

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

VOLUME XXVIII

Ratification of the Constitution by the States

NEW HAMPSHIRE

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RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Volume XXVIII

Ratification of the Constitution
by the States

NEW HAMPSHIRE

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This volume is dedicated to Dr. Richard Leffler. In 1967, Rich came to the University of Wisconsin-Madison as a graduate student in early American history. While researching his dissertation in North Carolina, he also searched repositories for the Ratification project which moved to Madison in 1970. Rich began to work on the project in 1973, and in 2009 he retired as a co-editor. Every volume published during that

time—twenty-one volumes in all—benefited from his critical eye, sound judgment, keen insight, and steady dedication. Over and above his professional involvement, Rich contributed mightily to the staff's camaraderie, becoming and remaining to this day a dear personal friend to all in the Ratification family.

Organization

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

- (1) *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787* (1 volume),
- (2) *Ratification of the Constitution by the States* (24 volumes),
- (3) *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private* (6 volumes),
- (4) *The Bill of Rights* (6 volumes).

Internet Availability

The New Hampshire volume and all other volumes will be found on the web site of “Rotunda: The American Founding Era,” maintained by the University of Virginia Press (<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu>), and at UW Digital Collections on the web site of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>). New Hampshire supplemental documents, as well as those of the other states, will also be found at UW Digital Collections.

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

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

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

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

Supplements to Ratification of the Constitution by the States.

Supplemental documents were originally placed on microfiche and are available for Pennsylvania (Vol. II), Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut (all four, Vol. III), and Virginia (Vols. VIII–X). Supplemental documents for Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut were recently digitized for online viewing. These supplements can be located at UW Digital Collections on the web site of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>). Digitized supplements for the remaining states, Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, and North Carolina, will be made available for online viewing in the next years.

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

The types of documents in the supplements are:

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

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

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

The Bill of Rights.

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

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

Editorial Procedures

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

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

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

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

General Ratification Chronology, 1786–1791

1786

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

1787

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

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

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

1789

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

1790

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

1791

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

1787

S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S
JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21
21 22 23 24 25 26 27	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	22 23 24 25 26 27 28
28 29 30 31	25 26 27 28	25 26 27 28 29 30 31	29 30
MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
1 2 3 4 5	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4
6 7 8 9 10 11 12	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	8 9 10 11 12 13 14	5 6 7 8 9 10 11
13 14 15 16 17 18 19	10 11 12 13 14 15 16	15 16 17 18 19 20 21	12 13 14 15 16 17 18
20 21 22 23 24 25 26	17 18 19 20 21 22 23	22 23 24 25 26 27 28	19 20 21 22 23 24 25
27 28 29 30 31	24 25 26 27 28 29 30	29 30 31	26 27 28 29 30 31
SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
1	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15	14 15 16 17 18 19 20	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	9 10 11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20 21 22	21 22 23 24 25 26 27	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	16 17 18 19 20 21 22
23 24 25 26 27 28 29	28 29 30 31	25 26 27 28 29 30	23 24 25 26 27 28 29
30			30 31

1788

S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S
JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL
1 2 3 4 5	1 2	1	1 2 3 4 5
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13 14 15 16 17 18 19	10 11 12 13 14 15 16	9 10 11 12 13 14 15	13 14 15 16 17 18 19
20 21 22 23 24 25 26	17 18 19 20 21 22 23	16 17 18 19 20 21 22	20 21 22 23 24 25 26
27 28 29 30 31	24 25 26 27 28 29	23 24 25 26 27 28 29	27 28 29 30
		30 31	
MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5	1 2
4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14	6 7 8 9 10 11 12	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21	13 14 15 16 17 18 19	10 11 12 13 14 15 16
18 19 20 21 22 23 24	22 23 24 25 26 27 28	20 21 22 23 24 25 26	17 18 19 20 21 22 23
25 26 27 28 29 30 31	29 30	27 28 29 30 31	24 25 26 27 28 29 30
			31
SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4	1	1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13	5 6 7 8 9 10 11	2 3 4 5 6 7 8	7 8 9 10 11 12 13
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Introduction

Founding of New Hampshire

The first settlements that would become New Hampshire were founded in the 1620s and 1630s. New Hampshire was often joined to Massachusetts until the two colonies were permanently separated in 1691. Both colonies, however, shared the same governor from 1698 until 1741.

Four areas of settlement developed in New Hampshire. During the seventeenth century settlement concentrated along the Atlantic coast and the basin of the Piscataqua River. In the eighteenth century, settlement expanded straddling the Merrimack River in the center of the colony, near the Connecticut River forming the western border, and lastly on the northern “frontier,” including Lake Winnepesaukee and the White Mountains. Like the other mainland British colonies, New Hampshire was governed locally with little interference from imperial authorities.

After 1741 an oligarchy under the control of the Wentworth family ruled until the outbreak of the American Revolution. Portsmouth and the southeast generally dominated the colony economically, socially, and politically. Elites in New Hampshire and throughout the colonies objected to changes in imperial policy that followed the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, which presaged the revolutionary movement in the colonies. After royal Governor John Wentworth prorogued the assembly, a provincial congress was elected and assembled in Exeter on 21 July 1774. Wentworth, who had assumed his position as royal governor in 1767, permanently left New Hampshire on 23 August 1775. The provincial congress took over some of the functions of government and appointed two delegates to attend the First Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia.

Making a State Constitution

On 2 October 1775 New Hampshire’s delegates to the Second Continental Congress wrote to the state committee of safety suggesting that, because of the “Convul[s]e[d] state of our Colony and the absolute Necessaty of Governmt.,” a petition should be sent to the Continental Congress requesting it to recommend that New Hampshire “take government,” that is, write a constitution.¹ No such request has been found, but New Hampshire’s delegates in the Continental Congress presented “an Instruction from the provincial Congress for the Advice of [the

Continental] Congress relative to their assuming Govern^t.”² On 26 October, Congress appointed a five-man committee (John Rutledge, John Adams, Samuel Ward, Richard Henry Lee, and Roger Sherman) to consider New Hampshire’s instructions and report thereon.³ Congress considered the committee’s report on 3 November and resolved

That it be recommended to the provincial Convention of New Hampshire, to call a full and free representation of the people, and that the representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a form of government, as, in their judgment, will best produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province, during the continuance of the present dispute between G Britain and the colonies.⁴

New Hampshire delegates Josiah Bartlett and John Langdon proudly sent the resolution home, saying that the unique debates in Congress over this matter “were Truly Ciceronial, the eminent Speakers, did honour to themselves and the Continent.” The resolution was carried by a “very great Majority.” The delegates regretted that the congressional resolution limited New Hampshire’s actions to “the Present Contest.” They had agreed to such a limit “to ease the minds of some few, persons, who were fearful of Independance. We tho’t it Adviseable not to oppose that part too much, for once we had taken, any sort of government, nothing but Negociation with Great Britain, can alter it.” The delegates suggested that provincial congressional leaders follow Massachusetts’ example by creating a house of representatives that would choose a council. These two bodies would rule without a governor “at Present.” The delegates rejoiced, seeing “this as a ground work of our goverment, and hope by the Blessing of Divine Providence, never to Return to our former Despotick state.”⁵

After receiving this recommendation the New Hampshire provincial congress notified the towns that they should elect delegates to a new provincial congress that would draft a state constitution. The new provincial congress assembled in Exeter on 21 December 1775 and began considering a constitution.

On 18 December, the town of Portsmouth elected three delegates to the new provincial congress. A week later, on 25 December, the town instructed its delegates that writing a constitution would be dangerous and should only “be entered on with the greatest caution, calmness and deliberation.” According to Portsmouth freemen,

the present times are too unsettled to admit of perfecting a form, stable and permanent; and that to attempt it now would injure us,

by furnishing our enemies in Great Britain with arguments to persuade the good people there that we are aiming at independency, which we totally disavow. We should therefore prefer the government of the [provincial] Congress, till God, in his providence, shall afford us quieter times.⁶

The assembly completed its business on 5 January 1776 and adopted a constitution by a majority of almost two to one. The constitution's preamble explained that

for the Preservation of Peace and good order, and for the Security of the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants of this Colony, We Conceive ourselves Reduced to the Necessity of establishing A FORM OF GOVERNMENT to Continue During the Present Unhappy and Unnatural Contest with Great Britain; PROTESTING & DECLARING that we Never Sought to throw off our Dependance upon Great Britain, but felt ourselves happy under her Protection, while we Could Enjoy our Constitutional Rights and Priviledges,—And that we Shall Rejoice if Such a reconciliation between us and our Parent State can be Effected as shall be Approved by the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS in whose Prudence and Wisdom we confide.⁷

Meant to be temporary, the new constitution was short. It provided that the provincial congress “Assume the Name, Power & Authority of a house of Representatives or Assembly.” This body would elect twelve freemen to a second branch of the legislature to be called the Council. The Council would appoint a president. Approval of both houses was necessary to pass bills. All state officers, including militia generals and field officers but not clerks of the courts, should be appointed by the legislature. The judges of the courts would choose their own clerks. Money bills were to originate in the Assembly. County treasurers and recorders of deeds would be elected annually by the people in each county.⁸

An article signed by “Junius” in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 January 1776, condemned the provincial congress for its premature action on 5 January, an action that would inevitably lead to “that horrid Monster Independency.” The representatives responded labeling the piece “Ignominious Scurrilous & Scandalous.”⁹ On 10 January the town of Portsmouth approved a memorial and remonstrance objecting to the new constitution on three grounds.

(1) The proposal of a formal plan of government should have been put to the people “before it was Adopted, & carried into Execution, which is *Their* Inherent right.”

(2) Such a measure was “an Open Declaration of Independence,” which the inhabitants of New Hampshire could “by no means Countenance” until they “Shall know the Sentiments of the British Nation in General.” Perceiving that New Hampshire’s inhabitants wanted independence, the British people would “be Exasperated against us and losing Sight of their former Friendship, & affection will be filled with resentment & charge us with Duplicity.”

(3) Although the provincial congress had “Intended [to act] for the General Good,” its actions would have “a Tendency to Disunite” the people of New Hampshire, which was “a most alarming Consideration as being a Circumstance which we are well Informed our Enemies Greatly Expect & would be rejoiced to hear of.”¹⁰

Portsmouth sent “circular letters to a great number of towns, expressing their fears.” Soon ten towns and some inhabitants in an eleventh town sent petitions to the provincial congress opposing the constitution. The petitions were accepted but not acted upon.¹¹

A copy of the Portsmouth objections reached the Continental Congress by mid-January 1776. Samuel Adams denounced the objections in a letter to John Adams.

I have seen certain Instructions which were given by the Capital of the Colony of New Hampshire to its Delegates in their provincial convention the Spirit of which I am not altogether pleas'd with. There is one part of them at least, which I think discovers a Timidity which is unbecoming a People oppressd and insulted as they are, and who at their own request have been advisd & authorizd by Congress to set up and exercise Government in such form as they should judge most conducive to their own Happiness. It is easy to understand what they mean when they speak of “perfecting a form of Govt *stable* and *permanent*.” They indeed explain themselves, by saying that they “*should prefer the Govt of Congress* (their provincial Convention) till quieter times.” The Reason they assign for it, I fear, will be considerd as showing a readiness to condescend to the Humours of their Enemies, and their publickly, expressly, & totally disavowing Independency either in the nation, or the *Man* who insolently & perseveringly demands the surrender of their Liberties with the Bayonet pointed at their Breasts may be construed to argue a Servility & Baseness of Soul for which Language doth not afford an Epithet. It is by indiscrete Resolutions and Publications that the Friends of America have too often given

occasion to their Enemies to injure her Cause. I hope however that the Town of Portsmouth doth not in this Instance speak the Sense of that Colony. I wish, if it be not too late, that you would write your Sentiments of the Subject to our worthy Friend, Mr. L—— [John Langdon], who I suppose is now in Portsmouth. If that Colony should take a wrong Step I fear it would wholly defeat a Design which I confess, I have much at heart.¹²

A letter from Portsmouth signed “Veritas” decried the memorial and remonstrance. Portsmouth’s objections, “Veritas” asserted, were approved by “a very thin meeting.” “Veritas” must have defamed members of the town meeting or the town itself, for, on 12 January, a committee of the Portsmouth town meeting criticized the assertions of “Veritas” as “Utterly False, Scandalous, and Derogatory to the Honour of the Town.” The committee requested that the provincial congress return the original letter “in order that the author who has been guilty of this Scandalous Falsehood, may receive the reward of his Just Demerit.”¹³

Twelve provincial congress delegates signed a “Dissent & Protest” to the constitution that was entered on the journals of the House. Among their objections, the delegates stated that it was inappropriate for “so Small & Inconsiderable a Colony to take the Lead in a Matter of So great Importance.” Better that New York or Virginia take the lead. Reiterating Portsmouth’s second objection, they stated that the new constitution “appears to us too much like Setting up an Independency on the Mother Country.”¹⁴

In response to a request from the dissenting petitioners, the New Hampshire House of Representatives, on 27 January, directed that the committee of safety send a copy of the new constitution to the Continental Congress and “Let them Know that a Number of the Members of this House Dissented to & Protested against the same; Supposing it breathed too much of the Spirit of Independence.” The House of Representatives wanted “to know the judgment of the Congress thereon.” Pursuant to the order, the committee of safety drafted a letter to the Continental Congress, stating that the House had experienced some turmoil on the matter of the new constitution. The Congress’ “determination thereon” was desired to “quiet the minds of those dissatisfied” so that “all will acquiesce therein.”¹⁵

On 10 February 1776, Meshech Weare, chairman of the committee of safety, sent the letter and a packet of documents concerning the constitution to New Hampshire’s two delegates in the Continental Congress. Josiah Bartlett and William Whipple were to lay the documents

before Congress and “endeavour to obtain their opinion thereon.” The legislature expected “uneasiness will remain” until Congress responded, “which we hope will settle the dust.” The delegates were told to be “assiduous in getting it decided and forwarded as soon as may be.”¹⁶ Bartlett wrote to John Langdon on 5 March stating that the packet of documents had been delivered to President of Congress John Hancock. After reading and pondering the documents,

he [Hancock] asked us what was the question the Colony wanted to have put to the [Continental] Congress for their answer as he said he could not find out by reading the papers, and neither Col Whipple nor I could inform him; for the order of Congress to take up civil Govt. in such a manner as the Colony should think proper nobody can deny and that the Colony had taken up such a form as was most agreeable to majority is not disputed; that a number disliked it and protested against it is set forth, but what the Congress can say in the matter I am at a loss to guess, consistent with their constant declaration not to interfere with internal Govt of any of the Colonies, any further than to recommend to them to adopt such forms, as they shall think best calculated, to promote the quiet and peace of the Society, leaving every Colony to take such gov't as is most agreeable to the majority, during the present dispute.¹⁷

Congress read the papers and committed them to a three-man committee (Benjamin Franklin, George Wythe, and Carter Braxton). Bartlett was uncertain what the committee would recommend but expressed the wish that the matter “had been kept at home.”¹⁸

On 19 March 1776 the Council and Assembly issued a proclamation declaring the new constitution in force. Only officers appointed by the new government were to be obeyed. All others should be “deemed inimical to their Country.” The people should thwart the enemies of the state who try “to ensnare and divide us” and were “to quell all Appearance of party Spirit, to cultivate and promote Peace, Union and good Order.”¹⁹

New Hampshire and the Declaration of Independence

New Hampshire’s delegates in the Continental Congress awaited the state legislature’s instructions on declaring independence from Great Britain. On 11 June 1776, the New Hampshire House of Representatives appointed three members to a committee to draft formal instructions on independence. Four days later, on 15 June, the committee asserted “that our Delegates at the Continental Congress should be

Instructed, and they are hereby Instructed to join with the other Colonies in Declaring THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES, A FREE & INDEPENDENT STATE.” The instructions were sent to Bartlett and Whipple.²⁰

The Declaration of Independence was well received in New Hampshire. In Exeter, state militia general Nathaniel Folsom reported that it will

have a happy tendency to unite us in the present glorious Struggle & by it many of the objections of wavering (tho’ perhaps otherwise well disposed) persons are entirely answered. In short, as it is the first principle of every virtuous man to keep a Conscience void of offence towards God & man, it is the second thing he has in view to make it appear to the World. By the Declaration you make it evident to the World that you are neither ashamed to own the Cause of Liberty nor afraid to defend it, And I doubt not it will be defended even against the Ultimo Ratio Regis.²¹

New Hampshire and the Articles of Confederation

On 17 November 1777, the Continental Congress sent the final version of the Articles of Confederation to the state legislatures for their ratification. On 27 December the New Hampshire House of Representatives ordered the Articles printed and “dispersed throughout this state, that every person may give their sentiment thereon.” On 24 February a committee of both houses of the state legislature considered and approved each of the thirteen articles. On 4 March the House formally approved the Articles, saying that they “shall be inviolably observed by this state.” The Council concurred at a later time.²² New Hampshire’s delegates in Congress were told that

The Confederation is lookt upon by this State as a Matter of so much Importance, and the Difficulties naturally Attending such an Union by so many States Differing in so many Circumstances rather induced the Council & Assembly [i.e., the House] to comply therewith, than an Opinion of the perfectness of the Articles agreed to by Congress.²³

Only the eighth article, relating to the apportionment of federal expenses (i.e., taxes) on the basis of land valuations, incurred opposition in the committee of both houses. Members felt that it would be difficult to estimate the value of land and buildings throughout the country in an equitable manner. If any other state recommended an alteration in the eighth article, the delegates were told that they should “join in the Motion, but if the Other States are all agreed, you will produce the

[legislature's] Resolve & agree likewise." On 23 June 1778 the New Hampshire delegates informed Congress "That the State of New Hampshire have, in their General Assembly, agreed to the Articles of Confederation as they now stand, and have empowered their delegates to ratify the same in behalf of their state." On 1 August 1778, Speaker of the Assembly John Langdon wrote Bartlett encouraging him to sign the Articles for New Hampshire. "For Mercy's sake do all you can to compleat the Confederation, for on this depends every Thing." On 9 July, Bartlett had signed the Articles, and John Wentworth, Jr., signed on 8 August.²⁴

New Hampshire and the Effort to Strengthen the Confederation Government

New Hampshire strongly supported amendments to the Articles that would strengthen the Confederation Congress. On 6 April 1781 the New Hampshire legislature adopted the Impost of 1781, and on 2 January 1784 it adopted the Impost of 1783. Both would have allowed Congress to levy a five percent tariff on imported goods, the revenue of which would be earmarked to pay the wartime debt. On 5 November 1784 the legislature granted Congress additional commercial powers for a limited time, and on 23 June 1785 it authorized Congress to regulate commerce. In compliance with a request from the Confederation Congress of 17 February 1783, the legislature on 20 June ordered the printing of a handbill to be sent to town selectmen to take a census of the number of white and black inhabitants in each town. The census also indicated the number of dwelling houses, barns and other buildings, and the number of acres of land. This information was needed by the Confederation Congress to allocate federal expenses among the states.²⁵ Also on 20 June 1783, the legislature ordered the printing of another handbill containing the Confederation Congress' proposed amendment to Article VIII. According to the amendment, federal expenses would be allocated proportionally among the states based on population with three-fifths of slaves being included in the tabulation. After printing Congress' reason for the proposed amendment, the legislature stated that it was "fully convinced of the Expediency and Utility of the Measure, but at the same time, wish to be instructed and empowered particularly by their Constituents in a matter of such Importance as the Alteration of an Article in the Confederation." Consequently, the legislature recommended that the selectmen call town meetings "as soon as may be . . . for the purpose of instructing and empowering their Representatives, with respect to the proposed Alteration."²⁶ New Hampshire did not adopt the amendment.

New Hampshire and the Effort to Strengthen the State Government

After independence was declared and as the war with Great Britain continued, many New Hampshire inhabitants wanted to create a more permanent state constitution. On 26 February 1778, the House of Representatives proposed the assembling of a convention “for the sole purpose of forming and laying a permanent plan or system of Government for the future Happiness and well-being of the good people of this State.” A convention for preparing a plan of government was scheduled to meet in Concord on 10 June 1778. Any constitution drafted by that convention was to be printed and sent to the towns for their consideration. Three-fourths of the people of New Hampshire needed to approve any new constitution before it could be put into effect. Once in effect, any proposed constitution would “remain as a permanent system or Form of Government of the State.”²⁷

On 10 June a convention met at Concord and, following several days of debate, chose a committee to draft a constitution. (The committee, according to John Langdon, was supposed to meet on 7 July.)²⁸ After choosing a committee, the convention adjourned until June 1779. Some members of the convention and other New Hampshire inhabitants saw the necessity of creating a strong executive separate from and independent of the legislature.²⁹ Others, however, remembering the arbitrary authority of the royal governors, balked at such a move. Meshech Weare, president of the Council, noted the difficulties facing those in favor of a stronger executive: “I Am very sensible of the necessity of an Executive branch in the legislature, but Am greatly afraid we shall never Obtain it. . . . there seems to be a Strange fear that such an One would soon grow up to be a *Governor*.”³⁰ Josiah Bartlett had almost despaired of getting a new constitution adopted:

it will be difficult to make any very material alterations from the present modes. Many people seem to be afraid to trust the Supreme Executive Power out of the hands of the Legislature for fear they should in time grow to be as arbitrary as a *Governor*. I think it will be some considerable time before we shall have a new government established.³¹

On 5 June 1779 the convention met, agreed to a declaration of rights and a plan of government, ordered it printed, and sent it to the towns for approval. The convention was to meet in September to count the votes. Assembling in town meetings, the freemen rejected the new constitution.³²

On 28 March 1781, the House of Representatives voted to call another constitutional convention to meet at Concord in June. On 6 April,

the process for electing delegates to the convention was set. On 12 June the convention met to frame a constitution. It adjourned until September, when the constitution was submitted to the people in their town meetings for approval or amendment. When the convention reassembled on 23 January 1782, the towns had rejected the constitution and submitted recommendations for its revision. The convention then adjourned until 21 August, when it sent another plan of government to the people for their assent. On 31 December, the convention reconvened and found that the towns had again rejected the constitution and proposed additional alterations. The convention met again on 3 June 1783.

The convention was pleased to find “that every article, except those which relate to the Executive Department, is accepted by the people.” The convention then proposed amendments transforming the governor into a president and the privy council into a Council. In lieu of the governor’s veto power, the president was made to preside over the Senate with a vote equal to that of each senator as well as a casting vote in the case of ties. The amended constitution was again sent to the people with the hope that it “will secure, diffuse, and transmit THE BLESSINGS OF FREEDOM TO GENERATIONS YET UNBORN.”³³ On 31 October 1783, the convention declared that, after examining the returns, the bill of rights and form of government “are hereby agreed on and established by the Delegates of the People, and declared to be the Civil Constitution for the State of New-Hampshire” to take effect on 2 June 1784.³⁴

The forty-seven-page printed edition of the constitution consisted of a bill of rights with thirty-eight articles.³⁵ The first article stated that “All Men are born equally free and independent; therefore, all government of right originates from the people, is founded in consent, and instituted for the general good.” Subsequent articles provided that “All men have certain natural, essential, and inherent rights” (Article II), some of which were given up in a social compact to preserve the others (III). Some rights, however, were “in their very nature unalienable,” among which were freedom of conscience and freedom of religion (IV–V). Article VI provided that, although there would be no single established church, public funds should be allocated “for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality.” Article VII provided that the people were sovereign and that Congress should have only “expressly delegated” powers. Magistrates were merely trustees of the people (VIII), and offices were not to be hereditary (IX).

Article X guaranteed the right of revolution “whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual.” “The doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power, and oppression” was declared “absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.” Elections should always be free (XI). People were duty bound to pay taxes and take part in military service, but all taxes and any other laws had to be approved by the people or their direct representatives (XII, XXVIII). Conscientious objectors were excused from bearing arms provided they paid for substitutes (XIII). Justice should be freely available “without being obliged to purchase it; completely, and without any denial; promptly, and without delay, conformably to the laws” (XIV). Articles XV through XXI provided traditional common law judicial rights, including the right to be tried by a jury of one’s peers under the law of the land. Double jeopardy was prohibited (XVI), jury trials in the vicinage were guaranteed (XVII), punishments were to be proportionate to the crime (XVIII), general warrants were prohibited (XIX), and civil cases were to be tried by juries (XX).

Freedom of the press was “to be inviolably preserved” (XXII) and ex post facto laws were prohibited (XXIII). A well-regulated militia was declared proper for the defense of the state (XXIV), while standing armies were said to be “dangerous to liberty” and not to be “kept up without the consent of the Legislature” (XXV). The military was at all times to be subordinate to the civil power (XXVI), and the quartering of troops was restricted (XXVII). The power of suspending laws was limited to the legislature or its agents (XXIX). The legislature was to meet “frequently” (XXXI), and members should possess the freedom of speech during debates (XXX). The right to assemble “in an orderly and peaceable manner” and the right to petition were guaranteed (XXXII). Excessive bail and fines and cruel and unusual punishments were prohibited (XXXIII). Civilians were not to be subject to martial law (XXXIV). Because laws should always be impartially interpreted, judges should serve during good behavior (XXXV). Government pensions were to be limited (XXXVI), and the three branches of government should always “be kept as separate from and independent of each other, as the nature of a free government will admit” (XXXVII). Finally, “A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and a constant adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, industry, frugality, and all the social virtues” were said to be “indispensably necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty and good government” (XXXVIII).

Most of the remainder of the constitution provided for the form of government for the state of New Hampshire,³⁶ which was declared “a free, sovereign, and independent Body-Politic or State.” A bicameral General Court, or legislature, was to be composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives, which were to assemble every year on the first Wednesday of June. The legislature could create courts and make “all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, ordinances, directions and instructions, either with penalties or without; so as the same be not repugnant, or contrary to this Constitution.” The legislature could appoint all officers not otherwise provided by the constitution. Taxes were to be assessed on polls and estates. Assessments of the valuation of estates would take place at least every five years. The journals of both houses were to “be printed and published, immediately after every adjournment.” And upon the request of any one member, the yeas and nays should be taken and entered on the journals.

The Senate was to consist of twelve persons elected annually in March. They represented senatorial districts established by the legislature based on the proportion of taxes paid. Adult freemen who paid a poll tax were eligible to vote for senators. If no one received a majority of the vote in a senatorial district, the House of Representatives and those senators who had been elected without qualification would choose the senators unaccounted for from the candidates with the highest vote totals in each district. Senators had to be Protestants, at least thirty years old, seven years an inhabitant of the state, own freehold estates worth at least two hundred pounds, and be an inhabitant of the district from which they were chosen. The Senate could appoint its own officers and make its own rules. Seven senators were needed to attain a quorum, and whenever fewer than eight senators were present, five assents were necessary to pass measures. The Senate tried all impeachments.

The House of Representatives was to be elected annually by ballot in town meetings in March by adult men who had paid a poll tax. Representatives were to be apportioned among the towns based on the number of “rateable male polls.” Towns, parishes, or places with fewer than 150 ratable polls would be classed with larger towns in electing representatives. Representatives had to be Protestants, inhabitants of the state for at least two years, and own a freehold of at least one hundred pounds. The state treasury paid travel expenses for representatives attending sessions, while the towns paid their “wages.” The House of Representatives had the power to impeach and the power to punish individuals who disrespected the House. The House alone could originate money bills. A quorum consisted of a majority, but when fewer

than two-thirds of the representatives attended, a two-thirds vote was required to pass any measure. The House would elect its speaker and other officers and make its own rules.

The supreme executive authority in the state was to be the president, who had the title "His Excellency." Chosen annually in March, he had to be a Protestant, an inhabitant of the state for seven years, at least thirty years old, and own a freehold estate of at least five hundred pounds. Men eligible to vote for senators and representatives could vote for the president. If no one received a majority vote, the House of Representatives would choose two candidates by ballot from among the top four vote recipients. The Senate would then choose by ballot between the two final candidates. The president was to preside over the Senate, have an equal vote with any other member, and have a casting vote in case of a tie. The president with the advice of the Council, the president's advisory committee, could prorogue the legislature or call special sessions. The president was to be the commander in chief of the state army and navy with the power "to train, instruct, exercise and govern the militia and navy." He could call up the militia or navy and lead them in the field in time of war or when the legislature declared that a state of rebellion existed. The president with the advice of the Council could grant pardons, except in case of conviction by the Senate on impeachment. Most civil and military officers were nominated by the president and confirmed by at least three members of the Council. No militia officer could be removed except by court martial or by address of both houses of the legislature. All appropriations of funds had to be paid by warrant of the president with the advice and consent of the Council. The president and the Council were to "be compensated for their services from time to time by such grants as the General-Court shall think reasonable." Whenever the presidency became vacant, the senior senator would assume that office until the following election.

At its first meeting of the year, the General Court by a joint ballot would choose two senators and three representatives to make up the Council. The president had the authority to convene the Council at any time. A quorum consisted of the president and three councilors. The members of the Council needed to have the same qualifications as senators. They should "not intermeddle" with impeachments, although they were subject to being impeached. The resolutions and advice of the Council were to be recorded in a register that could be examined by either house of the legislature. Any member of the Council could record his dissent from the majority in the register.

The state secretary, treasurer, and commissary-general were to be elected by joint ballot of the General Court. The records of the state

were to be kept in the secretary's office. County treasurers and registers of deeds were to be elected in town meetings as had been customary. The legislature and magistrates were supposed to promote "literature and the sciences, and all seminaries and public schools, to encourage private and public institutions, rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, science, commerce, trades, manufactures and natural history of the country."

All members of the judiciary held their offices during good behavior, except that they could be removed by address of both houses of the legislature. "Permanent and honorable salaries" were to be established by law for the justices of the superior court. The legislature, the president, and the Council could require advisory opinions from the judges "upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions." All commissions of justices of the peace were valid for five years and could be renewed. Clerks of the courts were appointed and served at the pleasure of their courts.

Delegates to Congress were elected annually by the Senate and House of Representatives in their separate branches. They could be recalled and replaced. They had to meet the same qualifications as the president. No one could serve more than three years within any six-year period, nor could a delegate to Congress hold any other office under the United States for which he received a benefit or emolument.

After specifying the oaths of office for government officials, the constitution provided that "The privilege and benefit of the Habeas-Corpus, shall be enjoyed in this State, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the Legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a time not exceeding three months." Dual office-holding was prohibited. "To preserve an effectual adherence to the principles of the Constitution, and to correct any violations thereof," the General Court should call a constitutional convention to meet in seven years from the inception of the present constitution. No alteration in the constitution should be made before being approved by two-thirds of qualified voters present in town meetings.

The General Court under the new constitution met for the first time on 2 June 1784. To commemorate the new government, the Reverend Samuel McClintock, the fifty-two-year-old pastor of the First Congregational Church in Greenland near Portsmouth, delivered a sermon before a joint session of the legislature. A graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), with a graduate degree from Harvard, and formerly an army chaplain during the French and Indian War, McClintock praised Americans for their independence and for their new

state constitutions. They had secured “the rights and privileges of men in a state of civil society.” As few before them, Americans had the “precious opportunity . . . to take up government on its first principles, and to chuse that form which we judge best adapted to our situation, and most promotive of our public interests and happiness.” He cautioned both the new legislators and the freemen of New Hampshire about too frequently changing government. “Every one who is a friend to the order, peace and happiness of society, or who even regards the safety of his own life and property,” should “support and maintain” the new constitution. According to McClintock, government was a “divine institution” that was indispensable because of “the corruption and vices of human nature.” “If mankind were in a state of rectitude there would be no need of the sanctions of human laws to restrain them from vice or to oblige them to do what is right. . . . But in the present disordered state of our nature there would be no safety of life or property without the protection of law.” McClintock warned against too literal an interpretation of the “doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.”

It would be a glaring inconsistency, after people have chosen a form of government, and delegated authority to rulers to exercise the several powers of that government, to form combinations within the State in opposition to their own laws and government. It would be pulling down with one hand what they build up with the other While on the one hand we reject the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and with a jealous eye watch the motions of those in power; let us on the other hand, equally guard against a spirit of faction, that from selfish motives would overturn the foundations of government, and throw all things into confusion. . . . Instead of weakening they should do every thing in their power to strengthen the hands of rulers, and to support them in the exercise of lawful authority.³⁷

In response to Shays’s Rebellion, “*Amicus Reipublicæ*” expressed similar thoughts in a 4 December 1786 pamphlet. “Unreasonable clamours against government let us discountenance and despise. Tumults and insurrections against the constitutions, the laws and administrations of government, let us endeavor to suppress and discourage.—These are evils that spread their influence like witchcraft, and lead on to the most ruinous consequences.” If people had concerns about the actions of government officials, they should “assemble as towns, in an orderly manner, to remonstrate and petition for redress of grievances.” Usually such action would provide relief. If the situation persisted, the people could effect a change each year at the polls.³⁸

New Hampshire Towns Secede from the State

During the years that New Hampshire struggled to adopt a permanent constitution, the state also faced a secession movement from disgruntled towns. Between 1741 and 1764, Governor Benning Wentworth granted charters for about 130 townships west of the Connecticut River and many other townships east of the river in Grafton and Cheshire counties in the north and west of New Hampshire. Towns settled along the Connecticut River felt a rapport with each other; many of them had been populated by families from Connecticut. This rapport was also strengthened by geography. Mountains separated the towns immediately east of the Connecticut River from Portsmouth and Exeter, while the Green Mountains separated the towns immediately west of the river from the western part of present-day Vermont, which was controlled by Ethan and Ira Allen and the “Bennington mob.” The charter and individual land grants west of the Connecticut River were endangered after 1764, when imperial authorities ruled that New York’s boundary north of Massachusetts was the Connecticut River. Such meddling precipitated a land dispute that festered for more than a decade.³⁹

In January 1777, towns west of the Connecticut River compacted together in a new state called New Connecticut and petitioned Congress for recognition. (The name was changed to Vermont in June.) The Allens saw the political advantage of wooing the towns immediately west of the Connecticut River to the cause of Vermont independence and U.S. statehood. Despite their geographical separation from the Allens’ stronghold in western Vermont, towns along the Connecticut River were important in establishing Vermont’s territorial claim, as the river had been recognized as the extent of New York’s boundary. New York’s primary consideration was the suppression of the Vermont independence movement and the maintenance of New York’s historic rights to the territory. New Hampshire no doubt kept a close watch on the boundary dispute between Vermont and New York, especially in light of disgruntled New Hampshire freemen living on or near the eastern bank of Connecticut River.⁴⁰

New Hampshire towns along the Connecticut River felt separated from the state’s eastern towns not only geographically, but also politically. Freemen in northern and western New Hampshire felt that they were unfairly represented in the state legislature. For more than four years, 1778–82, a complicated struggle occurred between several political factions and legislatures. Towns in Grafton and Cheshire counties did not send delegates to the first three New Hampshire provincial congresses. Under the state constitution of 1776, the thirty-five Grafton

County towns were given six representatives in the state House of Representatives and one member in the Council. The thirty-three Cheshire County towns were allotted fifteen representatives and two members in the Council. This small representation angered the westerners. Freemen there believed that the Declaration of Independence had abrogated all authority and that each town being in a state of nature should be given one representative in the provincial legislature.⁴¹

On 11 June 1777, the western New Hampshire towns met in convention in Hanover and agreed to three conditions to maintain New Hampshire's unity: (1) each town had to have at least one member of the House of Representatives, (2) the state capital needed to be more centrally located, and (3) a new constitution needed to be drafted. A committee of the towns was appointed to negotiate with the legislature. The committee went to Exeter in November 1777, but nothing resulted from the negotiations.⁴²

In March 1778 sixteen western towns petitioned the Vermont legislature for admission to the new state. Significant minorities in the sixteen towns opposed this secession, but they were suppressed by a majority that looked to unite with Vermont. On 17 May the Vermont legislature agreed to accept the New Hampshire towns if freemen in Vermont and the New Hampshire towns agreed to such an annexation. On 11 June the Vermont Assembly formalized the annexation by a vote of 37 to 12. On 18 July, Meshech Weare, president of the New Hampshire Council, notified Josiah Bartlett, the state's delegate to the Continental Congress, that the annexation had occurred: "they are Appointing officers, Courts, &c. which is like to make the utmost confusion and trouble among the People there & in this State And will probably give some trouble to Congress before the matter is Settled." Weare told Bartlett that "great pains are taking to perswade other Towns to follow their Example." Weare also informed Bartlett that, based on the best information available, "nearly one half of the People in the revolted Towns, are averse to the proceedings of the Majority; who threaten to confiscate their Estates if they don't join with them." Weare was fearful that the whole affair "will end in the shedding of Blood." New Hampshire sought the aid of Congress. According to Weare, "unless Congress interfere, (whose Admonitions I believe will be obeyed) I know not what consequences will follow, its very probable the Sword will decide it, as the Minority in those Towns, are claiming protection from this State, and they think themselves bound by every tie, to afford it." On 22 August, Weare sent a strongly worded protest to Vermont Governor Thomas Chittenden.⁴³

From Congress, Bartlett responded to Weare telling him that he conferred with other New England delegates who advised him to turn the matter over to Congress and seek its advice. Bartlett handed over the documents and “Every person who spoke on the Subject severely Condemned the Conduct of the Revolted Towns & of Vermont.” A solution was not so easy. When Ethan Allen arrived in Philadelphia to discuss Vermont statehood with Congress, he saw how upset Congress was with the annexation. Allen asked Bartlett “not to press Congress to take up the matter till he had an opportunity to Return to Vermont & lay the matter before their Assembly,” which was scheduled to meet on 8 October. Allen told Bartlett that he was “perswaded they will Resind their vote for Receiving those Towns and Disclaim any pretensions to the East Side of [the] Connecticut River.” According to Bartlett’s account, Allen noted that the vote for annexation

was past by a Small majority . . . he had opposed the Measure and that if Vermont Does not Rescind the vote He with a very Considerable number who he is Sure will Join him will petition Congress against it and that he will himself present the petition to Congress and will use Every other means in his power to procure Newhampshire Redress against So unjust and impolitic a measure.⁴⁴

Allen promised to keep President Weare informed. Bartlett agreed not to press the matter with Congress, affording Allen some time to negotiate with the Vermont Assembly. Before Allen left Philadelphia, Congress intimated to him that Vermont would never achieve statehood while possessed of the New Hampshire towns. Allen also obtained New Hampshire’s promise of support for Vermont statehood if the Vermont Assembly agreed to repudiate any claim to New Hampshire towns. Allen returned to Vermont and successfully got the Vermont Assembly to renounce the towns’ annexation.⁴⁵

Allen wrote President Weare on 23 October 1778 informing him that the annexation had been accepted “Inadvertently by Influence of Designing men.” That union was, in Allen’s opinion, “entirely Dissolved.” He hoped “that the Government of New-hampshire will Excuse the Imbecility of Vermont in the matter,” would not seek to extend its claims west of the Connecticut River, and would “Accede to the Independency of the State of Vermont as the last Obstacles are Honourably removed.” Weare was not completely satisfied. He had received Allen’s letter and another from Vermont Governor Chittenden saying “‘That no additional Exercise of Jurisdictional authority be had by this State East of [the] Connecticut River for the time being.’” Weare indicated

that this statement “by no means expresses their future designs or intentions in the matter.”⁴⁶

In the meantime, on 9 December 1778, delegates from twenty-two towns both east and west of the Connecticut River met in Cornish. Preferring neither Vermont nor New Hampshire, they voted to join the state that would accept them as a unit or, if necessary, to seek separate statehood as a unit. The opinions of men like Allen only seemed to embolden the western separatists.⁴⁷

On 4 March 1779, Allen responded to Weare’s concerns over possible ulterior motives by Vermont leaders, assuring Weare that the annexation attempt had received “its death wound” at the October session of the Vermont Assembly. Without a dissenting vote, the Assembly had “in the fullest and most explicit manner” dissolved the union. Allen hoped that New Hampshire officials would “vigorously exert their authority, to the East Banks of the River,” because he believed that “the Schism on both sides, to be Equally against both Governments and therefore both should join to suppress it.”⁴⁸

Disenchanted with Vermont leaders’ disavowal of the earlier annexation, delegates from the river towns attended the New Hampshire legislature and won approval of a plan that, if successful in Congress, would grant New Hampshire control of all of Vermont. By claiming Vermont’s territory for itself, New Hampshire might be able to settle the boundary issue forever. At issue was the legitimacy of land claims: Was Vermont within New York’s ambit—per the 1764 order in council that the Connecticut River was New York’s boundary north of Massachusetts—or within New Hampshire’s—based on Governor Wentworth’s original land grants, some of which were for towns west of the river? New Hampshire leaders imagined that they could accomplish two principal aims by making a claim on Vermont: (1) address the dilemma of the river towns, quashing the towns’ separatism by reaffirming New Hampshire’s claims to the Connecticut River and, once this first aim was accomplished, (2) support Vermont statehood. On 17 November 1779, the New Hampshire legislature passed a law allowing the Continental Congress to arbitrate with New York over New Hampshire’s claims. All parties in the dispute—New Hampshire, New York, and the river towns—sent representatives to Congress, but the issue was still undecided by September 1780.⁴⁹

Many freemen in the western towns still distrusted the New Hampshire legislature. A convention composed of forty-three towns from both sides of the Connecticut River met on 16 January 1781 in Charlestown, Cheshire County, and voted that the Connecticut River towns be

given to New Hampshire and that the Green Mountains be New Hampshire's new western border. Territory west of the Green Mountains would be assigned to New York. The day after this proposal was accepted, Ira Allen addressed the convention and effected a total change, making a case for thirty-six Grafton and Cheshire County towns to join Vermont. On 8 February, the Vermont Assembly agreed to this second annexation and also voted to extend its western border into New York's territory. On 20 August, Congress announced that Vermont statehood would never occur as long as it retained control over New Hampshire and New York territory. But the Vermont Assembly, meeting in Charlestown on the east side of the Connecticut River, refused to abrogate its most recent annexation. By this time, however, many freemen in New Hampshire's western towns still expressed their disapproval of the annexation. Vermont appointed local officials and their heavy-handed treatment of freemen loyal to New Hampshire alienated many. In November an incident in Chesterfield nearly caused a civil war. To avert a crisis Congress again reiterated that Vermont statehood would never be granted if it retained possession of the New Hampshire towns. On 8 January 1782 the New Hampshire legislature authorized that 1,000 troops be sent to the west under the command of Major General John Sullivan to bring the rebellion to an end. Four days later the legislature issued a proclamation giving residents of the seceding towns forty days to acknowledge that the Connecticut River was New Hampshire's western border. Fortunately, no fighting occurred.⁵⁰

In a letter dated 1 January 1782, General George Washington, at the request of Congress, addressed Vermont Governor Thomas Chittenden and prodded the Vermont Assembly into renouncing its most recent annexation. Concluding with a veiled threat, Washington wrote that "There is no calamity within the compass of my foresight, which is more to be dreaded, than a necessity of coercion on the part of Congress." On 20 February, the Vermont Assembly dissolved the union with the New Hampshire towns and set the eastern border of Vermont at the Connecticut River. After four years, freemen in the western towns accepted their fate as part of New Hampshire.⁵¹

Postwar Problems

Like the other states, New Hampshire experienced a brief period of prosperity toward the end of the Revolutionary War. With commerce restored between the U.S. and Great Britain, American merchants took advantage of long-term credit and low interest rates offered by British merchants and built up demand for British manufactures by American consumers. But British trade restrictions, especially those in the order

in council of 2 July 1783, severely limited American exports to the British West Indies, thus requiring British imports to be paid for in specie. This situation soon resulted in a severe scarcity of circulating medium in America. The loss of traditional markets and the scarcity of specie contributed to a serious deflationary cycle in which the price of agricultural produce and land fell precipitously.

Because both the state and Confederation governments had difficulty raising revenue, they were unable to pay the interest or principal due on government securities owed to soldiers and farmers. New Hampshire securities depreciated to eighty percent below par. Many Americans found themselves in debt and owing back taxes. When creditors (who were often debtors themselves) could not collect the debts owed to them, they found it impossible to pay their creditors. The bankruptcy of one individual occasionally led to the bankruptcy of others. Sheriffs would seize farms and sell them at public auctions, but due to the depressed prices for agricultural produce and land, the revenue derived from these public sales was often insufficient to pay the back taxes and debts in full. Impoverished farmers faced debtors' prison. Seemingly well-to-do landholders and merchants were not immune to these personal financial crises.

Beginning as early as December 1782 and accelerating monthly thereafter, town meetings sent petitions to the legislature seeking relief. Petitions from town meetings demanded the reduction of direct taxes, tariffs on imports, laws making produce and land legal tender, stay laws, protection from aggressive creditors, lower legal fees, and an emission of paper money to be loaned on real estate collateral. Often issued successfully during the colonial years to combat deflation, paper money began to trouble creditors because of runaway inflation caused by too much paper money during the revolutionary years. Merchants in Portsmouth desired a state navigation act to limit the predatory practices of British merchants. Knowing that New Hampshire alone could do little to adjust British-American commerce, the New Hampshire legislature supported amendments to the Articles of Confederation giving Congress the authority to establish a tariff on imports and granting it power to regulate commerce.⁵²

The New Hampshire legislature actively responded to calls for relief. Legislators voted to suspend the aggressive collection of back taxes and then gradually reduced the state tax from £110,000 in 1782 to £22,000 in 1785. In 1784 they prohibited the public auction of debtor estates, enacted a tariff, and allowed justices of the peace to handle all cases valued less than £10, thus making it easier and less expensive for debtors to pay legal fees. New state certificates were issued and used to pay

the interest on the state debt. These certificates could be used to pay taxes. Unfortunately, the certificates did little to alleviate the scarcity of a circulating medium; most of them were paid to speculators who had already accumulated much of the state debt at greatly depreciated prices. By a vote of 64 to 17 the legislature allowed debtors to use personal estate as payment for debts in lieu of specie. Debtors who offered this type of payment could not be incarcerated. The legislature also passed a navigation act discriminating against goods shipped in British vessels and provided bounties to encourage domestic production of iron, steel, wool, tobacco, linseed oil, and other goods. But none of these measures seemed to stem the downward economic spiral as hard times persisted.⁵³

By 1785 the factional divide in the New Hampshire legislature thwarted efforts at further relief. Newspaper articles denounced state officials—particularly members of the Council and the legislature—for corruption and favoritism. A bitter four-way battle over the election of a new state president in 1785 further alienated freemen. Anti-debtor policies during John Langdon's presidency disaffected many, resulting in the overwhelming victory of John Sullivan as president in 1786 and the election of forty-five new members of the House of Representatives. William Plumer wrote to his brother lamenting that "The change is not for the better." He hoped that the upcoming legislative session would not bring paper money, but he feared what might pass in the subsequent session. Sullivan's supporters had intimated that he favored a loan office with a new emission of paper money. When Sullivan refused to support a paper-money program, his support diminished. Former president John Langdon, who had become speaker of the House of Representatives, also opposed paper money.⁵⁴

Unable to obtain relief from the legislature, freemen from various towns, without the consent of town meetings, began to elect delegates to unofficial conventions.⁵⁵ Plumer described several of these "self-created" conventions, one of which had assembled in Londonderry.

On the 10th, 150 men met at Emery's tavern in this town. They were from 15 towns, but were not elected by the towns. This meeting elected 67 of their own number, who met, chose a chairman, and appointed two clerks. After two days spent in debate, they resolved that they would adopt such measures as should compel the General Court to emit paper money. They appointed a committee of 18 to devise a plan and draw a petition to the legislature, and then adjourned to meet at Chester, the 20th of this month. The Convention is now in session in that town.⁵⁶

Personally acquainted with convention delegates, Plumer described them as “men of feeble intellect.” “Very few of them know what they do,” wrote Plumer, “or are apprehensive to what their measures tend.” Plumer hoped that “these visionary schemes will not end in acts of rebellion against the constituted authorities,” though he feared that they would.⁵⁷

The New Hampshire legislature further alienated freemen when, responding to a request from the Confederation Congress, it passed a law making the Treaty of Peace the law of the land. The House of Representatives defeated the measure on 14 September 1786 by a vote of 34 to 32. The next day, however, newly arrived John Pickering championed the bill, which was passed by a vote of 44 to 34.⁵⁸ Plumer favored the act, arguing that “National honor ought to be estimated higher than national wealth,” but opponents of the bill in the legislature and throughout the state found its provisions reprehensible. According to Plumer, the law

permits those who did not take up arms in the late war against the United States to return and live in the State. It allows those who were in arms to return and live a year without any molestation to collect their debts and settle their affairs; and that none of them shall be subject to prosecution for any thing by them done during the war. Some of the members, particularly those from Londonderry, [Daniel] Runnels and [Archibald] McMurphey, reported, “That the Act authorized the tories to return, and obliged the State to repurchase and restore to them the confiscated estates, and that a heavy tax would be assessed on all the people for that purpose.” These reports have inflamed the minds of many, and enraged the members of the Rockingham Convention.⁵⁹

With all of this disgruntling news, it was “whispered” that the Rockingham Convention then in session intended “to adopt coercive measures.” An armed force started gathering to compel the legislature to repeal the Treaty Act and to issue paper money. Observers expected that “a great accession of numbers from every town in the vicinity” would join in the march on Exeter, where the legislature was meeting, and that several legislators would offer their support as well. At 11:00 A.M. on 20 September 1786 word arrived in Exeter that a band of armed men was camped on the plains at Kingston. By 3:00 P.M. they had reached the outskirts of Exeter.⁶⁰

Led by Captain Joseph French and several militia officers, the mob numbered about two hundred, eighty of whom carried “fire and side arms.” The others were armed with “clubs and staves.” Some were on

horseback. Most marched on foot in military parade “with the drum beating and their arms clubbed.” Collected from Londonderry, Hampstead, Hawke, Sandown, Bedford, Goffstown, Raymond and a few other towns, the mob “made a miserable appearance—dirty, ragged fellows—many of them were young and most of them ignorant.”⁶¹

Mob leaders sent their ultimatum to the legislature. Referring to their previous petition calling for a variety of relief measures, including an emission of paper money and the abolition of debts, the mob was now “determined to do ourselves that justice which the laws of God and man dictate to us.” They hoped that the legislature would redress their grievances “and not drive us to a state of desperation.”⁶²

The House of Representatives appointed a committee of five to join with those to be appointed by the Senate to meet with the mob leaders. The Senate, however, viewing the insurgents’ petition as “an outrageous insult upon the Legislature,” unanimously refused to consult with the mob. President Sullivan told the House of Representatives “That a compliance with a request from an armed mob would, in his opinion, be a sacrifice of their duty. That for his own part he was determined that no consideration of personal danger should ever compel him to betray his trust.”⁶³

Rebuffed by the legislature, the insurgents marched into town and then surrounded the meeting house in which the legislature was assembled. Stationing armed sentinels at the doors and windows, the mob allowed no one in or out of the building. Severe threats were yelled at the legislators: “their confinement” would continue “untill after their petition should be granted.” The legislature, however, proceeded with its normal business. The insurgents demanded the repeal of the Treaty Act, “declaring that those who voted for it ought to be punished with death.” Other demands included an emission of paper money, an equal distribution of property, the “annihilation of debts, freedom from taxes, the abolition of lawyers, the destruction of the Inferior Courts, [and] the reduction of salaries [for government officials].” All of the insurgents “exclaimed against law and government.”⁶⁴

At sunset President Sullivan and the Senate attempted to leave the building but were forcibly prevented. Exeter inhabitants asked Sullivan if they should organize and disarm the insurgents. Sullivan refused the offer. Twenty inhabitants, including William Plumer, assembled and marched unarmed to talk with mob leaders. When spectators joined the twenty inhabitants some of the frightened insurgents started to disperse. Sullivan appealed to mob leaders to allow him to leave. If allowed to leave, he would calm the inhabitants and “prevent the effusion of blood.” They agreed to release Sullivan who went to his lodgings. From

there he sent two messengers to mob leaders ordering them to disperse. Captain French ordered the mob to retire to the outskirts of town and re-assemble at 9:00 the next morning.⁶⁵

“Unanimously authorized” by the legislature, President Sullivan “immediately issued his orders” for the militia to meet in the morning with their arms. By 4:00 A.M. militiamen were on the scene. Within two hours squads of militia arrested one mob leader. By 8:00 A.M. militia cavalry and light infantry arrived. A couple of mob leaders ordered their men to fire on the militia. They refused. The insurgents dispersed without the loss of any blood.⁶⁶

Thirty-nine men were taken and imprisoned. All were brought before the legislature on 22 September 1786, and over the course of the next days all but five were released and pardoned. On 25 September the state attorney general “filed an Information” against five leaders to stand trial in the Superior Court. The legislature wanted the five charged with riot rather than treason, a capital offense. The five “plead not guilty.” One of the five was released on bail of £50 when no evidence was found except that he came into town with the mob. The other four were released on bail of £100. Two other leaders were also arrested, one in Sandown and one in Londonderry, and charged. The Court released the prisoners on bail. Plumer worried that the surety was too small. “It has the appearance of estimating rebellion only as a petty offence. Too much lenity is as fatal to government as too much severity.”⁶⁷

Both houses of the legislature voted thanks “to the brave Officers and Soldiers of the Militia for the great Zeal and Alacrity they have discovered in supporting the constitutional Authority of the State and for displaying a Spirit of patriotism and public Virtue.” The House of Representatives voted to thank President Sullivan “for his firm, zealous and decisive exertions in suppressing the late audacious insurrection of a body of unprincipled men against the legislative authority of this state.” The House assured Sullivan that his conduct met their “highest approbation and esteem.”⁶⁸

A relieved William Plumer wrote from Epping that “the most dangerous mob we have ever had [has] been suppressed, and that without any untoward accident.” He believed that some benefit would be derived from the mob:

the government will gain strength by this event. Its warmest friends are animated by seeing the promptness with which all orders and classes of men came forward in its support. The timid are encouraged and supported; and the vile race of time servers no longer

hesitate—they speak loud in support of law and order. If our rulers have wisdom and prudence to improve the present moment, this disturbance will terminate to our advantage. The militia may be arranged, officered and disciplined. And if the legislature will maintain their dignity within their own walls, they will receive ample support and revenue from without. The complaints against Courts and against taxes will cease, when men are persuaded that the government is permanent. The Legislature ought to give, and not receive, the *tone* to the people. The *few*, and not the many, are *wise*, and ought to bear rule.⁶⁹

Plumer was happy that the crisis arose so quickly in New Hampshire. “Had the same spirit of jealousy, distrust and uneasiness increased for two years to come as it has done for eight months past, their numbers would have rendered them formidable.” It was fortunate that the insurgents

attacked the Legislature, the fountain head of law and order, and not the Inferior Courts, as did the insurgents of Massachusetts. Theirs struck at the streams, but ours aimed a bold stroke at the fountain head. This has brought the contest to a single point—whether we would yield up our government and all our dearest rights to an ignorant lawless band of unprincipled ruffians!⁷⁰

At the same time that the Exeter riot took place, Shays’s Rebellion unfolded in neighboring Massachusetts, where insurgents closed local civil courts to prevent foreclosures on debtor properties. Lasting several months, the Shaysites’ resistance was eventually suppressed in February 1787. But the potential for further turmoil had not been completely mitigated. New Hampshireites believed that something had to be done to strengthen the Confederation Congress allowing it effectively to respond to the exigencies of the time. The New Hampshire legislature was ready to join in efforts to amend the Articles of Confederation.

New Hampshire and the Constitutional Convention

On 4 March 1786 the New Hampshire legislature appointed Joshua Wentworth, John Sparhawk, and Thomas Martin as commissioners to the Annapolis Convention to examine the commercial policy of the United States. On 14 June, John Langdon and James Sheafe were added to the delegation. None attended.⁷¹

In response to the Annapolis Convention’s report calling for a general convention of the states to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation, the New Hampshire House of Representatives resolved on 17 January 1787 to appoint and authorize any

two of the state's congressional delegates to attend the proposed gathering. Being sensitive to the unofficial status of the Annapolis Convention, the New Hampshire Senate proposed an amendment to the House's resolution: "that the said delegates shall proceed to join the convention aforesaid in case Congress shall signify to them, that they approve of the said convention as advantageous to the union, and not an infringement of the powers granted to Congress by the confederation." The House read and concurred with this amendment. Without referring to the report of the Annapolis Convention, the Confederation Congress on 21 February resolved that a convention should be held in May in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation.⁷²

While waiting for a quorum, Confederation Secretary at War Henry Knox, at the behest of several Convention delegates already assembled in Philadelphia, wrote his close friend New Hampshire President John Sullivan encouraging him to get the state's delegates to attend the Convention.

Impressed most fully with the belief that we are verging fast to anarchy, and that the present Convention is the only mean of avoiding the most flagitious evils that ever afflicted three millions of freemen I . . . beg leave to have recourse to your kind friendship. . . . Endeavor then my dear Sir to push this matter with all yr powers.⁷³

Because of a shortage of funds in the state treasury, none of the four New Hampshire delegates to Congress (Nicholas Gilman, John Langdon, Pierse Long, or John Sparhawk) attended Congress during the meeting of the Constitutional Convention. In response to Knox's letter, Sullivan called on the New Hampshire legislature to appoint delegates. On 22 June the House of Representatives voted that the legislature's two houses should elect Convention delegates by a joint ballot. The Senate rejected the idea of a joint ballot. Five days later, both houses passed an act electing and empowering delegates to the Convention.⁷⁴ After acknowledging the imperfections of the Articles of Confederation and the weaknesses of the Confederation Congress, the act mentioned the crisis that faced Americans:

And whereas Congress hath, by repeated and most urgent representations, endeavoured to awaken this, and other states of the union, to a sense of the truly critical, and alarming situation, in which they may inevitably be involved, unless timely measures be taken to enlarge the powers of Congress, that they may thereby be enabled, to avert the dangers which threaten our existance, as a

free and independent people. And whereas, this state hath been ever desirous to act upon the liberal system of the general good of the united states, without circumscribing its views to the narrow, and selfish objects, of partial convenience; and has been at all times ready to make every concession to the safety and happiness of the whole, which justice and sound policy could vindicate⁷⁵—

The legislature then appointed John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West as delegates to the Convention then meeting in Philadelphia “to discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remedy the defects of our federal union; and to procure, and secure, the enlarged purposes which it was intended to effect.” Langdon and Gilman first attended the Convention on 23 July 1787. Langdon paid the expenses associated with their attendance. Langdon actively took part in debates during the Convention’s last two months, speaking on twenty-six occasions and serving on three committees. Gilman, however, made no speeches and only served on one committee.⁷⁶

Some sense of the attitude of New Hampshire’s delegates toward the Convention can be derived from a letter that Nicholas Gilman wrote shortly after his arrival for the Convention’s secret proceedings.

I have the pleasure to inform you of my having arrived at this place on the 21st instant, Mr Langdon arrived a few hours before and, notwithstanding we are so late in the day, it is a circumstance, in this critical state of affairs, that seems highly pleasing to the Convention in general.—Much has been done (though nothing conclusively) and much remains to do—A great diversity of sentiment must be expected on this great Occasion: feeble minds are for feeble measures & some for patching the old garment with here & there a shred of new Stuff; while vigorous minds and warm Constitution[alist]s advocate a high toned Monarchy—This is perhaps a necessary contrast as “all natures difference keeps all natures peace” it is probable the conclusion will be on a medium between the two extremes.—

As secrecy is not otherwise enjoined than as prudence may dictate to each individual—in a letter to my brother John [Taylor Gilman], of the 28th instant, I gave him (for the satisfaction of two or three who will not make it public) a hint respecting the general principles of the plan of national Government, that will probably be handed out—which will not be submitted to the Legislatures but after the approbation of Congress to an assembly or assemblies of Representatives recommended by the several Legislatures, to be expressly chosen by the people to consider & decide thereon.—

Great wisdom & prudence as well as liberality of Sentiment & a readiness to surrender natural rights & privileges for the good of the nation appears in the southern delegates in general and I most devoutly wish that the same spirit may pervade the whole Country that the people by absurdly endeavoring to retain all their natural rights may not be involved in Calamitous factions which would end but with the loss of all

. . . I think the business of the Convention will not be completed untill the first of September⁷⁷—

The Constitutional Convention finished its work on 17 September 1787, when thirty-nine delegates signed the new plan of government. New Hampshire's two attending delegates, Langdon and Gilman, were among the signers. The Convention delegates received copies of a six-page broadside of the Constitution printed by Dunlap & Claypoole, and the Convention ordered the engrossed signed parchment of the Constitution be sent to the Confederation Congress in New York City. Congress read the Constitution on 20 September. Langdon and Gilman were two of ten Convention delegates who traveled to Congress and joined twenty-three other congressional delegates who considered the Constitution between 26 and 28 September, culminating in a unanimous resolution sending the Constitution to the state legislatures to be submitted to conventions elected by the people.

1. New Hampshire Delegates to Matthew Thornton, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, 2 October 1775, Smith, *Letters*, II, 98–99.

2. Samuel Ward Diary, 18 October 1775, Smith, *Letters*, II, 200–201.

3. JCC, III, 307; and New Hampshire Delegates to William Whipple, 26 October 1775, Smith, *Letters*, II, 259.

4. JCC, III, 319. A similar resolution was passed on 4 November for South Carolina, and then on 15 May 1776 such a resolution was addressed to all of the colonies.

5. Josiah Bartlett to Matthew Thornton, 3 November 1775, Frank C. Mevers, ed., *The Papers of Josiah Bartlett* (Hanover, N.H., 1979), 27–28.

6. Nathaniel Bouton et al., eds., *Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire, 1623–1800* (40 vols., Concord and Manchester, N.H., 1867–1943), VII, 701–2.

7. *Ibid.*, VIII, 2–3. The constitution was printed as a two-page broadside in Portsmouth (Evans 14901).

8. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, VIII, 2–4.

9. *Ibid.*, VIII, 24–27.

10. *Ibid.*, VIII, 16–17.

11. *Ibid.*, VIII, 66.

12. Samuel Adams to John Adams, 15 January 1776, Smith, *Letters*, III, 93.

13. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, VIII, 15.

14. *Ibid.*, VIII, 14–15.

15. *Ibid.*, VIII, 65–66.

16. *Ibid.*, VIII, 67.

17. Josiah Bartlett to John Langdon, 5 March 1776, Smith, *Letters*, III, 333–34.

18. *Ibid.*
19. Evans 14902.
20. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, VIII, 138–39, 149–50.
21. Nathaniel Folsom to Josiah Bartlett, 14 August 1776, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 104. The Latin expression *Ultimo Ratio Regis* means “the final argument of kings” (i.e., a resort to arms; war).
22. CDR, 96, 101–2.
23. Josiah Bartlett to George Frost and Nathaniel Folsom, 14 March 1778, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 177.
24. John Langdon to Josiah Bartlett, 1 August 1778, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 203; and CDR, 94, 124.
25. Evans 18047.
26. Evans 18046.
27. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, VIII, 775–76.
28. John Langdon to Josiah Bartlett, 20 June 1778, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 188.
29. Josiah Bartlett to Meshech Weare, 20 July 1778, and John Langdon to Josiah Bartlett, 1 August, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 201–2, 203–4, respectively.
30. Meshech Weare to Josiah Bartlett, 8 August 1778, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 206.
31. Josiah Bartlett to William Whipple, 3 April 1779, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 251.
32. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, IX, 833–42.
33. *Ibid.*, 842–919; and *An Address of the Convention for Framing a Constitution of Government for the People of New-Hampshire, To the Freemen Thereof, Voted at their last Meeting, viz. on the First Tuesday of June 1783* (Portsmouth, 1783) (Evans 18042), 2, 8.
34. *A Constitution, Containing a Bill of Rights, and Form of Government . . .* (Portsmouth, 1783) (Evans 18043), 47.
35. For the New Hampshire bill of rights, including the substance of the following three paragraphs, see Appendix I (RCS:N.H., 465–71n).
36. For excerpts from the New Hampshire constitution (1784), including the substance of the succeeding paragraphs, see Appendix I (RCS:N.H., 471–75).
37. Samuel McClintock, *A Sermon Preached Before the Honorable the Council, and the Honorable the Senate, and House of Representatives, of the State of New-Hampshire, June 3, 1784. On Occasion of the Commencement of the New Constitution and Form of Government* (Portsmouth, 1784) (Evans 18567), 23, 43, 44, 45.
38. *An Address to the Public, Containing Some Remarks on the Present Political State of the American Republics, &c. By Amicus Reipublicæ* (Exeter, 1786 or 1787) (Evans 20179), 18, 36. This essay might have been written by Benjamin Thurston.
39. Richard Francis Upton, *Revolutionary New Hampshire: An Account of the Social and Political Forces Underlying the Transition from Royal Province to American Commonwealth* (Hanover, N.H., 1936), 189; and Jere R. Daniell, *Experiment in Republicanism: New Hampshire Politics and the American Revolution, 1741–1794* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 145–46.
40. Upton, 192–93.
41. *Ibid.*, 189–90.
42. *Ibid.*, 192.
43. *Ibid.*, 192–93; and Daniell, 154. And see Meshech Weare to Josiah Bartlett, 18 July, 19 August 1778, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 200, 210–11, respectively.
44. Josiah Bartlett to Meshech Weare, 26 September 1778, Mevers, *Bartlett*, 225–26.
45. *Ibid.*, 226; Upton, 193–94; and Daniell, 155.
46. Ethan Allen to Meshech Weare, 23 October 1778, and Weare to Allen, 5 November 1778, John J. Duffy, ed., *Ethan Allen and His Kin: Correspondence, 1772–1819* (2 vols., Hanover, N.H., 1998), I, 85–86, 87, respectively.
47. Upton, 194.

48. Ethan Allen to Meshech Weare, 4 March 1779, Duffy, *Ethan Allen*, I, 90–91.
49. Upton, 194–95.
50. *Ibid.*, 195–97.
51. George Washington to Thomas Chittenden, 1 January 1782, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington . . .* (39 vols., Washington, D.C., 1931–1944), XXIII, 421; and Upton, 197.
52. Daniell, 185–86.
53. *Ibid.*, 186–88.
54. *Ibid.*, 189–96; and William Plumer to Samuel Plumer, Jr., 6 June 1786, Worthington C. Ford, ed., “Letters of William Plumer, 1786–1787,” *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 11, *Transactions, 1906–1907* (Boston, 1910), 385.
55. Daniell, 197–99.
56. William Plumer to Samuel Plumer, Jr., 22 July 1786, “Plumer Letters,” 385.
57. *Ibid.*, 386.
58. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, XX, 697–98, 699; and Daniell, 198.
59. William Plumer to John Hale, 18 September 1786, “Plumer Letters,” 389, 390.
60. *Ibid.* The following account of the Exeter riot, its suppression, and its aftermath is largely taken from letters written by Plumer to Hale on 18, 20, 21, and 26 September and 6 October 1786 (pp. 387–98). The letters detail Plumer’s firsthand experience as an observer and, later, as part of the militia that quelled the rebellion. See also Daniell, 198.
61. Plumer to Hale, 20 September 1786, “Plumer Letters,” 391.
62. *Ibid.*, 390–91.
63. *Ibid.*, 391.
64. *Ibid.*, 391–92.
65. *Ibid.*, 392.
66. *Ibid.*; and Plumer to Hale, 21 September 1786, “Plumer Letters,” 393.
67. Plumer to Hale, 21, 26 September 1786, “Plumer Letters,” 393–96.
68. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, XX, 680, 708, 711.
69. Plumer to Hale, 21 September 1786, “Plumer Letters,” 394.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, XX, 483, 545; and CDR, 177.
72. RCS:N.H., 477–78.
73. Bouton, *Documents and Records*, XXI, 834–35.
74. RCS:N.H., 478, 479, 481–82.
75. *Ibid.*, 481–82.
76. *Ibid.*, 482; and Farrand, III, 588.
77. Nicholas Gilman to Joseph Gilman, 31 July 1787, Farrand, III, 66.

Note on Sources

Legislative and Executive Records

The texts of the journals of the two houses of the state legislature—the House of Representatives and the Senate—have been taken from the official printed versions that were published in 1787 and 1788. John Melcher of the *New Hampshire Gazette* printed the journals of the Senate for its seven sessions covering the period 13 December 1786 through 13 November 1788 (Evans 20555–57, 21287–90), while George Jerry Osborne of the *New Hampshire Spy* printed the journals of the House of Representatives for its seven sessions (Evans 20550–52, 21283–86). Manuscript copies of the journals for both houses are in the New Hampshire State Archives. (For other copies of the journals or parts of them, see House of Representatives Proceedings, 11 December 1787, RCS:N.H., 139, note 1.) Loose manuscripts, such as resolutions and drafts of bills, are in “State Records, Documents Series 1901, 1690–1796” (55 volumes), also in the New Hampshire State Archives. The legislature’s proceedings have been supplemented by various reports printed in the state’s newspapers, especially the semiweekly *New Hampshire Spy*. Other New Hampshire newspapers usually reprinted items from the *Spy*.

The journals of both houses were also printed in Volumes XX and XXI of Nathaniel Bouton et al., eds., *Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire, 1623–1800* (40 vols., Concord and Manchester, N.H., 1867–1943) (Volume XX was published in Manchester in 1891 and Volume XXI the next year in Concord.) Preceding the journal for the June sessions of the Senate are the names of New Hampshire’s president, other state and judicial officers, military officers, senators, and delegates to the Confederation Congress. Preceding the journal for the June sessions of the House of Representatives are the names of the officers and members of the House.

Robert Gerrish of the *New Hampshire Mercury* printed the acts and laws covering the period 13 February 1786 through 18 January 1787 and perhaps 19 June through 23 September 1787 and 2 February through 18 June 1788 (Evans 20548–49, 21282). The “Original Manuscript Acts, 1692–1816” (23 volumes), are in the New Hampshire State Archives. They were published in ten volumes as Albert S. Batchellor et al., eds., *Laws of New Hampshire . . . [1679–1835]* (Manchester and Concord, N.H., 1904–1922).

The sources for the executive branch of New Hampshire are not as voluminous as those for the legislative branch. The “State Papers, Revolution, 1775–1789,” in the New Hampshire State Archives has letters written to the state president by New Hampshire delegates to the Confederation Congress, the secretary of Congress (Charles Thomson), and the executives of other states.

Personal Papers

None of the New Hampshire participants in the ratification debate left extensive manuscript collections. Personal papers published in this volume have been found in manuscript collections in twenty-six repositories in the United States, France, and The Netherlands. One letter is privately owned and five items come from printed sources. Few manuscripts provide lengthy discussions or analyses of the provisions of the Constitution.

Only three New Hampshire repositories have supplied private letters printed in this volume. Seven letters are printed from the John Langdon Papers in the Portsmouth Athenæum and two from the Langdon Papers in Strawberry Banke. Four letters come from the Langdon/Elwyn Papers, two from the John Sullivan Papers, and one from the Paine Wingate Papers in the New Hampshire Historical Society. Three official letters, all from congressional delegate Nicholas Gilman to New Hampshire state president John Sullivan, are also found in State Papers, Revolution, 1775–1789, at the New Hampshire State Archives.

The largest number of personal letters printed in this volume come from libraries outside of New Hampshire, particularly the Library of Congress, Houghton Library at Harvard University, Massachusetts Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, and Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The bulk of the letters from the Library of Congress are from the presidential papers of George Washington, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson, while at the Massachusetts Historical Society the majority of the letters are from the Jeremy Belknap Papers. The majority of letters from the New-York Historical Society come from the Rufus King and John Lamb Papers and the Gilder Lehrman Collection (Henry Knox Papers). The rich autograph collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania contain almost all of the letters dealing with New Hampshire ratification.

Newspapers

In the years 1787 and 1788, New Hampshire had five newspapers; three were published in Portsmouth, one each in Exeter and Keene.

Four of the newspapers were weeklies, while the Portsmouth *New Hampshire Spy* was a semiweekly. All five newspapers supported the ratification of the Constitution. In fact, an unidentified Antifederalist leader, who was a delegate to the New Hampshire ratifying Convention, noted that “the Presses” of New Hampshire were “entirely devoted to the federalists” (Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 July 1788 [Mfm:N.H. 132]).

Portsmouth’s weekly *The New-Hampshire Gazette, and the General Advertiser*, printed by John Melcher (1759–1850), played an important part in the ratification debate. It printed original pieces and reprinted important articles from other states. On 5 June 1788 Melcher printed an editorial statement in the *Gazette* as the public debate over the ratification of the Constitution was winding down and the second session of the New Hampshire Convention was about to convene. Melcher wrote:

☞ The Editor of this paper, has prepared a box in his Office window for the reception of such compositions as many persons wish to pass to him, but not with their own hands: He will be much obliged to his friends and customers, for any essays of their own, or extracts from their reading, that may render the New-Hampshire Gazette more useful and pleasing to the public.—Attacks upon individuals, party quarrels, satire aimed at religious denominations of every name, immorality and obscenity, are foreign from promoting any real benefit, or proper amusement, therefore he must be excused from presenting them to the public eye.

Melcher also printed the journals of the New Hampshire Senate from 1787 to 1790, and in 1791 he began printing the journals of both legislative houses. In 1792 he also printed the acts and laws of New Hampshire. Melcher was New Hampshire’s state printer in the mid-1790s and early 1800s.

In December 1784 Robert Gerrish issued the first number of another Portsmouth weekly, *The New-Hampshire Mercury, and the General Advertiser*. The latest issue found for the *Mercury* is dated 12 March 1788. On 12 June 1788, Gerrish wrote a long letter to John Langdon, the newly elected president of New Hampshire, in which he stated that “It is evident to your Excellency that there has been a combination of designing Persons, whose sole aim was to stop my Press, and that they have effected it, in a great measure, is notorious.” Gerrish sought Langdon’s assistance in obtaining state printing jobs. He wanted to print the Senate and House journals, as well as the acts of the legislature for

the next year (Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum). Gerrish had already printed the acts and laws for 18 February 1786 through 18 January 1787 and for 19 June through 23 September 1787 (Evans 20548–49).

In July 1786 John Lamson (1769–1807) and Henry Ranlet (1762–1807) established a weekly in Exeter, *The Freeman's Oracle, and New-Hampshire Advertiser*. Although the *Oracle* supported the ratification of the Constitution, it printed several major Antifederalist articles just prior to the meetings of both sessions of the New Hampshire Convention. This display of impartiality was unmatched by the other four New Hampshire newspapers published in 1787 and 1788. In June 1788 the *Oracle* published the election sermon of the Reverend Samuel Langdon as a forty-eight-page pamphlet entitled *The Republic of the Israelites an Example to the American States*. . . . Ranlet left the firm in August 1789, but he continued as a printer, publishing almanacs, books, pamphlets, sermons, music books, government documents, and several newspapers.

In October 1786 George Jerry Osborne, Jr. (1761–1800), who had left the *New Hampshire Gazette* in January 1786, began Portsmouth's third newspaper, a semiweekly, *The New-Hampshire Spy*. In hopes of replacing John Langdon as president of New Hampshire, General John Sullivan helped Osborne to establish the *Spy*. While political adversaries, Sullivan and Langdon were both staunch Federalists and the *Spy* was the most prolific Federalist newspaper in New Hampshire. Early in the Revolutionary War, Osborne had been a captain in the New Hampshire militia and then a captain of marines on a Continental frigate. Among the *Spy's* most important publications were the reprinting of the nine articles of "Fabius" (John Dickinson), which Langdon had received from someone in Philadelphia where they had first been printed in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*. From 1787 to 1790 Osborne printed the journals of the New Hampshire House of Representatives. In March 1789 he changed the *Spy's* title to *Osborne's New-Hampshire Spy*. Osborne remained with the *Spy* until May 1792. The *Spy* ceased publication in March 1793.

James Davenport Griffith, a former Boston newspaper printer, established *The New-Hampshire Recorder, and the Weekly Advertiser* in Keene on 7 August 1787. The *Recorder* came to an end in March 1791. Griffith, a Federalist, had problems keeping the *Recorder* in print because subscribers were remiss in paying their bills and because too few advertisements were placed. He also found it difficult to obtain paper. On 9 September 1788, Griffith addressed his readers in a lengthy piece explaining the

difficulties that he had been having. He outlined his editorial policies and extolled the freedom of the press. Lastly, he emphasized the necessity of the U.S. Constitution. Griffith believed that agriculture, home manufactures, and commerce were “the three great PILLARS of our FEDERAL CONSTITUTION” (Mfm:N.H. 155). On 21 May 1789 Griffith stated that his paper had an “extensive circulation” from Dartmouth College in Hanover to Portsmouth, as well as “a considerable circulation” in Massachusetts and Vermont. Griffith also published as a pamphlet an oration by the Reverend Aaron Hall, Keene’s delegate to the New Hampshire Convention, celebrating New Hampshire’s ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Although a Federalist, on 19 February 1788, Griffith demonstrated his impartiality by reprinting an Antifederalist piece, “A Watchman,” from the nearby Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 7 February, a Federalist newspaper that had printed it as proof that it was impartial. (For the article, see RCS:Mass., 879–81.)

All five New Hampshire newspapers are available on America’s Historical Newspapers (Readex). In 1787 and 1788 the extant runs for two of Portsmouth’s newspapers are excellent. The weekly *New Hampshire Gazette*’s file is complete, while that for the semiweekly *New Hampshire Spy* lacks only three issues. The run for the *New Hampshire Mercury*, Portsmouth’s third newspaper, ends on 12 March 1788. The Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* lacks five issues, while the *New Hampshire Recorder* lacks thirteen issues.

Not published in New Hampshire but circulating in the southeastern part of the state, *The Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, a staunchly Federalist newspaper, was printed by William Hoyt in Newburyport, Massachusetts, a port town located on the Merrimack River five miles from New Hampshire’s southern border and twenty-two miles from Portsmouth. The newspaper printed few original pieces about the Constitution during the ratification debate, but it reprinted major Federalist and Antifederalist articles from other states. (See various “Editors’ Notes” in Parts I and V, below.)

Post riders, who carried the mails, were crucial to the dissemination of New Hampshire’s five newspapers. For example, in late 1787 and early 1788, as the post office was changing from stagecoaches to post riders to carry the mail, post rider Samuel Bean advertised in the *New Hampshire Spy* and *New Hampshire Mercury* that he traveled every week between Portsmouth and Concord with stops in Exeter and Haverhill, Mass., carrying both the mails and Portsmouth newspapers. People interested in acquiring New Hampshire newspapers were to contact the

printer or Bean at “Col. Brewster’s Coffee-House Tavern” in Portsmouth. In March and April 1788, Bean advertised in the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* and *New Hampshire Gazette* that he could supply New Hampshire and Massachusetts newspapers.

On 2 June 1788 Tobias Lear informed George Washington that “so little information about the Constitution had been diffused among the people” of New Hampshire. He claimed that “there have been few, or no original publications in the papers & scarcely any republications” (RCS:N.H., 316). Lear underestimated what the New Hampshire newspapers had printed and reprinted. But editors in New Hampshire frequently had difficulty obtaining out-of-state material. On 18 March, the arch-Federalist *New Hampshire Spy* complained that, for the last three months, it was not receiving enough newspapers from other states. The printer asked his former correspondents in New York City and Philadelphia why the mails had not brought newspapers (CC:Vol. 4, pp. 560–61). (On 3 April Eleazer Oswald, the printer of the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, responded that the problem was caused by a new ruling by Ebenezer Hazard, the Confederation postmaster general, that cancelled contracts with stagecoach operators and reverted to post riders (CC:Vol. 4, pp. 560n–61n. For a detailed discussion of Hazard’s rulings, see CC:Vol. 4, pp. 540–42.). On 28 March the *Spy* printed observations from a correspondent “on the late *alarming* and *iniquitous* practice of interrupting the regular channel of intelligence” (CC:Vol. 4, p. 577. On 11 April this letter was reprinted by the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*.) On 11 April the *Spy* sarcastically noted: “Received by this day’s mail *one Philadelphia paper!*—*When will miracles cease?*” (CC:Vol. 4, p. 583). On the same day the *Spy* reprinted a lengthy statement by Eleazar Oswald discussing the problem with the post office and praising the freedom of the press. The statement had appeared in Oswald’s *Independent Gazetteer* on 12 March (CC:Vol. 4, pp. 557–60n). The *Spy* also reprinted Hazard’s defense of his policies that had appeared in the *New York Journal* on 21 March (CC:Vol. 4, pp. 567–68). And on 15 April the semiweekly *Spy* reprinted a lengthy response to Hazard by “A True Federalist” (Eleazer Oswald?), *New York Journal*, 25 March (CC:Vol. 4, pp. 569–72).

Pamphlets and Broadsides

Only a few broadsides and pamphlets related to the debate over the ratification of the Constitution were printed in New Hampshire. On 29 September 1787 John Melcher of the *New Hampshire Gazette* published a broadside of the new Constitution (Evans 20796). In December

Melcher, on order of the state legislature, printed the Constitution in a sixteen-page pamphlet. The pamphlet included the text of the 28 September 1787 resolution of the Confederation Congress calling for state conventions to consider the Constitution and the 14 December 1787 New Hampshire resolutions calling a state convention (Evans 20797). In 1789 Melcher printed the Constitution and the 17 September 1787 letter of the president of the Constitutional Convention to the president of the Confederation Congress as a thirty-seven-page pamphlet (Evans 45686). (See “The Publication and Circulation of the Constitution in New Hampshire, 29 September 1787–1789,” RCS:N.H., 9–11.)

Almost every year, the president of New Hampshire issued a proclamation calling for a day of fasting and/or thanksgiving. On 24 October 1787 President John Sullivan signed a proclamation in which he asked God to “inspire with Wisdom and Discernment, those who may be chosen to decide upon the Federal Constitution.” The proclamation, which designated 29 November as a day of thanksgiving, was printed as a one-page broadside by an unknown printer (Evans 49614). The printer was possibly James D. Griffith of the *New Hampshire Recorder*. On 20 November the *Recorder* was the only newspaper to reprint the proclamation.

Sometime in October 1787 Lamson and Ranlet of the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* printed a fifteen-page pamphlet entitled *A Concert for Prayer Propounded to the Citizens of the United States of America* (Evans 20284). On 10 October an Association of Christian Ministers had asked Americans to set aside an hour from 7 P.M. to 8 P.M. on every Lord’s Day “for extraordinary prayer.” The Association hoped “that God would be pleased to spare and save this *infant-nation* from impending ruin.” (For more about this pamphlet, see RCS:N.H., 30–37n, and RCS:Mass., 600–602.)

Every year the state legislature asked a clergyman to deliver an election sermon to a joint session of the legislature. On 5 June 1788 the Reverend Samuel Langdon of Hampton Falls, who later voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention, delivered the sermon that was printed as a forty-eight-page pamphlet by Lamson and Ranlet of the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*. The pamphlet was entitled *The Republic of the Israelites an Example to the American States . . .* (Evans 21192). Israel’s history was compared to the movements of the American colonies toward independence from Great Britain. Americans were admonished to continue their virtuous behavior in selecting leaders. The legislature ordered 200 copies of the pamphlet to be printed.

On 30 June 1788 the town of Keene celebrated the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire. It asked the Reverend Aaron Hall, its delegate to the New Hampshire Convention, to deliver an oration on the occasion. The oration was printed as a fifteen-page pamphlet by James D. Griffith of the *New Hampshire Recorder*. The pamphlet was advertised for sale in the *Recorder* on 5 and 12 August.

A third pamphlet printed in 1788 was lawyer Jonathan Mitchell Sewall's Fourth of July oration that he delivered in one of Portsmouth's meeting houses. The twenty-three-page pamphlet, printed by George Jerry Osborne, Jr., of the *New Hampshire Spy*, was entitled *An Oration; Delivered at Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, On the Fourth of July, 1788, Being the Anniversary of American Independence* (Evans 21456).

Sources on the Election of New Hampshire Convention Delegates

The material printed in this volume for the election of delegates to the state Convention comes from town records, election certificates for elected delegates, newspapers, and secondary accounts. Town records include (1) warrants issued by selectmen to town constables to notify freeholders to meet at a certain time and place and (2) minutes of town meetings. These records are located in town or city halls (originals), the New Hampshire Historical Society (mostly originals), and the New Hampshire State Library (copies). The copies were made by order of the legislature. Many of these town records are available online or on microfilm through the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Election certificates are at the New Hampshire State Archives in a bound volume entitled "State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788." The certificates were sent to the state Convention by town clerks or taken to the Convention by elected delegates. For a few towns where results of the election were disputed, supporting documents accompanied the certificates. Disputed elections were considered and decided by the Convention. Newspaper items include election results, commentaries on winning candidates or on the actions of the towns, and pieces trying to influence who was elected as a delegate. For a few towns whose manuscript town records could not be located, secondary accounts have filled the gaps.

New Hampshire Convention Sources

The most important source for the two sessions of the New Hampshire ratifying Convention is a thirty-nine-page manuscript entitled "Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New Hampshire, which adopted The Federal Constitution, 1788," that is found in the New Hampshire State Archives. The manuscript journal

for both sessions of the Convention was not printed until 1877 in Volume X of *Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire, 1623–1800*. The Archives also possesses the town certificates certifying the election of delegates to the Convention. Only the certificates containing more than minimum information are published in this volume.

The manuscript journal was supplemented by accounts of the Convention's proceedings and debates printed in the semiweekly *New Hampshire Spy*. On 23 February 1788, the day after the first session of the Convention adjourned without ratifying the Constitution, the *New Hampshire Spy* published the debates for 20 February, and in an extra (also dated 23 February), printed the extensive proceedings for 22 February. (On 7 July 1827 the *New Hampshire Statesman & Concord Register* printed a speech of Joshua Atherton that was believed to have been delivered on 18 February 1788.) Only two Convention delegates, John Langdon and John Sullivan, and one Convention spectator, John Quincy Adams, who was studying law in Newburyport, Mass., left accounts of the debates. Other reports of the debates, which are in personal letters and in New Hampshire and Massachusetts newspapers, were second hand. These reports were based upon information received from Convention delegates or from the *New Hampshire Spy's* accounts.

The manuscript journal for the second session of the New Hampshire Convention was supplemented by the *New Hampshire Spy's* 21 and 24 June 1788 reports of the Convention proceedings and debates. The 21 June vote on ratification was printed in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June, and the *New Hampshire Spy*, 8 July.

Two engrossed copies of New Hampshire's form of ratification, including twelve recommendatory amendments to the Constitution, exist. The retained copy, maintained by the secretary of state, is located in the New Hampshire State Archives. Another engrossed copy is in RG 11, Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights . . . , found in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Two copies were made from the engrossed copy in the National Archives. One copy is in the Bankson Journal at the National Archives, and the second is located in the Vault Collection of the Massachusetts State Library in Boston. The entire form of ratification was not printed in any New Hampshire newspaper, although the amendments were printed in the four state newspapers still operating at the time—*New Hampshire Spy*, 24 June, *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June, Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June, and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 July. Out-of-state newspapers, however, did print or reprint the form of ratification from the copy sent to Congress.

Secondary Sources

For the history of New Hampshire before the calling of the state Convention to ratify the Constitution, one should consult works covering the politics of the late-colonial and revolutionary periods. Such works include Jere R. Daniell, *Colonial New Hampshire: A History* (Millwood, N.Y., 1981); Daniell, *Experiment in Republicanism: New Hampshire Politics and the American Revolution, 1741–1794* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); William Henry Fry, *New Hampshire as a Royal Province* (New York, 1908); W. F. Dodd, “The Constitutional History of New Hampshire, 1775–’92,” *Proceedings of the Bar Association of the State of New Hampshire*, new series, II, no. 3 (Concord, N.H., 1906), 379–400; Deborah Downs, “The New Hampshire Constitution of 1776: Weathervane of Conservatism,” *Historical New Hampshire*, 31 (1976), 164–75; and Richard Francis Upton, *Revolutionary New Hampshire: An Account of the Social and Political Forces Underlying the Transition from Royal Province to American Commonwealth* (Hanover, N.H., 1936).

The years immediately preceding the New Hampshire Convention are covered in Jere R. Daniell, *Experiment in Republicanism* (see above) and Lynn Warren Turner, *The Ninth State: New Hampshire’s Formative Years* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1983).

Studies on the New Hampshire Convention include John B. Archer, “The First New Hampshire Convention to Ratify the Constitution, February, 1788, and the Toscan Report,” *Historical New Hampshire*, 36 (1981), 38–57; Albert Stillman Batchellor, *A Brief View of the Influences that Moved in the Adoption of the Federal Constitution by the State of New Hampshire* (Concord, N.H., 1900); Charles E. Clark, *Printers, the People, and Politics: The New Hampshire Press and Ratification* (Concord, N.H., 1989); Jere Daniell, “Ideology and Hardball: Ratification of the Federal Constitution in New Hampshire,” in Patrick T. Conley and John P. Kaminski, eds., *The Constitution and the States: The Role of the Original Thirteen in the Framing and Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Madison, Wis., 1988), 181–200; Daniell, “Counting Noses: Delegate Sentiment in New Hampshire’s Ratifying Convention,” *Historical New Hampshire*, 43 (1988), 136–55; Daniell, “Frontier and Constitution: Why Grafton County Delegates Voted 10 to 1 for Ratification,” *Historical New Hampshire*, 45 (1990), 207–29; Nathaniel Joseph Eiseman, “The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of New Hampshire” (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1937); Richard Kalkhoff, “Toasting the Constitution: New Hampshire’s Celebrations of 1788,” *Historical New Hampshire*, 43 (1988), 291–303; Nancy Elaine Briggs Oliver, “Keystone of the Federal Arch: New Hampshire’s Ratification of the United States’ Constitution” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1972);

Joseph B. Walker, *A History of the New Hampshire Convention for the Investigation, Discussion, and Decision of the Federal Constitution . . .* (Boston, 1888); Lawrence Guy Straus, "Reactions of Supporters of the Constitution to the Adjournment of the New Hampshire Ratification Convention—1788," *Historical New Hampshire*, 23 (Autumn, 1968), 37–50n; and Jean Yarbrough, "New Hampshire: Puritanism and the Moral Foundations of America," in Michael Allen Gillespie and Michael Lienesch, eds., *Ratifying the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kan., 1989), 235–58n.

The most extensive works on New Hampshire's ratification are those of Oliver, Eiseman, Walker, and Daniell. Oliver and Walker, especially the former, include much biographical material on the Convention delegates. Valuable data on the delegates can also be found in Forrest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958), especially 235–54. Other studies of ratification that should be consulted are Robert Allen Rutland, *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788* (Norman, Okla., 1966); Jackson Turner Main, *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1787–1788* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961); Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788* (New York, 2010); and Jürgen Heideking, *The Constitution Before the Judgment Seat: The Prehistory and Ratification of the American Constitution, 1787–1791*, English edition edited by John P. Kaminski and Richard Leffler (Berlin, 1988; Charlottesville, Va., 2012).

Article VII of the United States Constitution states that "The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of the Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same." New Hampshire was the ninth state to ratify. Consequently the state celebrated its ratification on the centennial, sesquicentennial, and bicentennial anniversaries of that event. In each case a publication appeared commemorating the event: James Willis Patterson, "The Centennial Anniversary of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Hampshire," *Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, II (1888–1895) (Concord, N.H., 1895), 12–61; Francis H. Bufum, ed., *New Hampshire and the Federal Constitution: A Memorial of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of New Hampshire's Part in the Framing and Ratification of the Constitution of the United States* (Concord, N.H., 1940); and William M. Gardner, Frank C. Mevers, and Richard F. Upton, eds., *New Hampshire: The State That Made Us A Nation: A Celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1989). The last publication reprints (without footnotes) articles listed above by Archer, Daniell ("Counting Noses"), and Kalkhoff. It also contains new pieces on the transformation of New Hampshire towns, 1780–1800; studies

about several individual towns or groups of towns; a guide to research on the history of towns, 1780–1800; an article on John Langdon and John Sullivan; and a note on sources.

For a valuable bibliography on New Hampshire, see John D. Haskell, Jr., and T. D. Seymour Bassett, eds., *New Hampshire: A Bibliography of Its History* (Boston, 1979). See also New Hampshire American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, *New Hampshire's Role in the American Revolution, 1763–1789: A Bibliography* (Concord, N.H., 1974).

The following biographies or documentary editions contain valuable information:

- John Langdon: Lawrence Shaw Mayo, *John Langdon of New Hampshire* (Concord, N.H., 1937); Harriet S. Lacy, "The Langdon Papers," *Historical New Hampshire*, 22 (1967), 55–65; and Thomas E. Camden, "The Langdon/Elwyn Family Papers," *Historical New Hampshire*, 36 (1981), 350–56.

- William Plumer: Lynn W. Turner, *William Plumer of New Hampshire, 1759–1850* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962); and Worthington C. Ford, ed., "Letters of William Plumer, 1786–1787," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 11, *Transactions, 1906–1907* (Boston, 1910), 382–403.

- John Sullivan: Thomas C. Amory, *The Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan of the American Revolutionary Army* (Boston, 1868); Charles P. Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York, 1961); and Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan Continental Army* (3 vols., Concord, N.H., 1930–1939).

- Paine Wingate: Charles E. L. Wingate, *Life and Letters of Paine Wingate . . .* (2 vols., Medford, Mass., 1930). Letters printed in this volume are also in Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789* (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976–2000). Volumes 24 and 25 have thirty-two letters that Wingate wrote between 23 January and 11 September 1788.

Since many New Hampshire politicians were graduates of Harvard College, one should consult *Sibley's Harvard Graduates: Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College . . .* (Cambridge and Boston, 1873–). See also Sybil Noyes, Charles Thornton Libby, and Walter Goodwin Davis, eds., *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* (5 vols., Portland, Maine, 1928–1939); Linda Grant De Pauw, Charlene Bangs Bickford, Kenneth R. Bowling et al., eds., *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791* (Baltimore, 1972–), II, 514–17, XIV, 648–69, XVII, 1751–1913; and the biographies written by politician William Plumer,

many of which are printed in Nathaniel Bouton et al., eds., *Documents and Records Relating to the State of New-Hampshire, 1623–1800* (40 vols., Concord and Manchester, N.H., 1867–1943), XXI, 778–830, XXII, 821–64. Manuscripts of the Plumer biographies are in five volumes in the Plumer Papers at the New Hampshire Historical Society. Over the years this project has collected biographical and genealogical information from scores of histories about New Hampshire's counties and numerous towns. Histories of the towns, arranged alphabetically, are in Haskell and Bassett's fine bibliography of New Hampshire (see above).

Symbols

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

Manuscripts

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

Manuscript Depositories

DLC	Library of Congress
DNA	National Archives
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society
Nh	New Hampshire State Library
Nh-Ar	Division of Archives and Records Management, Concord (New Hampshire State Archives)
NhHi	New Hampshire Historical Society
NHi	New-York Historical Society
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Short Titles

Abbot, <i>Washington, Confederation Series</i>	W.W. Abbot, ed., <i>The Papers of George Washington: Confederation Series</i> (6 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1992–1997).
<i>Belknap Correspondence</i>	“The Belknap Papers,” <i>Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i> , 5th series, Vols. II–III (Boston, 1877).
Blackstone, <i>Commentaries</i>	Sir William Blackstone, <i>Commentaries on the Laws of England. In Four Books</i> (Re-printed from the British Copy, Page for Page with the Last Edition, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1771–1772). Originally published in London from 1765 to 1769.
Boyd	Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Thomas Jefferson</i> (Princeton, N.J., 1950–).

- DHFFE Merrill Jensen, Robert A. Becker, and Gordon DenBoer, eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788–1790* (4 vols., Madison, Wis., 1976–1989).
- Evans Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (12 vols., Chicago, 1903–1934).
- Farrand Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (3rd ed., 3 vols., New Haven, 1927).
- JCC Worthington C. Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 . . .* (34 vols., Washington, D.C., 1904–1937).
- PCC Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (Record Group 360, National Archives).
- Rutland, *Madison* Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, Volumes VIII–XVII (Chicago and Charlottesville, Va., 1973–1991).
- Shaw-Shoemaker Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801 to 1819* (23 vols., New York, 1958–1983).
- Smith, *Letters* Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789* (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976–2000).
- Syrett Harold C. Syrett et al., eds., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (27 vols., New York, 1961–1987).
- Thorpe Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions . . .* (7 vols., Washington, D.C., 1909).
- Washington Diaries* Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington* (6 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1976–1979).

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

- CC References to *Commentaries on the Constitution* are cited as “CC” followed by the number of the document. For example: “CC:25.”
- CDR References to the first volume, titled *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787*, are cited as “CDR” followed by the page number. For example: “CDR, 325.”

- RCS References to the series of volumes titled *Ratification of the Constitution by the States* are cited as “RCS” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the page number. For example: “RCS:N.H., 325.”
- Mfm References to the supplements to the “RCS” volumes are cited as “Mfm” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the number of the document. For example: “Mfm:N.H. 25.” All supplemental documents will be available at UW Digital Collections on the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries web site (<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu>). Supplemental documents will also be published in printed volumes by the Wisconsin Historical Society Press.

New Hampshire Chronology, 1620s–1790

1620s and 1630s

First permanent settlements in New Hampshire

1641–43

Massachusetts gains control of New Hampshire settlements

1680

Crown separates New Hampshire from Massachusetts

1686–89

New Hampshire is absorbed into the Dominion of New England

1692

New Hampshire re-established as royal colony but shares governor with Massachusetts

1741

New Hampshire and Massachusetts cease sharing governor

1765

Stamp Act agent resigns in public ceremony in Portsmouth

1767

2 July Governor John Wentworth assumes office

1774

21 July First Provincial Congress meets in Exeter and elects two delegates to First Continental Congress

14–15 December Raid on Fort William and Mary, Portsmouth, to seize munitions

1775

25 January Second Provincial Congress meets in Exeter and unanimously approves acts of Congress and elects two delegates to the Second Continental Congress

21 April–2 May Third Provincial Congress meets in Exeter and discusses military matters in reaction to outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts

17 May–15 November Fourth Provincial Congress meets in Exeter and assumes real authority of government and meets in several sessions until dissolved on 15 November

23 August Royal governor John Wentworth leaves New Hampshire never to return

18 October New Hampshire delegates to Second Continental Congress present instructions asking Congress to advise and direct New Hampshire in establishing a new government

- 3 November Second Continental Congress resolves that the New Hampshire provincial congress take action to establish a government that would “best produce the happiness of the people”
- 21 December–
5 January 1776 Fifth Provincial Congress meets in Exeter and drafts a constitution for the state

1776

- 5 January Constitution adopted and Fifth Provincial Congress becomes House of Representatives
- 6 January House of Representatives elects councillors
- 15 June House of Representatives unanimously instructs New Hampshire delegates to Second Continental Congress to vote for independence
- 18 July Declaration of Independence proclaimed in New Hampshire

1777

- January–March Towns east of Connecticut River vote to break off from New Hampshire and join Vermont (East Union)
- 17 November Articles of Confederation sent to the states for ratification
- 27 December House of Representatives orders Articles of Confederation printed and sent to towns

1778

- 4 March House of Representatives approves all thirteen Articles of Confederation
- 10 June 1778 Constitutional convention convenes to draft a new constitution that was rejected the following year
- 11 June Vermont Assembly annexes sixteen New Hampshire towns on east bank of Connecticut River
- 23 June Congressional delegates inform Congress that New Hampshire agreed to all Articles and instructed delegates to sign them
- 9 July, 8 August New Hampshire delegates sign Articles of Confederation

1779

- 12 February Vermont Assembly repeals annexation of New Hampshire towns on east bank of Connecticut River (East Union)

1781

- 14 February Vermont Assembly votes to annex New Hampshire towns east of Connecticut River (Second East Union)
- 6 April New Hampshire adopts Impost of 1781
- 5 June–14 September Constitutional convention drafts a constitution that was submitted to the people

1782

- 23 January Constitutional Convention meets again and found Constitution was rejected
- 22 February Vermont Assembly repeals annexations of New Hampshire towns east of Connecticut River (Second East Union)

- 21 August Constitutional Convention meets again and sends revised constitution to towns
- 31 December Constitutional Convention meets again and further revises constitution
- 1783**
- 3 June Constitutional Convention meets again and further revises constitution
- 20 June Legislature sends proposed population amendment altering Article VIII of Articles of Confederation to towns for their consideration; New Hampshire does not adopt the amendment
- 31 October Constitutional Convention declares the constitution to go into effect on 2 June 1784
- 1784**
- 2 January New Hampshire adopts Impost of 1783
- 2 June New Hampshire constitution goes into effect
- 5 November New Hampshire grants Congress additional commercial power for a limited time
- 1785**
- 23 June New Hampshire authorizes Congress to regulate trade and commerce and adopts navigation act regulating trade and commerce aimed at British restrictions
- 1786**
- 4 March Legislature appoints three men to Annapolis Convention; adds two more on 14 June; none attend convention
- 15 September Legislature passes an act making Treaty of Peace (1783) law of land
- 20–21 September Mob attempts to intimidate legislature meeting in Exeter; is defeated by militia
- 1787**
- 17 January Legislature authorizes New Hampshire's congressional delegates to attend a general convention of the states in Philadelphia in May
- 27 June Legislature appoints John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West as delegates to Constitutional Convention
- 23 July John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman first attend Constitutional Convention
- 17 September John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman sign Constitution
- 14 December Legislature calls state ratifying convention for February 1788 to meet in Exeter to consider Constitution
- 31 December–
18 February 1788 Election of delegates to state ratifying convention
- 1788**
- 13–22 February First session of New Hampshire Convention meets in Exeter
- 22 February Convention adjourns to meet in Concord on 18 June

- 18–21 June Second session of New Hampshire Convention meets in Concord
- 21 June New Hampshire Convention ratifies Constitution, 57 to 47, and proposes twelve recommendatory amendments
- 2 July New Hampshire ratification read in Confederation Congress; Congress appoints committee to put Constitution into operation

1790

- 25 January New Hampshire ratifies eleven amendments to Constitution

1791–92

- State constitutional convention to revise state constitution

Officers of the State of New Hampshire 1787–1788

President

John Sullivan (beginning 12 June 1787)
John Langdon (beginning 5 June 1788)

Council

Moses Chase
Daniel Emerson
Joseph Gilman
John Pickering
Ebenezer Thompson

Secretary of State

Joseph Pearson

Treasurer

John Taylor Gilman

Commissioner for Settling

Continental Accounts

Royal Flint

Continental Loan Officer

Nathaniel Gilman

Naval Officer, Portsmouth

Eleazer Russell

Collector of the Impost, Portsmouth

Joseph Whipple

Postmaster and Keeper of the

Magazine, Portsmouth

Jeremiah Libbey

Attorney General

John Prentice

Justices of the Superior Court

Samuel Livermore, Chief Justice
Josiah Bartlett
John Dudley
Woodbury Langdon
Nathaniel Adams, Clerk

Judge of the Maritime Court

Joshua Brackett
Jonathan Mitchell Sewall, Clerk

Delegates to Congress

Nicholas Gilman
John Pickering*
Benjamin West*
Paine Wingate
*Did not attend.

*Commissioners to Annapolis Convention**

John Langdon
Thomas Martin
James Sheafe
John Sparhawk
Joshua Wentworth
*None attended.

Delegates to Constitutional Convention

Nicholas Gilman
John Langdon
John Pickering*
Benjamin West*
*Did not attend.

General Assembly of New Hampshire

*6–30 June, 12–29 September, 5–15 December 1787, and
23 January–13 February 1788
(*indicates members of the state Convention)*

SENATE

President: John Sullivan*

*County of Cheshire*John Bellows
Amos Shephard*County of Grafton*

Elisha Payne*

*County of Hillsborough*Joshua Bailey
Robert Means*County of Rockingham*Joseph Gilman, President Pro Tempore
George Atkinson
John Bell
Peter Green
Joshua Wentworth*County of Strafford*Ebenezer Smith*
Ebenezer Thompson

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Speakers: John Sparhawk, Thomas Bartlett*

Clerk: John Calfe*

Assistant Clerk: Jonathan Gove

Chaplains: Bulkley Olcott, Jonathan Wilkins

Election Sermon Preacher: Joseph Buckminster

Acworth, Lempster and Marlow

Unrepresented

Alstead

Nathaniel S. Prentice

Amherst

William Peabody, Jr.

Atkinson and Plaistow

Nathaniel Peabody

Barnstead, New Durham and N.D. Gore

Unrepresented

Barrington

Unrepresented

*Bath, Lyman, Landaff, Littleton and**Dalton*

Unrepresented

Bedford

Zachariah Chandler

Boscawen

Unrepresented

Brentwood

Samuel Dudley

*Campton, Holderness, Thornton, Lincoln,
and Franconia¹*

Moses Baker

Candia

Stephen Fifield*

Canterbury

Unrepresented

Charlestown

John Hubbard

Chester

Joseph Blanchard*

Chesterfield

Moses Smith

Chichester and Pittsfield

Unrepresented

Claremont

Unrepresented

Concord

John Bradley

Conway, Eaton, Burton and Locations

David Page*

Cornish and Grantham

Moses Chase

Deerfield

Moses Barnard

Derryfield

Unrepresented

Dover

Joshua Wingate

Dublin and Packersfield

Samuel Griffin*

Dunbarton and Bow

Unrepresented

Dunstable

Noah Lovewell

Durham

Unrepresented

Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan, Dorchester and Grafton

Jesse Johnson*

Epping

Unrepresented

Exeter

Dudley Odlin

Fishersfield, Sutton and Warner

James Flanders

Fitzwilliam

Caleb Winch*

Francestown

Unrepresented

Gilmanton

Joseph Badger, Jr.*

Goffstown

Job Dow

Greenland

Unrepresented

Hampstead

Unrepresented

Hampton

Joseph Dow

Hampton Falls and Seabrook

Nathaniel Healey

Hancock, Antrim and Deering

Hugh Orr

Hanover

Jonathan Freeman*

Haverhill, Piermont, Warren and Coventry

Unrepresented

Hawke and Sandown

Unrepresented

Hemiker and Hillsborough

John Dutton

Hinsdale

Unrepresented

Hollis

Daniel Emerson

Hopkinton

Aaron Greeley

Jaffrey

Abel Parker*

Keene

Benjamin Hall

Kensington

Unrepresented

Kingston

Amos Gale

Lancaster, Northumberland, Stratford, Dartmouth, Piercy, Cockburn and Coleburn

Unrepresented

Lebanon

Edmund Freeman

Lee

Unrepresented

Litchfield

Unrepresented

Londonderry

John Pinkerton
Daniel Runnels

Loudon

Unrepresented

Lyme and Orford

William Simpson*

Lyndeborough

Nehemiah Rand

Madbury

Unrepresented

Marlborough

Jedediah Taintor*

Meredith and New Hampton

Unrepresented

Merrimack

Timothy Taylor*

*Moultonborough, Tuftonborough,
Wolfeborough and Ossipee*

Unrepresented

New Boston

Jonathan Gove

New Castle

Unrepresented

New Chester, Alexandria and Cockermouth

Thomas Crawford*

New Ipswich

Charles Barrett*

New London, Andover and Gore

Unrepresented

Newington

Unrepresented

Newmarket

Nathaniel Rogers*

Newport and Croydon

Stephen Powers

Newton

Unrepresented

North Hampton

Unrepresented

Northfield

Unrepresented

Northwood, Epsom and Allenstown

Unrepresented

Nottingham

Thomas Bartlett*

Nottingham West

Unrepresented

Pelham

Jacob Butler

Pembroke

Unrepresented

Peterborough and Society Land

Nathan Dix*

Plainfield

Joseph Kimball*

Plymouth, Rumney and Wentworth

Francis Worcester*

Portsmouth

John Pickering*

George Gains

Pierse Long

Protectoworth

Unrepresented

Raby and Mason

Amos Dakin*

Raymond and Poplin

Unrepresented

Richmond

Jonathan Gaskill*

Rindge

Othniel Thomas

Rochester

James Knowles

Rye

Unrepresented

Salem

Thomas Dow*

Salisbury

Unrepresented

Sanbornton

James Hersey

Sandwich and Tamworth

Unrepresented

Somersworth

John Rollins

South Hampton and East Kingston

Philip Tilton

Stoddard and Washington

Jacob Copeland

Stratham

Jonathan Robinson

Surry and Gilsum

Lemuel Holmes

Swanzey

Elisha Whitcomb*

Temple and Peterborough Slip

Benjamin Cragin

Wakefield, Middleton and Effingham

David Copp

*Walpole*Amasa Allen*²*Weare*

Jonathan Dow*

Wendall and Unity

Unrepresented

Westmoreland

Unrepresented

Wilton

Abiel Abbott

Winchester

Simon Willard

Windham

James Gilmore

1. Lincoln and Franconia had their own delegate in the state Convention.
2. Attended only the first session of the New Hampshire Convention in February 1788. Benjamin Bellows was the delegate at the second session in June.

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

NEW HAMPSHIRE

I.
THE DEBATE OVER THE
CONSTITUTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE
18 September 1787–14 March 1788

Introduction

This section covers the period from mid-September 1787 to mid-March 1788. The Constitution reached New Hampshire by 28 September and, by the end of the year, it was widely printed in the state—in three newspapers, as a broadside, and as a pamphlet. (See “The Publication and Circulation of the Constitution in New Hampshire,” 29 September 1787–1789, RCS:N.H., 9–11.)

The newspaper debate over the Constitution in New Hampshire started slowly. Original commentaries on the Constitution commenced in early October, and later in the month newspapers began reprinting substantial articles that had appeared in the newspapers of other states. On 14 December 1787 the New Hampshire legislature passed resolutions calling a state convention to meet in Exeter on 13 February 1788. (See Part II, for the legislative session, and Part III, for the election of convention delegates, both below.) The call of a state convention gave momentum to the public debate over the Constitution as New Hampshire newspapers began to publish more substantial original articles and continued to reprint material from out-of-state newspapers.

This part contains fifty original New Hampshire newspaper items related to the debate over the ratification of the Constitution that appeared between 20 September 1787 and 20 February 1788. All but a few of these pieces were clearly Federalist. Twenty-five items (including ten pieces with pseudonyms) appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy*, the only state paper that was printed twice each week. Except for one news item that appeared before the Constitution was printed in the state and “A Contented Man,” 19 February, whose argument was ambiguous, all the pieces have a Federalist slant. The *New Hampshire Recorder* printed ten Federalist-leaning items, including five essays (four with pseudonyms and one unsigned), and one item whose argument is a general lament at the loss of public spirit. The ten items printed in the *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle* in this part are divided almost evenly between Federalist and Antifederalist pieces and include six substantial essays and two shorter pseudonymous pieces. Three Federalist items come from the *New Hampshire Gazette*, while the last original New Hampshire item in this part, printed on 20 February during the first session of the New

Hampshire Convention, is the lone item from the *New Hampshire Mercury*. Four brief Federalist comments predicting New Hampshire ratification come from out-of-state newspapers. Out-of-state newspapers also printed four letters or extracts of letters written by New Hampshire residents.

The early debate on the Constitution in New Hampshire was enhanced by the reprinting of articles that originated in the newspapers of other states. With twice the issues to fill, the semiweekly *New Hampshire Spy* reprinted the largest number of the important items listed in the next three paragraphs. With about half as many issues to fill as the *Spy*, the *New Hampshire Gazette* reprinted only one fewer item. The *Gazette* reprinted on average slightly more than two items in every three of its extant issues. The *Spy* and the other three New Hampshire newspapers reprinted on average slightly more than one important out-of-state article in every three of their extant issues.

The major out-of-state articles that were reprinted in New Hampshire for which Editors' Notes have been provided are listed below in the order in which they were originally printed in the newspapers of other states. The Federalist articles are: "An American Citizen" I–II, Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26, 28 September 1787 (CC:100–A, 109); "The Grand Constitution" (verse), *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 October (CC:135); "James Wilson's Speech at a Public Meeting," *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 October (extra) (CC:134); "Governor John Hancock's Speech to the Massachusetts General Court," *Massachusetts Gazette*, 19 October (CC:177); "The Report of Connecticut's Delegates to the Constitutional Convention," *New Haven Gazette*, 25 October (CC:192); "Landholder" III, VI, VIII, *Connecticut Courant*, 19 November, 10, 24 December (CC:272, 335, 371); "The Circulation of Antifederalist Material in Connecticut," *New Haven Gazette*, 22 November, 13 December, and New York *Daily Advertiser*, 4 December (CC:283 A–C); "James Wilson's Speech in the Pennsylvania Convention," Philadelphia pamphlet, 28 November (RCS:Pa., 340–50; CC:289); "Benjamin Franklin's Speech in the Constitutional Convention," *Boston Gazette*, 3 December (CC:77–A); and "The New Roof" and "A.B.: The Raising," *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 December, and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 6 February 1788 (CC:395, 504).

Other important but less substantial Federalist articles include: "Foreign Spectator," Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 October 1787 (CC:124); "Social Compact," *New Haven Gazette*, 4 October (CC:130); "A Federal Centinel," South Carolina *Weekly Chronicle*, 9 October (CC:143); "A," Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 10 October (CC:148); "Foederal Constitution," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October (CC:150); "Marcus," New York *Daily Advertiser*, 15 October (CC:

162); “A Slave,” *New York Journal*, 25 October (CC:197–A); “‘A. B.’ to Elbridge Gerry,” *Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 November (RCS:Mass., 227–31); “New England,” *Connecticut Courant*, 24 December (CC:372); “One of the People: Antifederal Arguments,” *Maryland Journal*, 25 December (CC:377); and “An Old Man,” *Carlisle Gazette*, 2 January 1788 (CC:407).

The major Antifederalist articles for which Editors’ Notes have been provided are: “Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts General Court,” *Massachusetts Centinel*, 3 November (CC:227–A); “George Mason’s Objections to the Constitution,” *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 November (CC:276–A); “Richard Henry Lee to Governor Edmund Randolph,” Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 December (CC:325); and “The Report of New York’s Delegates to the Constitutional Convention,” *New York Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788 (CC:447).

Other important but less substantial Antifederalist articles include: “A Son of Liberty,” *New York Journal*, 8 November 1787 (CC:197–B); “Agrippa” I, *Massachusetts Gazette*, 23 November (RCS:Mass., 303–6); and “Z,” *Boston Independent Chronicle*, 6 December (CC:323).

New Hampshire newspapers were filled with information from other states. These reprintings included reports of the proceedings of public meetings and political societies on the Constitution. They reported on state legislatures’ calls of conventions, elections of delegates, and proceedings and debates of the conventions. New Hampshire newspapers reported the states’ ratifications of the Constitution, including the false report of ratification by the North Carolina Convention, which was not scheduled to meet for months. Accounts of celebrations, especially the one in Boston following Massachusetts’ ratification of the Constitution, were reported. A favorite topic of newspapers was the opinions of prominent men, such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, George Mason, Elbridge Gerry, and John Jay. Washington and Franklin were sometimes coupled in these reports. Rhode Island was singled out for not calling a ratifying convention. Opinions of Europeans on the Constitution and the state of America also found their way into newspapers. The authenticity of reports was sometimes verified by publishing extracts of letters commenting on men and events.

In particular, New Hampshire newspapers reported the proceedings of the Massachusetts Convention, which ratified the Constitution on 6 February 1788, a week before the New Hampshire Convention convened on 13 February. In all, the state’s newspapers reported on the proceedings of sixteen of the twenty-six days that the Massachusetts Convention was in session. Four of New Hampshire’s five newspapers reported on the proceedings of 6 February (see RCS:Mass., 1145–51). Federalist John Langdon attended some of the Massachusetts Convention debates. He

believed that Massachusetts' ratification would favorably affect the forthcoming New Hampshire Convention, of which he was a member. Langdon left the Massachusetts Convention more than a week before the vote on ratification, but several observers and Convention delegates kept him informed about the Convention's actions (RCS:Mass., 1344n–45n, 1562, 1579–80, 1647n, 1687). On 12 February, the *New Hampshire Spy* declared that there was rejoicing in Portsmouth upon learning that Massachusetts had ratified. The *Spy* declared, "May Heaven guide their [the New Hampshire Convention's] deliberations and direct to a favorable issue" (RCS:N.H., 122).

Three other important publications appeared during the period covered by this part. State President John Sullivan issued two proclamations. One called for a day of thanksgiving (broadside with newspaper reprint). Another called for a special session of the state legislature to meet on 5 December 1787 to decide whether to call a convention to consider the Constitution (newspaper printing). In late October 1787, the printers of the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, at the request of An Association of Christian Ministers, published a fifteen-page pamphlet calling for "A CONCERT FOR PRAYER," in which Americans were asked to set aside an hour in every "Lord's-Day" for "extraordinary prayer" so that God would "*pardon the nation and save her from impending destruction.*"

During the five months after the Constitutional Convention adjourned, extant correspondence relevant to the debate over the Constitution in New Hampshire is limited. Only eighteen manuscript and four newspaper letters or letter extracts are printed in this part. Seven of the manuscript letters are from Portsmouth, five from New York City, two from Philadelphia, and one each from the New Hampshire towns of Charlestown, Durham, Epping, and New Ipswich. The newspaper letters or extracts were written from Portsmouth, Boston, New York City, and an unknown location in New Hampshire. Only two letter writers, Henry Knox and James Madison, both in New York City, were not from New Hampshire. Nicholas Gilman, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and Confederation Congress, wrote two letters from Philadelphia and three from New York City. While some criticized certain provisions of the Constitution, all of the letter writers supported it (except perhaps for the author of the undated letter from Portsmouth printed in the Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal* on 17 October).

Letter writers described the politics of New Hampshire and other states. One writer wanted President John Sullivan to issue a proclamation calling a special session of the legislature to meet earlier than its January 1788 scheduled session. Writers commented on the likelihood

of New Hampshire ratification. Most writers believed that the Constitution would benefit both politics and the economy. Failure to ratify the Constitution would lead to anarchy.

Only two letter writers, John Wendell and William Plumer, analyzed in any detail the provisions of the Constitution. Nicholas Gilman was the most prolific letter writer. He praised the work of the Constitutional Convention, sent copies of the Constitution to his correspondents, and reported on the state of ratification politics in other states, especially Pennsylvania and Virginia. President Sullivan did not think that the prospects for ratification by New Hampshire were favorable, but he believed that they would be better after the state Convention debated the Constitution.

From Nicholas Gilman

Philadelphia, 18 September 1787

*To Joseph Gilman (excerpt)*¹

The important business of the Convention being closed, the Secretary² set off this morning to present Congress with a report of their proceedings, which I hope will soon come before the State in the manner directed;³ but as some time must necessarily elapse before that can take place I do myself the pleasure to transmit the enclosed papers⁴ for your private satisfaction forbearing all comments on the plan but that it is the best that could meet the unanimous concurrence of the States in Convention;—it was done by bargain & compromise—yet—, notwithstanding its imperfections, on the adoption of it depends (in my feeble Judgment) whether we shall become a respectable nation or a people torn to pieces by intestine commotions and rendered contemptable for ages. . . .

I am with the greatest Respect

*To President John Sullivan*⁵

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the important business of the Convention is closed.—their Secretary set off this morning to present the Honorable the Congress with a report of their proceedings and the Convention adjourned without day.—I hope to have the pleasure to lay this important affair before the State in a few days, with the decision of Congress there on;—in the mean time I beg leave to present your Excellency with the enclosed papers & to observe that as the Legislature of Pennsylvania is about adjourning, a copy of them

will be read before that assembly this day.⁶ With the greatest consideration

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library. Joseph Gilman (1738–1806), a former Exeter merchant, was a cousin of Nicholas Gilman. During the American Revolution, Joseph Gilman was a member of the New Hampshire Board of War. He was a state senator, 1784–88. Gilman became an associate of the Ohio Company; in 1789 he moved his family to Marietta, Ohio, where he eventually held several judicial offices.

2. William Jackson was secretary of the Constitutional Convention.

3. Nicholas Gilman and John Langdon attended the Constitutional Convention and signed the Constitution on 17 September 1787. From Philadelphia they proceeded to New York City, and on 25 September they attended the Confederation Congress, where they were among ten Convention delegates who were also members of Congress. On 28 September, Congress unanimously resolved to send the Constitution to the states, recommending that they call conventions to consider it.

4. Likely a copy of the six-page Dunlap and Claypoole printing of the Constitution that the Constitutional Convention distributed to the delegates (CC:76).

5. RC, State Papers, Revolution, 1775–1789, Nh-Ar. Sullivan was president of New Hampshire from June 1786 to June 1788.

6. The Pennsylvania Assembly read the Constitution on 18 September. On 29 September the Assembly passed resolutions calling a state convention to consider the Constitution (RCS:Pa., 59–61, 99–110).

John Sullivan to Nicholas Gilman

Charlestown, N.H., 22 September 1787¹

Since I had the honor to answer your favor of the 18th of August, I have been favoured with yours of the 3d Instant²—I am happy to find that so great an unanimity prevails in the Convention; and shall think America much Indebted to that Body if the plan should be completed by even the Last of October. But I have some reason to doubt of any System however perfect going down with the people untill necessity or the sword shall render it palatable—I have made known, to the Legislature your situation with respect to Supplies³—And have taken the liberty to communicate that paragraph of your Letter which respects public securities to both Houses. a Committee is appointed on Each; but no report is yet made—we are now upon a new Excise Bill & an Increase of Duties on Articles imported which I hope will pass; also an appropriation Act. An Act has passed to Encourage Stilling mills, nail making &c: Pickering is absent on Account of the Superior Court, Sparhawk is Sick,⁴ peabody rece[ive]d a hurt by his Horse which it was hoped might Detain him during the session; every thing was going on with the greatest unanimity; but as the Acts reports &c were ready for consideration peabody unfortunately arrived, and has prevented any Business being done since; but as the House is now exceedingly Disgusted with his Conduct I hope his Day is over.⁵ I have nothing new, &

am at present in a situation where I cannot Learn any, or even Inclose you a paper for your perusal.

I take the Liberty to inclose you a Letter to Messrs Hodsdon & Pickering, which beg you to forward & believe me to be with the most exalted sentiments of Esteem Dr Sir your most obedt & very humble Servt

1. RC, L. W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J. The letter was postmarked at Boston on 25 September and was addressed to Gilman as a member of the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. The Convention had adjourned sine die on 17 September. The session of the New Hampshire legislature described by Sullivan met between 12 and 29 September.

2. In his letter of 3 September, Gilman discussed the states' payment of their quotas of the congressional requisitions. He hoped that the New Hampshire legislature would pay its share (Farrand, *Supplement*, 258). For New Hampshire's payment of its quota, see Gilman to John Langdon, 23 October, note 4 (RCS:N.H., 21n).

3. Strapped financially, Gilman needed to be supported by grants from the state. During Gilman's attendance at the Constitutional Convention, he was assisted financially by John Langdon, a fellow New Hampshire delegate (Appendix II, RCS:N.H., 482).

4. John Pickering represented Portsmouth in the state House of Representatives, while Nathaniel Peabody represented Atkinson and Plaistow. Pickering voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention in June 1788, while Peabody, an Antifederalist, declined election to the state Convention. John Sparhawk of Portsmouth, speaker of the House of Representatives in June 1787, was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention but did not attend. Sullivan was unaware that Sparhawk had died on 22 September.

5. Although Nathaniel Peabody was not a member of the state Convention that met in February 1788, he did "more mischief than he could do had he a Seat" (Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap, 19 February, RCS:N.H., 227).

New Hampshire Spy, 22 September 1787

Accounts from all quarters concur in the importance of having something speedily done to revive our drooping commerce. How a war between Great Britain and France would affect it, time will discover. Of this we are certain—it will not affect it for the worse.

Editors' Note

The Publication and Circulation of the Constitution in New Hampshire 29 September 1787–1789

On 29 September the Portsmouth *New Hampshire Spy* printed the report of the Constitutional Convention with this prefatory statement: "The following very important and interesting communication, from the GRAND Federal Convention, was received by last evening's mail." The *Spy* referred to the Convention's report as "*The Constitution of the United States, as recommended to Congress, the 17th of September, 1787, by the*

Grand Federal Convention.” The report included the Constitution without the signers’ names, two resolutions of the Convention, and the letter of the president of the Convention, George Washington, to the president of the Confederation Congress.

On 3 October the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, which circulated in New Hampshire, printed the report of the Convention. The next day another Portsmouth newspaper, the *New Hampshire Mercury*, printed the Convention’s report, stating under a Portsmouth dateline of 4 October that “On Monday the 17th ult. the FEDERAL CONVENTION adjourned, having completed the object of their deliberations; and the next morning Major JACKSON, their Secretary, sat off to Congress with a copy of their proceedings.” Two days later, on 6 October, a third Portsmouth newspaper, the *New Hampshire Gazette*, also printed the Convention’s report. (The *Gazette* announced on 29 September that it had received a copy of the report “too late for this day’s paper” [Mfm:N.H. 1].) John Melcher, the *Gazette*’s printer, had previously published the report as a broadside on 29 September (Evans 20796).

On 14 December the New Hampshire legislature voted that 400 copies of the Constitutional Convention’s report be printed to be sent to the state’s towns “as soon as may be.” The legislature ordered that its resolutions calling a state convention to consider the Constitution also be printed and “sent out therewith” (RCS:N.H., 144). John Melcher quickly put together a sixteen-page pamphlet that included the Constitution, the resolutions of the Constitutional Convention, the letter of the Convention’s president to the president of Congress, the 28 September resolution of Congress transmitting the Constitution to the states for their consideration, and the resolutions of the New Hampshire legislature calling a state convention to consider the Constitution (Evans 20797). The pamphlet was entitled *The Constitution of the United States, as Recommended to Congress the 17th of September, 1787, by the Federal Convention*. The colophon indicated that the pamphlet was printed and sold by Melcher. On 26 December Melcher stated that he had “A few copies” of the pamphlet for sale at his office. On 16 January 1788 he again advertised that he had “a few copies” left and he added that “every family in the United States ought to have” a copy of the Constitution.

Melcher’s pamphlet represented the first New Hampshire printing of Congress’ resolution of 28 September 1787 transmitting the Constitution to the states. News of the resolution had been reported in three newspapers—the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 6, 13 October, the *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 October, and the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 16 October. The newspapers reprinted a brief item that had originally appeared in the

New York *Daily Advertiser* of 29 September. The *Advertiser* stated: “Yesterday Congress resolved unanimously, eleven states being present, That the New Constitution is to be transmitted to the Legislatures of the several states, in order to be submitted to a Convention of Delegates to be chosen by the people, agreeably to the mode prescribed by the [Constitutional] Convention.” Both the *Gazette* and the *Spy* described this news as “very interesting intelligence.”

In 1789 John Melcher also printed the Constitution and the letter of the Convention’s president to the president of Congress as a thirty-seven-page pamphlet (Evans 45686).

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 30 September 1787¹

When this meets your hand it may not be unreasonable to Congratulate you on an happy interview with your friends, who I hope you will find in a situation agreeable to your warmest wishes.—

The wind has been so fine since you left me I am really sorry you did not take the paquet as your passage must have been short and tolerably pleasant.—I inclose the letter and resolve requested and must beg the favor of a line soon after your arrival;² as I ardently wish to know whether the State will enter promptly and Spiritedly into the new plan, or whether there is danger of delay from doubts that may be hovering over the minds of good men or from the insidious intrigues of a few unprincipled fellows.—Accounts from Delaware as well as from Pennsylvania & Jersey, are highly in favor of the new Government.—

With the greatest Esteem I am Your Most Obedient Servant,

1. RC, Langdon/Elwyn Papers, NhHi. Langdon left Congress on 28 September and arrived at his Portsmouth home on 9 October (*New Hampshire Spy*, 13 October, RCS:N.H., 14–15). Langdon replied to Gilman’s letter on 13 October, which was responded to by Gilman on 23 October (RCS:N.H., 19–21n). The 13 October letter has not been found.

2. Probably Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson’s letter of 28 September to the state executives enclosing Congress’ resolution of the same day recommending that the new Constitution “be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof” (CDR, 340). Thomson also enclosed New York City printer John M’Lean’s four-page official broadside of the Constitution that included Congress’ resolution of 28 September. This copy of the Constitution was attested by Thomson and was probably the one used by state conventions (Evans 20817). (For M’Lean’s publication of several different copies of the Constitution, see RCS:N.Y., 43–44.)

New Hampshire Spy, 2 October 1787¹

It is with real pleasure we announce, that the Report of the Federal Convention meets with the greatest approbation in this metropolis [i.e.,

Portsmouth]. All ranks are highly animated with the pleasing hope, that this glorious structure, supported by thirteen pillars, will speedily be completed.—The patriots who have assisted in the above work, have deserved well of their country—their names shall brighten the annals of America, and their memory be forever revered, not as the lords and peers, but as the *fathers of America*.

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October, and in twenty-two other newspapers by 28 November: Vt. (1), Mass. (5), R.I. (2), N.Y. (3), N.J. (2), Pa. (4), Md. (4), Ga. (1). Three of these newspapers reprinted the item a second time.

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 3 October 1787¹

Extract of a letter from New-Hampshire, Sept. 20.

“How are the mighty fallen!—poor Shays is at this instant cracking chesnuts in the vicinity of lake Champlaine. The situation of Shattuck is not much better, only it is possible he may be cracking walnuts.—This man you must know was considered by the insurgents as a character quite as important as Shays himself. The insurgents in general have returned to their homes, and as far as we can learn behave with decency and good order. As to those that are still lurking on the borders of Canada, they are literally

‘So worn, so wasted, so despis’d a crew
As e’en Guy Carleton might with pity view.’”

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 16 October; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 October; *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October; in the October issue of the *Philadelphia Columbian Magazine*, and in six other newspapers by 25 October: Mass. (1), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (1), Ga. (1). This item refers to Job Shattuck, a leader of Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts (during the summer and fall of 1786, extending to early February 1787). Shattuck was convicted of treason and sentenced to death, but he was pardoned by the Massachusetts Council around the time that this letter was written. For Shays's Rebellion and the agrarian unrest in other states, see RCS:Mass., xxxviii–xl, and CC:18. For agrarian unrest in New Hampshire, see “Introduction” (RCS:N.H., lii–lviii).

New Hampshire Spy, 9 October 1787

Federal Paragraphs.

A gentleman, on whose veracity we can depend, informs, that having lately made the tour of New England, and having had several interviews with gentlemen of the first information, he made it his study to find out their's and the people's sentiments relative to the report of the Federal Convention, which he found perfectly federal and highly consonant to the proposed plan. He does not recollect to have heard in

all the four states *one dissenting voice*—all hearts are panting for its completion, and all hands are ready and willing to support and defend it. The unanimous approbation discovered, in this case, by all ranks, is really surprising, and loudly calls for thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events, while the prayers of all good christians are solicited, that the glorious structure may be perfected, supported, and established; and that, forgetting local prejudices, the states may be considered as one family—that the great chain of unanimity may be kept bright, and that patriotism and publick spirit may ever be the true characteristics of those dignified characters who are to preside at the head of affairs.

We are informed, says a late Philadelphia Paper,¹ that the constitution proposed by the late federal convention promises to be highly popular with the citizens in New-York; and that the distinguished person from whom an opposition was predicted,² has expressed himself in terms favourable to the plan. Perhaps there never was a subject, indeed, upon which men were more unanimous, for even those who cavil at the system itself, are impressed with the necessity of adopting it.

(We hear from New Jersey, that the federal government has been received in that state with universal approbation.

When the report of the federal convention was made public in the city of New-York, a majority of the citizens were pleased to give it their hearty approbation.)³

1. This paragraph first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Herald*, 25 September (CC:Vol. 1, pp. 582–83). The *Herald* item was also reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October, and the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 16 October. Outside of New Hampshire, it was reprinted twenty-three more times by 13 October: Mass. (9), R.I. (3), Conn. (1), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3), Md. (2), Va. (2), S.C. (1).

