THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification of the Constitution by the States

VIRGINIA

Supplemental Documents

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Introduction

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

Except for some photographic reproductions (facsimiles), the documents consist mostly of literal transcripts. The documents are arranged chronologically except for those on particular subjects which are grouped together. These groupings are:

- The Virginia General Assembly Calls a State Convention, 31 October–2 November 1787
- The Virginia General Assembly Considers Printer John Dixon's Petition, 2–22 November 1787
- The Virginia General Assembly Adopts an Act for Paying the State Convention Delegates, 4–8 December 1788
- The Political Club of Danville, Kentucky, Resolutions and Revised Constitution, 23 February–17 May 1788
- Poll Lists of Convention Elections, 10–24 March 1788
- Newspaper Reports of Convention Election Results
- Election Certificates
- The Virginia Convention, 2–27 June 1788, which includes copies of the manuscript and printed journals, newspaper printings of Convention minutes, advertisements for subscribers and sale of the debates, excerpts from the debates, attendance book and auditor's journals, manuscript committee reports, and documents on Virginia's ratification
- Legislative Action on the Expenses of the Virginia Convention, 26 June 1788–2 December 1790
- Humphrey Marshall Defends His Vote to Ratify the Constitution, 4 September–13 October 1806
- Timothy Pickering Notebook, 1828 and undated
- Prospects for Ratification of the Constitution in Virginia, 29 October 1787–1 July 1788

Facsimiles

This Supplement contains 190 facsimiles totaling 690 individual pages. These facsimiles provide a visual representation of original documents, some of which were difficult or impossible to transcribe.

References to these facsimiles (including the document number, title, and footnotes) appear in the text portion of the Supplement with an indication to visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection's website (https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution) to view the documents themselves.

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

Appendix

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

Symbols

Manuscripts

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

Manuscript Depositories

CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society
CtY	Yale University
DLC	Library of Congress
MB	Boston Public Library
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society
NHi	New-York Historical Society
NN	New York Public Library
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Vi	Virginia State Library
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society
ViU	University of Virginia
ViW	Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Short Titles

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

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

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:Va. 2." "Mfm" is also used in the running headers as an aide to the reader, and are especially helpful in multipage documents.
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:Va., 16."

Documents

1 A–B. George Mason in the Constitutional Convention c. 12–13 September 1787

1-A. George Mason: Annotated Copy of the Committee of Style Report c. 12–13 September

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

1. This annotated broadside is in the Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. On the verso of the broadside Mason wrote his objections to the Constitution.

1-B. George Mason: Objections to the Constitution c. 12–13 September

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

1. Mason's objections appear on the verso of his broadside copy of the Committee of Style report. For more on Mason's objections, see RCS:Va., 40–46.

2. Edmund Pendleton: Annotated Copy of the Constitution post-20 September 1787

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

1. This broadside, printed for the Constitutional Convention by Dunlap and Claypoole, is in the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers at the Library of Congress.

3. William DuVal to Francis Jerdone Richmond, 26 September 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I have enclosed you the proceedings of the fœderal Convention which if adopted will make the States more virtuous and happy than they other wise would be. . . .

1. RC, Jerdone Papers, ViW.

4. From James Monroe, Richmond, 4 October 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I have been so closely confined to the bar that I have heard little of the reception given the report of the Convention here—how are the sentiments of our friends respecting it? it hath pass'd the Congress, under a recommendation to consider it as propos'd by the Convention. I am clearly of opinion the assembly have nothing to do but appoint the Convention—opposition no doubt will be made to it in this stage, wh. even if well founded, will in my opinion be improper. . . .

1. Printed: Sotheby's Sale Catalog No. 5031 (Auction on 26 April 1983), Item 28.

5. Williamsburg Meeting, 6 October 1787[1]

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the City of Williamsburg at the Courthouse of the said City the 6*th day of October* 1787.

I. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the act of the last session of assembly imposing new taxes is unjust and impolitic, as it imposes an excessive tax on riding carriages, the use of which seems not to be prohibited by any moral or political reasons: As it deprives Clerks of Courts and Lawyers of a large part of the reward of their services which had been by law assured to them: As it lays an extraordinary burden on particular classes of men, without conferring on them any equivalent of particular privileges and immunities, and as it subjects improvements in towns to a growing tax from which it has been thought good policy to exempt those in the country.

II. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the act imposing new taxes, is rendered still more oppressive by the act of appropriation, which directs that these taxes shall be paid in specie only.

III. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the act for reviving and continuing the act for adjusting claims for property impressed or taken for public services, and the act for giving farther time to officers, soldiers, sailors, and mariners, to settle their arrears of pay and depreciation with the Auditor of public accounts, ought not to be again revived, as they are the sources of numberless frauds and impositions, and defeat the operation of any system of Finance calculated to discharge the Certificates already issued.

IV. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the interest on all Certificates, and all warrants on the Treasury, should be receiveable in payment of all taxes.

V. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the obligation of all contracts, legally entered into whether of a public or private nature, ought to be held sacred.

VI. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that a speedy, equal, and complete administration of justice is essential to the welfare and prosperity of every state; that Courts should be so constructed and laws so framed as to reach all persons and every kind of property, and subject them without delay to the claims of justice.

VII. RESOLVED, that a committee be appointed to prepare a memorial to be presented to the next General Assembly pursuant to the first, second, fourth and sixth resolutions, and that the said committee do consist of Mr. Andrews, Mr. Bracken, Mr. Prentis, and Mr. Beall.

VIII. RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that a Convention ought to be appointed for the purposes of deliberating on the measures recommended by the Honourable Convention lately held at Philadelphia, and that the said Convention ought also to be empowered to revise and amend the Constitution of this Commonwealth.

ORDERED, that the foregoing proceedings be published in the Virginia Gazette.

Teste WILL. RUSSELL, Clerk.

1. *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* 18 October. All eight resolutions were reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* and the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 26 October. Resolution VIII was reprinted in the New York *Daily Advertiser,* 26 October; *Albany Gazette,* 15 November; and Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal,* 21 November.

6. Maryland Journal, 16 October 1787[1]

Numerous and very respectable Meetings of the Freeholders of Fairfax County, and the Town of Alexandria, in Virginia, have unanimously approved of the proposed Federal Constitution, and instructed their Delegates to the General Assembly, to use their utmost Power and Abilities to obtain a Recommendation from that Honourable Body, in the next Session, to the Freeholders of the State at large, for the holding a Convention, as speedily as possible, for the Adoption of the aforesaid Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet,* 23 October; Hartford, Conn., *American Mercury,* 29 October; *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* 8 November.

7. Francis Taylor Diary
Midland, Orange County, Va., 22 October 1787 (excerpts)[1]

22 Went to Court . . . Heard that there is opposition to the proposed new federal Constitution in our Assembly. . . .

1. MS, Acc. 18710, Vi.

8. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 24 October 1787

We hear from Richmond, Virginia, that a number of gentlemen of that place were prepared to meet Governor Randolph on his return from the Federal Convention, but finding he had not signed the proposed New Constitution, the complement intended was droped.

9. Zachariah Johnston to Ann Johnston
Richmond, 26 October 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I have nothing of A publick Nature to relate worth while but our New Confederated Co[n]stitution I find has its friends and its Enemies

1. RC (photostat), Zachariah Johnston Papers, Vi. Printed: Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732–1952* (Fishersville, Va., 1954), 233–34.

10. A Lover of Truth
New York Packet, 30 October 1787[1]

Messrs. LOUDON, In your Packet of the 23d of this month, you inform the public from under the *Philadelphia* head, thus, "We hear from Virginia, that on the arrival of Mr. Mason (one of their delegates in Convention) at Alexandria, he was waited on by the Mayor and Corporation of that town, who told him, they were not come to return him their thanks for his conduct in refusing to sign the Fœderal Constitution; but to express their abhorrence of it, and to advise him to withdraw from that town within an hour, for they could not answer for his personal safety, from an enraged populace, should he exceed that time."—It is but fair Messrs. Loudon, that you disabuse the public by acquainting them you are now informed, as the writer of this does inform you, that the above *hear-say is not true.* The laws of the country, the decency of the people of Alexandria, and the very great *respectability* of Mr. Mason forbidding such a *foolish outrage* to have been committed. But the fabricators of this falsehood are evidently among the number of those who are for *cramming down the New Constitution* by *force, fraud and falsehood.* Vainly imagining that the good sense and spirit of the people will be imposed upon by such wicked means. These persons will do well to recollect, that they are not doing much honor to the New Constitution by practices like these. It is the more incumbent on you Mess. Loudon to rectify this abuse, because your yesterday's publication of the *hear-say* from *Philadelphia,* has been the cause of your brother Printer (in his *Independent Journal* of this day) making the same falsehood the *hear-say* of *New-York* from Virginia—he ought to have stated, that New-York heard it *not* from Virginia, but from *Philadelphia.*

October 24, 1787.

1. On 7 November this item was summarized in two Philadelphia newspapers: the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Evening Chronicle.* The summary was reprinted in the Boston *American Herald,* 26 November, and *State Gazette of South Carolina,* 20 December.

11 A–B. The Virginia General Assembly Calls a State Convention 31 October–2 November 1787

11-A. Resolutions Calling the State Convention, 31 October

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

11-B. Senate Proceedings, Friday, 2 November (excerpt) [1]

. . . A message from the House of Delegates by Mr. Cary:

MR. SPEAKER,—The House of Delegates have agreed to the Senate's amendments to the resolution, respecting the Federal Constitution. And then he withdrew. . . .

1. *Senate Journal,* 12.

12. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal, 31 October 1787

By the southern papers it appears that at the meetings of the freeholders in a number of counties in the states of New-Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, the Federal Government has been highly approved of—and some of them have "Resolved to support the new Constitution, if it is adopted, with their lives and fortunes."

13. Providence United States Chronicle, 1 November 1787

By authentic Advices from Virginia we learn, That there can be no Doubt it will be adopted there by a very great Majority of the Citizens; and that George Mason, Esq; a Member from that State to the Federal Convention, who refused to sign the Constitution, had received many Marks of Indignity and Insult from the Populace in his County.

14 A–C. The Virginia General Assembly Considers Printer John Dixon's Petition, 2–22 November 1787

14-A. House Proceedings, Friday, 2 November (excerpts) [1]

Mr. *Richard Lee* reported from the committee of Claims, that the committee had, according to order, had under their consideration, several petitions to them referred, and had come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table where the same were again read and are as followeth; . . .

[The first and second resolutions are omitted.]

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the petition of *John Dixon,* setting forth, that during the last and present Assemblies he was employed to print for public use the following papers, to wit: "Fifteen hundred copies of the district court bill, each two sheets; fifteen hundred copies of the state from Congress; fifteen hundred copies of the report from the committee of Finance, each two sheets; fifteen hundred copies of the statement from the Treasurer; five hundred copies of the tobacco bill; five thousand copies of the fœderal constitution, and two thousand resolutions relative to the same; one thousand copies of the citizen bill, and fifty copies of instructions from the Executive to Naval officers, each six sheets;" that those services are not included in his contract with the Executive as public printer, and praying that an allowance may be made him for the same, is reasonable, and that the petitioner ought to be allowed and paid the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds.

The first and last resolutions being severally read a second time, were on the question put thereupon, agreed to by the House. . . .

Ordered, That Mr. *Richard Lee* do carry the first and last resolutions to the Senate, and desire their concurrence. . . .

14-B. Senate Proceedings

Wednesday, 21 November (excerpts) [2]

. . . A message from the House of Delegates by Mr. Lee:

MR. SPEAKER,—The House of Delegates have agreed to a resolution, in favor of John Dixon; to which they desire the concurrence of the Senate. And he delivered in the same, and then withdrew. . . .

The second resolution [i.e., the resolution in favor of John Dixon] was twice read; and on the question thereupon being put, agreed to by the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Wills do acquaint the House of Delegates therewith. . . .

14-C. House Proceedings, Thursday, 22 November (excerpt) [3]

. . . A message from the Senate by Mr. *Lee.*

MR. SPEAKER, The Senate have agreed to the resolution respecting the claim of *John Dixon.* . . .

1. *House Journal,* 21.
2. *Senate Journal,* 23.
3. *House Journal,* 47.

15. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 2 November 1787

Extract of a letter from a Member of the Assembly in Richmond, to a gentleman in this town, dated October 26, 1787.

"I take the earliest opportunity to inform the good people of Winchester and the county, through you, that the great question of the Fœderal Constitution was yesterday debated in the House of Delegates, and *nem. con.* referred to a Convention of the people, two from each county, and one from the corporations, as heretofore, to be elected at the March courts of the several counties and boroughs, and to convene at this place in May next, in order to decide on this great business. The particulars you shall have as soon as it has gone through the Senate, who will this day have it before them."

16. Louisa County Petition, House Proceedings Monday, 5 November 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . A petition of sundry freedholders of the county of *Louisa,* whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, praying that so much of the constitution reported by the late General Convention held in *Philadelphia,* as recommends that the same be laid before a convention of the people, may be adopted; that the certificate tax be continued: that the act imposing new taxes be repealed; that the different officers fees be enquired into and regulated according to their services; that all taxes and costs on law process be paid by the person cast; that an act be passed subjecting lands to execution as well as other property; that the six months law be repealed; that the vagrant law be revised and amended; that punishment of crimes be made proportionate to the offence; that an act pass to discourage the importation of luxuries, and encourage *American* manufactures; that the law respecting process before a single magistrate be explained and amended; and that the law respecting judgments upon replevy bonds be revised and explained so as to prevent appeals therefrom;

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the commonwealth. . . .

1. *House Journal,* 24.

17. Memorial of Winchester, Va., Merchants and Traders pre-6 November 1787[1]

To the Honble The Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Delegates
The Memorial of the Merchants and Traders of the Town of Winchester

Humbly sheweth

That your Memorialists sensible of the difficulties attending the regulation of Trade do not presume to offer a system of Commerce, but with full confidence in the disposition of the Assembly to promote the good of the State, and to do equal justice to the Citizens in every part of it, beg leave to state for your consideration, some of the evils that arise from the present Laws, as well on general principles as from their peculiar circumstances— They would observe that the Merchant always lays an advance on his goods proportioned to the Duties imposed, hence those Duties become a tax on the People at large as effectually as Taxes imposed on property without the same addition to the Revenue—Mankind will not submit to Laws which they may reasonably hope to avoid with impunity; especially such as they believe there is no moral evil in transgressing—of this description are all Laws restrictive of Trade—hence a small part of the Goods imported pay Duties—A circumstance by no means peculiar to Virginia. Countries in which the Laws are more vigorous and more strictly executed than in this, experience the same—But admitting the Propriety of Duties on Forreign Goods Your Memorialists humbly insist, that Trade and mutual intercourse between the several States ought to be free. Restrictions are inconsistent with the spirit of the Union and many reasons might be urged to shew the injustice of them, but your Memorialists conceive a full discussion of this subject unnecessary since the Publication of the Proceedings of the late Federal Convention, who by providing that no Vessel passing to or from One State shall (under the Proposed Constitution) pay Duties in another, plainly shew their Opinion, that no such Duties ought to have been heretofore imposed—With regard to your Memorialists such Duties are peculiarly distressing, situated as they are, so remote from Navigation, that the Carriage itself is a much greater tax than the Duties imposed on Goods Water-born—yet before the imposition of the Duties complained of Your Memorialists were enabled to sell on Terms so advantageous as in a great measure to engross the Trade of the Western Country, the District of Kentucke included; they now sensibly feel the loss of that Trade, and fairly infer that it has been diverted to the Northern Side of Patowmack by the advanced prices on their goods occasioned by the collection of the Duties—Yet as before observed the addition to the Revenue is trifling from Eight retail Stores in the County of Frederick (exclusive of the Town) not more than Thirteen pounds twelve shill's & Seven pence has been paid or secured since the new mode of Collection took place, and from twenty one Stores in Town where the Searchers resides only Ninety Seven pounds Seven shillg. & five pence Your Petitioners therefore pray that all Laws imposing Duties on Goods or Merchandize from any of our Sister States may be repealed

John Conrad
Archd Magill
Robert Sherrard
Jesse Taylor Jr
William Armstrong
Thos Awram & Co
Matthew Wright & Co.
[– – –] Nory
Godfrd. Miller Apothcy
H Buttz
Samul Dowdall
W Holliday
James Holliday
Lewis Wolf
D: Worton & Co.
Richd. Gray
John & Jas. W. Aliston
H W Baker
A. Cooper

1. MS, Legislative Petitions, Vi. Endorsed: "Winchester Merchants/Petition/November 6 1787./Referred to whole on/Commonwealth."

18. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 7 November 1787

A Pennsylvania back country waggoner happening to drive up, just as Mr. Wilson had began to speak, was stopped by the crowd, and having listened attentively to the orator, his spark of native genius was kindled, and he thus addressed the audience.

"*Good people,* I can read and write; an ye will not tar and feather me, I will tell you a piece of my mind. I have read over and over again this here paper, which that there gentleman talks so wonderfully fine about. For my part I do not understand what he would be at, thos I find as he says we must listen to no body but himself, because as how those folks who now rule the roast, are less to be believed than those who may wish to rule the roast. I likes to hear both sides of a question. Mayhap this here gentleman inclines to put his own finger in the pye, or by shutting other peoples mouths, to have the whole cake to himself. But thos I do not understand the gentleman, I can make out this here paper well enough, and what he would be at. It is for all the world like me and my waggon horses. When my horses are grazing, and I want to waggon them, I whistle to e'm, coax e'm, and stroke e'm, and makes as if I only mean to feed and curry e'm, and so let e'm go again. Just so this gentleman coaxes and wheedles and palavers us silly doodles, that this here newfangled government may catch us; telling us that we may go loose again when we please. But my mind misgives me plaguly, when once we are caught, we shall be fast bridled and harnessed, like my horses. Gee—you sons of bitches.["]

The cracks of his whip closed the speech, and it is said left a melancholy impression on the minds of the audience.—This anecdote is literally true.

19. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 7 November 1787[1]

Extract of a letter from North-Carolina.

"To be, or not to be, is now the question."

"The moment is at hand that will fix the fate of America, either to rise respected and affluent, or 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 centre 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 the general government. Since their measures have become public, 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 remark, that I have found some opposition, but in pressing their objections, they are lost in perplexity; hence it is evident they are actuated by personal views, and divested of that pure *amor patriæ,* that ought to inspire the breast of every virtuous American in the present crisis; a crisis pregnant in events the most important America has ever yet witnessed; as it not only embraces the welfare of this generation, but of millions who are yet to rise 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 link of it devoted to foreign yokes.—May that Being who has brought us thus far into maturity dispose every heart with firmness to embrace chearfully our only hope, is the ardent prayer of, dear sir, yours, &c. —— ——."

1. This is an alternative version of the letter printed in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle,* 31 October (RCS:Va., 139–40). This version was reprinted in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer,* 23 November; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 24 November; *New York Morning Post,* 1 December; Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald,* 6 December; and *Massachusetts Gazette,* 14 December. Each of these newspapers reprinted this item as an "Extract of a letter from North Carolina." The *Columbian Herald* reprinted it under the dateline "Norfolk, November 7," indicating that the no longer extant *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* of that date probably was the first newspaper to print the alternative version. This transcription is from the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer,* 23 November, the earliest reprinting of this version of the letter.

20. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 10 November 1787[1]

The new Constitution is so very popular in the states of Massachusetts and Maryland, a gentleman informs us, that Mr. Geary has been burnt in effigy in Massachusetts, and when Col. Mason arrived at Alexandria, on his way home, the Corporation waited on him, with an intimation, that, although they entertained the highest sense of his amiable character, yet such party spirit prevailed amongst the people that they could not protect him, and advised his speedy departure from that place.

1. The Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette* for 10 November is not extant. This item was transcribed from the *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* 15 November, which printed it under the dateline "*Charleston, November* 10." The *Georgia State Gazette* reprinted the item on 8 December, while the *Pennsylvania Herald* reprinted the portion on Elbridge Gerry on 24 November.

