitor, 7 January 1788

To the TAIL *of the* WRONGHEADS.

"It is better to be the head of a Mouse than the tail of a Lyon."

Had you adopted the above motto on your entrance into business, it would have been fortunate for you. Then you would have kept the plain road pointed out by nature, and aimed only at what you could attain to; tolerable abilities, much study of the law, under an able honest patron, and good connections at court, secured you business, and gave you an *eclat* at setting out, which few young men have, and well managed might have obtained you the rank of a leader among the common class of men. Had *your integrity been great, your pursuits honourable, and your gratitude conspicuous,* you might possibly have obtained the appointment you lately sought with so much earnestness. But your first appearance in political life, the principles that caused your appointment, and the trifling part you acted in your *maiden sessions,* were too recent in the minds of all parties; and your disappointment was foreseen by every body but yourself, and lamented only by you. In the madness for paper money, and enthusiasm for destroying our state debt, you insinuated yourself into the good graces of those who were for those measures, and was elected to represent them—your private interest would have been injured by paper money, and you wanted courage openly to attempt the destruction of the state debt. Those who looked on you as their champion in these villainous designs, were vexed at your duplicity and cowardice; the other side (to which you crawled over) despised and pardoned, but never trusted you; and you sunk into the common mass of insignificant members, and passed the session very little noticed. You was, however, cunning enough to persuade the Insurgents that you was their friend, and sticking at nothing to obtain popularity, you reprobated their conduct to those who were openly against them, and went home with a better character than you deserved, and was again elected, as your tricks were not then discovered.

In the October sessions you intended to play over the same double game you had played in May. The new Constitution was the subject of much expectation, and most men took an early open, and decided part for or against it. With those who were against it, you was against it, and with those who were for it, you was in favour of it.—Critical as this part was to act, you performed the first scene admirably—Terence's Scapin could not have exceeded you!—In the Vacancies for Delegates you named yourself for a candidate, and made interest with both parties, and though not in nomination was elected by the Lower House. This success was too much for you, and under this intoxication you boasted of your

art, and claimed the merit of leading those who were opposed to the new Constitution, to vote for a man openly for it; and took the whole merit of this election to yourself. In the Upper House, where you was more perfectly known, you was negatived; and when the bill returned to the Lower House, there was very little difficulty in concuring with them; and as your boasting and duplicity were discovered by both parties, they were as unanimous in despising, as they were in negativing of you.

I should not venture to publish the above, nor expect to gain credit to so black a story, if I had not one fact, of a very late date, so substantially proved, that you dare not contradict it. Before the election of Delegates to meet at Hartford, in January next, you went to Captain T——d, and declared you was for the new Constitution. Though you pretended you did not want to be elected a Delegate, yet he plainly saw your design.—Since the election, when you found you had hardly a vote, and had nothing to hope from the friends to government, you have been openly opposing the new Constitution, and would persuade its opposers that you was always opposed to it. You have now lost all credit with us, and never having had much with others, you will sink back into insignificance. In the Anecdotes of the *Tail of the Wrongheads,* which I intend shortly to publish, will be explained what is alluded to in the *Italicks.*

67. Ezra Stiles Diary
New Haven, 8 January 1788[1]

Vacation begins for 3 Weeks. Present 100 Scholars. (a Snowy day in the Forenoon—Snow 3 or 4 Inches. PM. Rain & sleet. Eveng ⋆ light.) Learn that about two Thirds of the Convention now sitting at Hartfd are for the new Constitution & one third against it. Reading in the Corpus Juris Civilis of Justinian (published AD 533.)

1. MS, Bienecke Library, Yale University.

68. Newspaper Report of Convention Proceedings on 9 January 1788
Connecticut Courant, 14 January (excerpt)

YEAS.

Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Col. Jesse Root, Col. Isaac Lee, Gen. Selah Hart, Mr. Zebulon Peck, jun. Mr. Elisha Pitkin, Gen. Erastus Wolcott, Mr. John Watson, Hon. John Treadwell, Maj. William Judd, Capt. Joseph Mosely, Capt. Wait Goodrich, Mr. John Curtis, Mr. Asa Barns, Hon. Stephen M. Mitchel, Col. John Chester, Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, Gen. Roger Newbery, Hon. Roger Sherman, Mr. Pierpont Edwards, Mr. Samuel Beach, Capt. Daniel Holbrook, Mr. John Holbrook, Mr. Gideon Buckingham, Mr. Lewis Mallet, Mr. Joseph Hopkins, Capt. John Welton, Hon. Richard Law, Mr. Amasa Learned, His Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq., Gen. Jedidiah Huntington, Mr. Isaac Huntington, Rev. Robert Robbins, Mr. Daniel Foot, Mr. Eli Hide, Mr. Joseph Woodbridge, Capt. Stephen Billings, Rev. Andrew Lee, His Excellency Matthew Griswold, Esq. (President)

Mr. William Noyes, Mr. Joshua Raymond, jun. Col. Jere Halsey, Mr. Wheeler Coit, Maj. Charles Phelps, Mr. Nath'l Miner, Hon. Jonathan Sturges, Mr. Thadeus Burr, Mr. Elisha Whittlesy, Mr. Joseph M. White, Mr. Amos Mead, Col. Jabez Fitch, Col. Nehemiah Beardsley, Capt. James Potter, Gen. John Chandler, Mr. John Beach, Maj. Hezekiah Rogers, Mr. Lem Sanford, Mr. William Heron, Col. Philip B. Bradley, Mr. Nathan Dauchy, Mr. James Davenport, Maj. John Davenport, jun. Hon. William-Samuel Johnson, Mr. Elisha Mills, Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Col. Jedidiah Elderkin, Mr. Simeon Smith, Mr. Hendrick Dow, Mr. Seth Pain, Mr. Asa Witter, Capt. Moses Cleveland, Mr. Samson Howe, Col. William Danielson, Hon. William Williams, Mr. James Bradford, Mr. Joshua Dunlap, Mr. Daniel Learned, Mr. Moses Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Dow, Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Lieut. Governor, Mr. Jedidiah Strong, (Secretary) Mr. Moses Hawley, Col. Charles Burral, Mr. Nathan Hale, Mr. Daniel Miles, Capt. Asaph Hall, Mr. Isaac Burnham, Mr. John Wilder, Mr. Mark Prindle, Capt. Jedidiah Hubbell, Col. Aaron Austin, Col. Samuel Canfield, Mr. Daniel Everett, Mr. Hezekiah Fitch, Col. Joshua Porter, Col. Benjamin Hinman, Gen. Epaphras Sheldon, Maj. Eleazer Curtis, Mr. John Whittlesey, Mr. Daniel N. Brinsmade, Capt. Thomas Fenn, Col. David Smith, Mr. Robert McCune, Mr. Daniel Sherman, Mr. Samuel Orton, Mr. Asher Miller, Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, Mr. Ebenezer White, Mr. Hezekiah Goodrich, Gen. Dyar Throop, Col. Jabez Chapman, Capt. Cornelius Higgins, Mr. Hezekiah Brainard, Capt. Theophilus Morgan, Mr. Hezekiah Lane, Maj. William Hart, Capt. Samuel Shipman, Mr. Jeremiah West, Col. Samuel Chapman, Mr. Ichabod Warner, Mr. Samuel Carver, Mr. Jeremiah Ripley, Mr. Ephraim Root, Maj. John Phelps, Mr. Isaac Foot, Mr. Abijah Sessions, Mr. Caleb Holt, Mr. Seth Crocker.

NAYS.

Capt. Daniel Perkins, Mr. Hezekiah Holcomb, Mr. Alexander King, Mr. David Todd, Col. Noah Phelps, Mr. Daniel Humphry, Mr. William Gold, Mr. Timothy Hoadly, Mr. David Brooks, Hon. James Wadsworth, Mr. Daniel Hall, Mr. Samuel Davenport, Gen. Andrew Ward, Col. John Elliot, Mr. Daniel Bassett, Col. Street Hall, Mr. Samuel Whiting, Capt. Samuel Osborn, Mr. Samuel Newton, Mr. Ephraim Carpenter, Mr. Constant Southworth, Mr. Nathaniel Atwood, Mr. Jonathan Randall, Mr. Simon Cotton, Mr. Stephen Pain, Mr. Timothy Perrin, Mr. Joseph Wilder, Mr. Matthew Patterson, Col. Abner Wilson, Mr. Thomas Goodman, Mr. Asahel Humphry, Mr. Hosea Humphry, Mr. Josiah Coleman, Mr. Jonathan Gillet, Mr. Eliphalet Enos, Mr. Ebenezer Nash, Capt. Daniel Ingham, Mr. Elihu Marvin, Mr. Joshua Pomeroy, Maj. Abiel Pease.

Total,	Yeas,	128
	Nays,	40
	Majority	88

RATIFICATION of the Fœderal Constitution by the Convention.

In the Name of the PEOPLE of the State of Connecticut.

WE the DELEGATES of the People of said State, in General Convention assembled, pursuant to an Act of the Legislature in October last, have assented to and ratified, and by these presents do assent to, ratify and adopt the Consti-

tution, reported by the Convention of Delegates in Philadelphia on the 17th day of September, A.D. 1787, for the United States of America.

DONE in Convention, this 9th day of January, A.D. 1788.
In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands.

69. Glorious News, New Haven, 10 January 1788[1]

♦ *To view this document, visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. Broadside, American Broadsides, Bienecke Library, Yale University.

70. Connecticut Form of Ratification, 9 January 1788[1]

♦ *To view this document, visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. MS, RG 11, Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights . . . , 1787–92, National Archives.

71. Out-of-State Reports of Connecticut Ratification 14 January–25 February 1788[1]

New York Daily Advertiser, 14 January

The State of Connecticut has agreed to the New Constitution, by a majority of 127 [128] to 40.

Hampshire Chronicle (Springfield, Massachusetts), 15 January

On Wednesday last [9 January] the Honourable Convention for the State of Connecticut finished their session at Hartford, which lasted but six days—during which time they adopted, ratified and confirmed the Constitution of Government, proposed by the General State Convention held at Philadelphia in September last.—After a fair and candid discussion of every argument for and against the New Federal System, a motion was then made by General Parsons, and seconded by General Huntington, when the Convention divided into yeas and nays, and their appeared as follows, viz. Yeas 128, and Nays 40.—*Query,*—Have not the virtuous Sons of Connecticut set an example truly worthy of imitation by the *Citizens of Massachusetts?*

New Hampshire Spy, 15 January

FOURTH PILLAR raised.

The Convention for the state of Connecticut met at Hartford on Thursday, the 5th [3rd] inst. when his Excellency THOMAS [Matthew] GRISWOLD, Esquire was chosen President. They then proceeded to consider the proposed Constitution by Sections; and on the 9th inst. they ratified it—128 for it, 40 against it.

We congratulate our federal readers upon the above happy event.

New York Journal, 15 January

It was yesterday asserted as a fact, that *Field-Pieces* were planted from Hartfort to New-Haven, at about one mile distance from each other, for the purpose of instantaneously communicating the glorious adoption of the new constitution to that city, by a lineal discharge of the several pieces.

Northern Centinel (Lansingburgh, New York), 15 January

By a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who arrived in this town yesterday from Hartford, in Connecticut, which place he left last Saturday [11 January], we are informed, that the convention of that state have adopted and ratified the new constitution of America—The majority in favor of it was more than three to one. This important measure took place on Wednesday last [9 January]. Four states have already adopted the new constitution; and we have not the least doubt but five more will shortly follow their laudable example.

Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Massachusetts), 16 January

Last week, the convention of Connecticut, by a very large majority, ratified the new constitution.

Many people look upon the adoption of the new constitution, as the millennium of virtue and wealth; indeed its auspicious dawn argues much, but it should be remembered, that much depends on our own conduct.

Country Journal (Poughkeepsie, New York), 16 January

By Yesterday's Mail.

We are informed that the Convention of the State of Connecticut has agreed to and ratified the Constitution proposed by the Convention lately held at Philadelphia. 120 [128] for it, and 40 against it.

New Jersey Journal, 16 January

We have the pleasure of announcing to our readers that Connecticut have ratified the proceedings of the late Federal Convention by a great majority.

Albany Gazette, 17 January

By the last evening's stage, the Printer received a letter from his correspondent in Hartford (Connecticut) bearing date the 9th current—of which the following is an extract.

"It gives me the highest satisfaction to inform you, that this day our State Convention ADOPTED and RATIFIED, on the part of the people of this state, the New FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. Yeas 127 [128]. Nays 40.

Weekly Gazette (Hudson, New York), 17 January

The Convention of Connecticut, have ratified the Federal Constitution, by a majority of 87: The numbers being—For it 127 [128]. Against it 40.

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 17 January

By Advices of the 9th instant. we learn, that the honorable the CONVENTION of the state of CONNECTICUT have adopted the proposed FEDERAL CONSTITUTION; there were one hundred and twenty-seven [128] in favor of it, and forty against it.

Maryland Journal, 22 January

The Honourable Convention of the State of Connecticut, which met at Hartford the 3d Inst. have, we are assured, approved and ratified the proposed FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—127 [128] voting in favour of it, and 40 against it.

New Hampshire Recorder, 22 January

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Middletown, (Connecticut) to his friend in Walpole, dated January 11, 1788.

"I have no special news to give you, only that our State has adopted the New Constitution in Convention, they have been hammering upon it a week; and the Votes at last were 125 [128] for, and 40 against it. I hope we shall do well after a while."

A.B., Pennsylvania Packet, 28 January

Messrs. DUNLAP & CLAYPOOLE

In your publication of the proceedings of the convention of the state of Connecticut I observe that General Wadsworth made a number of objections to the proposed federal constitution, and have since been informed, that *many* here suppose him to be Colonel Wadsworth, a gentleman well known in this city. Justice may perhaps require this mistake to be rectified. Colonel Wadsworth is a gentleman of a very different character from the General, in many respects.

Z., Pennsylvania Packet, 30 January

Messrs. DUNLAP & CLAYPOOLE.

Some person in your paper of this day informs us, "That Colonel Wadsworth is a gentleman of a very different character from the General, in many respects." In federal politics I know they have frequently differed. In the present instance, Colonel Wadsworth *voted for the adoption of the new Constitution, and General Wadsworth opposed and voted against it.* Your correspondent probably had not this information, or he would have represented the conduct of the gentlemen on this business with more certainty than what his paragraph seems to convey. A comparison of their characters in other respects I decline, not having any acquaintance with the General; but the Colonel I have known for some years, and am satisfied that he requires only to be known, to be esteemed by every good man and friend to his country.

January 28, 1788.

Tench Coxe to John Barry, Philadelphia, 26 January (excerpt) [2]

. . . The federal government I presume interests you even at your present distance. It goes on well. The unanimity of Delaware and [New] Jersey, the Majority of 2 to 1 here, & more than 3 to 1 in Connecticut do not quiet your friend [George] Bryan, and our Western people. . . .

Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 30 January

The State Convention of Connecticut has adopted the New Constitution, by a majority of 127 [128] to 40.

Virginia Independent Chronicle, 30 January

We are informed that the state of Connecticut have adopted the new Government. Ayes 127 [128]—Noes 40.

Gemeinnutzige Philadelphische Correspondenz, 5 February

Die Achtbare Convention des Staates Connecticut, hat am 9ten vergangenen monats die vorgeschlagne Bundesschaftliche Constitution angenommen. Es waren 127 [128] summen vor und 40 wider dieselbe.

[P. Miller?] to [Samuel Ward, Jr.?], Wethersfield, 10 February (excerpt) [3]

The new Constitution, you will know, is at present the principal object of public attention. It was much agitated before your departure. . . . The debates in this state continued about a week and ended in the conviction of almost the whole Convention, some of whom almost made acknowledgement of their error but from obstinacy voted in the negative. The decision was taken on the 9th of January with a majority of 128 to 41 [40] and applauded with a cheerful, universal clap from a pretty numerous collection of spectators.

Gazette of the State of Georgia, 14 February

The Convention of Connecticut met at Hartford on Tuesday the 8th January last; his Excellency Matthew Griswold, Esq. was chosen President; and on Wednesday the 9th they ratified the New Federal Constitution; 128 Members were in favour of it, and 40 against it.

Antoine de la Forest to Comte de la Luzerne, New York, 18 February (excerpt) [4]

Those [the conventions] of Georgia, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts have already ratified the proposed Constitution. There was almost a unanimous Vote in the assemblies [conventions] of the first three States. . . . Those of Connecticut and Massachusetts discussed all the parts of the Government for a long time and as warmly as that of Pennsylvania. The majority was almost three quarters of the assembly of Connecticut and before breaking up the members of the minority expressed their intention of recommending the acquiescence of their Constituents.

Collin McGregor to Neil Jamieson, New York, 18 February[5]

The New Constitution as framed by the late Convention is now adopted & Ratified by Six States.—Massachusetts, on whom many eyes were fixed, gave their assent about ten days ago, and as their Neighbours of Connecticut have done the same, it is Supposed that it will have much influence on the Characters who are Antifœderal in this State; because it is endless to persist when so powerful a portion of the Continent have acceded.—The example therefore of our Eastern Councils make it Almost a Certainty that the Constitution will be Adopted throughout, and the only fear we now have of serious opposition is from the State of Virginia, where there are many respectable & powerful Men strenuously against the Constitution.

City Gazette (Charleston, South Carolina), 20 February

The convention of Connecticut met at Hartford on Tuesday the 8th January last; his excellency Mathew Griswold, Esq; was chosen president, and on Wednesday the 9th they ratified the new federal constitution; 128 members were in favor of it, and 40 against it.

City Gazette (Charleston, South Carolina), 25 February

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Newhaven, dated Jan. 14th.

"You will doubtless be informed of the adoption of the new constitution in this state, before this reaches you. There were 128 of by far the most weighty and respectable characters in the state in favor of it, and but 39 only against it; and the latter are at least as inferior to the former in point of *quality* as in *numbers*. In short, we consider the opposition as very inconsiderable. We have good reason to believe that the principal ground of objection in the opposers is the fear of being obliged to pay their debts. The opposition in Massachusetts will be greater than it has been in this state: we think, however, there is little doubt of its being adopted there. The weighty characters are generally in favor of it. Their convention sat last Wednesday—we have heard nothing from them since. I never felt myself so much interested in any political concern as in the adoption of this constitution."

1. The newspaper items have been transcribed literally, while the letters (all excerpts) have been edited.
2. FC, Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
3. RC, Ward Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society.
4. RC (Tr), Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Consulaires, New York, BI 910, Vol. II, ff. 19–20, Archives Nationales, Paris, France.
5. FC, Collin McGregor Letterbook, 1787–88, New York Public Library.

72. Hugh Ledlie to John Lamb
Hartford, 15 January 1788[1]

♦ *To view this document, visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. RC, Lamb Papers, New-York Historical Society.

73. A Citizen
Norwich Packet, 17 January 1788[1]

By giving a place in your next paper, for the following observations of a Fœderalist, you will oblige one of your readers.

The public attention being now required on matters of the utmost importance, I conceive it the duty of every Citizen to endeavour to establish, amend, or abolish, the Constitution, which is presented by the late fœderal Convention.—With this view I shall subjoin a few remarks which have occurred to me from the principal objections that have been made to the present plan.

It may be needless to run through a variety of events to prove the necessity of a fœderal Government, for the numerous evils we have already experienced are too recent to contend for the propriety; but let us not hastily agree in carrying into execution a matter of so much importance, without giving it a fair and candid examination.—Pointed disputes, and burlesques upon those who may differ in opinion from ourselves, is neither candid, polite, or a fair way of arguing—every person ought to be at liberty to offer their own observations, without being ridiculed—as the criterion of political opinions can only be determined by the majority.

For my own part, I am happy to observe strictures upon the plan both for, and against its adoption in its present form—as there may be some defects, which might escape amendment, should we take it for granted because it was formed by men of superior abilities—was we not tenacious of our liberties, and alarmed with every new change of Government, we should be liable to the grossest impositions; this idea ought always to be retained, "for the sense of the people at large is the only effectual check upon Government."—It I must candidly confess, their does not appear to me one sufficient objection to prevent its adoption in its present form.

The power of taxation being rested in Congress, seems to have excited the attention of some, which they have insinuated as an alarming circumstance and encroaching on the prerogative of the individual States.—In article first, sect. 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, impost, and excises shall be uniform throughout the States."—If this clause is encroaching upon the liberties of the people I confess it is not sufficiently explained;—It carries in itself an impartiality in demanding the peoples property for the support of their Government.—One uniform mode of Taxation, puts it out of the power of individual States, to take those undue advantages, which their particular local situation gives them over the others.—The New-England States have imported, for four years past, from the State of Maryland, upwards of twenty five thousand barrels of flour annually—on which they have been obliged to pay a duty for the liberty of exportation.—Therefore we have been paying a proportion of the public debt for the state of Maryland, for the very bread that nature craves for its support.—The importation of flour from Pennsylvania exceeds that of Maryland—and unless a uniform system of collecting a public revenue is established—they may raise their duties, as they think proper—and the burthen of the national debt must devolve, on those States, that are dependent, in a degree on others for support—

South Carolina, Virginia, and New-York have not been deficient, in exacting from the poor New Englanders, their might, for the benefit of their public funds.—In fact unless partial taxation is totally abolished its impossible to cement that union of interest so essential for the support and defense of good Government.

The safety, for the liberty of the press is the next terror that occasions the tremour of those, who are doubtful, of the intentions of the late Convention in omitting a matter of so great consequence to the community.—Indeed I cannot conceive the impropriety of securing that liberty to the people in the fœderal Constitution—if it was only for the satisfaction of those, who are not already acquainted, that the liberty of the press is secured by the constitution of each State, and is considered under their cognizance—which constitution will be held inviolate—so far as it does not infringe on the present limited Congress by the proposed Constitution.—See sect, 4—article 4.—"The United States shall guarantee to every State in the union a republican form of Government—and shall protect each of them against invasion—and upon application of the Legeslature, against domestic violence." Legeslation and power is still retained in each State: they are not to consult Congress in enacting laws for the internal police of the State: but have a right to secure to themselves every priviledge, as heretofore—excepting on general concerns of the union—which power is justly and wisely delegated to the Fœderal head.

The trial by Jury is one other weighty objection aduced by the opposers to the fœderal Government.—The Constitution points out in a clear manner the nature of those trials that are precluded a trial by Jury—which are general matters that come under the cognizance of the Fœderal Court; and does not in the least degree extend to the internal laws of individual States.

Sect. 2, Article 3.—"The judical power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority, to all cases effecting embassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maratime jurisdiction, to controverses to which the United States shall be a party; to controverses, 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 and the Citizens thereof, and Foreign States, Citizens or Subjects."

I beg to know whether one case stated in this article 3. sect. 3. ought by any means to come under the jurisdiction of the individual States—If not, how shall those Cases be determined, unless it be by this court of equity?—Would it not be absurd to summons a jury from New-Hampshire to Georgia to set on the trial between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting the settlement of Whyoming.—If this is acknowledged, it will extend with equal propriety to every case that precluded a trial by jury.—As the power of the fœderal Court are prescribed, by the Constitution, and do not in the least degree infringe on the laws of individual States, it leaves each at liberty to try, determine, and execute the powers vested within themselves—and unless we suppose the institution of marriage, will be abolished, consequent of a Fœderal Government, we cannot suppose the trial by Jury will be infringed upon, for it absolutely depends on the people at large to revise any laws, whenever a majority, conceives them a grievance.

1. On 10 January the *Packet* announced that it would publish this item on the 17th.

74. Connecticut Gazette, 18 January 1788

On Wednesday the 9th inst. the Convention of this State ratified the new Fœderal Constitution;—128 Voters being in favour of it, and 40 against it. Their names will be inserted in our next.

75. American Mercury, 21 January 1788

The great object of civil government is the protection and happiness of the people at large. But this important object cannot be secured, all will have the frankness to own, unless the people have confidence in that particular form under which they live. In this country, our greatest danger lies not from the probability of an arbitrary and despotic government, not from the weakness or wickedness of the men who have the chief concern in conducting our public affairs, not from the invasion of a foreign power, not from the restlessness of the Indian nations on our frontiers, but from a turbulent uneasy spirit among the common mass of the people, which like a raging tempest, lays in mournful ruins the most beautiful prospects.—*Divide and conquer* is a maxim found true by the observation of ages and has been often repeated.—*Divide and ruin* is as true. We have assumed the pompous name of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; DISUNITED would now be more descriptive of our real situation. No national interest seems to be pursued. Each state wishes, like a selfish, narrow-minded individual, to secure its own local advantages, at the risque of the public good, and the ruin of the whole. A factious spirit appears in too many, who ought to set a better example. To spread uneasiness surmises and jealousies among the people, concerning the new constitution, is the aim of many. The people ought to examine it with the utmost care. No one pretends or supposes that it is a faultless one. Perfection is no where found among the works of men. The fears of many good and worthy men, men of principle, and honour, are alarmed, *lest soon the high departments of the nation should be filled with men of loose principles or no principles at all, as to religion.* Let us examine into the grounds of this fear; and see if it can arise from the Constitution. Not long since I happened in a circle of politicians, in which the subject of conversation and dispute was the doings of the federal convention at Philadelphia. Every member of the circle supposed himself master enough of the subject, to canvass it to good purpose. At length one of the timed class suggested not in obscure hints only, but directly, his fears. *I would wish,* says he, *to be esteemed as federal as any man whatever, but I see plainly where things are going. In a few years, depend upon it, the high places of honour, power and riches will have in them, Atheists or Deists, and our nation will be undone.* It is unhappy that some men always have a melancholy gloom and sadness about them.—In their timid imaginations are phantoms, dreadful and terrifying. *There are they in great fear, where no fear is.* If it should so happen, according to the fear, it would be the heaviest frown of holy providence, and an evil that would diffuse its baleful effects over every part of the nation. But is it better to have no government at all, than a good one, lest possibly bad men may have too large a share

in its management? Whether, in the revolution of events, the wicked will not bear rule over us, it is impossible to foresee or predict. To open the volumn of futurity, and declare what will be, requires a prophetic power, with which we trust, no objector against the Constitution, is as yet endowed. Under any other form of government, which the wisdom of man can devise, as well as under this, which is provided for us, power would be as likely to get into wicked hands. If this objection amount[s] to any thing, it amounts to this, we will jumble along in the midst of confusion poverty, merited contempt and all the evils of anarchy, as we in fact have done, lest, if we establish an efficient government, men of vice and destitute of principle should chance to be elevated to places of honour or posts of profit. The advancement of religion, which beyond dispute is of infinitely the greatest moment, is not directly the object of civil government. Happy indeed if civil government, might subserve its interest! But shall we unreasonably object against a government because we do not know, but that, in the course of human events, its great wheels may be moved by unprincipled men?

Strange! wondrous strange are the reasonings of the objectors against the Constitution. They are afraid of every thing from it; one while a corrupt aristocracy will infallibly grow out of it. Another while absolute despotism is clearly discerned.—Again, it is dangerous because the legislative and executive powers are blended.—Now it ought to be rejected, for its neglecting to guard the true religion by the *test laws.* Like Pandoras box, in the objector's view, it is pregnant with every evil.—My fellow citizens judge for yourselves. A government we must have, if we do not, like a wise people, chuse one for ourselves, chance or faction will impose one upon us. As human nature now is, we may as well, subsist without air as without government. We may all feel this without any reasoning upon the subject. Why is trade under such wretched regulations; why is the produce of the country so low and likely still to fall; why so many evils justly complained of. It is from bad policy, and government, or rather from having no system at all. We do not seem to be a nation, but only a number of contentious individuals, who are biting and devouring one another. We must have a system of national government, very soon, or our ruin is inevitable. The thirteen states are this moment, like an unfortunate traveller on the brink of a precipice ready to plunge fatally. It is time for those who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow—to take the alarm.

76. American Mercury, 21 January 1788

BON MOT.

An honest Scotchman (who was opposed to the new Constitution) being asked what he thought of a certain honourable Gentleman, who had said a great deal about _____, in a late Convention,—replied, "Gad Mon, I think him much like the Irishman's wife"—An Irishman told his wife that some people were right, and some were wrong, but by J–s–s you always miss both.

77. Extract of a Letter from New York
Connecticut Courant, 21 January 1788

Messrs. HUDSON and GOODWIN:

In your Courant of the 24th December last, you have endeavoured to exculpate yourselves from being partial in your publications respecting the new Constitution—I now would make trial of your sincerity—I therefore request you to insert the following genuine extract of a letter from a gentleman in the state of New-York, to his brother in this state, which will oblige one who has been your customer ever since the Press you now conduct has been erected. Yours, A. B.

State of New-York, Jan. 2, 1788.

DEAR BROTHER,

What think you of the Convention now? I am persuaded by this time, you would not sign and ratify their productions in the light; altho' you was willing to do it in the dark, while in *labour,* before they brought forth—we had it is true, great confidence and high expectations from the characters that composed the Convention: But the offspring of their four months deliberations, is a striking proof of the frailty and imperfections of human nature, and is a suitable lesson to teach us not to put implicit faith and confidence in no man or set of men, for it is the unalienable right of every *freeman* to act and judge for himself, especially in matters of so much consequence as laying the foundation of happiness or misery for thousands yet unborn.

It is very extraordinary that the Convention should presume to infringe upon, and not to secure to the people, the fundamental principles of *free elections—freedom of the press—tryal by jury in civil cases as usual—seizure by general warrants without oath, &c. appointing criminals to be tryed in the state, and not in the county or vicinity—enable Congress to raise a standing army in time of peace, and appropriate money for two years for that purpose—open the slave trade—and thereby enable the states who choose to go into the measure to increase their representation—giving to Congress the purse strings, by [laying and collecting?] all other direct taxes, excise, &c. blending the legislative, executive, and judiciary officers in one body, the Senate, and that body formed on the most unequal principles, and so permanent: They to be judges when any of their officers and creatures are impeached for acting under their influence, arbitrarily they thereby being party and judge.* And many other matters that are general and affecting the whole continent, too numerous to be enumerated.—I say considering the recent struggle we have made to shake off the yoke of tyranny and oppression—that a gilded trap should be laid for us by men we had reason to expect better things of is really to be wondered at.

I am told the people of Connecticut generally like the new proposed Constitution, and are hastily deciding upon it; which if true, I confess is still more extraordinary—for men who are so jealous of their representatives, and fond of *elections* that they cannot be trusted but six months, and all the legislative and executive officers but one year—that a state whose privileges are so guarded should so greedily destroy itself, by adopting such a dangerous heterogenious a

form of government, is truly astonishing and lamentable that they are left to so much blindness of mind, however, I hope better things of you yet, *and things that will accompany the political salvation of this country* by your proposing salutary amendments, together with other states, and forming such a plan of government, that posterity will rise up and bless us—But if the proposed constitution (as it is) should be confirmed, I think I may venture to say, without the spirit of prophesy, that they will rise up with the *anathemas of Dr. Slop, and curse us, &c.*

78. Weekly Monitor, 21 January 1788

☞ The Printer, unwilling that the blunders of the press should be imputed to his generous correspondents, ever conceives it his duty to acknowledge them through the earliest medium. He is extremely mortified that any errour, or injudicious arrangement, should have escaped his notice and timely correction, in the list of YEAS and NAYS, and occasional Observations, inserted in his last paper:—In the original, the *Counties* were accurately arranged by the gentleman who furnished the List; but, as the Printer did not obtain it till Sunday evening, he was necessitated to divide the manuscript, to facilitate his weekly publication; by which means the Counties were unfortunately *transposed.* He wishes likewise to correct a typographical errour in the second column of the third page, nine lines from the bottom; the judicious reader will please to read "abundantly *qualified,*" instead of "abundantly *gratified.*"—When our correspondents reflect, that Printers are tangible beings as well as themselves, and liable to every errour incident to others, unless they are materially defective, it is hoped the dispassionate exercise of reason and candour will secure them from the imputation of inattention, or intentional injustice.

79. Governor Samuel Huntington to Governor William Livingston
Norwich, 23 January 1788[1]

I am honoured with your Excellency's favour of the 9th. Instant, acquainting me that the State over which You have the honour to preside, hath unanimously ratified the fœderal Constitution.

I have now the pleasure to inform You, that this State hath also ratified the same Constitution, by a majority of more than three to one.

1. RC, Livingston Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Livingston was governor of New Jersey.

80. Governor Samuel Huntington to Governor Edmund Randolph
Norwich, 23 January 1788[1]

I have been honoured with your Excellency's two letters of the 14th. of November, & 27th of Decem, covering the several Acts of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia to which they respectively refer[.]

I do myself the honour to acquaint your Excellency that on the 9th. Instant the Convention of this State ratified the fœderal Constitution by a majority of more than three to one[.]

1. RC, Executive Communications, Box 12, Virginia State Library.

81. A Customer to the Printer
Connecticut Gazette, 25 January 1788

If you judge the following lines worthy of inserting in your Gazette, you have liberty for so doing. I should have sent them before now, but my distance, and the difficulty of conveyance at this season have prevented.