2. Probably New York Governor George Clinton.

3. The text in angle brackets was probably taken from the following paragraph which was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 26 September (CC:101, p. 252): “We hear from Delaware and New-Jersey, that the fœderal government has been received in each of those states with universal satisfaction. And it is said a majority of the citizens of New-York, where it was made public last Friday, expressed their hearty concurrence in it.” In addition to the *New Hampshire Spy*, both sentences also appeared in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October. Outside of New Hampshire, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* paragraph was reprinted twenty-one times by 22 October: Vt. (1), Mass. (6), R.I. (3), Conn. (3), N.Y. (3), Pa. (1), Md. (2), Va. (1), S.C. (1).

Editors’ Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Song “The Grand Constitution” 11–23 October 1787

On 6 October 1787, the Federalist *Massachusetts Centinel*, a Boston newspaper, printed an eight-stanza song entitled “The Grand Constitution: or, the Palladium of Columbia: A New Federal Song” to be sung

to the tune “Our Freedom we’ve won.” The Constitutional Convention was praised for adopting a “wise” Constitution. In particular, the “sage” Benjamin Franklin and the “brave” George Washington, who were instrumental in winning American freedom, were also praised as members of the Convention and supporters of the Constitution. The new Constitution would revive trade and commerce, promote unity and order, allow the farmer to “reap the full fruit of his toil,” help reestablish credit and republican liberties and law, protect America against rebellions, and permit the American empire to grow.

By 13 December the poem was reprinted in fourteen newspapers. In New Hampshire, the song appeared in the *New Hampshire Mercury*, 11 October; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October. The *Mercury* and the *Gazette* were among the first of the fourteen newspapers to reprint the song.

For the text of “The Grand Constitution” and its circulation, see CC:135.

John Langdon to John Adams

Portsmouth, N.H., 13 October 1787 (excerpt)¹

... I congratulate your Excellency on the prospect we have of establishing a National Government. I hope the plan will meet your approbation.

1. RC, Adams Papers, MHi. In the first two paragraphs of this letter, Langdon introduced James Sheafe, a Portsmouth merchant who was traveling to London. Langdon thanked Adams “for any civilities you are pleased to shew him while in England.” Adams (1735–1826), a Harvard graduate (1755) and a Massachusetts lawyer, served in the Continental Congress, 1774–77, signed the Declaration of Independence, and was the principal author of the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. From 1777 to 1788 he served almost continuously as a prominent American diplomat in Europe. Adams returned to America in June 1788, supported the Constitution, and was U.S. Vice President, 1789–97, and President, 1797–1801. He was also the author of the three-volume *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* (1787–88), which circulated widely in America.

New Hampshire Spy, 13 October 1787¹

Information being received on Tuesday last, of the honourable JOHN LANGDON, Esq. being on his return from the Federal Convention, several gentlemen, possessing federal principles, expressed their approbation of his conduct by meeting him at Greenland,² congratulating him on his arrival, and escorting him into this town. The satisfaction which the real patriot feels from a consciousness of exerting his time and talents for the service of his country, infinitely exceeds all the fulsome panegyrics of sycophantish flatterers. We congratulate this worthy

character on his safe arrival, and while we applaud his conduct as truly meritorious, and highly deserving of publick approbation, we must not forget his worthy colleague, the honourable NICHOLAS GILMAN, Esq. who has taken his seat in Congress, and shall close with asserting, that the patriotism discovered by these two gentlemen can only be equalled by the approbation which the good people of this state express towards the result of that august Assembly at which they have assisted as members.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal*, 24 October; *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 26 October. On 11 October the *New Hampshire Mercury* reported that “On news of that generous patriot, the hon. JOHN LANGDON, esq. being on his return, on Tuesday last, from the late august federal convention, he was met at Greenland by a large number of gentlemen from hence [i.e., Portsmouth], and escorted into town. We are happy in announcing that he is in perfect health.” On 13 August the *New Hampshire Gazette* reprinted the *Mercury*’s report. In reprinting the *Mercury*’s report on 17 October, the *Massachusetts Centinel* noted, “*This looks well.*” On 31 October the *Poughkeepsie Country Journal* repeated the *Centinel*’s commentary in reprinting the item.

2. The town of Greenland was immediately west of Portsmouth.

A Republican

New Hampshire Spy, 13 October 1787

The period has at length arrived to determine whether we shall be the most happy or the most miserable of all beings. To hesitate upon which to choose, would be madness in the extreme! Therefore to avoid the latter, let us with one voice say, WE *will* adopt the glorious CONSTITUTION, which that illustrious band of patriots have spent so much time in framing—a Constitution which no other nation under Heaven have an opportunity of enjoying!—The complaints of the scarcity of money, and the want of an advantageous commerce will then cease—the farmer will then be stimulated to improve his lands to the utmost of his power, by having a ready sale for the produce thereof—and the merchant be enabled to extend his exports, branch out in ship-building, &c. upon which the mechanic and labourer so much depend for their support—the restrictions that are now laid on by foreigners will be taken off, upon finding that we *can* and *will* retaliate on them—we shall become respectable and formidable in the eyes of all the world, and enjoy every benefit that is possible to conceive of. Whereas, by rejecting it, we shall be the most wretched and despised of all creatures on earth, subject to every calamity which a lively imagination can paint. We have for a long time distinguished the friends and enemies to their country by using the epithets of *whig* and *tory*, which (in my opinion) ought no more to be mentioned, but as a substitute, make use of the terms *Federal* and *Antifederal*,¹ the latter so opprobrious a name as only

fit for a dæmon! But yet I fear we have a few such among us—some from the base principle of wishing the existence of *tender acts* and *paper-money*, to defraud their creditors—some from an idea of being once more under the *old government*, as they term it—some merely for the sake of opposing because they had no hand in framing it—and others of a levelling disposition, preferring anarchy and confusion to good government. But the *Federal Man* will, with heart and hand, assist in establishing the Constitution, as being the best adapted to the exigencies of the several states of any thing that could be devised, and at the same time treat all those that oppose it as *traitors* to their country.

1. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September, printed the following two-sentence item: “The former distinction of the citizens of America (says a Correspondent) into whigs and tories, should be lost in the more important distinction of *federal* and *antifederal* men. The former are the friends of liberty and independence—the latter are the enemies of liberty, and the secret abettors of the interests of Great-Britain” (CC:73). This item was reprinted in ten newspapers by 11 October, including the *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 October.

New Hampshire Spy, 13 October 1787¹

October 4.

On the 17th ult. the *Federal Convention*, which met in Philadelphia in May last, adjourned.

A correspondent, who has read the proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia, begs leave to observe, that to him, the seeds of Jealousy and Discord appear thickly sown through the whole of them; and indeed, that the very letter from the President of the Convention, introducing their proceedings to Congress, augurs the difficulties, notwithstanding all their labours, that their Constitution must encounter, and doubts of its meeting with full approbation. The following extracts from it he quotes as proofs:

“It is obviously impracticable in the Federal Government of the states, to secure all rights of Independent Sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all.—Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest.² It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

“That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state is not perhaps to be expected, &c. &c.”³

The above mentioned letter, he asserts, is sufficient of itself, to stifle this brat in the moment of its birth. Of all governments, the Americans

detest a military one the most, and this is so nearly allied to it, and so likely in a short time to become an absolute one, that they will be very cautious indeed how they adopt it. And it cannot but strike the most cursory observer, in the plan proposed for electing a President, how the military have secured the election of their favourite Chief, should such an election take place, which our correspondent supposes never will. Like *Friar Bacon*, he observes, they have toiled till they are weary, and have now left their servants to watch the BRAZEN HEAD,⁴ while they sleep; like his it will be laughed at, and, when that TIME, *that is*, (when *French Councils* are not altogether *absolute* among them) *past*, it will tumble to pieces, and—*cætera desunt*.⁵

1. This item, furnished to the *Spy* by a correspondent in Nova Scotia, was reprinted from the no longer extant 4 October issue of the *Nova Scotia Packet*. The item focuses on the 17 September letter of George Washington, the president of the Constitutional Convention, to the president of Congress, forwarding the Constitution and the resolutions of the Convention to Congress. (See Appendix III, RCS:N.H., 483–96, for the texts of the letter, the resolutions, and the Constitution.)

2. At this point the following sentence appears in the original: “The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained” (RCS:N.H., 483).

3. This is the opening clause of the last paragraph of the letter. The remaining clauses of the paragraph form one lengthy sentence in which Washington essentially says that the Constitution is the best that could be obtained (RCS:N.H., 483–84).

4. The brazen head was a mechanical head often made of brass that could magically answer one question. It appeared in several literary works, including Robert Greene’s comedy *The Honourable Historie of Friar Bacon and Friar Bongay* (London, 1594).

5. Latin: This is all or the rest is lacking.

“Z.”

New Hampshire Spy, 16 October 1787¹

To the LADIES.

At this alarming crisis, our dear bought country loudly calls for the aid of all her real friends, and invokes the assistance of their hands—their head,—and their heart to extricate her from the embarrassments under which she labours. The tender feelings of every true patriot, receive a wound on reflecting how few there are, who cheerfully espouse their country’s cause, and boldly dare to hazard every thing to promote its welfare. But if the male sex are lost to a sense of reason, and still refuse to succour their sinking country—on you, I call, ye fair Daughters of America—let your example fire them with patriotick zeal—exert your influence over them (the greatest in the world) to excite them to their duty—lead the way in plans to industry and economy—despise as frippery, the gewgaws of foreign importations—adorn yourselves in the products of your own country—your native charms need

not the embellishments of costly dress to captivate or hold in subjugation the man whose conquest ought with you to be an object; let virtue in its native simplicity and propriety achieve what all the studied arts of refinement cannot reach; and may your's be the honour of rescuing your prostrate country from the horrid extreme of anarchy and despotism, and of establishing it on the sure basis of industry, integrity, and economy, that strong ground of national security. Then will you behold those halcyon days, the thoughts of which, now animate every true patriot.

1. Reprinted: Richmond *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 8 November; *Vermont Journal*, 3 December.

Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 17 October 1787¹

“People in general here (says a letter from Portsmouth) are amazingly taken with the New Constitution, and it is allowed by good judges to be one of the best forms of free government ever promulgated. Two of our well-informed men are now preparing speeches the more effectually to recommend it.—I have advised several of my friends, however, to examine this Magna Charta with their own eyes, and not trust too much to the flow of rhetoric that may be expected.—Oratory can do wonderful things—one of the Athenian sages is reported to have made so moving a speech upon the miseries of human life, that more than half his audience rose from their benches, and went home with a determined resolution to hang themselves before night.”

1. Reprinted seven times by 1 November: N.Y. (1), Pa. (3). Md. (3).

Juvenis

New Hampshire Spy, 20 October 1787

To the FREEMEN of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

“*What shall we do to be saved?*”¹—has been the political cry these many years.—Now, and not till now has there been an answer—*Adopt the Federal plan*—Take shelter in the superb edifice which has been projected by the collected wisdom of the continent.—Some, though few, are heard to whisper—“let us examine closely; scrutinize it, search for flaws, and deficiencies—perhaps it may injure us as individuals—as inhabitants of a town, who enjoy local advantages, as freemen of this state—and if so, let us reject it.”—If there is any danger—if there is any dissention, such are the men, such are the suggestions that will produce it.—There ever was, and ever will be men, whose views are not enlarged, who find it too difficult a task, to sacrifice a personal or private benefit, for a general good.—And true it is, the ideas of person,

town, and even state, must in some measure be banished, to admit the nobler one of national existence, wealth and honour.

Some there will be, no doubt, and probably men of intrigue and influence, and yet are the mere shuttle-cocks of fortune, who rise highest when the blows are hardest, and always fare best when the publick are most embarrassed; or like the pilfering knave, find the richest plunder in consequence of a hurricane or fire;—and therefore it will be their interest to scatter the seeds of discord, and fan every spark that will tend to inflame the people, and encrease publick commotions.—But, my countrymen, view their characters—view their principles—view their designs—and you will inevitably detest their doctrines as you despise the men.

The method proposed for the election of the President and Senate, but especially the choice of the great Representative body, must render the government popular in a high degree;—this may be seen by any one:—But to discover the beauty and harmony of the whole,—to understand the secret principles, the nice dependencies, and necessary connections, that must render its strength and symmetry complete, will require more knowledge and experience, than individuals or societies, who for the most part are little acquainted with national or governmental concerns, can possibly be possessed of.—But will any one reprobate it, or withhold his assent, because some parts may to him want elucidation?—As well deny the Christian Religion itself.—If ever a people could feel secure in a decision of others, surely we may on this occasion;—for is it not almost sufficient of itself, to remove every doubt and fear, barely to contemplate the means, the materials and the men that produced the supreme Constitution.—It is the result of a *sufficient number* of men—of *dignified characters*—elected by the *respective states*—men whose *interest* as well as *honour* is interwoven and involved in the welfare of the *whole*—and who, in addition to their *experience* in *political economy* (many of them having passed the chair of government) have had sufficient *time*, and ample *occasion* to *investigate, reason, deliberate, propose, object, debate, amend, mature, and complete* what they have now exhibited; and which, if received will be reared as an undecaying monument of the united wisdom of the United States.

1. Perhaps a reference to Acts 2:37–41 or Acts 16:25–34.

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

New York, 23 October 1787 (excerpt)¹

... From all accounts there is the greatest probability that the new Constitution will be generally adopted—Accounts from General Washington and other Eminent Characters in Virginia are much in favor of

it—and all reports agree that the conduct of Mason & Randolph has made them very unpopular in their State.²—The conduct of the Seceders in Pennsylvania has met the pointed disapprobation of their constituents though it is agreed the intemperence of the friends to government in that State has been the cause of considerable opposition.³—Sales of the Western lands are going on very well—there are applications (including what is sold) for about ten Million acres—a very considerable part of the domestic debt will be sunk in this way—yet I really wish the Citizens of New Hampshire would be so far awake to a sense of their interest as to buy in their quota as an appreciation of these securities must in time take place⁴—Pennsylvania & New York are in possession of their Quotas and Massachusetts has purchased a very considerable sum.—

I really hope our Legislature will assemble without loss of time—a federal spirit and a speedy adoption of the new plan is generally expected of New Hampshire and certainly no State suffers more through the inefficiency of the present or has more to hope from the adoption of the proposed Constitution. . . .

With the greatest respect & Esteem, I am, Dear Sir, Your Most Obedt. & Humble Servant,

1. RC, Langdon/Elwyn Papers, NhHi. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXIV, 497–98. Gilman responds to Langdon's letter of 13 October, which has not been found.

2. On 17 October both the *Pennsylvania Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published widely circulated brief reports that George Mason, a Virginia delegate to the Constitutional Convention who had not signed the Constitution, was unpopular in Virginia on his return to the state. The *Journal's* report was reprinted on 27 October in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, *New Hampshire Spy*, and *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*. On 30 October the *Pennsylvania Gazette's* report was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*. See CC:171 A–B for both reports and their wide circulation. On Mason, see also “The New Hampshire Reprinting of George Mason's Objections to the New Constitution,” 27–28 November (RCS:N.H., 53–55).

3. On the morning of 28 September 1787, the day before the Pennsylvania Assembly intended to adjourn, Federalists in control of the Assembly passed resolutions calling a state convention to consider the Constitution. The Assembly adjourned to the afternoon intending to pass additional resolutions on that question. Seeking to prevent the adoption of additional resolutions, nineteen assemblymen, almost all Antifederalists, absented themselves from the afternoon session. As a result, the Assembly could not obtain a quorum and adjourned to the following morning, 29 September. Meeting as intended, the Assembly still lacked a quorum and ordered its officers to bring back enough members to obtain one. With the assistance of a mob, the officers brought back two members, enough for a quorum. The additional resolutions were adopted and the Assembly adjourned. On the same day, most of the seceding assemblymen signed an address explaining their actions and outlining their objections to the Constitution. They were in turn answered by six Federalist assemblymen. The address was widely circulated in newspapers and as a broadside. It was not reprinted in any New Hampshire newspapers, although by 8 November it appeared in five newspapers in neighboring Massachusetts, including the Newburyport *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet* on 24 October. (See CC:125–A.)

4. For the period October 1781 to October 1787, New Hampshire paid only 12 percent of its quota of specie and indents requisitioned (RCS:N.Y., 14n). In New York and Pennsylvania the legislatures provided for the purchase of federal securities owned by their inhabitants to the point where both states were creditors of the Confederation government—the states were due more in interest on the securities they had purchased than the amount they were to pay from the requisitions levied on them by Congress. These federal securities could be used to pay the requisitions.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of Governor John Hancock's Speech to the Massachusetts General Court, 23 October 1787

On 18 October 1787 Governor John Hancock addressed a joint session of the Massachusetts legislature and turned over to it several papers, including the Confederation Congress' official four-page broadside of the Constitution and the congressional resolution of 28 September recommending that the states call conventions to consider the Constitution (CC:95). Hancock's speech, which covered a number of matters, praised the Constitutional Convention and acknowledged the importance of the Constitution.

Governor Hancock told the legislature that "It not being within the duties of my office to decide upon this momentous affair, I shall only say, that the characters of the gentlemen who have compiled this system, are so truly respectable, and the object of their deliberations so vastly important, that I conceive every mark of attention will be paid to the report. Their unanimity in deciding those questions wherein the general prosperity of the nation is so deeply involved, and the complicated rights of each separate state are so intimately concerned, is very remarkable; and I persuade myself that the delegates of this state when assembled in convention, will be able to discern that, which will tend to the future happiness and security of all the people in this extensive country." On 25 October the legislature adopted resolutions calling a state convention.

Hancock's speech was widely reprinted. On 23 October the *New Hampshire Spy* reprinted the paragraph on the Constitution. In neighboring Massachusetts the entire speech was reprinted in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet* on 24 October. On 27 October the *New Hampshire Gazette* reprinted a brief item from the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 October, praising "the very handsome manner in which our worthy Governour speaks of the new Constitution" (RCS: Mass., 127).

For the text of the paragraph on the Constitution in Governor Hancock's speech, which was first printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette* on 19 October, and for the circulation of and commentaries on the speech, see CC:177.

**President John Sullivan: Thanksgiving Proclamation
Durham, N.H., 24 October 1787¹**

By His EXCELLENCY
JOHN SULLIVAN, *Esquire*,
Captain General and Commander in Chief, in and over
the State of New-Hampshire.
A PROCLAMATION

FOR A
GENERAL THANKSGIVING.

The God of Nature and of Providence, has conducted us through the successive changes of another year, and brought us to that season when it has been usual for the good people of this State, according to the laudable custom of their pious ancestors, to appear before the LORD with their thank-offerings. A grateful sense of favours is a source of most refined enjoyment, and the proper expression of that sense, in humble devout ascriptions of Praise and Thanksgiving to His Bountiful Benefactor, unites the dignity, duty and happiness of man.

I have therefore thought fit, by the advice of Council, agreeably to a vote of the GENERAL COURT, to issue this PROCLAMATION appointing THURSDAY the *twenty-ninth* day of *November* next, to be observed as a Day of PUBLIC THANKSGIVING throughout this State, recommending it to Ministers and People, of every denomination, to assemble in their respective Places of Public Worship, to Adore and Praise the Great JEHOVAH: devoutly to offer up their unfeigned Thanksgivings for the continuance of His Mercies, notwithstanding our accumulated demerit, and aggravated guilt; particularly to thank *Him* for the singular Health and general Plenty of the present year—for the success that has attended our Trade, Navigation and Fishery, notwithstanding the embarrassments under which Commerce labours—for His Blessing upon the internal Administration of Government; stilling the noise of Faction, and restraining the Lusts of Men—more especially, for His Goodness in conducting the Federal Convention, to a happy issue of their arduous and important trust; uniting them in recommending a Constitution of Government for these Confederated States; but above all to Adore and Praise *Him* for His unspeakable gift; for the continuance of the means of Grace; and the hope and prospect of Eternal Life. And while the heart is warmed with a sense of Divine Benefits, most fervently implore the Giver of every Good and Perfect Gift, to rain down Righteousness upon us—grant the effusions of his Grace, to suppress every Vice public and private, and to promote every Virtue political and moral: most humbly pray that God would continue this new Empire under

His Holy protection,—and at this serious Crisis inspire with Wisdom and Discernment, those who may be chosen to decide upon the Federal Constitution, proportioned to the importance of the interesting subject.—Particularly that He would Bless this State; smile upon the Administration of its Civil Affairs; unite the Citizens in the love of Order and good Government; take the interests of Learning under His nurturing Hand; Give success to a Preached Gospel, and the means of Grace; and fill the earth with his Glory.

All servile Labour and Recreation are Forbidden on said Day.

Given at the COUNCIL CHAMBER in DURHAM, the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our LORD one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-seven, and in the twelfth year of American Independence.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

By his Excellency's Command,

JOSEPH PEARSON, Sec'ry.

GOD SAVE THE STATE.

1. Almost yearly, the president of New Hampshire issued a proclamation calling for a day of fasting and/or thanksgiving. This October 1787 proclamation was printed as a one-page broadside (Evans 49614) and was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder* on 20 November. One-sentence statements notifying the state of a day of thanksgiving were printed in the *New Hampshire Mercury*, 1 November, and the *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 November. The latter statement was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on 24 November.

**Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 24 October 1787 (excerpt)¹**

... The Constitution as far as I have had Oppertunity of hearing is very generally liked in this State. How some of our leading men in the State, (not in this Town) approve of it I have not heard, our Court was Adjourned to next January, but many Persons in this Town have expected the President would Call them together Immediately on the Occasion, however no proclamation appears for that purpose,² which makes some rather severe on the P. but I have never heard how he likes it. on the whole I am of Opinion it will be adopted by this State

I was a few days past talking with Major Hale on the Subject, he says he likes it much³ but our General Court will never come into it. I ask'd him the reason—"pho⁴ says he, do you know that if they adopt it, it will make them honest. & put it out of their power to Cheat every body by tender Laws, & paper money" ["no, no, that will never do" pretty Severe I think. It is now very certain that we shall not take up the matter untill you have Acted on it;⁵ & If you do right I hope we shall follow your example. If, on the Contrary I hope we shall have Wisdom &

fortitude to Act in a becoming manner & not let any of your Bad Conduct *If you have any* Influence us to follow your examples in that respect—

Mr Wendell⁶ Informs me that Continental Securitys were Sold last Week for 2/6 on the £—with Interest due on them, how they will sell now he does not know, he says he purchases State Notes for 3/ on the £. with Interest due on them & pays for them in any thing he has—I have done by yours as I should with my own, let it lay, thinking it better than to dispose of it at that rate—should the New Constitution take place & that it will I feel quite sanguine, then as you observe “our national Character will then rise” & the Securitys of course—that the Proposed Constitution may be General approved of & accepted is the wish of D[ea]r Sr. Your Friend & Servant

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, Part III, 340–42. Libbey (1748–1824) was the Portsmouth postmaster for many years. He was also the keeper of the magazine in Portsmouth. Belknap (1744–1798), a native of Boston and a graduate of Harvard College (1762), was pastor of the Congregational Church in Dover, N.H., 1767–86, and from 1787 of the Congregational Church in Long Lane in Boston. He authored *The History of New Hampshire*, the first volume of which appeared in Philadelphia in 1784. Volumes II and III were published in Boston in 1791 and 1792.

2. See *New Hampshire Spy*, 30 October and 3 November (RCS:N.H., 25–26, 40), for comments on President John Sullivan’s delay in calling a special session of the state legislature. On 1 November, President Sullivan, with the advice of Council, issued a proclamation calling the legislature to meet in Portsmouth on 5 December 1787 instead of January 1788. (For the proclamation, see RCS:N.H., 37.)

3. The reference is to Major Samuel Hale who represented Barrington in the state Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

4. An expression of contemptuous rejection or dismissal.

5. The Massachusetts Convention met from 9 January to 7 February 1788 and ratified the Constitution on 6 February. Belknap attended the debates and took notes on them. (See RCS:Mass., “Massachusetts Cumulative Index,” p. 1842.)

6. Probably John Wendell, a Portsmouth merchant. For his support of the Constitution, see Wendell to Elbridge Gerry, 15 December (RCS:N.H., 60–61n).

New Hampshire Spy, 27 October 1787

The federal man stands in need of no arguments to induce him to adopt the *new Constitution*, the *real Christian* is daily petitioning that the blessing of heaven may rest upon it; and we are assured, that “*the prayers of a righteous man availeth much.*”¹ The *honest man* can have no objection to a federal government, for while it obliges him to pay a sacred regard to past contracts, it will eventually secure him in his person and property. The *mercantile interest* have suffered enough to *induce them* to wish for, and espouse a federal reform.—The *mechanical interest* can have no aversion to it, when they are informed that an efficient government will protect and encourage commerce, which is the very soul of mechanism, whose wheels once set agoing, will employ all hands, introduce

plenty, and gladden every heart.—Nor can the *honest farmer* have any objection; the increase of commerce will naturally increase the demand for such articles as he may have for sale; he will be enabled to pay his taxes, and, if œconomy shakes hands with industry, increase his farm, and live independent of troublesome creditors.—Since then no one respectable order of citizens can have any just reason to reject the new Constitution, we may venture to conclude, that none but *fools, block-heads, and mad men* will dare to oppose it.

1. James 5:16.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of *An American Citizen* I and II 27 October–3 November 1787

Soon after the Constitutional Convention adjourned on 17 September 1787, Federalist Tench Coxe, a Philadelphia merchant, published the first major commentaries on the Constitution in four essays signed “An American Citizen.” “An American Citizen” I discussed the U.S. presidency; II, the U.S. Senate; III, the U.S. House of Representatives; and IV, the Constitution’s general provisions. These four essays would be the first of nearly thirty publications Coxe contributed to the ratification debate.

“An American Citizen” I–III were published in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* on 26, 28, and 29 September, respectively. On 21 October “An American Citizen” IV, along with Coxe’s first three numbers, appeared in a Federalist broadside anthology printed by Hall and Sellers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. By 10 December the first essay was reprinted in twenty-four newspapers, the second in nineteen, the third in seventeen, and the fourth in nine. All four were reprinted in the September and October issues of the Philadelphia *American Museum*.

In New Hampshire, “An American Citizen” I was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette* on 27 October and number II on 3 November.

Despite the wide circulation of Coxe’s essays, they attracted little commentary except in Pennsylvania, where they were criticized in several prominent publications, none of which was reprinted in New Hampshire. No original commentaries on the essays were published in New Hampshire.

For the texts, circulation, and commentaries on “An American Citizen,” see CC:100–A, 109, 112, 183–A.

New Hampshire Spy, 30 October 1787

A correspondent is apprehensive that no *official* dispatches have been received by the executive authority of this state, on the subject of the

Federal Constitution¹—otherwise, it is presumed, something would have transpired from that quarter ere this;² it being full six weeks since the proceedings of that honourable body (the convention) were first published. If a neglect of that kind, should be the cause of so long a silence, it is but reasonable the public should know it, *in justice to the injured*, and thereby put a stop to the CLAMOUR so prevalent through the state respecting which.

1. On 28 September Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress, sent letters to the state executives enclosing Congress' resolution of 28 September recommending that the state legislatures call conventions to consider the Constitution. Thomson also enclosed New York City printer John M'Lean's four-page official broadside printing of the report of the Constitutional Convention (CDR, 340, 342n). (See also Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, 30 September, note 2, RCS:N.H., 11.) The letter that Thomson sent to President John Sullivan is in State Papers, Revolution, 1775–1789, Nh-Ar.

Sullivan likely received Thomson's letter and its enclosures by 24 October. On that day, Sullivan was meeting with the Executive Council in Durham, his place of residence, and issued a Thanksgiving proclamation that contained references to the Constitution and the choice of delegates to consider it (RCS:N.H., 22–23).

2. See Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap, 24 October, in which Libbey wrote that “many Persons in this Town have expected the President would call them [i.e., the state legislature] together Immediately on the Occasion, however no proclamation appears for that purpose, which makes some rather severe on the P[resident]” (RCS:N.H., 23). On 1 November President Sullivan, with the advice of Council, issued a proclamation for the legislature to meet on 5 December (RCS:N.H., 37).

A Friend to the Union New Hampshire Spy, 30 October 1787

On the new Federal Constitution.

As a Federal Government, at this critical juncture, is an object of the greatest magnitude, of consequence any of the most possible means for obtaining it, claim the attention of every serious well-wisher to his country, provided such means are not essentially detrimental; and as the Constitution proposed by the late Convention to the states, seems liable to as few objections as the nature of our situations, habits, and interests would suppose, some general observations upon the cause of our present unhappy divisions, the absolute necessity of adopting a federal system, and an attempt to point out the blessings we shall derive from accepting the proposed one, I hope will not be thought premature. The causes of our dissensions are many; but among the principal ones may be reckoned, the tender acts which exist in some states, and the emitting of paper money in others.—Although it cannot be denied but, that greater might be avoided, these measures became necessary; yet a federal government would have prevented both the necessity of enacting such laws, and the bad effects which attend them. From an inattention to a regular system of commerce, jealousy and distrust have

arisen in the several states, passions not very favourable to the peace and interests of society; for while some states were making great sacrifices by shutting their ports against foreigners, others by freely admitting them into theirs, were reaping all the benefits of a commerce with them,¹ these things naturally produced a general suspicion and a want of confidence in each other; hence arose the great difficulty of empowering Congress to regulate trade, some states granting that body power under certain restrictions; others vesting them with full powers; while others again absolutely refuse to grant them any, and almost every one afraid of giving too much.²—In the mean time we became the contempt of the world, and we have not yet shewn them cause to lessen it. We have surely the greatest proofs of national liberality exhibited to us, by the indulgence shewn to our ministers abroad who are received in the quality of representatives of a body who represent the shadow of power while the substance is denied them.—It might be questioned whether the polite marks by which they are distinguished at foreign courts, does not proceed from an awe at which the sound of Congress fills them? Or whether they may not be detained by them to raise them mirth and drive away the spleen after the dull hours of deliberation. But to return, another great source of our divisions arises from an improper mode of taxation and levying imposts, and the very great difficulty there is in collecting them, which may be imputed to the defect in some of our laws and to the want of energy in government to execute others, for while Congress are without power, and their requisitions and recommendations have no longer the force of law, it is almost impossible that the states will be united in a compliance of any one requisition of importance; consequently mutual jealousies take place, and hence arises a supineness in the several governments, a general stupor seizes the whole, and the people at the same time are continually held in suspence and distraction. From these considerations it necessarily follows, that the states, united under *one head*, will relieve us from the inconveniences we now complain of; and when we paint to our imagination the dire catalogue of evils which are likely to follow by delay, the importance of bringing about this grand object, attended with such happy effects, will not be questioned. To place these evils before us that they may be had in remembrance until the cause is removed, may not be useless.—Those states who are for a government adequate to the present late [i.e., state] of affairs, failing in their attempts to effect, and seeing no prospect of gaining this point, will withdraw their members from Congress—the union of course will be dissolved—each state will endeavour to form foreign alliances—reprisals will be made on private property for foreign debts—insurrections of the most formidable nature will spring up—the collection of taxes will

be suspended. The dismal effects these things must have on our laws are obvious to the meanest capacity, and unless some kind deliverer steps forward, and snatches us from the jaws of anarchy and confusion, destruction will come upon us like a whirlwind. To secure us then from such a fatal catastrophe the proposed constitution seems wisely calculated, and the adoption of it by the states will be productive of solid advantages to them. The anticipation of so desirable an event must make a pleasing impression on every enemy to disorder and confusion: By this system all our just rights and priviledges are guaranteed to us; the Northern states, it is very clear, will derive lasting benefits in their commerce from it, and they may be under no apprehension of suffering in the regulation of revenues—taxes will be duly collected, at the same time the most feasible and easy mode of collection will be pointed out, by which they will become less burthensome to the people, and every one will then be supposed to pay his equal and full proportion—our finances would soon convince the world that we are an *honest* people, and that it was our inexperience only in the art of government which looked otherways—manufactures would shortly revive and flourish on a more extensive scale—the important art of husbandry would no longer languish for want of encouragement; under the patronizing care of such a government it would grow into perfection—in short, the advantages which will result from adopting this plan are numerous, and opens to us prospects of the most agreeable nature; and it is impossible that any man or class of men should be so blinded to the interests of these states, as to reject a form which keeps in view the general prosperity of all, unless they are governed by principles of Shaysism;³ or what (if possible) is worse, they are influenced by those of Demonism, and although a few may be busy at this time disseminating these diabolical principles in this state, yet when we reflect upon the unanimity of sentiment observable in almost all ranks of citizens upon this subject, it must afford us the highest satisfaction.

On the wisdom and public virtue of our General Assembly much depends; and from an assurance that they possess a large portion of each, we apprehend that the new Constitution will meet with their warmest approbation, and that the earliest day will be fixed upon for the meeting of the convention which so important an object may appear to them to require.

1. In June 1785 the Massachusetts legislature passed a navigation act forbidding exports from Massachusetts ports in British vessels and establishing discriminatory duties on foreign vessels and imports. Massachusetts viewed this act as a “considerable Sacrifice” passed “for the common good” (RCS:Mass., Vol. 1, xxxiii).

2. The efforts to regulate trade and commerce were the Impost of 1781 and 1783 and the grant of temporary power of 1784, none of which went into effect because of the

opposition of one or more states. For the texts of these measures, see CDR, 140–41, 146–48, 153–54. In 1785 another attempt to grant Congress commercial power failed to pass Congress (CDR, 154–56).

3. The reference is to Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts that lasted for several months and was suppressed by the state government in February 1787. (See RCS:Mass., Vol. 1, xxxviii–xxxix; and CC:18.)

Nicholas Gilman to President John Sullivan
New York, 31 October 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . When I had the honor to address your Excellency last from Philadelphia² it was not my intention to have taken a Seat in Congress this year but as it was conceived important to have a full house on the Subject of the new plan of Government I was induced to take a seat; and have continued in Congress in expectation of receiving a small supply of Money and of having a Colleague for the next year.—I am unhappy in not having received a line from your Excellency on the subject of the new Constitution:—I presume however it will have your support—and from all accounts from the different States I think there is a great prospect of its being generally adopted.—New York (ever Antifederal) will keep back in order to direct her proceedings by the conduct of other states.

The intemperance of a number of the members of the Pennsylvania Legislature has made Enemys to the new plan³—but not such as to render the adoption of it very doubtful.—Virginia has given rise to the greatest opposition; but their delegates inform me that their last letters have removed all doubts of its adoption in the Ancient Dominion:—their opposition arises from an ill founded jealousy of New:England on the Subject of Commercial regulations, the power of making which they are unwilling to leave to a Majority of the Legislature; but wish to have it so established in the Constitution, as that the five Southern States may have the power to prevent all such regulations as may, by possibility, operate against their present interest—This is their great objection—an other of inferior order (and which I believe had a powerful operation on the sentiments of the gentleman from Massachusetts who refused his assent)⁴ is the Equal representation in the Senate—These are objections of a nature not to be removed;—and if the States do not adopt the present plan—notwithstanding its imperfections,—(I am fully convinced that there is not the remotest probability of gaining the general assent to one less exceptionable)—and in that case (after all our blustering) we shall exhibit to the world nothing new—but shall probably pursue the track of nations that have gone before us and Establish a Government or Governments by the sword and seal it with blood. . . .

With Sentiments of the highest Respect

1. RC, State Papers, Revolution, 1775–1789, Nh-Ar. See Mfm:N.H. 8, for the full letter. The text in angle brackets was included in “the excellent sentiments of a gentleman who has studied the new plan of government” printed in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 5 December (RCS:N.H., 57).

2. See Gilman to Sullivan, 18 September (RCS:N.H., 7–8).

3. For the “intemperance” of some members of the Pennsylvania Assembly, see Gilman to John Langdon, 23 October, at note 3 and note 3 (RCS:N.H., 20).

4. Gilman refers to Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts who had refused to sign the Constitution in the Constitutional Convention. There is no evidence in the Convention’s records that Gerry opposed the equality of states in the Senate.

An Association of Christian Ministers: A Concert for Prayer Propounded to the Citizens of the United States Exeter, N.H., c. October 1787

On 10 October 1787, An Association of Christian Ministers presented “*A Concert for Prayer*” to America’s citizens to set apart an hour from 7 P.M. to 8 P.M. on every Lord’s Day “*for extraordinary prayer.*” The Association hoped “that God would be pleased to spare and save this *infant-nation* from impending ruin.” The “Concert” reportedly appeared in the newspapers of the “*Federal states*” and in a fifteen-page pamphlet printed here (Evans 20284). The pamphlet was published in Exeter by Lamson and Ranlet of the *Freeman’s Oracle* sometime before 19 December 1787 (Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New Hampshire Packet*, 2 January 1788, RCS:Mass., 600–602).

INTRODUCTION.

A CONCERT FOR PRAYER PROPOUNDED;

OR,

A serious, earnest, and humble invitation, addressed, by a number of the citizens of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to their fellow-citizens, and to all who fear GOD throughout the FEDERAL UNION, *to unite with them in setting apart one hour, from seven o’clock to eight, in the evening of every Lord’s-day, meaning the evening following the day, for extraordinary prayer, in our closets apart, or socially in private meetings, as shall be most agreeable—to humble ourselves before GOD for our own sins, and the prevailing sins of the people at this day, and earnestly and solemnly to seek unto God, in the name of the great Mediator, to pardon the nation and save her from impending destruction, and to make us to be a truly wise, pious, virtuous and happy people.*

A CONCERT FOR PRAYER PROPOUNDED, &c.

In the time of our late distress, when the sword of a powerful nation was drawn against us, we made our solemn appeal to the righteous Governor of the universe, and thousands were daily lifting up holy

hands to the prayer-hearing God, to arise and plead our righteous cause; and He was graciously pleased to hear and save us in such a manner, that none but atheists could deny it to be the Lord's doing, and to be marvellous!¹ Nations afar off were struck with astonishment at it, and said, "the Lord hath done great things for AMERICA." To which our mouths echoed, saying, "the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad."² And though God's goodness was so great and marvellous towards us, and altogether unmerited by us; yet all that the Lord required of us in return, was only "to do justly, love mercy and to walk humbly with our God."³ And had we complied with his infinitely just and reasonable requisition, we should have been, at this day, a very happy people, for "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the reproach of any people."⁴ The latter we find true by sad experience; for having sung God's praises, how soon have we forgot his works! How exceedingly have we lusted after the *leeks and the onions*,⁵ the trash, the trifles and the vanities of *foreign nations*. How has luxury prevailed, and every iniquity, every moral evil, abounded among us! How soon has virtue, moral, Christian and political virtue, took wing and vanished; and that contracted, selfish spirit, *that loving our own selves*, which is the cause of *perilous times*, come in its place! Yea, what a disposition prevails to set light by, to disregard, or to neglect to make proper provision for the fulfilling, supporting and maintaining the most solemn and sacred national covenants, contracts and confederations! The breach of national faith, of solemn covenants and contracts, is a sin, which has pulled down the wrath and vengeance of God, in tremendous judgments, upon the nations guilty thereof, as can easily be made to appear, both by sacred and profane history.

Besides—as to religion, natural and revealed religion, the great end of our creation and redemption, the profession and practice of which, agreeably to the directions of God's word, *peculiarly* discriminate men from *beasts* and *devils*; how awfully is it neglected and despised by many among us! How lamentably deism and infidelity prevail! How many ridicule the Bible, neglect the public worship of God, and refuse to honour Christ, as required in the Bible, though he is infinitely worthy of it, from every man, as he is the saviour of all men, and especially of them who believe in him; for it is owing to his merits and mediation, that we enjoy any temporal blessings, have a time of God's forbearance, a space to repent, and any hope of eternal salvation! How many profane the Lord's day, a day sacred to the worship of God, and are quite destitute of visible piety, religion and morality—just as if they were not moral agents, in a state of probation for eternity, and accountable to

God! Yea, what an interpretation of the Bible is spreading, and drunk in with greediness, by many who pretend to believe the Bible! An interpretation exceedingly pleasing to confirmed deists and practical atheists! An interpretation which tends to make the wicked, the impenitent, quite easy in their impenitence, as it promises *eternal happiness* equally to such as despise God, as to those who fear and honour him—equally to murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, as to those who, from a spirit of piety, honour them—equally to such as tread under foot the Son of God, as to those who deny themselves, take up their cross daily, and follow him in the practice of every thing lovely and praise-worthy! An interpretation of most fatal tendency; for while embraced by the impenitent, it seats them down in their impenitence under a false hope; and when embraced by persons of visible piety and religion, for the most part, they soon become as destitute of visible piety and religion, in their families and the church of God, as deists are; and both are in the greatest danger of losing, very soon, all sense of moral obligation to do justly, and to preserve their faith inviolate.

And as to the present political situation of this nation, we may say, it is truly alarming! For she has lost her credit,—is fallen into contempt, and her debt is increasing by reason of the revenue system, recommended by *Congress*, not being complied with, as yet, by all the states in the *Union*! If they delay much longer, the consequence will likely be fatal; we shall be in the utmost danger of ceasing to be a confederated independent nation, and become exposed to be made a prey of by that nation whose tender mercies we found to be cruelty in the late war, towards the many thousands of our fellow-citizens who fell into their hands!—The piratical State of *Algiers*, without any provocation, have proclaimed war against us, and they capture our vessels and make slaves of our citizens!⁶—The British nation refuses to deliver up the Posts within our territories! And the barbarous *Indians* have begun to distress and kill our exposed and defenceless people bordering on the wilderness! And, what is not a little alarming *at this time* is the amazing inattention of vast numbers of our citizens to the present dangerous situation of this nation; and also the great want of vigorous exertions to save it! The present commotions and combinations, in one county and another, in the commonwealth of *Massachusetts*,⁷ so far as their object is to hinder the nation and themselves from *doing justly*, or to prevent the payment of *national and personal debts*, must be very alarming, and fill the hearts of all the judicious friends of the revolution, and of our excellent civil constitutions, with the most painful feelings; as such commotions and combinations are perfectly agreeable to the wishes of such

of our nominal citizens who are secret enemies to the national confederation and our republican constitutions;—and as they have no tendency to enrich our citizens, but rather to make them less able to pay their public and private debts;—and especially, as they tend to bring us into a state of confusion, anarchy and slavery—to make us miserable and render us contemptible in the eyes of all mankind! Indeed, combinations to retrench our luxuries,—not to import, or not to purchase, imported superfluities, and to form manufacturing companies, would tend to our political salvation; and such combinations are desirable—very desirable. Finally, the present situation of the *Congress* fills us with painful sensations; for though it is the head, the federal head of the nation, yet it is greatly in want of necessary powers from its constituents to preserve the faith of the nation inviolate, and to take effectual measures to support the dignity, and to maintain and defend the rights and properties belonging to it, as a *sovereign, independent people!*

Wherefore, from this view of our moral, religious and political situation, we are moved to pray and beseech all, who fear God, who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and wish well to his cause and kingdom, and have any love to this country—any desire for the salvation, peace, prosperity and happiness of this infant nation—that you would draw near to the throne of grace,^s at the hour specified above—as soon as you shall hear of this concert for prayer; and incessantly pray with all prayer and supplication in the spirit,—

That God would be pleased to have mercy on this nation, spare and save it from impending ruin; and for this end,

That he would be pleased to pour out of his spirit upon the whole nation, that all the people, and every rank and order of men in the nation, may repent of sin, believe in Christ, and become heartily engaged in a genuine and thorough reformation; so as to make the practice of piety, religion and morality their daily business:

That all the ministers of religion may be united in the truth, cause and spirit of Christ;—be full of faith and of the Holy Ghost; and be made happy instruments of the reformation, salvation and well-being of the people:

That the spirit for true republican government may universally pervade the citizens of the *United States*:

That all the states in the *Federal Union*, and all the citizens of each *state*, may have not only true moral and christian, but also true political virtue; even *that patriotic benevolence*, which shall cause all the members of the national body, whether as citizens or states, *to feel and care for, and to exert their several powers in promoting the good of the whole*, even as

the several members of the human body—the good of the whole body: That there may be no delay in clothing the *Congress* with all necessary powers to act in character as the *Federal Head* of a *sovereign, independent nation*:

That all schools and seminaries of learning, publick and private, may be blessed for the training up the children and youth, throughout the nation, in all useful knowledge, and in true *piety* and *virtue*:

That the nation may always be blessed with men of understanding, prudence and integrity, in every department of power and government; that all now invested with the powers of government may have wisdom, firmness and fortitude to play the man;—that good order, peace and happiness may universally prevail in the nation; and all complaints, murmurs and tumults, and the causes of them, forever cease from among this people:

That the people may universally be industrious in their lawful callings—spirited for manufacturing all necessaries and conveniences—sober, temperate and frugal in the use of God’s blessings; and prudent enough to despise mere luxuries and superfluities:

That the *United States* may always shew themselves to be firm and *consistent patrons of the rights of human nature*, by spirited laws, in the several states, to punish such of their citizens who shall justify the *Algerines*, in making slaves of our citizens, *by their using the slave trade*:

That it would please God to direct the nation to such a right and wise conduct, that they may deliver themselves from their present embarrassments; recover their credit; and be able to assert and defend their national rights; and be established in the enjoyment of peace with all nations: and,

That it would please God to pour out of his spirit upon all flesh,⁹ that all nations may cease to do evil and learn to do well;—that the knowledge of the LORD may fill the earth as the waters cover the seas;¹⁰—that wars and fightings may cease from among men; and that all people may sit under their vines and fig-trees,¹¹ and praise the LORD.

And let us attend to the word of God for direction and encouragement in prayer; and to the following passages in particular; viz. Psal. 9. 12. “He forgetteth not the cry of the humble.” Psal. 10. 17. “LORD, thou hast heard the desire of the humble.” Psal. 25. 11. “For thy name’s sake, O LORD, pardon mine iniquity, for it is great.” Psal. 65. 2. “O Thou, who hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.” Psal. 66. 18. 19. “If I regard iniquity in my heart, the LORD will not hear me.—But verily GOD hath heard me.” Psal. 102. 17. “He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer.” Psal. 145. 18–20.

“The LORD is nigh unto all them who call upon him; to all who call upon him in truth. He will fulfil the desire of them who fear him.—He will also hear their cry and save them.”—Isai. 45. 19. “I said not unto the seed of Jacob, seek ye me in vain.” Chap. 55. 6. “Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found; call ye upon him, while he is near.” Jer. 29. 7, 12–14. and Joel. 2. 15–18. and v. 28. These texts teach us how to pray for national deliverance, salvation and prosperity, so as to obtain a gracious answer. Zech. 8. 21. and Matt. 18. 19. These texts authorise *concerts for prayer*; and give us the highest encouragement to pray *by agreement*. Zech. 12. 10–14. and Matt. 6. 6. These direct to mourn and pray apart, in our closets. Matt. 6. 9, 10, 33. and John 14. 13, 14. Heb. 4. 16. and Jam. 1. 5, 6. These teach that we must come to the throne of grace praying in faith—in the name of Christ; in the exercise of benevolence to God’s kingdom, and glory, as our highest and ultimate aim. Luk. 18. 1–8. and Eph. 6. 18. and Gen. 32. 24, 26. with Hos. 12. 3, 4. These teach to pray with importunity and perseverance, without fainting, or without ceasing, ’till we obtain the blessing. And Matt. 7. 7–11. and Luk. 11. 9–13. contain promises of good gifts, and of the gift of the Holy Spirit, to every one who asketh, seeketh and knocketh.

And we do well more especially *to remember* that *our praying*, agreeably to the directions in the word of God, for the things specified above in this concert, necessarily implies, *in us, a determinate and fixed resolution, in reliance on the grace of God in Christ, to search out and put away the Achan, the accursed thing from ourselves; and to use our best endeavours, by word and deed, in publick and private, according to the particular relations, stations and places we are in, to encourage and promote, among our respective connections, and in our several circles, reformation in general; and, in particular, industry, frugality and œconomy; and more especially, that piety, religion and morality, which the happiness of the people, good order and the preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon.*—Josh. 7. 10–13.

“And the LORD said unto *Joshua*, get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face? Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant, which I commanded them—Up, sanctify the people, and say, sanctify yourselves against to-morrow; for thus saith the LORD GOD of Israel, there is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel.” Exod. 14. 15. “And the Lord said unto Moses, wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.”—Isai. 1. 15–20. “And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do

well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow," &c. &c. Pro. 28. 13. "But whoso confesseth and forsaketh his sins, shall have mercy." Jam. 5. 16. "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much."

N. B. We have just heard, that there is *a concert for prayer*, somewhat similar to this, now circulating, which specifies the *hour* for prayer to begin at *seven* o'clock, in the *morning* of the Lord's-day; but our choosing to begin it at *seven* in the *evening*, was from an opinion, that it will be more agreeable to the people in general, at this season of the year, and forward; especially to those who live in the country, at some distance from the place of publick worship; and make conscience of attending upon the worship of God in private and publick. However, it is our wish, that every person would choose either the morning or the evening; as shall be most convenient for him or her. And if some thousands of God's praying people, in this nation, shall come to the throne of God's grace, at one and the same hour, in the morning of the Lord's-day; and as many thousands more, at one and the same hour in the evening—to pray for the same blessings, as specified in this concert, we may expect soon to see happy times; for Christ our Lord says, Matt. 18. 19. "Again, I say unto you, that *if two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing which they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my father who is in heaven.*"

To conclude—let us support ourselves while praying, at this time of visible and most alarming danger of destruction of national existence, by a *firm and realizing belief*, that Christ is given to be *head over all things* to his church. Eph. 1. 22. That the Lord on high *is mightier* than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea. Psal. 93. 4. That the Lord can, with infinite ease, and surely will, make the wrath of man to praise him—that the remainder of wrath he will restrain. Psal. 76. 10. And that for this he will be inquired of by his people, to do it for them. Ezek. 36. 37.

(All the publick Teachers of piety and religion are humbly requested to communicate the foregoing Concert for Prayer to their respective people.)

1. Psalms 8:23.
2. Psalms 126:3.
3. Micah 6:8.
4. Proverbs 14:34.
5. Numbers 11:5. "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic."
6. In 1785, Algiers captured two American ships and held their crews as slaves until the mid-1790s.

7. The reference is to Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts. (See "A Friend to the Union," *New Hampshire Spy*, 30 October, note 3, RCS:N.H., 29.)

8. Hebrews 4:16.

9. Joel 2:28 or Acts 2:17.

10. Habakkuk 2:14.

11. Micah 4:4.

**President John Sullivan: Proclamation Calling a Special Session
of the Legislature, Durham, N.H., 1 November 1787¹**

BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN SULLIVAN, ESQ.
President, &c. of the State of New-Hampshire.

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas business of great importance renders it necessary that the General-Court of this State, which now stands adjourned to the third Wednesday of January next, should assemble at an earlier period:

I have therefore, by and with advice of Council, thought proper to issue this Proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members of both branches at Portsmouth, on Wednesday the fifth day of December next,² of which all persons concerned are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Given at the Council Chamber in Durham, the first day of November in the year of our LORD, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and in the twelfth year of American Independence.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

By His Excellency's Command,
JOSEPH PEARSON, Sec'ry.

1. Printed: *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 November. Brief reports of Sullivan's call of the special session appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 3 and 9 November; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 November; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 10 November; and Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 21 November (Mfm:N.H. 10, 13–15, 19).

2. See Part II (RCS:N.H., 134–45).

“M.”

New Hampshire Spy, 3 November 1787¹

On the new Federal Constitution.

Every lover of his country must contemplate with heartfelt satisfaction, the many blessings which will be showered upon it, by the acceptance of the new constitution. Its praises have been resounded through the continent: the pens of few in New-Hampshire, it is true, have been employed upon the subject; but though last in expressing, I presume, she is not least in love with her good fortune. Little was it supposed,

when the members of convention were chosen, that there could be perfect unanimity in any body of men about the means necessary for amending the old confederation, and it was universally thought the convention would not even attempt to do any thing more than fit up the old hulk:² But we are assured by convention itself, that they were unanimous, not barely in putting in some new timbers, but even in building her anew from the keel³—and that this new ship, framed out of the sturdy oak of the north, will safely convey the tobacco and the rice of the south, to the most distant parts of the world. The convention perceiving the wild absurdities of the confederation, which like the distempered constitution of Poland, required the assent of every member of the confederacy, before any fundamental principle could be altered,⁴ have wisely resolved, that upon any nine states acceding to the constitution, it shall be binding upon them. We had fatally experienced the distress arising from the old provision, in the difficulty of granting power to Congress to regulate commerce;⁵ this constitution, by saying the assent of nine states shall make it binding, have got over the difficulty, and remedied evils which seemed almost irremediable. The constitution has further provided an easy mode of amendment, when any of its articles shall be found deficient or oppressive; so that in time, we shall have the most perfect government of any nation existing. It also expressly prohibits those destructive laws in the several states, which alter or impair the obligation of contracts; so that in future any one may be certain of an exact fulfilment of any contract that may be entered into, or the penalty that may be stipulated for in case of failure. We shall not be under apprehension, that laws, in the state we reside in, will be enacted to serve any party purposes, as all laws passed by any state are subject to the review of Congress.⁶ The journals of each house and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all publick money are to be published from time to time; and altho' the times when they are to be published, are not expressly limited, yet it will undoubtedly be as often as is necessary to inform the people of their doings and the state of publick accounts: and perhaps it would be almost impossible to stipulate any precise time. The senators and representatives will under the new constitution act independently, and without that servile attention to the several states, as the members of the old Congress have done: as they in future are to be paid out of the federal chest. The right of representation is fully secured in the second section of the first article; with the proviso in the fourth, that if Congress shall find the mode practised very inconvenient, they may alter it to the actual change of situation.

An objection, it is true, has been made by some to the proposed constitution, that the trial by jury is not secured in civil causes. We would observe, it is not prohibited, and would further enquire, if the only danger of court influence in judges is not confined to criminal causes. It has also been objected that nothing is said about the liberty of the press in the constitution. It surely could not be the intention of convention to restrain it. And probably it was considered as unnecessary to provide for that, as for our breathing; the former as necessarily resulting from a free constitution, as the latter from the enjoyment of life.—Indeed when we consider this proposed constitution in all its parts, we can hardly help comparing the future situation of America, to that of the righteous, after the great day of judgment, when the son shall deliver up his power to the father; and he shall be all in all.⁷

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 9 November. For other pieces signed “M.,” see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 20 November 1787 and 1 February 1788 (RCS:N.H., 51–52, 101).

2. The congressional resolution of 21 February 1787 called for a convention of delegates appointed by the several states to meet “at Philadelphia for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation” and to report to Congress and the state legislatures any alterations (CDR, 187).

3. For the Constitutional Convention’s explanation of its actions in submitting a new Constitution, see its 17 September 1787 letter signed by Convention President George Washington to the president of Congress (Appendix III, RCS:N.H., 483–84).

4. Article XIII of the Articles of Confederation provided that any alterations to the Articles had to “be agreed to in a congress of the united states, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state” (CDR, 93).

5. On 30 April 1784 Congress passed resolutions granting itself power to regulate commerce for fifteen years. All thirteen state legislatures adopted the resolution, but some legislatures did so in acts whose provisions were unacceptable to Congress. For the resolution of Congress, see CDR, 153–54. In February 1785 a congressional committee reported an amendment to the Articles of Confederation granting commercial powers to Congress. Congress debated the amendment on 28 March and again on 13 and 14 July, but the opposition was so great that it was never sent to the states for their approval (CDR, 154–56).

6. Although the supremacy clause of Article VI of the Constitution provides that “This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land,” no provision of the Constitution gives Congress the authority to determine when state laws violate the Constitution, federal laws, and treaties. James Madison had wanted a provision giving Congress the power to veto any state law, but the Constitutional Convention rejected this congressional authority. Instead, the federal courts, starting with the case of *Champion and Dickason v. Casey* (1792), would decide when state laws were unconstitutional.

7. 1 Corinthians 15:28. “And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.”

New Hampshire Spy, 3 November 1787¹

“Mr. OSBORNE, I passed through several principal towns in this state the present week—the general questions were, not whether the great constitution was good, but why there was not a session of the legislature called to prepare the way for its adoption, as the people grow anxious to have it done; as the official papers had probably arrived a fortnight since? The only reply I could hear was—’*tis strange indeed*—but time—*Ex paucis verbis plurima intendere possis.*”²

Exeter, November 1st, 1787[’]

1. Reprinted: New York *Daily Advertiser*, 17 November; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 23 November.

2. Latin: From a few words much may be implied.

**John Langdon to George Washington
Portsmouth, N.H., 6 November 1787¹**

Your Excellency will permit me to congratulate you on the prospect that appears in this part of the Continent of speedily establishing the National plan of Government in the formation of which you took so laborious a part I have not heard a single person object to the plan & very few find fault even with a single sentence, but all express their greatest desire to have it establish’d as soon as may be.

Our General Court unfortunately adjourn’d a few days before the official plan came to hand but will meet again next month² & no doubt will call the Convention early for the purpose of accepting the National plan of Government.

I have the Honour to be With the highest sentiments of Esteem and Respect

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Washington (1732–1799) was commander-in-chief of the Continental forces, 1775–83; president of the Constitutional Convention, 1787; and U.S. President, 1789–97.

2. The New Hampshire legislature had adjourned on 29 September to meet again on 16 January 1788. On 28 September 1787 Congress had recommended that the state legislatures call conventions to consider the Constitution. On the advice of the Council, President John Sullivan issued a proclamation on 1 November calling for the legislature to meet in special session on 5 December, primarily to call a convention to consider the Constitution (RCS:N.H., 37).

Behon

New Hampshire Recorder, 6 November 1787

MR. GRIFFITH, Please to insert the following, and you will oblige a number of your Customers.

The judgment of the wise men of this world hath ever been that for the greater part of mankind are *simple*, and Solomon saith that “the simple believe every thing,”¹—They give equal credit to truth and lies—they judge the temper and disposition of a person at first sight—and immediately pronounce him wise or foolish, according to their present ideas of wisdom and sense: the first piece of news they hear, however false, to them is very probable, and the last is ever true. What pity it is—that a few designing men, fraught with the wisdom of the world, should have such absolute command of the *thoughts*, and I may almost say *actions* of their *fellow* creatures. *O!* ye that have been simple, arise. Think and act for yourselves, act like men who had fathers who dared to be free—and stoop no longer to be the propagators of *others* opinions. Believe ill of no man till you see it, and then never put it in that persons power to injure you—examine all matters of consequence with the attention they deserve; and when you are determined how to act—be stedfast and immovable.

We must soon turn our thoughts to the proceedings of the grand convention—and we must soon choose or refuse that form of government, which the members of that body have taken much pains to fit to our present situation. Read, my friends, never ask advice when you have reason sufficient to judge for yourselves, let not any persuade you, it is above your comprehension, for it is plain as the sun at noon day,—you may run and read,—and the most simple may understand;—it was wrote with the pen of wisdom, dictated by friendly hearts. ’Tis the wisdom of our worthies, which will ever be *foolishness* to slaves:—and remember when you read to ask yourselves this question—Can we live without a firmer government than what at present exists? The answer will doubtless shew the necessity of speedily adopting this new and excellent form of government—made only for a free people.

1. Proverbs 14:15.

Editors’ Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Report of Connecticut’s Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 6 November 1787

This brief letter, addressed to Governor Samuel Huntington and dated 26 September, was required by the act of the Connecticut legislature that appointed the state’s delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The letter was written from New London, where Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth were serving as judges to the state’s Superior Court.

William Samuel Johnson was in New York City attending the Confederation Congress. Sherman and Johnson signed the Constitution. Ellsworth, also a firm supporter of the Constitution, had left the Convention in late August.

Most importantly, the letter assured the legislature that Connecticut—a small state—would have the same proportion of representatives in the new Congress that it had in the Confederation Congress and that all thirteen states would be equally represented in the Senate. The letter hoped that Connecticut would ratify the Constitution. The new Constitution, they wrote, would “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.”

Governor Huntington submitted the Sherman-Ellsworth letter to the state legislature on 11 October, and on 25 October it was printed in the *New Haven Gazette*, along with the legislative resolution calling a state convention. By early December the letter was reprinted in twenty-three newspapers and in the widely circulated monthly Philadelphia *American Museum*. In New Hampshire, the letter appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 6 November. It was also reprinted on 14 November in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*. The letter received little attention in any of the states and no commentary on the letter has been located for New Hampshire.

For the text of the Sherman-Ellsworth letter and its circulation, see CC:192.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of Elbridge Gerry's Letter to the Massachusetts Legislature, 6 November 1787

Elbridge Gerry, a Massachusetts delegate to the Constitutional Convention, was a frequent speaker in the Convention who not only supported strengthening the central government, but also insisted that the rights of the states and the liberties of the people be protected. By the end of the Convention, he had concluded that he could not support the Constitution, and on 17 September he refused to sign it.

After the Convention Gerry went to New York City, where he remained until 27 October before returning to Massachusetts. In New York he voiced his objections in private letters and conversations. On 18 October Gerry, “pursuant to my commission,” sent a printed copy of the Constitution to the Massachusetts legislature, accompanied by a letter outlining his objections to it. Among his objections, the Constitution created a national government, not a federal one, the people

were not adequately represented, and their rights and liberties were not fully protected. Congress and the executive were also too powerful, and the judiciary would be oppressive.

On 18 October Governor John Hancock transmitted a copy of the Constitution to the legislature. After some debate, both houses on 25 October passed resolutions calling a state convention. Gerry's 18 October letter subsequently arrived and was read in the Senate on 31 October and in the House of Representatives two days later. A motion to have the letter printed was debated in the House and then tabled.

On 3 November Gerry's letter was printed in the Federalist *Massachusetts Centinel*. The letter was reprinted forty-one times by 4 January 1788. In New Hampshire it was reprinted on 6 November 1787 by the *New Hampshire Spy*. On 7 November Gerry's letter was reprinted in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*.

New Hampshire newspapers contain no original pieces praising or criticizing Gerry's letter. Instead they reprinted critical pieces from the newspapers of other states. On 20 November the *New Hampshire Spy* reprinted "A.B.," addressing the "Hon. E. GERRY, Esq." "A.B." asserted that Gerry's objections to the Constitution were "justly despised by the wise and patriotick, as solely calculated to create disturbances in the community, and prevent the best formed government from being established that ever was offered to a nation" (*Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 November, RCS:Mass., 227–31n). Among the prominent critics of Gerry's letter was the Connecticut "Landholder" (Oliver Ellsworth), who attacked Gerry in his number VIII that was printed in the *Connecticut Courant*, 24 December (CC:371. Ellsworth had represented Connecticut in the Constitutional Convention.). Number VIII was reprinted by the *New Hampshire Spy* on 4 January 1788. "Landholder" VIII became personal and charged that Gerry's objections to the Constitution surfaced only after the Convention refused his proposal to redeem the Continental currency, of which Gerry allegedly held substantial amounts. (See "The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Landholder Essays," 18 December 1787–18 April 1788, RCS:N.H., 63–64.) Gerry, along with George Mason, Edmund Randolph, and the minority of the Pennsylvania Convention, were also attacked by "Philanthropos" (Tench Coxe) (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 January 1788, CC: 454). "Philanthropos" was reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle* on 22 February 1788.

On 4 January, the *New Hampshire Spy* printed a series of pithy Federalist statements on various individuals and subjects, including Gerry (RCS:N.H., 72).

See RCS:N.H., 60–61n, for a 15 December 1787 letter by John Wendell, a Portsmouth merchant, to Gerry praising Gerry for his "fortitude

& honesty in defending your private opinion.” Wendell agreed that the Constitution had many imperfections, but he believed that it should be adopted. It could be improved later.

For the text of Gerry’s 18 October letter to the Massachusetts legislature, its circulation, and the commentaries on it, see CC:227–A.

The New Hampshire Reprintings of Excerpts from the First and Third Paragraphs of Publius, *The Federalist* 1 and 27 November 1787

The Federalist essays, signed “Publius,” were written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. Hamilton and Madison were the principal authors, and Jay contributed five essays. Published in New York City between 27 October 1787 and 28 May 1788, the eighty-four essays were addressed to the people of New York. (When the essays were printed in book form, one of the essays was divided in two, making a total of eighty-five essays.) The primary purpose of *The Federalist* was to convince people to elect Federalists to the New York ratifying convention.

Twenty-four numbers of *The Federalist* were reprinted outside of New York City, appearing in twenty-three newspapers in nine states. Six newspapers and one magazine reprinted six or more essays. The essays also circulated as two volumes. The authors occasionally sent individual copies to friends. Large shipments, with as many as sixty copies, were also distributed. In 1788 printers and booksellers advertised the sale of the volumes in New York City, Philadelphia, Providence, and Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia.

In New Hampshire, the *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 November 1787, and the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 27 November, each reprinted short excerpts from *The Federalist* 1, which appeared in the New York *Independent Journal* on 27 October (CC:201). Later on 15 February 1788 the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* reprinted all but the first two paragraphs from *The Federalist* 38, which first appeared in the New York *Independent Journal* on 12 January (CC:442).

On 26 March, Nicholas Gilman, a New Hampshire delegate to Congress sitting in New York City, sent a copy of the first volume of *The Federalist*, which had gone on sale on 22 March, to John Langdon, a delegate to the New Hampshire Convention (RCS:N.H., 276). (The second volume was advertised for sale on 28 May.) Based on a letter that Samuel Tenney, an Exeter physician, sent to Gilman on 12 March, Gilman had probably also sent newspapers containing some of the essays, as Tenney acknowledged the “political information” that Gilman had “communicated” from “the York Papers.” Tenney praised *The Federalist* and its presumed author, Alexander Hamilton (RCS:N.H., 268).

For discussions of the entire series, especially its authorship, circulation, and impact, see the editorial note to *The Federalist* 1, 27 October 1787 (CC:Vol. 1, pp. 486–94), “Publication and Sale of the Book Edition of The Federalist,” 22 March 1788 (CC:Vol. 4, pp. 466–71), and “Publication of Volume II of the Book Edition of The Federalist,” 28 May (CC:Vol. 6, pp. 83n–88n).

*New Hampshire Mercury, 9 November 1787*¹

It has been frequently remarked observes a correspondent, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force? If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis, at which we are arrived, may with propriety be regarded as the æra in which that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act, may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

*New Hampshire Recorder, 27 November 1787*²

Among the most formidable of the obstacles which the new Constitution will have to encounter, may readily be distinguished, the obvious interest of a certain class of men in every State, to resist all changes which may hazard a diminution of the power, emolument and consequence of the offices they hold under the State establishments—and the perverted ambition of another class of men, who will either aggrandise themselves by the confusions of their country, or will flatter themselves with fairer prospects of elevation, from the subdivision of the empire into several partial confederacies, than from its union under our government.

1. This item is a portion of the first paragraph of *The Federalist* 1, New York *Independent Journal*, 27 October (CC:201). It appeared in the Boston *Independent Chronicle* on 8 November and the *Mercury* reprinted it on 9 November under a Boston heading of 8 November. Four other newspapers also reprinted this item (RCS:Mass., 208).

2. This item is the third paragraph of *The Federalist* 1, New York *Independent Journal*, 27 October (CC:201). The *Recorder*, which was printed in Keene, possibly reprinted the paragraph from the *Worcester Magazine* of 8 November.

Robert Sawney

New Hampshire Gazette, 9 November 1787

MR. PRINTER, *By giving the following a place in your paper, you will oblige a person who scarcely ever read a Newspaper in his life, and who is not one of your customers,*

ROBERT SAWNEY.

Good morrow neighbour Sawney, says he—a fine morning—Yes, says I—how far are you walking Squire Traverse? I am going, says he, to Mr. Lendon's to borrow the New-Constitution. I was in town yesterday, says I, and my brother who lives there insisted on my bringing one

home—pray walk in and read it. Squire Traverse being a man, Mr. Printer, who has known what it is to live well, and tries to make us all think he does so still, I was willing to save him a mile's walk. I was willing to keep as much of his flesh on his bones as I could—for I believe the thoughts of what he owes rasps it off full fast enough—Another thing was, he has been a member of court from our town; he is a Justice of Peace; he is one of our selectmen—he always has been, and is now, in public business—he knows a great deal. I have a little snug farm, but a small family, and, tho' I say it, owe not five dollars in the world. I was bred to the plow, have followed it ever since, so it does not seem likely I should know a great deal. I wanted to hear what Squire Traverse had to say about the Constitution. He read it over and over. I asked him what he thought of it. He shook his head. I asked him how he liked it? It is not what I could wish it to be, says he.—In the first place it will be too expensive. More so, says I, than the one we have?—By half, says he. I always pay my taxes at the first word Mr. Printer, but I had a great deal rather pay none at all.—That's bad indeed, says I. In the second place, says he, I do not like that any one man, or body of men, should have so much power over the rest. I think Congress has full power enough now in all conscience.—We set out in the first place, hand in hand, for liberty; and hand in hand we found it. Are we not then all upon an equal footing? As long as our members are chosen but for one year we still remain so, but when once they are chosen for a longer time, farewell liberty—it will gain from two years to four, to six, to eight, to ten—for life.—And will it be worse then? says I.—Which has the best form of Government, says he, we or the Turks?—I says, we.—Well, says he, when it comes to that pass, we shall be in the same situation with them.—My heart shuddered Mr. Printer, at the thoughts of it.—But then, says I, shall we not have better laws?—Our laws, says he, are now full good enough—I know of none better. They are founded on the laws of England, and they are approved of by all nations. People complain, says I, that they are not good; and say they can't so much as get their debts in. Herein, says he, I think our laws are better than those of England: there the creditor has so much power over the debtor—if he is worth ever so much and has not the money by him just then to pay, he must be deprived of his liberty. Here the creditor can do no such thing—the debtor can go about his business—his liberty is secured. Only put the case home to yourself—how should you feel to be shut up, for no crime, from your wife and child, in such a horrid place as a jail? And will that be the case, says I, if this Constitution takes place?—Certainly, says he.—Then, says I, it will not do.—But people say we can then pay our taxes much easier—that trade will

be good, and that we can build ships and sell them in England for cash, and then we can pay our debt to France.—Trade, says he, is at best uncertain. If we drive a great one, we must have a great navy to support it.—But suppose we had no trade at all—that we did not own a single vessel in the world, and permitted none to come here—My wife, Mr. Printer, who is a much better talker than I am, told him we could never live so—for, says she, we should then want the necessaries of life. We should miss its luxuries, says he,—of its necessaries, we have a plenty. Every single article we import, we can do as well without as with. Those which are the growth of hotter climates, such as coffee, sugar, molasses, rum, &c. are meer articles of luxury. Those which are the growth and make of countries in, or nearly in, the same latitude of ours, we can raise and make, if we are only put to it, as well as they can. Upon the whole we can live much better without trade than with it. I have often thought that the single question to determine it was this, whether, if we set about making one million of yards of serge, we could not do it cheaper than to hire a vessel and equip her and send to England for it—especially when we consider that we must give cash for it there. If we had not the art of making it look so well at first, we should soon arrive at it. I am for the Government we now have, a better one we never shall have, and one that ensures more liberty we never can have.—What farther he might have said I know not;—a neighbour knocked at the door who wanted to speak with him and he went away.

Now, Mr. Printer, I thought before I had this talk with Squire Traverse that the Constitution was an excellent one. I did not see that we could get a better (and yet I thought we wanted a change of Government)—nor did I see any fault in it. 'Twas all right; but now 'tis all wrong—at least I don't know whether it will be most for the good or ill of the country—and if my vote was called for to determine it, I should not know whether to hold up for or against it. I wish some of your knowing folks would put me right. I would give any thing that I had the same thoughts of it I had before I saw the Squire—and if any body will make me think so I will be their

Most obedient and obliged Servant,

ROBERT SAWNEY.

October, 1787.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of James Wilson's Pennsylvania State House Speech, 9–16 November 1787

On 6 October 1787 Federalist James Wilson, a former Pennsylvania delegate to the Constitutional Convention and one of its most prolific

and influential debaters, spoke before “a very great concourse of people” at a public meeting in the Pennsylvania State House Yard called to nominate candidates to represent the city of Philadelphia in the Assembly. In this speech, first printed on 9 October in an extra issue of the *Pennsylvania Herald*, Wilson advanced arguments defending and explaining the Constitution that would be reiterated by Federalists throughout America.

The most important part of Wilson’s speech concerned his concept of reserved powers. Wilson declared that “in delegating foederal powers . . . the congressional authority is to be collected, not from tacit implication, but from the positive grant expressed in the instrument of union. Hence it is evident, that . . . every thing which is not given, is reserved.” Wilson used this idea to demonstrate that a bill of rights was unnecessary. As an example, he declared that freedom of the press could not be violated because Congress had not been given power over the press. The day before Wilson made his speech, the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* published “Centinel” I (CC:133), the first in a series of eighteen Antifederalist essays by Samuel Bryan that would be widely reprinted throughout America. In particular, “Centinel” criticized the lack of a bill of rights in the Constitution. Although Wilson did not explicitly refer to “Centinel,” the speech was, in part, a reply to “Centinel.”

The *Pennsylvania Herald* described Wilson’s speech as “the first authoritative explanation of the principles” of the Constitution. By 29 December the speech was reprinted in thirty-four newspapers in twenty-seven towns, in the October issue of the nationally circulated monthly Philadelphia *American Museum*, in a broadside, and in a pamphlet anthology.

In New Hampshire, Wilson’s speech was reprinted in two parts in the *New Hampshire Gazette* on 9 and 16 November under the heading “FEDERAL CONSTITUTION,” a Philadelphia dateline of 17 October, and a preface that appeared in the widely circulated *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 17 October. The Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet* had also reprinted the speech in two parts (31 October and 7 November), with the same heading, dateline, and preface, and broke the speech in the same place as the *New Hampshire Gazette*.

Early in 1788, as the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* began to publish an increasing number of original and longer articles on the Constitution, Wilson’s ideas became a topic in the debate over the Constitution. On 11 January, “A Farmer,” an Antifederalist essayist believed to be Thomas Cogswell, chief justice of the New Hampshire court of common pleas, criticized Wilson’s argument that a bill of rights was unnecessary. “A

Farmer” dismissed Wilson’s reserved powers theory and argued that a bill of rights was needed because the Constitution had given Congress extensive powers, especially the supremacy clause (RCS:N.H., 79–80). On 18 January “Alfredus,” physician Samuel Tenney, replied to “A Farmer,” quoting from Wilson’s 28 November 1787 speech in the Pennsylvania Convention in which Wilson argued against the necessity of a bill of rights. “Alfredus” contributed his own further reflections (RCS: N.H., 87–92). On 1 February 1788 “A Farmer” attacked “Alfredus” personally and wrote the following about Wilson:

As to the lofty strains of a Wilson, he has never entered into the spirit of the Constitution, so far as has come to my knowledge, he has in my opinion, kept aloof, on the surface, and with a great deal of falacy set forth the difficulties that attended forming the Constitution; those difficulties, will always arise where the views are not intended for the general good.

But let Mr. Wilson, and his lofty strains, go off, with a puff of wind, and soar above the clouds in an Air Balloon, he seems better calculated for that region than to make laws for a free people [RCS:N.H., 102].

See also “Finis,” 8 February (RCS:N.H., 121).

On 8 February, “A Friend to the Republic” (believed to be Thomas Cogswell) noted “It has been said by Mr. Wilson, in support of this Constitution, and against a Bill of Rights, who dare be bold enough to enumerate all the Rights of a people: Such sophistical assertions may do for his phlegmatick Germans, but will not answer for the bold, free and enterprizing people of New-Hampshire—Every honest man ought to be bold enough to declare his rights—at least, such great and essential ones, as never ought to be trusted to the caprice of any set of men” (RCS:N.H., 119).

For the text of James Wilson’s speech, its circulation, and the commentaries on it, see CC:134.

President John Sullivan to Nicholas Gilman
Durham, N.H., 20 November 1787¹

I was last evening honored with your favours of the 31st October,² 3d Instant and two of the 7th Instant³ with their Inclosure I beg you to accept my most cordial thanks for the communications contained and for the particular attention you have been polite enough to observe in furnishing me with every useful Information respecting our public affairs; my absence on Acct of the Reviews prevented my receiving some of your Letters at an earlier period and has been the sole

reason why you have not had more frequent Communications from me—I should otherwise Long Since have acknowledged the Receipt of your Letters inclosing the new Constitution⁴ and assured you that I both approve & admire the plan of Course my small Influence will be exerted in favor of it; I am well assured that it will be received without much Difficulty in this State. I am sorry that you should be so unhappy as to experience a want of Cash while you are sacrificing your time to promote the Interest of the state but you know the state of our finances.⁵ Immediately on the meeting of the General Court I informed them in an address of the necessity of making provision for the support of Delegates the consequence of which was an Increase of excise and an appropriation Act which I doubt not will be a means of Causing our supplies to be more punctual in future and I flatter myself will soon be a means of Your receiving some money which I will take every possible step to accomplish without Loss of time⁶—I hope that this state will agree to exchange their old Continental for final settlements. Our General Court will meet the fifth of next month to appoint Delegates to consider of the new plan⁷—I am not a Little surprized at the Delay in virginia and am very fearful that there is some very unfavorable Designs at Bottom—

While I Lament the appearance of a war with the Indians I cannot forbear to express my satisfaction at the military spirit which seems almost universally to prevail. And although the Sabbaths may be profaned I am convinced that the Temples will not be polluted. I am sorry that I have no late papers to Inclose you & what is equally mortifying I have no news to communicate but to supply the Defect I will take the Liberty to inform you that trade & commerce begins to revive; business goes on with more Celerity than heretofore; great proficiency has been made by the militia both in their uniform and Discipline all the Regiments in the State have been once Reviewed & some of them a second & even a third time; Government is so well Established that the voice of Rebellion cannot be heard: money seems to be finding its way among us & I Doubt not with the blessings of our new plan of Government we shall soon be a happy people. The foregoing Sketch must be so agreeable that I dare only to add that I am with the most perfect Esteem [and] respect sir your most obedient and very humble servant

1. RC, Etting Collection, PHi. The letter was addressed to Gilman as “Delegate in Congress/Newyork” and postmarked Portsmouth, 23 November.

2. For this letter, see RCS:N.H., 29–30.

3. Gilman’s letter of 3 November and one of the letters of 7 November are not in Smith, *Letters*. The second letter of 7 November, however, is in Smith, *Letters*, XXIV, 544–45.

4. Sullivan is probably referring to Gilman's letter of 18 September (RCS:N.H., 7–8) that was written while Gilman was still in Philadelphia. The Constitutional Convention had adjourned the day before, and the delegates had received copies of Dunlap and Claypoole's six-page printing of the Constitution.

5. Gilman had noted his need for money in a letter to Sullivan on 31 October (RCS:N.H., 29). The state had not been able to pay its Constitutional Convention delegates, Gilman and Langdon. The expenses of both men were "defrayed out of Mr. Langdon's private purse" (Farrand, III, 572n).

6. Sullivan refers to "An Act, To establish a fund for the redemption of orders drawn by the President of said state, and for appropriating the revenue raised by impost and excise" passed at the September session (New Hampshire Session Acts, September 1787 session [Evans 20549], 458–60).

7. See Part II, RCS:N.H., 134–45, for the legislature's adoption of a resolution calling a convention to consider the Constitution.

"M."

New Hampshire Spy, 20 November 1787¹

Mr. OSBORNE, In no circumstance is the present age more strongly distinguished from those immediately preceding, than in the enlarged principles of mutual toleration that now generally prevail; this has been a necessary consequence of its superior refinement in manners, and more accurate enquiries into the rights of human nature. Indeed it may be considered as universally true, that compleat toleration imports perfect refinement and civilization. It must therefore give the highest satisfaction to the friends of the new constitution to find that "no religious test shall ever be required of the officers of government." In England, they must be episcopalians; under most of our state constitutions they must be protestants;² but under our new constitution, they may be *Jews, infidels, papists, deists; or atheists*. For, as Dr. Price observes, what has a man's religion to do with his administering of government?³—So that immediately after the adoption of this new system, we shall be certain that the United States have carried the principles of civilization and refinement to its utmost extent.

It was observed soon after the appearance of the new constitution, that it provided for the *future* prohibiting of the importation of slaves; and that it evidently was the intent of Convention to restrain the slavery of *Africans*: But I do not remember to have seen it remarked, that the constitution has emancipated them in a great measure already, by considering *five* of them as equal to *three* freemen, in the proportion of representatives. For as slaves, they are like any other kind of property; and as it was the determination of Convention to have property not represented, of course the Africans here in servitude are in some measure liberated by that humane provision.

Another excellence in the constitution is, that property is not made the test of merit, as in many of our state governments. A large field is now opened for ambition, abilities and merit, which was formerly hedged in on all sides, because they did not possess such a number of pence. Great property uniformly corrupts—so certainly that we are somewhere told, “hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven.”⁴ The Convention adopting *that* idea, say that poverty shall be no objection to a man’s holding the highest offices of government; and that abilities wherever found, shall be converted to the use of the American state.

In throwing our eyes upon the map of America, the future importance of the vast tract of country, not included within any one of the thirteen states, forcibly strikes us. One was therefore impatient to see, what the new constitution had said about it; as perhaps the future slaves of that part of the continent might be employed to ruin the freedom of the thirteen states, in the same manner as the British minister intended to enslave America, that Britain might the more easily be enslaved. But we find the constitution has expressly provided, that Congress may, from time to time, admit new states into the union. America has suffered various and complicated distress since the declaration of peace:—That event, the supposed harbinger of happiness and prosperity, has been more adverse in its effects than the most cruel war could have been: It discovered the ruinous defects in the federal government; and that, too eagerly grasping after the idol liberty, we had, in throwing off the shackles of British slavery, provided only for anarchy and contempt. Heartily tired of a government, which in its constitution supposes, that *men scarcely need governing*, we have embraced a measure, which could hardly be undertaken without involving the destruction of the old establishment. And now a constitution is presented to us for our *acceptance*, which fully obviates every inconvenience we have experienced, and is directly opposed to all our former ideas—Where the senators and representatives will feel independent enough to act for themselves;—where the President, from his long continuance in office, will acquire sufficient influence to govern the state with ease: and where we shall not have laws applied to the local circumstances of each state, but general, uniform rules, intended for the general good.

1. On 16 November the *Spy*’s printer noted: “‘*M*’ is received, and will appear in our next.” For other pieces signed “M.,” see the *Spy*, 3 November 1787 and 1 February 1788 (RCS: N.H., 37–39, 101).

2. Eleven state constitutions required some kind of religious test for office holding.

3. A reference to Englishman Richard Price’s well-known opposition to religious tests in the Revolutionary-era American state constitutions. See, for example, his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* . . . (London, 1784), 48–49.

4. Matthew 19:23–24.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of George Mason's Objections to the New Constitution, 27–28 November 1787

On 17 September George Mason, one of Virginia's delegates to the Constitutional Convention who was active in the debates, refused to sign the Constitution even though he advocated strengthening the central government. According to Mason, the Constitution created a too powerful central government and did not sufficiently protect the rights and liberties of the people. Consequently, Mason wanted a bill of rights appended to the Constitution.

Mason and two other non-signers of the Constitution in the Constitutional Convention (Edmund Randolph and Elbridge Gerry) were roundly criticized in a barrage of brief negative items, several of which were reprinted in New Hampshire. On 17 October the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that it had heard from Virginia that Mason "has been treated with every possible mark of contempt and neglect, for neglecting to sign the Fœderal Constitution" (CC:171–B). The *New Hampshire Spy* reprinted this item on 30 October. On 17 October the *Pennsylvania Journal* reported that the mayor and corporation of Alexandria came out "to express their abhorrence" for Mason's failure to sign the Constitution and to advise him to leave town quickly for "his personal safety" (CC:171–A). This item appeared in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, and *New Hampshire Spy* on 27 October. The *Gazette* and *Oracle*, however, reprinted only the second paragraph. On 23 October Nicholas Gilman, New Hampshire's delegate in the Confederation Congress, informed John Langdon that "the conduct of Mason & Randolph has made them very unpopular in their State" (RCS:N.H., 20).

On 25 October George Mason participated in the debates for calling a state convention in the Virginia House of Delegates. Mason refused to give his reasons for not signing the Constitution, saying he would do so at "a proper season." He declared that "no man was more completely federal in his principles than he was" and that "some general government" had to be established. He had "weighed" every article of the Constitution "deeply and maturely" and declared that he could not approve it. Had he signed the Constitution, stated Mason, "I might have been justly regarded as a traitor to my country. I would have lost this hand, before it should have marked my name to the new government" (Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 1 November [RCS:Va., 113–14]). This speech was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 30 November.

After the Constitutional Convention adjourned on 17 September, Mason and others circulated manuscript copies of his objections to the

Constitution (CC:138). Tobias Lear, writing on 19 October from Mount Vernon, where he was serving as George Washington's secretary, sent a manuscript copy of Mason's objections to John Langdon. Lear criticized many of the objections that he believed were calculated to frighten people. On 3 December Lear informed Langdon that he had decided to publish Mason's objections in the *Alexandria Virginia Journal* and then respond to them. (See below in this note for the *Virginia Journal*, and for Lear's letters, see RCS:Va., 80–81, 196–97.)

On 21 November the *Massachusetts Centinel* printed Mason's objections under the heading "*The Hon. GEORGE MASON'S Objections to the New Constitution*" (CC:276–A). In a preface the *Centinel* informed its readers that it had received the objections from "a correspondent at New-York, who frequently furnishes us with authentick information from that quarter." The *Centinel*, however, did not include the paragraph critical of the constitutional provision allowing a simple majority of Congress to enact navigation laws. The omitted paragraph was printed by the *Centinel* on 19 December, preceded by an extract of a letter from the New York correspondent (CC:276–D). The correspondent explained that he had received the objections from "a certain antifederal character" who had deliberately deleted the paragraph. Such conduct, stated the correspondent, was "Machiavelian"; Antifederalists "ought no longer to complain of deception."

The *Centinel's* incomplete version was reprinted in twenty-two newspapers by 7 January 1788, while the omitted paragraph was reprinted in five newspapers by 3 January. In New Hampshire, the incomplete version was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 27 November 1787, and *New Hampshire Gazette*, 28 November. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 21 December, reprinted the omitted paragraph. The incomplete version also appeared in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet* on 12 December.

A second version of Mason's objections was printed in the *Alexandria Virginia Journal* on 22 November 1787 and a third version in the *Winchester Virginia Gazette* on 23 November. Neither the second nor the third versions of Mason's objections appeared in any New Hampshire newspaper.

Mason's objections were widely criticized, though no original critique of them was printed in any New Hampshire newspaper. One of Mason's chief critics and the most important reprinted in New Hampshire was "Landholder" (Oliver Ellsworth). "Landholder" VI and VIII first appeared in the *Connecticut Courant* and the *Hartford American Mercury* on 10 and 24 December 1787 (CC:335, 371). "Landholder" VI was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 25 December, and *New Hampshire*

Mercury, 26 December, while “Landholder” VIII was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 4 January 1788.

“Landholder” VI, aimed directly at Mason, charged that Mason’s objections were revised in New York by fellow Virginian Richard Henry Lee “and by him brought into their present artful and insidious form.” Mason, stated “Landholder,” turned against the Constitution in the Convention when the two-thirds rule for the passage of navigation laws by Congress failed. The lack of a bill of rights, one of Mason’s chief objections, did not concern “Landholder,” who claimed that since the government originated “from the people” such bills were unnecessary. “Landholder” VIII accused Mason and Elbridge Gerry of being duplicitous and disingenuous. “Landholder” reiterated his charge about Mason and the passage of navigation laws. (See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Landholder Essays,” 18 December 1787–18 April 1788, RCS:N.H., 63–64. On the matter of the navigation acts, see also Nicholas Gilman to President John Sullivan, 31 October, RCS:N.H., 29.)

On 16 January 1788 Philadelphia merchant Tench Coxe, writing as “Philanthropos,” published an article in the Federalist *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the Antifederalist Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* in which he compared the objections of Gerry, Mason, Edmund Randolph, and the author(s) of the “Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention.” “Philanthropos” concluded that “The objections severally made by the three honorable gentlemen and the Pennsylvania Minority are so *different*, and even *discordant* in their essential principles, that all hope of greater unanimity of opinion, either in *another convention*, or in *the people*, must be given up by those who know the human heart and mind, with their infinitely varying feelings and ideas” (CC:454). By 10 March “Philanthropos” was reprinted ten times in six states. In New Hampshire, it was reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* on 22 February.

For the text of Mason’s objections, the omitted paragraph that was printed later in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, and the circulation of the objections and commentaries on them, see CC:276 A–D.

New Hampshire Spy, 4 December 1787

To-morrow the General Court of this state is, agreeably to proclamation, to assemble in this metropolis, when matters highly interesting are to be debated.—“To be, or not to be”¹ one *solid republic*, cemented by an efficient government, and supported by one *federal head*, against which the waves of anarchy may, foaming, spend their strength in vain, is a question which must call the attention of every individual in this

honourable assembly. And if the general good is their ultimate object—if the happiness and prosperity of their Constituents is their only aim—if they are lovers of peace and good order—of an impartial administration of justice—if they regard the too, too much insulted dignity of their country—if they wish that commerce may flourish, agriculture thrive, arts be encouraged, and scientific knowledge nursed with more than parental tenderness—and lastly, if the names of those great and good patriots (patriots, whose very acts are to be envied) who assisted in forming a Constitution so admirably adapted to extricate the States from their present embarrassments, can fire them with any thing noble—if a WASHINGTON,—a FRANKLIN, and other American patriots are still dear to them, we may venture to hope, that a speedy compliance with the recommendation of the late Convention will be the effect of their meeting, and that unanimity and order, “Heaven’s first law,”² will grace all the proceedings of the Fathers of the people.

1. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, scene 1, line 55. The special session of the New Hampshire legislature was scheduled to meet on 5 December (RCS:N.H., 134–45).

2. Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*. In *Epistles to a Friend*, Epistle IV (London, 1734), p. 3, line 47: “ORDER is Heav’n’s first Law.”

Editors’ Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of Newspaper Articles on the Circulation of Antifederalist Material in Connecticut 4 December 1787–18 January 1788

From October to December 1787, Antifederalist literature was virtually excluded from the nine Connecticut newspapers. Only one original Antifederalist essay appeared in print. A few out-of-state items were reprinted in Connecticut so that Federalist writers could reply to them. Federalists asserted that Connecticut newspapers were open to all parties, and in December the two Hartford newspapers denied that they were partial. Antifederalist items, they said, were not printed because none was submitted for publication (RCS:Conn., 492–94n). Hugh Ledlie, a Hartford Antifederalist, rejected these Federalist denials and assertions (to John Lamb, 15 January 1788, RCS:Conn., 576–77).

To fill this void, New York Antifederalists began, sometime in early to mid-November, to export Antifederalist material to Connecticut. Soon, the Antifederalist *New York Journal*, the pamphlet entitled *Letters from the Federal Farmer*, and broadside versions of Antifederalist essays were circulating in Connecticut, much to the indignation of Federalist editors who resented out-of-state interference.

Several Federalist pieces in Connecticut and New York City newspapers denounced the Antifederalist intrusion. On 22 December the Federalist *New Haven Gazette* printed a brief item criticizing “Centinel” I, the first in a series of widely circulated Antifederalist essays allegedly written by George Bryan, a prominent Pennsylvanian. “Centinel” I, which first appeared in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* on 5 October (CC:133), was attacked for portraying George Washington as “a Fool from habit” and Benjamin Franklin as “a Fool from age and infirmity.” Although John Lamb, the collector of customs in New York City and a New York Antifederalist leader, was not mentioned by name, he was excoriated for importing “Centinel” into Connecticut. By 24 December, the *New Haven Gazette’s* item was reprinted, in whole or in part, fourteen times. In New Hampshire, it appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 4 December (excerpt) and in the *New Hampshire Gazette* the next day.

On 5 December the Federalist New York *Daily Advertiser* was appalled by the “hand-bills” being sent into Connecticut that were “fraught with sophistry, declamation and falshoods, to delude the people and excite jealousies.” The *Advertiser* declared that “such stratagems are useless in Connecticut,” where “almost every man of information” supports the Constitution. By 18 January 1788 this item was reprinted five times, including the *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 January, and Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 18 January.

On 13 December 1787, the *New Haven Gazette* printed a satirical “ADVERTISEMENT” revealing that “a large overgrown Creature marked *and branded* CENTINEL” had broken into Connecticut after being kept by “J—— L—— of New-York.” She has soon been found to be “a deception.” “She was considerably *galled* and *fretted* before she left Pennsylvania, by the lash of Mr. [James] Wilson.” The people of Connecticut wanted her “reshipped” to New York; they were “determined not to winter her.” This item was reprinted twelve times by 10 January 1788. In New Hampshire, it was reprinted by the *New Hampshire Spy* on 28 December 1787.

For the text of these three items and for more on their circulation and the commentaries on them, see CC:283 A–E.

New Hampshire Gazette, 5 December 1787

It is with pleasure we give our readers the excellent sentiments of a gentleman who has studied the new plan of government for the United States, proposed by the Convention for the benefit of his fellow citizens.

“It is the formation of a plan of Government calculated to embrace thirteen states of diverse interest and various pursuits, no rational mind could look for perfection, and it is a happy presage of the glory of the rising empire, that so much harmony concord and good understanding, (as we hear) prevailed in the late convention, as to gain the unanimous assent of so considerable a body to a plan of government which (notwithstanding some imperfections) contains so many good things, and I am in favour of its adoption, because ⟨I am convinced⟩ (having carefully perused the same) that the *tranquility* of the country cannot be long preserved under the present form, and ⟨that there is not⟩ (from what I have heard) ⟨the remotest probability of gaining the general assent to one less exceptionable.⟩¹ Experience is the best critic, if inconveniences arise from the proposed form of government, there is a constitutional mode of reform, and if we have the wisdom, prudence and moderation to change the present mode of government, I think we may do it as often as *necessity* may dictate the measure.”

1. The text in angle brackets is taken from a letter written by Nicholas Gilman to President John Sullivan, 31 October (RCS:N.H., 29).

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of Benjamin Franklin's Last Speech in the Constitutional Convention, 7–18 December 1787

On 17 September 1787, the final day of the Constitutional Convention, the engrossed Constitution was read and emended. James Wilson read a speech written by fellow Pennsylvania delegate Benjamin Franklin in which Franklin gave his reasons for supporting the Constitution, even though he did not approve its every provision. Franklin did not list his objections, nor did he express them outside the Convention. He believed that a strong central government was needed, and it was unlikely any other convention could produce a better Constitution. Franklin was astonished the Constitution approached “so near to perfection.” He expected “no better” and was “not sure that it is not the best.” To give the people greater confidence in the document, Franklin asked each delegate to sign it. All but three delegates did so.

On 14 November Franklin sent a copy of the speech to Nathaniel Gorham, a former delegate to the Constitutional Convention from Massachusetts who had been chairman of the Committee of the Whole. Gorham had requested the speech so that he could have it published. He edited the speech and submitted it to the *Boston Gazette*, a newspaper that had been in the forefront of the revolutionary movement against Great Britain and had printed letters or extracts from Franklin in previous years. On 3 December the *Gazette* prefaced its publication of the

speech: “The following ADDRESS of His Excellency BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esquire, to the PRESIDENT of the late Continental Convention, was delivered by him *immediately* before his Signing the proposed Constitution for the United States.—It may be relied on as AUTHENTIC—coming from a gentleman of respectability.”

By 21 December Franklin’s speech was reprinted twenty-six times throughout America. In New Hampshire it was reprinted in four of the state’s five newspapers—the *New Hampshire Spy*, 7 December; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 December; *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, 15 December; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 18 December. Each of the four newspapers also reprinted the *Boston Gazette’s* preface to the original publication of the speech.

Another version of the speech was printed in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle* on 5 December. By 16 February 1788, this version appeared in ten newspapers, a Richmond pamphlet anthology, and the December issue of the nationally circulated *Philadelphia American Museum*. This version was not reprinted in New Hampshire.

New Hampshire newspapers did not print any original pieces praising or criticizing Franklin’s speech, but they reprinted a few items from other states that did so. On 12 December 1787 the *New Hampshire Gazette* reprinted an essay signed “Z” from the *Boston Independent Chronicle* of 6 December. “Z” was upset that Franklin had signed a purportedly flawed Constitution. No wonder, stated “Z,” that Franklin “*shed a tear*, as it is said he did, when he gave *his* sanction to the *New Constitution*” (CC:323 or RCS:Mass., 373–75, 379n–80n).

On 28 December the *New Hampshire Spy* reprinted an “ANECDOTE” from the *Newport Herald*, 20 December, that concerned the last day of the Constitutional Convention. On that day Franklin asked the gentleman seated next to him if the gentleman had observed the sun ornament on the Convention president’s chair. The gentleman affirmed that he had noticed it. Franklin replied that during the course of the Convention he had been unsure whether it was a rising or setting sun, but on this last day of the Convention “he was sure it was a *rising sun*” (Mfm:R.I. 89).

Some Antifederalists asserted that Franklin opposed the Constitution and that he had signed it “merely as a witness.” To refute this statement the *New Hampshire Mercury* on 30 January 1788 reprinted “One of the People” from the *Maryland Journal* of 25 December 1787. “One of the People” answered a number of Antifederalist arguments against the Constitution. To answer the argument about Franklin, “One of the People” quoted the following passage from Franklin’s speech: “I hope, therefore, that for our sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our

posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution wherever our influence may extend” (CC:377).

For the text of Franklin’s speech, its circulation, and the commentaries on it, see RCS:Mass., 369–80, and CC:77 (manuscript version).

John Wendell to Elbridge Gerry
Portsmouth, N.H., 15 December 1787¹

My dear Sir,

I am hon[ore]d with your Favour in which you are pleased to mention yr having forwarded my Letter to Mr Coates for which I am much Obliged—

I have been so unlucky as being from home in the Country I have not had an Oppertunity of Seeing your Observations on the new proposed Constitution²—but I admire & respect your Fortitude & Honesty in defending your private Opinion on it and think your fellow Citizens after they have fully considered for themselves must think otherways than as they are now in a Manner *taught* to believe with[ou]t exercising their own Judgments, I observe many Capital Errors in it which *must* be mended in a short Time, but I am decidedly for adopting it with all its Imperfections from believing, that we cannot long exisst as a Nation under the present chaotic Form, and that there is no probability of ever obtaining Another less Exception[a]ble than the proposed—It is plain that the Representation of the States are unequal, the Institutions of Inferior Courts will be burthensome, The order of the Cincinnati may Obtain too great an Interest & Influence, & may engross so much of the publick Employments as may endanger the Introduction of a standing Army in the Time of Peace—but these My dear Friend, are Anticipations we must not give Way to, but rather adopt the Sentiment of Cicero—to Emulate w[i]th each other *Ne quid Detrimenti Respublica capiat*,³ I honour yr Integrity, coincide with you that there must be an Alteration made in it Here after, but *Necessity fatal Necessity* Obliges me to determine in its Fav[o]r; if it was only to obtain the Institu[tion] of a Revenue to support public Credit or *we are Undone* w[i]thout Benefit of *Clergy*⁴—I write *Currente Calamo*⁵ and when I have seen your Observations I will do myself the Hon[o]r to write you again in the Interim I remain w[i]th great Esteem & Respect to your self & Lady in which my Family Unitedly join

1. RC, Gerry-Townsend Papers, New York Public Library. Wendell is replying to Gerry’s letter of 16 November (CC:266), in which Gerry expressed his opposition to the Constitution but affirmed that he would support it if adopted. Wendell (1731–1808) was a native of Boston and a 1750 graduate of Harvard College. Wendell was a merchant when he

first moved to Portsmouth, but in time he became interested in real estate. A man of letters, he received an M.A. from Yale College in 1768 and one from Dartmouth College five years later. Gerry (1744–1814), a merchant, represented Massachusetts in Congress, 1776–80, 1783–85, and signed the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention but refused to sign the Constitution. Gerry was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–93, and Vice President of the U.S., 1813–14.

2. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of Elbridge Gerry’s Letter to the Massachusetts Legislature,” 6 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 42–44).

3. Latin: To take care that the Republic sustain no injury or detriment.

4. In twelfth-century England, “benefit of clergy” served as a way for clergy charged with a capital offense to avoid trial or punishment in secular courts. The trial was moved to the bishop’s court where the punishment was less severe if the defendant was convicted at all. Later, benefit of clergy was extended to laymen who could read and to diplomats and the military. It was a device to limit the use of the death penalty in English and American criminal law. Gradually, certain crimes were excluded from benefit of clergy. It generally ended in America soon after the Revolution.

5. Latin: Offhand, without deep reflection.

Exeter Freeman’s Oracle, 15 December 1787

** By the foreign news inserted in this Paper, our readers will perceive that there are great commotions among the European Nations; these commotions, altho’ at such a distance, will in some degree affect us—this, together with the important period we have now arrived at, of settling a National Government, will undoubtedly, for months to come, furnish our Readers with as great a variety of truly momentous and interesting matters, as ever did, or perhaps ever will, come under their consideration.

William Plumer to Daniel Tilton

Epping, N.H., 16 December 1787¹

My dear Sir,

I am now on my way to Portsmouth where I hope I shall find some person by whom I can convey this to you. I was unfortunate in not being able to see you when at Exeter.

At the last November Court, I was admitted to the Bar & took the necessary oaths. I have since then left Londonderry & have returned to my own house again. There is little business of any kind—that of the profession is very small—& little prospect of its encrease—indeed I do not know of any business that flourishes.

Men of talents, information, & attachment to their country, seem to have turned their whole attention to the Constitution reported by the late *Federal Convention*. ’Tis an object of much importance to this nation. Indeed the happiness of unborn millions may depend on the part we

act. There is an absolute necessity of establishing a more efficient system of government than the present. Our liberties, our rights & property are now the sport of ignorant unprincipled state legislators. At the same time we ought to be cautious that the system we establish shall not endanger the Rights & liberties of men. To delegate too sparingly of power & authority will render the government weak & contemptible, & produce insurrection & rebellion. To delegate too much power will produce tyranny, & enslave the people. The system proposed by the Convention is in my humble opinion too weak & feeble—The Executive ought to be clothed with more authority—the powers delegated to Congress are too much restricted—But many are opposed to it because they think it is a grant of too much power. I really wish it had more energy—but its preferable to our present feeble confederation, & shall receive my cordial support.

I am with much respect

1. FC, Plumer Papers, DLC. Plumer himself copied this letter around 1826. The letter was addressed to Tilton as a student at Dartmouth College. Plumer (1759–1850), a native of Newburyport, Mass., and a lawyer, represented Epping in the New Hampshire House of Representatives, 1785–86, 1788, 1790–91, 1797–1800 (speaker, 1791, 1797). He was a U.S. Senator, 1802–7; a state senator, 1810–11; and governor of New Hampshire, 1812–13, 1816–19. Tilton (1770–1830), a native of Exeter, attended Dartmouth College from 1786 to 1788, but graduated from Harvard College in 1790. He was an officer in the U.S. Army from 1791 to 1795 and a judge in the Mississippi Territory, 1798–1802.

New Hampshire Recorder, 18 December 1787

The proposed Constitution is received with more *general approbation* than could have been rationally expected, when it is considered how infinitely diversified the sentiments of mankind are, upon the intricate science of government, this may be considered as a happy presage of that *unanimity* and *harmony* in the ensuing Convention, which all the real friends to our country so ardently wish for.

It is justly observed, that the opposers of the New Constitution are very sedulous to keep themselves *out of sight*—they *fulminate* against the system with their *long* and *short* pieces, some so overcharged as entirely to overshoot the mark—others, from the weakness of the powder, falling short—so that between them, the Constitution remains in *statu quo*—in the mean time the wretched *engineers*, from a consciousness of their *weakness*, or the *selfishness* of their motives, or from some other equally *laudable* design, remain *incog*.

“*Fair play is a jewel*”—and as there is no doubt that the *new federal system* will bear the closest examination, let every argument *pro* and *con* have their full force—the bitterest enemy to the country, may, in his

overheated zeal, strike out some new thoughts upon the subject, that the friends to the Constitution may avail themselves of—and on the other hand, it is not impossible that the advocates of this system may mar its beauties, by an injudicious dissection of them.

New Hampshire Spy, 18 December 1787¹

A correspondent informs, that the report which has been *industriously* propagated here and in Massachusetts, setting forth, that the Chief Justice of this state² is opposed to the *Federal Constitution*, and which has been wickedly improved as an argument against it, is *absolutely false* and *groundless*—but on the contrary assures, that that discerning man has expressed his approbation of it in the strongest terms.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Centinel*, 26 December; Providence *United States Chronicle* and Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 3 January 1788.

2. Samuel Livermore, chief justice of the New Hampshire Superior Court, represented Campton, Holderness, and Thornton in the New Hampshire Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Landholder Essays 18 December 1787–18 April 1788

“Landholder,” written by Oliver Ellsworth, a Connecticut delegate to the Constitutional Convention and future chief justice of the United States, consists of thirteen essays supporting the Constitution. Each essay appeared simultaneously in two Hartford newspapers: the *Connecticut Courant* and the *American Mercury*. Numbers I–IX were printed weekly between 5 November and 31 December 1787, and X–XIII weekly from 3 to 24 March 1788. Another essay, “The Landholder No. X,” not written by Ellsworth, was printed in the *Maryland Journal* on 29 February (CC:580).

Ellsworth’s thirteen essays were among the most widely circulated in America. Seven of them were reprinted in New Hampshire:

- “A Landholder” III, *Connecticut Courant*, 19 November 1787 (CC:272)

New Hampshire Mercury, 18 December; *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 January 1788

- “Landholder” VI, *Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787 (CC:335)
New Hampshire Spy, 25 December; *New Hampshire Mercury*, 26 December; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 2 January 1788 (excerpt)

- “The Landholder” VIII, *Connecticut Courant*, 24 December 1787 (CC:371)
New Hampshire Spy, 4 January 1788
- “The Landholder” X, *Connecticut Courant*, 3 March 1788 (CC:588)
New Hampshire Mercury, 12 March; *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle* and *New Hampshire Spy*, 14 March; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 19 March (excerpts); *New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 April
- “The Landholder” XI, *Connecticut Courant*, 10 March 1788 (CC:611)
New Hampshire Spy, 21 March; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 March; *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, 4 April
- “The Landholder” XII, *Connecticut Courant*, 17 March 1788 (CC:622)
New Hampshire Spy, 28 March; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 2 April (excerpt); *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, 11 April
- “The Landholder” XIII, *Connecticut Courant*, 24 March 1788 (CC:641)
New Hampshire Spy, 4 April; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 April; *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, 18 April

Number III was addressed “*To the Holders and Tillers of Land.*” Numbers VI and VIII were responses to Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and George Mason of Virginia, two of the three delegates who had refused to sign the Constitution in the Constitutional Convention. Number VIII continued remarks on Gerry’s letter of 18 October 1787 to the Massachusetts legislature enumerating his reasons for not signing the Constitution. Numbers X and XI were addressed to the citizens of New Hampshire, where a convention called to consider the Constitution had adjourned without taking action, while number XII confronted “the Rhode-Island Friends of PAPER-MONEY, TENDER ACTS and ANTIFEDERALISM.” The Rhode Island legislature had not sent delegates to the Constitutional Convention, had rejected calling a state ratifying convention, and had called for a referendum on the Constitution. Number XIII sought to encourage American manufacturing.

Even though New Hampshire newspapers reprinted more than half of the “Landholder” essays, they did not print any original pieces or reprint out-of-state pieces either praising or criticizing the series.

For general comments on the circulation of “Landholder” and commentaries on the essays, see “A Landholder” I, *Connecticut Courant*, 5 November 1787 (CC:230). For the texts of the “Landholder” essays reprinted in New Hampshire, see the citations to *Commentaries on the Constitution* in this Editors’ Note.

Editors' Note
**The New Hampshire Reprinting of James Wilson's Speech to
the Pennsylvania Convention, 18–26 December 1787**

The Pennsylvania Convention convened on 20 November. Four days later James Wilson, a former delegate to the Constitutional Convention, discussed the difficulties encountered by the Constitutional Convention, where much diversity of opinion, interest, and prejudice had existed. He spoke about the deficiency of ancient and modern republics in governing an extensive empire. Wilson harshly criticized the government under the Articles of Confederation for its lack of energy and praised the Constitution, which had created the kind of energetic government needed to restore credit and happiness in America. Wilson's speech attracted much attention, and he faced criticism and praise alike.

The full text of Wilson's speech was printed as a pamphlet offered for sale on 28 November by Thomas Bradford of the *Pennsylvania Journal* (Evans 20889). This text was reprinted in eleven newspapers in several states by 7 January 1788, including the *New Hampshire Spy*, 18 December 1787; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 19 and 26 December; and Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 19 December. The *New Hampshire Spy's* reprinting of Wilson's speech was preceded by the following statement: "*We received the following Speech by last Friday's mail, and although we were then very desirous of laying it before our readers, we found, from its great length, and our pre arrangements, that it was altogether impossible.—We are now enabled to comply with our wishes; in doing which, we are obliged to postpone a great variety of lesser matters, which like shadows must give way to the substance.—We solicit the attention of our readers to it, as it fully elucidates the subject, pourtrays the excellencies, and sets forth the principles of the new Federal Constitution.*" The *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Pennsylvania Herald*, on 27 and 28 November, respectively, printed summaries of Wilson's speech. The summaries from these two newspapers were reprinted a total of twenty-five times throughout America by 27 December. The *Packet's* summary was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy* and *New Hampshire Mercury* on 11 December.

For the texts of the summaries of Wilson's speech and the pamphlet version of his speech, see RCS:Pa., 334–36, 339–50. For the circulation and commentaries on Wilson's speech, see CC:289.

Pierse Long to Nicholas Gilman
Portsmouth, N.H., 21 December 1787¹

I took the liberty of writing to you on the 6th. of Sept^r last—& suppose that your attention to the business then before the Convention,

prevented my being hond. with an answer—& that since as the system of government recommended to the States was sent forward & under their consideration, that a reply to my enquiries was unnecessary—(I am really glad that so much wisdom as appears in the proposed Constitution, was in Convention, & sincerely hope that it may be adopted by the several States, then I think we shall begin to feel its happy consequences—The General Court of this State have recommend[e]d. to the people to appoint delegates to meet in Convention at Exeter on the second wednesday in Feby. next, for the purposes recommended by Congress) —

Will you be so kind as to deliver the enclosed with my compliments—and believe me to be assuredly Your friend & Humble Servt

1. RC, Long Collection, NHi. Long (1739–1789), a Portsmouth merchant, was a delegate to the New Hampshire Provincial Congress, 1775, and a colonel in the New Hampshire militia, 1776–78. He was a delegate to Congress, 1785–86, and a member of the state Senate, 1788–89. Long voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention in June 1788.

Probus

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 22 December 1787

TO THE ELECTORS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

When the inhabitants of these States, oppressed by the unconstitutional acts of that power which was bound by every tie to protect us, had tried the effect of petitions and remonstrances, till all hopes from them were precluded, they found it necessary to renounce their subjection to the tyrannical government, and to assume a complete independence of all foreign authority. At this instant, the most formidable armament, that America had ever seen, was preparing to attack us; and soon after landed on our coast. Thus situated we had our federal government to form and establish. A situation like this could not afford time for minute discussion or long delay. The confederation was therefore a hasty and premature production. Conscious of this the Congress, which framed it, provided for its revision at the end of a certain period, hoping that it might answer the ends of its institution till that time.¹ It has ever been the unhappiness of mankind that in their endeavours to avoid one extreme, they have incautiously run into its opposite. It cannot therefore be a matter of surprize that disgusted as we then were with *monarchy*, we should, in order to avoid its defects and inconveniences, have deviated too far into pure *republicanism*, and retained in our own hands many of those powers, which ought to have been lodged with the supreme authority, and without which they could not provide

for the various exigences of the Union. Under this confederation we have liv'd till every intelligent and observing member of the community is fully convinced that it is entirely inadequate to the important ends of a federal government.

From this conviction a national convention was proposed by Congress and agreed to by the several States, one only excepted.² Members to compose it were accordingly chosen from among the first characters in the country. They have been convened—and perhaps an equal degree of *Genius*, *Wisdom* and *public Virtue* was never found in the same number of men, collected for any governmental purpose, since the birth of civil society, as appear'd in this convention.—They enter'd upon and conducted their important deliberations “with that spirit of amity, and of mutual deference and concession”³ which was indispensably necessary, where there was such a variety of local interests, prejudices and habits to be consulted. The result of these deliberations—deliberations which had for their object a matter of as great magnitude and importance as ever was submitted to the discussion of a free people—is now before the public. The only question to be determined is whether the federal constitution now submitted to us is calculated to promote and secure the liberties and happiness of the United States or not. In this momentous affair every man will *think* for himself as far as his capacity for judging extends; but he must *act* by his representative. As the question will require much discussion, and as the opinion of most of the gentlemen who will compose the convention will depend in some measure upon the light and information which this free discussion will throw upon the subject, it seems necessary that the representative should be entirely unshackled by any instructions from his constituents: otherwise he may be obliged to act against his own judgment, and by this means to countenance and promote what he cannot approve.—This being the case, it becomes a matter of the utmost importance that we should delegate men to act for us, upon whose *judgment* and *patriotism* we can place the most unlimited reliance. That these two qualifications are indispensably necessary where they can be had, a moment's consideration will convince us. A man destitute of the first and consequently incapable of determining whether the adoption of the proposed Constitution will promote the public happiness or not, must be under the influence of men of greater talents: he may therefore become a dupe to the intrigues of unprincipled and designing members, though his intentions may be just and patriotic. Without the latter qualification, viz. patriotism, tho' a man may possess the political sagacity of a *Franklin* with the sound judgment of a *Washington*, we can have no possible security for the rectitude of his conduct. By *patriotism*,

however, I would not be understood to mean *whiggism*, because I apprehend them to be very different things. A sta[u]nch whig may be a wretched patriot: and one who during the contest between the United States and Great-Britain was denominated a *Tory* may now be a firm friend to the liberties and happiness of America. But I mean that noble principle, which prompts and impels us to sacrifice our own interest, and even the interest of the particular State of which we are members, to that of the community at large, whenever they come in competition. The man who consults only his own interest, whatever may be his situation in life, is a sordid wretch, and deserves the contempt of mankind. He, who consults that alone of the State he lives in, may be a good citizen and a worthy man; but the glorious title of PATRIOT is confined to him who generously stretches his views to the utmost limits of the United States; grasps the common interests of the large society with which he is politically connected—and extends his provident regards into futurity itself.

It has been the complaint of many towns that their best men are not eligible into the legislature by reason of holding certain offices under government. In the approaching election of gentlemen to represent us in the State Convention, which is to decide the fate of the new federal constitution, and perhaps, of ourselves and posterity for ages, we shall enjoy the advantage of an unlimited choice.⁴ It will therefore be our own fault if we do not elect the most enlightened and patriotic men we have in our respective towns and districts. Let us then act like men, who are conscious of the importance of the trust we are to delegate, by giving our votes and influence (where we have any) in favor of such persons, as we know to be possessed of sufficient judgment to discover their duty, and are, at the same time, incapable of being actuated by any vicious or contracted motives, that may prevent their performing it. In this way we shall do honour to ourselves, while we render proper respect to superior merit. But should any persons offer themselves as candidates for the important trust, who are deficient in the essential qualifications above-mentioned, let us combine to disappoint their arrogant pretensions; and convince them that, whatever may be their abilities or stations in life, they must give decided and unequivocal proofs of reformation in their principles and of their deserving our confidence, before they can have the honor of serving us.

Should we by this means, get a convention composed of such characters as I have briefly described and recommended, we may delegate our authority to them with confidence, and enjoy an assurance that they will deliberate with coolness, judge justly, and act as the principles of patriotism and sound policy shall dictate.

1. Unlike some of the state constitutions, the Articles of Confederation did not provide “for its revision at the end of a certain period.”

2. Rhode Island failed to send delegates to the Constitutional Convention (RCS:R.I., 8–23).

3. The quoted text is from the 17 September 1787 letter of George Washington, the president of the Constitutional Convention, to the president of Congress, which forwarded the Constitution to Congress (Appendix III, RCS:N.H., 483).

4. The so-called “exclusion bill” was waived for delegates to the state ratifying convention. See RCS:N.H., 141, note 2, and 144.

A Qualified Elector New Hampshire Recorder, 1 January 1788

To the Free ELECTORS of *KEENE*.

Look around you, inhabitants of *Keene*, and see of what characters the anti-federal junto are composed.—Are any of them of that class, who, in the late war, made bare their arms, and girded on the helmet in your defence?—few, very few indeed, of the anti-federalists, are men of this character. But who are they that are supporters of that grand republican fabric, the FÆDERAL CONSTITUTION?—Are they not the men who were among the first to assert the rights of freemen, and put a check to the invasions of tyranny? Are they not, many of them, men who have fought and bled under the banners of liberty? Most certainly this is the case.—Will you then, countrymen and fellow-citizens, give heed to those infamous, anti-federal slanderers, who, in censuring the proposed plan of fœderal government, have dared, *basebly dared!* to treat even the characters of a WASHINGTON and a FRANKLIN with reproach?¹ Surely you will not. Your good sense and discernment will lead you to treat with abhorrence and contempt, every artifice which is put in practice to sap the confidence you have in men who are the boast of their country, and an honor to human nature. You certainly cannot harbour an idea so derogatory to reason and the nature of things, as that men, who for eight years, have fought and struggled, to obtain and secure to you, freedom and independence, should now be engaged in a design to subvert your liberties and reduce you to a state of servitude. Reason revolts at the thought,—and none but the infamous incendiary, or the unprincipled monster would insinuate a thing so vile.

That you may be uninfluenced and unanimous in your choice of a Member for the approaching Convention, is the most ardent wish of one who is *not* A QUALIFIED ELECTOR.

1. The Antifederalist writer “Centinel” (Samuel Bryan) published eighteen essays in Philadelphia between 5 October 1787 and 9 April 1788. In his first number published in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* on 5 October, “Centinel” charged that one of “two illustrious personages” had been duped during the Constitutional Convention (George

Washington) and that the other was too old to know what he was doing (Benjamin Franklin). (See CC:133, p. 330, at note 3.) The "Centinel" essays were not reprinted in New Hampshire.

New Hampshire Recorder, 1 January 1788

To the Free and Independent ELECTORS of Members for the approaching Convention.

Fellow-Citizens,—

"This is the day of our political salvation,—if we are wise, let us remember we are wise for ourselves."—The late Continental Convention having performed the arduous work of framing a Constitution for these States, with an unanimity that is truly astonishing, from a full conviction that there is little or no probability that any *future* Convention will so cordially agree and unite in any other plan that may be devised, have recommended their *four months labour* to the consideration of the respective States, for their *adoption or rejection*: a Convention is accordingly to be chosen for this purpose. The people at large appear to be as much *united* in favour of adopting the proposed Constitution, as they were in their opposition to Britain during the late war.

The present object is of more consequence than our emancipation from tyranny—A sense of mutual danger kept alive the *union* that finally triumphed over our foreign and domestic enemies, and gave us Independence. But the present question is of a very different complexion, and although upon the continuance of that *union* which at present happily exists, is founded all our hopes and expectations of deriving any lasting and solid advantages from Independence; yet this spirit of unanimity and concord, is very liable to be interrupted, diminished and destroyed. The Constitution for the States, is proposed to us at a very critical period—although every rank of citizens is *united* in opinion, that an efficient Fœderal Government is the only radical cure for our difficulties. Yet it is the interest of too many individuals, to have our affairs continue in their present perplexed and embarrassed situation. Such persons, and such only, with very few exceptions, discover an anti-federal spirit. And by giving consequence to trifles, and by exciting and fomenting jealousies, doubts, and fears, they may so far abate the ardor of the people in favor of the new Constitution, as finally to effect its rejection.

As the *general approbation* of the Fœderal system is founded upon the most rational and laudable motives, those persons who are attempting the public confidence in those TRIED and APPROVED PATRIOTS, who formed the late Continental Convention, ought in all reason to be considered, if not as inveterate enemies to the country, at least as

persons who do not seek the *honor* and *interest* of America. The period will very shortly arrive, when the free electors of the several towns in this county will be called upon to choose members for the State Convention—The GREAT OBJECT which is to be considered by this body, ought constantly to be kept in mind.

Let us seriously reflect, that upon our choice is suspended in some measure the fate of America—for it is *generally agreed*, that with the adoption of the proposed constitution, is interwoven the LIBERTIES, COMMERCE, CREDIT, and PEACE of our country.

This being the case, the MECHANICKS of this County will not blindly throw away their votes upon any man who does not EXPLICITLY and OPENLY avow himself to be an advocate for this constitution; on the [acceptance of?] which *their* hopes of [Newspaper mutilated. Remainder of item not readable.]

New Hampshire Spy, 1 January 1788¹

POLITICAL SCRAPS.

The federal plan, like the globe of the moon, will appear perfect from a true observation—though both may seem covered with inferior spots.

He that can find how the constitution affects the interests of individuals, may begin to count the votes.

Nothing is more pernicious to civil government than to make laws without power to enforce them:—and therefore, Legislatures ought to keep in view the probability of their being obeyed as much as the utility of the laws themselves.

The increase of civil happiness will always be in proportion to the uniformity and energy of the government.

'Tis of more consequence to increase the value of our exports by proper inspection laws, than to call for hard money taxes—when the law says no one shall *command* it.

The conduct and manners of men in common life are surer marks for others to determine their abilities or virtues by, than any *test* that can be imposed on them for the discovery.

Never expect to proselite an antifederal officer who is afraid of a new arrangement.

Let him that rejects the proposed plan of government merely because he does not understand it, be careful never to take any more medicine be his case what it will, lest it should be poison, though he sees the Doctor take part himself.

1. Reprinted in thirteen newspapers by 29 May: Vt. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (1), N.J. (2), Pa. (2).

New Hampshire Spy, 1 January 1788¹

It has been industriously propagated in the interior parts of this state (and believed by many) that should the New Constitution be adopted, Congress will not allow but one Printer to prosecute his profession in each state; and that before he can do this, he must obtain a patent from that honourable body authorising him thereto.

1. Reprinted: Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 8 January; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 17 January.

**Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet
2 January 1788¹**

It is with pleasure we inform the public, that, by accounts from several towns in the State of New-Hampshire, the good people, in general, are favourably disposed toward the new Constitution, and that its being adopted in that state by a great majority, does not admit of a doubt.

1. Reprinted in eight newspapers by 25 January: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (1). A summary appeared in the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 8 January.

“Y. N.”

New Hampshire Spy, 4 January 1788

For the SPY.

MR. PRINTER,

In accidentally reading across some late newspapers, the following combination of ideas occurred.

CROSS-READING.¹

To be sold on Tuesday next at publick auction——
——the present powers of Congress, being insufficient.

One great objection of the antifederalists——
——will be called in at 75 for one.

On Sunday morning last was found *lying* near his own door——
——the speaker of the other state, it is said——
——the verdict of the inquest was, insanity.

A letter this day received which contains——
——*nothing*——will affect the new plan as much as the honourable E. G’s reasons.²

We hear from Cambridge, Massachusetts,——
——a large red mastiff run mad, being removed from his nest.

The late hurricanes in Worcester county have injured principally——
——the federal system in various parts.

In a late ship from Europe came passengers——

—proposals for a *new mode* of government, if this fails.

To *sail* in all the month of January—

—Osborne's New-Hampshire Register.³

To be let and entered on immediately; a commodious—

—wet nurse—who wishes to take a child.

With pleasure we can announce to the publick—

—a new milch cow for sale.

To *cover for the season*—

—a number of specious arguments against *aristocracy*.

The difference between anti-federalism and rebellion—

—must be omitted for *want of room*.

Y. N.

For the NEW HAMPSHIRE SPY.

MR. OSBORNE, *I observed in your SPY of Friday, December 21st, a list of wants*⁴—*lest we should appear too indigent, I enclose a list of what is not wanted.*

The people of New-Hampshire do *not want* materials or ingenuity to manufacture three times as much as they do.

We do *not want* the sellers of spirituous liquours to make fortunes in that business—For the people do *not want* one fifth part of the rum that is now drank.

We do *not want* to take Vermont into the Union, unless they will join the club and pay up the old score.

A sufficiency of hard cash would *not be wanting* three months, if the money lenders could have security for its repayment.

Portsmouth does *not want* to support a Theatre and Assembly at the same time—Nor Dover neither.

No one wants to injure the Doctors or Lawyers, unless by overstocking the pastures, they can starve them out.

The ladies of Portsmouth, of eighteen years and upward, do *not want* to be *complimented* as they *have been*.

I do not say the writer of wants, in your paper, touching a war in Europe, does *not want* information.

A candidate for the chair does *not want* ambassadors in every town in the state,

The continent, collectively, does *not want* to sail without a helm—*nor do they want*, in peace, to change the one that directed them in war.

Many people, like children, do *not want* what they might have, merely because it is offered them—although they can think of nothing better.

We do *not want* to sacrifice our federal existence at Mammon's paper altar.

We do *not want* the constitution should be rejected, and those that do—*do not want* any coercive government at all.

And to prove this, we *do not want* a stronger argument than that, the rebels in this state and Massachusetts are against it, and have the same men to oppose it they had the last winters.⁵

We do *not want* an increase of justices, or that they should dispose of any of their law knowledge.

The publisher wishes for 500l. per ann. but I do *not wish* he should get any thing from me but my quarter bills.

In fine, Mr. Printer, I do *not wish* you to insert this—unless you choose it.

Y. N.

1. “Cross Reading” was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 11 January; *Vermont Gazette*, 21 January (excerpts); and *New York Journal* and *New York Morning Post*, 22 January.

2. A reference to Elbridge Gerry’s objections to the Constitution. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of Elbridge Gerry’s Letter to the Massachusetts Legislature,” 6 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 42–44). Gerry, a native of Marblehead, Mass., had moved to Cambridge, Mass., in 1786.

3. George Jerry Osborne was the printer of the *New Hampshire Spy*.

4. The only extant copy of the *Spy* for 21 December 1787 lacks columns two and three on page three, where this list of wants likely appeared.

5. The reference is to the agrarian unrest in both New Hampshire and Massachusetts (Shays’s Rebellion) that occurred in 1786–87. (For the unrest in New Hampshire, see “Introduction,” RCS:N.H., lii–lviii.)

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 January 1788¹

The honorable Mr. Langdon, late Governor of New-Hampshire, signed the new constitution in the federal convention, and has since been open in support of it. The Honorable General Sullivan, the present Governor, (a prodigious wise man) has also declared his sentiments to be decidedly in favor of the early adoption of it. From those two symptoms and the readiness with which the assembly have called a convention, there can be [no] doubt but that the good people of New-Hampshire will come heartily into the measure.

1. The word “no” was omitted from the last sentence. In reprinting this item on 8 January, the *Gazetteer* corrected the error and deleted the parenthetical phrase about Sullivan “(a prodigious wise Man).” The *Pennsylvania Packet* printed a nearly identical corrected version of this item on 8 January, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reprinted the *Gazetteer*’s corrected version on 9 January. For President John Sullivan’s 5 December message to the New Hampshire legislature supporting the Constitution, see RCS:N.H., 135–37n.

Tom Thoughtful

New Hampshire Gazette, 9 January 1788¹

MR. MELCHER, *A number of your Correspondents will be much obliged by your inserting in your useful paper the following humourous and sensible piece*

from the Providence Gazette—It suggests some thoughts very pertinent to the present important crisis of these confederated states, and must arrest the attention of such as mean solely to give their vote for members to sit in the approaching Convention.

To the PUBLIC.

That the political body, like the animal, is liable to violent diseases, which, for a time, baffle the healing art, is a truth which we all acknowledge, and which most of us lament. But as most of the disorders, incident to the human frame, are the consequence of an intemperate indulgence of its appetites, or of neglecting the most obvious means of safety; so most of the popular tumults, which disturb government, arise from an abuse of its blessings, or an inattention to its principles. A man of a robust constitution, relying on its strength, riots in gratifications which weaken the *stamina vitæ*;² the surfeiting pleasures of a few years destroy the power of enjoyment: and the full fed voluptuary feels a rapid transition to the mature valetudinarian. Thus people who enjoy an uncommon share of political privileges, often carry that freedom to licentiousness, and put it out of their power to enjoy society by destroying its support.

Too much health is a *disease*, which often requires a very strict regimen—*too much liberty* is the worst species of *tyranny*, and *wealth* may be accumulated to that degree as to *impoverish* a state. If *all men* attempt to become *masters*, the *rest* of them would necessarily become *slaves* in the attempt; and could *every man* on the earth possess millions of joes, *every man* would be *poorer* than *any man* is now, and infinitely more wretched, because they could not procure the necessaries of life.

My countrymen, it is a common saying now, *that the Devil is in you*. I question the influence of the devil however in these affairs. Divines and politicians agree in this, to father all evil upon the devil; but the effects ascribed to this prince of evil spirits, both in the moral and political world, I ascribe to the wickedness and ignorance of the human heart. Taking the word *devil* in this sense he is *in you* and *among you* in a variety of shapes.

In the first place, the *weakness of our federal government is the devil*. It prevents the adoption of any measures that are requisite for us as a *nation*; it keeps us from paying our honest debts; it throws out of our power all the profits of commerce, and this drains us of *cash*, is not this the devil? yes, my countrymen, an empty purse is the *devil*.

You are jealous of your rights, & afraid to trust Congress; well, that jealousy is an evil spirit, & all evil spirits are *devils*; so far the devil is *in you*. You act in this particular, just like the crew of a ship, which would not trust the helm with *one* of their number because he might *possibly* run it ashore—when by leaving it without a pilot they were *certain* of

shipwreck. You act just like men in ra[i]sing a building; who would not have a master-workman, because he might give out orders—You will be masters yourselves, and as you are not all ready to lift at the same time, one labours at a stick of timber, then another, then a third—you are then vexed that it is not raised—Why, let a master order thirteen of you to take hold together, and you will lift it at once. Every family has a *master* (or a *mistress*—I ask the ladies pardon.) When a ship or a house is built, there is a master—when highways are repaired there is a master—every little school has a master—the continent is a great school, the boys are numerous and full of roguish tricks, and there is *no master*. The boys in this great school, play truant, and there is no person to chastise them. Do you think, my countrymen, that America is more easily governed than a school? You do very well in small matters—extend your reason to great ones. Would you not laugh at a farmer, who should fasten a three inch cable to a plough, and yet attempt to draw a house with a cobweb? “And Nathan said unto David, *thou art the man.*”³ You think a master necessary to govern a *few* harmless children in a school or family; yet leave thousands of great rogues to be governed by *good advice*. Believe me, my friends, for I am *serious*; you *lose rights*, because you will not give your magistrates authority to *protect them*—your liberty is despotism, because it has no controul—your power is nothing, because it is not united.

But further, luxury rages among you, and luxury is the *devil*. The war has sent this evil demon to impoverish people and embarrass the public. The articles of rum and tea alone, which are drank in this country, would pay all its taxes. But when we add, sugar, coffee, gauzes, silks, feathers and the whole list of baubles and trinkets, what an enormous expence! no wonder you *want* paper currency. My countrymen are all grown very tasty! feathers and jordans must all be imported! certainly gentlemen, the *devil* is among you. A Hampshire-man who drinks forty shillings worth of rum in a year and never thinks of the expence, will raise a mob to reduce the governour’s salary,⁴ which does not amount to three pence per man per ann. Is not this the *devil*?