21. Maryland Journal, 13 November 1787[1]

On the 25th of last Month, the House of Delegates in the General Assembly of Virginia, now sitting at Richmond, resolved, that the Proceedings of the Federal Convention be submitted to a Convention of the People, for their full and free Investigation, Discussion and Decision—and that the Elections for Delegates to the Convention be held in the Month of March next, on the first Day of the Court to be held for each County, City or Corporation respectively, and that the Persons elected (agreeable to the Resolutions of the House of Delegates above-mentioned) shall assemble at the State House, in the City of Richmond, on the first Monday in June next.

In a late Debate, respecting the Appointment of a State Convention, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, Colonel GEORGE MASON, (one of the Delegates from Fairfax County) said, in Substance, as follows:—"That he felt somewhat embarrassed at the Situation in which he then stood— He had been honoured with a Seat in the Federal Convention, and all knew that he had refused to subscribe to their Proceedings—This might excite some Surprise; but it was not necessary at that Hour, he said, to make known his Reasons. At a proper Season, they should be communicated to his Countrymen—He would however declare, that no Man was more completely federal in his Principles than he was: That from the East of New-Hampshire to the South of Georgia, there was not a Man more fully convinced of the Necessity of establishing some general Government: That he regarded our perfect Union as the Rock of our political Salvation: But, that he had considered the New Federal Government according to that Measure of Knowledge

which God had given him—that he had endeavoured to make himself Master of the important Subject—that he had deeply and maturely weighed every Article of the Constitution; and with every Information which he could derive, either from his own Reflection, or the Observations of others, he could not approve it.—He said, I thought it wrong, Mr. Chairman—I thought it repugnant to our highest Interests—and, if with these Sentiments I had subscribed to it, 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."

1. Both paragraphs were reprinted in the *Connecticut Journal,* 21 November, and Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette,* 26 November. The first paragraph was reprinted in the Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette,* 28 November, and Rhode Island *Newport Herald,* 29 November; while the second was reprinted in the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury,* 27 November, and *New Hampshire Spy,* 30 November.

22. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 14 November 1787[1]

On the 1st inst. the Virginia House of Delegates took into consideration the appointment of a State Convention, as recommended by Congress. After a variety of debates on the subject, the following resolution was agreed to, without opposition; "That a Convention should be called, and the new Constitution laid before them, for their FREE and AMPLE DISCUSSION."—In the course of these debates, Mr. *Henry* (formerly governor of Virginia) did not hesitate to declare that there were errors and defects in the new code proposed to the United States.—Mr. *Mason* declared it to be repugnant to our highest interests, and that he would have lost his right hand rather than have subscribed his name to the New Government. At a proper time this gentleman promises to impart the reasons of his dissent to his countrymen.—The Virginia Convention is to assemble at Richmond in the month of May next.

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal,* 20 November; *New Jersey Journal,* 21 November; Boston *American Herald,* 26 November; Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald,* 3 December; *Georgia State Gazette,* 15 December.

23. Charles M. Thruston to the Mayor of Winchester Richmond, 15 November, Winchester Virginia Gazette 23 November 1787[1]

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

1. For reprints, see RCS:Va., 165, note 1.

24. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 15 November 1787[1]

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

1. Reprinted seven times by 28 November: N.H. (2), Mass. (3), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1).

25. Aesop
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 21 November 1787[1]

MORAL TALES.

When I was young I instructed the Grecian states, by amusing them with my sprightly tales; these ingenious, sensible, and delicate people never liked the naked truth; it was with success I made use of allegorical stile, to make them receive lessons of reason; but now I have no longer imagination to compose and but a little memory left to recall to the minds of the new Grecian States, in this important moment the fable of the limbs and the stomach—they complained between themselves that they took so much pains to serve and satisfy an insignificant being, who without doubt would end by ruining and annihilating them entirely; they of a common accord refused to give him any succors. From this time the poor stomach became weak and debilitated; all the limbs soon fell in his the same situation and became languid.—Corrected by this severe experience, they with firmness and zeal afforded necessary food; the stomach soon re-established itself, and the limbs became strong and vigorous.

1. Reprinted: Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette,* 27 February 1788.

26. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 22 November 1787[1]

In the House of Delegates for Virginia, on the question for appointing a State Convention, Col. Mason declared, that from the east of New-Hampshire to the south of Georgia, no man was more federal than himself, and that he considered the *perfect union* of the States as the only rock of our political salvation.

1. Reprinted: Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette,* 28 November.

27. Minton Collins to Stephen Collins
Richmond, 26 November 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I am told by those who are well acquainted with the proceedings of the Courts here, that a litigious Man can keep you out of your property as

long as he pleases, where the Sum is large, & worth contending for, So I have no chance unless the New Government takes place, which will meet with much obstruction here, as they do not like to give up an atom of their consequence, & there are some clauses, which would affect some of our great Men very much. . . .

1. RC, Papers of Stephen Collins and Son, DLC.

28 A–D. The Virginia General Assembly Adopts an Act for Paying the State Convention Delegates, 4–8 December 1787

28-A. Patrick Henry's Draft of House Bill Concerning the State Convention 4 December[1]

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

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Vi.

28-B. House Bill Concerning the State Convention (In Clerk's Handwriting), 4 December[1]

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

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Vi.

28-C. Amendments to House Bill Concerning the State Convention 7 December[1]

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

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Vi.

28-D. Amendments to House Bill Concerning the State Convention 8 December[1]

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

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Vi.

29. Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons
New York, 15 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . There are but four states represented in Congress and I see no probability of a majority for weeks to come.

our foreign correspondence contains the *strongest* reasons why a fixed and efficient Government should be organized with all expedition. . . .

1. RC, Hampton L. Carson Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.

30. Louis-Guillaume Otto to Comte de Montmorin
New York, 15 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The legislature of Virginia in ordering the election of a general convention has voted at the same time for the nomination of several commissioners to be sent to other States in case the convention should decide to propose some amendments to the new constitution. This resolution adopted by a large majority, appears to be a bad omen. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Vol. 32, ff. 411–14, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

31. John Brown to James Breckinridge
New York, 16 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The New Constitution is the only subject of Conversation in every Company in this place; I am inclined to think a majority of the States will adopt it through choice & that the Minority will be reduced to accede by necessity. Our present political System is in utter Confusion. A change must & will soon take place. God grant it may be for the better.

1. RC, Breckinridge Family Papers, ViU.

32. James Bland's List of Westmoreland County Freeholders Supplied to Robert Carter, c. 17–22 December 1787[1]

A List of ye Freeholders who voted in the late Election for Delegates in April 1787. in the County of Westmorland—Note—W. is put for Washington Parish—C—for Cople—parish.

John Monroe	W	Jacob Martin	
Jesse Pitt		Wm. White	
Wm. Williams		Jams. Gregory	C
John Bulter		John Simms	W

Wm. Harrison	C
John Washington	
John Drake	W
Randall Sanford	C
William Roe	W
George Muse	
Nathl Mothershead	
Danl. McCarty	
Wm. Aug: Washington	
John Perry	
Wm. Butler	
John Mothershead	
Nicholas Muse	
Presly Neal	
John Moore	C
Thos. Yeatman	
Saml. Beal	C
Robt Wormely Carter	W
Mathew Bayne	
John Middleton	C
George Payne	W
Wm. Sanford	C
Wm. Porter	
Eleas Davis	
James Moore	W
Benj Strother	W
Henry Washington	
Wm. McClanaham	C
Lawr: Butler	W
Richd. Dozier, junr	C
Thos. Dozier	
Richd. Neale	W
Moses Self, junr	C
Saml. Crawley	
Benedick Crabb	C
Wm. Monroe	W
James Dozier	C
Wm. Payne	W
Frans. Dobson	C
Peter Davis	
Richd. Parker	
John Rochester	
Henry S. Redman	
Fras. W. Smith	W
Catesby Jones	C
Wm. Self—junr.	
Wm. Middleton—Capt.	
Benedick Lamkin	
Wm. Sutton	
Wm. Peyton	W
Wm. Morton	C
Stephen Self, junr.	
Thos. Middleton	
John Turberville	
John Pilsbury	
James Oliff	W
Thos. Wrigh	C
John Alderson	
Geo: F. Lee	C
John Gregory	
Chris: Collins	C
Martin Tapscott	
Danl. Richardson	W
Vincent Rust	C
Lewen B Garlick	C
George Curry	
John Minor	
Willm. Harrison	C
James Rice	
Willm. Nelson	W
Henry Legnoss	
John Thomas	
Jacob Vigour	
Rodham McKenny	
James McNeale	C
Nichs. Quisenbury	W
Joseph Gregory	C
John Crabb	
Benj. Middleton	
Wm Hutt	C
Charles Morriss	W
Philip Pead	
Chas White	
Patrick Sanford	C

Jerrard R. Hutt		Wm. Tibbs	C
Jere G: Bailey		Benja. Steward	W
Thos. Sanford		Thos Spence	C
Presly Hall		Becwith Butler	W
Edwd Sanford	C	Vinct. Marmaduke	C
Jeramiah Garner		James Sutton	
Saml. Rust		Saml Bailey	
Thomas Washington	C	John Payne	W
Ricd. Sanford	W	Lawrence Pope	
Thos. Sthreshly	W	William Lewis	C
Fleet Cox Junr	C	George Robinson	W
Thos Sorrel		Thomas King	
Antony Payton	W	John Price	W
James Triplet		Danl. Howel	
William Jett Junr		Thos. Deane	
Gerrard Hutt	C	Augustine Moxley	C
Thos. Pinkard		Wm Saunders	W
Thos Shedrack		Franklin Sims	
George Turberville		John Peirce	
Joseph Moxly		John Brewer	
Willoughby Newton		Ricd. Sanford	C
Andw. Crawford	W	Wm. Jett	W
Mungo Harvy		John Brown	C
John Rose		Dempsey Porter	
James Gregory	C	Wm Benson	
Philip Lee		James Sutton	
Thos. Hodge	W	Geo: Mitchel	
Wm R: Dozier	C	Christopher Butler	W
Smith King		John Price	C
Wm Gilbert		James Brewer	W
John Yeatman		Presly Neale Junr	
John Brown Senior		Jas. Quisenbury	
John Robinson		Wm Price	W
Moses Self		John Self	C
Uriah Sandy		Saml Templeman	C
Thos Hill	W	Jas. Briscoe	W
Thos Stone	C	Danl. Briscoe	
Yewel Sanford		Peter Rust	C
Reubn. Sanford		Wm Middleton	
Ricd Caddeen		Saml. Wood	W
John Omshundro	C	Ricd Buckner	C
Jermiah Muse	W	Francis Jett	W

Peter Self	C	James Omshundro	
Benja. Monroe	W	Chrisr: Edrington	
Wm P: Garner	C	James Bryant	
James Grant		Thos Muse	
John Cavender		John McClannahan	C
Wm. Jenkins	C	John Balantine	
John Higdon	W	Thos. Thompson	
Elliot Monroe		Wm Edwards	
David Monroe		Thos Spence	
Walter James		Edwd Porter	
Thos. Bennet	C	Wm Hazlerig	
Thos. Blundel Sen		Wm Moore	
Geo: Gill		Stephn. Self	C
Thos Drake	W	William Batten	
Rhodhm. Moxly		Vincent Garner	
Ebenezr. Moss	C	William Jeffins	
Mathw Tully	W	Roger Dameron	
Newton Berryman		George Garner	
John Weedon		Joseph Peirce	
Ricd H Lee	C	William Davis	
John Baccus	W	William Brown	
Saml Baker		Geo: McKenny	
Josh. Burgess		Peter Jett	
Geo: L Turberville	C	Jeremiah Harrison	
John Carrel		Robt McKildoe	
Birket Green	W	Danl McKenney	
John Barker		Austn. Brokenborough	W
George Weldon	W	Saml Bayley	
Wm Porter Junr.		Vinct. Redman	
George Drake		Thos. Beale	
Presly Wright		Vinct S: Bailey	
John Middleton		Ricd Loe	
Peter Smith		James Rust	
Nathl Butler		Randal Kirk	
Sol: Robinson		John Carpenter	
Edwd Gill		Robt Carter	
James Taite	W	Wm Fitzhugh	W
Thos. Templeman	C	Bushrod Washington	C
Timothy Sullivan		Ricd Lee	
Wm. Jett		John Monroe	
John Collinsworth		Ricd Muse	
Thos Beale Senr		Thos. Moore	

John Chretcher Chas Sanford
James Muse
Lewis Smith A Copy Jas Bland CWC

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

1. FC, Carter Letterbooks, Duke University.

33. Francis Preston to James Breckinridge
20 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I will thank you to give me a full acct of the proceedings of the Assembly also of the Opinions with Respect to this new Constitution. send me pamplets & news papers respecting it. . . .

1. RC, Breckinridge Family Papers, ViU. The letter was written from either Montgomery or Botetourt County.

34. Daniel
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 26 December 1787[1]

Mr. Printer, *By inserting the following you will oblige* A Subscriber.

A DREAM.

Methought I was in the city of Philadelphia, where a vast concourse of people were assembled to deliberate on some important matters in consequence of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, when a man from the country appeared, and with great earnestness asked to see —— ——, that he had some business of consequence with him.—"Friend" said one of the company, whom I conceived to be a member of Congress under the new Constitution, "you cannot see —— ——, he is not so easy of access as formerly, for he is now President of the United States." Here some confusion ensued, which so agitated my spirits that I awoke.

Having ruminated some time on the preceding vision, my spirits were at length composed, and I again fell into a profound sleep, when I conceived myself still at Philadelphia, and a spectator at a grand ball, given by Congress, at which were assembled a great number of foreigners and others. A short time after the company had met, and the plan of the evening's entertainment was adjusted, one of the Congress led into the ball room a modest, simple country girl, as if to be his partner for the evening. The plainness and simplicity of her manners formed so striking a contrast to the rest of the female assembly, that she drew the attention of many as well as myself, and I expressed my surprise to one of the company near me, who answered, "There you see what the new Constitution has done and what expectations may be formed of its happy effects, when you see a member of Congress so

condescending." To which I whispered him in the ear, "Ah friend! but dont you apprehend that such a profusion of civilities will end in the loss of her innocence, as well as of that rustic simplicity which is perhaps its only defence?"

This uncouth suggestion was answered with such a sneer of contempt and derision, that I am scarcely yet in a humour to forgive it, although perfectly restored to the ordinary use of my faculties. The indignant Cynic to whom I had thus unwarily communicated my fears, not satisfied with the severity of this reproof, proceeded to express his surprise, that a man so wholly unacquainted with the simplest rules of fashionable propriety, should presume to hint a suspicion so dishonorable to any gentleman in authority, much more to a Member of Congress; and, continued he, since you are really so ignorant of what belongs to the current opinions of polite life, I shall condescend to inform you, that a total change in the modes of dress and other personal accomplishments, will soon be introduced into the Assembly under the patronage of Congress, which, if your aukward favorite has but the sense to adopt, will sufficiently compensate for whatever compliances it may be necessary to make in order to become them. He was about to inform me what these were, when the ardor of my curiosity was in some measure abated, by the bold strain of the Turk's march, which was then struck by the band, and which as I readily perceived, was only intended to usher into the room a more full display of the irrefutable charms of the mode in an easy, graceful, and manly appearance of several officers of distinction, as they were introduced by the master of the ceremonies. I was struck with their appearance, and cannot but regret that the imaginary glare of their armour became too fierce for my eyes, and instantly awaked me.

1. The *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* for 26 December is not extant. This item is transcribed from the Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald,* 17 January 1788, which ran it under the dateline "NORFOLK, Dec. 26."

35. Edmund Randolph to George Washington
Richmond, 27 December 1787[1]

The inclosed pamphlet speaks so fully for itself that any explanation of it from me would be useless. I send it to you because I know your friendship for the writer, and because I take pleasure in subscribing myself at all times, with unfeigned truth

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.

36. Virginia Journal, c. 27 December 1787[1]

A Poem, *addressed to the* People *of* Virginia, *on New-Year's Day,* 1788.

Fair *Virginia,* ever dear,
See arriv'd th' important year!
While the annual song I say,
Truth inspires the patriot lay:
Wake!—too long thy sons have dream'd—
Where's the sister-state, that beam'd
Fairer in the dawn of fame,
Glowing with a purer flame?
Shall the ancient wreaths you gain'd
By thy latter deeds be stain'd?
Shall not fed'ral conduct crown,
All thy acts of old renown?
Union into ruins hurl'd
Shall a *Tyrant* grasp a world?
Or shall sep'rate *Unions* grow,
Endless source of war and wo!
Or, if *Anarchy* ensue,
Who hath more to lose than you?

Shall we basely sell the boon,
Bought with so much blood, so soon?
Oh! the muse a tale could tell,
How our heroes fought and fell—
Must our *Empire*'s short-liv'd reign,
Prove they fought and bled in vain?

Blest *Virginians,* sum the cost!
Shall the price of blood be lost?
Lost the blessings ye possess,
Freedom and the pow'r to bless?
Your's are planted plains and farms,
Villas fair in rural charms;
Lovely girls and prattling boys,
All the bliss of home-born joys;
When the soothing voice invites,
Guests to hospitable rights.—
Your's th' illimitable waste,
Flow'ry meads and valleys vast;
Your's stupendous cliffs that rise

Bosom'd high in fleecy skies;
Your's the *Alleganian* hills,
Spouting fourth in num'rous rills.
List ye how, from many a shore,
Distant sons of ocean roar?
Rivers broad to you belong,
Yet to run in deathless song—
Fair *Ohio* gently roves,
Through the sweet arcadian groves:
Rappahannock (sounding name)
And *Fluvanna* flow to fame;
Pohawtan superbly rolls;
Great *Potomack,* void of shoals;
Mississippi's waves will gain,
Spite of fraud, for you, the main;
Harvests, by your fields supplied,
Then may float on every tide.

Go, thou *miscreant,* from whose tongue
Accents of DISUNION rung;
At the shrine of *self,* in lies,
Every blessing sacrifice!
Bid the kindling beacons far
Light the realms to civil war;
Bid the drum's obstrep'rous sound,
Rumbling run along the ground;
Bid the trumpet sing to arms,
Swell the cannon's dread alarms;
Wake the clang of steel again,
Purple every flood and plain;
Make the sick'ning harvest die,
Burning cities scorch the sky:
Heav'n for this, shall on thy head
Chosen bolts of vengeance shed!

Round our forests, on our coast,
We have nobler names to boast—
Liberal souls, by none surpast,
Names with time itself to last.
Hail *Virginia*'s patriot sons,
Griffin, Blair, McClurg and *Jones!*
Join the *Pages* firm and just:
Steward faithful to his trust:

Maddison, above the rest,
Pouring from his narrow chest,
More than *Greek* or *Roman* sense,
Boundless tides of eloquence:
Withe, who drank the source of truth,
Skill'd in lore of laws from youth:
Thruston's mind of ample reach:
Innis, fraught with powerful speech:
Too reluctant to engage!
Pendleton with locks of age,
Mild his eye of wisdom beams,
Lent from other worlds he seems,
Heav'n resume not such a loan,
Ere we make his choice our own!
Erst the *Lees,* a glorious band,
For their country made a stand,
Wise and brave, unapt to yield,
In the council or the field;
Why asunder are they torn?
Why his[a] loss must millions mourn,
Who, to glad th' astonish'd earth,
Spoke an empire into birth?
While the awful hour demands,
Ablest heads and purest hands,
Him, in vain, we call from far,
Second splendor, other star,
Light and glory of the age,
Jefferson, the learned sage!
Yet a *name* adorns our State,
Great as modest, good as great,
Though unnam'd, illustrious far,
Pride of peace and strength of war!

Though a few, or false or blind,
Strive to taint the public mind;
Trust the muse's Heav'n-taught strain,
All the noise, the labour's vain—
Numbers vast will own the plan,
That secures the rights of man;
Gives the *States* their destin'd place,
High amidst the human race:
Our *illustrious hero* then,

(First of sages, best of men)
Will the nation's cares assume,
And again avert its doom.—

Bards! your wreaths immortal twine:
Brighter days begin to shine.
Come ye freemen! Patriots come!
Read with me *Columbia*'s doom—
Lo! involved in yonder skies,
Fair the year of glory lies.
Ravish'd far, in vision'd trance,
I behold, with mystic glance,
Towns extend on many a bank,
Late with darkling thickets dank,
And the gilded spires arise,
Grateful to propitious skies—
Arts, refinements, morals blest;
Claim perfection in the WEST—
Peace, with commerce in her train,
Brings a golden age again—
While our woven wings unfurl'd,
Sail triumphant round the world.