When we enter upon a new revolution of time, it seems natural to call into view, some remarkable events and overtures, which have taken place in time past; and also to look forward and think of what must take place according to scripture prophecy, and what may, according to the run of human probability. It hath been observed by some learned men, that the revolution of a hundred years (especially in these latter times) hath produced new motions and alterations in the Church, and the state of public affairs: in some respects like to those that fell out a hundred years before. So it was in *Germany* and *Bohemia,* the famous *John Huss,* at the stake in the year 1416, uttered this remarkable speech, "after a hundred years you papist shall be called to an account." The Bohemians caused *Post centum annos,* to be stamped on their coin, for the preservation of so memorable a prediction: and accordingly in a hundred years, viz. 1517, Luther arose, and with him the reformation. We pay no special attention to the superstitious regard which some of the ancients had to the meeting of octavos, or the figure 8 repeated in the same number; yet as protestants, we ought ever to hold in memory, with a flow of gratitude, the wonderful year 1688. It is well known what eminent destructive evils were impendent over England and the protestant cause at that time, which were diverted by the accession of the Prince of *Orange* to the crown. A wonderful *revolution* was effected, when King WILLIAM and Queen MARY were settled on the throne! And it is surprizing to reflect on the remarkable appearances of divine providence, in the rise, progress, and consummation of this important event, in the year 1688. If we look back to the year 1588, it will appear as a year signal and eminent for salvations, a year of the right-hand of the Most High, to be had in perpetual remembrance: for this year, Philip, King of *Spain,* fitted out a fleet called the *invincible armada*; it consisted, say some, of above 425 ships. This fleet designed to invade *England,* and to reduce it to the catholic faith. The fleet was well manned, and arrived in the mouth of the *Thames*; where, partly by storms, and partly by the valour and wise conduct of the Queen's admirals and sea captains, the whole fleet was burnt and destroyed; so that not a *Spaniard* set foot upon English ground; nor was there a ship left entire to carry the news back to Spain. These interesting events in the years 1688, and 1588, are the more considerable, as immensely great in their consequences, in that *England* for a long tract of time has held the balance of power among the nations of *Europe*; and has also been the bulwark of the protestant cause and

interest in the hand of divine providence. We might now step back and take a view of events for three or four centuries preceeding 1588; and in so doing, we should find in each one of them, in or about 88, there were grand commotions and revolutions among the nations; but it would engross too much time and room at present—Now, we are not warranted to draw an absolute conclusion from past wonderful events and revolutions occurring in 88, for so many hundred years successively, that this year, 1788, will be productive of similar or signal grand events; yet according to the analogy of divine dispensation, some capital and grand events may take place this year, or, at least the foundation may be laid this year, for some events of great consequence to take place in times not far distant. I am apt to conclude from prophetic numbers, that between 88 and 96, there will be a heavy blow upon *antichristian* power in the west, or *Mahometan* power in the east, or on both, preparatory to yet more grand events. If the *American* states this year adopt the system of confederate government, proposed by the late Convention at *Philadelphia,* this event is like to be some how great. We are willing to hope it will be attended with beneficial consequences to the present generation, and such as will be immensely so, to millions in future ages. But be all these things as they may, we have reason to believe very great and wonderful events are near, even at the door: for the holy scriptures must be fulfilled. Happy, thrice happy they, who are prepared to meet all the events of time! Thus happy is the truly pious man:—

Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurl'd,
He unconcern'd, would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling world.

82. Governor Samuel Huntington to Jeremiah Wadsworth
Norwich, 2 February 1788[1]

I have been honoured with your letter of the 22 Ulto, am sorry to find you are alone from Connecticut.

I have wrote Mr. Mitchell that he must immediately set out himself, unless he can prevail with Col: Cooke to go without delay, and also wish him to go with Col: Cooke if his circumstances will permit, and expect one or both of those Gentlemen will soon join You.

The Convention in Massachusetts are still debating the important Subject of the Foederal Constitution, with diversity of Sentiment, but from the best information I have obtained, circumstances appear rather favourable.

1. RC, Samuel Huntington Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

83. Norwich Packet, 7 February 1788

The following is a list of the number of Yeas and Nays, *by Counties,* on the important question of the new Constitution, as decided by the honorable Convention of this State.

	Yeas.	Nays.
HARTFORD,	18	6
NEW-HAVEN,	14 [9]	13
NEW-LONDON,	18	*none.*
FAIRFIELD,	19	*none.*
WINDHAM,	15	7
LITCHFIELD,	21 [26]	9
TOLLAND,	11	5
MIDDLESEX,	12	*none.*
	[128]	[40]

84. Norwich Packet, 7 February 1788

On a full and candid discusion of the numerous objections which have been made from one end of the continent to the other *against* the proposed form of a national government, a Correspondent is decided in the opinion, that *three* arguments only (among the infinite number which might be used) *in favour* thereof are more than a counter ballance.—1st. The *absolute necessity of a federal government,* from the deranged state of public affairs;—2d. the *inefficicy of the old articles of confederation*; and 3d, *the moral certainty of never establishing a more complete system to answer the intended purpose of its formation.*

85. Joseph Platt Cooke to Jeremiah Wadsworth
Danbury, 13 February 1788[1]

Yesterday I received your favour of the 10th. instant by the tenor of which I find it necessary to be somewhat particular in apologizing for my non-attendance at Congress, which seems to have made some unfavourable impressions on your mind. I received the Governors letter the week before the Sessions of the State Convention directing my attendance and informing that you would attend with me to which indeed I returned no answer as none was desired and I expected to go on—but as I could not reasonably expect your attendance untill after the Convention, I thought it expedient to wait till I should hear from you, as I could be in New-York within two days after being informed that you was there—the week before last I had the first notice that you was gone on, and at the same time was informed in such a manner as to depend upon it that Mr. Mitchel was to join you there in a very short time—from this information and not hearing from you I really supposed that some new arrangement had taken place by which my attendance would be dispensed with, and upon that idea gave over the thought of going—I am sorry to find I have been mistaken and more especially as the present state of my health will not now admit of my leaving home—I returned from Fairfield last week very unwell and have been confined ever

since—Pray write to Mr. Mitchel or Col. Chester to come on, and if it be not convenient for either of them, I will attend as soon as my health will permit, which I fear will not be under a fortnight.

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

86. Samuel William Johnson to William Samuel Johnson
Bermuda, 21 February 1788[1]

I have just had the pleasure to receive yours of the 26th of Jany, accompanying Letters from Mr. Verplanck, and Major Alden: the intelligence they afford me of the situation of the family is highly agreable. I have it in my power to report that I enjoy the most perfect health: this fine climate insures me most fully that blessing, and leaves me less room to complain of the deficiences of the country.—I am extremely happy that Connecticut displayed so large a majority in favor of the Constitution, and hope the wavering States will follow her example. The writers against the Constitution appear to lose ground, their warmth has led them into contradictions which they cannot easily reconcile: and the cool anylitical disquisitions of Publius have clearly developed the errors they appeared too desirous to establish. He has pointed out the excellencies of the new Constitution in so masterly a manner, and discovered so perfect a knowledge of the true interest of the United States, that his papers merit very particular examination, and I shall be very glad to receive a complete Copy of them as soon as they are published in a Volume.—The affairs of Bermuda are as I described them in my last; the Inhabitants complain bitterly of the scarcity of Cash, and dulness of business; but with all their exertions I fear their poverty must gradually increase. They are attempting to push themselves in the Newfound Land fishery, but I fancy the disadvantages of their situation, and expence of outfits must prevent its being profitable—

I am extremely obliged to my good Mamma for her intention of sending me some Pork; it would be very acceptable, and I am greatly obliged to her for the provisions she has at various times sent me. They have generally answered the good purposes of regaling me, and helping to discharge board. In the Corn I was a little unfortunate: it arrived here when the market was stocked, and became a little damaged while in Store. Corn will not often clear the freight in the Summer Season, when the prime cost is half a dollar—I have often requested Brother Charles to take your opinion about the disposal of the Middletown farm: but have heard nothing from him on the subject. While the Tenant holds it on shares he will always have it in his power to embezzle the profits; and render an account of bad Crops: and I presume it would be better to sell it at some disadvantage and give a long time of payment than retain it in its present situation. However I wish to be guided by your opinion: perhaps real property will soon increase, in value. Perhaps the Tenant would take it at a certain rent to be ascertained by appraisement: I am much deceived in my calculations if he has not imposed upon myself and Brother Charles exceedingly. I take the liberty to trouble you in this business because the Term will be expired long before I can with propriety leave this for the Continent.

[P.S.] March 13th—We have had very cold weather the four weeks past attended with heavy gales of wind several Vessels have been wrecked on the Coast, and some houses damaged: I fear the winter has been severe at New York—

1. RC, William Samuel Johnson Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

87. Levi Hart to Joseph Bellamy
Preston, Conn., 25 February 1788[1]

Though you are unable to take an active part in the public affairs of the united States, you feel the same interest in their prosperity as if you were well. You will therefore rejoice in the adoption of the new constitution by the Convention of Massachusets, especially as this event opens the most encouraging prospect in favor of its adoption by the remaining States. Among the many favorable providences which attended this event, it is far from being one of the least that the minority professed, & appeared, to be reconciled, & disposed to promote union, & submission to government among their constituents.

That we are interested in the welfare of our country & of posterity, after we shall be no more on earth, is adduced by Dr. Young & others, as an evidence for the immortality of the Soul.

I would not willingly detract from any arguments in favor of that important truth, but I submit whether true public spirit would not interest us in the future welfare of our country, of mankind—of the moral system while we live, even if we know we should be annihilated & have no share, ourselves, in that future good & whether all public affection, not of this kind, may not be reduced to selfish affection.

The ancient Stoic philosophers are represented as maintaining that the wise man would feel no pain though cast into the fire, or broke on the wheel. This cannot be true—but perhaps, they designed no more by their Many expressions than that *the truly good man* takes his happiness in the good of the moral system & that his enjoyment is, in no degree, selfish. That therefore, whatever personal affliction he suffers he will rejoice in the public good, & so be though "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing."

Be this as it may with those ancient Sages it is true of the real christian, & therefore you will be comforted amidst all your sorrows, in the consideration that infinite wisdom orders every circumstance of your confinement, *for the best good of the moral system.*—this also is a just comfort to your most affectionate daughter

1. RC, Thompson's Collection of Autograph Letters, Hartford Seminary Foundation.

88. New Haven Gazette, 28 February 1788

Advertisement.

Will positively sail by the first of July next for the land of annihilation, the *fast sailing* Ship ANARCHY, J—n C—ll—ns Esquire Master—She is a stout, well built Ship, and has excellent accomodations—Her LEE quarter is *old,* and some-

what *rotten,* but there are CARPENTERS, and MASONS on board, in case of any necessity.

Wanted a dozen or two of CHAISES—Wanted also, a few *Ram* LAMBS of the *New-York* breed—Their horns should be so much grown, that it may be determined by their HEADS, whether they are of the right, or WRONG kind—For freight or passage, apply to the Master on board.

89. Simeon Baldwin to James Kent
New Haven, 8 March 1788[1]

A thousand unforeseen accidents have prevented my writing to you before, but principally the want of conveyance—nothing will induce my friend to sacrifice to it, the pleasure & advantage of your Correspondence—your last Letter I have not by me or I would give it a particular answer.—I think it contained some Law Questions which ought before this to have been answered, but the short notice I had of this conveyance will not allow me to search for authorities.—You was so kind as to give me your opinion upon one point of Law, which I have since tried & had established (after a warm dispute,) agreeable to your Sentiments—Action on Note—*plea.* Infancy when the Note was given—*Reply.* that it was given in N Y. for Necessaries suitable &c. & that by the Laws of the state of N Y. Notes given by minors for necessaries are good, valid, & binding in Law—to this reply there was a demurrer, & the Court ruled the reply sufficient—It would indeed make very wild work with contracts should we establish the principle that the Lex Loci must not govern them—The property of Individuals who reside in States, connected with such intercourse as there is between the US. of America, would be very precarious upon a contrary System—A greater uniformity in Laws will probably follow the adoption of the proposed Constitution—I have not heard your sentiments upon that subject, & I know that the State of New York is much divided upon it—But I'll venter to write to you as a friend to it—for I cannot think that a man of your candour & discernment—unbiased by Interest—can stand forth, & wield the weapons of Anarchy—against the Salvation of our Country—who are they in general who oppose the Constitution?—none but the uninformed or the interested—I have frequently been diverted to hear the very trifling & yet very different objections which are made to it by different peasants of this State—for you know that in this State the farmers are all politicians—many will condemn the same Articles which others with zeal recommend. none of them agree in their objections—even this Circumstance must convince an unbiassed mind that the wisdom of that venerable Body who framed the Constitution has led them thro' that central point of Gravity which must support the interest of all—

The conduct of New Hampshire has surprized us all this way—we did not expect it—but had ever calculated upon that State as sure—our fears were centered upon New York—we are sensible that more self-interest must be sacrificed to the general Good in that State—from their darling impost—than in any other—Yet as there is a pretty equal consumption thro' the States of Articles subject to impost—Justice will certainly require that the avails should go to the

advantage of those from whom the Impost is colle[c]ted—let the Ports at which they are landed & from whence they are scattered be one or many—I wish for your Sentiments upon the Constitution & the prospect of its adoption in the State—Many of your influential Characters we are told are against it—I must believe that the supreme being, whose hand is so visible in the settlement of this Country—in its rapid population—the extent of territory over which the People have spread—in the general diffusion of knowledge among them, which is not equalled by the people of any territory on earth—& in the surprizing union of the whole in the Cause of Liberty—has designed something great, noble, glorious from such a Country—such a people—such a revolution. And I will add from such a change in the Consti[tu]tion as the United Wisdom of the U.S. has proposed, from the most perfect models of Govt. both in Theory & practice which have appeared on earth & been sanctioned by the approbation of the wise politicians who have gone before us—

This State is at present very quiet in its politics—the federal party have evidently obtained the superiority, & both sides seem qu[i]etly disposed to lay down their Arms—but it has not ever been a circumstance in the politics of this State that those who are concerned in them remain long in a State of Apathy. The leading Characters among our antifederalist are in general willful & Dogmatical—no Speakers are found among them—all their influence is by a low clandestine intrigue Our Leaders in the federal Party are the Leaders in the House of Assembly—Men who despise secrecy in their Sentiments & attempt more by solid Reason & an overbearing Eloquence, than by intreague—Their foible is—they do not try to reconcile—but frequently irritate by sarcastic reflections—

The situation of this State as it respects their property, is far from being flourishing—we seem to have arrived to the turning point, between a Commerce in wh. the balance has long been against us, & the introduction of manufactures among ourselves whh. will supercede the Necessity of such a Commerce—The fact is we have too many inhabitants for the extent of territory—considering considering our mode of Cultivation & the employments of the people—All have not farms nor can they obtain them—of course untill Manufactures are introduced, the people must be idle, or crowd into those professions which do not immediately depend on the soil—The people thus employed, consume the produce of the farmer—till nothing is left for a remittance for those Articles which our stage of Society has to a Degree rendered necessary—Some attempts were made in this Town the last year for the introduction of a linnen manufactory, that is coarse linnen—for Sails &c. which succeded so as to yield a profit to the subscribers far beyond their expectation—the same is continued & another subscription for a Wollen manufac[tory] is filling up fast—The introduction of a few such manufactures by men of fortune & enterprize will doubtess opperate to the advantage of the State—we can never expect to be in so flourishing Circumstances as the State of New York—their situation gives them a superiority which industry cannot equal—& I must think that the Policy of that State as it respects their finance is managed with admirable ~~economy~~ foresight—& the circumstances of the Citizens are very different from ours—I rejoice my friend that you are placed among them—that you are sharing in its riches & can toil with the prospect of reaping a reward for your Labour—I have frequently la-

mented that I did not attend enough to my own advantage when I could have tarried & probably have pursued my professional employment there—A bubble brought me back & local attachments bind me here!—

I have heard that Mr Evertson is studying with you if so I wish you to make my Compliments to him as to a young Gentleman whom I highly esteem—

I enclose a small account against Matthew Gronk of Fishkill—As I suppose he is frequently at Poughkeepsie and there is a communication between the two places you can without much trouble give him information that you have it—& I dare say he will pay it without giving you further trouble—the charge except the retaining fee is the taxable Cost—a part of it he has paid me as pr his credit, but not so much as I advanced—his Cause after lying over two terms was setld without the interposition of the Court—If you can obtain the money pay your self for your trouble & the remainder you can transmit to me when any safe opportunity presents—

1. FC, Simeon E. Baldwin Collection, Division of Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

90. Norwich Packet, 20 March 1788

Amidst the rage for forming Constitutions, it is ardently to be wished, says a Correspondent, that Connecticut, would at least *think* of establishing one for herself.—Since the Charter (improved as a substitute) was formed, the circumstances of the State as to population, manners, customs, &c. are so materially varied that it has become indispensably necessary that a Constitution be agreed on, whereby the rights, privileges and immunities, of its citizens be *invariably fixed.*—It may be further urged, with propriety, from the expected operation of the federal government.

91. Enoch Perkins to Simeon Baldwin Hartford, 31 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

The exchange of letters between us has not of late been so frequent as I could wish; but for the time to come, my endeavours shall not be wanting to keep up the correspondence with spirit. For what can be more agreeable than to spend a leisure hour in cultivating & continuing that Friendship, which has long been the source of mutual pleasure & satisfaction? That Friendship which has been formed by a long series of social intercourse, which has been tried by the Test of time, is not to be nelgected as a trifle of little value, but is to be cherished as a chief ingredient of human happiness.—

As to intelligence, I cannot say, I have any that is new or interesting. Our River has been open about a week—the first vessels arrived last Friday—Business begins to grow brisk upon it—Hartford is the natural emporium for an extensive & fertile country—There will be considerable building in Town this year—Last week one very large edifice was erected—The political world seems to be very still with us—I do not hear of any electioneering—If any is carried on, it is sub rosa—The comptrollership, it is thought, will die a natural death this spring—An attempt is to be made to turn off from the bench Col. D——r who made

himself ridiculous & disgustful in the convention, & whose peevish loquacity has done much to sink the dignity of the S——r Court—

1. RC, Simeon E. Baldwin Collection, Division of Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

92. Hugh Ledlie to John Lamb
Hartford, 2 April 1788[1]

I wrote you sometime since by Mr. Jacob Ogden who says he delivered the same to you in New York, since which I have not had the pleasure of a line from you, relative to the subject whereupon I wrote you, which makes me conjecture I mist the Mark & that my information must have been premature concerning your Political Creed of and concerning the New proposed Cons——t—n and as an answer to what I wrote you has been & is much look'd for by several Gentlemen of most approv'd and Esteem'd Abilities in those parts and as there is much fuel and other Matters which have since happend in this and some of the neighbouring States & of material consequence relative to what I wrote you which now only Waits for your answer to be made out and return'd to you and our good friends in N York; therefore you will be kind enough to write me by the bearer, or otherwise be so kind as to return me my letter inclosed to me by the bearer, uncommunicated to any one that have been or are for adopting the New C.—n——t—n more especially you'll please to keep my former as well as this from the knowledge of any person from the eastward. I would have wrote you more fully & more particularly on the subject matter of the above but I did not know of the bearers being determined to go to New York untill about half a hour ago—but if you sho'd conclude to send me back my former letter as being of no manner of use or service to you in the cause on which it was wrote I hope you will be so kind as to write me by the bearer your compliance with the above will very much oblige.

1. RC, Lamb Papers, New-York Historical Society.

93. Connecticut Gazette, 4 April 1788

To the PRINTER of the CONNECTICUT GAZETTE.

SIR, On a subject so interesting and diffuse, as that of the new proposed plan of national government, it is no wonder, considering the imbecility of human nature, that men of talents, and uprightness, should differ in sentiment; but how the term *Antifederal* came to be applied indiscriminately to all who have thought *that* system wanted amendment, I am at a loss to account for, but on such principles of depravity, as really needs a new name, unless we apply an old epithet, which might possibly alarm and affright some of your delicate readers. It is very certain, that five years ago, the man who should have attempted a demolution of the old system (if that may be called old, that has existed but twelve years) would have justly deserved the epithets of *insurgent, tory,* &c. which are now so liberally dealt out by a set of men whose frantic zeal, and views of interest, has led them to make a licentious use of that strongest barrier of civil liberty, the liberty of the press. I am sensible however, that public authority ought not to

abridge that liberty, though an ill use is sometimes made of it, any more than to deny the benefit of air to a great part of mankind, least they blow up a fire to burn a house, or a city. But I believe every man who has an acquaintance with letters, and with the affairs of mankind, is sensible that the liberty of the press may be in a sense restrained without any act of the ruling powers. A spirit of censorism has been prevalent almost ever since the new constitution made its appearance, against those who had any scruples about it; but I had thought it was in a measure subsided, until I observed a paragraph in a late publication in this state, in the words following, viz. "The character of *Antifederal,* seems to be synonymous in almost every point of view, with that of *Tory, Insurgent,* and the like; enemies to good government." The editor of this paper has not informed us, whether any of his correspondents have furnished him with this observation, or whether it is the production of his own mind: be that as it may, I only wish through your paper, which I hope is free, to call on the candid public to consider, whether such observations as the foregoing, indiscriminately thrown out, do proceed from the overflowings of a good heart, or have the remotest tendency to do any good whatever. Whether such reflections are, or are not invidious, ungentleman-like, and repugnant to truth itself, the impartial public will one day decide; from whose judgment there will be no appeal.

I am, Sir, a well wisher to the constitution, a friend to government, and your customer.

94. Samuel Holden Parsons to George Washington
Carlisle, 21 April 1788[1]

I am now on my Road to the Settlements forming on the River Ohio, and take this only Method in my power to take leave of your Excellency & to assure you of my most cordial Wishes for your Happiness; should any Occurrances render my Services in that Country of Use to you, I shall never be more happy than in devoting myself to the execution of your Wishes—The State of our Country must give very sensible trouble to every good Citizen & to none more than to your Excellency who has acted so conspicuous a part in effecting our Independance—in the eastern States I think Opposition to the fœderal Government is nearly ended; we have our Eyes now turnd to Virginia, if there is Wisdom to adopt the propos'd plan in that State; I think we may hope to restore to our nation the Honor their folly has lost them;—I view the Adoption of the present plan with all its Imperfections as the only Means of preserving the Union of the States & securing the Happiness of all the parts of this extensive Country; I feel myself deeply interested in this Subject as it will affect the Country of which I am now commencing an Inhabitant, I am sure it must ever be our Interest to continue connected with the Atlantic States, to them we must look up for protection, and from them we can receive such Supplies as we want with more facility than from our other Neighbours; but without an efficient Government, we can expect no Benefits of a Connection and I fear it will lead Us to improper Measures—the Navigation of the Potomac is very interesting to our Settlement, if it is perfected according to the proposed Scheme, we shall save a land transpor-

tation of five Hundred Miles the Rout we at present Pursue, our new Settlement progresses rapidly. Two Hundred Families will be within our City by July & I think we are sure of a thousand families from New England within One Year if we remain in peace

1. RC, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

95. Josiah Whitney, Election Sermon Preached Before the Connecticut General Assembly, 8 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

The discourse nextly turns to his HONER Lieutenant Governor WOLCOTT, the honourable *Counsellors,* and *house of Representatives.*

Honored, and much respected Gentlemen.

We esteem ourselves happy in having rulers, and Representatives, *who proceed from the midst of us*; and will therefore more *naturally care for our State.*

Your time, abilities, and authority, by your acceptance of public trusts, are consecrated to the community, and cannot without manifest injustice, be withheld therefrom.—And by [your] official oaths, you will feel an additional obligation, to promote the public welfare.—No solicitude to promote it, would be to violate your *sacred honour,* which you have pledged, and to incur the displeasure of GOD, *unto whom you have lift up your hands.*

When your attention in past sessions, has been called to national and State matters, difficulties neither few, nor small (by reason of the inefficiency of the consideration) have met you. It is hoped that future ones may not be so many, nor so formidable, if that CONSTITUTION of government should be established, which the honourable convention of the STATES have recommended. The *wisest* and *best* of our citizens, esteem this Constitution, though not perfect, yet as *very replete,* with temperate, energetic, political wisdom—They rejoice that seven of the States have accepted it, and earnestly wish that it may soon have the approbation of ALL—at least two more to compleat the number required for its establishment.

Could its establishment, have been announced by the *Chaplin of the day,* with singular pleasure he would have congratulated *your honours,*—this respectable assembly, his fellow citizens, and countrymen, upon the auspicious event.—But though he cannot, yet is pleased with the prospect, that the *Preacher* on the next anniversary election, may have the satisfaction of doing it.

1. Josiah Whitney, *A Sermon, Preached In The Audience Of His Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esqr. L.L.D. Governor, And Commander In Chief; His Honor Oliver Wolcott, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor, And The Honourable The Counsellors And House Of Representatives Of The State Of Connecticut, At Hartford, On The Day Of The Anniversary Election, May 8th 1788* (Hartford, 1788), 27–29.

96. Thaddeus Burr to John Hancock Fairfield, Conn., 9 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I most sincerely congratulate you in the pleasing prospect we have at present, that the new Constitution will be adopted;—my spirits for some months past have been very low, owing to the accounts from the Southward and my fears least

the Constitution would not be adopted, and our country plunged into a civil War—Thanks be to *God!* who has so often dispelled the clouds that have hung over us, that the eyes of the people are opening and we have the greatest reason to hope for the Adoption. . . .

1. RC, Hancock Papers, Vol. 17, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

97. Publication of Speeches in Connecticut Convention by the Philadelphia American Museum, 26 May–9 September 1788[1]

Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, New York, 26 May[2]

Governor [Samuel] Huntington, Lieutenant Governor [Oliver] Wolcott, [Sr.], and Chief Justice [Richard] Law of Connecticut, made short Speeches in their Convention; which ought to be in your June Museum, *for obvious reasons.*

Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, New York, 17 June[3]

The Speeches of Governor Huntington, etc., in Connecticut I will write for but cannot expect them in Season for June.

Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, New York, 14 July[4]

I have now an Opportunity of sending you Mr. [John] Trumbull's Papers, etc.; also [Joel] Barlow's *Prospect of Peace,* which, with the Connecticut Papers containing all the Speeches in this Convention that have ever been published; I am indebted to our Friend, Mr. [Isaac] Beer[s] of Newhaven for. The *Prospect of Peace* you have never published. It is a delicate and pleasing Compliment to Men of Note, to see their Speeches in Print; it is due to the State; it preserves the various Commentaries of our Patriots, on the Text of our Political Bible, which a century hence, will be of infinite Value; and it is high good *Policy in you,* to pay the Compliment to *influential* Characters.

Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, New York, 9 September[5]

I am glad to see the Speeches of the Govr. Lieut. Gov. & C. Justice of Connecticut, inserted in the Museum, *it must operate.*

1. All of the letters below are excerpts. The speeches referred to were published in the August 1788 issue of the *Museum.*
2. RC, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection, Mathew Carey Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
3. *Ibid.*
4. RC, Lea and Febiger Collection, Nathaniel Hazard Folder, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
5. *Ibid.*

98. Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Clergy of Connecticut 17, 18 June 1788 (excerpts)[1]

17 June

The Association was opened with a Sermon from Levit. XIX. 17, preached by the Revd. Mr. Willard. A request from the Association of Windham County was laid before this Association, requesting that some suitable Testimony might be borne against a sinful Omission in the late federal Convention, in not looking to God for direction, and of omitting the mention of the name of God, in the Constitution they proposed to the People for their Approbation.

The Association, after conversing largely upon it, laid it over till tomorrow Morning for further Consideration.

18 June

Voted that the Address of Windham County be laid over to a future day.

1. MS, Congregational House, Hartford, Connecticut.

99. Governor Samuel Huntington to Governor Samuel Johnston Norwich, 23 September 1788[1]

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

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

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

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

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

1. RC, Misc. Collection, HM22570, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Johnston was governor of North Carolina.

100. William Williams to Benjamin Huntington
New Haven, 21 October 1788[1]

I have heard of a piece said to be wrote by a Mr. Martin a Member of the late Convention for forming the Constitution, & addrsd to the Maryland Assembly, containing an Information of the proceedings of the Convention &c which is not to be obtained in this State, that I know of, wod therefore beg the favor that you will procure it for me, & bring it with You when you return, & will thankfully repay You the price You will be kind enou not to mention to any, this request &c for I suppose it is treason with the hot Constitutionalists as I am told He was an opposer of it.

We have nothing material to inform you, the Assembly retiered last Saturdy having adjd. to ye 1st of Jany to choose Electors &c The Court of Errors remain here to finish their Business, which may be probably tomorrow. You have heard of our Senators no doubt. nothing important is done by the Assembly, an Act vs the Affrican Trade for Slaves pasd. & no other public Bill of importance

1. RC, Bright Collection, Jervis Library, Rome, New York.

101. James Wadsworth to Governor Samuel Huntington
New Haven, 15 October 1789[1]

I take this Opportunity to express my most gratefull Acknowledgements for the Honor done me by the General Assembly in May last in appointing me Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of New Haven—The Confidence of the Publick the kind Assistance of my Brethren of the Court and the Candor of my fellow Citizens are very powerfull Motives to induce me to accept the Trust—But by the new Constitution certain Qualifications are rendered necessary to the Execution of said Office which have not heretofore been required—I have made no Secret of my Sentiments touching the Constitution and it's Requirements and they are too well known to need any Explanation—must therefore decline taking the Oath to support the new Constitution—with the most fervent Wishes that the Rights & Priviledges of Free Men may be enjoyed by the Citizens of this and the other of the United States and perpetuated to the latest Generations.

1. RC, Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, 1st Series, Vol. XXXVII, document no. 297, Connecticut State Library.