My countrymen, *an industrious man* appeared, not long ago, in this paper, informing you how to redress grievances. He gives excellent advice. Let every man make a little box and put into it *four pence* every day. This in a year will amount to six pounds one shilling and eight pence, a sum sufficient to pay any poor man’s tax. Any man can pay three or four pence per day, though no poor man can at the end of a year, pay six pounds. Take my advice every man of you; and you will hardly feel your taxes.

But further, a *tender law* is the *devil*. When I trust a man a sum of money, I expect he will return the full value. That legislature which

says my debtor may pay me with one third of the value he received, commits a deliberate act of villainy—an act for which an *individual*, in any government, would be honoured with a whipping post, and in most governments, with the gallows. When a man makes dollars, one third of which only is silver, and passes them for good coin, he must lose his ears, &c. But legislatures can with the solemn face of rulers and guardians of justice, boldly give currency to an *adulterated coin*, enjoin it upon debtors to cheat their creditors, and enforce their systematic knavery with legal penalties. The difference between the man who makes and passes counterfeit money, and the man who tenders his creditor one third of the value of the debt, and demands a discharge, is the same as between a thief and a robber. The first cheats his neighbour in the dark, and takes his property without his knowledge; the last boldly meets him at noon-day, tells him he is a rascal, and demands his purse.

My Countrymen the *Devil* is among you. Make *paper* as much as you please—make it a tender in all *future contracts*, or let it rest on its own bottom—But remember that past contracts are *sacred things*—that legislatures have no right to interfere with them—they have no right to say, a debt shall be paid at a discount or in any manner which the parties never intended. It is the business of justice to fulfill the intention of parties in contracts—not to defeat them. To pay bona fide contracts for cash, in paper of little value or in old horses, would be a dishonest attempt in an individual; but for legislatures to frame laws to support and encourage such detestable villainy, is like a Judge who should inscribe the arms of a rogue over the seat of justice, or clergymen who should convert into bawdy houses the temples of Jehovah. My Countrymen, the world says, the Devil is in you—Mankind detest you as they would a nest of Robbers.

But lastly, mobs and county conventions are devils. Good men love law and legal measures. Knaves only fear law and try to destroy it. My Countrymen, if a constitutional legislature cannot redress a grievance, a mob never can. Laws are the security of life and property—nay, what is more, of liberty. The man who encourages a mob to prevent the operation of law, ceases to be *free* or *safe*, for the same principal which leads a man to put a bayonet to the breast of a Judge, will lead him to take property where he can find it; and when the Judge dare not act, where is the loser's remedy? Alas, my friends, too much liberty is no liberty at all. Give me any thing but mobs, they are the Devil in his worst shape. I would shoot the leader of a mob, sooner than a midnight ruffian.—People may have grievances perhaps, and no man would more readily hold up his hand to redress them, than myself; but mobs rebel against laws of their own, and rebellion is a crime which admits of no palliation.

My countrymen, I am a private peaceable man; I have no office of any kind; I have nothing to win or lose by the game of paper currency; but I revere justice. I would sooner pick oakum all my life, than stain my reputation, or pay my creditor one farthing less than his honest demands.

While you attempt to trade to advantage, without a *Head* to combine all the states into systematic uniform measures—the world will laugh at you for fools—While merchants take and give credit, the world will call them idiots and laugh at their ruin—While farmers get credit, borrow money, and mortgage their farms, the world will call them fools and laugh at their embarrassments—While all men live beyond their income and are harrassed with duns and sheriff, no man will pity them, or give them relief—But when mobs and conventions oppose the course of justice, and legislatures make paper and *old horses* a legal tender in all cases, the world will exclaim with one voice, *you are rogues and the devil is in you!*

1. This item, written by Noah Webster, first appeared in the Providence *United States Chronicle*, 28 September 1786. In that year it was reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 10 October, and in eleven other newspapers by 9 November: Mass. (7), Conn. (2), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1). In 1787 it was reprinted in the February issue of the nationally circulated Philadelphia *American Museum* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 May (where it was attributed to Webster). The *New Hampshire Gazette's* version was reprinted in the Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 6 February 1788. It also appeared in Webster's *Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings . . .* (Boston, 1790) (Evans 23053) with the title "*The DEVIL is in you*" (pp. 127–31) and in volume one of William Cobbett's *Porcupine's Works . . .* (London, 1801) (pp. 58–64).

Noah Webster (1758–1843), a native of Connecticut, was a lexicographer, textbook pioneer, grammarian, English-language spelling reformer, and political writer. In October 1787 Webster published, under the name "A Citizen of America," a Federalist pamphlet entitled *An Examination into the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution* (Evans 20865). For the pamphlet, which was inscribed to Benjamin Franklin, see Mfm:Pa. 142, and the circulation and the comments on it, see CC:173.

2. Latin: Thread of life.

3. II Samuel 12:7.

4. Cobbett added a footnote here: "Among the grievances enumerated by the different [county] Conventions in Massachusetts, was the Governor's salary, which is only 1100l. per annum."

A Farmer

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 11 January 1788

The publication of this Antifederalist essay set off an exchange in the *Freeman's Oracle* between "A Farmer" and "Alfredus." On 18 January "Alfredus" responded to "A Farmer," who then replied on 1 February. "Alfredus" then responded again on 8 February (RCS:N.H., 86–92, 101–4n, 106–9). "The Farmer" waited until 6 June to respond to "Alfredus," who answered "A

Farmer” on 13 June (RCS:N.H., 327–30, 340–43n). After this initial exchange both writers resorted heavily to scurrilous assaults on each other. The exchange ended on 18 October.

On 13 June “Alfredus” identified “A Farmer” as Thomas Cogswell (1746–1810), a native of Massachusetts who rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel during the Revolutionary War and served as Wagon-master General. After the war, Cogswell settled in Gilmanton, N.H., near his wife’s father (General Joseph Badger). In 1784 Cogswell was appointed chief justice of the New Hampshire court of common pleas and served until his death in 1810. (On 13 June “Alfredus” also identified Cogswell as the author of “The Anti-federalist No. II,” *Freeman’s Oracle*, 8 February, RCS:N.H., 118–20.)

After crossing out two other handwritten names, someone indicated that “A Farmer” was “Thos Cogswell” in the 11 January issue of the *Freeman’s Oracle*. The name was also handwritten in the issues of 1 February, 6 June, and 18 October, where subsequent essays by “A Farmer” or “The Farmer” appeared. These particular issues of the *Oracle* were once owned by William Plumer and are now at the Boston Athenæum. The same person identified “Alfredus” as “Samuel Tenny MD” in the *Oracle* of 18 January, 8 February, and 13 June. “The Farmer’s” highly critical essays noted, or at least implied, that “Alfredus” was both an officer in the Continental Army and a medical doctor during the Revolutionary War, which match Tenney’s career.

Tenney (1748–1816) was a 1772 graduate of Harvard College and a Massachusetts native. After graduation, Tenney studied medicine and began practice as a physician in Exeter. During the Revolutionary War, he served as a surgeon. Tenney returned to Exeter after the war, and in 1791 he was a member of the state constitutional convention. He was judge of probate for Rockingham County, 1793–1800, and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1800–1807.

My Friends, and Fellow-Farmers,

Much has been said respecting the new Constitution offered you, by the Convention, under the direction of Congress; and much ought to be said, in favour of it, not only from the characters of those gentlemen who composed the Convention (whose characters I revere) but from the many excellencies it contains—Yet, neither the characters of the gentlemen, the excellencies it contains, nor the deranged state of our public affairs, ought to have so much influence upon your minds, as to adopt this Constitution, if it is incompleat. Examine it, my friends, with discernment and candor, and judge for yourselves—I think you will find the foundation is laid, and materials are wanting to render it compleat.

In order to adopt it, as it now stands, with any degree of safety, in my humble opinion, a Bill of Rights is absolutely necessary, to secure the liberties of the people. Although the celebrated Mr. Wilson, in his address to the citizens of Philadelphia, respecting a Bill of Rights, urged, that in a state constitution, every thing that was not reserved, was given;

but, in a Federal Constitution, the reverse of the proposition prevailed, and what was not given was reserved.¹ I must confess it was ingeniously got over, but not to my satisfaction, (in many instances people may be silenced, but not convinced) for upon the very principle that Mr. Wilson urged, that there is no need of a bill of rights, for what is not given is reserved, would be the foundation I should go upon to urge the great necessity of one,—for if we look into the Constitution, we shall find the different articles therein contained, are expressed in very general and extensive terms: ONE, in particular, which is sufficient to show the necessity of a Bill of Rights, viz.—“This Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be hereafter made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges, in every state, shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or law of any state to the contrary notwithstanding;”—Therefore, I say, take this clause, together with the extensive latitude given in several other articles, is too much power to lodge in the hands of any set of men, however virtuous they may be without being properly guarded; nor can I think it in the least derogatory to the honour of the supreme authority of the United States, to have a Bill of Rights stated in the Constitution, wherein it shall be declared, thus far you may go and no further.² We have found by experience, the great advantage of a Bill of Rights in our state constitution; when the legislature passed sundry laws infringing on the Bill of Rights, we had it in black and white to show them they were wrong; and to their honour be it spoken, they have repealed one; and so far as the necessities of the people would admit the other.³

Much has been said respecting Congress exercising exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over a jurisdiction, not exceeding ten miles square, in such a place as Congress agree to reside in. If that is a Hobby Horse that Congress wishes to mount, and the state they conclude to reside in will give them the jurisdiction, and the individuals consent to it;—Let them mount, for if we prevent them they may get worse mounted. But on our part,—Let us secure the liberties of individuals of the United States, and guard and fetter the hobby horse, in such a manner, as not to let him kick our heads off, if we should have occasion to pass thro’ or remain in that district a certain time—The judicial court of the United States is an object worthy of our serious attention, and to have a jury always to attend the same when sitting, composed of members from each state, is necessary to secure the liberties of the people. In order to this, let the President of each state cause a box to be made, and with the advice of council, enroll thirty of the most respectable characters in the state, and on the first Monday in January, every year, or any other convenient time; let the President

order his Secretary to draught out two of the names of those persons so enrolled and put in the box, to attend the grand court of the United States as jurymen, whenever they shall sit. If any accident should prevent one or both said jurymen's attendance, and the obstructions appear sufficient to the President, then he shall proceed to a new choice; if otherwise, let them be fined for non attendance. And those two persons so draughted, having served one year, let their names be taken out of the box, and two others put in, and so in rotation. And once in three years let the box be examined by the President and council and corrected as circumstances require. The pay and travel, and mode of payment to be fixed by Congress.—Perhaps some will object against this, as being too expensive; but when we consider that here will be the result of causes of great magnitude; and the respectable appearance such a court will make; and the honour that will redound to the United States; I think, as a Farmer, I should be willing to contribute largely toward it; there will be two jurors, and one may be empannel'd no ways interested in the cause, but to do justice—The liberty of the Press is essential to a free people, it ought therefore to be inviolably preserved and secured in the Bill of Rights, and no duty or tax to be imposed thereon, of what name or nature soever. But if individuals will publish indecent pieces, leave them to the law of the land to abide the consequence.

Something has been said respecting the state of Vermont. I heartily wish Congress would admit them into the union. The legislature of this state, in my opinion, ought to give it in charge to their members in Congress, to urge their admittance. As it now stands, they are daily draining off a large number of inhabitants from these northern states, from the idea that they pay no taxes, and finally will not have to pay any part of the Continental debt. It is certainly high time, that matter was decided, it is now about ten years since they declared their independence and have governed themselves accordingly⁴—Standing armies are dangerous *in time of peace to the liberties of a free people*, provided they are kept and voted their continuance yearly, they soon get ingrafted into and become a part of the Constitution, therefore they ought not to be kept up, on any pretext whatsoever, any longer than till the enemy are driven from your doors. War is justifiable on no other principle than self-defence, it is at best a curse to any people; it is comprehensive of most, if not all the mischiefs that do or can afflict mankind; it depopulates nations; lays waste the finest countries; destroys arts and sciences, it many times ruins the best men, and advances the worst, it effaces every trace of virtue, piety and compassion, and introduces all kinds of corruption in public affairs; and in short, is

pregnant with so many evils, that it ought ever to be avoided if possible; nothing but self-defence can justify it. An army, either in peace or war, is like the locust, and caterpillars of Egypt;⁵ they bear down all before them—and many times, by designing men have been used as an engine to destroy the liberties of a people, and reduce them to the most abject slavery. I have both summered and wintered with an army: *You, my friends*, in general, know nothing of the evils that attend it; guard and secure it well in your Bill of Rights, that it may not be in the power of any set of men to trample your liberties under their feet with it. Organize your militia, arm them well, and under Providence they will be a sufficient security. I have once born arms in defence of my country;— I am now willing to resque myself and property, together with my liberties and privileges, (with a well regulated militia) and when they are invaded, I will gird on my sword and appear in their defence. And, if my children after me will not do it, let them loose theirs with their heads into the bargain.

Great complaint has been made, that Congress has been too liberal in their grants of salaries to individuals, and I think not without just cause; for if I am rightly informed, there has been men whose salaries have been fifteen hundred dollars per year, and some of them did not do business at any rate, that the sum they negotiated would amount to their yearly salary. And some men now in office, at twenty-five hundred dollars per year, who I think, would have been glad to have set down at one hundred pounds a year before the war, and would have done as much or more business. The truth is, when you carry a man's salary beyond what decency requires, he immediately becomes a man of consequence, and does little, or no business at all. Let us cast our eyes around us, in the other departments, the judges of the superior court have but about one hundred pounds salary a year. The judges of the courts of common pleas, on an average, not more than sixty dollars per year. The ministers of the gospel, a very valuable set of men, who have done honour to themselves, and rendered great service to their country, in compleating the revolution have salaries but from sixty to an hundred pounds a year in general. The contrast is striking. I heartily wish that all ranks of men among us, ministers of the gospel as well as others, would turn their attention toward the Constitution, they may be more concerned in the event than they at present think of.

Rouse up, my friends, a matter of infinite importance is before you on the carpet, soon to be decided in your convention, viz, The New Constitution—Seize the happy moment—Secure to yourselves and your posterity the jewel Liberty, which has cost you so much blood and treasure, by a well regulated Bill of Rights, from the encroachments of men

in power. For if Congress will do these things in the dry tree when their power is small, what wont they do when they have all the resources of the United States at their command?—They are the servants of the public;—You have an undoubted right to set their wages, or at least to say, thus far you and those under you may go and no further.⁶—This would in the end ease Congress of a great deal of trouble, as it would put a stop to the impertinence of individuals in asking large salaries. I would say that the wages of a Representative in Congress do not exceed five dollars per day, a Senator not to exceed six, and the President seven per day, with an allowance for his table. And that the wages of no person employed in the United States exceed the daily pay of a Representative in Congress, but be paid according to their service, not exceeding that sum. Perhaps it may be said that money may depreciate, or appreciate—Let a price current be taken when this Constitution is completed of the produce of each state, and let that be the general standard.

My friends and countrymen, let us pause for a moment and consider,—we are not drove to such great straits as to be obliged to swallow down every portion offered us by wholesale or else die immediately by our disease. We can form a Constitution at our leisure; and guard and secure it on all sides. We are paying off our state debt, and the interest on the domestic as fast as Congress call upon us for it. As to the foreign debt, they have the promise of more interest from us than they can get any where else, and we shall be able to pay them both interest and principal shortly. But it is said they will declare war against us, if we don't pay them immediately. Common sense will teach them better; we live at too great a distance, and are too hardy and robust a people, for them to make money out of us in that way.

But it is said, the trading towns are fond of this Constitution. Let us consider how they stand including their interests.

1st. The merchant wishes to have it adopted, that trade might be regulated. 2dly. Another set of men wishes to have it adopted, that the idea of paper money might be annihilated. 3dly. Another class of men wish to have it take place, that the public might be enabled to pay off the foreign debt, and appear respectable abroad among the nations. So do I, with all my heart; but in neither of these cases do I wish to see it adopted, without being guarded on all sides with a Magna Charta, or a Bill of Rights, as a bulwark to our liberties. Again, another class of men wish to have it adopted, so that the public chest might be furnished with money to pay the interest on their securities, which they purchased of the poor soldiers at two shillings on the pound. I wish the soldiers were now the holders of those securities they fought so

hard for: However, as the public finances were such that they could not be paid off as they became due, and they have carried them to market, and sold them as the boy did his top; we must pay them to the holders; but we need not be in a hurry about it, certificates will do for that.

Consider, my friends, you are the persons who must live and die by this Constitution—a merchant or mechanick may dispose of his goods, or pack them up in trunks, and remove to another clime in the course of a few months; but you cannot shoulder your lands, or dispose of them when you please, it therefore behoves you to rouse up, and turn your most serious and critical attention to this Constitution. You are called upon by the legislature to appoint men to meet in Convention, to consider and decide upon the proposed Constitution. Seek, and make choice of such men as served you faithfully through the war, and know the difficulties and dangers of a revolution. No man is debared by our state constitution from sitting in this convention.⁷ And let each town, or district, qualified by law to send a member, give him instructions to insist upon the addition of a Bill of Rights to the Constitution, and to have such amendments made in it, as shall effectually secure it on all sides; it had better be done now, in the first setting out, than to have to do it seven years hence—it may be at the purchase of blood.

I think the state of Virginia have ordered their convention to object, amend, or make a new one as they please.⁸ I wish every state would do the same, then a continental convention would have a fair chance to frame a constitution most agreeable to the general sense of the people, and then let it be returned for their approbation. I assert as a fact, that the gentlemen had not a fair chance in forming this. They were shut up as it were, from the world, and could hardly converse with their intimate friends on the important subject, and they formed it on those generous and liberal principles agreeable to their own sentiments, and were they always to rule, I should not have much to fear from them. But I have some where read, that men in power ought above all others to be narrowly watched and checked on all sides, with restraints stronger than their temptations to break them, and even crimes of theirs ought to be more penal as it is evident they are more pernicious.

To conclude—as the Fox in the Fable, wanting to rob a hen-roost, or do some such like prank, humbly besought admittance and house room only for his head,—his whole body presently followed⁹—So courts more crafty as well as more craving than that designing animal, have scarce ever gained an inch of power, but they have stretched it to an ell;¹⁰ and when they have got in but a finger their whole train has soon followed.

1. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of James Wilson’s Pennsylvania State House Speech,” 9–16 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 47–49).

2. Job 38:11.

3. A reference to the “Ten Pound Act” being declared unconstitutional for violating the New Hampshire Bill of Rights and its subsequent repeal. See Richard M. Lambert, “The ‘Ten Pound Act’ Cases and the Origins of Judicial Review in NH,” *New Hampshire Bar Journal*, 43 (2002), 37–54.

4. In January 1777, Vermont declared its independence from Great Britain and from New York. Later in the year it adopted its first constitution.

5. Psalms 105:34.

6. See note 2, above.

7. The so-called “exclusion bill” was waived for delegates to the state ratifying convention. See RCS:N.H., 141, note 2, and 144.

8. In late October 1787 the Virginia legislature passed resolutions submitting the Constitution to “a Convention of the people for their full and free investigation, discussion, and decision” (RCS:Va., 118).

9. A reference to Aesop’s fable “The Fox and the Weasel.”

10. A unit of measurement; in England forty-five inches.

New Hampshire Recorder, 15 January 1788

Lately took his departure from this country, Mr. Public Spirit, attended by Real Patriotism and Public Faith: This character was so well known at the commencement of, and during the late war, that it would be needless to deliberate it. He was much respected ’till of late—patriots seated him at the head of their tables—and whigs complimented him in the streets—to him the aged bowed the head, while our youth paid him their obeisance. Our warriors gloried in his company—our publick councils asked his advice.—To him the aged matron let drop the venerable curtesy—while our young damsels complimented him in the strains of harmony. Our cities rung with his praise, and our villages, responsive, echoed back the strain. He was of eminent service in the exterperation of tyranny, and in erecting the temple of liberty—it was he inspired the pencil which first portrayed that memorable edifice—Independence. This compleated—our liberties secured, and America delivered from her enemies, who ardently sought her destruction, he promised himself much happiness. But sad reverse—ingratitude indeed!—Having received several marks of contempt from some who were his professed friends, and greatly slighted by all; and seeing Mr. Self Interest, a man, obnoxious to his feelings, caressed by all ranks—and in a particular [manner?] by those, in whose friendship he thought he could firmly rely, he determined to leave this country for a clime more grateful—this he has put into affect—and is gone—we fear for ever.

New Hampshire Recorder, 15 January 1788

A sage American, on being asked by his son, when he thought America would be a great people? replied, when they are a virtuous people. And when, continued the son, do you think they will become a rich

people?—when they become an honest people. And when shall America be respected by the nations of Europe? when, replied the sage, they pay more attention to their public faith, and less attention to trifles. However simple the above answers may appear, they are truths in which the interest of America is greatly concerned.

John Preston to John Langdon
New Ipswich, N.H., 16 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I was also Exceedingly Rejoyced to hear you attended the Federal Convention, and happy to find that so Wise a plan was laid by that Honourable & August Body for the future happiness of the Union & Especially for New-Hampshire—for I must Confess that I have ever been Exceeding Selfish, & So far Different from many of my fellow Citizens as to Suppose that my Best Interest Consisted in the General Welfare—and though it is not probable, that I shall Ever again meet you in a publick Capacity yet with full Confidence in your Integrity & Publick Virtues, you have my Sincere wishes for your Long Continuance as a Pilot to our tottering Bark, and finally meet that Reward which your Indefatigable Endeavours has So Justly Merited. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum. Preston (1738–1803), a native of Littleton, Mass., was a physician who served in several town offices during his lifetime. In 1782 he was a delegate to the convention for forming the New Hampshire constitution, and in 1786–87 he served in the state House of Representatives.

Alfredus
Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 18 January 1788

This first essay by “Alfredus” responds to arguments made in the first essay by “A Farmer” that appeared in the *Exeter Freeman's Oracle* on 11 January (RCS:N.H., 78–85n). Each essayist responded to the other several times until they both lapsed into personal invective and scurrility. Samuel Tenney wrote the “Alfredus” essays (RCS:N.H., 79n).

The 18 January essay by “Alfredus” printed here contains a unique argument defending the lack of a bill of rights in the Constitution. “Alfredus” begins by saying that the Constitution gives Congress only delegated powers, stating that all other powers are expressly reserved to the states. Then he refers to the clause in which the Constitution guarantees to each state a republican form of government. According to “Alfredus,” these two provisions guarantee the security of those bills of rights that preface state constitutions as if they “had been expressly mentioned” in the federal Constitution. “A Farmer's” response to “Alfredus” does not mention this theory even though “A Farmer,” in his first essay, did allude to the supremacy clause. “Alfredus's” unique interpretation could have been refuted by referring to the supremacy clause.

Messieurs PRINTERS, In your Oracle of the 11th current I observed an address to the Farmers of the State, by one who pretends to belong to that respectable class of citizens. Whether he does or not is of no consequence. In this address he labors hard to tincture the public mind with jealousies and prejudices against the new Constitution. Having possessed himself of that wretched hobby horse, a Bill of Rights, which has been bestridden by every antifederal scribbler thro' the United States, till he is jaded into a perfect hack equally unfit for service and shew, he has mounted him, armed *cap-a-pee*¹ with Federal courts, trial by Jury, liberty of the Press, Standing armies, &c. &c. &c. Thus accoutred and mounted and perfectly resembling Don Quixote and Rosinante² in their memorable attack on the Wind-Mill, he sallies out against the new Constitution, calling on his brethren to witness his amazing prowess and address in the dangerous conflict. But the patrons of this admirable system of federal government need be under no apprehensions for its fate in this expedition. Whatever may be the valor of the Rider, the steed has no mettle and will certainly fail him in the terrible onset. For a proof of this I shall insert in this address the Speech of Mr. WILSON in the Pennsylvania Convention on the subject of a Bill of Rights, by which it will appear that it is not only *unnecessary* in the new Constitution, but would be *impractable* and *dangerous*. The substance of this speech is as follows.³

“Mr. President,

“We are repeatedly called upon to give some reason why a bill of rights has not been annexed to the proposed plan. I not only think that enquiry is at this time unnecessary and out of order, but I expect, at least, that those who desire us to shew why it was omitted, will furnish some arguments to shew that it ought to have been inserted; for the proof of the affirmative naturally falls upon them. But the truth is, Sir, that this circumstance, which has since occasioned so much clamour and debate, never struck the mind of any member in the late convention until, I believe, within three days of the dissolution of that body, and even then, of so little account was the idea, that it passed off in a short conversation, without introducing a formal debate, or assuming the shape of a motion. For, Sir, the attempt to have thrown into the national scale an instrument in order to evince that any power not mentioned in the constitution was reserved, would have been spurned at as an insult to the common understanding of mankind. In civil governments it is certain, that bills of rights are unnecessary and useless, nor can I conceive whence the contrary notion has arisen. Virginia has no bill of rights, and will it be said that her constitution was the less free? Has South-Carolina no security for her liberties?—That state has

no bill of rights. Are the citizens of Delaware more secured in their freedom, or more enlightened on the subject of government than the citizens of Maryland? New-Jersey has no bill of rights; New-York has none; Connecticut has none, and Rhode-Island has none. Thus, Sir, it appears from the example of other states, as well as from principle, that a bill of rights is neither an essential nor a necessary instrument in framing a system of government, since liberty may exist and be as well secured without it. But it was not only unnecessary, but on this occasion, it was found impracticable; for who will be bold enough to undertake to enumerate all the rights of the people? And when the attempt to enumerate them is made, it must be remembered that if the enumeration is not complete, every thing not expressly mentioned will be presumed to be purposely omitted. So it must be with a bill of rights, and an omission in stating the powers granted to the government, is not so dangerous as an omission in recapitulating the rights reserved by the people. We have already seen the origin of magna charta, and tracing the subject still further, we find the petition of rights claiming the liberties of the people, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, of which the great charter was the most material; so that here again recourse is had to the old source from which their liberties are derived, the grant of the king. It was not until the revolution [of 1688] that the subject was placed upon a different footing, and even then the people did not claim their liberties as an inherent right, but as the result of an original contract between them and the sovereign. Thus, Mr. President, an attention to the situation of England will shew that the conduct of that country in respect to bills of rights, cannot furnish an example to the inhabitants of the United States, who by the revolution have regained all their natural rights, and possess their liberty neither by grant nor contract. In short, Sir, I have said that a bill of rights would have been improperly annexed to the federal plan, and for this plain reason, that it would imply that whatever is not expressed was given, which is not the principle of the proposed constitution."

To these reasonings of Mr. Wilson it may be added that the Constitution for the United-States and a constitution for an individual State are essentially different. When we framed our State Constitution we were in a state of Nature, possessing individually all the rights privileges and immunities that belong to men before they enter into political society. The question was which of those we should retain. The Bill of Rights prefixed to our constitution innumerated and defined them. The rest were given up. But to whom were they resigned? Not to a sovereign power independent of our controul, but to each other. It was

a social compact between individuals possessed of equal power and authority, in which every thing that was not expressly reserved and guaranteed to individuals was resigned to the direction of the majority. The Constitution now before the public is not a compact between individuals, but between several sovereign and independent political societies already formed and organized. These societies have *general* and *particular* interests and concerns. Those which respect the whole are submitted to the direction of the federal government; while those which respect individual states only are left, as they ought to be, in the hands of the state assemblies. To prevent any interference between the federal and state governments, the objects of the former are pointed out in the preamble to the Constitution, viz. "*To form a more perfect union—establish justice—insure domestic tranquility—provide for the common defence—promote the general welfare—and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity.*" These objects are all national and important. The powers vested in the supreme authority for the accomplishment of these purposes are accurately defined in the 8th section of the first article, and limited in the section following. It must therefore be taken for granted that every thing not expressly given up is retained by the states. If this is not enough to secure the liberties of the subject. *The United States guarantee to each separate state a republican form of government.*⁴ Of these, the Bill of Rights, where they have any prefixed, is an essential part; of consequence the Bill of Rights is as effectually secured by the Constitution proposed as if it had been expressly mentioned.—What can the most suspicious patriot want further? The Farmer himself acknowledges that he is silenced by Mr. Wilson's arguments in favour of the omission—tho' he pretends not to be convinced. Perhaps a man of more candor than he appears to be would have been perfectly satisfied. The clause in the constitution which he recites to prove the necessity of a Bill of Rights is very little to his purpose, even in appearance, and in reality still less.⁵—By this Constitution the Congress of the United States will be invested with several powers, which now belong only to individual states. For the exercise of these powers laws must necessarily be enacted. They must also be the supreme law of the land, otherwise they would be useless and insignificant. Now it is evident that, although these laws may apparently clash with the Constitutions of the several states as they at present stand, yet they will be perfectly consistent with the exercise of all the powers the states still retain; because they will be founded on those rights which they have voluntarily divested themselves of and placed in the hands of the United States.

The Bill of Rights being the Burden of the Farmer's song; and it having been clearly shewn that those of the several states are confirmed

and guaranteed to them by the new Constitution, I might here terminate my structures [i.e., strictures] on the publication. But there are several other things calculated to mislead the class of men to whom they are addressed and therefore deserve a few remarks by way of reply. Among these his hints concerning the *Federal Courts* first present themselves. Of these courts, especially after Congress have mounted their hobby horse of a federal jurisdiction over a certain district of country,⁶ he has the most fearful apprehensions, except this horse is well *guarded and fettered*. But whence can these apprehensions arise in this gentleman's mind? Certainly no good member of society can have any grounds to fear passing through, or residing within the jurisdiction of those rulers whom he has had a hand in appointing, and who are accountable to him for the use they make of their delegated authority. Good laws and magistrates are a terror to evil doers; but those who do well may ever expect from them both protection and praise.⁷ An honest man therefore can never be in danger from legal authority, whether established by a single state or thirteen combined.

The Farmer thinks a Trial by Jury is indispensably necessary to the security of the liberties of the people. A person who had never read the new constitution would suppose that this institution was to be entirely abolished in the federal courts. But how would he be surprized to find that the "Trial of all crimes except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury?"⁸ Life and Liberty are therefore as well secured by the federal Constitution as by those of the several states: for in cases of impeachment juries have never been employed. But who has informed this writer that any causes shall be tried in the federal courts without jury? The constitution does not prescribe it, but leaves it to the direction of Congress.

But after all, what are the advantages of this boasted *trial by Jury*, and on which side do they lie? Not certainly on the side of *justice*: for one unprincipled juror secured in the interest of the opposite party will frequently divert her from her course. And I believe every gentleman much acquainted in our judicial courts will agree in sentiment with me that in four cases out of five, where injustice is done, it is by the ignorance or knavery of the jury, in opposition to the opinion of the Judges. The fact is that under the present regulation, which most unreasonably (at least in civil cases) requires an unanimity in the verdict, juries favor the guilty much more than the innocent party. It is therefore no wonder that certain characters, in this as well as in other States shudder at the idea of courts in which justice will more generally take place. Let those who for sake of the wages, love and practice the *works*

of unrighteousness, clamour at such an establishment: Honest men will justify & applaud it. Laws were made and judicatories established for the punishment of the former, and the security of the latter. Upon their faithful execution greatly depends the happiness of society: and however the vicious and disorderly may fare, the virtuous and honest can never suffer by them except when they permit *violence, injustice* and *fraud* to escape with impunity.

The next engine the Farmer brings into play to alarm the fears of the people is that hedious Bug-bear, a *standing army in time of peace*. This he and some others would represent as a monster ever possessed both of the will and power to swallow up the liberties of the country at a meal. But let us for a moment enquire into the idea of a standing army, and ask what it is? Certainly not an army voted, raised and supported by the people. Such an army *stands* no longer than the people direct. The same voice that gave it being last year may now annihilate it.— How then can it be called a *standing army*? In fact, a free government knows no such thing, nor can it: and the writer who endeavors to excite jealousies against the new Constitution in the minds of the good citizens of the United States, by representing that it licences standing armies in times of peace, is either grossly ignorant or scandalously dishonest. A standing army is that which the supreme executive magistrate can raise by his own authority and support by permanent revenues placed beyond the controul of his subjects. It is against standing armies thus circumstanced that so much reasoning and declamation have been levelled, and not against such bodies of men as may be necessary for the protection of a state, and under the direction of its legislature. Such an army, it must be confessed is a most dangerous instrument in the hands of arbitrary power, and too much cannot be said against it: But when I hear a man of the least knowledge in such matters expressing his apprehensions of danger to the liberties of America from that quarter, under the new constitution without a Bill of Rights, I cannot help considering him as an unhappy HYPOCHONDRIC, whose fears must be calmed by medicine rather than by argumentation.

To trace this writer, Messieurs Printers, thro' all his ramblings from the point, and to make a reply to every scandalous innuendo, foolish proposition, impertinent observation, and groundless assertion, would equally fatigue the patience and insult the understandings of your readers. I shall therefore conclude with this remark on his observation in the last sentence of his address elegantly introduced by the *fox* and the *hen-roost*, that however cautious we ought to be in our choice of public officers, when we have got the most patriotic virtuous and enlightened

characters we can find, they ought never to be degraded by mean jealousies and groundless distrusts, but to be honored with our full confidence; because by such jealousies and distrusts we should in some measure authorize them to betray their trust: as many a husband has procured a growth of horns on his front by unjustly calling in question the fidelity of his Wife.

1. French: From head to foot.
2. Don Quixote's horse.
3. James Wilson's speech of 28 November 1787 in the Pennsylvania Convention was printed in the *Pennsylvania Herald*, 12 December (RCS:Pa., 389–91). It was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel* on 26 December, and in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 28 December.
4. Article IV, section 4.
5. The supremacy clause, Article VI, paragraph 2.
6. "Alfredus" is referring to the federal capital.
7. Romans 13:13.
8. Article III, section 2.

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 18 January 1788

A correspondent says that upon perusing the FARMER's address to his brethren in our last,¹ the *painful* but *fruitless* efforts of the honest writer brought to his mind the description given by MILTON, of the Devil's passage thro' Chaos, in his way from Hell to our Earth, then just created.² He does not hint at any similarity of principles and designs in the two gentlemen; but requests us to insert the passage for the amusement of our readers.

————— "Nigh founder'd on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him now both oar and sail.
As when a Gryphon thro' the wilderness
With winged course, o'er hill or moony dale,
Pursues the *Arimaspian*, who by stealth³
Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
The guarded gold: so eagerly the fiend
O'er bog or steep, thro' straight, rough, dense or rare,
With head, hands, wings or feet pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps or flies."

1. See RCS:N.H., 78–85n.
2. John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1667), Book II, lines 940–60.
3. Arimaspians are "a mythical race of one-eyed men of Scythia represented in ancient art as in constant strife with griffins for gold guarded by the griffins" (Merriam-Webster).

New Hampshire Spy, 18 January 1788¹*The FOX and BRAMBLE:*

A FABLE:

(Addressed to the opposers of the new Constitution.)

A FOX closely pursu'd, thought it prudent and meet
 To a Bramble for refuge, all in haste to retreat;
 He enter'd the covert, but entering he found,
 That briars and thorns did on all sides abound,
 And that tho' he was *safe*, yet he never could stir,
 But his sides they would wound, or would tear off his fur.
 He shrugg'd up his shoulders, but wou'd not complain,
 [“]To repine at small evils (quoth Reynard) is vain;
 That no bliss is perfect I very well know,
 But from the same source good and evil both flow;
 And full sorely off the skin, though these briars may rend,
 Yet they *keep* off the dogs, and my life will defend.
 For the sake of the *good*, then, let *evil* be borne,
 For each *sweet* has its *bitter*, each bramble its thorn.”

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 28 January. This is one of Aesop's fables.

New Hampshire Spy, 18 January 1788

Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut, have severally ratified the New Constitution; South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and Maryland, we are informed, are very generally in favour of it—the probability is, these three last mentioned states will adopt it, which will make EIGHT of the nine. If Massachusetts adopts it, little doubt may be had of a sufficient number of the states ratifying it to give it effect, and rendering it adequate to the purposes for which it was designed—an EFFICIENT Government for the UNITED STATES.

Nineteen twentieths of the yeomanry of Virginia are in favour of the New Constitution¹—a federal spirit is beginning to dawn in Rhode-Island—the sentiments of New York may, perhaps, be better understood, when the result of the present session of their legislature shall be known, and New-Hampshire, we presume, will not be so *deficient* in politics as to *reject* it.

1. The *Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 December 1787, reported that a correspondent recently returned from Virginia indicated “that at least *nineteen-twentieths* of the yeomanry of Virginia are on the side of General Washington, the *Man of the People*, in favour of the new government. He adds further, that the Nabobs, or great men (falsely so called) of Virginia

are its only enemies.” The *Packet’s* account was reprinted twenty-one times by 11 February (CC:Vol. 3, p. 558–59n). In New Hampshire it was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 January, and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 22 January.

Henry Knox to John Sullivan
New York, 19 January 1788¹

(private)

The new Minister of France, the Count de Moutiers who arrived yesterday brought the enclosed letter from our common friend the Marquis de la Fayette.² It is addressed to you on the supposition of your being in this city and President of Congress. But alas there is no Congress although two months have elapsed since one ought to have been assembled agreeably to the confederation

The new constitution! the new Constitution! is the general cry this way. Much paper is spoiled on the subject, and many essays are written which perhaps are not read by either side. It is a stubborn fact however, that the present system called the confederation has run down—That the springs if ever it had others, than the late Army have utterly lost their tone, and the machine cannot be wound up again.

But something must be done speedily or we shall (soon) be involved in all the horrors of anarchy and seperate (state) interests—This indeed appears to have been the serious judgement of all the states which have formally considered the new constitution, and therefore they have adopted it, not as a perfect system, but as the best that could be obtained under existing circumstances

If to those states which have already adopted it, Massachusetts and New Hampshire should be added, a doubt cannot be entertained, but that it will be received generally in the course of the present year—If Massachusetts and New Hampshire reject it we shall have to encounter a boisterous and uncertain ocean of events

Should you have leisure, I shall be much obliged by a confidential information of the disposition of New Hampshire on the subject, and you may rest assured that your confidence will not be misplaced

1. RC, Sullivan Papers, NhHi. The two words in angle brackets appear only in Knox’s draft (GLC02437.03765, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society). For Sullivan’s reply, see his letter to Knox of 11 February (RCS:N.H., 121–22). Knox (1750–1806), a former Boston bookseller, had been major general and chief of artillery in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. He was the first secretary of the Society of the Cincinnati (1783), and in 1785 he was appointed Confederation Secretary at War. Residing in New York City, Knox was a clearing house of information on national and state politics. His incoming and outgoing correspondence was vast.

2. The enclosed letter from the Marquis de Lafayette introduced the Comte de Moutier, the new French minister plenipotentiary to the United States, who had arrived in

New York City on 18 January. Moustier presented his credentials to Congress on 26 February.

Editors' Note
The New Hampshire Reprinting of
“The New Roof” and “A.B.: The Raising”
25 January, 14 and 26 March 1788

In 1787 and 1788 Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791), a Philadelphia politician, lawyer, literary wit, poet, musician, and composer, contributed Federalist items to newspapers. He was a judge of the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania, 1779–91, and a U.S. district judge for Pennsylvania, 1789–91. From 1774 to 1776 Hopkinson lived in New Jersey, and as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress in 1776 he signed the Declaration of Independence.

Hopkinson's best known writing in support of the Constitution was “The New Roof,” a witty allegory which was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on 29 December 1787. The first sentence read “The roof of a certain mansion was observed to be in a very bad condition, and insufficient for the purpose of protection from the inclemencies of the weather.” The roof of the mansion represented the Articles of Confederation and the thirteen rafters of the roof were the states. According to some architects (the Constitutional Convention), it was pointless to repair the rafters because they were in such a bad state; therefore, a “new roof” (the Constitution) was needed. Hopkinson did not identify himself as the author of “The New Roof,” but Philadelphia newspapers printed several items that recognized his unmistakable style. Lastly, in 1792, a year after Hopkinson died, “The New Roof” appeared in *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq.* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1792) (Evans 24407), II, 282–312.

By 28 April 1788 “The New Roof” was reprinted in fourteen newspapers. It was also reprinted in the August 1788 issue of the nationally circulated monthly Philadelphia *American Museum* and the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* on 1 January 1789. In New Hampshire, “The New Roof” was reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle* on 25 January 1788. For the text, authorship, circulation, and commentaries on “The New Roof,” see CC:395.

On 6 February Francis Hopkinson, writing as “A. B.” in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, built upon “The New Roof” and published a song—“THE RAISING; A NEW SONG FOR FEDERAL MECHANICS.” By 14 August fourteen newspapers reprinted the song. It was also reprinted in the July issue of the Philadelphia *American Museum* and the Philadelphia *Federal*

Gazette on 1 January 1789. Both the *Museum* and the *Gazette* identified Hopkinson as the author. “The Raising” can also be found in Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 320–22. In New Hampshire, “A. B.” was reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 14 March, and the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 March. For the text, authorship, and circulation of “A. B.,” see CC:504.

New Hampshire Spy, 25 January 1788

Portsmouth, (Saturday,) Jan. 26.

POSTSCRIPT.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather the Mail was prevented from arriving at the usual hour yesterday—this circumstance obliged us to procrastinate the publication of our paper to this day.—We flattered ourselves that the papers we should receive by the mail would afford some *good* news for the entertainment of our readers; but alas! alas! like the weather, cold, and barren as Arabian deserts, they afford little other than light shrubs which, clinging to the surface, have not substance sufficient to give them the *shadow* of a name. The debates of the Massachusetts Convention occupy a large share in the Boston papers—they are lengthy indeed—& when or where they will end, we know not; however, we shall endeavour to wade through them, and, if the windings are tedious, if “*clouds and darkness*” for the present, rest upon them; yet, if they lead to the point aimed at, the adoption of the New Constitution by that honourable body, we shall esteem our extra labours fully compensated—for sure *’tis beautiful to toil in Virtue’s cause.*

Old Steady

New Hampshire Spy, 25 January 1788

Softly—It is said, that several gentlemen who have been elected as D— to C—n, — — — &c. carry the “*hump of the nation with them*”—and it is whispered, that these humps serve for portman-teaus, which are well crowded with *antifederal provender*—*loss of liberty, &c.*—Look sharp, ye who wish well to the good old cause—keep a steady helm—and tho’ the waves of anarchy may rage, and, foaming, lash the trembling bark—we shall shortly see New-Hampshire safely moored in the harbour of the New Constitution.

New Hampshire Recorder, 29 January 1788

Do we not know, that the European nations are striving to out-vie each other in their national politics, while *Americans*, forsooth, are leisurely debating *whether they will, or not, adopt any system at all!* We are

more thought of in Europe than is imagined—neither of *three* Courts have ever their keen eyes of Court-speculation, or ministerial intrigue, off of us! and shall we not yet stand upon our feet? Presumptive that we are, to imagine, that we shall be carried in a goe cart after having been assisted to mount the pinnacle of FREEDOM, and to set down upon the downy cushion of INDEPENDENCE. Rouse—weigh, in the ballance of political reason, the absolute necessity of UNANIMITY—A COERCIVE EXECUTIVE—A MARTIAL APPEARANCE—and UNITED ARMS, to force RESPECT, and *demand* even CEREMONIAL HOMAGE, from that nation whose PRIDE is hurt—whose GLORY is sullied in the loss of AMERICA.—Their politics, respecting us, have been uniformly inclining to another revolution since the peace, in the articles of which a material *chasm* was left to build on. (West Posts.)¹

1. The reference is to the failure of the British, in violation of the Treaty of Paris (1783), to evacuate the Northwest posts. In 1794 the United States and Great Britain signed Jay's treaty in which the British agreed to withdraw from the posts on or before 1 June 1796.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of Richard Henry Lee's Letter to Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph, 29 January 1788

On 20 September 1787 the Constitution was read in Congress, and it was reported that Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee was "forming propositions for essential alterations in the Constitution, which will, in effect be to oppose it." On 26 and 27 September Congress, which met in closed session, debated the manner in which the Constitution would be transmitted to the states. During the debate, Lee recommended several amendments to the Constitution (including a bill of rights). A compromise was agreed upon. Congress was to send the Constitution to the states without approving it, and all opposition to the Constitution, including Lee's bill of rights, was deleted from the journals. Congress then recommended unanimously that the states call ratifying conventions.

Lee sent copies of his amendments to several people and even authorized some of his correspondents to make them public. Lee wrote Governor Edmund Randolph on 16 October and enclosed a copy of the amendments. On 6 December, Lee's letter and the accompanying amendments were printed in the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*. Between 20 December 1787 and 16 February 1788, Lee's letter and amendments were reprinted in twelve newspapers, a Richmond, Va., pamphlet anthology, and the nationally circulated monthly Philadelphia *American*

Museum. The letter alone or a summary of it was also printed in five other newspapers by 24 January.

In New Hampshire, the letter and the amendments were reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 29 January, under the headline “Mr. LEE’s Objections against the New Constitution.” (This issue, Volume I, number 26, of the *Recorder* was misdated 5 February.) Federalist criticism of Lee’s letter and amendments was voluminous, both privately and publicly, especially in Virginia. On 25 January, three weeks before the meeting of the New Hampshire Convention, Tobias Lear wrote John Langdon, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and a signer of the Constitution, that “It is said (& from good authority) that Mr. R H. Lee has declared that he shall no longer oppose its [the Constitution’s] adoption as he finds it is the wish of the people that it should take place, but he does not retract his sentiments upon it” (RCS:Va., 322).

In New Hampshire, newspapers did not print any original items praising or criticizing Lee’s letter and amendments, but on 30 January 1788 the *New Hampshire Mercury* reprinted “One of the People,” who quoted three passages from Lee’s letter and then corrected the statements in each of them (*Maryland Journal*, 25 December 1787 [CC:377]).

For the text of Richard Henry Lee’s letter and amendments, their circulation, and the commentaries on them, see CC:325.

Editors’ Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of George Washington’s Letters Expressing Support for the Constitution, 30 January–15 April 1788

In the public debate over the Constitution, Federalists capitalized on George Washington’s well-known support for the new frame of government in which the central authority would be strengthened. Therefore, most newspapers printed items, mostly brief, praising Washington’s election to the Constitutional Convention and his election as president of that body, a position he held with dignity. Newspapers also reminded readers of Washington’s service as commander in chief during the Revolutionary War. Washington was linked to Benjamin Franklin, another great Revolutionary-era figure who advocated a stronger central government. After the Convention adjourned both men would continue to be linked. (For examples of documents reprinted in New Hampshire newspapers that demonstrated Washington’s relationship to the Constitutional Convention, see CC:10, 14, 49, 68.)

On 17 September Washington, as president of the Constitutional Convention, signed a letter from the Convention to the president of

Congress. With the letter, the Convention also forwarded the Constitution and two resolutions. (See Appendix III, RCS:N.H., 483–96.) The three documents were printed in newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets—almost always together. Thus, whenever the Constitution was printed, Washington’s letter endorsing it appeared. By 31 October at least seventy newspapers had printed the Constitution. Three of New Hampshire’s five newspapers reprinted both the Constitution and Washington’s letter. One of the three newspaper editors also printed the Constitution and letter as a broadside. The letter was frequently quoted or paraphrased in the ratification debate, especially the statement that the Constitution was the result of “mutual deference and concession.”

In the first months after 17 September, newspapers contained a number of brief items on Washington, some of which were reprinted dozens of times. For example, on 26 September the *Delaware Gazette* reported that Washington had narrowly escaped a bridge collapse near Wilmington, Del., which could have cost him his life. This item was reprinted forty-six times, five times in New Hampshire (CC:96–A). The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October, saw Providence at work in Washington’s survival during both the French and Indian War and the bridge collapse. This item was reprinted twenty-five times, three times in New Hampshire (CC:96–B). Both writers remarked on Washington’s significance to the country, and the latter saw in Washington’s preservation the hope of establishing good government in America.

On 7 November the *New Jersey Journal* reported that, as Washington was about to sign the Constitution, he declared that if the states rejected it “*the next will be drawn in blood!*” This item was reprinted thirty-eight times, four times in New Hampshire (CC:233–A). An anecdote in the *Pennsylvania Herald* of 7 November quoted Washington’s only speech in the Constitutional Convention in which he supported a motion for an enlarged representation in the U.S. House of Representatives. The motion was adopted unanimously. The *Herald* praised the influence of this “good and great man” and America’s “darling Hero.” This item was reprinted sixteen times, once in New Hampshire (CC:233–B). On 21 November the *Pennsylvania Gazette* incorrectly reported that Washington had consented to represent Fairfax County in the Virginia Convention. This item was reprinted forty-four times, four times in New Hampshire (CC:Vol. 2, p. 456).

These filler articles kept Washington’s name before the public, but Federalists sought a definite statement demonstrating Washington’s support for the Constitution. Washington’s private letters plainly revealed his support. On 14 December 1787 he wrote such a letter to Charles Carter, a fellow Virginia planter who owned a home in Fredericksburg.

In this letter, Washington declared: “My *decided* Opinion of the Matter is, that there is *no Alternative* between the *Adoption* of it [the Constitution] and *Anarchy*. If one State (however important it may conceive itself to be) or a Minority of them, should suppose that they can dictate a Constitution to the Union (unless they have the Power of applying the *ultima Ratio* to good Effect) they will find themselves deceived.” “General Government,” he believed, “is now *suspended by a Thread*, I might go further, and say it is *really at an End*.” Washington admitted that the Constitution was not perfect but that it was the “*best that can be obtained at this Time*.”

On 27 December a portion of this letter commenting on the Constitution was printed in the Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald* apparently under the heading of an “Extract of a letter of a late date from a member of the late Fœderal Convention, to his friend in this town.” This issue of the *Herald* has not been located, but on 3 January 1788 the *Pennsylvania Mercury* verified the *Herald’s* publication when it reprinted the extract under the dateline “FREDERICKSBURG, December 27.” Two days earlier, on 1 January, the *Maryland Journal* had reprinted the *Herald’s* extract as a letter “*from the illustrious President of the late Federal Convention*” (CC:386–A).

By 27 March the extract of Washington’s letter was reprinted in the nationally circulated monthly Philadelphia *American Museum* and in forty-nine newspapers. All but two of these newspapers identified Washington as the letter writer. In New Hampshire, the extract was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 30 January; *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, 1 February; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 February. For the text of the extract of Washington’s letter, its circulation, and the commentaries on it, see CC:386 A–H.

On 22 March the *Massachusetts Centinel* reprinted another extract from a Washington letter. It was sent on 29 February to Major Caleb Gibbs of Boston, who had commanded Washington’s bodyguard during the war. In a preface to the extract, the *Centinel* described Washington as “that great—and good as he is great—man, the American Fabius.” In the letter Washington praised “the candid and conciliatory behaviour” of the minority of the Massachusetts Convention. He also claimed that Massachusetts’ ratification would “be greatly influential in obtaining a favourable determination” in the states which had not yet ratified the Constitution. Furthermore, Washington believed that Virginia would ratify the Constitution. This extract was reprinted forty-nine times by 10 May. Only six newspapers reprinted the *Centinel’s* preface. In New Hampshire, the letter extract was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 25 March (with the preface), *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, 28 March (with

the preface), and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 April. For the text of the letter extract, its circulation, and the commentaries on it, see CC:638 A–B.

“M.”

New Hampshire Spy, 1 February 1788¹

A Gentleman called at a tavern as he was riding through the Province of Main, where he found *Tom* and *Dick* engaged in a dispute; unfortunate for both, the new constitution was the subject of controversy. Ignorance, or the want of ideas, prevented their displaying those oratorical faculties which they had received from the hand of nature. The principal question seemed to be,— “Whether we should adopt the proposed constitution?” *Tom* said “yes—because I have eighty dollars owing to me, and I am afraid they will tender old horses to me, or what is but little better, never pay me at all.”—*Dick* says “no—because Mr. —, what do you call? I believe tis —, Tax getter, says, I owe him a good deal, and I am afraid if they make any more courts, he will make me pay him soon. Besides, they tell of giving Congress more power, but I think they have too much power already;—for they have brought us a great deal into debt, and I don’t want they should have any more ’till they have got us out again. There are other folks of consequence (besides *myself*) that think as I do.—There is my worthy wife, who has as big a judgment as any body I know of—and there is uncle *Ben*, an older man than either of us,—and there is aunt *Bets* that knows a most every thing.—From what I have said, you see all learned folks think as I do. Now I think my arguments fully prove my point, don’t you *Tom*?”—Upon this, *Tom* ran from the house exclaiming, “yes! yes! yes!”

This entertainment had such an effect upon the gentleman, that we hear it was with difficulty he remounted his horse.

1. For other pieces signed “M.,” see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 3 and 20 November 1787 (RCS: N.H., 37–39, 51–52).

A Farmer

Exeter Freeman’s Oracle, 1 February 1788

Messieurs PRINTERS, When a man enters the list of your correspondents, and publishes his sentiments to the world, with a design for the public good, I read him with candor; and like a bee on the flower, extract the most useful parts; and if for want of information, or a slip of the pen, he should publish any thing not quite so agreeable, I had

rather cast a veil over it than any thing else.—But when a man (like Alfredus)¹ enters for the sake of criticizing upon a few words, and snarling at every sentence, because they are not entirely agreeable to his wish, I generally treat him, as I do the Puppy, which barks with a great deal of impudence, at every traveller; and with the good humour of Uncle Tobey, I say to him, go, Poor Devil, Go, return to thy cell, there is room enough in this world for both of us.²

I wish young gentlemen, would not be quite so anxious, to crowd down this Constitution. If they are not Quacks in Law, Physick, or Speculation, they may be in politicks: But, leave it to old and experienced hands to decide, who can look to the end of things. It calls to my mind, an observation made in a grand council held at New-York, when our army was about evacuating the city; it was warmly urged to set fire to the city, as it might prove a temporary advantage to the British troops; after some altercation, an old sage arose and addressed himself as follows; I am surprised to hear the sentiments of so many wise and worthy gentlemen, to burn the city of New-York, that has cost so much time and treasure to erect. But however, war has not ripened your minds to that maturity which is necessary to look to the end of things. If we burn the city, how many hundreds of worthy inhabitants shall we distress and many wholly ruin, who have only left the city to escape the dangers of war, and perhaps may return again in a few months. If the British troops burn it let them take the curses of an innocent people: for my part I can see no more reason, for burning the city, than that a wealthy farmer should burn his Barns, because the rats have got into them.³ And on my part, I can see no more reason for adopting the Constitution as it now stands, upon the General conversation, that if we dont adopt this we shall never have any, than that a man should quit his house, and expose himself, and his family to the inclemency of the weather, because his house may take fire, in the night, and burn them up.

As to the lofty strains of a Wilson, he has never entered into the spirit of the Constitution, so far as has come to my knowledge, he has in my opinion, kept aloof, on the surface, and with a great deal of falacy set forth the difficulties that attended forming the Constitution; those difficulties, will always arise where the views are not intended for the general good.⁴

But let Mr. Wilson, and his lofty strains, go off, with a puff of wind, and soar above the clouds in an Air Balloon, he seems better calculated for that region than to make laws for a free people.

There is the nervous⁵ reasonings of a Brutus,⁶ and the ingenious sentiments of a Candidus;⁷ they have opened the sore and probed it to

the bottom; if any man, after reading their strictures upon the Constitution, can lay his hand upon his heart, and say it is best for us to adopt it, I shall in return pronounce, that he ought to be a slave forever, and will freely doom him to the cold and dreary regions of Nova-Scotia, there to wind up his days on clams and potatoes.

My friends and fellow farmers, I intended here to have made an end, and left Alfredus, with all his impudence to return peaceably to his cell, where I sent him in the first paragraph—But when I came to read over his piece a second time couched in such language, it made me shudder to see how abusively he has treated our juries, the grand palladium of liberty. I will for your observation copy his sentiment, it appears to be written with blood. These are his words— “*What are the advantages of this boasted Trial by Jury, and on which side do they lie, not certainly on the side of justice, for one unprincipled juror, secured in the interest of the opposite party, will frequently divert her course, and in four cases out of five, when injustice is done, it is by the ignorance or knavery of the jury.*”—This is a bold stroke, my friends, and shows you at once the disposition of Mr. Alfredus, that he is no friend to your liberties. I shall make no further observation on this particular, but when a leisure hour offers, I will give him a further combing for his insolence to the juries. Then we may see who wants the medicine to cure the *Hypocondriac*. In the mean time I shall advise Mr. Alfredus to examine his Apothecaries shop and take a little *Hypocacuana*⁸ and a few pills for fear he should get past recovery.

As to armies I shall conclude with a quotation from a celebrated author, viz. “In free states, the profession of a soldier taken merely, and singly as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy, and an army though they are voted yearly, soon get engrafted to, and become a part of the Constitution.[”]

1. For “Alfredus,” see Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 18 January (RCS:N.H., 86–92).

2. Uncle Toby actually said “go, poor devil, get thee gone, why should I hurt thee?—This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me” (Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* [9 vols., London, 1760], II, 187).

3. Suggestions were made that New York City should be burned to prevent the occupying British forces from using its buildings for winter quarters. In response to a letter from General George Washington, Congress on 3 September 1776 resolved that “especial care [be] taken, in case he should find it necessary to quit New York, that no damage be done to the said city by his troops, on their leaving it” (JCC, V, 733). A massive fire destroyed much of New York City during the British occupation on the night of 21 September 1776.

4. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of James Wilson’s Pennsylvania State House Speech,” 9–16 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 47–49).

5. At this time the word “nervous” meant strong, vigorous, or robust.

6. A reference to the Antifederalist series of sixteen essays by “Brutus” published in the *New York Journal* between 18 October 1787 and 10 April 1788. (See CC:178.)

7. Believed to have been written by Benjamin Austin, Jr., the Antifederalist essays signed “Candidus” appeared in the Boston *Independent Chronicle* on 6 and 20 December 1787 and 3 January 1788. (See RCS:Mass., 392.)

8. According to *Dr. Radcliffe’s Practical Dispensatory . . .* (London, 1730), hypocacua was a “Gentle” emetic (pp. 2–3), an agent to induce vomiting.

Editors’ Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Report of New York’s Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 1 February 1788

On 21 December 1787 Robert Yates (1738–1801), an Albany lawyer and a justice of New York’s Supreme Court, and John Lansing, Jr. (1754–1829), a lawyer, the mayor of Albany, and a former speaker of New York’s House of Assembly, wrote to Governor George Clinton declaring their objections to the Constitution. Both had been delegates to the Constitutional Convention, but had left that body on 10 July 1787, more than two months before it adjourned on 17 September. Speculation was ripe about why they left so early. The letter demonstrated their strong opposition to the national, or consolidated, government that the Convention was creating. They favored giving Congress additional powers, but they wanted to retain the preeminence of the states. Yates and Lansing stated that they had been appointed to revise and amend the Articles of Confederation, not to create a strong central authority. The letter also demonstrated that the Convention had not been unanimous; significant opposition had existed in that body.

Yates and Lansing sent their letter to Governor Clinton, who was considered an opponent of the Constitution, ten days before the scheduled meeting of the Assembly. Federalists suspected that the Governor “had a hand” in the letter, or that Yates and Lansing had been “inspired” by him. Clinton did not call a special session of the legislature, but rather waited for the regularly scheduled date of meeting on 1 January 1788. Ten days later, when a quorum was obtained, Clinton gave the legislature the report of the Constitutional Convention (including the Constitution), the congressional resolution of 28 September 1787 calling for the state legislatures to call conventions to consider the Constitution, and Yates and Lansing’s letter. Clinton took no stand on the Constitution. He told the legislature that it would be “improper” for him “to have any other Agency in the Business.” Clinton’s speech was reprinted more than twenty times, but not once in New Hampshire (CC:439).

Yates and Lansing’s letter was printed in the New York *Daily Advertiser* and the *New York Journal* on 14 January. The *Journal* printed it again on 17 January. By 10 March it was reprinted six more times in New York,

in the February issue of the monthly *Philadelphia American Museum*, and in eleven newspapers outside of New York. In New Hampshire it was reprinted on 1 February in the *New Hampshire Spy* without the first five brief paragraphs. On the same day the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle* reprinted the third, fourth, and fifth of these brief paragraphs (modifying the third to fit the new context) that the *Spy* had omitted.

For the text of Yates and Lansing's letter, its publication, circulation, and commentaries on it, see CC:447.

A Traveller

New Hampshire Recorder, 5 February 1788

To be, or not to be, is now the question.¹

The moment is at hand that will fix the fate of America, either to rise respected and affluent, or to sink into contempt, anarchy, and perhaps a total dissolution of our short existence as a nation: had the collected wisdom of the universe been drawn into one center to promote our happiness, it is evident they could not have devised more effectual means than the late convention, whose proceedings resulted from a consummate knowledge and investigation of our present situation, as well as mutual sacrifices for the common end of general government. Since their measures have become publick, I have taken pains to mix among the different classes of mankind, and I am happy to assure you, the enthusiasm is general, and determined to support the constitution they offer us, as the only ultimatum upon which our commercial and political existence rests. I must however confess, I have found some opposition, but in pressing for their objections, they are lost in perplexity: hence it is evident, they are actuated by personal views, and divested of that *amor patriæ*,² that ought to inspire the breast of every virtuous American in the present crisis—a crisis pregnant with events the most important America has ever witnessed; as it not only embraces the welfare of this generation, but of millions who are yet to raise out of the womb of futurity. I hope in God therefore, this illiberal junto will meet with that execration and contempt they so justly merit; for unless this new constitution is implicitly and speedily adopted, I tremble in anticipating the event, which cannot fall short of an immediate annihilation of our federal chain, and possibly some links of it devoted to foreign yokes. May that Being who has brought us thus far into maturity, dispose every heart with firmness to embrace cheerfully our only hope, is the ardent prayer of A TRAVELLER.

1. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, scene 1, line 55.

2. Latin: Love of one's country.

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 8 February 1788¹

I recd your kind favour of the 6th Instant and do rejoice that the Constitution is adopted by your State; altho the Majority was Small it must be pleasing to hear that the Minority appear to be Satisfied & promise to do all in their power to Inculcate peace & harmony among their Constituents.² Our Convention is to meet next Wednesday & I hope to have the pleasure, to Inform you of the adoption of it in this State within a Short time, and by a Larger Majority. Inclosed is a Letter I recd from Dover.

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.

2. For the acquiescence of the minority of the Massachusetts Convention, see RCS: Mass., 1494, 1645–57.

Alfredus
Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 8 February 1788¹

To the FARMER.

SIR, When your address to the Printers of the Freeman's Oracle, occasioned by my strictures on your address to your brother-farmers, came from the press, I expected to have found in it an elaborate attempt to invalidate the force of the arguments, with which I had endeavour'd to counteract the baneful tendency of that publication. But how great was my disappointment when I found it contained nothing but a few boyish rhetorical flourishes—several accusations and hard names—a long tale of *a cock and a bull*, not at all to your purpose—a quotation on the subject of the military profession, quite as impertinent—and a threat of a *further combing!* When you quited argument for such wretched declamation, you judged right in concluding that I was too conscious of the goodness of my cause to imitate you. But, Sir, when you betook yourself to black-guarding you should have reflected that it is a game at which two can play.

I shall not, however, so far descend from the dignity of a gentleman as to make use of opprobrious words and expressions; nor shall I (though like you I level at random) throw any such filth as will defile a General's uniform, a Judge's robe, or a Clergyman's gown. But should you meet with some things in this short epistle that may not be perfectly pleasing, I beg you will remember that retaliation is just, and thank yourself for provoking it.

Lest you should think you have fairly knock'd me down by throwing so respectable an author at my head, on the subject of the military

profession, permit me to observe that the quotation is just like an overloaded musquet, which when discharged will either burst or recoil, to the great hazard of him, who fires it. Observe, Sir, where the force of the expression lies—“The profession of a soldier, *taken merely and singly as a profession*, is justly an object of jealousy.” When considered as a security against inimical powers situated in the vicinity, the case is entirely different. While the present state of hostility between neighbouring nations continues, troops will ever be necessary for the defence of frontier settlements, dock-yards, sea-ports, &c. Whatever may *possibly* be the consequence of annually voting such an army as these compose, the public security requires and will warrant our investing Congress with authority to do it. There is but one circumstance that can ever necessitate any other standing troops in times of peace, and that is the opposition that factious and licentious subjects will make to the execution of a firm and energetic government, when inconsistent with their interests and views.

You accuse me, Sir, with being unfriendly to the liberties of the people, because I have not so high an opinion of the advantages of a *trial by jury* in civil cases, under their present establishment, as you have. To this charge I plead *not guilty*. As an evidence of your attachment to the liberties of your country, you say you have *borne* arms in their defence. I have not only *borne* but *used* arms in the same cause. If you expect, therefore, that I shall, upon that evidence, allow your claim to the title of a Patriot, be careful how you dispute mine. When you have favoured the public with your dissertation upon the advantages of juries in *civil cases*, under *their present regulation*, I may possibly entertain different ideas of them. Till then I must abide by my former sentiments.

You also charge me with impudence in presuming to write in favor of the Constitution. Will you be kind enough to inform us, “Young Gentlemen,” at what age we may begin to express our sentiments on political matters? Is all knowledge confined in grey heads? Was not Hercules competent to manly deeds even in his cradle? And have not some gentlemen of *twenty* more sagacity and skill in the sciences of policy and government than others, who have grown hoary in public business? If I am young and inexperienced, are You Sir, a Solon, a Sydney, or a Franklin? Or in other words, have you seen the devil? But perhaps you may.

In the third place you charge me with criticizing your *words* and snarling at your *sentences*. You mistake me, sir; I criticized only your *arguments*; and as to snarling I am not conscious of having been guilty of it. Tis true I ridiculed your hobby-horse, and a more despicable beast I do not remember to have seen; but then I never suggested that you

were not *properly mounted*. I will even do you the justice to confess that the *steed* of his *caparison*, the *knight* and his *arms* were admirably matched.

I have read, sir, the *nervous reasonings of a Brutus and the ingenious sentiments of a Candidus*:² and I am not surprized that their sophistry lies too deep for your penetration to detect. Their abilities I revere; but cannot help lamenting that genius should be so prostituted and ingenuity so grossly misapplied. Had you examined both sides of the question, like an honest candid enquirer after truth, you might have found all their objections fully obviated. I have no great opinion of the place or fare to which you doom those, who after reading these writers can lay their hands on their hearts and say that it is best for us to adopt this Constitution; but, Sir, so great has ever been my detestation of low and vitious companions and my attachment to the society of the virtuous and respectable, and such is my opinion of this system, that, under its administration, I should not hesitate to prefer *Nova-Scotia*, *clams* and *potatoes*, with the friends and supporters of it, to setting on thrones, in the best country on earth, with the generality of its opposers, under any form of government they would ever establish.

You affect, Sir, to treat me with great contempt. What a pity it is you do not know how to express the passion. But those who know the difficulty of *expressing* what they do not *feel* will readily excuse you. Contempt and resentment are altogether incompatible; and the same object cannot excite them both at the same time. A sullen silence indicates the former—scurrilous language demonstrates the latter. Of this you have made a liberal use. Instead of imitating the good-natured procedure of *Uncle Toby*, you take your example from the conduct of *Dr. Slop* towards *Obadiah*, in the case of the bag of instruments; and when your leisure permits you to give me the second combing, I expect *Ernulphus's* curse at full length will make a part of it.³

Pray, my good Sir, how do you treat an untaught Puppy, that interrupts your sage political reflections by his unseasonable salutations, as you are riding to market? Do you dismount and tie your horse; and then by throwing stones, clubs, cow-dung, &c. at the simple animal, accompanied with hideous intimidating yells, endeavour to drive him back into his kennel? Or do you pass on without so much as returning his civilities with a *get out you whelp!* The latter undoubtedly; or you would demonstrate that of the two you was much the most stupid puppy. But which of these opposite methods of procedure have you observed with regard to me? Had you published a second address to your brethren without taking any notice of my answer to your first, you would have given a proof of contempt, which I confess would have mortified me. But, Sir, the part you have taken discovers a consciousness that you

have unexpectedly received an attack, which you know not how to repel.—Upon the whole, I apprehend some people will suspect that, instead of an insignificant puppy, you considered me as a sturdy mastiff that had rudely seized you by the heel with a design to dismount you—and that you supposed the best method of defence would be (in imitation of honest Teague)⁴ to *give me a bad name and bravely run away*.

Before I quit You, Sir, give me leave to offer you a word of advice. Old heads are not always the repositories of wisdom; nor do “Young Gentlemen” always deserve the contempt in which you affect to hold them. You may therefore find your interest in paying some attention to it. You call yourself a Farmer—You must therefore be better acquainted with the instruments of husbandry than with the utensils of a Barber. Your promising me a further combing implies that you have given me one already. From this specimen all the world must pronounce you an arrant bungler. For this reason, should you think me worthy of a farther chastisement, I would advise you to give me literally a *threshing*; for you will certainly wield a *flail* with much more dexterity and effect than you can ever handle a *Pen*.

1. “Alfredus” responds to “A Farmer,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 1 February (RCS:N.H., 101–4n).

2. See “A Farmer,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 1 February, notes 6 and 7 (RCS:N.H., 103n–4n).

3. “*Ernulphus’s curse*” and the three characters are from Laurence Sterne’s *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (9 vols., London, 1760).

4. A character in Sir Robert Howard’s comedic play, *The Committee: or the Faithful Irishman* (Dublin, 1724).

A friend to the Rights of the people: Anti-Fœderalist, No. I Exeter Freeman’s Oracle, 8 February 1788¹

To the Inhabitants of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

The grand topick of the day is the New-Constitution, much has been said for, much has been said against it by able writers—On one side, it is warmly asserted, that the liberties of the people, are sufficiently secure, as it now stands—On the other it is urged with equal vehemence, they are not, amendments must be made—a Bill of Rights prefixed, or we are undone; so that it is very difficult, for common people to know what is right, any thing that may serve to throw light upon the subject, may be very useful at this juncture. Both sides, it appears to me, so far as I have had opportunity of reading, have kept the Constitution too much out of view. There seems to be a necessity of a more particular and impartial examination of the thing itself, which is the bone of so much contention.

If the plan of Federal Government, proposed for our consideration and acceptance, is secure, and well expressed in all its branches, then it will appear so upon a candid explanation, and no man ought to oppose it; or say any thing privately or publickly to prejudice any person against it; no good citizen would, in so doing, he would manifest himself to be an enemy to his country and posterity; and would deservedly be dispised by all the virtuous part of the community.—But if there are a number of things insecure, and of dangerous tendency in the Constitution itself, they may be made to appear upon fair and faithful examination; and no wise man would wish to rest the vast weight of national government upon a sandy foundation, which may give way, and let the fair structure of liberty, erected at such an infinite expence of blood and treasure, fall into ruins.—Certainly no good citizen would approve of such an establishment, nor could he recommend it to the choice and adoption of others; if he did he must counteract his own, and the general interest and all the benevolent sentiments of reason and humanity. It is therefore of vast importance that the constitution should be well considered, and carefully examined, for upon that and nothing else, rationally explained, according to the common usage of words, must we found our judgment of its goodness or badness;—My design therefore is to quote, and make some remarks upon some of the most capital propositions.

Remark, 1. Upon the time for which Congress is to be chosen on the new plan, Art. 1. Sect. 2.—The house of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States—Sect. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for *six years*—Art. 2. Sect. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States, he shall hold his office during the term of *four years*, and the Vice President shall be chosen for the *same term*. By this it plainly appears, that the Representatives of Congress are to hold their offices, for *two*, each of the Presidents for *four*, and the Senators for *six years successively*. This appears to me with not so favorable an aspect upon the liberties of the people, as if their session had been for a shorter term—Common sense teaches, that when public officers are chosen annually, or only for a short time at once; they naturally feel themselves more dependent upon the people, and consequently their obligations will be stronger to fidelity in their public trust—their fears will be alarmed on the one hand against mal-administration, lest they be displaced at the next election—their hopes animated, on the other, to good conduct, in prospect of the approbation of their citizens, in a new choice; the people therefore have the strongest hold of their rulers,

by having it in their power, soon to displace them upon mal-conduct; and consequently their liberties are more firmly established, by frequent elections than otherwise. It may be said here, that the longer men continue in office, the better they will be qualified for it, and consequently capable of doing more good. It may be so, and if they behave well, I would have them chosen again, and again, and so long as they approve themselves faithful to the public. But, on the supposition of their proving ill, the shorter their term in office the better—they will do much the least mischief to the community—and the chance of their proving ill, is at least as great, if not greater, than the contrary. There were more wicked kings in the nation of Israel, than good ones—and human nature is still the same, the bias to evil stronger than to good; the balance therefore preponderates against electing any persons for a long time together in any office; common prudence will teach us better. No wise man will contract with a menial servant for four or six years at once; he will chuse to engage him for a short term first, and if he proves faithful, he will renew the contract, if otherwise, he can easily discard him. The case holds equally good, with the honorary servants of the state: Here therefore, were I to give my opinion, I would advise, that no person be chosen into any office in Congress, for more than one or at the most *two years* at a time.—We choose all our legislative body annually, our members of Congress have been chosen but for one year at a time; and in that, short as it is, they have taken some pretty large strides—What may we not expect, in treeble the term, furnished with such very extensive powers. The long parliament in England was one of the worst, that ever disgraced the annals of mankind—the truth is, power long continued, makes men giddy, turns the head, and heart too, many times. The most promising characters, at first, have proved the worst in less than six years. Nero was one of the best among the Roman Emperors, at his first entering the Imperial throne, in a short time, he proved a monster of iniquity.

Remark 2. Upon the election of Senators and Representatives, Art. I. Sect. 4.—The time, places, and manner of holding elections, for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but Congress may, at any time, by law make, or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing Senators—By this it evidently appears, that Congress are to have power to alter, only the regulations the legislature may make respecting the time and manner of choosing Senators; the place which is much the most important is secured to the electors—But in the choice of the representative body, Congress may alter, not only the regulations of the time and manner, but *the place* of the election—the consequence is plain, Congress will,

upon this plan, have full power to order all persons qualified, to appear at their shire towns, or their respective capitols, or even at the ten mile district to give in their votes for representatives—by this means nine tenths, or ninety-nine hundredths of the people, may be, yea must be wholly excluded from having any voice in the election. Where there is equal liberty, what privilege will the people have left? Fair & equal representation includes the whole privilege of the people, and if this may be curtailed, shackled or impeded at the pleasure and controul of Congress, farewell freedom—we may welcome tyranny with her galling chains. It may be said, this is overstraining the article, and no such thing was ever designed, or tho't of by the framers of the Constitution; if not, I would ask, how come the exception of *place* of election to be made; in one case, and not in the other—Was it not just as easy to have made the reserve to the people, as to the legislature. The making it to the one and not to the other, looks like a design to have an undue controul over the popular election; this breaths the spirit of British tyranny. The parliamentary influence is so great in England in the election of the members of the house of Commons, that some sensible writers have observed, that the people there have only the shadow, not the reality of liberty—This great and fundamental priviledge of the people, ought therefore to be well secured in the national plan of government—It is so in our State Constitution: all persons qualified shall be intitled to vote within the town, district, or parish where they dwell in the choice of Representatives;² I can see no reason why the people ought not to have equal liberty, in the choice of Representatives for Congress—they must abide the consequence of what they do; they must pay taxes and duties laid by them—They ought therefore to have a full voice in their appointment; and so far as they may be deprived of it, by the alteration of the places of election, so far they are deprived of real liberty.

Remark 3. Upon the mode of paying Congress, art. 1, sect. 6. The Senators and Representatives, shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States, art. 2. The President shall at stated times receive a compensation for his services, &c.—Here, it is plain, that the salaries of the members of Congress are to be ascertained and fixed by law—But who are to make this law? It is not said—I presume it is not the several state legislatures—They are an inferior order and cannot give law to a superior—It must then be a law of their own making, by which their salaries will be ascertained—How far Congress will extend this power (provided the Constitution is adopted) there is no man alive can tell—

It is left without bound or limitation—and we may be sure, from the craving appetites of men for gain, it will be stretched as far as the patience, and abilities of the people will bear—European fashions have been transplanted into America—The high taste of foreign Courts will be relished by Congress—They must live in all the splendor of equipage and attendance—Their revenue must be equivalent—This being an infant country, and besides loaded with a large debt, will by no means be able to support it. It appears to me therefore, it would be very imprudent, in the United States to let Congress go to the continental Chest, and take out as much money as they please for their services, tho' under form of law—Common sense will teach us better—No wise householder will let his servants make a law to fix their own wages, or dip as deep as they please in his coffers—Nor will any wise community give a greater liberty to the ruling servants of the state—Some bounds ought to be set, otherwise there is no safety.

It may be objected here, that our General Court vote their own salary, and yet they are very moderate in their demands. It is true, but they stand, only for a year at a time, are under the constant inspection of the people; and the Representative branch draw their wages directly from their Constituents, who watch them very narrowly; so that they have no opportunity to be lavish of publick money—The case will be very different with Congress upon the new plan—They will stand on an average three or four times as long—The greater part will be several hundred miles distant from their constituents—They will draw from the Continental Treasury, over which they themselves will have the most ample controul, and besides by another power granted, art. 1. They have liberty to secrete [i.e., secret] such parts of their conduct, as in their judgment, may require secrecy—It is easy for men to believe secrecy, when it is for their own interest, how much soever it may be against the publick—Thus then, the disposal of publick money may constitutionally become one of the *Arcana Imperii*³ of Congress—For my part, I think here is a wide door open for great abuse; and it will be the wisdom of the states to shut it, by setting some bound to the salaries of their own officers—and this seems to be the more necessary, because we are loaded with a heavy debt, in order to clear it the greatest Economy is requisite in all our public expences. America is like a man who has a fine homestead and some out lands, but owes a large sum taken up, on interest; with care and frugality in all his expences, he can clear the interest and sink a little of the principal annually, and so finally discharge the whole. But if he drinks and games, and squanders in riotous living, he will very soon become a bankrupt; so we may, by

care and prudence in our public expences, support our own government, pay the interest of our public debt, and a small part of the principal; so as in time to sink the whole—But if we lavish away our public money, and the ruling part of this young nation, will pattern after all the luxuries of European Courts, our revenue will not be sufficient to support our own government, and pay the interest to France and Holland; more money must be borrowed (if we have credit) the consequence follows, we shall sink deeper and deeper into debt, till the United States become a bankrupt.

Remark 4. Upon the power of Congress, Sec. 8—They shall have power to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy.—It is not mentioned expressly here when these armies are to be raised, and supported by Congress, whether in a time of peace, or war; it will be said in a time of war, or expectation of actual invasion, where there is a necessity of them, let it be so—But what is there here or in any other part of this Constitution to limit, or oblige Congress to disband the army when the war is at an end, for my part I can find nothing, it is true, in the following clause, it is said, that no appropriation of money for that use shall be for a longer term than two years; this amounts to no more, than that every second year, there shall be a new vote of Congress to appropriate money to the support of the army, upon this plan, an army may be continued, as long as they can get a vote for it; it will then be in the breast of Congress wholly to say, whether they shall exist in a time of peace; if they say they shall be kept up, they may tax the people to support them, and upon their non-compliance send the army to enforce payment, at the point of the sword; it will then to all intents and purposes upon this constitution, be in the power of congress to keep a standing army, in time of peace, their being voted every two years does not alter the case; great Britain has, as real a standing army as France, or Spain, and yet they are voted every year by parliament—Standing armies are ever dangerous, and have, always been accounted inconsistant with the liberties of a free people: it is not therefore safe, to entrust this power in the hands of any set of men without some greater limitation than is to be found in this Constitution;—As to the power of building a navy, it is also left unlimited in the hands of Congress, it is not said, where they shall begin, nor how far they shall proceed, in the exercise of it, they may, if they please, immediately upon the adoption of this plan, lay heavy and burthensome taxes upon the people to build and maintain a fleet of ships, and yet go exactly according to the Constitution—Another unlimited power to be vested in Congress is that of exclusive Legislation, in all cases

whatsoever, over such a district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by the cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of government of the United States—We are not told in particular, what use is to be made of this district, but, no doubt, great designs are to be accomplished here equal to the authority to be delegated—A magnificent city, must be built to be the capital of the Empire—A spacious Congress house erected; A splend palace for the President—An amphitheatre for plays—A circus for games—An assembly for balls &c. (they will need no churches for public worship, for by the Constitution there is to be no religious test required in Congress)—All this will be done at the expence of the United States, for it is said, Congress shall have authority to make all laws necessary, and proper to carry into execution the foregoing powers; therefore they may constitutionally make laws for the accomplishment of the above purposes, and taxes may be levied of the people, or money borrowed of some European Power to defray the enormous expence.

How idle then is the notion that some entertain, that the establishment of this plan of government will speedily extricate us out of debt, and make us a rich and flourishing people—My opinion is the reverse, that in the complete operation and effect of it, it will be an insupportable burden, that will sink us the deeper under our present embarrassments.—It may be objected by the friends of the constitution, that this is all conjecture, and we have no reason to think or even suggest, that Congress will make such a use of their power to enslave the people—I would answer—Have we any reason to think they will not—they are to take a solemn oath to administer the Constitution faithfully, or according to the spirit of it, and if they do, the effect must necessarily be arbitrary government; this has always been pleasing to rulers—and there is no doubt, but they will make use of it, when it is voluntarily given them by the people—And when it is not, they have ever grasped after it—thus the nobles of Rome, after they had unanimously assisted the people, in abolishing the regal tyranny, were for enlarging their own power and exercising the very same tyranny, tho' under another name—So, tho' British tyranny is expelled out of these states, yet, have we not reason to fear the same, tho' it may be under a different form.

Remark 5. Upon the slave trade, sect. 9. The migration, or importation of such persons, as any of the states shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year eighteen hundred and eight—By the importation of the persons above-mentioned, is doubtless meant the Guinea trade, by which thousands and millions of poor negroes have been wrested from their native country, their friends

and all that is dear to them, and brought into a state of the most abject slavery and wretchedness—By the above article, this cruel and barbarous practice is not to be prohibited by Congress for twenty years to come, and even then, it is not said, it shall cease—Here is a permission granted, for the enslaving and making miserable our fellow men, totally contrary to all the principles of reason, justice, benevolence and humanity, and all the kind and compassionate dictates of the Christian Religion. Can we then hold up our hands for a Constitution that licences this bloody practice? Can we who have fought so hard for Liberty give our consent to have it taken away from others? May the powers above forbid.

Remark 6. Upon the appointment of the officers of the state, by the President, article 2, sect. 2—He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to appoint Ambassadors, publick Ministers, and it is added all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, those appointments before provided for, in this Constitution, are the military officers reserved to the legislature; all other officers therefore, in the judicial department; such as justices of the peace and quorum judges of the inferior and superior courts must be appointed, and receive their commissions and salaries from Congress which will be improper and dangerous—The distance between so great, unworthy characters may get into office for want of proper information, and besides they will be independent of the people, and consequently suitable tools for the purposes of tyranny and oppression; as the Mandamus counsellors were under British government.⁴

Remark 7. Upon the extent of the judicial power, art. 3, sect. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity—to all controversies between two or more states—between citizens of the same state⁵—between citizens of different states—citizens and subjects—In the larger cases there is to be original jurisdiction in the smaller appellate—What exceptions and regulations, Congress may make to this is uncertain—But as it now stands, it extends to all cases, and disputes which may happen between man and man; and so may prove, in the issue, a source of mischief and ruin to thousands—The rich and the wilful citizen may, after passing through the lower forms of law, appeal up to this federal court, at four, or five hundred miles distance; there the other party must repair, at an amazing expence, or else loose [i.e., lose] his case however just and righteous—Hereby the course of public justice may be much obstructed, the poor oppressed, and many undone—Every door therefore against such a pernicious effect, ought to be shut in the Constitution—All wise communities would choose such

an establishment, as that individuals might obtain justice, with the greatest ease, and least expence.

Remark 8. Upon the admission of new states, art. 3. sect. 3. New States may be admitted by Congress into the Union: But no New State shall be formed, or erected, within the jurisdiction of any other state without the consent of the Legislature of the state concerned—From this, it is evident, that Vermont can never be admitted as a state into the union without the consent of New-York, because of her claim of jurisdiction over it; that this consent will be obtained, is very improbable, such has long, and still continues to refuse it, the consequence is, Vermont must be obliged, either [to?] remain as she is, and do nothing to defray the public expence which will [be?] very impolitick, or else, submit to [the?] government of New-York; this she will never do without a conquest by the sword: For this purpose New-York must have assistance, upon the adoption of this Constitution, she has a right to demand it of the United States; [We?] shall consequently be bound to send an army to cut the throats of our Brethren—a horrid scene is opened of blood and carnage. Nature shudders at the thought. We ought seriously to consider this, and not give our vote hastily [to?] that, which we can never comply with in its operation and effects.

Remark 9. Upon the discarding [of?] all religious tests, Art. 6. clause 3.—But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust under the United States, according to this we may have a Papist, a Mahomatan, a Deist, yea an Atheist at the helm of Government: all nations are tenacious of their religion, and will have an acknowledgment of it in their civil establishment; but the new plan requires none at all; none in Congress; none in any member of the legislative bodies; none in any single officer of the United States; all swept off at one stroke contrary to our state plans.⁶—[But?] will this be good policy to discard all religion? It may be said the meaning [is?] not to discard it, but only to show [that?] there is no need of it in public officers, they may be as faithful without as with—this is a mistake—when a man has no regard to God and his laws nor any belief of a future state; he will have little regard to the laws of men, or to the [most?] solemn oaths or affirmations; it is acknowledged by all that civil government can't well be supported without the assistance of religion; I think therefore that so much deference ought to be [paid?] to it, as to acknowledge it in our civil establishment; and that no man is fit [to?] be a ruler of protestants, without he [can?] honestly profess to be of the protestant religion.—To conclude I have now given my sentiments freely and honestly upon this important subject; if it serves to throw any light upon it, I have my desire and should be heartily

glad, that the respectable Convention to set at Exeter upon the decisive question, might [have?] all that has been said for, and all that has been said against the Constitution laid before them, that they may have the fullest means of information possible and if, after judiciously and candidly weighing every argument, it is their judgment that it will be for the [greatest?] good of the community to adopt, let them adopt it; but if not let them reject it; and let us make another trial for a new plan, that may in more respects be agreeable, and better secure the liberties of the subjects.

1. William Plumer's copy of this issue at The Boston Athenæum Library has "Thos Cogswell" written above the pseudonym at the end of the essay. The last column on the second page of the only extant issue of this newspaper is run into the gutter, thus causing many words toward the end of the essay to be conjectural.

2. The New Hampshire constitution of 1784 provided that "All persons qualified to vote in the election of senators shall be intitled to vote within the town, district, parish, or place where they dwell, in the choice of representatives" (RCS:N.H., 472).

3. Latin: Secrets of the empire.

4. The Massachusetts Government Act of 20 May 1774, one of the so-called "Intolerable Acts" passed by Parliament, ended the election of thirty-six members of the upper house (Council). Instead of being elected by the lower house and the outgoing councilors, the councilors would be appointed by the royal governor on a royal writ of mandamus. The writ was "an extraordinary writ commanding an official to perform a ministerial act that the law recognizes as an absolute duty and not a matter for the official's discretion, used only when all other judicial remedies fail."

5. The jurisdiction of the federal courts extended to cases "between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States," not simply between citizens of the same state.

6. Eleven of the state constitutions required some kind of a religious test for office holding.

A Friend to the Republic: Anti-Federalist, No. II Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 8 February 1788¹

An Address to the members of the Convention, for the State of New-Hampshire, to meet at Exeter, on the second Wednesday in February 1788, for the important purpose of deciding upon a Constitution offered by the late Convention, through the medium of Congress.—

Not, Gentlemen, that I presume to think myself capable of informing you of your duty; or that you want such information, or would accept it from me. But, I would show my good wishes to my countrymen, and prepare them to reap the happy effects of their discrete choice.—

You, Gentlemen, have been chosen to deliberate and decide, upon the most important matter, perhaps, that ever was entrusted in the hands of any set of men; it is, in my opinion, the most dangerous crisis of our publick affairs, that any of us have beheld, in all the course of

the late long and tedious war. May the God who governs the universe direct your steps.

If you adopt this constitution, as it now stands, it is my settled judgement, that you will, at once, surrender up all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the state of New-Hampshire into the hands of Congress.—

Consider gentlemen—Whether it is the part of wisdom, or fidelity to your constituents, to give up all at once. Congress may thank you perhaps, for the mighty surrendery, and may use you favourably at first, but, by and by, they may chastize you most severely with the rod you put into their hands. I have known men in private life, in a fit of good nature give up all their property into the hands of a favorite; and go mourning the remainder of their days, half starved and half naked to the grave.—But it is the first time, that I ever heard of a people, so soon after a long and tedious struggle for liberty attempt to surrender it to a set of men without their asking for it.—Men in power generally ask for enough—Let Congress have, what they have hitherto asked for, to regulate *Trade and Commerce*.² They have told you that was sufficient, why will you give them more?

It has been said by Mr. Wilson, in support of this Constitution, and against a Bill of Rights,³ who dare be bold enough to enumerate all the Rights of a people: Such sophistical assertions may do for his phlegmatick Germans, but will not answer for the bold, free and enterprizing people of New-Hampshire—Every honest man ought to be bold enough to declare his rights—at least, such great and essential ones, as never ought to be trusted to the caprice of any set of men—And you, gentlemen, I hope will be bold enough to spurn at a Constitution, offered you without a Bill of Rights; and receive none unless the most essential ones are enumerated—But I shall say no more on this particular, as abler pens have gone before me.—

But as many of you gentlemen are from the country; and have not had the advantage of hearing what has been said, I should advise you to collect some of the most sensible writers, with their strictures upon the Constitution, and have them read in the Convention, and think and judge for yourselves, and decide coolly upon it—Beware of artful and designing men; (if any should be among you) as there may be those whose cunning and sophistry would deceive (if possible) the very elect.

Consider, gentlemen, how lavish Congress have been with your money! what exorbitant salaries they have given, and are daily giving to men, no better than yourselves, who would blush to have such salaries offered you, when, at this time, the public creditors are suffering for want of

their just dues. If poverty has not made Congress frugal, it is in vain to give them the command of your purses.—Be not too much influenced, gentlemen, by the mighty sound of the great and exalted characters of those who formed this Constitution—We have thousands, as great, and good men as they, in the United States. (Besides, gentlemen, there are not such mighty talents, requisite for government as some who pretend to them (without possessing them) would make us believe—Honest affection for the general good and common qualifications are sufficient—Administration has always been best managed, and the public liberty best secured, when plain honesty and common sense alone governed the public affairs. Great abilities have for the most part been employed to mislead the honest, but unwary multitude, and to draw them out of the open and plain paths of public virtue and public good)⁴—Consider for God’s sake gentlemen, the sacredness of your office and the magnitude of your trust, your country, its Religion, and Laws are in your hands: if you adopt this Constitution, you overturn the whole at once; and subject yourselves and your constituents to be bound by such laws as the will and pleasure of Congress may hereafter make—Be as zealous to ward off *public evil*, as *others are to bring it on*, and you have a fair chance to prevent it for ages yet to come.—I had rather trust my purse in the hands of a sharper, than my liberties in the hands of any set of men, unless they are secured with restraints stronger than their temptations to destroy them; for the former by industry may be replenished; but liberty once lost, is scarce ever recovered, almost as rarely as human life, when it is once extinguished.

1. “Alfredus,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 13 June (RCS:N.H., 340, 342, 343n), identified Thomas Cogswell as the author of this piece.

2. For the Imposts of 1781 and 1783 and several attempts of Congress to grant itself power to regulate commerce, see the “Introduction” (RCS:N.H., xl).

3. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of James Wilson’s Pennsylvania State House Speech,” 9–16 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 47–49).

4. The text in angle brackets is based on the second paragraph of Thomas Gordon’s Cato’s Letter No. 24, which was first published in London in 1721.

Finis

Exeter Freeman’s Oracle, 8 February 1788¹

Messi’rs Printers, When I received the Farmer’s address to his brethren, I was of opinion, that what he said respecting the Constitution, was founded upon reason. But when I came to read upon the other side, and hear what Alfredus had to say in favour of it; and that the Farmer’s steed had no mettle, I was at a stand what to think. But when the Farmer came to make his second appearance, and like a good

soldier, at the first onset, sends Alfredus back to his cell with all his impudence; and advise him to take a little Hypocacuana, and a few Pills to cure him of the Hypochondriac; together with his good advice to young men not to be quite so forward—and then with the breath of his nostrils, to send off the celebrated Mr. Wilson, and his lofty strains to the upper regions, there to float about in an Air-Balloon, who, he thinks, is not calculated to make Laws for a free People, and, at one bold stroke, doom the whole junto of Federalists, to the cold regions of Nova-Scotia, there to wind up their days, on clams and potatoes; and, Jehu-like,² to send the printers' poor correspondent to the Devil.—I think we shall hear no more complaint, of the Farmer and his steed for want of mettle. And finally, the whole groupe has gone off in such a scampering frolick, I am of opinion the Convention will have but little more to do, than meet, and send the constitution after them.

1. "Finis" comments on three essays in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*: "A Farmer" (11 January); "Alfredus" (18 January); and "A Farmer" (1 February) (RCS:N.H., 78–85n, 86–92, 101–4n).

2. Jehu, a king of Israel, exterminated the house of Ahab following an instruction from God. On another occasion, Jehu ordered Jezebel thrown from a window and drove his chariot over her. (See 2 Kings 9.)

John Sullivan to Henry Knox
Portsmouth, N.H., 11 February 1788¹

My Dear sir

I waited till near the Crisis of our affairs before answering the Letter with which you were pleased to honor me of the 19th of January² in hopes of being better able to inform you of the prospects in this state respecting the new system proposed for the united States—but alas they are not so favorable as I expected many of our people are so attached to paper money and Tender Laws that they cannot consent to a Constitution which deprives them of Such an easy path to the summit of knavery.³ The men of property & of good Sense are in favor of the plan, but they have but an equal voice with the most abandoned & unprincipled wretches who have by Idleness & Extravagance spent their all, & are now endeavoring to repair their fortunes at the expence of the prudent & Industrious—You may therefor Judge which Class is the most numerous & from that form a Judgment of the sentiments of the members of our Convention at their first meeting which will be on the 13th Instant: I do not however Despair but trust it will after a Long Discussion go down by a much greater majority than in Massachusetts⁴—I will write you from the Convention respecting movements & appearances[.] I have the honor of being a member but shall (for reasons

which You may easily conjecture) endeavor to put some other person in the Chair⁵—

The Letter which you did me the honor to enclose from the marquis only served to introduce the Count De moutiers & the Lady in Company & to express his personal regard for me; had it contained any thing of a public nature I should have returned it to the president of Congress⁶

I have the honor to be my Dear sir with the most perfect regard & Esteem your most obedt servt

1. RC, J. S. H. Fogg Autograph Collection, Maine Historical Society. Marked “private” on the addressee page. A copy is in the James Sullivan Papers, MHi.

2. See RCS:N.H., 94–95n, for Knox’s 19 January letter, marked “private,” in which he expressed concern about the course of ratification of the Constitution in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

3. For the issues of paper money and tender laws, see the “Introduction” (RCS:N.H., liii–liv).

4. The Massachusetts Convention had ratified the Constitution on 6 February by a nineteen-vote majority, 187–168.

5. Sullivan was elected president of the New Hampshire Convention on 14 February.

6. Cyrus Griffin of Virginia was president of the Confederation Congress.

New Hampshire Spy, 12 February 1788¹

The general joy diffused through all ranks of people in this metropolis, upon receiving intelligence of the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Massachusetts Convention, was really pleasing—a general rejoicing would have immediately taken place (such was the fire of our youth) had not some of our patriots recommended a suspension of any public testimonials of joy until the Grand Question should be decided by the Convention of this State, which agreeably to appointment is to meet at Exeter to-morrow, for that important purpose. May Heaven guide their deliberations and direct to a favorable issue.

1. Page three of the only extant copy of the 12 February issue of the *Spy* lacks one column. The transcription is taken from the first newspaper that reprinted this item (under a Portsmouth, 12 February, dateline), the New York *Daily Advertiser*, 26 February. The piece was also reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 March; *Pennsylvania Journal* and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March; and the Charleston *City Gazette*, 12 March.

Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 12 February 1788¹

The Convention of the State of New-Hampshire meet this day at Exeter, for the important purpose of deliberating on the late proposed plan of government, when, no doubt, another pillar will be erected to the support of the Federal Edifice.

1. Reprinted: Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 20 February.

William Vans Murray: Political Sketches
New Hampshire Spy, 12, 15 February 1788

In the spring of 1787 William Vans Murray, a Marylander who was in England studying law, published in London a 100-page book that he had written in 1784 and 1785 entitled *Political Sketches, Inscribed to His Excellency John Adams*. . . . The work was signed "A Citizen of the United States" from Middle Temple, April 1787, and published in London in that year. Murray indicated that the *Political Sketches* were an answer to "Abbe Mably's remarks," that is de Mably's *Observations sur le Gouvernement et les lois des États-Unis*. . . . (Amsterdam, 1784). The book, also printed in English in London in the same year, contained four letters addressed to John Adams. The *Political Sketches* has six parts. The extracts printed below are taken from pp. 85–96 of the sixth part. In the United States, *Political Sketches* were published in the September 1787 issue of the Philadelphia *American Museum*, whose publisher Mathew Carey identified William Vans Murray as its author.

Murray (c. 1761–1803) returned to Maryland and served in the state House of Delegates, 1788–90. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1791–97, and the U.S. minister to the Netherlands, 1797–1801. John Adams (1735–1826) was the U.S. minister to Great Britain in London, where he spent much of his time in 1787 writing his *Defence of the Constitutions*. He returned to America in June 1788.

Extracts from "POLITICAL SKETCHES, inscribed to his Excellency JOHN ADAMS, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of Great Britain."—By a Citizen of the United States, Published in London. Now re-published for the perusal of the Members of the New-Hampshire State Convention.

"Nullius addicium jurare in verba majistri."¹

RELIGION.

It is not a little surprising, that when the ardour of reform is extending itself in America, from political revolutions to those of religion, it should act on so limited a scale, as to preclude all but Christians, from the blessings of an equal religious freedom to which all men are equally entitled—If not restrained by the novelty of power, nor blinded by the prejudices of Europe, how much honour and advantage would not her character acquire by the adoption of so enlightened a policy!

By the constitutions, all sects of Christians are entitled to equal freedom. This is wise; and, when compared with what we see in most countries of Europe, it is highly liberal. There yet remains one step; when this is gained, America will be the great philosophical theatre in the world. Christians are not the only people there. There are men, besides Christians, who while they discharge every social duty are shut from the rights of citizenship. If this continues it will have been in vain that the world hath offered the experience of her follies and her crimes,

and that human nature hath been so long devoted to its own errors. If there be a man in the empire excluded from the fullest rights of citizenship, mere on account of his religion, the law which excludes him is founded in force, and is a violation of the laws of nature.

It is in vain that artful men argue from policy to the necessity of religious discriminations—of tests—capacities, and invidious qualifications. Policy is a poison that hath acted on the political constitutions of states, to the destruction of their principles, and finally, to the subversion of their liberty. It is often little more than the passion of the day sanctified by law and sophistry. But men are not now in that suspicious state of hostility which once may have lent some apology for injustice, and particular exclusions.

*“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.”²*

That government was made for man and not man made for government, is a truth that should stand foremost in all political ideas of religion.

In the adoption or creation of ecclesiastical institutions, general principles have in other countries either escaped observation, or have been intentionally obscured or rejected, as too immutable for the purposes of a policy, which temporized with change, and made error subservient to the gratifications of ambition. Hence systems have been expedients, modes of faith the politic indulgence of prevailing weaknesses, or the instruments of slavery.

America will never sacrifice to imitation the new duties she owes the human species and for the discharge of which heaven hath offered her situations singularly happy.—It is to nature she stands pledged for an impartial trial and a fair stage. She will not narrow the foundation of her happiness by mutilating religious freedom. Her schemes will be as liberal as her fortunes have been glorious. Her situation is the first ever offered to mankind, wherein every right of nature explored by the eye of science may be indulged in a latitude unembarrassed by unsubstantial forms, and unshackled by civil or religious despotism. Opinion has not yet thrown obstacles in the path of investigation, nor obtruded on the minds of men a fashion of thinking unconnected with the philosophy of *(things)*.³ Prejudice against particular sects is unknown. It is in this moment when the principles of nature prevail, that America ought to spread wide the bottom of her future character; and nothing *(will)* contribute more powerfully to this *(end,)* than that unison of all her citizens and fusion of their common rights, which equal religious freedom will create.

Unless the governments assume to themselves an inquisitorial authority, they can not view the citizen in any other point of responsibility to them, than that which is formed by the civil relation. Until they prove an authority derived from the laws of nature, or delegated from heaven, they cannot claim a cognizance of religion. As well might they ordain laws of honour, of taste, of sentiment, and of ethics, as prescribed the emotions of a devout heart.

Government is a modification of the laws of nature. These are unacquainted with the distinctions of religious opinion; and of the terms Christian, Mahometan, Jew, or Gentile. The constitutions, if they pursue a just direction, will not violate common sense; nor cherish by force, those injuries done to nature, which the light of the present day is about to disperse. They will throw down every barrier erected by the despotism of impassioned ignorance, and admit every sect, whom they admit at all, to the right of citizenship. The governments are obliged to legislate agreeably to the constitutions. The constitutions tolerate none but christian sects; yet the policy of the governments teaches them to invite all the world, while their disingenuous fears, by shutting out from the most inestimable rights, half the human species, counteract their views and real interests. So little and so gloomy a policy will be despised; and as the struggles of America have endeared her to the world, her principles on all great points will manifest a mind universally illumined. She will prove by a freedom of universal religion, however vary'd in name or mode, that civil government is not supported by trick and mystery; and that civil happiness does not depend on undetected deceptions.

[15 February] Religion hath not been so much interwoven, as inserted in her constitutions. It makes no part of her state policy; and if it can be proved to be a subject totally beyond the reach of human cognizance, there will be no danger in removing every section which gives her governments the power of legislation over its rights. If after an alteration of this sort, governments still continue to consider themselves the guardians of religion, their guardianship will extend to an impartial protection of every sect on earth. If they exclude any sect it must be because they possess the power delegated from such as had a right to part with such rights; or because they may have discovered a sect, or class of men created out of the cognizance of the laws of nature. But by these laws all men are equally bound. Government can be justified only in its acts in proportion as these are consistent with the laws and views of nature. It can legislate on those relations only which may be suspended and delegated by the whole, to a part of society. If there exists in the human character any relation, the rights of which cannot

be delegated, government cannot be possessed of a right to legislate on those rights—It cannot point out a rule of conduct in a series of duties, which result from a relation over which it hath no cognizance.— Should it be a proved thing, that men give up for civil purposes, a portion of the rights of nature, it will go to this only, that they yield that of which they have a right to divest themselves, for purposes of happiness; but will never found a power in government over things which could not be yielded.

“It is the duty of every man to worship God in the manner which he may think most acceptable to him^(a).” Religion is the worship of God. It is a duty arising from the relation of man to his Creator. Whether the religion professed be natural, or revealed, the evidence which brings conviction is submitted to the judgment of each professor: if faith be the bottom on which particular creeds stand, still less is religion under human controul. Rewards and punishments are the objects of all religions: to render these consistent with the divine attributes, and operative in this world, it is a necessary principle, that each individual be tried by his own merits. The evidence of every religion must be received in a manner peculiar to the judgment of every agent, in a degree of conviction proportioned to its force, and to that peculiarity of temper, habit, and education, which hath so wonderfully vary’d the moral face of things.

Religion is a matter of opinion and of sentiment. It is not a uniform conclusion drawn from a common sense of divine relation; if it were, there would be but one opinion on the subject; and government, could it gain a right, might have in it a more palpable instrument of policy, give less indulgence to its errors; and by defining with accuracy the duties which arise from the relation of man to God, might with less hazard, ingraft it on the general plan of policy and legislation. But this is not the case, as religion is the duty arising from the relation of man to God and not from the relation of man to man, the mode of discharging this duty cannot be submitted to delegation. This mode forms a part of the duty; and is that secret communication with the Divinity, which cannot be supported but by the mind which feels it. This duty is enjoined by the law of nature. The law of nature was anterior to civil regulations.

Whatever rights could not be the object of civil cognizance, still remain under the cognizance of the law of nature. It is clear, that whatever rights had a reference to the relation between man and man, might for the good of the whole, be delegated by the whole to a part of society.

It is equally clear, that whatever rights were at once rights of the individual, and duties to his Creator, could not be delegated by the whole to a part. Such a delegation would have subverted that respon-

sibility which supports the scheme of rewards and punishments. If the right of deciding on the duty to God could be delegated, the constituent would discharge himself from his responsibility. No man then can divest himself of the means whereby he forms that conviction, in the exercise of his free agency, from whence he deduces those duties in the undelegated discharge of which, he rests his hopes of salvation.

The rights which result from social and human relations may be delegated. The rights which flow from the relation of man to his Creator, can no more be delegated, than the discharge of religious obligations can be made by substitutes.

Civil government can be but the concentration of many wills. Its powers must be correspondent to the rights associated. This combination includes nothing which was not delegated. No rights can be delegated which the social being could not surrender in trust. But the rights resulting from the relation of man to his Creator, cannot be surrendered to man; and therefore the rights of religion are unalienable.

Government which legislates with a view to rights with which it is invested by delegation, can have no cognizance over the rights of religion which are unalienable. As long as religion is held by its professors to be a secret communication with heaven, and submitted to as the monitor of moral conduct, government can have no just power of prevention, or patronage on the subject. When it forsakes its peculiar relation, and mingles with the relations to which it bears no analogy; when it assumes powers derogatory to the rights resulting from other relations, government, as the guardian of its own peculiar rights, will interfere and secure to all an equal enjoyment of both civil and religious freedom.

(a) (Constitution of the state of Maryland.) Here are general premises—In a subsequent sentence in this particular conclusion, that “therefore all Christians shall be entitled to worship God, &c.”⁴

1. Latin: Not pledged to swear to the words of any particular master (Horace, *Epistles*, Book I, Epistle I, line 14).

2. Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*. In *Epistles to A Friend*, Epistle III (London, 1733), 17, lines 306–7.

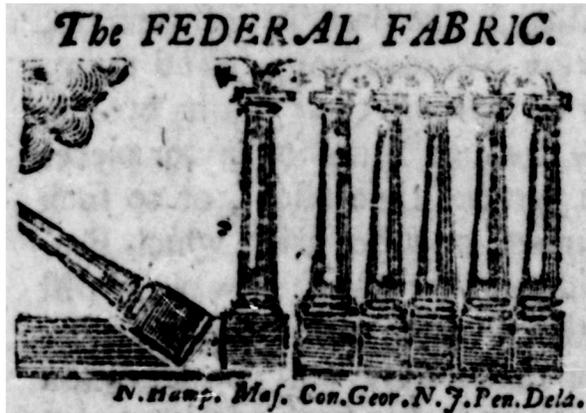
3. The three words in angle brackets are illegible in the *Spy* and have been supplied from the pamphlet.

4. Maryland Declaration of Rights (1776), No. 33 (RCS:Md., 774).

Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet 13 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

On Thursday last we had the pleasing account of the Ratification of the new Constitution by the Convention of this Commonwealth [i.e.,

Massachusetts]. A general joy diffused itself through all ranks of people in this town on this glorious news.—We heartily congratulate our readers on this auspicious event, rendered peculiarly happy in the prospect it affords that our sister State of New-Hampshire, whose interests and whose dispositions are so similar to our own, will have an additional inducement to add a Seventh PILLAR to the great Federal Edifice already so far advanced. . . .



The Convention of New-Hampshire is to meet at Exeter this day.

1. See RCS:Mass., 1634, for the omitted paragraph.

James Madison to George Washington
New York, 15 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Convention of N Hampshire is now sitting. There seems to be no question that the issue there will add a *seventh* pillar, as the phrase now is, to the foederal Temple.

With the greatest respect & attachmt

1. RC, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, X, 510–11n. Madison expressed similar sentiments in letters to Thomas Jefferson and Edmund Penleton on 19 and 21 February, respectively (CC:541, 549).

Pennsylvania Packet, 15 February 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Boston, Feb. 3.

“I this day saw a letter from Mr. — of Portsmouth, which mentions, ‘that from the complexion of the members chosen to meet on the 13th of this month in New-Hampshire in convention, he had no doubt of its adoption.’ Rhode-Island waits the issue of our meeting to call a convention.”

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal* and *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 16 February; *Gemeinnutzige Philadelphische Correspondenz*, 19 February.

A Contented Man

New Hampshire Spy, 19 February 1788¹

BAD TIMES *a* PROVERB.

I think, Mr. Printer, (*Salvo Meliore*)² that complaining of *Bad Times*, in shops, streets, taverns, play-house, and company, (and even at the *tea table*) between man and wife, by rich and poor, high and low, in town and country, even upon the water and upon the land—is become a proverb.

When I visit our fish market, and see the fresh cod, heak, haddock, place, eels, &c. flapping on the bench, and laying in heaps in the boats—caught out of the sea, that inexhaustable fund of riches, which provides for a vast number of people, encouraged and protected by a *free and peaceable government*, without being obliged to pay the tribute thereof to a Cæsar.

—*Is this bad times?*

When the number of sleighs filling our streets with a variety of wholesome provisions, collected by the industrious husbandman, who, by the advantage of a good soil and serene climate, receives such abundance, that an instance lately occurred of a quarter of lamb being sold for a gill of rum and an empty bottle.

—*Is this bad times?*

When the newspapers inform us, that a hog, lately killed, weighed 600 lbs. and a heifer 810—that one pompkin seed produced 26 pompkins, of which one of them was as big as a half bushel measure.

—*Is this bad times?*

When a gentleman declared to me, that he had eat from the beginning of the last fall 'till the last week, of 172 turkeys.

—*Is this bad times?*

When all sorts of arts and sciences flourish, and daily improve; when the exhibitions of tragic and comic representations by the young genius of this town, draw the attention of its inhabitants, and surprize even those who have seen theatrical performances in Europe, and who confess themselves to be more instructed than by those whose profession it is to be actors.

—*Is this bad times?*

When a variety of religion by free tolerance is open to all men—and such a variety of sorts, that if a man should have lost his way of worship, he may find it in this country.

—*Is this bad times?*

What a pleasure it is to see humanity in a mild government, which prevails so general! open hands distributing to the needy the bounties of providence; to see our servants, our cattle, and every creature amongst us, fatten on the abundance that flows from our barns, cellars and granaries, surrounded with peace and plenty.

—*Is this bad times?*

When $\frac{7}{8}$ of our inhabitants enjoy health (which is the blessing of life) and live in peace, and in a union of system—so that doctors and lawyers are out of employ.

—*Is this bad times?*

When a young country, which in some measure is in a state of nature, every individual feels that he is a free citizen, governed by those he in common with the rest of his brethren, choose annually for their rulers—where no despotic prince makes his subjects obey by his *Je veux* *J. ordonne*^(a)—but every man has a right to speak and to act as a free born citizen, in conformity with the law.

—*Is this bad times?*

Blessed is such a country, and blessed are they who live in it—and all the People shall say—AMEN.

(a) *I will and order.*

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal*, 19 March; *New York Journal*, 22 March; Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 26 March; *Virginia Journal* and *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 28 March.

2. Latin: Live better.

Columbus

New Hampshire Spy, 19 February 1788

AN ADDRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq.

On the ANNIVERSARY of his BIRTHDAY, February 11, 1788.

RETURN'D from conquest, and from glorious toils,
From armies captur'd, and unnumber'd spoils;
From the blest task—to point our way to fame—
And 'midst the nations raise our drooping name;
These jarring States to bind in union's band;
And fix fair freedom in our favour'd land;
To bid our ships new seas and climes explore,
And meet a welcome from each distant shore—
And form a system, which at once imparts
Joy to the merchants' and the farmers' hearts.

Illustrious Hero, may you live to see,
 This new REPUBLICK long continue free;
 Union and peace o'er this great empire spread,
 And baleful discord veil her ghastly head.

Maryland Journal, 19 February 1788¹

*Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at New-York,
 to his Friend here, dated the 11th Instant.*

“It is asserted that the proposed Plan of Government hath passed the Massachusetts Convention, and Yesterday I was informed by a Member of Congress directly from New-Hampshire, that it will meet with very little Opposition in that State.”

1. Reprinted: Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 March.

Editors' Note

**The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Massachusetts Convention's
 Amendments to the Constitution, 19 February 1788**

By 9 January 1788 five states had ratified the Constitution. The Massachusetts and New Hampshire conventions were scheduled to meet on 9 January and 13 February, respectively. Commentators believed that these two states would ratify but thought that the conventions' outcomes would be much closer than they had been in the earlier ratifying states. (Three of the first five states—Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia—had ratified unanimously.) Commentators believed that the small state of New Hampshire would be swayed by the actions of its large and influential neighbor Massachusetts. About sixty newspapers and two widely circulated monthly magazines printed one or more days of the debates of the Massachusetts Convention, which was in session until 7 February. The *New Hampshire Gazette* reprinted the debates through 24 January and part of the debates of 6 February, while the *New Hampshire Spy* printed them through 23 January and part of them for 6 February, the day the Convention ratified the Constitution (RCS:Mass., 1145–51).

For the three weeks during which the Massachusetts Convention met, more than 350 delegates heatedly considered the Constitution. Both Federalists and Antifederalists were uncertain that they had a majority of votes in the Convention. The prevailing side's majority would be small. Whatever the outcome, Antifederalists insisted that the Constitution be amended before it was ratified, while Federalists opposed placing any conditions on ratification, arguing that amendments could be obtained after the implementation of the new Constitution.

In late January Federalist leaders concluded that the Massachusetts Convention would reject an unamended Constitution. Consequently, they plotted a scheme to guarantee ratification. The scheme called for recommendatory amendments to be affixed to the state's ratification. Federalist leaders calculated that recommendatory amendments would have a better chance of acceptance if presented to the Convention by Governor John Hancock. The popular governor, who had been elected Convention president, had not yet attended the debates due to an alleged attack of gout. In exchange for Hancock's agreement to present the amendments, Federalist leaders would support him for reelection as governor in the spring and for vice president of the United States. Furthermore, if Virginia did not ratify (thus making George Washington ineligible), Federalists would support Hancock for president. On 30 January Hancock attended the Convention, and on the next day he encouraged the ratification of the Constitution accompanied by proposed recommendatory amendments.

Hancock's amendments were printed in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 February, under the heading "CONCILIATION." In its prefatory remarks, the *Centinel* indicated that it had printed the amendments "to gratify the desire of many persons in, and out of the Convention." It noted that the governor attended the Convention after "a long and painful indisposition" and that his speech introducing the amendments to an "uncommonly crowded" house was "short and elegant." The *Centinel* hoped that the speech would have "the happiest consequence." Hancock's amendments were reprinted thirty-five times, including eight times in Massachusetts newspapers, by 3 March. In New Hampshire, Hancock's amendments were reprinted (along with the *Massachusetts Centinel's* prefatory remarks) in the *New Hampshire Gazette* on 6 February. For the text of Hancock's amendments, their circulation, and the *Centinel's* prefatory remarks, see RCS:Mass., 1380–83n, 1387–88, 1389n.

On 2 February, Hancock's amendments were submitted to a committee, which altered and reported them favorably to the Convention. The Convention then debated them. Some Antifederalists were disturbed by the Federalists' strategy, and on 5 February they moved that the Convention adjourn. The motion was soundly defeated. On 6 February the Convention ratified the Constitution by a vote of 187 to 168, with nine recommendatory amendments affixed to the Form of Ratification, making Massachusetts the sixth state to ratify the Constitution. Several Antifederalist delegates, stating that they had been treated fairly in the debates, acquiesced in the Convention's ratification.

The Form of Ratification and the recommendatory amendments were printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8 February, and reprinted in the

Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 20 February, and in seven other Massachusetts newspapers. The Form or the recommendatory amendments alone were reprinted in the February issues of the New York *American Magazine* and Philadelphia *American Museum* and in eighteen newspapers outside Massachusetts by 17 May. In New Hampshire, the Form of Ratification with the recommendatory amendments affixed was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 19 February.

For the text of Massachusetts' Form of Ratification with the recommendatory amendments and its circulation, see RCS:Mass., 1468–71. For commentaries on the amendments, see CC:508. For the impact of Massachusetts' ratification of the Constitution on the first session of the New Hampshire Convention that met in February 1788, see Part IV, below.

New Hampshire Mercury, 20 February 1788¹

By the accession of North-Carolina, seven states have adopted the federal constitution; and shall New-Hampshire, who is so immediately interested, withhold her assent to so noble a structure?—*Forbid it Heaven!*

1. Reprinted: Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 22 February. This item was one of six accounts, printed between 5 February and 5 March, which reported incorrectly that North Carolina had ratified the Constitution. One of these accounts was reprinted by five New Hampshire newspapers, while another was reprinted by three New Hampshire newspapers. For all six accounts, see CC:Vol. 4, pp. 507–9n.

Winchester Virginia Gazette, 14 March 1788

The State of Massachusetts having ratified the Federal Constitution, there can remain only a shadow of doubt but that New-Hampshire will come into the measure also, they ever looking up to that State for a lead in all important matters, and as uniformly follow their example. Their Convention was to meet yesterday [13 February].—From the complexion of the members chosen for that purpose, says a late letter from Boston, there is almost a certainty of its being adopted.¹

From the above information, we hope ere long to announce the SEVENTH PILLAR added to the glorious fabric of *confederated America*.

1. See the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 15 February (RCS:N.H., 128–29n).

II.
THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE
CALLS A CONVENTION
5–14 December 1787

Introduction

The Constitution arrived in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the evening of the day before the General Court, meeting in Charlestown, ended its fall session on 29 September 1787. The legislature was not scheduled to reconvene until 16 January 1788. By late October, at least two writers expressed concern that New Hampshire President John Sullivan had not called a special legislative session to call a state ratifying convention. On 1 November, likely in response to public concerns, President Sullivan called a special session of the General Court to meet in Portsmouth on 5 December, six weeks earlier than scheduled, to consider “business of great importance.” The calling of the special session was widely reported in newspapers. On 5 December, President Sullivan prepared a message to the legislature, praising the Constitution as the best form of government possible.

On 11 December, once a quorum had been attained, the House of Representatives resolved to submit the Constitution to a convention “for their consideration and decision.” The Senate agreed. The General Court then appointed a joint committee “to consider what number the proposed convention shall consist of; the mode of election, and time and place of meeting, and report thereon.” On 12 December, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 33 to 14, rejected a proposal making the convention twice the size of the House of Representatives. The joint committee then recommended that the convention should be the same size as the House of Representatives, that the qualifications for the convention should be similar to those for the House, and that the convention should meet in Exeter on the second Wednesday in February 1788. The legislature then appointed a second joint committee to prepare resolutions calling a state convention. On 13 December, that committee reported its resolutions to the House of Representatives. The House accepted the resolutions, and the Senate concurred the next day. The legislature also voted to print 400 copies of the Constitution and the resolutions calling the state convention.

For John Melcher’s sixteen-page pamphlet containing the Constitution and the New Hampshire resolutions calling the state convention printed by order of the legislature, see RCS:N.H., 10, 144–45.

**Lyndeborough Instructs Its Representative on a Convention
Town Meeting, 3 December 1787 (excerpts)¹**

Att a Legual meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabetents of the Town of Lyndeborough at the meeting House in Said Town on monday the third Day of December 1787

first Chose Levi Spaulding Esqr modrator for Said meeting

2ly Voted that Mr. Rand give his Votee in the general Court for two halfe sheir [i.e., shire] Towns in this County. also Voted that Mr. Rand give his Vote for a Convention of the State on the Fedrial Plan of Government. and Voted to Chuse a Committe in this Town to Consider the Said Plan of government and Report to the Town at the ajornment

Chose Dr Benjamin Jones	}	Committe
Levi Spaulding Esqr.		
Peter Clark Esqr.		
Ephraim Putnam		
John Savige		
Capt. Daniel Gould		
John Raynold		
Lieut. Jeremiah Carleton		
Nathaniel Phelps		
Andrew Fuller Esqr		
Lieut. Jotham Blanchard . . .		

Voted to a Jurn this meeting to the first monday of January next to meet at this Place at teen [i.e., ten] o'clock before noon on Said Day.²

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 2, Nh.

2. There is no record of the committee's report in the minutes for the 7 January 1788 town meeting.

**President John Sullivan: Message to the New Hampshire Legislature
Portsmouth, N.H., 5 December 1787¹**

Gentlemen of the Honorable Senate;
and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

Some important Dispatches, which came to hand since the close of the last Session, having rendered it necessary to call the General Court together, at an earlier Day than that to which it stood adjourned: I have by advice of Council directed your attendance at the place where by your own appointment, you were to hold the winter Session: And although it is much earlier than you proposed to meet; I can see no Reason, why all the Business necessary to be transacted, may not as well be completed now; as at any after period.

Among the public papers which I have the Honor to lay before you; the Report of the national Convention, respecting a Plan of Government for the people of the united States, with the Resolve of Congress accompanying the same; will undoubtedly claim your earliest attention.

The important Question; whether the proposed Form shall be received; or rejected? can no further come under your Consideration at this Time than as it stands connected with, or may be affected by your Determination respecting the propriety of appointing Delegates to decide upon it.

The proposed Plan undoubtedly has its Defects: The wisdom of man has never yet been able to furnish the world with a perfect system of Government: perhaps that which, now claims the attention of America is liable to as few Exceptions as any which has hitherto been produced.

I have carefully considered the plan; and endeavoured to weigh the objections which have been raised against it; and have not as yet been able to discover any of more weight than might be urged against the most perfect System which has yet been offered to mankind;—or perhaps might be alledged against any which human wisdom may ever contrive.—

The Requisition of Congress of the Eleventh of October Last, for Supplies, to enable that Body to comply with public Contracts, will merit your early attention. The new proportion & the Act for settling the Estates of Intestates which were postponed the last Session are not unworthy of your notice at this time.

The necessary grants for Support of [our] own Government will claim a share in your Deliberations.

Should you think proper to consider, & determine upon the matters before mentioned; I know of nothing of sufficient Importance to demand another meeting of the General Court, before the next Election: Should Congress find that the proposed Constitution is agreed to, by a sufficient number of States; & call upon this State to furnish members to attend the first meeting under it: your attendance may again, become necessary; otherwise the Expence and trouble of another Session may be avoided.

permit me Gentlemen to recommend to you unanimity and Dispatch; And to assure you that I shall most Chearfully Join you in every measure for promoting the public Interest.

given at the Council Chamber in Portsmouth the fifth Day of December 1787 and in the 12th year of American Independence

1. MS, Gratz Collection, Miscellaneous Series, PHi. An almost identical version was printed in the *New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 January 1788, and reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 19 February, and in nine other newspapers by 21 February: Mass. (3), R.I.

(1), Conn. (2), Pa. (3). The full message was also printed in the May 1788 issue of the nationally circulated monthly Philadelphia *American Museum*. The fifth paragraph was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 February, and reprinted in nine other newspapers by 12 March: Mass. (2), Conn. (3), N.Y. (2), Md. (1), Va. (1). The Maryland and Virginia reprintings also included the fourth paragraph.

New Hampshire Spy, 7 December 1787

The General Court of this state, have not been able to proceed to business, owing to a sufficient number of representatives to make a quorum, not having arrived in town.

It is to be lamented, that, at this crisis, when matters of the greatest importance are to be debated, greater attention is not discovered in those whom Providence has placed upon the Watch-Towers of New-Hampshire.
Fathers, awake!

New Hampshire Spy, 11 December 1787¹

It is with real pleasure that we can announce the sentiments of his Excellency, President SULLIVAN, to be perfectly *federal*. He has been heard to express himself in near the following terms, “That although he did not doubt New-Hampshire, singly considered, might have framed a better constitution for themselves, yet when the whole of the *thirteen* states were considered; that it was to *unite* them, jarring in interests, in politics and prejudices, he was bold to say, *It was one of the best systems of government that ever was devised*; and that *all the objections* which have been raised against it are no more than what might be brought against any form of government whatever.”

1. On the same day the *New Hampshire Mercury* published a similar item (Mfm:N.H. 21). The *Spy*'s report was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 December; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 15 December; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 January 1788. It was also reprinted fourteen times in out-of-state newspapers by 26 January: Mass. (4), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), Pa. (4), Md. (2). The *Mercury*'s report was not reprinted. On 18 December 1787 the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury* (Mfm:N.H. 29) published an item similar to the one in the *Spy* that was reprinted eight times by 10 January 1788: N.Y. (6), N.J. (1), Pa. (1).

President Sullivan's thoughts about the Constitution that appeared in the *Spy*'s report were similar to those expressed by him in his message to the state legislature on 5 December (RCS:N.H., 135–37n).

New Hampshire Mercury, 11 December 1787

Wednesday last [5 December] being the day on which the General-Court of this state were to convene in this town [Portsmouth], pursuant

to a proclamation issued by his Excellency with advice of Council,¹ several members attended; but there not being a quorum of the honorable House, they could not proceed on public business 'till this day, when a sufficient number being assembled, they proceeded to business, and ordered, that the proceedings of the Federal Convention, transmitted to them by Congress, be submitted to the consideration and decision of a Convention to be chosen by the people; after which a committee was appointed to consider what number the proposed Convention should consist of, the mode of election, and the time and place of meeting, and report thereon.

1. For the 1 November proclamation, see RCS:N.H., 37.

House of Representatives Proceedings

Tuesday, 11 December 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . {*Voted*, That the proceedings of the federal convention, transmitted to the General Court by Congress, be submitted to a convention to be chosen by the people for their consideration and decision.

(Sent up by Mr Holmes.)

Voted, That four hundred copies of the constitution proposed by the federal convention for the government of the United States, be forthwith printed and sent to the several towns in this state as soon as may be.

(Sent up by Mr Holmes—)

«Sent up for Concr.

Thos. Bartlett Speaker

In Senate Dec 14. 1787 read & concurred with this amendment, that the Resolves of the Genl Court for calling a Convention be printed with the proposed Constitution & sent out therewith²

J Pearson Secy

In the house of representatives

The same day read & concurred

Thos. Bartlett Speaker»

Voted, That Mr. *N. Peabody*, Mr. *Pickering*, Mr. *Wingate*, Mr. *Badger*, Mr. *Gove*, Mr. *Emerson*, Mr. *Copland*, Mr. *Whitcomb*, Mr. *Simpson* and Mr. *Baker*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join, be a committee to consider what number the proposed convention shall consist of; the mode of election, and time and place of meeting, and report thereon}. . . .

(Sent up by Mr Holmes—)

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Representatives of the State of New-Hampshire* (Portsmouth, 1788) (Evans 21283), 123–24. A manuscript copy of the House journal for this day is located in the New Hampshire State Archives. Text with additional information from this manuscript was inserted in the above transcription in angle brackets. A copy of the manuscript journal is located in the Peter Force Transcripts, New Hampshire Miscellany, in the Library of Congress. A separate manuscript of each of these three votes (with only minor variations) is located in the Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, in the New Hampshire State Archives. Additional information from these manuscripts was added to the transcriptions above within double angle brackets.

The text in braces (minus the material in angle and double angle brackets) was printed in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 14 December, and reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 22 December; *New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 January 1788; and nine other newspapers by 14 January: Vt. (1), Mass. (3), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3). The *New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 December, made a general report on the proceedings of 11 December (Mfm:N.H. 24).

2. For this printing of the Constitution, see RCS:N.H., 10, 144–45.

Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 11 December 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote, that the proceedings of the Federal Convention transmitted to the General-Court by Congress, be submitted to a Convention to be chosen by the people for their consideration and decision,

was brought up, read and concurred.

A vote, for a committee to join a committee of the Senate, to consider what number the proposed Convention shall consist of, the mode of election, and the time and place of meeting, and report thereon,

was brought up, read and concurred:

Mr. Thompson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Bellows, Mr. Wentworth and Mr. Bayley joined. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honourable Senate of the State of New-Hampshire* (Portsmouth, 1788) (Evans 21287), 7. A manuscript copy of the Senate journal for this day is located in the New Hampshire State Archives.

House of Representatives Proceedings

Wednesday, 12 December 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . Upon a motion, that the proposed Convention consist of double the number of members, which the several towns and districts in this state have the liberty to send as Representatives to the General Court:— The yeas and nays were called for, and are as follows, viz.

YEAS.	YEAS.	Mr. N. Peabody,	Mr. Prentice,
Mr. Runnels,	Mr. Chandler,	Mr. Knowles,	Mr. Parker,
Mr. Blanchard,	Mr. Emerson,	Mr. Page,	Mr. Thomas.
Mr. Tilton,	Mr. Dix,	NAYS.	NAYS.
Mr. Barnard,	Mr. Dutton,	Mr. Pickering,	Mr. Dakin,

Mr. Gains,	Mr. Barrett,	Mr. Rogers,	Mr. Copland,
Mr. Long,	Mr. Rand,	Mr. Bartlett,	Mr. Griffin,
Mr. Odlin,	Mr. Cragin,	Mr. Bradley,	Mr. Tainter,
Mr. Pinkerton,	Mr. Gove,	Mr. Gilmore,	Mr. Winch,
Mr. Dow,	Mr. Jonathan Dow,	Mr. Wingate,	Mr. Baker,
Mr. Healey,	Mr. Greeley,	Mr. Badger,	Mr. Johnson,
Mr. Robinson,	Mr. Whitcomb,	Mr. Dow,	Mr. Simpson.
Mr. Dudley,	Mr. Holmes,	Mr. William Peabody,	

14 Yeas.—33 Nays.

So the motion was lost.

{The committee appointed to consider what number the proposed Convention shall consist of, the mode of election, and time and place of meeting, reported, That the proposed Convention consist of the same number of Delegates as the several towns and places are now entitled to send as Representatives to the General Court, and to be chosen in the same manner, with this addition, that those towns which by the present mode of Representation are not classed with any other town, nor entitled to send by themselves, may send one Delegate from each town: That the qualification of Delegates shall be the same as those required by the Constitution for Representatives, excepting that what is called the exclusion bill,² shall not have any effect in the choice of Delegates: That the Convention meet at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of February next: Signed *Ebenezer Thompson*, for the committee. Which report being read and considered, *Voted*, That it be received and accepted.

{Sent up by Mr. Rand}

Voted, That the Delegates to be chosen for the proposed Convention, have the same allowance for their travel to and from their homes, as the members of the present General Court have had the two last sessions, and that it be paid out of the Treasury by order of the President.

{Sent up by Mr Runnels}

Voted, That Mr. *Pickering*, Mr. *N. Peabody*, and Mr. *Simpson*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join, be a committee to prepare a precept or a resolve, to send to the several towns and districts in this state, for the choice of Delegates to the State Convention, to be held at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of February next, and lay the same before this House,}

{Sent up by Mr Knowles}

Voted, That the account of the honourable *John Langdon*, Esquire, amounting to one hundred and thirty-nine pounds, ten shillings, be allowed and paid out of the Treasury by order of the President. . . .

{Sent up by Mr Knowles}

1. Printed: *House Journal*, 125–27. A manuscript copy of the House journal for this day is located in the New Hampshire State Archives. Material added from the manuscript journal appears in angle brackets. Separate manuscript copies of the last four paragraphs are in Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, in the New Hampshire State Archives.

The text in braces (minus the material in angle brackets) was printed in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 December, and reprinted in the *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 22 December; *New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 January 1788; and in nine other newspapers by 14 January: Vt. (1), Mass. (3), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3). See Mfm:N.H. 26.