(a) R. H. Lee made the motion in Congress for the declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

1. The *Virginia Journal* is not extant for the period between 14 December 1787 and 28 January 1788. The poem is transcribed from the *Maryland Journal,* 18 January, the earliest known reprint. The poem was also reprinted in the January issue of the Philadelphia *American Museum*; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 25 January; Connecticut *New Haven Gazette,* 24 April; and Exeter, N.H., *Freeman's Oracle,* 30 May.

37. Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 January 1788[1]

The fœderal judiciary, says Col. Mason of Virginia, will absorb the state judiciaries. This gentleman, tho' a lawyer, and a member of the Fœderal Convention, must have paid little attention to the article of the constitution, which prescribes the limitations of the fœderal courts. It *absolutely excludes* from their jurisdiction all matters between any state and its own citizens; that is, all criminal cases, from the most trivial breach of the peace to murder and parricide, all breaches of public trusts by state officers, and, in short, every crime, which does not involve an immediate infidelity or opposition to the fœderal government, or affect the nation at large. It also *absolutely*

excludes from the cognizance of the Congressional judiciary, all matters of property between any two citizens of the same state; such as, suits for rent, book debts, annuities, monies on notes, bonds, or other special contracts, trials for lands within the state, &c. &c. and, in short, every case affecting property, wherein the matter of contest and the parties concerned belong to the same state. Here then we see affairs, infinitely numerous and important, placed out of the reach of the fœderal judiciary, and which must be settle *in the state courts,* and in them *only.* We may further remark on this article, that it affords us perfect security for the continuance of the state sovereignties, whose powers must remain in complete organization and force; for without them, numberless crimes, destructive of peace and of society itself, must go unpunished, and innumerable questions concerning property, necessary to preserve it, must remain forever undecided.—Whether this *faux pas* be the effect of inadvertence, or not, in Col. Mason, it matters not to the people of America; but, in either case, they should be careful how they pin their faith on his other opinions and objections.

1. Reprinted in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle,* 16 January 1788.

38. Francis Taylor Diary
Midland, Orange County, Va., 11 January 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . After breakfast I went by bro James's, he J Pendleton, Jno Finney & myself went to Mr Shepherds—read there the Governors letter to the Speaker assigning his reasons why he did not sign the Federal Constitution. . . .

1. MS, Acc. 18710, Vi.

39. "P.T."
Winchester Virginia Gazette, 11 January 1788[1]

Copy of a letter from a Gentleman in *Philadelphia,* to his friend in the country; wrote during the sitting of the State Convention.

Dear Sir, "When I had last the pleasure of seeing you, you observed, 'that the old constitution was the best horse a man could ride now a days,' in consequence I took a view of the brute, as he stands in Philadelphia: He appears to be much disordered; he was lately struck in the face with a banknote, which so frightened him, that he ran through the bank and nearly overset it. It was feared he would go mad; but being well fumigated with funded certificates, he seemed to be in a fair way of recovery, when happening to snort some of his glanders on young Federalist, young Federalist

gave him such a kick in the flank, that he has gone *lapsided* ever since, and is become so restiff, that the groom cannot get him in the stable without the assistance of the household servants. There is a Jockey Club now sitting in this city, to examine the pedigree of young Federalist, and it is thought he will turn out to be the best blooded colt that has ever been in America, or perhaps in the world. When he gets another summer's grass, I would advise you to mount him; for as to old Constitutionalist, there is not a man of any credit will lay a leg over him.

I am, dear Sir, your's, &c. P. T.["]

1. Reprinted in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle,* 13 February; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 12 March; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette,* 18 March; *Pittsburgh Gazette,* 19 April; and *Kentucky Gazette,* 17 May.

40. Roger Thompson to John Breckinridge
Kings Ford, Fluvanna County, Va., 17 January 1788[1]

We recd. our Daughter Safe, we are much oblige to your Self & Lady for your Friendly Care off her. She apears to be so much atteached to yr. family—I expect you will Very often receive Visits from her infuter. I am Very Sorry It was not Convenat for you to Come down, more esspecially As I am to Set out the 1st. of Feby. for Kentuckey. what hurrys our march is that Col. G[eorge] Thompson is a Candidate in Kentuckey for the Convention. Should the weather Contunie Very Cold we Shall go by land if so will Call by & shake you by the hand. if we go by Water & I live to return will Call on you if possable. I hope my going from home will not prevent a Visit from you & Mrs. Breckenridge to the Family. beleave me Sir they will rejoyce to Se you. Either by appointmt or by Surprise.

Your Election in April [to the legislature] I hope is Shure. Col. Nicholas has taken his leave of Albemarle as a publick man after the Convention (then for Kentucky[)]. G—v—r will you ever go there, Shall I be so happy to have you for a Neighbour if so, we will live on the fatt of the land

my wife Joins me in Complymts. to Self & family.

1. RC, Breckinridge Family Papers, DLC.

41. Robert Morris to Francis Hopkinson
Williamsburg, Va., 21 January 1788 (excerpt)[1]

I received your obliging letter before my departure from Richmond and had much pleasure not only in reading the "New Roof " but also in communicating it to others, it is greatly admired, and I tell them if they could but enter into the Dramatis Personæ as we do they would find it still more

excellent. The character of Margery is well hit off, how does the old Lady like it? I am not surprised they should baste you in the Freemans Journal, it is what you must expect so long as they have any body to Wield a Pen. I observe they will not let me alone, although no Author. It is my Fate to furnish matter for Reproach whether I meddle or do not meddle in Politics, my Successes and my Misfortunes, which ever befall me, are equally the Themes for abuse. However let them indulge their Spleen, if I had nothing else to disturb my repose, I should Sleep much at ease. Mr. Wythe, yesterday at dinner introduced the New Roof as a subject and after expressing his approbation, very modestly supposed it to be one of your productions, Mr. G. Morris and myself joined in that Opinion, thus you see, that whether you intend it or not, there always appear some Characteristic Marks in your writings that disclose the Fountain from whence they Spring. My stay in this Country has already exceeded the time I intended, and I cannot even now fix a day for my return; as I am on the scene of Action, I think it a duty which I owe to myself & Family to remain so long as my presence can be more useful here than at Home. . . .

1. Copy, Redwood Collection, MdHi.

42. From Samuel Jordan Cabell
Soldiers Joy, Amherst County, Va., 23 January 1788[1]

I have just time to congratulate you on the wise & happy Result of the Deliberation of the last Assembly; that is, The Tax on white Tithables, young Negroes, & Cattle being taken off, and the Certificate Tax being abolished, and sundry other laws equally valuable, which I have not time to communicate in consequence of the impatience of the bearer, therefore must request, you'll either come to Court, or ride down to see me. I have written you several letters while on the Assembly & least they have miscarried, I now enclose you several papers relative to this new Constitution now offered for our Adoption, & when I can shew you a true and accurate Statement of our publick Revenue & the Appropriations thereof.

1. RC, Surveys, Amherst County, 1781–1802, Vi.

43. Francis Taylor Diary
Midland, Orange County, Va., 28 January 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . Went with G Taylor to Court. . . . Many people at Ct for time of year & weather, they seem divided in opinions of New Constitution

1. MS, Acc. 18710, Vi.

44. William Short to John Brown Cutting
Paris, 13 February 1788[1]

You will perhaps expect my dear Sir from my delaying so long to write that I have been preparing an elaborate answer to your treatise on some articles of the new constitution—far from it.—the first glance of the eye on opening your letter shewed me there was no answering an antagonist who had treated the subject so victoriously, & I determined immediately to surrender at discretion. Knowing that the brave & victorious are always of one view I had reason in throwing myself on your clemency & asking a con[f]ession of past political sins. In frail mortals, you know my dear Sir, are all subject to errors & I am free to confess mine, since you have been pleased so to illuminate the subject as to shew the dangerous heresy into which I had fallen of believing that the *late confederation of the U.S. was a valid contract—& that although undertaken the most desirable manner yet had been sufficiently confirmed by the several parties submitting to & acting under it.*—but this is not the work of my false & heretical opinions Sir (for in a confession nothing must be concealed) *I had even thought that the rights of what you called the* "discordant four" *should be attended to by what you term also* "the harmonious nine".—I speak not of the numberless dreams into which I had fallen—I confine my written abjuration here to those which you had particularly noticed & annihilated by the weight & number of your arguments.—The only way I have of expressing my gratitude to you Sir, is by praying that you may treat with the same degree of eloquence all the causes in which you may be engaged in the course of the profession I am told you intend to pursue.—it will insure you the success which you so well deserve & which I most heartily wish you in common with all your friends.—

As I have been without reason in acknowledging the errors into which I had fallen before the arrival of your letter, I hope you will allow me to mention also one of which I had corrected myself, with the aid of my information from several parts of America. I had determined with myself that in the present situation of affairs it was to be desired that the United States or at least eleven of them should accept the proposed constitution; notwithstanding the many exceptionable parts in it.—& this because it sd. be more difficult to remedy existing evils, if the constitution were totally refused than if partially accepted—in the latter case there seems a certain hope that such changes will be made as may satisfy all parties, whereas in the former I fear that there wd. be little hope of bringing all parties to so desirable a point.

We have heard here that four states have accepted, & that six others wd. certainly accept, the proposed constitution—Rhode Island & Virginia said to be two of the probably dissenting—the third not mentioned.

Your friend Mr Shippen by whom you were so obliging as to send me a letter, I have frequently the pleasure of seeing—I will add, because it is unquestionably true that I have found him an exceedingly sensible & agreeable man—& what adds much to these qualities in my mind, an enlightened & virtuous citizen & a good patriot.—Should all our young countrymen who travel, be able to form so proper an idea of the folly & abuses of European governments, we need not fear seeing such reforms as are to be desired, soon take place in the federal constitution of the United States.—God grant it my dear Sir & may you long continue to live happily under it.

1. FC, Short Papers, DLC.

45. Virginia Herald, 14 February 1788[1]

Monday, the 11th instant, being the anniversary of his excellency General Washington, the auspicious morning was ushered in with a federal salute of 13 guns, and repeated at 12 o'clock. At two o'clock a number of old continental officers and gentlemen of the town met and dined at Mrs. Julian's hotel; where the day was spent with the utmost harmony and in mutual congratulations upon the pleasing occasion. The following toasts were given under the discharge of three guns each:

1. General WASHINGTON.
2. The President and Congress of the United States.
3. Louis XVIth, and all other powers in alliance with America.
4. Governor and Commonwealth of Virginia.
5. The Marquis de la Fayette and other foreign officers who served in the American army.
6. May the present anniversary be perpetuated under the influence of peace and liberty.
7. The memory of those brave men who fell in the defence of American liberty.
8. May the commerce of America flourish on the broad basis of a federal government, and the thirteen stripes ride triumphant throughout the globe.
9. May the myrtle of Venus be entwined with the American laurel, and may the fair be protected by the brave.
10. May unanimity and brotherly love preside in the conventions of the United States.
11. May the deliberations of the convention of this state be guided by wisdom and secure its liberties.

12. May the liberties of America be handed down to posterity as glorious as they were contended for.

13. May the independence of America be acknowledged not only by all earthly powers, but may it be ratified in Heaven.

1. Reprinted in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer,* 29 February; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 1 March; *New York Morning Post,* 4 March; and Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette,* 17 March. Because the *Virginia Herald,* 14 February, is not extant, the transcription is from the *Independent Gazetteer* reprinting.

46. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 14 February 1788

Monday last being the anniversary of the birth day of the illustrious General GEORGE WASHINGTON, the same was ushered in by the firing of cannon, &c. A company of light infantry and one of horse, paraded and went through their different evolutions, &c. after which they proceeded to Mr. Mann's tavern, (joined by a number of citizens) where they spent the remaining part of the day in the greatest harmony and conviviality. After dinner the following toasts were drank, viz.

1st. General Washington.—May the annual return of this day be held sacred to the mirth and festivity, and recognized in the annals of America, as giving birth to the defender of her liberties.

2d. Louis the XVI. King of France. 3d. The Queen of France.

4th. The Congress.—May the virtues of the *first,* be revived by the adoption of a happy Fœderal Constitution.

5th. The Marquis de la Fayette.—May domestic happiness succeed his military toils, and freedom ever be supported by such protectors.

6th. The memory of those worthies who have fallen in defence of American liberty.

7th. Agriculture and commerce.—May the soil of America, become the seat of their union, and the efforts of industry, enrich both farmer and merchant.

In the evening a grand ball was given at the Union Tavern, kept by Mr. ANDERSON, to a very gay assembly of ladies, who equally partook of the joyful festival.

47. Dares
Winchester Virginia Gazette, 15 February 1788

Gentlemen, The Advertisement of Mr. Alexa[n]der White's, in your last paper, is of so new a kind, that I confess I do not remember to have seen

any thing except Dr. Burnett's Introduction to the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, that any ways resembles it. Dr. Swift's sentiments of this introduction I beg leave to offer you.

"This way of publishing introductions to books that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small reading cannot trace it. However we are to suppose that a person of his lordships great age and experience, would hardly act such a piece of singularity, without some extraordinary motives. When the Guardian changed his title and professed to engage in faction, I was sure the word was given; that grand preparations was making against the next sessions, and that the Guardian would soon be seconded by some other piquerer from the same camp. But I confess my suspicions did not carry me so far as to conjecture that this venerable champion would be in such mighty haste to come into the field, and serve in quality as an *Enfant perdu,* armed only with a *pocket-pistol* before his great *blunderbuss* could be got ready, his old rusty *breast-plate* scoured, and his cracked *head-piece* mended.

"I was debating with myself, whether this hint, of producing a small pamphlet, to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the Ceremonial in Spanish Romances, where a Dwarf is sent out upon the Battlements, to signify to all passengers what a mighty Giant there is in the Castle. Or whether the Bishop copied the proceedings from the *Transfatonade* of Monsieur *Boufleurs,* when the Earl of Portland and that General had an interview. Several men were appointed at certain periods to ride in great haste towards the English camp, and cry out *Monseigneur vien! Monseigneur vien!* These small parties advanced with the same speed and same cry, and this foppery held many hours, until the Marshal himself arrived. So here the Bishop hath for a long time sent warning of his arrival. And now his Introduction advanceth to tell us again *Monseigneur vien.* In the meantime we must gape and gaze the lord knows how long, and keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until his Lordship's real self shall think fit to appear in the habit of a Folio. I have seen the same sort of management at a Puppet-shew. Some puppets of little consequence appear several times at the window to allure the Boys and Rabble.—The trumpeter sounded often, and the door-keeper cried out an hundred times *just going to begin*; yet after all were found sometimes to wait an hour, before *Punch* himself in person made his entry."

Now Sir, if instead of my Lord Bishop's *introduction,* we substitute Mr. A. White's *advertisement,* Dr. Swift's redicule will be full as happy. The Dr. goes on to compliment the Bishop's method of writing, which from the poverty of the English language he is forced to call his *Stile.* Mr. White is equally deserving of compliment, and tho' not so voluminous as the Bishop, is cer-

tainly equally an adapt at abuse, "gross misrepresentation of facts, fallacious reasoning, and opprobious language," all in the space of three or four lines. What have we not to expect from his *great work!* It promises vastly to enrich the vocabulary of Billingsgate. To say nothing of the gentleman's want of modesty, in giving so flatly the lie to a most respectable Minority, tis a want he has perhaps only in common with others to gentlemen of his profession. Dr. Burnett, it is true, obtained his seat on the bench of Bishops by his party writings. Perhaps Mr. White looks forward for his reward on the Continental Bench, or does he take this way to revenging himself on the public, for not attending his weighty arguments at the Winchester town meeting?

48. Arthur Campbell to Thomas Madison
Goodwood, Washington County, Va., 20 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I send you a specimen of your Cousin James's writing in the Federalist No. 5. . . .

1. RC, Draper Manuscripts, Virginia Manuscripts, WHi.

49. William Heth Diary
Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Va., 21 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Took my leave after breakfast of Colo Mason who sent a servant & pair of Horses with me to Mount Vernon where I was fortunate enough to find the General without any other company than Colo Humphreys, who has spent the Winter with him been here some months—Dined & Spent an agreeable day—find that the General is very anxious to see the proposd federal constitution adopted by all the States—He recd. letters this evening from Boston & New York, informing him that the Convention of Massachusetts then siting woud unquestionably accept of it

1. MS, DLC.

50 A–C. The Political Club of Danville, Kentucky, Resolutions and Revised Constitution, 23 February–17 May 1788

50-A. Resolutions

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

50-B. Revised Constitution (Manuscript)

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

50-C. Annotated Broadside of U.S. Constitution [1]

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

1. This broadside is in The Records of the Political Club of Danville at the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.

51. Alexander Quarrier to John Henderson
Richmond, 25 February 1788 (excerpt) [1]

. . . we have had a remarkable Cold winter the James river has been shut seavral times and a great deal of snow. business is still good money no plentier nor will be I Supose till the new Constitution takes place wich will in June I Supose we have been firing of guns all day for Joy of the Masechusets Election and are to have a grand ball on the ocasion

1. RC, Hollingsworth Papers, PHi.

52. Charles Yates to James Maury
Fredericksburg, Va., 26 February 1788 (excerpt) [1]

. . . The poor Gent. [Mr. Horner] for whom I entertain a very particular regard, notwithstanding his foibles, from which low persons are wholly exempted, hath been most barbarously used here—I believe he received hardly a shilling of his old debts, and notwithstanding all his precaution, was obliged to leave uncollected of the New to considerable amount in the hands of those who are esteemed the very best Men—but none of them have yet paid a farthing, so that you see his accounts of things come naturally, and I am sorry to say, want no corroberating proofs—however that they were not so bad at that time as they might possably be reduced to, our last assembly hath given a proof by an Act entituled the New Execution Law, which in every clause and section is as unfavorable for the Creditor, as it coud have been made, if drawn by B. Johnston and as fully unintelligable—the remaining hope for persons in my situation which I assure you is such as I never before experienced, is the adoption of the new Constitution, which I have no doubt will take place as it adopted already by Eight States, which are all that have yet determined on the subject—Virginia doth not meet in Convention for that purpose 'till June—partys have been violent but I think the Ante's are giving Ground & that there is little danger of its being received and adopted by a large majority. . . .

1. RC, Maury Papers, ViU.

53. John Enys Journal
Yorktown, Va., 27 February 1788 (excerpts)[1]

The most part of this day I passed with General Nelson. Among the company [at supper] was a Mr. Page from Gloscester on the other side of York River who I think is son-in-Law to the General who seems to be a very sensible man & it is expected he will be one of the Convention for this State.

1. Printed: Elizabeth Cometti, ed., *The American Journals of Lt. John Enys* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1976), 264.

54. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 27 February 1788

The election of Delegates to the Convention will take place on Thursday the 20th of March next, being County Court day.

55. Alexander White
Winchester Virginia Gazette, 29 February 1788[1]

Woodville Feb. 18, 1788.

Messieurs *Bartgis &* Co.

I had flattered myself that the ensuing election would be conducted with candour, and was confirmed in that pleasing expectation by the declaration of Col. Smith, who assured me it should be so on his part. Yet, I find myself attacked in your last paper, and represented as actuated in my public conduct by interested motives. The insinuation is in itself too remote from truth to deserve a serious denial, but you will please insert the following answer.

———

To DARES.

The present crisis is as important as that which drew Dr. Burnet into the field of politics. His writings were calculated to promote and justify the revolution which rescued the people of England from despotic sway, and can with no greater propriety be called *party writings,* than the whigs who brought about the revolution, are by the Jacobites of Scotland called the *revolution mob.* In the pursuit of a measure which is as essential to the felicity of American liberty as the revolution of 1668 was to the liberties of England, I would not regard the heaviest satire of Dr. Swift, who was the champion of the tories of his day in that kind of warfare, much less shall the public attempt of a man who has the meanness to make a personal attack, under covert of a fictitious name, be regarded by ALEX. WHITE.