Appendix

Items Printed and Reprinted in Connecticut Contained in
Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private, 1787–1788

Connecticut Newspapers, 1787–1788

American Mercury, Hartford
Connecticut Courant, Hartford
Connecticut Gazette, New London
Connecticut Journal, New Haven
Fairfield Gazette
Middlesex Gazette, Middletown
New Haven Chronicle
New Haven Gazette
Norwich Packet
Weekly Monitor, Litchfield

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:1	Resolution of Congress, 21 February 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 28 February *American Mercury*, 5 March *Connecticut Courant*, 5 March *Middlesex Gazette*, 5 March *Norwich Packet*, 8 March *Connecticut Gazette*, 9 March
CC:3-A	The Idea of Separate Confederacies Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 15 February 1787 *American Mercury*, 19 February *Connecticut Journal*, 21 February *Norwich Packet*, 1 March
CC:3-B	Reason New York *Daily Advertiser*, 24 March 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 16 April
CC:3-C	Lycurgus New York *Daily Advertiser*, 2 April 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 26 April *Middlesex Gazette*, 30 April *American Mercury*, 7 May
CC:5-A	American Fear of British Domination Americanus *New York Journal*, 15 March 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 March

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:5-B	Extract of a letter from Halifax, via St. Johns, dated 8 February 1787 *New York Journal*, 15 March 1787 *American Mercury*, 26 March
CC:10	George Washington's Election to the Convention Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 9 April 1787 *American Mercury*, 23 April
CC:11	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 April 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 30 April *New Haven Chronicle*, 1 May *Connecticut Journal*, 2 May *Middlesex Gazette*, 7 May
CC:12	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 11 April 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 26 April *Connecticut Gazette*, 18 May
CC:13	*Newport Herald*, 12 April 1787 *American Mercury*, 23 April *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 May
CC:14	Benjamin Franklin's Election to the Convention *Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 April 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 May
CC:15	Thomas Jefferson: On Violence in America *New Haven Gazette*, 19 April 1787 (excerpt) No Connecticut reprints
CC:16-A	John Adams: *A Defence of the Constitutions* Preface, *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 April 1787 *American Mercury*, 30 April *Middlesex Gazette*, 30 April *New Haven Chronicle*, 8 May
CC:16-B	Letter LIII New York *Daily Advertiser*, 9 May 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 17 May
CC:16-C	Sidney Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 June 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 4 July
CC:16-D	Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 3 July 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 18 July
CC:18-A	Agrarian Unrest and the Constitution *Albany Gazette*, 3 May 1787 (not extant) *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 May *Norwich Packet*, 24 May (excerpt)
CC:18-B	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 16 May 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 24 May *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 May

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:18-D	*Weekly Monitor*, 21 May 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 May *Norwich Packet*, 31 May
CC:18-E	*Worcester Magazine*, 24 May 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 May *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 June
CC:18-F	*Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 July 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 8 August *Norwich Packet*, 16 August
CC:18-G	Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 September 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 26 September
CC:20-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 25 July 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 9 August
CC:21	Z Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 16 May 1787 *New Haven Chronicle*, 29 May
CC:22	Richard Price: On the American Government Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 May 1787 *American Mercury*, 28 May *Connecticut Courant*, 28 May *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 May *New Haven Chronicle*, 29 May *Norwich Packet*, 7 June *New Haven Gazette*, 14 June
CC:24	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 19 May 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 28 May
CC:25	Connecticut Legislature Debates the Appointment of Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 12 May 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 21 May 1787 *American Mercury*, 21 May *Connecticut Journal*, 23 May *Norwich Packet*, 24 May *New Haven Gazette*, 24, 31 May *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 May *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 June
CC:26	Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 May 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 14 June *New Haven Chronicle*, 19 June (excerpt)
CC:27	*New York Journal*, 24 May 1787 *American Mercury*, 28 May
CC:29	Harrington: To the Freemen of the United States *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 May 1787 *American Mercury*, 11 June *Connecticut Journal*, 13 June

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	New Haven Chronicle, 19 June (excerpt)
	Norwich Packet, 5 July
CC:30-A	Reports of Constitutional Convention Proceedings
	Pennsylvania Herald, 30 May 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 6 June
	Connecticut Courant, 11 June
CC:30-B	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 2 June 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 13 June
	Connecticut Gazette, 15 June
	American Mercury, 18 June
CC:30-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 13 June 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 20 June
CC:30-E	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 June 1787
	Connecticut Courant, 25 June
	Middlesex Gazette, 25 June
	New Haven Gazette, 28 June
	Connecticut Gazette, 29 June
CC:30-F	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 July 1787
	Connecticut Courant, 30 July
	Middlesex Gazette, 30 July
	New Haven Chronicle, 31 July
	Norwich Packet, 2 August
CC:30-H	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 July 1787
	Connecticut Courant, 6 August (alternative version)
	Connecticut Journal, 8 August
	New Haven Gazette, 9 August
CC:30-I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 6 August
	New Haven Chronicle, 7 August
	Connecticut Gazette, 10 August
	Norwich Packet, 16 August
CC:30-J	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 8 August 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 15 August
	Middlesex Gazette, 20 August
	Norwich Packet, 23 August
CC:30-K	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 15 August 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 22 August
	Connecticut Courant, 27 August
	Middlesex Gazette, 27 August
	New Haven Chronicle, 28 August
	Fairfield Gazette, 29 August
	Norwich Packet, 30 August
CC:30-L	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787
	American Mercury, 17 September
	Connecticut Courant, 17 September

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:31	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 June 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 13 June
CC:35-A	Rhode Island and the Constitutional Convention *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 June 1787 *American Mercury*, 18 June *Connecticut Courant*, 18 June *Middlesex Gazette*, 18 June *Connecticut Journal*, 20 June *Norwich Packet*, 21 June *Connecticut Gazette*, 22 June
CC:35-B	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 June 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 2 July *Middlesex Gazette*, 2 July *Connecticut Journal*, 4 July *Norwich Packet*, 12 July
CC:36	Nestor *Massachusetts Centinel*, 13 June 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 9 July
CC:38	Richard Price to William Bingham Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 June 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 12 July
CC:39	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 20 June 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 27 June
CC:40-B	The Opposition to a New Constitution Alexander Hamilton Attacks Governor George Clinton New York *Daily Advertiser*, 21 July 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 16 August
CC:40-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 1 August 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 8 August
CC:40-D	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 August 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 15 August *Connecticut Courant*, 20 August
CC:41	*Albany Gazette*, 21 June 1787 (not extant) *Middlesex Gazette*, 9 July
CC:43	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 June 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 12 July (paragraphs 6–9) *Norwich Packet*, 19 July
CC:44	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 June 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 9 July
CC:46-B	The United States, Spain, and the Navigation of the Mississippi River *Maryland Journal*, 3 July 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 11 July *New Haven Gazette*, 26 July

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:46-D	*New York Journal*, 12 July 1787 (excerpt) *Connecticut Journal*, 18 July
CC:47-B	David Daggett: Oration Delivered in New Haven, 4 July 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:48	*Norwich Packet*, 5 July 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 6 August
CC:49	Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 5 July 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 9 August
CC:50	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 July 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 16 July
CC:51-A	Monarchical Tendencies in America *Fairfield Gazette*, 25 July 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:51-B	*New Haven Gazette*, 2 August 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 6 August *Norwich Packet*, 9 August *Connecticut Gazette*, 10 August
CC:51-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 18 August 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 27 August *Middlesex Gazette*, 27 August *New Haven Chronicle*, 28 August *Connecticut Journal*, 29 August *Connecticut Gazette*, 31 August *Weekly Monitor*, 3 September
CC:53	Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 July 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 30 August *Fairfield Gazette*, 5 September
CC:56	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 6 August *Middlesex Gazette*, 6 August *Norwich Packet*, 23 August
CC:57	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 August 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 13 August (paragraphs 1–2) *Connecticut Journal*, 15 August (paragraphs 2–3) *Connecticut Gazette*, 24 August *Connecticut Courant*, 27 August (paragraph 2) *Norwich Packet*, 30 August (paragraph 2)
CC:59	An American *Massachusetts Centinel*, 4 August 1787 *Weekly Monitor*, 3 September (paragraph 2) *New Haven Chronicle*, 11 September (excerpt)
CC:61	*Salem Mercury*, 7 August 1787 *New Haven Chronicle*, 21 August *Norwich Packet*, 30 August

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:63	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 August 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 22 August *Connecticut Courant*, 27 August *Middlesex Gazette*, 27 August *Fairfield Gazette*, 12 September
CC:66	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 August 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 September *Connecticut Journal*, 5 September *New Haven Gazette*, 6 September *Weekly Monitor*, 10 September
CC:67	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 August 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 3 September *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 September *Connecticut Journal*, 5 September *New Haven Gazette*, 6 September *Weekly Monitor*, 10 September
CC:68	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 August 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 29 August (paragraph 2) *Connecticut Courant*, 3 September (paragraphs 1, 3) *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 September (paragraph 2) *Norwich Packet*, 6 September (paragraphs 1–2)
CC:69	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 29 August 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 7 September *Middlesex Gazette*, 10 September *Connecticut Journal*, 12 September *Weekly Monitor*, 17 September
CC:70	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 August 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 10 September *Weekly Monitor*, 17 September *Norwich Packet*, 20 September
CC:71	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 August 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 10 September *Norwich Packet*, 20 September
CC:72	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 20 September (paragraph 1) *Connecticut Courant*, 24 September (paragraph 1)
CC:73	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 4 October
CC:74	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 4 October
CC:77-A	Benjamin Franklin's Speech (Northern Version) *Boston Gazette*, 3 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 10 December *Connecticut Courant*, 10 December

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Middlesex Gazette, 10 December
	Connecticut Journal, 12 December
	New Haven Gazette, 13 December
	Weekly Monitor, 17 December
	Connecticut Gazette, 21 December
CC:79	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 September 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 26 September
	New Haven Gazette, 27 September
	Connecticut Courant, 1 October
	Middlesex Gazette, 1 October
CC:87	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 September 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 1 October
	New Haven Gazette, 4 October
	Norwich Packet, 25 October
CC:88	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 September 1787
	New Haven Gazette, 4 October
CC:91	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 24 September 1787
	Weekly Monitor, 12 November
CC:94	Daniel Shays to the Antifederal Junto in Philadelphia
	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 25 September 1787
	American Mercury, 15 October
CC:96-A	Destiny and George Washington
	Delaware Gazette, 26 September 1787
	American Mercury, 8 October
	Connecticut Courant, 8 October
	Connecticut Journal, 10 October
	New Haven Gazette, 11 October
	Connecticut Gazette, 12 October
	Middlesex Gazette, 15 October
CC:96-B	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 17 October
CC:98	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 10 October
	Norwich Packet, 11 October
CC:99	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
	American Mercury, 8 October
	Connecticut Journal, 10 October
	New Haven Gazette, 11 October
	Connecticut Gazette, 12 October
	Weekly Monitor, 15 October
CC100-A	An American Citizen I: On the Federal Government
	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
	New Haven Gazette, 18, 25 October
	Norwich Packet, 18 October
	Connecticut Gazette, 9 November

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Connecticut Courant, 19 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November
CC:101	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 September 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 3 October (paragraphs 3, 6–7) *Connecticut Gazette*, 5 October (paragraphs 3, 6–7) *American Mercury*, 8 October (paragraphs 1, 3, 6–8) *Connecticut Courant*, 8 October (paragraphs 1–8) *Weekly Monitor*, 8 October (paragraphs 3, 6–7), 15 October (paragraph 1) *Middlesex Gazette*, 8 October (paragraphs 3–8) *New Haven Gazette*, 11 October (paragraphs 2–8) *Norwich Packet*, 11 October (paragraph 5)
CC:104-B	Providence *United States Chronicle*, 27 September 1787 *American Mercury*, 8 October
CC:109	An American Citizen II: On the Federal Government Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 September 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 25 October *New Haven Gazette*, 1 November
CC:110-B	A True American *Massachusetts Centinel*, 29 September 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 11 October
CC:111	Curtius I New York *Daily Advertiser*, 29 September 1787 *American Mercury*, 15 October (3 paragraph excerpt) *Connecticut Journal*, 17 October (3 paragraph excerpt) *Connecticut Gazette*, 26 October (3 paragraph excerpt)
CC:112	An American Citizen III: On the Federal Government Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 September 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 1 November *New Haven Gazette*, 8 November
CC:124	Foreign Spectator Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 October 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 18 October
CC:129	Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 3 October 1787 *American Mercury*, 15 October
CC:130	Social Compact *New Haven Gazette*, 4 October 1787 *American Mercury*, 8 October
CC:131-B	*Boston Independent Chronicle*, 4 October 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 10 October
CC:134	James Wilson: Speech at a Public Meeting in Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 October 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 22 October *New Haven Gazette*, 25 October

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Weekly Monitor, 29 October
	Connecticut Gazette, 2 November
CC:135	The Grand Constitution
	Massachusetts Centinel, 6 October 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 12 November
CC:148	"A"
	Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 10 October 1787
	Connecticut Gazette, 26 October (excerpt)
CC:150	Foederal Constitution
	Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 October 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 22 October, 5, 12 November (excerpts)
	Connecticut Courant, 29 October (excerpt)
	Connecticut Gazette, 2, 9 November (excerpts)
	Connecticut Journal, 7, 14 November (excerpts)
CC:151-B	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 7 November
	New Haven Gazette, 8 November
CC:154	*Virginia Herald*, 11 October 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 24 October
	Middlesex Gazette, 29 October
CC:156-A	Meeting of Philadelphia Association of Baptist Churches
	New York Packet, 12 October 1787
	Connecticut Gazette, 26 October
	American Mercury, 29 October
	Connecticut Courant, 29 October
	New Haven Gazette, 1 November
	Connecticut Gazette, 21 December (different version)
CC:161	*Boston Gazette*, 15 October 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 12 November (paragraph 2)
CC:162	Marcus
	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 15 October 1787
	American Mercury, 5 November
	Norwich Packet, 15 November
CC:168	One of the People
	Massachusetts Centinel, 17 October 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 26 November (excerpt)
CC:171-A	The Attack on the Non-signers of the Constitution
	Pennsylvania Journal, 17 October 1787
	Connecticut Gazette, 26 October (paragraph 2)
	Connecticut Courant, 29 October (paragraph 2)
	American Mercury, 29 October (both paragraphs)
	Middlesex Gazette, 29 October (paragraph 2)
	New Haven Gazette, 1 November (both paragraphs)
	Weekly Monitor, 12 November (paragraph 2)

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:171-B	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 1 November
CC:173	A Citizen of America: An Examination into the Constitution Philadelphia, 17 October 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 29 November (long excerpts)
CC:177	Governor John Hancock: Speech to the Massachusetts General Court *Massachusetts Gazette*, 19 October 1787 *American Mercury*, 29 October *Connecticut Courant*, 29 October *Middlesex Gazette*, 29 October *Connecticut Journal*, 31 October *Weekly Monitor*, 5 November
CC:183-A	An American Citizen IV: On the Federal Government Broadside, Philadelphia, 21 October 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 15 November *Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 November 1787 (paragraph 15 of broadside) *Connecticut Courant*, 12 November
CC:189	A Political Dialogue *Massachusetts Centinel*, 24 October 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 1 November *American Mercury*, 5 November
CC:192	The Report of Connecticut's Delegates to the Constitutional Convention *New Haven Gazette*, 25 October 1787 *Weekly Monitor*, 29 October *Middlesex Gazette*, 29 October *Connecticut Journal*, 31 October *American Mercury*, 5 November *Connecticut Courant*, 5 November *Norwich Packet*, 8 November *Connecticut Gazette*, 16 November
CC:194	Ezekiel Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 25 October 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 31 October *Norwich Packet*, 8 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November
CC:197-A	A Slave *New York Journal*, 25 October 1787 *American Mercury*, 5 November (excerpt)
CC:198	*Newport Herald*, 25 October 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 9 November (paragraph 1 only) *Connecticut Courant*, 12 November (paragraph 2 only) *Middlesex Gazette*, 12 November (both paragraphs) *Connecticut Journal*, 14 November (both paragraphs)

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:203	M.C. *Pennsylvania Herald*, 27 October 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 8 November
CC:204	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 October 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 8 November
CC:211	*Boston Gazette*, 29 October 1787 *American Mercury*, 5 November (excerpt) *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November (excerpt)
CC:214	Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 30 October 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November (paraphrase of first two sentences)
CC:218	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 8 November (paragraph 3 only)
CC:220	*Albany Gazette*, 1 November 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November
CC:225	Foreigner I Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 November 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 17 December
CC:227-A	Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts General Court *Massachusetts Centinel*, 3 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 12 November *Connecticut Courant*, 12 November *Connecticut Journal*, 14 November *New Haven Gazette*, 15 November *Norwich Packet*, 22 November *Connecticut Gazette*, 23 November
CC:230	A Landholder I *Connecticut Courant*, 5 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 5 November *Connecticut Gazette*, 16 November *Norwich Packet*, 22 November
CC:231	An Officer of the Late Continental Army Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 November 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 December (excerpt)
CC:233-A	George Washington in the Constitutional Convention *New Jersey Journal*, 7 November 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 14 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 19 November *Connecticut Courant*, 26 November *Norwich Packet*, 29 November *Weekly Monitor*, 3 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 7 December
CC:233-B	Anecdote *Pennsylvania Herald*, 7 November 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 23 November

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Connecticut Journal, 28 November
	Weekly Monitor, 10 December
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 September 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 26 September
	New Haven Gazette, 27 September
	Connecticut Courant, 1 October
	Middlesex Gazette, 1 October
	Norwich Packet, 11 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 25 September 1787
	New Haven Gazette, 4 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 September 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 3 October
	Connecticut Gazette, 5 October
	Weekly Monitor, 8 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*New York Journal*, 27 September 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 3, 10 October
	American Mercury, 8 October
	Connecticut Courant, 8 October
	Middlesex Gazette, 8 October
	Connecticut Gazette, 19 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*New Haven Gazette*, 4 October 1787
	American Mercury, 8 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 10 October 1787
	Norwich Packet, 1 November
	Connecticut Journal, 7 November
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 17 October (paragraphs 1, 3–6)
	New Haven Gazette, 18 October (paragraphs 1–3, 5–6)
	Middlesex Gazette, 22 October (paragraphs 1, 3–6)
	Connecticut Courant, 22 October (paragraphs 3–4)
	Connecticut Gazette, 26 October (paragraph 4)
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October 1787
	Connecticut Journal, 24 October
	Connecticut Courant, 29 October
	Weekly Monitor, 29 October
	Middlesex Gazette, 29 October
	New Haven Gazette, 1 November
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 1 November 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 12 November
	Connecticut Courant, 19 November
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 3 November 1787
	Middlesex Gazette, 12 November
	Connecticut Journal, 14 November
	Weekly Monitor, 3 December

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 November 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 23 November
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 12 November *Connecticut Courant*, 12 November
CC:238	*Albany Gazette*, 8 November 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November
CC:251	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 10 November 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 24 December
CC:252	Publius: The Federalist 5 New York *Independent Journal*, 10 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 15 November (paragraph 1)
CC:253	*Boston Gazette*, 12 November 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 16 November (paragraphs 2–3) *Middlesex Gazette*, 19 November (paragraphs 2–3)
CC:254	A Landholder II *Connecticut Courant*, 12 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 12 November *New Haven Gazette*, 22 November (excerpt) *Norwich Packet*, 22 November *Connecticut Gazette*, 23 November
CC:258	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 22 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November
CC:259	A Receipt for an Antifederal Essay *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 22 November
CC:261	A Countryman I *New Haven Gazette*, 15 November 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:263	The News-Mongers' Song for the Winter of 1788 *Albany Gazette*, 15 November 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 6 December *Weekly Monitor*, 10 December
CC:268	An American: The Crisis *Massachusetts Centinel*, 17 November 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November
CC:270-A	*Pittsburgh Gazette*, 17 November 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 December
CC:272	A Landholder III *Connecticut Courant*, 19 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 19 November

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Norwich Packet, 29 November *Connecticut Gazette*, 30 November
CC:274	Publius: The Federalist 8 *New York Packet*, 20 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 29 November (last 2 paragraphs)
CC:276-A	George Mason: Objections to the Constitution *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 November 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 26 November *Connecticut Journal*, 28 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 December *American Mercury*, 10 December
CC:276-D	Extract of a Letter from New York, dated 7 December 1787 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 December 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 27 December
CC:283-A	The Circulation of Antifederalist Material in Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 22 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 26 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November *Norwich Packet*, 6 December
CC:283-C	*New Haven Gazette*, 13 December 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 17 December
CC:289	James Wilson's Speech of 24 November 1787 in the Pennsylvania Convention Pamphlet Version, Philadelphia, 24 November 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 24 December *Weekly Monitor*, 7 January 1788 Summary, *Pennsylvania Packet*, 27 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 6 December *Middlesex Gazette*, 10 December Summary, *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 November 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 5 December *Connecticut Courant*, 10 December *Middlesex Gazette*, 10 December (excerpt) *Connecticut Gazette*, 14 December (excerpt) *Weekly Monitor*, 17 December
CC:290-A	John Jay and the Constitution Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 20 December *American Mercury*, 24 December
CC:290-B	John Jay to John Vaughan, 1 December 1787 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 December *Connecticut Journal*, 19 December *New Haven Gazette*, 20 December *Norwich Packet*, 20 December *American Mercury*, 24 December *Middlesex Gazette*, 24 December

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:292	An Old Whig VI Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 November 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 6 December
CC:295	A Landholder IV *Connecticut Courant*, 26 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 26 November *Connecticut Journal*, 5 December *Norwich Packet*, 6 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 7 December
CC:305	A Countryman III *New Haven Gazette*, 29 November 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:316	A Landholder V *Connecticut Courant*, 3 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 3 December *Connecticut Journal*, 12 December *Norwich Packet*, 13 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 14 December
CC:322	A Countryman IV *New Haven Gazette*, 6 December 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:335	A Landholder VI *Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 10 December *New Haven Gazette*, 20 December *Norwich Packet*, 20 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 21 December
CC:339-A	President John Sullivan on the Constitution *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 24 December *Norwich Packet*, 3 January 1788
CC:339-B	John Sullivan: Speech to the New Hampshire General Court *New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 11 February *Norwich Packet*, 21 February *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 February 1788, excerpts *Connecticut Courant*, 11 February *Connecticut Journal*, 13 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 15 February
CC:351	A Landholder VII *Connecticut Courant*, 17 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 17 December *Norwich Packet*, 27 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 December

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Newport Herald*, 15 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 26 November *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 November *Connecticut Journal*, 28 November *Weekly Monitor*, 3 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Lansingburgh *Northern Centinel*, 20 November 1787 Newport Letter *American Mercury*, 3 December Providence Letter *American Mercury*, 3 December *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 November 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 28 November (paragraphs 1–3) *New Haven Gazette*, 29 November (paragraph 1) *Connecticut Gazette*, 30 November (paragraphs 1–2) *American Mercury*, 3 December (paragraphs 1–2) *Connecticut Courant*, 3 December (paragraphs 2–3) *Weekly Monitor*, 3 December (paragraphs 1–3) *Middlesex Gazette*, 3 December (paragraphs 1–3) *Norwich Packet*, 6 December (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 21 November 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 28 November (paragraphs 1–2) *American Mercury*, 3 December (paragraphs 1–2) *Connecticut Courant*, 3 December (paragraph 2) *Weekly Monitor*, 3 December (paragraphs 1–2)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 30 November 1787 *American Mercury*, 10 December *Middlesex Journal*, 10 December *Connecticut Journal*, 12 December *Weekly Monitor*, 17 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald*, 3 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 7 January 1788 *Middlesex Gazette*, 7 January *New Haven Gazette*, 10 January (paragraph 1 only) *Norwich Packet*, 10 January
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*New Jersey Journal*, 5 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 17 December *Norwich Packet*, 20 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 December *Middlesex Gazette*, 31 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 19 December 1787
CC:Volume 2 Appendix III	Plain Truth Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 November 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 28 November *American Mercury*, 3 December

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Middlesex Gazette, 3 December *Weekly Monitor*, 10 December
CC:361	A Countryman V *New Haven Gazette*, 20 December 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:362	*New York Journal*, 20 December 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 January 1788 (brief excerpt)
CC:371	A Landholder VIII *Connecticut Courant*, 24 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 24 December *Norwich Packet*, 3 January 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 January
CC:372	New England *Connecticut Courant*, 24 December 1787 No Connecticut reprints
CC:377	One of the People: Antifederal Arguments *Maryland Journal*, 25 December 1787 *Connecticut Courant*, 21 January 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 31 January
CC:385	Edmund Randolph's 10 October 1787 Letter Pamphlet, Richmond, c. 27 December 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 11, 18 (not extant) February 1788 *American Mercury*, 24, 31 March
CC:386-A	*Maryland Journal*, 1 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 21 January *Connecticut Courant*, 21 January *New Haven Gazette*, 24 January *Weekly Monitor*, 28 January *Connecticut Journal*, 30 January *Fairfield Gazette*, 30 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 February
CC:388	Samuel Adams and the Constitution *Massachusetts Gazette*, 28 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 7 January 1788
CC:390-A	*Massachusetts Gazette*, 28 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 7 January 1788
CC:395	The New Roof *Pennsylvania Packet*, 29 December 1787 *New Haven Gazette*, 17 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 25 February
CC:397	A Landholder IX *Connecticut Courant*, 31 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 31 December *Norwich Packet*, 10 January 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 11 January

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:402	*New Hampshire Spy*, 1 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 21 January *Norwich Packet*, 29 May
CC:407	An Old Man *Carlisle Gazette*, 2 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 21 January *Connecticut Courant*, 21 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 January *Connecticut Journal*, 23 January *Weekly Monitor*, 28 January *Norwich Packet*, 31 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 February
CC:413	Oliver Ellsworth and William Samuel Johnson: Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 4 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 7 January 1788 (Ellsworth) *American Mercury*, 7 January *Connecticut Journal*, 9 January *New Haven Gazette*, 10 January *Norwich Packet*, 10 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 11 January *Weekly Monitor*, 14 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 14 January *Connecticut Courant*, 14 January 1788 (Johnson) *American Mercury*, 14 January *Connecticut Journal*, 16 January *New Haven Gazette*, 17 January *Norwich Packet*, 17 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 18 January *Weekly Monitor*, 21 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 January
CC:420	James Wadsworth and Oliver Ellsworth: Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 7 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 14 January *American Mercury*, 14 January *Connecticut Journal*, 16 January *New Haven Gazette*, 17 January *Norwich Packet*, 17, 24 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 18 January *Weekly Monitor*, 21 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 January
CC:421	A Citizen of New Haven: Observations on the New Federal Constitution *Connecticut Courant*, 7 January 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 25 December *Norwich Packet*, 9 January 1789

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:428	Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Sr., and Richard Law: Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 9 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 14 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 14 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 14, 21 January *Connecticut Journal*, 16 January *New Haven Gazette*, 17, 24 January *Norwich Packet*, 17, 24 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 18, 25 January *Weekly Monitor*, 21 January
CC:439	Governor George Clinton: Speech to the New York Legislature, 11 January 1788 New York *Daily Advertiser/New York Journal*, 14 January 1788 Entire Speech *American Mercury*, 21 January *New Haven Gazette*, 24 January *Norwich Packet*, 24 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 January *Fairfield Gazette*, 30 January Excerpt on Constitution only *Connecticut Journal*, 23 January *Weekly Monitor*, 28 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 February
CC:448	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 28 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 4 February *Norwich Packet*, 7 February
CC:454	Philanthropos *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 January 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 31 January *Weekly Monitor*, 11 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 22 February
CC:457	Curtiopolis New York *Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 28 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 31 December
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 December 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 23 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Newspaper Reports of the Calling of State Conventions *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 December 1787 *Middlesex Gazette*, 31 December *Massachusetts Centinel*, 22 December 1787 *Norwich Packet*, 27 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 December *American Mercury*, 31 December

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Middlesex Gazette, 31 December *Connecticut Journal*, 2 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 21 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 31 December *Connecticut Courant*, 31 December *Middlesex Gazette*, 31 December *Connecticut Journal*, 2 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 7 January 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 10 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 11 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Connecticut Journal*, 26 December 1787 *American Mercury*, 31 December *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*New Jersey Journal*, 26 December 1787 *Connecticut Gazette*, 25 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 29 December 1787 *Connecticut Journal*, 9 January 1788 (paragraph 1) *Connecticut Courant*, 14 January (paragraph 1) *Middlesex Gazette*, 14 January (paragraph 1) *Norwich Packet*, 17 January (paragraph 1) *American Mercury*, 21 January (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 2 January 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 17 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 2 January 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 31 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Political Society of Richmond, Virginia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 21 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 25 January *Connecticut Courant*, 28 January *New Haven Gazette*, 31 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	John Hancock and the Constitution *Connecticut Courant*, 4 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 4 February *Norwich Packet*, 7 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 8 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Pillars of the American Republic *Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January 1788 First Paragraph *Fairfield Gazette*, 30 January Second Paragraph *Connecticut Journal*, 23 January (incomplete) *New Haven Gazette*, 24 January (incomplete)

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Norwich Packet, 24 January (incomplete) *Weekly Monitor*, 28 January (incomplete) *Fairfield Gazette*, 30 January (incomplete)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 10 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 14 January *New Haven Gazette*, 17 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 January *Connecticut Gazette*, 25 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January 1788 *Fairfield Gazette*, 30 January (paragraphs 1–3)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Northern Centinel*, 15 January 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 4 February *Connecticut Journal*, 6 February *New Haven Gazette*, 7 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 January 1788 *Middlesex Gazette*, 28 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 January 1788 *American Mercury*, 28 January *New Haven Gazette*, 31 January *Middlesex Gazette*, 4 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 8 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	The Minority of the Connecticut Convention Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 January 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 30 January *American Mercury*, 4 February *Connecticut Courant*, 4 February *Norwich Packet*, 7 February *New Haven Gazette*, 24 January 1788 *Fairfield Gazette*, 30 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 January 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 6 March
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Weekly Monitor*, 28 January 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 30 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 30 January 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 14 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 January 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 6 February (paragraphs 1–2) *American Mercury*, 11 February (paragraph 1) *Connecticut Courant*, 11 February (paragraph 2) *Weekly Monitor*, 11 February (paragraph 1) *Middlesex Gazette*, 11 February (paragraph 1) *Connecticut Courant*, 11 February (paragraph 2) *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February (paragraph 2) *Norwich Packet*, 28 February (paragraph 2)

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:504	"A.B.": The Raising *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 6 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 20 February *Norwich Packet*, 6 March
CC:508	Massachusetts Convention: Amendments to the Constitution Hancock's Original Proposal *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 11 February *Connecticut Courant*, 11 February *Middlesex Gazette*, 11 February *Connecticut Journal*, 13 February *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February Final Version *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8 February 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 March
CC:523	Charleston *City Gazette*, 11 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 2 April *New Haven Gazette*, 3 April *Middlesex Gazette*, 14 April *Norwich Packet*, 24 April
CC:526	A Citizen of the United States *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 4 April
CC:529-A	*New Haven Gazette*, 14 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 3 March *Norwich Packet*, 6 March
CC:534	Spurious Centinel XV *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 16 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 10 March *Norwich Packet*, 20 March *Middlesex Gazette*, 24 March *Weekly Monitor*, 14 April
CC:552	A Yankee *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 3 March (verse only) *Connecticut Courant*, 3 March (verse only) *New Haven Gazette*, 6 March *Norwich Packet*, 6 March (verse only) *Fairfield Gazette*, 12 March
CC:553	The New Litany *Virginia Herald*, 21 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 21 April *Weekly Monitor*, 28 April
CC:554-B	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 3 March (paragraph 2 only) *Connecticut Courant*, 3 March (paragraph 2 only)

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Connecticut Journal, 5 March (paragraph 2 only) *New Haven Gazette*, 6 March (paragraph 2 only) *Norwich Packet*, 6 March (paragraph 2 only)
CC:557	John Adams on the Constitution *New York Journal*, 23 February 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 10 March *Norwich Packet*, 20 March
CC:566-A	Governor John Hancock: Speech to the General Court Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 5 March *American Mercury*, 10 March *Connecticut Gazette*, 14 March *Weekly Monitor*, 17 March
CC:588	The Landholder X *Connecticut Courant*, 3 March 1788 *American Mercury*, 3 March *New Haven Gazette*, 13 March *Norwich Packet*, 13 March
CC:611	The Landholder XI *Connecticut Courant*, 10 March 1788 *American Mercury*, 10 March *Norwich Packet*, 27 March
CC:622	A Landholder XII *Connecticut Courant*, 17 March 1788 *American Mercury*, 17 March *Norwich Packet*, 3 April
CC:624	Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 18 March 1788 *American Mercury*, 31 March
CC:627	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 March 1788 *Weekly Monitor*, 31 March *Connecticut Journal*, 9 April *New Haven Gazette*, 10 April
CC:629	Virginia *Independent Chronicle*, 19 March 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 3 April *Connecticut Courant*, 7 April (paragraphs 1, 3 only) *Middlesex Gazette*, 7 April *Connecticut Journal*, 9 April (paragraphs 1–2 only)
CC:638-A	George Washington to Caleb Gibbs *Massachusetts Centinel*, 22 March 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 March *American Mercury*, 31 March *Connecticut Courant*, 31 March *Middlesex Gazette*, 31 March *Connecticut Journal*, 2 April *New Haven Gazette*, 3 April *Norwich Packet*, 3 April

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	Weekly Monitor, 7 April *Fairfield Gazette*, 9 April
CC:641	A Landholder XIII *Connecticut Courant*, 24 March 1788 *American Mercury*, 24 March *Middlesex Gazette*, 31 March *Connecticut Journal*, 2 April *Norwich Packet*, 3 April
CC:643	*Salem Mercury*, 25 March 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 2 April *Weekly Monitor*, 7 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	False Reports on North Carolina Ratification *Massachusetts Gazette*, 5 February 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 13 February *Norwich Packet*, 14 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 15 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February *Connecticut Courant*, 25 February *Middlesex Gazette*, 25 February *Norwich Packet*, 28 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 7 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 7 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 11 February *Connecticut Courant*, 11 February *Connecticut Gazette*, 15 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	A Correspondent Observes *Newport Herald*, 7 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 20 February (excerpt) *New Haven Gazette*, 21 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 9 February 1788 *American Mercury*, 25 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Connecticut Courant*, 11 February 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 15 February *New Haven Gazette*, 21 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 13 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 20 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New Haven Gazette*, 14 February 1788 No Connecticut reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Packet*, 15 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 20 February *American Mercury*, 25 February *Middlesex Gazette*, 25 February

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
	New Haven Gazette, 28 February
	Norwich Packet, 28 February
	Connecticut Gazette, 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 February 1788
	American Mercury, 25 February (paragraphs 1–2)
	Connecticut Courant, 25 February (paragraphs 1–3)
	Connecticut Journal, 27 February (paragraphs 1, 3)
	Norwich Packet, 28 February (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 February 1788
	New Haven Gazette, 13 March (paragraph 6)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 February 1788
	New Haven Gazette, 28 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Middlesex Gazette*, 25 February 1788
	Connecticut Journal, 27 February
	American Mercury, 3 March
	Norwich Packet, 20 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Salem Mercury*, 26 February 1788
	American Mercury, 3 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 26 February 1788
	American Mercury, 31 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	South Carolina Legislature Federalist
	Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 February 1788
	American Mercury, 10 March
	Connecticut Journal, 12 March
	New Haven Gazette, 13 March
	Connecticut Gazette, 14 March
	Norwich Packet, 20 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Providence Gazette*, 1 March 1788
	Norwich Packet, 6 March
	Connecticut Courant, 10 March
	Connecticut Journal, 12 March
	Weekly Monitor, 17 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Journal*, 3 March 1788
	New Haven Gazette, 6 March
	American Mercury, 10 March
	Fairfield Gazette, 12 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Providence, R.I., *United States Chronicle*, 6 March 1788
	American Mercury, 17 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 8 March 1788
	Connecticut Gazette, 14 March (paragraph 4 only, excerpt)
	American Mercury, 17 March (paragraphs 3–4 only)
	Connecticut Journal, 19 March (paragraph 3 only)
	New Haven Gazette, 27 March (paragraph 2 excerpt, 4 entire)