2. The New Hampshire constitution of 1784 excluded judges, sheriffs, college professors, the state treasurer, the attorney general, the secretary, and military (not militia) officers from being members of the Senate and House of Representatives (Appendix I, RCS:N.H., 475).

House of Representatives: Draft of a Bill for Electing Delegates to State Ratifying Convention, 12 December 1787¹

State of New Hampshire

In the House of Representatives Decr. 12th 1787

Resolved that the proceedings of the Federal Convention transmitted to the General Court through the medium of Congress be submitted to a Convention of the people by their Delegates for their full and free investigation discussion and decision—

That the Qualifications of Delegates to the Convention be the same as the qualifications of Representatives to the General Court excepting that what is called the exclusion Bill shall have no effect in the choice of Delegates.

That each Town and District within this State are requested and empowered to elect the same number of Delegates to the said Convention, as they are now entitled to elect of Representatives to the General Court. And such Towns as are not classed with any other Town or Towns, or have not liberty by themselves to send Representatives to the General Court may each send one Delegate to said Convention.

That the Qualifications of the Electors be the same as those now established for the choice of Representatives to the General Court.

That the Elections for Delegates in the several Towns and Districts entitled to send Representatives be held at the place where the last election for Representatives by the Constitution of this State were or should have been held & that the Selectmen of those towns & places warning sd meeting govern themselves accordingly And that the elections for Delegates in the Towns not classed or entitled to send Representatives as aforesaid be held in the same manner and places as Town Meetings for other purposes are by Law to be holden. That the Delegates chosen for said Convention shall assemble at the Town house in Exeter on the second Wednesday of February next for the purposes aforesaid

The Committee appointed to prepare a Resolve for calling a Convention beg leave to report the within Draught—
in behalf of the Committee

E Thompson

Samuel Sherburn

1. MS, Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, Nh-Ar.

Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 12 December 1787 (excerpts)¹

. . . A vote, to accept the report of the committee appointed to consider what number the proposed Convention shall consist of, &c. viz. That the proposed Convention consist of the same number of Delegates as the several towns and places are entitled to send as Representatives to the General-Court, and to be chosen in the same manner, with this addition, that those towns which by the present mode of representation are not classed with any other town, nor entitled to send by themselves, may send one Delegate from each town. That the qualification of Delegates shall be the same as those required by the Constitution for Representatives, excepting that what is called the exclusion, shall not have any effect in the choice of Delegates. That the Convention meet at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of February next,
was brought up, read and concurred. . . .

A vote, for a committee to join a committee of the Senate, to prepare a Precept or Resolve to send to the several towns and districts in this State for the choice of Delegates to the State-Convention, &c.
was brought up, read and concurred:

Mr. Thompson joined.

A vote, that the Delegates to be chosen for the Convention, have the same allowance for their travel as the members of the General-Court had the two last sessions,
was brought up, read and concurred.

A vote, to pay the accompt of The Honourable John Langdon, Esq. amounting to *one hundred and thirty nine pounds, ten shillings* as Delegate to Convention at Philadelphia,
was brought up, read and concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 8–9. A manuscript copy of the Senate journal for this day is located in the New Hampshire State Archives.

House of Representatives Proceedings Thursday, 13 December 1787 (excerpts)¹

. . . *Voted*, That Mr. *Pickering*, Mr. *N. Peabody*, and Mr. *Gains*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join, be a committee to procure

the printing of the four hundred copies of the proposed Constitution for the United States, agreeably to the vote of Tuesday last. . . .

⟨Sent up by Mr Holmes⟩

[3:00 P.M.]

The committee to prepare a precept or resolve, to send to the several towns and districts in this state, for the choice of delegates to the state convention, &c. reported the following: which was read and considered, received and accepted.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the federal convention transmitted to the General Court through the medium of Congress, be submitted to a convention of the people by their delegates for their full and free investigation, discussion and decision.

That the qualification of Delegates to the Convention be the same as the qualifications of Representatives to the General Court, excepting that what is called the exclusion bill, shall have no effect in the choice of delegates.

That each town and district within this state are requested and empowered to elect the same number of delegates to the said convention as they are now intitled to elect of representatives to the General Court, and such towns as are not classed with any other town or towns, or have not liberty by themselves to send representatives to the General Court may each send one Delegate to said Convention.

That the qualifications of the electors be the same as those now established for the choice of Representatives to the General Court.

That the elections for Delegates in the several towns and districts intitled to send representatives, be held at the place where the last election for representatives by the constitution of this state were, or should have been held, and that the selectmen of those towns and places, warning said meetings, govern themselves accordingly.

And that the elections for Delegates in the towns not classed or intitled to send representatives as aforesaid, be held in the same manner and places as town meetings for other purposes are by law to be holden.

That the delegates chosen for said Convention shall assemble at the Town-House in Exeter on the second Wednesday in February next for the purposes aforesaid. . . .

⟨Sent up by Mr Dudley⟩

1. Printed: *House Journal*, 131, 132–33. A manuscript copy of the House journal for this day is in the New Hampshire State Archives. A separate manuscript version of the first paragraph is in Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, in the New Hampshire State Archives. The text in angle brackets is taken from the manuscript journal.

Senate Proceedings, Friday, 14 December 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A resolve, that the proceedings of the Federal-Convention transmitted to the General Court through the medium of Congress be submitted to a Convention of the people, by their Delegates, for their full and free investigation, discussion and decision,

was brought up, read and concurred.

A vote, that four hundred copies of the Constitution proposed by the Federal Convention for the Government of the United States, be forthwith printed and sent to the towns in this State, as soon as may be, was brought up, read and concurred, with this amendment, that the resolves of the General Court for calling a Convention be printed with the proposed Constitution² and sent out therewith,—sent down—amendment concurred.

A vote, for a committee to join a committee of the Senate, to procure the printing of the four hundred copies of the proposed Constitution of the United States agreeable to the vote of Tuesday last, was brought up, read and concurred, with this amendment, that the resolves and votes of this Court respecting the calling Convention be printed and sent out on the same paper; and Col. Wentworth is joined to the committee,

sent down—amendment concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal*, 12–13. A manuscript copy of the Senate journal for this day is located in the New Hampshire State Archives.

2. For this printing of the resolutions, see immediately below. For this printing of the Constitution, see RCS:N.H., 10.

Resolutions Calling a State Convention, 14 December 1787¹

State of New Hampshire.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES, December 14, 1787.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the Federal Convention transmitted to the General Court through the medium of Congress be submitted to a Convention of the people by their Delegates for their full and free investigation, discussion and decision.

That the qualifications of Delegates to the Convention, be the same as the qualifications of Representatives to the General-Court, excepting that which is called the exclusion bill, shall have no effect in the choice of Delegates.

That each town and district within the State, are requested and empowered to elect the same number of Delegates to the said Convention as they are now entitled to elect of Representatives to the General-Court; and such towns as are not classed with any other town or towns,

or have not liberty by themselves to send Representatives to the General-Court may each send one Delegate to said Convention.

That the qualifications of the Electors be the same as those now established for the choice of Representatives to the General-Court.

That the elections for Delegates in the several towns and districts entitled to send Representatives, be held at the place where the last election of Representatives by the Constitution of this State, were or should have been held; and that the Selectmen of those towns and places warning said meetings govern themselves accordingly: and that the elections for Delegates in the towns not classed, or entitled to send Representatives as aforesaid, be held in the same manner and places as town-meetings for other purposes are by law to be holden.

That the Delegates chosen for said Convention, shall assemble at the Town-House in Exeter, on the second Wednesday of February next, for the purposes aforesaid

Sent up for concurrence,

THOMAS BARTLETT, *Speaker*,

In Senate the same day read and concurred,

JOHN SULLIVAN, PRESIDENT,

A true-copy,

Attest, JOSEPH PEARSON, Secretary.

1. Printed: *The Constitution of the United States . . .* (Portsmouth, 1787) (Evans 20797), 16. A manuscript copy of these resolutions is in Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, in the New Hampshire State Archives.

III. THE ELECTION OF CONVENTION DELEGATES 24 December 1787–11 June 1788

Introduction

Between 31 December 1787 and 18 February 1788 New Hampshire freemen assembled in town meetings to elect delegates to the state Convention and to determine whether those delegates should be instructed to support or oppose ratification of the new Constitution. Data on the town meetings are found primarily in the town records, many of which were microfilmed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Most town records were also transcribed by order of the state legislature and then stored at the State Library in Concord. Other accounts of town activities are found in manuscript election certificates (given to Convention delegates to present when they attended the Convention. Election certificates are extant for 108 of the 112 towns or groups of classed towns. They are in the New Hampshire State Archives.), newspapers, private correspondence, and nineteenth-century published town histories.

Only a fraction of the town records located provide more than the minimal information on the delegates elected. Only the documents that provide more than the basic information of who was elected are printed in this volume. Ten town records indicate that their delegates were unanimously elected—four Antifederalist delegates, five Federalist delegates, and one delegate who did not vote. Another delegate, the Reverend Aaron Hall of Keene, a Federalist, reportedly was elected “by a very great majority.”

Contemporary estimates reveal that about forty towns instructed their delegates to vote against ratification of the Constitution. Some town meetings directly instructed their delegates; other towns appointed committees to instruct them. After agreeing to appoint a committee, towns usually adjourned for an hour, a couple of days, or a week to allow the committee time to draft instructions. Often, however, the committee report does not appear in the extant records. Twenty-seven towns or groups of classed towns appointed committees to draft instructions. The town records printed in this volume indicate that thirteen towns instructed their delegates not to ratify the Constitution and three towns instructed their delegates to vote to ratify. A secondary source has an additional town disapproving of the Constitution. Boscawen voted that its delegate “would act as he should think for the general, or publick

good,” while Newmarket unanimously voted that its delegate should “Except the Federal Constitution as it now Stands.” Marlborough instructed its delegate to reject the Constitution unless the Convention secured to them the protections afforded by the New Hampshire bill of rights and a test provision requiring belief in the Protestant religion for officeholding.

In Boscawen and Newington the winner and loser of the elections contested the results. Different versions of the town meetings and petitions were forwarded to the Convention along with the election certificates. The Convention determined who to seat. (See RCS:N.H., 202–3, 203–4, 368, 369.)

Several towns met after the New Hampshire Convention adjourned on 22 February either to elect new delegates or to alter their earlier instructions. Derryfield, which had voted on 12 February not to accept the Constitution, voted on 20 May not to instruct its delegate. Wendall and Unity elected a delegate to only the second session of the Convention.

Election Dates for New Hampshire Convention Delegates

Monday, 31 December 1787

Merrimack

Tuesday, 1 January 1788

Chester

Wednesday, 2 January 1788

Concord

Thursday, 3 January 1788

Northwood, Epsom and Allenstown

Fitzwilliam

Friday, 4 January 1788

Richmond

Monday, 7 January 1788

Dover

Exeter

Keene

Kensington

Litchfield

Lyndeborough

New Boston

Nottingham

Surry and Gilsum

Tuesday, 8 January 1788

Brentwood

Gilmanton

Swanzey

Thursday, 10 January 1788

Acworth, Lempster and Marlow

Alstead

Dunstable

Rindge

Weare

Monday, 14 January 1788

Boscawen

Deerfield

Hopkinton

Jaffrey

Newmarket

Pembroke

Portsmouth

Somersworth

Tuesday, 15 January 1788

Amherst

Conway, Eaton, Burton and

Locations

Marlborough

Raby and Mason

Winchester

Wednesday, 16 January 1788

Dublin and Packersfield

Salisbury

Thursday, 17 January 1788

Lyme and Orford
 New Chester, Alexandria and
 Cockermonth
 Salem

Monday, 21 January 1788

Atkinson and Plaistow
 Durham
 Epping
 Goffstown
 Hampstead
 Henniker and Hillsborough
 Kingston
 Londonderry
 North Hampton
 Raymond and Poplin
 Sanbornton
 South Hampton and East Kingston
 Temple and Peterborough Slip
 Wakefield, Middleton, and Effingham
 Walpole¹

Tuesday, 22 January 1788

Greenland
 Hampton Falls and Seabrook
 Hollis²
 New Ipswich
 Plymouth, Rumney and Wentworth

Wednesday, 23 January 1788

Westmoreland

Thursday, 24 January 1788

Canterbury
 Chichester and Pittsfield
 Fishersfield, Sutton and Warner
 Lebanon³

Monday, 28 January 1788

Campton, Holderness and Thornton
 Candia
 Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan, Dorchester
 and Grafton
 Hinsdale
 Newington⁴
 Nottingham West
 Peterborough and Society Land
 Rochester
 Rye

Tuesday, 29 January 1788

Charlestown
 Dunbarton and Bow
 Hanover⁵
 Windham

Wednesday, 30 January 1788

Lee
 Northfield

Thursday, 31 January 1788

Loudon⁶

Monday, 4 February 1788

Barrington
 Bedford
 Chesterfield
 Cornish and Grantham
 Fracestown
 Hampton
 Hawke and Sandown
 Sandwich and Tamworth
 Stratham

Tuesday, 5 February 1788

Meredith and New Hampton
 Moultonborough, Tuftonborough,
 Wolfeborough and Ossipee
 Newport and Croydon
 Pelham

Thursday, 7 February 1788

Claremont

Friday, 8 February 1788

Plainfield

Saturday, 9 February 1788

Lancaster, Northumberland, Stratford,
 Dartmouth, Piercy, Cockburn and
 Coleburn

Monday, 11 February 1788

Barnstead, New Durham and N. D. Gore
 New Castle
 Newton

Tuesday, 12 February 1788

Derryfield

Monday, 18 February 1788

Newington (second election)

Unknown Dates

Bath, Lyman, Landaff, Littleton and
 Dalton
 Hancock, Antrim and Deering
 Haverhill, Piermont, Warren and
 Coventry
 Lincoln and Franconia
 Madbury
 New London, Andover and Gore⁷
 Protectworth⁷
 Stoddard and Washington
 Wendall and Unity⁸
 Wilton

1. Benjamin Bellows was elected on 21 January 1788. Aaron Allen was elected on 11 February and attended the first session of the state Convention in Exeter. Bellows was determined to be the legal delegate by the second session and voted to ratify the Constitution on 21 June.

2. The town records indicate that Hollis elected Daniel Kendrick for a second time on 7 February.

3. On 24 January Elisha Payne was elected to replace David Hough who had been elected on 10 January.

4. A second election ordered by the state Convention was held on 18 February 1788.

5. The election certificate states that the election was “held by Adjournment, on Feby 4th. AD 1788.”

6. On 31 January Jonathan Smith was elected to replace John Drue who had been elected on 17 January.

7. No delegate elected from the town.

8. Wendell and Unity elected their delegate to the second session at their annual meeting to elect state officeholders some time in March.

Amherst, 15 January 1788 Joshua Atherton (N)

Town Meeting, 1 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitants of the town of Amherst held on the 1st. day of January 1788—

1st. Chose Daniel Campbel Esqr., Moderator.

2 Concluded to suspend the Consideration of this article for the present . . .

. . . Again resumed the Consideration of the Second Article—& Voted to Chuse a Committee to examine the Constitution proposed for the United States & report their Opinion of it Voted Capn. Warner Mr. Atherton Mr. Dana Esqr. Shepard Mr. Barnard Majr. Blanchard Mr. Bruce General Nichols Coln. Means & Saml. Wilkins be the Comttee Voted to refer the Consideration of the fifth Article to the same Comttee—and Voted the Meeting be adjourned to Tuesday the 15th. Instant at one oClock Pm—

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 1, NhHi.

Town Meeting, 15 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

Met According to Adjournment—the Committee Unanimously Agree to Report that they cannot recomend the said Constitution to the Acceptance of the Town in its present form—Voted not to Approve of sd. Constitution as it now Stands Chose Mr. Atherton to Represent the

Town of Amherst in the proposed Convention. . . . and the Meeting
Desolvd—
Copy Attest Saml. Wilkins T Clerk—

1. *Ibid.*

Atkinson and Plaistow, 21 January 1788
Benjamin Stone (N)

Town Meeting, 21 January 1788¹

at a Legal meeting held at the meeting [house] in Atkinson on January the 21 1788

Peter Clement Esqr Chosen Moderator for Sd meeting and after a Long Deliberation upon the matter the People unanimously Chose Nathl Peabody Esqr to [attend?] Convention at Exeter on the Second wednesday of February Next after hearing the objection that General Peabody made why he could not attend the sd Convention the Peopel agreed and Voted to Chuse Some other man unanimously Voted and Chose Col Benja Stone to Set in Convention to be holden at Exeter on the Second wednesday in february next.

then Voted to Chuse a Committee to take under Consideration what instructions would be thought Best to Give to sd Col Stone Voted and Chose for sd committee

Peter Clement Esqr

Nathl Kimbell Esqr

Majr Ezekiel Gile

Leut Daniel Stevens

Capt Moses Greenough

Leut Daniel Poor

Capt Jeremiah Poor

[- - -] [- - -]

Samuel Dow

Stephen Gile

Major William Cogswell

[- - -] [Joseph Herriman?]

[- - -] [Noyse?]

for sd. Committee

This meeting is adjourned to munday the eleventh Day of February next at the House of John Hall inholder in Plaistow at one of the Clock in the afternoon

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, 1767–1842, Nh.

Barrington, 4 February 1788
Samuel Hale (Y)

Election Certificate, n.d.¹

At a legal Town meting held in Barrington February the 4th. 1788 for the purpose of Chusing a deligate to represent said Town in Convention to meet at Exeter the second wednesday of February next the Town unanimously made Choice of Samuel Hale Esqr for said purpose

Peter Young
 Eliphalet Cloutman } Selectmen

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Boscawen, 14 January 1788
Joseph Gerrish (Y)

Election Certificate, 14 January 1788¹

At a legal meeting of the Town of Boscawen Held at Boscawen January 14 AD 1788

Capt. Joseph Gerrish was Chosen by Said Town To Joyne with the Deligates of the other towns in this State to meet at Exeter on the Second Wednesday in Febuary Next To Consider of and Deside on the Federal Constitution

Peter Kimball } Selectmen
 Benj Little }

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar. The certificate is docketed "Joseph Gerrish chosen but declined./Samuel Fowler, Esq. elected in his room."

Election Certificate Describing Town Meeting on 23 May 1788¹

At a Legal meeting of the Town of Boscawen held at Boscawen on the 23 Day of May AD 1788

Samuel Fowler Esqr was Chosen a Delegate to Set in Convention in the Room of Capt. Gerrish [four unreadable words]

Copied from the Town Book—

George Jackman T. Clerk

This may Certify that a number of the Inhabitance of the town of Boscawen requested a meeting, to be held on fryday the 23rd of May last, to see if Sd town would instruct their Delegate; or chuse an other member, to act upon the federal Constitution: on Sd day next & the town met, and proceeded to business. Their Delegate chose not to be

confined to Instructions; But said “after hearing the debates on the Constitution, he would act as he should think for the general, or publick good.”

Then a motion was for another Delegate, and the Members of the meeting were called upon time and again, and only 18 voted, yet 60 or about 60 legal Voters were present. And all who did vote at the hall 18, Voted for Samuel Fowler Esq. And the reason (to mention, but one) that some of those suggested, who did not Vote, was, they thought it inconsistent, and ridiculous to chuse an other member to sit in Convention.

Boscawen June 18th. 1788

Culling Noyes }
Peter Kimball } Select Men

1. *Ibid.*

Election Certificate, 11 June 1788¹

Sir,

In as much as you have been legally appointed by this Town, to meet in Convention to Consider of, and Decide, on the Federal Constitution, we the Subscribers, do, still desire you to proceed on that Business, and meet sd. Convention at Concord at their Next Sessions—

To Capt. Joseph Gerrish}

Simeon Atkinson	Eleazar Burbank	Enoch Gerrish
Benjn. Bass	Daniel Flanders	Enoch Little
Samuel Beverly	Paul Clark	Benja. Day
Thomas Carter	Nehemiah Jackman	William Jackman
David Carter	Nathaniel Atkinson	Humph[rey] Jackman
Moses Person	John Atkinson	Benja. Little
John Corser	Joseph Atkinson	Joseph Little jur
John Corser Jr	Benja. Atkinson	Enoch Little, jur
Edmond Chadwick	Zaccus Richardson	Friend Little
Jonathan Thurston	Samuel Morrill	Noah Little
James Garvin	Bitfield Plumer	Samuel Muzzy
Silas Call	Stephen Webster	Asa Day
Thomas Choat	Joseph Hoit	Daniel Day
John Ilsley	Isaac Noyes	Joseph Morrill
Daniel Shephard	Peter Kimball	Joseph Morill Jn
Samuel Ames	Peter Coffin	Oliver Clement
Benja. Choat	Henry Gerrish	Parker Clement
John Morrill	George Jackman	Jeremh. Carter
John Farnam	Samuel Atkinson	Jed. Kilburn

Nathan Corser	Ezeki[e]l Warthin	David Burbank
Joseph Couch	Caleb Eastman	William Parkness
Daniel Richards	Francis Brown	Joseph Gerrish
John Manuel	Isaac Chandler	Jeremiah Gerrish
Daniel C[l]ark	James French	Benja. Fisk
Benjamin Webster	John Uran	

1. *Ibid.*

Campton, Holderness and Thornton, 28 January 1788
Samuel Livermore (Y)

Town Meeting, 28 January 1788¹

At A legal Meeting of the Towns of Campton New Holderness and Thornton held at the dwelling house of Deacon William Baker of Said Campton on January 28th. 1788—

Voted that Capt Andrew Smyth be Chosen Moderator of this Meeting—

Voted To Accept the form of Government proposed by the Federal Convention—

Voted That the Honble. Samuel Livermore Esqr. be Chosen A Deligate to Represent this District in Convention at Exeter the Second Wednesday of February next Agreeable to the resolution of the General Court
Recorded by me John Southmayd Town Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, 1777–1825, Town Clerk's Office, Campton.

Candia, 28 January 1788
Stephen Fifield (N)

Town Meeting, 14 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

at a meeting of the freeholders & inhabitants of Candia Held at Said Candia on monday the 14th Day of Janry 1788

Voted Lieut. Jacob Worthen moderator to govern Said meeting

Voted that this meeting be adjournd. into majr. John Karr accordingly it is adjourned, met according to adjournment & Proceeded on the meeting

Voted Lieut. Abram. Fitts a Deligate to go to Convention to be Holden at Exeter on the 2d. Wednesday in Feby Next

Voted to Chuse a Committee of Nine to Draw up Some usefull instructions to give to Lt. Fitts our Delegate as the minds or Vote of the People Shall approve

Voted Capt Clifford Lt Jacob Worthen
 Docr. T: Kelley—Capt. B: Cass
 mr. Stephen Fifield Sam[u]el Moorre Esqr } Be a Comttee for
 the above Purpose

Voted the addition of 4 to the Comttee Viz Cole Emerson Lt Fitts
 Colo. Fifield & Lt Towle . . .

Voted that this meeting Stand adjournd untill monday the 28th. Day
 of Jany. Inst at two of the Clock P.M. at the meeting house

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 28 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

mett according to adjournment & proceeded upon Business and
 whereas Lt Abram. Fitts was appointed a Deligate at the meeting held
 on the 14th. of this Inst. fully Declind. in Excepting of the appointment
 the meeting proceeded & chose mr. Stephen Fifield a Deligate to Set
 in Convention. . . .

1. *Ibid.*

Chichester and Pittsfield, 24 January 1788 Benjamin Sias (N)

Town Meeting, 24 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Chichester and Pittsfield met
 according to Notification Date of warrant Jany. 9th. 1788

1ly. Voted Benjamin Sias Esqr. Moderator to govern sd. meeting

2ly. Voted Benjamin Sias Esqr. Delegate to set on Convention at Exe-
 ter the second wednesday of february next Ensuing

3ly. Voted that John Cram Esqr. Col Simeon Hilyard Ens. Elijah Ring,
 Abraham Green, Thomas Johnson, Lt Edmund R. Leavitt, Jonathan
 Perkins, Capt. James Marden, Lt. James Drake, Abraham True, Asahel
 Green, be a Committee to Consult with the Deligate upon matters concern-
 ing the New plan of government. . . .

5ly. this Meeting stands adjournd to the twenty fifth day of feby. next
 at the dwelling house of Col. Simeon Hilyard in Chichester at two
 o'Clock P.M.

pr. Joseph Dow Town Clerk

1. MS (copy), Chichester Town Records, Vol. 2, 1773–1811, Nh.

Claremont, 7 February 1788
Matthias Stone (N)

Town Meeting, 7 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

Agreeable to the Above Said Warning the Inhabitants of Said Town Met at time and place Specifid in Said Warning And the Meeting Legally Opened Proceeded

- 1st. Voted Sanford Kingsbery Moderator of Said Meeting
- 2d. Voted Levi Pardy Clark Protempore
- 3d. Voted to Send a Deligate to Joine in Convention at Exetor On the Second Wednesday of Febry Instant
- 4th Voted to give Said Deligate Instructions
- 5th Voted to Chuse a Committee to give said Deligate Instructions
- 6th. Voted & Chose Matthias Stone Esqr. Deligate to Joine in Convention at Exetor on the Second Wednesday of Febry Inst
- 7th Voted & Chose the following Persons a Committee to Communicate to their Deligate the Instructions of Said Town Viz Oliver Ashley Sanford Kingsbery Esqr. Mr David Dodge Leiut Benjamin Tyler Mr Ambrose Cossit Mr Nathel Goss Elihu Stevens Esqr. . . .
- 9th. Voted to Dissolve this Meeting

Sanford Kingsbary Moderator

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Conway, Eaton, Burton and Locations, 15 January 1788
David Page (N)

Town Meeting, 15 January 1788¹

This 15th day of January the Inhabitents of Eaton Burton Conway & Locations Met according to the above Notification, and Made Choise of Capt Vere Royse for Moderator to Regulate Said Meeting.

2ly Made Choise of David Page Esqr. to Represent them in the Convention to be holden at Exeter on the Second Wednesday in Febry. next

Voted Richard Kimball Charls Hill Esqr. and Capt Vere Royse to be a Committe to Draw up instructions for to give Col Page.

Voted this Meeting be adjournd. one Hour

Met according to adjournment

the Committe appointed to Draw up instructions to give Col Page our Representative Reported instructions for the Representative of Conway

Chosen to atend the Convention at Exeter the Second wednesday of Febr. next

As we Repose full Confidence in you and as wee find a great Many good things in the Proposed Constitution Blended with what wee cant approve of and as there is not any alterations to be made in Said Constitution wee Desire you to act all in your Power to hinder the Establishment thereof—

Vere Royse for th[e] Committe

upon Reading and Considering the above instructions Voted that the Same be Received and accepted

at est

Richard Eastman town Clerk

1. MS (copy), Conway Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Derryfield (Manchester), 12 February 1788
John Hall (Y)

Town Meeting, 12 February 1788¹

meet a Cording to ajournment the Modrator & Clerk both present and the meeting oupned

Voted not to Except the Constutcion by the federal Convintion appoinded by them

Voted at Said Meeting to Send a man to Extar to atind the Convention in behalf of Said town on the account of the federal Convention

Voted to Send Ens James thompson to Exter

Voted to Reconsieder Said James thompson Gowen [i.e., going] to Exter

Voted that John Hall Be Man to atind the Convention at Exter the 13 day of february nixt to Considor of the Constution appoointed by ferdal Convintion

Recorded thies 12 day of February 1788

John Hall town Clark

1. Printed: George W. Browne, ed., "Early Records of the Town of Derryfield, now Manchester, N.H., 1782–1800," *Collections of the Manchester Historical Association*, IX (1906), 145. The manuscript copy in the Derryfield Town Records, Vol. 2, 1786–1806, at the New Hampshire State Library is difficult to read. Article 2 of the 21 January warrant called for the town meeting that was to meet on 6 February to consider whether to send a delegate to the state Convention. The 6 February meeting adjourned to the 12th because several persons were not present (*ibid.*, 144).

Warrant, 1 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

To Isaac Huse Constable for the town of Derryfield for the year 1788
Greeting

You are Hearby Required in the Name of Govrment and pepol of Said State to Warran all the freehouldres and other Inhabitanes of Said town Qualified by law to Vote in town Meetinges that they meet at the Meeting House in Said town on tuesday the 20 Day of thies Instant may at one of the Clock in the Afternoon to Act on the following articals

(Viz) . . .

3-ly to See if the town will Chues a Commitey to Give Instructions to John Hall with Respeck to the fedrarrl Constituion & vote theron . . .

And thies Shall Be your Suficant Warrant

Given Under our Handes and Seal at Derryfield May the first Day 1788

John Hall
John Perham
John Webestor
Seelet Men

1. *Ibid.*, 156.

Town Meeting, 20 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a Meeting of the freeholders and other Inhabitanes of the town of Derryfield Legely Called and Convined In the Meeting House in Said town on Monday the 20 day of May 1788

Voted mr James Gorman Modrator

Voted to Ajourn thies meeting till John Hall House

Meet According to the ajourment the Modrator & Clark both present and the meeting Oupned . . .

Voted to Dismis the third artical In the warrant . . .

Recorded thies 10 Day of Dcembr 1788

John Hall Town Clark

1. *Ibid.*, 157.

**Dublin and Packersfield (Nelson), 16 January 1788
Samuel Griffin (Y)**

Town Meeting, 8 January 1788¹

at a legal Town meeting held in Dublin on the Eighth day of January 1788 then made choice of Dean Eli Morse Moderator to Govern said meeting—attest Reuben Morse }
John Morse } Selectmen

voted to Choose a Committee to take under Consideration the Federal Constitution and Make Report to the Town at their Next Meeting

on adjournment Chose Reuben Morse Amos Emory Stephen Ames James Rolins John Morse Capt Saml Twitchel Joseph Greenwood and John Muzzy for said Committee

voted to adjourn to Tuesday the 15th Instant at one of the Clock in the afternoon

1. MS, Dublin Town Records, NhHi.

Town Meeting, 15, 21 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

Met according to adjournment the Moderator took his seat
voted to Choose a Committee of five to Consider of the Federal Constitution and Report to the Town—Chose Amos Emory Reuben Morse Stephen Ames Thaddeus Mason and David Eliot for said Committee. . . .

21st Met according to adjournment. voted to Desolve this Meeting
attest Eli Morse Moderator

1. *Ibid.* The actual election took place on 16 January (Nelson Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh).

**Dunbarton and Bow, 29 January 1788
Jacob Green (N)**

Warrant, 29 December 1787¹

this is to Notify and warn all the Freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Dunbarton to meet at the meeting house in Said Town on Saturday the twelfth Day of January Next at one of the Clock in the afternoon to act on the following articles (Viz)

1ly to Choose a moderator to govern Said meeting

2ly to See if the Town will Vote to Absent them selves from Bow in the Choice of a Representative as there is a Sufficient Number of polls in Said Town of Dunbarton for the Choice of one

art 3 if the Second article Should take place to See if the Town will vote to Choose a Delegate to Sit in Convention to be holden at Exeter on the Second wednesday in February Next to act on a plan of Government formed by the federal Convention which Constitution will be Laid before the Town at the Said meeting

4ly to act on any other Business the Town Shall think proper When met together

Given under our hands this 29 day of Decbr 1787

John Fulton	}	Select men
Daniel Jameson	}	for Dunbarton

1. MS (copy), Dunbarton Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 12 January 1788¹

according to the warning met at time and place and Chose Jeremiah Pag[e] Esqr moderator to Govern Said meeting
and adjourned the meeting for half an hour to meet at Archibald Stinsons

met accordingly

Art 2nd Voted Down and Dismissed the meeting

James Clement } Town Clerk.

1. *Ibid.*

**Dunstable (Nashua), 10 January 1788
William Hunt (N)**

Town Meeting, 10 January 1788¹

At a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitents of the Town of Dunstable held on the tenth Day of Jany. 1788

Colo. Noah Lovewell was Chosen Moderator

Voted to adjourn this Meeting for half an hour to Meet at D[eaco]n Hunts

Met according to Adjournment

Voted to Chuse one Man to attend the Convention to be held at Exeter

Voted and Chose Deacon Wm. Hunt to attend the Convention on the Second Wednesday of feby. Next

Voted Not to Accept of the Constitution

Voted to Chuse a Committee to give Instructions to the Delegate that attends the Convention

Voted and Chose Mr. Joseph Whiting Joel Lund David Alld Simeon Sheurtleff Mr. Baldwin Thomas Roby John Robins Henry Adams and John Lund for that purpose

Voted to adjourn this Meeting to the first Wednesday in february Next to meet at this Place at one oclock in the afternoon and the Meeting was accordingly adjourned

1. MS (copy), Nashua Town Records, Vol. 3, Nh.

Town Meeting, 6 February 1788¹

Met according to adjournment

Voted and Chose Joseph Whiting Moderator Protemporane

Voted to Except of the Report of the Comtee. for Making objections against the Constitution then Voted to Dissolve this Meeting and it was accordingly Dissolved
True Record

Per Joel Lund Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Epping, 21 January 1788
Nathaniel Ladd (A)

William Plumer Autobiography, 1826 (excerpt)¹

... On the 14th of December the legislature of New Hampshire passed a resolve requiring the several towns to elect delegates to meet in convent[ion] at Exeter in February to decide whether this state would ratify the constitution. I visited & conversed with most of the freeholders of Epping, but found a majority of them opposed to the constitution. Previous to the town meeting the principal federalists unan- imously agreed to support me, but the town to my regret elected an antifederalist. . . .

1. MS, Autobiography, 1787–1791, Plumer Papers, DLC. This entry was written on 12 October 1826.

On 10 December 1787 Plumer wrote to Daniel Tilton that “The constitution is op- posed here by many, because they think it a grant of too much power. My fears are all the other way. In my opinion, the executive is not strong enough; and the powers dele- gated to the Congress, though in some respects ample, are in others too much restricted” (Andrew P. Peabody, ed., *Life of William Plumer, By His Son, William Plumer Junior* [Boston, 1857], 97–98).

Exeter, 7 January 1788
John Taylor Gilman (Y)

Election Certificate, 7 January 1788¹

At a legal Town meeting held in Exeter January 7th. 1788 The Honble. John T. Gilman Esqr. was unanimously chosen (by Ballot) a Delegate to meet in Convention to be held in Exeter on the second wednesday of February next—

Attest: Josiah Gilman Junr. Town Clerk
 Trueworthy Gilman }
 Ephm. Robinson } Selectmen
 Oliver Peabody }

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar. Gilman's election was reported in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 11 January (Mfm:N.H. 34).

Fishersfield, Sutton and Warner, 24 January 1788
Nathaniel Bean (N)

Town Meeting, 24 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

A Meeting of the Inhabitation of the town of Warner Legually warnd and held at the meeting house in Said Town on thursday the 24th Day of January 1788 at teen of the Clock in the morning
of Which meeting mr. Thomas Annis was moderator
Voted not too Except of the new Constitution
Voted to Chuse a man to Joine a Convention at Exetor on the Scond wends Day in february next on account of the new Constitution
Voted for Nathell. Bean Esqr. to Joine Said Convention . . .
. . . and the meeting was adjourned to the first Thusday in february next at twelve o Clock in the Day

1. MS (copy), Warner Town Records, Vol. 2, Nh.

Fitzwilliam, 3 January 1788
Caleb Winch (N)

Town Meeting, 3 January 1788¹

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Fitzwilliam on the [- - -] [- - -] of January AD 1788 The following [Returns Viz?]
1ly Voted [- - -] Deacon John Locke Moderator
2ly Voted [and chose?] Lt Caleb winch as a Deligate to set in Con-vention at Exeter on the Second wednesday of February 1788
3ly Voted [- - -] to Chuse a Committee of five men to Draught instructions to Send to sd Lt. winch
[Voted and?]Chose the Revd Mr. Benjamin Brigham
Mr Benjamin willson
Mr Josiah Hartwell
Deacon John Locke
Mr Abner Stone

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 2, 1769–1807, Nh.

Town Meeting, 17 January 1788¹

the Publick Meeting which was adjourned from January 3d to January 17th was again opened & held according to adjournment & the Town

Voted to as[sent] the Report of the Committee Chosen to Draught Instructions for the Representative to the State Convention—

the Meeting was then Dissolved—

A True Entry of the Meeting

Attest

John Locke (Moderator)

[– – –] Moon [Farwell?] (Town Clerk)

1. *Ibid.*

Francestown, 4 February 1788

Thomas Bixby (N)

Town Meeting, 24 January 1788¹

At Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Francestown being Leagaly Warned and havin[g] Meet at their Meeting house on Thursday The Twenty forth Day of January 1788 For the Purpos afore-said

Proceded as Followes—(viz)

Voted David Starratt Moderator—

Voted to Chuse a Committee of 13 men to take Into Consideration the Fedarl Constitution

Voted Majr Oliver Holmes, Wm Starratt, Zacariah Whiting, Jabez Holmes, John Dickey, James Fisher, Thos. Bixby, Nathn. Sleeper, Capt. Sleeper, Saml. Nutt, James Hogg, Boyd Hopkin, David Starratt, A Com-mittty For that Purpos—

Voted to ajorn the Meeting to the Forth Day of February at Two o Clock in the afternoon to hear the Report of sd. Com-mittty and to act Further upon sd. Warrant

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 1, NhHi.

Town Meeting, 4 February 1788¹

the Town having Meet acording to Adjornment: the Report of the Com-mittty was Read, and then a Motion was Maid to see Whether the Town would Except of the Fedral Constitution or Not:

Voted Not to Except it

Voted to Chuse a man to Send to the Convention to be holden at Exetor for the Purpos of Consulting upon sd Constn. and to Detormain Whether it Shall be adopted in this state or not

The vote being taken for that Purpos and it apeared that Thos Bixby was Chosen a member for sd Convention

Meeting Dissolved—a Tru Cobby From the minuts Pr Me Thos. Bixby
Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Election Certificate, n.d.¹

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Frances-
town, being legally warned and Having Meet at their Meeting house on
Thursday the Twenty forth Day of Jany. 1788—for the Pupose of Chuesing
a man to meet in Convention at Exetor to take into Consideration
the Fedearal Constitution agreeable to the Resolves of the Genaral Court
and the Vots being taken it apeared that Thos. Bixby was Unanimously
Chosen for that Purpos

Certifyd by us } Jabez Holmes } Select Men
 } William Harrett } of Francestown

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Goffstown, 21 January 1788
William Page (N)

Town Meeting, 21 January 1788¹

At a meeting Legally warnd and held at the meeting house in Goffs-
town on monday the twenty first Day of January 1788

Voted Lieut Willm Page Moderator

Voted that the Town Send a Deligate to the Convention to be holden
at Exeter

Voted that Lieut Willm. Page be said Delegate

Voted that there be a Committe chosen to Give said Delegate Instruc-
tions.

Voted that said Committe Consist of Seven men—

Voted	{	Coln. Robert McGregore, Esqr.	}	be said Comitte
		John Patee		
		Capt Joseph Van Cap.		
		Philip Clament		
		Capt Alexr. Todd		
		Moses Little Esqr		
		Alexr Gilcrest		

Voted that the Meeting be Desmesed

A true Record attest pr Alexr. Walker Town Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Henniker and Hillsborough, 21 January 1788
Robert B. Wilkins (Y)

Town Meeting, 21 January 1788¹

At a Legal Meeting of the Inhabetents of the town of Hillsboro. and Hanniker held January twenty first 1788—

1st. Voted Magr. Robert Wallace Moderator—

2ly. Voted Leut. Robert B Wilkins a Delegate to Convention to be holden at Exeter on the Second Wednesday of February next on account of the federal Constitution—the meeting Dissolved.

A true Record pr. John Dutton T. Clerk

1. MS (copy), Hillsborough Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 21, 31 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitants of the town of Hillsborough held January 21st. 1788—

1st. Voted Mr. Otis How Moderator

2ly. 2 article adjourned for half an hour . . .

2d. article taken up—adjourned to the 31st. Day of January instent at one Oclock Afternoon then to Meet at the Meeting house in Sd. town—Met accordingly—it was put to See if they would Ratefy the federal Constetution it pased in the Nagetive—the Meeting Desolved

a true Record pr. John Dutton T. Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Hinsdale, 28 January 1788
Uriel Evans (A)

Town Meeting, 28 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

at a Legal meeting held by the Inhabitants of the Town of Hinsdale on Monday the 28th Day of January 1788 at One Oclock in the afternoon

1st Voted Saml. Robbins Moderator . . .

Voted and Chose Mr. Uriel Evans to Serve as Deligate to go to the Convention respecting the federal Constatution

Voted and Chose Lt John Gardiner Mr. Saml. Robbins Eldad Evans & Hollis Taylor be a Committee to give Instrucktions to Mr. Uriel Evans respecting the federal Constatution and then Dismist the meeting

Attest Cyrus Shattuck Town Clerk

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Hollis, 22 January, 7 February 1788
Daniel Kindrick (N)

Town Meeting, 8 January 1788¹

At a legal meeting of the free-holders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Hollis held at the meeting house in said Hollis, on the 8th day of Jany. 1788.

Genl. John Hale Moderator—

after having read the federal Convention of the united States of America, Voted that the following Gentlemen be Chosen a Comtee to peruse said Convention with Care & Deliberation & report at a future meeting said Committee—Capt Danl. Kenrick, Lt. Saml. Willoughby, Adj't Amos Eastman, Genl. John Hale, Majr. John Goss Noah Worcester Esqr. Jona Danforth, Daniel Emerson Esq. Willm. Poole Senr, Lt Thads. Wheeler, James [Redont?], D[eaco]n Stephen Jewet, William Brown, Senr.

then Voted that this meeting Stand adjourn'd to Tuesday the 22d day of Jany Instant to one OClock P.M.

Attest William Cuming Town Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 5, Nh.

Town Meeting, 22 January 1788¹

the Town of Hollis aforesaid being met at the meeting-house in said Hollis on Adjournment

Chose Noah Worcester Esqr. Moderator Pro Tempore—

after some Debate and hearing the Committee's Report it was put to Vote to see whether the Town would accept of the Constitution as recommended by the federal Convention of the united States, past in the negative.

It was then put to vote to See whether this Town would send a Deligate to the State Convention in order to approve or disapprove of said Constitution past in the Affirmative—

Then Votes being bro't in for a Deligate to represent this Town in the State Convention above mentioned. the Town made Choice of Capt. Daniel Kenrick to represent sd. Town in said State Convention—then Voted that the Present meeting be dissolv'd

Attest William Cuming Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 7 February 1788¹

At a Legal meeting of the free-holders & other inhabitants of the Town of Holles, held at the meeting house in said Holles Feby 7th 1788.—

Jonathan Danforth was Chosen Moderator of said meeting—

'twas then mov'd by said Moderator that the Town should bring in their Votes for a Deligate to represent said Town of Holles in the State Convention to be held at Exeter in the State of New Hampshire on the Second Wednesday of Feby Inst. Capt. Daniel Kenrick was Chosen Deligate to represent the Town of Holles in said Convention—

Then voted that the Present meeting be dissolved

Attest William Cuming Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Hopkinton, 14 January 1788
Joshua Morss (Y)

Warrant, 29 December 1787 (excerpts)¹

In the Name of the State of New Hampshire We Notify and warn all those paying a Pole Tax in Hopkinton to meet at the meeting Hous in Said Town on Monday the fourteenth Day of January Next at one O clock P M to act on the foll[ow]ing articles

1ly to Choose a Moderator to Regulate Sd meeting

2ly to Choose a Deligate to Represent the Town in Convention to be held at the Town Hous in Exetor on the Second wednesday of February next to take undor Consideration the Proceedings of the Federal Convention

3ly to See what instructions the Town will give Said Deligate as to excepting or Regecting the Constitution of the united Stats. . . .

{ Joshua Bailey
Stephen Hoyt
Selectmen for
Hopkinton

Hopkinton December 29: 1787

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 2, Nh.

Town Meeting, 14 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

At a meeting Legally Cald at the meeting Hous in Hopkinton on the Fourteenth Day of January 1788 at one oclock P M

- 1ly Voted Dea[co]n Lt Joshua Morss moderator
- 2ly Voted to adjorn this meeting in to Mr Wiggin west room
- 3ly Voted to Choose a Delegate to Joine the Convention to be held at Exetor the Second Wendsney of February next
- 4ly Voted Lt Morss a Deligate to Represent this Town in Convention to be held at Exetor the Second wednesday in February Next
- 5ly Voted that our Delegate Should Regect the Constitution. . . .

1. *Ibid.*

Warrant, 31 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

we notify and warn all those paying for himself a Poll Tax in Hopkinton to Assemble at the meeting hous in Said Town on Saterdag the fourteenth Day of June next at two Oclock in the after noon to act on the following articles Viz

- 1ly to Choose a moderator to Regulate Sd meeting
 - 2ly to See if the Town will vote that Lt Joshua Morss Shall act in Convention Respecting the Federal Constitution as he Shall think best for the Public good: any Vote to the Contrary Not with standing. . . .
- Hopkinson May 31: 1788

Thomas Bayley	{	Select
Philip Greeley		men for
Benja B Darling		Hopkinton

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 4 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

at a meeting Legally Cald and held at the meeting Hous in Said Town on the 14 day of June at two o clock P M 1788

- 1ly Voted mr Isaac Bailey modorator
- 2ly Voted that Lt Morss Should act in convention as he Shall think best for the Public good. . . .

1. *Ibid.*

**Keene, 7 January 1788
Aaron Hall (Y)**

Warrant, 24 December 1787 (excerpts)¹

Whereas the general Court of this State on the 14th day of December Instant Resolved that the Proceedings of the Federal Convention be Submitted to a Convention of the People of this State by their Deligates

for their full & free Investigation Discussion and Decision at Exeter on the Second Wednesday of February next

These are to Notify and warn all the Free Holders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Keene qualifd by Law to Vote in Town affairs to Meet at the Meeting-Hous in Said Keene on Monday the Seventh day of January Next at one oclock in the afternoon to act on the following Articles (viz)

1 To Chuse a Moderator to govern said Meeting

2 To Chuse one Sutable Person as a Delagate to Set in Convention at Exeter on the Second Wednesday of February next agreeable to a resolve of the General Court

3 To See if the Town will Give their Delagate any Instructions. . . .
Keene December 24th 1787

By order of the Select Men Jeremiah Stiles T Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 0, 1753–1825, Nh.

Town Meeting, 7 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

The Inhabitece of the Town of Keene Asembled agreeably to the above Notifcation

1 Chose Deacon Daniel Kingsbery Moderator

2 Chose The Revernd Aaron Hall as a Delagate to Set in Convention at Exeter on the Second Wednsday of February Next agreeably to a Resolve of the general Court.

3d article in the Warrant Passed over . . .

Voted to Dismiss the Meeting.

Daniel Kingsbery Moderator

Recorded pr Jeremiah Stiles Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

New Hampshire Recorder, 8 January 1788

Yesterday afternoon the inhabitants of this Town convened at the Meeting-House, agreeable to Notification, for the choice of one Delegate to meet in Convention at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of February next, for the purpose of ratifying the Fœderal Constitution. When the votes were returned, it appeared that the Rev. AARON HALL was chosen by a very great majority. We are happy to observe that our citizens discovered the greatest unanimity in their choice, and that no self-interested Anti-Federalist appeared to retard the important business.

Warrant, 24 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

Whereas a Petition has been presented to the Selectmen by a large And Respectable Number of the Inhabitents of the Town of Keene Requesting that a Meeting of Said Town be Calld as Soon as May bee for the purposes hereafter Mentioned These are, therefore to Notify and warn all the Freeholders and other Inhabitence of the Town of Keene Qualifyed by Law to Vote in Town affairs to meet at the Meeting Hous in Said town on Fryday the Eight day of February Next at one oclock in the afternoon to act on the folowing Articles viz

1ly to Chuse a Moderator to Govern Said Meeting . . .

3ly to See if the Town will Shew their Minds whether they will Accept of or Refuse the New Constitution or act any other Leagal Way they shall then think fit . . .

. . . Keene January 24 1788

By order of the Select Men. Jeremiah Stiles Town Clerk—

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 0, 1753–1825, Nh.

A Friend to Right**New Hampshire Recorder, 29 January 1788**

Mr. GRIFFITH, It is the enquiry of several inhabitants of this Town, why the Gentleman chosen to represent them, in the ensuing convention, should refuse to receive instructions from his constituents.

Is he at this day, *convinced really* which way the majority inclines.

If that Gentleman is decided in favour of the constitution as it now stands, and there should happen to be two-thirds of his constituents against it, can these two-thirds be said to be virtually represented?

Will not the voice of such constituents be, sealing on them (against their will) his own prepossessed ideas.

A Federalist**New Hampshire Recorder, 5 February 1788**

Mr. GRIFFITH, If the “Friend to Right” was present at our last Town-Meeting, I would remind him; and if he was not there, I would inform him, that the Gentleman chosen to represent this Town in Convention, did, at the time he refused to receive instructions from his constituents, give his reason for so doing; which, as nearly as I can recollect, was in substance as follows: viz. that whatever his sentiments might now be, perhaps he should alter them after hearing the arguments which should be used in convention, for, and against the Constitution. And that he

did not choose to give his vote contrary to his judgment. Which reason at that time appeared satisfactory to his constituents in general; and when a motion was made for instructing him, it was not seconded.

But if he had given no reason at all, common sense would dictate the impropriety of his going to the Convention, bound by instructions to vote one particular way. According to the resolve of the General Court, the Constitution is to be laid before the Convention for consideration, discussion and decision. Which consideration and discussion would be useless and ridiculous, if the Delegates were so bound by instructions, as not to be able to give their votes according to the knowledge they should gain by such consideration and discussion. Such proceedings would be just as proper as it would be for a judge or jury to determine a cause, and then enquire into the merits of it. And the greatest fool might do as much good at Convention, as the wisest politician bound by instructions.

But in my opinion it is the duty of every member of the Convention, carefully to read and understand the Constitution—to attend to the observations which shall be made upon it in Convention—and after a fair and candid consideration and discussion, to vote in such a manner as he shall think most conducive to the public good.

He is not to act upon such narrow contracted principles as to consult his own private temporary interest, in preference to the lasting good of the public—He is to consult not only the good of this Town, or this State; but of the thirteen United States—not only of the present, but of future generations.

The inhabitants of the United States are of such different opinions in consequence of their different situations, circumstances, and local prejudices, that a Constitution can never be formed perfectly agreeable to the wishes of all the States; or of all, or any considerable part of the inhabitants of any one State, or Town. We ought therefore to bring ourselves to such a disposition, that after comparing all those different opinions together, we may be willing to submit to a Constitution that shall be a medium between the whole; and as conformable as possible to the sentiments of the whole.

In answer to the friends other Queries, I would inform him, that our delegate had a sufficient reason to be “convinced really” which way the majority inclined when he was chosen, viz. that nearly, if not more than five sixths of the votes of the persons voting in a full meeting, were for him after he had publicly declared his approbation of the Constitution, and for another Gentleman known to be a Federalist. I would likewise inform the friend that it is the election (and not the sentiments) of our delegate, which makes him the representative of his

constituents—and that “the voice of his constituents cannot be sealing on them, (against their will) his prepossessed ideas” if they willingly chose him to be their representative in convention.

If the sentiments of our delegate, or his voting at the Convention, determine whether he is our representative in Convention or not, we must wait till we can get intelligence of his conduct in Convention, before we can determine whether we are represented therein or not.

And now, having answered the friends questions, I will propose one of equal importance, for him to answer upon his own principles, if mine are wrong. If the Majority of the voters in this town should vote for a certain gentleman to represent them in the Convention, and the minority should vote against him, and the same gentleman when in convention should give his vote agreeably to the sentiments of the minority, and contrary to the sentiments of the majority of his constituents; who would in that case be represented, the minority, the majority, or the whole Town?

Town Meeting, 8 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

Agreeably to the foregoing Notifcation on February the 8th 1788
The Inhabitence of the Town of Keene asembled and

1 Chose Benjamin Archer Modderator . . .

3d Voted that the Town will not at this time shew there Minds whether they will accept of or Refuse the New Constitution. . . .

Voted to Dismiss the Meeting

Benjamin Archer Moderator

Recorded pr Jeremiah Stiles Town Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 0, 1753–1825, Nh.

**Kensington, 7 January 1788
Jeremiah Fogg (Y)**

Town Meeting, 7 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

At a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the parish of Kensington held at the Meeting house in sd. Kensington on Monday the 7th Day of Jan. 1788.

1st—Jeremiah Fogg Esq. chosen Moderator.

2d—The Parish Clerk being absent; Newel Healey was chosen T. C. Pro. tem.

Jeremiah Fogg Esq. chosen Delegate.

3d—Voted, that a Committee of five persons be chosen to instruct said delegate.

4th—Voted, that Lt Joseph Brown be one of sd. Committee, several others were chosen to[o], refused to accept. . . .

1. Typescript, Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Lebanon, 10, 24 January 1788
Elisha Payne (Y)

Town Meeting, 10 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a Town Meeting legally warn'd and holden at the Meeting house in Lebanon January 10th. 1788 the following Votes were passd.

1 Chose Mr. Leml. Hough Moderator . . .

Chose Capt. David Hough a Delegate to attend the Convention to be holden at Exeter respecting the Federal Constitution, & Voted a Comtee. of nine men to give Instructions (Viz) Colo. Elisha Payne, Mr. Const. Storrs, Aaron Hutchinson Esqr. Majr. John Griswold, Colo. Edmund Freeman Lt. Elisha Ticknor Majr. Nathl. Wheatley, Capt David Hough & D[eaco]n Theophs. Huntington) Commtee. for sd. purpose . . .

Voted to adjourn till Thursday 24th. Int. one oClock P. M.

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 24 January 1788¹

Met according to adjournment & Chose Majr. John Griswold Modr. P. T.

Voted to adjourn to the House of Elihu Hyde Esqr. and at the request of Capt Hough

Voted to reconsider the former Vote of Chusing him a Delegate to the Convention to be holden at Exeter respecting the approving or disapproving of the Federal Constitution and Chose Colo. Elisha Payne in his stead

Voted to dissolve sd. Meeting

1. *Ibid.*

Lee, 30 January 1788
Reuben Hill (A)

Town Meeting, 30 January 1788¹

At a legal town Meeting held at the Meeting house in Lee on Wednesday the 30th Day of January 1788 for the Purposes following (Viz).

Voted Joseph Sias Esqr. Moderator & Adjourned the Above Meeting to Meet at Elijah Cartlan's in Ten Minutes. Met Accordingly & Voted by holding up the hands that Capt. Reuben Hill be a Delegate to meet in Convention at Exeter on the Second Wednesday of February Next. the Above Meeting is Dissolved

Attest

James Brackett Parish Clerk.

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Litchfield, 7 January 1788
Daniel Bixby (N)

Warrant, c. 27 December 1787 (excerpts)¹

To David McQuestion Constable for the town of Litchfield Greeting— you are hereby Required in the Name of the State of Newhampshire to warn all the Inhabitants of said Town that are Qualified by Law to Vote in Common Affairs to meet and Convean at the meeting house in said town on monday the seventh Day of January Next at one OClock afternoon then and there when met &c

1st. To Choose a Moderator to Govern said meeting

2dly. To Choose a Sutable person to Represent us in the Convention that is To be holden at Exeter the second wednesday of February Next and for the Town to Give him such Instructions if they Shall think most Propper . . .

and see that you make return of this Warrant with your doings thereon at or before the time of holding said Meeting Given under Our hands and Seal this seventh [i.e., perhaps twenty-seventh] Day of December 1787

Samuel Chase	}	select
Daniel Bixby	}	men
Mathew Parker	}	Litchfield

Pr. Samuel Chase jur T. Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh. The warrant's date is not correct. The legislature did not adopt the resolutions calling the state Convention until 14 December.

Town Meeting, 7 January 1788¹

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Litchfield held On the Seventh day of January 1788

Voted Capt Daniel Bixby Moderator for said meeting

Voted To adjourn to the house of Lt. Timothy Kendall for a Quarter of an hour

Voted Capt Daniel Bixby for a delagate to Send to Exeter—

Voted To Choose five men for a Committe to Give the Deligate Instructions

Voted Coll. Samuel Chase William McQueston Eqr. Doctr Jonathan Parker Clifton Clagett Esqr. and Lt. Joseph Barnes a Committee for to Instruct the Deligate

Voted To Adjourn this Meeting to wednesday the sixth day of February Next at four OClock afternoon—

Pr. Samuel Chase Jur T. Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Election Certificate, 2 February 1788¹

This may Certify that Capt. Daniel Bixby at a Legal Meeting held in Sd. Litchfield the Seventh day of January 1788—

Was Unanimously Chosen as a deligate to meet at Exeter the Thirteenth day of this Instant to take under Consideration the Feederal Constitution agreeable to a Resolve of the Generall Court

Samuel Chase	}	Selectmen for
Matthew Parker	}	Litchfield

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Londonderry, 21 January 1788

Daniel Runnels (N) Archibald McMurphy (N)

Town Meeting, 7 January 1788¹

Then having met according to the warrant after reeding the warrant according to Custom Chose John Bell Esqr. Moderator to govern Said meeting

Secondly Chose a Commitey to Exemen the Constitution and make Repor[t] of their oppione against the adjournment of this Meeting

The Names of the above Commitey are John Bell Esr. James Mcgregore John Prentice Esr. archibald McMurphy Esr. Capt. Wm. adams Josiah Joans Eld[er] Abaham Duncan David adams James Donaldson gen. georg Reid Andrew Mack David Paul Eld[er] Samul Fisher Wm. Leyons Eld[er] James Alexander—This Meeting Stands adjourned till Monday the 21 Instant at two of the Clock P M by order of Moderator

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 6, NhHi.

Town Meeting, 21 January 1788¹

Then having met according to Adjournment Then Chose Col. Daniel Reynolds and Archibald MacMurphy Esr. as Deligets To Sit in Convention at Exeter on wednsday the 13 of February next as Required By Congress and genl. Corte—

Then the moderator Disolved the Meeting
 Atest Wm. Anderson Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Loudon, 17, 31 January 1788
Jonathan Smith (N)

Town Meeting, 17 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

Meet according to the above warning & proceaided as follow
 1st chose Abraham Bachelder Esqr Moderator to Govern Sd Meeting
 2nd chose John Drue for a Deligate
 3d Nathinell Bachelder Samuel Piper Sqr Chamberlain Nathinell Hill
 Jethro Bachelder Jonathan Smith Joseph Molten Joseph Tiltten Moses
 Rawling there chose as a Committey to over hall the new Plan of Gov-
 ernment and give the Deligate his in Structons . . .

Voted to Adjorn the Meeting to thu[r]sday 31 day of this instant
 January at the meeting hous at one of the clock in the after noon

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 31 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

Meet according to the above Adjornment and proceaided as follow
 viz

1st Chose Jonathan Smith for a Delagate in the rume of John Drue
 . . .

Attest Jonathan Clough Parish Clerck

1. *Ibid.*

Lyme and Orford, 17 January 1788
William Simpson (Y)

Town Meeting, 17 January 1788¹

Met agreeable to the above Notification
 Voted Capt. Walter Fairfield Moderator & Nathl. Rogers Clerk Pro-
 tempore

Voted Colo. Willm. Simpson Deligate to Represent the Towns of Or-
 ford & Lyme in Convention as specified in the above Warning

Voted This Meeting adjourned fifteen Minutes then at Simeon Av-
 ery's—Met according to adjournment

Voted It is the desire of this Meeting that Colo. William Simpson our
 Deligate in behalf of the Said Towns Ratify & confirm the Constitution

of the United States as recommended to Congress the 17th Sepr. 1787
by the Federal Convention

Attest Nathl. Rogers Clerk Protempore

1. MS, Town Records, NhHi.

Lyndeborough, 7 January 1788
Benjamin Jones (N)

Warrant, 28 December 1787¹

To David Putnam one of the Constables for the Town of Lyndeborough
and State and County a fore said—Greeting

Persuant to the Laws of Said State for Calling and Regurlating Town
meetings You are hereby Required forth with to Warn all the Free-
holders and other Inhabitts of this Town by Law Qualified to Vote in
Common Town afairs to meet at the meeting House in Said Town on
monday the Seventh Day of January next at one of the Clock in the
after noon then and their to act on the following articals (viz)

first to Chuse a modrator for Said meeting

2ly to Chuse one Delegate to Assemble with the Convention at Exeter
on the Second Wednesday of February next to Consult on the Late
Constitution and also to give Said Delegate Such Instructions as the
Town shall think Proper—

Here of fail not and make Return of this Warrant with your Doings
their on to the Select men of this Town before Said term Given under
our hands and Seal at Lyndeborough this twenty Eighte Day of Decem-
ber 1787

Ephraim Putnam } Select men of
Jeremiah Carleton } Lyndeborough

Atts pr. Ephraim Putnam T: Clerk

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 2, Nh.

Town Meeting, 7 January 1788¹

att a Leagul meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitents of the
Town of Lyndeborough at the meeting house in Said Town on Monday
the 7th. Day of January 1788

first Chose Levi Spaulding Esqr modrator for Said meeting

2ly Voted and Chose Dr Benjamin Jones to Represent the Town in
the Convention at Exeter to consult on the new Constution

Voted not to accept of the Proposed Plan of Government

Voted to accept the Report of the Committee and the instruction to the Deligate

Atts pr Ephraim Putnam T: Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Warrant, 22 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

To David Putnam one of the Constables of the Town of Lyndeborough and State and County aforesaid—Greeting—

Persuant to the Laws of Said State for Calling and Regulating Town Meetings You are hereby Required fourthwith to warn all the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of this Town Quallified to Vote in Common Town affairs to Meet at the Meeting House in Said Town on tuesday the Eleaventh Day of March next at ten of the Clock in the fore noon then and there to Act on the following Articals (viz)

First to Chuse a Moderator for Said Meeting . . .

11ly to See if the Town will dismiss Dr Jones as a Delegate of Convention. and Chuse another Person in his Room to Meet in Convention at the Ajournment

here of fail not and Make Return of this warrant with your doings thereon to the Selectmen before Said Term given under our hands and Seal at Lyndeborough this twenti Second Day of February AD 1788

Ephraim Putnam } Selectmen of
Jeremiah Carleton } Lyndeborough

A true Copsy Att Peter Clark Tn. Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 11 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a Legal Meeting of the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of the Town of Lyndeborough at the Meeting House in Said Town on Tuesday the 11 Day of March 1788

first Chose Peter Clark Moderator for Said Meeting . . .

11 artical passed in the Negative

a true Copsy attest Peter Clark T: Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Warrant, 24 April 1788 (excerpts)¹

To Philip Fletcher one of the Constables of the Town of Lyndeborough Greeting

Pursuant to the Laws of this State for Calling and Regulating of Town Meetings you are hereby Required in the Name of Said State forthwith to warn all the freeholders and Other Inhabitents of this Town that are by Law Qualified to Vote in Town affairs to meet at the Meeting House in this Town on Monday the twelf Day of May next at three of the Clock in the after noon then and there to Act on the following articals

first to Chuse a Moderator for Said Meeting

Secondly to See if the Town will Chuse a Man to go to Convention in the Room of Doctor Benjamin Jones who has Resigned . . .

Here of fail not and Make due Return of this warrant with your doings thereon to the Select men of this Town at or before Said Day—given under our hands and Seal this 24th Day of April Anno Domini 1788

Peter Clark	} Selectmen	
Jeremiah Carleton		} of
Jonas Kidder		} Lyndeborough

Lyndeborough April 24 1788

A true Copy att Peter Clark Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 12 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

This Day at a legal Meeting of this Town first Chose Mr James Boutwell Moderator

2ly Voted not to Chuse a Member in the Room of Doctor Jones to go to Convention . . .

a true Cobby att Peter Clark T: Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Marlborough, 15 January 1788 Jedidiah Tainter (N)

Town Meeting, 15 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of Marlboro this Day met at the meeting house in Sd town and Proceeded as follows

1st) maid Choice of Lt oliver Wright to Govern Sd meeting . . .

3ly) maid Choice of Lt Jedediah Taynter to Represent this town in Convention to Set at Exeter on the said Wednesday of Febuary Next in order To take into Consideration the Proceedings of the Federal Convention . . .

Voted to Chuse a Committe to Give the Deligate instructions maid Choice of Mr Reubin Ward Moses Tucker Mr William barker Mr Daniel Cutting and Mr Benone Robbins . . .

Voted to adjourn this meeting to mr Cummings for one hour

Met according to adjournment and heard the Report of the Committe Which is as follows

To Lieut Jedediah Taynter

Where as We have this Day Chosen You (the foregoing underlined word was struck out in the original record) and Appointed You to Represent us in Convention to Accept or Reject the New Proposed Federal Constitution if you Can have our Bill of Rights Secured to us and a Firm Test of the Protestant Religion ^(a) to us & it Will Be Satisfactory other wise Reject the Whole

Marlborough January 15th 1788

anonamus [i.e., unanimous] in Committe Reubin Ward
Moses Tucker
William Barker
Daniel Cutting
Benone Robbins

Voted anonamus [i.e., unanimous] to Except of the ^(a) this meeting ^(a)

attest Jonathan Whipple

(a) Indicates words unreadable in the original record

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 2, Nh.

**Meredith and New Hampton, 5 February 1788
Ebenezer Smith (NV)**

Election Certificate, 5 February 1788¹

This Certifys That at a Meeting Legally Warnd and held This Day at the House of Mr. Joseph Smith in said New Hampton of the Destrict of Meredith and New Hampton For the purpose of Chusing a Member to Send to the State Convention Respecting the Fedral Constitution and unanimously Made Choice of the Honble Ebenr. Smith Esqr. for the Representative

attest

William Davis }
Thos Warren } Selectmen for
Benj [- -] } Said Towns

a True Copy of Record
 atest

Peter Hunniford Town Clerk

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar. According to Nathaniel Joseph Eiseman, “*New Hampton and Merrideth*, after having the Constitution read in town meeting, appointed eight men to instruct the delegate they elected. It was then voted, ‘Not to Receive the new faderal Constitution. Voted that we like the Judgment of our Committeemen Respecting the Constitution.’ Their delegate was absent at the time of the vote” (“The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New Hampshire” [M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1937], 31).

Merrimack, 31 December 1787
Timothy Taylor (N)

Town Meeting, 31 December 1787¹

at a leagal meting of the Inhabitants of the Town of marrimac held on monday the 31 Day of Decr. 1787

1ly Chose Timo. Taylor Esqr moderator to Regulate sd. meeting

2ly mad Choise of Timo. Taylor Esqr to go to the Convention at Exetor on the Second wednesday of Febr. next

A committy Chossen to Examen the constatution and to make alter rations if they think there is any wanting

Matthew Thornton Esqr

the Revr Jacob Burnap

Simo. Cumings Esqr

Capt willm. Barron

Ebenr. Parker

De[a]c[on] Aaron Gage

Capt Henry Fields

a trew Record Atest Ebenr. Parker Town Clark

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

New Castle, 11 February 1788
Henry Prescottt (Y)

Nathaniel Joseph Eiseman, M.A. Thesis, 1937¹

New Castle decided to send a delegate, but a week later with only ten voters present reconsidered this vote. Three days after the reconsideration, a warning for a new town meeting was posted. It stated that application had been made to the Selectmen for another vote on the issue. When the town convened,

It being put to Vote whether this Town will Choose a Member to send to the Convention at Exeter.—the Majority not Voting, the Gentlemen were desired by the Moderator to take the different sides of the alley, when those for sending a Member were Seventeen. Against it five.—Whereupon the Moderator called for the Votes for a Deligate to the Convention—When Henry Prescott Esqr was Unanimously chosen.

Mr. Prescott was a supporter of the ratification.

1. "The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New Hampshire" (M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1937), 31.

Newington, 28 January, 18 February 1788 Benjamin Adams (Y)

Newington sent two election certificates (dated 28 January and 18 February) to the state Convention along with documents showing that the two candidates disputed who won the election. These documents included two versions of the minutes of the town meeting on 28 January, a list of voters for the two candidates, a list of names, and petitions supporting one candidate. These documents are printed below followed by the minutes of the town meeting on 18 February from the town record book.

Benjamin Adams and Ephraim Pickering both thought they were elected as a delegate on 28 January to the state Convention. The Convention on 14 February approved the report of its elections committee investigating the return of two delegates from Newington. The Convention recommended that the selectmen notify the freeman of a meeting to be held on Monday, 18 February, "to ballot for" either Adams or Pickering (RCS:N.H., 202-3, 203-4). Adams was elected at the second town meeting.

Town Meeting, 28 January 1788¹

At A Legal Meeting of the free holders and Other Inhabitants of the Town of Newington Qualified by Law to Vote in Town affairs, held at the Meetinghouse in Said Newington on Monday the twenty Eighth Day of January Anno Domini 1788. To Chouse a Deligate to Represent Said town in the Ensueing Convention then Present forty five Legal Voters Inhabitants of Said Town Benjamin Adams Esqr being Chosen Moderator of Said Meeting. After Reading the Constitution Deliberately by Section and by Paragraph and Explaining the Same to the People: Proceeded to the Choise of a Deligate The Moderator Desired the People to Bring in their Votes for a Deligate the Votes being Cast and Numbered, their appeared to be Eighteen Votes for Ephraim Pickering Esqr and twelve for Benjamin Adams Esqr on Which the People on Benjamin Adams Esqr's Side Demanded a Poll Major Pickering

Said there Could not be a Poll it was Conterary to Law the moderator Desired him to produce the Law. the Law not being produced, the Moderator on the Peoples renewing their request granted them a Poll And the People went out on Said Adams's Side the Moderator Desired the Select Men to Tell the Polls and the People Returned into the Meetinghouse again and the Selectmen Declared that their was twenty Six Poles on Said Adams's Side but one Goeing out on Major Pickering's Side on Which the Moderator Moved to throw all a Side and Bring In their Votes Denovo on Which Motion Major Pickering Objected, and took his hat and Left the Meeting and a Small Number of his Voters with him after a fiew Minits Consideration on the Subject the Selectmen Ordered the Town Clerk to Record the Vote and Declared that Benjamin Adams Esqr Was Chosen the Deligate to Represent the Town of Newington in the Ensueing Convention the Record being Entered in the Presents of the Selectmen the Meeting was Dissolved: the above is a true State of the Proceedings of Said meeting

Test Benjamin Adams} moderator of Sd Meeting

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Town Meeting, 28 January 1788¹

At a meeting of the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of Sd Newington paying Taxes Called by the selectmen in Consequence of a recommendation of the Federal Convention in Order to Choose a Delegate to send To Exeter to meet in Convention at the Town house in Exeter on the second Wednesday of February next—Benjn Adams Esqr. Chosen moderator

Benjn Adams Esqr. Deligate to go to Exeter

and represent Newington recorded by Order of the selectmen

NB: There was 18 Votes for Epm. Pickering Esqr and 12 Votes for Benjamin Adams Esqr.—a number of the Electors Desired a Poll—the moderator Granted it Ephm. Pickering Esqr. Declar'd there was no Law for a Poll and went off and a number of others with him—the Party for Benja. Adams Esqr by Poll as one of the selectmen Declar'd was 27 not one person went out on Ephm. Pickering Esquire's side thus the matter was Conducted—men of wisdom judge who is right—meeting Dissolved—

True Copy of the Proceedings

Attest Richard Downing TC—

1. *Ibid.*

Votes of Persons Attending Town Meeting, 28 January 1788¹

A list of the Names of those Persons who attended the meeting At Newington to Chuse a Deligate for Convention on Monday 28th of Jany. 1788

For Ephraim Pickering Esqr	John Nutter Ensigne
John Gee Pickering	Matthias Nutter
Benjamin Pickering	Matthias Nutter Jur
Samuel Fabyan	Georg Nutter
John Fabyan Esqr	William Nutter
Samuel Fabyan Jur	Hatevil Nutter
Thomas Nutter	Hatevil Nutter Jur
Nehemiah Pickering	Joseph Sim Nutter
Valentine Pickering	Samuel Dame
Dudley Colbath	Joseph Hight
Joel Laighton	Charles Hodgsdon
Richard Downing Esqr	John Shackford
John Coleman	Cap Saml Shackford
Joseph Coleman	Nathan W[eb]b Adams
James Peavey	Colo Henry Hart Esqr
John Downing	James Pickering
Richard Downing Jur	Issachar Dame
for Pickering 16	Paul Rawlings
Names for Benja. Adams Esqr 45	Samuel Rawlings
Abraham Pickering	Benjamin Hodgsdon
Nicholas Pickering	Dudley Colbath:
Stephen J Thomas	Cap Richard Pickering
William Furbur	Richard Downing Jur
Levi Furbur	Jonathan Downing

1. *Ibid.*

Additional List of Names from Town Meeting, 28 January 1788¹

Those that hath this Mark () Nither Voted nor poled at all

Let. Nicholas Pickering*	Mathias Nutter jur.
Stephen Jones Thomas*	George Nutter
Ens John Nutter	James Pickering
Mathias Nutter	Samuel Dame
Levi Furber	Capt. Samuel Shackford*
William Furber	John Shackford
Hatevil Nutter Second	Nathan Web Adams
Hatevil Nutter third	Capt Richard Pickering*

Samuel Rallings
 Paul Rallings*
 Left. Henry Heart

Joseph Hight*
 Jonatha[n] Downing
 Abslem Pickering

1. *Ibid.*

Election Certificate, 28 January 1788¹

at a Legal Notified Town Meeting held this day Benjamin Adams Esqr Chosen Moderator of said Meeting Votes were Call'd for a Delegate for the Ensuing Convention; there was Eighteen Votes for Ephraim Pickering Esqr and twelve for Benjamin Adams Esqr the Said Adams Party Demanded a Pole and Likewise Pol'd to the Number of twenty Six—and one for Said Pickering; We are fully of the Oppinion that Benjamin Adams Esqr is Elected Delegate to Meet in Convention at the Town House in Exeter on the Second Wednesday of this Instant February

Henry Hart	} Selectmen of Newington
Hatevil Nutter	
Richd. Pickering	

1. *Ibid.*

Petition in Favor of Ephraim Pickering, 2 February 1788¹

We the subscribers legal voters in Newington hereby declare that we ballotted for Ephraim Pickering Esqr. as a delegate for said Town to the State Convention to be held at Exeter the second Wednesday of February Inst—Witness our hands the 2d day of February 1788.

Samuel Fabyan
 Richd. Downing
 Samel. Fabyan Junr
 Joel Leighton
 Nehemiah Pickering
 Thomas Nutter
 [– – –] Drake
 Valintine Pickering
 John Downing
 Richard Downing junr.

Joseph Colman
 John Colman
 Dudley Colbath
 Benja. Hodgdon
 John Fabyan
 John Gee Pickering
 Benja Pickering
 James peavey
 Charles Hodgdon

Those that hath this Mark (*) Nither Voted nor poled at all²
 Let. Nicholas Pickering*
 Stephen Jones Thomas*

1. *Ibid.*

2. This line and the two following lines were written sideways on this petition and may be unrelated to it.

Petition in Favor of Ephraim Pickering, 13 February 1788¹

To the honble Convention met at Exeter the second Wednesday of February 1788 to consider of the proposed federal Constitution

Humbly shew the Subscribers Inhabitants and legal voters of the Town of Newington that We conceiving the spirit and design of the Resolve of the General Court, was, to chuse Delegates to said Convention in the same manner as Representatives by the Constitution of this State are to be chosen; when the Votes were called for by the Moderator, we *balloted* for Ephraim Pickering Esqr. for a Delegate to said Convention— That upon the Votes being counted there were Eighteen for said Pickering and Twelve for Benjamin Adams Esqr. Whereupon we concluding that said Pickering was legally and clearly chosen did not poll, conceiving that a Poll in such Case could not be legally demanded. We further suggest that if we were mistaken in the sence of said Resolve, yet we greatly doubt whether the said Adams had eighteen persons who polled for him Wherefore We pray that the proceedings of said Meeting may be enquired into and that said Pickering may be admitted to a seat in said Convention

Feby. 13. 1788

John Fabyan
Samuel Fabyan Junr.

We the Subscribers are Petitioners on behalf of the signers in the aforegoing Pettion

1. *Ibid.*

Election Certificate, 18 February 1788¹

This Certificate; that at a Legal Town Meeting held this day Benjamin Adams Esqr is Legally Chosen Delegate to Represent said Town in the present convention now siting at Exeter

Henry Hart	} Selectmen
Hatevil Nutter	
Richd. Pickering	

1. *Ibid.* This certificate was addressed "To/The President/of Convention."

Town Meeting, 18 February 1788¹

At a Legal meeting of the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of sd. Newington paying Taxes—By order of the Convention now sitting at Exeter in order to Chuse a Delegate to send to Exeter in order to Represent sd Newington in Convention Chose Coll. Timothy Dame moderator

Ephm. Pickering Esqr. 32 Votes—
 Benja Adams Esqr 40—
 Benja Adams Esqr. Chose Delegate. meeting Dissolved

1. MS, Town Records, NhHi.

Newmarket, 14 January 1788
Nathaniel Rogers (Y)

Town Meeting, 14 January 1788¹

At a Town Meeting held at Newmarket the 14th. day of January AD 1788, Pursuant to Warrant,

1st. Voted, Samuel Gilman Esqr. Moderator—

2d. Voted, to Adjourn this Meeting to the House of William Whites, Fifteen Minutes—

Met according to Adjournment, and After Reading the Constitution sent out by the Federal Convention, the Votes for the Choice of a Delegate to Represent this Town in a Convention to be held at Exeter on the Second Tuesday of February next, were brought in and Counting the Same it appeared Nathl. Rogers Esqr. to be Unanimously Chosen—

Voted, Unanimously (upon Motion of Nathl. Rogers Esqr.) to Except the Federal Constitution as it now Stands—

This Meeting Dissolved—

Samuel Gilman} Moderator

Att[es]t, J Adams Town C

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 2, NhHi.

New Hampshire Spy, 18 January 1788¹

The town of Newmarket have made choice of Col. Nathaniel Rogers, for their representative at the ensuing Convention.

The above town, at their meeting for the choice of a representative, passed a vote, approving of the proposed Constitution, and expressing their desire that it may be adopted in this state, without any alteration, addition or diminution.—*Well done, patriotic citizens of Newmarket, may your example be followed by every town in the State.—And may all unite, as one family, in raising that pillar for New Hampshire, which has justice for its base—wisdom, honour, truth and might for its materials, and LIBERTY for its pyramid.*

1. Reprinted in seven newspapers by 20 February: Pa. (4), N.J. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1).

Nottingham, 7 January 1788
Thomas Bartlett (Y)

Town Meeting, 7 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

Minutes of a Meeting heald Janr. 7th. 1788

at a Legal Meeting heald at the Meeting House in the Town of Nottingham on Monday the 7th Day of January agreeable to the within warrent

Voted that General Joseph Cilley be Moderator—

Voted that the Meeting be ajourned to be heald at the House of Benjamin Butler Esqr to be heald there Immediately

Meet according to ajournment

After the New Constitution had been Read in the Meeting the Ballot being Taken it appeared that Thomas Bartlet Esqr. was Duly Elected a Delegate for the Town of Nottingham to Meet with the Deligates in Convention at the within Time & Place . . .

the Meeting was then Dissolved

attest. Thos. Bartlett T. Clk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 2, NhHi. The Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 11 January, incorrectly reported that "Major General Cilley" was elected as Nottingham's Convention delegate (Mfm:N.H. 34).

Peterborough and Society Land, 28 January 1788
Nathan Dix (A)

Warrant, 5 January 1788¹

To Moses Cuningham one of the Constables of Peterborough for the year one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Seven Greeting

In the name of the State of Newhampshire you are required to warn the free holders and other inhabitants of the Town of Peterborough qualified by law to Vote in [town] affairs to meet at the Meeting house in Said Peterborough on Monday the twenty first day of this Instant January at one of the Clock PM then and there to Act as follows

first to Chuse A Moderator to regulate Said meeting

Second to See if the Town will choose A committee to consider the Constutution and make report to the Town

Thirdly to see whether the Town chuse A member for State Convention to Set at Exeter

and of this warrant see you make due return at the day and hour for holding Said meeting and this Shall be your Sufficient warrant given

under our hand and Seal this fifth day of January one thousand Seven hundred and eighty eight

John Gray } Select
Nathon Dix } Men

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 21 January 1788¹

At the Time and place mentioned in the warrant the inhabitants of Peterborough met in Town meeting and the Town Clerk being absent the Selectmen opened the meeting

firstly Chose Jeremiah Smith Moderator to regulate Sd. meeting and adjourned down to Robert Gray for one half hour

Met according to the adjournment

Secondly Voted to Chuse A committee of nine to consider the Constitution to wit Mathew Wallace Alaxander Robbe Jeremiah Smith Samuel Moor Harry Forguson Robert Swan Thomas McCloud John White William [- -] be Said Committee

Voted to adjourn to monday the 28 day of January 1788 at two oclock afternoon at Robert Gray in Peterborough

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 28 January 1788¹

Met in Town Meeting according to the adjournment

Second Voted under the Second article to reject the plan of Government wholly as it now stands

thirdly Voted to Send a member to convention at Exeter

Voted that Majr Nathon Dix Should be the member from Peterborough

1. *Ibid.*

**Plymouth, Rumney and Wentworth, 22 January 1788
Francis Worster (Y)**

Election Certificate, 22 January 1788¹

At a legal meeting of the District of Plymouth, Rumney & Wentworth, held at Plymouth on tuesday the 22nd. Day of January current, for the choice of a Member to represent sd. District in Convention to be held

at Exeter on the second Wednesday of February next, to take into consideration the foederal Constitution, The Honble. Francis Worcester Esqr. was unanimously elected for the purpose aforesd.—
 Plymouth Jany. 22. 1788

Sam Emerson	}	Select Men of Plymouth
John Rogers		
Stephen Wells		

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Portsmouth, 14 January 1788

John Langdon (Y) John Pickering (Y) Pierse Long (Y)

Town Meeting, 14 January 1788¹

At a Town Meeting held this Day pursuant to the above
 Voted Daniel Rindge Esqr. Moderator
 the Votes as follow

John Langdon Esqr.	101	Joshua Wentworth Esqr	5
John Pickering Esqr.	98	George Gains Esqr.	1
Pierse Long Esqr.	77	John Parker Esqr.	1
A R Cutter	28	Rev. Joseph Buckminster	1

Voted the three first duely elected
 Voted that this Meeting be dissolved

John Evans Town Clerk

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 3, 1779–1809, Office of the City Clerk, Portsmouth, N.H. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 January reported the election results which were reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 January; the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 23 January; the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 31 January; and the *New York Journal*, 4 February. Other brief results appeared in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 18 January, and in three Massachusetts newspapers, two Philadelphia newspapers, and one Baltimore newspaper.

Richmond, 4 January 1788

Jonathan Gaskill (N)

Election Certificate, 4 January 1788¹

At a Legul town meeting held this Day for the purpose of Chusing a Dilagate to attand the Convention to be holden at Exeter on the Second Wednesday of February Next for the porpose of taking under Consideration the Constitution preposed by the Federal Convention: the Ballots being taken it appeared that Mr Jonathan Gaskill Was Unanamusly Chosen for that porpose as Witness our hands

Rufus Whipple } Selectmen of
James Kingsley } Richmond

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Rindge, 10 January 1788
Othniel Thomas (N)

Warrant, 25 December 1787¹

To Capt. Othniel Thomas one of the Constables of Rindge in said County greeting

You are hereby Required to Notify and Warn all the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of said Rindge Qualified by law to vote in Town meetings to Meet and assemble at the Publick Meeting house in said Rindge on Thursday the tenth Day of January next at one of the Clock in the afternoon then and there to act on the following Articles viz

1st. To Choose a Moderator to Govern said meeting

2d. To see if the Town will act on what is recommended to us By the Federal Convention with respect to our National Constitution

3d To see if the Town will choose one Delegate to send to this States Convention which is to set at the State house in Exeter on the second Wednesday in February next

4th To see if the Town will choose a Committee to give Instructions to their Delegate

Hereof fail not and make Due Return of this Warrant on or Before the said 10th. Day of January

Given under my hand and Seal at Rindge afforesaid this 25 Day of December 1787

By order of the Selectmen

David Sherwin Town Clerk

1. MS (copy), Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Town Meeting, 10 January 1788¹

The Town Being Met agreeable to the Foregoing Warrant the Warrant and Return being read then Proceeded as followeth

1st viz Chose Capt Oth[nia]l Thomas Moderator also chose Edward Jewett Clerk Pro. Teme.

2d. Voted in the affirmative also voted to Choose a Committee of seven to peruse the Constitution and make report to the Town Chose Dr. Francis Towne Edward Jewett Lieut Page Norcross Mr Nathl. Russell

Mr Saml. Whiting Mr Jonathan Ingalls & Capt Benjamin Davis for said Committee

3d. Chose Capt Othl. Thomas for their Delegate to attend the Convention at Exeter

Then Voted to adjourn the Present Meeting to Monday the 14 Instant then to be held at the Publick Meeting house in Rindge at one o Clock P.M. & the meeting was adjourned accordingly

A true Copy of the Votes Pr

Edwd. Jewett Town clerk Pro Teme.

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 14 January 1788¹

The Town being met according to adjournment heard the Report of the Committee and Voted not to accept the Federal Constitution as it now stands and the Meeting was Dismissed

1. *Ibid.*

Salem, 17 January 1788 Thomas Dow (N)

Election Certificate, 13 February 1788¹

At a Legal meeting holden at Salem on the Seventeenth day of Jany. last past for the purpose of chusing a Deligate for convention, Lieut. Thomas Dow was unanimously chosen.

A true Copy from the Records

Pr Benja Poor Town Clerk

Salem Feby 13th 1788—

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Salisbury, 16 January 1788 Ebenezer Webster (NV)

Town Meeting, 16 January 1788 (excerpts)¹

at said Time and place met agreeable to the foregoing warrant firstly Colo Ebenezer Webster Chosen moderator 2ndly Voted to Choose a deligate to Join in the Convention at Exeter agreeable to the foregoing warrant

3rdly Colo. Eben Webster Chosen for sd. Delligate

4thly Voted to Choose a Committee to Consult the Constitution and to advise with sd. Delligate

5thly Esqr Bean[,] Jon[atha]n Fifield Jon[atha]n Cram Capt Wilder John Collins Edward Eastman Ensn John C: Gale Capt Smith Leonard Judkins Jacob True Lieut Bean; Lieut Severance and John Smith Chosen for sd Committee. . . .

J: Collins T Clark

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 2, NhHi.

George W. Nesmith to Joseph B. Walker

25 August 1888¹

FRIEND WALKER: I send down to you such information as I have in relation to Judge Ebenezer Webster, who acted as a delegate from Salisbury in the Convention of 1788, called to ratify the United States Constitution. The records I furnish are authentic. The statement as to the conduct of Judge Webster, in declining to vote for the ratification of the Constitution, is founded upon tradition, and is, of course, made, subject to some doubt.

At a town-meeting holden on the 16th day of February, A. D. 1788, Capt. Ebenezer Webster was chosen moderator of said meeting.

“Voted to choose a Delegate to meet in Convention at Exeter to consult or take in consideration the Constitution as proposed by the Federal Convention.

“Ebenezer Webster was appointed Delegate.

“Proceeded to choose a Committee to consult and advise with said Delegate in relation to the proposed Convention. Joseph Bean, Esq., Jonathan Fifield, Jonathan Cram, Capt. Luke Wilder, John Collins, Edward Eastman, Ensign John C. Gale, Capt. Robt. Smith, Leonard Judkins, Deacon Jacob True, John Smith, Lt. Bean, Lt. Jos. Severance were chosen said Committee.”

The aforesaid committee was selected from the early and influential settlers of Salisbury, and were the neighbors and friends of Capt. Webster. The Convention met in February at Exeter, and after a long debate came to no decisive vote: adjourned to meet at Concord in the following month of June. A short time before the Convention met at Concord, Judge Webster had an interesting interview with his committee at Salisbury, when the merits and demerits of the Constitution were discussed. Our information is derived from an intelligent son of one

of that committee. He remarked that Judge Webster favored the adoption of the U. S. Constitution, as it offered many advantages over the confederacy, and cured many of the defects of that form of government. Moreover, [George] Washington, in whom he had implicit confidence, had labored hard to bring it into existence, and he was willing to trust to his wise counsels and action always. But the opinion of the Advisory Committee, or a majority of them, was adverse to the new Constitution. The strongest and leading argument urged against it was derived from the fact that the Constitution sanctioned or tolerated human slavery. Hon. Jos. Atherton, of Amherst, had used this argument in opposition to its adoption with much force and effect. It was difficult to meet and overcome the power and influence of his reasoning on this topic, when it was in close union and deep sympathy with the great majority of the Northern people. It is not surprising that we find, according to the Records of the Convention, that Judge Webster did not vote at all, when the final vote of delegates was taken in Convention. We do find him a strong supporter of the Constitution after its adoption, and early one of the electors of Washington, appointed by the people of this state, to the presidency. Mr. Webster was state senator, elected by the people of Hillsborough county in 1786–90.

Truly yours,

1. Printed: Joseph B. Walker, *Birth of the Federal Constitution: A History of the New Hampshire Convention for the Investigation, Discussion, and Decision of the Federal Constitution . . .* (Boston, 1888), 43n–44n.

Sandwich and Tamworth, 4 February 1788
Daniel Bedee (Y)

Election Certificate, 4 February 1788¹

At a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitants of Sandwich & Tamworth, held at Tamworth this 4th day of February 1788 for the Purpose of electing one Delegate to the Convention of the People to be held at Exeter the Second Wednesday of this Instant February to Act upon the proposed Federal Constitution—Daniel Beede Esqr. was unanimously elected a Delegate for said Towns—

Stephen Mason	}	Select Men of Tamworth
Timothy Medar		
David Folsom		

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Temple and Peterborough Slip, 21 January 1788
John Cragin (N)

Town Meeting, 21 January 1788¹

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Temple & Peterborough Slip on Said day—

Voted Colenel Frances Blood Moderator

Voted Against having the Federal Constitution

Voted John Craggin to go to Convention at Exeter

Voted a Coll. Francis Blood Francis Craggin Saml. Milliken Benjn. Bacon Calob Maynard Doctr. Durgey Lt. John McAllaster a Committee to Give the said John Craggin Instructions Concerning the Said federal Constitution

Atest Saml. Milliken T Clark

1. MS (copy), Sharon Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

Walpole, 21 January 1788
Benjamin Bellows (Y)

Warrant, 5 January 1788¹

This is to Notify and warn the Freeholders and other Inhabitants in the Town of Walpole Qualified by Law to Vote in Town meetings to Assemble and meet at the Meeting House in said Town on monday the 21st. day of this Instant January at Ten of the Clock in the forenoon To Act on the Following Articles (viz) First to Choose a Moderator to Govern said Meeting—

Secondly To Elect one Delagate to Set in Convention to Consider of the Federal Constitution Sent to said State Through the Medium of Congress to be Adopted or Rejected—

Dated at Walpole Janry. 5th. 1788

By Order of the Select Men

Benja. Bellows Town Clerk

A True Ccopy of Record

John Denison } Selectmen

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar.

Election Certificate, 21 January 1788¹

This may certify that at a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitants of Walpole held on the 21st. day of January Anno Domini 1788.

The Hon. Benjamin Bellows Esq: was Chosen a Delagate to set in Convention at Exeter to consider of the Federal Constitution either to adopt or reject said Constitution—

Abram Holland	}	Select Men
Jonathan Lloyd		

1. *Ibid.*

Warrant, 28 January 1788¹

This is to Notify the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Walpole Qualified by Law to Vote in Town meetings to Assemble at the Meeting House in said Town on the Eleventh day of Febry. next at Ten of the Clock in the forenoon, to act on the Following Articles if they see Cause (viz) Firstly To Choose a Moderator to Govern said Meeting—Secondly To See if the Town will give Benjamin Bellows Esqr. Instructions who is Chose to Represent the Town in Convention—And Also to know the minds of the Town how many are for the Federal Constitution and how many against it, And to Reconsider all or any Vote Passed at the Last meeting, more Especially what Respects the Federal Constitution or to act on said Article as the Town Shall think Proper when met—

Dated Janry. 28th. 1788

By Order of the Selectmen

Benja. Bellows Town Clerk

A True Copsy of Record

Attest Benja. Bellows Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 11 February 1788¹

At a Legal Meeting held at the Meeting House in Walpole on the 11th. day of Febry 1788—

Chose Colo. Hale Moderator to Govern said meeting

Voted To Adjourn this Meeting for one hour—

Met according to Adjournment

Voted not to give Genl. Bellows any Instructions

Voted to Reconsider the Vote that Chose Benjamin Bellows Esqr the Last meeting a Delagate to Set in Convention at Exeter to Consider of the Federal Constitution

Voted and Chose Lt. Aaron Allen a Delagate to set in Convention to Consider of the Federal Constitution—

Voted to Dismiss this meeting—
A True Copy of Record

Attest Benja. Bellows Town Clerk

1. *Ibid.*

Wendall and Unity, n.d.
Moses True (N)

Election Certificate, 3 April 1788¹

To his Honor the Chairman of the State Convention in & for the State of Newhampshire To Convene at Concord the third wednesday In June next for the Purpose of a free Discussion & Discion [i.e., Decision] of the Constitution of the United States as Recommended to Congress the 17th of September 1787

This May Ascertain that the town of Wendell In Sd State Made Choice at their Annual Meeting of Mr Moses Trew for their Deligate at Said Convention

Given Under our hand this	} Select Men of Wendell
3d Day of April 1788	
Elijah Woodward Abiathar young	

1. MS, State Convention, Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar. Wendall and Unity was unrepresented at the first session of the New Hampshire Convention in February. True attended the last three days of the four-day second session in June.

Windham, 29 January 1788
James Bettan (Y)

Warrant, 2 January 1788¹

To David Campbell Constable for the west part of Windham you are hereby Required in the Name of the People of this State to warn all the freeholders and other Inhabitants of Windham Qualified by Law to Vote in town affairs to assemble and meet at the meeting House on Tuesday the fifteenth Day of this Instant January at ten O Clock Before Noon to act on the following Peticulars (viz)—

Istly. to Chouse a Moderator to Rule and govern sd. meeting—

2dly. To See if the town Will Chouse one fit man to Represent us in convention to be holden at Exeter on the Second Wednesday of Febry. Next—

and if they Chouse a man to Sit in Convention—

3dly. to See if they Will Give the sd. member any Instructions and you are to make Return of this Warrant to us with your Doings thereon at or before the above Sd. Day and this Shall be your Warrant Given under our hands at Windham this Second Day of January 1788

Nathl. Hemphill } Select
James Davidson } Men

1. MS, Town Records, Vol. 3, NhHi.

Town Meeting, 15 January 1788¹

To the freeholders and other Inhabitants of Windham being Mete agreeable to the foregoing warrant after Reading the Same Proceeded in the following Manner—

1stly. on the first article Votted and Choose James Betton Esqr Moderator to Rule and Govern Sd. Meeting

2dly on the Second article Votted and adjurned Sd. article to Lieut. Joseph Smith Emediatly, agreeable to the foregoing adjurnment mete and Reasumed the meeting again and Proceeded to Reading the Federal Constitution after Reading the Same Votte to adjurn this article till Some futer Day Votted and adjurned Sd. article till the Last Tuesday of this Month at ten O Clock in the fore Noon at the Meeting house

also votted to Chouse a Committee to Take the Constitution under Consideration and Lay their Oppenion Before the town at the foregoing adjurnment

Also Votted to have but one Committee votted that the Said Committee consist of Nine Members which is the following Persons Majr. Asa Senter James Betton Esqr. Deacn. John Dinsmoor Deacn. Saml. Campbell Deacn. David Gregg Deacn. Samel. Morison James Cochran John Morison and James Davidson and Dismissed

1. *Ibid.*

Town Meeting, 29 January 1788¹

The free holders and other Inhabitants of Windham Being agreeable to the foregoing adjurnment

Proceeded to Hear the opinion of the aforesaid Committee

Reasumed the meeting again on the third article Votted and Choose Samel. Morison to Attend the Convention in Behalf of Windham But he said Could not attend then Votted and Choose James Betton Esqr to Represent Windham in Convention agreeable to the warrant—

and Dismised the meeting

1. *Ibid.*

IV.
THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION
FIRST SESSION
13–22 February 1788

Introduction

About half of the delegates elected to the New Hampshire Convention assembled at the courthouse in Exeter on 13 February. They chose Josiah Bartlett as chairman and appointed a three-man committee to receive the election returns and to prepare rules for the Convention. On 14 February, with about a hundred delegates attending, the Convention by ballot elected John Calfe as secretary and New Hampshire state executive John Sullivan as president. The elections committee reported that two delegates had been returned from the town of Newington. In the afternoon session, the Convention agreed to request the selectmen of Newington to hold a new election. The committee also reported eleven rules, one of which provided that the yeas and nays could only be taken on the final vote to ratify the Constitution. Another important rule specified that a motion to adjourn “shall take place of any other motion.”

Later on 14 February, the Constitution was read and Samuel Livermore moved to investigate it by paragraphs, which was agreed. After some discussion of the biennial election of U.S. representatives, the Convention adjourned to reassemble at 9:00 the next morning at the First Congregational meeting house, which it did for the seven subsequent sessions. The Convention finished its paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the Constitution on Thursday morning, 21 February. After a motion was made to consider “general observations,” the Convention adjourned to the afternoon when a general discussion of the Constitution ensued. On Friday morning, 22 February, John Langdon moved that the Convention adjourn. After a heated debate on the question of adjournment, the delegates voted 56 to 51 to adjourn to reassemble in Concord on 18 June. For an Editors’ Note on the adjournment of the Convention, see RCS:N.H., 219–26.

Delegates to the New Hampshire Convention

The roster lists all of the delegates elected to the New Hampshire Convention. The vote given for each delegate is the 21 June vote to ratify the Constitution, which carried 57 to 47. A “Y” indicates a vote to ratify the Constitution;

an "N" a vote against ratification; an "A" that a delegate was absent; and an "NV" that a delegate was present during the June session but did not vote. (On the New Hampshire map [see front endpapers], "Towns Not Voting" include those whose delegates were either absent or who did not vote.) Towns that had the prerogative of electing delegates to the New Hampshire Convention but did not do so are recorded in this roster as "Did not send delegate."

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
John Sullivan

SECRETARY
John Calfe

DELEGATES

ACWORTH, LEMPSTER AND MARLOW Daniel Grout (N)	CONCORD Benjamin Emery (N)
ALSTEAD Oliver Shepherd (Y)	CONWAY, EATON, BURTON AND LOCATIONS David Page (N)
AMHERST Joshua Atherton (N)	CORNISH AND GRANTHAM Jonathan Chase (Y)
ATKINSON AND PLAISTOW Benjamin Stone (N)	DEERFIELD Edmund Chadwick (Y)
BARNSTEAD, NEW DURHAM AND N. D. GORE Jonathan Chesley (Y)	DERRYFIELD John Hall (Y)
BARRINGTON Samuel Hale (Y)	DOVER Ezra Green (Y)
BATH, LYMAN, LANDAFF, LITTLETON AND DALTON Samuel Young (Y)	DUBLIN AND PACKERSFIELD Samuel Griffin (Y)
BEDFORD Stephen Dole (N)	DUNBARTON AND BOW Jacob Green (N)
BOSCAWEN Joseph Gerrish (Y)	DUNSTABLE William Hunt (N)
BRENTWOOD Thomas Stow Ranney (Y)	DURHAM John Sullivan (Y)
CAMPTON, HOLDERNESS AND THORNTON Samuel Livermore (Y)	ENFIELD, CANAAN, CARDIGAN, DORCHESTER AND GRAFTON Jesse Johnson (Y)
CANDIA Stephen Fifield (N)	EPPING Nathaniel Ladd (A)
CANTERBURY Jeremiah Clough (N)	EXETER John Taylor Gilman (Y)
CHARLESTOWN Benjamin West (Y)	FISHERSFIELD, SUTTON AND WARNER Nathaniel Bean (N)
CHESTER Joseph Blanchard (Y)	FITZWILLIAM Caleb Winch (N)
CHESTERFIELD Solomon Harvey (N)	FRANCESTOWN Thomas Bixby (N)
CHICHESTER AND PITTSFIELD Benjamin Sias (N)	GILMANTON Joseph Badger, Jr. (N)
CLAREMONT Matthias Stone (N)	GOFFSTOWN William Page (N)

GREENLAND	LYME AND ORFORD
Ichabod Weeks (Y)	William Simpson (Y)
HAMPSTEAD	LYNDEBOROUGH
John Calfe (Y)	Benjamin Jones (N)
HAMPTON	MADBURY
Christopher Toppan (Y)	William Hooper (N)
HAMPTON FALLS AND SEABROOK	MARLBOROUGH
Samuel Langdon (Y)	Jedediah Tainter (N)
HANCOCK, ANTRIM AND DEERING	MEREDITH AND NEW HAMPTON
Evan Dow (A)	Ebenezer Smith (NV)
HANOVER	MERRIMACK
Jonathan Freeman (Y)	Timothy Taylor (N)
HAYERHILL, PIERMONT, WARREN AND	MOULTONBOROUGH, TUFTONBOROUGH,
COVENTRY	WOLFEBOROUGH AND OSSISPEE
Joseph Hutchins (N)	Nathaniel Shannon (Y)
HAWKE AND SANDOWN	NEW BOSTON
Nehemiah Sleeper (N)	John Cochran (N)
HENNIKER AND HILLSBOROUGH	NEW CASTLE
Robert B. Wilkins (Y)	Henry Prescott (Y)
HINSDALE	NEW CHESTER, ALEXANDRIA AND
Uriel Evans (A)	COCKERMOUTH
HOLLIS	Thomas Crawford (Y)
Daniel Kindrick (N)	NEW IPSWICH
HOPKINTON	Charles Barrett (N)
Joshua Morss (Y)	NEW LONDON, ANDOVER AND GORE
JAFFREY	Did not send delegate
Abel Parker (N)	NEWINGTON
KEENE	Benjamin Adams (Y)
Aaron Hall (Y)	NEWMARKET
KENSINGTON	Nathaniel Rogers (Y)
Jeremiah Fogg (Y)	NEWPORT AND CROYDON
KINGSTON	John Remmele (N)
Josiah Bartlett (Y)	NEWTON
LANCASTER, NORTHUMBERLAND,	Robert Steward (N)
STRATFORD, DARTMOUTH, PIERCY,	NORTH HAMPTON
COCKBURN AND COLEBURN	Benjamin Thurston (Y)
John Weeks (Y)	NORTHFIELD
LEBANON	Charles Glidden (Y)
Elisha Payne (Y)	NORTHWOOD, EPSOM AND ALLENSTOWN
LEE	James Gray (Y)
Reuben Hill (A)	NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN AND FRANCONIA	Thomas Bartlett (Y)
Isaac Patterson (Y)	NOTTINGHAM WEST
LITCHFIELD	Ebenezer Cummings (N)
Daniel Bixby (N)	PELHAM
LONDONDERRY	Amos Moody (Y)
Archibald McMurphy (N)	PEMBROKE
Daniel Runnels (N)	Samuel Daniels (NV)
LOUDON	PETERBOROUGH AND SOCIETY LAND
Jonathan Smith (N)	Nathan Dix (A)

PLAINFIELD	SOMERSWORTH
Joseph Kimball (Y)	Moses Carr (Y)
PLYMOUTH, RUMNEY AND	SOUTH HAMPTON AND EAST KINGSTON
WENTWORTH	Benjamin Clough (N)
Francis Worster (Y)	STODDARD AND WASHINGTON
PORTSMOUTH	Thomas Pinneman (N)
John Langdon (Y)	STRATHAM
Pierse Long (Y)	Jonathan Wiggin (Y)
John Pickering (Y)	SURRY AND GILSUM
PROTECTWORTH	Jonathan Smith (NV)
Did not send delegate	SWANZEY
RABY AND MASON	Elisha Whitcomb (Y)
Amos Dakin (Y)	TEMPLE AND PETERBOROUGH SLIP
RAYMOND AND POPLIN	John Cragin (N)
Thomas Chase (N)	WAKEFIELD, MIDDLETON AND EFFINGHAM
RICHMOND	Nicholas Austin (N)
Jonathan Gaskill (N)	WALPOLE
RINDGE	Aaron Allen ¹
Othniel Thomas (N)	Benjamin Bellows (Y)
ROCHESTER	WEARE
Barnabas Palmer (N)	Jonathan Dow (N)
RYE	WENDALL AND UNITY
Nathan Goss (Y)	Moses True (N)
SALEM	WESTMORELAND
Thomas Dow (N)	Archelaus Temple (Y)
SALISBURY	WILTON
Ebenezer Webster (NV)	William Abbott (Y)
SANBORNTON	WINCHESTER
William Harper (N)	Moses Chamberlain (Y)
SANDWICH AND TAMWORTH	WINDHAM
Daniel Bedee (Y)	James Bettan (Y)

1. Attended first session. Replaced by Benjamin Bellows at second session.

The New Hampshire Convention Wednesday 13 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 13 February 1788¹

A Journal of the proceedings of the Honbe Convention assembled at the Court House in Exeter on Wednesday the thirteenth day of February A D. 1788 for the investigation discussion and decision of the Federal Constitution—

About fifty members being assembled they proceeded to the choice of a Chairman and the Honbe Josiah Bartlett² Esqr was chosen—

The Honbe Saml Livermore the Honbe John Taylor Gilman³ & Benjamin West⁴ Esqrs. were appointed a Committee to receive the returns

of members elected—they were also appointed a Committee to prepare and lay before the Convention such rules as they shall judge necessary for regulating the proceedings in said Convention—

Adjourned to 10 o'Clock to morrow morning

1. MS, Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New Hampshire, which adopted The Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar, 17. The Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 15 February (Mfm:N.H. 40), and *New Hampshire Mercury*, 20 February, printed the proceedings. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 February, summarized the proceedings, noting that there were two contested elections (Mfm:N.H. 41).

2. Bartlett (1729–1795), a physician, was a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1775–76, 1778, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. He was a member of the committee that drafted the Articles. In 1782 he became a justice of the state superior court, and in September 1789 he was appointed chief justice of the court. Bartlett was president/governor of New Hampshire, 1790–94. As Kingston's delegate, he voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

3. Gilman (1753–1828), a shipbuilder, merchant, banker, and gentleman farmer, was active in providing supplies for the army during the Revolutionary War. He was a member of the state House of Delegates, 1779–82, 1810–11, and the Confederation Congress, 1782–83. Gilman was state treasurer, 1783–89, 1791–94. He was governor, 1794–1805, 1813–16. As Exeter's delegate to the state Convention, he voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

4. West (1746–1817), a 1768 graduate of Harvard College and a prominent lawyer, served briefly in the cavalry during the Revolutionary War. In 1787 he was elected to both the Confederation Congress and Constitutional Convention but attended neither. As Charlestown's delegate to the state Convention, he voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788. In 1789 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, but he declined. West was a delegate to the Hartford Convention in 1814.

The New Hampshire Convention **Thursday** **14 February 1788**

Convention Proceedings, 14 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment—About one hundred members present

Motion was made for the choice of a Secretary for the Convention, and the ballots being taken John Calfe Esqr.² was chosen for that purpose and Sworn to the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him—Motion was then made for the choice of a President and the ballots being taken. His Excellency John Sullivan Esqr. was chosen President³—

Voted that Mr Livermore, Mr. Gilman and Mr. West be a Committee to examine the returns of the Elections of the Several Members of the Convention and report thereon—

The Convention being informed that there were two persons returned as Members to said Convention from the Town of Newington and after

examining said returns and enquiring into the matter—agreed to postpone the determination thereof until the afternoon—

Adjourned to 3 o’Clock P. M. then to meet at the Meeting House in Exeter—

Met according to adjournment—

The Committee appointed to prepare rules for regulating the proceedings in convention reported the following viz—

1st. That as it is essential to the public interest so it shall be considered and enjoined as the Incumbent duty of each Member of this Convention seasonably and punctually to attend in his place and not absent himself without leave—

2d. That freedom of deliberation speech and debate in the Convention be allowed to each Member thereof yet no Member shall by speech or behaviour in Convention give just occasion of offence to another.

3d. That any member disposed to make a motion or speak to a matter in debate, shall rise from his seat and address the President, but on being called to order by the President he shall be silent yet if such Silenced member shall conceive himself injured thereby the President shall take a vote of the convention thereon, and such member shall submit to their determination—

4th. No member shall speak more than twice to any subject in debate until each member have an opportunity to offer his Opinion—

5th No motion from one member shall be received or debated unless Seconded by another—

6th When a motion is regularly before the Convention it shall at any time, at the request of a Member be reduced to writing by the person making it—

7th On the question for adopting the federal Constitution and on that only the yeas and nays may be taken if desired by a Member—

8th When it shall appear that any person returned is not legally chosen, he shall be dismissed—

9th That in determining any question the votes of a Majority of the Members present shall be necessary excepting such Members as may by consent of the Convention be excused from voting, on their giving satisfactory reasons therefor—

10th That a motion to postpone any Question or to adjourn shall take place of any other motion—

11th That no vote be reconsidered when there is a less number of members present than there was at passing the Same—which report was read and considered received and accepted—

Resumed the consideration of the returns from Newington and came to the following vote.

Voted that in order that the Convention may ascertain whether it is the Sense of the Inhabitants of Newington that Ephraim Pickering Esqr or Benjamin Adams Esqr should represent them in this Convention— That the Select men of Newington be requested to notify a meeting of the voters in said Town on Monday next to ballot for such of those two Gentlemen as they may think proper and make return thereof in common form⁴—

Motion was made to proceed to the consideration of the proposed federal Constitution—which being read, it was agreed to proceed to the investigation by paragraphs—

Article 1st.

On Section 1st. no debate—After some debate on the 2d Section, agreed to adjourn to 9 o Clock to morrow morning—

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 17–21. For the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 15 February, version of these proceedings, see Mfm:N.H. 40.

2. Calfe (1741–1808) was also clerk of the state House of Representatives, a position he held for twenty-five years. For decades he was also a justice of the peace and of the quorum throughout the state and a justice of common pleas for Rockingham County. He represented Hampstead in the state Convention and voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

3. A gentleman lately arrived in Boston from Exeter reported that Sullivan accepted the Convention presidency “but on condition of being allowed the privilege of a member, in expressing his sentiments on any or all of the paragraphs in the discussion” (*Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 February, RCS:N.H., 234).

4. On 18 February, Newington elected Benjamin Adams over Ephraim Pickering by a vote of 40 to 32. (See RCS:N.H., 185–86.) Adams voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

New Hampshire Spy, 15 February 1788¹

Proceedings of the New-Hampshire State Convention.

THURSDAY, A. M. February 14, 1788

The Convention met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to the choice of a President, when his Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. was chosen.

The Convention then made choice of the Hon. Judge [John] CALFE, for their Secretary, and proceeded to business, when, the proposed Constitution being read, the

Hon. Judge [Samuel] LIVERMORE rose, and after a short speech, introduced a motion “that the Convention do now proceed to the consideration of the proposed Constitution by paragraphs.”

This motion was objected to by the hon. Mr. [John] PICKERING,² who thought it most expedient for the Convention to take a review of the old Constitution, point out its *defects*—and the necessity of having a

new one adopted—preparatory to any other proceeding.—He was seconded by the Hon. Judge [Josiah] BARTLET—who was of the same opinion.

Hon. Judge LIVERMORE, in answer to the Hon. Mr. *Pickering*, said, he tho't the *defects* of the old Constitution would naturally be made to appear as the Convention debated upon the new—that it was the most consistent way of proceeding, and he wished the question might be put.

The question was then put, whether the Convention would proceed to the consideration of the proposed Constitution by paragraphs?—when it passed in the affirmative.

The Convention then proceeded to the consideration of *Biennial Elections*—when Mr. [Joshua] ATHERTON (from Amherst) rose, and informed the Convention, that he had many *weighty* objections to the paragraph in debate, and proceeded to enumerate them. (*Those objections, we are informed, were much the same as those mentioned by the opposition in the Massachusetts Convention.*)³

He was answered by Judge Livermore, Mr. [John] Langdon, Mr. *Pickering*, Rev. Dr. [Samuel] Langdon, and the Rev. Mr. [Benjamin] THIRSTON;—who severally spoke in favour of the paragraph as it stood.

It was observed by Mr. Atherton, that the right of recalling the representatives ought to be vested in the state legislatures, &c.

He was answered by the Rev. Mr. THIRSTON,⁴ who observed, that the representatives were chosen by, and dependent on, the people, and was the right of recalling them vested in the state legislatures they might improve it to the subversion of the rights of the people by recalling them, one by one, and entirely destroying the representation of the people and leaving the whole business to be transacted by the Senate (who only represent the sovereignty of the people)—in which case, the balance of power would be destroyed—the paragraph, therefore, as it stood met with his hearty approbation.

(The very short time allowed us to prepare the above, will, we presume, apologize for any inaccuracies which may appear.)

The Convention yesterday consisted of between 90 and 100 members, and finding it inconvenient to sit in the Court-House, adjourned to the Rev. Mr. Mansfield's Meeting House, in Exeter.⁵

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 February; *New Hampshire Recorder*, 4 March; and in whole or in part in thirteen other newspapers by 19 March: Vt. (1), Mass. (6), Conn. (1), R.I. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (2), Va. (1). See note 4 (below).

2. *Pickering* (1737–1805), a 1761 graduate of Harvard College and a Portsmouth lawyer, was a delegate to the state constitutional conventions of 1778, 1781, and 1791. He

represented Portsmouth in the state House of Representatives, 1783–88, and was state attorney general, 1786–87. Pickering was elected to the Annapolis Convention in 1786, and the next year he was elected a delegate to the Confederation Congress and the Constitutional Convention of 1787, but he did not attend any of these three bodies. Pickering was a member of the state Senate, 1788–90, and acting president of New Hampshire from January to June 1790. He was chief justice of the state superior court, 1790–95. From 1796 to 1804, he was judge for the U.S. District Court for New Hampshire. Pickering was impeached and removed from office in 1804. As one of the Portsmouth delegates, he voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

3. Opponents to biennial election of U.S. representatives in the Massachusetts Convention argued that annual elections had always been the practice in Massachusetts, that they worked well, and that annual elections safeguarded liberty, prevented tyranny, and would be an obstacle to Congress perpetuating itself (RCS:Mass., 1184–86, 1195–96, 1200, 1204–5).

4. The Reverend Benjamin Thurston (c. 1750–1804), a native of Massachusetts and a 1774 graduate of Harvard College, was pastor of the First Congregational Church in North Hampton, 1785–1800. He voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

5. This last paragraph was reprinted in full by itself in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 22 February; *New York Journal*, 29 February; *New Jersey Journal*, 5 March; and New Brunswick, N.J., *Brunswick Gazette*, 11 March.

Jedidiah Morse described the Rockingham County courthouse in Exeter as “handsome and capacious” (*The American Gazetteer* . . . [Boston, 1797] [Evans 32509], Exeter entry). The First Congregational Church, built in 1730–31, was “sixty feet long and forty-five feet wide” with two tiers of galleries. It had about thirty-two pews around the sides of the church, with ten additional pews in the lower gallery. On each side of the broad aisle which ran up to the pulpit were benches. The Reverend Isaac Mansfield had recently been dismissed as its pastor (Charles H. Bell, *History of the Town of Exeter, New Hampshire* [Exeter, 1888], 179–80, 189–90).

The New Hampshire Convention Friday 15 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 15 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment—

Resumed the debate on the 2d Section in Article 1st respecting biennial Elections—and after much debate adjourned to 3 o Clock P. M. Met accordingly—

Proceeded to the consideration of the 3 Section of the first Article—considered the 3d. 4th. 5th. 6th. and 7th Sections—

Adjourned to 9 o Clock to morrow morning—

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 21–22.

The New Hampshire Convention
Saturday
16 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 16 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment—

Proceeded to the consideration of the 8th Section of the 1st Article and after much debate thereon adjourned to half past 2 o'Clock P. M—

Met according to adjournment and resumed the consideration of the 8th Section—and debated largely thereon—

Adjourned to Monday next at 9 o'Clock A M

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 22.

John Sullivan to the Court of Common Pleas at Dover
Exeter, N.H., 16 February 1788¹

Gentlemen

sundry members of the Convention having business at your Court, and their presence, advice, and assistance being absolutely necessary in the very important matter now under consideration in the Convention; I am directed by the unanimous vote of the Convention to request your honors to adjourn the Court of common pleas in the County of Strafford for about a fortnight which will much oblige the Convention and greatly serve the Interest of the united states in General and of this in particular.

1. RC, State Series, New Hampshire Misc., New York Public Library.

The New Hampshire Convention
Monday
18 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 18 February 1788¹

The convention met according to adjournment—

Proceeded to the further consideration of the 8th. Section and after much debate thereon agreed to adjourn to 3 o'Clock P. M—Met accordingly—

Proceeded to the consideration of the 9th Section after Some debate thereon proceeded to the 10th Section

Adjourned to 9 o Clock to morrow morning

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 22-23.

Convention Speech of Joshua Atherton, c. 18 February 1788¹

IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.

It is greatly to be deplored that no records of the debates of the convention of N. H. which adopted the Federal Constitution of the United States have been preserved.—They would be of inestimable importance to the present and future inquirers into the origin and establishment of our political institutions. We do not recollect that a single speech on the adoption of any one section of the Constitution was ever published. By accident we lately found the following abstract of one made by the Honorable JOSHUA ATHERTON, delegate from Amherst on that section relating to the *Importation of Slaves*, in the following words, viz. “The Migration or Importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation not exceeding ten dollars for each person.”

Mr Dow² the delegate from Weare, spoke very sensibly and feelingly against this paragraph. Several members on the other side spoke in favor of it with remarks on what Mr Dow had said, after which Mr Atherton from Amherst spoke as follows:

Mr President:—I cannot be of the opinion of the Honorable Gentleman who last spoke, that this Paragraph is either so unjust or so inoffensive, as they seem to imagine, or that the objections to it are so totally void of foundation. The idea that strikes those who are opposed to this clause so disagreeably and so forcibly, is, hereby it is conceived (if we ratify the Constitution) that we become *Consenters to* and *Partakers in*, the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic, at least, for a certain period, without any positive stipulation that it shall even then be brought to an end. We do not behold in it that valuable acquisition so much boasted of by the honorable Member from Portsmouth—“*that an end is then to be put to slavery.*” Congress may be as much or more puzzled to put a stop to it then, than we are now.—The clause has not secured its abolition.

We do not think under any obligation to perform works of supererogation in the reformation of mankind: we do not esteem ourselves under any necessity to go to Spain or Italy to suppress the inquisition of those countries; or of making a journey to the Carolinas to abolish the detestable custom of enslaving the Africans: but, Sir, we will not lend the aid of our ratification to this cruel and inhuman merchandize, not

even for a day. There is a great distinction in not taking a part in the most barbarous violation of the sacred laws of God and humanity; and our becoming guarantees for its exercise for a term of years. Yes, Sir, it is our full purpose to wash our hands clear of it, and however unconcerned spectators we may remain of such predatory infractions of the laws of our nation; however unfeeling we may subscribe to the ratification of manstealing, with all its baneful consequences; yet I cannot but believe in justice to human nature, that if we reverse the consideration and bring this claimed power somewhat nearer to our own doors; we shall form a more equitable opinion of its claim to this ratification.

Let us figure to ourselves a company of these manstealers well equipped for the enterprise, arriving on our coast. They seize or carry off the whole or a part of the town of Exeter. Parents are taken and children left: or, possibly they may be so fortunate as to have a whole family taken and carried off together by these relentless robbers.—What must be their feelings in the hands of their new and arbitrary masters! Dragged at once from every thing they held dear to them—stripped of every comfort of life like beasts of prey, they are hurried on a loathsome and distressing voyage to the coast of Africa, or some other quarter of the globe, where the greatest price may waft them;—and here if any thing can be added to their miseries, comes on the heart-breaking scene! a parent is sold to one—a son to another, and a daughter to a third. Brother is cleft from brother—sister from sister—and parents from their darling offspring.—Broken with every distress that human nature can feel, and bedewed with tears of anguish, they are dragged into the last stage of depression and slavery, never, never to behold the faces of one another again. The scene is to[o] affecting—I have not fortitude to pursue the subject.

1. Printed: *New Hampshire Statesman and Concord Register*, 7 July 1827.

2. Jonathan Dow, a militia private in the Revolutionary War, storekeeper, and Quaker preacher, represented Weare in the state House of Representatives, 1787–88. Dow voted against ratification of the Constitution in June 1788.

The New Hampshire Convention
Tuesday
19 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 19 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment—

Proceeded to the consideration of the Second Article and after some debate on the Several Sections and paragraphs proceeded to the consideration of the third Article—

Adjourned to 3 o Clock P. M. Met accordingly

Resumed the consideration of the third Article and after debating on the first and Second Section—adjourned to 9 o'Clock to morrow morning—

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 23.

The New Hampshire Convention
Wednesday
20 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 20 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment

Resumed the consideration of the Second section in the third Article—

Adjourned to 3 o Clock P M. Met accordingly

Proceeded to the consideration of the fourth fifth and Sixth articles and after some debate respecting a Religious test—adjourned to 9 o'Clock to morrow morning

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 23.

New Hampshire Spy, 23 February 1788¹

(As the following was committed to paper without taking notes at the time, and barely from memory, the Editor must beg pardon of those gentlemen whose arguments are weakened, or stile debased, by an attempt to gratify the public.)

In CONVENTION,

WEDNESDAY, A. M. February 20.

The judiciary power under consideration.

Rev. Dr. [Samuel] *Langdon*² thought from a view of all the articles containing a cession of the judicial power to a Federal Tribunal, it appeared, the authority therein granted was such as to ensure uniformity and impartiality in the decisions of the courts of justice: that it could be attended with no danger to the rights of the people; and was a happy expedient to prevent the injustice, which would often be done, and the prejudice which would necessarily arise, from a State judge and jury deciding on the cause of a fellow citizen, and a foreigner or citizen of another state. And he thought as the federal court were only to judge

causes between citizens of the different states, upon appeal—it could not be grievous to the subject on account of expence.

Mr. [Joshua] *Atherton* said, he never could accede to an article in a constitution, which promised expence and injustice without any advantage in return. The article now under consideration, it was true, contained many limitations which were highly necessary; he had no objection to the provision and indeed it perfectly met his ideas; that causes, wherein ambassadors, consuls, or other public ministers were concerned, should be tried before a federal court. But, I can never consent that this mighty power shall have the cognizance of every cause, where a citizen of another state and a citizen of this are parties; that a citizen of New-Hampshire should be dragged from his peaceful home—from his neighbours, friends, and his family, to *Head Quarters*, to his utter ruin, where perhaps the cause in dispute is very trifling. I can never consent, Mr. President, that an officer of revenue, rapacious and unfeeling, as they are universally known to be, shall have it in his power in any dispute with a citizen of this state, to carry this dispute before judges interested to increase the revenues of the continent, and who therefore will always decide in favour of an unprincipled collector of excise.

Hon. Judge [Samuel] *Livermore* said, he believed the article under consideration had been much misunderstood; the supposition, that all causes wherein citizens of different states were interested, should be commenced before a federal tribunal was not warranted by the words of the constitution or the intention of convention; the constitution says, in all causes where an ambassador, other public minister, or consul, in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction in all the other causes before mentioned they shall have appellate jurisdiction. This, he said, excluded the federal court from any other jurisdiction in other causes, except upon appeal. The state courts would proceed in the trial of all the other actions in the same way they did before the adoption of the constitution; and then if either party was dissatisfied with the judgment, he could appeal to a judicature, where as there could be no motive for prejudice against him or in his favour, his cause would be honestly and justly decided. That this would be the mode of procedure, had been his opinion from the beginning, and altho' he knew, many gentlemen of abilities opposed the idea, he was more confirmed in it, the more he considered the constitution. If any one would attend to the mode of trial in any other except the northern part of America, he would join him in opinion; in the southern states they have no instance and can have no conception of an appeal as it is here practiced, where the cause upon appealing to the

superior court is considered in the same view, as if it had never been tried by another court and jury. He had conversed, he said, with a member of the general convention, who was now present, (Hon. Mr. [John] Langdon) upon this subject, and he informed him, it was the meaning of convention, that causes in which citizens of different states were parties, &c. should be commenced & tried before the several state courts, and that only an appeal lay to the federal court. Gentlemen have said, and the constitution also says, that the judiciary power of the United States shall extend to these cases, and that the previous section provides, that the judiciary power shall consist in a supreme court and in such inferior courts as Congress shall see fit to establish, and from this they have been pleased to determine, that all these causes must originate in the federal courts of justice. He would observe the former words will have their full meaning by the supreme court taking cognizance of causes between citizens of different states upon appeal, and the latter words extended to giving Congress power to erect courts of admiralty maritime jurisdiction, &c.

Mr. *Atherton* seemed to give up the idea of all causes between citizens of different states originating in the federal courts, but still insisted upon the hardship, injustice and expence of citizens of this state being dragged to *Head Quarters* for the ultimate decision of their causes.

Mr. [Abel] *Parker*³ said, he had attentively considered this article, and the reasonings upon it, and he still thought it as plain as it could be expressed in words; that the cognizance of all the cases therein enumerated was confined to the federal courts—some to be commenced in the supreme courts, others to originate in the inferior federal courts, and to be carried to the supreme court by appeal. And he called upon the honourable member [John Langdon] who was of the General Convention to inform, what inferior courts Congress were empowered, by the constitution, to erect, in the opinion of Convention, at the time of its formation.

Hon. Mr. *Langdon* replied, they were such courts as the honourable member from Holderness (Judge *Livermore*) had mentioned, Courts of Admiralty, Maritime Courts, &c.

His Excellency President [John] *Sullivan* said, every part of the constitution contained proofs of the wisdom of those who framed it; no one article more fully met his approbation than the one under consideration. All acknowledge that causes wherein ambassadors, other public ministers, or consuls, or where different states are parties, where foreigners are interested, ought to come under the cognizance of the federal judicature: and if this were just, it was equally so, that causes between citizens of different states should be tried by the same tribunal.—There are few of us, he observed, who have not been witnesses

of the bias the most upright judges have upon their minds, in deciding a cause between citizens of their own state and foreigners, or citizens of another state. The limits of the eastern boundary of this state were formerly disputed by Massachusetts.—Towns upon or nigh the line had been granted by both. The Massachusetts grantees commenced actions of trespass against the New-Hampshire settlers in the county of York; and the Court held upon consideration that the lands were within the county of York. Similar actions were commenced by the New-Hampshire settlers, within the province of New-Hampshire and their court determined, the action were well brought in a county in New Hampshire. There disputes were long continued, 'till at length the parties, observing the inefficiency of the laws of either province to determine a question of this kind, compromised the dispute. The mode pointed out by their constitution remedies those evils, a tribunal upon the adoption of this government may be resorted to; when the grants of different states will have no more weight, than their intrinsic goodness will warrant; where it will not be so much considered, whether a party belongs to Massachusetts or New-Hampshire, as whether his cause be just. And all this, we may certainly predict, notwithstanding the terror of its opponents, will be effected without ruining any party in the prosecution or defence of his right—that justice will be administered, without any extraordinary expence to the subject—that Congress will under such limitations and regulations as they are empowered by the constitution to make, provide for the easy and expeditious dispensing of law. It should seem singular, that gentlemen, who consider the British constitution as perfect, who supposed our situation, when subject to the British King, was as eligible as that of any people could be, complain of this regulation as a hardship and destructive to the rights of the people. They quietly suffered an appeal to Great Britain in all causes of consequence, they then boasted of their liberties, boasted of the liberty of appealing to judges ignorant of our situation and prejudiced against the name of an American. And will these gentlemen object to this provision in the constitution. Could they be content under the former bondage, and will they now refuse a constitution, because an unprejudiced American court are to be their judges in certain causes under such limitations and regulations as the representatives in Congress shall provide.

Col. [Benjamin] *Stone*⁴ observed our situation would not be much happier by changing one set of tyrants for another—British for American tyrants.

Hon. Mr. [John] *Pickering* pointed out the very great difference in their effects upon the rights of the people, between the judicial power of the king and council when we were subject to Great Britain, and

those to be vested in the federal courts by this constitution. The former, he observed, whenever they were exercised reminded us of our humiliating dependance upon a foreign, distant and haughty nation, who was interested in our welfare no farther than it would enable us to bring them an increase of tribute—who troubled themselves with hearing appeals, only because it shewed & proved their superiority & our subjection. The latter, he said, was a power which from the manner of the grant was secured from excess and oppression. The federal courts are to be appointed by men, all of whom are chosen mediately or immediately by the people, accountable to their constituents for their conduct, and removable at certain periods, if they have betrayed the rights of their countrymen. And the exchange, if rightly stated, was British tyranny for security of property and every valuable priviledge.

Among other paragraphs which were debated, none took up more time in the convention, than the article which says, "The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," *Art. 6. Sec. 4.*

This paragraph being read, Deacon [Matthias] *Stone*,⁵ (from Claremont) rose, and wished to know whether a religious test was not necessary for the security of our religious rights—he thought it was—it had ever been practised by our forefathers—and was considered by them as their inestimable privilege—their pearl of great price—He called upon the reverend Clergy and the friends to religion to rise and support the cause of religion:—he tho't, in the present day, when iniquity was abounding, it was highly necessary that there should be some restraint laid upon wicked and designing men. He thought it was necessary, at least, that men, previous to their entering into any office of state, should acknowledge their belief in the being of a God, &c. He did not know but, if this constitution was adopted, that Congress might deprive the people of the use of the holy scriptures—that *pearl of great price*—that *inestimable jewel*⁶—he said, he was not for confining men's consciences, but he tho't, as we were now establishing new government, it was the only time to secure our religious rights, or it might hereafter be too late. He said, he did not, for his part consider the connecting the civil power with the ecclesiastical in so novel a manner as the Rev. Gentlemen present.—The scriptures hold up the idea—"Kings shall be

their nursing fathers, and Queens their nursing mothers["?"]⁷—where then was the harm—he believed the Rev. Gentlemen present, had often received their salary in consequence of this support, and would be glad to receive it again in the same way.

He was answered by the Rev. Dr. *Langdon*,⁸ who took a general view of religion as unconnected with and detached from civil power—that it was an obligation between God and his creatures, and the civil authority could not interfere without infringing upon the rights of conscience. He said, the paragraph as it stood, was the greatest security that could be expected. He took a short review of the christian history, and with admirable ingenuity traced the various steps by which the civil power became connected with the ecclesiastical, and by which the ecclesiastical became the supreme head, dispensing laws to kings and emperors, dictating their councils, &c. He said, this connecting the civil power with the ecclesiastical was the cause of all the persecutions which had taken place. Religion must stand upon its own ground—if it could not, he should never think of calling upon the civil arm for its support—It would be arguing that its great author was insufficient. He said our state constitution guarantied to us the free exercise of our religion,⁹ of which the new constitution was no infringement—that he should not have objected, if a paragraph had been inserted agreeable to the gentlemen's wishes, but had rather it should be omitted, because it would be acknowledging a power which he did not think the government ought to possess, that of dictating in matters of conscience. He venerated the concern which the gentlemen expressed for the cause of religion, but thought the zeal a mistaken one.—He was fully sensible of the importance of having religious men for our rulers, honest men, men hating covetousness—but, says he, where shall we draw the line? Religion does not consist in outward appearances; a man may make fair pretensions, and yet be a hypocrite at heart. A test will never be binding upon an atheist, a man of no religion. He reprobated the idea of the roman catholic religion gaining ground in this land; “the kings of the earth, said he, who formerly united in building up the kingdom of that whore, are now busily employed in pulling her down; and the period is not far distant, when she will sink like a mighty millstone, never to rise again.” He was decidedly in favour of the paragraph as it stood, and considered it as one of the greatest ornaments to the new Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 29 February, 4 March; *Boston American Herald*, 3 March; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 7, 14 March; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 25 March (last

four paragraphs). The *Recorder* added the final paragraph from the *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February (extra) (RCS:N.H., 219). See also note 8 (below).