1. The Winchester *Virginia Gazette* informed its readers on 22 February that "*The letter from Alexander White, Esqr, addressed to Dares, is received, but came too late for this day's paper.*"

56. Dion
Winchester Virginia Gazette, 29 February 1788

To the Printer of the Winchester *Paper.*

Sir, It is so common place to observe on the inconsistencies of character, that we are seldom heard with patience; the lesser vanities are disregarded, whilst only the most contrary opposites fix our attention. Your paper of February 8, surprized us with an extraordinary instance, from which the public have scarce yet recovered.

Rashness is generally the companion of *youth*; judgment governs *age*. Yet here we see those properties changed.—And to compleat our astonishment, *boldness* is given to a character of notorious *timidity*. The name of *Alexander* naturally enough led you to think of a hero; then a gauntlet of defiance was proper; but I confess I suspected you of mistake, when you annexed the surname *White*.

Could it be supposed that the man, who in the hour of danger, shrunk from the defense of his country, like a tortoise within his shell, would now dare to give its deliverers publicly the lie; and the subject too the government of that very country whose decency he abandoned. That a man of his caution and so obnoxious to reprehension, should venture into print at all, surprized many; but that he should affix his name, to lay it at the mercy of every writer, was such a piece of Quixotism as no one expected, and exceeded even the hope of her enemies. It was such a violation of character, as would scarcely be tolerated on the stage; nothing but his performing in the last what you had promised for him in your advertisement, could have gained belief. Nothing short of the confidence of the bar could bear him out in his pretensions to love for his country and *posterity,* who preys on the one by profession, and whose life has been useless to the *other*. When you have finished Mr. White's strictures, I beg you to reserve a place in your paper for a short "essay on *patriotism,* with the superior advantages of professing it, in times of *profound peace*; to which will be annexed, intrepidity, or the art of attacking respectable characters, at the *secure* distance of 200 miles," by Sir, your humble servant, DION.

57. James Breckinridge to John Preston
Williamsburg, Va., 3 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I suppose you hold a poll for the convention & have by this time made up an [– – –] on the Subject—I will [be] extremely pleased to hear your sentiments & how the [voting?] appear to incline in that County. . . .

1. RC, Preston Papers, ViHi.

58 A–D. Poll Lists of Virginia Convention Elections
10–24 March 1788

58-A. Buckingham County Poll List, 10 March [1]

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

1. MS, Acc. 20238, Vi.

58-B. Princess Anne County Poll List, 13 March [1]

A Poll for the Election of Delegates for the Convention to be held in June next 1788,—

Names of Persons who Voted for Mr. Anthony Walke.—

Edward Hack Moseley, Cason Moore, James Whitehurst, Godfrey Malbone, Ransom Brock, James Heath, Malachi Raney, Solomon Whitehurst, Benjamin D. Gray, John Chapple, Moses Capps, John Dyer, William Douge, James Malbon, John Fentress, Morris Capps, L. G. Roberts, William James, James Eaton, Jeremiah Land, Tully Douge, Henry Capps, John Wildbour, Josiah Shipp, Edward Cannon, Joshua Lawrence, Charles Padon, William Brock, William Cornish, William Hunter, George Gaskins, James Etheredge, Matthias Hopkins, James Etheredge, Caleb Fenton, John Hopkins, Joel Morse, Joab Douge, William Thorington, Thomas Cannon, Old George [i.e., George Old], Cutely Phillips, Edward Petty, William Edmonds, John Humphries, George Chapple, John Gisbon, John Ward, Caleb Moore, James Seneca, Obed Capps, Daniel Grimstead, John Kilgore, Henry Kinsey, William Kilgore, Richard Douge, Nathl Fentress, Thomas Kelley, Nathan Cahum, John Purdy, Horatio Land, Thomas Grimstead, Jonathan Fisher, Thomas Ewell, Willoughby Berry, Reuben Douge, William Henly, William West senr, Joshua Fentress, Abraham Willeroy, William Whitehurst, William Paden, Nathaniel Brock, John Lovitt, George Styring, Richard Whitehurst, Charles Whitehurst, Moses Whitehurst, Solomon Frizzle, Thomas Simmons, Thomas West, Charles Moseley, Daniel Fran[k]lin, John Capps son of John, William Benthal, Robert Holmes, William Pebworth, Willam Dyson, Tulley Bonney, Mark Robinson, Thomas Wright, Solomon Malborn, Jesse Berry, Tully Hill,

Arthur Fizzle, Edward Davis, James Sorey, John Shepherd, Caleb Fenton, Reuben Whitehurst, Thomas Drury, Henry James, Dennis Capps, Joshua Barnes, Henry Harrison, David Fentress, Solomon Waterman, Nathan Franklin, Reuben Lovitt, Thomas Whitehurst, Robert Whitehurst, John Griffin, Robert Ward, Cornelius Morriss, Dim Cornick, Andrew Smith, Max Collins, Joseph Powers, Thomas Lovett, Michael Fentress, Cornelius Brinson, John Brown, Tully Brown, Jermiah Murden, James Grisham, John Rigg, Lemmuel Fentress, Gideon Dawley, Willoughby Williamson, Thomas Rany, Hillary Cone, Henry Murden, John Brown, Joshua Land, John Cason, Simon Whitehurst, Edward Brown, Thomas Williams, Henry Dawley, William Whitehurst, James Brewer, Thomas Trowers, William Wilkins, Jeremiah Whitehurst, Hillary Capps, Reuben Kelly, John Whitehurst, John Matthias, George Matthias, Moses Brown, William Robinson, Thomas Cavendar, Joel Woodard, Jeremiah Wright, John Morriset, Jonathan Whitehurst, Henry Burgess, Henry Collins, David Kilgore, Matthias Drury, Lemuel Williamson, John Wicker, William Morris, Henry Moore, Joel Peed, Moses Brown, James Morris, Matthew Pallet, Malachi Williamson, John Bonney, John Smith Tully Shipp, Joel King, Jonathan Woodhouse, John Forrest, John Woodhouse, William Absalom, Adam Robinson, Jonathan Roberts, Enoch Jones, James Leggitt, John Pallitt, Ezekiel Clay, Jesse Hill, Lemuel Williamson, William Read, John Cason, Jeremiah Plummer, Moses Fentress, John Matthias, Solomon Bright, Horatio Cornick, William Moore, Cartwright Butt, William Sammons, John Morris, Paul Keeling, Solomon Cason, Willoughby Dyer, Jonathan Mackey, Hillary Cason, Joseph Gwin, Willoughby Frizzel, Caleb Land, George Cox, Thomas Old, William McClenahan, Charles Moseley, Joel Cornick, William McClallan, John Whitehurst, Enoch Whitehurst, Abner Woodhouse, David Scott, John Lovitt, Robert Kays, John Lovitt, Simon Stone, John Hunter, Reuben Wiles, Ric[hard] Land, Jonathan Buskey, John May, Edward Rice, William Stone, Henry Matthias, William Shepperd, George D. Corprew, James Smith, Caleb Old, Josiah Stiring, John Hartgrove, Jacob White, John Woodhouse, Simon Shipp, James Hartgrove, Jacob White, John Woodhouse, Simon Shipp, James Hartgrove, Nathaniel Nicholas, Adam Lovitt, Jonathan Whitehurst, Matthew Godfrey, William Holmes, Joshua Martin, Willis Landley, Nathaniel Hoggard, Thomas Trowers, Edward Bonney, Jacob Keeling, William Wiles, Thomas James, Joshua Williamson, David Fentress, Anthony Walke, Willam Atchison, William Legget, Thomas Robinson, John James, Joshua James, Abel Edmonds, Richard Corbet, James Woodhouse, Isaac Murray, John Murray, John Thorowgood, Simon Marvault, Samuel Moseley, Hillary Moseley, Henry Keeling, John Wilson, Reuben Gornto, Horatio Davis, Willam Black, Thomas Atwood, Hillary Moseley, John Bruce, Lewis Guyon, John Lewis, John Cornick, Henry Sammons, William Nimmo, Lanfare Bur-

gess, John Boult, William Walke, Joshua Whitehurst, James West, Tully Cason, John Whichard, John Raney, Henry Woodard, John Murden, William Woodhouse, William Moseley, Anthony Fentress, Moses Cason, Obadiah Mason, Richard White, John Cox, Jonathan Wright, William West, Cantwel Garrison, Thomas Holstead, Thomas Walker, James Lovett, John Whitehurst, Ebenezer Craig, James Henley, Thomas Banks, John Oliver, Peter Malbon, Joel Simmons, Moses Brock, Anthony Murfey, John Parsons, Joseph Nottingham, Tully Moseley, William Hutchings, George Stone, Richard Sparrow, Isaac Carey, John Kennedy, John Smith, Thomas Wishart, Smith Shepperd, James Carraway, Charles Williamson, Frederick Boush, Richard Backhouse, Isaac Jacobs, George Williamson, Batson Land, John Capps son of Thomas, Charles Hartley, Joshua Hopkins senr., Thomas Hunter, Thomas Walke, Hillary Matthias, James Murden, Frank Whitehurst, John Keeling, William Ship, Thomas Dawley, John Sharwood, Christopher Whitehurst, John Ackiss, Moses Mason, William Wilkins, Thomas Casteen, John Whitehurst, Thomas Airs, Nathan Wildbour, Bagwell Moore, John Wilkins.

Total Amount . . . . . 354.

Names of Persons who Voted for Col. Thomas Walke—

Edward H. Mosely, Cason Moore, Godfrey Malbone, James Whitehurst, Malachi Rainey, James Malbon, James Eaton, William Brock, Caleb Fenton, Thomas Cannon, John Ward, James Sennica, Richard Dauge, Joshua Fentress, Charles Whitehurst, Edward James, Charles Malbone, John Capps son of John, John Cock, Charles James, James Smith, Thomas Wright, Tully Hill, Thomas Drewry, John Henly, John Griffin, Dim Cornick, James Dawley, Max Collins, Joseph Powers, John Brown, Jonathan Bonney, Tulley Brown, John Cason, Moses Brown, Henry Collins, David Kilgore, Joel Peed, James Morris, Matthew Pallitt, John Smith, Jonathan Woodhouse, John Forrist, John Woodhouse, Adam Robinson, Enoch Jones, John Pallit, Moses Fentress, William D. Woodhouse, Horatio Cornick, William Thorowgood, Niel Jamieson, Solomon Cason, Jonathan Mackey, John Lewis, Erasmus Haynes, John Cornick, James Thorowgood, John Ghieslin, Thomas Lawson, Cristopher Gale, Henry Holmes, Josiah Valentine, Thomas Corprew, Nathan Murdin, David Dawley, Caleb Dawley, Willaim Capps, James Whitehurst, William Flanacan, Tully Capps, Charles Waterman, William Wilkins, William Nimmo, William Brewer, Lanfare Burgess, Charles Sayer, Thomas Williams, Josiah Butt, William Moseley, Frank Morse, Obediah Mason, Thomas Walker, John Whitehurst, John Gisborn, James Henly, John Banks, John Whitehead, Moses Brock, Joel Cornick, John Lovitt, John Bushey, Edward Rice, William Shepperd, George D. Corprew, Jacob White, John Woodhouse, Thomas Trowers, John P. Biddle, John Floyed, John Phripp, William Atcheson, Joseph White,

Hillary Whitehurst, Tully Land, John James, Joshua James, Richard Corbet, James Woodhouse, John Thorowgood, Edward Haynes, Lemuel Cornick, Henry Keeling, Tully Robinson, Anthony Walke, James Gisburn, John Lyon, Lewis Guyon, Thomas Kempe, William Kays Junr, Adam Keeling, Michel Thorowgood, James Lahy, Gershom Nimmo, John Capps, Charles Hartley, Thomas Hunter, Thomas Aires, Jonathan Ackiss, Isaac Scott, John Kinsey, John Ackiss, Nathan Mason, William Douge, Thomas Castiel, John Wilkins, Joseph Notingham, Jonathan James, James Bates, Tully Moseley, David Carrol, Moris McClenahan senr., Cason Moore Junr., Joab McClenahan, Adam Lee, Edward Capps, Joshua Atwood, James Riggs, George Batten, Solomon Williams, Isaac Cary, James Simpson, Henry Smith, George Jamison, James Moore, John Smith, Peter Singleton, Dennis Dawley, John Hancock, William White, William Russel, Thomas Wishart Junr., Smith Shepperd, Henry Kellum, James King Junr., James Carraway, Daniel McCabe, James Colfer, William Scantling, John Walke, Archibald McCall, Hillary Matthias, John Keeling, James Robinson, Jonathan Park, Charles Williamson, John Kennedy, Reuben Douge, Thomas Ewell, Robert Keeling, Joseph Waters, ...

Total Amount . . . . . 182.

Names of Persons who Voted for Mr. Edw. H. Moseley

Ransom Brock, James Heath, John Chapple, Benjamin D. Gray, Moses Capps, John Dyer, William Douge, John Fentress, Joshua Fentress Junr., Morris Capps, John Wildbore, Josiah Shipp, Edward Cannon, Joshua Lawrence, Charles Padon, William Cornick, William Hunter, George Gaskins, James Etheredge, Matthias Hopkins, James Etheredge, John Hopkins, Joel Morse, Edward Pallit, William Edmonds, John Chapple, John Gisbourn, Caleb Moore, Obed Capps, John Kilgore, Nathaniel Fentress, William Kilgore, Willoughby Berry, Thomas Grimstead, Jonathan Fisher, William Henley, William West, Abraham Willeroy, William Whitehurst, William Paydon, Nathaniel Brock, John Lovett, George Styring, Richard Whitehurst, Thomas Simmons, Thomas West, Daniel Franklin, William Benthal, William Pebworth, William N. Dyson, Jesse Berry, Caleb Fenton, Reuben Whitehurst, Henry James, Dennis Capps, Joshua Barns, Nathan Franklin, Reuben Lovitt, Thomas Whitehurst, Robert Whitehurst, Robert Ward, Andrew Smith, Cornelius Brinson. Jeremiah Murden, James Grisholm, John Rigg, Lemuel Fentress, Thomas Rainey, Hillary Cone, Joshua Land, Simon Whitehurst, James Brewer, Thomas Trower, William Wilkins, Jeremiah Whitehurst, Hillary Capps, John Whitehurst, John Matthias, George Matthias, William Robinson, Thomas Cavendar, Joel Woodard, John Morrisett, Jonathan Whitehurst, Henry Burgess, Matthias Drury, Lemuel Williamson, William Morriss, Henry Moore, Moses Brown, Tully Shipp, Jesse Hill, William Reed, John Cason,

Jermiah Plummer, John Matthias, Solomon Bright, Edmund Saunders, John Morriss, Willoughby Dyer, William Walke, Joshua Whitehurst, James West, Tully Cason, John Rainey, Henry Woodard, Willam Woodhouse, Anthony Fentress, Moses Cason, John Wright, Thomas Holstead, James Lovitt, Ebenezer Craig, John Parsons, Willoughby Frizzle, Thomas Old, William McClanahan, William McClalahan, Charles Moseley, John Whitehurst, Enoch Whitehurst, Abner Woodhouse, David Scott, John Lovitt, Simon Stone, John Hunter: Reuben Wiles, John May, Matthias Styring, John Hardgrove, Simon Shipp, James Hardgrove, Nathaniel Nichols, Adam Lovitt, Jonathan Whitehurst, William Holmes, Joshua Martin, Nathaniel Hoggard, Edward Bonney, Jacob Keeling, Thomas Robinson, Abel Edmonds, Isaac Murray, Samuel Moseley, John Wilson, Anthony Walke, Reuben Gornto, Horatio Davis, Hillary Moseley, John Bruce, Richard Backhouse, Isaac Jacobs, George Williamson, Batson Land, William Wiles, Joshua Hopkins senr., James Murden, Francis Whitehurst, William Shipp, Thomas Dawley, John Sharwood, Christopher Whitehurst, Nathan Mundin, John Whitehurst senr., Nathan Wilbour, Bagwell Moore, Jonathan James, George Stone, Richard Sparrow, Frederick Boush, Hillary Moseley, William James, Jeremiah Land, Tully Douge, Henry Capps, John Murray

Total Amount, 176.

Names of Persons who Voted for Col. Thomas Kempe.

Edward Brown, Henry Dawley, James Woodard, Reuben Kelly, Jeremiah Wright, John Wicker, Malachi Williamson, John Bonney, Joel King, William Absolam, Jonathan Roberts, James Leggett, Lemuel Whitehurst, William Woodhouse, Emanuel Saunders, William Moore, Cartwright Butt, William Salmons, William Thorowgood, Niel Jamison, Paul Keeling, Hillary Cason, Erasmus Haynes, Henry Salmons, James Thorowgood, John Ghiselin, Thomas Lawson, Christopher Gale, Holmes,[2] Josiah Valentine, William Bevan, Charles Sayer, John Whitehard, Thomas Williams, John Murden, Josiah Butt, Frank Morse, Richard White, John Cox, William West, John Gisborn, John Oliver, Peter Malbone, Joel Simmons, John Whitehard senr., Joseph Waters, John Whitehard Junr., Joseph Gwin, Caleb Land, George Cox, Robert Kays, Ric[hard] Land, William Stone, Henry Matthias, James Smith, Caleb Old, Matthew Godfrey, Willis Langley, John P. Biddle, John Floyed, Joshua Williamson, David Fentress, Jacob Valentine, James Moore, John Phripp, William Leggate, Joseph White, Hillary Whitehurst, Tully Land, Edward Haynes, Lemuel Cornick, Tully Robinson, Thomas Atwood, James Gisbourn, John Lyon, James H. Moore, Peter Singleton, Dennis Dawley, John Hancock, William Russel, Robert Keeling, Henry Kellum, James King Junr., Daniel McCabe, James Colfer, William Scantling, Archibald McCall, James Robinson, Jonathan Park, William Kays Junr., Adam Keeling, Mitchel

Thorowgood, Thomas James, James Lahy, Gershom Nimmo, Jonathan Ackiss, Isaac Scott, John Kinsey, Nathan Mason, William Douge, Thomas Corprew, David Dawley, Caleb Dawley, William Capps, James Whitehurst, William Flanagan, Tully Capps, Charles Waterman, James Bates, David Carrol, Moses McClenahan senr., Cason Moore Jnr, Joab McClanan, Adam Deal, Edward Capps, Joshua Atwood, William Hutchings, James Riggs, George Batten, Solomon Williams, James Simpson, Henry Smith, George Jamison, Daniel Grimsted, Henry Kinsey, Thomas Kelly, Nathan Oakam, John Prudy, Horatio Land, Thomas Old, Moses Whitehurst, Solomon Frizzel, Edward James, Robert Holmes, John Cock, Charles James, James Smith, Tully Bonney, Mark Robinson, Solomon Malbone, John Frizzle, Edward Davis, John Shepperd, Henry Harrison, David Fentress, Jonathan Bonney, Solomon Waterman, John Henly, Cornelius Morris, James Dawley, Thomas Lovit senr., Michael Fentress, Jonathan Bonney, Cantwell Garrison, Gideon Dawley, Willoughby Williamson, Henry Murden, John Brown Junr., Simon Land, William White.—

Total Amount. 160.

Names of Persons who Voted for Mr. Edward Rice.

William Thorington, George Old, Cidele Phillips, John H[u]mpheys, James Sorey, Thomas Williams, BS,[3] James Woodard, Ezekiel Clay, John Bell, Anthony Murfey, Jacob Valentine, Simon Marvault, William Black, ... Amount in all 13.

Names of Persons who Voted for George D. Corprew,
John Whitehead, Thomas Old.

Names of Persons who Voted for Joel Morse—
John Whitehead.—

1. MS, Princess Anne Deed Book 21, pp. 346–54, Vi. Commas, where omitted in the original, have been added to separate names.
2. No first name.
3. Initials only.

58-C. Essex County Poll List, 17 March [1]

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

1. MS, Essex County Deed Book, No. 33, pp. 108–10, County Records, Vi.

58-D. Brunswick County Poll List, 24 March [1]

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

1. MS, Vi. For a discussion of this poll list, see RCS:Va., 574–75.

59 A–Z. Newspaper Reports of Convention Election Results
7 March–7 May 1788

59-A. Virginia Journal, 7 March[1]

On Monday last William Grayson and Cuthbert Bullett, Esquires, were elected delegates for the county of Prince-William, to the ensuing convention, to be held in this state.

1. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 17 March; *Pennsylvania Journal,* 19 March; and *Philadelphische Correspondenz,* 25 March. The *Virginia Journal* is not extant for 7 March, so this item was transcribed from the *Pennsylvania Packet,* which reprinted it under the dateline "ALEXANDRIA, March 7."

59-B. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 12 March

We are informed that Warren Lewis, and Thomas Smith, Esqrs. are elected to represent the County of Gloucester, in the ensuing State Convention.

We are also informed that Thomas Pierce, and James Johnson, Esqrs. are elected Delegates for the Isle of Wight. And, that Willis Reddick, and Solomon Sheppard, Esqrs. are elected for Nansemond.

59-C. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 12 March[1]

Delegates chosen to serve in the State Convention to be held in June next, viz.

JAMES INNES, Esquire, for the city of Williamsburg.

PARKE GOODALL, and JOHN C. LITTLEPAGE, Esquires, for Hanover.

JAMES MONRO, and JOHN DAWSON, Esquires, for Spotsylvania.

WARNER MOORE, and WILLIAM McKIE, Esquires, for Rockbridge.

ANDREW LEWIS, and THOMAS SMITH, Esquires, for Gloucester.

WILLIAM GRAYSON, and CUTHBERT BULLETT, Esquires, for Prince-William.

1. Reprinted ten times by 17 April: Mass. (1), Conn. (2), R.I. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (5).

59-D. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 13 March[1]

The following gentlemen are elected delegates to serve in the State Convention to be held in June next:

Williamsburg,—James Innes.

Charlotte,—Thomas Read, Paul Carrington.

Isle of Wight,—John S. Wills, —— Pearce.

Prince George,—Edmund Ruffin, The: Bland.

Hanover,—Parke Goodall, John C. Littlepage.
Spotsylvania,—James Monro, John Dawson.
Rockbridge,—Warner Moore, Wm. McKie.
Prince Wm.,—Wm. Grayson, Cuth. Bullett.
Amherst,—William Cabell, Samuel J. Cabell.
Mecklenburg,—Sam. Hopkins, Rich. Kennon.
Gloucester,—Andrew Lewis, Thomas Smith.

1. Reprinted by the *New York Journal,* 28 March; *Massachusetts Centinel,* 2 April (excerpt); and *New Hampshire Spy,* 4 April (excerpt). The last two newspapers noted that the Cabells "*are opposed to the Constitution in its present form.*"

59-E. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 13 March

The following gentlemen have been elected for the Convention since our last, viz. WILLIAM GRAYSON and CUTHBERT BULLITT, Esquires, for the county of Prince William—WARNER LEWIS and THOMAS SMITH, Esquires, for Gloucester.—PARKE GOODALL and CARTER LITTLEPAGE, Esquires, for Hanover.—Col. NATHANIEL BURWELL and ROBERT ANDREWS, Esquires, for James City.—ANDREW MOORE and Wm. M'KEE, Esquires, for Rockbridge,—JAMES MONRO and JOHN DAWSON, Esquires, for Spotsylvania.—Wm. CABELL and SAMUEL J. CABELL, Esquires, for Amherst.

59-F. Virginia Journal, 14 March [1]

Since our last, we have heard that the following gentlemen have been elected Delegates to the ensuing Convention:—Stafford, *George Mason and —— Buchanan, esquires*—Loudon, *Leven Powell and Stephen T. Mason, esquires.*

1. The *Virginia Journal,* 14 March, is not extant. The item has been transcribed from the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 25 March, which reprinted it under the dateline "ALEXANDRIA, March 14."

59-G. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 14 March

His Excellency *Edmund Randolph* and *John Marshall,* Esq'rs. are elected delegates for the county of Henrico, and *William Grayson* and *Cuthbert Bullett,* Esquires, for the County of Prince William, for the ensuing convention, to be held in this State in June next.

59-H. Kentucky Gazette, 15 March

Robert Brakenridge and Rice Bullock Esqrs. for Jefferson County, and Humphrey Marshall and John Fowler Esquires for Fayette County, are elected Delegates to attend the state Convention in Richmond in June next.

59-I. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 19 March

DELEGATES *in* CONVENTION, *for the under-mentioned Counties.*

Warwick—Richard Carey, Sen. and Cole Diggs, Esqrs.

Northampton—Littleton Eyre, and John Stratton, Esqrs.

59-J. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 19 March[1]

Delegates chosen to serve in the State Convention to be held in June next.

DAVID PATTERSON and STEPHEN PANKEY, Esquires, Chesterfield.

JOHN S. WOODCOCK and ELLIOTT WHITE, Esquires, Frederick.

NATHANIEL BURWELL and ROBERT ANDREWS, Esquires, James City.

WILLIAM THORNTON and BURDIT ASTON, Esquires, King George.

WILLIAM CLAYTON and BURWELL BASSETT, Esquires, New Kent.

THEODORICK BLAND and EDMUND RUFFIN, Esquires, Prince George.

GEORGE MASON and ANDREW BUCHANAN, Esquires, Stafford.

WARNER LEWIS and THOMAS SMITH, Esquires, Gloucester.

ANDREW MOORE and WILLIAM MKIE, Esquires, Rockbridge.

WILLIAM PEACHEY and WALTER TOMLIM, Esqrs. Richmond County.

GEORGE NICHOLAS and WILSON NICHOLAS, Esqrs. Albemarle.

EDMUND PENDLETON and JAMES TAYLOR, Esqrs. Caroline.

PAUL CARRINGTON and THOMAS READ, Esqrs. Charlotte.

WILLIAM WHITE and WILLIAM O. CALLIS, Esqrs. Louisa.

Doct. WALTER JONES THOMAS GASKINS, Esqrs. Northumberland.

JOHN ROANE and WILLIAM FLEET, Esqrs. King Queen.

THOMAS ARTHUR and JOHN EARLY, Esqrs. Franklin.

JOHN GUARRANT and WILLIAM SAMPSON, Esqrs. Goochland.

GEORGE WYTHE and JOHN BLAIR, Esqrs. York.

LEVEN POWELL and STEPHEN T. MASON, Esqrs. Loudon.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 27 March; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer,* 27 March; *Pennsylvania Journal,* 29 March; New York *Daily Advertiser,* 29 March. Under the heading "*Prospect of another PILLAR's rising,*" the *Massachusetts Centinel,* 9 April, reported (without giving the names of those elected) that it had received returns from these twenty counties. Ten newspapers reprinted the *Centinel*'s report by 18 April: N.H. (3), Mass. (5), R.I. (2).

59-K. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 20 March

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

59-L. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 26 March[1]

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

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 10 April.

59-M. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 26 March

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

59-N. Virginia Herald, 27 March

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

59-O. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 27 March

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

59-P. Boston American Herald, 31 March

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

59-Q. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 2 April

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

59-R. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 2 April[1]

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

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 10 April; *New York Journal,* 12 April.

59-S. Virginia Centinel, 2 April

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

59-T. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 2 April

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

59-U. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 3 April

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

59-V. New York Journal, 9 April

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

59-W. Virginia Centinel, 9 April

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

59-X. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 16 April[1]

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

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* 17 April; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 24 April.

59-Y. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 16 April

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

59-Z. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 7 May[1]

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

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* 8 May.

60–173. VIRGINIA ELECTION CERTIFICATES

All but two of these election certificates are in "Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Election Certificates," Vi. The two Buckingham County certificates are in the Bernard Family Papers, Vi.

60. Albemarle County

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

61. Amelia County

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

62. Amherst County

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

63. Augusta County

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

64. Bedford County

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

65. Bedford County

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

66. Berkeley County

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

67. Botetourt County

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

68. Brunswick County

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

69. Buckingham County

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

70. Buckingham County Election Certificates[1]

Buckingham

I do hereby certify that on the 10th. day of march 1788 at the Court house of my said County, Charles Patteson & David Bell Esqrs. were chosen by the free holders of the said County to represent them in this State Convention to be held in June next

Jno. Bernard Shr. of
Buckgm.

* * * * *

Buckingham County March 10th. 1788

By Virtue of an Act of the last session of Assembly intitled an "Act & in Consequence of a Resolution of the last Virginia Assembly, respecting this State Convention—; in my full County, held at the Court-House for my said County, upon the 10th. Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1788, and by the Assent of my said County, I have caused to be chosen two Representatives of my said County: viz: Charles Patteson & David Bell Gentn. to act and do, as the above recited Act, directs & requires

John Bernard Sheriff of
Buckingham

1. Both of these certificates are in the Bernard Family Papers at the Virginia State Library.

71. Campbell County

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

72. Caroline County

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

73. Charles City County

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

74. Charlotte County

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

75. Chesterfield County

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

76. Culpeper County

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

77. Cumberland County

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

78. Dinwiddie County

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

79. Elizabeth City County

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

80. Fairfax County

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

81. Fairfax County

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

82. Fauquier County

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

83. Fayette County

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84. Fluvanna County

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174. Alexander M'Sarcasm
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 12 March 1788

To the People of Virginia.

Friends & Fellow Citizens, The Federal Republican reasoneth well, although he has not gone through with the detail of all you are likely to suffer by this arbitrary Federal Constitution. Know then, that I have made an accurate calculation of only one expence, which I conceive will be an enormous imposition upon the good people of the union, viz. The President, for every supper, must be served with two thousand dishes of fish, and seven thousand of fowl, which, at the moderate calculation of two and six-pence per dish, will amount to the sum of eleven hundred and twenty-five pounds, besides bread and wine, nor may you expect a single fragment, since he will be allowed, by a special law, to keep sixteen hundred and thirty-two gluttonous concubines. This, in itself, would be a charge that would exhaust the very wealth of the mines of Patosi.

The Emperor of Morocco, my friends, with all his unlimited sovereign prerogatives, is in fact, but a political prisoner compared to this intended omnipotent prince. You will have neither check nor controul to prevent him from entering into a quadruple alliance with the Dey of Algiers, the Emperor of Morocco, and M'Gilvary, King of the Creek nation, whom it is thought, have already commenced hostilities against us, as preliminaries to the expected treaty. Thus, my fellow citizens, will your treasure, your armies, and your squadrons be dilapidated or run away with, to your utter ruin. The next evil, necessary for your information, and which the Federal Republican but slightly touched upon is, the unequal taxation. It is a fundamental rule of justice as well as policy, that all taxes for the support of government should be laid with equality. Suppose then, that the general government, like Flavius Vespasian, should think proper to lay a tax upon urine, and the good people of the State of Virginia should be taken with the dropsy, and it was found necessary, by medical prescription, to draw off the water through the urethra, where would be the equality in this case?

Sirs, when I look upon this law, and survey it with all the inevitable consequences stated by the Federal Republican and myself, I may justly speak that, of this, which was said of the laws of Draco the Athenian—it is a law not written in ink, but written in blood.

175. James Hunter to Marianna Hunter
Fredericksburg, Va., 15 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . If the Constitution takes place there will be a Bankrupt Law, which I shall be compelld to take advantage of if I am here, therefore the Negroes

Furniture Lotts &c will be in Danger, it was on that acct. that I mentiond moving them to St. Johns—and if your Brother can from Sales the Portsmo. Lott make out to redeem his mortgage, it would be necessary, that he makes over the Mortgage to the children and you—he may also give you deeds for the 5000 Acres adjoining him, if he thinks it would be a good Settlement. . . .

1. RC, Hunter Family Papers, ViU.

176. Francis Taylor Diary
Midland, Orange County, Va., 18 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

18. J. Clark breakfasted here—was at Culp[epe]r Election yesterday—F Strother & Joel Earley—elected.

Hear that Col Pendleton & Col Jas Taylor for Caroline. . . .

1. MS, Acc. 18710, Vi.

177. Arthur Campbell to James McGavock
Washington County, Va., 19 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . A number of the inclosed printed paper has been sent me, to disperse for the information of the People.—It is said to be devised by the celebrated Doctor Ewing.—I do myself the pleasure of forwarding one for you, and another for my friend Mr. John Montgomery. It is the best thing I have seen wrote against the Constitution.—And a piece signed Publius is the best in favour of it.

1. RC, Executive Papers, Vi.

178. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 19 March 1788

It is the opinion of the most observing politicians, that the Minority of Pennsylvania, by their vague "Reasons of Dissent," and the consequent inflammatory publications, have done more real injury to the proposed Federal Constitution, than the whole combined force of antifederals, throughout the United States.

The genuine republican principles, lately evinced by the minority of the Massachusetts Convention, must forever redound to the honour of that State. Although they uniformly and zealously opposed the ratification of the federal government, as proposed, yet, since it had been approved of by a majority, they have, almost to a man, determined not only to support it themselves, but exert their influence with their constituents, that they afford

an aiding hand;—enjoying the pleasing hope of succeeding in some amendments at a future Federal Congress; but, if not to be there obtained, they will freely acquiesce in taking it in *toto*.

179. Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 20 March 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of veracity
dated Richmond, March 6*th,* 1788.

"On Monday last his excellency Edmond Randolph and John Marshall, esquires, were elected delegates to the ensuing state convention to represent the county of Henrico; and James Innes, esq. for the city of Williamsburgh—all of whom will support the constitution."

1. Reprinted in the Connecticut *New Haven Gazette,* 27 March, and *Pittsburgh Gazette,* 5 April.

180. Andrew Craigie to Daniel Parker
New York, 1 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . public Securities on which interest has been paid to the end of the Year *86* are 3/5 & 3/6 / £ & I believe will continue to rise while the prospect continues favourable for the Establishment of the New Constitution which at present Looks up well & will be out of danger if Virginia accedes. . . .

1. FC, Craigie Papers, American Antiquarian Society.

181. Richard Adams to Thomas Adams
Richmond, 2 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

I wrote you about a fortnight ago by Mr Beckeley who promised to deliver it you on his Way to Green Brier where he is gone to Endeavor to be elected into the Convention, but am informd by Col Huggart he did not Call on you. I expect he will on his Return, I am Glad to hear by Col Huggart you and my Sister are well, & that you intend down soon, the Col will bring you all the news, Mr Robt. Morris & Governur Morris Din'd with Me to Day, they Enquired after you, I expect they will Continue here for sometime longer. . . .

1. RC, Adams Papers, ViHi.

182. A Thinker I
Virginia Centinel, 2 April 1788

Messrs. Printers, You know there must be divers sorts of people to be of all sorts; I am one of those sort of folks that have had a tolerable degree of experience, but, a little unhappily for me, my mother was so very tender of me, that she forgot to give me (when we parted) my best suit of cloaths—I mean my education; therefore, like many others, what little smattering I have, I got by hearing others talk, and judging how they would think when any thing new fell out, and I have very often been lucky enough to guess right:—Just so has it happened with the opposers of the new Constitution in these parts—such a number appeared dissatisfied, that it looked as if they would surely have born it down [in?] the first—but, according to my accustomed method of thinking, I soon perceived, when things came to an issue, that they would gradually faulter, and at last sink into oblivion—nevertheless, it is a matter of no moment to me, for, as I before observed, I am only a thinker.—There are a great many others who are gaping for the adoption of the new Constitution, and are actually so unwise as to stand almost still 'till it is ratified and put in motion:—I think it is nonsense for any of us to suppose, that a set of men, be they ever so good, or ever so wise, can, by a few resolves upon paper, cause us to be the happy people we so anxiously wish for. I think it is a laughable matter to hear some folks make this reply, to those who complain of the difficulties of the times—"O stop" say thou "[– – –] [at least one line is missing] unconcerned, and so indolently disposed, that 'tis enough to raise an indignation in the breast of any feeling person;—for my part, I think if they are able to lay a plan for securing what little we have got, it will be a grand point at present; and if they should be so happy as to point out a method for getting more, I hope the indolent will never be the objects of their consideration—for if I had the abilities to become a politician, and had the planning of any thing material for our happiness, as a collective body, I should be for supporting every beneficial and industryous undertaking that might be pointed out by any of my fellow citizens; and in my obscure state I have not envied, but rather rejoiced at the spiritedness which prevails in your town of Winchester, amidst the difficulties now attending us; for instance, the Hemp and Flax and Nail Manufacturies, for, if I am not out in my thinking, if they can be supported, they are two of the most capital strokes that have ever been struck since the foundation of the town. Happening to fall in company the other day with one of the Proprietors of the Hemp Manufactory, he told me, that upwards of twenty persons (although in its infant state) had a dependance, and drew a small subsistence from it, and added, that the applications made

for work in the spinning line, were very distressing to him, as it was out of their power to supply all; nevertheless, says he, we are determined to exert our utmost endeavors for the growth of it, and I am persuaded, when our spinners have a little more practice, and the exhorbitancy of their wages some little reduced (particularly if a company of gentlemen were to join us) we shall be able to make linen superior in quality to that of Russia, and at as low rates; however, at present we labour under great discouragements on every side, for it was but the other day that two persons made application for work, telling me their children were quite naked, that they were destitute of money, and begged I would be so generous as to assist them, by letting them have a little spinning.—I told them the common rates of spinning were much too high for this country, considering how cheap every necessary of life was—that we had come to a resolution to give so much and no more (which I suppose was about twelve or fifteen-pence a week less than they had hitherto been used to receive[']:—They answered, "sooner than take that they would sit down and pare their nails," (which I observed were pretty long through indolence). I enquired if they had any boys fit to put out as apprentices, observing, that I wanted two immediately:—"Yes, says one, I have a couple of sons, and smart boys they are too—but I propose placing them with some persons to tend store—don't you want one for that purpose?"—"No," replied I, "not on those terms—one idler in my family is sufficient:"—So that I found, betwixt their pride and their poverty, starving was their choice. Well, said I, what do you think would be the most effectual method of promoting that branch of your business?—An ALMS-HOUSE, says he, in this town—for, to my knowledge, numbers that are, or ought to be objects of the county's concern, are not in so bad a situation but they might do something, which would be lightening the burthen of the remainder. I coincided with him in opinion, and we parted. Finding myself alone, I relapsed into my old train of thinking—to this effect:—That if the merchants and others of the town of Winchester, would be so wise and so unanimous as to support these manufacturies, which have just begun to peep among them, what a change of commerce, what a concord of sentiment, and what a support one to the other should we see the event of; which would certainly be not only a good name, but riches also, and would teach us, that an ardent application to industry, with resolutions worthy of men, would do more for us, than a whole ream of POST PATRIA wrote over in the most eligible manner. I am, With respect, &c.

183. Philadelphia Freeman's Journal, 9 April 1788

Extract of a letter from Richmond, March 14.

"Our elections are going on here briskly; we shall send into Convention a great majority opposed to the new plan; I shall soon forward you a com-

plete list of the returns—We will not have accounts from the elections in Kentucke for some weeks; but they are warm with us. You have heard I suppose of that country being soon a separate government. I find you have become very warm in your state! thank God, we have no occasion to be so here; our opponents, it is true, are very busy, but their number is so small, that we are perfectly easy at what they *can* do. People in North Carolina are as much opposed as in our State; their Convention meets latter end of July. The election in South Carolina comes on middle of April, the strength of the two parties about equal:[1] Several of the city members of Assembly also are with us; among this number is the celebrated republican, Ædanus Burke, Esq. Chief Justice of that State, who is said to be the author of Philo-Centinel. It was this gentleman who wrote the much admired patriotic pamphlet against the establishing the Cincinnati society, some years ago."

1. The Winchester *Virginia Gazette,* 23 April, reprinted the extract of a letter to this point.

184. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 9 April 1788

Anecdotes. A learned Antifederalist, being warm in dispute, swore by *Jesus* if the Constitution took place he would not live an hour under it, for he would *remove to Kentuckey*.

185. Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth
New York, 12 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The prospect from Virginia is not disagreable—Mr A Lee informs me that by the returns of elections it appears that there are for the Constitution 67—against it 63—the back Counties are not included in this statement It is said that they will generally be for it—Patrick Henry and old Grayson will however strive hard to gain the back Counties

Mr Maddison in his letters seems to be of opinion that the Majority may at the first of the conventions meeting be against the constitution I hope in God it will go in that state even if it rubs hard. . . .