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 11 March 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 27 March *Weekly Monitor*, 31 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 March 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 19 March (paragraph 4, excerpt) *Middlesex Gazette*, 24 March (paragraph 4, excerpt) *New Haven Gazette*, 27 March (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 15 March 1788 *American Mercury*, 24 March *Connecticut Courant*, 24 March *Middlesex Gazette*, 24 March *Connecticut Journal*, 26 March *Norwich Packet*, 27 March *Weekly Monitor*, 31 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 March 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 24 March (omits last sentence) *Weekly Monitor*, 31 March (omits last sentence)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 March 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 10 April (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 25 March 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 2 April *New Haven Gazette*, 3 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 March 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 7 April *Norwich Packet*, 10 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 16 February 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 27 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*Maryland Journal*, 29 February 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 28 March (paragraph 1) *Middlesex Gazette*, 31 March (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Philadelphia Newspaper Printers' Petition, 20–29 March 1788 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 31 March 1788 (Assembly Minutes, 24 March 1788) *Connecticut Journal*, 9 April *American Mercury*, 13 April *Middlesex Gazette*, 14 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Ebenezer Hazard's Defense *New York Journal*, 21 March 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 27 March *Connecticut Gazette*, 18 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Algernon Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 10 April 1788 *American Mercury*, 28 April

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:685	Peter Prejudice: The New Breeches Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 April 1788 *American Mercury*, 19 May
CC:701	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 April 1788 *American Mercury*, 5 May
CC:716-A	Amendments Proposed by William Paca in the Maryland Convention *Maryland Journal*, 29 April 1788 *Middlesex Gazette*, 19 May *Connecticut Journal*, 21 May *Norwich Packet*, 22 May *American Mercury*, 26 May *Connecticut Courant*, 26 May *Weekly Monitor*, 9 June
CC:718	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 April 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 22 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 April 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 5 May *Norwich Packet*, 8 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 April 1788 *American Mercury*, 13 April *New Haven Gazette*, 17 April *Weekly Monitor*, 21 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 April 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 16 April (paragraphs 1–2) *Weekly Monitor*, 21 April (paragraphs 1–2) *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 April (paragraphs 1–3) *New Haven Gazette*, 24 April (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 10 April 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 1 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 April 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 16 April *American Mercury*, 21 April *Weekly Monitor*, 28 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 12 April 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 24 April *American Mercury*, 28 April *Connecticut Courant*, 28 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Salem Mercury*, 15 April 1788 *American Mercury*, 21 April *Connecticut Journal*, 23 April *Norwich Packet*, 24 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 17 April 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 2 May

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1 May 1788 *Middlesex Gazette*, 19 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 2 May 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 12 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 May 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 16 July (paragraph 1)
CC:747	*Maryland Journal*, 16 May 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 5 June
CC:753	South Carolina Convention Amendments, 23 May 1788 Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 May 1788 *Connecticut Gazette*, 13 June *American Mercury*, 16 June *Connecticut Courant*, 16 June *Middlesex Gazette*, 16 June *Norwich Packet*, 19 June As Part of Form of Ratification Read in Congress on 6 June *Weekly Monitor*, 16 June *Connecticut Journal*, 11 June
CC:770	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 June 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 12 June (paragraph 1 only)
CC:773	David Ramsay Oration Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 5 June 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 24 July
CC:780	A Pennsylvanian: To the New York Convention *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 June 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 19 June
CC:785	New Hampshire Convention Amendments, 21 June 1788 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 28 June (amendments 7, 9–12 only) *American Mercury*, 7 July *Middlesex Gazette*, 7 July *Connecticut Journal*, 9 July *Weekly Monitor*, 14 July
CC:790	Virginia Convention Amendments, 27 June 1788 *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 July No Connecticut reprints
CC:793	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 June 1788 *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 July
CC:799-D	James Baldwin Oration, New Haven, 4 July 1788 Pamphlet, New Haven, 4 July No Connecticut reprints
CC:799-E	James Wilson Oration, Philadelphia, 4 July 1788 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 July 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 7, 14 August

CC:No.	Item/Connecticut Reprints
CC:799-F	Francis Hopkinson: An Ode Broadside, Philadelphia, 4 July 1788 *Fairfield Gazette*, 23 July
CC:806	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 July 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 31 July
CC:815	*Massachusetts Spy*, 24 July 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 31 July
CC:818-A	New York Declaration of Rights and Form of Ratification Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 29 July 1788 *Connecticut Courant*, 4 August *Connecticut Journal*, 6 August *New Haven Gazette*, 7 August *Norwich Packet*, 7 August *American Mercury*, 11 August *Middlesex Gazette*, 11 August
CC:818-B	Recommendatory Amendments Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 12 August 1788 *American Mercury*, 11 August *Middlesex Gazette*, 18 August
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CC:821	North Carolina Convention Amendments, 2 August 1788 *Norwich Packet*, 18 September 1788 No Connecticut reprints
CC:845	Resolution of Congress Calling the First Federal Elections Broadside, New York, 13 September 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 17 September *New Haven Gazette*, 18 September *American Mercury*, 22 September *Connecticut Courant*, 22 September *Weekly Monitor*, 22 September *Middlesex Gazette*, 22 September *Norwich Packet*, 25 September *Connecticut Gazette*, 26 September
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*New Hampshire Spy*, 10 May 1788 *New Haven Gazette*, 22 May *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 May

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CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 7 June 1788 *Connecticut Journal*, 11 June *Connecticut Courant*, 16 June *Weekly Monitor*, 16 June *Middlesex Gazette*, 16 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Gazette*, 10 June 1788 (full) *American Mercury*, 16 June Massachusetts *Centinel*, 11 June (excerpt) *New Haven Gazette*, 19 June
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	Second paragraph (By a Gentleman who Arrived)
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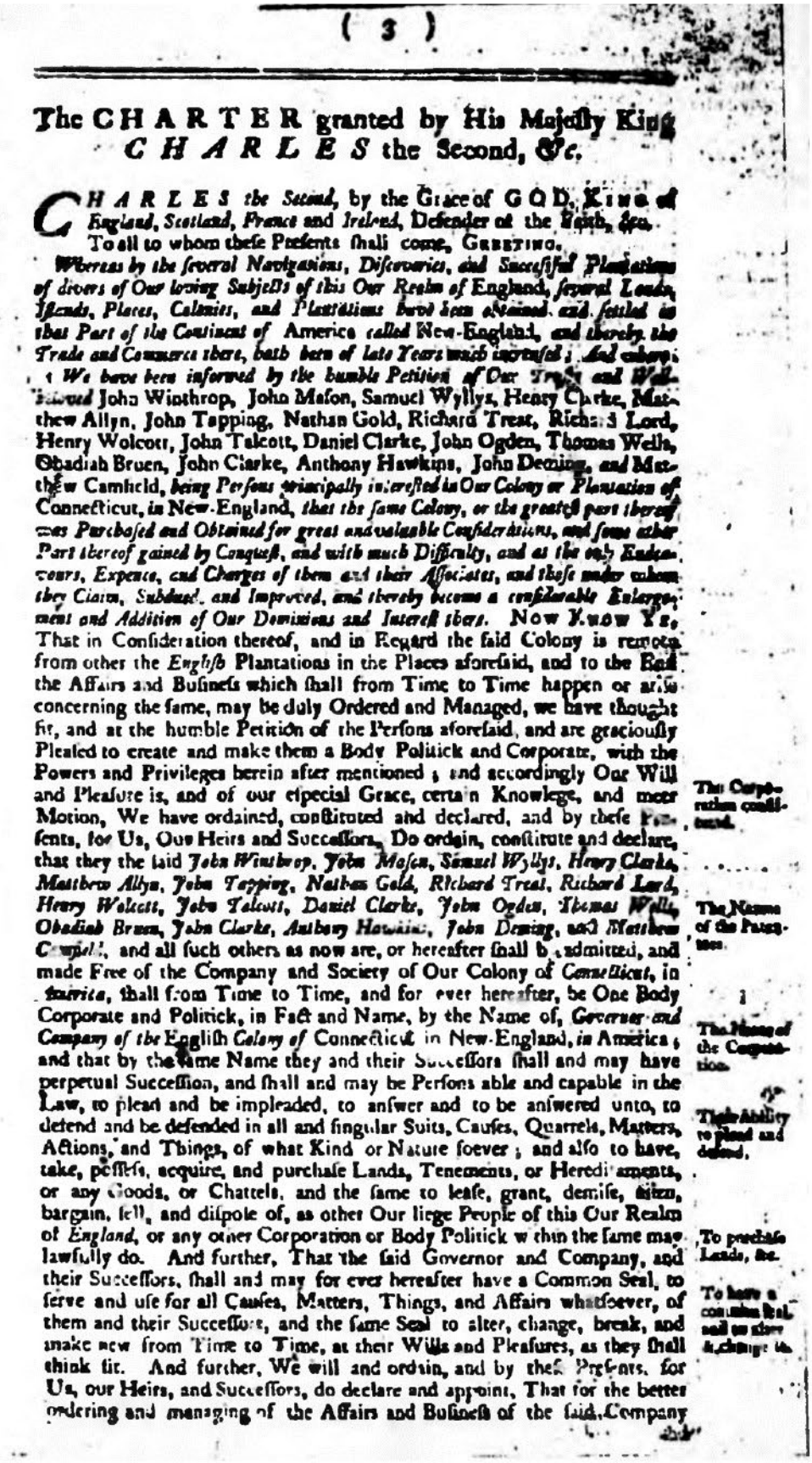
1. Charter of Connecticut, 1662.[1]



(3)

The CHARTER granted by His Majesty King CHARLES the Second, &c.

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of GOD, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, GREETING.

Whereas by the several Navigations, Discoveries, and Successful Plantations of divers of Our loving Subjects of this Our Realm of England, several Lands, Islands, Places, Colonies, and Plantations have been obtained and settled in that Part of the Continent of America called New-England, and thereby the Trade and Commerce there, hath been of late Years much increased; And whereas We have been informed by the humble Petition of Our Trusty and Well-beloved John Winthrop, John Mason, Samuel Wyllys, Henry Clarke, Matthew Allyn, John Tapping, Nathan Gold, Richard Treat, Richard Lord, Henry Wolcott, John Talcott, Daniel Clarke, John Ogden, Thomas Wells, Obadiah Bruen, John Clarke, Anthony Hawkins, John Deming, and Matthew Camfield, being Persons principally interested in Our Colony or Plantation of Connecticut, in New-England, that the same Colony, or the greatest part thereof, was Purchased and Obtained for great and valuable Considerations, and some other Part thereof gained by Conquest, and with much Difficulty, and at the only Endeavours, Expence, and Charges of them and their Associates, and those under whom they Claim, Subdued and Improved, and thereby become a considerable Enlargement and Addition of Our Dominions and Interest there. Now Know Ye, That in Consideration thereof, and in Regard the said Colony is remote from other the *English* Plantations in the Places aforesaid, and to the End the Affairs and Business which shall from Time to Time happen or arise concerning the same, may be duly Ordered and Managed, we have thought fit, and at the humble Petition of the Persons aforesaid, and are graciously Pleased to create and make them a Body Politick and Corporate, with the Powers and Privileges herein after mentioned; and accordingly Our Will and Pleasure is, and of our especial Grace, certain Knowlege, and meer Motion, We have ordained, constituted and declared, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Do ordain, constitute and declare, that they the said *John Winthrop, John Mason, Samuel Wyllys, Henry Clarke, Matthew Allyn, John Tapping, Nathan Gold, Richard Treat, Richard Lord, Henry Wolcott, John Talcott, Daniel Clarke, John Ogden, Thomas Wells, Obadiah Bruen, John Clarke, Anthony Hawkins, John Deming*, and *Matthew Camfield*, and all such others as now are, or hereafter shall be admitted, and made Free of the Company and Society of Our Colony of *Connecticut*, in *America*, shall from Time to Time, and for ever hereafter, be One Body Corporate and Politick, in Fact and Name, by the Name of, *Governor and Company of the* English *Colony of* Connecticut in New-England, *in* America; and that by the same Name they and their Successors shall and may have perpetual Succession, and shall and may be Persons able and capable in the Law, to plead and be impleaded, to answer and to be answered unto, to defend and be defended in all and singular Suits, Causes, Quarrels, Matters, Actions, and Things, of what Kind or Nature soever; and also to have, take, possess, acquire, and purchase Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, or any Goods, or Chattels, and the same to lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell, and dispose of, as other Our liege People of this Our Realm of *England*, or any other Corporation or Body Politick within the same may lawfully do. And further, That the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, shall and may for ever hereafter have a Common Seal, to serve and use for all Causes, Matters, Things, and Affairs whatsoever, of them and their Successors, and the same Seal to alter, change, break, and make new from Time to Time, at their Wills and Pleasures, as they shall think fit. And further, We will and ordain, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, do declare and appoint, That for the better ordering and managing of the Affairs and Business of the said Company

The Corporation constituted.

The Names of the Patentees.

The Name of the Corporation.

Their Ability to plead and defend.

To purchase Lands, &c.

To have a common Seal, and to alter & change it.

1. *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut, in America* (New London, 1784).

A Governor, Deputy-Governor, and 12 Assistants to be elected from Time to Time.

and their Succeſſors, there ſhall be One Governor, One Deputy-Governor, and Twelve Aſſiſtants, to be from Time to Time conſtituted, elected and choſen out of the Freemen of the ſaid Company for the Time being, in ſuch Manner and Form as hereafter in theſe Preſents is expreſſed, which ſaid Officers ſhall apply themſelves to take Care for the beſt diſpoſing and ordering of the general Buſineſs and Affairs of and concerning the Land and Hereditaments herein after mentioned to be granted, and the Plantation thereof, and the Government of the People thereof: And for the better Execution of Our Royal Pleaſure herein, We do for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, ordain, name, conſtitute and appoint the aforeſaid *John Winthrop* to be the firſt and preſent Governor of the ſaid Company, and the ſaid *John Mason* to be the Deputy-Governor, and the ſaid *Samuel Wyllys, Matthew Allyn, Nathan Gold, Henry Clarke, Richard Treat, John Ogden, John Topping, John Talcott, Thomas Wells, Henry Wolcott, Richard Lord*, and *Daniel Clarke*, to be the Twelve preſent Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company, to continue in the ſaid ſeveral Offices reſpectively, until the ſecond Thurſday which ſhall be in the Month of *October* now next coming. And further, We Will, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, Do ordain and grant, That the Governor of the ſaid Company for the Time being, or in his Abſence by Occaſion of Sickneſs, or otherwiſe by his Leave or Permiſſion, the Deputy-Governor for the Time being, ſhall and may from Time to Time upon all Occaſions, give Order for the aſſembling of the ſaid Company, and calling them together to conſult and adviſe of the Buſineſs and Affairs of the ſaid Company, and that for ever hereafter, Twice in every Year, *That is to ſay*, On every Second Thurſday in *October*, and on every Second Thurſday in *May*, or oftner in caſe it ſhall be requiſite; the Aſſiſtants, and Freemen of the ſaid Company, or ſuch of them (not exceeding Two Perſons from each Place, Town, or City) who ſhall be from Time to Time thereunto elected or deputed by the major Part of the Freemen of the reſpective Towns, Cities, and Places for which they ſhall be elected or deputed, ſhall have a General Meeting, or Aſſembly, then and there to conſult and adviſe of and about the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſaid Company: and that the Governor, or in his Abſence the Deputy-Governor of the ſaid Company for the Time being, and ſuch of the Aſſiſtants and Freemen of the ſaid Company as ſhall be ſo elected or deputed, and be preſent at ſuch Meeting or Aſſembly, or the greateſt Number of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy-Governor, and Six of the Aſſiſtants at leaſt, to be Seven, ſhall be called the General Aſſembly, and ſhall have full Power and Authority to alter and change their Days and Times of Meeting, or General Aſſemblies, for electing the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Aſſiſtants, or other Officers, or any other Courts, Aſſemblies or Meetings, and to chooſe, nominate and appoint ſuch and ſo many other Perſons as they ſhall think fit, and ſhall be willing to accept the ſame, to be Free of the ſaid Company, and Body Politick, and them into the ſame to admit; And to elect and conſtitute ſuch Officers as they ſhall think fit and requiſite for the ordering, managing and diſpoſing of the Affairs of the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors: And We do hereby for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, eſtabliſh and ordain, That once in the Year for ever hereafter, Namely, the ſaid Second Thurſday in *May*, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company, and other Officers of the ſaid Company, or ſuch of them as the ſaid General Aſſembly ſhall think fit, ſhall be in the ſaid General Court and Aſſembly to be held from that Day or Time, newly choſen for the Year enſuing, by ſuch greater Part of the ſaid Company for the Time being, then and there preſent; and if the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Aſſiſtants by theſe Preſents appointed, or ſuch as hereafter be newly choſen into their Rooms, or any of them, or any other the Officers to be appointed for the ſaid Company ſhall die, or be removed from his or their ſeveral Offices or Places before the ſaid general Day of Election, whom We do hereby declare for any Miſdemeanor or Default, to be removable by the Governor, Aſſiſtants, and Company, or ſuch greater Part of them in any of the ſaid public Courts to be aſſembled, as is aforeſaid, that then,

First Governor, Deputy-Governor & Assistants appointed.

Governor & Deputy-Governor Power to call a Gen. Assembly.

Two General Assemblies in a Year, viz. in *May* & *October*

Power to alter their Days of Meeting.

To appoint Freemen, and conſtitute Officers.

Power to chuſe new Officers in caſe of the Death or Removal of others.

thea, and in every ſuch Caſe, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Aſſiſtants, and Company aforeſaid, or ſuch greater Part of them ſo to be aſſembled, as is aforeſaid, in any of their Aſſemblies, to proceed to a new Election of one or more of their Company, in the Room or Place, Rooms or Places of ſuch Governor, Deputy-Governor, Aſſiſtant, or other Officer or Officers ſo dying or removed, according to their Diſcretions, and immediately upon and after ſuch Election or Elections made of ſuch Governor, Deputy-Governor, Aſſiſtant or Aſſiſtants, or any other Officer of the ſaid Company, in Manner and Form aforeſaid, the Authority, Office and Power before given to the former Governor, Deputy-Governor, or other Officer and Officers ſo removed, in whoſe Room and Place new ſhall be choſen, ſhall, as to him and them, and every of them reſpectively, ceaſe and determine. *Provided alſo*, And Our Will and Pleaſure is, That as well ſuch as are by theſe Preſents appointed to be the preſent Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company, as thoſe that ſhall ſucceed them, and all other Officers to be appointed and choſen, as aforeſaid, ſhall before they undertake the Execution of their ſaid Offices and Places reſpectively, take their ſeveral and reſpective corporal Oaths for the due and faithful Performance of their Duties, in their ſeveral Offices and Places, before ſuch Perſon or Perſons as are by theſe Preſents hereafter appointed to take and receive the ſame; *That is to ſay*, The ſaid *John Winthrop*, who is herein before nominated and appointed the preſent Governor of the ſaid Company, ſhall take the ſaid Oath before One or more of the Maſters of Our Court of Chancery for the Time being, unto which Maſter of Chancery, We do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority to adminiſter the ſaid Oath to the ſaid *John Winthrop* accordingly: And the ſaid *John Maſon*, who is herein before nominated and appointed the preſent Deputy-Governor of the ſaid Company, ſhall take the ſaid Oath before the ſaid *John Winthrop*, or any Two of the Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company, unto whom We do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority to adminiſter the ſaid Oath to the ſaid *John Maſon* accordingly: And the ſaid *Samuel Wyllys*, *Henry Clarke*, *Matthew Allyn*, *John Tapping*, *Nathan Gold*, *Richard Treat*, *Richard Lord*, *Henry Wolcott*, *John Talcott*, *Daniel Clarke*, *John Ogden*, and *Thomas Wells*, who are herein before nominated and appointed the preſent Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company, ſhall take the Oath before the ſaid *John Winthrop*, and *John Maſon*, or One of them, to whom We do hereby give full Power and Authority to adminiſter the ſame accordingly. And Our further Will and Pleaſure is, that all and every Governor, or Deputy-Governor to be elected and choſen by Virtue of theſe Preſents, ſhall take the ſaid Oath before Two or more of the Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company for the Time being, unto whom We do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority to give and adminiſter the ſaid Oath accordingly; and the ſaid Aſſiſtants, and every of them, and all and every other Officer or Officers to be hereafter choſen from Time to Time, to take the ſaid Oath before the Governor, or Deputy Governor for the Time being, unto which Governor, or Deputy-Governor We do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority to adminiſter the ſame accordingly. And further, Of Our more ample Grace, certain Knowlege, and meer Motion. We have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid Governor and Company of the *Engliſh* Colony of *Connecticut*, in *New England*, in *America*, and to every Inhabitant there, and to every Perſon and Perſons Trading thither, and to every ſuch Perſon and Perſons as are or ſhall be Free of the ſaid Colony, full Power and Authority from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, to take Ship, Tranſport and carry away for and towards the Plantation and Defence of the ſaid Colony, ſuch of Our loving Subjects and Strangers, as ſhall or will willingly accompany them in, and to their ſaid Colony and Plantation, except ſuch Perſon and Perſons as are or ſhall be therein reſtrained by Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors; and alſo to ſhip and tranſport all, and all Manner of Goods, Chattels, Merchandizes, and other Things whatſoever that are or ſhall be uſeful or neceſſary for the Inhabitants of the ſaid Colony, and may lawfully be

Former Officers Power to ceaſe, upon the Choice of new ones.

Governor, D. Governor, & Aſſiſtants to be ſworn to a faithful Performance of their Duty in Office.

Power to tranſport Inhabitants into the Colony, & Goods, Merchandiſes &c.

be tranſported thither; *Nevertheleſs*, not to be diſcharged of Payment to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, of the Duties, Cuſtoms and Subſidies which are or ought to be paid or payable for the ſame. And further, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, ordain, declare, and grant unto the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors,

The King's Subjects in this Colony to enjoy all the Privileges of free and natural Subjects.

That all, and every the Subjects of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, which ſhall go to inhabit within the ſaid Colony, and every of their Children which ſhall happen to be born there, or on the Seas in going thither, or returning from thence, ſhall have and enjoy all Liberties and Immunities of free and natural Subjects within any the Dominions of Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, to all Intents, Conſtructions and Purpoſes whatſoever, as if they and every of them were born within the Realm of *England*; And We do authoriſe and impower the Governor, or in his Abſence the Deputy-Governor for the Time being, to appoint Two or more of the ſaid Aſſiſtants at any of their Courts or Aſſemblies to be held as aforeſaid, to have Power

Power to adminiſter the Oath of Supremacy and Obedience.

and Authority to adminiſter the Oath of Supremacy and Obedience to all and every Perſon and Perſons which ſhall at any Time or Times hereafter go or paſs into the ſaid Colony of *Connecticut*, unto which ſaid Aſſiſtants ſo to be appointed as aforeſaid, We do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority to adminiſter the ſaid Oath accordingly. And We do further of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, give, and grant unto the ſaid Governor and Company of the Engliſh Colony of *Connecticut*, in *New-England*, in *America*, and their Succeſſors, That it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, and ſuch of the Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company for the Time being as ſhall be Aſſembled in any of the General Courts aforeſaid, or in any Courts to be eſpecially Summoned, or Aſſembled for that Purpoſe, or the greater Part of them,

To erect Judicatories.

whereof the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, and Six of the Aſſiſtants to be always, Seven, to Erect, and Make ſuch Judicatories, for the Hearing, and Determining of all Actions, Cauſes, Matters, and Things happening within the ſaid Colony, or Plantation, and which ſhall be in Diſpute, and Depending there, as they ſhall think Fit, and Convenient, and alſo from

To ordain & eſtabliſh laws for ſetling the Forms of government, &c.

Time to Time to Make, Ordain, and Eſtabliſh all Manner of Wholeſome, and Reaſonable Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, Directions, and Inſtructions, not Contrary to the Laws of this Realm, of *England*, as well for Setling the Forms, and Ceremonies of Government, and Magiſtracy, Fit, and Neceſſary for the ſaid Plantation, and the Inhabitants there, as for Naming, and Stiling all Sorts of Officers, both Superiour and Inferiour, which they ſhall Find Needful for the Government, and Plantation of the ſaid Colony, and the Diſtinguiſhing, and ſetting forth of the ſeveral Duties, Powers, and Limits of every ſuch Office, and Place, and the Forms of ſuch Oaths not being Contrary to the Laws, and Statutes of this Our Realm of *England*, to be Adminiſtred for the Execution of the ſaid ſeveral Offices, and Places as alſo for the Diſpoſing, and Ordering of the Election of ſuch of the ſaid Officers as are to be Annually Choſen, and of ſuch others as ſhall Succeed in

To impoſe Fines, Mulcts &c.

caſe of Death, or Removal, and Adminiſtring the ſaid Oath to the New-Elected Officers, and Granting Neceſſary Commiſſions, and for Impoſition of Lawful Fines, Mulcts, Impriſonment or other Puniſhment upon Offenders, and Delinquents according to the Courſe of other Corporations within this our Kingdom of *England*, and the ſame Laws, Fines, Mulcts, and Executions, to alter, change, revoke, annul, releaſe, or pardon under their Common Seal, as by the ſaid General Aſſembly, or the major Part of them ſhall be thought fit, and for the directing, ruling and diſpoſing of all other Matters and Things, whereby Our ſaid People Inhabitants there, may be ſo religiouſly, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderly Converſation may win and invite the Natives of the Country to the Knowlege and Obedience of the Only True GOD, and the Saviour of Mankind, and the Chriſtian Faith, which in Our Royal Intentions, and the Adventurers free Profeſſion, is the only and principal End of this Plantation; willing, commanding and requiring, and by theſe Preſents for us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, ordaining and appointing, that all ſuch Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, Inſtructions, Impoſitions and Directions as ſhall be ſo made by the

Laws to be publiſhed.

Governor,

Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Aſſiſtants as aforeſaid, and publiſhed in Writing under their Common Seal, ſhall carefully and duly be obſerved, kept, performed, and put in Execution, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the ſame, and theſe Our Letters Patents, or the Duplicate, or exemplification thereof, ſhall be to all and every ſuch Officers, Superiors and Inferiors from Time to Time, for the putting of the ſame Orders, Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, Inſtructions, and Directions in due Execution, againſt Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge. And We do further for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, give and grant unto the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, That it ſhall and may be lawful to, and for the Chief Commanders, Governors and Officers of the ſaid Company for the Time being, who ſhall be reſident in the Parts of *New-England* hereafter mentioned, and others inhabiting there, by their Leave, Admittance, Appointment, or Direction, from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, for their ſpecial Defence and Safety, to Aſſemble, Martial-Array, and put in warlike Poſture the Inhabitants of the ſaid Colony, and to Commiſſionate, Impower, and Authorize ſuch Perſon or Perſons as they ſhall think fit, to lead and conduct the ſaid Inhabitants, and to encounter, expulſe, repel, and reſiſt by Force of Arms, as well by Sea as by Land, and alſo to kill, ſlay, and deſtroy by all fitting Ways, Enterprizes, and Means whatſoever, all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall at any Time hereafter Attempt or Enterprize the Deſtruction, Invaſion, Detriment, or Annoyance of the ſaid Inhabitants or Plantation, and to uſe and exerciſe the Law Martial in ſuch Caſes only as Occaſion ſhall require; and to take or ſurprize by all Ways and Means whatſoever, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, with their Ships, Armour, Ammunition and other Goods of ſuch as ſhall in ſuch hoſtile Manner Invade, or attempt the Defeating of the ſaid Plantation, or the Hurt of the ſaid Company and Inhabitants, and upon juſt Cauſes to invade and deſtroy the Natives, or other Enemies of the ſaid Colony. *Nevertheleſs*, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do hereby declare unto all Chriſtian Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Perſons which ſhall hereafter be of the ſaid Company or Plantation, or any other by appointment of the ſaid Governor and Company for the Time being, ſhall at any Time or Times hereafter rob or ſpoil by Sea or by Land, and do any Hurt, Violence, or unlawful Hoſtility to any of the Subjects of Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of the Subjects of any Prince or State being then in League with Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, upon complaint of ſuch Injury done to any ſuch Prince or State, or their Subjects, We, Our Heirs and Succeſſors will make open Proclamation within any Parts of Our Realm of *England* fit for that Purpoſe, that the Perſon or Perſons committing any ſuch Robbery or Spoil, ſhall within the Time limited by ſuch Proclamation, make full Reſtitution or Satisfaction of all ſuch Injuries done or committed, ſo as the ſaid Prince, or others ſo complaining may be fully ſatisfied and contented; and if the ſaid Perſon or Perſons who ſhall commit any ſuch Robbery or Spoil ſhall not make Satisfaction accordingly, within ſuch Time ſo to be limited, that then it ſhall and may be lawful for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, to put ſuch Perſon or Perſons out of Our Allegiance and Protection; and that it ſhall and may be lawful and free for all Princes or others to proſecute with Hoſtility ſuch Offenders, and every of them, their, and every of their Procurors, Aiders, Abettors and Counſellors in that Behalf. *Provided alſo*, And Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, and We do by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, Ordain and Appoint, that theſe Preſents ſhall not in any Manner hinder any of Our loving Subjects whatſoever to uſe and exerciſe the Trade of Fiſhing upon the Coaſt of *New-England*, in *America*, but they and every or any of them ſhall have full and free Power and Liberty, to continue, and uſe the ſaid Trade of Fiſhing upon the ſaid Coaſt, in any of the Seas thereunto adjoining, or any Arms of the Seas, or Salt Water Rivers where they have been accuſtomed to fiſh, and to build and ſet up on the waſte Land belonging to the ſaid Colony of *Connecticut*, ſuch Wharves, Stages, and Work-Houſes as ſhall be neceſſary for the ſalting, drying,

Laws to be put in Execution.

Power to aſſemble, & put in warlike Poſture the Inhabitants.

To uſe the Law Martial.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all Princes and States, againſt ſuch as ſhall rob or ſpoil by Sea or Land.

Liberty reſerved for all his Majeſty's ſubjects to fiſh upon the coaſt

To build Wharves, &c. upon waſte Lands.

driving, and keeping of their Fish to be taken, or gotten upon that Coaſt, any Thing in theſe Preſents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding. And Know Ye further, That We, of Our abundant Grace, certain Knowlege, and meer Motion, have given, granted, and confirmed, and by theſe Preſents for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give, grant, and confirm unto the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, all that Part of Our Dominions in *New-England* in *America*, bounden on the *Eaſt* by *Narraganſet-River*, commonly called *Narraganſet-Bay*, where the ſaid River falleth into the Sea; and on the *North* by the Line of the *Maſſachuſetts-Plantation*; and on the *South* by the Sea; and in Longitude as the Line of the *Maſſachuſetts-Colony*, running from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, *That is to ſay*, From the ſaid *Narraganſet-Bay* on the *Eaſt*, to the *South* Sea on the *Weſt* Part, with the *Iſlands* thereunto adjoining, together with all firm Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, Fiſhings, Mines, Minerals, precious Stones, Quarries, and all and ſingular other Commodities, Juriſdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchiſes, Preheminences, and Hereditaments whatſoever, within the ſaid Tract, Bounds, Lands, and Iſlands aforeſaid, or to them or any of them belonging. *To have and to hold* the ſame unto the ſaid Governor and Company, their Succeſſors and Aſſigns for ever, upon Truſt, and for the Uſe and Benefit of Themſelves and their Aſſociates, Freemen of the ſaid Colony, their Heirs and Aſſigns, to be holden of Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, as of Our Manor of *Eaſt-Greenwich*, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite, nor by Knights Service, yielding and paying therefore to Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, only the Fifth Part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver which from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, ſhall be there gotten, had, or obtained, in Lieu of all Services, Duties and Demands whatſoever, to be to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors therefore, or thereout rendered, made, or paid. *And laſtly*, We do for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant to the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, That theſe Our Letters Patents, ſhall be firm, good and effectual in the Law, to all Intents, Conſtructions, and Purpoſes whatſoever, according to Our true Intent and Meaning herein before declared, as ſhall be conſtrued, reputed and adjudged moſt favourable on the Behalf, and for the beſt Benefit, and Behoof of the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, although expreſs Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premiſes, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants by Us, or by any of Our Progenitors, or Predeceſſors, heretofore made to the ſaid Governor and Company of the *Engliſh* Colony of *Connecticut*, in *New-England*, in *America*, aforeſaid, in theſe Preſents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviſion, Proclamation or Reſtriction heretofore had, made, enacted, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cauſe, or Thing whatſoever to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. *In Witneſs whereof*, We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs Ourſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the Three and Twentieth Day of *April*, in the Fourteenth Year of our Reign.