2. Samuel Langdon (1723–1797), a native of Boston, a 1740 graduate of Harvard College, and a Congregational minister, was pastor of the North Church in Portsmouth, 1747–74, and president of Harvard College, 1774–80. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from Marischal College (Aberdeen, Scotland) in 1761. From 1781 until his death, he was pastor of the church in Hampton Falls, N.H. On 5 June 1788 Langdon delivered the election sermon to the New Hampshire legislature (RCS:N.H., 356–59), and on 21 June he voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention.

3. Parker (1753–1831), a farmer and a member of the militia during the Revolutionary War, represented Jaffrey in the state House of Representatives, 1787–88, 1791–93. In October 1788 he was appointed a justice of the peace for Cheshire County. Parker voted not to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

4. Benjamin Stone, a militia captain in the Revolutionary War, had been elected to the state Convention from Atkinson and Plaistow after Nathaniel Peabody declined the appointment. Stone voted not to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

5. Matthias Stone, a farmer, served in the militia during the Revolutionary War. Stone voted not to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

6. Matthew 13:45–46. “Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: Who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.”

7. Isaiah 49:23.

8. A similar but shorter account of Langdon’s speech was printed in the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 4 March 1788 (Mfm:N.H. 64). The account was reprinted eleven times by 12 April: Vt. (1), Conn. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (5), Md. (1), Va. (1). The reprinting in the *Maryland Journal*, 21 March, was followed by this paragraph: “The Error seems not sufficiently eradicated (says Mr. *Jefferson*, in his Notes on Virginia) that the Operations of the Mind, as well as the Acts of the Body, are subject to the Coercion of the Laws. But our Rulers can have Authority over such natural Rights only, as we have submitted to them. The Rights of Conscience we never submitted—We could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate Powers of Government extend to such Acts only, as are injurious to others. But it does me no Injury for my Neighbour to say, that there are Twenty Gods, or no God—it neither picks my Pocket, or breaks my Leg.”

9. See Article 5 of the 1784 New Hampshire Bill of Rights (Appendix I, RCS:N.H., 465).

The New Hampshire Convention Thursday 21 February 1788

Convention Proceedings, 21 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment—

Resumed the consideration of the last paragraph in the Sixth article, and after much debate thereon proceeded to the consideration of the remainder of the proposed constitution after which motion was made

to proceed to general observations on the said Constitution but a Motion for adjournment taking place the General observations were postponed until the afternoon—

Adjourned to 3 o Clock P. M—Met accordingly

Proceeded to general observations on the Constitution—

Adjourned to 9 o Clock to morrow morning

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 24.

New Hampshire Spy, 23 February 1788¹

Yesterday 'forenoon, (the honourable Convention of this state finished debating upon the new Constitution by paragraphs. Our situation not allowing us to be present at all the debates, prevents us from laying before our readers a summary of the whole. In general we can inform, that every objection that could possibly be invented has been made use of by the gentlemen opposed to the proposed new form of government, which objections have been ably answered by gentlemen in favour of it.) The ground has been fairly traversed, the greatest candour observed, and we flatter ourselves, a happy issue will be the event.

The principal speakers against adopting the new Constitution, are, *Joshua Atherton*, Esq. from Amherst, Rev. *William Hooper*, from Madbury,² Deacon *Mathias Stone*, from Claremont, and Mr. *Abiel Parker*, from Jaffrey. The speakers in favour of it (or those who have spoken up the subject) are, his Excellency President [John] *Sullivan*, Hon. *John Langdon*, Esq. Hon. Judge [Samuel] *Livermore*, Hon. Judge [Josiah] *Bartlett*, Hon. *John Pickering*, Esq. Rev. Dr. [Samuel] *Langdon*, and the Rev. Mr. [Benjamin] *Thirston*—all of whom have been (indefatigable in explaining such parts of the constitution as gentlemen in the opposition affected to consider dark and mysterious, tyrannical and oppressive.—)³

The dangerous tendency of biennial elections—of trusting Congress with too much power—of their holding the purse and the sword—of their laying direct taxes, &c. &c. &c. was *properly* noticed by the opposition.

(For further proceedings, see New-Hampshire Spy Extraordinary.)

1. Reprinted in whole or in part in twelve newspapers by 2 April: Vt. (1), Mass. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Va. (1).

2. Hooper (c. 1746–c. 1827) was a Madbury Baptist minister, farmer, and shoemaker. In 1791 he was a delegate to the convention to revise the state constitution. Hooper voted not to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

3. The text within angle brackets was paraphrased following the pillars illustration in the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February (immediately below).

Boston Independent Chronicle, 28 February 1788¹



NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION.

Thursday last the Convention of the State of New-Hampshire finished debating upon the federal Constitution by paragraphs. Every objection that could possibly be invented was made use of by the gentlemen opposed to the Constitution, which were ably answered by those in favour of it, who were indefatigable in explaining such parts as the opposition affected to consider dark and mysterious, tyrannical and oppressive.

1. Reprinted (without the pillars) seven times by 6 March: Mass. (2), Conn. (5). The text paraphrases material found in two paragraphs in the *New Hampshire Spy* of 22 February (immediately above).

**The New Hampshire Convention
Friday
22 February 1788**

Convention Proceedings, 22 February 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment

A Motion was made & Seconded that the Convention adjourn to some future day—but the determination was postponed until some general observations were made—

The question was put and it was voted to adjourn to some future day—

Voted that when the convention adjourn that it be to meet again at Concord on the third Wednesday in June next—

Voted that the Convention now adjourn—

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 24–25.

New Hampshire Spy, 23 February 1788 (extra)¹

The Hon. Col. [John] Langdon, made a motion, That the convention do adjourn to some future day—which was postponed, in order to give such gentlemen as chose a further opportunity of entering into the general debate.—

When Mr. [Joshua] *Atherton* rose, and in a speech of considerable length, pointed out all the disadvantages which he conceived, would result to these states from adopting the new constitution—*tyranny* in the extreme and *despotism with a vengeance!!!* &c. &c.

He was answered by the Rev. Mr. [Benjamin] *Thirston*.

The question was then put for adjournment and after considerable opposition from Mr. *Atherton*, Deacon [Matthias] Stone, Rev. Mr. [William] *Hooper* and Mr. [Abiel] *Parker*, it passed in the affirmative—

for adjourning—56

against adjourning,—51

The convention is to meet at Concord the third Wednesday in June next.

The reason which induced many of the members to adjourn was, their being tied up to instructions, to vote against the constitution of which they could not divest themselves without incurring the displeasure of their constituents.

Thus endeth the first chapter of the New-Hampshire Convention. Whether the conclusion augurs much good, or much evil, we must leave politicians to determine. Much praise, however, is due to the federal representatives—their exertions demand our highest encomiums and the public's highest veneration.

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette* and *New Hampshire Mercury*, 27 February; Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 7 March; and in eighteen other newspapers by 24 March: Vt. (2), Mass. (8), Conn. (5), Pa. (3). The penultimate paragraph did not appear in the *Freeman's Oracle* and in six other reprints, while the final paragraph only appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 4 March, and the *Freeman's Oracle*. The *New Hampshire Recorder*, 25 March, added the final paragraph to a reprinting of the Convention proceedings of 20 February (RCS:N.H., 210–16n).

Editors' Note

**The Adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention
Exeter, N.H., 22 February 1788**

Throughout America, it was generally believed that the New Hampshire Convention would ratify the Constitution with little opposition.

After the Massachusetts Convention ratified the Constitution on 6 February, New Hampshire's acceptance of the Constitution seemed even more certain. Everyone expected New Hampshire to follow the lead of its influential neighbor. On 15 February James Madison in New York wrote that "The Convention of N Hampshire is now sitting. There seems to be no question that the issue there will add a *seventh* pillar, as the phrase now is, to the foederal Temple" (to George Washington, RCS:N.H., 128). Five days later the Federalist *Massachusetts Centinel*, even though it was known that there was opposition to the Constitution in the New Hampshire Convention, predicted "that the New Hampshire Pillar will . . . be added as another supporter of the FEDERAL SUPER-STRUCTURE" (CC:Vol. 4, p. 521).

As the Convention neared, however, some New Hampshire Federalists began having misgivings. On 11 February President John Sullivan, who had been elected to represent Durham in the state Convention, believed that prospects for New Hampshire's ratification were "not so favorable as I expected" (to Henry Knox, RCS:N.H., 121). When the Convention met in Exeter on 13 February, Sullivan's fears were soon realized—a majority of the delegates opposed the Constitution. Estimates placed Federalist strength at between 30 and 48 of the 108 delegates in attendance. A number of Federalist delegates lamented that "the only thing that can be done to prevent its [i.e., the Constitution's] rejection is to have an adjournment of the Convention" (Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap, 19 February, RCS:N.H., 227). Adjournment was Federalist's only recourse as many towns had instructed their delegates to vote against the Constitution. According to delegate John Langdon of Portsmouth, these instructed delegates felt bound to vote against ratification even though some of them (estimates ranged from about 7 to 30 delegates) had become supporters of the Constitution (to Rufus King, 23 February, RCS:N.H., 233–34). Others believed that delegates who were also state legislators were afraid of "incurring the displeasure of their constituents" who might vote them out of office in the upcoming elections in March (*New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February [extra], immediately above; and John Vaughan to John Dickinson, 9 March, Dickinson Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia). Delegates hoped that they could get their constituents to change their instructions. Therefore, on 22 February John Langdon moved that the Convention "adjourn to some future day." The Convention voted 56 to 51 to adjourn and to meet in Concord on 18 June (*New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February [extra], immediately above). John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, formerly an Antifederalist and now an observer of the New Hampshire

Convention debates, wrote in his diary that the motion “was the offspring of the fears of the federal party; and was faintly opposed by the other faction, who appeared to be equally fearful of the event; though more confident of their numbers” (22 February, RCS:N.H., 230–31).

Americans everywhere wondered what effect New Hampshire’s adjournment would have on the prospects for ratification of the Constitution. Federalists tried to interpret the adjournment as positively as possible and predicted publicly that the Convention would ratify the Constitution when it reconvened in June. Antifederalists emphasized that the adjournment was the first public rejection of the Constitution. For instance, the *New York Journal*, 3 March, reported that the adjournment “alone, prevented a rejection of the system; and there is no great probability, that, in June, it will have a greater number of friends than it now has” (Mfm:N.H. 62. See also *New York Morning Post*, 3 March, CC:Vol. 4, p. 530.).

Some observers thought the adjournment to the inland town of Concord benefited Antifederalists. A letter dated 12 March, and allegedly written by Pennsylvania Antifederalist George Bryan, declared that the move “100 miles farther inland . . . bodes no good to the *federal* party, as they falsely call themselves” (CC:647, pp. 490–91). A satirical letter from James de Caledonia (James Wilson) to James Bowdoin expressed the same idea: “But I find the country members have carried the convention farther back in the country at least 100 miles, to a place called *Concord*. How, in the name of wonder, could you suffer this to take place . . .” (Philadelphia *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 March, Mfm:Pa. 512. See also CC:614.). When Federalist Nicholas Gilman, a New Hampshire delegate to Congress, heard that the Convention would reconvene in Concord, he lamented that “the field assigned for the scene of action is so much in favor of the adverse party” (to John Sullivan, 22 March, RCS:N.H., 272). Federalist Samuel A. Otis, a Massachusetts delegate to Congress, worried that the Convention’s “adjournment into the Wilderness augurs ill” (to Benjamin Lincoln, 8 May, CC:735).

Concord was chosen not to benefit Antifederalists, but because the legislature was scheduled to convene there on 4 June. The choice of Concord would be convenient for those Convention delegates who also served in the legislature. The legislature met on 4 June and adjourned on 18 June, the opening day of the second session of the Convention.

On 24 February news of the adjournment reached Boston, where several prominent Federalists expressed their disappointment but predicted that New Hampshire would ratify in June (William Heath Diary, Henry Jackson to Henry Knox, Caleb Gibbs to George Washington,

and Benjamin Lincoln to Washington, RCS:N.H., 235–37). The next day the Antifederalist Boston *American Herald* erroneously reported that the New Hampshire Convention had voted not to ratify the Constitution and that, after reconsidering the question, it had voted to adjourn (RCS:N.H., 238–39n). On the 26th the *Herald's* erroneous report was refuted by a correspondent in the *Massachusetts Gazette* (RCS:N.H., 241). The next day the *Massachusetts Centinel* (RCS:N.H., 243–44) also published a lengthy refutation of the *Herald's* report that was widely reprinted.

Despite their public optimism, Federalists privately worried about the effect the adjournment might have on the states that had not considered the Constitution. Maryland's Convention was scheduled to meet on 21 April, South Carolina's on 12 May, Virginia's and New York's on 2 and 17 June, respectively, and North Carolina's on 21 July. Rhode Island had not even called a convention. George Washington noted that the adjournment in New Hampshire would "possibly" make "Rhode Island more backward than she otherwise would have been, if *all* the New England States had *finally* decided in favor of the measure" (to Henry Knox, 30 March, Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 183). James Madison wrote that the adjournment was "no small check to the progress of the business" and that the "mischief elsewhere will in the meantime be of a serious nature" (to Edmund Randolph, and to George Washington, 3 March, CC:587, and Rutland, *Madison*, X, 555). Nicholas Gilman agreed: "much is to be apprehended from this unfortunate check to the tide of our political prosperity. . . . This unfortunate affair will at least give a temporary spring to the opposition and I fear its effects in other States; though I cannot doubt the final ratification in ours, if proper measures are adopted, to counteract the nefarious designs of the enemys to our Country" (to John Langdon, 6 March, RCS:N.H., 264). Two weeks later Gilman's worst fears seemed to be realized, as he declared that "Those that have not been in the way of seeing and hearing can hardly imagine what pernicious effects our Convention business has produced in a number of the States." After Massachusetts ratified the Constitution, Gilman continued, Antifederalists "began to make excuses and change sides in all Quarters," but after New Hampshire's adjournment "they augmented their forces took possession of their old ground and seem determined to maintain it at all hazards" (to John Sullivan, 22 March, RCS:N.H., 272). Paine Wingate, Gilman's colleague in Congress, wrote that "the ill impression on the minds of people by the adjournment is more extensive & mischievous than you would imagine. It is complained of as far as Virginia, & believed that if New Hampshire had adopted, there would not have been

one dissenting state. Whereas, there is now some danger that the whole plan will miscarry” (to Samuel Lane, 12 April, RCS:N.H., 284). And Antoine de la Forest, the French vice consul in New York, reported that New Hampshire’s adjournment was “a dangerous setback” that “had the most unfortunate effect on the people of the States of New York, Maryland Virginia and the two Carolinas. The opposition there has taken on new strength; *antifederalists* have stolen more easily into all the state conventions” (to Comte de la Luzerne, 15 April, CC:681).

Federalists were especially concerned about New York and Virginia—two important states where opposition to the Constitution was particularly strong. In New York City, the news of New Hampshire’s adjournment caused the prices of public securities to fall in early March (Collin McGregor to Neil Jamieson, 4 March, CC:590). Samuel Blachley Webb, a New York City commercial agent, lamented “O New Hampshire, you have (perhaps unintentionally) done us much injury.—Anti-federalists lift their heads.” Confederation Secretary at War Henry Knox reported from New York City that Antifederalists had been given “new life and Spirits,” while the “ardor” of Federalists had been “damped.” Rufus King wrote that “the spirit of Federalism” had been checked in the state of New York. Similar reports came from Thomas Tillotson in Dutchess County, N.Y., who noted that New Hampshire’s adjournment “has revived the drooping spirits of the Opposition” (Webb to Joseph Barrell, 9 March, RCS:N.H., 266; Knox to John Sullivan, 9 April, CC:669; King to Tench Coxe, 18 March, CC:623; and Tillotson to Robert R. Livingston, 11 March, RCS:N.Y., 1445). And Richard Stockton, a Princeton, N.J., lawyer writing from Boston, described the adjournment as “a most unlucky accident.” Stockton had been “informed by a Gentleman who may be depended on that the antifederal junto in N York had agreed to give up all opposition if Hampshire adopted” the Constitution (to Benjamin Rush, 14 April, RCS:N.H., 286).

Virginia Federalists were particularly alarmed by the adjournment because news of the “untoward event” arrived in the state while elections (3–27 March) were being held for the Virginia Convention. George Washington believed that all Antifederalist efforts in Virginia “would have proved entirely unavailing” if New Hampshire had ratified the Constitution. The news gave Virginia Antifederalists the “opportunity” to demonstrate that the Constitution was not “so generally approved of in other States as they [Virginians] had been taught to believe.” Antifederalists also maintained that, if Virginia rejected the Constitution, “all those [state conventions] which are to follow will do the same; & consequently, the Constitution cannot obtain, as there will be only eight States in favor of the measure” (to Henry Knox, 30 March, RCS:

Va., 521–22; and to John Langdon, 2 April, Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 186–87). Even some Federalists believed that the New Hampshire adjournment might destroy the Constitution's chances of ratification. Virginian Cyrus Griffin, president of Congress, worried that "nine states will not have agreed to the System before Virginia shall be assembled; this will make her in fact the preponderating state of the union; and being so placed I fear the consequences" (to Thomas FitzSimons, 3 March, RCS:Va., 453–54n).

The first test of the impact of New Hampshire's adjournment would be in Maryland, whose Convention was scheduled to meet on 21 April. Rufus King expressed the concern of most Federalists when he stated on 16 April that "we are not so confident of Maryland as we once were of New Hampshire" (to John Langdon, CC:686). On 20 April George Washington wrote Thomas Johnson of Maryland "that an adjournment, (if attempted), of your Convention to a later period than the decision of the question in this State [i.e., Virginia], will be tantamount to the rejection of the Constitution." Such an act "would have the worst tendency imaginable, for indecision there wld. have considerable influence upon South Carolina, the only other State which is to precede Virginia, and submits the question almost wholly to the determination of the latter. The *pride* of the State is already touched upon this string, & will be strained much higher if there is an opening for it" (RCS:Va., 743).

Washington was not alone in his fear that the Maryland and South Carolina conventions might not ratify the Constitution, thereby endangering the prospects for ratification by the Virginia Convention. Early in April, Federalist George Nicholas of Charlottesville, Va., had urged James Madison to write his friends in Maryland and South Carolina asking them to resist attempts to adjourn their state conventions. Madison replied that he would "cheerfully execute" Nicholas' request in order to avert "the mischievous influence here [Virginia] of such examples as N. Hampshire has set" (Nicholas to Madison, 5 April, and Madison to Nicholas, 8 April, CC:663, 667).

Federalist fears about adjournment in Maryland were apparently well founded. On 20 April, the day before the Maryland Convention met, Baltimore delegate James McHenry wrote Washington that "Our opposition intend to push for an adjournment under the pretext of a conference with yours respecting amendments. As I look upon such a step to amount to a rejection in both States I shall do every thing in my power to prevent it" (RCS:Md., 520).

Despite such fears, some Maryland and South Carolina Federalists believed that those states would ratify the Constitution. Dr. Philip

Thomas of Frederick, Md., thought that Maryland would ratify “by a pretty large majority” even though the opponents of the Constitution “have begun to pluck up their crests since the conflict happened in the Convention of N. Hampshire & the nefarious ‘doings’ in Rhode Island” (to Horatio Gates, 21 March, RCS:Md., 407). Judge Alexander Contee Hanson, a Maryland Convention delegate from Annapolis, asserted that “The (fatal) supineness of the federalists in New-Hampshire will occasion much trouble, altho’, upon the whole, I do not believe what has happened there will injure the cause. Whilst it gives spirits to (scoundrels and) demagogues, it rouses the friends to order and good government, and I trust, that, in no other state, will they be deceived by the apparent quiet submission of the former” (to Tench Coxe, 27 March, RCS:Md., 263, 266n. A lengthy extract of Hanson’s letter, including the material quoted here, was edited by Coxe and printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 April, and was widely circulated.). David Ramsay of Charleston, S.C., wrote that “I am more anxious since the adjournment of New Hampshire convention. . . . I countd on the support of New: Hampshire & am since doubly anxious for the vote of our State to be in favor of it. I still have a great preponderance of hope & only fear a delay in the business” (to Benjamin Lincoln, 31 March, RCS:S.C., 234).

Some Federalists worried that New Hampshire’s adjournment might even have a negative effect on Pennsylvania—a state which had already ratified the Constitution. James Madison thought that the opposition in New York “will take new spirits” and “That in Pena. will probably be equally encouraged” (to Edmund Randolph, 3 March, CC:587). Virginia delegate to Congress John Brown feared that the adjournment “will be productive of bad consequences as it will give fresh spirits & Confidence to the Malcontents who were begining to dispair & relax in their opposition—Altho Pensilva. had adopted it yet there is a very powerful party opposed who are growing very tumultuous having been exasperated by the intemperate Zeal of the friends to the Plan” (to James Breckinridge, 17 March, CC:621). This “very powerful party” had launched a petition campaign asking the state Assembly to revoke Pennsylvania’s ratification of the Constitution and had gathered more than 6,000 signatures (RCS:Pa., 709–25).

On 26 March the Federalist *Pennsylvania Gazette* printed a satirical letter, allegedly written by Antifederalist leader George Bryan of Philadelphia, stating that Antifederalists considered New Hampshire’s adjournment “as fatal to the business. So do its advocates here, and they are in the dumps, and some of the members of the General Convention are apologising for their conduct. Before this news came, the party was

up in the skies, as their behaviour seemed to express" (CC:647). The next week "A Pennsylvanian" asked Bryan if he "*conscientiously*" believed that Philadelphia Federalists considered the New Hampshire adjournment "*fatal* to the business" (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 April, Mfm:Pa. 600).

The adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention had less impact than was anticipated. The petition campaign in Pennsylvania to revoke the state's ratification of the Constitution was unsuccessful, as the state legislature tabled the petitions and adjourned at the end of March. The Maryland and South Carolina conventions ratified the Constitution by overwhelming majorities on 26 April and 23 May, respectively, becoming the seventh and eighth states to ratify. In mid-May Jeremiah Libbey, postmaster of Portsmouth, N.H., wrote that "several" Antifederalists in the New Hampshire Convention "are said to be quite altered from Antifederal to Federal" (to Jeremy Belknap, 12 May, RCS:N.H., 306). On 21 June the reconvened New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution by a vote of 57 to 47—the ninth state to ratify.

Commentaries on the First Session of the New Hampshire Convention

Jeremy Belknap to Ebenezer Hazard
Boston, 17 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear Friend

. . . I was told today that 40 Towns in N Hamp have instructed their Delegates in Convention to vote against the Constitution. I hope it is not true—for that Number will be near one half of the Convention if they send no more than to the genl Court. . . .

I am as usual with affectionate Salutations—yr friend

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, Part II, 19–20. Hazard (1744–1817), a 1762 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), was Confederation postmaster general, 1782–89.

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 19 February 1788¹

when you gave me the pleasing Account of the adoption of the Constitution by your State² I had no doubt in my mind but I should have been able to have return'd you an Agreeable one of the doings of our Convention, but I do assure you I feel Mortified & very disagreeable, to find how they are Conducting, by the Spy which I Inclose, you will see

their proceedings for the first day or two,³ since which it appears there is a Majority against it, and their Conduct is as it is, they the Antifederalist, except two or three of their leaders, are as Dumb & Obstinate as — they will not say a word on the Subject even in private Conversations, being determin'd to put the Issue on the Important Sign of [lif?]ing their hands, and I suppose every one of them has Capacity to do that—their leaders are General Badger, and Atherton the lawyer, in the Convention, & General Peabody who has not a Seat Acts out Door & does more mischief than he could do had he a Seat⁴—from what Mr Pickering⁵ & others say, the only thing that can be done to prevent its rejection is to have an adjournment of the Convention—I think to go to Exeter tomorrow, and still hope to be Able to give you a more agreeable Account for I find the present Conduct Alarms all Characters in this Town. they seem to apprehend the most fatal Consequences from the present Appearances—

what will be the Event God only knows—and altho at present it appears so very disagreeable I cannot but think some thing Brighter will open on us as every person of any reputation is desirous of its being adopted & reprobate the Conduct of those persons who Oppose it in the way they do—

I shall by next Stage Inform you how they proceed & am Dear sir
Your Friend & Servant

PS have recd yours will Observe its Contents & answer it ☿ next Stage

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHI.

2. Belknap's letters to Libbey have not been located, but for letters that Belknap wrote to others about Massachusetts ratification, see Belknap to Ebenezer Hazard, 10 February, and to Benjamin Rush, 12 February (RCS:Mass., 1583–84, 1588).

3. On 15 February the *New Hampshire Spy* published a very brief account of the Convention proceedings for 13 February and a fuller account of those for the 14th (Mfm:N.H. 41 and RCS:N.H., 204–6n).

4. Joseph Badger, Sr., of Gilmanton and Joshua Atherton of Amherst were among the Antifederalist leaders in both the February and June sessions of the New Hampshire Convention. Nathaniel Peabody of Atkinson and Plaistow had been elected to the New Hampshire Convention but turned down the appointment. He would be defeated as an Antifederalist candidate for both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

5. Probably Federalist John Pickering, a lawyer and one of Portsmouth's three delegates to the New Hampshire Convention. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the June 1788 session.

New Hampshire Recorder, 19 February 1788¹

STATE CONVENTION.

Concenter'd here the united wisdom shines,
Of learned JUDGES, and of sound Divines;

Patriots, whose virtues, searching times have try'd,
 Heroes, who fought, where Brother heroes dy'd,
 LAWYERS, who speak, as Tully² spoke before,
 Sages, deep read in philosophick lore;
 Merchants, whose plans are to no realms confin'd,
 Farmers—the noblest title of mankind,
 Yeomen and Tradesmen—pillars of the State;
 On whose DECISION hangs Columbia's fate.

Thus, the various orders which constitute the great Family of the (State), concur to form the august, the honourable Convention now sitting (at Exeter).

1. The *New Hampshire Recorder* made this original poem from the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 January, into a New Hampshire item by changing the words in angle brackets. In the *Centinel*, "State" had been "Commonwealth" and "at Exeter" had been "in this metropolis." The *Recorder* also altered the *Centinel's* capitalization. See RCS:Mass., 704, for the original item and its reprintings.

2. Cicero, the great Roman orator.

New Hampshire Spy, 19 February 1788

The Convention of this state amounted on Saturday last, to 110 members.—We have not been able to procure any debates further than those published in our last.¹ But we are informed, that the most *curious* and *original* objections have been started that could have been thought of—consequently, a greater field offers for the exertions of our patriotic and federal delegates. The opposition, though considerable, afford but few speakers.

1. See the *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 February, RCS:N.H., 204–6n.

Benjamin Lincoln to George Washington Boston, 20 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear General

New hampshire convention is sitting the accounts are vague and uncertain things do not look as well as we wish they did we however flatter ourselves that the constitution will go down among them—Governor Sullivan & Mr Langdon, who have been in oposite boxes, are in this matter united and they are uniting their whole interest in favor of the constitution. . . .

I have the honor of being my dear General with the highest esteem & affection your Excellencys most Obedient servant

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 122. For Washington's 10 March reply, see RCS:N.H., 266–67. Lincoln (1733–1810), a Hingham,

Mass., farmer, was a major general in the Massachusetts militia, 1776, and became a major general in the Continental Army, 1777. He commanded the Southern Department, 1777–80. The British captured him in Charleston in 1780, but he was exchanged. Lincoln rejoined Washington, and in 1781 he was at Yorktown. Lincoln was Confederation Secretary at War, 1781–83. He led the troops that suppressed Shays's Rebellion. Lincoln voted to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention in February 1788. In 1789 Washington appointed him collector of the port of Boston, a position he held until 1809.

Massachusetts Centinel, 20 February 1788¹

NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION.

By a gentleman who arrived in town yesterday from Exeter, we are informed, that the Convention of New-Hampshire, then in session in that place, had chosen for President, his Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. and had proceeded to the discussion of the Constitution in the manner as in this Commonwealth; that from the complexion of the Convention, it was thought a considerable majority were in favour of the adoption of the Constitution, although a number of the towns had bound their delegates by instructions to vote against it—That the hon. Mr. [John] Langdon, Judge [Samuel] Livermore, and a number of other able men, were warm advocates for it—and that Gen. [Nathaniel] Peabody, who had been supposed to be against it, had expressed himself in favour of its adoption, rather than to reject it.—On the whole, from the information we have been enabled to collect, and we have spared no pains to acquire it, we venture to predict, that the New-Hampshire Pillar will, in the course of a few days, be added as another supporter of the FEDERAL SUPERSTRUCTURE.²

1. This item was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 26 February, and in twenty other newspapers by 26 March: Mass. (1), R.I. (2), Conn. (4), N.Y. (4), N.J. (2), Pa. (4), Md. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1).

2. On 20 February the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that “The convention of New-Hampshire were to assemble the 13th instant. In that happy state, both parties, which formerly were warm, are most cordially united in favor of the new constitution.” Within a week one newspaper in each of the states of New York, New Jersey, and Maryland reprinted this item.

John Quincy Adams Diary

Exeter, N.H., 21–22 February 1788¹

21 February 1788

Mrs. Emery and her daughter were going to Exeter this morning in a single sleigh. Dr. Kilham² and I after greatly debating the question had likewise determined to go: so we agreed to divide; the Doctor went

with Mrs. Emery and I with the young lady. It was just eleven o'clock when we started; and the roads were so difficult, that we did not get to Exeter till three nor the other sleigh till five. After sitting down my companion [and] I went and dined, and then immediately proceeded to the meeting house where the State Convention for the State of New Hampshire were debating upon the subject of the federal Constitution. I found Mr. [John] Pickering a member from Portsmouth zealously though I cannot add very forcibly arguing for the good cause. Several other members spoke; but none of them, in my opinion much to the purpose: They have gone through the System by paragraphs: and are now considering it generally.—I found Mr. Shaw,³ Mr. Thaxter⁴ and a number more of our Haverhill friends there; and pass'd the evening with them at Mr. Peabody's;⁵ a friend of the Doctor's; where we lodg'd; for there was not a bed to be had at any of the public houses. We were disappointed of an assembly this evening as we expected; and the debates I really think were not worth the ride, in a cold day; but the satisfaction of riding with an amiable girl; and the novelty of the town which I never saw before, will in some measure compensate for the failure of my expectations

22 February 1788

I attended to hear the debates in convention again this forenoon. Mr. [John] Langdon began by making a motion that the Convention should adjourn to some future day: But said he would waive his motion if any gentleman had further observations to make upon the System. Mr. [Joshua] Atherton the leader of the opposition rose, and in a speech of more than an hour recapitulated every objection that he could invent against the constitution. He observed that *confederation* was derived from the Latin word foedus; and that *consolidation* was a metaphorical expression borrowed from the operations of chemistry; these were two of his most ingenious ideas, and upon the whole I think he may candidly be pronounced a miserable speaker, and a worse reasoner.—A reverend parson [Benjamin] Thirston spoke as long, and as little to the purpose on the other side. He talk'd of France's demanding her money with the dagger in her hand; and of Britain's sending 50 sail of the line and 60,000 men to take New Hampshire But did not even attempt to support the plan, upon the fair and honourable basis of national argumentation. When these two gentlemen had exhausted the resources of their lungs the motion for an adjournment was again brought upon the carpet. This was the offspring of the fears of the federal party; and was faintly opposed by the other factions who appeared to be equally fearful of the event; though more confident in

their numbers. the vote for adjournment however was carried by a trifling majority. The time and place at which they should meet again was a subject of some conversation, but finally the third wednesday in June, & Concord were agreed upon.—We dined at Mr. Peabody's. Dr. Kilham was troubled with the impertinence of one Hopkinson, a distracted fellow, who came and pretended to call him to an account for coming and intermeddling with concerns, in which he was not interested. A little after three we got into the sleigh, and between 6 and 7 cross'd the river from Salisbury.—I immediately went to Thompson's. I found Little there, and Putnam came in soon after: we pass'd the evening in sociable chat till 9 when I returned home

1. MS, Adams Papers, MHi. Adams (1767–1848), a 1787 graduate of Harvard College, was studying law with Theophilus Parsons of Newburyport, Mass. Initially, Adams opposed the Constitution, but he became a Federalist after the Massachusetts Convention ratified the Constitution on 6 February 1788. (See CC:293 A–D.) From 1794 to 1825 he had a distinguished diplomatic career, culminating in his tenure as U.S. Secretary of State, 1817–25. Adams became U.S. President in 1825 and completed his term in 1829.

2. David Kilham, an apothecary, roomed at the same boarding house with John Quincy Adams in Newburyport. Adams described Kilham as “one of the representatives from this town, a very worthy man; and a man of sense and learning. was it not for him, I should be at my lodgings as solitary as an hermit” (to Abigail Adams, 23 December 1787 [L.H. Butterfield et al., eds., *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963–), VIII, 215]). Kilham was criticized for bringing New York Antifederalist pamphlets with him to distribute in Exeter. See Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap, 26 February, and the *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 March (RCS:N.H., 239, 267–68).

3. John Shaw, a Congregational minister who ran an academy for boys in Haverhill, which Adams had attended, became Adams's uncle after marrying Elizabeth Smith, a sister of Adams's mother Abigail.

4. John Thaxter, Jr., had studied law with John Adams (John Quincy Adams's father) and lived with the Adamses. At various times he tutored the Adams's children. He became John Adams's secretary during Adams's second diplomatic mission to Europe. Thaxter carried the final Treaty of Peace to Congress in November 1783. In May 1784 he moved to Haverhill, where he practiced law until his death in 1791. (See *Adams Family Correspondence*, V, x–xi.)

5. Perhaps Oliver Peabody, the only Peabody living in Exeter in the 1790 census.

Silas Lee to George Thatcher

Biddeford, Maine, 22 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Hampshire Convention is now Sitting the friends to the Constitution are very anxious—the Majority at present being against it—Some say it will go down, others that it will not—A Col Peabody² is said to be busy against it—and a Lawyer from number four, whose I could not learn—

Yours My D[ea]r Uncle

1. Printed: George F. Goodwin, ed., “The Thatcher Papers,” *The Historical Magazine*, VI (1869), 340. Lee (1766–1814), a lawyer and 1784 graduate of Harvard College, was a

member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1794, 1797–99; a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1799–1801; and U.S. Attorney for the District of Maine, 1801–10. Thatcher (1754–1824), a lawyer and 1776 graduate of Harvard College, was a Massachusetts delegate to the Confederation Congress, 1787–89, and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1801.

2. Probably Nathaniel Peabody of Atkinson, N.H.

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 22 February 1788¹

I recd yours of the 16th. If Mr Roberts Calls on me for the Tax I will pay it. I believe the General Court in their last Session did nothing on your Matter. I spoke to several of the Members & they did not doubt but something would be done If it could be bro't forward, but they seem'd to be in such a Hurry that I think it was not taken up—when the Dec[embe]r Magazine Arrives² I will make out the Acct as you request. three Sett is all that you need to send as I have disposed of no more the remainder I shall return you—

I was at Exeter on Wednesday last, and am not so apprehensive of the rejection of the Constitution as before I went. but yet am not without my fears, I am in great hopes that Mr [Joshua] Atherton, the leader of the Antifederalists will destroy what he aims to establish; by his Over much talking, There is no paragraph but he objects to. & I think from his over Zeal he will eventually serve the Cause he means to Injure—it is very doubtfull how the Numbers are, each party think they have a Majority & yet appear afraid of each other—they have now got thro the Constitution—and whether the Grand Question will be put tomorrow is Uncertain. as each party seem doubtfull of the Issue. some propose an Adjournment of the Convention, while others wish for the Question. one or the Other will take place tomorrow it is Expected, and the Inhabitants of this Town are waiting with Impatience for the determination, Mr [John] Pickering Informs that the Objections and Debates are many of them *new* & very different from any in the Massachusetts, whether any person has taken them down I know not the Speakers on Wednesday were Mr Atherton, Mr [William] Hooper the Baptist preacher and a Mr [Abiel] Parker against the Constitution, they were answerd in a Masterly Manner (as I tho't) by Doctr [Samuel] Langdon, Mr [Benjamin] Thirston of North Hill, Judge [Samuel] Livermore, President [John] Sullivan. Col [John] Langdon. & Mr Pickering a Deacon [Matthias] Stone was much Alarmd because there was no *test*. “*he thot it would leave the Bible that precious Jewell that pearl of great price without any Support and that the papist or men of no religion would get into Office, and that the Blood of all the Martyrs would rise up against us*”³ he was answerd by Mr Thurstin & Judge Livermore in a manner that was pleasing to the Audience—

I have not time to enlarge, or to Correct what I have wrote the Blunders &c. you will Excuse & believe me to be sir Your Friend & Very Hum Servt.

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. The address page is marked "Free/Jh. Libbey."
2. Possibly the *Philadelphia American Museum* which had a national circulation.
3. For Matthias Stone's speech, see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February (RCS:N.H., 214–15).

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 22 February 1788

Yesterday the honorable Convention concluded their debates on the several sections of the Constitution, and it is supposed it will be canvassed upon general principles previous to the all important question. In their debates has been the greatest candor—a desire for information on the important subject appears to be the object of the members composing that honourable body; and from their desire to promote the great interest of the community, we hope the most salutary determinations.

“The all important moment is at hand,
When we the fate of millions must decide;
Freedom and peace will soon pervade the land,
Or Anarch stretch his horrid pinions wide.”¹

If we may judge from the contrast in the debates, between the supporters and opposers of the new Constitution, we are in hopes in our next, to add the eighth PILLAR to the GLORIOUS FABRICK.

The principal speakers in favor of the Constitution, are the Hon. Judge [Samuel] Livermore, the Rev. Dr. [Samuel] Langdon, the Hon. John Langdon, Esq. the Rev. Mr. [Benjamin] Thurston, the Hon. John Pickering Esq. and the Hon. John T. Gilman, Esq. of those who oppose it are Messieurs [Joshua] Atherton, [Abiel] Parker and [William] Hooper.

We should have been happy in giving our readers the debates on the several paragraphs in dispute, but have not been able to procure them.

1. The poetry first appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 5 February, and was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 27 February (RCS:Mass., 862–63).

John Langdon to Rufus King Portsmouth, N.H., 23 February 1788¹

I am sorry to inform you that our Convention adjourned yesterday (to meet again in June next), without compleating the important business of adopting the Constitution. contrary to the expectation of almost ev'ry man of reflection at our first meeting a majority appeared against

the plan a great part of whom had positive Instructions to Vote against it. however after spending ten days in the arguments a number of opponents came to me, and said, they were convinced and should be very unhappy to Vote against the Constitution, which they (however absurd) must do, in case the question was called for. I therefore moved for the adjournment which was carried though much opposed by the other side. This question determined a majority in favor of the Constitution had it not been for their Instructions. This shews the fatality of the times.

1. RC, King Papers, NH. King (1755–1827), a lawyer and a 1777 graduate of Harvard College, was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1784–86, and a Massachusetts delegate to the Confederation Congress, 1784–87. As a Massachusetts delegate to the Constitutional Convention, he signed the Constitution on 17 September 1787. He voted to ratify it in the Massachusetts Convention on 6 February 1788. In 1788 King moved to New York City and represented that state in the U.S. Senate, 1789–96, 1813–25. He was U.S. minister to Great Britain, 1796–1803, 1825–26.

Massachusetts Centinel, 23 February 1788¹

NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION.

A gentleman arrived in town from the eastern parts of this State [i.e., Maine], and who passed through Exeter on Tuesday last, informs us, that from the best information he could obtain, from a number of the Members of the Convention, then in session, in that place, the returns of members to that hon. body were about 104—but 94 only were arrived; of whom there were 43 then in the Convention, decidedly in favour of the adoption of the Constitution;—That several gentlemen, from the upper parts of the State, who had had strong doubts of the Constitution, on hearing the debates, had declared their intention of voting for it—That on Monday they had arrived at the discussion of the 9th sect. of the first art. respecting the migration or importation of persons, &c.—That the four gentlemen, who were voted for, last year, as President of the State, viz. his Excellency Gen. [John] SULLIVAN, the Hon. Mr. [John] LANGDON, Judge [Josiah] BARTLET, and Judge [Samuel] LIVERMORE, were decided advocates for it, and that it was presumed from the united influence of those characters, who are generally esteemed, although the greater number of the Convention, from the upper parts of the State, came down rather opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, yet on the final question, a majority would be found in its favour;—That Gen. Sullivan, on being chosen President of the Convention, declared that he would not accept the presidency, but on condition of being allowed the privilege of a member, in expressing his sentiments on any or all of the paragraphs in the discussion; and that his Excellency had spoken on several of the articles;—and that it

was generally supposed by the gentlemen of the Convention, that the deliberations would not be finished until the close of next week.

1. Reprinted: Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 28 February.

Caleb Gibbs to George Washington
Boston, 24 February 1788¹

On the 8th. Instant I did myself the honor of addressing your Excellency and Communicating the agreeable Information that this Commonwealth had assented to and Ratified the proposed Constitution for the United States of America. I also transmitted several news papers of this Metropolis containing part of the Debates of the Convention In the same Letter I gave your Excellency some hope that as New Hampshire was soon to meet in Convention, they would (by the best Information) adopt the Constitution.² They Convened on the 13th. at Exeter, and Continued doing business till the 22d. when I am sorry to inform your Excellency they adjourned till June next, This was owing to a very large proportion of the delegates, having received positive Instructions from their Constituents, to vote against the adoption of the Constitution. The Gentlemen in favour found if they went on doing business till the final question was called, that a decided Majority would be against the Constitution, and finding that several who came so Instructed were in some measure converted but having their hands tied dare not vote for the adoption, It was therefore thought advisable by the Gentlemen in favour, and those Converted, that they had best adjourn and Return to their Constituents and give up their Instructions and if they would not Consent for them to act according to the dictates of their own reason, they would resign & they may choose new Delegates to meet in June at Exeter. It is thought this measure will have its desired effect, for before June the Illiberal and Ignorant will be brought in to do what is right and Just.

Nothing more worth notice can I find to Communicate, but refer your Excellency to the Inclosed news papers which I do myself the honor to transmit by this Conveyance

Mrs. Gibbs Joins with me in most respectful regards to your Excellency and Mrs. Washington, pray offer me in terms of esteem to Inquiring friends.

With the greatest respect regard And esteem

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Gibbs (1748–1818), a clerk of the Boston market and a merchant, commanded Washington's bodyguard during the Revolutionary War and fought at Yorktown in 1781. Washington replied to Gibbs on 3 April, stating that "The conduct of New Hampshire has I believe, been a matter of surprize in every part

of the Country, and from what I can learn, wholly unexpected by a considerable part of the Convention themselves;—The adjournment was, however, (circumstanced as they were) a very prudent step, for it appears that the great question would have been lost if the sense of the convention had been taken upon it at that time” (Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 191).

2. In his letter of 9 February, Gibbs wrote Washington that the “N. Hampshire Convention meets on Tuesday next. I had the pleasure to See the Honbe. Mr. Langdon who attended several days at our Convention & he told me that If Massachussts. adopted the Constitution, N. Hampshire would not be one week in session” (RCS:Mass., 1687).

William Heath Diary

Roxbury, Mass., 24 February 1788¹

Lord Day, wind northeast fair and pleasant The Convention of New Hampshire have adjourned to the month of June next, without coming to a decision on the federal Constitution, It is Said the opposition was very powerfull and it is to be hoped the adjournment, will give time for the information and change of sentiment of at least some of them,

1. MS, Heath Diaries, MHi. Heath (1737–1814), a Roxbury farmer, was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1770–74. During the Revolutionary War he was a major general in both the Continental Army and the state militia. Heath was a member of the state Senate, 1784–85, 1791–93, and judge of probate for Norfolk County, 1793–1814. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention in February 1788.

Henry Jackson to Henry Knox

Boston, 24 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

My dear Harry

I rec'd. your favor by the post last Eveng—we are perfectly quiet in this State with respect to the adoption of the New Constitution—*Fed's* & *Anti's* almost to a Man united and determind to give it every support—except in a few instance their never was a *Manortity* that behaved with more [dignity?] than those on the present question, they have certainly done themselves great honor—

I am sorry to inform you that New Hampshire have *adjourned* their Convention to *June* next. the question was carried by a Majority of *five*—the *Feds* in that State finding they were like to be over powered by numbers, (as forty Towns has instructed against it) they proposed the adjournment in hopes that by giving time some of them would be brought over to the Faith—all the Men of abilities, integrity, property & influence in that State are in favor—but numbers at present appear against them—

Many are of opinion that the adjournment will have a good effect, & it will finally be *ratified* by them—which I pray god may be the case. . . . my love to you all—from your truly affectionate

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03807, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society. Jackson (1747–1809), a Boston merchant and a former colonel in the Continental Army, was brevetted a brigadier general by Congress in 1783. A close friend and business agent of Knox, Jackson was treasurer of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati from 1783 until his death.

Benjamin Lincoln to George Washington
Boston, 24 February 1788¹

My dear General

I was the last evening honoured by the receipt of your favor of the 31st Ultò.²

Your feelings and wishes which have been called up by the distresses of my family are such as fully evince your concern for our happiness and welfare are additional proofs of your affection and demand our most grateful acknowledgments.

A Gentleman of this town who attended the New Hampshire convention the last week has returned and informs us that many of the members came instructed that tho' convinced some of them of the propriety and importance of adopting the proposed constitution yet felt themselves so bound by their instructions that they must vote against it from this view of the matter it was thought best to adjourn & as it was not probable that a majority were in favor of the adoption an adjournment accordingly on friday last took place to the third wednesday in June—They could not well have it at an earlier day as the General Court, or their assembly meets and a Governour is to be elected between this and that time. Those who are best acquainted with the temper of that State say that there is no reason to doubt but the constitution will be finally adopted there

Federalism I am confident daily gains ground in this State—I think to have federal ideas will soon be the fashion if not the rage of the day.—

with the highest esteem

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Washington replied to Lincoln on 2 April (RCS:Va., 636–37).

2. See RCS:Va., 279.

**John Quincy Adams to Nathaniel Freeman, Jr.
Newburyport, Mass., 25 February 1788 (excerpts)¹**

Your favour of Jany. 27th² should have been acknowledged before this: but when Mr. Parsons went to Boston, all my leisure time was so entirely taken up, in paying off my other epistolary debts, that I was obliged to run a little longer upon credit with you.—Since then, I took a ride to Exeter in order to hear the debates in the New Hampshire Convention upon the momentous question.³ And I must acknowledge I was never more disappointed. The abilities on either side were (to speak the best of them) contemptible. The speakers were dull, and inanimate: Some of them indeed appeared to be zealous, but they were incapable of employing either the eloquence, which overpowers all opposition; or the charm of reason which convinces the understanding.—In short the arguments offered on both sides were so weak, that the most assiduous supporters, of either party appeared to me to labour most strongly against themselves.

As the appearances were unfavourable to the Constitution, the federalists with difficulty obtained an adjournment, till the third Wednesday in June, when they are to meet again at Concord: where probably the System will be adopted. As I now sincerely hope it may be by all the States: for I am now a strong *federalist*—Not that I am convinced the plan is a good one; but because I think, opposition would be attended with more immediate and perhaps greater evils. . . .

Adieu, it is so dark that I can scarcely see to subscribe my name.

1. RC (photostat), Adams Papers, MHi. Freeman (1766–1800), like Adams, was a 1787 graduate of Harvard College. When Freeman received this letter, he was a Medford, Mass., teacher and a law student. He became a lawyer and was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1795–99. In his diary, Adams wrote a flattering biographical sketch of Freeman (David Grayson Allen, ed., *Diary of John Quincy Adams* [Cambridge, Mass., 1981–], II, 190).

2. See RCS:Mass., 1551–52n.

3. See John Quincy Adams Diary, 21–22 February (RCS:N.H., 229–31).

Boston American Herald, 25 February 1788¹

BY THE PORTSMOUTH POST.

“The Convention of the State of New-Hampshire, on FRIDAY last, brought on the decisive Question respecting the New-Constitution—yeas 51—nays 54.—This Question being reconsidered, it was then moved for an Adjournment, and was carried, yeas 53, nays 52, to meet again on the THIRD Tuesday in JUNE next.”

1. Reprinted nine times by 26 March: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), R.I. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1). The Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 26 February (RCS:N.H., 241), also

reported this erroneous vote rejecting the Constitution that it probably received from the *American Herald*. For criticism of the *Herald's* account, see the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 26 February; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 February; and *Worcester Magazine*, 6 March (RCS:N.H., 241, 243–44, 249–50).

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 26 February 1788¹

have just recd yours of the 24th. the report you mention is true the Convention adjourn'd on Fryday last to meet at Concord on the third Wednesday of June, Next. Mr. Pickering says it was the only thing that could be done to prevent the Constitutions being *thrown out*—and they Obtain'd an Adjournment by a small Majority there were 45 federalists & 11 that would have voted for it but their Instructions would not permit. the others were as Obstinate as could be conceived—Mr [Joshua] Atherton says it will be better for this State to reject it & Stand Alone if all the Others adopt it—I suppose you know his character, but I believe you have bad Characters in your State likewise a Doctr [David] Kilham of Newbury Port I am informed came to Exeter the day the Convention Adjourn'd with a large number of the phamphlets that were wrote at York & gave them to Mr Atherton & he dispersed them amongst his party—If that was not base conduct what is?²

Inclosed is the Spy with the list of the members.³ I cannot now mark which are Anti &c. but If I can be informed will let you know—The Schedule you Inclosed I will attend to the first Oppertunity that offers—

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. The address page is marked “Free/Jereh Libbey.”

2. Probably a reference to the distribution of Antifederalist literature by the New York Federal Republican Committee. For more on Kilham's activities, see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 March (RCS:N.H., 267–68).

3. The *New Hampshire Spy* printed the list on 22 February.

Samuel Nasson to George Thatcher
Sanford, Maine, 26 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Newhampshir Convention is Setting and I hear it is with them as it was with us the Country Members Mostely against the Traiding Towns for it[.] how it will Turn I Cannot tell hope for the Best. . . .

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library. For longer excerpts, see RCS:Mass., 1707–9. Nasson (1745–1800), a miller, trader, and farmer, was a captain in the Continental Army and state militia, 1775–78, and for many years a selectman, justice of the peace, and clerk of the town of Sanford, Maine. Nasson was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1787–89. He voted not to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention on 6 February 1788, but the day after

the vote he “intimated his determination of supporting the Constitution” and committed to “exerting himself to influence his constituents to do the same” (RCS:Mass., 1494).

John Sullivan to Jeremy Belknap
Durham, N.H., 26 February 1788¹

My Dear Friend,

The Inclosed being altogether of a private Nature I now proceed to give you some account of our political proceedings in this state! The Convention when assembled to the amount of one hundred stood Thus Seventy against & thirty for the New Constitution you will perhaps wonder how it happened that so Large a majority was against it & so few in favor—but you know sir that few enter at the Strait Gate while great Numbers pursue a more Dangerous Road.² But the minority was made up of men that had Studied the Constitution Acted their own Judgment & felt Themselves possessed of independent minds & Estates the majority had some good men that were short Sighted some few who longed for the onions of Egypt³ many who were Distressed & in Debt; Numbers who conceived that This System would compel men to be honest against both their Inclination & their Interest some who were blinded through excess of zeal for the Cause of Religion and others who by putting on the masque of sanctity thought to win proselites—Thus aranged we entered the Field of Action: And you cannot be surprized if I tell you that all the objections made against the new plan & published in your State were handed out here by rote with such amendments, alterations, Embellishments and Disfigurements as Ingenuity folly obstinacy & false piety could Suggest—

however the good Cause gained Ground & when we adjourned I think that a majority was in favor but as about thirty who were bound by Instructions to vote against the plan had through the preaching of Doctor [Samuel] Langdon, & others become Real Converts it was thought best to have an adjournment that they might go home & obtain Liberty to Act their own Judgment and I Doubt not but, it will then be received by a very Large majority; but sir lest you should conceive that we have no talent at Invention in this state and that all our objections were borrowed from Massachusetts I will now give you some Specimens of New Hampshire Ingenuity a pious Deacon⁴ liked the plan or rather would have liked it if it afforded any Security of our having the holy Scriptures continued to us in our mother Tongue. The want of a religious test was urged here as well as with you but even if that was given up in all other cases The President at Least ought to be compelled to submit to it for otherwise says one “a Turk, a Jew, a Roman Catholic and what is worse than all a universalist may be president of the united

States.” If time would permit I could give you many other Specimens of original genius in the members of our Convention but I hope the above will Suffice I beg you to present my Compliments to your Lady and Family and that you will believe me to be very respectfully sir

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Sullivan enclosed another letter to Belknap marked “private” in which he mentioned the New Hampshire legislature’s refusal to purchase copies of Belknap’s history of New Hampshire and the improving financial situation in New Hampshire. See Mfm:N.H. 49.

2. Matthew 7:13–14.

3. Numbers 11:5.

4. The reference is to Matthias Stone of Claremont. For Stone’s remarks, see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February, at note 5 (RCS:N.H., 214–15).

Massachusetts Gazette, 26 February 1788

Mr. Allen, Please to inform a certain anti-federal editor,¹ that his intelligence from New-Hampshire is groundless.—His towardness for publishing reports unfavourable to the adopting the federal constitution, is well known.—Your correspondent assures the publick, that the decisive question, respecting the adopting the federal constitution, was not voted upon. The only vote that was taken was for an adjournment—which was carried—yeas 57, nays 48.

1. The reference is to Edward E. Powars of the Boston *American Herald*. See the *Herald*’s account of 25 February and a criticism of the account in the *Worcester Magazine*, 6 March (RCS:N.H., 238–39n, 249–50).

Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 26 February 1788¹

Gen. Sullivan, it is said, accepted the Presidency of the Convention, on the condition, only, that he should be allowed the privilege of a member in expressing his sentiments on any or all of the paragraphs, in the discussion.

The four gentlemen, who were voted for, last year, as President of the State of Newhampshire—viz. Gen. Sullivan, Mr. Langdon, Judge Bartlet and Judge Livermore—are Members of the Convention, and decided advocates for the New Constitution.

Notwithstanding the united influence of these respectable characters, which might naturally be expected to draw along a decided majority, we are informed, that on Friday last the decisive question came on, when there appeared, Yeas 51, Nays 54. It was then moved to adjourn to a future day, to reconsider the question—when the division was, Yeas 53, Nays 52. We understand they have adjourned to the 3d Wednesday in June, to meet at Concord.

It is said, the most curious and original objections were started in the Newhampshire Convention, that could have been thought of.

The Convention, on the Saturday preceding the above decision, consisted of 110 members.

1. The first two paragraphs of this item were based upon information in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 February (RCS:N.H., 234–35). The false report of a vote to reject the Constitution located in the second paragraph was probably based on information found in the Boston *American Herald*, 25 February (RCS:N.H., 238–39n). The second paragraph was reprinted in the *Connecticut Gazette*, 7 March, and the *New York Packet*, 21 March.

Nathaniel Gorham to Henry Knox
Boston, 27 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

We have met with a small repulse at N Hampshire—by [i.e., but] I have the best reason to suppose they will approve at their next meeting—no question was taken upon the main question—a number who came under adverse instructions were convinced & urged the adjournment in order that they might explain to their Towns. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03809, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society. Gorham (1738–1796), a Charlestown, Mass., merchant, served in the colonial House of Representatives, 1771–74; the state House of Representatives, 1778–80, 1781–88 (speaker, 1781–83, 1785–86); and the state Senate, 1780–81, 1790–91. He was a delegate to the Confederation Congress, 1782–83, 1785–87, 1789 (president, 1786–87). Gorham was chairman of the committee of the whole of the Constitutional Convention and signed the Constitution. In February 1788 he voted to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention. He was supervisor of revenue for the District of Massachusetts, 1791–96.

Charles Vaughan to Benjamin Franklin
Boston, 27 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . It gives me much concern that New Hampshire did not adopt,—the circumstances of the Convention were such, that an adjournment was necessary to prevent a rejection.—By the last Post I gave what appeared to me to be the true cause for adjournment—the reasons given in Convention I have inclosed to my brother.²—Russell’s information may be depended on, and I took the paragraph from his Paper, the *Centinel*,³—There was a late moment when the minds of the People were prepared for any change that had the least prospect of amending this is past in New Hampshire—and the Constitution will be carried with some difficulty—as there are Many Incendiaries thro’ this country—and all most from situation interested in preventing good Governmt. . . .

Pray make my kind regards to your good family

1. RC, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society. Printed: CC:568. Vaughan (1759–1839), born in London, England, was the son of a prosperous merchant interested

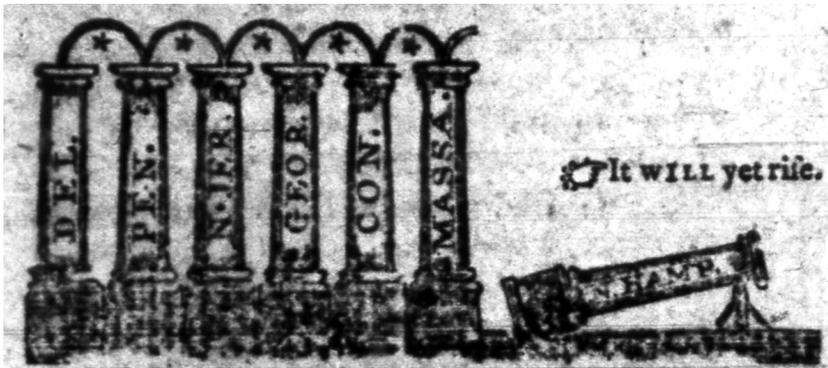
in the colonial trade. Vaughan was raised in Jamaica. In 1785 he went to New England and settled in Boston as a merchant. However, he spent most of his time in Maine, where he was deeply involved in matters related to his land.

2. John Vaughan (1756–1841), like his older brother Charles, was born in London. He settled in Philadelphia as a merchant in 1782. For more on John Vaughan, see his role in the publication and dissemination of Federalist John Dickinson's numerous "Fabius" essays in "The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Fabius Essays," 17 May–21 June 1788 (RCS:N.H., 309–11).

3. See the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 February (immediately below).

Massachusetts Centinel, 27 February 1788¹

The GLORIOUS FABRICK.



NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION.

In order to give time to those Delegates in the Convention of New-Hampshire, who were instructed to vote against the Constitution, to return home, and get their instructions taken off, that hon. body, on Friday last, adjourned, to meet at Concord, in that State, on the third Wednesday in June next. No other question was taken. This being the truth, to endeavour by the publication of a contrary report, as was the case in the Herald of Monday last, wickedly to deceive the publick, argues a depravity of mind, which, until the days of antifederalism, was unknown in the world; and instead of calling forth the sympathy of the publick, for the misfortune of erroneous judgment, will induce them to wish, and to endeavour, that the sphere of circulation of the paper thus employed, narrow as it is, may yet be contracted.²

(No one circumstance attending the discussion of the proposed Federal Constitution, has demonstrated its superiour excellence and perfection more than the measure of adjournment, adopted by the Convention of New-Hampshire, last week, if we consider the situation of affairs there respecting it.—Almost the whole of that State is inland,

and a great part of it remote from the regular channels of information—by far the greater part of the people had not seen it, and received their information of it from factious demagogues and popularity-seekers, who had rode through the back parts of the State, inflaming and prejudicing the people's minds against it. While under this infatuation, they chose delegates to meet in Convention, and bound them by INSTRUCTIONS to vote against it—and no delegate would have consented to have acted under such instructions, unless his sentiments on the subject, were in unison with those of his constituents.—This being the case, on the meeting of the Convention, a majority (all of whom were from the remote parts of the State) were found opposed to the adoption of the Constitution.—It was, however discussed for several days, and such lights thrown on the subject—and so many objections obviated, as induced many, thus instructed, and who had considered the Constitution as dangerous, to change their sentiments.—But these considering their instructions *sacred*, could not, on conviction, vote for it—and their *consciencess* forbade their voting against it.—What was now the alternative? Either to reject the Constitution, (which they certainly would have done, had their opinions of it continued the same,) or for those thus convinced, (who with those originally in favour of it, made a considerable majority) to return home to their constituents—acquaint them of the conviction that had arisen in their minds, and of the arguments which produced it—and to prevail on them to annul the instructions, which bound them to act contrary to their opinions. The latter was thought the most proper—and, therefore, the Convention adjourned to a distant day, to give time for the circulation in every part of the State, of the information and arguments, which had thus proved convincing to the members of the Convention—and as the Conventions of several of the States are not to meet until June,³ no delay it was thought would arise from adjourning to the third Wednesday of that month,) which was agreed to by a considerable majority.—From this statement—we may venture to assert, that the cause of federalism, in New-Hampshire, will not suffer a diminution—and that their Pillar of the Federal Edifice, **THOUGH IT NOW RESTETH, WILL MOST ASSUREDLY RISE.**

1. Reprinted without the pillars illustration ten times by 14 March: Mass. (1), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (1). The text in angle brackets was reprinted in the Boston *Independent Chronicle* on 28 February. The *Chronicle's* excerpt was reprinted within a week once in Massachusetts and five times in Connecticut. Excerpts or summaries of the *Centinel's* account appeared in five newspapers by 2 April: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Md. (1), Va. (2).

2. See the Boston *American Herald*, 25 February (RCS:N.H., 238–39n).

3. The Maryland Convention was to meet in April, the South Carolina Convention in May, and the Virginia and New York conventions in June.

**Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet
27 February 1788¹**

Last Friday the state convention of New Hampshire adjourned to the Third Wednesday in June next, then to meet at Concord—without deciding upon the important question before them. (We hear that a number of the most *curious* and *original* objections were started that could be thought of)²—one of which was, that “If they ratified the constitution they *must pay their Debts.*”

1. Reprinted: Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 29 February.

2. The text within angle brackets was paraphrased from the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 26 February (RCS:N.H., 242).

**Jeremiah Hill to George Thatcher
Biddeford, Maine, 28 February 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . the adoption of the new Constitution by the Massachusetts has I think cemented the parties together rather than stired up new Animosities. the federal party has taken and are taking every measure to promote & encourage Peace Union & Harmony by paying particular Attention to the Anti's especially those of any Influence, which they appear reciprocally fond of encouraging, very few exceptions. Gen. Thompson² did not return home after the Convention dissolved as the Genl. Court was to set in 12 or 14 days & it is rumoured that he has been very noisy during that time, but I don't hear to any purpose some say he took a Tour into the western Counties and they say further that he made it in his way to call & see the New hampshire Convention to stir up what Strife he could there, this Convention has adjourned to sometime in June next one Reason which I have heard offered for the adjournment, and which I think is probable was this, several Members who had Instructions positively to vote against it, upon hearing it discussed were in heart in favor of it, but unwilling to vote against such Instructions joined the party for Adjournment in order to use their Influence with their Constituents for different Instructions. . . .

I am Dear Sir, Your friend &

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library. For a longer excerpt from this letter, see RCS:Mass., 1716–17. Hill (1747–1820), a Biddeford merchant and a former captain in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, was town clerk, a justice of the peace, and a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1789 he was appointed U.S. collector of customs for the Biddeford and Pepperell-borough District of Maine.

2. Samuel Thompson of Topsham, Maine, who had voted not to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention on 6 February 1788, was a state senator. David Sewall,

a Federalist from York, Maine, also reported that Thompson was "Spreading Antifedl. Sentiments in N. H." (to George Thatcher, 11 February [RCS:Mass., 1692]).

John Langdon to George Washington
Portsmouth, N.H., 28 February 1788¹

The Convention of this State met the 13 Inst to take into Consideration the foederal plan of Government; contrary to the expectation of almost evry thinking man, a small majority of (say four persons) appeared against the system, this was the most astonishing to evry man of any information, as Massachusets had accepted it, and that this State in particular had evry thing to gain and nothing to loose, by the adoption of the Government and almost evry man of property and abilities for it; however, this can be accounted for. just at the moment of choice for members for our Convention (in one of our principal Counties) took place, a report was circulated by a few designing men who wished for confusion, that Massachusets Convention who had just met, were against the plan would certainly refuse it. the liberties of the people were in danger and that the great men (as they call them) were forming a plan for themselves together with a thousand other absurdities, which frightened the people almost out of what *little* senses they had. This induced them to choose not only such men as were against the plan but to influence them positively against receiving it. the absurdity of such conduct is too plain to observe upon, however notwithstanding the exertion of the opponents (both without doors and within) after spending ten days in debating on the plan, a number of those Gentlemen who came from home with different sentiments, were convinced of their Mistake and only wished an opportunity to lay the matter before their Constituents. This they mentioned to those in favor of the plan who seeing the difficulty which those men laboured under & the uncertainty of the Vote if the general question was then call'd for agreed that I should move for an adjournment to some future day to take the final question this was done and carried. the Convention adjourned to meet the third [Wednes]day of June next tho' greatly opposed by those against the plan.

That this State must and will receive it, I have but very little doubt, notwithstanding their late Conduct which to be sure is very mortifying, as we have evry thing to expect from its adoption

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.

John Sullivan to Nicholas Gilman
Durham, N.H., 28 February 1788¹

By my Last I promised to inform you of the proceedings in our Convention; but the pen of a Clarendon; & the pencil of a Hogarth would

fall infinitely short of the performance—know then sir that we assembled at Exeter to amount of one hundred; Thirty of whom were in favor of the proposed system of Government & the Residue obstinately bent against it: This was a faint Resemblance of the battle of Arbela between Alexander & Darius; on the one side was a small number of veteran Troops; on the other a motley mixture of Ancient Toreys, friends to paper money, Tender Laws, Insurrections &c persons in Debt, distress, & poverty, either real or Imaginary; men of blind piety, Hypocrites, & Bankrupts; together with Many honest men bound by Instructions to vote against the Constitution at all Events, notwithstanding the struggles of Conscience & the voice of their own Judgment. Thus arranged, & thus Divided, we entered the field of Action; The Battle continued nine Days, when we found that the numbers were nearly equal, reckoning on the side of the opposition all those who were Instructed to vote against the plan; The Instructed Gentlemen to the amount of twenty or upward were convinced, & I trust converted; and begged an adjournment that they might return & Convert their Constituents, or at Least obtain License to Act their own Judgments, which was agreed to; but unfortunately the plan was altered, & the Convention is to meet at Concord on the Third wednesday of June next: when I will venture to predict that it will be agreed to by three Quarters of the members present.—Thus stands matters in New Hampshire at present. I reced a Letter this Day from mr wingate respecting money for you & him² and must beg Leave to refer you to his Letter which goes with this for yr satisfaction on that head, as the messenger who carries this to the office is pulling me by the Elbow while I am writing, & will only allow me time to assure you that I am with the most perfect regard sir your most obedt Servt.

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHi.

2. Paine Wingate and Gilman were serving together in Congress. See Wingate to Sullivan, 16 February 1788 (Smith, *Letters*, XXIV, 646–47).

James Madison to George Washington New York, 3 March 1788¹

The Convention of N. Hampshire has afforded a very disagreeable subject of communication. It has not rejected the Constitution; but it has failed to adopt it. Contrary to all the calculations that had been made it appeared on the meeting of the members that a majority of 3 or four was adverse to the object before them, and that on a final question on the merits the decision would be in the negative. In this critical state of things, the foederalists thought it best to attempt an adjournment, and having proselyted some of the members who were

positively instructed agst. the Constitution, the attempt succeeded by a majority of 57 against 47.² if my information as to the numbers be correct. It seems to be fully expected that some of the instructed members will prevail on their towns to unfetter them and that in the event N. Hampshire will [be] among the adopting States. The mischief elsewhere will in the mean time be of a serious nature. The second meeting is to be in June. This circumstance will probably be construed in Virga. as making cotemporary arrangements with her. It is explained to me however as having reference merely to the conveniency of the members whose attendance at their annual elections & Courts would not consist with an earlier period.—The opposition I understand is composed precisely of the same description of characters with that of Massts. and stands contrasted to all the wealth, abilities, and respectability of the State.

I am preparing to set out for Orange, and promise myself the pleasure of taking Mount Vernon in the way.³ Meantime I remain yours most respectfully, & Affectly.

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. On this same day, Madison also wrote Edmund Randolph and Edmund Pendleton explaining why the New Hampshire Convention adjourned without ratifying the Constitution (CC:587; Mfm:N.H. 61). About half of the letter to Randolph was printed in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March, and was introduced “By accounts from New-York, of the 3d instant, received by last Saturday’s [15 March] mail. . . .” (Mfm:N.H. 69).

Madison (1751–1836) was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1776–77, 1784–87, 1799–1800; Virginia Council of State, 1778–79; Congress, 1780–83, 1787–88; and U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–97. He was U.S. Secretary of State, 1801–9; and U.S. President, 1809–17. He signed the Constitution; voted to ratify it in the Virginia Convention; and contributed many essays to *The Federalist* (CC:201). Washington (1732–1799), a planter, was commander-in-chief of the Continental forces, 1775–83; president of the Constitutional Convention, 1787; and U.S. President, 1789–97.

2. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February (extra), reported that the vote for adjournment was 56 to 51 (RCS:N.H., 219).

3. Madison arrived at Mount Vernon on 18 March and remained until the 20th. He reached his Orange County home on 23 March (Rutland, *Madison*, X, 542n).

Boston Gazette, 3 March 1788¹

We mention’d in our last that the Convention of New Hampshire State had adjourn’d to the 3d Wednesday in June.—The REASON which induced many of the Members to adjourn was, (*says a late New Hampshire paper*;)² their being tied up to Instructions to vote against the Constitution, of which they could not divest themselves without incurring the Displeasure of their Constituents.—They will now return home and endeavour to prevail on their constituents to repeal those instructions which bound them to act contrary to their (enlighten’d) minds.

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Gazette*, 7 March; Providence *United States Chronicle*, 13 March.
 2. See *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 February (extra) (RCS:N.H., 219).

New York Morning Post, 3 March 1788¹

By a letter from a gentleman at Boston, of the 23d of February, who waited two days at Exeter, in New-Hampshire, to know the decision of the Convention, we are informed that it adjourned to June, that the adjournment was a measure of the friends to the Constitution, the Anti-Constitutionalists being 70 to 40, that if the adjournment had not been moved, the Constitution would have been instantly rejected, and that there was little hopes it would have a greater number of friends in June than it now has. The Aristocrats are quite in the dumps,² and are satisfied the plan cannot take without satisfactory amendments.

Extract of a letter from Boston, Feb. 24.

“The Convention of New-Hampshire have adjourned to June next. This measure was proposed by the Fœderalists, rather than to attempt to adopt the Constitution by a small majority. Upwards of forty towns have absurdly fettered their delegates with instructions against the Constitution. It is expected, upon more mature consideration that those instructions will be repealed, and the delegates suffered to act agreeable to their own judgments. In this case, there cannot be a doubt but the Convention will in their next session adopt a Constitution so replete with benefits to New-Hampshire, as well as the Union in general.”

1. The first letter was reprinted eight times by 12 April: N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1). The second letter, which was also printed in the New York *Daily Advertiser* on 3 March, was reprinted thirteen times by 20 March: N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (5), Md. (2), Va. (2), S.C. (1). Six of these newspapers reprinted both letters by 19 March: N.J. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (1). A paraphrase of the first letter appeared in the *New York Journal* on 3 March and was reprinted once each in Poughkeepsie, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Winchester, Va., by 26 March. See Mfm:N.H. 62 for this item and other items from the *New York Journal* of 3 March announcing the adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention.

2. The *New York Journal* paraphrase reads: “The aristocratical federalists, here, are quite stunn’d at this event. . . .”

Worcester Magazine, 6 March 1788¹

We are authorised by a respectable Member of the Convention of the State of New-hampshire, to assure the publick, that the paragraph published in our Magazine, last week, under the Boston head, and extracted from Mr. *Powars’s* American Herald, which asserted, that “The Convention of the state of Newhampshire, on Friday last, brought on the decisive question respecting the new Constitution, Yeas 51, Nays

54.² This question being reconsidered, it was then moved for an adjournment, and was carried, Yeas 53, Nays 52," is entirely groundless, no such question being put, either before or after the motion for adjournment, which motion was carried by a majority of 56 to 51, as inserted under the Portsmouth head, in this week's Magazine.

1. Reprinted: *New York Morning Post*, 14 March.

2. See the *Boston American Herald*, 25 February; and *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 February (RCS:N.H., 238–39n, 243).

Samuel Tenney to Nicholas Gilman
Exeter, N.H., 12 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Some of your correspondents have probably given you an account of the proceedings of our Convention, with which I think you must be much mortified. That New Hampshire, which will gain more by the establishment of the New Constitution than any State in the Union, should be the first to reject it (which would undoubtedly have been the case had the question been put) is too humiliating to any person who has the least regard for the reputation of the State; especially when the principles are known upon which the opposition is founded. These I do not hesitate to pronounce, *ignorance* stopping its ears to instruction, *prejudice* shutting its eyes against the light, & the *most unblushing rascallity*. The Convention consisted of 106 members: of these about forty were from the beginning decidedly in favor of the constitution. At the close of the debates fifteen or sixteen of those, who were chosen & sent to oppose it, had their objections so far removed that they were disposed to shift sides; but did not dare counteract the sentiments of their constituents. These we must allow to be candid & honest men—but what shall we think of the remaining forty? My opinion is this, that the only objection of thirty of them is that, if the Constitution takes place, they must make some provision for discharging their debts: & that the creditors of the public will finally receive their just demands. How the important question will be decided next June is uncertain. Should nine ~~or ten~~ States have adopted it, I think the dishonest views of some members must yield to a manly ambition of having a place in good company. As to those who went home with their minds enlightened & their judgments rectified, it is generally supposed they will either convert their constituents to the true Faith, and obtain permission to vote according to the dictates of their consciences, or nobly refuse attending the adjournment.

The debates were conducted with much candor & good nature. The President [i.e., John Sullivan], Judge [Samuel] Livermore, Mr [John]

Pickering, Dr [Samuel] Langdon, Judge [Josiah] Bartlet, & some others did themselves much honor by the clearness & force of their arguments in favor of the articles objected against. The best speaker in the opposition was a baptist Parson [William] Hooper. He may be a good *Divine & Shoemaker*; but he is ignorant in politics, & so *emmail'd* (if I may be allow'd to use a word unauthorized by *Johnson*) in self-conceit as to be unassailable by the force of reason. But the *Bull-dog* of the flock, or rather of the *herd*, was a *poor puppy* of an *Atherton* [i.e., Joshua Atherton]. He had with, infinite study, stuff'd his pericranium with all the objections against the constitution, that have been published between the St. Croix & St. Mary's. These, with as much labor, he whined out; & (I am ready to believe) did not know when they were completely obviated. So little was he esteem'd by those of his own party that it was no uncommon thing for many of them to leave the house in disgust when he commenced a wretched harrangue. . . .

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHi. Tenney was married to a cousin of Nicholas Gilman. For two additional paragraphs from this letter, see RCS:N.H., 268–69.

Samuel Lane to Paine Wingate
Stratham, N.H., 17 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

Encouragd by yr Spouse I now take the liberty to write hitherto I have neglected fearing it did not belong to one in my low Station to trouble you with my Scribbling you having So many greater (tho perhaps not more harty friends & Acquaintance) as well as near Relations to write to you. but thinking a few Scraps of News from yr Native Country may be Agreeable to read at yr leisure Hours Therefore in the first place I acknowledge the Receipt of the agreeable paper you Sent me, which gave me a greater idea of the lux[ur]y importation & trade of New York than I before conceived of—I shall write nothing about yr friends & family, because you have frequent letters from them—and only hint at Some Remarkable things amongst us Since you left us viz that the Convention at Exeter was held about 9 Days; we Sent Capt J[onathan] Wig[g]in President [John] Sullivan was President: the Constitution has many Enemies; the principle Speaker against it was mr [Joshua] Autherton of Amherst, who picked all the holes in it he possibly Could; & Labour'd it Exceedingly & hindered abundance of time: also Parson [William] Hooper of Madbury & Some others—Judge [Samuel] Livermore Dr [Samuel] Langdon Col [John] Langdon mr [John] Pickering & mr [Benjamin] Thurston & Some others Spoke much in favour of it mr Thurston Did himself much honr by his masterly Speeches; Some people wished him in Congress Some Members that were instructed to appear Against it hearing the Dibates were Convinced it

ought to be Adopted; but dared not to Vote for it, untill that had been [sent] home to their Constituents &c and upon the whole both parties Seemed to incline to Adjourn, which they did to the 3rd. Wednes in June next to meet at Concord. . . .

but upon the whole near the Close many of its friends Seemed fearful to have it put to Vote, and moved for an Adj—many of its Enemies Urged to have it Decided then pending they were Major part. others Saying if the Southern States come into it, we must, and by June we Should hear what they did—also Some members had instructions to Vote Against it, & dare they Said, do no otherwise 'till they went home to their Constituents tho' by hearing the Debates, they were for adopting it: and at last got a Vote to adjourn to the 3d Wendsday in June to Concord—these are the most Material things I can in Short Recolect to inform you of

1. Draft, Autograph Collection, No. 1972–089, NhHi. Lane (1718–1806), was a Stratham farmer, shoemaker, tanner, and surveyor (for Governor Benning Wentworth). He held such town offices as selectman, justice of the peace, and clerk. Lane was a well-read man, with a large library. He was deacon of the church in Stratham from 1765 to 1800, and after that as elder until his death in 1806. In 1788 he had an extensive political correspondence with his friend and neighbor Paine Wingate, who was serving in the Confederation Congress. Wingate (1739–1838), a native of Massachusetts and a 1759 graduate of Harvard College, was ordained a Congregational minister in 1763, serving in Hampton Falls, N.H. In 1776 he moved to Stratham and ceased to be a minister, taking up the occupation of farmer. Wingate was a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1781 and a member of the state House of Representatives, 1783–95. He was a U.S. Senator, 1789–93; a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1793–95; and an associate judge of the state superior court, 1798–1809.

Richmond Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 20 March 1788¹

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Boston,
to his friend in Alexandria, dated Feb. 28, 1788.

[“]I have this moment received advice from New-Hampshire, that the Convention is adjourned to the third Monday in June.—The grand question was to come on the 21st.—It was found by the most exact inquiry (that was possible without taking the votes) that there were 54 against it to 51 for it. Mr. Pickering,² a staunch Federalist, then moved that it should be adjourned, in which he was seconded by Mr. [John] Langdon; this they obtained with difficulty, there being 52 for not adjourning it to 53 for it. General [John] Sullivan spoke three hours like a Roman to the great satisfaction of all honest men, in favour of the Constitution, and out of doors made use of all the influence in his power.—Those that were against the Constitution observed they would vote for it, if they had not instructions from their constituents to the contrary.”

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 25 March. These vote totals, 54 to 51 against ratification and 53 to 52 to adjourn, were first reported in the Boston *American Herald*, 25 February (RCS:N.H., 238–39n).

2. Both the original printing and the reprinting misspelled John Pickering's last name as "Sickering."

Jean Toscan to Comte de la Luzerne Portsmouth, N.H., 1 April 1788

I have the honor to inform you that the Convention of New Hampshire to accept or reject the New Constitution assembled at Exeter on 13 February last and, after long and violent Debates, finished by adjourning the Convention to Concorde on the 3rd Wednesday in June, it is hoped that before that time the example of the other states will show New Hampshire its error and the folly in opposing the only suitable way to save the United States from the anarchy into which they must necessarily Fall if the New Constitution is not accepted. in the journal opposite I go into some details on the subject of the debates at the Exeter Convention.²

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Supplement, Vol. 4, f335, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. Toscan (1752–1805) was French vice consul at Portsmouth, 1784–92. César-Henri, Comte de la Luzerne (1737–1799), was French Minister of Marine and Colonies, 1787–90. He is sometimes confused with his brother, the Marquis de la Luzerne, who had been French minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

2. Toscan used various newspaper reports in writing his journal. For a translation of the journal and the newspaper items Toscan used, see John B. Archer, "The First New Hampshire Convention to Ratify the Constitution, February, 1788, and the Toscan Report," *Historical New Hampshire*, 36 (1981), 38–57.

V.
**THE DEBATE OVER THE
CONSTITUTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE**
27 February–31 July 1788

Introduction

During the four months from the adjournment of the first session of the New Hampshire Convention and its reconvening, the people of New Hampshire considered the Constitution intently. By 22 February 1788 six states had ratified the Constitution, and by 18 June two more had ratified. The approval of one additional state would set in motion the implementation of the Constitution among the ratifying states. The Virginia Convention was scheduled to meet on 2 June, the New York Convention on 17 June, and New Hampshire's second session on 18 June. Observers widely expected that the New Hampshire Convention would ratify quickly, making it the ninth state to ratify the Constitution.

During the period of the New Hampshire Convention's adjournment, New Hampshire newspapers continued their earlier practice of reprinting long articles and numerous brief items from out-of-state newspapers. The state's newspapers published few long original articles on the Constitution but included many brief items. The most prolific newspapers were the *New Hampshire Spy* and *New Hampshire Gazette*, both in Portsmouth, and the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*.

Nine significant original articles are printed in this section, none of which is distinguished for a thorough analysis of the Constitution or the politics of the debate over it. Four articles appeared in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, three in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, and one each in the *New Hampshire Spy* and *New Hampshire Mercury*. Only "A Farmer" was clearly Antifederalist.

The many lengthy articles reprinted from out-of-state newspapers all supported the Constitution. Seventeen articles originated in Pennsylvania newspapers. No major Antifederalist articles were reprinted after the meeting of the first session of the New Hampshire Convention began on 13 February. (For the major Antifederalist articles reprinted before 13 February, see RCS:N.H., 5.) The Federalist writings reprinted after 13 February are: "An American (Tench Coxe): To Richard Henry Lee," Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 December 1787 (CC:392-A); "Philanthropos" (Tench Coxe), *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 January 1788 (CC:454); "A.B.: The Raising" (Francis Hopkinson), *Pennsylvania Ga-*

zette, 6 February (CC:504); "A Citizen of the United States," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 February (CC:526); "Spurious Centinel XV," *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 16 February (CC:534); "A Yankee," *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 February (CC:552); "The New Litany," *Virginia Herald*, 21 February (CC:553); "John Adams on the Constitution," *New York Journal*, 23 February (CC:557); "Governor John Hancock's Speech to the Massachusetts General Court," Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February (CC:566–A); "A.B.C.," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March (CC:595); "Landholder" X–XIII (Oliver Ellsworth), *Connecticut Courant*, 3, 10, 17, 24 March (CC:588, 611, 622, 641); "James Iredell's Address to the Freemen of Edenton, N.C.," c. 28–29 March (CC:649); "Fabius" I–IX (John Dickinson), *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 12 April–1 May (CC:677, 684, 690, 693, 699, 705, 710, 717, 722); "A Citizen of New-York" (John Jay) (pamphlet), New York, 15 April (CC:683); and "Peter Prejudice" (John Mifflin?), Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 April (CC:685).

No New Hampshire newspaper reprinted any complete essay by "Publius," the pseudonym used for *The Federalist* essays, written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. All but the first two paragraphs of *The Federalist* 38 were reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 15 February 1788. This essay was written by James Madison and first printed in the New York *Independent Journal* on 12 January (CC:442).

Editors' Notes printed in this section provide additional information on "A Citizen of New-York," "Fabius," and the New Hampshire reprinting of amendments recommended by the South Carolina Convention and amendments proposed in but rejected by the Maryland Convention. A similar note on "Landholder" appears in RCS:N.H., 63–64.

New Hampshire newspapers reprinted reports from other states on the legislative calls, the elections, and the proceedings and debates of state conventions. (For the reports on the proceedings and debates of the Massachusetts Convention, see the "Introduction" to Part I, RCS: N.H., 5–6.) New Hampshire newspapers announced the ratification of the Constitution by Maryland and South Carolina. They also reprinted accounts of the celebrations of ratification in those ratifying states, as well as the New York City and Philadelphia celebrations of Massachusetts' ratification. Newspapers published false accounts of the ratification of the Constitution by the North Carolina Convention that was not scheduled to meet until July 1788; they also printed corrections of the false accounts. Some accounts encouraged the establishment of a strong central government to prevent foreign invasions.

Brief items or squibs on a wide variety of topics were also reprinted from out-of-state newspapers. A favorite topic was the role or opinions

of prominent political leaders, such as John Adams, Elbridge Gerry, John Hancock, Luther Martin, and George Washington. Squibs speculated on the prospects for ratification in the non-ratifying states and on the continued opposition to the Constitution in some of the ratifying states. Reports of unrest in Carlisle, Pa., and Dobbs County, N.C., also appeared. Rhode Island was criticized for not calling a ratifying convention and for having rejected the Constitution in a statewide referendum. Printers complained that they were not regularly receiving newspapers from New York City and Philadelphia because Confederation Postmaster General Ebenezer Hazard had made changes in the postal service. Hazard was severely criticized. Opinions of Europeans on the Constitution and the state of politics in America also found their way into New Hampshire's newspapers. The authenticity of reports and brief squibs was occasionally verified by publishing extracts of letters commenting on men and events.

A substantial amount of correspondence is printed in this section on the debate over the ratification of the Constitution and the state of politics in New Hampshire. Fifty-three letters, written by thirty-three people, are printed—twenty-two are from New York City, seven from Boston, five from Portsmouth, four from Philadelphia, and three from Mount Vernon, Va. Single letters originated from Amherst, Concord, Dover, Exeter, and Hanover, N.H.; Aranjuez, Spain; Biddeford, Maine; Bloomsbury Farm, N.J.; Hartford, Lebanon, and New Haven, Conn.; and Weston, Mass. This section also includes nine extracts of letters that appeared in newspapers—five from New York City, one each from Boston, Concord, Portsmouth, and Virginia. Many letters from New York City were written by seven delegates to the Confederation Congress, a former delegate to that body, and by Henry Knox, the Confederation's secretary at war.

Letters described:

- why New Hampshire Federalists were forced to adjourn the first session of the New Hampshire Convention until June;
- the impact of the adjournment of the first session of the New Hampshire Convention on the non-ratifying states, especially New York;
- praise and criticism of what occurred in the first session of the New Hampshire Convention;
- the chances for ratifying the Constitution in all the states (including New Hampshire) that had not yet ratified the Constitution;
- what the second session of the New Hampshire Convention would be like and what it would do;
- the establishment of a Federalist express to transmit information between the New Hampshire and New York conventions;

- the continued opposition to the Constitution in Pennsylvania, which had ratified;
- the work of Antifederalists in several states to coordinate their efforts to obtain amendments to the Constitution;
- praise of the Massachusetts Convention minority for acquiescing in ratification;
- the ratifications of the Constitution by Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia; and
- the authorship, publication, and dissemination of the “Fabius” essays.

Additional letters and newspaper items written or published during the period covered by Part V can be found in the “Commentaries on the First Session of the New Hampshire Convention” section of Part IV (RCS:N.H., 226–53). Also in Part IV there is a lengthy Editors’ Note (RCS:N.H., 219–26) on the adjournment of the Convention that contains references to items found in other volumes of *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* for the period covered by Part V.

New Hampshire Mercury, 27 February 1788

The following beautiful extract from our celebrated Mr. JEFFERSON’S Notes on Virginia,¹ breathing the same divine spirit of Catholicism, that was manifested by Doctor Langdon in the New-Hampshire Convention, in the debates relative to the exclusion of religious tests as a qualification for office under the new Constitution,² is inserted by the particular desire of a friend to universal toleration and mankind.

The error seems not sufficiently eradicated, that the operations of the mind as well as the acts of the body, are subject to the coercion of the laws. But our rulers can have authority over such natural rights only as we have submitted to them. The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket or breaks my leg. If it be said, his testimony in a court of justice cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the stigma on him. Constraint may make him worse by making him a hypocrite, but it will never make him a truer man. It may fix him obstinately in his errors, but will not cure them. Reason and free enquiry are the only effectual agents against error. Give a loose to them, they will support the true religion, by bringing every false one to their tribunal, to the test of their investigation. They

are the natural enemies of error, and of error only. Had not the Roman government permitted free enquiry, Christianity could never have been introduced. Had not free enquiry been indulged, at the æra of the reformation, the corruptions of Christianity could not have been purged away. If it be restrained now, the present corruptions will be protected and new ones encouraged. Was the government to prescribe to us our medicine and diet, our bodies would be in such keeping as our souls are now. Thus in France the emetic was once forbidden as a medicine, and the potatoe as an article of food. Government is just as infallible too when it fixes systems in physics. Galileo was sent to the inquisition for affirming that the earth was a sphere: the government had declared it to be as flat as a trencher, and Galileo was obliged to abjure his error. This error, however, at length prevailed, the earth became a globe, and Descartes declared it was whirled round its axis by a vortex. The government in which he lived was wise enough to see that this was no question of civil jurisdiction, or we should all have been involved by authority in vortices. In fact, the vortices have been exploded, and the Newtonian principle of gravitation is now more firmly established, on the basis of reason, than it would be were the government to step in, and to make it an article of necessary faith. Reason and experiment have been indulged, and error has fled before them. It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself. Subject opinion to coercion:—whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than of face and stature.—Introduce the bed of Procrustes³ then, and as there is danger that the large men may beat the small, make us all of a size, by lopping the former and stretching the latter. Difference of opinion is advantageous in religion. The several sects perform the office of a *Census morum*⁴ over each other. Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. To support roguery and error all over the earth. Let us reflect that it is inhabited by a thousand millions of people. That these profess probably a thousand different systems of religion. That ours is but one of that thousand. That if there be but one right, and ours that one, we should wish to see the 999 wandering sects gathered into the fold of truth.—But against such a majority we cannot effect this by force. Reason and persuasion are the only practicable instruments. To make way for these, free enquiry must be indulged; and how can we wish others to indulge

it, while we refuse it ourselves. But every state, says an inquisitor, has established some religion. No two, say I, have established the same. Is this a proof of the infallibility of establishments? Our sister states of Pennsylvania and New-York, however, have long subsisted without any establishment at all. The experiment was new and doubtful when they made it. It has answered beyond conception. They flourish infinitely. Religion is well supported; of various kinds, indeed, but all good enough; all sufficient to preserve peace and order: or if a sect arises, whose tenets would subvert morals, good sense has fair play, and reasons and laughs it out of doors, without suffering the state to be troubled with it. They do not hang more malefactors than we do. They are not more disturbed with religious dissensions. On the contrary, their harmony is unparalleled, and can be ascribed to nothing but their unbounded tolerance, because there is no other circumstance in which they differ from every nation on earth. They have made the happy discovery, that the way to silence religious disputes, is to take no notice of them. Let us too give this experiment fair play, and get rid, while we may, of those tyrannical laws. It is true, we are as yet secured against them by the spirit of the times. I doubt whether the people of this country would suffer an execution for heresy, or a three years imprisonment for not comprehending the mysteries of the Trinity. But is the spirit of the people an infallible, a permanent reliance? Is it government? Is this the kind of protection we receive in return for the rights we give up? Besides, the spirit of the times may alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may commence prosecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated, that the time for fixing every essential right on a basis is while our rulers are honest, and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion.

1. Quoted from Jefferson's response to Query No. XVII in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, which was first published anonymously in Paris in 1785 (Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* [New York, 1984], 285–87).

2. For Samuel Langdon's speech on 20 February 1788, see RCS:N.H., 215.

3. Procrustes was a mythological robber living in Greece who had an iron bed on which he forced his victims to lie. If they were shorter than the bed he would stretch them to fit; if longer he would cut off their legs.

4. The officer is a censor of morals.

**President John Sullivan: Proclamation of Prayer and Fasting
Durham, N.H., 29 February 1788¹**

As the constant dependence of man upon the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, for Life and all its Enjoyments, is undeniable: While the natural disposition of mankind to wander from that Line of Rectitude, which Divine Revelation has so clearly pointed out, is no less certain;—the laudable and pious example of our Ancestors, in setting apart certain Days for imploring the pardon and protection of ALMIGHTY GOD, must be truly worthy of imitation. The General Court, have therefore thought proper to appoint the TENTH DAY OF APRIL NEXT to be observed as a DAY OF GENERAL HUMILIATION, FASTING AND PRAYER, throughout this State. And in consequence of such appointment, I do, by and with the advice and consent of Council, issue this Proclamation; earnestly recommending to the religious Societies of every denomination, that they assemble themselves together, on that Day, and offer up their Supplications to the Father of mercies for the pardon of our numerous transgressions, and a continuance of those favours, which he of his infinite Goodness has hitherto been pleased to make us the partakers of;—Entreat him to avert those Judgments, which our sins have justly merited;—and save the Land, which his own arm has delivered from oppression;—That he will graciously inspire our Rulers with Wisdom, Integrity and Love of Virtue;—Crown the Labours of our Husbandmen, by causing the Earth to yield her increase;—Prosper our Trade and Manufactures;—Bestow upon us the Blessings of Health;—Preserve us from foreign Wars, and intestine Commotions;—(Grant to the Members of our Convention, that Wisdom, which is necessary to direct, and lead them into those measures which may promote the Interest and Happiness of the United States;)²—And above all, that the Gospel of our blessed SAVIOUR may spread throughout the World, and that the Embassadors of his Kingdom may have reason to rejoice in the success of their Labours.

All servile Employment and Recreation are strictly forbidden on said Day.

Given at the Council Chamber, in Durham, the Twenty-ninth Day of February, in the Year of our LORD, One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Eighty-eight, and in the Twelfth Year of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

By his Excellency's Command, with advice of Council,
Joseph Pearson, Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE STATE.

1. Printed: *New Hampshire Gazette*, 19 March. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 21 March; *New Hampshire Recorder*, 25 March.

2. On 15 March the *Massachusetts Centinel* printed a brief item reporting that Sullivan had issued a proclamation of prayer and fasting. In this report, the *Centinel* quoted the text in angle brackets (RCS:N.H., 270).

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 29 February 1788¹

A Dialogue between two neighbors.

A. How do you do neighbor, I havent seen you for sometime past, where have you been, you look clever and harty.

B. Oh, I have been to Exeter to hear the conventioners talk, they most all of them look like clever men.

A. Well, is there any antifidlers there, I think that's what they call them, I mean them men that pretend to be afraid of giving too much power to the head that we set up ourselves, which head ant like a king, because a king is born to rule and his oldest son is to be king after him, whether he is a fool or not.

B. Why I believe there is some of that cast among them, I heard one talk a despert deal about giving Congress too much power, he seems to be powerfully against giving our national court any power at all, &c. &c. now this same man that I mean, was so fond of the British constitution in the time of our trouble I mean in the war, that he was willin to trust them altho' he had no Representative there, yes, he would trust the British sooner than his own countrymen.

A. Why a plague did his towns men send such a man I'm sure I would not, would you.

B. No, I would as soon vote for your Cato, and sooner too. Some of the other Antifiddlers were honest men, and when they were convinced that what other's party objected to was ronge they turn'd right about. I was finely pleas'd to hear them Ministers and other learn'd men talk, it did me good, I'm sure we must have the constitution and it must be right, else they would not be so fond of it, and they know what is best for us better than we can see ourselves. I believe if this new government is received we that live in this State will be more benefited than any other state, for then we should want 10 ships where we have but one, and all them ships would want beef and pork for their provisions, and oxen and horses, to carry on their decks, and corn and wheat for bread, and a terrible deal of lumber, of all sorts, only think what a sight of cattle would be carryd off then to what there is now, altho' with the small number of vessels we now have in this state, one of our Bank merchants told me there was shipped off within last year, 1500 Oxen, dead and alive, what do you think of that?

A. Well neighbor, I coud'nt have tho't it; well, it will help us mightily! if you hear any more about the Conventioners soon, let me know, don't forget, for I shant be easy till it is passed.

B. I will—Good day.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 7 March; *New York Journal*, 20 March; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 25 March.

New Hampshire Spy, 29 February 1788

An EPIGRAM on the Times.¹

When faction was loud, when parties ran high,
Religion and Liberty join'd in the cry—
But, O grief of griefs! in the midst of the fray
Religion and Liberty both ran away!

1. The epigram had appeared in *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure . . .*, XXXIV (London, May 1764), 268, and *The London Magazine or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligence*, XXXIII (London, May 1764), 262.

Pierpont Edwards to Jeremiah Wadsworth

New Haven, Conn., 1 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . O New Hamshire,—New Hamshire,—New Hamshire!—But I will not repeat thy odious name—

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society. Edwards (1750–1826), a New Haven lawyer, was a member of the Connecticut House of Representatives and the state Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution in January 1788. His father was the Reverend Jonathan Edwards. Like Pierpont Edwards, Wadsworth (1743–1804), a Hartford, Conn., merchant, voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–95.

Cyrus Griffn to Thomas FitzSimons

New York, 3 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . N:Hampshire, I am very sorry to tell you that the convention have seperated without taking a question upon the important business of the constitution; it seems that the federal Members were apprehensive of a negative, and therefore came into the measure of an Adjournment untill June: I consider this piece of conduct as very unfortunate indeed, for nine states will not have agreed to the system before Virginia shall be assembled; this will make her in fact the preponderating state of the union; and being so placed I fear the consequences; perhaps Rhode Island may take up the discussion and accord with the plan, the best men of the country are very busy to that purpose, but as yet they appear a minority—we are parting with our valuable friend Madison to Virginia from Congress, but still I am doubtful that all his virtues and abilities will avail nothing.

Be so kind as to make my best regards to Mrs. FitzSimons—I hope she continues in good health this very severe season—the weather frets my constitution to atoms almost—it is too cold for a southern fabric.

I am dear sir with the highest esteem & consideration

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHi. Griffin (1748–1810), a Lancaster County, Va., lawyer, was a delegate to Congress, 1778–80, 1787–88 (president, 1788), and a member of the Continental Court of Appeals in Cases of Captures, 1780–87. FitzSimons (1741–1811), a Philadelphia merchant and banker and a Pennsylvania assemblyman, was a delegate to Congress, 1782–83, and a signer of the Constitution in the Constitutional Convention. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–95.

In writing to James Madison on 24 March, Griffin was still pessimistic about the ratification of the Constitution (CC:640).

A Federalist

Massachusetts Centinel, 5 March 1788¹

Mr. RUSSELL, I am one of those who have doubts of the new Constitution—But on reading in one of the late papers, that Mr. A—— [i.e., Joshua Atherton], a lawyer, of New-Hampshire, was violently opposed to it, I confess that it operated to a total change of sentiment in my mind—for I have always endeavoured to practice in the caution—of avoiding bad company.—I am a Whig in grain—and when I hear a rank Tory,² rail at the Constitution as pregnant with *tyranny in the extreme*, and *despotism with a vengeance*, who not long ago was extolling the justice of the measures of Britain, to enslave America, I apprehend the principle is not changed; but that he is wishing to prevent the adoption of the system, only because it will put it out of the power of Britain ever to subjugate us.—I have great respect for the opinions of upright, honest men, let them be on which side of a subject they will—but when I see such men as Mr. A. opposed to the Constitution, I must be A FEDERALIST.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 March; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 March; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 19 March; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 21 March; *Virginia Journal*, 28 March; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 April. For a response, see *Boston American Herald*, 10 March (RCS:N.H., 267).

2. For Atherton's loyalism during the American Revolution, see RCS:N.H., 463.

New York Independent Journal, 5 March 1788¹

*Extract of a letter from Boston, to a Gentleman in this City,
dated February 25, 1788.*

[“]The Convention of New-Hampshire adjourned to the second Wednesday in June next: Tho' this at first seems to be an Antifederal measure, yet it is not when you know the circumstances. About forty

towns have instructed their delegates to vote against the Constitution; the greatest part of these members are so sensible of the propriety of adopting the Constitution, that they could not in their consciences vote against it, and wanted to explain and elucidate the principles to their constituents, that operated upon their minds for adopting the New Government.—This is the principle cause of the adjournment.”

1. For a similar letter extract dated Boston, 24 February, see the *New York Morning Post*, 3 March (RCS:N.H., 249).

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 6 March 1788¹

I am honored with your obliging favor of the 23d Ultimo which confirms the sad account, received by the saturday mail, of our Convention business.—When we first received the very unexpected news every one was surprised and every friend chagrined—much is to be apprehended from this unfortunate check to the tide of our political prosperity—as a Citizen of New-Hampshire I am greatly mortified and as a friend to my Country mankind I dread the evils that may ensue—This unfortunate affair will at least give a temporary spring to the opposition and I fear its effects in other States; though I cannot doubt the final ratification in ours, if proper measures are adopted, to counteract the nefarious designs of the enemys to our Country;—for such, I shall, in future, consider all those incendiaries who are predetermined to disregard argument & reason and to sow the seeds of jealousy and discord among the people. In my first emotion on this occasion I conceived it of some importance to give a favourable turn to the popular opinion and having heard from Boston of the instruction business, published the enclosed, as being in my opinion a Statement of facts—and which I am happy to find so correspondent to your letter.²—We have no foreign advices of a recent date—but from the unsettled state of affairs in Europe, it seems to be the almost universal opinion that they will have but a short respite from the scourge of war, and should the curse fall on us in our present disjointed State the evils are inconceivable that would probably ensue.—Our great and good friend Madison has just set out for Virginia where I hope his influence will be at least sufficient to counteract the ill effects of the backsliding of my native state.—The most important business now before Congress is an application from Kentucky to be set off from Virginia and to be received into the union as a sovereign State—in which Virginia agrees to concur on certain conditions.—that She shall be released from a proportion of her federal obligations &c. &c. this is not a time for the determination of so

important a Subject—but it is so strenuously urged and the people of that Country are become so jealous and irritable as to require the most delicate management—how it will terminate is yet uncertain.—Mr Wingate³ desires his best regards to you.—With sentiments of the most sincere respect and Esteem

1. RC, Dreer Collection, Letters of Members of the Federal Convention, PHi. On 22 March Gilman expressed similar sentiments to John Sullivan (RCS:N.H., 272–73).

2. See *New York Morning Post*, 3 March (RCS:N.H., 249); *New York Journal*, 3 March (CC:Vol. 4, p. 531); and *New York Independent Journal*, 5 March (immediately above).

3. Paine Wingate had joined Gilman as a New Hampshire delegate to Congress on 11 February.

**Samuel Phillips Savage to George Thatcher
Weston, Mass., 7 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I said above there were two Sorts of Men, who opposed the adoption of the new Governmt—does not the Conduct of N Hampshire prove there are others—think you not, that selfish motives influenced some, from the hope of Commerce being forced to their ports by the wholesome Duties that will (if the Constitution be adopted) undoubtedly be laid by Congress on those States who do adopt it. It is this narrow contracted Spirit that has led us on thus far to destruction, and which if pursued, will seal our political Misery. . . .

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library. For the full letter, see CC:600. Savage (1718–1797), a farmer and former Boston merchant, was president of the Massachusetts Board of War during most of the Revolutionary War. He was a judge of the Middlesex County Inferior Court, 1775–82, and the Court of Common Pleas, 1782–97.

**John Vaughan to John Dickinson
Philadelphia, 9 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

A friend of mine returning to Wilmington I have embraced the opportunity of communicating the Substance of a letter I have recd from N England which will interest a person who bore so Conspicuous a part in securing of the New Constitution

The people in the Towns near the Sea Coast in N. Hampshire were so generally for the Adoption of the New Govt. that it was scarcely suspected that the whole of the Internal parts of the Country would be indisposed to it—& little or no pains was taken to instruct them in the principles of it & make them favorable to it—The people of the Interior of Massachusetts who were against it took no Small pains to prejudice them against it, & led them to believe from no advocates appearing for it that this sentiment was general—in this frame of mind

the Delegates were chosen & instructed to Vote against it, which was agreeable to their own Sentiments—a few days debate opened the Eyes of many & they felt the weight of their Shackles & found they must either vote agt. Conscience or agt. Instructions; they would probably have adopted the latter plan, but as the Elections was coming on before they Could have an opportunity of explaining the Motives of their Conduct, the[y] feared an exclusion from the Assembly as the *first impression* of their Constituents would certainly be agt. them—these therefore wished an Adjournmt—& a warm Contest being expected between Langdon & Sullivan for the Governours Seat they were equally desirous of an adjournment to be at leisure to attend to the Election—It is to be wished the adoption had been immediate, but we may augur in favor of it from the Adjournment—The Majority were instructed against it & had they been pleased to follow instructions—it would have been rejected.—From the adjournmnt. *much good is expected.* . . .

I beg leave to present my best respects to Mrs & Miss Dickinson & remain with esteem Your obliged friend & admirer

1. RC, Dickinson Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia. The omitted paragraph deals with the release of men imprisoned for their involvement in the Carlisle riot in December 1787. (For the Carlisle riot and its aftermath, see RCS:Pa., 670–708.)

Samuel Blachley Webb to Joseph Barrell
New York, 9 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . O New-Hampshire, you have (perhaps unintentionally) done us much injury.—Anti-federalists lift their heads,—had they adjourned only to April it would not have been much—but they will now be in the rear of several States, whom we fear will pattern after them.—This City is true—but the Country wants mending;—we are busy—so are the Anti's. . . .

1. Printed: James W. Webb, ed., *Reminiscences of Gen'l Samuel B. Webb* . . . (New York, 1882), 143. Webb (1753–1807), a native of Wethersfield, Conn., was an officer in the Continental Army, 1775–83, serving for a time as George Washington's aide-de-camp and private secretary. In 1783 Congress brevetted him a brigadier general. The next year he moved to New York City, where he acted as an agent for Barrell (1739–1804), a Boston merchant, who was married to Webb's sister Sarah. Barrell engaged in the China trade.

George Washington to Benjamin Lincoln
Mount Vernon, 10 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear Sir,

. . . I am sorry to hear that the issue of the proposed Government in New-Hampshire is, in any measure, dubious: Our accounts from that

quarter have been favorable in the highest degree, they would have justified the expectation of an unanimous vote in their Convention. . . .

. . . With the highest esteem & regard I am My dear Sir, Yr most Affecte Servt

1. RC, The Original Letters of George Washington to Benjamin Lincoln, Harvard University. Printed: Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 151–52. For a longer excerpt, see RCS:Va., 478. Washington was responding to Lincoln's letter of 20 February (RCS:N.H., 228–29n).

Boston American Herald, 10 March 1788

It is curious, says a Correspondent, to observe how one of the “Order,” under the signature of “*A Federalist*,” in the Centinel of Wednesday last,¹ endeavours to make a brother, Mr. A——n,² of New-Hampshire, appear contemptible, as being a Tory, &c. when, perhaps, this is the only instance of a Tory being opposed to the New System from Georgia to New-Hampshire; while on the other hand, it is well known, every Tory, particularly those in a certain great town, are warm advocates for this System; and perhaps even Mr. A. like his brother S. another of the “Order,” on a late occasion, means to play a double game.

1. See “*A Federalist*,” *Massachusetts Centinel*, 5 March (RCS:N.H., 263).

2. Joshua Atherton.

New Hampshire Spy, 11 March 1788¹

The friends to the new Constitution, in this state, it is said, are much indebted to a certain illustrious Doctor K——m, of N——y——t, for having *their interest* so much at heart, as to induce him, in a very inclement season, and at the peril of his life, to pay two visits to Exeter, while the Convention was sitting there; and the debt will be increased, when the *patriotic* design of these visits is known. It was for a purpose *noble indeed*—on a *design hazardous indeed*—and for an *end*, which, if timely discovered, might have *exalted him high above his fellows*—For lo, the materials, are they not with us?—the *pitch* and the *hemp*, and *feathers* in abundance—besides, we have *horses* and *carts*—*eggs* and *apples*, *rotten ones* without number. These ingredients, properly applied, might have made this *little* man rejoice that he was accounted worthy to suffer for the cause of *Anarchy*, and might have been considered as a small reward for his *unremitted* diligence in *distributing* to the members of Convention, a number of *antifederal essays*, *tampering with them*, &c. &c.—Pray, good Doctor, when you deign to visit New-Hampshire again upon business so *interesting* to its citizens, be so *candid* as publicly to announce your *intentions*—for it would be a blot in their escutcheon not to give

you the *most public testimonials* of their *regard*—at least, to *escort* you out of the state in an *honourable* manner—in *such* a manner as would make you feel your *importance* more sensibly, and make you cry out, with the *fly*, *bless me, what a dust I raise!*²

1. Reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 14 March, and in six other newspapers by 26 May: Vt. (1), Mass. (3), Conn. (1), Pa. (1). See John Quincy Adams Diary, 21–22 February, for references to the visit of Dr. David Kilham (of Newburyport) to Exeter to observe the New Hampshire Convention. In the entry for 22 February, Adams wrote that “Dr. Kilham was troubled with the impertinence of one Hopkinson, a distracted fellow, who came and pretended to call him to an account for coming and intermeddling with concerns, in which he was not interested” (RCS:N.H., 231).

2. Francis Bacon attributed this fable to Aesop: “It was prettily devised of *Æsop*; *The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise?*” (*The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* . . . [London, 1625], Chapter LIV, “Of Vaine-Glory,” p. 308).

Samuel Tenney to Nicholas Gilman

Exeter, N.H., 12 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . I beg you will accept my acknowledgements for the political information you have communicated to us in the [New²] York Papers. The Federalist is greatly admired. His candor, ingenuity, depth of thought & force of argument entitle him to the first rank among the numerous writers on the subject of the new constitution. All objections seem to vanish into smoke under the magic touch of his pen. He must be acknowledged to be the Champion of the best cause that ever engaged the attention of a patriotic politician, & we have christened him HAMILTON.² Should the state of N. York so far evade the force of his reasonings as to reject the Constitution, her name ought to descend to posterity hand in hand with that filthy harlot Rhode Island; & her infamy ought to be common to them both. But we hope better things of her—things that will demonstrate her disinterested attachment to the common welfare of the United States; & thereby establish her reputation on the firmest possible basis. . . .

Some of our Patriots (I mean Antifederalists, for they possess all the patriotism there is left in the country) would have us believe that the current of opinions, not only in N. York but in Maryland, Virginia & the Carolinas, is much against the constitution; which those of us who favor the *infernal plot* laid by you & your confederates in the grand convention to subvert the liberties of the country, are very unwilling to believe. They also inform us that Pennsylvania is all in a ferment & that this will terminate in a new state convention, which will undo the transactions of the first.³ If you can communicate any information which will tend to strengthen my faith in the sweep of the Constitution, upon

which I believe our political salvation entirely depends, you will oblige me by doing it. In the mean time, I have the honor to be, with the warmest sentiments of esteem, Dear Sir, your very cordial friend & most obedient Servt.

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHI. Tenney was married to a cousin of Nicholas Gilman. For two additional paragraphs from this letter, see RCS:N.H., 250–51.

2. For the authorship and circulation of *The Federalist*, see “The New Hampshire Reprintings of Excerpts from the First and Third Paragraphs of Publius, *The Federalist* 1,” 9 and 27 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 44–45).

3. For the ferment in Pennsylvania in the first months of 1788, see RCS:Pa., 642–725.

Pennsylvania Gazette, 12 March 1788¹

The case of the New-Hampshire Convention is very honorable to the American character. From want of opportunity to acquire due information, their constituents had instructed them to vote against the adoption; but on finding that the number, *bound up*, was so great that the question would be carried by a small majority, two thirds of the body determined to give their constituents an opportunity of forming a more just opinion, and of unraveling the deceptions that had been practised upon them.

1. Reprinted: *New York Morning Post*, 14 March; *New York Daily Advertiser*, 15 March; *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 March; *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 10 April; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 16 April.

Norwich Packet, 13 March 1788

It hardly admits of a question, but that the new Constitution will be adopted by New-Hampshire, on the reconsideration thereof in June next.

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.

Theophilus Dame to John Langdon

Dover, N.H., 14 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

... I have five times the amot. of my note to mr. gayer, due to me from other people, but cant collect it in, but I trust, if the Constitution recommended by the Honble. Fedral Convention is adopted, that we Shall, Soon, have better times—

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum. Dame (1724–1800), a veteran of the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, was a captain in a British regiment until 1771

and a colonel in the New Hampshire militia in 1779. Before and after the American Revolution, he was sheriff of Strafford County.

Massachusetts Centinel, 15 March 1788¹

Thursday, April 10th, is appointed by his Excellency President Sullivan, as a day of Fasting and Prayer, in the State of New-Hampshire.— Among other objects, set forth in the proclamation, for which the people are exhorted to assemble together is, that they may supplicate Almighty God, to graciously “grant to the members of the Convention, that wisdom, which is necessary to direct, and lead them into those measures which may promote the *interest and happiness* of the *United States*.”²

1. Reprints by 9 April (20): Vt. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (3), Conn. (6), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (1).

2. For President John Sullivan’s 29 February proclamation, see RCS:N.H., 260–61n.

John Cox to John Stevens

Bloomsbury Farm, N.J., 17 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I am clearly of Opinion with you that the more the question touching the merits of the New Constitution shall be agitated the greater will be the number of its friends. I am therefore rather pleased that some of the States have postponed the determination of the subject to so distant a Day: we have the least doubt but that New Hampshire on a reconsideration of [matters?] will wear a very different Ton[e] & that there will be a respectable & decided majority in favor of it. . . .

1. RC, Stevens Family Papers, Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N.J. Cox (c. 1732–1793), a Philadelphia merchant, was a lieutenant-colonel of the Pennsylvania militia, 1775–77. He owned extensive property, including an iron works, in New Jersey, and from 1775 to 1790 he resided at his estate, Bloomsbury Farm, near Trenton, N.J. Cox returned to Philadelphia in 1790. One of his daughters married Colonel John Stevens, Jr. Stevens (1749–1838), a 1768 graduate of King’s College (Columbia) and owner of a large estate in present-day Hoboken, N.J., was trained in law but did not practice that profession. He was state treasurer, 1776–83. He published a pamphlet and seven essays supporting the Constitution from November 1787 to January 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 171n, 181n–82n).

Rufus King to Tench Coxe

New York, 18 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . We have nothing new in politicks in this Quarter; the Decision of the Question concerning the Constitution is very doubtful in this State—The conduct of New Hampshire, although by no means explanatory of what will be the Fate of the Question in that State, seems to

have checked the spirit of Fedaralism—(I have no Doubt however but that the Constitution will be adopted by New Hampshire). . . .

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi. For a longer excerpt from this letter, see CC:623. The text in angle brackets was marked with “x’s,” probably by Coxe, and was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 March, as an “Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, to his friend in this city, dated March 18, 1788.” The extract was reprinted in the *New York Morning Post*, 29 March; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 1 April; and *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 1 May.

New Hampshire Spy, 18 March 1788¹

For this three months past the printer of this paper has rarely received a single paper from New-York or Philadelphia, by the mails which have arrived during that period, notwithstanding he has been very careful in forwarding his papers to the printers in the above cities, enclosed in small packages, and directed to the “*Post-Office, New York,*” &c. He now calls upon his brother Printers in the above cities, especially such as were, before this lapse, his steady correspondents, to oblige him so far as to inform, whether they forward their papers or not. Need he suggest the very great injury which this stoppage of the regular channels of intelligence may be to these states?—no:—it must be obvious to every thinking person.—It is much easier to obtain intelligence, and we have it more regular from, Great-Britain, than from the Southern States, owing to the detention of newspapers *somewhere!*

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 31 March; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 3 April; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 April; and *Pennsylvania Journal*, 5 April. Eleazer Oswald, the printer of the *Gazetteer*, appended the following editorial comment to his reprint: “We can assure our brother typo of New-Hampshire, that our papers have been deposited in the *post-office* as usual; and that if he has not received them, it is no fault of ours. But, should this acknowledgement ever reach him, he will probably be convinced that a certain *sublunary deity* of our own creation, who acts as *post-master-general* in New-York, has, in the plenitude of *his* power, thought proper to interdict the free circulation of newspapers since the 1st of January last. To him therefore the several printers in the United States must ascribe their disappointment; and by him only has the majesty of the people, in this respect, been abused and insulted. How long, oh *Americans*, are you tamely to submit to the daily indignities of one of your own servants!” (The Confederation postmaster general was Ebenezer Hazard. For the turmoil surrounding the post office and Hazard, see “The Controversy over the Post Office and the Circulation of Newspapers,” CC:Vol. 4, pp. 540–96.)

New Jersey Journal, 19 March 1788

Though the antifederalists exult, and endeavor to ridicule the prophecies of the friends of the Constitution, as to the certainty of New-Hampshire adopting it; yet the event is by no means such as ought to

discourage the federalist; on the contrary, it is a happy omen of success upon a future day. A negligent credulity of its adoption, on the part of its friends, the catastrophe must be attributed to.

Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan

New York, 22 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 28th ultimo² and beg leave to express my thanks for the particulars of the action at Exeter—That the defence of the System was great as the ground was advantageous I have no doubt; but have still to regret (with much apprehension) that the victory was not more complete.—your Excellency's expectations of success in the next engagement affords some consolation—yet I am sorry the field assigned for the scene of action is so much in favor of the adverse party.³

Those that have not been in the way of seeing and hearing can hardly imagine what pernicious effects our Convention business has produced in a number of the States—New Hampshire had been counted on by friends & foes as being perfectly federal—so that from the ratification of the new System in Massachusetts—the opposers began to make excuses and change sides in all Quarters but immediately on your adjournment they augmented their forces took possession of their old ground and seem determined to maintain it at all hazards—

The Governor of this State⁴ acts no longer under Covert but is open and indefatigable in the opposition In Pennsylvania, I am informed, affairs have a most unfavourable aspect—The Antis. are forming associations—holding County Conventions &c.⁵ much in the stile of the Massachusetts rebellion—by all late accounts from Virginia the opposition is there increasing and there is reason to apprehend that North Carolina is too highly tinctured with the same spirit—Patrick Henry is intirely antifederal and Grayson⁶ is warmly opposed to the present plan—The adoption of it is certainly doubtful in New York—Virginia—North Carolina & Rhode Island—this being the case I hope no pains will be wanting to secure a Majority in the next meeting of our Convention—I do assure, Sir, Our present situation appears truly alarming and I am more and more confirmed in an opinion I have long entertained that the tranquility of our Country is suspended solely on the great question of the day—

I think Mr. Wingate informed your Excellency of the application of Kentucky to be set off as a separate State and taken into the union, which Virginia will accede to on condition of her being exonerated from a proportion of her federal obligations &c. The affair has been

once debated in Congress in Committee of the whole and postponed, since which it has not been taken up. It is an application that cannot, in the present State of affairs be complied with—but there is such a spirit of avulsion among the people of that Country they are so impatient and importunate as to make it a Subject that requires, at this critical juncture, the most prudent management. . . .

I take the liberty to enclose for your Excellencys perusal, the remarks of Aristides (Alia Judge Harrison our old friend who was Secretary to General Washington) on the new plan of government⁷—and as I cannot procure another, shall be obliged if you will please to lend it to the Treasurer⁸—

Having drawn my letter to some length I will not trespass further than to add the perfect Respect with which I have the honor to be

1. RC, State Papers, Revolution, 1775–1789, Nh-Ar. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 20–22. On 6 March Gilman expressed similar sentiments to John Langdon (RCS:N.H., 264–65).

2. See Sullivan to Gilman, 28 February (RCS:N.H., 246–47).

3. The second session of the New Hampshire Convention was scheduled to convene on 18 June in Concord, a principal town in the Merrimack Valley. Concord's delegate voted against ratification of the Constitution at the second session.

4. George Clinton.

5. For the petition campaign in Pennsylvania to revoke the state's ratification of the Constitution, see RCS:Pa., 709–25. Gilman was comparing the activity in Pennsylvania to Shays's Rebellion.

6. William Grayson, a Virginia delegate, and Gilman were in Congress together from 25 September through 29 October 1787. Both Grayson and Henry voted against ratification of the Constitution in the Virginia Convention in June 1788.

7. See "Aristides" (Alexander Contee Hanson of Maryland), 31 January 1788 (CC:490; RCS:Md., 224–66n).

8. State treasurer John Taylor Gilman represented Exeter in the state Convention and voted to ratify the Constitution in June 1788.

Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan New York, 23 March 1788¹

Had it been pleasing to the preserver of Man, in the Superabundance of his tender mercies to, to have removed P——y with M——n to the regions of darkness²—I am induced to think the new System of Government would have been adopted—but the delay in our backsliding State has rendered it much more doubtful in my mind that it had been at any period Since the Completion of the plan—The opposition is now reduced to System—the leaders are known to each other and are indefatigable in their exertions—If they succeed I am apprehensive the sword will soon be drawn and your Excellencys early prediction be verified³—I am by no means without hope of tranquility—though I

think appearances are very alarming which has brought to my mind the appointmt. Your Excellency was pleased to propose to me some months before I left home—I recollect the act respecting the ranks did not pass the lower house—but was inform'd the appointment took place notwithstanding If so and your Excellency should think proper to make the proposed promotion and forward me a Commission as soon as may be convenient I beg leave to observe—that, at this time it would be very acceptable—Though I had always a grateful sense of your Excellency's politeness in preparing the appointment—it was never a favorite object—I am now prompted to it by the Spirit of the times and have taken the liberty to communicate my Sentiments that Your Excellency may view the affair in its connexion with the public good and determine as may seem most conducive thereto—

With sentiment of the most sincere Respect

1. RC, New Hampshire Miscellany, 1782–1809 (Peter Force), DLC.
2. Gilman probably refers to New Hampshire Antifederalist Nathaniel Peabody and General Jonathan Moulton, who had died on 18 September 1787.
3. Gilman probably refers to a letter, dated 22 September 1787, that he received from Sullivan (RCS:N.H., 8–9).

New Hampshire Recorder, 25 March 1788

A good system of government, well administered, constitutes the highest degree of human felicity. The prospect that Heaven will shortly bless the UNITED STATES with the former, brightens to the view, and will speedily be realized;—but, our happiness as a people under the New Constitution, depends principally on the characters which we may elect to administer the Government.

May the present Generation therefore, always have their “Eyes upon the Faithful of the Land,”¹ and may our Posterity to the latest ages, distinguish by their suffrages, the wise, the virtuous, and inflexible Patriots of their Country.

1. Psalms 101:6.

New Hampshire Spy, 25 March 1788¹

“Phillip Ratcliff, a servant of Mr. Craddoc, being convicted *ore teneus* (or *tenus*) of most foul scandalous invectives against our churches and government, was sentenced to be whipped, lose his ears, and be banished the plantation, which was presently executed.”

Antifederalists what think ye?

1. This brief item refers to a court case heard in June 1631 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony by Governor John Winthrop and several magistrates. Philip Ratcliffe was either a

servant to or an agent for Matthew Craddock. Ratcliffe was convicted for “uttering malicious and scandalous speeches against the government and church of Salem.” His utterances were seditious and not blasphemy as some contemporaries charged. He was sentenced to have his tongue bored through, his nose slit, and his forehead branded, and he was to be whipped in every town. The court reduced the sentence, ordering that Ratcliffe be whipped, have his ears cut off, and pay a heavy fine. He was also to be banished from the colony (Leonard W. Levy, *Blasphemy: Verbal Offense Against the Sacred, from Moses to Salman Rushdie* [New York, 1993], 241–42).

Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 25 March 1788¹

An obliging correspondent has favoured us with the following extract of a letter from a Member of Congress to his friend in this county—dated March 1, 1788.

“We were, last evening, informed that the Convention of Newhampshire has adjourned to June, without coming to any decision respecting the Constitution. This was so unexpected, that we could scarcely realize it. (I fear it will have a bad effect. The publick mind has been fluctuating, with regard to the system proposed—at least in considerable districts of the community: The first impressions were favourable to the adoption of the plan: The next, occasioned by various pieces written against it, and the intemperate conduct of its zealous friends in Pennsylvania,² &c. were much less favourable. The adoption of it in Massachusetts again turned the current of opinion much in its favour: The principal men in opposition in the State of Newyork, Maryland, &c. appeared to be agreed to acquiese in the adoption of it, in the form in which it has been adopted in Massachusetts; but I am quite unable to say, what effect this unexpected conduct in Newhampshire may have.)³ Tho’ my opinion, on fully examining all that has been said and written, respecting this plan, is not altered as to the amendable parts of it; yet I have been long satisfied we must, and ought to, put it into operation, and afterwards engraft the amendments into it, which time and experience shall direct. (It is dangerous to remain long in our present situation, and the more so, in my opinion, on account of the storm evidently gathering in Europe. The present calm there, is, I am fully persuaded, momentary, and that a war will take place among the European nations with which we are principally connected, at no very distant period. And I think we may clearly observe in their plans already, eident intentions to entangle us in their disputes. It will be impossible for us to remain neuter, and pursue our true interest, unless we shall have a national Government for effectually regulating our affairs, and controuling the conduct of our own citizens.”)⁴

1. Reprinted in whole in the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 18 April, and in ten other newspapers by 20 May: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (1), Pa. (3), Va. (1), S.C. (1). For

additional reprints, see notes 3 and 4 (below). Paul Smith believes that this letter was written by Nathan Dane to Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Holten, or Rufus King, fellow residents of Essex County, Massachusetts, who he corresponded with during this session of Congress (Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 3n).

2. Probably a reference to the forcible return, on 29 September 1787, of two Anti-federalists to the Pennsylvania Assembly in order to obtain a quorum so that the Assembly could adopt resolutions calling a state convention to consider the Constitution (CC:125).

3. The text in angle brackets was omitted in the Providence *United States Chronicle*, 3 April 1788.

4. The text in angle brackets was reprinted in the Newburyport *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 2 April; the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 4 April; and the *New Hampshire Spy*, 8 April. The excerpt was prefaced: "A letter from a member of Congress, dated March 1, 1788, after speaking of the Federal Constitution, says."

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon New York, 26 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

Mr Gilman presents his very Respectful Compliments to Mr Langdon and begs his acceptance of the first volume of the *Federalist*:—written (probably) by Mr Madison & Mr Hamilton. . . .

1. Printed: Remember When Auctions, Inc., Catalog No. 44 (18 July 1998), p. 82. For the publication and sale of the first volume of *The Federalist* on 22 March in New York City, see CC:639. For more on *The Federalist* in New Hampshire, see "The New Hampshire Reprintings of Excerpts from the First and Third Paragraphs of Publius, *The Federalist* 1," 9 and 27 November 1787.

New Hampshire Spy, 28 March 1788¹

On stopping public Newspapers.

A Correspondent has favoured us with the following observations on the late *alarming* and *iniquitous* practice of interrupting the regular channels of intelligence:—

—"The stopping of public newspapers, in a free country, is an outrage upon all mankind, because it interrupts business, and foils the public in general of the only easy and expeditious mode of communicating important events and sentiments.—In them we find many interesting thoughts in religion, morals, politics, law, physic, agriculture, and commerce—by them we learn the state of foreign nations and foreign affairs—the various things that concern domestic œconomicks, as well as the casualties of neighbourhoods. The merchant learns the general state of trade, hears the prices current, knows his losses in every quarter of the globe—thus he and the insurer are mutually advantaged and do mutual benefit to the community. The artist hears of employ or presents an advertisement of the various things he has for sale. The learned hears of new publications—their vent is increased—and innumerable advantages are extended to all.

“I wish our Members of Congress, Rulers or influential men in the states, would use their influence to check this *growing injury* to the community, and that a proper complaint be made to the Post-Master-General. I fear the evil does not lay in any particular place, but in the — in general.”

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 10 April; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 11 April; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 14 April; and *New Jersey Brunswick Gazette*, 15 April.

New Hampshire Spy, 28 March 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, of a late date, to his friend in this town: received by last Tuesday's mail.

“I am very sorry and much disappointed to hear that the *New-Hampshire* Convention have adjourned without adopting the New Constitution,—our situation is such, that it appears to me, if the well wishers of our country knew our true state and condition—they would not hesitate one moment whether to *adopt* or not; supposing the proposed plan was not perfectly conformable to their wishes, yet they would prefer it to those difficulties, and very probable, ruin, which will ensue on rejecting it—I do not wish to alarm your fears—nor would I be over confident in my opinion, as unforeseen events are often arising—but I think our danger is greater than most are sensible of, and that the New Constitution will afford us the most likely relief.—There is opposition to the plan in a few of the states—but the general expectation is, that IT WILL OBTAIN.—A late letter from *Maryland* says, there is no danger there—and *South Carolina* it is supposed will accede to it—there is still some opposition in *Virginia*—and great hopes from *New York*—and *New-Hampshire* there is confident expectation from,—I hope those will be sett right who are so unfortunate as to be mistaken or mislead.”—(*Amen, even so, Amen!*)

Paine Wingate to Timothy Pickering

New York, 29 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

Mr. Hodgdon² who is now in this City, informs me that he can frequently transmit letters to you from Philadelphia, and by him I improve this opportunity of writing to you. The distance of your situation from New Hampshire & the difficulty of an intercourse between us has prevented my giving, and I suppose of receiving any direct intelligence from you for a long time. But this seperation has not obliterated my remembrance of or lessened my affection for you. . . . I have been in New York since Feb. 10³ & find my situation as agreeable as I could

expect considering that I am very domestic & habituated to an active life.—I have nothing very important to communicate to you. The subject which chiefly engages the general attention at this time is the New Constitution. What will be the fate of it is yet uncertain, but those who are well wishers to their country & best know the situation we are in, are the most sensible of the necessity of its adoption; and great pains are taken to obtain the end. On the other hand there are powerful opposers to it, who avail themselves of some popular objections & they are too successful with the less knowing part of the country. In New Hampshire when the Convention met, there was a majority prejudiced against the plan. They were chiefly from the interior parts of the state & many of the delegates were instructed to vote against it. The most distinguished characters were in favor of it & after debating it for some time there were a few converts made, who did not think themselves at liberty to go against their instructions & therefore obtained an adjournment. There is I think a probability that it will finally be adopted in New Hampshire altho' considerable danger that it will not. New York is very doubtful but it is not despaired of. Virginia & North Carolina are much in the same situation. Maryland & South Carolina are supposed to be fœderal. These two states will decide before the others & if they should agree to adopt, there will be but one of the doubtful ones necessary to make up the nine. The important decision upon the subject cannot be known before the last of July, & at any rate I do not see that the new Constitution can be got to go as early as Dec. next. Nothing but the hope of a new can I fear keep the old Constitution from dissolution long.—Sed nunquam de Republica desperandum.⁴—The newspapers are so filled with lyes that no dependance can be put on any accounts you receive in them respecting the Constitution—I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of hearing from you by letter, which direct to me in Congress at New York—If you have any letters which you wish at any time to forward to Salem or to any friends Eastward if you will put them under cover to me, I will take the care of them & send them without hazard or expence to the place of destination. If Congress should not adjourn which yet is uncertain, it is likely that I shall remain in this place until Oct. next—

1. RC, Pickering Papers, MHi. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 29–30. Pickering (1745–1829), a native of Salem, Mass., was adjutant general of the Continental Army, 1777–78; a member of the Continental Board of War, 1777–80; and Continental quartermaster general, 1780–85. In 1787 he moved his family from Philadelphia to Luzerne County, Pa., where he was a large landowner. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the Pennsylvania Convention in December 1787.