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

186. Massachusetts Spy, 16 April 1788 (excerpts)[1]

Mr. THOMAS, *You are requested to give a place in your paper, to the following brief Account of* KENTUCKY, *extracted from a letter of* ISAAC MONISON, *Esq; to the Rev.* JORDAN DODGE, *at* Sturbridge *in this County, it is dated at* Nelson County, Kentucky, *January* 11, 1788. . . .

"At present, the proposed federal constitution is but little attended to among us, and will doubtless meet with a reception here, according to its fate in the original States. Such gentlemen of intelligence as I have conversed with on this subject seem in favour of it. . . ."

1. Reprinted six times by 2 July: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (2), N.C. (1), S.C. (1).

187. Hugh Innes to Thomas Walker
Franklin County, Va., 17 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . If it should Suit you to discharge the Note you gave me in June I shall be obliged to you, if you would send the Money to Richmond at the Convention as I shall get Mr. John Early one of our Delegates to recive it for me, & will give him the Note: And let me know what to do with the papers I have of yours—

1. RC, William C. Rives Papers, DLC.

188. Massachusetts Gazette, 22 April 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Petersburg, Virginia, to another in this town, dated March 27.

"Whatever you may hear from this quarter, you may depend, that the majority of the members elected for our Convention are for the constitution."

1. Reprinted in the Boston *Independent Chronicle,* 24 April; Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle,* 24 April; Massachusetts *Salem Mercury,* 29 April; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal,* 30 April; and *New Hampshire Spy,* 2 May.

189. David Henley's List of Convention Delegates, Enclosed in Henley's Letter to Samuel Henley, New York, 28 April 1788[1]

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1. RC, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, David Henley Folder, DLC.

190. The Society of Western Gentlemen Revise the Constitution
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 30 April, 7 May 1788 (extraordinary)

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191. Minton Collins to Stephen Collins
Richmond, 8 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

My Dear friend, Your esteemed favour of the first of April, covering protest for John Banks's bill on Coll. Pettit, for which I return you thanks, I duly recd. & will send you the Money by first good opportunity to Philadelphia—I have very little prospect of bringing Banks to terms as the Laws of this State now Stands, but I hope when the New Foederal Constitution is adopted, that the Laws will be put upon a better footing—The Constitution will meet with considerable opposition here, but it will pass Notwithstanding, for there is a great Majority in favour of it—The three fourths of the people that oppose it, are those that are deeply in Debt, & do not wish to pay. . . .

1. RC, Papers of Stephen Collins and Son, DLC.

192. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 8 May 1788[1]

Thursday last being the anniversary of the American Tutelar Saint, the same was celebrated by the militia of this town, who paraded and marched to an adjacent spring, where an entertainment was provided; at which the following toasts were drank, attended with a discharge of cannon, &c.

1. St. Tammany.
2. The virtuous sons and daughters of St. Tammany, wherever dispersed.
3. The United States.
4. General Washington.
5. To the memory of those heroes, who fell in defence of American liberty.
6. The surviving heroes, who were engaged in the same noble cause.
7. The King of France, and the other allies of the United States.
8. The Marquis de la Fayette.
9. May a firm and impartial Federal Government be established.
10. True patriotism.
11. Universal benevolence.
12. May the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of America flourish for ever.

13. The militia of the United States.

1. Reprinted six times by 17 June: N.Y. (2), Pa. (3), S.C. (1). The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette* for 8 May is not extant. The account has been transcribed from the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 17 May, which reprinted it under the dateline "PETERSBURG, May 8."

193. Remonstrance of the Court of Appeals, 12 May 1788 Virginia Independent Chronicle, 21 May 1788 (extraordinary)

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

194. Proclamation of Governor Edmund Randolph Calling a Special Session of the General Assembly, 14 May 1788[1]

Virginia, to wit.

By his Excellency Edmund Randolph Esquire, Governor of the Commonwealth

A Proclamation

Whereas a remonstrance to the General Assembly hath been delivered to the Executive by the President of the Honorable Court of Appeals, declaring, among other things "that the constitution and the act, intitled 'an Act establishing district Courts,' are in opposition and cannot exist together; that the former must controul the latter; and that the said Court ought not to do any thing officially in the execution of an Act, which appears to be contrary to the spirit of the constitution;" and it hath been moreover adjudged by the said court, that Clerks of the District-courts might not now to be appointed for reasons, contained in the said remonstrance; which the said Court have requested to be laid before the General Assembly at their first Session.

And whereas an opportunity as early as possible ought to be given to the Legislature to revise the said Act and examine the proceedings of the said Court, according to the standard of constitutional right:

I have therefore thought fit by and with the advice and consent of the council of state to call the General Assembly to meet at the public buildings in the city of Richmond on Monday the 23d. day of June next: and the several Senators and Delegates are hereby required then and there to meet in order to consult concerning the promises.

Given under my hand and the seal of the said Commonwealth at Richmond [the] fourteenth day of May in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight and of the Commonwealth the twelfth.

1. MS, Executive Papers, Vi.

195. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 14 May 1788[1]

Harrisonburgh, May 1, 1788.

Yesterday evening, being *St. Tammany*'s eve, Col. Noll, at the head of a few of the militia and principal inhabitants of the town, hoisted a liberty poll, with a flag, thirteen stars, and the New Constitution in large letters on it; the militia, with some of the principal farmers at their head, with farming utensils on their shoulders, drums and other music playing, fired thirteen rounds; after which they went to the house of Mr. Brewer Reves, and spent the evening in the greatest mirth and good humour imaginable.

1. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Mercury,* 24 May; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 24 May; and Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette,* 2 July.

196. W. Alexander & Company to Horatio Gates Richmond, 15 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . we shall Soon hope for the pleasure of Seeing you here at the Convention . . .

1. RC, Gates MSS, NN.

197. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 21 May 1788[1]

The following paragraph, extracted from a translation of a treatise,[(a)] on the Government of the Morals of Mankind, by Mons. Posser de St. Germain, appears to have a strong analogy to that system of government, which the politicians of this continent are, however, opposite in opinions, mutually endeavoring to establish and transmit to future ages.—From an attentive perusal, of the works of this philosopher, it is evident he had a prospective view to the transactions of the new world, probably conceiving it the fittest theatre, to establish a republic on the broad basis of reason,—at once subservient to the protection of every right and priviledge,—and introductory of those golden scenes, which it is the interest of tyrants only to prove imaginary.

"The advocate for the progression of our felicity says, that all acquisitions to human knowledge have encreased, and are continually augmenting. The mind has extended its powers, and the physical happiness of man has expanded with his moral felicity. It cannot be controverted, he asserts, that all our attainments have, in some degree, multiplied in the two last centuries. The discoveries which have been, and are daily made, inspire hopes of approaching the summit of perfection; provided that the philosopher will not

relax his exertions. What arts have been invented in this period? What voyages and discoveries? What improvements in navigation, in trade, commerce and legislation. The collected views of these new lights for the human intellect, inspire the rational inference, that morality, and consequently happiness will obtain universal dominion through all regions of the earth. A multitude of inestimable treasures, unknown in former times, have opened on the world for its acceptance. In consequence of civilization, the industry of man has penetrated the secrets of nature, and exposed productions so long concealed in her capacious womb. A thousand momentous satisfactions, producing the most pleasing and agreeable sensations, have been submitted to our acceptance in the ingenuity of modern discoveries. Even our pleasures have been infinitely diversified. Wares, merchandise, and a thousand commercial means and resources have multiplied. New gratifications to our taste and genius have been invented, and the road to science has been facilitated and abridged, while the thorny walks of life have been strewed with flowers: If even these blessings are not, like the rays of the sun, or the rain of heaven, distributed in equal proportions among the children of men, yet this very inequality forms a new bond of love to connect mankind to the indispensible obligation of humanity, order and justice. A reciprocal dependance arises from this variety of our condition; for the opulent are supplied and supported by the labourer or artist, while they interchangeably receive the value of their time from the treasures of the rich."

(a) A few copies for sale at this office.

1. Reprinted in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal,* 18 June, and the Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald,* 14 July.

198. Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher
New York, 25 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

Dear Chum

. . . Nothing has transpired in relation to the farther accession to fœderal measures. So Carolina having been some time in session, I think we may speedily expect their determination; Virginia comes next. Maddison might unanimously be chosen chairman or president of Convention if he would accept of it. . . .

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library.

199. Alexander White to Levi Hollingsworth
Woodville, Frederick County, Va., 26 May 1788[1]

I am favd with yours by Cose, I know Andrew Gibson well, he a few years ago took the benefit of the insolvent Act he is said to have acquired some property since yet I think the recovery of anything from him doubtful. if you will pay the Clerks and Sheriffs fees I will give you my Services unless the Costs at least may be recovered from him. in that case I shall expect my legal fee and such compensation for extra trouble in securing a bad debt as you may think reasonable—I shall set out tomorrow for Richmond to attend the Convention our Assembly is called by the Governour to meet 23d June. I am likewise a Member of that Body so that it is probable it may be late in July before I return You may however transmit any commands to me indirect that in case of my absence the letter may be opened by Robt. White of Winchester. this Gentleman is my Nephew was bred up by me and I flatter myself when I leave this Stage or my present Line of business, will render Services to my Friends and Clients equal at least to what I have been capable of doing.

1. RC, Hollingsworth Papers, PHi.

200. Delegate William Fleming Diary and Living Expenses During the Virginia Convention, 27 May–11 June 1788[1]

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

1. "Price Lists and Diary of Col. Fleming," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* V (1897–1898), 265–66.

201. Delegate William Cabell Diary
30 May–1 July 1788 (excerpts)[1]

May 30th. set off on my Way to the Convention
June 2. gave my attendance in Convention . . .
July 1. . . . Paid Mr. Meriwether £10.02d. in full of my Board while on the Convention & assembly . . .

1. MS, Acc. 23338, Vi.

202–210. THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION
2–27 June 1788

202. Manuscript Journal of the Virginia Convention 2–27 June 1788[1]

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

1. Vi.

203. James Madison's Annotated Copy of the Printed Journal of the Virginia Convention, 2–27 June 1788[1]

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

1. This copy of the printed Convention Journal, with annotations, is in the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers at the Library of Congress.

204 A–B. Newspaper Printings of Virginia Convention Proceedings 2–9 June 1788

204-A. Proceedings, 2 June
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 4 June[1]

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

1. For reprints, see RCS:Va., 910, note 1.

204-B. Proceedings, 3–7, 9 June
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 11 June[1]

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

1. For reprints see RCS:Va., 915, note 1; 941, note 1; 969, note 1; 1004, note 1; 1047, note 1; 1087, note 1.

205 A–I. Virginia Convention Debates, 11 June 1788–1805

205-A. Advertisement for Subscribers
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 11 June 1788[1]

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

1. The *Virginia Independent Chronicle* printed this advertisement throughout June and July and on 6 August and 10 September. Similar advertisements appeared in the *Norfolk*

and Portsmouth Journal, 18 June, 3 September; *Virginia Herald,* 19 June; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette,* 25 June, 2 July. The New York *Daily Advertiser,* 1 July, carried a brief announcement of the proposals to publish the Virginia Convention debates.

205 B–F. Advertisements Announcing Publication of Debates

205-B. Virginia Centinel, 15 October 1788

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

205-C. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 22 October 1788

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

205-D. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 29 October 1788

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

205-E. Virginia Herald, 18 December 1788[1]

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

1. Repeated in the issue of 25 December.

205-F. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 1 July 1789[1]

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

1. Also printed in the issues of 8, 15 July.

205-G. Title Page and U.S. Constitution (1788–1789 edition)

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

205-H. David Robertson's Comments (1788–1789 edition), Vol. III, p. 228

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

205-I. Title Page and Preface to 1805 Edition

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

206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788[1]

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

1. Vi.

207. Auditor's Journal, 8 May–30 August 1788 (excerpts)[1]

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

1. MS, Account Book, Item 22-D, Accession No. 106, Vi.

208. Auditor's Journal
1 September 1788–19 March 1789 (excerpts)[1]

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

1. MS, Account Book, Item 22-D, Accession No. 106, Vi.

209 A–G. Virginia Convention Manuscript Committee Reports
4–16 June 1788

209-A. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report, 4 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

209-B. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Accomack and Franklin Counties Returns, 4 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

209-C. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Petition of Samuel Anderson, 5 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

209-D. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Westmoreland County Returns, 5 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

209-E. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Petition of Thomas Stith, 6 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

209-F. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Petition of Richard Morris, 7 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

209-G. Report of Commissioners Waddy Thomson, Charles Yancey, and Thomas Johnson, 16 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

210 A–E. Documents on Virginia's Ratification of Constitution 25–28 June 1788

210-A. Extracts from the Journal, 25 June

◆ *To view this document, see Evans 21522, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

210-B. Form of Ratification Sent to Congress, 26 June[1]

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

1. Engrossed MS, RG 11, Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights . . . , 1787–1792, National Archives.

210-C. Form of Ratification Retained by Virginia 27 June[1]

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

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Vi.

210-D. Extracts from the Journal, 25, 27 June[1]

◆ *To view this document, see Evans 21553, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. See RCS:Va, 1558–59, note 1, for information on this four-page broadside.

210-E. Extracts from the Journal Sent to the Governor of Massachusetts 28 June[1]

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

1. MS, Document 851, Miscellaneous Legislative Papers, Senate Files, Massachusetts Archives.

211. William Heth Diary
Curles, Henrico County, Va., 2–30 June 1788[1]

Monday 2d. June to Thursday 5th. Went to Richmond every morning after Breakfast & returnd in the evening attended the Convention of the People convend on Monday to consider of a plan of government for the U States proposd by the federal convention of the States held in Phila. last summer—which has met with opposition in all the States tho' every one that has yet convened upon it, hath accepted it—Viz—Pensylvania, Deleware Jersey, Connecticut, Massachussetts, Georgia, & Maryland— Qualified on Monday, as a member of the Privy council agreeably to my appointment last Winter' & took my Seat accordingly—

Friday 6h. June. Eliza accompanied me to Richmond for a visit to Harry & his wife—attended the convention—Debates run high, & the opposition warm. the question, I fancy will be very doubtful.

Saturday 7th. June—Staid in Town all night—attended the convention—returnd in the evening accompanied by Harry & his wife—

Sunday 8h June—The weather extremely warm, as it has been for some days—Colo Simms—J H *Briggs,* & *Carter Nicholas,* Din'd & spent the day with us.—Heavy shower, & severe weather in the afternoon

Monday 9 June—The company of yesterday staid all night—The gentlemen accompanyd me to town after breakfast—attended the Convention—A rainy afternoon, prevented Harry & self going down—

Tuesday 10h. June—Very warm weather Attended the convention—Din'd with Colo. Mathews at New Lands—Carter Nicholas Harry, returnd with me in the evening—

Wednesday 11 June.—Eliza accompanied Nancy Heth home this morning with Hary in the Ph'ton, C Nicholas & self, on Horseback. Dind with Andrew

Ronald in company with Colo Thruston & Majr. Joseph Eggleston of Araling—Miss Webler—the first time ever I was asked to his House, in my life.—returnd in the Phaton with Eliza in the evening—accompanied by Colo Thruston, on his way to Wms.burg, via, Orburn—

Thursday 12 June—Colo Thruston[a] took his leave after breakfast— when I went to Richmond—attended the convention Dind with Beverly Randolph, & retd in the evening—

Friday 13h. June. Went to town early—attended the Convention, which was obligd to adjourn between 1 & 2. OC. on Acct. of a very Heavy storm of Hail, wind & rain, which blew open the Windows, & renderd the House too wet & uncomfortable to proceed—Dind with Colo Jo Jones, at Crauches—retd. in the evening.

Saturday 14 June 88—a great deal of rain Yesterday, & in the night—and this morning—cloudy day—feeling myself much fatigued with riding up, every day, in such Hot weather—Staid at home—wrote all the forenoon—rode with Eliza to the [– – –] dind [– – –] in evening

Sunday 15 June 88—A Pleasant day—The late Governor Harrison—Colo Ths Edmonds & Colos. Martin Pickett & Brooke from Fauquer dind with us. Mr Briggs arrived between 1 & 2. OC. Edmonds stayd with us all night—

Monday 16 June 88—accompanied Mr Briggs & Edmonds to Richmond Eliza going with her father in our Ph'ton—attended in Council one hour & then repair'd to the convention—dind at Harrys, returned in the evening—Tuesday 17h. June 88.—Mr Briggs, instead of going with me to Richmond, as I expected—he rose with a resolution to return home, oblige to leave immediately after an early breakfast—attended Council an hour or two, then the Convention til 4. OC.—retd. in the evening, after dining with Doctor McClurg—

Wednesday 18h June 88—Stayd at home to recive Mrs. Harrison mother of her daughter Mrs Randolph of Wilton Mrs Rickenson, & Miss Lally, & Miss Polly Harrison daughter of Colo Charles—Some Heavy rain in the afternoon—Doctr Greenway arrivd in the midst of it—

Thursday 19h June—Accompanyd the Doctor to town early—attended in Council & then in the convention, til the usual hour of adjournment—4. OC. returnd immediately & dind at home—

Friday 20h June—The Doctor accompd me again—Spent the day as yesterday. The Doctor & self, dind in a family way with the Governor, retd in the evening

Saturday 21st June. The Doctor & self went to town as yesterday—Attended the convention, dind with Do[c]tor McClurg, & retd. in the evening

Sunday 22d June. Invited Doctr McClurg yesterday to dine with us to day, in Compliment to Doctr Greenway, who accordingly came accompanied by

Mr Andrews[b] of Wm.burg—as well as Majr John Williams of Shennandoa—McClurg and Andrews took their leave in the evening late—Williams staid all night

Monday 23d June—Doct. Greenway, Majr. Williams & self went to town early—attended Council, and then the convention til 4. OC.—It was expected the final question would have been put to day, which induced the Doctor to go up returnd to dinner—Eliza went with the Doctor

Tuesday 24 June. Eliza with the Doctor in our Ph'ton, accompanied me to Richmond early—attended in Council, & in the Convention til 4. OC.—the Doctor Dind with Mr. Fisher. Liza & self, with Harry—returnd in the evening

Wednesday 25 June. The Doctor conceiving that the final question, would be put off some days, & growing impatient to get home, took his leave this Morning, soon after I went to Richmond; attended Council, an hour & then repaird to the convention where about 2. OC. the question for adopting the constitution with Subsequent amendments was put, & carryd in the affirmative 89. agt. 79—It was a most important question, and the scene was truly awful & solemn—Dind at Andersons & retd in the evening.

Thursday 26 June—Went to Richmond early—attended in Council 2 or 3 Hours, & then at convention, on the subject of subsiquent Amendments—Din'd at Andersons retd. in the evening

Friday 27 June. Went to Richmond early; Attended in Council—calld at the Convention, subsiquent amendments agreed to; & the convention adjourned sine die—Dind at the Governors, a good deal of Company—retd in the evening—

Saturday 28h June—Went to Richmond early, accompanied by Eliza on horseback—did some business, attended at the Assembly—which has been siting occasionally since Monday last, being convened now, by proclamation of the Governor, in consequence of a remonstrance from the Court of appeals on the Law passd last session, establishing District Courts—Left town after sun set accompanied by my old friend Mr. Robt Rutherford of Berkeley—Leaving Lizas Mare behind on account of her geting Choakd.

Sunday 29th June—Colo Theodorick Bland, Mr Alexr White (of Frederick) Members of the Convention of 1788 and of Congress Mr Wm. Hunter & Mr Roger West, Mr Madison Mr Coles [Hay?] & Mr Rutherford, & J. H. Briggs—din'd with us—all of whom retd. to Richmond in the evening, except, Mr. Rutherford, White & Mr. B.—Our Cousin John Pleasants (of Phila.) calld in the evening on his return from Curles, & staid all night.

Monday 30h. June—Accompanied the last named Gentlemen to town immediately after Breakfast, & attended in Council til near 2. OC.—went

home with the Governor, & partook of a family dinner—retd. early in the evening after calling on Genl Wood & Lady, who have promisd to dine with us on Thursday next.

(a) Col. Charles Mynn Thruston
(b) Rev. Robert Andrews.