Grant of the Lands within the limits expreſſed to the Gov. & Company, with the Commodities thereof, &c.

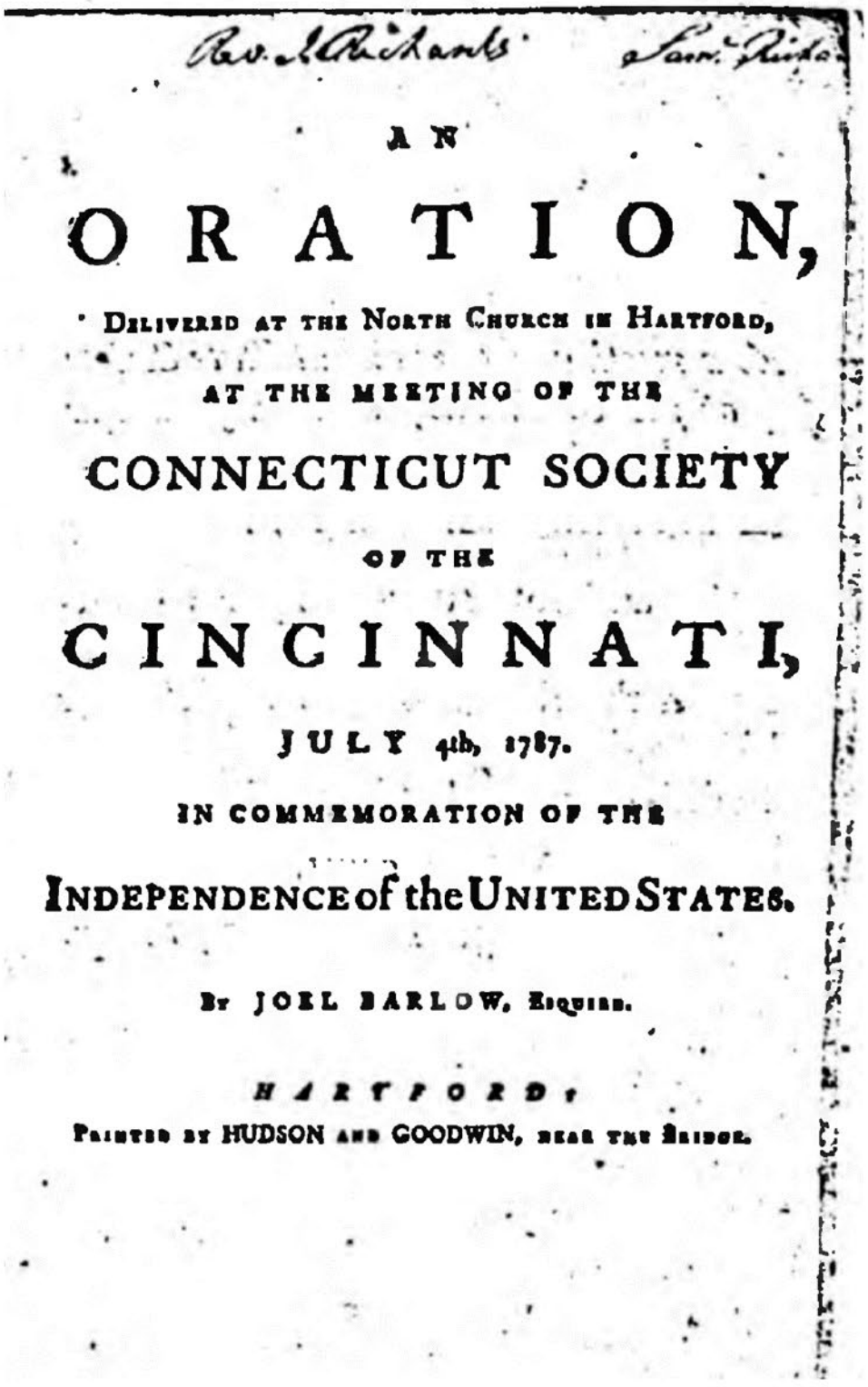
To be held in free and common Soccage.

The Patent to have the moſt favourable Conſtruction for the Benefit of the Gov. & Com.

By Writ of Privy Seal,

HOWARD.

13. Joel Barlow, An Oration at the Meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati, Hartford, 4 July 1787.[1]



AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED AT THE NORTH CHURCH IN HARTFORD,

AT THE MEETING OF THE

CONNECTICUT SOCIETY

OF THE

CINCINNATI,

JULY 4th, 1787.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE

INDEPENDENCE of the UNITED STATES.

By JOEL BARLOW, Esquire.

HARTFORD:

Printed by HUDSON and GOODWIN, near the Bridge.

1. On 23 July 1787, the *Connecticut Courant* printed the following advertisement: "Just Published and now selling, By Hudson and Goodwin, An Oration, Delivered at the North Church in Hartford, At the Meeting of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, July 4th 1787. . . . By Joel Barlow. . . ." Other advertisements offering Barlow's oration for sale appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette* on 27 July, the *Middlesex Gazette* on 30 July, and the *Connecticut Journal* on 8 August.

At a meeting of Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati, at Hartford, 4th July 1787.

VOTED, That Col. TRUMBULL and Col. HUMPHREYS be a Committee to wait on Mr. BARLOW, to return the thanks of this Society for his Oration delivered this day---And to desire a copy that it may be printed.

A true copy,

J. TRUMBULL, *Sec'ry.*

AN ORATION, &c.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

Gentlemen of the Society,

And Fellow Citizens,

ON the Anniverſary of ſo great an event as the birth of the Empire in which we live, none will queſtion the propriety of paſſing a few moments in contemplating the various objects ſuggeſted to the mind by the important occaſion. But at the preſent period, while the bleſſings, claimed by the ſword of victory and promiſed in the voice of peace, remain to be confirmed by our future exertions—while the nouriſhment, the growth, and even the exiſtence of our empire depend upon the united efforts of an extenſive and divided people—the duties of this day aſcend from amuſement and congratulation to a ſerious patriotic employment.

WE are aſſembled, my friends, not to boaſt, but to realize—not to inflate our national vanity by a pompous relation of paſt atchievements in the council or in the field; but, from a modeſt retroſpect

retroſpect of the truly dignified part already acted by our countrymen, from an accurate view of our preſent ſituation, and from an anticipation of the ſcenes that remain to be unfolded—to diſcern and familiarize the duties that ſtill await us, as citizens, as ſoldiers and as men.

Revolutions in other countries have been effected by accident. The faculties of human reaſon and the rights of human nature have been the ſport of chance and the prey of ambition. And when indignation has burſt the bands of ſlavery, to the deſtruction of one tyrant, it was only to impoſe the manacles of another. This aroſe from the imperfection of that early ſtage of ſociety, which neceſſarily occaſioned the foundation of empires on the eaſtern continent to be laid in ignorance, and which induced a total inability of foreſeeing the improvements of civilization, or of adapting the government to a ſtate of ſocial refinement.

I shall but repeat a common obſervation when I remark, that on the weſtern continent the ſcene was entirely different; and a new taſk, totally unknown to the legiſlators of other nations, was impoſed upon the fathers of the American Empire.

Here was a people thinly ſcattered over an extenſive territory, lords of the ſoil on which they trod, commanding a prodigious length of coaſt and an equal breadth of frontier—a people habituated to liberty, profeſſing a mild and benevolent religion

religion, and highly advanced in ſcience and civilization. To conduct ſuch a people in a revolution, the addreſs muſt be made to reaſon as well as to the paſſions. And to reaſon, to the clear underſtanding of theſe variouſly affected colonies the ſolemn addreſs was made.

A PEOPLE thus enlightened, and capable of diſcerning the connection of cauſes with their remoteſt effects, waited not the experience of oppreſſion in their own perſons; which they well knew would render them leſs able to conduct a regular oppoſition. But in the moment of their greateſt proſperity, when every heart expanded with the increaſing opulence of the Britiſh-American dominions, and every tongue united in the praiſes of the parent State and her patriot king, when many circumſtances concurred which would have rendered an ignorant people ſecure and inattentive to their future intereſts—at this moment the eyes of the American Argus were opened to the firſt and moſt plauſible invaſion of the colonial rights.

IN vain were we told, and perhaps with the greateſt truth and ſincerity, that the monies levied in America were all to be expended within the country, and for our benefit: Equally idle was the policy of Great-Britain in commencing their new ſyſtem by a ſmall and almoſt imperceptible duty, and that upon very few articles. It was not the quantity of the tax, it was not the mode of appropriation, but it was the *right of the de-*

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mind, which was called in question. Upon this the people deliberated, this they discussed in a cool and dispassionate manner, and this they opposed, in every shape that an artful and systematic ministry could devise, for more than ten years, before they assumed the sword.

This single circumstance, aside from the magnitude of the object or the event of the contest, will stamp a peculiar glory on the American revolution, and mark it as a distinguished æra in the history of mankind; that sober reason and reflection have done the work of enthusiasm and performed the miracles of gods. In what other age or nation has a laborious agricultural people, at ease upon their own farms, secure and distant from the approach of fleets and armies, tide-waiters and stamp-masters, *reasoned* before they have *felt*, and from the dictates of duty and conscience, encountered dangers, distress and poverty, for the sake of securing to posterity a government of independence and peace? The toils of ages and the fate of millions were to be sustained by a few hands. The voice of unborn nations called upon them for safety; but it was a *still small voice*, the voice of rational reflection. Here was no Cromwell to inflame the people with bigotry and zeal, no Cæsar to reward his followers with the spoils of vanquished foes, and no territory to acquire by conquest. Ambition, Superstition and Avarice, those universal torches of war, never illumined an American

field

field of battle. But the permanent principles of ſober policy ſpread through the colonies, rouſed the people to aſſert their rights, and conducted the revolution.

It would be wandering from the objects which ought to occupy our preſent attention, * again to recount the numerous acts of the Britiſh Parliament which compoſe that ſyſtem of tyranny deſigned for the ſubjugation of America: Neither can we indulge in the detail of thoſe memorable events which marked our various ſtages of reſiſtance; from the glooms of unſucceſsful ſupplication, to the ſplendor of victory and acknowledged ſovereignty. The former were the theme of ſenatorial eloquence, producing miracles of union and exertion in every part of the continent, till we find them preſerved for everlaſting remembrance in that declaratory Act of Independence, which gave being to an empire and dignified the day we now commemorate; the latter are freſh in the memory of every perſon of the leaſt information. It would be impertinence, if not a breach of delicacy, to attempt a recital of thoſe glorious achievements, eſpecially before an audience, part of whom have been diſtinguiſhed actors in the ſcene, others the anxious and applauding ſpectators. To the faithful hiſtorian we reſign the taſk; the hiſtorian, whom it is hoped the preſent age will deem it

* This Oration was preceded by the lecture of the Act of Independence; which, by an order of this State Society, is in future to make part of their public exercifes at every annual meeting.

in their duty as well as their intereſt, to furniſh, encourage and ſupport.

WHATEVER praiſe is due for the taſk already performed, it is certain that much remains to be done. The revolution is but half completed. *Independence* and *Government* were the two objects contended for, and but one is yet obtained. To the glory of the preſent age and the admiration of the future, our ſeverance from the Britiſh empire was conducted upon principles as noble as they were new, and unprecedented in the hiſtory of human actions. Could the ſame generous principles, the ſame wiſdom and unanimity be exerted in effecting the eſtabliſhment of a permanent fœderal ſyſtem, what an additional luſtre would it pour upon the preſent age! a luſtre hitherto unequalled; a diſplay of magnanimity, for which mankind may never behold another opportunity.

WITHOUT an efficient government our Independence will ceaſe to be a bleſſing. Shall that glow of patriotiſm and unſhaken perſeverance, which have been ſo long conſpicuous in the American character, deſert us at our utmoſt need? Shall we loſe ſight of our own happineſs, becauſe it has grown familiar by a near approach? Shall thy labours, O Waſhington, be beſtowed in vain? Haſt thou conducted us to independence and peace, and ſhall we not receive the bleſſings at thy hands? Where are the ſhades of our fallen friends? and what is their

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language on this occaſion? *Warren*, *Montgomery*, *Mercer*, *Wooſter*, *Scammel* and *Laurens*, all ye hoſts of departed heroes! rich is the treaſure you have laviſhed in the cauſe, and prevalent the price you have paid for our freedom. Shall the purchaſe be neglected? the fair inheritance lie without improvement, expoſed to every daring invader? Forbid it, honour, forbid it, gratitude; and oh, may Heaven avert the impending evil.

In contemplating the price of our Independence, it will never be forgotten that it was not entirely the work of our own hands; nor could it probably have been eſtabliſhed, in the ſame term of time, by all the blood and treaſure, that America unaſſiſted was able to furniſh for the conteſt. Much of the merit is due, and our warmeſt acknowledgments will ever flow to that illuſtrious Monarch, the father of nations and friend of the diſtreſt; that Monarch, who by his early aſſiſtance taught us not to diſpair, and, when we had given a ſufficient proof of our military virtue and perſeverance, who joined us in alliance upon terms of equality, gave us a rank and credit among the maritime nations of Europe, and furniſhed fleets and armies, money and military ſtores, to put a ſplendid period to the important conflict.

Where ſhall we find language to expreſs a nation's gratitude for ſuch unexampled goodneſs and magnanimity? my friends, it is not to be done with language. Our ſenſe of obligation

for favours received from Heaven is beſt expreſſed by a wiſe improvement. Does Louis aſk for more? and can duty be ſatisfied with leſs? Unite in a permanent fœderal government, put your commerce upon a reſpectable footing; your arts and manufactures, your population, your wealth and glory will increaſe: and when an hundred millions of people are compriſed within your territory and made happy by your ſway, then ſhall it be known that the hand of that monarch aſſiſted in planting the vine from which ſo great a harveſt is produced. His generous heart ſhall exult in the proſpect, his royal deſcendants, fired by the great example, ſhall imitate his virtues, and the world ſhall unite in his praiſe.

Here ſhall that pride of the military character, the gallant Fayette, find his compenſation for a life of diſintereſted ſervice; whoſe toils have not ceaſed with the termination of the war, and whoſe ſucceſsful endeavours to promote our intereſt, in commercial and political arrangements, can only be equalled by his achievements in the field. How will the poſterity of that nobleman, and that of the other brave officers of his nation who have fought by your ſides, on reviewing the American hiſtory, rejoice in the fame of their fathers; nor even regret the fate of thoſe who bled in ſo glorious a field!

An acknowledgement of the merits of Rochambeau and Chaſtellux, D'Eſtaing, De Graſſe and De Barras, and the other heroes of the French army and navy—affection to the memory

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of our brethren and companions who have bled in our battles—reverence to the advice of our illuſtrious Commander in Chief, and of all thoſe ſages and patriots who have compoſed our councils, from the time of the firſt Congreſs to the preſent moment—honour to our worthy creditors in Europe—a regard to the conduct of the Imperial Sovereigns of Ruſſia and Germany, who evince to the world that they revere the cauſe of liberality and human happineſs in which we drew the ſword—a reſpect to the memory of the venerable Frederick of Pruſſia, whoſe dying hand put the ſignature to a treaty of commerce with the United States upon the moſt liberal principles that ever originated in a diplomatic council—a ſacred regard to ourſelves and to all poſterity—and, above all, a religious gratitude to our heavenly Benefactor, who hath hitherto ſmiled upon our endeavours—call upon us, in the language of a thouſand tongues, for firmneſs, unanimity and perſeverence, in completing the revolution and eſtabliſhing the empire.

The preſent is juſtly conſidered an alarming criſis; perhaps the moſt alarming that America ever ſaw. We have contended with the moſt powerful nation and ſubdued the braveſt and beſt appointed armies; but now we have to contend with *ourſelves*, and encounter paſſions and prejudices more powerful than armies and more dangerous to our peace. It is not for glory, it is for exiſtence that we contend.

Much is expected from the Federal Convention now ſitting

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at Philadelphia; and it is a happy circumſtance that ſo general a confidence from all parts of the country is centred in that reſpectable Body. Their former ſervices as individuals command it, and our ſituation requires it. But although much is expected from them, yet more is demanded from ourſelves.

The firſt great object is to convince the people of the importance of their preſent ſituation; for the majority of a great people, on a ſubject which they underſtand, will never act wrong. If ever there was a time, in any age or nation, when the fate of millions depended on the voice of one, it is the preſent period in theſe ſtates. Every free citizen of the American Empire ought now to conſider himſelf as the legiſlator of half mankind. When he views the amazing extent of territory, ſettled and to be ſettled under the operation of his laws —when, like a wiſe politician, he contemplates the population of future ages; the changes to be wrought by the poſſible progreſs of arts, in agriculture, commerce and manufactures; the increaſing connection and intercourſe of nations, and the effect of one rational political ſyſtem upon the general happineſs of mankind—his mind, dilated with the great idea, will realize a liberality of feeling which leads to a rectitude of conduct. He will ſee that the ſyſtem to be eſtabliſhed by his ſuffrage is calculated for the great benevolent purpoſes of extending peace, happineſs and propreſſive improvement to a large proportion of his fellow creatures. As there is a probability that the ſyſtem to be propoſed by the Convention may anſwer this deſcrip-

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tion, there is ſome reaſon to hope it will be viewed by the people with that candour and diſpaſſionate reſpect which is due to the importance of the ſubject.

While the anxiety of the feeling heart is breathing the perpetual ſigh for the attainment of ſo great an object, it becomes the ſtrongeſt duty of the ſocial connexion, to enlighten and harmonize the minds of our fellow citizens, and point them to a knowledge of their intereſts, as an extenſive fœderal people and fathers of increaſing nations. The price put into their hands is great, beyond all compariſon; and, as they improve it, they will entail happineſs or miſery upon a larger proportion of human beings, than could be affected by the conduct of all the nations of Europe united.

Those who are poſſeſſed of abilities or information in any degree above the common rank of their fellow citizens are called upon by every principle of humanity, to diffuſe a ſpirit of candour and rational enquiry upon theſe important ſubjects.

Adams, to his immortal honour and the timely aſſiſtance of his country, has ſet the great example. His treatiſe in defence of the conſtitutions, though confined to the State Republics, is calculated to do infinite ſervice, by correcting thouſands of erroneous ſentiments ariſing from our inexperience; ſentiments which if uncorrected in this early ſtage of our political exiſtence, will be the ſource of calamities without meaſure and without end. Should that venerable philoſopher and ſtateſman be

induced to continue his enquiries, by tracing the history of Confederacies, and, with his usual energy and perspicuity, delineate and defend a system adapted to the circumstances of the United States—I will not say he could deserve more from his distrest country, but he would crown a life of patriotic labours and render an essential additional service to the world.

While America enjoys the peculiar felicity of seeing those who have conducted her councils and her battles retire like Cincinnatus to the humble labours of the plough, it must be remembered, that she there expects a continuance of their patriotic exertions. The Society of the Cincinnati, established upon the most benevolent principles, will never lose sight of their duty, in rendering every possible aid, as citizens, to that community which they have defended as soldiers. They will rejoice, that, although Independence was the result of force, yet Government is the child of reason. As they are themselves an example of the noblest effort of human nature, *the conquest of self*, in obeying the voice of their country and exchanging the habits, the splendor and importance of military life, for domestic labour and poverty; they will readily inculcate on others the propriety of sacrificing private and territorial advantages to the good of the great majority, the salvation of the United States.

Slaves to no party, but servants of the whole, they have wielded the sword of every State in the Union and bled by the side

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of her ſons. Their attachments are as extenſive as their labours. FRIENDSHIP and CHARITY the great pillars of their Inſtitution will find their proper objects through the extended territory, and ſeek the happineſs of all.

WHILE we contemplate the endearing objects of our aſſociation, and indulge in the gloomy pleaſure of recollecting that variety of ſuffering which prompted the ſympathetic ſoldier to inſtitute this memorial of his friendſhip, fraternal affection recalls the ſcene of parting, and enquires with ſolicitude the fate of our beloved companions.

SINCE the laſt anniverſary, the death of General Howe has diminiſhed the number of our brethren and called for the tribute of a tear. With ſome of the foibles incident to human nature, he poſſeſſed many valuable accompliſhments. His natural good underſtanding he had imbelliſhed with conſiderable attention to polite literature. As a ſoldier, he was brave; as an officer, attentive to diſcipline; he commanded with dignity and obeyed with alacrity, and whatever talents he poſſeſſed were uniformly and cheerfully devoted to the ſervice of his country.

BUT a few weeks previous to that period, the much lamented deaths of Tilghman and M'Dougall were ſucceſſively announced, and the tidings received with a peculiar poignancy of grief. What citizen of the American empire does not join the general voice of gratitude, when contemplating the merits

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of thoſe diſtinguiſhed officers; and ſwell the tide of ſympathy with his bereaved country, when deprived of their future aſſiſtance? They were ornaments to the States in which they lived, as well as to the profeſſion in which they acquired their glory.

AMIABLE and heroic Tilghman! ſhort was the career of thy fame, but much haſt thou performed for thy country. Of thee ſhall it ever be remembered, that no ſocial virtue was a ſtranger to thy breaſt, and no military achievement too daring for thy ſword. While we condole with thy afflicted father for the loſs of ſo dear a ſon, permit the tear of friendſhip to flow for its own bereavement. And as oft as the anniverſary of this day ſhall aſſemble the companions of thy life to rejoice in the freedom of their country, they ſhall mingle a ſigh to thy laſting memory and bewail thy untimely fate.

UNTIMELY alſo was the death of the brave and the patriotic M'Dougall. Though many years were worn away in his unremitted labours for the public ſafety—though his early and decided exertions againſt the claims of Great-Britain had an eſſential influence in determining the conduct of the Province in which he reſided—though he was the nerve of war, the wiſdom of council and one of our principal ſupporters in the acqueſt of Independence—yet theſe but ſhow us the neceſſity of ſuch characters in eſtabliſhing the bleſſings of the acquiſition. While it ſhall require the ſame wiſdom and unſhaken fortitude, the ſame patience and perſeverence to rear the fabric of our empire,

pire, as it did to lay the foundation, Patriotism and Valour in ſympathetic affection will bemoan the loſs of M'Dougall.

HAPPY would it be for America, thrice happy for the feelings of ſorrowing friendſhip, could the liſt of our deceaſed companions be cloſed even with the names of thoſe worthy heroes. But Heaven had beſtowed too much glory upon the life of the favourite Greene, to allow it a long duration.

MY affectionate Auditory will anticipate more than can be uttered, in the melancholy duty of contemplating his diſtinguiſhed excellence. To any Aſſembly that could be collected in America, vain would be the attempt, to illuſtrate his character or embelliſh the ſcene of his exploits. It is a ſubject to be felt, but not to be deſcribed. To poſterity indeed it may be told, as an incentive to the moſt exalted virtue and aſtoniſhing enterprize, that the man, who carried in his native genius all the reſources of war, and the balance of every extreme of fortune—who knew the advantages to be derived from defeat, the vigilance of military arrangement, the rapidity and happy moment of aſſault, the deliberate activity of battle, and the various important uſes of victory—that the man who poſſeſſed every conceivable quality of a warrior, was, in his public and private character, without a foible or a fault: That all the amiable as well as heroic virtues were aſſembled in his ſoul, and that it was the love of a rational and enlightened age, and not the ſtupid ſtare of barbarity, that expreſſed his praiſe.

THE map of America may deſignate the vaſt extent of con-

quered country recovered by his ſword: The future traveller in the Southern States may be pointed by the peaſant to the various regions containing monuments of his valour and his ſkill; where, amid his marches and countermarches, his ſtudied retreats and his rapid approaches, every advantage given to the enemy was reſumed with tenfold utility and certain conqueſt: The hiſtoric Muſe, as a legacy to future ages, may tranſmit with heroic dignity the feats of her favourite Chief: But who ſhall tranſmit the feelings of the heart, or give the more intereſting repreſentation of his worth? The *hero* will remain, but the *man* muſt be loſt.

The grief of his bereaved conſort, aggravated by the univerſal teſtimony of his merit, we hope will receive ſome alleviation from the ardent ſympathy of thouſands, whoſe hearts were penetrated with his virtues, and whoſe tears would have flowed upon his hearſe.

But we will not open afreſh the wounds, which we cannot cloſe. The beſt eulogium of the good and great is expreſſed by an emulation of their virtues. As thoſe of the illuſtrious Greene were equally uſeful in every department in which human ſociety can call a man to act, every friend to America muſt feel the want of his aſſiſtance in the duties that remain to be performed. Yet, as theſe duties are of the rational and pacific kind, the performance is more attainable and emulation the better encouraged. In military operations, none but the ſoldier can be diſtinguiſhed, nor any but the fortunate are ſure of rendering ſervice: but here is a theatre

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of action for every citizen of a great country; in which the ſmalleſt circumſtance will have its weight, and on which infinite conſequences will depend.

The preſent is an age of philoſophy; and America, the empire of reaſon. Here, neither the pageantry of courts nor the glooms of ſuperſtition have dazzled or beclouded the mind. Our duty calls us to act worthy of the age and the country which gave us birth. Though inexperience may have betrayed us into errors; yet theſe have not been fatal; and our own diſcernment will point us to their proper remedy.

However defective the preſent confederated ſyſtem may appear; yet a due conſideration of the circumſtances under which it was framed, will teach us rather to admire its wiſdom than to murmur at its faults. The ſame political abilities which were diſplayed in that inſtitution, united with the experience we have had of its opperation, will doubtleſs produce a ſyſtem, which will ſtand the teſt of ages, in forming a powerful and happy people.

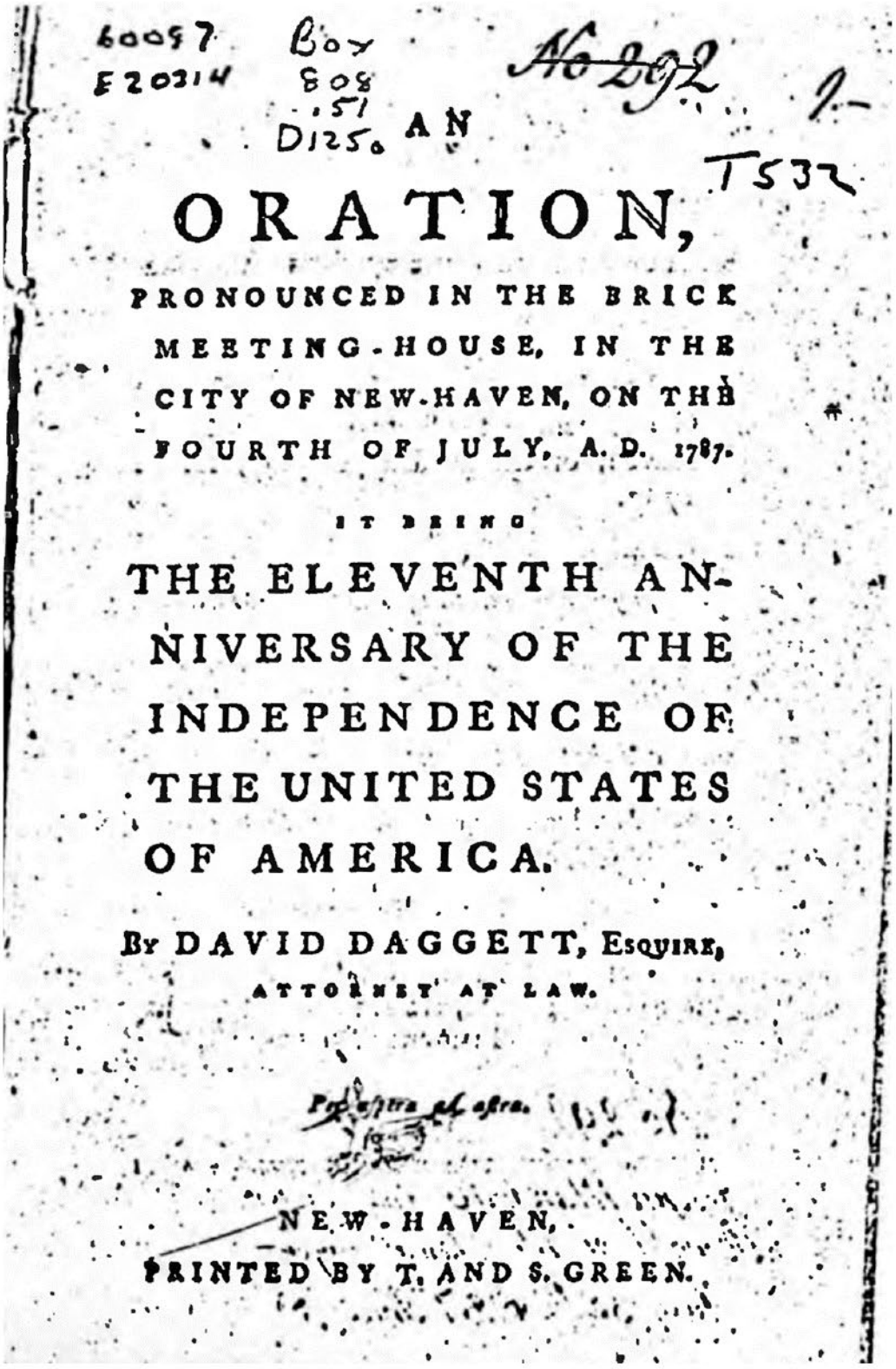
Elevated with this extenſive proſpect, we may conſider preſent inconveniences as unworthy of regret. At the cloſe of the war, an uncommon plenty of circulating ſpecie and a univerſal paſſion for trade tempted many individuals to involve themſelves in ruin and injure the credit of their country. But theſe are evils which work their own remedy. The paroxiſm is already over; induſtry is increaſing faſter than ever it declined; and, with ſome exceptions where legiſlative authority has

his ſanctified fraud, the people are honeſtly diſcharging their private debts and encreaſing the reſources of their wealth.

Every poſſible encouragement for great and generous exertions, is now preſented before us. Under the idea of a permanent and happy government, every point of view, in which the future ſituation of America can be placed, fills the mind with a peculiar dignity, and opens an unbounded field of thought. The natural reſources of the country are inconceivably various and great; the enterpriſing genius of the people promiſes a moſt rapid improvement in all the arts that embelliſh human nature; the bleſſings of a rational government will invite emigrations from the reſt of the world, and fill the empire with the worthieſt and happieſt of mankind; while the example of political wiſdom and felicity here to be diſplayed will excite emulation through the kingdoms of the earth, and meliorate the condition of the human race.

In the pleaſing contemplation of ſuch glorious events, and comparing the ſcenes of action that adorn the weſtern hemiſphere, with what has taken place in the eaſt, may we not apply to our country the language of the prophet of Iſrael, though ſpoken on a different occaſion "The glory of this latter houſe "ſhall be greater than of the former, ſaith the Lord of hoſts; "and in this place will I give peace, ſaith the Lord of hoſts:" peace to any diſcorders that may at preſent ſubſiſt among us, peace to the contending paſſions of nations, peace to this empire, to future ages, and through the extended world.

14. David Daggett, An Oration, New Haven, 4 July 1787.



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AN

ORATION,

PRONOUNCED IN THE BRICK MEETING-HOUSE, IN THE CITY OF NEW-HAVEN, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, A. D. 1787.

IT BEING

THE ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

By DAVID DAGGETT, Esquire,

ATTORNEY AT LAW.

NEW-HAVEN,
PRINTED BY T. AND S. GREEN.

1. On 11 July 1787, the *Connecticut Journal* advertised that "Mr. Daggett's Oration, Pronounced last Wednesday, in the Brick Meeting House, in this City, on the celebration of Independence, Is in the Press, and will be published on Friday next." In its next issue on 18 July, the *Journal* announced that the oration was "Just Published." Other advertisements appeared in the *Connecticut Courant* on 23 July, the *Middlesex Gazette* on 30 July, and again in the *Connecticut Journal* on 8 August.

At a Meeting of a very large Number of Gentlemen, at the State-House, in New-Haven, on the 4th Day of July, A. D. 1787.

VOTED, *That the Thanks of the Gentlemen present, be presented to* DAVID DAGGETT, *Esquire, for the very instructive and elegant Oration, with which he was pleased, this Day, to honor the public celebration of the anniversary of the* INDEPENDENCE *of the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA; *and that the Committee appointed to superintend and conduct the Ceremonials of the Celebration, request Mr.* DAGGETT *to favour them with a Copy thereof, for publication.*

ELIAS SHIPMAN,
PIERPONT EDWARDS,
RUSSEL CLARK,
SAMUEL RUSSEL,
TIMOTHY PHELPS,
} Committee.