2. Samuel Hodgdon (1745–1824), a Philadelphia merchant, was Pickering's close friend and business associate.

3. Wingate was elected to Congress in September 1787 and took his seat on 11 February 1788.

4. Latin: But never despair of the Republic.

**Victor Marie DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours
New York, 1 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

... Madame le Marquise begins to recover her health. She always treats me with kindness. I am gathering materials from all sides and I am making, under the guidance of Mr. de Crevecoeur,² a nice treatise on the political and historical geography of the thirteen states. I am filling my head and my traveling case with good materials, but they all come to me from the Consulate and none from the Ministry. I am very much like all the enthusiastic supporters of this Country though here only three months! It did not take that long to disgust Mr. de Moustier and Madame de Brean³ with it. Only the good Mr. de Crevecoeur, who sees everything in a good light, can be so enamored of this country. This does not prevent him from being a very dignified man and one whom I like, respect and admire, and who has given me many kindnesses. His book is a good novel.⁴ The reason that he gives us is that all is very much changed since the war, that the [laws?] have been burned and the manners corrupted. The Poor Men! They don't even have the sense to see that as long as they do not have a Government they will be nothing! New Hampshire, which should have accepted the Constitution, finding the majority against it, will reassemble in the month of July [i.e., June]. The Anti federalist party is so strong that there are many to wager that in two years they will be divided between England, France, Spain &c, that there are wagers that they will be a formidable state, as they can and ought to be. This situation is very interesting and shows how unreasonable man is, since in a Country where they pass for being reasonable, they cannot understand that. There are at present 7 to 8 thousand families who are leaving the shores of Jersey and of Massachusetts to go and settle on the Mississippi among the Oneida Indians, to flee the Government.⁵ And they have money, and lots of money. I would have liked for you to have seen the reception that they gave to our Minister to Congress.—For the rest I am very glad to have seen this Country: But one has not seen the Country unless one has seen a town in it. I will arrange to go on a tour of the country this summer. I think that I am going to the Oneidas to see an indian [tent?]. I will go on foot, with good shoes, my gun on my shoulder. I have

already a Traveling Companion. I would very much like for you to send me a good gun with two charges. I left my little gun on board the boat—Adieu my dear Father. God knows when I will see you again! It will surely not be as soon as I would like. . . .

1. FC (Tr), Victor DuPont Papers, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Del. Victor Marie DuPont (1767–1827), a son of Pierre Samuel DuPont, was attaché to the French legation in the United States, 1787–89. The elder DuPont (1739–1817), a physocrat and prolific writer on political economy, was France's Inspector General of Commerce.

2. St. John de Crevecoeur (1735–1813), a native of France, emigrated to Canada and served as a scout and mapmaker during the French and Indian War. From 1759 to 1769 he traveled extensively throughout the American colonies. He became a naturalized citizen in 1765 and four years later settled on a farm in Orange County, N.Y. He visited France in 1780 and returned to America in 1783 as French consul for New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

3. The Comte de Moustier (1751–1817), accompanied by his sister-in-law and mistress La Marquise de Brehan, arrived in New York City in January 1788 as minister plenipotentiary to the United States, and in February he presented his credentials to Congress. He remained in America until October 1789.

4. Probably a reference to Crevecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* . . . (London, 1782).

5. The Ohio Company purchased land from Congress in the Northwest Territory in 1787, and shortly after this letter was written the first advance party arrived at Marietta and began laying out a village for the wave of settlers preparing to migrate.

George Washington to John Langdon Mount Vernon, 2 April 1788¹

Your letter of the 28th. of February came regularly to hand. The conduct of New Hampshire respecting the proposed Government was a matter of general surprize in this, and I believe in every other part of the United States; for her local situation, unconnected with other circumstances, was supposed to be a sufficient inducement to the people of that State to adopt a general Government which promises more energy & security than the one under which we have hitherto lived, and especially as it holds out advantages to the smaller States equal, at least, to their most sanguine expectations.—Circumstanced as your Convention was, an adjournment was certainly prudent, but it happened very mal-apropos for this State, because the concurrent information from that quarter would have justified the expectation of an unanimity in the convention, whereas an account so opposit[e] to every former one having arrived at the very time when the elections were carrying on here, gave an opportunity to the opponents of the proposed Constitution to hold up to the people an idea of its not having been so generally approved of in other States as they had been taught to believe, and of consequence prepared them to receive other impressions

unfriendly to the Government and tending to influence their votes in favor of antifederal characters—However I am still strong in the expectation of its being adopted here notwithstanding the unjust and uncanded representations which have been made by the opponents to inflame the minds of the people and prejudice them against it.—

1. FC, Washington Papers, DLC. Washington was responding to Langdon's letter of 28 February (RCS:N.H., 246). Washington repeated much of the information in this letter to Langdon in letters to Henry Knox, 30 March; to Benjamin Lincoln, 2 April; and to Caleb Gibbs, 3 April (RCS:Va., 521–22, 636–37; Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 191).

Paine Wingate to John Wendell
New York, 2 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I am much obliged by the particular account you have given me of the proceedings of the late convention altho' much disappointed with the issue. The New Hampshire adjournment has made an impression on the minds of the people this way unfavorable to the Constitution beyond what could have been expected. But I hope your expectations will not be disappointed with respect to its adoption at the adjournment. We have at present nothing material that is new—Congress very thin in its representation which is a hindrance to the business on hand. The Conventions that are yet to set will some of them be so late that we cannot have intelligence of their determinations before August; this will be so late that it is probable the necessary arrangements cannot be made so that the New Congress & form of government can take effect as early as December—The general opinion is that the New Constitution will be adopted, & that this under present circumstances is not only very desirable, but necessary to save us from the most perplexing difficulties, if not ruin. I hope that we shall understand our true interest & pursue it; be speedily extricated from all our embarrassments, & have peace & happiness. In which wish I dare say that you heartily joy with me.

1. RC, Wendell Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 37–38.

Henry Jackson to Henry Knox
Boston, 6 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

my dear Harry

by the post last Eveng. I recd. your favor of the 30th Ultmo—

I thank you for your information with respect to the State of Maryland, adopting the proposed Federal constitution, and I flatter myself

that nine States will ratify it by June next so as to set the whole agoing by next winter—I have been absent for the last weeks at Portsmouth. Colo. J. Langdon & some of the principle Gentlemen of that State informd me that Government [i.e., the Convention] wou'd certainly adopt the Constitution at their next meeting—Colo. Langdon will without doubt be chosen President²—poor *Sullivan* will be mortified exceedingly at this event. . . .

yours truly ever affectionate

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03833, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society. The letter, sent by post, was marked “private.”

2. In March 1788 ballots were cast for the election of the president of New Hampshire. The ballots were not officially counted until the new legislature met in June, when it was determined that John Langdon had defeated John Sullivan and several other candidates, thereby replacing Sullivan as president.

William Gardner to John Langdon
New York, 9 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Since my leaving home I am more ashamed of the proceedings of the N Hampshire Convention than before—the first question asked me after knowing I am from thence is, “Why didn’t your Convention adopt the Constitution”—in order to make the reasons appear in the least palatable to the Federalists, am obliged to use all the Rhetorick in my power, which is far too feeble to satisfy myself, much less others. You cannot conceive the evil tendency which the Adjournment has produced, every thing was going on to our wishes here & in the other States ’till that fatal & unexpected News arrived—since which the Anti-federalists have reared their Heads & make a great handle of it, viewing it tantamount to a Rejection—Federalists of good information say, that should N York & Virginia not adopt the Constitution it will be wholly owing to New Hampshire—which makes me feel more than I can describe. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum. Gardner (1751–1834), a Portsmouth merchant, was deputy clothier for purchasing clothing for the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. He was state treasurer of New Hampshire, 1789–91, and U.S. loan commissioner, 1790–98, 1801–16.

Henry Knox to John Sullivan
New York, 9 April 1788¹

I have hitherto deferred my dear Sir, answering your esteemed favor of the 27th of February² in hopes of being able to give you a satisfactory

statement of public affairs. But the unfortunate check the new constitution received in New Hampshire has given new life and Spirits to the opponents of the proposed system, and damped the ardor of its friends

The Convention in South Carolina is to meet on the 12th of next month—The general tenor of the information is that it will be adopted there but not without considerable opposition—

North Carolina is not to meet untill July—The general opinion seems to be that they will follow the example of Virginia—The convention of which meets in June—The constitution in that state will meet with great opposition indeed, and the issue extremely doubtful—As far as information has been received of the elections which were finished in March, the complection is favorable. The arguments against it there are mostly local although many ostensible ones will appear—Impositions by the eastern states on their commerce; & Treaties being the supreme law of the land thereby compelling the payment of the british debts will be the real objections of the greater part of the opposers—while some others apprehend a consolodation of the Union as a real evil

In Maryland it is highly probable according to the information received, that the constitution will be adopted there by a great majority their convention will meet the last of this month—

In the state of New York the interests pro and con are so divided that it is impossible for an impartial person to say on which side the scale will turn. Both sides appear confident of victory and both sides are pretty industrious in preparing for the elections which are to take place in about a fortnight—

The Rhode Island people are riveted to the works of paper money and darkness—They will reject the New Constitution

I am happy that you have such confidence in the future conduct of your convention—I hope in God you may not be disappointed

The business of electioneering runs high—We cannot judge who will be the president you or Mr Langdon³ But in either case your friends who are the friends of the Union rest assured that you are both too good patriots, to be disgusted in such a manner as to suffer your ardor for the constitution to be abated—A Man possessing all the virtues of an angel may not have the majority of votes in states where the choice very frequently may depend on mere trifles not more important than the color of a mans hair, eyes—his size or carriage

I hope to have the pleasure to see you in the ensuing summer in New Hampshire—in the mean time I shall be happy to learn from you the fate of the constitution

I am with great respect and affection Your humble Servant

1. RC, New Hampshire Miscellany, 1782–1809 (Peter Force), DLC.

2. This letter has not been found. But in a 10 March letter to George Washington, Knox stated that “I have received a letter from President Sullivan in which he says that the adjournment will be attended with the happiest consequences, and that the convention in their next session will adopt the constitution by a majority of three to one” (CC:610). Sullivan probably also outlined the reasons for the adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention on 22 February without ratifying the Constitution.

3. See Henry Jackson to Knox, 6 April, note 2 (RCS:N.H., 282n).

New Hampshire Spy, 11 April 1788

By a letter from a respectable character in Newyork to a gentleman in this town, we are authorised to assert, that by far the principal part of the *antifederal essays* which have disgraced the southern papers, are the production of a low and pitiful junto—men of no principles, and of little repute.

Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane

New York, 12 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

I received your favor of March 17th² and was much gratified with your particular information respecting the Convention, and your relation of sundry other historical events. Your account was the most minute & authentic, which I had received at so early a date, concerning the debates & decisions of the Convention. Tho' I was disappointed & sorry for the event, yet was glad to have the true state of the facts. I suppose as the Delegates then viewed the matter, it was fortunate that the issue was no worse. But the ill impression on the minds of people by the adjournment is more extensive & mischievous than you would imagine. It is complained of as far as Virginia, & believed that if New Hampshire had adopted, there would not have been one dissenting state. Whereas there is now some danger that the whole plan will miscarry. I say some danger, for Virginia & New York are I suppose nearly divided, and that from selfish views, & their influence is considerable over other states. But, upon the whole the probability is in favor of its being adopted. You know my opinion of the necessity & importance of this, for the safety & welfare of the country under our present circumstances. I shall trouble you no more on this subject. . . .

1. RC, Wingate Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 47–49. In the balance of the letter, Wingate discussed Kentucky statehood and briefly compared New York City with Boston.

2. See Lane to Wingate, 17 March (RCS:N.H., 251–52).

A Federalist**Massachusetts Centinel, 12 April 1788¹**

Mr. RUSSELL, By your paper we were informed, that Mr. A's.² violent opposition to the federal plan of government, in our Convention at Exeter, had proved the means of the conversion of a certain person to the federal interest—and as there is great Joy among the federalists in New-Hampshire, when one sinner repenteth,³ the following lines were sung upon the occasion.—

I Think it were said, though I never have read
 The ancient Hibernian story;
 That *Satan* and *Sin*, were both of a-kin,
 And compose but—a *bouncing old Tory*:
 When virtue and freedom we seek to promote,
 How soon will his malice be shown;
 With a crocodile tear, ye ha mickle to fear—
 And this truly is A-ther-tone.

When the good of the State comes under debate,
 And plans of importance are laid,
 No one of this brood will think they are good,
 But will cry we're *UNDONE* I'm afraid;
 They huff and they rave, that each whig is a knave,
 And means to be plac'd on a throne,
 While the de'il of an elf would fain mount it himself—
 And this truly is A-ther-tone.

He who seeks for a place of consummate disgrace,
 May join with those wolves in disguise;
 But the Federal Cause, will insure the applause
 Of the *virtuous, learned* and *wise*—
 The *wise* and the *just* no tory will trust;
 To mischief they ever are prone;
 The *worst* will pretend he's America's friend,
 And this truly is A-ther-tone.

When the *PILLAR* we raise, the *New-Hampshire* huzzas
 Will be heard in each part of the State,
 Though the *Shayites* and *Tories*, with terrible stories
 Some weak minds may intimidate—
 By their clamour and noise, some old women and boys,
 The shadow mistake for the bone—
 And with a blind zeal, cry you're going to the de'il,

And this truly is A-ther-tone.

If the above should be thought worthy a place in your paper, be kind enough to insert it, and oblige your's A FEDERALIST.

New-Hampshire, March 29, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 April; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 25 April. The *Oracle* reprinting erroneously listed the date as "March 19" instead of "March 29."

2. Joshua Atherton.

3. A reference to Matthew 18:12–13 or Luke 15:10.

Richard Stockton to Benjamin Rush

Boston, 14 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The affairs of our Country appear somewhat doubtful—I am still sanguine as to the adoption of the New constitution—but the adjournment of the convention of New Hampshire was a most unlucky accident—To *firm* friends of true liberty it is rather in favor of the plan—but with enemies & false friends it operates in a different manner—to the first it affords a dawn of hope that their industrious opposition will in the end prevent it—to the others it gives weight to doubts and fears which by being indulged may in the end be converted into something more hostile—Precedent is a bad thing for such people—I was informed by a Gentleman who may be depended on that the antifederal junto in N York had agreed to give up all opposition if Hampshire adopted it. . . .

1. RC, Rush Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia. Endorsed: "Hon[ore]d by Mrs. Morgan." Stockton (1764–1828), a 1779 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and a Princeton, N.J., lawyer and gentleman farmer, was the son of Richard Stockton, a New Jersey signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was a U.S. Senator, 1796–99, and a U.S. Representative, 1813–15. Rush (1745–1813), a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a Philadelphia physician and a prolific writer on medical subjects, social reform, and national and Pennsylvania state politics, who had supported the establishment of a strong national government since 1776. In December 1787 he voted to ratify the Constitution in the Pennsylvania Convention, and early in 1788 he was a Federalist polemicist.

New Hampshire Spy, 15 April 1788

By a letter from a gentleman of the best information, in Virginia, to his friend in this town, we are informed, that, although the friends to the new Constitution in that state were much disappointed in its not being *immediately* adopted by the Convention of this state, yet when they were informed of the reasons which induced that honourable Body to *adjourn*, they applauded their conduct as *reasonable, politic* and *just*. That the antifederalists, at first, lifted their crests and attributed this conduct

to a desire of waiting for the result of the deliberations of the *ancient dominion*—but when they were informed to the contrary, they gave up this *flattering* opinion, and now believe, that the Convention of New-Hampshire had not Virginia once in contemplation. The friends to the new Constitution there, as in this state, rest its decision upon the honesty of their cause, while its opponents are assiduously endeavouring to depreciate its value by calumny and falsehood: That Gov. *Randolph* and Col. *Mason*, are both returned as members to the Convention of Virginia;¹ the former, it is supposed, will not be active upon the subject; the latter is violently opposed to it; that *W. H. Lee* [i.e., R. H. Lee] has dropp'd his *personal* opposition, but his sentiments are supposed to remain unaltered;² that the principal reason which operates upon the minds of persons opposed to the new Constitution in that state, ought to operate forcibly upon the minds of every citizen of New-Hampshire to accelerate its adoption, viz.—*the very great powers allowed by it to the smaller states*. The above gentleman concludes his letter by asserting, that altho' the new Constitution may meet with considerable opposition in that state, he has every reason to believe it will certainly be adopted.

The above letter suggests many cogent reasons why *New-Hampshire*, above all the other states in the union, should interest itself in the adoption of the new Constitution; our proximity to Canada, Nova-Scotia, &c. the very great danger we are in of being attacked on either quarter, should a war commence, the destruction of our commerce, ship building, &c. &c. Indeed it is a given point, that unless a new energetic government speedily takes place, we must bid adieu to our boasted liberty and independence—for these pyramids will certainly fall—and falling, *crush* those *miscreants*, who are so *fool hardy*, as to refuse those *props*, which religion, virtue, and common sense dictate, as the only probable means to secure these States from anarchy and annihilation—*From which may a Federal Government deliver us*.

1. As Virginia delegates to the Constitutional Convention, Edmund Randolph and George Mason refused to sign the Constitution on 17 September 1787. Mason's objections to the Constitution circulated in manuscript for two months before they were published independently in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, the *Virginia Journal*, and the *Winchester Virginia Gazette* on 21, 22, and 23 November 1787, respectively (CC:276). The objections were widely reprinted throughout the country. (For the circulation of Mason's objections in New Hampshire, see "The New Hampshire Reprinting of George Mason's Objections to the Constitution," 27–28 November [RCS:N.H., 53–55].) Governor Randolph's reasons for not signing the Constitution appeared in a letter to the Virginia House of Delegates dated 10 October 1787 but were not printed until they appeared as a pamphlet around 27 December (CC:385). (Randolph's reasons for not signing the Constitution were not reprinted in New Hampshire.) Mason voted against ratification of the Constitution in the Virginia Convention in June 1788, while Randolph voted for ratification.

2. During the 26–28 September 1787 debate in the Confederation Congress on transmitting the Constitution to the states, Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee proposed a lengthy list of amendments to the Constitution that included a bill of rights. Lee's objections to the Constitution, which were sent in a letter to Governor Edmund Randolph on 16 October, were published in the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette* on 6 December and then widely reprinted throughout the country (CC:325). (For the circulation of Lee's letter in New Hampshire, see "The New Hampshire Reprinting of Richard Henry Lee's Letter to Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph," 29 January 1788 [RCS:N.H., 97–98].)

New Hampshire Spy, 15, 22 April 1788

*The Federal Hat, 15 April*¹

The FEDERAL HAT.

It is recommended to the Ladies who lead the fashions, that instead of the *Wind-mill-Hats*, they introduce one under the name of the "*Federal Hat*." The form of this Hat may be pretty, neat and genteel; the thirteen States may be represented by thirteen rings; these may be constructed in such a manner as will answer for the ream; the poll and crown may represent the GRAND FEDERAL EDIFICE—while the ribbons and wavers, with stars interspersed, which decorate it, might be so disposed as to represent the United States and the several Kingdoms with whom they are in alliance. A hat of this form would certainly command respect—it would discover that the fair are patrons of the *federal cause*, and that the federal Patriot will ever meet with their genuine approbation.

*Variety Store, 22 April*²

VARIETY STORE

MR. OSBORNE, *We expect to receive, in a very short time, a great variety of new invented CAPS, BONNETS, and HATS, previous to which it will be necessary to inform the public of their different qualities.*

—If suitable encouragement offers, in a short time will be opened, *the Variety Store*, where will be sold the following new invented *Caps, Bonnets and Hats*, viz.

1st. *A Cap with a Conductor*—to prevent the ladies from being *thunder struck* in August; the conductor appears in the front several inches above the surface, and lays horizontal from the brim to the back of the cap, from whence it descends behind the lady's back.

2d. *The Weather Cock Bonnet*. A bonnet, with a variety of weather-cocks very elegantly coloured with sea-green. These bonnets are much used by those ladies whose husbands are navigators—as they will discover,

at any hour of the day, *how the wind is*—they are also very necessary for seamen *under sailing orders*, &c.

3d. *Chapeau de Bataille*—is made in the form of a battery, (agreeable to the newest mode of fortification) with two flanks, very necessary for *some gentlemen*, who, for want of modesty to the ladies, find themselves unexpect[ed]ly engaged in a warm *action* from the *head*, where no *quarter* is given, but where the *broadside* makes the finishing stroke.

4th. *The Flambeau Cap*, illuminated with light. This cap serves only for evening visits. It is a capital invention, for it shews *light* where *darkness* prevailed. It is of great use in a seaport, where *light actions* are much practiced.

5th. *The electrical mock-night Cap*—designed only for *old maids*—the *electricity* is chiefly in that part of the border which lies next to the cheek. The vulgar term this cap—“*touch me not!*”

6th. *The Enchanting Hat*, for unmarried ladies. This hat breaks many a lover’s *what you call it*—It gives him a fine prospect—the eye beholds surprizing charms in favour of the wearer; the enchantment consists in the view of *houses, farms, lands*, &c. scattered on the brim; the ribbons are *public securities*, and notes *payable on demand*, all tied together with a string of *ready cash*. This enchantment lasts as long as the hat is on the lady’s head, for after a while it turns out against the owner’s interest.

7th. *The Modest Hat*. This hat is made of a rich black silk, trimmed with fine black gauze and ribbons, very neat and elegant, and always fashionable—but *very unsaleable*. It is presumed this hat will sell well, Anno Domini, 9871.

8th. *The Antifederal Hat*. This hat is designed for those who are *delicate* in matters of *conscience*—fearful—under continual apprehensions of being cheated, &c. The foundation of this hat is a *hard Stone*, the trimmings are a representation of *canker-worms, rattle-snakes, crocodiles, adders*, &c. the brim is covered with *cobwebs* and *spiders* sucking *little insects* and *flies*: the poll is made of *blood-suckers*, tied with the *string of discord*:—the whole decorated with a variety of gems from the land of *annihilation*—this hat met with a rapid sale in *Rogue-Island*—and was much admired by the *Wrongheads* in Connecticut.³

9th. *Federal Caps, Bonnets, and Hats*, for young misses. These are made by Madam *Federalist*, in Concord, at her shop, at the sign of the *Horn of Abundance*. The materials are of American manufacture, and are composed of *snow white lawn*—the ribbons are striped with thirteen different colours—the garland of flowers are made in imitation of virgin modesty—Jack in the green—sweet William—lillies and little roses.

Jean Francois Frizeur,
Coeffeur,
Beuveur,
Trompeur,
Moqueur,
Turlipineur,
Chasseur, et
Crevecoeur,

} *en Compainie.*

1. Reprinted: Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 25 April; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 May. A slightly altered version was reprinted ten times by 2 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (2), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (3), S.C. (1). For more on Federal Hats, see "Federal Hat," *New Hampshire Spy*, 24 May (RCS:N.H., 314), and the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 August (Mfm:N.H. 148).

2. The item was printed in an extra issue of the *Spy*.

3. Hugh Ledlie, an Antifederalist from Hartford, complained that Connecticut's Federalists ("those mighty men of Moab") referred to the state's Antifederalists "by the opprobrious Name of Wrongheads" (to John Lamb, 15 January 1788 [RCS:Conn., 577]. For other references to "Wrongheads" in Connecticut, see RCS:Conn., 455, 465, 473–76, 501, 507, 580. See also "The New Hampshire Reprinting of Newspaper Articles on the Circulation of Antifederalist Material in Connecticut," 4 December 1787–18 January 1788 (RCS:N.H., 56–57).

Rufus King to John Langdon New York, 16 April 1788¹

I inclose under a Frank which General Knox has given me,² an address to the people of this state³ which may be of use in New Hampshire—if you should judge it a publication of value, I think the public Happiness will be advanced by circulating it in your state—Be assured that you ought not on any consideration to omit every Exertion which prudence and Virtue will authorise in favor of the constitution; very much will depend on your Decision—Georgia has ceded upwards of Thirty millions of acres of land lying between the 31st & 33d degrees of lat. and between the Apalachicola & the Mississippi, to the United States, on condition that nine or more States ratify the new Constitution⁴—We have no News from So. or North Carolina—the former is said to be federal & the latter doubtful.

The Accounts of the Elections from Virginia indicate that the parties will be powerful & nearly equal. Our hopes are great that Mary land will be right Luther Martin notwithstanding; but we are not so confident of Mary land as we once were of New Hampshire—It is exquisitely problematical what the issue of the Business will be in this State—both parties are indifatigable and each seems confident of success—

New Hampshire must determine right and preserve our country—
With great respect & Friendship Your obt. & very Hble Servt.

1. RC, King Papers, NH. Langdon responded to King on 6 May (RCS:N.H., 303).
2. As the Confederation secretary at war, Henry Knox had franking privileges.
3. King refers to John Jay's pamphlet *An Address to the People of the State of New-York . . .*, written under the pseudonym "A Citizen of New-York" and first offered for sale on 15 April. (For the circulation of "A Citizen of New-York" in New Hampshire, see "The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Pamphlet Written by 'A Citizen of New-York,'" 2–23 May [RCS:N.H., 301–3].) For the pamphlet's text and its circulation throughout America, see CC:683.
4. On 20 October 1787 Congress requested that Georgia cede its western lands to Congress (as other states had done) so that Congress could sell those lands to pay off the federal debt. On 1 February 1788 the Georgia Assembly ceded a strip of land about 140 miles wide, but Congress rejected the cession in July (JCC, XXXIII, 692–93; XXXIV, 323–26; and RCS:Ga., 288, 292–93). King's information on Georgia appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 6 May.

New Hampshire Gazette, 16 April 1788

TO BE OR NOT TO BE?
*Is the Question.*¹

Can you, my fellow countrymen, on a question of existence as a nation hesitate in your decision? whether to be united and powerful, each supporting the dignity of the other; or to be divided into petty States, each seeking and contending for its own local advantages; and like the bundle of twigs which seperated, was easily destroyed by an old and infirm man.² *Unite or die* has been a successful motto to this country; never was it more applicable than at this moment.

To have *energy*, we must *give power*; to *preserve liberty*, that *power* must have *sufficient checks*. As I am satisfied, (and no man is more jealous of his rights than myself,) that the Fœderal Constitution is wisely formed to give the one, without sacrificing the other; and that all ambitious and designing men must meet with their just reward for the *very attempt* to encroach on the *rights we have preserved*; I shall only shew at present the *certain* advantages that must accrue to the eastern States, if the new government is established.—Navigation, but more particularly ship building, was a great object before and during the war; this is entirely lost.—The question is how are we to restore them? I answer—By adopting the Constitution we not only restore the latter, but increase the former: for by the exclusion of foreigners from the southern States, the navigating of not less than 50,000 tons, or 166 vessels of 300 tons each, will fall to our lot: I say ours, for tho' the exclusive priviledge will not be granted by Congress, yet providence has blessed us with a preeminence which the enterprize of New-Englandmen will not neglect.—The sea port towns will again be filled with vessels *built* in their *own* ports, and *navigated* by their *own* sailors.—The oppressive hand of

distress will once more be removed, and success will smile on honest industry.—My heart is warmed with the *happy* prospect, but when I anticipate the benefits the farmer is to participate in, I am filled with joy.

Towns and country have so near a connection with, and depend so much on each other, that they cannot be advantaged singly.—Towns are made populous by manufactories or commerce:—manufactories and exports are the farmers markets. If ships are built it must be with timber and men, the first must be procured *in*, the latter must be fed *from the country*.—There are few exports in the New-England States, but the *farmer* has his concern in and *most* of them are the immediate produce of his own labour—Will the channels for these exports encrease?—Undoubtedly.—*Union* at home will give respectability abroad; this, with the inconvenience foreign powers must suffer from a proper regulation of commerce by Congress, will oblige them to enter into treaties, which will open ports on conditions of mutual advantage, and give vend to the produce of our soil; now the conditions are *their own*, or we are *totally excluded*.—Many are the reasons and powerful, why the Fœderal Constitution should meet with the warm support of the *country*. An increased revenue, from a proper and universal regulation of trade, will render needless so large a *dry tax* as we have been subject to. Imposts on *foreign woolens* or *other* manufactories, will be advantageous to this country, either in the consumption of the *raw material*, or to the manufactories as such.—Confidence between individuals will be establish'd, money more easily obtained; and farms of course more generally improved. Lands will increase in value, as we increase in wealth and industry.—Good laws, and a steady government will invite property as well as people to us.—Having full confidence in the good sense of my fellow citizens;—no doubt remains in my mind but they will adopt a system so well calculated to secure our liberties as individuals, and establish our dignity as a nation:—They will aid in finishing the glorious work begun, and not tarnish the reputation they have established for wholesome laws and honest government, by adopting the conduct of a neighbouring State.³—From the best information as yet obtained, Maryland, Virginia and South-Carolina are decidedly in favour:—Accounts from New-York are favourable. Let us then be cautious, that we do not stand alone in rejecting what every State in general Convention has already approved, and in State Conventions, as far as it has been considered, adopted.

1. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, scene 1, line 55.

2. Aesop's Fables: "The Bundle of Sticks." Moral: "United we stand, divided we fall" or "Union gives strength."
3. Perhaps a reference to Rhode Island's radical economic program.

Aristides

Massachusetts Spy, 16 April 1788¹

Mr. Thomas, I was at Exeter, in Newhampshire, the last week of the sitting of their Convention in February, and made it my business to find out the truth, and to know how the members stood for and against Constitution—it appeared to me very evident, from authentick information of the candid on both sides, that the party for Constitution began early to despair of carrying their point; and much pains was taken by them to bring about an adjournment by the following arguments:—

They gave out that the people had not had time to weigh and consider the constitution, and it was highly proper to give them more time, &c. &c.

An idea was propagated, that if they finished the business at one sitting, it would take several weeks more—and as many of the members of convention were also members of the general court, which had been sitting, and who grew impatient to visit their families, an adjournment was very acceptable to them, stand how they would as to the general question. But what seemed to have the most weight was, that Newhampshire being a small state, it was urged as very prudent to wait and see what the other states did.

These reasons would never have operated so strongly on the minds of the *Consolidarians*, if they had been sure of carrying their point on the general question.

A small majority carried it for an adjournment.

The members against Constitution did not seem to be very anxious about an adjournment, provided the next sessions could be carried to Concord—and here arose the greatest contest. Those for constitution laid many objections in the way, against adjourning to Concord. Those against constitution endeavoured to refute them.

The cause of this contest I found to be, that the people of Exeter were high Consolidarians, and lent every possible aid to those of their own party in convention; whereas the people of Concord are in the opposite scale, and determinedly opposed to Constitution.

The question was put, and carried by a great majority for adjourning to Concord: This vote afforded the best criterion, though perhaps not an exact one, how the members of convention stood.

The real truth is, that there is at present little probability that constitution will go down there. The citizens of Newhampshire have too much spirit and discernment to submit to such an arbitrary and *mysterious* composition as is offered them for a form of government.

Besides, many sensible men and worthy citizens appeared in convention against it, and the whole opposition is supported by a gentleman of character, whose abilities both natural and acquired are great, and whose firmness and integrity have ever remained unshaken in whatever he undertakes, and no doubt will in this important debate, although the consolidarians *should go on firing their Distress guns*.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 April; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 9 May. Both reprintings indicated that the piece was taken from Isaiah Thomas's *Massachusetts Spy*. (The *Spy* was printed in Worcester.) For a criticism of "Aristides," see "Detector," *Massachusetts Spy*, 24 April (RCS:N.H., 300–301). "Detector" charged that Joshua Atherton had written "Aristides."

**Jeremiah Wadsworth to Henry Knox
Hartford, Conn., 17 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I do not believe Mason and old Grayson will be very influential in Virginia—and hope the exertions of the Federalists will continue to be industrious in New York for as I came thro E & W Chester I found the Anti's had been busy and too Successfull—New Hampshire it is said will probably adopt but their is no body writes or speaks to them and I fear they will r[e]ject as far as I have heard our State have returned Federalists to the General Assembly for May—and their is great reason to hope our upper House will be purged but this cant be known till the day of Election which is three Weeks from this—in the interim I am not certain that I shall not dive into a corner of New Hampshire as by accident. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03843, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 18 April 1788

Extract of a letter from a member of Congress, to his friend in this town, dated New-York, March 29.

"I have now an acquaintance with most of the members of Congress, and think they are as a body, respectable for their good sense, fair and candid minds, and steady attachment to the interests of the Union. We have indeed had no clashing of interest between one part and the other to try our partiality, and as yet there is the utmost harmony; I hope it will always remain. The President is a very worthy man, easy of access

and naturally modest.¹ We have commonly had not more than seven or eight states present in Congress at a time; and the whole number is about twenty persons.

“Great was the disappointment to every body that New-Hampshire did not adopt the new Constitution—and it is still hoped and believed that they will do it at the adjournment. I am persuaded it is very necessary in our present critical situation. Unless it should take place we are in immanent danger of utter ruin, for want of credit and energy. And I think that the evils which are feared from the new Government, are rather imaginary than probable.”

1. Cyrus Griffin of Virginia.

“Q.R.S.”

New Hampshire Spy, 22 April 1788

It has been a general observation, that under all governments there will be found some characters of a factious, discontended composition, who are ready upon every trifling occasion, to excite the jealousy of the people, and to blow up the coals of civil discord, that they may gratify their vicious propensities, or perhaps their ambitious views in raising themselves upon the ruins of their country. This description of men are objects of indignation, and ought to be hunted down as the enemies of mankind: It is therefore not to be wondered at if we cannot plead an exception to this general remark, and that such characters should exist within this state; the opposition made to the new Constitution will fully justify this observation considered locally: But altho' the truth of this remark may be admitted, it does not necessarily follow, that bad governments do not exist, much less bad laws, which in their operation will furnish matter for the factious man to rave and even the moderate man to complain: to be convinced of this we need only to examine some of our own acts, where we shall soon perceive that the best laws are the worst administered, and the worst laws the best administered. Two will be sufficient to establish this point; the first comprehends the Lumber Act,¹ and although its advantages have been so fully explained, yet the due execution of it has been but very little attended to: where to place the blame is difficult; while on the one hand it is said, that the surveyors have not taken the qualifying oath, on the other it is asserted, that they have evasives sufficient to counteract the letter of the law; the first of these assertions I am inclined to credit, for on the supposition that they have taken the oath, the repetition of the crime of perjury, would (one would think) sufficiently warrant their dismissal from office; but admitting it to be fact, and it

is possible that the motives to do justice will be stronger and greater by an oath—Why is the administration of it neglected? I am not willing to believe the second, for to suppose it true renders them equally unfit for office. Upon the whole it were to be wished that this good law was a little better executed. But the law which appears the most extraordinary, the features of which the most tyrannical, and such as is seldom known in free countries, is the one now felt by its operation, I mean the Excise Act,² and it reflects honour on those immediately concerned in its execution that they do not neglect their duty. Had it been known previous to the election of members for 1787, that the subsequent General Court would have passed a law empowering the farmers of excise to assault every house and intrude on private families, and moreover to demand of them the quantity of liquor which they have drank or otherwise made use of; I should not easily be persuaded that a competent number would have been elected to proceed to business; the people would have suffered this inconvenience rather than have submitted to such an indignity. An high opinion of that spirit of freedom which pervades the free citizens of this state, compels me to embrace this sentiment. There is no objection against the excise itself, but there is a very great one against the manner of collecting it; the late famous bill introduced to the General Court about two years since, differs very little from this; the opposition then made to it was firm and manly, and it was justly rejected as repugnant to every principle of liberty, and how it came again to be revived is truly astonishing. It is a happy circumstance for the county of Rockingham, that the collection of this excise has fallen into the hands of gentlemen distinguished for their politeness and whose superior address lessen the abuses to which it is liable. It has been said that this mode of procedure is not contrary to the constitution, neither is the authority to demand how many imported shifts the Ladies wear, or how many pounds of beef or barrels of cyder the people expend in their families, and yet I am inclined to think had the framers of it conceived it possible that the legislature would have exercised this power, they would sufficiently guarded against it; reservations of this nature were so clear and obvious that it might well be esteemed superfluous to express them, by the same rule that one prerogative may be assumed, because it is not in direct violation of the Constitution, another may also be claimed, and another with still greater facility, while the first exercise of it both serve as precedents to the following, and give strength to support them. In short, it is evident, that the Excise Act, exclusive of any addition, is attended with many inconveniences, and it may be easily proved, they are superior to its advantages, and that the best method of laying these duties is upon

impost, which under proper checks and regulations, will render it convenient to the importer as profitable to the retailer, and by far the most beneficial to the public; the present system indisputably is in the highest degree insulting to the feelings of every freeman and ought to be altered without delay.

1. Probably a reference to “An Act for the admeasurement of boards, and for regulating the sale of shingles, clap-boards, hoops and staves; and for other purposes therein mentioned” passed on 21 June 1785 (*The Perpetual Laws of the State of New-Hampshire, from the Session of the General-Court, July 1776, to the Session in December 1788, continued into the present year 1789* . . . [Portsmouth, 1789] [Evans 21997], 188–93).

2. A reference to “An Act to raise a revenue to this state by excise” passed on 28 September 1787 (*Perpetual Laws*, 149–52).

**George Thatcher to Pierse Long
Biddeford, Maine, 23 April 1788¹**

Yours of the fifteenth inst. came to hand by the last Post, & would have been duly acknowledged, had not my ~~attention~~ time been taken up in some matters of Law that demanded immediate attention on my arrival home—

I assure you, Sir, I was very sorry in not finding you at home on my coming through Portsmouth; for tho’ my hurry to get to York, the Court then seting at that place, would not have permitted me to make a very long stay, yet I wanted to have enquired, of many things about your late Convention, the speakers, their debates, & the prospect of the Constitution being adopted on the adjournment—And possibly might in my turn given you some information upon the subject of your queries—

You enquire about the sale & settlement of the Western Country—To be particular upon this Question would involve answers to so many others, which would fall incidentally in the way as would be tedious for a Letter, & therefore for the present, I shall only observe generally—That the Companies of Cutler & Sergent—Flint & Parker—Symms & his associates have contracted for three several Tracts containing not more than eight or nine million of Acres—to be paid for in Continental Securities at certain periods by Installments upon which payments deeds are to be executed to the purchasers—but if not paid for no Title is to be given—And I believe I am justified in saying that all the payments by the three Companies do not exceed half a million of Dollars—& I am not certain that it does 270,000 Dollars—For my part I must acknowledge my faith of paying the Domestic Debt, by regular sails of the western Land, never was very great—There is Land eno’ & that which is excellent—A few days before I left New-York, I was in

company with the Geographer General of the United States² & he said, from a calculation he had made, he would warrant there was more than two hundred million of Acres of good Land on the north-west of the Ohio—But to me the Idea of runing this out, & by the neat proceeds of its sails discharging any considerable part of the Debt—is almost as chimerical as to count upon the number of Cod-fish, & whales in the ocean for that purpose—Not a great many purchasers have offered themselves, & few that have could give evidence of their ability, & of those that could, still a smaller number have, & probably ever will, fully comply with their contracts—Continental Securities have been for several years very low—perhaps lower than they ever will be hereafter should the proposed Constitution, or any other with energy enough to discharge the Interest, be adopted—Hence if purchasers have found it difficult to discharge their Contracts while public Securities have been sold from 6/—to 3/—on the pound—what probability is there of their being enabled after the adoption of a Constitution that shall secure their Redemption, & make them equal to silver & Gold—

As to the negotiation of public Treaties, it appears to me the *existing articles of Confederation* have exhibited to all Europe too evident marks of incompetency for any national purposes to induce foreign Powers to trust to Treaties made under them—The Queen of Portugal has shewn a disposition for negotiations of Friendship & Commerce—But here difficulties arise on the part of America—And perhaps if I were to say that Congress cannot command Cash or credit sufficient to support a negotiator at the Court of Lisbon, to promote & improve any overtures of this kind³—I should not be far from the truth—Money is universally acknowledged to be the Sinews of war—And I think it cannot be doubted to be equally necessary to the support of Civil Government, & the formation of foreign Treaties—

The Importance of the Navigation of the Mississippi is a matter I am not sufficiently informed to say much about—But from the general state of that Country there can be but little doubt, that if the navigation of the Mississippi should be beneficial to the American Settlements, they will enjoy it—The idea of Spains interrupting it is almost inadmissible—within 20 years—and upon the Settlement of a good Government the Danger will be on the side of Spains Loosing her possessions on the Western Waters—rather than the Americans loosing the navigation—But the navigation of that River will ever be attended with difficulty from its rapid Current From the mouth of the ohio to the mouth of the Messesipi as the River Runs, is one thousand miles—and on a right Line not more than five hundred a vessell or boat, may go down this

River in less than three weeks, but three or four months are required in ascending the same distance

“Will all the southern States agree to the proposed Constitution?”

The Convention in Maryland meets this day for the purpose of considering the new plan of Government. When I came from New-York, which will be four week to morrow morning, it was the general opinion there that the Constitution would be adopted in Maryland by a large majority of the Convention—There being three fourths at least of the people warmly in favour of it—And that this was matter of fact I have no doubt, since both parties, antifederal as well as federal joined in this general opinion—

South-Carolina meets on the twelfth of May—from the best information we could get respecting the sentiments of that State upon the great Question the Federalists entertained no doubt—they were secure in the idea of its being adopted—But so were we last winter with regard to New-Hampshire—’tis almost impossible that disappointment should be greater than ours was on hearing the result of your Convention—However, I have faith—Can you strengthen it?—

There now remains Virginia & North-Carolina—The former meets in June, I think towards the last, And from many accounts from various parts of that State wherein the Federal & antifederal parties seemed to agree—there was at that time a decided & large majority in that State against It.

1. FC, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library. This unsigned draft of a letter is in the handwriting of George Thatcher. Editor William F. Goodwin identified the recipient as Pierse Long (“The Thatcher Papers,” *The Historical Magazine*, VI [1869], 347). Internal evidence indicates that the recipient was a resident of Portsmouth, N.H., and perhaps a member of the New Hampshire Convention. Long, a Portsmouth merchant, attended both sessions (February and June 1788) of the Convention and voted to ratify the Constitution.

2. Thomas Hutchins.

3. On 25 April 1786, Thomas Jefferson signed a treaty of amity and commerce with the Portuguese minister in London. The Portuguese government found portions of the treaty objectionable and refused to ratify it. The Portuguese invited the United States to send a minister to Lisbon, part of whose duties would be to negotiate a treaty. In 1791 the United States and Portugal exchanged ministers, but no treaty was concluded (Boyd, IX, 410–33, 448–49; XII, 146–47).

Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson New York, 24 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . New Hampshire has been in convention upon it, but finding that a Majority had assembled under instructions or promises to vote in the

Negative of whom a sufficient number were converted to turn the scale, an adjournment has taken place until June for the purpose of getting such clear of their fetters, and it is not doubted by the Friends of the measure that this will be effected so that a ready adoption will be the consequence of their reassembling. New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina are to deliberate between this and July—in Maryland & South Carolina no doubt is entertained as to the adoption—in New York & Virginia very active opposition is made and the event is uncertain—in the latter it will depend much upon the ideas entertained in convention as to the issue in N. Hampshire, whose reassembling is to be after the meeting in Virga. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 100–103. This letter was carried by John Paradise, who was on his way to Paris. Carrington (1749–1810) was a lieutenant colonel, 1st Continental Artillery, 1776–83, and Continental deputy quartermaster general and chief of artillery, Southern Department, 1781–83. He was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1784–88, 1788–90, and a delegate to the Confederation Congress, 1786–88. Carrington was U.S. marshal for Virginia, 1789–95, and federal supervisor for the collection of excise taxes on liquors in Virginia, 1791–95.

Detector

Massachusetts Spy, 24 April 1788¹

Mr. THOMAS, There is an old proverb, or saying, “*That self praise is no recommendation.*” The truth of this adage struck me forcibly, on seeing in your last Spy, a publication under the signature of “*Aristrides*,”² evidently calculated to prejudice the minds of the good people against the intended National Government. For my own part, I am a friend to the proposed Federal Constitution; but at the same time wish it may have a strict and candid examination before it is finally adopted; and if it will not bear the most scrupulous enquiry, let it be amended until it will. My intention is not, however, to enter into the merits of the Constitution, but to hint to *Aristrides* that the publick in general are not unacquainted with the part of the country from which the piece came, nor with the real name of its author; and he cannot but know, that when a person engages in opposition to publick measures, with a view *only* to popularity (notwithstanding he may have the effrontery to assure the publick, that he is “a gentleman of *character*, whose abilities both natural and acquired are great, and whose firmness and integrity have ever remained unshaken,” &c.) and is detected in scribbling in the publick papers, under fictitious signatures, in praise of himself, his party, or their cause, such writings serve but to lessen that opposition which he intended to increase. I would therefore wish, that if Mr. *Aristrides*, alias *A-th-r-t-n*,³ should think fit again to write, either in his own

praise (though I should be sorry he should again make such *strides* from the truth) or to throw some new light on, or objection to, the intended Government, he would be candid enough to give the publick his real name; and I doubt not that any new weighty objections, sanctioned by the name of a *gentleman of great natural and acquired abilities, and unshaken firmness and integrity*, will have their due weight with an enlightened people.

Newhampshire, April, 1788.

1. Reprinted: Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 13 May.

2. "Aristides," *Massachusetts Spy*, 16 April (RCS:N.H., 293–94). "Detector" misspells the pseudonym as "Aristrides," which is similarly misspelled in the Baltimore reprinting.

3. Joshua Atherton.

New Hampshire Spy, 25 April 1788

Late accounts from Holland mention, that several hundred families have come to a determination of leaving that country, and of partaking of the blessings of peace, liberty and *good government*, in this.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Pamphlet Written by "A Citizen of New-York," 2–23 May 1788

On 15 April 1788 Samuel and John Loudon, owners of the *New York Packet*, advertised for sale a nineteen-page pamphlet that they had published. Written by "A Citizen of New-York," the pamphlet was entitled *An Address to the People of the State of New-York, on the Subject of the Constitution, Agreed upon at Philadelphia, the 17th of September, 1787* (Evans 21175). The pamphlet was intended to influence New Yorkers to vote for Federalists as delegates to the state ratifying Convention in the elections that were to take place from 29 April through 3 May. The author was Federalist John Jay, a New York City lawyer, the Confederation secretary for foreign affairs, and the author of five numbers of *The Federalist*.

"A Citizen of New-York" outlined the defects of the Articles of Confederation and the frequent ineffectiveness of the Confederation government. America was a nation in crisis. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were praised for adopting a new Constitution that would promote economic growth and prosperity, benefit the United States politically and diplomatically, and improve its status and dignity among other nations. Jay also strenuously opposed the appointment of a new general convention.

The pamphlet was widely circulated. Many people sent copies to friends and political allies. (See below for the pamphlets sent to New

Hampshire.) “A Citizen of New-York” was reprinted serially in several newspapers outside the state of New York. The *New Hampshire Spy* reprinted it on 2, 6, 10, and 13 May, and the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle* on 16, 23 May.

The first eleven paragraphs of “A Citizen of New-York” appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel* on 30 April with the heading “A Gem of the first lustre” and with this concluding statement: “Our brethren of the type in New-Hampshire will, we doubt not, do the cause of federalism the justice to insert the forgoing elegant extract, in their papers.—The address is supposed to be written by Mr. Jay.” The *Centinel* identified the pamphlet by its title and noted that it was reprinting an extract, but it did not indicate that the pamphlet was written by “A Citizen of New-York.” The *Centinel’s* extract, which outlined the problems of the Confederation, was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 7 May.

The two complete reprintings of “A Citizen of New-York” in New Hampshire probably occurred through the efforts of either John Langdon or John Sullivan—both members of the New Hampshire Convention. Langdon and Sullivan had each received a copy of the pamphlet from Federalist Rufus King, a Massachusetts signer of the Constitution who had recently taken up permanent residence in New York City. Like many Federalists, King wanted to make certain that the New Hampshire Convention, scheduled to meet on 18 June, ratified the Constitution. On 16 April, the day after “A Citizen of New-York” was first advertised for sale, King wrote Langdon that the pamphlet “may be of use in New Hampshire—if you should judge it a publication of value, I think the public Happiness will be advanced by circulating it in your State—Be assured that you ought not on any consideration to omit every Exertion which prudence and Virtue will authorise in favor of the constitution; very much will depend on your Decision” (RCS:N.H., 290). On the same day, King wrote Sullivan that “I am ignorant of the Author but think the performance has merit—perhaps in your Judgment it may be worth republication in your State with such alterations as its locality and other circumstances may render proper” (King Family Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society).

In reprinting the first part of the pamphlet on 2 May, the *New Hampshire Spy* noted that “By a gentleman from New-York, we have been favored with the following address to the citizens of that state, on the subject of the New Constitution. This address, supposed to have been written by one of the first characters in America, contains such a fund of reason, and is so well calculated to obliterate the prejudices, and remove the beam from off the eyes of the uninformed (the *candid* opposers of the New Constitution) that we feel a peculiar pleasure in

laying it before our readers.” (A similar statement also appeared in the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 16 May.)

“A Citizen of New-York” provoked little newspaper commentary outside of New York and even New York Antifederalists responded to it infrequently. For the text of “A Citizen of New-York,” and the authorship, circulation, and commentaries on it, see CC:683.

John Langdon to Rufus King
Portsmouth, N.H., 6 May 1788¹

My Dear Sr.

I am honour’d with your kind favor of the 16th ult. inclosing the Address to the people of Newyork, which is greatly Admired here, I shall take great care to Circulate this and all other, pieces that will give light to the Subject. You may depend every exertion, shall be made that is Possible to promote the Adoption, of the Constitution and I have no doubt notwithstanding our late Disappointment and Mortification we shall finally prevail, and thereby make the people happy in Spight of their teeth as the sayg. is—

I think affairs to the South look well; Maryland will Certainly Adopt the plan, and I have but little doubt of South Carolina. We must watch and pray for Virginia and North Carolina. I cannot help thinkg but they’ll both Agree to it—Newyork & New Hampshire must Agree to the plan, which will Compleat our Business—

The State of Georgia Ceeding that Territory, to the United States under Certain Restrictions will have very good effect—pray make my very kind Respects to your Lady not forgetting the little Bantling also my Respects to Mr. Alsop²—

Believe me with the highest Sentimnts of Esteem

1. RC, King Papers, NHi. Langdon was responding to King’s letter of 16 April (RCS: N.H., 290–91n).

2. John Alsop, a New York City merchant, was King’s father-in-law.

New Hampshire Spy, 10 May 1788¹

CELEBRATION, — on the SEVENTH PILLAR’s being raised.

*If ever Angels from the skies descend,²
 ’Twill be—the Fed’ral building to defend.*

On Thursday last, upon receipt of the agreeable intelligence of the Ratification of the NEW CONSTITUTION, by the State of Maryland,

a number of patriotic citizens assembled at Col. Brewster's *Coffee-House-Tavern*, where, after partaking of a Collation, and congratulating each other upon the happy event, the following federal toasts were drank, viz.

1st. The State of Maryland—may the Constitution they have ratified, prove as *beneficial* as its framers have *illustrious*.

2d. The Delegates of the Maryland Convention—may their conduct be remembered 'till patriotism shall cease to be a virtue.

3d. The New Hampshire Convention—may a speedy ratification of the new Constitution be the immediate result of their next meeting.

4th. The GRAND FEDERAL EDIFICE—may its spires reach the zenith of fame—*justice* compose its pillars, and *virtue* support its base.

5th. The UNITED STATES—may they yet rise superior to those nations who have sought their ruin.

6th. The *memory* of those heroes who have laid down their lives upon the altar of freedom.

7th. The great American FABIUS³—may his virtues, like the sun, impregnate the soil of every American's breast with genuine patriotism.

8th. The *Temple of Liberty*—may its doors ever be kept open.

9th. The FEDERAL CHAIN—may it ever be kept bright—and may the fire which has been kindled by seven states, be joined by the other six, and may all unite in smoaking the calumet of peace.

10th. His Most Christian Majesty—may his virtues never be forgotten.

11th. *Arts and Sciences*—may they revive and flourish, and the Federal Government prove their patrons.

12th. The MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE—may the services he has rendered America be engraven upon the hearts of its citizens.

13th. The citizens of *Rhode-Island*—may the scales be removed from off their eyes, & may they join the Federal Edifice under the banners of *truth* and *justice*.

It is but a just tribute due to the Hon. JOHN LANGDON, Esq. to mention, that the whole expence attending the above entertainment, was defrayed by him—a circumstance which at once proves the greatness of his mind, and the joy he felt upon this so important an event.

1. Reprinted in full in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 15 May. The *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 23 May, reprinted only the first and last paragraphs. Eight other newspapers reprinted the entire account by 2 July: N.Y. (1), Pa. (5), Md. (1), Va. (1). Fourteen other newspapers printed excerpts by 23 June: Mass. (6), R.I. (1), Conn. (4), N.Y. (1), S.C. (2).

2. This line was from the prologue of David Mallet's "Alfred, A Masque." The next line in the poem reads "It must be—truth and freedom to defend" (*The London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, XX [London, 1751], 133).

3. The reference is to George Washington.

New Hampshire Spy, 10 May 1788¹

From the information we have been able to collect upon the subject, little doubt may be had but the proposed Constitution will be ratified by the Convention of this state, at their next meeting—and that by a considerable majority. Indeed our intelligence from all quarters presages much good—the Federal Building goes on rapidly, considering its extent and magnitude; and we doubt not, but in a short time we shall have the pleasure of announcing its entire completion.

“Hail the Day,” &c.

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 15 May; Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 23 May; and in whole or in part by twenty-three other newspapers by 2 July: Vt. (1), Mass. (7), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (6), Md. (1), Va. (2). The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 24 May, summarized this item (Mfm:N.H. 80).

Editors’ Note**The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Amendments
Proposed to the Maryland Convention, 11 May–3 June 1788**

The Maryland Convention, controlled by Federalists, convened on 21 April and on the 23rd resolved to take only one vote: whether or not to ratify the Constitution. On 24 April delegate William Paca (1740–1799), a lawyer and planter, a former delegate to the First and Second Continental congresses, and a former governor, arrived in the Convention and indicated that he had “great objections to the constitution.” Paca wanted to propose amendments to the Constitution, but, as yet, he did not have them ready. When he tried to propose amendments on 25 April, Federalists prevented their introduction. Federalists asserted that their constituents had not given them authority to amend the Constitution. For the rest of the day and into the afternoon of 26 April, Antifederalists continued to voice their objections to the Constitution.

Finally, on the afternoon of 26 April, the Convention voted 63 to 11 to ratify the Constitution. Paca, who voted with the majority, was allowed to read his amendments. The Convention voted overwhelmingly to create a committee of thirteen to consider amendments, including Paca as chairman. On 28 April the ratifying delegates signed the form of ratification, and on 29 April Maryland’s governor transmitted it to Congress. On the 29th the committee of thirteen informed the Convention that it could not come to an agreement on a report. Whereupon, Paca and the non-ratifying delegates drew up an address to the people of Maryland, outlining what had transpired and explaining their position. The address also included the amendments of the minority.

On 29 April Paca's amendments were printed in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* and the *Maryland Journal* with a brief account of the proceedings of 26 April, including the vote on ratification and a reference to the committee of thirteen. Both newspapers "hoped that the great and essential Rights of the People will be declared and secured." The *Maryland Journal's* printing of the "Proposed Amendments" was headed "*Late last Night the following Particulars were delivered to the Editor, for Publication in this Day's Paper.*"

Paca's proposed amendments, transcribed from the *Maryland Journal* of 29 April, were reprinted forty-four times by 9 June. Many of these newspapers also reprinted the brief account of the proceedings of 26 April. In New Hampshire, the amendments were reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 13 May; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 16 May; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 3 June. These three newspapers were among those that also reprinted the brief account of the proceedings of 26 April. The address of the minority, which was printed in three Maryland newspapers and as a Maryland broadside, was not as widely reprinted. New Hampshire's newspapers did not reprint the address.

For the texts of William Paca's amendments and the address of the minority, their circulation, and commentaries on them, see CC:716 A-B; RCS:Md., 650-52, 659-69.

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 12 May 1788¹

I Congratulate you on the adoption of the Constitution by Maryland, and yet hope that New Hampshire will be of the Number of the first Nine, or be the Ninth State that adopts it—I now Inclose you the list of our Members as they Stood about three weeks past by Information, several of which since that time are said to be quite alterd from Anti-federal to Federal—

I now Inclose you the list of the sizes & prices of Masts that Mr Mark Wentworth Shipt from this river—

I have just been talking with Dr Green about your Interest at Dover. we are both of Opinion Considering all Circumstances, that it is not best at this time to Sell it, perhaps in another year something will turn up to more advantage—when the Constitution is adopted it is likely things will begin to settle to some fix'd point & then a better Judgment may be form'd of the Value of that as well as all other property—

I am D[ea]r Sr In haste—

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.

New Hampshire Spy, 13 May 1788¹

It is supposed, that the Convention of this state, will not be more than three days in session—the ground having been traversed so often in the debates for and against the plan, that it will be needless to go over it again.

1. Reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 16 May, and in fourteen other newspapers by 19 June: N.Y. (1), N.J. (2), Pa. (5), Md. (2), Va. (2), S.C. (2). The *Carlisle Gazette* reprinted this item a second time on 2 July.

New Hampshire Spy, 13 May 1788¹

Among other circumstances which have been made use of to delude the uninformed, is the idea of a “*Federal City*”—this, with many in the country is held to be a terrible affair—“What, say some, only think, a city ten miles square—what a tremendous cost must this be—and to be wall'd in too, and these walls are to be as high as those of Jericho.”—*Think of that, Master Brook.*²

1. Reprinted in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 16 May, and in whole or in part in fourteen other newspapers by 19 June: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (2), Va. (2), S.C. (2).

2. Two of the fifteen reprints dropped “Master Brook,” the alias adopted by Frank Ford, a character in William Shakespeare’s *Merry Wives of Windsor*. In this play, Sir John Falstaff was paying court to Ford’s wife and a jealous and suspicious Ford assumed the alias to determine whether or not his wife was being faithful to him.

New Hampshire Spy, 13 May 1788¹

We hear from Londonderry, that a certain reverend gentleman there, has been very assiduous in promulgating his antifederal sentiments, and in reprobating the proposed plan of government. The L—d reward him accordingly.

1. Reprinted in six newspapers by 3 June: Mass. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (2).

New Hampshire Spy, 13 May 1788¹

Our friends in *Pembroke* and *Concord* are stumbling among the *dark mountains of opposition*; but we sincerely hope that these mountains will become a plain before the meeting of the Convention.

1. Reprinted in nine newspapers by 5 June: N.Y. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (2), Va. (2).

New Hampshire Spy, 13 May 1788¹

What a pity it is, says a correspondent, that mankind were not equally as fond of being governed by the principles of reason as they are in advising others to follow her dictates. If this was the case, we should not see many persons advising others to keep their temper, when they suffer their own to rage uncontroled at every *little paltry offence*.—*Thou art the man!*²

1. Reprinted in Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* and *Maryland Journal*, 30 May; and *Carlisle Gazette*, 11 June.

2. 2 Samuel 12:7.

Massachusetts Gazette, 13 May 1788¹

Not a doubt remains, on the mind of the honest man, of the Federalism of New-Hampshire. Our accounts from that state bespeak the firm resolution of the principal gentlemen there, to support the dignity of this Union, by adopting the Constitution framed for its future support and welfare.

1. Reprinted in seven newspapers by 11 June: Mass. (1), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), Va. (1).

John Wheelock to Benjamin Lincoln

Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., 17 May 1788¹

I am under a thousand obligations for your politeness & humanity in being so indulgent on account of what you advanced to my brother in my favour several years ago, & for which you have his receipt. I have long been anxious & greatly mortified in the matter; and should gladly have paid it at an early period; but every attempt was baulked through a succession of disappointments in a world of tender acts & deprettiated credit. I have a fair prospect now of being able to settle it very soon; and hope not to impose on your goodness any longer than till Sepr or Octr, next; by which time I expect to be able, and shall be happy to satisfy your demand in full with the addition of many thanks.

Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on the accession of Maryland to the federal constitution, and on the [— —] dawn in its favour through the southern States. The cause gains ground in New Hampshire, and the Spirit of opposition diminishes in the midst of reflection, like the snow in the solar beams. It is in common believed, that she will in a few weeks introduce herself into the company of enlightened States. The issue of the rebellion in the Massachusetts² has been no small cause, that has given credit to those principles of permanent government,

which are gaining ground in America; and on which the intelligent and good conceive the future renown & wealth of the confederacy depends. That event must, therefore, be a subject of pleasing reflection to all the wise, and especially to you, who had such an important duty to discharge in the dreary Storm.

With very Sincere & exalted respect I am, Dear Sir, Your Obligated friend & most Obedient humble servant

1. RC, Lincoln Papers, MHi. Wheelock (1754–1817), a 1771 graduate of Dartmouth College and an officer in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, succeeded his father Eleazar as president of Dartmouth in 1779, and he remained in that office until 1815. From 1782 to 1815 he was also a professor of history, and in 1789 the College awarded him an LL.D.

2. Shays's Rebellion. Lincoln was one of the two commanders of the militia that suppressed the rebellion.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Fabius Essays 17 May–21 June 1788

Between 17 April and 1 May 1788, the triweekly *Pennsylvania Mercury* published nine essays by “Fabius” under the title “Observations on the Constitution Proposed by the Federal Convention.” John Dickinson of Wilmington, Del. (1732–1808), a wealthy lawyer and landowner, wrote the essays. At different times, Dickinson lived in Pennsylvania or Delaware. Before the Revolutionary War, he sat in the Pennsylvania and Delaware assemblies and was a principal critic of British imperial policy. In 1767 and 1768 he published *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*—a major critique of British policy. In 1776 Dickinson represented Pennsylvania in the Second Continental Congress. He did not sign the Declaration of Independence but he chaired the committee that drafted the Articles of Confederation, which he signed for Delaware in 1779. In 1786 Dickinson, now living in Delaware, was chairman of the Annapolis Convention and in 1787 he represented Delaware in the Constitutional Convention, where he actively supported the creation of a strong central government. He left the Convention on Saturday, 15 September, but he authorized fellow Delawarean George Read to sign the Constitution for him.

The idea for writing the essays originated with John Vaughan, a Philadelphia merchant, who had visited Dickinson in Wilmington in late March or early April 1788 and encouraged him to write the essays. Vaughan had become concerned about the hesitancy of some states to ratify the Constitution. Too much misinformation, he believed, had been disseminated about the Constitution and too much fear had been

raised about its impact upon the rights and liberties of the people. In his second essay Dickinson said that he hoped that the essays would remove “painful anxieties . . . from the minds of some citizens, who are truly devoted to the interests of *America*, and who have been thrown into afflictive perplexities, by the never-ending mazes of multiplied, intricate, and contrariant disquisitions.” People had wrong notions of the meaning of the Constitution, he said, and he hoped to educate them about it. Contemporaries did not know that Dickinson wrote the essays until he identified himself in 1796 and 1797. Vaughan was very careful in protecting Dickinson’s anonymity. It is unclear if even the printer of the *Pennsylvania Mercury* knew that Dickinson was “Fabius.”

John Vaughan also acted as Dickinson’s editor of the essays and as his agent in sending the essays to the *Pennsylvania Mercury* for publication. He also sent printed copies of the essays to other printers and individuals in several states. Vaughan was especially interested in getting the essays printed in New York City, Baltimore, Richmond, and Charleston. These were the principal cities in four of the seven states that had not yet ratified the Constitution. The other three non-ratifying states were New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

Among the individuals who received copies of the printed essays was John Langdon, a delegate to the New Hampshire Convention that had adjourned in February 1788 without taking action on the Constitution. Around 19 April Vaughan informed Dickinson that he had sent the first four essays to Langdon whose Convention was scheduled to reconvene on 18 June (CC:694). The last five essays were forwarded to Langdon on 25 April and 2 May. In the former letter Vaughan declared that “I have no doubt but you will find them applicable to the occasion— & as the republication of them may assist *our great cause*, should it even make but a few Converts, you may think proper to aim at putting them in the way of General Circulation” (Langdon/Elwyn Papers, NhHi).

The complete “Fabius” series was reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 April to 24 June; the *Providence Gazette*, 3 May to 2 August; and the *New Hampshire Spy*, 17 May to 21 June. The first five essays appeared in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 April to 28 May, and the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 22 May to 19 June.

The *New Hampshire Spy* introduced its republication of “Fabius” with this statement:

Having finished the “Address to the Citizens of New York, on the subject of the new Constitution,” [RCS:N.H., 301–3] we now proceed to lay before our readers the following “OBSERVATIONS,” on that very important subject. They were published in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, in periodical numbers, under the signature of *Fa-*

bius. In republishing these numbers, we shall unavoidably be obliged to postpone a variety of speculations on lesser subjects—and we presume our correspondents will not be displeased, when they are informed, that the sentiments which they contain, are congenial with the happiness and prosperity of the United States.

The “Fabius” essays were generally well received throughout America. In New Hampshire Tobias Lear, George Washington’s secretary who was visiting family in Portsmouth, informed Washington on 2 June that “Fabius is now republishing in the papers of this town [*New Hampshire Spy* and *New Hampshire Gazette*], and as the papers under this Signature are written with perspicuity & candour I presume they will have a good effect.” According to Lear, “Fabius” would be beneficial to the cause of ratification because so few original pieces had been printed in New Hampshire and so few valuable pieces from other states had been reprinted. Lear noted that “the valuable numbers of Publius are not known” in New Hampshire (RCS:N.H., 316). On 6 June Vaughan replied to Langdon that he was “happy” to learn that “the pieces” he sent “might be useful” (RCS:N.H., 326).

For the texts of “Fabius,” see CC:677, 684, 690, 693, 699, 705, 710, 717, 722. For a full discussion of the publication, circulation, and commentaries on “Fabius,” see headnote to CC:677.

John Lamb to Nathaniel Peabody New York, 18 May 1788¹

Beginning in mid-May 1788 the New York Federal Republican Committee, a group of Antifederalists in the New York City area, chaired by John Lamb, the collector of customs for the port of New York, began writing prominent Antifederalists in states that had not yet ratified the Constitution in the hope of cooperating with them in obtaining amendments to the Constitution before it was ratified. It is not known when Peabody received Lamb’s letter nor is it known if Peabody responded to it. For a Lamb letter that Joshua Atherton of New Hampshire received and to which he replied, see Atherton to Lamb, 11, 14, and 23 June (RCS:N.H., 331–33, 395–98).

For the exchange of letters between the New York Federal Republican Committee and Antifederalist leaders from other states, see CC:750. The Committee sent pamphlets written by the “Federal Farmer” to its correspondents (see note 2, below).

The importance of the Subject upon which we address you, we trust will be a sufficient apology for the liberty we take.

The System of government proposed by the late Convention to the respective States for their Adoption, involves in it Questions and Consequences in the highest Degree interesting to the People of these States.

While we see in common with our Brethren of the other States, the Necessity of making alterations in our present existing federal Government: We cannot but apprehend that the one proposed in its room, contains in its principles dangerous to publick Liberty and Safety.

It would far exceed the bounds of a Letter to detail to you our objections to the proffered Constitution; and it is the less necessary we should do it; as they are well stated in a publication, which we take the liberty of transmitting you, in a series of Letters from the federal Farmer to the Republican.² We renounce all Ideas of local Objections and confine ourselves to such only as affect the cause of general liberty, and are drawn from those genuine republican principles and maxims which we consider as the glory of our Country, and which gave rise to the late glorious revolution, and supported the Patriots of America in effecting it

Impressed with these sentiments we hold it a duty we owe our Country, our Posterity and the Rights of Mankind to use our best endeavours to procure amendments to the System previous to its adoption.

To accomplish this desirable event it is of Importance that those States which have not yet acceded to the plan should open a Correspondence, and maintain a Communication—That they should understand one another on the Subject, and unite in the Amendments they propose.

With this view we address you on the Subject and request a free Correspondence may be opened between such Gentlemen in your State as are of Opinion with us on the Subject of Amendments. We request your Opinion on the matter and that you would state such amendments as you judge necessary to be made.

We think it would conduce very much to promote Union, and prevent discord and an hostile disposition among the States if a correspondence could be brought about between the Conventions of your State, Virginia and this, who we presume will be in Session at the same time. We have the highest hopes that such a Measure wou'd produce the happiest effects—We shall write to Virginia and propose it, and wish your Convention may be inclined to agree to it—We have every reason to believe it will be agreeable to ours.

It is not yet declared who are the Members elected for our Convention—The Ballots are to be counted the last Tuesday in this Month³—But, by the best Information received from the different Counties, we have not a doubt of their being a decided and considerable Majority returned, who are opposed to the Constitution in its present Form. A number of the leading Characters, who will compose the Opposition in our Convention, are associated with us. We are anxious to form a

Union with our Friends in the other States, and to manifest to the Continent and to the World, that our Opposition to this Constitution does not arise from an impatience under the restraint of good government, from local or state Attachments, from interested motives, or party Spirit—But from the purer sentiments of the love of Liberty, an Attachment to republican Principles, and an adherence to those Ideas which prevailed at the commencement of the late revolution, and which animated the most illustrious patriots to undertake and persevere in the glorious but arduous Contest.

In behalf of the federal Republican Committee, I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your most obedt. servant

PS. We shall write to North & South Carolina on the *general* Subject of this Letter—But as their Conventions will not be in Session at the time that yours, Virginia, and ours will, we cannot propose a correspondence between them

1. FC, Lamb Papers, NHi. Lamb (1735–1800), a New York City merchant, was a leader in the opposition to British colonial policy. During the Revolutionary War he was a captain in the New York Artillery (1775) and a colonel in the Continental artillery (1777). In 1779–80 he commanded the artillery at West Point and in 1783 he was brevetted a brigadier general. Lamb was a member of the New York assembly, 1784, and the collector of customs for the port of New York, 1784–89. He was the U.S. Collector of the Port of New York, 1789–97. Lamb was a vigorous opponent of the Constitution as chairman of the New York Federal Republican Committee.

2. Lamb refers to a 140-page pamphlet that was entitled *An Additional Number of Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican* . . . and which was offered for sale in the *New York Journal* on 2 May 1788 and distributed throughout America (Evans 21197). For the text, publication, authorship, and circulation of the pamphlet, see CC:723. This pamphlet was a continuation of a pamphlet of letters of the “Federal Farmer.” For the text, publication, authorship, and circulation of this earlier pamphlet that was offered for sale in New York in November 1787, see CC:242. Both pamphlets were widely circulated throughout America.

3. The election of delegates to the state Convention in New York took place between 29 April and 3 May, but under the election law of February 1787 the tallying of votes could not begin until 27 May 1788 (the last Tuesday of the month). See RCS:N.Y., 1354.

New Hampshire Spy, 24 May 1788

Advertisement Extraordinary.—Wanted immediately, a small quantity of *importance, conceit and impudence, several monkey airs, and squirrels’ tricks*—also, several countenances, such as the *sneering countenance, the affected countenance, the self sufficient countenance, the haughty countenance, the grinning countenance, &c.*—Any person having any of the above to dispose of, may meet with purchasers by applying to the most honourable company of *mushrooms*, who have lately figured in the *bon ton* somewhere.—*Bless me, is it you?*

New Hampshire Spy, 24 May, 2 August 1788¹*Federal Hat, 24 May*

We are happy in hearing that that monster in female dress the *wind mill hat*, is in a *deep decline*, and it is asserted by the *fashion mongers*, that from its remains the *Federal Hat* will, Phenix like, spring up, and be displayed in all our polite circles.

Federal Bonnet, 2 August

FEDERAL BONNET.

The rage for *wind mill hats* is now at an end, and the ladies,

Whose dress still varying, nor to forms confin'd.
Shifts like the sands, the sport of ev'ry wind,

are substituting in its stead, the *federal bonnet*, which will shortly be displayed in all our polite circles.

1. Both items were reprinted in the *Newport Herald* on 28 August. For more on "The Federal Hat," see *New Hampshire Spy*, 15, 22 April (RCS:N.H., 288–90), and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 August (Mfm:N.H. 148).

Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 27 May 1788¹

Mr. Atherton, the leader of the Antifederal party in the New Hampshire Convention, says, he now *fears* the New Constitution will be assented to by that Convention.

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 29 May, and in nine other newspapers by 18 June: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (1), Va. (1).

**Edward Carrington to James Madison
New York, 28 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

... The Gentlemen who are attending here from N. Hampshire,² assure me that there will be no doubt of an adoption of the Constitution upon the re-assembling of the Convention, as several of the Towns whose members were formerly instructed to vote in the Negative, have given up their opposition—I cannot learn that any Act has taken place declaratory of such a change of sentiment yet the supposition that it is the case, is presumable, because the persistence of the opposition in that State, must depend on its re-animation in Massachusetts and of this there is not even a faint prospect—the acquiescence of the Minority there is fully confirmed in the late elections—upwards of two thirds of the Senators returned are declared friends of the Constitution

of which discription are generally those who represent the parts of the state where the opposition was the most obstinate.³ . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 61–62.

2. Nicholas Gilman and Paine Wingate were New Hampshire delegates in Congress, while Carrington was a Virginia delegate.

3. For the acquiescence of the Massachusetts Convention's Antifederalist minority, see RCS:Mass., 1494, 1645–57, and for the Massachusetts state election, see RCS:Mass., 1729–32.

Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet 28 May 1788¹

The Hon. *Joshua Wentworth, John Pickering, Pierse Long, Christopher Tappan*, and *John Bell*, Esquires, (all staunch Federalists) are elected, by the free suffrages of the people, Senators for the county of Rockingham, New-Hampshire.

1. Reprinted in the Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 29 May, with the addition: "The reflection that the representation of this county is the immediate choice of the people, and that the men who compose it are staunch in the *federal cause*, must be highly pleasing to its citizens." Pickering and Long were also members of the New Hampshire Convention which would meet shortly after the state legislature. Both bodies were going to meet in Concord.

New Hampshire Gazette, 29 May 1788

A LACONICK EPILOGUE,
To be spoken at the grave of Antifederalism.

Here lies inter'd three feet deep,
Antifederalism!—pray do not weep,
Why need you weep, it's no such matter
That you shou'd now his grave bespatter,
For in his life, he did no good
And now he's gone, he's only food
For worms that eats his antis' out,
And make him take another rout,
So fare you well, ANTIFED'RAL.

A Toast for the *New-Hampshire* FEDERALISTS.
Long life, health, strength, peace and prosperity.
For the ANTIFEDERALISTS.

May they be shun'd as an adder or poisonous snake, fit for no Company but brutes.

Tobias Lear to George Washington
Portsmouth, N.H., 2 June 1788¹

My dear Sir,

As I know you feel deeply interested in the fate of the proposed Constitution, considering its adoption or rejection as deciding upon the happiness & prosperity of your fellow-citizens, I shall take the liberty to give you an account of its present situation in this State so far as I have been able to learn it from the best information which I can obtain; begging, at the same time, that you will not answer this, or any other letter which I may write to you before my return, unless something more particular (which I do not at present know of) should require it, because I am so well acquainted with your numerous avocations as to be sensible that you have not (especially at this busy season) an hour that could be conveniently spared.

I was surprised to find, in conversing with some of the first Characters here, that so little information respecting the Constitution had been diffused among the people of this State; there have been few, or no original publications in the papers & scarcely any republications; the valuable numbers of Publius are not known,² the debates of the Pennsylvania & Massachusetts conventions have been read but by few persons and many other pieces which contained useful information have never been heard of. Fabius is now republishing in the papers of this town,³ and as the papers under this Signature are written with perspicuity & candour I presume they will have a good effect. The enemies of the Constitution have been indefatigable in disseminating their opinions personally among the interior inhabitants of this State, and had they acted like good politicians would effectually have prevented its adoption here, but instead of alarming the fears of the people by telling them that their immediate & individual interest would be effected by the adoption of the Constitution they acknowledged that this State would be more benefited thereby than any other in the Union, but declared that if the Constitution obtained[,] the rights & liberties of all American citizens would be destroyed, and that the people of this State, as a part of the Community, wo[uld suf?]fer in the general wreck; this apparent disinterestedness & patriotism was relished for some time and was the means of producing so large & unexpected an opposition in the last convention, but since that period the friends to the proposed System have been at some pains to counteract their opponents by personal information, and their success (they say) is as great as they could wish; for the people, upon reflecting, & duly considering those Characters who had stood forth as the Champions of the general rights of

America, were convinced that they had been imposed upon by a specious parade of patriotism, thought it highly absurd to pretend that the inhabitants of other States were not as competent to the judging of what was injurious to their liberties as they were, and as they have more to hope & less to fear from its obtaining than almost every any other State it would be doing injustice to themselves not to accept it.—This is taken to be now the general sentiment which prevails, and I think the friends to the Constitution would not feel so secure of its adoption as they do, (after the unexpected opposition which they met with last winter) unless they were possessed of some certain information to ground their faith upon;—they now only appear to be mortified that New-Hampshire will not make the ninth State, as it is probable South Carolina & Virginia will adopt it before them, and coming in at the tenth hour will rather have the appearance of submitting to than accepting of it;—the only method which can be devised to save appearances is to adopt it before the ratification can reach them from Virginia;—this they expect to do, as it is thought the Convention will not be many days in session.

You will be so obliging as to tender my best respects to Mrs. Washington, & believe me to be, With sentiments of the highest respect & warmest attachment, My dear Sir, Yr. most Obedt & Hble. Servt.

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Lear, Washington's secretary, had left Mount Vernon sometime in May. He was in Portsmouth visiting his family, and he returned to Mount Vernon on 11 September (*Washington Diaries*, V, 393, 393n). Washington replied to Lear on 29 June, stating that he had just received the news of New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution at which time he had also learned of Virginia's ratification (Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 364–65).

On 17 June, Washington wrote to Henry Knox that "By a letter which I have just recd. from a young gentleman who lives with me, but who is now at home in New-Hampshire, I am advised that there is every prospect that the Convention of that State will adopt the Constitution almost immediately upon the meeting of it.—I cannot but hope then, that the States which may be disposed to make a secession will think often and seriously on the consequence" (RCS:Va., 1634. See also Washington to Marquis de Lafayette, 18 June [CC:783]).

2. No New Hampshire newspaper reprinted a complete number of any of the 85 "Publius," *The Federalist* essays, but three New Hampshire newspapers printed excerpts from two numbers. See "The New Hampshire Reprintings of Excerpts from the First and Third Paragraphs of Publius, *The Federalist* 1," 9 and 27 November 1787 (RCS:N.H., 44–45).

3. See "The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Fabius Essays," 17 May–21 June 1788 (RCS:N.H., 309–11).

Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane

New York, 2 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

I had the satisfaction of receiving your favor of the fifteenth of May. I can assure you that it gives me particular pleasure to receive fresh

tokens of your friendship & such communications as may serve to revive the remembrance of our former intimacy. At this time I am rather more in a hurry than is common, & therefore shall give you but an imperfect letter which I desire you will receive as a token of my esteem & respect.

I am exceeding glad to hear from you that the prospect of the new constitution being adopted is so favorable, & that [m]any converts have been made to that side. I am fully persuaded that wise and honest men if they knew the situation of our public affairs, would without hesitation agree with me. I have nothing which I am sensible of to byass my mind in this matter but a hearty desire for the general good. We are in expectation every day of receiving an account from So Carolina of their ratifying the new plan, as ~~you will observe from the enclosed~~ we have information from their convention since met that there is a large majority in favor of it. Much depends now upon New Hampshire. Their example will have great weight, more than many are sensible of. If New Hampshire should come into the plan, which from the best accounts we rely upon, we have a good degree of probability that all the states will eventually unite. Our latest accounts from Europe are that our credit begins [to] revive there already, upon the presumption that our government will soon be upon a more respectable footing.—We have now a pretty full Congress & expect soon to have all the states represented. We are at this time engaged in a matter of considerable consequence, that is, whether Kentucky which is the Western part of Virginia & which I think I gave you some account of heretofore, shall be erected into a distinct state. This will be an affair not easily settled. There are great difficulties on all sides.—The commissioners who were appointed to judge how much the united states should pay Virginia for their expences in defending the western country during the war have reported half a million of dollars for us to pay. This is no inconsiderable sum—Georgia have also made a cession to the united states of their western lands on condition of their being paid one hundred thousand dollars—If we should have a few more such presents we should not know how to pay them. The expences of these purchases together with the expences of the Indian treaties & of surveying & disposing of those lands will create a very large debt. It is true the country is immensely large, is an excellent soil, & capable of supporting a vast number of inhabitants, but I think they will draw off our most valuable and enterprising young men & will impede the population of our old states & prevent the establishment of manufactures. Upon the whole I doubt whether in our day that country will not be a damage to us rather than an advantage. We seem to be overstocked with lands & I believe it had been as well for the Indians to have kept their own territory. . . .

1. RC, Wingate Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 136–38.

**Thomas Bradford to John Langdon
Philadelphia, 4 June 1788¹**

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of wishing you joy on the near Approach of the Completion of our new Constitution by the acquiescence of nine states which seems probable will soon take place, the eighth Pillar being already raised as you will see by the inclosed & with regard to Virginia which is now sitting there is little doubt, if the report of the *General*² as well as that of other persons is to be relied on—

The trifling antifederal party here who have tried every scheme to raise a dust, now hide their heads & they wish their head (Geo. Bryan) have sunk into contempt & are dwindling to nothing—

For your sake I felt mortified that there were so many Anti's in your convention; the adjournment gave our Anti's great spirits for the moment, but I hope at their next meeting they will do themselves & their Country honor by immediately adopting it.

Excuse the freedom of the above

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum. Bradford (1745–1838), a former student at the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), was a Philadelphia bookseller and printer and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, who vigorously opposed British colonial policy. During the Revolutionary War, he was a captain in the Pennsylvania militia and as a lieutenant colonel he served as a deputy quartermaster general of prisoners. After the war, he returned to his bookselling and printing and publishing business. Bradford supported the ratification of the Constitution. (See CC:289 for his pamphlet publication of Federalist James Wilson's important speech of 24 November 1787 in the Pennsylvania Convention. See RCS:Md., 225, 260–62, for his role as a bookseller in selling Maryland Federalist Alexander Contee Hanson's lengthy pamphlet signed "Artistides.")

2. George Washington.

**The Federalist Express System Between the
New Hampshire and New York Conventions, 4–16 June 1788**

Article VII of the Constitution provided that ratification by nine states was sufficient to establish the Constitution among the ratifying states. On 23 May South Carolina became the eighth state to ratify the Constitution. The Virginia Convention was scheduled to meet on 2 June, the New York Convention on 17 June, and the New Hampshire Convention on 18 June. It was expected that New Hampshire would ratify the Constitution before either Virginia or New York. Because New York Federalists believed that New Hampshire's ratification would have a favorable effect upon the New York Convention, even though Antifederalists held an overwhelming majority, New York Federalists established a system of express riders to carry the news of ratification from the New Hampshire Convention in Concord to Poughkeepsie, where the New York Convention was sitting.

The first steps in establishing this express system were taken in early June. On 4 June Rufus King, formerly of Massachusetts but now resident in New York City, wrote to John Langdon, a New Hampshire Convention delegate, and on 6 June Alexander Hamilton wrote to John Sullivan, president of the New Hampshire Convention, both requesting the transmittal of the news of New Hampshire's ratification by express rider to Hamilton at the New York Convention in Poughkeepsie. Hamilton and King agreed to pay all expenses. King asked that the express rider hired by Langdon be instructed to carry the letter with the news of New Hampshire ratification to William Smith, a merchant in Springfield, Mass. King had already arranged with Henry Knox, the Confederation Secretary at War, to engage "a conveyance" in Springfield, the site of the federal arsenal, to get the letter to Hamilton. King wrote Hamilton on 12 June, and Knox on 16 June, informing them that the express had been established. (See below for all of these letters.)

At 1:00 P.M. on 21 June the New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution, becoming the ninth state to ratify. Express riders set out almost immediately, and at about noon on 24 June Langdon's express rider arrived in Poughkeepsie. Sullivan's rider also reached Poughkeepsie, although the exact time of his arrival is not known.

After the news of New Hampshire's ratification reached Poughkeepsie, Federalists relayed the information to Congress in New York City and to Virginia Federalists meeting in the state Convention in Richmond. Because New Hampshire was the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, Congress could begin taking steps to provide for the establishment of the new government under the Constitution.

As early as 19 May Alexander Hamilton had written James Madison, requesting that express riders carry from Richmond to New York City the news of "any decisive" action taken by the Virginia Convention. Madison's response has not been located, but express riders were hired to carry the news between the two states.

The express rider from Poughkeepsie arrived in New York City on 25 June. Another express rider, Colonel David Henley, then carried the news of New Hampshire's ratification from New York City to Alexandria, Va., which he reached on 28 June. In Alexandria, Henley received the news from an express rider from Richmond heading for New York City that on 25 June the Virginia Convention had ratified the Constitution. On 29 June Colonel Henley then set out for New York City with the news of Virginia's ratification, reaching that city around 2:00 A.M. on 2 July. Another rider carried the news of Virginia's ratification to Poughkeepsie, arriving there around 12:30 P.M.

For a full discussion of these Federalist express systems between the New Hampshire, New York, and Virginia conventions, see Gaspare J. Saladino, "The Federalist Express," in Stephen L. Schechter and Richard B. Bernstein, eds., *New York and the Union: Contributions to the American Constitutional Experience* (Albany, N.Y., 1990), 326–41.

Antifederalists also saw the need to disseminate important news quickly and widely. In his response to the Federal Republican Committee of New York City, Joshua Atherton of New Hampshire wrote that the state Convention would meet in Concord, N.H., on 18 June. Atherton indicated that "the Result of

our Deliberations” would “be transmitted to the Anti-federal Committee of the County of Albany, . . . who will be good enough to forward them to you: The Subject of Amendments shall not be forgot” (Atherton to John Lamb, 11, 14 June, RCS:N.H., 333). Atherton presumably followed through and sent the New Hampshire Convention’s recommendatory amendments to New York because a manuscript copy of the New Hampshire Convention’s committee report on amendments is in the John Lamb Papers at the New-York Historical Society.

Rufus King to John Langdon
*Boston, 4 June 1788*¹

probably your convention will make a short session—should they decide as we hope & expect, in favor of the Constitution, it will have the most important Influence on the decision of New York—from this consideration I am charged by our friends there, to request you to forward the earliest notice of the ratification to Coll. Alexander Hamilton at Poughkeepsie—We request that you will employ an Express to carry your Letter to *William Smith* Esquire, Springfield Massachusetts, who will forward the same without Delay to our friend Col. Hamilton at Poughkeepsie: The Expence shall be repaid by Dear Sir, Your obedt. & very humbl Servt.

Alexander Hamilton to John Sullivan
*New York, 6 June 1788*²

You will no doubt have understood that the Antifederal party has prevailed in this State by a large majority. It is therefore of the utmost importance that all external circumstances should be made use of to influence their conduct. This will suggest to you the *great advantage* of a speedy decision in your State, if you can be sure of the question, and a prompt communication of the event to us. With this view, permit me to request that the instant you have taken a decisive vote in favor of the Constitution, you send an express to me at Poughkeepsie. Let him take the *shortest route* to that place, change horses on the road, and use all possible diligence. I shall with pleasure defray all expenses, and give a liberal reward to the person. As I suspect an effort will be made to precipitate us, all possible *safe* dispatch on your part, as well to obtain a decision as to communicate the intelligence of it, will be desirable.

Rufus King to John Langdon
*Boston, 10 June 1788*³

I wrote you a few days since by the way of Portsmouth⁴—I am happy in offering you my congratulations on the adoption of the Constitution

by South Carolina—The papers will shew the unanimity of their Convention and the candor of their minority—I sincerely hope New Hampshire will be the ninth State, this she will be if your Convention decide soon after their meeting:

Virginia undoubtedly will accede—The Opposition is greatly weakened, their session will be lengthy, but the constitution will be ratified probably in the manner of Massachusetts—The influence of your Decision will be very great in New York—I am desired to impress this Idea; and to request that immediately after your ratification that you dispatch an Express with a Letter addressed to our friend Alexander Hamilton Esqr. Member of the New York Convention at Poughkeepsie—Let your Express cross the Country to Springfield in Massachusetts; and deliver the Letter to William Smith Esqr. of that place, who will forward the same to Col. Hamilton—any Expence which you may incur shall be cheerfully repaid by Dear Sir your mos[t] hble Servt.

Rufus King to Alexander Hamilton
Boston, 12 June 1788⁵

I have made an arrangement to forward by express the result of the convention of New Hampshire to Springfield in this State, from which place Genl. Knox has engaged a conveyance to you at Poughkeepsie—Those who are best informed of the situation of the Question in New Hampshire are positive that the Decision will be such as we wish, and from the particular Facts which I have heard, I can entertain no fear of a Disappointment from that Quarter—The accession of New Hampshire will present the Subject to your Convention in a new and indeed an extraordinary light—I think your Opponents powerful as they may be, will be greatly perplexed. Although they may outnumber you, and a small majority of the people of the State may be on their Side, yet I cannot think they will have hardiness to negative the Question—

You may pronounce with the utmost confidence that the Decision of our Convention has proved entirely satisfactory to our people—I have made a business of conversing with men from all parts of this State and am completely satisfied that the constitution is highly popular; that its opponents are now very few, and that few hourly diminishing—be assured that the organization of the Government, *by Nine States* (which is considered as certain) although a subject of Delicacy, is most earnestly desired; and from conversation of both yeoman & politician, I am persuaded, that the People of Massachusetts are sufficiently mature & firm, to execute so far [as] depends on them, what shall be proper as good Subjects of the New-Government.—

Farewel Yours &c.

[P.S.] Pray mention to Knox that I should have written to him had I not supposed him on his way here

Rufus King to Henry Knox
*Boston, 16 June 1788*⁶

Every account must confirm to you the information of the surprizing change in this Government—perhaps at no Time has there been more able and honest men in the administration of this State—the conviction of the necessity of good & efficient Government pervades every part of the State and the federal Government will be as affectionately supported by the People of this Commonwealth as by any people in the Union—New Hampshire meets on Wednesday and we are taught to believe that they will complete the work already nearly accomplished—We yet hear nothing from Virginia; my hopes overbalance my fears, and I sincerely wish that I may not be disappointed—Mrs. King accompanies me on Thursday to Newby. Port, we shall go on to Portsmouth and return here in about a fortnight

The Federalists will have hard work in N York. I have not forgotten the necessity of communicating the Decision of N Hampshire (if favorable) to Poughkeepsie—

1. RC, King Papers, NHi.

2. Printed: Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (12 vols., New York and London, 1904), IX, 432. Syrett also prints the letter (Vol. V, p. 2) as found in Lodge. Hamilton (1757–1804), a New York City lawyer, served as George Washington's aide-de-camp, 1777–81. He was a delegate to Congress (1782, 1783, 1788), to the Annapolis and Constitutional conventions, and the New York Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution in July 1788. When Hamilton received Langdon's letter, he was attending the New York Convention. Hamilton was one of the three authors of *The Federalist* and the secretary of the U.S. Treasury, 1789–95.

3. RC, King Papers, NHi.

4. See King to Langdon, 4 June (above).

5. RC, Hamilton Papers, DLC.

6. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03899, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

Abraham Baldwin to Seaborn Jones **New York, 5 June 1788 (excerpt)**¹

. . . We have just got the good news from South-Carolina.² Virginia is now in session, we feel very doubtful about them. This state meets 17th inst, their members are chosen, and are said by good judges to be antifederal nearly 2 to 1. This city is almost all federal, the governor, who is their champion of opposition, had but 134 votes here. New

Hampshire meets again on the same day, but they acted so ill before, I dare not hope much good from them. Where we are to go for the ninth, [to] set all the mighty wheels in motion, time must determine. I fear it will be delayed too long. . . .

1. RC, Stokes Autograph Collection, Yale University Library. Baldwin (1754–1807), a 1772 graduate of Yale College and a lawyer, moved from Connecticut to Georgia in 1784 and represented Georgia in Congress, 1785, 1787–88, and in the Constitutional Convention, where he signed the Constitution. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–99, and the U.S. Senate, 1799–1807. Jones (c. 1758–1815), a Georgia lawyer, was secretary of the state Executive Council, 1782; a clerk of the state Assembly, 1786; and a member of the Assembly 1787, 1789–90 (speaker, 1789–90).

2. See “New York City Newspapers Report South Carolina’s Ratification of the Constitution,” 5–7 June 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 1132–33). The news had arrived in the city on 4 June.

William Carmichael to Thomas Jefferson
Aranjuez, Spain, 5 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I see that New Hampshire has rejected by a small Majority the federal Constitution. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 239. Carmichael (c. 1738–1795), a Maryland lawyer, was a delegate to Congress, 1778–79. He was John Jay’s secretary in Madrid, 1779–82, and served as chargé d’affaires in Madrid from 1782 until his death. Jefferson (1743–1826), author of the Declaration of Independence and future U.S. Secretary of State, Vice President, and President, was American minister to France, 1785–89.

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 5 June 1788¹

I do myself the honor to forward the enclosed paper, which contains an account of the ratification of the new System by the Convention of South Carolina.²—No official accounts have yet come to hand; but there seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the one enclosed; it being correspondent to preceeding accounts of the temper of the Convention written by one of the delegates to a member of Congress, Subsequent to a proposition for an adjournment & received by the last Charles Town Packet.—

Accounts from Virginia are rather favorable but among the delegates to the Convention of New York, I have no doubt, there is a large Majority against the question.—Notwithstanding the Convention of Virginia is now in session I hope New Hampshire will have the honor of being the ninth State in accession to the system and I beg leave to suggest that it is considered a matter of great importance that we have an account of the ratification here before the Convention of this State

come to a decision as they will be influenced more by our proceedings than by the doings of Virginia—I am happy to hear that the people in Vermont are federally inclined and much in favor of the new Constitution.—With the greatest Respect & Esteem

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

2. For more on the arrival of this news in New York City, see Abraham Baldwin to Seaborn Jones, 5 June, note 2 (RCS:N.H., 324n).

From the New York Federal Republican Committee New York, 6 June 1788¹

On or about 18 May John Lamb, the chairman of the New York Federal Republican Committee, wrote to New Hampshire Antifederalists Nathaniel Peabody and Joshua Atherton seeking their cooperation in obtaining amendments to the Constitution previous to its ratification (RCS:N.H., 311–13). Atherton responded to this letter on 11, 14 June (RCS:N.H., 331–33).

By the first of June, it was evident that New York Antifederalists had won a landslide victory in the election of state Convention delegates. Therefore, on 6 June the committee again wrote to New Hampshire (and Virginia) Antifederalists, hoping that news of the New York election results would stimulate “a communication” among the conventions of New York, New Hampshire, and Virginia in order to obtain prior or conditional amendments.

Atherton responded to Lamb on 23 June (RCS:N.H., 395–98), two days after the New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution with only recommendatory amendments. The Convention had previously rejected Atherton’s motion to make the state’s ratification conditional on the acceptance of New Hampshire’s amendments (RCS:N.H., 373–74).

Sir,

Since we addressed you on the 19th. ulto. a return has been made of our Delegates to the Convention—by which it appears that there is a Majority of at least two to one who are against adopting the Constitution in its present Form.

We give you this information to induce you to take measures to bring about a communication between your Convention and ours on the subject of amendments—There cannot be a doubt, but that the necessary alterations can be effected, and all the apprehensions of danger from the new Government removed, if your State and ours could unite in sentiments respecting the amendments, and act in concert in measures of such an important and beneficial nature—We have reason to believe that Virginia will concur with us. An event of this kind would, we are persuaded, produce the happiest consequences and most essential benefits to our country, as it is highly probable, the obnoxious and exceptionable parts in the new System would be so changed as to create

Confidence in it to a great number of worthy Citizens, who now seriously consider it as a dangerous Scheme, calculated only to destroy their Liberties.

Under these Impressions, we earnestly wish that such of the States, as have yet to deliberate on the Subject, might confer on the matter, and unite in some rational plan to procure such amendments as would preserve the strictest union with, and affection between sister States.

We may venture to assure you that our State will join in such measures with the greatest cordiality.—

Since it has been ascertained who are the Members for our Convention, we have sent off a special Messenger to Virginia, whose Convention is now in session, and have written to some of the most influential Delegates, that are in the Opposition, on the subject matter of this Letter, which, we flatter ourselves will be attended to.—

1. Draft, Lamb Papers, NHi. Docketed: “Drght of a Letter to/N.H. June 6. 1788.” For a similar letter sent to Virginia Antifederalists, see RCS:N.Y., 1133–34.

**John Vaughan to John Langdon
Philadelphia, 6 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

I am happy to find you thought the pieces I sent you might be useful,² others have appeared since, but in general *they* are argumentative upon particular points while *these*, conceding the possibility of Defects, shew how they may be amended, that no danger can arise from them which is not provided against, & that if we do not adopt we cannot correct—You have observed with great justice that the more The Constitution was examined, the better it appeared, & as a Confirmation of this truth, if we examine into the two classes which have approved or disapproved, we shall find amongst the former almost all the men [of] Virtue, sense & property who have had the means of information—amongst the others are some of these for the best of men may be mistaken, but in general it is composed of the violent, ignorant, & those who have been deprived of the means of information, & have made up their minds upon the misrepresentations made by a few industrious ill designing men who have magnified & created defects at will & alarmed the patriotism of the honest but uninformed Countryman. . . .

Your friend & Servt.

1. RC, Langdon/Elwyn Papers, NHi.

2. The reference is to the essays of “Fabius” (John Dickinson) that Vaughan sent to Langdon. All nine essays were reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Fabius Essays,” 17 May–21 June 1788 (RCS:N.H., 309–11).

The Farmer**Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 6 June 1788¹**

Messirs. Lamson & Ranlet, When I sent you the last piece to be published, under the signature of the FARMER,² in which I gently advised Mr. Alfredus to take a little Ipecacuasha,³ and a few pills to cure him of the Hypochondriack—I had no idea of his taking so large a dose. It evidently appears, by his conduct, that the disorder had taken very deep hold of him, otherwise he never would have taken so large a portion at once; for, to appearance, if he had swallowed the whole of an apothecarie's shop, it would not have operated more violently, nor have discharged more filth than he did in his last publication. But so it is—We will consider it as a wonderful phenomenon perhaps, suited to attract the notice and observation of the Medical Society at their next meeting. However, it is the duty of an able Physician to watch carefully the ebbings and flowings of nature; and when a patient has received so violent a shock to throw in a few Lenitives,⁴ which, it may be hoped, will in a short time recover him to *compōr mentis et corporis* to be of sound mind and body, and so make him an useful member of the community. I shall therefore, rather pity than complain of, Alfredus, while he is under the severe operation of medicine; for he appears to be conscious that he deserves the curses of Ernulphus,⁵ by expecting them; and as conscience has begun to do its office, I shall leave that monitor to compleat it, and proceed to make a few remarks on his performance.

He observed that “old heads are not always wise;” he should also have recollected that young heads are not always steady and judicious; if they had have been, he never would have complained of my using him ill with regard to language; for when I published my sentiments they were open to the strictures of any person. But Mr. Alfredus being conscious that my observations were founded upon reason and fact; and a *Truth* is a hard thing to get over, he begins by ridiculing the Author under the character of Don Quixot, and then abusing and vilifying our juries (which I shall say more of presently) and finally concludes by saying, “To follow this writer, Messieurs Printers, through every scandalous innuendo, foolish proposition, impertinent observation, and groundless assertion, would fatigue the patience of your readers.” This gentleman ought to have pointed out here to the public the groundlessness and falshood of my assertions, and shown by facts well attested, that Congress had never been lavish of public money or given in any instance exorbitant salaries to any of her servants, had he done

this it would have been to the purpose, he might have drawn his conclusions, as he does, but instead of this, without the least shadow of proof, he lumped the whole together as false and groundless assertions, wherein it appears he is really himself chargeable with the same impertinence, folly and falshood he unreasonably charged me with.

Information and instruction is the grand design in writing for the public, and where these are neglected by an Author, and he descends to low banter and scurrility, or to bold, impudent negations, or positive dogmatical assertions instead of reason and argument, as Alfredus did in his first publication, and more especially in his last, he deserves to be despised, or rather to use his own simile, "to have the musket he has overloaded burst upon him with horrible recoil." Mr. Alfredus should have considered this when he was charging so high, and if by accident, in going off she sent him back to his cell, with all his impudence, he ought to have born it patiently, and considered that he himself was *the moving cause*.

I shall now make some observations on the unjust and illiberal sarcasms, passed by Mr. Alfredus, on our jurors.—And, as he has such a peculiar nack of leaping over important things, by saying "they are nothing to the purpose," or by stigmatizing them, "as impertinent observations, groundless assertions," &c. I shall copy his own words, and then follow, with the sentiments of the Hon. Justice Blackstone, who is one of the most celebrated Authors now extant.

Sir, in your publication of Friday, January 18th ult. you say, "What are the advantages of this boasted trial by jury, and on which side do they lie? *Not certainly on the side of justice*, for one unprincipled juror, secured in the interest of the opposite party, will frequently divert her course, and in four cases out of five where injustice is done, it is by *the ignorance or knavery of the jury*." This, I may venture to affirm, is an impudent and bold stroke; it attacks the whole community at once, and has a tendency to sap and under mine the best preservative of liberty, and therefore ought to be held in abhorrence by every freeman; it is totally repugnant to the sense of the best writers on the subject, and especially to the ideas of the renowned author above mentioned, whose sentiments I shall now quote, vol. 3, page 378.⁶ "*When the jury have delivered in their verdict, and it is recorded in court, that ends the trial by jury; a trial which besides the other vast advantages which we have occasionally observed in its progress, is also as expeditious and cheap as it is convenient, equitable and certain: upon these accounts—the trial by jury has been, and I trust ever will be looked upon as the glory of the English law; and if it has so great an advantage over individuals in regulating civil property, how much must that advantage be heightened, when it is applied to criminal cases; it is*

the most transcendent privilege which any subject can enjoy, or wish for; he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbours and equals; a Constitution that I may venture to affirm has, under Providence, secured the just liberties of the English nation for a long succession of ages; and therefore a celebrated French writer (Montesque) who concludes, that because Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have lost their liberties, therefore those of England in time must perish, should have recollected that Rome, Sparta and Carthage, at the time when their liberties were lost, were strangers to the trial by jury.

[“]Great as this eulogium may seem, it is no more than this admirable Constitution when traced to its principles, will be found, in sober reason, to deserve. The impartial administration of justice, which secures both our persons and properties, is the great end of civil society; but if that be entirely entrusted to the magistracy of a select body of men, and those generally selected by the Prince, or those who enjoy the highest offices in the state, their decision, in spite of their own natural integrity, will have frequently an involuntary bias toward those of their own rank and dignity; here therefore, a competent number of sensible and upright jurymen, chosen by lot from among those of the middle rank, will be found the best investigators of truth, and the surest guardians of public justice; for the most powerful individual in the state, will be cautious of committing any flagrant invasion of another’s right, when he knows that the fact of his oppression, must be examined, and decided by twelve indifferent men, not appointed till near the hour of trial: and that, when once the fact is ascertained, the law must of course redress it—This therefore preserves, in the hands of the people, that share which they ought to have, in the administration of public justice; and prevents the encroachments of the more powerful and wealthy citizen.

[“]Every new tribunal erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury, whether composed of justices of the peace; commissioners of the revenue; judges of a court of conscience; or any other standing magistrate, is a step towards establishing aristocracy, the most oppressive of absolute government. It is, therefore, upon the whole, the duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power, this valuable Constitution in all its rights, and above all to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the introduction of new, and arbitrary methods of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences, may in time, imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of LIBERTY,”—Added to this, there is a late law of this state, which puts the pay, and travel of our jurors upon a very respectable footing⁷—And lest Mr. Alfredus should say, this is nothing to the purpose, because the trial, by jury, under the English Constitution, may be very different from what it is in ours,—I will just mention, wherein they differ, under the English Constitution,—The jurors are returned by the sheriff,—under ours they are draughted by

lot, from each town, which, I think, is the most equitable method, and as to the modes of process through the trials, they are nearly the same, both endeavour to do justice to the parties.

To conclude, Mr. Alfredus, I will give you a word of advice—Do you, in future, attend the business that God and nature has formed you for and placed you in, for you make a much more respectable appearance *there* than you do in writing for a free people,—and should the proposed Constitution take place, let us see who will make the best member of it.

1. For the debate between “The Farmer” and “Alfredus” that began earlier in the year, see “A Farmer,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 11 January (RCS:N.H., 78n–79n).

2. “A Farmer,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 1 February (RCS:N.H., 101–4n).

3. A preparation made from dried roots used to induce vomiting.

4. A laxative.

5. The reference is to a curse found in an excommunication document written by Ernulphus, who was the Bishop of Rochester in the 12th century.

6. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book III, chapter 23, 378–81.

7. “An Act in addition to, and amendment of, the acts establishing a table of fees” passed on 16 January 1787 set the pay for each petit juror at the superior court at two shillings (foreman 2s 6d) and each juror at the court of common pleas and general sessions of the peace at 1s 6d (foreman two shillings). All jurors were allowed two pence for each mile travelled to and from the court (*The Perpetual Laws of the State of New-Hampshire, from the Session of the General-Court, July 1776, to the Session in December 1788 continued into the present year 1789 . . .* [Portsmouth, 1789] [Evans 21997], 91–92).

New Hampshire Spy, 7 June 1788

Who, says a correspondent, can read the trial of Warren Hastings,¹ and not be chilled with horror, or fired with pious indignation at the before unheard of and unparralleled cruelties exercised on the unfortunate people of India?—Who can reflect on the bursting heartland pitiful cries for mercy, of the unhappy lad, scourged to death in Dover, Great-Britain, (as related in *Spy*, No. 11.)² and his heart not bleed at every torturing lash inflicted on the devoted youth for a crime that his merciless judges did not think deserving of death even in the most expeditious and merciful manner?—Blush Britons at such inhumanity!—For my part, next for my temporal preservation, and spiritual hopes, I desire every day, and every hour of my life, to bless God, that I am no longer a subject of that nation, whose cruelties and murders, in every quarter of the globe, have justly rendered them the detestation and abhorrence of the whole world.—May the Federal Constitution soon be fully and compleatly adopted, and under a wise and good government, may America ever remain in perfect peace with all the nations of the earth, and may wisdom, righteousness, justice and mercy, be the distinguishing characteristics of the United States.

1. Warren Hastings (1732–1818) served as the first governor general of India, 1772–85. He was charged with misconduct in office and impeached. His trial in Parliament lasted from 1788 to 1795, when he was acquitted.

2. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 31 May 1788 (Vol. IV, no. 11), reprinted from London an “Extract of a letter from Canterbury, March 28,” describing the death of a young soldier after receiving 650 lashes out of a sentence of 1,000 lashes for desertion.

Editors' Note

The New Hampshire Reprinting of Amendments Proposed by the South Carolina Convention, 10–13 June 1788

The South Carolina Convention met on 12 May, by which time seven states had ratified the Constitution. On the next day the Convention read the Massachusetts Form of Ratification which included nine recommendatory amendments. On 21 May Antifederalists moved to postpone further consideration of the Constitution and to adjourn until 20 October 1788. The motion was defeated 135 to 89. On 22 May a nine-member committee, dominated by Federalists, was appointed to draft recommendatory amendments and on the same day it reported four amendments.

On 23 May, after some debate, the Convention accepted the original report with the four amendments. It also accepted a resolution calling upon South Carolina's representatives to the new Congress under the Constitution to use their influence to obtain the alterations found in the four amendments. Antifederalists recommended that the Convention appoint a committee to draft a bill of rights, but the delegates rejected the proposal and ratified the Constitution by a vote of 149 to 73. The four amendments were appended to the Form of Ratification, which was signed by the president of the Convention on 24 May.

On 26 May the Charleston *Columbian Herald* and the *State Gazette of South Carolina* printed the amendments. By 30 June the amendments were reprinted in forty-one newspapers. In New Hampshire, the amendments were reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 10 June; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 June; and *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 13 June. (The New Hampshire Convention convened in Concord on 18 June.)

For the text and circulation of the South Carolina amendments, see CC:753.

Joshua Atherton to John Lamb Amherst, N.H., 11, 14 June 1788¹

Beginning in mid-May 1788 the New York Federal Republican Committee, a group of Antifederalists in the New York City area, chaired by John Lamb, the collector of customs for the port of New York, began writing prominent

Antifederalists in states that had not yet ratified the Constitution in the hope of cooperating with them in obtaining amendments to the Constitution before it was ratified. Atherton received the committee's letter signed by John Lamb on 10 June. (For a similar letter written to Nathaniel Peabody on 18 May, see RCS:N.H., 311–13.) He responded on 11 and 14 June. On 20 June, Atherton received another letter from the committee dated 6 June. Atherton responded to this letter on 23 June, two days after the New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution (RCS:N.H., 395–98).

I have the Honour to recognize the Reception of your very great favour, which came to hand Yesterday.

Long anxiously desirous of the Communication proposed, I shall leave nothing unattempted in my power to effect a unanimity of Sentiment with respect to Amendments: I cannot persuade myself however, that the Method adopted by the Convention of Massachusetts is by any means eligible:² To ratify, and then propose Amendments is to surrender our all, and then ask our new Masters if they will be so gracious as to return to us, some, or any part, of our most important Rights and Priveleges. Can this be acting the Part of Wisdom or good Policy?

I have the Honour, Gentlemen, perfectly to coincide with you in Sentiment, that the Amendments should be procured *previous* to the Adoption of the new System, and all local Advantages rejected as unworthy the Attention of those who are contending for the general Liberty.

There has hitherto been a fair Majority in the Convention of New Hampshire, as far as their sentiments could be collected (for the decisive Question has not yet been put) against ratifying the proposed Constitution in its present form: This the candid Consolidarians confess. But I need not inform you how many Arts are made use of to increase their Party. The presses are in a great measure secured to *their* side—inevitable Ruin is held up on non-compliance—while the new System is represented as fraught with every species of Happiness—The opponents are enemies to their Country, and they often make them say what they never thought. In the Exeter Advertiser (New Hampshire) they had the disingenuity to say, that “Mr. Atherton seemed to give up the Idea of all cases between Citizens of different States originating in the federal Courts &c.”³ Nothing could be more the reverse of Truth than this assertion—Their views are obvious—But I will not trouble you with particulars, some future publications, I flatter myself, will brush off the mask of Falsehood.

Permit me to hope you will lead the Way, and delineate the Method of a Correspondence between the States who have not yet resigned their Lives, Liberties, and Properties, into the hands of this new and unlimited Sovereignty: Your central Situation, and great Importance as

a State, gives us a Right to expect it of you, while nothing shall be wanting, here, to second such a desirable Event; nor, indeed, shall any part of your public spirited and benevolent proposals want the attention they so highly merit.

No Amendments being yet fixed on here, or even attempted, that subject must be left for future Consideration. Could our Convention receive your Resolution not to adopt, without the necessary Amendments, before they have proceeded too far, together *with your amendments*, I have not the least Doubt but a great Majority would immediately close with your views and wishes.

The Convention of this State sits next Wednesday at Concord, by adjournment, on the conclusion of which Session, I will cause to be transmitted to the Anti-federal Committee of the County of Albany, the Result of our Deliberations, who will be good enough to forward them to you: The Subject of Amendments shall not be forgot.

June 14th

I yesterday received the Supplement to the Albany Journal of the tenth Instant, by which it appears you will have a Majority of two to one at least against the adoption.⁴ I congratulate you on so fortunate an Event! and have the highest Confidence, that the power and opportunity thus put into your hands to save our devoted Country from impending Ruin, will be exercised with Firmness, Integrity and Wisdom.

1. Copy, Lamb Papers, NHi. This letter, in the handwriting of Charles Tillinghast, the secretary of the New York Federal Republican Committee and son-in-law of John Lamb, is docketed "Copy of a Letter from Joshua Atherton Esqr. (New Hampshire) dated June 11th & 14th. 1788." Atherton's letter was sent to New York (via New Haven) by a Mr. Woodworth.

2. On 6 February 1788 the Massachusetts Convention ratified the Constitution unconditionally but recommended that the state's members of the first federal Congress seek the approval of nine amendments to the Constitution through the amending process provided in Article V of the Constitution (CC:508). Following Massachusetts' example, six of the remaining seven states ratified unconditionally with recommendatory amendments.

3. On 7 March the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle* reprinted the version of the 20 February debates of the New Hampshire Convention that the *New Hampshire Spy* had printed in its issue on 23 February. For the *Spy's* report of Atherton's comments, see RCS:N.H., 212.

4. This issue of the *Albany Journal* has not been located, but on 12 June the *New York Journal* noted in a widely reprinted item that "This state [New York] sends 65 members to the convention, of which, it appears, that 46 are decidedly opposed to the constitution."

The New Hampshire Pillar Anticipated, 11–30 June 1788

Massachusetts Centinel, 11 June 1788

On 16 January 1788, the *Massachusetts Centinel* originated the illustration of "federal pillars" (see RCS:Mass., 1603–7; CC:Vol. 3, pp. 564–67). The cartoon

showed five state pillars erected with a sixth pillar labeled “Mass.” in the process of being raised. Benjamin Russell, the *Centinel’s* printer, updated his cartoon as additional states ratified the Constitution. On 11 June he printed a cartoon showing South Carolina as the eighth state to ratify the Constitution. The cartoon also showed what might happen in Virginia and New Hampshire. The heading, “Redeunt Saturnia Regna” is Latin (taken from Virgil, *Eclogues*, Book IV, line 6), meaning “The reign of Saturn returns.”



EIGHTH PILLAR

New Hampshire Spy, 17 June 1788¹

We anticipate the general joy, which, in all probability will diffuse itself through this metropolis, should the Federal Constitution be ratified by the Convention of this State, which is to assemble at Concord, to morrow, for that important purpose.

It is really ludicrous to observe the situation which our brethren of the type, in Boston, have placed the *New-Hampshire Pillar* in—detached at a considerable distance (from the edifice),² it rests on something similar to a *cricket*, quite *forlorn* and *dejected*—while that of Virginia is represented, as nearly erect—a hand supports it, with these words, IT WILL RISE. It will be laughable, should the NEW HAMPSHIRE PILLAR, notwithstanding its present *humble situation*, be re-animated, and by the assistance of our Federal Builders, take its stand between *Maryland* and that of the *Ancient Dominion*—then we will say, Brethren of the Type—IT HAS RISEN.

Massachusetts Centinel, 21 June 1788

[The *Centinel* reprinted the second paragraph from the *New Hampshire Spy*, 17 June (immediately above).]

(We recommend to our brethren of the type in New Hampshire, the old maxim—to think twice before they speak once.—Had this been observed,

they would not, {as they have above} apparently have *deplored* what they stile a “*ludicrous*” *circumstance*. Than their Brethren of Boston none could feel more happy had New-Hampshire had the honour to add the Ninth Pillar to the Edifice.—But being more eligibly situated for obtaining information than they are, *we* were pretty confident that *Virginia* would have done itself this honour before *New-Hampshire* could have done it, however well inclined:—This *they* must admit as a good reason why the New-Hampshire Pillar was placed at the *left* of *Virginia*—whose Convention was then in session. Besides N.H. for its sin, in *adjourning*, well deserved punishment—and it was owing to *federal lenity* that its pillar was not *prostrated on the ground*.—Allegory apart, we request our brethren to take *another* look at the edifice—and they will discover—what even those *who are not typographers* have not mistaken—that the *index* points to the fate of the New-Hampshire Pillar—and we hope prophetically pronounces, IT WILL YET RISE. A *second* thought, we are positive would have spared our brethren the trouble of their observation—and an error of *haste*—as we very frequently commit such ourselves—we must readily pardon.)

Vox Populi

*Boston Gazette, 23 June 1788*³

Mess’rs. EDES, The many paragraphs which have been inserted in a *certain paper*, within a few months past, (as the safe sentiments of that profound typographical politician, the EDITOR,) most evidently expose the imprudent zeal of the author. But in no instance has his imprudence been more conspicuous and dangerous, than his late reflections on the proceedings of our sister State (New-Hampshire.) If this self-opinionated ORACLE of propriety, and information, had but reflected a few moments on the necessity of promoting a permanent UNION throughout all the States, he would not have thus exposed *his own want of genuine Federalism* by making any observations, which might have the most *distant tendency* to irritate one State against the other, at the present ALL IMPORTANT crisis.

However it is presumed that the “federal lenity” of our brethren of New-Hampshire, will overlook the indignity offered them in the paragraph alluded to; when they consider that notwithstanding the vindictive arm of a R——l⁴ was *nearly uplifted* to RAZE the pillar of New-Hampshire from the federal edifice, yet their brethren of Massachusetts, anticipated the pleasing idea, of soon placing it in a conspicuous station, among the venerable columns which unite and adorn our National Building.

Massachusetts Centinel, 25 June 1788

☞ The Printer takes no offence at the interference of “Vox Populi,” in the *eclaircissement* between a brother Editor and himself—respecting the mere construction of a temporary plate—such *meddlers* merit nothing but contempt. As it is the duty, so it is the intention of the Printer, as long as he continues to receive the support of the patriotick and judicious part of the community, still to continue to give such political observations from time to time, as shall appear to be necessary—notwithstanding he may thereby subject himself to the *paltry cavile* of *sunshine federalists*, and *summer friends to the Constitution*⁵—or to the *envy* and *malice* of cotemporary Editors.

Exeter Freeman’s Oracle, 27 June 1788

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Boston, to the
Editors of this paper dated June 21, 1788.*

“The Editor of the Centinel is much censured by the gentlemen of this town for his imprudent, unwarrantable and impudent publication of this day, respecting your state. The people your way no doubt will view it with that indignation which it merits. Your state is not the only one that has met with his unjustifiable sarcasms.”

A Federalist

Boston Gazette, 30 June 1788

Messieurs EDES, In reading the Centinel published this day, I observe the Printer is greatly offended at a piece published in your paper of Monday last, where he is justly reprehended for his folly and arrogance, but more particularly his vanity and presumption in pronouncing sentence against the conduct of the Convention of New-Hampshire. He begins by telling us “that he takes no offence at the interference of the author, in the *eclaircissement* between a brother editor and himself,” and then proceeds to contradict himself, by saying, “that such *meddlers* merit nothing but contempt,” and by his evident uneasiness where he insinuates that the author “is a *sunshine Federalist*, and a *summer friend to the Constitution*.” Who the author is I am unable to say; but unless the Printer hath more to alledge against him than was published in the piece refer’d to, I cannot believe that he is authorised to pronounce him a *Sunshine Federalist*, or a *Summer Friend to the Constitution*, however the Printer may suppose it to be his “*duty*.”

Should a Printer, influenced by good motives, conceive it to be his “*duty*” to publish his political observations on men and things; should

he sometimes in his zeal for the people's interest exceed the bounds of prudence; all good men convinc'd of his upright intentions, would put the best construction on his performances, and treat him with the greatest "federal lenity." But should he after being often reprov'd, continue in his errors and insults, many of the "patriotic and judicious part of the community" would not fail to brand him as an obstinate man that deserves to be treated with severity. The Convention of New Hampshire, every one must be sensible, have conducted with much wisdom and prudence, from the beginning; when the members of Convention, that were friends to the Constitution found that there were a majority oppos'd to it, they immediately proposed an adjournment; the opposite party willing to be better inform'd, consented to the proposal; the consequence of this wise method was, their adopting the Constitution, which otherways, (without this "sin of adjourning") would have been rejected.

I am surpriz'd that the printer of the *Centinel* should attempt to *justify* his conduct, and in this day's paper, either ignorantly or insultingly declare, that "*He* has rais'd the New Hampshire Pillar from the stool of repentance." Such "observations," however he may think it *his duty to publish them*, do by no means tend to promote the Federal cause, but have a tendency to create jealousy and uneasiness between the Citizens of different States.

June 25, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 June (both paragraphs); *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 June (2nd paragraph); and *Norwich Packet*, 26 June (2nd paragraph).

2. The words "from the edifice" do not appear in the reprintings by the *Massachusetts Centinel* and the *Norwich Packet*.

3. Reprinted: *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June.

4. Benjamin Russell, printer of the *Massachusetts Centinel*.

5. Perhaps an allusion to Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis," No. I (December 1776), 1.

Rufus King to Nicholas Gilman

Boston, 12 June 1788¹

Accept my acknowledgments for your obliging favor by the last post—The information from South Carolina is extremely pleasing to our friends here, and will undoubtedly produce favorable Effects in New Hampshire²—The Gentlemen who have the best and most particular Knowledge of the Sentiments of New Hampshire pronounce without hesitation that there will be a handsome majority in favor of the Constitution—I can entertain no Doubts on this subject when I reflect on the surprizing alteration in this State—you may be assured that every species of opposition here is at an End—The Legislature are federal

in an eminent degree, and no Character wd. be more truly unpopular in this State than that of an opponent to the New Constitution³—

I confess that I am anxious that New Hampshire shd. finish the business, and complete the work—her accession wd. form a solid and powerful Column, on which the Antifederalists of New York could not look with satisfaction—

I will not add except to assure you of the respect & Esteem of Dr. Sir

1. RC, Gratz Collection, Federal Convention, PHi.

2. Gilman's letter to King has not been found, but Gilman probably informed King that the South Carolina Convention had ratified the Constitution on 23 May. News of South Carolina's ratification had arrived in New York City on 4 June (RCS:N.Y., 1132–33).

3. See Edward Carrington to James Madison, 28 May 1788, at note 3, and note 3 (RCS:N.H., 314–15, 315n).

Paine Wingate to John Wendell

New York, 12 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I thank you for the information you have favored me with respecting the adoption of the new Constitution. I hope that you will have the pleasure of hearing of its ratification in New Hampshire by the time you will receive this. For whatever imperfections experience may discover in it I am persuaded that you are in opinion with me that the present situation of our country makes it necessary. The event of the new Government taking place soon is now relyed upon, & I hope that we shall speedily feel the happy effects of it. The accounts from Virginia & No Carolina are favorable. New York is yet supposed to be antifederal but it is tho't she will not chuse to stand alone. All the states except two are now represented in congress & the delegates of those States are expected on soon. I will enclose for you a newspaper that you may see what little news we have here. . . .

1. RC, Wendell Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 165–66. The first part of the letter deals with business matters. After Wingate finished this letter, he wrote another page giving the latest favorable news from the Virginia Convention.

“Y.”

New Hampshire Gazette, 12 June 1788

MR. MELCHER, I think we are become the laughing-stock of all nations, and we are quite blind; our eyes have been shut for some years past—but some, whose eyes are now open, cannot bear to see the British flag fly in our harbours, when we durst not come within three leagues of their West-India islands.—Americans! how can you bear this?—Here

we stand still! our vessels rotting by the wharves! our seamen starving! tradesmen out of employ! money there is none! and business of all sorts stagnated!—And, now, to see British vessels come and carry away the produce of America, which ought to be carried by our own people, and in our own vessels!—Is it not enough to make one say,—Arise! and awake! ye sleepy Americans!¹

I am, Sir, Your humble servant.

1. A paraphrase of Ephesians 5:14: “Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.”

A Federal Mechanic

New Hampshire Gazette, 12 June 1788

To the Members of the New Hampshire CONVENTION.

GENTLEMEN,

The time draws nigh in which the Convention of this State is to adopt or reject the Constitution. Eight States have already adopted it, and should we but make the ninth, would it not be much to our credit? South Carolina has adopted it by a majority of seventy-six. Virginia Convention are now in session, but, it is expected, they will be three or four weeks before they determine: the last accounts are very favourable, some say there is a majority of 14, others say, of 24.

It is the most ardent wish of every federal man in the State, that the members who are in favor of the Constitution, would use their utmost influence on those of the opposite party; for, should the Convention be adjourned again, or the Constitution entirely rejected, we may bid adieu to all government: we shall see our sister States enjoying themselves under a strong, permanent government, whilst we and Rhode-Island are labouring under Tender-Laws, Paper-Money, &c.

New Hampshire Gazette, 12 June 1788

It appears providential, says a correspondent, that the Conventions of those states which appear the most opposed to the Federal Constitution, are not to meet until all the other states have discussed the subject; which will be a means of preventing any of them being guided by their decisions.

Massachusetts Spy, 12 June 1788¹

Next week the Conventions of Newhampshire and Newyork, meet to determine on the Federal Constitution. It is said that Newhampshire will certainly adopt it.

1. Reprinted seven times by 25 June: Mass. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (5).

Alfredus**Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 13 June 1788¹**

Messrs PRINTERS, So many weeks have elapsed since the FARMER made his last appearance in your paper, (except in a piece called the ANTIFEDERALIST, No. 2.² and another under the signature of *Amen*, burlesqueing in a high strain of irony, his own performances) that I was ready to conclude the gentleman had prudently taken my advice, and that I should feel the strokes of his *flail*, instead of the scratching of his *comb*. But your last paper has undeceived me. As the dispute between him and me has become too personal to be of any utility to your readers, I shall, on my part, close it with as much brevity as possible.

The introduction to his address displays such uncommon brilliance of wit and keenness of satire, that the public cannot be surprized, though they may be chagrined, at its appearing so late. As I am conscious of my inability to equal, I shall not attempt to imitate him; but rather place the palm of victory on his brow, and retire, with as much good humour as possible, from the field. It is certainly no disgrace to be outdone by a writer, to whom SWIFT in all his pride (and no man ever possessed more) would not have blushed to acknowledge his inferiority, even in that species of writing, in which he principally excelled.

The *marrow* of the FARMER's address (I should have said the *bone*, *the strength*; for the marrow lies in the first paragraph) consists in a lengthy quotation from Judge BLACKSTONE, on the subject of *trial by Jury*. With this gentleman I am not so unfortunate as to differ in sentiment. He considers juries as the law supposes them and as they ought to be, honest intelligent men—I consider them as we find them in our courts, composed of men of every different description. *He* highly applauds the establishment, and I heartily join with him. *I* severely reprobate the flagrant abuse of it prevailing in this part of America, and in this I believe he would as heartily join with me.

When the right of trial by jury was first obtained by our ancestors the body of the people were in a state of abject vassalage to the Barons, who were of course their only judges, arbitrary in their decisions and unaccountable to any superior authority for the exercise of their judicial right. By this means the lives of their subjects, or rather, *slaves*, were entirely at their disposal; and innocence had no protection from the tyranny and injustice of their lords. In this situation, the right of trial by a jury of their peers was a most inestimable privilege. The jury formed an inexpugnable barrier between the tyrannical will of the savage Baron and the life and liberty of the weak, defenceless vassal. In

this view of the privilege it deserves all the panegyrics that ever have been lavished upon it. But thanks to heaven, we are strangers to vassalage and arbitrary power. We are tried by laws of our own making and judges of our own appointing. When those are found to be unsalutary we abrogate them—when these prove unfaithful to their trust we impeach and remove them. The circumstances therefore, that made the right of trial by jury so dear to our ancestors that their posterity still pay a blind reverence to it, as the only Palladium of their liberties no longer exist in our governments, because we are strangers to arbitrary power, and therefore stand in no need of protection from it. It is however an eligible mode of trial in criminal and in some civil cases, and is therefore wisely retained in our courts, and provided for, in all the former, under the New Constitution. In addition to this, Congress may extend it as much further as they please. The Farmer's representing me, therefore, as an enemy to juries, and of consequence to the liberties of the people, because I am satisfied with the constitution, on this head, and because I do not happen to believe that the administration of the juror's oath is capable of giving discernment to a simpleton and integrity to a knave, demonstrates that he is grossly deficient either in understanding or honesty.

The Farmer does not, nor can he as an honest man, deny, that the advantages of a trial by such juries as we commonly see impanelled are altogether on the side of the defendant. If the design of judiciary courts is to protect guilt, or in softer terms, to give the transgressor every chance to escape punishment, then such modes of trial as facilitate this impunity are just and right.—But if the strict and impartial administration of justice is the only object of their establishment, then such modes must be extremely faulty. Now it matters very little to the public whether this defect be in the mode itself or in a confirmed abuse of it. A trial by jury is favourable or injurious to justice, according as it is a good or a bad one; and the latter in all cases is much worse than none at all.

But the Farmer charges me with “passing unjust and illiberal sarcasm on our jurors,” and holds me up to the public as an object of abhorrence. If intimating that our jurors are not all intelligent and honest men is an illiberal and unjust sarcasm I confess I am guilty of it. Nor do I fear to make myself more guilty still by declaring that I believe that, out of twelve jurors in the state, there are two, who are either incapable of determining, in cases of the least intricacy, where justice lies, or perfectly indifferent whether it takes place or not. The latter are always on sale, and a drink of grogg will frequently purchase them. This may be called a “bold and impudent stroke;” but those on whom

it falls may make the most of it; nor do I fear the indignation of any but fools, knaves and the Farmer for giving it.

But this gentleman will say that I asperse our jurors by the lump when I charge them with perverting justice. But this I deny. The law most *absurdly* requires the concurrence of the whole twelve jurors in the verdict. I say *absurdly* because, by this regulation, while the whole jury must unite to give a verdict in favour of the plaintiff, one voice shall be sufficient to acquit the defendant. Suppose, for instance, in an action of trespass, eleven of the jurors should without hesitation pronounce the defendant guilty—the twelfth says he is not, and obstinately persists in it against every argument of his brethren—The law says they must agree to a man; as he will not agree with the rest in pronouncing him guilty they must agree with him in acquitting him, for the law requires it. They, however, are by no means involv'd in the guilt, for their sentence was the result of necessity not choice; and they are no more to blame than they would be for not performing, in a given time, a piece of work, assigned to twelve, and which could not possibly be done by less, while one of the number should refuse to put to his hand. I have therefore, no apology to make either to jurors or to their re-doubtable champion.

The Farmer concludes his address by kindly advising me to quit writing and confine myself to the “business which God and nature have qualified me for and fixed me in.” Whether I see fit to take this friendly hint or not, I must confess it comes with peculiar propriety from him, because he has enforced it by his own example. For after having served (or rather received pay and rations) as a commissioned officer, from the commencement of the war to the year 1780, during which time it is asserted that he most religiously kept the command, which says *Thou shalt not kill*, he discovered (what every body else knew from the first) that he had stept a little aside from the employment, for which nature had calculated him. He therefore modestly retired from the fighting department, and undertook an ^(a) office, in which the small pittance of courage he possessed, and the sword his country had put into his hands, might not be altogether useless. If he could not meet the enemy of America like a hero in the field, he demonstrated, while in this employ, that he could, on a march, with his *virgin* sword, belabour the sides of a restive horse, or break the head of a drunken wagger.

(a) *W-gg-n-M-st-r G-n-r-l to the army.*³

1. “Alfredus” responds to “The Farmer,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 6 June (RCS:N.H., 327–30). For a response to “Alfredus,” see Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 4 July (RCS:N.H., 351–54n).

2. See "A Friend to the Republic: Anti-Federalist, No. II," Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 8 February (RCS:N.H., 118–20).

3. The reference is to Thomas Cogswell. For more on Thomas Cogswell, see the editorial note to "A Farmer," Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 11 January 1788 (RCS:N.H., 79n). This editorial note also identifies Samuel Tenney as "Alfredus."

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 13 June 1788¹

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Congress, to
his friend in this town, dated May 17.*

"I am still persuaded of the importance of adopting the new Constitution;—hope there is no danger but Newhampshire will yet do it, notwithstanding the influence of some to the contrary—and think there is the greatest probability, from the best intelligence I can get, that the states will all comply in a little time."

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 24 June.