1. MS, DLC.

212. Delegate Archibald Stuart: Living Expenses During the Virginia Convention, Richmond, 2–28 June 1788[1]

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

1. MS, Stuart Papers, ViHi.

213. Samuel Hodgdon to Timothy Pickering Philadelphia, 3 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Virginia commenced her debates on the same subject yesterday—*Randolph* has become a warm advocate for the New Constitution, and Masson has declared he will give it no opposition, so it goes there of course—so confident are people here of the business closing with that state, that they are preparing for a *grand prossession* in the *Boston stile*. . . .

1. RC, Pickering Papers, MHi. The letter is incorrectly dated 3 May.

214. John Dandridge to John Hopkins Pamocra, New Kent County, Va., 4 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I shall be at Richmond the 20th inst. I would come now, but I expect it would require exertions beyond my powers to get within hearing of the Debates in convention. Do let me know, as soon as Messrs *Henry and Tyler* have fixed the question in the negative.

1. Printed: *William and Mary Quarterly,* 1st ser., XX (1912), 153.

215. Josiah Parker to Governor Edmund Randolph Norfolk, Va., 4 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Allso have to inform you that by a Vessell yesterday from Charleston we have advice that the State of South Carolina has adopted the new plan of Government. . . .

1. RC, Executive Papers, Vi.

216. Virginia Herald, 5 June 1788[1]

Monday last, the Convention of this state met at Richmond, and proceeded to the choice of a President, when the hon. EDMUND PENDLETON, Esq. was elected.—Mr. BECKLEY was chosen Clerk.

1. Reprinted: *Maryland Journal,* 10 June; Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal,* 11 June; and New York *Hudson Weekly Gazette,* 24 June. Other brief reports of Pendleton's election appeared in the New York *Independent Journal,* 11 June; the Connecticut *Norwich Packet,* 19 June; and the June issue of the nationally circulated Philadelphia *American Museum.*

217. Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca
New York, 9 June 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . Continuing to take advantage of the French Mails, I pass into Y[our] E[xcellency's] hands the Duplicate of my last Letter Number 266 of the 30th., of last month, and I have the honor of communicating to Y[our] E[xcellency] the adoption of the New System of Government by the State of South Carolina, which makes the Eighth up to the present time.

One contemplates the State of Virginia in Assembly discussing the same subject, but not even the most expert, and intelligent persons of that Country dare to form a judgment about their Results, because according to the most recent Letters the Voters in Assembly were found almost equal.

The Resolution of said State is awaited with impatience, because it is considered that it will give the tone to those States which are needed, despite the fact that the opposition of this one in which I reside is certain that it has a strong number of votes. . . .

In Congress they are dealing with the establishment of Kentucky as an independent State, which will have effect of necessity, even though various difficulties present themselves.[2] . . .

1. RC (Tr), Estado, Legajo 3886, Expediente 1, 1785–1796, Documentos Relativos a La Erección de Kentucke en Estado Independiente, Document 10, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid. This was letter number 267.

2. This paragraph is in cipher and was decoded by or for the Conde de Floridablanca.

218 A–B. Enclosures in George Mason to John Lamb Richmond, 9 June 1788

218-A. Drafts of Declaration of Rights and Amendments [1]

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

1. MS, Mason Papers, DLC.

218-B. Amendments to the New Constitution of Government [1]

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

1. MS, Mss13:1788 June 27:1, ViHi. This document is in the handwriting of Meriwether Smith.

219. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 10 June 1788

We learn, that on Monday the 2d inst. being the day appointed for the sitting of the Convention of the State of Virginia, upwards of 140 members met at Richmond, and made choice of the Hon. *Edmund Pendleton,* Esq. as their President.

They also appointed *John Beckley,* Esq. their Secretary; the Rev. *Abner Waugh,* Chaplain, to read prayers every morning in the House; and Mr. *Augustine Davis,* Printer to the Convention.

220. James Bryson to John Langdon Philadelphia, 11 June 1788 (excerpt) [1]

. . . Virginia is going on bravely—as you will see by a letter in the papers—I have seen much fuller Accounts; but they are not published in this paper.—They have Resolved—"That no Question, General or Particular shall be propounded in this Convention, upon the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, or upon any Clause or article thereof, until the said Constitution shall have been discussed, Clause by Clause, through all its parts."—Accordingly the house went into a Committee of the whole, to take the Constitution into Consideration.—

1. RC, John G. M. Stone Collection of Revolutionary and Early National Period Documents, Annapolis, Md.

221. Pennsylvania Packet, 11 June 1788 [1]

Governor Randolph of Virginia has declared himself decidedly in favor of the adoption of the proposed constitution; the rejection of which, he has

openly asserted in the convention, would necessarily involve THE RUIN of the Union.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury,* 12 June; Connecticut *New Haven Gazette,* 19 June.

222. Coxe & Frazier to Walter Livingston
Philadelphia, 12 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We apprehend certif[icate]s will be up to 4/3 the moment Virginia adopts, as there are not two of the Brokers who will sell now. Our State certif. will not now bring 4/3—We think the Mind of the public is so little made up on the Subject of funding our federal & State Debts that certifs. will fall from the price to which they will probably rise soon after the adoption of 9 or 10 States. The universal & extreem want of money will in my opinion probably balance the purchases of foreigners. Many now possess large Sums, who cannot keep them & the Depreciation of our paper money with a fear of a derangement of our funding System will seriously affect many. This paper is now at £100 Specie for £147.18.8

1. FC, Coxe Papers, Series I, Volumes and Printed Material, American Letterbook of Coxe and Frazier, PHi.

223. New York Journal, 12 June 1788[1]

We were in hopes to have had it in our power, this day, to give some accounts from the VIRGINIA CONVENTION, by which a judgment could have been formed respecting the probable fate of the new proposed constitution in that state; but we have not yet learned, except, that that honorable body convened on Monday, the 2d inst. and elected the hon. EDMUND PENDLETON, Esq. their President.—By next Thursday, we shall doubtless be able to communicate decisive intelligence upon this interesting subject. There are several private letters received, in this city, of a *conjectural* nature, respecting the *present* political sentiments of several of the members in that assembly; but, since "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," a suspension of judgment is presumed adviseable.

1. Reprinted: *Albany Journal,* 16 June; Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal,* 17 June.

224. New York Daily Advertiser, 13 June 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from a Member of the Virginia Convention, now in session, dated the 4th inst. at Richmond.

"I do now in compliance with your request, forward you my opinion of the sentiments of our Convention on the proposed plan of Government for

the United States. We met in very full Convention on Monday, the day appointed for our meeting;—We did little else on that day than appointing the necessary officers:—Mr. Pendleton is our President. Yesterday being the second day of our session, brought about little more than a resolution to this effect, 'That no general question should be propounded until the Constitution should be discussed clause by clause,' and also another resolution 'That the Convention will, on to-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole to investigate the subject of the Constitution proposed for the Government of the United States.' This is the day (June 4) appointed for the bringing on the proposed Constitution, agreeably to the resolve of yesterday. The two first sections were read, and some lengthy debates followed; among the speakers was our Governor (Randolph) who in the course of debate declared himself entirely in favor of the adoption of the Constitution, under present circumstances; for he observed, whatever might heretofore have been his wishes for amendment, *he believed it now impracticable*; as there was no reason to believe that those states which had already adopted it would rescind their opinion. We had reason to expect a decided majority before this declaration of his Excellency:—It seems now the general opinion, indeed there is scarce a doubt but the Constitution will meet a very considerable majority of friends, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Mason, Mr. Henry, and some others.—Mr. Mason has observed that he would make great concessions for the sake of some amendments, *if any gentleman would propose a mode of obtaining them.*"

1. Reprinted (in whole or in part) six times by 26 June: R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (3).

225. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 13 June 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Dumfries, to a respectable Mercantile House in this town, dated the 9*th instant.*

"Governor Randolph has declared himself, in Convention, in favour of the new Constitution, and recommends the adoption of it as it stands.

"The ship Federalist, Capt. Barney, passed this place yesterday evening, for *Mount Vernon,* all well."

Memorandums from the Proceedings of the Virginia Convention.

RESOLVED, That no question shall be propounded or taken on any clause of the Constitution till the whole is debated and considered clause by clause.

RESOLVED, That the Convention resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to consider of the Constitution. Mr. Wythe, Chairman.

On the 7th, Mr. Wythe reported that the committee had according to order, again had the proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a further progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move to the Convention for leave to sit again.

On Monday the 9th, the Convention met in a committee of the whole, and made some further progress. This day produced a very warm debate between Governor Randolph and Mr. P. Henry.

226. Maryland Journal, 13 June 1788[1]

The VIRGINIA CONVENTION have appointed, by an unanimous Vote, Mr. PENDLETON President of the same. They have also resolved to propound or put no Question on any Part of the Constitution till the whole shall be fully debated by Paragraphs. To this we may add, that for the greater Freedom of Discussion, the Convention is resolved into a Committee of the whole; that Mr. WYTHE is Chairman; and that on Monday the 9th there was very warm debating between Governor RANDOLPH and Mr. P. HENRY.

1. Reprinted, without the first sentence, in the *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* 10 July.

227. Levi Hollingsworth to Hollingsworth & Johnson Philadelphia, 14 June 1788 (excerpts)[1]

Dear Brother & Friend

. . . I hope before this date Virginia will have a Claim to the Honor of the Ninth State in the addoption of the Foederal Government should it be delayed much longer New Hampshire will have that honor which I really wish to be asserted by yours as youve many great and good Men in the ancient dominion . . .

1. FC, Levi Hollingsworth Letterbook, PHi.

228. Olney Winsor: Journal of a Trip from Alexandria, Va., to Providence, R.I., 14 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We went to the Principal Tavern in Town [i.e., Hampton], enquired for the latest News from Rcmd.—none very late from the Convention, last

said Convn. would rise, next week—that there was a decided majority of 16 or 20 in favor of Constitution &c &c. . . .

1. MS, Olney Winsor Letters, Vi.

229. Massachusetts Centinel, 14 June 1788[1]

The Convention of Virginia met at Richmond, on Monday 2d inst. Our accounts from thence are not explicit—But as from Richmond hence is but 13 days post, we expect in our next to be able to give our readers some account of the complexion and progress of that body.

1. Reprinted: Providence *United States Chronicle,* 19 June; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette,* 19 June.

230. Donald Campbell to St. George Tucker
Norfolk, Va., 15 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . You have grown a very lazy fellow of late—you never write unless you are forced to it—Burke tells me that he saw you at Richmond—Was your Spirits so depressed by the apprehension of the result of the deliberations of the Convention that you coud not write now? or what was the cause of your silence? let me know in the mean while. . . .

1. RC, Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

231. Patrick Henry to Ann Henry Roane
Richmond, 15 June 1788 (excerpts)[1]

I thank you for your affte. Letter the perusal of which gave me great Satisfaction. But I am sorry to tell you I cannot visit you because I left my ever dear Wife very unwell, & in two Days after she was delivered of a Son—she has been for 2 or 3 Months not so well as usual, but I thank God she has been able to write 6 days ago that she was getting better—Nothing but a sense of the Duty I owe my Country at this important Crisis could have dragged me from her in such a situation. You will therefore see the Necessity of my going up instantly at the rising of the Convention. . . . I cannot write of News as nothing is yet decided in the Convention—Poor Tom Macon has a Ball lodged in his Head in a Duel with Wm. Fontaine, who will retire on the Death of Macon if that happens; but the Doctors here say he may probably live some considerable Time (12 or 18 months) but will not recover Health. . . .

1. RC (photograph), Maggs Brothers Sale Catalog No. 401 (Spring 1921), Plate VI and pp. 66–67.

232. William Grayson's Proposed Amendments
c. 16–24 June 1788[1]

Art: 2: Sect: 1. The president for the time being, or in Case of a Vacancy, the last preceeding president shall not be re-elected,—unless by a majority of the votes of the state-electors: nor shall any person hold or exercise the office of president more than eight years, in any term of sixteen years, but by the unanimous vote of two thirds [of] the state-electors.

Electors shall not be chosen more than twenty days before the day on which they shall give their votes.

[At bottom of page]
The several states shall not be restrained from providing arms for their own militia.

Art: 3: Sect: 2. clause 2d.—The Defendant in all Cases, except appeals or writs of Error, shall be impleaded in a court to be established in that state in which he resides, if he hath any fixed place of residence therein; unless the cause of action shall have accrued since his departure from the same, and in the State where he shall be impleaded.

No person shall be impleaded in any of the courts of the united states but by the person or party to whom the rights of actions originally accrued, his heirs, Executors or Administration.

A Court of appellate Jurisdiction shall be held in every State; and in all cases arising between citizens of the same, or of different states, or between citizens of the U.S. and foreign citizens or subjects, the appeal shall be bound and determined within that State where the Defendant may be lawfully impleaded in the original suit or action, and shall in all such cases be final.

Viva voce testimony shall not be admitted in any case of appeal.

Matters of fact put in issue between individuals shall in Court of Law be tried by a Jury.

We the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia do adopt and receive the foregoing Constitution and every part and article thereof subject nevertheless to the following provisions, which we do for ourselves and our posterity declare to be indispensably necessary to be observed in order to the preservation of the liberties of the good people of the united states of america, and that the same shall, and of right ought forever to constitute a part thereof.

1. The Bill of rights, Constitutions and Municipal Laws of the several states in this union, in all cases not expressly comprehended by this Constitution shall be sacred and inviolate.[2]

1. MS, Bryan Family Papers, Vi.
2. This proposed amendment was the only one listed after Grayson's proposed preamble.

233. Anne Simms to Charles Simms
Alexandria, Va., 16 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

your letter of the 12th instant I recd on friday—I fear you will not be at home by the end of this month, as you write that there is but little progress made in the Business you are upon. . . .

1. RC, Peter Force Collection, Simms Papers, DLC.

234. Hartford, Conn., American Mercury, 16 June 1788

Letters from Virginia of the 4th inst. inform, that the Convention had assembled, and that Judge Pendleton was elected President—they had agreed, without a division, to take no question until the business was ripe for the main one: That governor Randolph had declared in favor of the adoption of the Constitution, previous to any amendments being proposed: That there is little doubt but there will be a considerable majority for the Constitution.

235. Connecticut Courant, 16 June 1788

The Convention of the State of Virginia met the 2d inst. and elected the Hon. Edmund Pendleton, President.

236. Lansingburgh, N.Y., Federal Herald, 16 June 1788

There is little interesting intelligence of a domestic nature; in a few days, it is probable the public will be informed, of the fate of the new proposed constitution in the several states which have now, and soon will have, that important subject under consideration. Virginia commenced their session, in convention about the 1st inst. of whose final decisions accounts are momentarily expected.

237. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 17 June 1788

This day the Conventions of New-York and New-Hampshire meet to deliberate on the proposed Constitution; and (it is believed) to give the finish-

ing stroke to the Great Federal Building. On the 2d inst. the Convention of Virginia convened; and we expect, in our next, to communicate the pleasing & important result.

* * * * *

Extract of a letter from New-York, to a gentleman at Marblehead, June 8.

"Congress have acceded to Kentuckey being a State, which will operate favourably to Virginia's adopting the Constitution, as they are now setting, &c."

238. Pennsylvania Mercury, 17 June 1788[1]

The Southern Mail arrived on Saturday last, brought the Minutes of the Convention of Virginia, dated Saturday, June 7, 1788,—which contain nothing interesting except the three following paragraphs:—

"The Convention then, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein; but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will on Monday next again resolve itself into a committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten o'clock."

Extract of a letter from Richmond, June 9.

"There was warm debating in the Convention to-day, between the Governor and my old friend Patrick Henry, Esq."

By a gentleman from Virginia we are informed, Mr. Henry has opened his objections to the plan of Government proposed, and has been answered by Mr. Randolph most fully.

Mr. Zeph. Jackson, a gentleman of great influence in the western part of the state, has declared himself as the decided advocate of the Constitution. From this person, a different conduct had been expected by the enemies of a Federal Union.

1. The extract of a Richmond letter was reprinted by the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 18 June; New Jersey *Brunswick Gazette,* 24 June; Pennsylvania *Carlisle Gazette,* 25 June; and Connecticut *New Haven Gazette,* 26 June. The information on Henry and Randolph was reprinted seven times by 1 July: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (2). For reprints of the paragraph on "Zeph. Jackson," see John Vaughan to John Langdon, 16 June, note 4 (RCS:Va., 1632).

239. Peter Collin to Nicholas Low
New York, 18 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . This morning I delivered Mr Bingham the Certificate I got at the Treasury for those you had deposited there, and I informed him also that no more of the kind could be got at present, as the Holders were unwilling to part with any before they hear from Virginia, in hopes that if the new Constitution is adopted there they would be considerably higher, he then said that he wished they may not be mistaken, becuase Congress had a very indifferent account from thence by the post yesterday relative to the proceedings of the Convention. . . .

1. RC, Low Papers, DLC.

240. William Grayson's Calculations of Presidential Electors
18 June 1788[1]

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

1. MS, Bryan Family Papers, Vi.

241. Caleb Strong to Nathan Dane
Boston, 18 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

I recd. your Letter of the 15th. Instant and am much obliged for the Intelligence it contains—I had no Doubt that Govr. Randolph (who I think is a very candid Man[)] would be an advocate for the Constitution in the present State of Things notwithstanding his Opposition to it heretofore, for the Question of its Adoption to every Man of his Character must now I think appear in a new Light—The Convention is now sitting in New Hampshire and many persons are confident that if they have not already, they will in a day or two adopt the Constitution. . . .

1. RC, Wetmore Family Collection, CtY.

242. Arthur Campbell's Manuscript Draft of "Many"
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 18 June 1788[1]

The public is under great obligations to you for the fund of entertainment and instruction your paper has afforded since the publication of the new Constitution: the most illitirate now discern the benefit of a free press. This is giving all the People an opportunity to chuse or refuse. In short, it is the grandest spectacle noblest exhibition the world ever witnessed.—From the

first, I took a resolution that I would endeavour to keep my mind open to conviction, seek after truth, no matter from whom. The Freeholder has lessened my objections, for the omission of a Declaration of Rights; but still I would wish Abbe Mably call them fundamental laws. I would have the instrument worded as such, and the use I would wish to see made of it, is a resort, or recurrence, a test, to try all the Acts of the ordinary legislature by. We know the bulk of the People are not used to or would not understand abstruse, or lengthy disquisitions. These fundamental laws, might be framed with a few words, yet plain and pithy, to which the governed People would pay a similar deference as to the decalogue.

The excuses respecting the trial by jury, the freedom of the Press, elections, rotation in office, and responsibility to constituents; may not be so satisfactory.

But how will the Freeholder take to convince us, that it is right that *Treaties* should be made the *supreme* law of the land. We have hitherto been taught that all laws binding the community ought to be made with the consent of the governed People, or by that of their representatives in their legislative capacity. Under the new Constitution, Congress is to enact some laws but others are to be enacted by part of Congress, and those to be made *supreme*. If the Freeholder cannot see no inconsistancy in this, I confess he views the subject with different optics than many I have conversed with. Publius, the oracle of the constitutionalists in his Paper no. 15. says that Treaties even among civilized nations "scarcely are formed before they are broken, giving an instructive but afflicting lesson to mankind, how little dependence is to be placed on treaties, which have no other sanction, than the obligations of good faith; and which oppose general considerations of peace, and justice, to the impulse of any immediate interest or passion."—Would a sensible and free People covet to have the supreme laws of their land impressed with such "*lovely features.*"

Again, should it turn out that the United States in a Treaty with Tribes of Savages, who cannot on their part, give either legal, or constitutional security, for the observance of it, or rather they might take it into their heads to make infractions at pleasure. In that case, might not many good Citizens suffer great oppression and injustice, without daring to make reprisals; or else our Judges, endure the imputation of trifling with a solemn oath.