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Bought of Mr Thomas Green
July 30th 1787 Price 5d

THIS day completes eleven years ſince theſe United States became a free, ſovereign and independent empire. This event, much conduced to the accompliſhment of a revolution, which has been the favourite theme of the poet, the hiſtorian and the orator, and the admiration of ſurrounding nations.—In conſequence of this, it has been predicted of America, that ſhe would be the aſylum for the oppreſſed, the ſeat of literature, and a theatre on which there would be the moſt illuſtrious diſplays of civil and religious liberty.

While with a prophetic eye, we could behold theſe things—how eaſy to write, how eaſy to ſpeak, in the moſt elevated ſtrains, in the celebration of the anniverſary of American Independence: But unhappily for him, who is requeſted to ſpeak on this day, thoſe brilliant ſcenes are not yet realized, but are intercepted by an almoſt impenetrable gloom. And, though for myſelf, I believe God has deſigned this empire to be the moſt illuſtrious on earth, yet from preſent appearances, and in the eye of reaſon, the thought appears rather romantic,—

In deſcribing what America was, and what ſhe now is, you will witneſs for me, or againſt me, that I ſpeak with truth, or miſrepreſent.—— In deſcribing what ſhe will be, in future, you will permit me to range uncontrouled, and conjecture for myſelf.

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The diſcovery and firſt ſettlement of this country, are known to every one.—Obſervations on theſe ſubjects, would afford little entertainment; yet let it be remembered, that even in this early period of our exiſtence, we exhibited ſome ſpecimens of that fraud and injuſtice which has been too conſpicuous ever ſince.—I mean in forcibly or fraudulently depriving the natives of their poſſeſſions.—We may now hug ourſelves in the peaceable enjoyment of what deſcended to us from generation to generation, without enquiring into the validity of our title; but it is happy for us, that the denunciation of heaven, which ſays, "Curſed is the man that removeth his neighbours land-mark," has not alſo deſcended.—In general, our anceſtors were ſimple in their dreſs, diet, and equipage—ſubmiſſive to government, and religious, even to ſuperſtition. They were ſcrupulouſly punctilious in obſerving the duties of morality; yet, thro' their great zeal, in many inſtances, carried into the moſt groſs abſurdities. As literature began to flouriſh, and commerce extend itſelf, luxury and its attending evils neceſſarily prevailed.—From our primæval ſimplicity of manners, we ſoon degenerated into that licentiouſneſs which is ever to be found among the more poliſhed parts of the world, and at the commencement of the late war, tho' not as yet hackneyed in the ways of vice, we were by no means ſignalized for that ſacred veneration for religion and the ſocial virtues, which was ſo conſpicuous a century or two before.—A happy people indeed we ought to have been, for our ſituation was, in many reſpects, truly eligible.—Now we look back, and ſpeak of thoſe glorious

days,

days, which we ſaw antecedent to the war, and regret that they are fled.—We call it an age of liberty—of religion—of happineſs—We compare it with the preſent, and pretend the deepeſt ſorrow at the compariſon.—But in thus ſpeaking, in thus thinking, we exhibit a ſtriking ſpecimen of human weakneſs. The truth is, we were then far from being happy.—The ſame direful complaints were then heard from the farmer, the merchant, and the various other profeſſions.——Our fields, in their eſtimation, were then laid waſte, with the deſtroying inſect, a drought or a flood.——Our navigation was fettered by foreign nations, or deſtroyed by hurricanes, and our political fabrick tumbling from the corruption of its members. Could we, as a nation, like Protius, aſſume a thouſand different ſhapes, ſtill a ſpirit of reſtleſſneſs and complaint would prevail. In extolling the early periods of our exiſtence, as a people, we much reſemble an individual, who is continually paſſing encomiums upon the days of his youth.—Nothing is more common, than to hear men ſay, "the happieſt days I ever ſpent, were when a child." This is to be aſcribed to a paſſion we all poſſeſs, for being in ſome other ſituation than that in which we are.——

It is however to be conceded, that before the revolution, our circumſtances were in various reſpects preferable to what they are at preſent. Our public character was much leſs tarniſhed—fraud was not then taught as a ſcience, nor exhibited by our legiſlative bodies for the imitation of individuals. It only lurked in bye places—its influence being checked by a majority of the members

bers of the community.—Our government was then much more efficient and energetic.—We are told of the great liberty we enjoyed. Liberty it indeed was, but we were wise enough to distinguish between liberty and licentiousness. This state, and many others, were under a most perfect aristocracy.—The name truly we disowned, yet quietly submitted to a government essentially aristocratic.—

The minister, with two or three principal characters were supreme in each town.——Hence the body of the clergy, with a few families of distinction, between whom there was ever a most intimate connection, in effect, ruled the whole state. The loss of this happy influence of the clergy, in this country, is deeply to be regretted, and is to be ascribed to two causes—the increase of knowledge, and growing opposition to religion.—Knowledge has induced the laity to think and act for themselves, and an opposition to religion has curtailed the power of its supporters.

Thus we were, when the vile acts of legislation in a mother country reduced us at once to the dire alternative of tamely submitting to abject servitude, or commencing a war with one of the most potent empires of the world. The spirit of an American was too great to brook the former, tho' scarcely equal to attempt the latter. Petitions were preferred—and in the stile of supplicants, we earnestly solicited an enjoyment of those rights and privileges to which, on the principles of righteousness, we were entitled. But our adversaries, self-sufficient, and goaded on by an unappeaseable thirst for dominion, were disposed

poſed to decide the unhappy controverſy only by the ſword.—At this time too, many of our ſages in the cabinet, doubtful of the apparently unequal combat, deſerted us.

Look back, my friends, and aſk, Was not the attempt preſumptious, beyond compariſon? We, few in numbers, undiſciplined in the field, and deſtitute of naval armaments, nobly dared to encounter a nation, whoſe arms had been the terror of Europe, and who, according to their own ideas, could cruſh us at a ſingle ſtroke.

In taking a retroſpective view of our ſituation, we can but ſtand amazed that deſpair did not diveſt us of our native fortitude, and render us eaſy victims to our aſſailants. Yet, by a kind of enthuſiaſm totally unprecedented, and equally inexplicable, we made an oppoſition formidable to our enemies, animating to the votaries of American liberty and aſtoniſhing to the world.—We were favoured with a happy union of wiſdom and valour, in the cabinet and field, beyond what the warmeſt imagination could have ſuggeſted. In the midſt of theſe brilliant atchievements, however, we purſued a line of conduct towards thoſe who thought differently from us, altogether inexcuſable. It is futile to aſcribe ſuch acts of rigor as were then committed, to that patriotiſm which ſo juſtly marked this period. To ſay that we were ſo ſurpriſingly virtuous, as to become vicious, is a finiſhed abſurdity. Honeſty will fix it as a blemiſh upon our political eſcutcheon.

At length, on the 4th day of July, 1776, we

" abſolved

" abſolved the political bands, which had connected us with Great Britain, and aſſumed among the nations of the earth, that ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature, and natures God intituled us." We declared ourſelves FREE and INDEPENDENT ſtates.

This declaration was made by as illuſtrious a body of men as ever graced the councils of America.—Examine the reaſons which they urge for their conduct—ſee the ſingular firmneſs which they exhibit—Behold the peculiar ſolemnity of expreſſion, and hear the undaunted appeals to heaven, in vindication of this tranſaction, and ſay was it not nobly done ?——Had we been at that inſtant deſtroyed as an empire, was it not nobly done? But from that inſtant we ſucceeded in accompliſhing a moſt glorious revolution, and was it not nobly done ?—

This event, if wiſely improved, might have been of ſingular advantage to theſe ſtates.—A nation, like an individual, while dependent, will forever be confined in its operations. No real incentives to great exertions, and ſtrangers to enterprize, they drag heavily along, contented with a ſtate of mediocrity. But the moment they aſſume a character for themſelves, their mode of thinking and acting is changed: they feel an importance, which to ſupport and dignify, will call forth all their dormant powers.

The independence of any people opens a field for great improvements ;—it erects a theatre on which men of abilities may diſplay their talents with applauſe. Thus many, who otherwiſe, ne-

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ver would have been noticed in the mass of mankind, are induced by a laudable ambition, to become eminently distinguished. An event of this nature, lays a foundation for a successful cultivation of the arts and sciences—for numberless improvements in agriculture, commerce and legislation, and for arriving to the summit of national importance.

It cannot admit of a doubt, that many individuals, of the first natural genius, have lived and died unnoticed, merely thro' want of opportunity, to exhibit their true characters. Why not many communities from the same cause? Yet, as many a giddy youth has embarked too early in life, and taken the helm before his prudence was sufficient to guide him, and finally been destroyed on some fatal rock:—Such we have just grounds to apprehend will be our fate, thro' our independence.

This event took place when the attention of every man was turned towards the war, in which we were engaged. It would have been madness then, to have thought of regulating our internal concerns, to the neglect of a far more important object; and yet it was destruction to omit them. And when our struggle was finally crowned with victory—a victory far exceeding our most sanguine expectations; we, elated with success, falsely imagined, our peace and prosperity permanently secured. We flattered ourselves that independence was liberty---was affluence---was government---was every thing---It did not occur to us that *then* was the *only* time for rendering our acquisitions permanently advantageous. Argu-

ing thus, we have become independent of almoſt every thing, and have only to ſolace ourſelves in that independence.

It ſhould have been a primary object with us, to raiſe a revenue adequate to the exigencies of our government. Congreſs aware of this, and ſeeing the exhauſted ſtate of our treaſuries, and yet fearful of checking the induſtry of the agricultural part of our community by a land-tax, at an early period recommended an impoſt. A moſt wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, beyond a queſtion! Some of the ſtates thro' ignorance of its tendency, and others from motives of ſelf-intereſt, refuſed a compliance.---Rhode-Iſland, as a ſpecimen of what ſhe could do, and a prelude of greater things yet to come, oppoſed the meaſure. New-York is ſtill in the oppoſition.---Here congreſs in this politic, in this laudable attempt to extricate us from debt, and reſcue us from that ingratitude, that diſhoneſty with which we now ſtand chargeable, were entirely fruſtrated.---Here too how apparent is the ineſficiency of our federal government!—What an abſurdity in politics!—We veſt congreſs with a power of making war, and of concluding peace, and acting as our fœderal head in every reſpect, and yet deny them the means of diſcharging their ſacred obligations.—The reaſon is obvious; our governments were formed when the name of power was terrible to us.—The people had been taught, that *vox populi eſt vox dei*, and that all power originated in them; and practiſing on thoſe ideas, cautiouſly avoided delegating enough to the ſupreme authority to enable them to exiſt in that capaci-

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ty, and yet, ſtrange to tell! when this truth is become as evident as that two and two make four, and when we have already felt the unhappy conſequences of it, in an eminent degree, our legiſlative bodies are ſtill wiſhing to curtail the powers of congreſs, and make them more complete in inſignificancy!—Thus, by rendering the grand council of theſe independent ſtates the moſt dependent body in the univerſe, we are totally incapacitated to improve thoſe advantages which reſulted from our ſeparate ſtate of exiſtence.—But we cannot expect national proſperity, ſo long as fraud and injuſtice are ſupported by the ſanction of public bodies.---God forbid, that this charge ſhould be applicable to all the legiſlatures of the ſtates!—I ſhall only take the liberty of ſtating facts, and conſcience will take the liberty of making the application.

It is an agreed point, that the officers and ſoldiers of the late army, juſtly merited the applauſes, gratitude, and generous reward of their country. Their bravery was indeed applauded, and ſome of us poſſeſſed grateful hearts towards them:—But did we give them that ample recompence which their noble ſervices deſerved?—Juſtice ſays, no—honor and honeſty ſay, no—and nothing ſtrange, if the ghoſts of thoſe departed heroes, who fell gloriouſly in the cauſe of liberty, the cries and diſtreſſes of whoſe helpleſs children, and diſconſolate widows, have already entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, ſhould ariſe, and alſo ſay, no.——We may plead our poverty, we may attempt an extenuation of our conduct, but the fact ſtands recorded againſt us, in the regiſter of our national iniquities.—Our refuſing, or neglecting to pay the.

the public ſecurities, according to their nominal value, is impiouſly unjuſt. The great argument for annihilating or ſcaling thoſe ſecurities, is, that they have been exchanged at a diſcount of 50 or 75 per cent.—I aſk, does this circumſtance invalidate the obligation on the part of government? A full conſideration has been received—a ſolemn promiſe has been made—a ſacred obligation has been executed—Has this obligation been cancelled?—Has the other party conſented to any alteration from the original ſtipulation? No---Then the public are bound to pay it to the uttermoſt farthing; unleſs independence has inverted all our ideas of contracts—unleſs juſtice, when applied to fifty, a hundred, or a nation, and when applied to an individual, is eſſentially diſferent. People, however, never will be reaſoned out of this idea, for they never reaſoned themſelves into it. It was "conceived in ſin, and brought forth in iniquity." If we have any regard to morality or religion, we never ſhall, by a ſtretch of unwarrantable power, nullify paſt contracts.---Should I ever ſee ſuch manifeſt iniquity practiſed ſo openly, I ſhould conſider the nation on the verge of deſtruction.---How could we expect honeſty among individuals, if fraud were thus ſanctified by thoſe who ought to be paterns of all that is worthy of imitation! And yet, is not this the caſe?---is not a procraſtination of payment---is not a neglect in attempting to pay what is due, as diſhoneſt as refuſing to pay at all; and are we not chargeable with both?——And yet, by no means would I wiſh to ſee the poor oppreſſed, or induſtry checked. If our inability prevent at preſent, let us exhibit a diſpoſition

poſition of honeſty, and our creditors will patiently wait.---If, however, there is not a ſufficiency of property in the country, I would project a plan to acquire it.---Let us repeal all the laws againſt the African ſlave trade, and undertake the truely benevolent and humane merchandize of importing Negroes to chriſtianize them. This has been practiſed by individuals among us, and they have found it a lucrative branch of buſineſs. Let us then make a national matter of it.--- We ſhould have the ſublime ſatisfaction of enriching ourſelves, and at the ſame time rendering happy, thouſands of thoſe blacks, by inſtructing them in the ways of religion.---This would be no innovation.---This country permitted it for many years, among their other acts of juſtice; but their refuſing to pay ſacred and ſolemn obligations, is not of ſo long a ſtanding.

The war from which we have ſo lately been extricated, alſo, neceſſarily brought on a long train of evils. It vitiated the morals of the people at large.---It deſtroyed that virtue which is ſo eſſentially neceſſary to a popular government.---It introduced luxury, that bane of civil ſociety.— It drained us of our wealth, and left us as ſome convulſive and racking malady frequently leaves the human conſtitution.

Many thouſands of our inhabitants had been employed in the various departments of the army and navy—ſome indeed returned to plentiful fortunes—ſome to peaceful induſtry.—Yet, many, deſtitute of property, and the means of acquiring it, could only think of ſupporting themſelves by the ſweat of the brow.—This idea was intolerable.

able.—It led them to deſpiſe their country, diſpoſſeſſed them of their patriotic ſentiments, and fitted them to ſow the ſeeds of civil diſcord;—others had thro' the war, aggrandized themſelves by the fluctuating ſtate of property, and rioted upon fortunes acquired by a ſingle exertion, or a fortuitous concurrence of circumſtances.—Theſe ſoon found the ſcene changed, and that an induſtrious purſuit of ſome conſtant employment would alone ſupport them. This they could not ſubmit to, and aſcribed the declenſion of their fortunes to the badneſs of the times, ſcarcity of caſh, and a thouſand other cauſes.

The alarming ſtate of our finances, compelled the legiſlature to lay heavy taxes.---This cauſed the moſt bitter complaints.---They parted with their property with the utmoſt reluctance. Is this liberty—is this independence, ſay they—How preferable the years of 1772 or 73!---We were told during the ſtruggle for freedom, of happy days--of a quiet enjoyment of our poſſeſſions--of "ſitting under our own vines and fig-trees—But how different the ſituation!——

Thus have ariſen contentions and civil diſcord in almoſt every ſtate in the union.---Maſſachuſetts has long been torn with inteſtine factions, and their government almoſt proſtrated by a deſpicable banditti. This ſtate has not yet experienced a civil war.---We are, however, very contented, while New-York is rioting on thouſands, annually drained from our coffers.--Rhode-Iſland has acted a part, which would cauſe the ſavages of the wilderneſs to bluſh.---Fraud and injuſtice there, ſtalk openly.---Nay, they enter their legiſlative

lative bodies, and are there fondly fostered and cherished.---Witness their whole system of public proceedings for twelve months past.---That little state is an unruly member of the political body, and is a reproach and bye-word among all her acquaintance.

In short, the whole nation is now languishing under all those evils which have originated in consequence of systems of wretched policy---flagrant acts of injustice, and an impoverishing war.——The whole political frame is convulsed and threatned, from external attacks, and its own natural imbecility, with an immediate dissolution.

The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us.---Their writers and orators, who extolled our success, and predicted our future greatness, now laugh at our folly---burlesque our policy, and contemn our dishonesty. They respect us for what we have been---admire us for what we might be, but despise us for what we are.

A Shays, an ignoble contemptible Shays, without abilities, without influence, has, for a while, prostrated government, in the three western counties of Massachusetts. And what if a greater than Shays, a CROMWELL or a CÆSAR should arise;--where are our bulwarks against the attack? If we look up to congress, they are chained and fettered in impotency.---If to foreign nations---they will retort with propriety, Where is your gratitude, for past favours, and your recompence for past services?---Where is your faith and honor in discharging obligations for money generously loaned you when in the deepest distress?---

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If we invoke the assistance of our countrymen, we shall call in vain.---Patriotism is fled.---The days of 1775, we cannot recall.---We cannot inspire our citizens with that disinterested love of their country, which caused them to encounter imprisonment,---exile,---slavery and death.---If we appeal to heaven---the cries of the widow and orphan, whom we have wickedly robbed, have already entered there, and called for vengeance! Will not then the righteous Lord, who loveth righteousness, "laugh at our calamity, and mock when our fear cometh?"---Shall then some insinuating courtier, or some formidable desperado, blast the hopes of this young empire? Shall they here erect a tyranny or a despotism more to be dreaded than death, in her most hideous forms? Was it for this, COLUMBUS to explore this new world, surmounted every obstacle,---braved death, in ten thousand different shapes, and finally expired in reproach and contempt? Was it for this, our venerable ancestors left their native country, and in defiance of millions of savages, and in hazard of every earthly pleasure, in a desert wilderness, layed the foundation of this empire? Was it for this, the brave sons of Mars, made that memorable opposition to our assailants, at Lexington? Was it for this, the immortal WASHINGTON quitted the enchating scenes of domestic felicity and by a series of military atchievements, equal to those of any hero of ancient or modern days, rescued us from that destruction with which we were threatened? Was it for this, that the brave, the heroic MONTGOMERY, nobly fell a martyr to liberty, before the walls of Quebec? Was it for this, that illustrious BODY OF SAGES,

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at Philadelphia, in defiance of British menaces, declared us INDEPENDENT, and nobly fixed their names to the declaration? Was it for this, we exulted in the reduction of Burgoyne and Cornwallis, those signal victories, which prostrated the exalted hopes of our haughty foes? Was it for this, we saw thousands of our youth, the hopes of their parents and their country, boldly embrace death? Was it for this, we saw whole villages sacked, beautiful towns laid in ashes, and almost whole states depopulated? Was it for this, we waded thro' seas of blood, to establish ourselves in that peace, and independence which promised us lasting honor and immortal felicity? Was all this done, I say, were we thus elevated to a summit of glory, which was the envy of all the empires of the world, only that we might exhibit a more complete scene of wretchedness and misery, and finally sink deeper in infamy and contempt? Forbid it heaven! Forbid it, oh my country!

From this melancholy picture of our political affairs, let us turn aside, and enquire, if there is not ample ground for joy and festivity, even on *this* day.--We have heretofore seen many gloomy days.---Our ears have heard the din of war, and sound of arms.--Ye parents, how often have your tender children been wrested from you, and exposed to death in the field of battle!--How often have we in this city, been filled with dismay, at the approach of our merciless adversaries! Do you recollect, my fellow citizens, the memorable 5th of July 1779, when the British troops made a descent on this beautiful town?---Did the bells ever convey such melancholy tidings, as when they rang the alarm of that inauspicious morning?---

Did the thunder of cannon ever appear with ſuch awful ſolemnity ?--Do you recollect the confuſion which every where appeared ?--Do you recollect ſeeing here and there, a weeping mother, with her diſhevelled locks, wringing her hands, and enquiring with anxious ſolicitude, for the partner of her boſom, or the dear ſon of her delight ?--Do you recollect, you, who boldly went forth to oppoſe the enemy, with what heart-felt anxiety you looked back upon your peaceful habitations, your tender children, and your fond wives---doubtful whether you ſhould ever return to them ? And ye, my venerable fathers, do you recollect how you beheld your numerous progeny, and with parental fondneſs wept over them ?--There the unrelenting foe, with more than helliſh malice, aſſaulted a venerable, a reſpectable old man, plunged a poignant dagger in his body, and left him languiſhing, and languiſhing he died !--Here one of your neighbours was in a moment ſtruck dead !--and yonder you ſaw one, whom you had long known, weltering in his blood, till his agonizing ſtruggles had ſtretched him a breathleſs corps !---Such ſcenes we have beheld, and ſuch have been realized in many other towns.---Nay, how often have theſe ſtates been on the verge of deſtruction ! Yet we have riſen ſuperior to all theſe embarraſſments !---We have once beheld ourſelves the conquerors of a moſt powerful kingdom ! Has not then America ever been the peculiar favourite of heaven ?--and may we not, by an alliance in the ſame protecting hand, ſtill be a happy people ?---We have an extenſive country, which emboſoms an unfailing ſource of wealth. We have a climate peculiarly ſalubrious, and admirably

mirably calculated to the rapid population of our territory.---We have men, juſtly ſignalized for their literary, political and theological knowledge. The arts and ſciences have here made a moſt ſurpriſing progreſs.---Their votaries and patrons are numerous.--Great encou. gements ar- given to improvements in agriculture and manufactures, thoſe ſure mines of riches.---It affords the higheſt pleaſure to the friends of theſe ſtates, that at this alarming criſis, induſtry is ſo viſible.—It was urged not long ago, by many, that ſo long as we could purchaſe foreign commodities, cheaper than we could make them, we might neglect manufactures; but the abſurdity of this idea is too apparent to need an illuſtration.---By importing the articles of our own conſumption, we at the ſame time put an effectual check upon induſtry, and drain ourſelves of caſh.---Manufactures however, have certainly become an object of much more attention than three years ago; and if I am rightly informed, in this ſtate, and many others of the union, the earth never wore ſo many marks of cultivation, as at preſent.---Sad experience has convicted us of this truth, that the ſources whence we muſt derive our affluence, are within our own country.

Œconomy in our domeſtic concerns, muſt be conſidered as an important matter. The community is compoſed of individuals--by their joint exertions it is maintained.

Theſe objects ſhould claim the particular attention of the ladies. You, my *fair friends*, are poſſeſſed of a kind of magical influence over the other ſex. Let thoſe who are ſo very complaiſant as to wait on you in the morning, and enquire with earneſt ſolicitude

-licitude after your health, find you employed in graceful induſtry, and they will go and do likewiſe--they will call at a more leiſure hour.—You can eſtabliſh faſhions, or deſtroy them, by a ſingle ſmile or a frown. It is with you to promote œconomy and induſtry, or luxury and extravagance at your pleaſure.—By attending to the former, you will yield an eſſential ſervice to your country—by doing the latter--you will become partners in the guilt incurred by its deſtruction.—You will not heſitate to exert yourſelves, for the happineſs of an empire which owes its exiſtence to one of your ſiſters.—It was thro' the influence, the generous influence of ISABELLA, queen of Spain, that America was ever diſcovered.—You will feel a peculiar pleaſure in cheriſhing and foſtering the child of ſo memorable a female perſonage.

That fire of patriotiſm, ſo neceſſary for the accompliſhment of worthy and illuſtrious actions, muſt reanimate our breaſts.—While the intereſts of our country are ſecondary objects with us, our exertions for its welfare, will be feeble and fruitleſs.—If we have a fortune in view—If we are in the purſuit of the gratification of ſome favorite paſſion, our whole ſoul is engaged---the ſprings of action are all in motion, and the whole man appears.—But we have acquiſitions worth ten thouſand fortunes to protect,--we have the intereſts of millions to ſecure.—We have an empire to reſcue from approaching diſſolution; and can we be unconcerned? Can we be inactive?

Our national character muſt be freed from that reproach with which it ſtands juſtly charged. Faith and honor will ſufficiently arm us againſt every em-

embarraſſment ariſing from poverty.---If a man once eſtabliſhes a character for integrity, he remains unſhaken tho' misfortune takes him for her own.——His reputation is an exhauſtleſs fortune.—The ſame obſervation will equally well apply to ſtates or kingdoms.—Great-Britan cannot pay half her debts in caſh; yet ſhe has a credit ſufficient to diſcharge the whole.——

We muſt conſent to a change of government.—Whether this change ſhall be partial or general, is not for me to ſay.—A more energetic, a more coercive power than at preſent is felt, muſt be veſted in ſome public body.—This matter is ſubmitted to a convention of the ſtates, now ſitting at Philadelphia. The unanimity of the ſtates, in chooſing delegates to this convention, is a forcible argument of the full conviction that the people feel of the weakneſs of the preſent ſyſtem.—This meaſure has juſtly exalted the hopes of every patriot.——A meaſure from which we have nothing to fear, but every thing to hope.—At their head, ſits the illuſtrious WASHINGTON, in deſcription of whoſe finiſhed and complete character, language fails.——There is FRANKLIN, whoſe penetrating mind, looks thro' all the works of nature.—There are GERRY, SHERMAN, MORRIS, CLYMER, WILSON, READ and WYTHE, who made a declaration of that independence which we this day celebrate, and whoſe fame is coeval with our national importance.—Why need I particularize any?—Such a band of venerable perſonages, baffle all deſcription!—Yet I muſt not omit to congratulate Connecticut on the happy choice of her members.—This ſtate can boaſt of many worthy characters, and we are peculiarly

ly happy in our repreſentation in this great council of the ſtates.'

There is the collected wiſdom of the community.—There is virtue enough to incline them, and knowledge enough to direct them to adopt a ſyſtem calculated to make us a happy people.—— Could we once ſee a government firmly eſtabliſhed over us, which ſhould adapt itſelf to the genius, manners, cuſtoms and peculiar ſituation of this country, we might bid defiance to the malice of our enemies!—It is impoſſible for ſocieties to exiſt without an energetic, coercive power; and the ſame principle which induced men, while in a ſtate of nature, to enter into compacts, will ſoon compel theſe ſtates to a change of government.—— Shall we then ſuffer this change to be effected by our fellow citizens, by thoſe who are with us, to enjoy the felicity of a well regulated ſociety, or with us to experience the horrors of anarchy? Or ſhall we ſubmit this alteration to capricious fortune?—We cannot heſitate in determining this queſtion, unleſs we are ſtupidly inattentive to our own happineſs, and criminally negligent of the intereſts of unborn millions.

Whether we of this age ſhall ſee the preſent commotions quelled--the preſent diſcordant ſentiments and intereſts reconciled, and peace and tranquility eſtabliſhed, I do not pretend to ſay.--Yet the whole hiſtory of this country deſtines it for future greatneſs.—Nay, at this period, is there any part of the world where happineſs is ſo generally diffuſed as in theſe ſtates?—We have wantonly ſported with privileges of ineſtimable value—we have richly deſerved every national calamity, and our

political

political affairs wear a gloomy aſpect.—Yet point me to a ſpot on this globe, where the whole body of the people enjoy ſo much proſperity as the inhabitants of this empire!—England may juſtly pride herſelf upon a moſt excellent conſtitution; we may alſo hear of the parade, brilliancy, and grandeur of her nobility: But where is that equal diſtribution of property, and that general diffuſion of knowledge which ſo effectually prevent oppreſſion and ſlavery? The plodding induſtry of Holland, ſecures them a reputable ſtation among the European nations; while the French are juſtly admired for that politeneſs of manners, and brilliancy of genius which is ſo characteriſtic of them. Indolence and haughtineſs are cardinal virtues in Spain; and miſery and wretchedneſs are pictureſque of Ireland.—Look through all Europe, which is juſtly called the moſt civilized part of the world, and where is the kingdom whoſe ſituation we ought to envy?—But extend your views to the wilds of Africa—there behold millions of ſavages, who only vegetate---plunged in ignorance and barbarity--ſunk in the moſt abject ſervitude, they apparently exiſt but to be miſerable.—Traverſe the immenſe region of Aſia--ſee the pomp of an Aſiatic deſpot—ſee him ſporting with the liberties and lives of his ſubjects—a ſtranger to every tender feeling of the ſoul—he only lives to exhibit the wickedneſs of his nature.—There is a quarter of the world, which contains five hundred millions of inhabitants. Aſia, tho' once the nurſe of the world---tho' it contained the garden of Eden, and tho' there were the moſt magnificent diſplays of divine wiſdom, is now buried in luxury--in the moſt groſs ſuper-

ſtition

ſtition and idolatry.——The fragrancy of their ſpices, their coſtly gems and the magnificence of their monarchs, ſcarcely deſerve to be noticed, when we contemplate five hundred millions of immortal minds uncultivated, depreſſed and enervated; yet capable of ceaſeleſs expanſion; capable of ſucceſſive improvements in felicity thro' millions of ages!——

If then, as a nation, we are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed—if nature has been ſo peculiarly laviſh in beſtowing her gifts upon us; with what elevation of mind ought we to reflect on that important tranſaction, by which we become an INDEPENDENT EMPIRE!——

This event, and the ſubſequent revolution, have already diſſeminated much uſeful knowledge thro' the world.—Hence have originated juſt ideas reſpecting the rights of human nature; the ignorance of which, hitherto, has enſlaved three quarters of mankind.—Our independence, if rightly improved, will afford much felicity to individuals, and greatly dignify this young empire.——Millions yet unborn, ſhall celebrate this event.—The pleaſing ſtory ſhall be handed down from generation to generation, and future ages ſhall riſe up, and for this tranſaction, call us bleſſed. In view of ſuch a glorious revolution as we have accompliſhed—in view of ſuch a valuable country as we poſſeſs—in view of ſuch ſcenes of magnificence as may hereafter be realized, and of ſuch happineſs as we now enjoy, let us unite in the innocent feſtivity of this day:—Let us cordially join in all laudable exertions for the glory of America, and in love and gratitude to HIM, who is the ſource of all felicity.

22. Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth to Governor Samuel Huntington, New London, 26 September 1787.

RARE AMERICAN HISTORICAL AUTOGRAPHS

AND A FEW VERY RARE BOOKS

Including

A COMPLETE SET OF THE SIGNERS
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
TWENTY-SIX DATED 1776

SET OF PRESIDENTIAL AUTOGRAPHS • AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR HEROES • THE FOUR FOLIO EDITIONS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE • FIRST ISSUE OF LEAVES OF GRASS • FIRST EDITION OF RUBAIYAT

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(PART ONE)

Monday, February 17, 1947

AT 2 P.M. AND 8 P.M.

At the Art Galleries of

SAMUEL T. FREEMAN & CO.

Auctioneers

1808-10 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA.

SHERMAN SENDS A PRINTED COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION

[45] SHERMAN, ROGER. (1721-1793. Judge, M. O. C., signer Articles of Confederation and Declaration of Independence. Federal Convention, Member of the Committee of five which drew up the Declaration of Independence, U. S. Congressman and U. S. Senator.)

A.L.S., 1¾ pp., folio (also signed by Oliver Ellsworth), New London, 26th Sept., 1787 to his Excellency Governor Huntington.

The recipient of this letter, Governor Huntington of Connecticut, was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Sherman was both a signer of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

"We have the honor to transmit to your Excellency a printed copy of the Constitution formed by the federal convention, to be laid before the legislature of the State.

[Continued

Number 45—Concluded]

"The general principles which governed the convention in their deliberations on the subject are stated in their letter addressed to Congress.

"We think it may be of use to make some further observations on particular parts of the constitution.

"The congress is differently organized, yet the whole number of members, and this State's proportion of Suffrage, remain the same as before. the equal representation of the States in the senate, and the voice of that branch in the appointment to offices, will secure the rights of the lesser as well as the greater states; some additional powers are vested in Congress, which was the principal object that the states had in view in appointing the convention; those powers extend only to matters respecting the common interest of the union, and are specially defined, so that the particular states retain their sovereignty in all other matters. The objects for which congress may apply monies are the same mentioned in the eight article of the confederation, viz. for the common defence and general welfare, and for payment of the debts incurred for those purposes. It is probable that the principal branch of revenue will be duties on imports, what may be necessary to be raised by direct taxation is to be apportioned on the several states according to the numbers of their inhabitants, and altho congress may raise the money by their own authority, if necessary; yet that authority need not be exercised if each state will furnish its quota. The restraint on the legislatures of the several states respecting emitting bills of credit, making any thing but money a tender in payment of debts and impairing the obligation of contracts by ex-post facto laws, was thought necessary as a security to commerce, in which the interest of foreigners as well as the citizens of different states may be affected. The convention endeavored to provide for the energy of government on the one hand, and suitable checks on the other hand to secure the rights of the particular States, and the liberties and properties of the Citizens. We wish it may meet the approbation of the several states, and be a means of securing their rights and lengthening out their tranquility. . . ."