William Gardner to Nicholas Gilman Portsmouth, N.H., 14 June 1788¹

Your very obliging favor of 7th instant have received with the paper inclosed. I return you my congratulations on the adoption of the federal Constitution by So Carolina, and the happy prospect there is of having a permanent Government speedily established—for the want of which, we have experienced many evils. Virginia I suppose will be the ninth State, unless their Convention should take much time in discussing the subject. Ours meet 17th. instant and dare say will soon decide upon it—several persons (it is said) that were in the opposition are now in favor—*better late than never*. We have lately had a new choice of Representatives in this Town, to supply the places of those who now move in a higher sphere—vizt Major Hale, George Gains & James Sheafe—the former I think a very unfit person for two reasons—being *Anti-commercial & dogmatical*. The second, who, from the infatuation of the people, has been a long time kept in public office, altho' very conspicuous for *Ignorance Impertinence & Loquacity*. The latter is a Gentleman of education & a friend to commerce—however after the much wish'd for federal government is in motion, it will not matter much who are sent to our Court, as their wings will be pretty well clip'd.

I thank you kindly for you attention to my Petition, hope the Letters from Tracy which I forwarded to Mr. Wingate will be of service, as they plainly shew that I was held accountable—of course ought not to suffer being only an instrument to the public. You will please to present my best regards to Mr. Wingate & am with great Esteem & Respect.

PS. By the inclos'd paper you will see who they are that compose the Court.

1. RC, Gardner Papers, NH. Gardner (1751–1833), a wealthy Portsmouth merchant, was a commissary (with the rank of major) for collecting clothing for the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. He was state treasurer, 1789–91, and U.S. commissioner of loans, 1791–96.

New Hampshire Spy, 14 June 1788¹

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Concord, to the Printer of this paper, dated June 9th, 1788.

“The FEDERAL CONSTITUTION is not forgotten by either party—there is much conversation respecting it.—but which party gains ground is uncertain, though I think *it MUST be the Federalists.*”

1. Reprinted: Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 18 June; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 19 June.

Joshua Wentworth to Increase Sumner Concord, N.H., 16 June 1788¹

Presuming on a personal acquaintance tho: many years have elapsed, take the Liberty, to represent & Solicit, in behalf of General Sullivan, a continuance of some Actions he has pending at the Superior Court of your Commonwealth.—The urgent necessity, being of the last Importance to this State as well the United States, I wish may be admitted an appoligy for my taking the Liberty I now do. The Convention of this State, to decide on the Important question of the Federal Government meet on wednesday next—General Sullivan is the President & Strongly in favor of the Constitution for the United States, He has told me he cannot attend, unless the causes he has before your Court are admitted a continuance,—We have many members of the Convention opposed to the adoption of the Constitution and to loose, the Influence of so able a Man & the Presidt. of the Convention, may give a cast wch. may prove fatal to the adoption by this State of the Constitution

Nothing but the Importance of this matter & Honor of this State could have enduced me to have attempted such an application;—

I am with Sentiments of Esteem

PS. General Sullivan sends a Man to Ipswich on purpose to have an answer from the Judges of your Court.—

1. Wentworth Papers, NH. Wentworth (1742–1809), a Portsmouth merchant, was a militia colonel, commissary, and naval agent during the Revolutionary War. In 1779 he was elected to Congress, but did not attend. Wentworth was a state senator, 1785–89, and U.S. supervisor of distilled spirits in New Hampshire, 1791–98. In the election for the

state presidency in 1790 he received the second highest total. Increase Sumner (1746–1799), a Roxbury, Mass., farmer, lawyer, and 1767 graduate of Harvard College, served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1776–79; the constitutional conventions of 1777–78 and 1779–80; the state Senate, 1781–82; and the Supreme Judicial Court, 1782–1797. He was elected to Congress in 1782, but did not serve. Sumner was Massachusetts governor from 1797 to 1799.

**William Jackson to John Langdon
Philadelphia, 18 June 1788¹**

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

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

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

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

With the most respectful sentiments of attachment and Esteem
[P.S.] The Post leaves our City within ten minutes

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum. Jackson (1759–1828), a native of England, had moved to South Carolina before the Revolution, and during the war he attained the rank of major in the Continental Army, serving for a time as an aide-de-camp to General Benjamin Lincoln. He was assistant secretary at war under Lincoln, 1782–83. Jackson settled in Philadelphia and was secretary to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1788, he was a secretary to President Washington, 1789–91, and surveyor of customs for Philadelphia, 1796–1801.

2. In June 1788 Eleazer Oswald, the fiery Antifederalist editor of the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, acted as a courier carrying letters between New York and Virginia as New York Antifederalists sought the cooperation of Virginia Antifederalists in obtaining amendments to the Constitution. New York Antifederalists used Oswald as a courier because they feared that letters sent through the mails might be intercepted. (See RCS:N.Y., 1098. See also CC:750 for a fuller discussion of the letter-writing campaign and for the letters themselves.)

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

**George Washington to Marquis de Lafayette
Mount Vernon, 18 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . The Convention of New York and New Hampshire assemble both this week—a large proportion of members, with the Governor at their head,² in the former are said to be opposed to the government in contemplation: New Hampshire it is thought will adopt it without much hesitation or delay. It is a little strange that the men of large property in [the] South, should be more afraid that the Constitution will produce an Aristocracy or a Monarchy, than the genuine democratical people of the East. Such are our actual prospects. The accession of one State more will complete the number, which by the Constitutional provision, will be sufficient in the first instance to carry the Government into effect. . . .

1. FC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: CC:783. Lafayette (1757–1834) had served under Washington as a major general in the Continental Army, 1777–81. After the Revolution, he became one of France's leading reformers and worked for improved commercial relations between the United States and France.

2. George Clinton.

New Hampshire Gazette, 19 June 1788

A DIALOGUE between two ANTIFEDERAL OFFICERS.

Gen. What think ye of the Constitution, Colonel?

Col. Aye, think, that's right. I have been wanting to tell you what I think. I have been thinking, Gen. (whispering) that if you and I don't lay our heads together, and contrive some devilish scheme to prevent its adoption, we are in the suds; in short, we must row the long boat.

Gen. Faith, it's just what I have thought. There's such sifting in the mode of election, that honesty is become a requisite. After this let me ask you, Can we hope?—Ha! ha! ha! This between ourselves, Colonel.

Col. Altho' we cannot, yet it is not laughable; but since you are dispos'd to be waggish, let me ask you, if this is necessary, what will become of our commissions? Will not the appointment of officers rest with Congress? If so, had not we better talk of resigning? But, now I am even with you, let us be serious: How shall we improve our well known talents at manœuvre, to hinder it from going down in this State?

Gen. I have not slep on my post, I assure you, sir; and if you were half as industrious as I have been, we need not despair of it.

Col. Whatever you may think, you have lost ground in our quarter, ever since that cursed deistical dialogue of ours, at B——r's: But, pray, how have you manag'd?

Gen. Softly, I have sent the ala—rum into the country (with my objections) and it will have a strong effect in the conversion of hundreds.—Biennial elections—ambiguities in the powers of the Senate—Liberty of the press, &c. are diffusively enlarged upon—I have talked of a bill of rights, for the people, with the fluency of one who never did them wrong. This between ourselves, Colonel.

Col. My word for it, General, this will not succeed. A strong alteration has taken place since that fatal night. The people have been wonderfully temperate; your ala—rum will not reach them: Porter and cheese are no longer palatable; your invention must supply us with some other stratagem; this will not take.

Gen. The words, temperance, virtuous, &c. may as well be omitted; they are not very grateful to my feelings; a too frequent repetition of them, is apt to set me in the horrors; indeed, we have no use for them, to accomplish our end. But, to lose no time, what other devilish scheme shall we contrive, to prevent the Constitution from being accepted?

Col. In the first place, you must, at all events, attend on the Convention at Concord; and if you are as diligent there, as you were at Exeter, we have every thing to expect: —— our medical friend, is a d—— clever fellow, and his insinuating talents must be improv'd: He has engaged to be at Concord; we must encourage him to be active.

Gen. You may as soon expect to see Shays at Concord, as —— ever since that Hopkinsonian fright he took at Exeter, he has been in a continual state of relaxation; and it is a federal triumph, that the principles of antifederalism are actually destroyed in his blood; and that this necessary drenching has thoroughly purged him from his contracted political depravity; and this extraordinary change was produced by that wonderful electrical experiment, peculiar to the Hopkinsonian philosophy.

Col. Let us beware, then.—But, who are these approaching?

Gen. Two Federalists! Be upon your guard, but, I believe, it's best that we should part for the present—Adieu.

Senex

New Hampshire Gazette, 19 June 1788

To the PRINTER.

Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

*Those whom God wills to destruction he first makes them act like madmen.*¹

God forbid that this grammatical translation of a well known latin distich, should be the unhappy lot of the inhabitants of this State; but if infatuation, madness, and the most shameful want of public virtue, are the criterions of the displeasure of Heaven, surely we may expect destruction soon to come upon us like a whirlwind. No hopes will remain unless a kind Providence will once more miraculously appear for us, as he has often done before. We have seen his almighty power supporting us at an hour of danger and distress, when our enemies were ready to destroy us, and spread desolation amongst our dwellings—At the commencement of the late contest, crowds of patriots THEN appeared, to offer, not only their LIVES but their ALL in its defence; a truly noble emulation THEN took place, who should most serve the common cause.

But where is this patriotism, now? It is become a *rara avis in terra*,² and in its stead arises enmity, self interest, depravity of morals, and in short, a most unmanly, unnatural, and ungenerous dereliction of public safety, in hesitating to adopt a CONSTITUTION which is recommended to us by the Guardians of our country, as the only means of keeping us together as a people.—All the engines of perdition, with all their infernal abettors, with all their arts and cruelties, would not weaken the AMERICAN Independence, so much as we ourselves would do, if we should finally reject it.—It is apparent to every sensible, reflecting man, that if it is not adopted by us, our enemies need do no more than lay still, and be the spectators of our ruin, they will see it done by ourselves, to a greater degree of desperation, than could ever be expected by them. A house divided against itself, we are told, cannot stand,³ we have been sowing the seeds of envy, malice, private revenge, party spirit, seeking of places of honour and profit, and we shall, most assuredly, reap the production of these, when they come to a state of maturity—It will be too late to shut the stable door when the steed is stolen—We seem to be so lost to ourselves and our posterity, so unconcerned about consequences and events, that the most pressing recommendations of our WISEST men, after a solemn discussion and deliberation, seem to have no more effect upon some, than the POPE's bulls. They raise imaginary spectres, and frighten themselves with hobgoblins. A few enthusiastic high-flyers, and artful imposters have deprived us of the honour and glory of being foremost in adopting this important and truly grand Constitution: but a ray of hope arises, that we shall still be preserved from ruin, by its opponents being convinced of their error, and at the present session, may lay their hands upon their mouths, and be

struck dumb with silence, stand still and see the salvation of their country. We want but one Pillar more to compleat the mighty FABRICK, and let New-Hampshire have the glory of finishing it;—and tho' four more pillars will make it still more GLORIOUS, of which three will undoubtedly be added, yet New-Hampshire seems to be thought in a state of doubt and despondency—and may a great majority eternize their names to the latest posterity. It has been objected, that this Constitution is only intended as a support to great men, in procuring them great emoluments and perquisites, places and pensions. We need not fear such bugbears.

The grand Congress, it is hoped, will be prudent of the public monies; and if a place is given to a Gentleman, with a salary of £300 per year, and another gentleman of equal abilities will discharge it for £150 or less, it will be our duty to remonstrate; and as it is become common for candidates for representation to offer themselves to the public, so may it with propriety be done for any places in the revenue departments, by which, sychophants and pretended patriots will be greatly disappointed and the people's fears and uneasiness quieted.

1. Often associated with Euripides.

2. Latin: A rare bird on this earth (Juvenal, *Satires*, VI, line 165).

3. Mark 3:25.

New Hampshire Gazette, 19 June 1788

Yesterday the Convention of this state assembled at Concord, for the purpose of considering the expediency of adopting the Federal Constitution. Every citizen of this state, who is a true friend to the happiness and prosperity of Columbia at large, and solicitous for the honor and interest of New-Hampshire, in particular, looks forward with solicitude and a pleasing assurance, to that auspicious day, (which we have the firmest reliance is not far distant) when her virtuous and patriotic sons, now in Convention, will eternize their names, and again raise the sinking credit of their state, by raising the ninth pillar of the august American fabrick, dedicated to Virtue, Federalism and Independence.

Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., to George Washington Lebanon, Conn., 20 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

My Dear General—

... A like Triumph I am told—and a similar good Disposition has taken place in Massachusetts—And it is confidently said—so that it

gains my belief—that N Hampshire, at the Adjournment of her Convention, will assuredly ratify the new Constitution, by a considerable Majority. A Dawn of better Times, my Dear Genl. appears—may the Day soon break upon us in full Lustre & brightness. . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 344–47n. Trumbull (1740–1809), a Lebanon, Conn., shopkeeper, merchant, and farmer, was Washington’s aide-de-camp from 1781 to 1783. He served in the Connecticut House of Representatives, 1774–75, 1779–81, 1788–89 (speaker, 1788–89); in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–94 (speaker, 1791–93); and in the U.S. Senate, 1794–96.

Connecticut Gazette, 20 June 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Portsmouth,
(New-Hampshire) dated June 13, 1788.

“Our Convention sits the 19th inst. and am inclined to think there will be a majority in favour of the constitution, though [designing?] men have used every art to defeat it.”

New Hampshire Spy, 21 June 1788

From all the information we can collect—we think the New Constitution WILL be ratified by the convention of this state;—many of the antifederal members discover a great deal of candour, and have a favourable idea of the amendments, but are cautious about determining upon a question so important: some are halting between opinions; while a majority, it is said, are decidedly in favour of its adoption. The principals in the opposition are indefatigable in their exertions—but from the united wisdom and abilities of our federal patriots, we cannot, nay we must not doubt, but New-Hampshire will add the ninth pillar to the Grand Federal Edifice.

When our informant left Concord, it was supposed, the Grand Question of ratification would not be brought on ’till Tuesday or Wednesday next [24 or 25 June].

New Hampshire Gazette, 26 June 1788¹

For the NEW-HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

☞ TAKE NOTICE.

Ran away from me the subscriber, on Tuesday last, a Boy named Antifederalism, aged nine months: He had on when he went away, a strip’d shirt made of falshood and deceit! a dark coat of paper money! wai[s]t-coat of rocks and

old horses, Breeches of notes of Hands! no shoes or Stockings on! said Antifederalism is about seven feet high, light complexion, dark hair, light eyes, roman nose, &c. &c.—Any person: who will not apprehend the same shall have the thanks of his late owner. J——a A——n [i.e., Joshua Atherton].

A——t [i.e., Amherst], June 18, 1788.

N. B. He's supposed to have taken his rout toward Concord, if not, any Captains of vessels may ship the same if they please either for Europe, Asia, or Africa.

1. Reprinted: Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 9 July.

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 4 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Messi'rs. Printers, Nothing but the last paragraph, in the piece under the signature of Alfredus, in the Freeman's Oracle of Friday 13th inst. should have induced me to pay any further attention to his writing; for he appears to have laid aside all that truth, candor, and fair reasoning a gentleman ought to be possest of. Let us turn our thoughts for a moment to his observations on the jury—he says, “*suppose for instance, in an action of trespass, eleven of the jurors should without hesitation pronounce the defendant guilty, the twelfth says he is not, and obstinately persists in it, against every argument of his brethren; the Law says they must agree to a man, and as he will not agree to a man; as he will not agree with the rest in pronouncing him guilty they must agree with him in acquitting him, for the law requires it*”—In answer, I say the law requires no such thing, for in that case, it would be a jury of *one man*, and not of twelve as the law requires; and if they do agree to acquit him, contrary to law and evidence, they forswear themselves. I wish the Gentleman would attend to the rules and customs of courts: In cases when a jury cannot agree, it is often agreed upon by the parties to take the verdict of eleven, ten, or nine, and judgment recorded accordingly—But in cases where the jury cannot agree, nor the parties, to take a less number than twelve, that jury is set aside, and a new one called, and the cause goes over again, or is continued, till the next term; for it would be an absurdity always to make the jury agree contrary to their own sentiments and solemn oaths.

I will now pass on to his last paragraph, not being contented with throwing out many hard things, because I objected to the new constitution without amendments, this gentleman (if he deserves the name) has taken a large stride, and virulently attacked my character, as a soldier through the late war. I confess, it is the first time I ever heard a hint of the kind, although I served in the army almost nine years—No man then disputed my courage, and no man has attempted to do it

since, and if any gentleman disputes it at this late hour, let him call and try it.

But Mr. Alfredus's writings appear to be all of a piece, not founded upon that truth and candor they ought to be—And, as there has been much said by gentlemen, in favor of the New-Constitution, against those who are opposed to it, in a way of reflection calling them antifederalists, shayites, tories, enemies to all order and good government, involved in debt, for paper money, tender acts, Justifery acts &c. &c. and as I have taken an active part against the Constitution, it induces me to take up my political and military character, from the commencement of the war down to the present day—when the power of Great Britain resolved they had a right to tax us in all cases whatsoever;² I opposed that power, for I considered representation and taxation to be inseperable companions—War ensued, and on the memorable 19th of April 1775, I girded on my sword, and marched for Lexington Battle, in defence of my country and never laid it aside till the 15th of January 1784,—eight years and nine months, in which time I shared the dangers and fatigues of a soldier, and retired, with as good credentials of my service, as a reasonable man could wish for, (which I shall endeavour to evince presently)—As to being in debt, I owe no man any thing, but what I have got property enough and a disposition to pay him—as to the late proposal for paper money, I opposed it with all my might, for I considered it if made, only to serve as a key to lock up all the silver, and gold, and a door open to cheat the unwary—as to the tender act, I bore that down, with all my might, for I considered it as a stretch of power in the legislature, that they ought not to have taken, it was interfering with private contracts, which ought to be held sacred—as to the justifery act, I opposed that with the same zeal, for I considered it, as an inlet for many little tyrants,³ and agreeing with the Hon. Justice Blackstone, who justly observes, “*that every new tribunal, erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury, whether composed of justices of the peace; commissioners of the revenue, judges of a court of conscience; or any other standing magistrates, is a step towards establishing aristocracy, the most oppressive of absolute government*”⁴—As to shayites, I believe every honest man condemned his proceedings, and he has lived to see and acknowledge his own folly—and as to tories, I think it is high time for that epithet to be laid aside—there is of that class of Gentlemen on both sides the question for and against the Constitution for my own part, when I first read it, I had no idea of its being received without amendments, and I verily believe that to be the case, with many of the gentlemen, who were in convention at Philadelphia.—Let us attend to

what his Excellency General Washington says: “*I am not blind to its faults, it is the best we could obtain in the Convention; it is now open for the revision of each state*”⁵—What says that aged and venerable politician Dr. Franklin; “*I do not like the Constitution, it has its faults, if they may be considered as such, and will end in monarchical government.*”⁶—What says Gov. Hancock, “*If the proposed amendments take place then the constitution will be complete.*”⁷—In short I have not conversed with any person, not even the most sanguine, but what wish for an alteration; but they say, let us adopt and then propose amendments; but, are we sure amendments will take place in this way? No, by no means; for the views, interests, and designs will be the same in Congress, as they were in the convention, and power once given is hard to recall—In fine, I opposed the constitution upon *fair and honest principles*; for I considered, that the *Liberties* of the people were not sufficiently secured without some amendations. . . .

1. This unsigned article is a response to “Alfredus,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 13 June (RCS:N.H., 340–43n). In that article, “Alfredus” identified “The Farmer,” a prominent New Hampshire Antifederalist author, as Colonel Thomas Cogswell, a Revolutionary War veteran. From the detailed text, one could argue that the writer of this unsigned article was a soldier, probably Cogswell. And, in fact, “Alfredus” in his response in the *Oracle* on 11 July (Mfm:N.H. 136) identifies the author as Cogswell. (For a discussion of the authorship of “A Farmer” and “Alfredus,” see the editorial note to “A Farmer,” Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 11 January 1788 [RCS:N.H., 78n–79n].) “Alfredus” was identified as Samuel Tenney.

2. A reference to the Declaratory Act of 1766. See Samuel Langdon: Election Sermon, 5 June, note 1 (RCS:N.H., 359n).

3. For the legislative struggles over these issues, see the “Introduction” (RCS:N.H., liii–liv).

4. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book III, chapter 23, 380.

5. A paraphrase of George Washington’s 14 December 1787 letter to Charles Carter that was printed in the Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald* on 27 December 1787 and then widely reprinted. It was reprinted in three New Hampshire newspapers. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of George Washington’s Letters Expressing Support for the Constitution,” 30 January–15 April 1788 (RCS:N.H., 98–101).

6. A reference to Benjamin Franklin’s last speech in the Constitutional Convention on 17 September 1787, which was printed in the *Boston Gazette* on 3 December and reprinted throughout America. In New Hampshire, it was reprinted four times. See “The New Hampshire Reprinting of Benjamin Franklin’s Last Speech to the Constitutional Convention,” 7–18 December 1787 (RCS:N.H., 58–60).

7. A reference to John Hancock’s 27 February 1788 speech to the Massachusetts General Court which was first printed on 28 February in two Boston newspapers—*American Herald* and *Independent Chronicle*. It was reprinted in whole or in part more thirty times throughout America. In New Hampshire, it appeared in part in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 29 February; and in whole in the Newburyport *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet* on 5 March and the Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, on 14 March. (See CC:566, pp. 221–26; and RCS:Mass: 1664–69.)

In reprinting several paragraphs of the speech, the *New Hampshire Spy* omitted the following brief paragraph: “The amendments proposed by the [Massachusetts] Convention, are intended to obtain a constitutional security of the principles to which they refer themselves, and must meet the wishes of all the States. I feel myself assured, that they will very early become a part of the Constitution; and when they shall be added to the proposed plan, I shall consider it the most perfect System of government, as to the objects it embraces, that has been known amongst mankind.” For the pivotal role Hancock played in the Massachusetts Convention respecting amendments to the Constitution, see “The New Hampshire Reprinting of the Massachusetts Convention’s Amendments to the Constitution,” 19 February 1788 (RCS:N.H., 131–33).

New Hampshire Spy, 8 July 1788¹

☞ By the last mail we received but *two papers*—one from Providence and one from Newport. How long the diabolical practice of stopping public newspapers will continue, we know not; but of this we are certain, that unless a speedy stop is put to it by those whose business it is to guard the sacred privileges of the people; a speedy and effectual stop will be put to all information—however necessary and important. Look to it then, ye miscreants who are trifling with the liberties of the people,—and know, that your “strong holds” will not be sufficient to protect you from their vengeance.

1. For the charge that Federalists attempted to use the post office to stifle the circulation of Antifederalist newspapers, see CC:Vol. 4, pp. 540–96.

Providence United States Chronicle, 24 July 1788

A Correspondent of the most respectable Character, in a Letter dated at Boston, the 18th Instant, says,—“You may assure the Public, from the best Authority, that FEDERALISM encreases not only in Massachusetts but in New-Hampshire—the People are generally well disposed to the Cause.”

Tobias Lear to George Washington

Portsmouth, N.H., 31 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear Sir

I received your very obliging favor of the 29th Ulto.² and feel grateful for the pleasure it gave me by communicating the joy which was felt in your vicinity upon receiving the doubly pleasing intelligence of the accession of New Hampshire & Virginia to the proposed Constitution.—Its adoption by the latter State gave peculiar & inexpressible satisfaction to the *good people* in these parts; for, notwithstanding the ratification by New Hampshire was the Key-stone of the fabrick, they still trembled for

the consequences if Virginia should reject it—they knew the importance of the *Dominion* as an acquisition to the Union—they knew its ability, beyond any other State, to support independence—they had the best grounds to believe that a rejection there would produce similar effects in New York & No. Carolina,—and their fears were kept up by concurrent accts. from that quarter of the strong & able opposition which it met with in the Convention.—These fears were, however, happily done away by the joyous tidings of its adoption.—No. Carolina is now looked upon as certain;—and what will be the determination of New York at present they do not seem to regard, for it is not doubted but that they *must* ultimately accede to the general Government.³ . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 407–9n.

2. For an excerpt from this letter, see RCS:N.H., 442.

3. On 2 August the *New Hampshire Spy* reported that New York's ratification of the Constitution had arrived in Portsmouth in the mail of "last evening."

VI.
THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE
5–18 June 1788

Introduction

The New Hampshire legislature assembled in Concord on Wednesday, 4 June 1788. Portions of the Reverend Samuel Langdon's 5 June election sermon and newly elected Governor John Langdon's 6 June message to the legislature discuss the Constitution. The legislature responded to the governor's message and passed measures for paying the Convention delegates and door keeper.

Samuel Langdon: Election Sermon

New Hampshire House of Representatives, 5 June 1788 (excerpts)

At the beginning of every legislative year, the General Court invited a clergyman to deliver an election sermon to a joint session of both houses of the legislature. On 13 February 1788 the New Hampshire House of Representatives "Voted, That the Reverend Doctor *Langdon* be desired to prepare to deliver an Election Sermon at Concord, in June next" (*House Journal* [January–February 1788], 194). President John Sullivan was requested to inform Samuel Langdon of the invitation. On 5 June the Reverend Langdon, pastor of the Congregational Church at Hampton Falls and a delegate to the New Hampshire Convention, delivered a sermon that examined the governmental history of the tribes of Israel; compared Israel's history to the movements of the American colonies toward independence from Great Britain and the creation of state and continental constitutions; and admonished Americans to continue their virtuous behavior in selecting their governmental leaders.

On 6 June the legislature appointed a five-man joint committee to thank Langdon "for his learned and ingenious discourse" and to obtain from him a copy of the discourse "for the press." On 16 June the legislature ordered that 200 copies of the sermon be printed. The forty-eight page pamphlet entitled—*The Republic of the Israelites an Example to the American States. A Sermon, Preached at Concord, in the State of New-Hampshire; before the Honorable General Court at the Annual Election. June 5, 1788* (Evans 21192)—was printed in Exeter by Lamson and Ranlet, printers of the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*. On 18 June the legislature voted to pay Lamson and Ranlet "nine pounds, sixteen shillings and eight pence, for printing, &c." (*House Journal* [June 1788], 14–15, 43, 54; *Senate Journal* [June 1788], 9–10, 32–33, 42).

. . . APPLICATION.

And now, my fellow Citizens, and much honored Fathers of the State, you may be ready to ask—"To what purpose is this long detail of antiquated

history on this public occasion?"—I answer—Examples are better than precepts; and history is the best instructor both in polity and morals.—I have presented you with the portrait of a nation, highly favoured by Heaven with civil and religious institutions, who yet, by not improving their advantages, forfeited their blessings, and brought contempt and destruction on themselves. If I am not mistaken, instead of the twelve tribes of Israel, we may substitute the thirteen States of the American union, and see this application plainly offering itself, viz.—That as God in the course of his kind providence hath given you an excellent constitution of government, founded on the most rational, equitable, and liberal principles, by which all that liberty is secured which a people can reasonably claim, and you are empowered to make righteous laws for promoting public order and good morals; and as he has moreover given you by his Son Jesus Christ, who is far superior to Moses, a complete revelation of his will, and a perfect system of true religion, plainly delivered in the sacred writings; it will be your wisdom in the eyes of the nations, and your true interest and happiness, to conform your practice in the strictest manner to the excellent principles of your government, adhere faithfully to the doctrines and commands of the gospel, and practice every public and private virtue. By this you will increase in numbers, wealth, and power, and obtain reputation and dignity among the nations: whereas, the contrary conduct will make you poor, distressed, and contemptible.—

The God of heaven hath not indeed visibly displayed the glory of his majesty and power before our eyes, as he came down in the sight of Israel on the burning mount; nor has he written with his own finger the laws of our civil polity: but the signal interpositions of divine providence, in saving us from the vengeance of a powerful irritated nation, from which we were unavoidably separated by their inadmissible claim of absolute parliamentary power over us;¹ in giving us a WASHINGTON to be captain-general of our armies; in carrying us through the various distressing scenes of war and desolation, and making us twice triumphant over numerous armies,² surrounded and captivated in the midst of their career; and finally giving us peace, with a large territory, and acknowledged independence; all these laid together fall little short of real miracles, and an heavenly charter of liberty for these United-States. And when we reflect, how wonderfully the order of these states was preserved when government was dissolved, or supported only by feeble props; with how much sobriety, wisdom, and unanimity they formed and received the diversified yet similar constitutions in the different states; with what prudence, fidelity, patience, and success, the Congress

have managed the general government, under the great disadvantages of a very imperfect and impotent confederation; we cannot but acknowledge that God hath graciously patronized our cause, and taken us under his special care, as he did his ancient covenant people.

Or we may consider the hand of God in another view. Wisdom is the gift of God, and social happiness depends on his providential government; therefore, if these states have framed their constitutions with superior wisdom, and secured their natural rights, and all the advantages of society, with greater precaution than other nations, we may with good reason affirm that God hath given us our government; that he hath taught us good statutes and judgments, tending to make us great and respectable in the view of the world. Only one thing more remains to complete his favor toward us; which is, the establishment of a general government, as happily formed as our particular constitutions, for the perfect union of these states. Without this, all that we glory in is lost; but if this should be effected, we may say with the greatest joy,—“*God hath done great things for us.*”³—The general form of such a constitution hath already been drawn up, and presented to the people, by a convention of the wisest and most celebrated patriots in the land: eight of the states have approved and accepted it, with full testimonies of joy: and if it passes the scrutiny of the whole, and recommends itself to be universally adopted, we shall have abundant reason to offer elevated thanksgivings to the supreme Ruler of the universe for a government completed under his direction^(a).

Now our part is to make a wise improvement of what God grants us, and not neglect or despise our distinguishing privileges: for the best constitution, badly managed, will soon fall, and be changed into anarchy or tyranny. Without constant care of your families, you will have bad servants, and your estates will be wasted. So we must pay constant attention to the great family, if we desire to be a free and happy people.

The power in all our republics is acknowledged to originate in the people: it is delegated by them to every magistrate and officer; and to the people all in authority are accountable, if they deviate from their duty, and abuse their power. Even the man, who may be advanced to the chief command of these United States, according to the proposed constitution; whose office resembles that of a king in other nations, which has always been thought so sacred that they have had no conception of bringing a king before the bar of justice; even he depends on the choice of the people for his temporary and limited power, and will be liable to impeachment, trial, and disgrace for any gross misconduct. On the people, therefore, of these United-States it depends whether wise men, or fools, good or bad men, shall govern them; whether they

shall have righteous laws, a faithful administration of government, and permanent good order, peace, and liberty; or, on the contrary, feel insupportable burdens, and see all their affairs run to confusion and ruin.

Therefore, I will now lift up my voice, and cry aloud to the people; to the people of this State in particular, whom I will consider as present by their representatives and rulers, and the congregation here collected from various towns.—RISE! RISE to fame among all nations, as a wise and understanding people! political life and death are set before you; be a free, numerous, well ordered, and happy people! The way has been plainly set before you; if you pursue it, your prosperity is sure; but if not, distress and ruin will overtake you. . . .

(a) Soon after this Sermon was delivered, the Convention of the State of New-Hampshire, met according to adjournment, and on the twenty first day of June accepted the proposed general Constitution of government. This being the ninth State which has acceded to this form of national Union, it will be carried into effect; and there is no reason to doubt of the speedy accession of all the other States, which are now debating on the important question. May all rejoice in the Lord, who has formed us into a nation, and honour him as our Judge, Lawgiver, and King, who hath saved us, and will save us from all enemies and fears, if we thankfully receive and rightly improve his great mercies.

1. A reference to the British Parliament's Declaratory Act (1766) which stated: "and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

2. Probably a reference to the American victories at Saratoga, October 1777, and Yorktown, October 1781.

3. Psalms 126:3.

President John Langdon: Message to the New Hampshire Legislature and Legislative Responses, 6–11 June 1788

On 5 June 1788 a committee reported to the legislature that John Langdon had more than a majority of the votes cast in the spring elections and hence was elected president of New Hampshire, defeating the incumbent John Sullivan and several other candidates. The next day both houses received a message from Langdon. The House of Representatives appointed a committee to respond to the message. The response was read and accepted on 10 June by

a vote of 41 to 30. In the Senate, a committee reported a separate response on 11 June.

The transcription of Langdon's message was taken from the *Journal* of the New Hampshire House of Representatives. Three manuscript versions of the speech have been located in (1) the Langdon/Elwyn Papers, NhHi; (2) J. S. H. Fogg Autograph Collection, Maine Historical Society; and (3) the Peter Force Transcripts, New Hampshire Assembly Journal, DLC. Langdon's message was printed in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 14 June; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 19 June; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 20 June; and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 1 July. It was reprinted in eight other newspapers by 8 July: Mass. (2), N.Y. (4), Pa. (2). Excerpts were reprinted in five newspapers by 3 July: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1). No significant differences appear in the variant copies.

*House of Representatives Proceedings, Friday, 6 June 1788, P.M. (excerpt)*¹

. . . The Secretary came down from the honourable Senate, with the following message from his Excellency.

State of New-Hampshire.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

Being elected by the free suffrages of the people of this state to the office of Chief Magistrate, will ever be considered by me as a fresh mark of that respect and confidence which I have so often experienced from my fellow countrymen, which demands my thanks and acknowledgements.

I am sensible of the importance of the station in which I am placed, and shall endeavour by your assistance and support to render every service in my power that may contribute to the happiness and prosperity of the state.

The public papers as they come to my hands shall from time to time be laid before you, and I shall always be happy in making any communications the public good may require.

The perplexed situation of our public affairs in general is so apparent to every person of reflection, that the bare mentioning of it is sufficient to call forth the exertions of every good citizen in the support of our country. The deranged state of our finances, the almost annihilation of our commerce, are objects truly important;—but I look forward with pleasure to the time, which I trust is not far distant, when by the blessing of divine providence, we shall be relieved in a great measure from those and many other embarrassments by the adoption of the proposed federal constitution, this will give us a government equal to the great national objects by which only they can be regulated, and by which only we can ever reasonably expect to enjoy peace, liberty and safety.

Gentlemen,

It is needless for me to take up your time in pointing out any particular matter, your wisdom will direct in the necessary business of the state, which will naturally come before you in the course of the present session, which will probably be short.

I shall be always ready to assist in, and concur with every measure that may be thought just and proper to promote the public welfare and general tranquility of the state.

JOHN LANGDON.

COUNCIL-CHAMBER,
CONCORD, June 6th, 1788. }

Voted, That Mr. [Peter] *Green*, Mr. N[athaniel] *Peabody*, and Mr. A[bel] *Parker*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join,² be a committee to draught an answer to his Excellency's message this day received, and report thereon. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Representatives of the State of New-Hampshire . . .* (Portsmouth, 1788) (Evans 21285), 12–13.

2. On 6 June the Senate named John Pickering and John Waldron to the committee (*Senate Journal* [June 1788], 8).

*House of Representatives Proceedings, Tuesday, 10 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . The committee to draught an answer to his Excellency's message, reported as follows:

May it please your Excellency,

Your election by the suffrages of a free people to the office of Chief Magistrate of this state, as it implies an approbation of your past and a confidence in your future administration, cannot fail to excite the most pleasing emotions upon this auspicious occasion; to see the chair of state filled by one, whose patriotism and ardent zeal for the interest of his country, have been long tried and approved, both in peace and war—afford no small pleasure to a sensible and grateful people; realizing the importance of the station in which your Excellency is placed, we should be wanting in duty to our constituents and ourselves, did we not give you every assistance in our power in the faithful discharge of the duties of your exalted station.

We have long viewed with anxious concern the embarrassed situation of our public affairs, the deranged condition of our finances and the melancholy state of our declining commerce, and your Excellency may rely, that no constitutional exertions shall be wanting on our part to

remove those embarrassments, arrange our finances, and cheer the drooping spirit of commerce: Signed *John Waldron*, for the committee. Which report being read and considered, *Voted*, That it be received and accepted.

Upon which vote the yeas and nays were called, and are as follow, viz.

YEAS.

Mr. Runnels,	Mr. Duncan,	Mr. Badger,	Mr. Frink,
Mr. M ^r Murphy,	Mr. Gove,	Mr. D. Page,	Mr. Copland,
Mr. Wiggin,	Mr. Darling,	Mr. Cummings,	Mr. Winch,
Mr. B. Clough,	Mr. Storey,	Mr. Dole,	Mr. Brown,
Mr. J. Clough,	Mr. Jackman,	Mr. W. Page,	Mr. Powers,
Mr. Drew,	Mr. Flanders,	Mr. W. Peabody,	Mr. Franklin,
Mr. Green,	Mr. Gaskill,	Mr. Parker,	Mr. Hutchens,
Mr. Fifield,	Mr. A. Parker,	Mr. Barrett,	Mr. Young,
Mr. N. Peabody,	Mr. Chamberlain,	Mr. Abbott,	Mr. Eames,
Mr. Gilmore,	Mr. Smith,	Mr. Cragin,	
Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Allen,		

NAYS.

Mr. Odlin,	Mr. Hoit,	Mr. Bartlett,	Mr. Temple,
Mr. Blanchard,	Mr. Pierce,	Mr. Clark,	Mr. Chase,
Mr. March,	Mr. Emerson,	Mr. Hillard,	Mr. Morse,
Mr. Leavitt,	Mr. Rand,	Mr. Dow,	Mr. Burnham,
Mr. Brown,	Mr. Weare,	Mr. Sullivan,	Mr. Freeman,
Mr. Wheeler,	Mr. Shephard,	Mr. Brackett,	Mr. Hough,
Mr. Plummer,	Mr. Richardson,	Mr. Gilman,	Mr. Simpson,
Mr. Rogers,	Mr. Belding,		

41 Yeas.—30 Nays. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal* (June 1788), 19–21. For the Senate's response to the governor's message, which differs significantly in wording from the House's version, see RCS:N.H., 363–64n.

*Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 10 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . State of New-Hampshire,
In Senate, June 10th, 1788.

Voted, that Mr. [John] Pickering, Mr. [Ebenezer] Smith and Mr. [Christopher] Toppa be a committee to draught an answer to His Excellency's message, and lay the same before the Senate. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honorable Senate, of the State of New-Hampshire at Their Session of the General-Court holden at Concord, on Wednesday, June 4th, 1788* (Portsmouth, 1788) (Evans 21289), 15.

*Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 11 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . The Committee appointed to draught an answer to His Excellency's Message and lay the same before the Senate, reported the following, viz.

May it please your Excellency,

Your re-election by the suffrages of a free people, to the office of first Magistrate of this State, as it implies an approbation of your past, and a confidence in your future administration, cannot fail to excite the most pleasing emotions in the Senate upon this joyous occasion. To see the chair of State filled by a gentleman whose real patriotism and glowing zeal for the best interest of his country, have been uniformly manifested in the most perilous times and trying occasions, can afford no small pleasure to a sensible and grateful people. Realizing the importance of the station in which your Excellency is placed, we should be lost to a sense of our duty to our Constituents and ourselves, did we not grant you every needed aid in our power, in the faithful and laborious discharge of the duties of your exalted station.

We have long viewed with anxious concern, the embarrassed situation of our public affairs, particularly the deranged condition of our Finances and the melancholy state of our declining Commerce, and will not be wanting in our endeavours to remove those embarrassments, arrange our Finances, and cheer the drooping spirit of our Commerce. With sensible pleasure we anticipate the speedy adoption of a General Government, by which alone, our Union and Independency can be preserved, our Revenues and Finances established on a permanent Basis, our Political embarrassments removed, our Commerce increased, extended and protected, our national character and credit restored and supported, and peace with all her train of blessings continued and perpetuated. Objects for which the people of these States have bravely fought, bled and conquered.

We shall be always happy in receiving any communications your Excellency from time to time, may think proper to make, and ready to concur in every measure which may promote the public good. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal* (June 1788), 16–17. On 14 June the *New Hampshire Spy* reported that "At nine o'clock this morning, after the SPY was put to press, we received the Honourable Senate's answer to the speech of his Excellency President Langdon.—It shall appear in our next." The Senate's response to Langdon's message was printed in the *New Hampshire Spy* on 17 June and reprinted in the *Exeter Freeman's Oracle* on 20 June and the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet* on 25 June. After reprinting the fourth paragraph of Langdon's message, the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 June, reprinted the second paragraph of the Senate's response. The *Newport Herald*, 26 June, and the *Boston American Herald*, 30 June, reprinted the *Centinel's* two excerpted paragraphs.

For the House of Representative's response to the governor's message, which differs significantly in wording from the Senate's version, see RCS:N.H., 361–62.

Legislature Authorizes Pay for Convention Delegates and Officers 10–18 June 1788

*House of Representatives Proceedings, Tuesday, 10 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . Voted, That the members of the honourable Convention of this state, have orders on the Treasurer for the amount of the travel due to them respectively on the late, or that may be due on any future roll for travel to and from the Convention, to be paid out of the revenue arising by excise, impost, or specie tax, as they may chuse, and that the President give orders accordingly. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal* (June 1788), 22.

*Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 10 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . A Vote, that the members of the Honorable Convention of this State, have orders on the Treasurer for the amount of the travel due to them respectively, on the late, or that may be due on any future roll for travel to and from Convention, to be paid out of the Revenue by Excise, Impost or Specie Tax, as they may chuse, and that the President give order accordingly,

was brought up, read and concurred.—reconsidered. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal* (June 1788), 15.

*House of Representatives Proceedings, Friday, 13 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . An act to enable the President, with advice of Council, to draw orders for the payment of the travel of members of Convention, was read a third time and passed to be enacted. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal* (June 1788), 31. The manuscript copy of the journal indicates that the act was “Sent up by Mr Jenness & Mr Franklin” (Nh-Ar).

*Senate Proceedings, Friday, 13 June 1788*¹

. . . An Act, to enable the President, with advice of Council, to draw Orders for the payment of the travel of the Members of Convention, having been read a third time,

Voted that the same be enacted. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal*, (June 1788), 25.

*Act to Pay Members of the Ratifying Convention, 13 June 1788*¹

State of New Hampshire.

An Act to enable the President with advice of Council to draw orders for the payment of the travel of members of Convention.

Whereas the travel of the Convention should be paid in the same manner as that of the members of the General Court. Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and house of Representatives in General Court conven'd, that the President of this State, by and with the advice of Council be and hereby is empowered and directed to draw orders for the travel of the members of said Convention in the same manner, as by law he is enabled to do, for the travel of the house of Representatives: Any Law usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

State of Newhamp} In the house of Repres[enta]tives
June 13th 1788

The foregoing Bill having been read a third Time voted that it pass to be enacted—

Sent up for Concurrence
Thos. Bartlett Speaker—

In Senate the same day this bill having been read a third time voted that the same be enacted—

John Langdon President

1. MS, Original Manuscript Acts, Vol. 11, p. 14, Nh-Ar.

*Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 18 June 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . A Vote, to pay the account of Minus Daniels, amounting to fifty-six shillings as Doorkeeper to Convention,
was brought up, read and concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal* (June 1788), 41. The House of Representatives on the same day voted to pay Daniels “two pounds, sixteen shillings” without specifying a reason (*House Journal* [June 1788], 54).

VII.
THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION
SECOND SESSION
18–21 June 1788

Introduction

The New Hampshire Convention convened in Exeter on 13 February 1788. Realizing that they lacked the votes needed to ratify the Constitution, Federalists convinced the Convention to adjourn on the 22nd without voting on the Constitution. The Convention agreed to meet again on 18 June in Concord. When the Convention reconvened on 18 June, delegates spent much of the first day discussing contested elections for the towns of Walpole and Boscawen. The next day, 19 June, Federalist Samuel Livermore moved that a committee be appointed to consider amendments to the Constitution. Antifederalist Joshua Atherton moved to postpone Livermore's motion so that the delegates could continue to discuss the Constitution. Livermore (supported by other Federalists) thought that "the general debate" would be "a needless waste of time" because the Constitution "had been fully debated at Exeter." Atherton and other Antifederalists, however, stated that the debates at Exeter were only "an introduction to what he had yet to offer." "After considerable debate," the Convention postponed Livermore's motion, and the delegates spent the rest of the day in "a general discussion" of the Constitution.

On 20 June the Convention resumed consideration of Livermore's motion and appointed a committee of probably eight Federalists and seven Antifederalists, chaired by John Langdon, to consider amendments. At 10:30 A.M. the Convention adjourned to meet again at 3:00 P.M., when the committee reported twelve amendments. According to the *New Hampshire Spy*, 21 June, the committee "met with no difficulty in agreeing upon the amendments." After the Convention read and approved the committee's report, Atherton moved "that this convention ratify the proposed Constitution together with the amendments but that said Constitution do not operate in the state of New Hampshire without said amendments." After "some debate," Livermore moved to postpone Atherton's motion and to substitute the motion "That in case the Constitution be adopted that the amendments reported by the Committee be recommended to Congress." The Convention postponed Atherton's motion and adjourned until the 21st, the following day.

On 21 June the Convention agreed to Livermore's motion. Whereupon, Atherton moved that "the Convention adjourn to some future day." The motion was defeated. On motion of Livermore (seconded by Langdon and others), the Convention voted 57 to 47 to ratify the Constitution. The Convention incorporated the twelve amendments proposed by the committee of fifteen into the form of ratification, indicating that the amendments were adopted in order to "remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good People of this State, and more effectually guard against an undue Administration of the federal Government." The Convention also enjoined New Hampshire's representatives in the Congress under the new Constitution "at all Times . . . to exert all their Influence & use all reasonable & Legal methods to obtain a Ratification" of the recommended amendments in the manner provided in Article V of the Constitution. Tobias Lear, George Washington's secretary who was visiting Portsmouth, wrote Washington on 22 June that the amendments "were drawn up more with a view of softening & conciliating the adoption to some who were moderate in their opposition than from an expectation that they would ever be engrafted in the Constitution" (RCS:N.H., 395).

Before adjourning, the Convention resolved that the form of ratification be engrossed and signed by the presidents of the Convention and the state and the secretaries of the Convention and the state and transmitted to the Confederation Congress.

The New Hampshire Convention Wednesday 18 June 1788

Convention Proceedings, 18 June 1788¹

The convention met according to adjournment at Concord in said State—

Several persons appeared and produced certificates of their being elected Members of the Convention—some of which were from Towns which had before made returns of other persons, who had been admitted to a seat in Convention at Exeter—and after much debate thereon came to the following votes—

Voted that it is the Opinion of this Convention that Mr. [Aaron] Allen returned by the Town of Walpole was not legally elected a member of Convention

Voted that it is the Opinion of this Convention that Mr. [Samuel] Fowler returned by the Town of Boscawen was not legally elected a member—

Adjourned to 9 oClock to morrow morning

1. MS, Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New Hampshire, which adopted The Federal Constitution, 1788, Nh-Ar, 25–26.

New Hampshire Spy, 21 June 1788

Proceedings of the Convention of this State.

The Convention of this state assembled at Concord, on Wednesday last [18 June], agreeable to adjournment. The business was opened by going into the consideration of the contested elections.¹ The first, was the representation from Walpole,—for which place there appeared two members, General [Benjamin] Bellows, and Mr. — Allen.² It appeared, by the documents presented to the Convention, that General Bellows was legally chosen and authorised to represent the town of Walpole, at a meeting properly notified for that purpose. After which, a number of persons who had imbibed sentiments unfriendly to the proposed Constitution, prevailed with the selectmen to call another meeting, to see if the town would agree to give the General *instructions*. At this meeting, (tho' but a very small part of the inhabitants attended) they voted, not to instruct Gen. Bellows:—they then voted, that Mr. Allen should represent them in Convention—although no mention was made in the notification for calling the meeting, other than, to see if the town would instruct their representative, in Convention. The illegality of the last meeting appearing so notorious, the Convention resolved that Gen. Bellows was legally chosen. Upon which Mr. Allen withdrew, and the General took his seat accordingly.

(Mr. *Allen*, owing to the matter not being properly investigated, took his seat in the Convention at Exeter, and was decidedly opposed to the constitution—it was therefore not disagreeable to see him quit his seat in favour of General *Bellows*, who is a warm friend to the federal government.)

Mr. [Joshua] *Atherton* was very long in his arguments in favour of Mr. *Allen's* election, in which he dwelt largely upon the right of the citizens of any town to choose their members in what way and manner they saw fit. He said this was their inherent right given them by God and nature—it could not be taken from them without the grossest violation of their rights, &c. &c.

He was answered by the honourable Judge [Samuel] *Livermore*, President [John] *Sullivan*, President [John] *Langdon*, and *John Pickering*, Esquire, who severally reprobated the gentlemans ideas as subversive of

all order, and tending in their operation to introduce anarchy and confusion.

The next matter debated, was the representation from Boscawen.³ The antifederalists in that town had jumbled a meeting together, without law or order, and voted to recall their former representative, Capt. *Joseph Gerrish*, and to send in his room — *Fowler*,⁴ Esq. whose sentiments were more congenial with their own—the absurdity of Mr. *Fowler*'s election appeared so plain, that the convention almost unanimously voted his election null and void. Mr. *Fowler* had *eighteen votes*.

This business took up the whole of Wednesday afternoon, when the convention adjourned.

1. Under the heading: “*Of the NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION*,” the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 June, reported that “We learn, that it met on the day appointed—and that several towns having elected new members in the room of those at first chosen, both delegations had met in the Convention—This occasioned some debate on the question, which of the persons chosen were eligible to a seat. The result we have not learnt.” The report was reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 30 June.

2. For the Walpole town meetings on the election of state Convention delegates, see RCS:N.H., 194–96. Bellows (1740–1802), a Walpole merchant, was a major general in the state militia, a justice of the peace and register of deeds for Cheshire County, and the Walpole town clerk. He held the last three offices for decades. Bellows was elected a delegate to Congress in 1781, but he did not attend. In the second session of the state Convention, he was on the committee to recommend amendments to the Constitution and he voted to ratify the Constitution. Aaron Allen was the losing candidate.

3. For the Boscawen town meetings on the election of state Convention delegates, see RCS:N.H., 151–53.

4. Samuel Fowler.

The New Hampshire Convention Thursday 19 June 1788

Convention Proceedings, 19 June 1788¹

The Convention met according to adjournment—

Motion was made to appoint a Committee to consider of and report such amendments as they should judge necessary to be proposed in alteration of the Constitution—which motion was postponed for the further discussion of the Constitution—and after some debate

Adjourned to 3 oClock P: M. met accordingly

Proceeded to a general discussion of the Constitution

Adjourned to 8 oClock to morrow morning

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 26.

New Hampshire Spy, 21 June 1788

Thursday, June 19. The Convention met, when Mr. [Joshua] Atherton rose, and addressing the President, said, he was informed, that the town of Canterbury was doubly represented—he wished that the matter might be investigated. After a considerable debate upon the subject, Mr. Atherton *was pleased to withdraw his motion.*

Mr. *Atherton*, Then moved that the convention go again into the consideration of General *Bellows's* election but not being seconded, his motion was not put.

The honourable Judge [Samuel] *Livermore* then moved that the minds of the convention be taken whether any amendments to the constitution are necessary.

He was seconded by President [John] *Langdon.*

Mr. *Atherton* moved that the motion might be postponed, and that the constitution be read, that members might have an opportunity of offering their sentiments thereon. He said he had a great deal to say upon it, and wished to have the liberty—other members, he said, might make what use of the privilege they pleased.

Hon. Mr. *Livermore* observed that a large field would offer for gentlemen to make their observations, when the subject of amendments was under consideration. He was against going again into the general debate, as it would in his opinion be a needless waste of time. The Constitution had been fully debated at Exeter, and the observations then made, he had no doubt was fresh in the mind of every member present—he was therefore against the postponement of taking the minds of the Convention relative to the subject of amendments.

Several other gentlemen spoke nearly to the same effect.

Mr. *Atherton*, in reply, said, he did not see why members should be so much afraid to debate the matter generally—they had all the wisdom and strength of the state on their side—for his part, he only considered his former observations as an introduction to what he had yet to offer.

Messieurs *Parker* and *McMurphy*¹ joined with Mr. Atherton in wishing that the consideration of amendments might be postponed.

After considerable debate, the motion for taking the minds of the Convention relative to amendments, was withdrawn,—when the Constitution (at the request of Mr. Atherton) was read by the Secretary.

Mr. *Atherton* then rose, and in his usual stile of eloquence, took a general view of the proposed constitution, which he reprobated as a system calculated to forge the chains of tyranny upon the citizens of

the United States. He was careful in pointing out its supposed defects—the federal city was noticed—standing armies, the power granted to Congress to alter the times and places of holding the elections for representatives, to collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises—to raise and support standing armies—vesting Congress with the purse and the sword—the great powers granted to the President—the insecurity of the liberty of the press—want of a religious test—bill of rights, &c. &c. He adverted to the ease with which citizens might be deprived of a trial by jury, when a majority of the Senate should consider it no longer necessary, (he said such an event might happen)—of the great danger which would result from standing armies, &c. &c.—The above are only a part of the honourable gentleman's objections, the whole of them would nearly fill this paper.

P. M.

Hon. Judge *Livermore*, in reply to Mr. Atherton, took a retrospective view of the situation of America, previous to and after the revolution—and of the causes which produced it. He then pointed out many of the defects in the old constitution, and the great necessity of a new system, and then proceeded to answer some of the objections made by the honourable gentleman who spoke last; in doing which he pourtrayed the excellencies of the new Constitution, in a very able manner.²

The Rev. Dr. [Samuel] *Langdon*, followed the honourable gentleman in his observations upon the excellencies of the proposed plan of government, &c.

1. Abel Parker (1753–1831), a Jaffrey farmer, and Archibald McMurphy (1744–1816), a Londonderry farmer, were Antifederalists who voted against ratification of the Constitution. Parker was a member of the committee to consider proposing to the Convention amendments to the Constitution. In June 1788 both men were members of the state House of Representatives.

2. During the debate in New Hampshire over the election of the state's first two U.S. senators, "A Friend to the People" opposed the election of state chief justice Samuel Livermore and state president John Langdon because of the opposition they expressed to amendments to the Constitution in the state Convention. In referring to amendments, it was said:

Every gentleman has a right to give his own sentiments, and His Honor the Chief Justice delivered his in the Convention with a great degree of firmness, "*that the Constitution was now complete without any amendments.*" If so, why should we send him to Congress to be an instrument to withhold from us the amendments so ardently wished for, and at the same time deprive us of a gentleman on the superior bench that time will scarce ever replace? Were I to recommend any person for the office of Senator, I should be careful to avoid any character who had a hand in framing the Constitution, as it is, in some measure, a child of their own making. Consequently, they would wish to support it at any rate. Witness the expression of a

respectable character [i.e., John Langdon] in the late Convention, viz., “*that the Constitution was now complete; the amendments would not take place in five hundred years*” (Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 1 November 1788, DHFFE, I, 776–77.)

A “Friend to Amendments” responded a week later supporting Livermore and Langdon for U.S. senators. The essayist noted that “The only objection to His Excellency’s having a seat in the Senate is his having assisted in making the Constitution, and his declaring in Convention, as well as the Chief Justice, that *it was already complete.*” (Exeter *Freeman’s Oracle*, 8 November 1788, DHFFE, I, 780.)

On the eve of the second federal election of U.S. representatives, “An Old Farmer” alluded to the statement made in the New Hampshire Convention that “This Constitution was compleat . . .” (*New Hampshire Gazetteer*, 20 August 1790).

The New Hampshire Convention Friday 20 June 1788

Convention Proceedings, 20 June 1788¹

The convention met according to adjournment—

Resumed the motion of Yesterday for a Committee &

Voted that Mr. Langdon, Mr. Bartlett, Mr Badger, Mr Sullivan, Mr Atherton, Mr Dow, Mr. Bellows, Mr West, Mr Livermore Mr. Worster, Mr Parker, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Smith, Mr. Hooper and Mr Barrett be a Committee to consider of and report such Articles as they shall think proper to be proposed as amendments to the Federal constitution and lay the Same before this Convention—

Adjourned to 3 o’Clock P.M. met accordingly

The Committee to consider of and report such articles as they should think proper to be proposed as amendments to the federal Constitution—Reported as follows (viz)²—

First That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly and particularly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the Several states to be by them exercised—

Secondly That there shall be one representative to every thirty Thousand persons according to the census mentioned in the constitution until the whole number of Representatives amounts to two hundred—

Thirdly That Congress do not exercise the powers vested in them by the fourth Section of the first article but in cases when a state shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned or shall make regulations Subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation in Congress—nor shall congress in any case make regulations contrary to a free and equal Representation—

Fourthly That Congress do not lay direct Taxes but when the money arising from the Impost excise and their other resources are insufficient for the public Exigences; nor then until Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the States to Assess levy and pay their respective proportions of such requisition agreeably to the census fixed in the said Constitution in such way and manner as the Legislature of the State shall think best and in such case, if any state shall neglect then Congress may assess and levy such states proportion, together with the Interest thereon at the rate of Six Pr Cent pr. Annum from the time of payment prescribed in such requisition—

Fifthly That Congress erect no company of Merchants with exclusive advantages of Commerce

Sixthly That no person shall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment or loss of life until he be first indicted by a grand jury—except in such cases as may arise in the government and regulation of the land and naval forces—

Seventhly All common law cases between citizens of different states shall be commenced in the common Law Courts of the respective states—And no appeal shall be allowed to the federal Court in such cases unless the Sum or value of the thing in controversy amount to three thousand Dollars—

Eighthly In civil actions between citizens of different States every issue of fact arising in Actions at common Law shall be tried by a jury if the parties or either of them request it—

Ninthly Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall accept a title of nobility, or any other title or office from any king prince or foreign State—

Tenthly That no standing army shall be kept up in time of peace unless with the consent of three fourths of the members of each branch of Congress, nor shall soldiers, in time of peace be quartered upon private houses without the consent of the owners—

Eleventhly Congress shall make no laws touching religion or to infringe the rights of Conscience

Twelfthly Congress shall never disarm any citizen unless such as are or have been in actual rebellion—

Signed John Langdon for the Committee which report being read and considered was received and accepted—

Motion was then made by Mr. [Joshua] Atherton seconded by Mr. [Abel] Parker—that this convention ratify the proposed Constitution together with the amendments but that said Constitution do not operate in the state of New Hampshire without said amendments

After some debate Motion was made by Mr [Samuel] Livermore seconded by Mr. Bartlett & others, to postpone the motion made by Mr. Atherton to make way for the following motion (viz) That in case the Constitution be adopted that the amendments reported by the Committee be recommended to Congress—which Motion of Mr. Atherton being postponed—

Adjourned to 9 oClock to Morrow Morning

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 27–31.

2. A manuscript copy of the committee's report is in the John Lamb Papers at the New-York Historical Society.

New Hampshire Spy, 21 June 1788

Friday, June 20. This morning, a committee was appointed to draught such amendments to the Constitution as they conceived necessary. The Convention adjourned at half past 10 o'clock, A.M. to meet again at 3 o'clock, P.M.

(The Committee, we are informed, met with no difficulty in agreeing upon the amendments—and were ready to report when our informant left Concord.)

Convention Speech of Ebenezer Webster

c. 20 June 1788¹

Mr. President: I have listened to the arguments for and against the Constitution. I am convinced such a government as that Constitution will establish, if adopted,—a government acting directly on the people of the States,—is necessary for the common defense and the general welfare. It is the only government which will enable us to pay off the national debt, the debt which we owe for the Revolution, and which we are bound in honor fully and fairly to discharge. Besides, I have followed the lead of Washington through seven years of war and I have never been misled. His name is subscribed to this Constitution. He will not mislead us now. I shall vote for its adoption.

1. Printed: D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Merrimack and Belknap Counties, New Hampshire* (Philadelphia, 1885), 604. Webster (1739–1806), an owner of saw, grist, and cider mills in the town of Salisbury, was a veteran of the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War, serving as a captain in the latter. He held many town offices and served in both houses of the state legislature. Webster was also judge of the court of common pleas for Hillsborough County, 1791–1806. Daniel Webster, one of the greatest American statesmen in the first half of the nineteenth century, was one of his children.

The New Hampshire Convention
Saturday
21 June 1788

Convention Proceedings, 21 June 1788¹

The convention met according to adjournment—

Resumed the consideration of Mr. [Samuel] Livermores motion which being determined by the Convention in the affirmative—Motion was then made by Mr. [Joshua] Atherton seconded by Mr. [William] Hooper that the Convention adjourn to some future day, but it was negatived.—Motion was then made by Mr. Livermore seconded by Mr. [John] Langdon & others that the main question be now put for the adoption of the Constitution and the yeas and nays being called were as follows.²

Yeas

Mr. Langdon	Mr Gray	Mr Hall
Mr. Pickering	Mr Glidden	Mr Whitcomb
Mr Long	Mr Calfe	Mr Chamberlain
Mr Gilman	Mr Bettan	Mr Temple
Mr Blanchard	Mr Moody	Mr Bellows
Mr Adams	Mr [Ezra] Green	Mr [Joseph] Chase
Mr. Weeks	Mr Sullivan	Mr Griffin
Mr Goss	Mr Carr	Mr Kimball
Mr Prescut	Mr Hale	Mr Livermore
Mr Thurston	Mr. Bedee	Mr Worster
Mr Toppan	Mr Shannon	Mr Crawford
Mr Langdon	Mr Chesley	Mr Johnson
Mr Wiggin	Mr Hall	Mr Freeman
Mr Fogg	Mr Dakin	Mr Payne
Mr J Bartlett	Mr Abbott	Mr Simpson
Mr Stow Ranney	Mr Wilkins	Mr Patterson
Mr Rogers	Mr Morss	Mr Young
Mr T. Bartlett	Mr Gerrish	Mr Weeks
Mr Chadwick	Mr West	<hr/>
	Mr Shepherd	57 Yeas

Nays

Mr Runnels	Mr J Clough	Mr [Thomas] Chase
Mr McMurphy	Mr Smith	Mr Sleeper
Mr. B Clough	Mr Emery	Mr B Stone
Mr. Sias	Mr Fifield	Mr [Thomas] Dow

Mr Steward	Mr Page	Mr Parker
Mr. Palmer	Mr Kindrick	Mr Harvey
Mr Harper	Mr Atherton	Mr Thomas
Mr. Badger	Mr Barrett	Mr M Stone
Mr Hooper	Mr T Bixby	Mr Rommelee
Mr. Austin	Mr Jones	Mr Grout
Mr Page	Mr Cragin	Mr True
Mr Cummings	Mr Cochran	Mr Penniman
Mr Bixby	Mr Jona Dow	Mr Tainter
Mr Hunt	Mr [Jacob] Green	Mr Winch
Mr Taylor	Mr Bean	<u>Mr Hutchens</u>
Mr Dole ³	Mr Gaskill	47 Nays

[The Form of Ratification including the twelve proposed amendments appears here in the Journal. See the Form of Ratification, 21 June (immediately below).]

1. MS, Convention Journal, Nh-Ar, 31–39.

2. The yeas and nays were printed in the Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June, and the *New Hampshire Spy*, 8 July. The first names in brackets are from the *Oracle*.

3. Both the *Oracle* and the *Spy* did not include Stephen Dole in the list of those voting nay.

New Hampshire Form of Ratification, 21 June 1788¹

State of New Hampshire.—

IN CONVENTION of the Delegates of the PEOPLE of the STATE OF
NEW HAMPSHIRE June 21st. 1788—

The Convention haveing impartially discussed & fully considered the CONSTITUTION for the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, reported to Congress by the Convention of Delegates from the United States of America and submitted to us by a Resolution of the General Court of said State passed the fourteenth Day of December last past & acknowledging with grateful Hearts the goodness of the Supreme ruler of the Universe in affording the People of the UNITED STATES in the course of his Providence and Opportunity deliberately & peaceably without fraud or Surprize of entering into an explicit & solemn compact with each other by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestick Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of Liberty to themselves & their Posterity. DO IN the NAME, & behalf of the People of the STATE of NEW HAMPSHIRE assent to & ratify the said Constitution for the UNITED STATES of America & as it is the Opinion of this Convention that certain amendments & alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the

apprehensions of many of the good People of this State, and more effectually guard against an undue Administration of the federal Government.—The Convention do therefore recommend that the following Alterations & provisions be introduced into the said Constitution.—

First—That it be explicitly declared that all Powers not expressly & particularly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised.—

Secondly—That there shall be one Representative to every Thirty Thousand Persons according to the Census mentioned in the Constitution untill the whole number of Representatives amounts to two hundred—

Thirdly—That Congress do not Exercise the Powers vested in them by the fourth Section of the first Article, but in Cases when a State shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the People to a free and equal Representation in Congress, nor shall Congress in any case make regulations contrary to a free and equal Representation—

Fourthly—That Congress do not lay direct Taxes but when the money arising from Impost, Excise & their other resources are insufficient for the Publick Exigencies; nor then untill Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the STATES to assess Levy and pay their respective proportions of such requisition agreeably to the Census fixed in the said Constitution in such way and manner as the Legislature of the State shall think best, & in such case if any State shall neglect then Congress may assess & Levy such State's proportion together with the interest thereon at the rate of six Per Cent pr. Annum from the Time of payment prescribed in such requisition—

Fifthly—That Congress erect no Company of Merchants with exclusive advantages of Commerce.—

Sixthly—That No Person shall be Tryed for any Crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment or loss of Life untill he be first Indicted by a Grand Jury except in such Cases as may arise in the Government and regulations of the Land & Naval forces.—

Seventhly—All Common Law Cases between Citizens of different States, shall be commenced in the Common Law Courts of the respective STATES and no appeal shall be allowed to the federal Court in such Cases, unless the sum or value of the thing in controversy amount to Three Thousand Dollars.—

Eighthly—In Civil Actions between Citizens of different States, every Issue of fact arising in Actions at Common Law, shall be Tried by a Jury if the parties or either of them request it—

Ninthly—Congress, shall at no time consent that any Person holding an Office of Trust or profit under the UNITED STATES shall accept an

Title of Nobility or any other title or Office from any King, Prince or foreign STATE.—

Tenthly—That no Standing Army shall be kept up in Time of Peace, unless with the consent of three fourths of the Members of each branch of Congress nor shall Soldiers in Time of Peace be quartered upon private Houses without the Consent of the Owners.—

Eleventhly—Congress shall make no Laws touching Religion or to infringe the rights of Conscience—

Twelfthly—Congress shall never disarm any Citizen, unless such as are or have been in actual Rebellion.—

AND the CONVENTION, Do in the Name & behalf of the People of this State enjoin it upon their REPRESENTATIVES in Congress, at all Times until the alterations & provisions aforesaid have been considered agreeably to the fifth Article of the said Constitution to exert all their Influence & use all reasonable & Legal methods to obtain a Ratification of the sd. alterations & provisions in such manner as is provided in the said Article—And that the United States in Congress Assembled may have due notice of the assent & Ratification of the sd. Constitution by this Convention—IT IS RESOLVED That the assent & Ratification aforesaid be engrossed on Parchment together with the recommendation & Injunction aforesaid & with this Resolution & that John Sullivan Esqr. President of Convention & John Langdon Esqr. President of this State Transmit the same Countersigned by the Secretary of Convention & the Secretary of the State under their hands & Seals to the United States in Congress Assembled.—

John Calfe Secretary of Convention	Jno Sullivan, presidt of Convention
Joseph Pearson Sec'y. of State	John Langdon President of State

1. Transcribed from the retained engrossed manuscript located in the office of the New Hampshire secretary of state. The retained engrossed manuscript was found by John P. Kaminski in 1969 while doing research for the Ratification project in Concord, N.H. After searching the recently-opened State Archives, Kaminski visited the office of the secretary of state, where in a large office room, he spotted two documents rolled up like scrolls atop a metal supply cabinet. The documents were the engrossed retained form of ratification and the 1789 engrossed broadside of Congress' twelve proposed amendments to the Constitution. Kaminski immediately notified the officials of this unusual discovery.

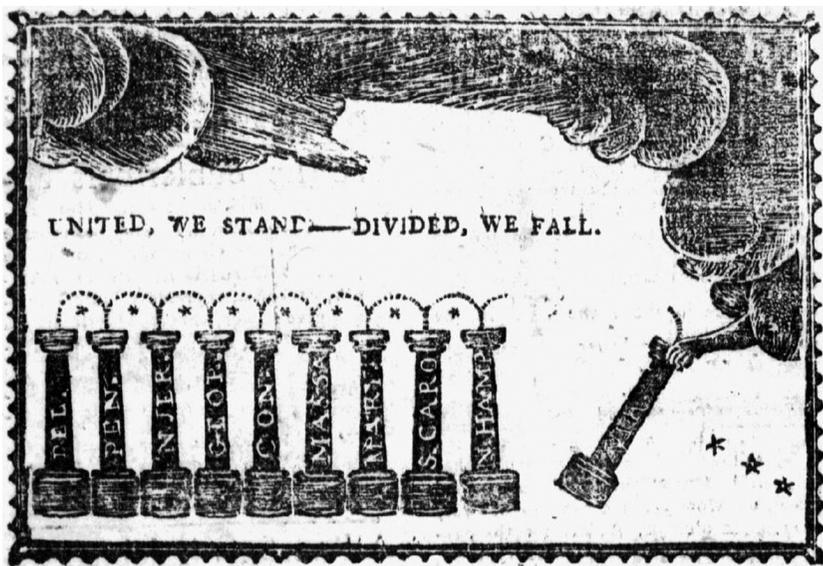
The engrossed manuscript sent to Congress is in RG 11, Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights . . . , 1787–92, DNA. This manuscript is damaged with a significant portion of the text being unreadable. A second copy made for the Bankson Journal is also in the National Archives. A copy of the engrossed manuscript in the National Archives was made for George F. Goodwin in 1869 and is located in the Vault Collection at the Massachusetts State Library. The Confederation Congress read the New Hampshire Form of Ratification on 2 July (PCC, Item 185, Despatch Books, 1779–89; JCC, XXXIV, 281). A pay voucher dated 4 November 1788 was made out for Samuel

Penhallow for £1.10 "For Engrossing 2 Copys on Parchment of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the State of New Hampshire." (Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, Nh-Ar). Two days later the state legislature approved the payment.

The Form of Ratification, including the proposed amendments, was printed in the *New York Journal*, 3, 10 July; *New York Daily Advertiser*, 4, 5 July; Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 8, 15 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 July; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 12 July; *Annapolis Maryland Gazette*, 17 July; *New Jersey Brunswick Gazette*, 22 July; *Maryland Journal*, 22 July; the July issue of the *New York American Magazine* (amendments omitted); and the August issue of the *Philadelphia American Museum*.

New Hampshire Spy, 24 June 1788¹

SOLI DEO GLORIA.



RATIFICATION of the NEW CONSTITUTION by the
STATE of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

*"Fame claps her wings, and sounds it to the skies."*²

PORTSMOUTH, June 24.

On Sunday morning last, we received the agreeable and interesting intelligence of the Ratification of the NEW CONSTITUTION by the Convention of this state, whereby we have, in effect, laid the top-stone to the grand FEDERAL EDIFICE, and happily raised the NINTH pillar. The joy which this event diffused through all ranks of citizens in this metropolis, is hardly conceivable—

*“Joy sat on every face without a cloud,
As in the day of op’ning Paradise.”*

Mutual congratulations took place, and public thanks was returned in all the churches. It being Lord’s day, no other testimonials of joy took place until Monday morning, at one o’clock, at which time the bells rung a joyful peal, several citizens paraded the streets with musick, saluting the members of Convention, (who had returned from Concord) other patriotic characters, &c.

The ratification took place on Saturday last, about two o’clock, P.M. Several gentlemen endeavoured to procrastinate the decision, by moving for an adjournment, but happily could not effect their purpose.

When the question was put, there appeared for the ratification,

Yeas,	57
Nays,	<u>46</u>
Majority,	11

Upon the ratification being declared, several of the minority declared, that as the Constitution had been ratified by a majority of the Convention, they would endeavour to influence their constituents to acquiesce with the decision.

The form of the Ratification we have not yet received.

The Convention having ratified the new Constitution, were of opinion that the following amendments and alterations in the same, would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this state, and at the same guard against an undue administration of the federal government, they therefore recommended that they be introduced into the said Constitution,

[The twelve proposed amendments appear here.]

On the glorious TWENTY FIRST of JUNE, 1788.

*On which day the Convention of New-Hampshire assented to and ratified the
NEW CONSTITUTION,*

*“Hail the DAY and MARK it well,
Then Old ANARCH’s Kingdom fell—
Then our dawning glory shown,
Mark it, FREEMEN, ’tis our own.”³*

Information being received that his Excellency, President LANGDON, was to arrive in town yesterday afternoon, Col. WENTWORTH’s corps of

Independent Horse, Capt. WOODWARD's company of Artillery, and Col. HILL's company of foot, severally paraded, and together with a very large number of gentlemen in carriages and on horseback, met his Excellency at Greenland, and escorted him into town, where he was received by a great number of citizens, who complimented his return with several federal cheers. During the procession's moving into town, the bells were rung, and every testimony of joy exhibited, which a grateful people are capable of expressing, or a federal patriot worthy of receiving.

When his Excellency and suite arrived within a mile of the town, Capt. Woodward's company of artillery honoured him with a federal salute.

What added greatly to the brilliancy of the scene was the appearance of a great number of ladies, whose smiling countenances bespoke that congeniality of sentiment, which ever ought to subsist between the sons and daughters of Adam.

1. Reprinted in whole or in part four times. All four reprints included the twelve amendments. The reprinting in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June, included an almost identical woodcut of the pillars illustration but it was introduced differently as "*The Ninth and sufficient Pillar Raised*. . . 'The ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution.['] AR. VII.'" The reprinting in the *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June, contained a simpler pillars illustration with the following caption: "Ratification of the Federal Constitution by New Hampshire." The reprintings in the *Massachusetts Spy*, 3 July, and the *Vermont Journal*, 14 July, did not contain the pillars illustration. Excerpts that do not include either the pillars illustration or the amendments were reprinted in eight newspapers by 30 July: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (1).

The New Hampshire amendments, either as part of the form of ratification or separately, were also reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 July; the August issue of the *Philadelphia American Magazine*, and in ten out-of-state newspapers by 22 July: N.Y. (4), N.J. (2), Pa. (2), Md. (2). In a widely reprinted item, the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 28 June, printed the following statement under the heading "AMENDMENTS to the Constitution proposed by the New-Hampshire Convention": "The last mails furnished us with these amendments.—The first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and eighth—almost verbatim with ours. The following are the remainder:—" The *Centinel* printed the seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth amendments. The *Centinel's* piece was reprinted twenty-three times by 30 July: Mass. (7), R.I. (3), Conn. (4), Pa. (4), Md. (1), Va. (4). For more on the newspaper reprintings of New Hampshire's amendments, see the note to the New Hampshire Form of Ratification, 21 June (RCS:N.H., 379n).

2. The phrase appeared in the preliminary matter to the following book: *Grammar of the English Tongue: With the Arts of Logick, Rhetorick, Poetry, &c.* . . . (London, 3rd edition, 1714). The first four words alone had appeared in James Thomson, *The Tragedy of Sophonisba*, Act II, scene 1 (London, 1730).

3. These four lines of poetry were first printed in the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 7 February, celebrating the ratification of the Constitution by the Massachusetts Convention on 6 February (RCS:Mass., 1606).

Commentaries on the Second Session of the New Hampshire Convention

Pierse Long to Paine Wingate
Portsmouth, N.H., 4 July 1788¹

My last was to congratulate you on this states acceding to the recommendation of Congress, by adopting the proposed Federal Government—I now if its not too late, will proceed in the information—

When the convention mett at Exeter in the Winter, they there debated the Constitution by paragraphs—and left no part of it undiscussed which plainly appeared at our meeting at Concord—as no new Idea was suggested—but the same hard worn out, dry arguments gone over again until both sides were quite tired out upon which we were determined to take the question—when we saw a probability of obtaining of it—if by a majority of one only—accordingly though we could count but upon that number—we took it, and to our surprise had a majority of Eleaven, three of the opposition were excused from Voting and One left the house—and three or four whom we did not expect, Voted in favr. of its adoption—upon which I renewedly give you a great deal of Joy—I sincerely hope for its adoption by New York & Virginia—

I now Congratulate you & your Honble. Colleague on your reellection to Congress—wish you both may be better supplied than heretofore—

It is indeed a great while since I have been honord with a line from you must impute it to a Multiplicity of business—hope to be favor'd soon. In the interim I am in Very great haste Your Assured friend and Most Obedt. Hum serv.

1. RC, Wingate Papers, NhHi.

Convention Delegate Attendance and Miles Travelled

The following table has been compiled from pages 2–15 of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New Hampshire, which adopted The Federal Constitution, 1788, at the New Hampshire State Archives.

Convention Delegate Attendance and Miles Travelled

Convention Delegates	Miles Travelled to Exeter	Wed., 13 February 1788	Thurs., 14 February 1788	Fri., 15 February 1788	Sat., 16 February 1788	Sun., 17 February 1788	Mon., 18 February 1788	Tues., 19 February 1788	Wed., 20 February 1788	Thurs., 21 February 1788	Fri., 22 February 1788	Miles Travelled to Concord	Wed., 18 June 1788	Thurs., 19 June 1788	Fri., 20 June 1788	Sat., 21 June 1788
William Abbott	104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Adams	30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	52	1	1	1	1
Aaron Allen ¹	192	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
Joshua Atherton	80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50	1	1	1	1
Nicholas Austin	102	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	1	1	1	1
Joseph Badger, Jr.	80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50	1	1	1	1
Charles Barrett	120	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	36	1	1	1	1
Josiah Bartlett	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	28	1	1	1	1
Thomas Bartlett	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18	1	1	1	1
Nathaniel Bean	124	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50	1	1	1	1
Daniel Bedee	136	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	56	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Bellows ²	60	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	35	1	1	1	1
James Betan	70	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
Daniel Bixby	120	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
Thomas Bixby	44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	1	1	1	1
Joseph Blanchard	34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
John Calfe	44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	45	1	1	1	1
Moses Carr	40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18	1	1	1	1
Edmund Chadwick	208	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	80	1	1	1	1
Moses Chamberlain		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1

Convention Delegates	Miles Travelled to Exeter	Wed., 13 February 1788	Thurs., 14 February 1788	Fri., 15 February 1788	Sat., 16 February 1788	Sun., 17 February 1788	Mon., 18 February 1788	Tues., 19 February 1788	Wed., 20 February 1788	Thurs., 21 February 1788	Fri., 22 February 1788	Miles Travelled to Concord	Wed., 18 June 1788	Thurs., 19 June 1788	Fri., 20 June 1788	Sat., 21 June 1788
Jonathan Chase	210	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Thomas Chase	20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
Jonathan Chesley	68	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Clough	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	41	1	1	1	1
Jeremiah Clough	80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1
John Cochran	104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	25	1	1	1	1
John Cragin	110	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	48	1	1	1	1
Thomas Crawford	166	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	44	1	1	1	1
Ebenezer Cummings	72	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	38	1	1	1	1
Amos Dakin	116	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	58	1	1	1	1
Samuel Daniels	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	1
Nathan Dix	124	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	26	1	1	1	1
Stephen Dole	76	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Evan Dow	120	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jonathan Dow	104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1	1	1	1
Thomas Dow	40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	36	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Emery	80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Uriel Evans	220	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stephen Fifield	50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	1	1
Jeremiah Fogg	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	45	1	1	1	1
Jonathan Freeman	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	62	1	1	1	1
Jonathan Gaskill	190	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	80	1	1	1	1

Convention Delegates	Miles Travelled to Exeter	Wed., 13 February 1788	Thurs., 14 February 1788	Fri., 15 February 1788	Sat., 16 February 1788	Sun., 17 February 1788	Mon., 18 February 1788	Tues., 19 February 1788	Wed., 20 February 1788	Thurs., 21 February 1788	Fri., 22 February 1788	Miles Travelled to Concord	Wed., 18 June 1788	Thurs., 19 June 1788	Fri., 20 June 1788	Sat., 21 June 1788
Abel Parker	144	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Isaac Patterson		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	1	1	1	1
Elisha Payne		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	56	1	1	1	1
John Pickering	30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	52	1	1	1	1
Thomas Pinneman	180	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	1	1	1	1
Henry Prescott	36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	55	1	1	1	1
Thomas Stow Ranney	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	40	1	1	1	1
John Remmele		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	45	1	1	1	1
Nathaniel Rogers	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	38	1	1	1	1
Daniel Runnels	44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
Nathaniel Shannon	140	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50	1	1	1	1
Oliver Shepherd	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Sias	60	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	1	1	1	1
William Simpson	236	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	80	1	1	1	1
Nehemiah Sleeper	20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	35	1	1	1	1
Ebenezer Smith	102	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	1	1	1
Jonathan Smith (Loudon)	80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	1	1	1	1
Jonathan Smith (Surry)	190	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Robert Steward	26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Stone	34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	37	1	1	1	1
Matthias Stone	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	55	1	1	1	1

VIII.
THE AFTERMATH OF RATIFICATION
IN NEW HAMPSHIRE
21 June–22 July 1788

VIII–A. News of New Hampshire Ratification
21 June–22 July 1788

**News of New Hampshire Ratification Sent to
New York and Virginia, 21 June–10 July 1788**

By the time that the New York Convention met in Poughkeepsie on 17 June 1788, eight states had ratified the Constitution. Under Article VII of the Constitution the ratification by nine states was sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution among the ratifying states. The Virginia Convention had begun meeting on 2 June and the New Hampshire Convention would begin meeting on 18 June. It was expected that New Hampshire would ratify the Constitution before either of the other two states. New York Federalists believed that ratification by New Hampshire would have a favorable effect upon the New York Convention. Therefore, in early June Alexander Hamilton and Rufus King wrote to John Sullivan and John Langdon in New Hampshire requesting that favorable news from the New Hampshire Convention be sent to New York.

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

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

At 1:00 P.M. on 25 June, the express rider, Colonel David Henley, left New York City for Virginia. He reached Philadelphia the next day. On 27 June,

Henley was in Baltimore, and before dawn on the 28th he arrived in Alexandria, where he met an express rider from Richmond bound for New York City with the news of Virginia's ratification. Instead of riding to Richmond himself, Henley sent the news of New Hampshire ratification to Madison, who received it on 29 June, two days after the Virginia Convention had adjourned. It had taken eight days to get the news of New Hampshire's ratification to Richmond.

See the documents below in this grouping. See also "The Federalist Express System Between the New Hampshire and New York Conventions," 4–16 June (RCS:N.H., 319–23) and "The Federalist Express System Between the New Hampshire, New York, and Virginia Conventions," 24–26 June (RCS:Va., 1672–75).

John Langdon to Alexander Hamilton
Concord, N.H., 21 June 1788¹

By the Desire of our Mutual Friend Rufus King Esqr. I have the great pleasure and satisfaction of informing you, that this State, has this day Adopted the federal Constitution this alimportant Question, was Carried by a Majority of Eleven 57 Yeas 46 Nays Excuse hast[e] and Believe me, with the greatest Respect

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

John Langdon to Rufus King
Concord, N.H., 21 June 1788²

The State of New Hampshire have this moment adopted the Federal Constitution, 57 yeas 46 Nays. I have sent on the Express to Springfield to Mr. Smith to forward Col. Hamilton's letter to Poukeepsee which I Inclosed him—Excuse haste

John Langdon to George Washington
Concord, N.H., 21 June 1788³

I have the great pleasure of informing your Excellency that this State has this day Adopted the Federal Constitution, 57 yeas 46 Nays thereby placing the Key Stone in the great Arch, this I hope will Apologize in some measure, for our heretofore Missdoings please to Excuse haste and Believe me with the highest Sum of Esteem and Respect

John Sullivan to Henry Knox
Concord, N.H., 21 June 1788⁴

one of Clock

My Dear sir

I have the pleasure to inform you that our Convention have this moment adopted the new Constitution yeas 57 nays 46 I congratulate you on the Event

William Smith to John Langdon
Springfield, Mass., 23 June 1788⁵

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

Philip Schuyler to James Madison
Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 24 June 1788⁶

This moment an express is arrived from New Hampshire, conveying the happy intelligence contained in a letter, of which you have a copy at bottom of this.⁷ Colonel Hamilton is in convention, and has requested me to forward this advice to you—

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

If the convention should rise, before the stage, which is now here, leaves this, Colo. Hamilton will probably write you by that Conveyance; Your letter of the 13th Arrived last Evening.⁸—

Edward Carrington, John Brown, and Cyrus Griffin to James Madison
New York, 25 June 1788⁹

The Inclosed¹⁰ this moment came to hand—contemplating the critical State of the subject it concerns in Virginia we thought it best to dispatch it by express, rather than depend on the progress of the post.

New York Journal, 26 June 1788¹¹

By EXPRESS.

Yesterday, at 12 h. noon, Mr. Kelsey¹² arrived in this city in *ten hours* from Poughkeepsie, with the important intelligence of the RATIFICATION of the CONSTITUTION, by the state of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

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

At half after twelve this letter was read in Congress. At one o'clock Col. Henley¹³ sat off, *express*, for Virginia, with the *joyful tidings*.

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

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

Alexander Hamilton to James Madison
*Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 27 June 1788*¹⁴

A day or two ago General Schuyler at my request sent forward to you an express with an account of the adoption of the Constitution by New Hampshire.¹⁵ We eagerly wait for further intelligence from you, as our only chance of success depends on you. There are some slight symptoms of relaxation in some of the leaders; which authorises a gleam of hope, if you do well: but certainly I think not otherwise—

New York Daily Advertiser, 27 June 1788¹⁶

The Boston papers received by last evening's post,¹⁷ inform that the minority in the Convention of New-Hampshire declared (seeing they were fairly out voted) that they would use their exertions that their constituents should live easy under it.—The amendments recommended, were nearly the same as in Massachusetts.

Maryland Journal, 27 June 1788¹⁸

☞ *Ten o'Clock, A. M.* An Express is just arrived in Town, from New-York, on his Way to Virginia, with the important Intelligence that the Convention of the State of New-Hampshire had ADOPTED and RATIFIED the NEW CONSTITUTION.—Majority 11.

*Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Country Journal, 1 July 1788*¹⁹

On Tuesday last [24 June] an express arrived in this town from his Excellency JOHN LANGDON, Esq; Governor of New-Hampshire, with the very interesting intelligence, that the Convention of that State, on the 21st of June last, adopted the new Constitution—that being the ninth State which has ratified the government, the old Confederation may be considered as completely dissolved, & we may very shortly expect to hear of steps taken by Congress to organize and give operation to the proposed system—A system which causes a new æra in the history of American affairs, and which it must be the wish of every benevolent mind, may produce freedom, happiness and prosperity of the States which have and which may still think proper to adopt it.

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

*John Sullivan to Alexander Hamilton
Durham, N.H., 10 July 1788*²⁰

Capt Roche²¹ who was employed by me in consequence of your direction to forward the news of New Hampshires having adopted the new Constitution called on me this Day with the Inclosed Account the Ballance of which I paid him in Cash and have taken the Liberty of drawing on you for the same with the addition of seven shillings more which is the Loss by Discount & postage at 3½ per Cent his Laming a horse was unfortunate but could not be avoided I shew him your Letter to me and in every respect complied with your directions and I have no Doubt of his having used every Exertion to fulfill your commands and as I have advanced the Cash I doubt not my Bill will be duly honoured

1. MS (copy), Madison Papers, DLC. On the back of his letter to James Madison, 24 June (RCS:N.H., 390), Philip Schuyler copied the letter from Langdon to Hamilton, 21 June. Schuyler was Hamilton's father-in-law. For more on Schuyler, see Schuyler to Madison, 24 June.

2. RC, King Papers, NHi. Addressed to King in "Boston/New York" and endorsed: "Hond. by Mr. Reed."

3. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Washington responded to Langdon on 20 July telling him that Virginia had also ratified and that "a spirit of harmony and acquiescence obtained among the large & respectable minority in as great a degree as could possibly have been expected." Washington also congratulated Langdon "on your elevation to the Chief Magistracy of your State" (RCS:Va., 1757).

4. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03905, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society. The address page

is endorsed “From Poughkeepsy,” indicating that the letter had been received in Poughkeepsy before it was sent to Knox in New York City. Perhaps the same express rider who carried Langdon’s 21 June letter to Hamilton also carried Sullivan’s letter to Knox.

5. RC, Langdon/Elwyn Papers, NhHi. Smith was a Springfield, Mass., merchant.

6. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Schuyler (1733–1804), a wealthy New York landowner, served in the Continental Congress, 1775, 1777, 1778–80, and as a major general in the Continental Army, 1775–79. He was a member of the New York Senate, 1780–84, 1786–90, 1792–97, and the U.S. Senate, 1789–91, 1797–98.

7. Schuyler copied the letter that John Langdon wrote to Alexander Hamilton, 21 June (RCS:N.H., 381). On 24 June Schuyler also wrote to his son-in-law Stephen Van Rensselaer informing him that “At twelve this day an express arrived with a letter from Governor Langdon (of New Hampshire) advising that the new Constitution was adopted, for it 57 against it 46. This event took place on Saturday last” (Autographs, Henkles Auction Sale Catalog, No. 1125 [23 January 1915], item 108).

8. Madison’s letter to Alexander Hamilton of 13 June has not been found, but for Hamilton’s reaction to it, see his 25 June letter to Madison (RCS:N.Y., 1226).

9. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Before the date appears this phrase: “½ after 12.” This letter, written by three of Virginia’s delegates to the Confederation Congress, was addressed to Madison who was sitting in the Virginia Convention and if he was not present it was supposed to be given to Governor Edmund Randolph, who was also a member of that Convention. Griffin was president of Congress.

10. The enclosure was Philip Schuyler’s letter to Madison, 24 June immediately (above).

11. The *New Hampshire Gazette*, 3 July, and *New Hampshire Spy*, 5 July, reprinted portions of this item with modifications. The item was also reprinted in whole or in part in nine other newspapers by 8 July: Mass. (4), Conn. (3), N.Y. (1), N.J. (1). The reprinting in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July, added a one-sentence paragraph: “We are happy to hear that the utmost harmony subsists at Poughkeepsie, notwithstanding the difference of sentiment which prevails.” The *Norwich Packet*, 3 July, and *New Hampshire Spy*, 5 July, included this paragraph in their reprintings.

12. Possibly Jonas Kelsey of Poughkeepsie, who seems to have been a horse trader.

13. David Henley of Fairfax, Va., was one of three commissioners to settle Virginia’s claims against the United States.

14. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

15. See Philip Schuyler to James Madison, 24 June (RCS:N.H., 390).

16. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal*, 2 July.

17. See the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 25 June (RCS:N.H., 402).

18. Reprinted in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* and *Virginia Herald* on 3 July.

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

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

21. Perhaps Captain John Roche of Concord, N.H., who had been an officer in the Continental Navy during the Revolutionary War. Roche was a friend of John Langdon, who like Sullivan, was a delegate to the New Hampshire Convention. Early in the Revolution, Langdon had built the *Ranger*, with the assistance of Roche who had suggested its construction to Congress and who had helped to design it. Roche was expected to command the vessel, but he was suspended from the naval service because of a complaint

lodged by the Massachusetts Council that he was “a person of doubtful character.” The command of the *Ranger* was given to John Paul Jones.

Samuel Parker to Samuel Peters

Boston, 21, 23 June 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . A Spirit of Resentment & Revenge is not becomg a Christian much less a Clergyman. You seem to think us the most unhappy People in the World because we are not blessed with that Constitution of Government & those rulers whom you yourself condemn as acting only by bribes & Corruption. It is true our Government has not been efficient or perfect, But we expect this day to hear that Virginia or New Hampshire have erected the ninth Pillar of that federal Edifice which is the Envy of the European Powers but wh[ic]h you think resembles nothing in heaven Earth or Hell. . . .

I therefore subscribe myself your Friend & Brother
PS June 23 New Hampshire has adopted the federal Constitution by a Majority of 57 to 46. Thus the keystone of the building is fixed. . . .

1. RC, The Howard Chandler Robbins Collection of Bishops' Papers, General Theological Seminary Library, New York City. This letter was addressed to Peters at Pimlico in London. Parker (1744–1804), a native of Portsmouth, N.H., and a 1764 graduate of Harvard College, was Rector of Trinity Church in Boston. In 1789 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania. Peters (1735–1826), a 1757 graduate of Yale College and a native of Hebron, Conn., was rector of the Anglican Church in Hebron from 1760 to 1774. As an active Loyalist, he was driven from Connecticut and fled to Boston. Under the protection of the British, he left for England from Portsmouth in October 1774 and did not return to America until 1805.

Tobias Lear to George Washington

Portsmouth, N.H., 22 June 1788¹

My dear Sir

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Constitution was yesterday adopted by the Convention of this State after a Session of four days; the number in favor of the adoption was 57—against it 46. The majority,—tho' small, is very respectable, as it is pretty well ascertained that at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of the property, & a larger proportion of the abilities in the State are friendly to the proposed system.—The opposition here (as has generally been the case) was composed of men who were involved in debt; and of consequence would be averse to any government which was likely to abolish their tender Laws and cut off every hope of accomplishing their favorite plan of introducing a paper currency.—The behaviour of the minority (except a few) was however candid &

conciliatory; and the event was peculiarly pleasing to every inhabitant of this town & its vicinity.

The Independent Companies of Horse & the Militia will assemble tomorrow to conduct his Excellency President Langdon into town, but whether there will be any procession, as has been exhibited in other places on the occasion I do not know, but think there will not

I take the liberty to enclose a copy of the amendments recommended by this Convention; they were drawn up more with a view of softening & conciliating the adoption to some who were moderate in their opposition than from an expectation that they would ever be engrafted in the Constitution.

I hope to be at Mount Vernon some time in the latter part of July or first of Augt.—my inclination would lead me there sooner was that alone to be consulted, but there are several matters to be settled relative to my father's Estate which require my attention, and which will detain me in this part of the Continent a few weeks longer than I expected.

You will be so obliging as to give my best respects to Mrs. Washington—and be assured that I am, My dear Sir, With the warmest affection & highest respect,

P:S. The Constitution was ratified on Saturday at 1 P.M.: I am thus particular as Virginia might have adopted it on the same day, & in that Case the hour must be known to determine which was the ninth State.—

[Then follows the twelve New Hampshire amendments on a separate sheet of paper.]

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Lear (1762–1816), a native of Portsmouth, the son of a wealthy merchant and shipmaster, and a 1783 graduate of Harvard College, had been Washington's private secretary since 1786, holding that office until 1793. He took part in the public debate over the ratification of the Constitution and on 22 November 1787 he published "Brutus" in the Alexandria *Virginia Journal*, criticizing George Mason's widely circulated objections to the Constitution (RCS:Va., 174–75. For Mason's objections, see "The New Hampshire Reprinting of George Mason's Objections to the New Constitution," 27–28 November 1787 [RCS:N.H., 53–55].) In 1787 and 1788 Lear carried on a correspondence with John Langdon in which they exchanged information on the prospects for ratification in New Hampshire and Virginia. In June 1788, Lear was visiting his family in Portsmouth.

Joshua Atherton to John Lamb
Amherst, N.H., 23 June 1788¹

Gentlemen,

Your Goodness in conveying to me the Pamphlets² together with your Sentiments on the present Crisis of Affairs expressed in the Duplicate of your Favor of the fourteenth last and your Favor of the sixth Instant

(received last Friday Morning)³ demand my sincerest and most gratefull Acknowledgments.

I had not Time to avail myself of the federal Farmer's Sentiments, and have yet had only Time to gallop through that candid Performance.

Mr. Martin's Information to the Legislature of Maryland I received from a Friend the Day I set out to Convention had not Time to possess myself but of a very small part of his Sentiments. Is it not surprising how these Pamphlets have been kept back?⁴

Those in Sentiment with me in our Convention being against an Adjournment, I found the bringing on the all Important Question this Session unavoidable—being also fully in Sentiment myself that all things considered a better Opportunity would not offer. Having settled the important Point that the final Question must come on, both Parties, on Saturday last closed in motion to have it put—

When the gilded Pill was swallowed by a Majority of Ten out of one hundred and four Members present.

Their having so small a Majority, notwithstanding they had all the Weight and Influence of the Men now in Office, together with all the Speakers in the State great and small; gave them but little Cause of Triumph, and indeed they retired with few Marks of Satisfaction.

I believe it will be conceded by all, that they did not carry their Point by Force of Argument and Discussion; but by other Means, which were it not for the Depravity of the humane Heart, would be viewed with the warmest Sentiments of Disapprobation.

I feel a mutual Pleasure with you in the happier Prospect before you, and the decided Majority you have in your Convention whose patriotic Boosoms are, notwithstanding the general Lethurgy, s[t]ill warmed with the Love of their Country, and those glorious Principles of patriotic political Liberty; without the secureing and Observance of which, every Community must be miserable in the Extreme.

To you perhaps our America must owe the indelible Honour of chaining and reducing within proper Bounds this young Lion, fostered by so many States, and permitted to run rampant trampling under Foot all our Bulworks of Liberty.

Will the Convention of new York, who have it in their Power to stop the Career of Influence; permit the thirteen Pillars to be bent down, in Stead of being supported; and one great Collosus erected in the Room thereof which shall stand astride of all the States? Be all the Glory yours if the other States desert you! and rest assured that a great Majority of the Citizens of New Hampshire give you their warmest Wishes of Success.—

P. S.—There now remain but two immediate Methods of Opposition.

The State Legislatures may refuse to make the Regulations for Choice of Members of the new Congress—untill proper Assurances of Amendments: but by this they will forego their Influence in Congress—If a new Congress can be obtained, which shall contain a Majority for stopping the Operation of the new System till the Amendments are incorporated, we shall have immediate Redress.

Inclosed I send our Amendments⁵ which are to go recommended, they were made in great Haste—and I think others ought to be added. will not the extending the Judicial Power to Controversies between a State and Citizen of another State expose every State to be Sued in the new Court, on their public Securities holden by Citizens of other States? May not Foreigners bring Actions and oblige Citizens to answer in parts of the united States most remote from them?

I think Congress ought to be obliged to coin all the lawfull Money of the united States according to a certain Standard to be by them fixed, and that it shall not be in their power to alter the Standard or the Value of Money once coined—Otherwise we may be as much cheated by debasing and enhancing the Value as by the Paper Money—and I think it unsafe to leave these Articles to future Legislation—which indeed may, or may not establish the Credit of America upon a sure Basis—

Our Legislature does not sit very soon,⁶ and I see not why they may not propose amendments in gross or additional ones—A Communication therefore with New York may be very beneficial—more especially as there is a great Majority in our House of Representatives unfavourable to the Constitution.

After all Amendments, I am fully of Opinion that it will be a compleat Consolidation of the States, and will eventually, unless a general Opposition should take place, swallow up the Sovereignty of the several States.

I like not the Plan, Congress ought still to be kept a great Committee of the sovereign and independant States, a Single Body, appointed by the State Legislatures; and *not themselves a supreme organized Legislature.*

I think it a great Omission in our Amendments that the federal City was not curtailed, and hope you will supply the Defect—According to it's present Dimensions it will hold four Millions of Inhabitants. Will not three Miles square be quite sufficient?

⟨Four Millions of People, with Congress in their City, may overbear, and influence a decided Majority into their own Measures—

[P. P. S.] You will have the Goodness to forward the Inclosed to the Honble. Mr. Lansing [i.e., John Lansing, Jr.]—

Your Candor, and the great Haste in which I write will pardon Inaccuracies—My Anxiety will be great to know the Proceedings of your Convention and especially your Amendments—

Should Virginia ratify the Constitution and only recommend Amendments, will it not be best for New York to do the same, and throw her whole weight into the new Congress on the Side of the proper Amendments? I think not, her wholly standing out will have the most Weight—⁷

1. RC, Lamb Papers, NH. The letter, addressed to John Lamb and the other members of the New York Federal Republican Committee and written two days after the New Hampshire Convention had ratified the Constitution, is in the handwriting of two persons, one of whom was possibly Atherton. On 26 June Atherton sent a duplicate of this letter to Lamb in which some paragraphs were combined, the first postscript was incorporated into the body of the letter, and the text in angle brackets was omitted. For a significant textual difference between the two letters, see note 6 (below).

2. The pamphlets included *An Additional Number of Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican . . .*, which was offered for sale in New York City on 2 May (CC:723). It was a continuation of a pamphlet of five letters written by “Federal Farmer,” which was published in New York City in November 1787 (CC:242). Other pamphlets that were probably included were “A Columbian Patriot” (Mercy Otis Warren) (CC:581) and “A Plebeian” (perhaps written by Melancton Smith) (CC:689). “A Columbian Patriot” was printed in Boston in late February 1788, while “A Plebeian” was printed in New York City in mid-April.

3. For a similar letter that Lamb sent to Nathaniel Peabody on 18 May, see RCS:N.H., 311–13. For the 6 June letter, see RCS:N.H., 325–26.

4. For the pamphlet version of Luther Martin’s *Genuine Information*, which was printed in Philadelphia and first advertised for sale on 12 April 1788, see CC:678. For the charge that Federalists delayed the circulation of newspapers that contained Martin’s serialized “Genuine Information,” see CC:Vol. 4, pp. 544–45.

5. For the New Hampshire amendments adopted on 21 June, see RCS:N.H., 377–78. A copy of them is in the Lamb Papers at the New-York Historical Society.

6. Scheduled to convene in late December, the New Hampshire legislature met in special session in November to prepare for the first federal elections.

7. The text in angle brackets is in a different handwriting. In the 26 June letter this postscript was added: “I received your Fav. of the 14th. May several weeks past—and wrote in answer by Mr. Woodworth, who bro’t me Letters from the Honble. Mr Lansing & others—Mr. Woodworth sat out 14th. Instant for New Haven, and I dare say has taken proper Care to forward the Letters—As I wrote in Haste, it was not in my power to Copy, and cannot send a Duplicate.” Woodworth was probably carrying Atherton’s letter of 11, 14 June (RCS:N.H., 331–33). John Woodworth, a 1788 graduate of Yale College who then studied law with John Lansing, Jr., in Albany, was the probable courier of the letter.

**Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 23 June 1788¹**

4. oClock. PM

It is with pleasure that I Inform you that the Convention of this State on the 21st Instant ratified the Constitution and for any thing we know of, have the *hono’r* to be the State that puts the Corner or top Stone

to the Federal Edifice. you may say we need something to Ballance our *disgrace* before—be it so.—all I wish is to be equal—and as we have no Accounts of Virginias ratifying it we must be allowd some Credit—
 we are all in a hubbub here light horsemen Artillery &c &c muster'd
 & going out to meet his Excellency President Langdon—
 I must Conclude in haste sr yr Friend & Hum Servant

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.

Joseph Whipple to Nicholas Gilman
Portsmouth, N.H., 23 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I cannot close my letter without Sincerely congratulating you on the happy event of New Hampshire Adopting the Federal Constitution or plan of Government, which was ratified in Convention at Concord on Saturday. last—Official Accots. of which you doubtless have by this post.—When we consider our long acquaintance with paper money & tender laws—those nourishers of iniquity & destroyers of Morality it is not to be wondered at that the Majority was only Eleven—I hope now to see a Speedy establishment of this Constitution in which you will have at least eleven States.—Presidt. Langdon is sanguine in his dependence on New York—I wish I may be disappointed in thinking differently—the result of their convention is known to you ere this—we are in the midst of rejoicing on the decision of the Convention—which hastens me to assure you that I am

1. RC, Misc. Coll., HM 15884, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Whipple (c. 1738–1816), a Portsmouth merchant, was a delegate to the state House of Representatives, 1776–78, 1782–83, 1785, and state collector of impost in Portsmouth, 1786–89. In August 1789 he became U.S. collector for the Port of Portsmouth.

New Hampshire Recorder, 24 June 1788

NINTH PILLAR,
 RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION BY THE
 STATE OF *New-Hampshire*.

Last Sunday Evening the Rev. AARON HALL, Delegate from this Town to the Convention of this State, arrived in Town from Concord, with the pleasing intelligence of the Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the Hon. Convention of this State, on Saturday last.—On the question being put, there appeared

For the Ratification,	57
Against it,	46
Majority,	11

Four Members did not vote on either side.

The question being carried, his Excellency the President addressed the Convention with a very pathetic¹ and animating speech, and congratulated them upon the advantages which the United States would derive from a permanent and efficient Federal government.

A number of gentlemen in the opposition, expressed their determination to return home and use their endeavours to induce the people to live quietly under the new government.—The Convention then dissolved, and walked in procession to a public house, where they partook of refreshment, which was provided at the expence of his Excellency the President. Thirteen Amendments are proposed,² which, with other particulars, we expect to publish in our next.

1. "Pathetic" means moving, passionate, or in earnest.

2. For the New Hampshire Convention's twelve proposed amendments, see RCS:N.H., 377–78.

Ezra Stiles Diary

New Haven, Conn., 25 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . This day at 1½h P.M. arrived in this City the News of the Adoption of the new foederal Constitution by the State of New Hampshire (sittg at Concord) on *h* last or 21st. Inst; Yeas 57 Nays 46, Majority 11. This is the IXth State, So now the new Constitution is ratified i,e literally—but if N York, Virga. & No Caro, should not accede, it will yet be some time before the Ratification may be considered as completely established. The Swiss Cantons, & the Belgic Provinces were several years in accedg one after another to their respective foederal Systems, but at length they came in. So I hope & expect that Virga &c will. If Virga does No Caro will. N York will at present be most probably negative. Rh. Isld will come to her Senses again after recoverg from the Frenzy of Paper Money.

As soon as the News arrived the four Bells in the City were set a Ringing, & the foederal Flag displayed and foederal Discharges of Canon—& Rejoycing

1. MS, Beinecke Library, Yale University. Stiles (1727–1795), a 1746 graduate of Yale College, served as a tutor there from 1749 to 1755. He was licensed to preach in 1749 and was admitted to the New Haven County bar in 1753. In 1755 he was ordained a Congregational minister and served as pastor of churches in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire until 1778, when he accepted the presidency of Yale College. Stiles served in that capacity until his death.

Noah Webster to Isaiah Thomas

New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

This day we have recd the intelligence that the *Ninth* State has ratified the Federal Constitution. This Constitution will place the regulation of

literary property in the power of Congress, & of course the existing laws of the several states will be superseded by a Federal law. This will enable me to enter into new contracts with respect to the publication of the Institute.² . . .

1. RC, Thomas Papers, American Antiquarian Society. Thomas (1749–1831)—America's leading publisher of books, pamphlets, and almanacs and the printer of the Worcester *Massachusetts Spy*—employed 150 persons at seven presses, a paper mill, and a bindery. Benjamin Franklin called him the “Baskerville of America.” He retired wealthy in 1802. In 1810 Thomas published *The History of Printing in America* and two years later founded the American Antiquarian Society.

2. A reference to Webster's three part *A Grammatical Institute, of the English Language* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1783–85) (Evans 18297, 18871, 19364). Part I was a speller, II a grammar, and III a reader.

Paine Wingate to Hannah Wingate

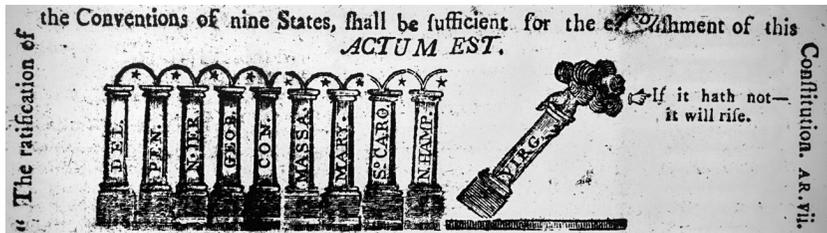
New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpts)¹

My dear friend

I am very happy at this moment having within the hour past received the good news of New Hampshire adopting the New Constitution. This is an event of great consequence & diffuses universal joy. The nine pillars are now erected, upon which the new building will stand, even if there should be no more props added; but we hope yet for all thirteen states in due time, which will add stability & beauty to the fabrick. You will excuse my filling any part of my letter with politicks to a lady. I write from the fulness of my heart & what possesses my mind at this juncture. I also know that you are a mighty political madam, & a staunch federalist. . . . As Capt. Jona Wiggim I doubt not voted for the new constitution please to give my affectionate regards to him & tell him that I thank him for his services & congratulate him upon the event. . . .

1. RC, Wingate Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 192–93. Paine Wingate was probably addressing Hannah Veazie Wingate, the wife of his cousin Joshua Wingate, who, like Paine Wingate, was living in Stratham, N.H. (Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 158n).

Massachusetts Centinel, 25 June 1788



NINTH and the SUFFICIENT PILLAR.

We felicitate our readers on the accession to confederation of the State of New Hampshire—not only because it completes (if Virginia hath not *previously*) the number of States necessary for the establishment of the Constitution; but because it is a *frontier*, a *neighbouring*, and really to us a *SISTER* State. Our predictions and wishes have been that the New-Hampshire *PILLAR* would rise—and we rejoice that we now have it in our power to *RAISE* it from the “*STOOL of repentence*,” on which it hath done penance these four months, and to give it a place as one of the noble *PILLARS* of the *GREAT NATIONAL DOME*. The good tidings of this event were announced in this metropolis on Sunday last, by Mr. REED, of this town, who came express from Concord, and who brought the following letter from the Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN, President of the Convention, to his Excellency the Governour, viz.

“*Concord, June 21, 1788.*”

“*SIR—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, by favour of Mr. Reed, who is obliging enough to forward this letter, that the Convention of this State have this moment adopted the new Constitution—Yeas 57—Nays 46. The Amendments recommended nearly the same as in your State. With every sentiment of respectful attachment, I have the honour to be your Excellency’s most obedient servant,*

“*JOHN SULLIVAN.*”

“*Governour HANCOCK.*”

On this event joy was visible in every countenance, and the bells in the several churches in this town testified to the pleasure which filled the breast of every citizen, by a peal of several hours length.

The minority of New-Hampshire imitated that of Massachusetts, after the decision.

Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet
25 June 1788

NINTH PILLAR!

On Saturday last the Convention of New-Hampshire *ASSENTED TO* and *RATIFIED* the Federal Constitution—Yeas 57—Nays 46—Majority, 11.

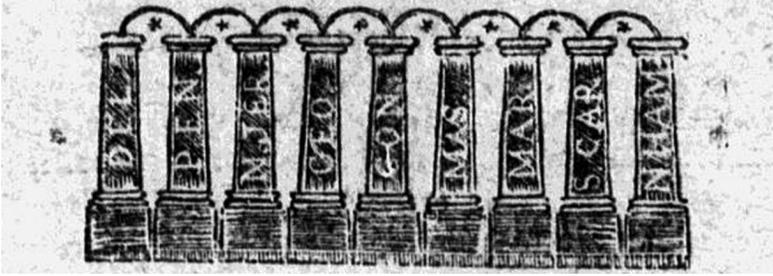
The amendments recommended are nearly the same as those recommended by the Convention of this state.

We hear that the minority, with a truly republican spirit, declared (seeing they were fairly out-voted) that they would use their influence to induce their constituents to live peaceably under the new government.¹

1. The last paragraph was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 2 July.

Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 25 June 1788

IMPORTANT NINE!



☞ LAUS DEO!! !

We have the *very great pleasure* to announce to our readers, from *indisputable* authority, that on Saturday last the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION was *accepted* and *ratified* in the Convention of New-Hampshire, by a majority of *eleven*—the votes standing 57 for, and 46 against it.

1. Latin: Praise God.

Boston Independent Chronicle, 26 June 1788

The Ninth PILLAR erected!

“The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same.” *Art. vii.*

INCIPIENT MAGNI PROCEDERE MENSES.¹

The arrival of Mr. *Reed*, on Sunday last, from Concord, New-Hampshire, with the NEWS of the adoption of the New Federal System by the Convention of that State, at two o'clock, P. M. on Saturday last, diffused unusual joy through all ranks in this metropolis,—as by this

great event, the Federal Edifice is reared, and the future good government of the States in general secured to the people. On the question for adoption, the decision appeared as follows:

For the Constitution,	57
Against it,	<u>46</u>
Majority,	11

Mr. *Reed* was honoured with dispatches from His Excellency John Sullivan, Esquire, President of New-Hampshire Convention, to His Excellency Governour Hancock—the contents of which follows.—

[For the text of this letter, see the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 25 June (RCS:N.H., 402).]

The bells in the several churches, on Monday morning, testified to the pleasure which filled the breast of every citizen, on this pleasing event.

The inhabitants of Roxbury also testified their extreme pleasure on the arrival of this important intelligence, by the same demonstrations of joy.

1. Latin: “The mighty months commence their march” (Virgil, *Eclogues*, Book IV, line 12).

Pittsfield, Mass., Berkshire Chronicle, 26 June 1788

We have the satisfaction of announcing to the public, the erection of the NINTH PILLAR in the fabrick of FREEDOM and UNION, by the adoption of the New Federal Constitution by the State of New-Hampshire, on Saturday last.

James Cogswell Diary

Windham, Conn., 27 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . read the Hartford paper little News in it: The News is by a Hand bill from President Sullivan that N.H. have adopted the Constitution. . . .

1. MS, Connecticut Historical Society. Cogswell (1720–1807), a 1742 graduate of Yale College, was pastor of the Congregational Church in Scotland Parish, Windham, Conn., from 1772 to 1804. In 1790 Yale granted him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

John Langdon to Nicholas Gilman

Portsmouth, N.H., 28 June 1788¹

(private)

I wrote you from Concord² that our state had adopted the feederal Constitution the particulars of which you’ve received ere this. two ex-

presses were immediately dispatc[h]ed to New-York Convention at Pough-keepsie, which I hope will have the desired effect, several of your favors I received in good time thank you for the Communication contained, have not been able to answer them in order which your goodness will excuse.—

We are in high spirits evry order of people seem highly pleased. Inclosed you have a paper giving an account of the Celabration of the adoption of the new Constitution at this place.³ President Sullivan and myself forwarded the ratification on Thursday last ~~39~~ mail which you'll receive before this comes to hand.⁴ I most heartily congratulate you on our success.

Believe me Very Respectfully Dear Sir Your Mo[st] Obdt S[ervan]t
[P.S.] My kind respects to Mr Wingate

1. RC, tipped into J. Fenimore Cooper, *The History of the Navy* (2 vols., London, 1839), I, 84, NHi.

2. Langdon had written to Gilman on 21 June (not found) and on 29 June Gilman replied (immediately below).

3. See the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June, for an account of the Portsmouth celebration of New Hampshire ratification (RCS:N.H., 426–32).

4. For the transmittal of the New Hampshire Form of Ratification, which was signed by President of the Convention John Sullivan and New Hampshire state president John Langdon, see RCS:N.H., 378.

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon New York, 29 June 1788¹

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 21st instant² and most heartily rejoice with you on the accession of our State to the new System of Government,—the more especially as it is the ninth; which cannot fail of defusing general joy throughout our Nation and among the friends of mankind in Countrys where freedom & happiness is less known.—

Permit me, Sir, to Congratulate you on the renewed testimonial of public Esteem in your being again called by the voice of the people to the chief seat of Government—in which I most sincerely wish you all the pleasure & satisfaction that can arise from universal applause.—I have the pleasure to inform you that by letters of the 20th instant received last evening from Virginia there is good reason to believe that there will be a majority of five or six of their Convention in favor of the Question should this take place—North Carolina will undoubtedly follow—but what turn the Question will take in New York is at present uncertain as there is still an inflexible majority in the opposition.—

As it may at times be useful & necessary to make communications to the President which would be improper for the public Eye I must beg leave to request that my letters addressed to the president may be considered as private communications and such letters or such parts only made known to the Legislature as the public good may require—I am induced to make this request in consequence of an Idea that seems to have obtained in our Court that all letters from members of Congress to His Excellency the President are of a public nature and must be read in Court.—I beg leave to observe that gentlemen here seem impatient to see the ratification of the new Government by New Hampshire—and will not add but to assure you of the sincere Respect & Esteem with which I have the Honor to be

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Strawbery Banke, Portsmouth, N.H.

2. This letter has not been found, but on 21 June Langdon also wrote to Alexander Hamilton, Rufus King, and George Washington. (See RCS:N.H., 389.)

Henry Knox to John Sullivan
New York, 29 June 1788¹

I thank you for your kind favor of the 21st from Concord, announcing the highly important and satisfactory information of the adoption of the Constitution by New Hampshire²

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

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

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

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

1. RC, Sullivan Papers, NhHi.

2. For Sullivan's letter to Knox, 21 June, see RCS:N.H., 390.

New York Daily Advertiser, 1 July 1788¹

The ratification of New-Hampshire has at length completed the Federal Edifice, which will prove a refuge from the storms and tempests of anarchy and divided empire.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 July; *Massachusetts Spy*, 17 July.

New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati Annual Meeting Exeter, N.H., 4 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

The Society of the Cincinnati met, the Prest and Vice Prest being Absent Major Mills was appointed Prest pro Tempore: Then proceeded to the Choice of Officers for the ensuing year—

The Ballots being called for the following Gentlemen were elected.

His Excellency Genl [John] Sullivan	Prest
Genl [Joseph] Cilley	Vice Prest
Major [Jeremiah] Fogg ²	Secy
Colo M[ichael] McClary	Treasurer
Major [Jonathan] Cass	Vice Treasurer. . . .

Voted That a Letter be transmitted from this Society to the Prest Genl signed by the Prest and Countersigned by the Secy congratulating him and the Genl Society on the Ratification of the federal Constitution in this State manifesting our hearty approbation thereof. . . .

1. Printed: *Journal of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati*, A. S. Batchellor, ed., *Early State Papers of New Hampshire*, Vol. XXII (Concord, 1893), Appendix, p. 788.

2. Jeremiah Fogg (1749–1808), a lawyer, a 1768 Harvard graduate, and an officer in the Continental Army, 1775–83, represented Kensington in the state Convention and voted to ratify the Constitution.

John Sullivan to George Washington
Durham, N.H., 7 July 1788¹

I am directed by the Society of the Cincinnati in New Hampshire to convey their congratulations to your Excellency, and to the Society in general, on the ratification of the new Constitution, by a sufficient number of States, not only to establish it as a national form of Government, but thereby to fix upon a permanent basis those liberties, for which, under the direction and order of your Excellency, they have so cheerfully contended.

They now view with inexpressible pleasure the arrival of that happy period, when by the establishment of a truly republican, energetic and efficient national Government, they and their posterity may enjoy those blessings, which as Freemen, they esteem an ample reward for all the toils and dangers, which they experienced in the course of a long and perilous war.

I have the honor to be with the most exalted sentiments of esteem and respect, your Excellencys most obedient Servant

Jno. Sullivan By order of the society

Jere Fogg Sec'y.

1. Copy, Sullivan Papers, MHi. Washington responded on 1 September (Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 375n).

William Jackson to John Langdon
Philadelphia, 8 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 28th. ultimo² this morning—and most sincerely reciprocate your gratulations on the establishment of the federal constitution—It has been the peculiar happiness of New Hampshire to crown the staff of government with the true cap of Liberty³ and social happiness—an act that would have effaced the remembrance of all the measures of Rhode Island—and which revives the lustre of your happier days. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Strawberry Banke, Portsmouth, N.H.

2. Not found.

3. The cap of liberty, or Phrygian cap, in the Roman Empire was given to manumitted slaves to wear as a symbol of liberty. Not only was the cap evidence of a slave's freedom, it also indicated that his descendants would be considered citizens of the empire. In Revolutionary America, the cap became a symbol of freedom.

Charleston City Gazette, 22 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

The TENTH PILLAR RAISED.

“If Angels from the skies descend,
’Twill be the federal building to defend.”

Yesterday arrived here the sloop Maria, Capt. Elliot, from New York, who brings advice, that on the 21st of June the convention of New Hampshire ratified the federal constitution—This important question was carried by a majority of eleven. Ayes 57—Nays 46.² . . . We may therefore with certainty congratulate our fellow citizens on the pleasing prospect of living under a form of government calculated, as its preamble states, To establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

1. Reprinted: *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 24 July, without the pillars illustration. The *City Gazette* published for the first time on 28 May its unique dome and pillars illustration showing the states that ratified the Constitution (RCS:S.C., 442). The *Gazette* modified the image with its dome woodcut as states followed South Carolina in ratifying. The state

columns run south to north, starting with Georgia on the left and ending with New Hampshire on the right. The missing states are (from left to right) North Carolina, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island.

2. The deleted portion of this item deals with procedural matters in the New York Convention and the prediction that North Carolina would ratify the Constitution.

VIII–B. Celebrations of New Hampshire Ratification 22 June–4 July 1788

Celebrations usually occurred after each state ratified the Constitution. Most celebrations were spontaneous responses to the news of ratification, but more elaborate planning and larger celebrations started taking place with Boston's procession in February 1788 (RCS:Mass., 1615–26). In early celebrations thirteen cannon firings and toasts often occurred. As the number of ratifying states increased, the celebrants highlighted the number of the "Pillar" just added to the grand federal edifice. New Hampshire, as the ninth state to ratify, was particularly important because its ratification started to implement the Constitution among the ratifying states. New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution on 21 June and the anniversary of American independence on 4 July prompted some towns to celebrate both events on the Fourth of July.

Accounts of celebrations of New Hampshire's ratification are printed for six New Hampshire towns and eighteen out-of-state towns. (For additional celebrations in Elkton, Frederick, and Talbot, Maryland, and in Little Compton, Rhode Island, see RCS:Md., 751–54, 755–56, and RCS:R.I., 344–46n.) These celebrations included bell ringing, firing cannon and muskets, music, huzzas, toasts, dinners, orations, militia marching and movements, flag displays, and miniature ships. Evening activities included bonfires, fireworks, illuminations of windows, and balls. The presence and participation of women is sometimes highlighted. Elaborate processions took place in Portsmouth, Dover, and Keene in which public officials, ministers, students, and tradesmen and artisans marched as groups, often with some emblem of their craft.

Occasionally people complained about too many celebrations. Paine Wingate, a New Hampshire delegate to Congress, wrote his cousin's wife that he was "tired with reading pompous accounts of the processions in every part of the Country" (Wingate to Hannah Wingate, 21 July, RCS:N.H., 462). Accounts often comment on how well behaved the celebrants were, but a unique account of a celebration in Windham, Connecticut, condemned the drunkenness of forty-five of the celebrants.

The celebrations of New Hampshire ratification are listed alphabetically in two groups—in-state and out-of-state. The date of the celebration is listed immediately after the name of the town, which is centered on the page.

Dover, N.H.
24 June 1788

New Hampshire Spy, 1 July 1788¹

A correspondent has favoured us with the following sketch of
The Procession at Dover,
in consequence of having the most important Pillar in the Federal Edifice erected in New Hampshire:—

In the afternoon of Tuesday last [24 June], a number of gentlemen of that town assembled, and being embodied, *nine* cannon were discharged, at the distance of *nine* minutes from each other—the *nine* States in Union were given as toasts, one immediately preceding each cannon, in the order they adopted the Constitution, and were succeeded by *nine* cheers.

The corps of Light Horse, and a company of foot were joined—The member of Convention from Dover,² was then waited on, and a toast was given as a testimonial of thanks for his services, and succeeded by music, and a *feu de joy*³ from the horse and foot.

The Procession through the town then began by—

- 1st. A detachment of the Light Horse.
- 2d. Music.
- 3d. Youths, with hatchets lopping branches of pine.
- 4th. The Minister of the town, and the member of Convention, (bearing the Federal Constitution) hand in hand.
- 5th. *Nine* Farmers, with a harrow, scythes and other implements of husbandry.
- 6th. Justices of the Peace.
- 7th. Attorneys, bearing the Law.
- 8th. Clerks.
- 9th. Schoolmasters and Scholars, with books, paper, &c.
- 10th. Physicians.
- 11th. Gentlemen bearing *nine* Federal Pillars.
- 12th. Sea Captains, with quadrants, decorated.
- 13th. Sailors, with cordage, and colours flying.
- 14th. Traders, with American manufactures exhibited for sale.

15th. Surveyors of lumber, &c. with rules;—Gondola-men, with staves, and shingles;—Teamsters, with whips, &c.

16th. Shipwrights,
 17th. Cabinet makers,
 18th. House Carpenters,
 19th. Joiners,
 20th. Wheelwrights,
 21st. Coopers,
 22d. Watch-makers and Goldsmiths,
 23d. Blacksmiths,
 24th. Hatters,
 25th. Shoemakers,
 26th. Weavers,
 27th. Tailors,
 28th. Barbers,
 29th. Potters,
 30th. Sadlers,
 31st. Tinmen,
 32d. Bricklayers,
 33d. Bakers,
 34th. Butchers,

All bearing their respective implements and ensigns of their professions.

35th. Innkeepers, with bowls, bottles, &c.
 36th. Sheriffs, constables, tythingmen, &c.
 37th. A large number of respectable Gentlemen from the neighbouring towns.

38th. The Light-Horse.

39th. Music.

After passing the town, animated by the approving smiles of the Ladies present—a semicircle was formed near the meeting house, where *nine* cannon were again discharged, and the following Toasts were publicly given:

1st. Religion and firm government—may they ever continue to go hand in hand.

2d. The superb political Fabric of America—may Union protect what Valour has achieved.

3d. The President of the New-Hampshire Convention—may his virtues as a Statesman, equal his fame as a Warrior.

4th. The State of New Hampshire—may the glory of putting the great political machine in motion, render her citizens immortal.

5th. The President of the State of New-Hampshire—may his administration be illustrious, and his constituents be happy.

6th. Freedom and sound Policy—may Americans ever distinguish wisely between liberty and licentiousness.

7th. The Farmers and Tradesmen of New-Hampshire—may they soon be as skillfull in arts and agriculture as they have been valiant in arms.

8th. Navigation and Trade—may declining commerce now revive and flourish under a happy and lasting union.

9. The world of mankind—may America ever stand ready to receive them into the catholic arms of her protection.

After repeated cheers and expressions of unaffected joy, the company received an invitation to the Hall Chamber—where *nine* flowing bowls, and four empty ones, stood prepared for their reception, and *nine* social Songs were sung, which closed the evening in harmony.

Many, who have been unfriendly to the Federal cause, joined in the hilarity of the day—a large concourse of people were collected, and all in the space of two hours, without the least previous notice abroad, which serves at least to evince that their hearts are not less grateful or less animated, on this auspicious day, than the most dignified patriots of America.

1. An excerpt without the listing of the procession, toasts, and final paragraph, appeared in the *Salem Mercury*, 8 July.

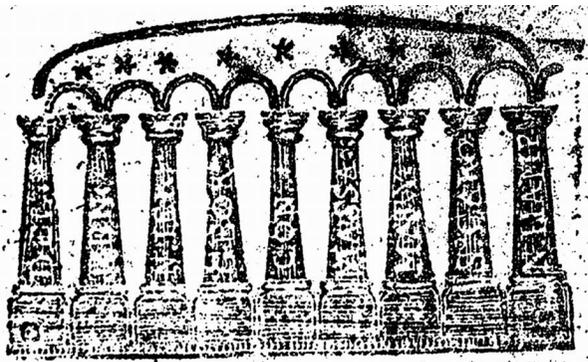
2. Ezra Green.

3. French: A firing of guns at a time of public rejoicing; a salute.

Exeter, N.H.

23 June 1788

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 27 June 1788¹



Ratification of the Federal Constitution by New Hampshire.

On Sunday morning last, we received the agreeable intelligence of the Ratification of the NEW CONSTITUTION by the Convention of this state, whereby we have, in effect, laid the top-stone to the grand FEDERAL EDIFICE, and happily raised the NINTH pillar. (The joy which this event diffused through all ranks of citizens in this town, is hardly to be conceived.—Congratulations took place among all ranks of men.—On Monday morning the bells were set a ringing, and a federal salute was discharged from the artillery. About one o'clock the principal gentlemen of the town assembled at the court-house, (where preparations had been previously made) and after drinking a number of patriotic toasts, accompanied with the discharge of cannon, and other demonstrations of joy; they with the other inhabitants of the town paraded the streets with musick, saluting the patriotic characters with loud huzza's, &c.

In the evening an elegant Federal Ball was given at the Assembly Room, where the brilliancy of the *Ladies* added lustre to, and their smiling countenances bespoke their joy on the happy event.)

1. The *Boston Gazette*, 7 July, reprinted the text in angle brackets.

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 23 August 1788

AN ODE,
On the Anniversary of INDEPENDENCE,
July 4, 1788.

Once more old Time, with steady pace,
 Has run his wonted annual race,
 Around this changing earth:
 Twelve circling years have roll'd away,
 Since free-born millions blest the day,
 That gave this nation birth.

Great day! when our assembled sires,
 Whose names and deeds the world admires,
 Pronounc'd Columbia's fates;
 And boldly sign'd that wise decree,
 Which chang'd the Colonies to Free
 And Independent States.

Amidst the patriotic band,
 Who on the list of glory stand,
 Their country's hope and pride;
 In WASHINGTON at once we view,
 A Moses and a Joshua too,
 In war and peace our guide.

From Britain's house of bondage free,
 And led thro' war's ensanguin'd sea,
 By Heav'n's o'er ruling hand;
 Now, after wand'ring twelve long years,
 Thro' wilds of faction, fraud and fears,
 We hail the promis'd land.

A government of public choice,
 Propos'd in peace, by Wisdom's voice,
 And weigh'd in reason's scale;
 Will raise our credit from the dead,
 Bid justice lift her drooping head,
 And law again prevail.

The rustic swain, whose honest hands
 Are taught to cultivate our lands,
 And ply the humble spade;
 May henceforth sit and smile at ease
 Beneath his vines and fruitful trees;
 For none shall make afraid.¹

While commerce spreads unnumber'd sails,
 Which swell before the wafting gales,
 With stars and stripes unfurl'd;
 And carry our superfluous stores,
 To neighboring isles and distant shores,
 Around the courting world.

Mechanic labors now will thrive,
 Now all the arts of peace revive.
 And thousands learn to toil;
 The liberal sciences still rise,
 And spread and flourish to the skies,
 In freedom's fertile soil.

1. Micah 4:4.

Hanover, N.H.
4 July 1788

Vermont Journal, 14 July 1788

Hanover, July 5, 1788.

Yesterday, being the 4th of July, was celebrated at Hanover, in the state of New-Hampshire, the memorable epoch of American indepen-

dence, and that important event, the establishing of the new Federal Constitution by the decisive resolution of the late Convention of said state, the ninth in the measure.

Numerous were the spectators from abroad on this pleasing occasion. The procession was formed on the parade adjoining the college buildings, in the following order,

1. A French horn.
2. Fourteen divisions representing and bearing the standard of the thirteen States, and of the state of Vermont.
3. A white tripod; the legs emblematical of virtue, agriculture, and commerce, which make the basis of national peace and wealth. The legs concentered in a ball, denoting the stability and union of the American confederacy. From the ball arose a standard, on which was placed the flag of the States; and on the ball was a portrature of Apollo, with his eyes turned obliquely up towards the flag, with the following label, **HERE MY SONS WILL PROSPER.**

4. A band of music.
5. The President [John Wheelock] and officers of the university [i.e., Dartmouth College], the clergy and other gentlemen occasionally present.
6. The artillery.
7. The infantry with drums and fifes.
8. A large concourse of welwishers to federal measures.

The procession marched round the squares, and then formed into a circle on the parade; in the midst of which Mr. Lakeman delivered an oration on the advantages that may be expected to result from the new Federal Constitution, and the glory and felicity which await America from the establishment of it by the decisive measures of nine states. At the close of this, fourteen cannon were fired, in honor of the thirteen States and the state of Vermont. To these were added nine other discharges, to celebrate the virtue and patriotism of those which have already adopted the new government.

The following toasts were proclaimed on the occasion

1. May the government of all nations be so constructed and administered, as shall secure the rights of mankind.
2. The United States of America.
3. The Convention who formed the Federal Constitution.
4. The nine states who have adopted it.
5. May the other states be soon united in the measure.
6. The virtuous allies of the United States.
7. General Washington, and the officers of the late American army.
8. President Langdon, and the state of Newhampshire.

9. President Sullivan and the members of the Convention of this state, who turned the key stone of the federal structure.

10. May the spirit and laws of the confederacy be subservient to the interests of agriculture.

11. May the manufactures and commerce of our new empire be always free from oppressive laws, and unembarrassed by exclusive privileges.

12. The American Virtuosi, who have enlarged the stock of philosophy and science.

13. The advancement of virtue and arts through the world.

14. The Governor and state of Vermont.¹

The arrangements of the affair were conducted by Col. Ebenezer Brewster; and the strictest order was observed through the whole.

In the evening was a beautiful illumination of the college and other principal buildings.

1. Thomas Chittenden.

**Keene, N.H.
30 June 1788**

New Hampshire Recorder, 1 July 1788¹

Yesterday the Inhabitants of this town assembled at Capt. Nichols's tavern, for the purpose of celebrating the adoption of the Federal Constitution by this State. At 11 o'clock, A. M. a troop of horse, composed of the most respectable characters² in the county, proceeded to Swanzy, where they were joined by a number of gentlemen from that town; they then performed a number of equestrian feats with that regularity which would have reflected honor upon the best disciplined troop.— At two o'clock the troop returned, when a respectable procession was formed, consisting of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring towns.

Form of the Procession.

Music.

Flag of the United States displayed.

A corps of the Military.

Officers in the civil and military line, a
number of the honorable members
of the late Convention, and
other Citizens, two and two,
preceded by Generals

[James] Reed and [Benjamin] Bellows.

The procession then marched through the Main-Street to Federal Hill, where a most eloquent and pathetic³ speech was pronounced by the Rev. AARON HALL; after which refreshment was prepared on the hill, and the following patriotic toasts were drank:

1. His Excellency General Washington, and the other members of the late Continental Convention.
2. The Convention of New-Hampshire.
3. The grand Federal Constitution—may it soon be supported by Thirteen Pillars—constructed by wisdom—unsapp'd by faction—and durable as time itself.
4. The Nine States that have adopted the Constitution.
5. The friends to good government throughout the world.
6. His Excellency the President of the State of New-Hampshire.
7. General Sullivan—May his bravery in the field, and his wisdom in the cabinet, be gratefully remembered—and may his virtues be imitated.
8. The New-Hampshire Militia—may its officers be men of fortitude, skill and ambition, and its soldiers brave and well disciplined.
9. Trade, Commerce, Agriculture and Manufactures.
10. May industry and temperance, banish idleness and dissipation from the State of New Hampshire.
11. May the government of New-Hampshire be a government of laws and not of men—and may its laws be systematical, mild, fixed, and well executed.
12. The respectable Minority in the State of Rhode-Island.
13. The Antifederalists—may they read the Constitution without prejudice, have wisdom to understand it, become good subjects, and enjoy the blessings of it.

A discharge from the military, and three huzzas from the citizens, were given at every toast. The procession returned to the Main-Street and were dismissed. A joyful spirit of republicanism seemed to pervade every breast—the greatest order and good harmony was preserved—and the day was closed with hilarity. A stage 40 feet high was erected on Federal Hill, to which a barrel of tar and other combustibles were affixed. At eight o'clock it was set on fire, and a number of fireworks were exhibited. To the honor of that good and aged veteran, General REED, be it mentioned, that every apartment in his house was illuminated upon this joyful occasion, (in the evening.

A Ball was given in the evening, at which our worthy Fair felicitated each other upon this happy event.)⁴

1. Excerpts (without the toasts) were printed in the *Boston Gazette*, 14 July, and *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 July. Two slightly different versions of this issue of the *New Hampshire Recorder* were printed. For differences between the two versions, see notes 2 and 4 (below).

2. The word “characters” is “inhabitants” in the alternative version.
3. “Pathetic” means moving, passionate, or in earnest.
4. The text in angle brackets is not in the alternative version.

Aaron Hall: An Oration Celebrating New Hampshire Ratification Keene, N.H., 30 June 1788

The town of Keene celebrated New Hampshire’s ratification of the Constitution on 30 June. The town asked Aaron Hall to deliver an oration at the celebration. Hall (1751–1814), a native of Connecticut and a 1772 graduate of Yale College, had been pastor of Keene’s First Congregational church since 1778, a position he retained until he died. He had represented the town in the New Hampshire Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution. Hall’s oration was published as a fifteen-page pamphlet entitled: *An Oration, Delivered at the Request of the Inhabitants of Keene, June 30, 1788; to Celebrate the Ratification by the State of New-Hampshire*. The title page indicated that “Aaron Hall, M.A.” was the author and that the work was published in Keene by James D. Griffith, the printer of the *New Hampshire Recorder*. The following preface to the work appeared on page 4:

KEENE, June 30, 1788.

Fellow-Citizens,

With the most humiliating conviction of my inability to perform that part of the celebration of this day, to which I have the honor to be appointed, I submit this (my first) publication to the publick. Nothing but the important and pleasing crisis to which our young American Empire is advancing, added to the importunities of some valued friends, could have influenced me (especially with a very short notice) so far to have mistaken my abilities as to have presented this Oration to the publick eye: And the recollection of the many favors conferred upon me by the Inhabitants of this Town, induces me to subject myself to that candour, which views with kindness the feeblest efforts of an honest mind.

The Publick’s most obedient Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

The pamphlet was advertised in the *New Hampshire Recorder* on 5 and 12 August 1788: “This Day Published, And for Sale at J. D. GRIFFITH’S Office, (Price One Shilling,) The Rev. Mr. HALL’S Oration, delivered June 30, being the day appointed by the Inhabitants of *Keene*, to celebrate the Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of *New-Hampshire*.” The entire oration was reprinted in the *Albany Journal*, 15 September; *New Hampshire Spy*, 30 September; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 8 October; and *Newport Herald*, 23 October.

The oration contains several paraphrased passages and one long quotation from General George Washington’s last circular letter to the states in June 1783. (See notes below.) In 1783 Washington’s circular had been printed as a pamphlet in Exeter and in three other New England towns (Boston, Newport, and Hartford). Interest in the circular letter was revived in 1787. It was reprinted in the Providence *United States Chronicle* on 15 March 1787 (CC:4) and in the May issue of the nationally circulated *Philadelphia American Museum*. Excerpts from the letter were quoted in newspapers during the debate over ratification.

The great, the important object for which the collected wisdom of AMERICA was summoned together, is at length accomplished.

My Fellow-Citizens and Countrymen, I congratulate you on the glorious event which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour—And while we would do honor to the labours of a WASHINGTON, a FRANKLIN, a JOHNSON, a LIVINGSTON, a MORRIS, a RUTLEDGE, a PINCKNEY, and other political fathers of our country, who dared to step forth in the greatest dangers to defend American Liberty; let us not forget our gratitude to the King of Nations, and Lord of Hosts.

Impressed with the keenest sensibility on this joyous occasion, I will hazard a few thoughts on the great subject of our Federal Government. When we consider the greatness of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest in the late war, the favourable manner in which it has terminated, together with the establishment of a permanent energetic government, perfectly consistent with the true liberties of the people, and this obtained in a time of peace, a thing not paralleled in history. I repeat it, when we consider these things, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing.—This is a theme that will afford the greatest delight to every benevolent mind, whether the event in contemplation be viewed as the source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness.

'Till this period, the revolution in America, has never appeared to me to be completed; but this is laying on the cap-stone of the great American Empire; and, in my opinion, we have occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, political, or moral point of light.

The frame of government now adopted for the United States of America, gives her citizens rank, if not superiority, among the nations of the earth; and it has the advantage of being concerted, when the rights of mankind are better known and more clearly understood, than in any former age of the world. This constitution of government contains the treasures of knowledge, obtained by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of rolling years, so that we have the collected wisdom of ages interwoven in this form of government. The three branches are created and made by the original independent sovereignty of the people, and are so balanced as to be a check upon each other: And after two, four, and six years, each branch are to return into the bosom of their country, to give an account “for the deeds done in the body, whether they have been good or evil.”¹ It has a most friendly aspect on literature, and opens her arms wide to extend and encourage commerce—lays a fair foundation for the free cultivation of our lands, and to alleviate the Farmer, whose hands have long been relaxed by reason of too heavy taxation—Is wisely calculated to

promote the progressive refinement of manners—the growing liberality of sentiment—and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, may have free course and be glorified in the blessings of society. If therefore the citizens of America should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own, so long as they may choose wise and good men to set at helm.

The present crisis, my fellow-citizens, is so important, that silence would be a crime.—Shall Britain, (especially all her sons of free and liberal minds) while she envies our rising glory, approbate this system of government? Shall France, shall Holland, and all Europe, applaud the wisdom of our Constitution, and we be inattentive to our private, domestick, and national enjoyments; while Heaven has crowned all our blessings, by giving us a fairer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been indulged with.

Perhaps some may think I am too sanguine in my prospects. I grant it is yet to be decided, whether this Constitution will ultimately prove a blessings or a curse—not to the present generation alone, for with our fate, probably will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.² I know that the wisest Constitutions, and even that from Heaven itself, has been, and may again be perverted by venal and designing men; and on this account, I am not displeas'd that the Constitution has been objected to, and carefully scrutinized by the jealous, yet honest intentions of many of our worthy citizens; as these things will lie before Congress, as a check upon them not to invade the liberties of the people. But I will venture to say, with confidence too, that we shall be happy and flourish as a Nation and Empire, if the following sentiments, suggested by the great WASHINGTON, take place and prevail:³—

“1st. An indissoluble union of the States, under one Federal head.

“2d. A sacred regard to publick justice.

“3d. The adoption of a proper peace establishment; (meaning a well disciplined Militia.)

“4th. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the People of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, and make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.”

These, my Countrymen, are the great PILLARS on which the glorious building of our Constitution depends—on which our national character and prosperity must be supported—LIBERTY, that life of man, is the basis—Whoever therefore would attempt to overthrow this foundation, under whatever specious pretext, will merit the bitterest execration and severest punishment his injured country can inflict. However, the cup of blessing, in a political sense, is put into our hands, and

happiness is ours, if we will make it so, from the overturns of Divine Providence; yet how much depends upon our conduct, I repeat it, how much depends upon our conduct, whether we will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a Nation.⁴ The best things in this imperfect state are liable to be perverted to the worst of purposes.

This is a very critical moment with America; the eyes of Europe, and the world, are upon us; and it is a time of political probation with every free citizen.⁵ It is certain, that the best Constitution, and the best Rulers, will avail nothing to the happiness of a people, without good, industrious, and loyal subjects.

It is a most important day with America; in my opinion, as much so as it was in any period of the war; and of the last moment, as to our national character, for all to subscribe to our Federal Government; and though all cannot think alike, which is not to be expected, any more than it is that we should all look alike; yet it becomes us to unite in the common cause as a BAND OF BROTHERS,⁶ since we are all embarked together for ourselves and our posterity; and notwithstanding there are some who cannot rejoice to so high a degree, at present, on the ratification of the Federal Government, yet I presume to say, that their living under it a short time, will give them to realize the felicity that others anticipate.

Who would be willing that this should be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, and exposing us to become the sport of European politicks,⁷ and to be made dupes to serve their interested purposes? Our Union alone, must give us dignity, power, and credit abroad; wealth, honor, and felicity at home; and without this, it must be extremely disagreeable to reflect, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished to no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation; and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. It is a given point on all hands, I believe, that the State of NEW-HAMPSHIRE, from its local situation, will be more benefited than any one in the Union. Who then from a moments reflection, could be willing that we should exclude ourselves from the Union, and sink into the ruins of liberty, abused to licentiousness?

From a serious consideration of the above, with other weighty objects, I have been decidedly in favour of the Constitution, and have endeavoured to reflect honour upon those who placed me in a situation to act a part in this grand affair; and who is there, my Fellow-Citizens, but must have sincere intentions for the happiness of that country where he is born, and where he expects to die, and leave the fruit of his labours to his tender offspring?

While our hearts glow with joy and gratitude, to the great parent of present and future happiness, on this signal occasion, that he has been

in the counsels of the great, and made them so unanimous in sentiment, (which to me, all circumstances considered, is one of the greatest events America ever experienced) I say while we recognize these things with grateful souls, let us close with the earnest prayer of General WASHINGTON, in his circular letter:—"That God would have the States over which he presides, in his holy protection—that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government—to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another of their fellow-citizens of the United States at large—And finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristicsticks of the divine author of our blessed religion; and without a humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation."⁸

1. See 2 Corinthians 5:10.
2. See CC:4, p. 64.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Act IV, scene 3, line 60.
7. See CC:4, p. 64.
8. See CC:4, p. 70 (concluding paragraph).

Exeter Freeman's Oracle, 11 July 1788¹

A FEDERAL SONG.

Tune *Bunker Hill*.

NOW, come ye federal sons of fame,
 And join your chearful voices,
 And let your *Washington's* great name,
 (In which good men rejoices,
 Be chorus'd THRICE, and THRICE the cause,
 Which we have been contending,
 The Constitution and the laws,
 Are surely worth defending.

Fol lol lol lol lol.

II.

The CONSTITUTION's now got down,
 In spite of opposition,
 Since Washington of high renown,
 First made the proposition;
 For one and all to—'VENTION call
 To try to save the nation,

And every man do what he can,
According to his station.

Fol lol lol lol lol.

III.

Some men of might with ranc'rous spite,
Have tri'd to raise commotions,
And scatter'd forth, from south to north,
Their *Antifederal* notions:
Supported by some British spy,
Who secret spreads his money,
Which makes the Anti-Lawyers speak
As smooth as any honey.

Fol lol lol lol lol.

IV.

Let A——n, that noted son²
Of Antifederalism,
No longer plead, or sow the seeds
Of anarchy and schism.
Let ev'ry one of ANARCH's sons,
Be easy now and quiet,
Since the Constitution has gone down,
At the last gen'ral DIET.

Fol lol lol lol lol.

V.

Let all the sons of bribery,
And such rabscallion fellows,
Like British spies, for their gross lies,
Be hang'd upon the gallows,
Though they have try'd on every side
To scatter great confusion;
The WORK is DONE, let ev'ry one
Rejoice at the conclusion.

Fol lol lol lol lol.

VI.

And let all Anties have a care,
And think what they've been doing,
Since very soon they'l change their tune,
And be for pardons suing;
Yet nevertheless, if they'l confess,
That they have been mistaken,
They shall partake of our beef steak,
With PORTER, CHEESE and BACON,

Fol lol lol lol lol.

VII.

And let us drink to that dear lass,
 Who loves the man of *feeling*,
 Come fill the bumper in the glass,
 For sure you must be willing;
 For if it was not for the fair,
 What would become of man, sirs.
 They thread the needle to a hair,
 And kiss you when they can sirs,

Fol lol lol lol lol.

VIII.

I greet you all—ye sons of mirth,
 New-Hampshire has compleated,
 And brought the Fabricker into birth,
 Which some would have defeated;
 Now let us give three hearty cheers,
 To honor those Conventions,
 Whose noble deeds have quell'd our fears,
 God bless their good intentions.

Fol lol lol lol lol.

1. Reprinted: *Newport Herald*, 7 August.
2. Joshua Atherton.

New Ipswich, N.H.
23 June 1788

John Preston to John Langdon
New Ipswich, N.H., 29 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

I Chearfully Spend a hasty moment in Tendering you my most Sincere Gratulations on your Reinstatement in the Chief Seat of Government; a place which your merit Justly intitles you to; the news of which appointment Spread universal Joy through New Ipswich—and while I Congratulate you on the Ratification of a perminant Federal Government, would inform that on the Evening of Last Monday [23 June], the Preceptor, trustees & Members of the New Ipswich Academy, a Number of Civil & Military Officers & other Respectable Gentlemen Assembled in sd New-Ipswich & Demonstrated their heartfelt Joy at the News of the Ratification of the Federal Constitution. Nine Federal Toasts were Drank; amongst which, one was, HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF N. HAMPSHIRE. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

Portsmouth, N.H.
26 June 1788

New Hampshire Gazette, 26 June 1788¹

Thursday being the day appointed to celebrate the RATIFICATION of the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION by the State of New-Hampshire, a numerous concourse of the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the neighbouring towns being assembled on the Parade, about 11 o'clock an armed ship was espied from the State-House, bearing down under full sail; being hailed on her approach, she proved to be the ship UNION, *Thomas Manning*, Esq. commander,² from Concord, out five days,³ bound to the Federal city, all well and in good spirits. About a quarter past eleven, she dropt anchor, and having received a pilot on board, got under way and joined the procession, which moved in the following order.

A Band of Musick in an open Coach and six horses decorated.
Husbandmen.

A Plough drawn by 9 yoke of oxen.

A man sowing.

A Harrow.

Reapers, Threshers, Mowers, Hay-makers,	}	each with their proper implements
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A man swingling flax.

A Cart for gathering in harvest.

Blacksmiths and Nailers with their Forges, Anvils and Sledges, at work.

Shipwrights with their tools.

Caulkers.

Rope-makers with a spinning-wheel and hemp round their waists, occupied.

Riggers.

Mast-makers.

Ship-joiners.

Block-makers.

Mathematical instrument-makers with an Azimuth compass.

Boat-builders at work on a boat nearly compleated.

Carvers.

Painters, Glaziers and Plummers.

Coopers trimming casks.

Cullers of fish.

Stowadores.⁴

Pilots with Spy-Glasses and Charts.

The Ship  UNION, compleatly rigged, armed & mann'd, under an easy sail with colours flying, elevated on a carriage, drawn by nine horses, a tenth (emblematical of Virginia) completely harnessed, led and ready to join the rest.

Ship Captains with their Quadrants.

Seamen.

Shoremen.

Truckmen.

Millers.

Bakers, preceded by a flag displaying the bakers arms.

Butchers.

Tanners and Curriers.

Cordwainers, with their lasts decorated.

Tallow-Chandlers.

Tailors.

Barbers.

Hatters.

House-wrights.

Masons.

Cabinet-makers and Wheelwrights.

Saddlers and Chaise-trimmers.

Upholsterers.

Goldsmiths, Jewellers & Silversmiths.

Clock and Watch-makers.

Coppersmiths.

Whitesmiths.

Brass-founders.

Tinmen, with nine pillars and stars on a pedestal.

Potters, with a table and wheel at work, nine pillars erected.

Brick-makers burning a kiln, others moulding bricks.

Leather-dressers.

Card-Makers with Cards.

Printers, preceded by two lads with open quires of printed paper, followed with Cases and Apparatus decorated, Compositors at work; Pressmen, with Mr. Benjamin Dearborn's new invented Printing-Press (named the American Press) employ'd during the whole procession, in striking off and distributing among the surrounding multitude, songs in celebration of the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New-Hampshire.

MOTTO.

*A Government of Freemen never knows
A Tyrant's shackles on the Press t' impose.*

Consuls.

Merchants and Traders.

The Boys of the different Schools with the insignia of their studies, decorated.

The Terrestrial Globe, rectified for New-Hampshire, (and decorated by a company of young ladies, who are in the study of Geography,) carried by two lads in uniform. In the decorations each State was distinguish'd; New-Hampshire in the zenith, and Rhode-Island on the western horizon, in mourning.

The Masters of the Schools.

MOTTO.

*Where the bright beams of Fed'ral Freedom glow,
The buds of Science in full beauty blow.*

Clergy.

Physicians and Surgeons.

Sheriff preceded by his deputies.

Judges of Common Law and Admiralty Courts.

Clerks of Courts.

Gentlemen of the Bar, supporting the Federal Constitution.

The President of the State and President of the Convention.

Secretaries of the State & Convention.

Members of the Convention.

Members of the Legislature.

Treasurer, and Commissary-General.

Militia Officers in uniform.

Every profession was distinguished by some insignia or badge, peculiar to it: The procession moved on thro' all the principal streets of the town, the band playing and singing the Federal Song, "*It comes! It comes!*" and after saluting the President of the State, & the President and Members of the Convention, at their respective lodgings with nine guns each, from the Ship, the procession moved on to Union-Hill, where a cold Collation was provided, the Band of Music playing during the repast, and the Ship lying to, with a man at masthead, sent to spy out the Ship VIRGINIA, which was hourly expected to join the rest of the fleet.

After dinner, the following toasts were given, the Artillery firing a salute between each, which was as often reply'd to with three cheers from the table,—

1. The Convention of New-Hampshire.

2. The confederated States.
3. May every State in the old, participate in the blessings of the new Confederation.
4. The friends and allies of America throughout the world.
5. May America be as conspicuous for Justice, as she has been successful in her struggles for Liberty.
6. May the flag of American commerce be displayed in every quarter of the globe.
7. May the American landholders long experience the happy effects of the federal Constitution.
8. May America become the nurse of manufactures, arts and sciences, and the asylum of the oppressed in every part of the world.
9. Let peace liberty and safety be the birthright of every American.

Then fired a salute of nine guns, which was returned by three cheers, and immediately after the firing, the songs were sung, accompanied by the band—The Procession then formed and returned in the same order they came, and on their return were saluted with thirteen guns from the artillery.

On their arrival at the State-House, a Federal Salute was fired from the Ship, return'd with three cheers; which ended the procession. The Ship proceeding on her destined voyage, again fired a Federal salute as she passed his Excellency's seat.

In the evening the State-House was beautifully illuminated with nine candles in each window, while a large company of ladies and gentlemen, formed in a semi-circle, were entertained by the Band from the Balcony.

Language is too poor to describe the universal joy that glowed in every countenance.—Tis enough to say that the brilliancy and festivity of the evening, were only equalled by the decorum and hilarity of the day.

*Federal Songs*⁵

sung at the procession, after dinner and in the evening.

To the Tune,—“*He comes, he comes,*”

I.

It comes! it comes! high raise the song!
The bright procession moves along,
From pole to pole resound the NINE,
And distant worlds the chorus join.

II.

In vain did Britain forge the chain,
While countless squadrons hid the plain,

HANTONIA, foremost of the NINE,
Defy'd their force, and took Burgoyne.

To the tune,—“*Smile, smile, Britannia.*”

III.

When PEACE resum'd her seat,
And Freedom *seem'd* secure,
Our patriot-sages met,
That Freedom to insure:
Then ev'ry eye on us was turn'd,
And ev'ry breast indignant burn'd.

IV.

That haughty race (they said)
All government despise;
Skill'd in the martial trade,
More valiant far than wise.
Though PALLAS leads them to the field,
Her aid in council is withheld.

V.

False charge! (the Goddess cry'd)
I made each hardy son
Who in war's purple tide
First laid the *Corner-Stone*,
His utmost energy employ
To bring the TOP-STONE forth with joy.

To the first tune,—“*He comes,*” &c.

VI.

Tis done! the glorious fabric's rear'd!
Still be New-Hampshire's sons rever'd.
Who fix'd its BASE in blood and scars,
And stretch'd its TURRETS to the stars!

To the tune,—“*When Britons first,*” &c.

VII.

See each industrious ART moves on
To ask protection, praise and fame;
The *Ploughman* by his tools is known,
And *Vulcan, Neptune*, join their claim;
Allow them all; and wisely prove
Nought can exist long without LOVE.

VIII.

LOVE binds in peace the universe;
By LOVE societies combine;

LOVE prompts the Poet's rapt'rous verse,
 And makes these humble lays divine:
 Then shout for UNION, heav'n-born dame!
 And crown the goblet to her name.

To the first tune.

IX.

May HAMPSHIRE's sons in peace and war,
 Supremely great! both laurels wear,
 From ev'ry rival bear the prize,
 'Till the last blaze involves the skies!

To, a new tune nam'd Union.

FAR as the northern from the southern pole
 Be sadness banish'd, exil'd selfish cares,
 While Freedom's Genius animates each soul,
 To hail the rising of her fed'ral Stars.

In rapt'rous lays
 Your voices raise;
 Columbia's song,
 In accents strong,

Shall echo to our joys, and dwell on ev'ry tongue.

Nine fed'ral States politically join'd,
 With glorious rays our hemisphere adorn;
 As splendid stars in amity combin'd,
 Rise, the auspicious harbingers of morn.

In rapt'rous lays, &c.

Hail rad'ant Constellation! spring of day!
 Ye stars of magnitude in splendor rise!
 Come, chase the night of Discord far away,
 And break the morn of Peace to joyful eyes.

In rapt'rous lays, &c.

Confederated Justice hence shall poize
 Her equal balance through the fav'rite land;
 And heav'n-born Truth, with Seraph's mildest voice,
 O'er this new world shall hold supreme command.

In rapt'rous lays, &c.

Hence local Animosities shall cease,
 Insurgency no more shall find a name;
 Nor civil Discord interrupt our peace,

Nor check AMERICA! thy rising fame.
 In rapt'rous lays, &c.

Here Science shall her genial rays impart;
 The arts of Peace shall bless the fertile soil,
 And wide extended Commerce find a mart,
 For all the fruits of chearful labour's toil.
 In rapt'rous lays, &c.

In perfect concord shall our Councils move;
 And wond'ring nations bend the list'ning ear;
 While wisdom, justice, harmony and love,
 Compleat a Concert Heav'n itself might hear,
 In rapt'rous lays,
 Your voices raise;
 Columbia's song,
 In accents strong,
 Shall echo to our joys, and dwell on ev'ry tongue.

1. Reprinted in full in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 28 June; *Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 4 July; and in seven others papers by 19 July: Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1). Sixteen other partial reprintings appeared by 4 August: Mass. (4), Conn. (2), N.Y. (6), Pa. (2), Md. (1), S.C. (1). The "*Federal Songs*" were printed as handbills during the procession. One handbill is located in the Broadside Collection at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

2. Manning (c. 1747–1819), a ship captain, commanded the privateer *General Sullivan* during the Revolutionary War.

3. "From Concord, out five days" refers to the time between the date on which the New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution (21 June) and the date of the Portsmouth celebration (26 June). For more on the ship *Union*, see the reference later in this account of the procession.

4. Variant spelling of stevedore.

5. See Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap, 16 July (RCS:N.H., 434), for the authors of these two songs.

Massachusetts Centinel, 28 June 1788¹

Many demonstrations of joy were given in Portsmouth, on the receipt of the intelligence of the ratification of the Constitution by that State—all the Bells were rung at one o'clock, on Monday morning—his Excellency Mr. LANGDON was escorted into town by several corps of cavalry, infantry, and private gentlemen—amidst the ringing of bells—the discharge of artillery—and the shouts of his fellow citizens—and we learn, that yesterday a GRAND PROCESSION, in a superiour style, closed the rejoicing of the federal citizens of the metropolis of our *sister* State.

1. Reprinted: Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 3 July.

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 30 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I now Inclose you a News paper with the Account of the Procession &c on thursday last it much exceeded my Expectation and what is extraordinary the paper Account does not represent it greater than it was but really falls Short of the facts. the procession of the Chaise makers & some others are omitted in the Acct. every part of it was very regular & the whole ended without any disturbance, the Procession moved from the State House & went down Pleasant Street by Dr. Havens. then turnd at the Mill Bridge & went up over Liberty Bridge thence up Pitt Street & turnd by Colo Brewsters then went down Buck Street by Mr Sheafes then turnd & went into Daniels Street by Mr Jno. Sherburnes then up that Street to Mr Rindges Corner from thence thro Market Street to Deer Street & thro that to Vaughan Street by the Assembly House then from the Head of Vaughan Street to the State House & from thence round Majr Hales Corner to *Wibirds now Union Hill* where the Collation &c was provided, after Dinner they returnd in the Same Order by Mr Treadwells & Dr Cutters to the State House where the procession Broke up—we have Copied your State in having a procession, but a Boston Genl. who was present told me we really exceeded you—that you know must be a great Honor. . . .

Your Friend & Servant

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: “The Belknap Papers,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th series, Vol. IV (Boston, 1891), 414–15.

Massachusetts Spy, 3 July 1788¹

The adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Convention of New-hampshire, was celebrated at Portsmouth on Thursday the 26th ult. with great rejoicing; there was a grand Procession, similar to that exhibited some time since at Boston, a particular account of which will be in our next.

1. Reprinted: Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 9 July; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 July.

Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap
Portsmouth, N.H., 16 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

the 10th Pillar I think is of such Importance, that I am willing rather than have the Dispute carried to any great length, about the Honor to give it an equal share. . . . we heard here that the Boston folks rang their Bells on Sunday afternoon,² on Account of the news from this

State; what sort of *Cords* do they make when rang altogether? ours are really *dreadfull* to the Head of those that are near them—Mr. Sewall wrote the federal Song where New Hampshires Valour is mentiond, it is said Mr Dearborn wrote the other.³—

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.
2. The New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution on Saturday, 21 June.
3. For the songs, see the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June (RCS:N.H., 429–32). Benjamin Dearborn (1754–1819), a Portsmouth native, was a printer and mechanical inventor.

Portsmouth Celebrates the Fourth of July 1788

New Hampshire Spy, 5 July 1788

Anniversary of American Independence.

*Hail Independence—still superiour rise,
And shine the brightest constellation of the skies;
Increase thy reign—spread wide from shore to shore,
'Till slav'ry cease and tyrants be no more,
'Till meek-ey'd peace, descending from above,
Immerge the nations in th' abyss of LOVE.*

Yesterday being the anniversary of American Independence, (the 4th of July) the same was celebrated here with all *that* joy which the sons of Freedom are capable of expressing upon so auspicious an occasion. In the forenoon, an elegant Oration was pronounced by JONATHAN MITCHELL SEWALL, Esq. at the Rev. Doct. HAVEN's meeting house, before a very respectable and brilliant audience.

At 12 o'clock, a federal salute was fired from the Castle, and by Capt. Woodward's company of Artillery, who had previously paraded for that purpose. After which, Col. *Wentworth's* corps of Independent Horse, being assembled, and having gone through several manœuvres, repaired to Col. *Sheafe's*, and having refreshed themselves with some federal punch, they returned into State street, and from thence proceeded to his Excellency President LANGDON's seat,—where his Excellency and a number of patriotic characters joined them,—and were escorted to Mrs. Night's, at Newington, where, with an additional number of gentlemen from the metropolis, they partook of an entertainment provided for the occasion; at which nought but joys sincere heightened the feast, and gave to appetite new charms.

At the close of the entertainment *thirteen* Federal Toasts were given by his Excellency the President, which were followed by several songs, (sung by Major *Flagg*, in his usual stile of excellence,) accompanied by the band of Musick.

In the evening, a superb exhibition of fire works, under the direction of Major *Flagg*, closed the entertainments of the day.

Long, very long, may the memory of this important day be engraven upon the hearts of the citizens of United Columbia—and may it ever be celebrated in such a manner, as will best tend to inculcate the principles of order and good government; then shall we see the golden age return'd, and Americans become independent indeed.

Jonathan Mitchell Sewall: An Oration Celebrating American Independence, Portsmouth, N.H., 4 July 1788 (excerpt)

The celebration of the anniversary of American independence in Portsmouth included “an elegant Oration” delivered “in the forenoon” by Jonathan Mitchell Sewall, “at the Rev. Doct. HAVEN’s meeting house, before a very respectable and brilliant audience” (*New Hampshire Spy*, 5 July, immediately above). At the behest of a group of subscribers, George Jerry Osborne, the printer of the *New Hampshire Spy*, published the address as a twenty-three-page pamphlet entitled *An Oration; Delivered at Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, On the Fourth of July, 1788, Being the Anniversary of American Independence* (Evans 21456). Sewall’s name is not on the title page, where the author of the pamphlet is described only as “ONE OF THE INHABITANTS.” The title page includes an epigraph from the English poet Alexander Pope which helps explain why Sewall’s name does not appear:

“Who builds a church to God and not to Fame,
Will never mark the marble with his name.”

(These two lines are taken from *Of the Use of Riches, an Epistle to the Right Honorable Allen Lord Bathurst* [London, 1732], 17.) “The AUTHOR” inscribed the oration “*To the Inhabitants of Portsmouth*,” at whose request it was “*composed, delivered, and now published*.” The excerpt printed here appears on pages 8–11 of the pamphlet. A poem entitled “Anniversary Ode on American Independence” takes up the last three pages of the pamphlet.

On 26 July Osborne advertised the pamphlet in his *New Hampshire Spy* as “Just Published” and for sale for one shilling. Subscribers could obtain their copies of “this valuable performance” at Osborne’s office.

Sewall (1748–1808), a native of Salem, Mass., was a Portsmouth lawyer and a poet. He served as a delegate and secretary to the convention that drafted the New Hampshire constitution of 1784. Sewall and his legal mentor John Pickering were largely responsible for the first draft of the constitution, relying heavily on the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. Two of Sewall’s better known poetic works were concerned with George Washington. Early in the American Revolution, he composed a patriotic ballad entitled *Gen. Washington, A New Favourite Song, At the American Camp* that was popular with the troops (Evans 43158) and in 1798 he published his fifty-four-page *Versification of President Washington’s Excellent Farewell-Address . . .* (Evans 34532). In 1801 Sewall’s *Miscellaneous Poems*, a duodecimo volume of 304 pages, was published in Portsmouth (Shaw-Shoemaker 1311).

... Since the first pair, we all enter on the theatre of life, wholly dependent, under God, on our parents. In this respect, we are far inferior to the beasts that perish. For a long period, and sometimes to the end of our lives, we depend on those born before us for food, raiment, shelter, and protection, as well as for knowledge and instruction. This necessary dependence is doubtless what first suggested to men the idea of society, and the many evil dispositions of individuals, the necessity of government. The former, as hath been justly observed by a fine writer, being founded in the *weakness*, the latter in the *wickedness* of mankind.¹ Yet still this innate thirst for freedom and independence has prevailed; predominating more or less as the reins of government have been relaxed, or straitened, or the subject more or less accustomed to the yoke. Nor need we confine this impatience of restraint to states and societies,—it is equally discoverable in the infant, the child, the school-boy, and the adult: all of whom love to be independent, and abhor controul. Nay, even the gentlest, and (as many suppose) the least-fallen part of our species, who seem all pliability and submission—I mean the softer sex, are not insensible to this powerful principle. The modest fair, tho' not totally averse to the tender connexion, yet sometimes starts at the word *obey*, and, perhaps, would submit to have the word *govern* substituted in its stead. However, what is wanted in the *word* is amply made up in the *thing*—'tis they at last that move the wheels of society, and indeed, every other wheel; and the haughtiest spirit is finally proud to wear their chains.

What shall we say then? Is this aversion to restraint, and love of liberty, a laudable or illaudable instinct? The answer is plain and easy. Like every other passion, if permitted to rage uncontrouled, 'tis pernicious, but laudable and salutary when properly regulated. When like Charity, it

*“Knows with just hand, and steady reins to guide;
Betwixt vile shame, and arbitrary pride.”*²

—It is useful both to individuals and to society; a powerful stimulus to industry, and a strong barrier against indolence, servility and want.

But this powerful inclination requires to be checked. The *necessity* of *government*, in the present imperfect state of humanity, is therefore obvious. It is what most of us are able to see, and what all, of late, has sorely felt.

The abuse of government to the perverting its proper ends, has been equally obvious to our sight and feelings.

The arbitrary measures of Britain, with our suc[c]essful opposition thereto, exemplify the latter—our own sufferings from the want of a

permanent, efficient, national government, since that success, evince the former.

At length Heaven has again graciously smiled upon us.

A Federal Constitution of government is now ratified by nine, which is, in effect, by all the United States. A constitution which no earthly power short of our own, will ever be able to frustrate, or violate! And next to him “by whom kings reign, and states decree justice,”³ our gratitude should arise to those patriotic sages, the members of the general and particular conventions (many of whom were also instrumental, in the cabinet, and in the field, in promoting that revolution for which we are this day called to rejoice) who, with all the labours of wisdom and public-virtue, inforced with all the powers of eloquence, happily effected the glorious, all-important object. Long, long may they live to taste the blessings it so justly promises! . . .

1. See Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*: “Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness. . . .”

2. See Matthew Prior, *Charity; A Paraphrase on the Thirteenth Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, printed in *Poetical Miscellanies: The Fifth Part. Containing a Collection of Original Poems. With Several New Translations. By the Most Eminent Hands* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1704), p. 206.

3. Proverbs 8:15.

New Hampshire Spy, 22 July 1788

ANNIVERSARY ODE,

for July 4th, 1788.

Talia secla, suis dixerunt, currite, fuis
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parca.

VIRG.¹

Fair freedom, the glory of man in all stations,
The dearest inheritance e'er he obtains,
That blessing bestow'd on a few favour'd nations,
Salutes us with joy, and ennobles our strains.
Encircled with love, from regions above.
The goddess triumphant explores her bright way;
While discord no more disquiets our shore,
America hails independence to day.

Though conflicts tremendous and fields red with slaughter,
While death hover'd round us, encrimson'd with gore,
And blood of our brethren o'er-flow'd us like water,
We boldly march'd on till the conquest was o'er;
Great Britain defy'd with all her stern pride,

Was too weak to make us her mandates obey;
 By favours of Heav'n, to liberty giv'n,
 America hails independence to day.

T' attempt to describe such a glorious contention,
 To which fates of ages and thousands were join'd,
 Would pass all ideas, extinguish invention,
 And rise o'er all grandeur and force of the mind.

But while we have ease, reflection will please,
 That quelling vast armies in pompous array,
 And fleets rigg'd and arm'd, which ocean alarm'd,
 America hails independence to day.

How happy the empire which virtue has founded!
 Her sons are all freemen; her soil and her clime
 Makes industry great; her dominions unbounded
 Shall feel no assault till the last groan of time.

Then come with a smile, forget all your toil;
 The joy of your hearts in your faces display.

Let transports arise, let shouts beat the skies,
 America hails independence to day.

See, see! to the west, to the gardens of pleasure,
 T' a beautiful Eden, our countrymen go,
 Where fields bloom spontaneous, the woods teem with
 treasure,

And rivers of wealth most delightfully flow.

The country is fair beyond all compare,
 Illum'd by sweet peace with her all cheering ray;

Ev'n there let the sound, with rapture, rebound,
 America hails independence to day.

Now o'er the wide main, see our navies advancing
 To all shores and kingdoms, rich commerce to try;
 The streamers of union, triumphantly dancing.
 Wave wonder and concord in each distant sky.

The islands rejoice, the seas join their voice
 And tyrants behold the grand show with dismay;

While peaceful, and sure her reign will endure,
 America hails independence to day.

See, through all our realms, manufactures rising;
 Our fair turn the spindle with virtuous delight;
 No beauties, no graces, superbly disguising,

They charm, they entrance, and enrapture the sight,
 So fair, so refin'd, in body and mind,
 They transcend all magic the thought can portray;
 While bright and divine her daughters all shine,
 America hails independence to day.

Nor less to her glory, her sons are unfolding
 The portals of science which nature unrolls;
 Amaz'd, the just order of systems beholding,
 They loose in one boundless perfection their souls.
 No flight is too high for genius to try;
 No theme too sublime for such parts to essay.
 With unequall'd fame and unblemish'd name,
 America hails independence to day.

A new Constitution its laws has extended;
 So noble, so pure, that the world they confound;
 The rights of mankind are so fairly defended,
 All ages shall roll, in felicity, round.
 Through time, see afar, the stripe and the star,
 Commanding respect, which all nations must pay;
 While joyous to know what fate will bestow,
 America hails independence to day.

Exult then ye heirs of the glorious possession,
 Immense are the years which your sway shall involve;
 Your happiness rise by a rapid progression
 Till worlds sink in thunder and nature dissolve.
 In annual form, till that dreadful storm,
 Posterity's millions, in concert, shall say,
 While bliss it imparts o'er flows their fond hearts,
 America hails independence to day.

1. Latin: "'Ages such as these, glide on!' cried to their spindles the Fates, voicing in unison the fixed will of Destiny!" (Virgil, *Eclogues*, Book IV, lines 46–47).

New Hampshire Spy, 26 July 1788

On the ANNIVERSARY of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Tune,—"Rule Britannia,"

JULY FOURTH.

Th' auspicious morn again is come,
 The glorious day of freedom's birth,
 Sound, sound the trumpet, beat the drum,

Let joy abound and social mirth.
 Now, huzza each freeborn son,
 Huzza for peace and WASHINGTON.

Tis independence now we sing;
 Which does each soul with transport fire,
 Swell, swell the musick, sweep each string,
 And sweetly touch the melting lyre.
 Come seraphick musick join,
 Melodious notes to strains divine.

With temp'rance push the flowing bowl,
 Let generous wine our spirits cheer;
 Fill, fill the bumpers to each soul,
 Who true to liberty doth steer.
 Hail freedom, hail, the day's our own,
 And independence thus we crown.

Vain Britons now no more shall boast,
 Their empire nor their sovereign sway;
 For true they find it to their cost,
 The independence of this day.
 Does Britannia rule now say,
 Who rules this independent day.

'Tis liberty the gift of heaven,
 The boon of each Columbian son,
 To whose valour the prize was given,
 For which he fought and which he won.
 Now, huzza each freeborn son,
 Huzza for peace and WASHINGTON.

Alexandria, Virginia
28 June 1788

According to George Washington, the news that Virginia had ratified the Constitution on 25 June arrived by mail in Alexandria on the evening of the 27th and that "two hours before day" on the 28th an express rider from New York City (Colonel David Henley) brought word that the New Hampshire Convention had adopted the Constitution on the 21st. On the 28th, Washington and others celebrated the news of both ratifications at John Wise's Fountain Tavern in Alexandria. Colonel Henley, one of the celebrants, headed back north with the news of Virginia's ratification on the 29th.

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

I had the pleasure to receive, a day or two ago, your obliging letter of the 24th of last month, in which you advise me of the ratification of the federal Constitution by South Carolina. By a more rapid water conveyance, that good news had some few days before arrived at Baltimore, so as to have been very opportunely communicated to the Convention of this State, in session at Richmond.² It is with great satisfaction, I have it now in my power to inform you that, on the 25th instant, the Delegates of Virginia adopted the Constitution, in toto, by a division of 89 in favour of it to 79 against it: and that, notwithstanding the majority is so small, yet, in consequence of some conciliatory conduct and recommendatory amendments, a happy acquiescence it is said is likely to terminate the business here—in as favorable a manner as could possibly have been expected.

No sooner had the Citizens of Alexandria (who are federal to a man) received the intelligence by the Mail last night, than they determined to devote this day to festivity. But their exhilaration was greatly increased and a much keener zest given to their enjoyment; by the arrival of an Express (two hours before day) with the News that the Convention of New Hampshire had, on the 21st instant, acceded to the new Confœderacy by a majority of 11 voices, that is to say, 57 to 46.

Thus the Citizens of Alexandria, when convened, constituted the first public company in America, which had the pleasure of pouring libation to the prosperity of the ten States that had actually adopted the general government.³ The day itself is memorable for more reasons than one. It was recollected that this day is the Annæversary of the battles of Sullivan's Island and monmouth⁴—I have just returned from assisting at the entertainment; and mention these details, unimportant as they are in themselves, the rather because I think we may rationally indulge the pleasing hope that the Union will now be established upon a durable basis, and that Providence seems still disposed to favour the members of it, with unequalled opportunities for political happiness. . . .

1. FC, Washington Papers, DLC. For the entire letter, see CC:792. In the remaining portion of his letter, Washington wrote about the prospects for ratification by North Carolina, New York, and Rhode Island. Pinckney (1746–1825), a Charleston lawyer-planter and a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives, was an aide-de-camp to Washington during the Revolutionary War, and in 1783 he was brevetted a brigadier general. As a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, he signed the Constitution in September 1787, and he then voted for ratification in the South Carolina Convention in May 1788.

2. On Saturday, 31 May, the news of South Carolina's ratification arrived in Baltimore by sloop, and on 3 June both Baltimore newspapers, the *Maryland Gazette* and the *Maryland Journal*, printed this news. For a "handbill" announcing South Carolina's ratification that was sent from Baltimore to Richmond, see John Vaughan to John Langdon, 16 June (RCS:Va., 1631–32, especially note 3). Some members of the Virginia Convention knew about South Carolina's ratification at least as early as 4 June. (See William Grayson to Nathan Dane, 4 June, RCS:Va., 1572–73.)

3. In his diary for this day, Washington wrote: "The Inhabitants of Alexandria having received the News of the ratification of the proposed Constitution by this State, and that of New Hampshire and having determined on public rejoicings, part of which to be in a dinner, to which this family was envited Colo. Humphreys my Nephew G. A. Washington & myself went up to it and returned in the afternoon" (*Washington Diaries*, V, 351).

4. On 28 June 1776 Americans stationed on Sullivan's Island (guarding the harbor of Charleston, S.C.) successfully repulsed an attack by the British forces under General Henry Clinton. This defeat ended the British army's "Southern expedition" which had been planned to subdue the four southernmost colonies. At the Battle of Monmouth in New Jersey on 28 June 1778, a Washington-led American army fought to a draw against a Clinton-led British army, which had evacuated Philadelphia and was on its way to New York City. This was the last major Revolutionary War battle in the North.

George Washington to Tobias Lear

Mount Vernon, 29 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

Your letter of the 2d: instant² came duly to hand, and obliged me by its communications.—

On friday last, (by the Stage), advice of the decision of the *long*, and *warmly* (with temper) contested question, in the Convention of this State, was received.—89 ayes—79 Noes, without previous amendments;—and in the course of that Night, Colo. Henley, Express from New York on his way to Richmond, arrived in Alexandria with the news of the ratification by the State of New Hampshire.—This flood of good news, almost at the same moment, gave, as you will readily conceive, abundant cause for rejoicing in a place, the Inhabitants of which are *all* foederal.—The Cannon roared, and the Town was illuminated yesterday, as *magnificent* a dinner as Mr. Wise could provide (to which this family were invited and went), was displayed before the principal *Male* Inhabitants of the Town; whose Ears were saluted at every quaff with the melody of foederal Guns.—And on Monday, the business it seems is to recommense and finish, with fiddling & Dancing, for the amusement, & benefit of the Ladies. . . .

1. RC, owned by Helen Marie Taylor, Orange, Va. For another account by Washington of the arrival of the news of ratification in Alexandria, see his 29 June letter to Benjamin Lincoln (Abbot, *Washington, Confederation Series*, VI, 365–66).

2. See Lear to Washington, 2 June (RCS:N.H., 316–17).

Virginia Journal, 3 July 1788¹

On Wednesday the 25th ult. the Convention of this State ratified the Constitution proposed to the United States of America by the late General Convention. The news of this important event arrived here on Friday evening—As a testimony of the joy which the inhabitants felt, the town was immediately illuminated in an elegant manner; and the agreeable intelligence was communicated to our neighbours, up and down the river, by a well-timed discharge of cannon.—On Saturday many of the gentlemen of the town and some from the country, who had heard the *glad tidings*, dined together at Mr. Wise's tavern on a sumptuous dinner prepared for the occasion, to which General Washington, Col. Humphreys, and many genteel strangers were invited.—The General was met some miles out of town by a party of gentlemen on horseback, and escorted to the tavern, having been saluted on his way by the light infantry company in a respectful manner.—His arrival was announced by a discharge of ten cannon under the direction of Captain Greenway. After dinner the following toasts, each followed by a discharge of cannon, were drank, expressive of the high satisfaction of the assembly, the happiness of which was rendered complete by that admirable harmony of sentiment which universally prevailed:

1st. The Convention of Virginia: May the Constitution of the United States of America be executed with the wisdom and integrity with which it was framed.

2d. The States which have ratified the Constitution: May their example be followed by those who are yet to decide.

3d. His Most Christian Majesty: As the effects of his friendship will be immortal, so may the gratitude of America never cease.

4th. The memory of those heroes who, in the late war, laid down their lives on the altar of freedom.

5th. The Marquis La Fayette: May the services he has rendered America be engraven on the hearts of her citizens.

6th. Our worthy Representatives in the present Convention, Dr. David Stuart, and Col. Charles Simms.

7th. The Potomack: May its navigation be improved to its sources, and its trade flourish to the degree bountiful nature intended.

8th. The learning, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of America.

9th. The majesty of the people of America: Let the nations of the world look to them as an example, where, on mature deliberation, and with one accord, they have laid down one form of Government and accepted another.

10th. Union and harmony among the members of the federal empire: May its various natural resources be improved to make the people happy and the nation glorious.

On Monday the rejoicings were concluded by a ball in the evening, adorned by a large collection of elegant ladies, and the discharge of cannon.

1. This item has been transcribed from the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 July, which reprinted it from the no longer extant *Virginia Journal* of 3 July. It was also reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 July.

Baltimore
28 June 1788

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 1 July 1788¹

We are happy to congratulate our distant readers upon the adoption and ratification of the federal Constitution by the States of New-Hampshire and Virginia. The ratification in the former was carried on the 21st ultimo, and in the latter on the 25th. The account of these interesting events was received by the inhabitants of this place with every demonstration of heart-felt satisfaction, and we dare say will give equal pleasure in almost every part of the State. On Saturday evening the artillery were fired from Federal-Hill, and some very beautiful fire-works displayed from the Court-house hill, after which a number of citizens partook of an elegant supper at Mr. Grant's. The following toasts were drank on that occasion.

1. The new Constitution.
2. Our sisters Virginia and New-Hampshire, and the other States which have adopted the Constitution.
3. The illustrious George Washington.
4. May the virtue of the people remain unshaken, and none but decided friends to the Constitution be chosen to put it in motion.
5. A speedy revival of public and private credit.
6. Wise federal laws and *well executed*.
7. The learning, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of America.
8. The flag of the United States of America.
9. The Prince who assisted America in establishing independence.
10. May the liberty of America be perpetual.

1. Reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 9 July. The *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 5 July, reprinted the ten toasts, but preceded them with a paragraph announcing and praising ratification by Virginia, not by New Hampshire. For a similar account of Baltimore's celebration reported in the *Maryland Journal*, 1 July, see RCS:Va., 1718–19, or RCS:Md., 748–50.

William Goddard, the printer of the *Maryland Journal*, also printed a handbill (no longer extant) that describes the celebration. The handbill's report was reprinted, in whole or almost so, in the *Carlisle Gazette*, 2 July; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 2 July; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 3 July; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 12 July, and *Kentucky Gazette*, 26 July.

Boston
22 June 1788

[See the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 25 June; the *Boston Independent Chronicle*, 26 June; and Jeremiah Libbey to Jeremy Belknap, 16 July (RCS: N.H., 402, 404, 433–34) for references to bell ringing in Boston on Sunday, 22 June.]

Bridgewater, Massachusetts
26 June 1788

Boston Independent Chronicle, 10 July 1788

Bridgewater, June 26, 1788.

On the arrival of the intelligence of the ratification of the *Federal Constitution*, by the state of New-Hampshire, a respectable number of the inhabitants of the North-Precinct, met at Lieut. DANIEL CARY'S:— After congratulating each other upon the joyful occasion, the Bell was rung, and nine guns were discharged from a piece of Artillery, in honour of the nine states that have ratified the federal constitution and a number of federal and patriotic toasts were drank, and answered with repeated volleys of small arms, and repeated discharge of thirteen rounds from the piece of Artillery; the remainder of the afternoon was spent in the most perfect good humour and sociability; each person returned home rejoicing in the prospect of once more enjoying the great blessings of liberty, under a permanent system of good government.

Frederickstown, New York
2 July 1788

Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Country Journal, 8 July 1788

On the 2d inst. a number of respectable inhabitants of Fredericks and other adjoining towns, assembled together at the house of Col. John Drake, in order to congratulate each other on the joyful news of the ratification of the new constitution by nine of our sister States.— At 3 o'clock an elegant dinner was prepared; after which the following toasts were drank, each with the discharge of a field piece and a number of small arms.

1. The United States.
 2. The President and members of the Grand Federal Convention.
 3. May the proposed Constitution be generally adopted.
 4. The members of the several Conventions who have adopted the proposed Constitution.
 5. May power be influenced only by justice.
 6. May the United States become an asylum for the oppressed, and the dread of tyrants.
 7. The brave heroes that have been instrumental in procuring our Independence.
 8. His Most Christian Majesty, his Royal Family, and all others our faithful Allies.
 9. May true Religion, Agriculture & Commerce, flourish universally. The day passed with decent regularity, and much to the satisfaction of all present.
- Frederick Town, July 3d, 1788.

Lexington, Massachusetts
23 June 1788

Massachusetts Gazette, 27 June 1788¹

Lexington, June 23, 1788.

“Upon the reception of the important and agreeable news, that the Convention of New-Hampshire had acceded to the Federal Constitution, Captain Brown, with his Artillery Company, met, and after performing a number of military manœuvres, with their usual exactness, a discharge of *nine* cannon was given, in honour of the nine states which have adopted the Constitution. A federal salute was then given—After which the following toasts were drank:

1. The State of New Hampshire.
2. The United States in Congress.
3. Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
4. Governour Hancock.
5. His Excellency John Adams, Esquire, our late Ambassador.
6. General Washington.
7. The King of France.
8. The Marquis de la Fayette.
9. The Arts and Sciences.
10. Agriculture.
11. The FREEDOM of the PRESS.
12. May the ever-memorable *Nineteenth of April, 1775*, be remembered by *Lexington*.

13. Our worthy brethren who FELL on the nineteenth of April, 1775.”

1. Reprinted: *New York Daily Advertiser*, 5 July; *New York Journal*, 5 July; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 8 July (only first paragraph); and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 July. The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 28 June, also reported that Lexington and three other Massachusetts towns—Newburyport, Roxbury, and Salem—celebrated New Hampshire’s ratification with “due demonstrations of joy.”

Newburyport, Massachusetts
24 June 1788

Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet
25 June 1788¹

On Monday last the inhabitants of this town testified their joy, on account of the above interesting and pleasing event, by the ringing of bells and discharge of cannon.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 27 June; *New York Daily Advertiser*, 5 July; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 8 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 July. The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 28 June, also reported that Newburyport and three other Massachusetts towns celebrated New Hampshire’s ratification with “due demonstrations of joy.”

New Brunswick, New Jersey
27 June 1788

New Brunswick, N.J., Brunswick Gazette, 1 July 1788

On the confirmation of the joyful tidings of the RATIFICATION of the NEW-CONSTITUTION, by the Convention of the state of New-Hampshire, the inhabitants of this city (Friday last) testified their federalism, not only by the visible marks of satisfaction in almost every countenance, but by the ringing of bells, and the discharge of cannon, attended with three huzzas from a large concourse of citizens.

New Haven, Connecticut
25 June 1788

Connecticut Journal, 2 July 1788¹

Wednesday last, on receiving intelligence, that the State of New-Hampshire, had adopted the New Constitution, the Inhabitants of this City, testified their Joy, on the pleasing Event, by the ringing of Bells, firing of Cannon, &c.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 8 July. Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale College, recorded in his diary for 25 June that “As soon as the News arrived the four Bells in the City were set a Ringing, & the fœderal Flag displayed and fœderal Discharges of Canon— & Rejoycing” (RCS:N.H., 400).

Newport, Rhode Island
24 June 1788

Philippe André Joseph de Létombe to Comte de la Luzerne
Boston, 26 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Meanwhile, a writer from Newport says that news of the Ratification of the proposed federal Constitution by the State of New-hampshire reached there and the people indulged in the most fervent joy; this News was announced there by the ringing of bells; Boats immediately hoisted their flags and a Request was made to the Governor [John Collins] to raise the large Flag of the State over Fort Washington and to [fire?] the Cannons, His Excellency appeared to take pleasure in granting these Requests; consequently, nine cannon shots were fired at one o’clock and an equal number at Sunset for the purpose of congratulating individually the nine States that ensure the Establishment of the new Constitution: this news likewise produced the most ardent Feelings in the State of Massachusetts where it seems not to be doubted that the Ratification of the ninth State will lead all the States to a common Ratification that will draw tight this knot of a new Union. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Consulaires, BI 210, Boston, ff. 276–77, Archives Nationales, Paris. The letter was docketed as received on 31 August. For a longer excerpt of this letter, see CC:789. In December 1779 Létombe (b. 1733) was appointed France’s consul for New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. He arrived in Boston in June 1781 and in the same year he was made consul general. Except for a year’s leave of absence in 1785–86, he served in Boston until he was recalled in December 1791. He returned to America in 1795 as consul general, and in 1797 was made the French Republic’s minister plenipotentiary to the United States, serving until 1798. Cesar Henri, Comte de la Luzerne (1737–1799), was French minister of Marine and Colonies from 1787 to 1790. He is sometimes confused with his brother, the Marquis de la Luzerne, who had been French minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

Newport Herald, 26 June 1788¹

UNION *and* FEDERALISM.

TUESDAY evening [24 June] we received by Post the highly interesting intelligence of the Ratification of *the proposed Constitution for the United States*, by the State of NEW-HAMPSHIRE, which makes NINE STATES, and thereby insures an establishment of that well organized Government.—

On WEDNESDAY morning the day was ushered in with the ringing of the Bells;—The shipping were drest in their colours, and from many houses in the town were displayed the stripes of America:—Application being made by a number of gentlemen to his EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR [John Collins], that permission might be given to fire the Guns at FORT-WASHINGTON and hoist the *Standard* of the State, his Excellency very politely granted the request and ordered the gunner of the Fort accordingly.—At one o'clock nine 18 pounders were fired from the Fort, and at sun set the same number, as a compliment to the nine States, which was re-echoed by loud huzzas.—It is with pleasure we observed the general joy and unfeigned congratulations of our fellow citizens on this auspicious event.

1. This item was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 5 July, without the last sentence. It was also reprinted in whole or in part in fifteen other newspapers by 21 July: Vt. (1), Mass. (6), R.I. (2), Conn. (4), N.Y. (2). The *Boston Gazette*, 30 June, appended: "At night there were Illuminations." The *Massachusetts Gazette*, 1 July, appended: "EXULT therefore, ye citizens of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, at the prospect of the rising fabric of Order, Justice and Liberty! Let us once more HARMONISE our political machine, and adopt the *Constitution of the United States*, thereby we shall retrieve our much injured character, restore our expiring commerce, cause justice to flourish in our land, and render permanent the happiness and prosperity of this State." A brief account of the Newport celebration appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July (RCS:R.I., 284).

Newport Mercury, 30 June 1788

Tuesday Evening last arrived here the very important and interesting Intelligence, that the State of New-Hampshire had reared the ninth PILLAR of the new federal Fabric of American Glory.—By this fortunate Event we expect an efficient, just and lasting Government will very soon take Place upon such a Foundation as no other Nation can boast of.—The Prospect of such a desirable Epoch in the History of this Western World rekindled the patriotic Spirits, and reanimated the depressed Souls of the honest Citizens of this distressed Town.—It first burst forth very early in the Morning by the ringing of Bells—Drums beating—Fifes and other Implements of Music playing.—The *Remains* of an oppressed Navigation raised their *Insignas* of Joy, which was returned by the display of the Thirteen Stars wafting from the Tops of several Houses in the Town.—Application was made by the Citizens to his Excellency the Governor [John Collins] to exhibit the *State Testimonials* of Joy upon Fort WASHINGTON.—The Request was politely gratified—The Colours were soon flying and the Cannon roaring in Honor of the Nine States who have so gloriously adopted the new Constitution.—The Scholars of the Academy were liberated from their Exercises to join the joyful

Throng—in hailing the auspicious Day!—The American *Saturnalia*!¹—in which the good Citizens of all Ranks expressed their Effusions of Joy—A Day we hope and trust will be dear in Remembrance to civil Liberty—Patriotism—Justice—Honor and Honesty.—A Day which exhibited, in Newport, more military Spirit, Joy and Conviviality than has been seen since the Ratification of the Peace with Britain.—The Celebration ended with a Bonfire at the lower end of the Town—the Illumination of the Parade—the Discharge of nine more Cannon—with the repeated Huzzas of the joyous Citizens.

1. Saturnalia was the ancient Roman festival held in December celebrating Saturn, the Roman god of agriculture.

Newport Herald, 3 July 1788

Nothing can more strongly evince the federalism of this town, than their rejoicings upon the intelligence of the ratification of the Constitution by nine states—there was no influence of party—no arrangement for proceeding—but a spontaneous and universal joy burst from the liberal mind to celebrate the event,—There was a rivalry, but it was a rivalry in exultations,—our press for our last Herald was closed before the day, or it should also have announced the *parade of our fellow citizens, the illuminations, the firings in the evening, and the universal order and harmony that prevailed throughout that auspicious day*.¹

The town of Providence, ever sanguine in the cause of liberty, propose celebrating the fourth of July, in commemoration of American Independence and the ratification of the New Constitution by nine states.—Invitations are given to His Excellency the Governor and his Council and to the country to join with them—Very great preparations we learn are making for this occasion.²

With pleasure we observe, that the NEW CONSTITUTION is thus become the favorite theme of the day; its progress inspires with confidence the friends of liberty and order—and destroys every hopes of its enemies.³

1. This paragraph was reprinted in whole or in part in eight newspapers by 31 July: Mass. (3), R.I. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1).

2. This paragraph was reprinted in six newspapers by 31 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1). For the extensive Providence celebration of the Fourth of July, see “Providence Celebrates the Fourth of July and New Hampshire’s Ratification of the Constitution,” 26 June–17 July (RCS:N.H., 454–56).

3. This paragraph was reprinted in the *Boston Gazette*, 7 July; *Massachusetts Spy*, 10 July; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 17 July; *Maryland Journal*, 22 July; and *Petersburg Virginia Gazette*, 31 July.

New York City
25 June 1788

New York Daily Advertiser, 26 June 1788¹

An Express arrived here yesterday morning from Poughkeepsie, with the agreeable intelligence—That the CONVENTION OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE RATIFIED THE NEW CONSTITUTION ON SATURDAY LAST—Yeas 57—Nays 46—Majority 11.²

Soon after the foregoing important intelligence was received, a general joy diffused itself through the city; the bells were rung, and a number of flags displayed in various parts of the town. In the afternoon nine guns were discharged in honor of the nine States which have adopted the New Constitution—also a Federal salute of 13 guns.

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 July.

2. The *Daily Advertiser* printed this paragraph in larger type with extra spacing between lines for emphasis.

New York Morning Post, 26 June 1788

The Ninth Pillar raised.

Yesterday an express arrived in town from New-Hampshire with the agreeable news of that state having ratified the New Constitution, on the 21st instant, by a majority of *Eleven*.—On receipt of the above interesting intelligence, the bells in the several churches in the city rung joyful peals, salutes were fired from the guns on the Battery, and of the Artillery companies; the evening concluded with every demonstration of joy on this very important event.

Philadelphia
26 June 1788

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 27 June 1788¹

Yesterday the following intelligence was brought to this city by Colonel David Henley—

“Saturday the 21st instant the New Constitution was adopted by the Convention of New-Hampshire—57 to 46.” The bells of Christ Church were immediately set in motion, and the Committee of *Ways and Means*, like sturdy beggars, to solicit money from door to door, to procure an entertainment on the occasion for the *well-born*, and their hungry expectants.

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 30 June.

Pittsfield, Massachusetts
4 July 1788

Pittsfield, Mass., Berkshire Chronicle, 3 July 1788

To-morrow will be celebrated, at the house of Capt. John Strong, in this town, (by a number of respectable inhabitants of this and the towns of Richmond, Lenox, Lanesborough, and Williamstown) the ever memorable *Fourth of July*, the day which gave birth to the Independence of the United States of America—and also the joyful event of nine States having acceded to the Federal Constitution.

Portland, Maine
25 June 1788

Portland, Maine, Cumberland Gazette, 26 June 1788¹

“Upon the arrival of the post yesterday, it was announced to the inhabitants of this town, that the Ninth Pillar of the Grand Federal Edifice was erected last Saturday by the State of Newhampshire:—whereupon a number of respectable gentlemen immediately assembled at the Mason’s Arms; and manifested their joy upon the occasion, at a social entertainment there hastily provided—at which the following toasts were drank, each attended by the discharge of cannon.

1. The State of Newhampshire.
2. The nine States that have adopted the Federal Constitution.
3. The Federalists of America.
4. The Grand Federal Convention.
5. May Agriculture and Commerce be among the first objects of the Federal Legislature.
6. May France with America be forever united.
7. The illustrious Washington.
8. John Hancock, Governour of Massachusetts.
9. John Adams, our late Ambassadour to the Court of Britain.
10. That great Patriot, Philosopher, and Printer, Benjamin Franklin.
11. The Marquis La Fayette.
12. General Warren, and all those Heroes who fell in defence of the Liberties of America.
13. May the fair blossom of Liberty never be blasted by fear, folly, or treachery.

By these and other marks of joy, such as ringing of bells, mutual congratulations, sounding of cannon, and federal huzzas, was this great event yesterday celebrated.

May every other State erect a pillar to strengthen this noble building; and may it secure the freeborn sons of Columbia from every attempt to interrupt their peace—and last as long as the sun and moon endure.”

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 1 July; *Boston Gazette*, 7 July; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8 July; and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 July.

Providence, Rhode Island 24 June 1788

James Brown Diary

Providence, R.I., 24 June 1788¹

news of N. hampshires accession to the new Constitution came to town. Bells instantly rang & cannon were fired—being the 9th. State—

1. Printed: Clarkson A. Collins III, ed., “James Brown Diary (1787–1789),” *Rhode Island History*, 7 (1948), 9. Brown (1761–1834), a 1780 graduate of Harvard College, was a son of John Brown (1736–1803), a wealthy Providence, R.I., merchant. James Brown was not interested in the life of a merchant and lived a life of an educated and literate gentleman. In 1789 he was elected to the Board of Fellows of Brown University.

Susan Lear Journal

Providence, R.I., 24 June 1788¹

Rode around the square² with Mrs. Anthony in the Morning. In the Afternoon we went to visit Mrs. Manning.³ This has been a day of rejoicing as they have received accounts this Morning that New Hampshire has adopted the New Constitution. The whole Town has been rejoicing. We partook of the general joy and have been hugely entertained up at the College by the proof the students gave of their joy. They marched 2 or 3 times around the Green with Drums, Flutes and Violins, each one carrying the different branches of their studies in their hands; some with globes, some with Maps and some with large Folios. The Music was good, in fact, it was⁴ the most interesting procession I have seen in a long time.

1. Typescript, Helen E. Keep Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library. Another typescript version is in the Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection (MSS4978) at the Library of Congress. The two versions differ in capitalization and punctuation. See notes 2 and 4 below for significant differences. Lear (c. 1770–1825) was traveling from her home in Philadelphia to Providence and Boston from 6 May to 26 August 1788.

2. The word “square” is omitted in this version but was supplied from the Library of Congress version.

3. Margaret Stites Manning (c. 1740–1815), a native of Elizabethtown, N.J., was the wife of the Reverend James Manning, the president of the College of Rhode Island.

4. “Has been” in the Library of Congress version.

Providence United States Chronicle, 26 June 1788¹

On Tuesday Morning last, the Eastern Post brought the very interesting and important Intelligence, That the State of New-Hampshire had, on the Saturday preceding, ADOPTED the proposed Constitution, whereby the Structure of the national Government was completed, and the Federal Edifice firmly established on NINE GLORIOUS PILLARS.—The Joy of the People burst forth like a Blaze, catching from Breast to Breast, till it pervaded the whole Town—and it was impossible to restrain the most public Testimonials of their Satisfaction.—All the Bells were set a ringing, and continued the joyful Peal, with but short Intermissions, through the Day.—At Twelve o’Clock a Salute was fired, by the United Train of Artillery, on FEDERAL-HILL, in Honour of the States which had adopted the Constitution—which was several Times repeated in the Course of the Day.—All the Schools were dismissed for the Day, and general Gratulation, diffusing the most sincere Jouisance² among all Ranks succeeded. The *wavering*, and several of those who have heretofore *appeared against* the Constitution, now heartily joined in the general Joy;—which soon extended itself to the fair Seat of the Muses on College-Hill, when the Scholars, with their Books under their Arms, unanimously joined in a solemn Procession, and *peripatetically* and philosophically, in Honour of the Day, named the beautiful Green round the College—THE FEDERAL PARADE. The Town of Providence is truly Federal; and as the new Constitution will, in its Operation and Consequences, be more especially beneficial to this State, than to any other in the Confederacy—it is hoped the People thereof will soon be so convinced of it as to call a Convention, agreeable to the Recommendation of Congress, for adding the *Rhode-Island Pillar*—which, though among the smallest, may yet be considered as not the least deserving, when a little more of its seeming Antifederalism shall be rubbed of[f], and its genuine and intrinsic Worth appear.

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 5 July, and in eleven other newspapers by 16 July: Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (2). A brief summary appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July (RCS:R.I., 284).

2. French: Enjoyment or pleasure.

Editors’ Note

Providence Celebrates the Fourth of July and New Hampshire’s Ratification of the Constitution, 26 June–17 July 1788

On 25 June a meeting of some “respectable Inhabitants” of Providence agreed to combine the celebration of New Hampshire’s ratification with that of the anniversary of American independence. The

celebration was to take place on Friday, the Fourth of July. On 27 June a general meeting of the town's inhabitants, chaired by former Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, planned an elaborate celebration. Committees were appointed to raise money to defray expenses, to designate the place of celebration, to request the clergy to attend, to purchase articles and supplies, to prepare an invitation to the inhabitants of the town and country, and to invite the officers of the state government. The Reverend Enos Hitchcock, pastor of the First or Benevolent Congregational Church, was asked to deliver an oration at the Baptist Church and the United Company of the Train of Artillery was "requested to usher in the Day with a Discharge of Cannon, and to cause the other necessary Firings on the Occasion."

On the night of 3 July, Antifederalists (or the Country party), under the leadership of William West, an associate justice of the Superior Court, and Othniel Gorton, the chief justice (and former speaker of the House of Deputies), began to organize a large armed force on the outskirts of Providence, an overwhelmingly Federalist town. (The size of the force was variously estimated at four to five hundred and 1,000 men.) At 11:00 P.M. a committee from Providence was sent to confer with the Antifederalists, who indicated that the celebration would take place peacefully only if the Constitution was not mentioned and if the ratifying states were not saluted. Antifederalists suggested that any mention of the Constitution and the ratifying states would insult both the legislature, which refused to call a ratifying convention, and a very large majority of the state's freemen, who opposed the Constitution. At 7:00 A.M. or 8:00 A.M. on 4 July, committees representing the Antifederalists and the town of Providence conferred and the latter agreed to celebrate only the anniversary of independence. Consequently, Antifederalists, upon the advice of their leaders, did not interfere with the celebration. (William West published his version of the above events in the *United States Chronicle* on 10 July, while a Federalist version appeared in the *Providence Gazette* on 12 July.)

At 11:00 A.M. on 4 July, the Reverends James Manning and Joseph Snow, Jr., offered prayers at the Baptist Meeting House that were followed by the Reverend Enos Hitchcock's oration and a benediction by the Reverend John Stanford. Around 2:00 P.M. a procession formed and moved to the Federal Plain where the crowd was entertained. Between 5,000 and 6,000 people feasted on meat, wine, punch, and other items at a table measuring 900 to 1,000 feet in length. At 6:00 P.M. the people went from the Plain to the "State-House Parade," where they drank thirteen toasts. The celebration closed with a discharge of thirteen cannon from Federal Hill under the orders of Colonel Daniel

Tillinghast, commander of the United Company of the Train of Artillery. (Hitchcock's oration was printed at the request of the inhabitants of Providence.)

For the documents concerning the Providence 4th of July celebration, see RCS:R.I., 286–308n.

Salem, Massachusetts
23 June 1788

William Bentley Diary
Salem, Mass., 23 June 1788¹

On Monday 23 we had news that the federal constitution was adopted in New Hampshire by a majority.

Yeas.	57.
Nays.	<u>46.</u>
majority 11.	

The Bells rang in Town, & there was Procession at Noon, of which the children of the Schools made the principal part. In arranging the Toasts it was proposed to add "Trade &" between Agriculture, ~~commerce~~, & Fishery. But the correction was over ruled by a celebrated Protestant so that the most useful & numerous order of citizens was forgotten in the ceremonies of the day.

As soon as the procession reached the Common, there was an heavy shower of rain, which prevented any use of the tables on the Common. The provision was carried into the Court street, & wantonly wasted. The Officers broke their tables at the Sun [Tavern], & caroused for the night at each others' houses—

1. MS, Bentley Papers, Diary, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Bentley (1759–1819), a 1777 graduate of Harvard College, scholar, linguist, and biblical scholar, was colleague pastor of the Congregational East (or Second) Church of Salem, from 1783 to 1788; he became the sole pastor in the latter year and held that position until his death. Several years after settling in Salem he became a leader of the Unitarian movement.

Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 24 June 1788¹

When the news of the adoption of the Constitution by Newhampshire (being at least the NINTH, if not the Tenth, State which has adopted it) arrived in town, yesterday, the Inhabitants, on this auspicious occasion, determined to testify, in a decent and publick manner, their federalism and their joy. Accordingly, though the notice was very short, preparations were made for the purpose. The Independent Corps of Cadets, the Corps of Artillery, and the Salem Regiment of Militia, were

called out; and at 4 o'clock the line was formed, in Court-Street, by the Cadets (on the right) and the Militia—the Artillery Company having previously marched on to the Common:—The line was under the orders of Col. FISK. The whole wheeled by sections, and marched up the North Street to the West End of the town, and down the Main Street to the Common; the Rev. Clergy, the Physicians, Merchants, Seamen, Mechanicks, and (which, perhaps, was the most grateful sight to a person of sensibility) the Schoolmasters conducting several hundreds of Scholars hand in hand, following in procession. On the Common, was an extensive table, intended to have been immediately furnished with refreshments for the publick, ordered by several gentlemen of generosity and spirit; but at that moment a heavy shower coming on, the entertainment was deferred till evening. The children dispersed with a general huzza, and the troops, &c. retired under cover. At half past 7, the troops returned into Court Street, where they were dismissed, having acquired much honour by their alacrity in turning out, and their attention while under arms. In the evening, a respectable company assembled at the Sun Tavern, and partook of a generous entertainment; at which the following Federal Toasts were cordially drank:

1. The Federal Constitution.
2. The Nine States who have adopted the Constitution.
3. The President of the Continental Convention.
4. The President of the Massachusetts Convention.
5. Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
6. The Union of the Thirteen States in the Federal Government.
7. Success to the Agriculture, Commerce and Fishery of the United States.
8. May the Military Spirit of the ancient town of Salem ever be engaged in the defence of Liberty.
9. All Mankind.

In the evening the front of the Court-House, and the Cupola, were beautifully illuminated; and an emblematical painting exhibited, representing Justice, Peace, and Liberty (Fame over the whole sounding her trumpet) on an arch supported by NINE Columns—four others lying in the back ground, ready to be introduced into the vacancies left for them—Under the whole were the words,

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Every thing was conducted with order and good humour—every countenance was expressive of joy—and we have no circumstance to regret, but the interruption occasioned by the weather.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Centinel*, 25 June; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June; *New Hampshire Spy*, 28 June; Hartford, Conn., *American Mercury*, 30 June; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 1 July; *New Haven Gazette*, 3 July. The last two newspaper reprintings excluded the nine toasts.

Staunton, Virginia
4 July 1788

Winchester Virginia Gazette, 23 July 1788

STAUNTON, July 5, 1788.

Yesterday being the anniversary of American Independence, and having received information that this State and New Hampshire had adopted the Federal Constitution, the inhabitants of the town and as many of the neighbourhood as could with convenience attend, desirous publicly to demonstrate their approbation, met and collected a large quantity of combustibles on a hill adjoining. In the evening Capt. Gibson's company of Infantry in uniform, appeared on the parade, and performed a number of *evolutions*. They were joined by Capt. Perry's and Douthat's companies of militia, under the orders of Col. Gamble, and discharged ten vollies in honor of the States that had ratified the new Constitution; between each volley a federal toast was drank on this happy occasion, in the pleasing anticipation that the remaining three States would complete the grand *fabric*, by following the example of their sister States. The firings by battalion went on to 13 vollies. At night fire was set to the materials collected: The Masons-Hall and houses in town were elegantly illuminated, and people of all ranks, with elated spirits, expressed their approbation. A genteel ball at Mrs. Burns's concluded the evening, with the greatest good humour and harmony imaginable.

Windham, Connecticut
25 June 1788

Connecticut Gazette, 4 July 1788

Windham, 26 June, 1788.

Yesterday at eight o'clock A.M. intelligence was received from the State of New-Hampshire, of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, by their convention, which raises the *ninth Pillar* and completes the most magnificent edifice of government and liberty that was ever erected—which agreeable information infused the patriotic spirits of this place with universal joy and hilarity, and every breast glowed with the most sincere and heart-felt satisfaction. Every son of liberty exulted in the prospect of being secured, under the balmy wings of energetical government, from anarchy and tyranny its infallible consequence, and all those concomitant evils, which were so lately menacing us with political ruin and destruction.—At four o'clock in the afternoon, on this joyful

occasion, a numerous and respectable concourse of people assembled on the Federal Green before the court-house, where were discharged nine cannon, while the bells rung, as a salutation to each of the States that had ratified the constitution:—After which they repaired to the court chamber, where the greatest unanimity and good order prevailed, and the following toasts were drank.

1. The happy states that have ratified the constitution.
2. Confusion to amendments.¹
3. *George Washington*, Esquire—may he be the future president of the Columbian empire.
4. The future senators and representatives of Columbia.
5. Powers in alliance with the United States.
6. The virtuous and injured minority of Rhode-Island.
7. The illustrious Cincinnati.
8. The fame of the renowned heroes who fell in the American war.
9. May trade and navigation, manufacture and agriculture, learning and virtue, peace and justice, universally flourish, and pervade the rising empire of Columbia.

After which nine cheers were given by the whole assembly, and the remainder of the day was spent in merriment and festivity.

1. For a response to this toast, see the *Connecticut Gazette*, 11 July (immediately below).

Connecticut Gazette, 11 July 1788¹

A correspondent desires us to mention, that observing the publication of the joy manifested in the ancient town of Windham, on the adoption of the *New Constitution* by the Convention of the State of *New-Hampshire*, he applauds the patriotic and federal feelings of the people at Windham; but thinks they might as well have omitted publishing the second toast they drank, as it may be considered a reflection on the opinion of some very important public bodies, and of many worthy and good men as individuals; yet as they did think proper to publish that toast, it might have been *the first* they drank on the occasion, as it is supposed *that* has been the toast constantly drank round the federal green at Windham, for a number of years past.

1. Reprinted: Hartford, Conn., *American Mercury*, 14 July.

Connecticut Gazette, 18 July 1788

A correspondent at Windham observes, that on reading the last Connecticut Gazette, he was induced to believe, *confusion to amendments*, literally is the toast which has for a number of years past been drank

as *far round* Federal Green at Windham, as the generous and renowned city of *Norwich*.

Connecticut Gazette, 18 July 1788¹

Windham, July, 1788.

If any man has a strong inclination to get drunk, I have no objection, provided he makes but a moderate bustle about it, assumes no extraordinary merit on the occasion, and takes care to hurt nobody but himself. But if he cannot be tipsey without exhibiting a pompous publication of it; if he makes a public place the scene of his intemperance, and demand the appellation of patriot, because he deserves that of drunkard; if every newspaper must tell of the honour he has done his country by drinking and shouting, and all his drunken frolicks must be attended with the firing of cannon and beating of drums, I must entreat the gentleman either to keep sober, or if he must be drunk, to find a method of being so with more modesty and moderation.

Not that I mean by this to censure the proceedings of our patriotic spirits—They certainly never meant, that drunkenness should wear the honours of patriotism: they drank to excess, because they loved their country to excess; and they demand public applause, not because they were heated with liquor, but because they were “infused with joy and hilarity,” as their secretary expresses it, at the adoption of the constitution. But perhaps they are guilty of too much modesty and generosity, when they suffer the honours which belong peculiarly to them, to be by mistake, attributed to the town at large. Yes—the patriotic spirits will not think me their enemy, if I say with becoming deference, that their publication is too modest and generous, as it admits a whole town to share that applause, which is properly their’s alone.

I therefore, who am a native of Windham, and am perfectly acquainted with the proceedings of the patriotic spirits, beg leave, from a nice regard to the reputation of those gentlemen, to rectify their publication in the following manner:—

Windham, 26th June, 1788.

Yesterday intelligence was received that the convention of New-Hampshire had adopted the Federal Constitution—On this joyful occasion, whilst all were anticipating the blessings of an excellent government, four decrepid bacchanalians, three students at law, eight negroes, and thirty boys met at the court-house, and got wretchedly drunk.

1. Reprinted: Hartford, Conn., *American Mercury*, 21 July (only the last paragraph); Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 29 July.

Woodstock, Connecticut
4 July 1788

Connecticut Gazette, 18 July 1788

Woodstock, 4th July, 1788.

Having received the important intelligence that the ninth state had adopted the Federal Constitution, a numerous collection of the principal inhabitants of this town, (deeply impressed with joy and gratitude for this most happy event) met on the parade, and performing the customary evolutions, firings, &c. &c. in testimony of their sincere approbation of the Federal Constitution, drank the following toasts:

1. Those illustrious patriots that fram'd the Federal Constitution.
2. Those worthy personages that voted to adopt the Federal Constitution.
3. Every Federalist throughout the United States.
4. The coming in of the Antifederalists.
5. The 4th of July.
6. Liberty, in the true sense of it.
7. The Militia of the United States—may their officers ever be inspired with the abilities of a *Washington*.
8. Commerce—may our exports always exceed our imports.
9. American Arts and Sciences.
10. The Allies of the United States.
11. Public Credit, established upon a solid basis.
12. May the free-born Sons of America, be deservedly respected in every quarter of the globe.
13. A Catholic Spirit of Unity and Benevolence, throughout the United States.

General Commentaries on Celebrations

Connecticut Gazette, 11 July 1788

Most of the principal towns in New England have celebrated the ratification of the new Constitution by the State of New-Hampshire.—And the presses teem with accounts of celebrating the anniversary of American Independence, (4th of July), and the anniversary meetings of the Cincinnati.

At the publication of this paper, the public rejoicing of this city on the accession of *ten States* to the *New Constitution*, hath just commenced—

Guns firing, bells ringing, &c. &c. particulars we have not time to announce to the public.

Paine Wingate to Hannah Wingate
New York, 21 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear friend

. . . I know that you are very much of a libertine lady & dont wonder that you are tickled up with the new Constitution. I suppose that you fancy it will make you young again, & that it will have as good an effect upon you as inoculation. For my part I am tired with reading the pompous accounts of the processions in every part of the Country, and have been expecting to see the account of the Stratham procession & toasts to add to the catalogue. . . .

1. RC, Lafayette MSS, Lilly Library, Indiana University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 241–42.

New Hampshire Spy, 22 July 1788

Perhaps there never was an instance of such general rejoicings, in America, as have taken place since the ratification of the new constitution by ten states; these rejoicings can only be equalled by the importance of those events which gave them birth. The birth-day of American Independence has also been, celebrated with uncommon festivity. Our cities have rung with joy, and our plains have eccho'd back the sound—we have seen the aged rejoicing, leaning upon their staffs, and the youths in our streets shouting for independence—nor have the fair daughters of America been deficient in discovering their joy—they have animated us with the charms of musick, and in heaven-key'd tunes sung
 THE JOYS OF FREEMEN:—

*Still may such pleasing sounds invade the ear,
 Apollo's self, well pleas'd, will lend an ear,
 While hosts celestial join the list'ning throng,
 And brighter seraphs shout, "the Fed'ral Song,"¹
 'Till notes so smooth, so heav'nly, so divine,
 Cause FREEDOM'S SUN o'er all the world to shine.*

1. For federal songs at Portsmouth's celebrations of New Hampshire ratification on 26 June, see RCS:N.H., 429–32.

Biographical Gazetteer

The following sketches outline the political careers of the principal New Hampshire leaders who participated in the process of ratifying the U.S. Constitution. Their political positions are indicated on the Constitution in 1787 and 1788 (Antifederalist or Federalist) and in national politics after 1789 (Democratic-Republican or Federalist). Inclusive years, especially for state officers, reflect periods of repeated, not necessarily successive office-holding. (Membership in the New Hampshire legislature only is indicated for the period 1776–1793.) The exception to this practice is delegates to Congress, where inclusive years indicate only the delegates' actual attendance for any portion of the years listed.

ATHERTON, JOSHUA (1737–1809)

Antifederalist/Federalist

Born, Harvard, Mass. Lawyer. Graduate, Harvard College, 1762; taught school for a time; read law under James Putnam and Abel Willard; admitted to Worcester County, Mass., bar, 1765. Moved to Litchfield, N.H., in 1765; to Merrimack, 1768; and to Amherst, 1773. Justice of the peace and register of probate for Hillsborough County, 1771–76. Removed from list of justices as an opponent of the revolutionary movement against Great Britain. Jailed as a “disaffected person,” 1777; took oath of allegiance, October 1778. Readmitted to law practice by the state Supreme Court, 1779. Member, state constitutional convention, 1781–83. Member (Amherst), first and second sessions of N.H. Convention; Antifederalist leader; voted against ratification in June 1788. Delegate, state constitutional convention, 1791. Member, state Senate, 1792–93. State attorney general, 1793–1800. Became a Federalist in the 1790s and lost his popularity.

GILMAN, NICHOLAS (1755–1814)

Federalist/Democratic-Republican

Born, Exeter, N.H. Resident of Exeter. Studied in common schools and served as a clerk in his father's mercantile house. Officer, Continental Army, 1776–83, rose to the rank of captain; saw action at Saratoga, Monmouth, and Yorktown. Original member, New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati. Elected to Confederation Congress, June 1786, but did not attend. Led volunteers who aided the militia in breaking up a mob threatening the state legislature in Exeter, September 1786. Delegate, Constitutional Convention, 1787; signed Constitution. Delegate, Confederation Congress, 1787–89. Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–97. Accompanied President George Washington on his tour of Rhode Island in the fall of 1790. Presidential elector, 1793, 1797. By 1802 became a Democratic-Republican and was appointed a federal bankruptcy commissioner by President Thomas Jefferson. Member, U.S. Senate, 1805–14.

LANGDON, JOHN (1741–1819)

Federalist/Federalist/Democratic-Republican

Born on a farm near Portsmouth, N.H. Merchant and politician. Attended Major Samuel Hale's Latin Grammar School. Clerk, Daniel Rindge's counting house, Portsmouth. Ship captain and later owner of vessels engaged in West Indian trade. Early opponent of British imperial policy. In December 1775 led a raid on Fort William and Mary, Portsmouth, to seize British munitions. Delegate, Second Continental Congress, 1775–76. Continental agent for New Hampshire selling spoils of privateers for a percentage of

sales. Militia colonel; saw action at Saratoga and in Rhode Island, 1777–78. Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Rockingham County, 1776–77. Member and speaker, state House of Representatives, 1776–82, 1786–87. Member, state Senate, 1784–85. Delegate, Confederation Congress, 1787. State president, 1785–86, 1788–89. Delegate, Constitutional Convention, 1787; signed Constitution; paid for N.H. delegates to attend Convention. Delegate (Portsmouth), first and second sessions of N.H. Convention; Federalist leader; voted to ratify Constitution, June 1788. Member, U.S. Senate, 1789–1801. Became a Democratic-Republican in the mid-1790s. Member, state House of Representatives, 1801–4 (speaker, 1803); state governor, 1805–11 (except for 1809).

LIVERMORE, SAMUEL (1732–1803)

Federalist/Federalist

Born, Waltham, Mass. Lawyer and land and mill owner (owned over half of town of Holderness). Taught school in Chelsea, Mass. Graduate, College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1752. Read law under Edmund Trowbridge of Middlesex County, Mass.; admitted to Massachusetts bar, 1756, and practiced in Waltham. Representative (Londonderry), General Assembly, 1768–69. Judge advocate general of admiralty and king's attorney general, 1769–74. State attorney general, 1778–80. Member, state House of Representatives, 1779–80. Appointed New Hampshire representative to the Continental Congress in the dispute with Vermont over towns on east bank of the Connecticut River, 1779. Delegate, Confederation Congress, 1782, 1785–86. Chief justice, state Supreme Court, 1782–90. Delegate (Campton, Holderness and Thornton), first and second sessions of N.H. Convention; active in debates; voted to ratify Constitution, June 1788. Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–93. Member and president, state constitutional convention, 1791. Honorary Doctor of Laws, Dartmouth College, 1792. Member, U.S. Senate, 1793–1801 (president pro tempore, 4th and 8th sessions).

SULLIVAN, JOHN (1741–1795)

Federalist/Federalist

Born, Somersworth Parish, Maine. Read law under Samuel Livermore, Portsmouth, N.H.; set up practice in Durham, N.H., 1763. Accepted military appointment from royal governor of New Hampshire, but broke with government and supported revolutionary movement against Great Britain. In December 1775 led a raid on Fort William and Mary, Portsmouth, to seize British munitions. Delegate, First Continental Congress, 1774, and Second Continental Congress, 1775, 1780–81. Appointed brigadier general, Continental Army, June 1775; major general, August 1776. Saw service at Siege of Boston (1775), invasion of Canada (1776), and Battle of Long Island (1776). Captured by British at Long Island, but exchanged soon after; his command was restored. Served at Trenton (1776), Princeton, Brandywine Creek, Germantown, and Staten Island (all four, 1777). Spent winter of 1777–78 with General George Washington at Valley Forge. Commanded at Battle of Rhode Island, 1778. Failure dogged him during his command. He had confrontations with Congress, the French (in Rhode Island), and other American generals. His greatest success occurred in 1779 against the Iroquois in western Pennsylvania and New York. Resigned commission, November 1779. Honorary M.A., Harvard College, 1780. Member, state constitutional convention, 1781–83. State attorney general, 1781–86; member, state House of Representatives, 1785–86, 1788–89 (speaker, 1785–86); state president, 1786–88, 1789–90. Delegate and president, first and second sessions of N.H. Convention; voted to ratify Constitution, June 1788. Honorary Doctor of Laws, Dartmouth College, 1789. Federal judge for District of New Hampshire, 1789–95 (in last four years illness prevented him from acting as a judge, but he did not resign).

Appendix I New Hampshire Constitution, 1784

Part I: New Hampshire Bill of Rights, 1784¹

ARTICLE I.

All men are born equally free and independent; therefore, all government of right originates from the people, is founded in consent, and instituted for the general good.

II.

All men have certain natural, essential, and inherent rights; among which are—the enjoying and defending life and liberty—acquiring, possessing and protecting property—and in a word, of seeking and obtaining happiness.

III.

When men enter into a state of society, they surrender up some of their natural rights to that society in order to ensure the protection of others; and, without such an equivalent, the surrender is void.

IV.

Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature unalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.

V.

Every individual has a natural and unalienable right to worship GOD according to the dictates of his own conscience, and reason; and no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty or estate for worshipping GOD, in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession, sentiments or persuasion; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship.

VI.

As morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection; and as the knowledge of these, is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the DEITY, and of public instruction in morality and religion; therefore, to promote those important purposes, the people of this State have a right to empower, and do hereby fully empower the Legislature to authorize from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies-corporate, or religious societies within this State, to make adequate provision at their own expence, for the

support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality:

Provided, notwithstanding, That the several towns, parishes, bodies-corporate, or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their own public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. And no person of any one particular religious sect or denomination, shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the teacher or teachers of another persuasion, sect or denomination.

And every denomination of christians demeaning themselves quietly, and as good subjects of the State, shall be equally under the protection of the law; And no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law.

And nothing herein shall be understood to affect any former contracts made for the support of the ministry; but all such contracts shall remain, and be in the same state as if this Constitution had not been made.

VII.

The people of this State, have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State, and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction and right pertaining thereto, which is not, or may not hereafter be by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled.

VIII.

All power residing originally in, and being derived from the people, all the magistrates and officers of government, are their substitutes and agents, and at all times accountable to them.

IX.

No office or place whatsoever in government, shall be hereditary—the abilities and integrity requisite in all, not being transmissible to posterity or relations.

X.

Government being instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the whole community, and not for the private interest or emolument of any one man, family, or class of men; therefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought, to reform the old, or establish a new government. The doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power, and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.

XI.

All elections ought to be free, and every inhabitant of the State having the proper qualifications, has equal right to elect, and be elected into office.

XII.

Every member of the community has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property; he is therefore bound to contribute his share in the expence of such protection, and to yield his personal service when necessary, or an equivalent. But no part of a man's property shall be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the Representative-body of the people. Nor are the inhabitants of this State controllable by any other laws than those to which they or their Representative-body have given their consent.

XIII.

No person who is conscientiously scrupulous about the lawfulness of bearing arms, shall be compelled thereto, provided he will pay an equivalent.

XIV.

Every subject of this State is entitled to a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries he may receive in his person, property or character, to obtain right and justice freely, without being obliged to purchase it; completely, and without any denial; promptly, and without delay, conformably to the laws.

XV.

No subject shall be held to answer for any crime, or offence, until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally described to him; or be compelled to accuse or furnish evidence against himself. And every subject shall have a right to produce all proofs that may be favorable to himself; to meet the witnesses against him face to face, and to be fully heard in his defence by himself, and counsel. And no subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

XVI.

No subject shall be liable to be tried, after an acquittal, for the same crime or offence.—Nor shall the Legislature make any law that shall subject any person to a capital punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, and the militia in actual service, without trial by jury.

XVII.

In criminal prosecutions, the trial of facts in the vicinity where they happen, is so essential to the security of the life, liberty and estate of the citizen, that no crime or offence ought to be tried in any other county than that in which it is committed; except in cases of general insurrection in any particular county, when it shall appear to the Judges of the Superior Court, that an impartial trial cannot be had in the county where the offence may be committed, and upon their report, the assembly shall think proper to direct the trial in the nearest county in which an impartial trial can be obtained.

XVIII.

All penalties ought to be proportioned to the nature of the offence. No wise Legislature will affix the same punishment to the crimes of theft, forgery and the like, which they do to those of murder and treason; where the same undistinguishing severity is exerted against all offences; the people are led to forget the real distinction in the crimes themselves, and to commit the most flagrant with as little compunction as they do those of the lightest dye: For the same reason a multitude of sanguinary laws is both impolitic and unjust. The true design of all punishments being to reform, not to exterminate, mankind.

XIX.

Every subject hath a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his houses, his papers, and all his possessions. All warrants, therefore, are contrary to this right, if the cause or foundation of them be not previously supported by oath, or affirmation; and if the order in the warrant to a civil officer, to make search in suspected places, or to arrest one or more suspected persons, or to seize their property, be not accompanied with a special designation of the persons or objects of search, arrest, or seizure; and no warrant ought to be issued but in cases, and with the formalities prescribed by the laws.

XX.

In all controversies concerning property, and in all suits between two or more persons, except in cases in which it has been heretofore otherwise used and practised, the parties have a right to a trial by jury; and this method of procedure shall be held sacred, unless in causes arising on the high seas, and such as relate to mariners wages, the Legislature shall think it necessary hereafter to alter it.

XXI.

In order to reap the fullest advantage of the inestimable privilege of the trial by JURY, great care ought to be taken that none but qualified persons should be appointed to serve; and such ought to be fully compensated for their travel, time and attendance.

XXII.

The Liberty of the Press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought therefore to be inviolably preserved.

XXIII.

Retrospective laws are highly injurious, oppressive and unjust. No such laws therefore should be made, either for the decision of civil causes, or the punishment of offences.

XXIV.

A well regulated militia is the proper, natural, and sure defence of a State.

XXV.

Standing armies are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be raised or kept up without the consent of the Legislature.

XXVI.

In all cases, and at all times, the military ought to be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

XXVII.

No soldier in time of peace shall be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; and in time of war such quarters ought not to be made but by the civil magistrate, in a manner ordained by the Legislature.

XXVIII.

No subsidy, charge, tax, impost or duty shall be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people or their Representatives in the Legislature, or authority derived from that body.

XXIX.

The power of suspending the laws, or the execution of them, ought never to be exercised but by the Legislature, or by authority derived therefrom, to be exercised in such particular cases only as the Legislature shall expressly provide for.

XXX.

The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in either House of the Legislature, is so essential to the rights of the people, that it cannot be the foundation of any action, complaint, or prosecution, in any other Court or place whatsoever.

XXXI.

The Legislature ought frequently to assemble for the redress of grievances, for correcting, strengthening and confirming the laws, and for making new ones as the common good may require.

XXXII.

The people have a right in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, give instructions to their

Representatives; and to request of the Legislative-body, by way of petition or remonstrance, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer.

XXXIII.

No magistrate or court of law shall demand excessive bail or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments.

XXXIV.

No person can in any case be subjected to law-martial, or to any pains, or penalties, by virtue of that law, except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service, but by authority of the Legislature.

XXXV.

It is essential to the preservation of the rights of every individual, his life, liberty, property and character, that there be an impartial interpretation of the laws, and administration of justice. It is the right of every citizen to be tried by judges as impartial as the lot of humanity will admit. It is therefore not only the best policy but for the security of the rights of the people, that the Judges of the Supreme (or Superior) Judicial Court should hold their offices so long as they behave well; and that they should have honorable salaries, ascertained and established by standing laws.

XXXVI.

OEconomy being a most essential virtue in all States, especially in a young one; no pension shall be granted, but in consideration of actual services, and such pensions ought to be granted with great caution, by the Legislature, and never for more than one year at a time.

XXXVII.

In the government of this State, the three essential powers thereof, to wit, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, ought to be kept as separate from and independent of each other, as the nature of a free government will admit, or as is consistent with that chain of connection that binds the whole fabric of the constitution in one indissoluble bond of union and amity.

XXXVIII.

A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and a constant adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, industry, frugality, and all the social virtues, are indispensably necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty and good government; the people ought therefore, to have a particular regard to all those principles in the choice of their Officers and Representatives: And they have a right to require of their law-givers and magistrates, and exact and constant observance of them in the formation and execution of the laws necessary for the good administration of government.

1. Printed: *A Constitution, Containing a Bill of Rights, and Form of Government, Agreed upon by the Delegates of the People of the State of New-Hampshire, in Convention . . .* (Portsmouth, 1783) (Evans 18043), 3–14. The Convention declared on 31 October 1783 that the Constitution would take effect on the first Wednesday of June 1784.

Part II: Form of Government, 1784 (excerpts)¹

The People inhabiting the Territory formerly called the Province of New-Hampshire, do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other, to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent Body-Politic or State, by the name of the STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

THE GENERAL COURT.

The Supreme Legislative power within this State shall be vested in the Senate and House of Representatives, each of which shall have a negative on the other.

The Senate and House shall assemble every year on the first Wednesday of June, and at such other times as they may judge necessary; and shall dissolve, and be dissolved, seven days next preceding the said first Wednesday of June; and shall be stiled THE GENERAL COURT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE. . . .

SENATE.

There shall be annually elected by the freeholders and other inhabitants of this State, qualified as in this Constitution is provided, twelve persons to be Senators for the year ensuing their election; to be chosen in and by the inhabitants of the districts, into which this State may from time to time be divided by the General Court, for that purpose: And the General-Court in assigning the number to be elected by the respective districts, shall govern themselves by the proportion of public taxes paid by the said districts; and timely make known to the inhabitants of the State, the limits of each district, and the number of Senators to be elected therein; provided the number of such districts shall never be more than ten, nor less than five. . . .

The Senate shall be the first branch of the Legislature: And the Senators shall be chosen in the following manner, viz. Every male inhabitant of each town and parish with town privileges in the several counties in this State, of twenty-one years of age and upwards, paying for himself a poll tax, shall have a right at the annual or other meetings of the inhabitants of said towns and parishes, to be duly warned and holden annually forever in the month of March; to vote in the town or parish wherein he dwells, for the Senators in the county or district whereof he is a member. . . .

Provided nevertheless, That no person shall be capable of being elected a Senator, who is not of the Protestant Religion, and seized of a freehold estate in his own right of the value of *two hundred pounds*, lying

within this State, who is not of the age of thirty years, and who shall not have been an inhabitant of this State for seven years immediately preceding his election; and at the time thereof he shall be an inhabitant of the district for which he shall be chosen. . . .

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

There shall be in the Legislature of this State a representation of the people annually elected and founded upon principles of equality: And in order that such representation may be as equal as circumstances will admit, every town, parish, or place intitled to town privileges, having one hundred and fifty rateable male polls, of twenty-one years of age, and upwards, may elect one Representative; if four hundred and fifty rateable polls, may elect two Representatives; and so proceeding in that proportion, making three hundred such rateable polls the mean increasing number, for every additional Representative.

Such towns, parishes or places as have less than one hundred and fifty rateable polls shall be classed by the General-Assembly for the purpose of chusing a Representative, and seasonably notified thereof. And in every class formed for the above-mentioned purpose, the first annual meeting shall be held in the town, parish, or place wherein most of the rateable polls reside; and afterwards in that which has the next highest number, and so on annually by rotation, through the several towns, parishes or places, forming the district.

Whenever any town, parish, or place intitled to town privileges as aforesaid, shall not have one hundred and fifty rateable polls, and be so situated as to render the classing thereof with any other town, parish, or place very inconvenient, the General-Assembly may upon application of a majority of the voters in such town, parish, or place, issue a writ for their electing and sending a Representative to the General-Court.

The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen annually in the month of March, and shall be the second branch of the Legislature.

All persons qualified to vote in the election of Senators shall be intitled to vote within the town, district, parish, or place where they dwell, in the choice of Representatives. Every member of the House of Representatives shall be chosen by ballot; and for two years at least next preceding his election, shall have been an inhabitant of this State, shall have an estate within the town, parish, or place which he may be chosen to represent, of the value of *one hundred pounds*, one half of which to be a freehold, whereof he is seized in his own right; shall be at the time of his election, an inhabitant of the town, parish, or place he may be chosen to represent; shall be of the Protestant Religion, and shall

cease to represent such town, parish, or place immediately on his ceasing to be qualified as aforesaid. . . .

EXECUTIVE POWER.

PRESIDENT.

There shall be a Supreme Executive Magistrate, who shall be stiled, THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE; and whose TITLE shall be HIS EXCELLENCY.

The PRESIDENT shall be chosen annually; and no person shall be eligible to this office, unless at the time of his election, he shall have been an inhabitant of this State for seven years next preceding, and unless he shall be of the age of thirty years; and unless he shall, at the same time, have an estate of the value of *five hundred pounds*, one half of which shall consist of a freehold, in his own right, within the State; and unless he shall be of the protestant religion.

Those persons qualified to vote for Senators and Representatives, shall within the several towns, parishes or places, where they dwell, at a meeting to be called for that purpose, some day in the month of March annually, give in their votes for a President to the Selectmen. . . .

All Judicial officers, the Attorney-General[,] Solicitor General, all Sheriffs, Coroners, Registers of Probate, and all officers of the navy, and General and field-officers of the militia, shall be nominated and appointed by the President and Council; and every such nomination shall be made at least seven days prior to such appointment, and no appointment shall take place, unless three of the Council agree thereto. . . .

COUNCIL.

Annually on the first meeting of the General-Court, two members of the Senate and three from the House of Representatives, shall be chosen by joint ballot of both Houses as a Council, for advising the President in the Executive part of government, whom the President for the time being, shall have full power and authority to convene from time to time, at his discretion, and the President with the Counsellors, or three of them at least, shall and may from time to time hold and keep a Council, for ordering and directing the affairs of the State, according to the laws of the land.

The qualifications for Counsellors, shall be the same as those required for Senators. The members of the Council shall not intermeddle with the making or trying impeachments, but shall themselves be impeachable by the House and triable by the Senate for mal-conduct.

The resolutions and advice of the Council shall be recorded in a register, and signed by the members present, and this record may be called for at any time, by either house of the Legislature, and any member of the Council may enter his opinion contrary to the resolution of the majority. . . .

JUDICIARY POWER.

The tenure, that all commission officers shall have by law in their offices, shall be expressed in their respective commissions. All judicial officers, duly appointed, commissioned and sworn, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, excepting those concerning whom there is a different provision made in this Constitution: *Provided nevertheless*, the President with consent of Council, may remove them upon the address of both houses of the Legislature.

Each branch of the Legislature, as well as the President and Council, shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the Superior Court upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions.

In order that the people may not suffer from the long continuance in place of any justice of the peace, who shall fail in discharging the important duties of his office with ability and fidelity, all commissions of justices of the peace shall become void, at the expiration of five years from their respective dates; and upon the expiration of any commission, the same may if necessary, be renewed, or another person appointed, as shall most conduce to the well-being of the State. . . .

DELEGATES TO CONGRESS.

The Delegates of this State to the Congress of the United States, shall some time between the first Wednesday of June, and the first Wednesday of September annually, be elected by the Senate and House of Representatives in their separate branches; to serve in Congress for one year, to commence on the first Monday in November then next ensuing. They shall have commissions under the hand of the President, and the great seal of the State; but may be recalled at any time within the year, and others chosen and commissioned, in the same manner, in their stead: And they shall have the same qualifications, in all respects, as by this Constitution are required for the President.

No person shall be capable of being a delegate to Congress, for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United-States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, or emolument of any kind. . . .

All the laws which have heretofore been adopted, used and approved, in the Province, Colony, or State of New-Hampshire, and usually practised on in the courts of law, shall remain and be in full force, until altered and repealed by the Legislature; such parts thereof only excepted, as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this Constitution: Provided that nothing herein contained, when compared with the twenty-third article in the bill of rights, shall be construed to

affect the laws already made respecting the persons, or estates of absentees.

The privilege and benefit of the Habeas-Corpus, shall be enjoyed in this State, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the Legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a time not exceeding three months. . . .

No person holding the office of Judge of the Superior-Court, Secretary, Treasurer of the State, Judge of Probate, Attorney-General, Commissary-General, Judge of the Maritime-Court, or Judge of the Court of Admiralty, Military officers receiving pay from the Continent or this State, excepting officers of the militia occasionally called forth on an emergency; Judge of the Inferior-Court of Common-Pleas, Register of Deeds, President, Professor or Instructor of any College, Sheriff, or Officer of the Customs, including Naval-Officers, shall at the same time have a seat in the Senate or House of Representatives, or Council; but their being chosen or appointed to, and accepting the same, shall operate as a resignation of their seat in the Senate, or House of Representatives, or Council; and the place so vacated shall be filled up. . . .

To preserve an effectual adherence to the principles of the Constitution, and to correct any violations thereof, as well as to make such alterations therein, as from experience may be found necessary, the General-Court shall at the expiration of seven years from the time this Constitution shall take effect, issue precepts, or direct them to be issued from the Secretary's office, to the several towns and incorporated places, to elect delegates to meet in Convention for the purposes aforesaid: The said delegates to be chosen in the same manner, and proportioned as the Representatives to the General-Assembly; provided that no alteration shall be made in this Constitution before the same shall be laid before the towns and unincorporated places, and approved by two thirds of the qualified voters present, and voting upon the question.

1. *A Constitution*, 15–16, 18, 19, 22, 23–25, 27–28, 32, 34–35, 36–37, 38–39, 42–43, 44, 45–46.

Appendix II

New Hampshire Appoints Delegates to the Constitutional Convention 8 January–27 June 1787

On 8 and 9 January 1787 the New Hampshire House of Representatives and Senate appointed a joint committee to consider a letter from the governor of Virginia “respecting commissioners on commercial matters.” On the 16th the House resolved that two delegates should be elected by joint ballot and a bill passed outlining their powers. The next day the Senate refused to concur in the resolution, whereupon the House resolved that two of the state’s delegates to Congress attend the convention in Philadelphia. The Senate agreed to the resolution with an amendment in which the House concurred. None of the four delegates to Congress elected in June 1786—Nicholas Gilman, John Langdon, Pierse Long, and John Sparhawk—attended Congress between 14 May and 17 September 1787, the period of the Constitutional Convention. At this time the state lacked the money to pay its delegates to Congress, which might be the reason none of them attended Congress or the Convention.

When the next session of the legislature met, the newly elected president of the state, John Sullivan, on 12 June recommended the legislature’s “earliest attention” in appointing delegates to the Constitutional Convention. A joint committee was appointed to explore ways to send delegates to the Convention and Congress. The House twice called on the Senate to join it in electing Constitutional Convention delegates, but the Senate twice refused to concur. On 27 June both houses finally appointed four delegates to the Convention—Nicholas Gilman, John Langdon, John Pickering, and Benjamin West—and passed an act electing and empowering the state’s delegates. Newspapers then reported that Langdon would pay the costs associated with the delegates’ attendance and that he would soon leave for Philadelphia.

House of Representatives Proceedings, Monday, 8 January 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . *Voted*, That Mr. *Sparhawk*, Mr. *Robinson* and Mr. *Means*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join, be a committee to consider of a letter from the Executive of Virginia respecting commissioners on commercial matters, and report thereon. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Representatives, of the State of New-Hampshire, At Their Session, at Portsmouth, Wednesday, the Thirteenth Day of December, Anno Domini, 1786* . . . (Portsmouth, 1787) (Evans 20550), 157–58.

Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 9 January 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote for a committee to join a committee of the Senate, to consider of a letter from Virginia, respecting commissioners on commercial matters,

was brought up, read and concurred:

Mr. *Wentworth* joined. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Hon. Senate, From Wednesday December 13th [1786] to Thursday January 18th, 1787* (Portsmouth, 1787) (Evans 20555), 31.

**House of Representatives Proceedings, Tuesday, 16 January 1787
(excerpt)¹**

. . . *Voted*, That two proper persons be appointed to represent this state in the convention to be held in Philadelphia, in May next, and that the Delegates be chosen by joint ballot of both Houses, and that a bill be brought in to ascertain the powers of said Delegates. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal, December 1786–January 1787*, 178.

Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 17 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote that two persons be appointed to represent this State in convention at Philadelphia, in May next,
was brought up, read and non concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal, December 1786–January 1787*, 46.

**House of Representatives Proceedings, Wednesday, 17 January 1787
(excerpt)¹**

. . . *Resolved*, That any two of the Delegates of this state to the Congress of the United States, be, and hereby are appointed and authorised as deputies from this state to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorized by other states in the union, to assemble in convention at Philadelphia on the second day of May next, and to join with them in devising and discussing all such alterations and further provisions as to render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the union, and in reporting such an act to the United States in Congress, as when agreed to by them and duly confirmed by the several states, will effectually provide for the same; but in case of the death of any of said deputies, or their declining their appointments, the executive is hereby authorized to supply such vacancies, and the President is requested to transmit forthwith a copy of this resolve to the United states in Congress, and to the executive of each of the states in the union.

The foregoing resolve was returned from the Senate for the following amendment, “that the said Delegates shall proceed to join the convention aforesaid in case Congress shall signify to them that they approve

of the said convention as advantageous to the union, and not an infringement of the powers granted to Congress by the confederation.” Which amendment was read and concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal, December 1786–January 1787*, 184.

Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 17 January 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A resolve appointing any two of the delegates to Congress as deputies to assemble in convention at Philadelphia in May next, was brought up, read and concurred, with this amendment, that the said delegates shall proceed to join the convention aforesaid in case Congress shall signify to them, that they approve of the said convention as advantageous to the union, and not an infringement of the powers granted to Congress by the confederation,

was sent down for concurrence,—brought up concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal, December 1786–January 1787*, 48.

Governor John Sullivan: Message to the Senate and House of Representatives, Council Chamber, Concord, 12 June 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . The forwarding delegates to the convention at Philadelphia, where business highly interesting to this state is to be acted upon, may be thought an object worthy of your earliest attention. . . .

1. Printed: *New Hampshire Spy*, 26 June. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Mercury*, 28 June; and *Exeter Freeman’s Oracle*, and *New Hampshire Gazette*, 30 June.

House of Representatives Proceedings, Thursday, 14 June 1787, P.M. (excerpt)¹

. . . *Voted*, That a conference be had with the honourable Senate, if they see fit, as soon as may be, in the Assembly Chamber, to take into consideration some method for forwarding Delegates to Congress and the Convention at Philadelphia, and any other matter that may come under their consideration. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Representatives of the State of New-Hampshire. At their Session, Began and Holden at Concord, on Wednesday, the Sixth Day of June, Anno Domini 1787 . . .* (Portsmouth, 1787) (Evans 20551), 18.

Senate Proceedings, Thursday, 14 June 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote that a conference be had with the Hon. Senate, to take into consideration some method for forwarding Delegates to Congress

and Convention and any other matters which may come under consideration.

was brought up, read and concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Hon. Senate, From Wednesday June 6th, to Saturday June 30, 1787* (Portsmouth, 1787) (Evans 20556), 14.

**House of Representatives Proceedings, Friday, 15 June 1787
(excerpt)¹**

. . . *Voted*, That Mr. *N. Peabody*, Mr. *Odlin*, Mr. *Blanchard*, Mr. *Dix*, and Mr. *Holmes*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join, be a committee to devise ways and means for forwarding the Delegates of this State to Congress and the Convention at Philadelphia, and report thereon. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal, June 1787*, 21.

Senate Proceedings, Friday, 15 June 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote for a committee to join a committee of the Senate, to devise ways and means for forwarding Delegates to Congress, &c. and report thereon,

was brought up, read and concurred.

Mr. *Bellows*, Mr. *Bayley* and Mr. *Bell* were joined. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal, June 1787*, 16.

**House of Representatives Proceedings, Friday, 22 June 1787
(excerpt)¹**

. . . *Voted*, That this House join with the honourable Senate if they see fit, to chuse four persons by joint ballot, either two of whom to represent this state in the Grand Convention now sitting at Philadelphia. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal, June 1787*, 38.

Senate Proceedings, Saturday, 23 June 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote that the House join with the Hon. Senate this afternoon, to chuse four persons, either two of whom, to represent this State in the grand Convention now sitting at Philadelphia,

was brought up, read and concurred,
concurrence re-considered. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal, June 1787*, 31.

**House of Representatives Proceedings, Tuesday, 26 June 1787
(excerpt)¹**

. . . *Voted*, That this House join with the honourable Senate, if they see fit, to elect by joint ballot (as soon as may be) Delegates to represent this State in the Convention sitting at Philadelphia. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal, June 1787*, 47.

Senate Proceedings, Tuesday, 26 June 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . A vote that the House join with Hon. Senate, if they see fit, to elect by joint ballot (as soon as conveniently may be) delegates to represent this State, in the Convention sitting in Philadelphia, was brought up, read and non-concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal, June 1787*, 39.

**House of Representatives Proceedings, Wednesday, 27 June 1787
(excerpts)¹**

. . . An act for appointing deputies from this State to the Convention proposed to be holden in the city of Philadelphia, in May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the federal constitution, was read a third time and passed to be enacted. . . .

Voted, That the honourable *John Langdon*, Esquire, be and he hereby is appointed a commissioner from this State, to meet in a Convention proposed to be held at Philadelphia, in May last, to take under consideration the revision of the articles of confederation of the United States, &c.

Voted, That the honourable *John Pickering*, Esquire, be and he hereby is appointed a commissioner from this State to meet in a Convention proposed to be held at Philadelphia in May last to take under consideration the revision of the articles of confederation of the United States, &c.

Voted, That the honourable *Nicholas Gilman*, Esquire, be and he hereby is appointed a commissioner from this State, to meet in a Convention proposed to be held at Philadelphia in May last, to take under consideration the revision of the articles of confederation of the United States, &c.

Voted, That the honourable *Benjamin West*, Esquire, be and he hereby is appointed a commissioner from this State, to meet in a Convention proposed to be held at Philadelphia in May last, to take under consideration the revision of the articles of confederation of the United States, &c. . . .

1. Printed: *House Journal, June 1787*, 50–51, 53–54.

Senate Proceedings, Wednesday, 27 June 1787 (excerpts)¹

. . . A vote that the Hon. *John Langdon*, Esq. be, and hereby is appointed a commissioner from this State, to meet at a convention proposed to be held at Philadelphia, in May last, to take under consideration a revision of the articles of Confederation of the United States, &c.

was brought up, read and concurred.

A vote that the Hon. *B. West*, Esq. be, and is appointed a commissioner, to meet in convention at Philadelphia, for the purpose above said,

was brought up, read and concurred.

A vote that the Hon. *John Pickering*, Esq. be, and is appointed a commissioner, to meet in convention, as above said,

was brought up, read and concurred.

A vote appointing the Hon. *Nicholas Gilman*, Esq. a commissioner, to meet in convention, as aforesaid,

was brought up, read and concurred. . . .

An act for appointing deputies from this State, to the convention, proposed to be holden in the city of Philadelphia, in May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the federal constitution, having been read a third time,

voted that it pass to be enacted. . . .

1. Printed: *Senate Journal, June 1787*, 41–42, 44.

An Act Electing and Empowering Delegates, 27 June 1787¹

An Act for Appointing Deputies from This State to the Convention, Proposed to Be Holden in the City of Philadelphia in May 1787 for the Purpose of Revising the Federal Constitution—

Whereas in the formation of the federal compact, which frames the bond of union of the amirican-states, it was not possible in the infant state of our republic to devise a system which in the course of time and experiance, would not manifest imperfections, that it would be necessary to reform.

And Whereas, the limited powers, which by the articles of confederation are vested in the Congress of the united states, have been found far inadequate to the enlarged purposes which they were intended to produce.

And whereas Congress hath, by repeated and most urgent representations, endeavoured to awaken this, and other states of the union, to a sense of the truly critical, and alarming situation, in which they may inevitably be involved, unless timely measures be taken to enlarge the powers of Congress, that they may thereby be enabled, to avert the

dangers which threaten our existance, as a free and independant people. And whereas, this state hath been ever desireous to act upon the liberal system of the general good of the united states, without circumscribing its views to the narrow, and selfish objects, of partial convenience; and has been at all times ready to make every concession to the safety and happiness of the whole, which justice and sound policy could vindicate—

Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in general court convened, that John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West Esqrs be, and hereby are, appointed Commissioners; they, or any two of them, are hereby authorized, and impowered, as Deputies from this State to meet at Philadelphia said Convention, or any other place to which the said Convention may be adjourned; for the purposes aforesaid, there to confer with such deputies, as are, or may be appointed by the other States for similar purposes; and with them to discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remedy the defects of our federal union; and to procure, and secure, the enlarged purposes which it was intended to effect, and to report such an act, to the United States in Congress, as when agreed to by them, and duly confirmed by the several States, will effectually provide for the same—

1. Printed: Albert S. Batchellor et al., eds., *Laws of New Hampshire . . .* [1679–1835] (10 vols., Manchester, N.H., and elsewhere, 1904–1922), V, 264–65.

New Hampshire Mercury, 5 July 1787¹

We hear that his excellency the late president Langdon, will leave this town on Monday, to join the federal Convention. The prayers of the good will follow this disinterested patriot, who, when the public treasury was incapable of furnishing supplies, generously offered to bear the expence of himself and colleague on this important mission.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Gazette*, 7 July. In this issue the *Mercury* also printed an account of the celebration of the 4th of July in Portsmouth. The second toast at the celebration was “The Federal Convention—may the result of this meeting be as glorious as its members are illustrious.”

New Hampshire Mercury, 12 July 1787

Last Monday the hon. JOHN LANGDON, esq. a member of the federal Convention for this state, left this town to join that august assembly at Philadelphia,—he was escorted as far as Greenland, by a large number of gentlemen, and followed by the good wishes of all, who desire to see the government of these states placed on a secure and permanent basis.

Appendix III

The Report of the Constitutional Convention

17 September 1787

The President of the Convention to the President of Congress¹

In Convention, September 17, 1787.

SIR, We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most adviseable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident—Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all—Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few

exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, We have the honor to be SIR, Your Excellency's most Obedient and humble servants.

George Washington, President.

By unanimous Order of the Convention,

HIS EXCELLENCY

The President of Congress.

1. Broadside, PCC, Item 122, Resolve Book of the Office of Foreign Affairs, 1785–89, tipped in between pages 98–99, DNA. The original letter has been lost. The above is transcribed from the official copy of the Convention Report, printed by John McLean and attested by Charles Thomson.

The Constitution of the United States¹

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

Article. I.

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after

the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person

holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article. II.

Section. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the

Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the

Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III.

Section. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article. IV.

Section. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And

the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand

eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article. VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers; both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word, "the," being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erasure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

Attest William Jackson Secretary

Go: Washington—Presidt.
and deputy from Virginia

Delaware	{ Geo: Read Gunning Bedford junr John Dickinson Richard Bassett Jaco: Broom	New Hampshire	{ John Langdon Nicholas Gilman
Maryland	{ James McHenry Dan of St Thos. Jenifer Danl Carroll	Massachusetts	{ Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King
Virginia	{ John Blair— James Madison Jr.	Connecticut	{ Wm: Saml. Johnson Roger Sherman
North Carolina	{ Wm. Blount Richd. Dobbs Spaight. Hu Williamson	New York . . .	Alexander Hamilton
South Carolina	{ J. Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler	New Jersey	{ Wil: Livingston David Brearley Wm. Paterson Jona: Dayton
Georgia	{ William Few Abr Baldwin	Pennsylvania	{ B Franklin Thomas Mifflin Robt Morris Geo. Clymer Thos. FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouv. Morris

1. Engrossed MS, RG 11, DNA.

Resolutions of the Convention Recommending the Procedures for Ratification and for the Establishment of Government under the Constitution by the Confederation Congress¹

In Convention Monday September 17th. 1787.

Present The States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

RESOLVED, That the preceeding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the Opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the Recommendation of its Legislature, for their Assent and Ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the Same, should give Notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a Day on which Electors

should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a Day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the Time and Place for commencing Proceedings under this Constitution. That after such Publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected: That the Electors should meet on the Day fixed for the Election of the President, and should transmit their Votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the Time and Place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole Purpose of receiving, opening and counting the Votes for President; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without Delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the Unanimous Order of the Convention

W. Jackson Secretary.

Go: Washington Presidt.

1. Engrossed MS, RG 11, DNA.

Appendix IV
New Hampshire Population
1773, 1775, 1786 and 1790¹

Town	1773	1775	1786	1790
Acworth	—	—	483	705
Alexandria	—	137	291	297
Allenstown	143	149	175	255
Alstead	232	317	943	1,112
Amherst	1,370	1,428 ²	1,912	2,369
Andover	135	179	410	645
Antrim	—	—	289	526
Atkinson	535	575	500	480
Barnstead	152	252	569	807
Barrington	1,341	1,655	990	2,481
Bath	150	144	335	493
Bedford	388	495	785	897
Boscawen	504	585	831	1,108
Bow	308	350	—	566
Brentwood	1,089	1,100	—	976
Burton	—	—	74	141
Campton	139	190	307	395
Canaan	62	67	253	483
Candia	663	744	982	1,040
Canterbury	600	723	860	1,048
Cardigan	—	—	80	—
Charlestown	590	594	968	1,094
Chester	1,552	1,599	1,759	1,900
Chesterfield	747	874	1,535	1,903
Chichester	273	418	—	492
Claremont	423	523	965	1,423
Cockburn	88	14	—	26
Cockermouth	107	118	281	373
Coleburn	— ³	4	—	29
Concord	1,003	1,052	1,402	1,738
Conway	203	273	—	574
Cornish	213	309	605	982
Coventry	—	—	—	88
Croydon	91	143	381	536
Dalton	14	50	—	14

Town	1773	1775	1786	1790
Dartmouth	—	—	—	111
Deering	—	—	—	938
Deerfield	911	929	1,283	1,613
Derryfield	279	285	338	362
Dorchester	121	—	116	175
Dover	1,665	1,666	1,431	1,996
Dublin	255	305	658	899
Dunbarton	464	497	741	921
Dunstable	610	705	554	632
Durham	1,149	1,214	1,233	1,246
East Kingston	402	428	420	358
Eaton	—	—	138	254
Effingham	111	83	56	153
Enfield	—	50	484	724
Epping	1,648	1,569	1,347	1,255
Epsom	327	387 ⁴	—	830
Exeter	1,714	1,741	1,592	1,722
Fishersfield	—	130	217	325
Fitzwilliam	214	—	870	1,038
Francetown	—	200	—	983
Franconia	—	29	—	72
Gilmanton	635	774	1,639	2,610
Gilsum	139	178	305	298
Goffstown	732	831	1,063	1,275
Gore	—	—	—	—
Grafton	—	—	354	403
(New) Grantham	60	74	201	333
Greenland	731	759	662	634
Hampstead	728	768	—	725
Hampton	917	862	867	852
Hampton Falls	648	645	569	540
Hancock	—	—	291	634
Hanover	342	434	870	1,379 ⁵
Haverhill	387	365	458	552
Hawke	478	504	301	422
Henniker	338	347 ⁶	862	1,124
Hillsborough	153	—	—	798
Hinsdale	220	—	330	524
(New) Holderness	147	172	267	329
Hollis	1,162	1,255	1,423	1,441

Town	1773	1775	1786	1790
Hopkinton	943	1,085	1,537	1,715
Jaffrey	303	351	—	1,238
Keene	645	758	1,122	1,307
Kensington	822	797	798	804
Kingston	989	961	—	905
Lancaster	37	61	102	161
Landaff	—	40	—	292
Lebanon	295	347	843	1,180
Lee	960	954	956	1,036
Lempster	66	128	322	415
Lincoln	—	—	—	22
Litchfield	299	284	—	369
Littleton	—	—	—	96
Londonderry	2,471	2,590	—	2,604
Loudon	204	349	822	1,074
Lyman	—	—	116	202
Lyme	241	252	502	816
Lyndborough	—	713	—	1,280
Madbury	625	677	585	592
Marlborough	275	322	618	786
Marlow	156	207	252	319
Mason	463	501	866	922
Meredith	218	259	572	882
Merrimack	552	606	701	819
Middleton	—	238	—	617
Moultonborough	263	272	400	565
New Boston	410	569	—	1,204
New Castle	601	449	—	534
New Chester	179	196	496	312
New Durham	280	286	242	554
New Hampton	—	—	—	652
Newington	548	332	476	542
New Ipswich	882	960	1,049	1,241
New London	—	—	219	311
Newmarket	1,344	1,289	1,174	1,137
Newport	156	157	554	779
Newton	572	540	343	530
North Hampton	702	652	659	657
Northfield	—	—	349	606
Northumberland	46	57	—	117

Town	1773	1775	1786	1790
Northwood	250	313	575	746
Nottingham	904	999	1,026	1,069
Nottingham West	592	649	1,010	1,064
Orford	228	222	376	540
Ossipee	—	26	—	339
Packersfield	117	186	567	724
Pelham	684	749	875	794
Pembroke	666	744	994	962
Peterborough	514	546	831	861
Peterborough Slip	81	—	175	—
Piercy	—	—	—	48
Piermont	—	168	356	426
Pittsfield	—	—	598	872
Plainfield	275	308	580	1,024
Plaistow	591	575	551	516
Plymouth	345	382	532	625
Poplin	564	552	500	493
Portsmouth	4,372	4,590	4,222	4,720
Protectworth	—	—	127	210
Raby	—	—	262	338
Raymond	683	683	786	727
Richmond	745	864	1,250	1,380
Rindge	604	542	759	1,143
Rochester	1,420	1,548	2,456	2,852
Rumney	192	237	359	411
Rye	842	870	655	865
Salem	—	1,084	1,082	1,218
Salisbury	416	498	1,045	1,362
Sanbornton	352	459	1,107	1,587
Sandown	590	635	521	562
Sandwich	204	245	653	905
Seabrook	596	607	668	715
Society Land	—	177	157	329
Somersworth	1,038	965	—	943
South Hampton	473	498	452	449
Stoddard	215	224	563	701
Stratford	—	41	—	144
Stratham	1,068	1,137	907	882
Surry	208	215	—	448
Sutton	—	—	337	520

Town	1773	1775	1786	1790
Swanzey	536	647	1,000	1,155
Tamworth	—	151	288	266
Temple	418	491	701	747
Thornton	74	117	302	385
Tuftonborough	—	—	—	109
Unity	106	146	404	538
Wakefield	248	320	505	646
Walpole	549	658	—	1,254
Warner	213	262	—	863
Warren	—	—	—	206
Washington	132	163	474	545
Weare	884	837	1,574	1,924
Wendall	—	65	195	267
Wentworth	42	—	168	241
Westmoreland	698	758	1,621	2,000
Wilton	580	632	1,006	1,097
Winchester	646	723	1,103	1,209
Windham	502	529	592	663
Wolfeborough	165	211	—	447
County	1773		1786	1790
Cheshire	9,496 + 9 slaves		15,173	28,753
Grafton	3,549 + 20 slaves		8,400	13,468
Hillsborough	13,514 + 77 slaves		25,990	32,881
Rockingham	34,707 + 466 slaves		32,344	43,185
Strafford	10,826 + 102 slaves		13,894	23,609
TOTALS	72,092 + 674 slaves	—	95,801	141,896

1. The 1773 and 1786 censuses are from Nathaniel Bouton, comp. and ed., *Provincial and State Papers: Miscellaneous Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire at Different Periods . . .*, Vol. X (Concord, 1877), 621–89. The 1775 returns are from Bouton, comp. and ed., *Provincial Papers: Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New-Hampshire, from 1764 to 1776 . . .*, Vol. VII (Nashua, 1873), 724–81. The population figures for 1790 are taken from *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: New Hampshire* (Washington, D.C., 1907), 9–10.

2. No return submitted—estimated total.

3. Part of Cockburn in the 1773 census.

4. No return submitted—estimated total.

5. Includes 152 students at Dartmouth College.

6. Includes population from Hillsboro, Antrim, and Hancock (*Provincial and State Papers*, X, 621–36).

New Hampshire Index

Explanatory Note

People appearing in this index are identified in parentheses in one of three ways: (1) people from locations beyond New Hampshire are identified by their state or country of residence, when known; (2) New Hampshire inhabitants *not appearing* in the state legislature, state Convention, or in town meetings by their town of residence, when known; and (3) New Hampshire inhabitants appearing in the state legislature, state Convention, or in town meetings by the town or “classed” towns they represented. (See note on “classed” towns, below.)

New Hampshire Convention delegates are further identified, also in parentheses, by their vote on ratification on 21 June 1788—those supporting ratification with a “Y,” those opposing ratification with an “N.” Convention delegates who did not vote are indicated in one of two ways: by an “A” for absent or an “NV” for attending but not voting.

Representation in the New Hampshire House of Representatives was based on the number of ratable polls in a given town, parish, or place. (See Appendix I, RCS:N.H., 472, for New Hampshire’s constitutional provisions related to representation.) Because some towns could not meet the threshold of 150 ratable polls for individual representation in the House, those towns were “classed” with other towns to meet the threshold, which ensured the towns’ collective representation in the legislature (that is, classed towns shared a representative). As representation in the New Hampshire Convention was determined by representation in the House, some delegates to the Convention also represented classed towns. (See “Resolutions Calling a State Convention,” 14 December 1787, RCS:N.H., 144–45.)

In this index, towns classed together for representation in the state legislature and the state Convention have been indexed according to the first town in the grouping of towns. (For example, the classed towns “Acworth, Lempster and Marlow” are indexed together and alphabetized according to the first town, in this case “Acworth.” Cross-references at “Lempster” and “Marlow” refer the reader to the main entry at “Acworth.”)

To aid the reader, compilations of similar items have been grouped under a common main entry in this index. Such compilations are listed below. In addition to their being grouped under “Pseudonyms,” pseudonymous items printed in this volume are indexed individually. When known, the author’s name is placed in parentheses after the pseudonym. Some entries in this index are so unusual that they deserve to be highlighted. The reader should be particularly aware of these entries listed below.

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