[See illustration]

of the several States respecting emitting bills of credit, making any thing but money a tender in payment of debts, impairing the obligation of contracts by ex-post facto laws, was thought necessary as a security to commerce, in which the interest of foreigners as well as the citizens of different States may be affected.

The convention endeavoured to provide for the energy of government on the one hand, and suitable checks on the other hand to secure the rights of the particular States, and the liberties and properties of the citizens. We wish it may meet the approbation of the several States, and be a means of securing their rights and lengthening out their tranquility.

With great respect

We are, &c.

Your Excellencys

Obedient humble servants

Roger Sherman

Oliver Ellsworth

His Excellency Governor Huntington.

[NUMBER 45]

33

28. Resolutions Calling the State Convention, 16–17 October 1787.[1]

The United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1787.

PRESENT——New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, and from Maryland Mr. Ruſh.

Congreſs having received the Report of the Convention lately aſſembled in Philadelphia,

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

THAT the ſaid Report, with the reſolutions and letter accompanying the ſame, be tranſmitted to the ſeveral Legiſlatures, in order to be ſubmitted to a convention of delegates, choſen in each State by the People thereof, in conformity to the reſolves of the convention, made and provided in that caſe. CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

At a General Aſſembly of the State of Connecticut, in America, holden at New-Haven, in ſaid State, on the ſecond Thurſday of October, Anno Domini 1787.

WHEREAS the Convention of delegates from the United States, lately aſſembled in the city of Philadelphia, have reported a Conſtitution for ſaid States, to 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;

AND WHEREAS the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, have unanimouſly reſolved, that ſaid Conſtitution, with the reſolutions and letter accompanying the ſame, be tranſmitted to the ſeveral Legiſlatures, in order to be ſubmitted to a Convention of delegates, choſen in each State by the people thereof, in conformity to the reſolves of the Convention, made and provided in that caſe;

RESOLVED by this Aſſembly, that it be, and hereby is recommended, to the people of the ſeveral towns of this State, who are qualified by law to vote in Town-Meetings, to meet on the ſecond Monday of November next (at their uſual place of holding Town-Meetings) and chooſe delegates to meet in a Convention, for the purpoſes mentioned in the aforeſaid reſolves of Convention and Congreſs. And that each town in this State chooſe by ballot the ſame number of delegates to attend the Convention aforeſaid, which they have now a right by law to chooſe for repreſentatives in the General Aſſembly; and the Towns of Colebrook and Barkhamſtead, which are not repreſented in the General Aſſembly, chooſe each of them one delegate to attend ſaid Convention: and that the ſaid delegates who attend the ſaid Convention, ſhall be allowed the ſame ſum for their travel to, and attendance in ſaid Convention, as the repreſentatives in the General Aſſembly are entitled to, and may make up their debenture, and receive the ſame from the Treaſurer accordingly.

AND it is further Reſolved, that the delegates ſo choſen aſſemble on the *Firſt Thurſday* in JANUARY next, in the City of HARTFORD; and when ſo aſſembled, that they chooſe a Preſident and Secretary for the ſaid Convention; and it ſhall be the duty of the Select Men in the ſeveral Towns, to warn the voters of their reſpective Towns, to meet on the ſaid ſecond Monday of November next, for the purpoſe of chooſing ſuch Delegates; And that ſuch Meeting ſhall be under the ſame regulations, as other Town Meetings are by law; and that the certificates of the choice of delegates in the reſpective Towns, ſhall be made by the Town-Clerks in ſuch Towns.

AND that the Sheriff of the County of Hartford be, and he is hereby directed, to make proviſion for the ſaid Convention in the ſame manner, as for the General Aſſembly when ſitting, and his account being allowed by ſaid Convention, ſhall be paid by the Treaſurer of this State.

A true Copy of Record,

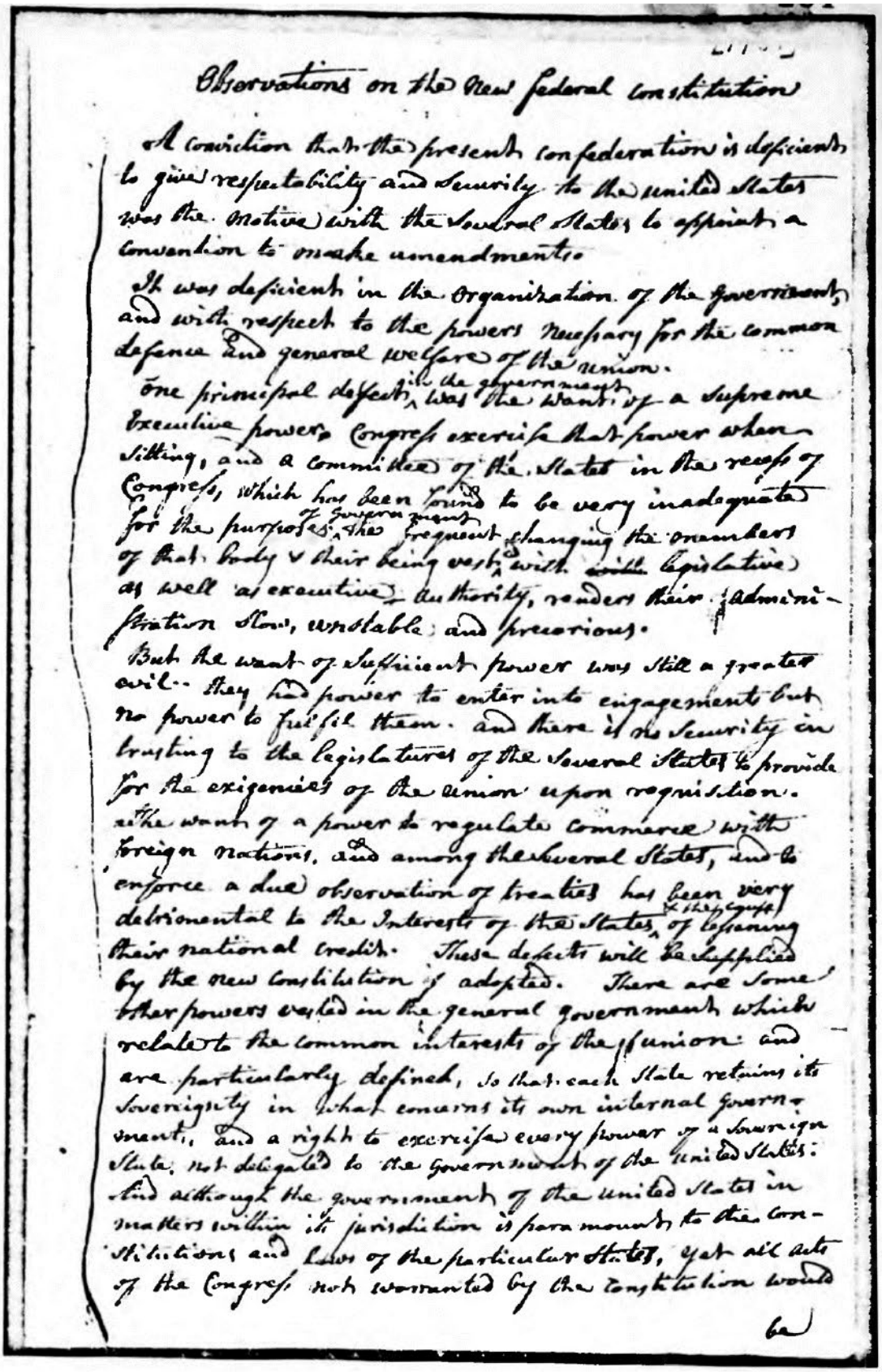
Examined by

GEORGE WYLLYS, Secretary.

NEW-HAVEN: Printed by J. MEIGS.

1. Broadside, Connecticut Broadsides, Miscellaneous Acts and Orders, Vol. I, 1775–1808, p. 27, Connecticut State Library.

63. Roger Sherman, Observations on the New Federal Constitution, [7 January 1788].[1]



Observations on the New federal constitution

A conviction that the present confederation is deficient to give respectability and security to the united States was the motive with the Several States to appoint a Convention to make amendments

It was deficient in the organization of the government and with respect to the powers necessary for the common defence and general welfare of the union.

One principal defect in the government was the want of a Supreme Executive power. Congress exercise that power when sitting, and a committee of the States in the recess of Congress, which has been found to be very inadequate for the purposes of government the frequent changing the members of that body & their being vested with both Legislative as well as executive authority, renders their administration slow, unstable and precarious.

But the want of sufficient power was still a greater evil. they had power to enter into engagements but no power to fulfil them. and there is no security in trusting to the legislatures of the Several States to provide for the exigencies of the union upon requisition.

the want of a power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the Several States, and to enforce a due observation of treaties has been very detrimental to the Interests of the States, & the cause of lessening their national credit. These defects will be supplied by the new Constitution if adopted. There are some other powers vested in the general government which relate to the common interests of the union and are particularly defined, so that each State retains its Sovereignty in what concerns its own internal government, and a right to exercise every power of a Sovereign State, not delegated to the Government of the United States. And although the government of the United States in matters within its jurisdiction is paramount to the Constitutions and Laws of the particular States, yet all acts of the Congress not warranted by the Constitution would

be

1. MS, Roger Sherman Collection, Division of Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University. Parts of this item were published in the *Connecticut Courant* on 7 January 1788 under the pseudonym "A Citizen of New Haven."

be void, nor could they be enforced contrary to the sense of a Majority of the States. — When the general government acts within its proper jurisdiction it will be the interest of the legislatures of the several States to support it, and they will be a check sufficiently powerful to prevent unconstitutional encroachments on the rights & privileges of the particular States. but the jurisdiction of each will be so easily distinguished that there will be no great danger of interference.

In order to a well regulated government the legislature should be properly constituted, and vested with plenary powers for all the purposes for which it is instituted, to be exercised for the public good as occasion may require.

The greatest possible security that a people can have for the enjoyment of their civil rights and liberties, is that no laws can be made to bind them or taxes be imposed on them without their consent by representatives of their own chusing — this was the great point contended for in our controversy with Great Britain, and this will be fully secured to us under the new constitution.

The rights of the people will be secured by a representation in proportion to their numbers in one branch of the congress, and the rights of the several states by their equal representation in the other branch.

This will be a much greater security than a declaration of rights or restraining clauses on paper. —

A further security will be that the representatives, & the people they represent, will have one common interest, and will participate in the benefits and burthens of the ~~enactments~~ public measures.

The Presidents and Vice Presidents as well as the members of Congress thus chosen for fixed periods will be re eligible as often as the Electors shall think proper, which will be a great security for their fidelity in office, and will give much greater stability and energy to governments than an exclusion by rotation. and will always be an operative and ~~perfect~~ effectual security against Arbitrary government either Monarchical or Aristocratic.

There is as much security in the New constitution, as

in

in the present against keeping up standing armies in time of peace, it can't be done without the consent of Congress. with this additional security that it will require the concurrence of two branches, and that no law appropriating money for that purpose can be in force for more two years.

The liberty of the Press not being ~~not being~~ under the regulation of Congress will be in no danger. There are but few powers vested in the new govern-ment but what the present Congress have power to do or require to be done. The new powers are To regulate Commerce, provide for a uniform practice with respect to naturalization, Bankruptcies, and form-ing and training the Militia ~~under the government of the particular States~~ and for the punishment of certain crimes against the united States, and for promoting the progress of science in the mode therein pointed out. These appear to be necessary for the common benefit of the union and can't be effectually provided for by the par-ticular States therefore the objection that the convention exceeded the authority given by the States is groundless, for though they have ~~by~~ formed a new Instrument including the former, and additional powers, yet it is no more than an amendment of the present constitution in those matters wherein it was really deficient.

The objects of expenditure are the same as under the present constitution, and why should this sytem be more expensive than the present? The number of the members of Congress is the same -- that number may be increased with the increase of the people, but then it is probable that the wealth of the States will be proportionably increased.

The executive is vested in a single person, whose support will not probably exceed the present allowance to the President of Congress and the pay of a committee of the States. The subordinate officers need not be more numerous, nor have larger salaries than at present. the expence of collecting the impost will be transferred from the particular States to the united States but need not be greater than at present.* —— The principal sources of revenue will be imposts on goods imported, and sale of the western —

Congress, or the Senate need not have long [illegible]

Lands

lands which probably will be sufficient to pay the
debts & expenses of the united States if properly managed,
so long as peace continues; but should there be occasion
to resort to direct taxation, each States quota will
be ascertained according to a rule which has been ap-
proved by eleven of the States, and should any State neg-
lect to furnish its quota, Congress may raise it by a tax
in the same manner as the State ought to have done;
and what remedy more easy and equitable could be devised
to obtain the supplies from a delinquent State?
Some have objected that the representation will be inadequate,
but the States have never thought fit to keep up the full re-
presentation they are intitled to in Congress. and what pos-
sible advantage can it be to have a very large assembly to
transact the few general matters that will come under the
direction of Congress, sufficient information may be had
from the legislatures of the several States in all matters
that the members of Congress are not personally acquainted with.
The regulating the time place & mode of elections seems
to be as well secured as possible, the Legislature of each
State may do it, & if they neglect to do it properly, it may
be done by Congress. and what possible motives can either
have to injure the people in the exercise of that right?
The qualifications of the electors will remain as fixed by
the constitutions or laws of the several States.
The power of the President to grant pardons extends only to
offences against the united States, with exception of impeachments
which is a sufficient security for seclusion of offenders from
offices; therefore no great mischief can be apprehended from
that quarter. — The partial negative of the President upon
the acts of Congress and the requiring a concurrence of two thirds
may be very useful to prevent laws being passed without
mature deliberation. — The vice President while he
acts as President of the Senate will have nothing to do
in the executive department. his being elected by the
suffrage of all the States will incline him to regard equally
the Interests of all — and when the members of the Senate
are equally divided on a question, who so proper to give
a casting voice, as one who represents all the States.

69. Glorious News, New Haven, 10 January 1788.[1]

Glorious News.

New-Haven, January 10th.

The following was receive d laſt Night, at half paſt Ten o'Clock.

Hartford, Jan. 9, 5 o'clock, 30m. P. M.

Dear Sir

We have this moment finiſhed taking the yeas and nays, and by the encloſed copy of the roll of the convention you will learn that there were 128 for, and 39 againſt adopting the Federal conſtitution.

PIERPONT EDWARDS

Mr. Samuel Ruſſel, State-Street.

☞The nays only are marked.

Hartford County.

Hartford, Col. Wadſworth Jeſſe Root.
Berlin, I. Lee, Gen. Hart.
Briſtol, Zebulon Peck.
E. Hartford, Wm. Pitkin, abſent E. Pitkin.
E. Windſor, Eraſtus Wolcott, J, Watſon.
Enfield, D. Perkins, no J. Kingſbury abſent.
Farmington J. Treadwell, Wm. Judd.
Glaſtenbury, J. Moſely W Goodrich.
Granby H. Holcomb no.
Southington J. Curtis A Barns.
Suffield Mr King no D Todd no
Simſbury N Phelps no Daniel Humphreys no
Wethersfield Mr Mitchell Col Cheſter
Windſor O Elſworth R Newbury

New-Haven County.

New-Haven R Sherman P Edwards Branford T Hoadley no Wm Gould no Cheſhire David Brooks no Mr Beach Derby D Holbrook J Holbrook Durham J Wadſworth no D Hall no Eaſt-Haven S Davenport no Guilford A Ward no J Eliot no Hambden Mr Goodyear ablent Milford G Buckingham L Mallet N-Haven D Baſſet no Wallingford Col Hall no Mr Whiting no Waterbury J Hopkins J Welton Woodbridge Mr Oſborn no Mr Newton no

New-London County

New-London R Law A Learned Norwich Gov Huntington J Huntington Boara Iſaac Huntington Colcheſter R Robbins D. Foot Franklin E Hyde Groton Joſ. Woodbridge Mr Billings Lisbon A Lee Lyme M Griſwold eſq. W Noyes Montville J Raymond jun. Preſton J Halſey W Coit Stonington C Phelps N Miner

Fairfield County

J Sturges T Barr Danbury E Whittleſey Mr White Greenwich A Mead J Fitch New-Fairfield N Beardsley. J Potter. Newtown J Chandler J Beach Norwalk H Rogers S C Silliman abſent Redding Levi Lawſon W Heron Ridgefield P B Bradley Nathan Dudley Stamford James Davenport John Davenport Stratford W S Johnſon E Mills

WINDHAM County.

Windham E Dyer, J. Elderkin Aſhford Simeon Simith Hendrick Dow Brookline, S Payn Canterbury A Welton M Cleaveland Hampton Abſent Killingly Sampſon How W Denniſon Lebanon W. Williams E Carpenter no Manſfield C Southwoth no N Atwood no Plainfield T Bradford J Dunlap Pomfret T Randail no S Colton no Thompſon D Learned Voluntown M Campbell B Dow Woodſtock S Payne no T Perrin.

Litchfield. County,

Litchfield O Wolcot J. Strong Berkhamſted T Wilder no Bethlehem M Hawley Canaan C Burrall N Hall Cornwall E Rogers abſent M Patterſon no Goſhen D Miles A Hall Hartland I Burnham J Wilder Harwinton A Wilſon M Prindle Kent J Hubbil New-Hartford A Auſtin T Goodman no New-Milford, S Canfield D Everitt Norfolk A Humphrey no Hoſea Humphrey no Saliſbury H. Fitch Joſeph Porter Sharon J Colman no J Gillit no Southbury B Hinman Torrington E Sheldon E Enos no Warren E Curtis Waſhington J Whitt'eſey D N Brinſmade Watertown T Fenn David Smith Winchester Robert M'Ewen Woodbury D Sherman Mr Orton

Middleſex County

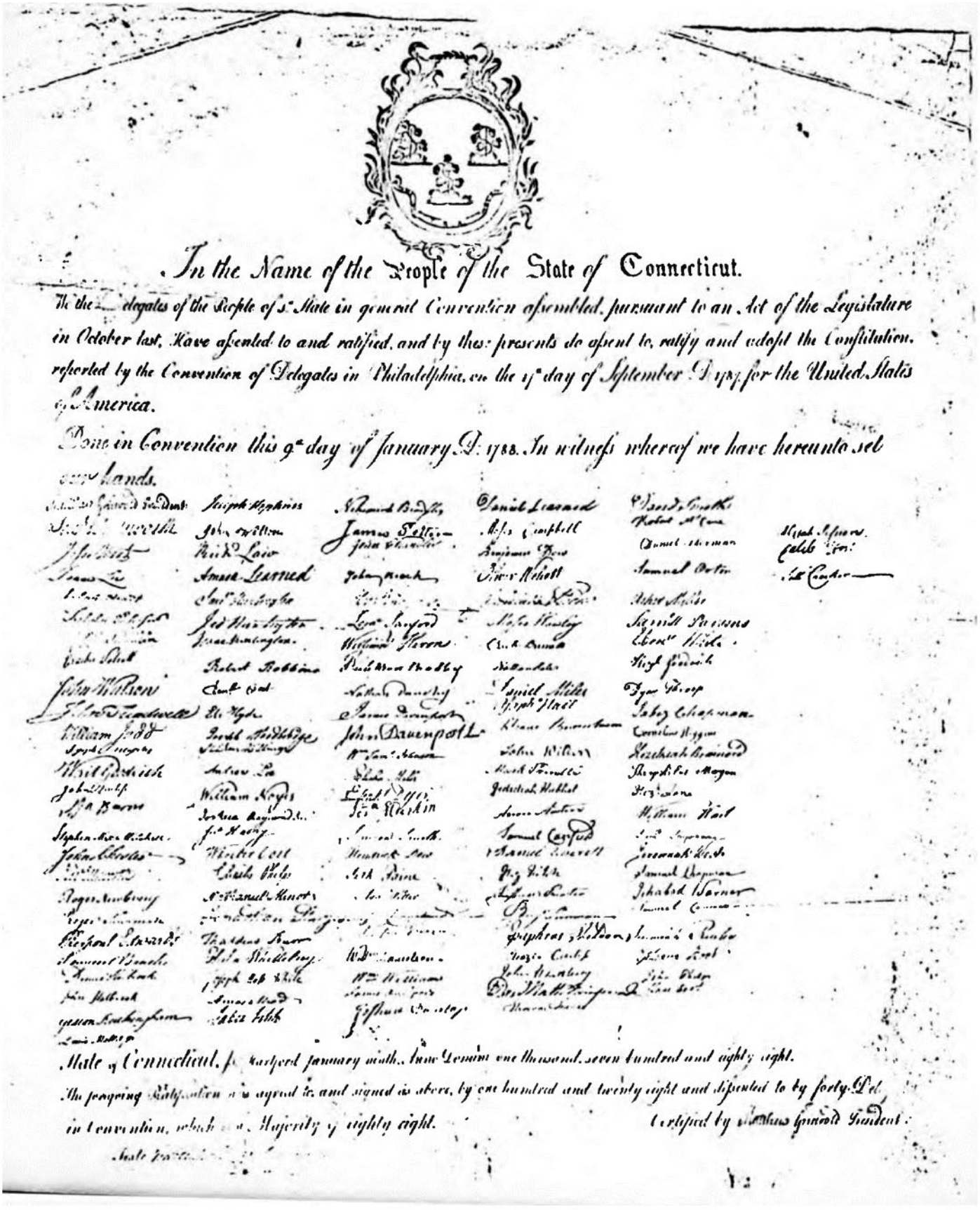
Middletown A Miller General Parſons Chatham E White H Goodrich Eaſt-Haddam Mr Throop J Chapman Haddam C Higgins H Brainard Killingworth T Morgan H Lane Saybrook Mr Hart Mr Shipman

TOLLAND County

Tolland J Weſt Mr. Chapman Bolton I Warner S Carver Coventry T Ripley E Root Ellington E Naſh no Hebron D Ingham no E Marvin no Somers J Pomeroy no A Peaſe no Stafford J Phelps I Root Union Seſſions Willington C Holt Mr Crocker.

1. Broadside, American Broadsides, Bienecke Library, Yale University.

70. Connecticut Form of Ratification, 9 January 1788.[1]



In the Name of the People of the State of Connecticut.

We the Delegates of the People of said State in general Convention assembled, pursuant to an Act of the Legislature in October last, Have assented to and ratified, and by these presents do assent to, ratify and adopt the Constitution, reported by the Convention of Delegates in Philadelphia, on the 17th day of September 1787 for the United States of America.

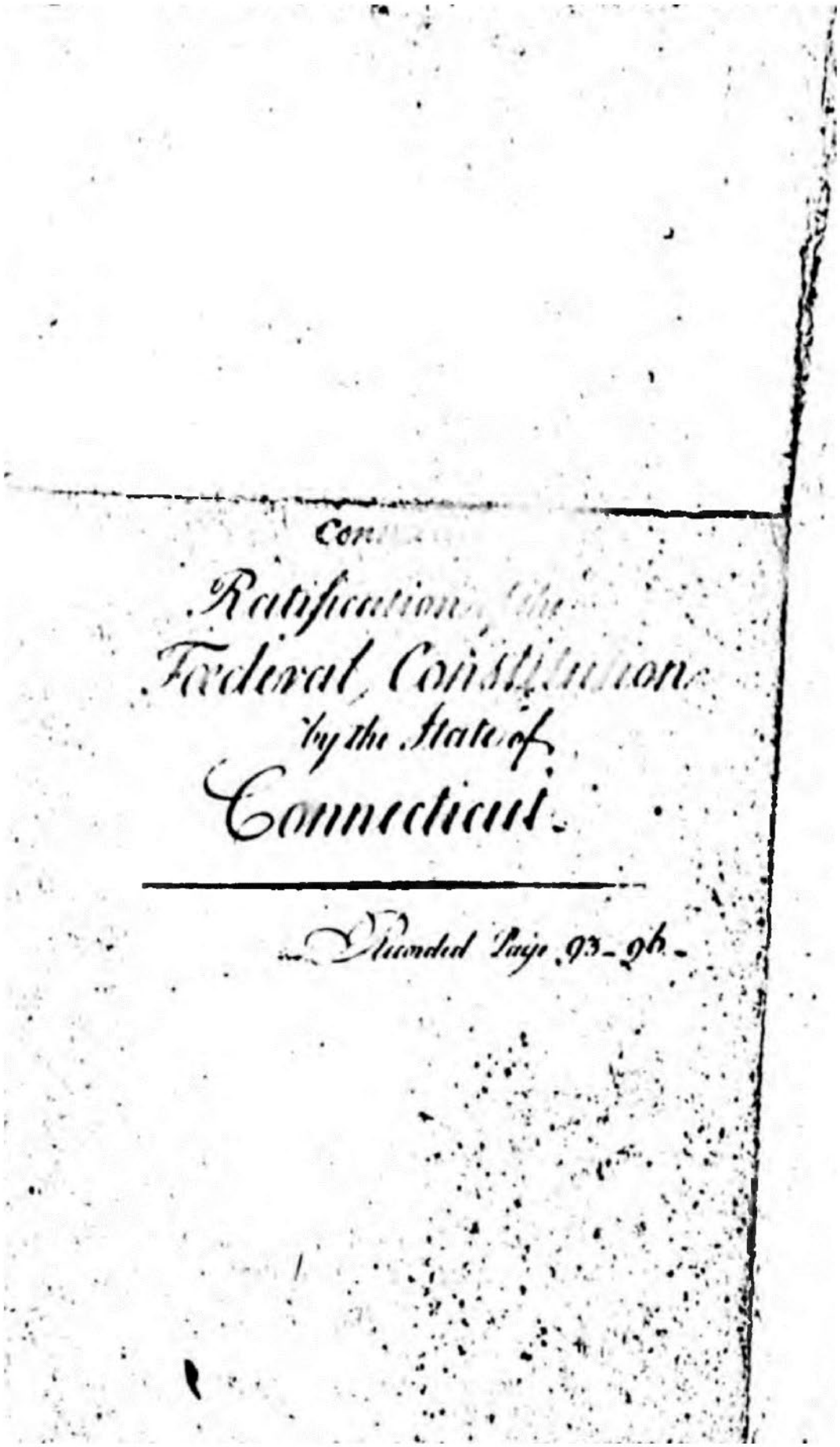
Done in Convention this 9th day of January A.D. 1788. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands.

State of Connecticut, ss. Hartford January ninth, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight.

The foregoing Ratification was agreed to, and signed as above, by one hundred and twenty eight and dissented to by forty Del. in Convention, which was a Majority of eighty eight.

Certified by Thomas Seymour Resident.

1. MS, RG 11, Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights . . . , 1787–92, National Archives.



Con[illegible]

Ratification [illegible]

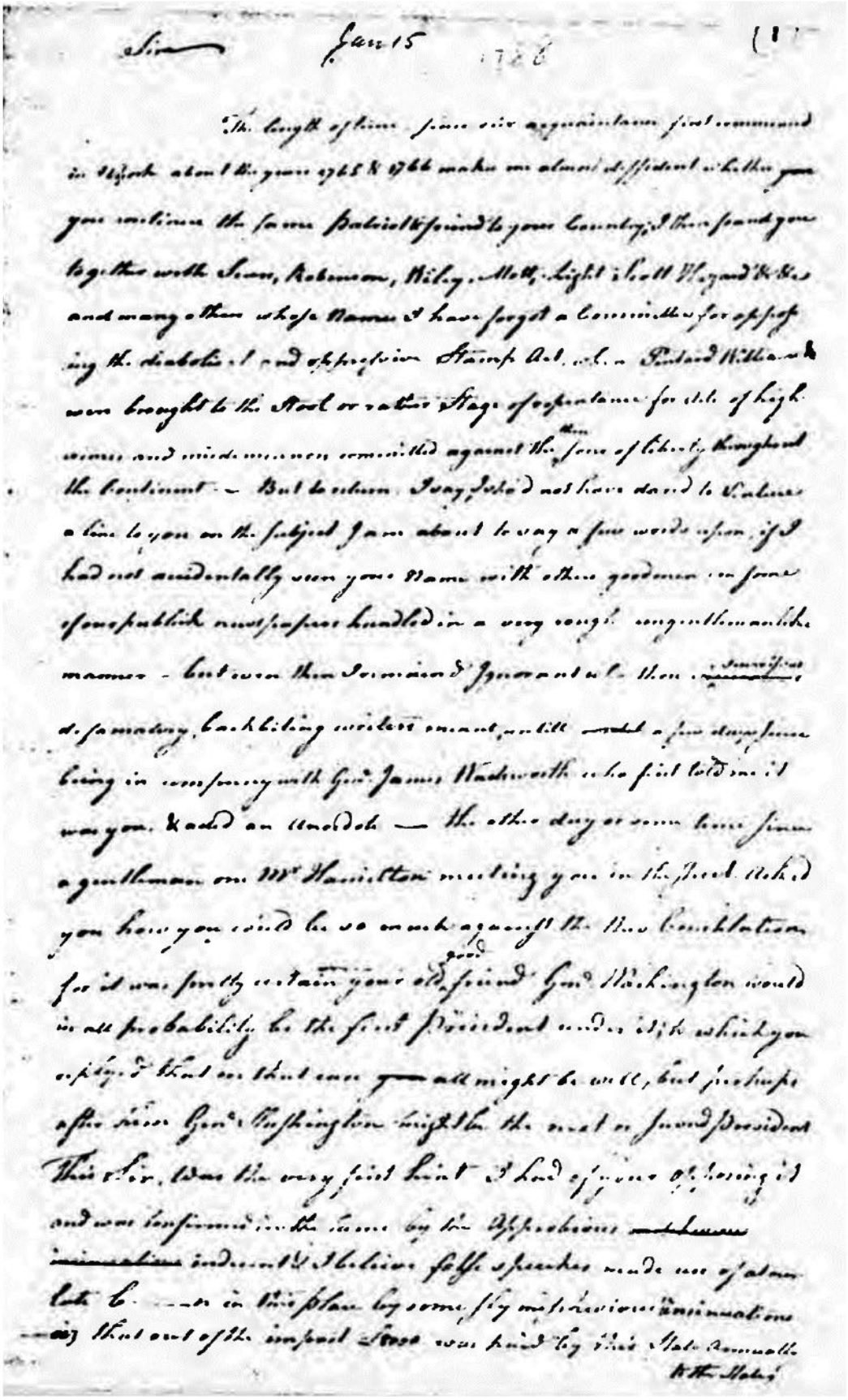
Federal Constitution

by the State of

Connecticut.

Extended Page 93-96.

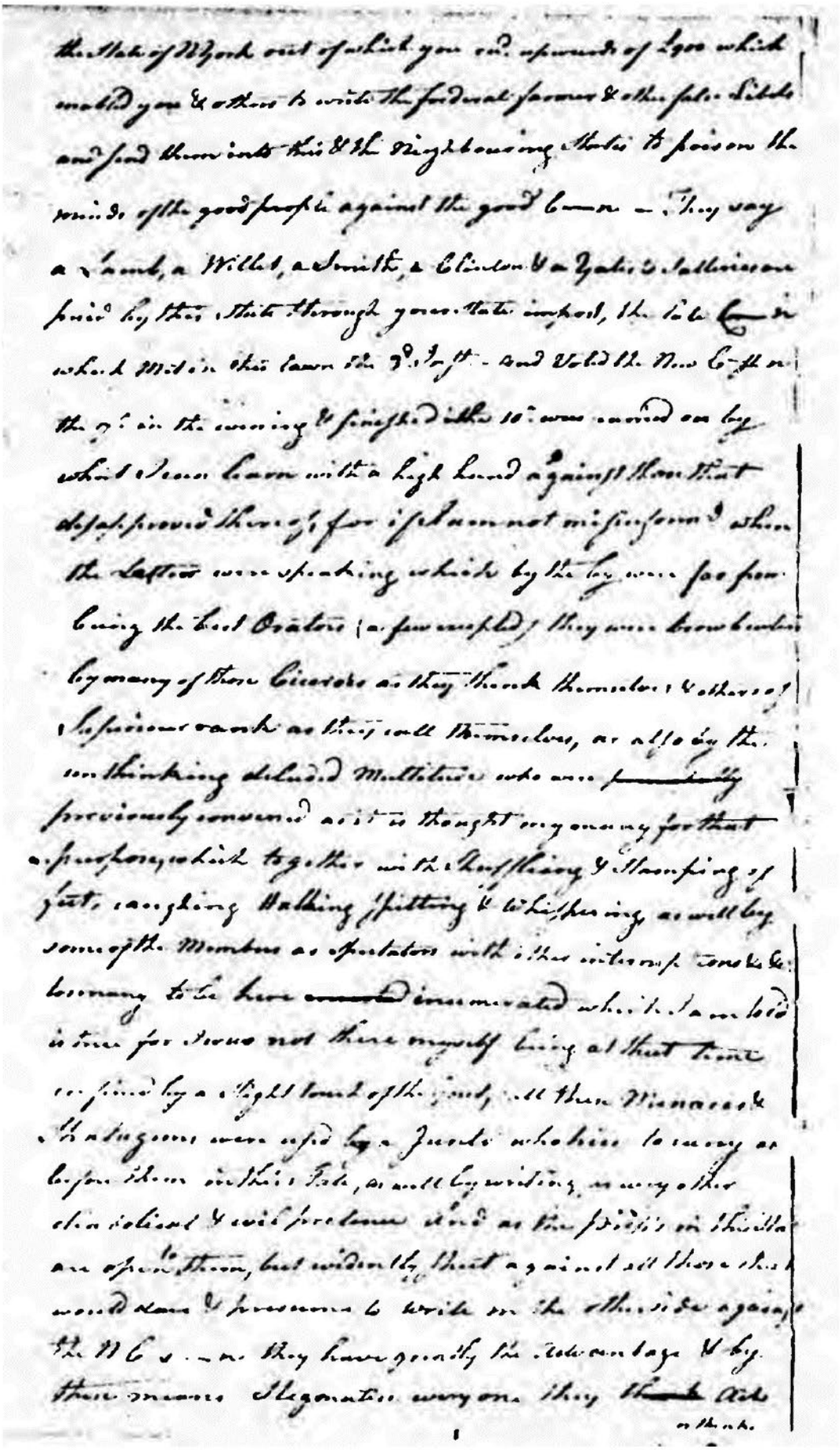
72. Hugh Ledlie to John Lamb, Hartford, 15 January 1788.[1]



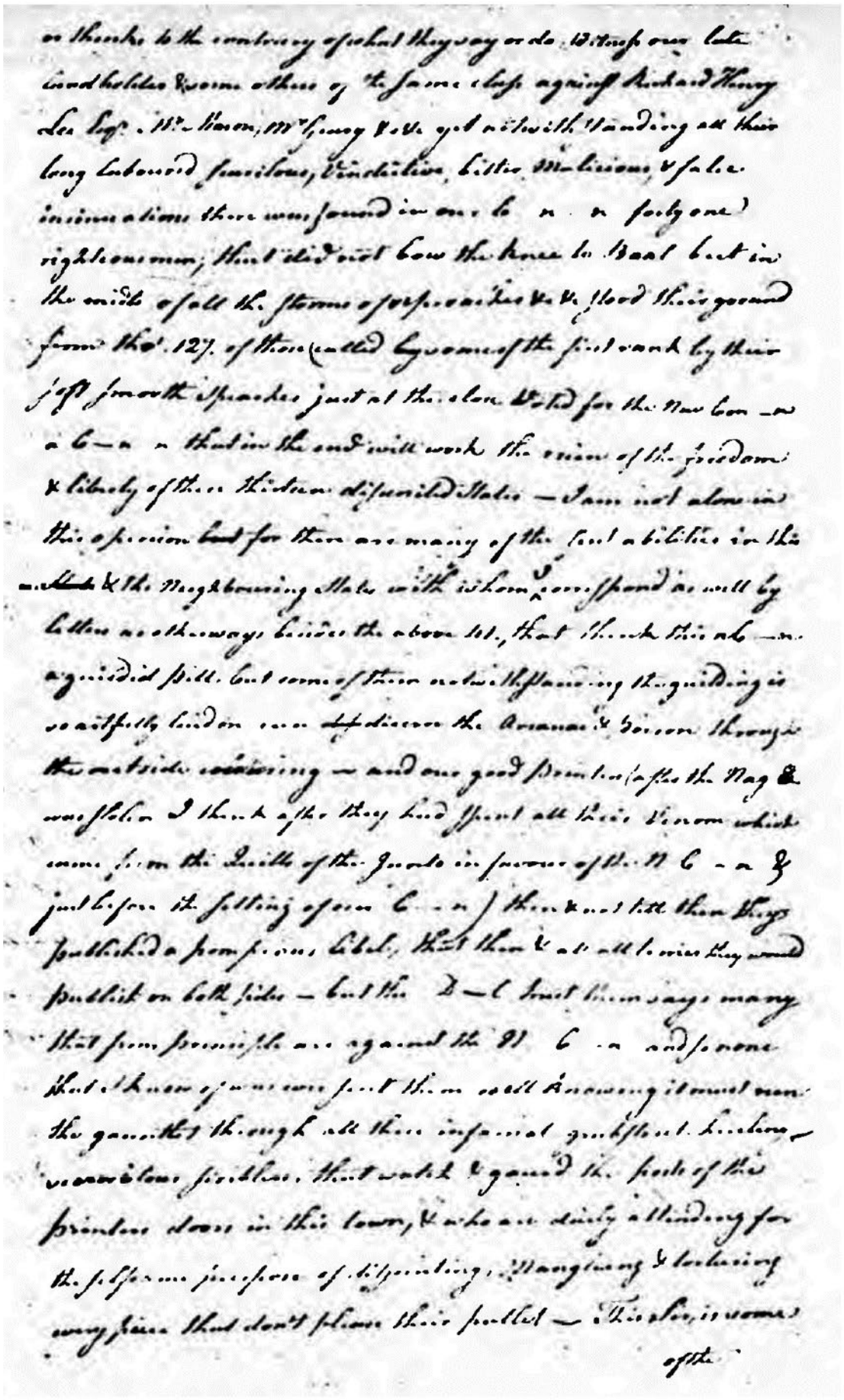
Sir Jan 15 1788 (1)

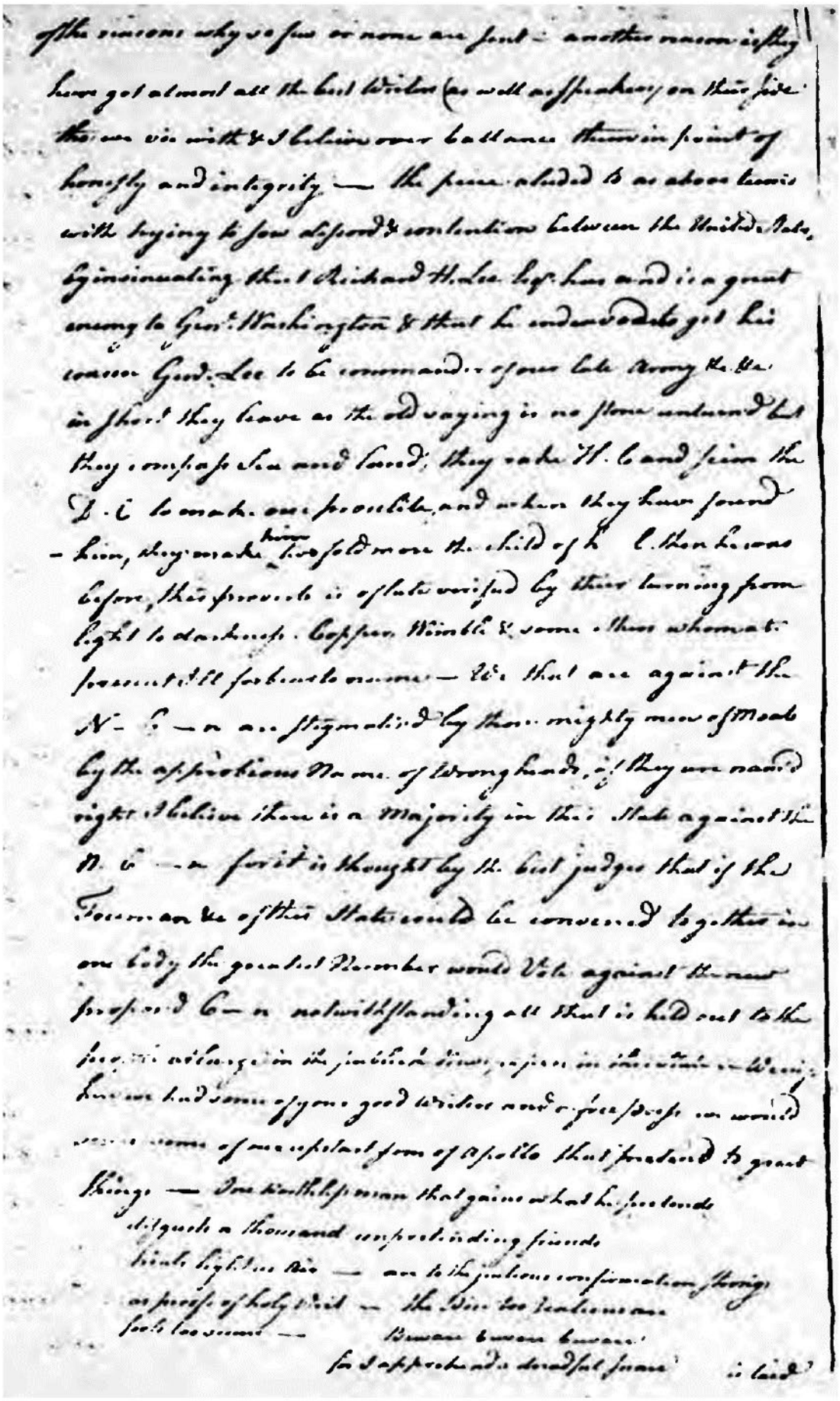
The length of time since our acquaintance first commenced in N York about the years 1765 & 1766 makes me almost dissident whether you continue the same Patriot & friend to your Country, I then found you together with Sears, Robinson, Wiley, Mott, Light, Scott, Hazard & &c and many others whose Names I have forgot a Committee for opposing the diabolical and oppressive Stamp Act, when Pintard, Williams & were brought to the Stool or rather Stage of repentance for Acts of high crimes and misdemeanors committed against the sons of liberty throughout the Continent — But to return I say I sho'd not have dared to Venture a line to you on the subject I am about to say a few words upon, if I had not accidentally seen your Name with others good men in some of our public newspapers handled in a very rough ungentlemanlike manner — but even then I remain'd Ignorant who those [illegible] defamatory backbiting writers meant, untill a few days since being in company with Genl James Wadsworth who first told me it was you & aded an Anecdote — the other day or some time since a gentleman one Mr Hamilton meeting you in the street Asked you how you could be so much against the New Constitution for it was pretty certain your old good friend Genl Washington would in all probability be the first President under it, to which you replyed that on that case all might be well, but perhaps after him Genl Washington might be the next or second President This Sir, was the very first hint I had of your opposing it and was confirmed in the same by the Approbious ~~[illegible]~~ ~~insinuations~~ indecent & I believe false speeches made use of at our late C[illegible]n in this place by some sly mischievous insinuations — viz that out of the impost £8000 was paid by this State Annually to the States

1. RC, Lamb Papers, New-York Historical Society.



the State of N York out of which you rec.d upwards of £900 which
enabled you & others to write the federal farmer & other false Libels
and send them into this & the Neighbouring States to poison the
minds of the good people against the good C—n — They say
a Lamb, a Willet, a Smith, a Clinton & a Yates & Salleries are
paid by this State through your State impost, the late C—n
which Met in this town the 3d Inst. and Voted the New C—n
the 9th in the evening & finished the 10th was carried on by
what I can learn with a high hand against than that
disapproved thereof, for if I am not misinformed when
the Letter were speaking which by the by were far few
being the best Orators (a few excepted) they were brow beaten
by many of those Cicerons as they think themselves & others of
Superior rank as they call themselves, as also by the
unthinking deluded Multitude who were ~~[illegible]~~
previously convened as it is thought my many for that
purpose, which together with Shuffling & Stamping of
feet, caughing Walking Spitting & Whispering as well by
some of the Members as Spectators with other interruptions &c.
too many to be here ~~[illegible]~~ enumerated which I am told
is true for I was not there myself being at that time
confined by a Slight touch of the Gout, all these Menaces &
Stratagems were used by a Junto who hies to carry as
before them in this State, as well by writing as every other
diabolical & evil pretence And as the Pride's in this State
are open to them, but evidently shut against all those that
would dare & presume to write on the other side against
the N C s — n they have greatly the Advantage & by
these means Stigmatise every one they ~~think~~ Act
or think





is laid for Obtuous innocence
under a friends false pretence —

Now Sir on the whole let me tell you, that those gentlemen
at least, those that I can unite with, have no greater hope (besides
that of an over ruling providence) than in the Virtue & wisdom
of your State together with that of Virginia & Massachusetts not
adopting the N. C—n, and I have heard some of the first characters
that composed our late C—n say that if nine States did adopt the
C—n and Nyock rejected it, they would remove into your State where
they could injoy freedom & liberty, for which they had fought & bled
heretofore, and if your State is not by that means one of the most prosper-
ous flourishing states on the Continent I am much Mistaken not
by emigrants only that are or will be dissatisfied with the N. C—n
from the different states, but also from Europe, I myself if I am
able to buy a small farm in your State somewhere about the South
Bay Fairhaven Crownpoint, up the ~~[illegible]~~ Mohawk river
Germanflatt, fort Stanwix, Wood Creek, the Oneida Lake, Tiran-
-ies on the Canadaraga River Shoharyskill, Beaufort's island in
Lake Ontario in the Mouth of the River St Lawrence Oswego only
excepted Niagara & above all somewhere on the South banks of
Lake Erie — most or all of those places I am acquainted with — &
if the proposed C—n takes place & Providence permits I with others
remove into your State, provided you do not adopt it for many of
the Convention that attended it (for as I said before I did not attend
myself in person) told me that the Conv—n was one of the most
overbearing Assembly that ever set in this State and as the N. C—n
gives all the power both of the Sword & purse into the hands of the
Conv—n so our people reckon it ~~[illegible]~~ leads to and opens a door for
dispotism Tyranny, anarchy & confusion and every wil Work.
I am afraid Sir for want of knowing whom to put confidence in
you (if you rent any) sent your books into the wrong hands
as they —

as they ~~[illegible]~~ never appeared or could be seen except a few sent to Gen.l S. W. the I never could see one untill a few days before our Caven set the rest besides those sent as above were all secreted, hunted and distributed amongst those for of the N. C. A. n. in order to torture ridicule & make shrewd remarks & may game of, both of the pamphlet and them that wrote and sent them, all which they did not spare to do in our public Newspapers by Extracts and detached sentences just such as served their Vile Malignant purposes long before I wrang against the C. A. n. ever saw (I mean) the federal farmer — on the whole shod be glad to know who those Gentlemen are whom our heads of Wit takes in hand to Villifie in our public papers besides yourself, pray S.r who is Mr. Willet Mr. Smith Mr. Clinton & Mr. Yates — is Mr. Willet he that defended so nobly at fort Stanwix in the late War — also who is Mr. Smith, and is Mr. Clinton your Worthy Gov.r — and pray who is Mr. Yates — two of those Names viz Judge Yates & Malankton Smith Esq.r lodged at my house upwards of 20 days in Decem.r 1787 together with Mr. Duane your Mayor Chancellor Livingston Judge Henning, Mr. Benson your Attorney Gen.l & Mr. DeWitt your Surveyor Gen.l shod be glad to know which or whether all or any of the above gentlemen, are against or for the New proposed Constitution — our 41 Members of Convention that opposed the Constitution went home very heavy hearted and discouraged to think that by one stroke they had lost all their liberty & privildges both Civil & Sacred as well as all their property money &c &c by a set of men who's aim is entirely popularity as they think will please the bulk of the people & procure them places salary & pensions under the New Constitution, as I am informed that many who are now in office & who it is said were decidedly against it untill they came to this town to Convention — then they were told plainly, that if they did not turn & Vote for it they must not expect any place either of trust or profitt

under the

under the New Constitution, thus this capital stroke was reserved for the finishing blow, as those concerned well know the pulse's of these sort of men — for as one of your City said at the beginning of the late War he then being on Long Island & settling some affairs from this State that he could buy any Counsellor in this State for a half Joe. or aff.s of Irish linnen — there is nothing that works so effectually as interest so it is well verified as to some of our great men in the present case some of whom I believe I could call by name but at present I'll forbear only that I will add one sentiment more & have done untill I hear from N York viz that I verily believe we have some of the most selfish, avericious, & narrow contracted set of Mortals that now exist in these thirteen disunited States you'll please to excuse some low scurrilous Vulgar language the want of diction & grammer as I am not a man of a liberal Education and only follow the plough having no other employ to get my bread but by the sweat of my brow for I enjoy neither place nor pension, as they that are for the N Constitution in this State & I am sure I shall never have any except I turn to their side which at present I have no thoughts of — So you'll please to forgive this lengthy unconnected scrawl as it hastily flew from one of the pens of the family of the wrongheads so called by the tory roundheads — We this way fear this N Constitution will work much mischief before it is adopted, & the destruction & ruin of the thirteen States if it takes place please to give my compliments to all the before mend gentlemen and Hugh Hughes Esq. being one of the old committee more especially to those that are decidedly against the N Constitution I am Sir your old friend and

Most obedient & very

Hartford Jan.y 15th 1788

Humble servant —

Hugh Ledlie

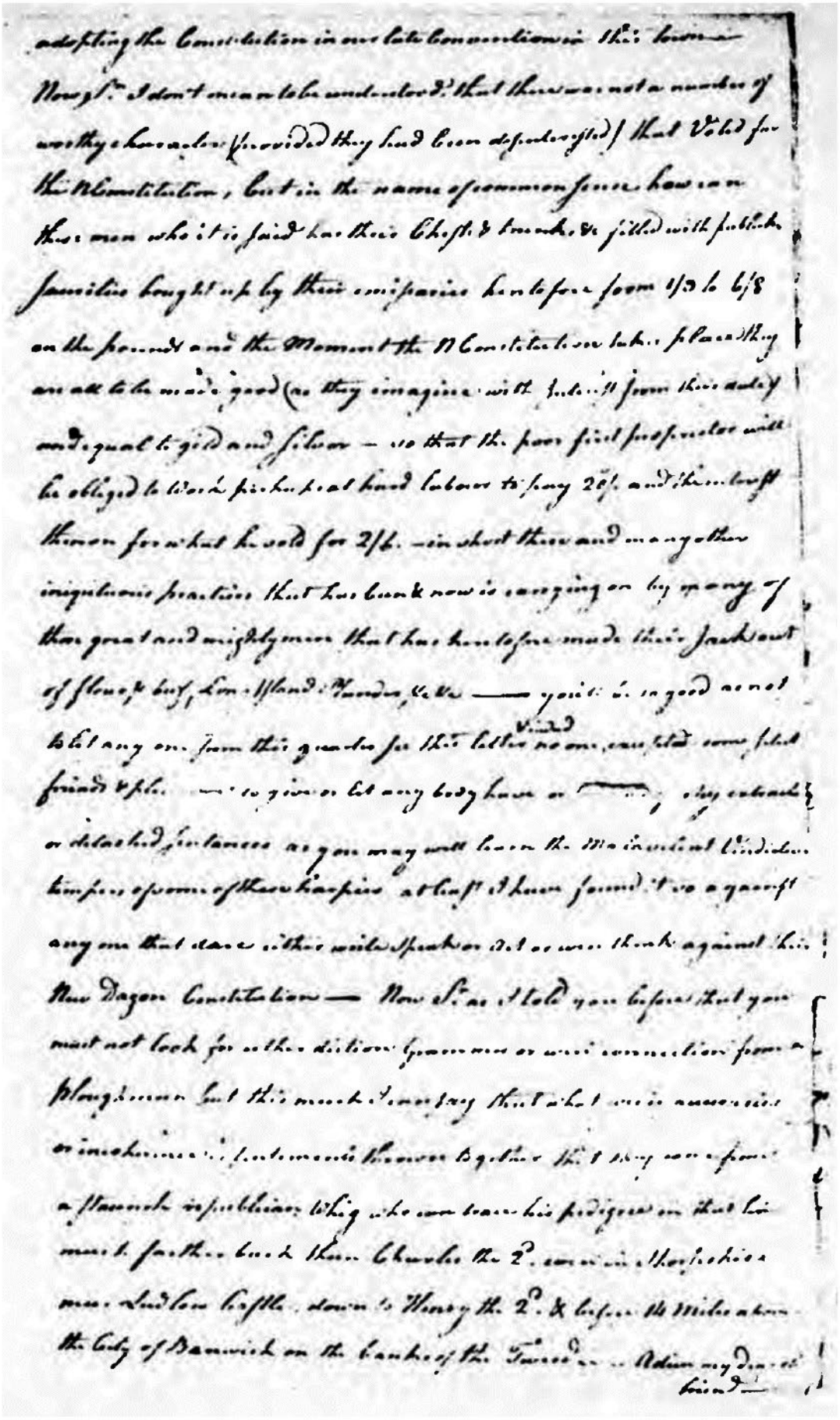
Gen.l John Lamb

turn over

P.S.

Sir, General James Wadsworth is one of the many studs that has behaved in ~~character~~ character against the N Constitution and stood firm & intriped, neither the landing all the scoffs flirts brow beatings, flings, coughs shuffles, threats & manners of the opposite faction in Convention, the sophistry, colouring, and smooth speeches of those great men which spoke last gave a turning cast to the whole, & thereby gave the weaker brethren a different turn of mind from what they had when they came ~~from~~ from home & or the instructions they received from the towns to which they belonged — but further these forty one good men in the Minority, say in the Name of common sense why was the people in the different States so blind to their own interest, as, at first to choose & send to the general Convention at Philadelphia men than belonging to Congress, but more especially afterwards to send those very men to the State Convention to confirm their own dear Acts & doings at Philadelphia — it is beyond all conceptions that these men should act in this form, as to send the very men whose interest it is to Vote themselves places of honour & trust, profit, & Money into their own pockets just so things were managed at our late Convention in this town the very men that found the new Constitution at Philadelphia, together with our present Govr. Lieut. Govr. Judges of our Supr. & Inferior Courts, present delegates to Congress, Judges of probates, lawyers lag rag & bobtail with some Rev. Divines & placemen Sallerymen sinecures & expectants of every denomination whatsoever were the men chosen in this State to attend our Convention, and who Voted to a man for the New Constn. only the honest forty one who enjoyed none of the above Lucretive places, posts or pensions &c &c &c and that stood free & unbiased in their minds & were the only honest disinterested men that Voted in the negative — We this way hope that if a Convention is formed in your State (which we hope will not be) that none of this sort of self Interested gentry may be chosen which was evidently the case here, which in the opinion of many honest good & disinterested men disaffected the honest true & simple desire of not only pursuing a good constitution at Philadelphia but

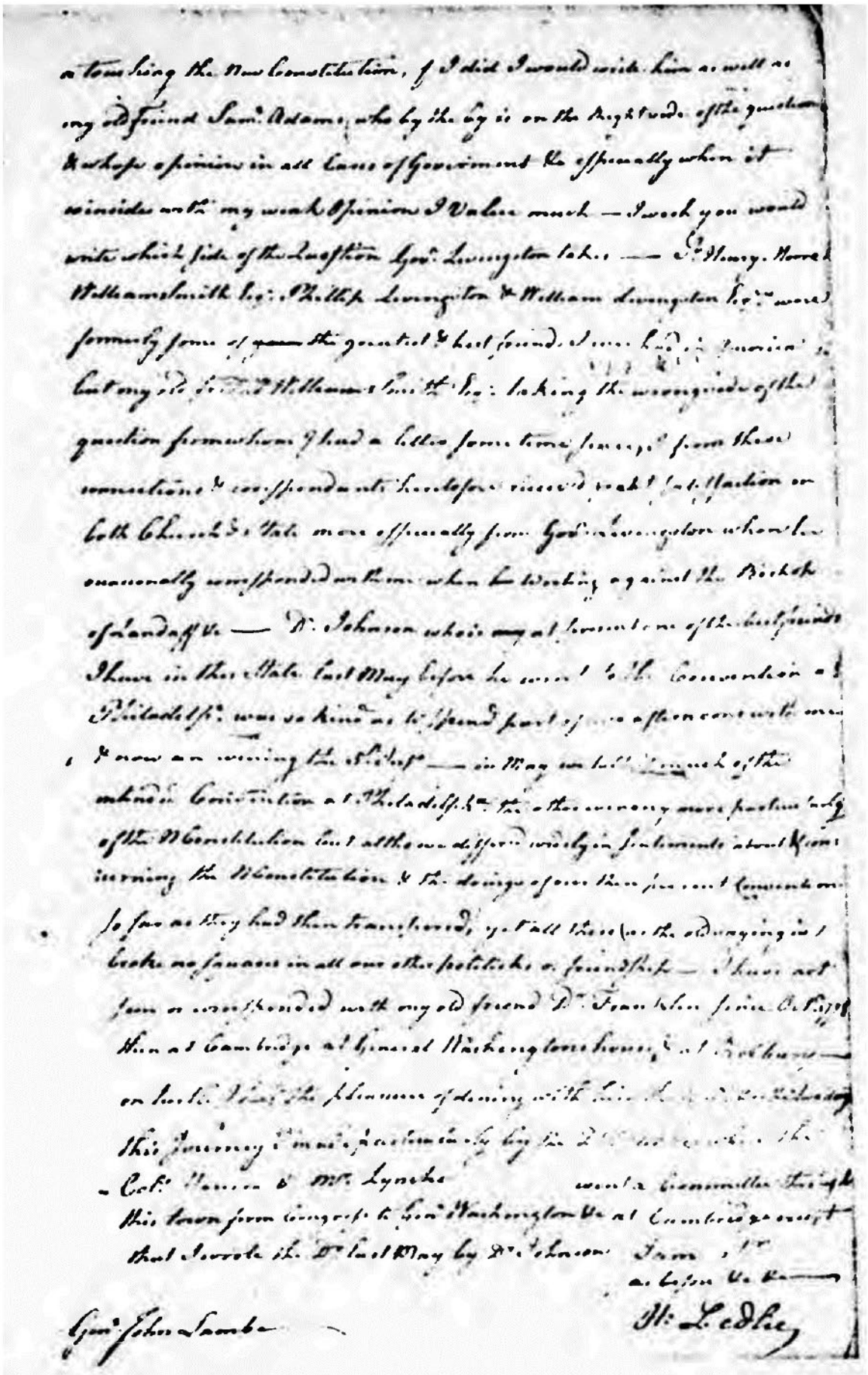
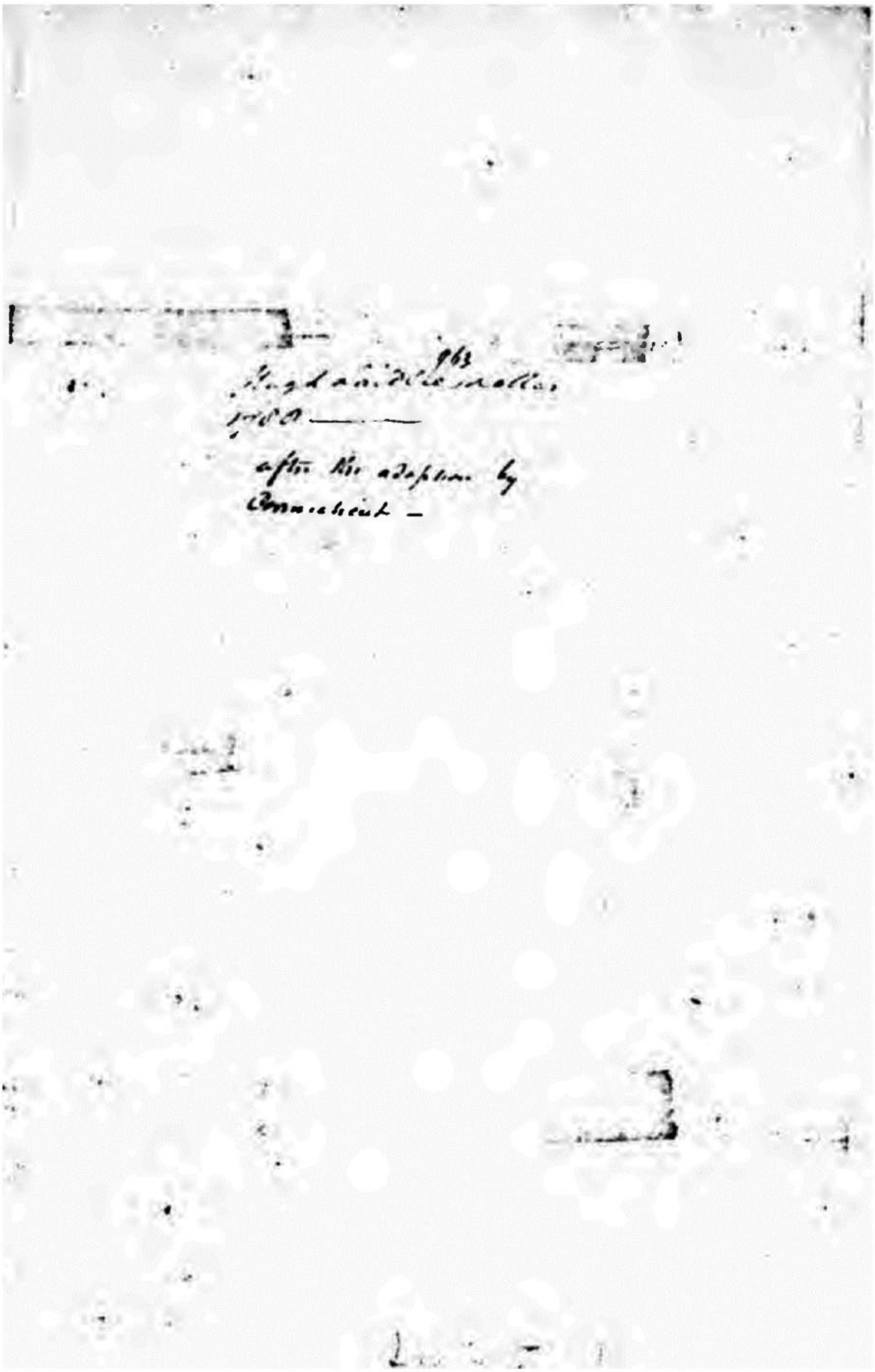
adopting



adopting the Constitution in our late Convention in this town —
Now Sr. I don't mean to be understood that there was not a number of
worthy character (provided they had been dispensated) that Voted for
the N Constitution, but in the name of common sense how can
these men who it is said has their Chests & trunks &c filled with publick
securities bought up by their emissaries heretofore from 1/3 to 6/8
on the pounds and the Moment the N Constitution takes place they
are all to be made good (as they imagine with interest from their duties)
and equal to gold and silver — so that the poor first proprietor will
be obliged to work perhaps at hard labour to pay 20/. and the interest
thereon for what he sold for 2/6. — in short there and many other
iniquitous practices that has been & now is carrying on by many of
these great and mighty men that has heretofore made their sack out
of flour & buff, Lon Island Plunder &c &c — you'll be so good as not
to let any one from this quarter see this letter Vinded no one, excepted some select
friends & pl[illegible] — to give or let any body have or [illegible] any extracts
or detached sentences as you may well learn the Malevolent Vindictive
temper of some of these harpies at least I have found it so against
any one that dare either write speak or act or even think against their
New Dagon Constitution — Now Sr. as I told you before that you
must not look for either diction Grammar or word connection from a
Ploughman but this much I can say that what we is accuracies
or incoherence of sentiments thrown together that they were from
a staunch republican Whig who can trace his pedigree in that line
much farther back than Charles the 2d. even in Shorpshire
near Ludlow Castle down to Henry the 2d. & before 14 Miles above
the City of Barwick on the banks of the Tweed — Adieu my dear old
friend —

friends & acquaintance. Please to write how and by ~~what means~~ whom you
receive this and how the land lies in your state touching the new Constitut.ⁿ &c.
And what help we may depend on from the known Virtue, Wisdom
and good policy of your State in opposing the new Constitution
you may depend on it you have many good & honest friends
this way Notwithstanding the many surrilous inflamatory
pieces published of late in our partial publick papers for it
is evident every thing was published that was in favour of the
New Constitution but on the contrary every thing huggermuggered
& suppressed that was truly alarming against it — I believe
by this time I have tired your patience therefore to make
any further apology would be to add to the length of this long epistle
therefore shall conclude — Your most Humble Servt &c

as above

H: Ledlie

NB. There is five gentlemen of the first characters on the Continent
that I formerly occasionally and now with some of them that are now living correspond
with viz; Dr Franklin, Govr Franklin — Govr Livingston now of the
Jersey, the Honble William Smith, and Sr Henry Moore formerly
of your City, Dr Johnson of this State and the Honble Samuel Adams
of Boston all of whom the latter excepted I fear are decidedly against
me as to the New Constitution, what Govr Livingston's opinion
is I can never learn as it is somewhat above two years since
I received a letter from him on acct of the Commutation and
Cincinnati affairs, I wish I could know what part he takes
as touching