Treaties are engagements of a solemn nature, no doubt, and it is interesting to humanity that they be faithfully observed; provided the means to oblige the parties to do so, are reciprocal: therefore they may be properly guarded, by placing them on the footing of the general laws of the land: and not even that, until revised and ratified by the national legislature. Should the Constitution be adopted in toto I would expect to see the first

volume of our new code filled with ambiguous, and contradictory Treaties, confounding right and wrong, seting justice and law at variance, involving the national legislature in a labyrinth, out of which they may find much difficulty to extricate themselves with honor.(a) Such generally are they effects of all ex post facto regulations.—The European nations that have formed treaties with America knew the kind of government we lived under when they treated with us; let therefore their Treaties be sanctioned under the new Constitution, like all other important acts made under the Confederation. Such are the sentiments of Many

P.S. My friend Mr. Davis will be so good as critically to examine and correct the above. Time will not permit to revise and copy it.

(a) Note: Since July 4, 1776 there have been no less than five different Treaties with one nation of Indians, containing stipulations contradicttory one with the other.—Indian treaties ought to have been excepted in the Constitution.—We have been told the clause respecting Treaties, was originated by a member of Convention, disordered in his understanding; or vain beyond measure.

1. Draft, Draper Manuscripts, King's Mountain Papers, WHi. "Many" (Arthur Campbell) dated this draft 13 May and addressed it to Augustine Davis, printer of the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*.

243. Virginia Centinel, 18 June 1788

The State Convention has been continued by adjournments from day to day to the 13th instant, at which time our last advices are dated, without any thing decisive having taken place. To discuss the Constitution by paragraphs is tedious, and will take up an immensity of time.—We shall not be wanting to give the earliest information to our readers of the result of their deliberations.

244. Philip R. Fendall to Christopher Richmond Alexandria, Va., 19 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . It is expected that the grand question will be put in our Convention tomorrow, it is generally thought that it will be carried in favour of the proposed Government by a Small Majority.

1. RC, McGregor Collection, ViU.

245. Hollingsworth, Johnson, & Company to Levi Hollingsworth, Richmond, c. 19–25 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the assembly meets which will be after tomorrow, by which time its thought the Convention business will be done. . . .

1. FC, Hollingsworth, Johnson, and Company Letterbook, PHi.

246. Boston Independent Chronicle, 19 June 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, to his friend in this town, dated 12*th. instant.*

"There are authentic accounts in town from Virginia, which announce the most flattering prospects of the determination of their Convention on the great question of the Constitution. Governour Randolph on Thursday last spoke much in favour of it; this is a great point gain'd, and there remains scarcely a shadow of doubt but it will be adopted by the Convention of the ancient dominion. I congratulate you sincerely on this momentous event."

1. Reprinted: Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette,* 25 June; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette,* 3 July.

247. New York Daily Advertiser, 19 June 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman at Philadelphia, dated 16*th June,* 1788.

"Mr. Mason has written to a friend of his, of 7th June, from whom I have it, that he thinks it will be carried against him in Convention 'by means of arts the most despicable, from persons worthy the highest contempt.'—You will not wonder that disappointment should draw from him such expressions. Henry spoke against the Constitution—he was ably answered by Mr. Randolph.—Mr. Zeph. Jackson, a man of great influence in the back counties, and esteemed Antifederal, has warmly joined the Federal party.—The sanguine promise a handsome majoritythe prudent are satisfied it will be carried. The Antifederalists confess their hopes desert them."

1. Reprinted six times by 3 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), N.Y. (3), Pa. (1). For the letter from which this extract is taken, see John Vaughan to John Langdon, 16 June, RCS:Va., 1631–32.

248. New York Journal, 19 June 1788[1]

None of the debates in the convention of Virginia have yet transpired, but we are informed, that many of the most brilliant speakers in that assembly, have been two and three hours upon their legs. From the subsequent authentic extract some ideas may be formed respecting the prevalent opinion.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Richmond to his friend in this city, dated June 9.

"It affords us matter of great consolation to find that the sentiments of a vast majority of Virginians, are in unison with those of our northern friends. I am satisfied four fifths of our inhabitants are opposed to the new scheme of government. Indeed in the part of this country lying south of James River, I am confident nine tenths are opposed to it.

The friends and seekers of power have, with their usual subtilty, wriggled themselves into the choice of the people, by assuming shapes as various as the faces of the men they address on such occasions.

I can assure you, that North-Carolina is more decidedly opposed to the new government than Virginia. The people there seem ripe for hazarding all before they submit."

We learn, that the legislature of Virginia are to convene, by special proclamation, on the 23d inst. to debate upon the subject matter addressed to them by the court of appeals.

1. The first paragraph was reprinted nine times by 26 June: Mass. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (4). The extract of a Richmond letter was taken from Patrick Henry to John Lamb, 9 June (RCS:Va., 817) and was reprinted eight times by 2 July: N.Y. (3), Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (1).

249. William Jackson to John Langdon
Philadelphia, 20 June 1788[1]

Mr. Corbin, a member of the Virginia Convention, in a letter dated the 13th, which appears to have been written on the evening of that day, says, generally, that, supposing the Deputies from Kentucky to be in opposition (though he thinks otherwise himself) there will, nevertheless, be a clear majority of nine or ten in favor of the system.

Two other letters say that a question of adjournment was to be moved on the 17th—this Madison writes, on the 11th, was a measure which he expected, therefore the Federalists would not be surprised.

These are the latest and, indeed, the only accounts from the South—The Virginia Assembly meet on the 25 therefore the vote of their Convention must be taken before that day.

The moment we receive it I will transmit it to you.

I wrote to you two days ago, which letter I hope you will have received before this gets to hand.

1. Printed: Alfred Langdon Elwyn, comp., *Letters By Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Others, Written During and After the Revolution, to John Langdon, New Hampshire* (Philadelphia, 1880), 85–86.

250. Edward Pole to John Lamb
Philadelphia, 21 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Question on the Federal Constitution was to be taken this day in Virginia.

Two Questions have been taken in the Virginia Convention, one for an adjournment, carried by the Federalist[s] by a Majority of 10. The other for the taking of the Grand Question this day carried by a Majority of 9—

1. RC, Lamb Papers, NHi.

251. Providence Gazette, 21 June 1788

Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, dated June 11.

"Our latest Accounts from Virginia say, Governor Randolph has declared in Convention, that before his Assent should be withheld from the Constitution, as it stands, he would lose his right Hand. I am of Opinion, with many others, that the Constitution will be fully adopted in a very short Time."

252. Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick
New York, 22 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I am sorry I have it not, as yet, in my power to give you any certain information respecting the conduct of Virginia as to the adoption of the Constitution,—from the complexion of the letters of both parties, all I can say is, I think it is probable, the State will adopt it—in either event the majority will be small. . . .

1. RC, Sedgwick Papers, MHi.

253. Boston Gazette, 23 June 1788[1]

Yesterday arrived here Capt. —— ——, in 5 Days from Norfolk, Virginia.—The last accounts they had from Richmond, was of last Thursday week, when the Convention was high in Debate about the New Constitution, which 'twas tho't would be adopted.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette,* 24 June; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal,* 25 June; and Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette,* 26 June. A similar report appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy,* 24 June.

254. Middletown, Conn., Middlesex Gazette, 23 June 1788

In our last the meeting of the Virginia convention, and the appointment of their president on the second inst. was noted—since which we have been favored with the proceedings of that honorable body from their first setting to the seventh, inclusive, which consists chiefly of the appointments of officers, and resolves respecting the *modes* of procedure upon the great subject of the proposed constitution.

255. Versions of a Legislative Resolution in George Mason Papers c. 24 June 1788[1]

Resolved that the following Declaration of Rights and Amendments be referred to the Committee of the whole Convention upon the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention.—

or

Resolved that the following Declaration of Rights and Amendments to the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention ought to be communicated and referred to the other States in the American Union for their Consideration previous to it's final Ratification.—

or

Resolved that the following Amendments ought to be made to the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention previous to the Ratification thereof; and that the said Amendments be by this Convention communicated and referred to the other States in the American Union for their Consideration.—

or

Resolved that the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention ought to be ratified when the following Declaration of Rights and Amendments shall be adopted; and that the said Declaration of Rights and Amendments be by this Convention communicated and referred to the other States in the

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

1. Draft MS, Mason Papers, DLC.

256. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 24 June 1788

We momently expect to hear that Virginia has ratified the Constitution. The Convention of that State met on the 2d instant, and chose the Hon. EDMUND PENDLETON (who is decidedly in favour of the plan) President. Gov. Randolph, in a very handsome speech, declared his conviction

of the propriety of adopting the Constitution, previously to proposing amendments; and that, before he would consent to a rejection of it (which would involve *the ruin of the union*) he would cheerfully consent to lose *that hand* which he then presented. Col. Mason also declared, that, as so many States had adopted, and were likely to adopt, the Constitution, opposition to it would be opposition to the *general sentiment*: He should therefore cease a line of conduct which would be repugnant to that great republican principle, *That the Minority ought, in all cases, to submit to the Majority.*

257. Francis Preston to James Breckinridge
Richmond, 25 June 1788[1]

You have treated me Damned ill in my opinion. The Constitution is ratified by a Majority of 10. Votes—& the Widow is to be married I hear & evidently believed because I assisted in getting the Wedding Cloaths Oh! Cruell Employment, when once I should, (had not diffendence prevented) [have] been getting them for my self but this is my ill fate & so it was with the Anti Constitutionalists when they found the Vindictive 10 Strutting with the importance of their Self Sufficiency, & *Majestic Dignity* around the poor Conquered Anti's whose Countenances are Gloomy & dejected as if Louring beneath the terrors of Death & despair but Sir notwithstanding I am hoisted above the fears of Anarchy & Confusion which would have consequentely accrued from the rejection of the Constitution, yet I see the Hydras yea the Demons from below Disturbing my once happy repose & distressing a frame before Ignorant of the Like (the news of the Widow I mean)—tell her, my Dear Friend, that I loved her & that those little tokens of Friendship which passed between us is ever fresh to my Mind—the locket which once Clinged to my breast yea to my very Soul I yesterday reluctantly exceedingly so bereaved it of its place & presented it to Miss Nancy Branton for her Certain & sure Conveyance, as it was a Donation from her former husband, I thought it my Duty to return it, tell her I regretted it—but it must be so—a little signification from the parties engaged in this pleasing scene would once more Draw me to Wmsburg. know of this—

Ill write you in a Day or two every thing I know

1. RC, Acc. 10395, ViU. Preston misdated the letter "June 26 1786." The letter was postmarked "Richmond, June 25."

258. North Carolina Wilmington Centinel, 25 June 1788

We hear that the honorable EDMUND PENDLETON, esq. is elected President of the Convention of the commonwealth of Virginia.

A private letter from Virginia, says—"There will be a majority of our state convention, in favour of the proposed constitution."

259. Levin Joynes to Ann Joynes
Richmond, 26 June 1788[1]

After an agreeable passage I reached this place on Sunday afternoon, and found the Convention still sitting and debating on the important subject of [the] New Constitution. This circumstance hath hitherto prevented the assembly from proceeding to Business—indeed we never formed a Senate till yesterday, tho a sufficient number attended on the first day, this delay you may be assured was very disagreeable to me being anxious to return to my dear partner. However I have at present the pleasing prospect of seeing you soon, it being generally allowed the Session will prove a short one, and you well know I will loose no time afterwards, except in calling at Norfolk to procure the few Articles wanted for family use.—I hope to leave Town early next week.

1. RC, Joynes Papers, ViHi.

260 A–J. Payment of the Expenses of the Virginia Convention
26 June 1788–2 December 1790

260-A. House Proceedings, Thursday, 26 June 1788 (excerpt) [1]

. . . The Speaker laid before the House a letter from the treasurer respecting the funds for defraying the expenses of the State Convention and of the present General Assembly; which was read and ordered to be referred to Messrs. Selden, Richard Lee, Turberville, Meade, Callis and Shepherd. . . .

260-B. House Proceedings, Saturday, 28 June 1788 (excerpt) [2]

. . . Mr. Selden reported, from the committee to whom was referred the treasurer's letter of Thursday last, that the committee had, according to order, had the said letter under their consideration, and had agreed upon a report, and come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Whereas, by an act of the last Assembly, entitled "an act, concerning the Convention to be held in June next," a sum not exceeding 8,000*l.* was di-

rected to be received into the treasury for the purposes of defraying the expenses of the said Convention, and that such sum should be made good from the funds appropriated to the support of civil government, or in case of deficiency therein, out of any unappropriated money in the treasury; and those funds, from various causes, not being at present productive of specie, more particularly on account of the collections being made in tobacco, which cannot now be converted into money without the public sustaining great loss;

And whereas, the surplus of the money arising from the various funds appropriated to the payment of the interest on the military debt, constitutes one of the most productive sources of the revenue appropriated for the support of civil government; and it appears that a considerable sum may be drawn therefrom, and a sufficient balance left in the treasury for the payment of the said interest;

Resolved, therefore, That the treasurer shall be empowered and required to draw the sum of 6,000*l.* from the funds appropriated to the payment of the interest on the military debt, and to replace the same if it shall be necessary from the first sales of tobacco, or the first money received into the funds appropriated for the support of civil government: The said 6,000*l.* shall in the first place, be applied to make good the votes of the last Assembly, for providing for the pay and other expenses of scouts and rangers on the western frontier: and in the next place, to the payment of the expenses of the Convention which commenced in the city of Richmond on the 2d day of June; and if any balance, after making the same good, shall remain in the treasury, it shall be applied to the payment of the expenses of the present General Assembly.

Ordered, That a bill or bills, be brought in pursuant to the said resolution; and that Messrs. Selden, Richard Lee, Turberville, Meade, Callis, Shepherd, Clendennin and Ronald do prepare and bring in the same. . . .

260-C. House Proceedings, Monday, 30 June 1788 (excerpts) [3]

. . . A motion was made, that the House do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That no member of the General Assembly, who being a member of the late Convention, hath drawn his travelling expenses in coming to, and returning from the Convention, or his daily pay for his attendance therein during the session of this Assembly, ought again to draw for either as a member of the Assembly.

And the said resolution being twice read was, on the question put thereupon, agreed to by the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Thornton do carry the resolution to the Senate, and desire their concurrence.

Mr. Turberville presented, according to order, a bill "to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly;" and the same was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time. . . .

On a motion made,

A bill, "to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly;" was read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed and read the third time. . . .

On a motion made,

An engrossed bill, "to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly;" was read the third time.

Resolved, That the bill do pass; and that the title be, "an act, to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the payment of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly."

Ordered, That Mr. Turberville do carry the bill to the Senate, and desire their concurrence. . . .

On a motion made,

Resolved, That the sum of 15*l.* be allowed to the secretary of the late Convention, for his trouble and expense in preparing fifteen engrossed copies of the ratification of the Federal Constitution and the proceedings of the Convention thereon, together with the subsequent amendments thereto, to be transmitted to Congress and the several States pursuant to an order of the Convention.

And the said resolution being twice read was, on the question put thereupon, agreed to by the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Richard Lee do carry the resolution to the Senate, and desire their concurrence. . . .

A Message from the Senate by Mr. Lee:

Mr. Speaker,—The Senate . . . have also agreed to the resolution respecting the pay of the members of the late Convention and Assembly. And then he withdrew.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Nelson:

Mr. Speaker,—The Senate have passed the bill "to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly;"

. . . And then he withdrew. . . .

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lee:

MR. SPEAKER,—The Senate have agreed to the resolutions in favor of the secretary of the late Convention; . . . And then he withdrew. . . .

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lee:

MR. SPEAKER,—The Senate have examined several other enrolled bills, and find them to be truly enrolled, and they are signed by their Speaker. And he delivered in the same, and then withdrew.

The Speaker signed the following enrolled bills: . . .

"An act, to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly." . . .

260-D. Senate Proceedings, Monday, 30 June 1788 (excerpts) [4]

. . . A message from the House of Delegates by Mr. Thornton:

MR. SPEAKER,—The House of Delegates have agreed to a resolution, that no member of the General Assembly, who being a member of the late Convention, hath drawn his travelling expenses, and for his daily pay for his attendance therein, during the session of this Assembly, ought not again to draw for either as a member of this Assembly; to which they desire the concurrence of the Senate. And he delivered in the same, and then withdrew.

The said resolution was twice read; and on the question thereupon being put, agreed to by the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Cabell do acquaint the House of Delegates therewith. . . .

A message from the House of Delegates by Mr. Turberville:

MR. SPEAKER,—The House of Delegates have passed a bill "to make good the appropriation of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly;" to which they desire the concurrence of the Senate. And he delivered in the same, and then withdrew.

The said bill was read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time.

The said bill was read the second time; and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House, immediately. . . .

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill "to make good the appropriation of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, the pay of the members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly;" and after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. Southall reported, that the committee had, according to order, had the said bill under their consideration, and gone through the same, and made no amendment thereto.

Ordered, That the said bill be now read the third time.

The said bill was read the third time; and on the question being put, that the same do pass,

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, That Mr. Nelson do acquaint the House of Delegates therewith. . . .

A message from the House of Delegates by Mr. Lee:

MR. SPEAKER,—The House of Delegates have agreed to a resolution, for paying the officers of the present General Assembly; and also, to a resolution, in favor of the secretary of the late Convention; to which they desire the concurrence of the Senate. And he delivered in the same, and then withdrew.

The said resolutions were twice read; and on the question thereupon being put, agreed to by the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Lee do acquaint the House of Delegates therewith. . . .

Mr. Lee reported, from the committee appointed to examine the enrolled bills, that the committee had, according to order, examined several enrolled bills, to them referred, and found them to be truly enrolled.

The Speaker then signed the following enrolled bills, to wit: . . .

"An act, to make good the appropriations of money for the maintenance of scouts and rangers, and the pay of the members of the Convention and of the General Assembly."

Ordered, That Mr. Lee do carry the said enrolled bills to the House of Delegates, and acquaint them that the said bills have been examined by the Senate, and signed by the Speaker.

And then the House adjourned till the third Monday in October next.

260-E. An Act to Make Good the Appropriations of Money for the Maintenance of Scouts and Rangers, the Pay of the Members of the Convention, and of the General Assembly, 30 June 1788[5]

Whereas by an Act of the last Session of Assembly intituled "An Act concerning the Convention to be held in June" a sum not exceeding eight thousand pounds was directed to be reserved in the Treasury for the purpose of defraying the expences of the said Convention and that such sum should be made good from the funds appropriated to the support of Civil Government or in case of deficiency therein out of any unappropriated money in the Treasury and those funds from various causes not being at present productive of Specie more particularly on account of the collections being made in Tobacco which cannot now be converted into money without the public's sustaining great loss. And Whereas the surplus of the money arising

from the various funds appropriated to the payment of the interest on the Military Debt constitutes one of the most productive sources of the revenue appropriated for the support of Civil Government and it appears that a considerable sum may be drawn therefrom and a sufficient balance left in the Treasury for the payment of the said Interest. Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly that the Treasurer shall be empowered and required to draw the sum of six thousand pounds from the funds appropriated to the payment of the Interest on the Military Debt and to replace the same if it should be necessary from the first sales of Tobacco or the first money received into the funds appropriated for the support of Civil Government. The said six thousand pounds shall in the first place be applied to make good the votes of the last Assembly for the pay and other expences of Scouts and Rangers on the Western Frontier and in the next place to the payment of the expences of the Convention which commenced in the City of Richmond on the second of June and if any balance after making the same good shall remain in the Treasury it shall be applied to the payment of the expenses of the present General Assembly

John Jones SS
Ths Mathews S.HD

260-F. Resolution Concerning the Members of the Convention and Assembly 30 June 1788[6]

In the House of Delegates the 30th. of June 1788.

Resolved that no Member of the General Assembly, who, being a Member of the late Convention, hath drawn his travelling expences in coming to and returning from the Convention, or his daily pay for his attendance therein during the Session of this Assembly, ought again to draw for either as a Member of the Assembly.

1788 June 30thTeste John Beckley—C:h:d.

Agreed to by the Senate H. Brooke CS

260-G. Resolution in Favor of the Secretary of the Late Convention, 30 June 1788[7]

In the House of Delegates the 30th: of June 1788.

Resolved that the sum of fifteen pounds be allowed to the Secretary of the late Convention, for his trouble and expence in preparing fifteen engrossed Copies of the Ratification of the fœderal Constitution and the proceedings of the Convention thereon, together with the subsequent amend-

ments thereto, to be transmitted to Congress and the several States pursuant to an Order of the Convention.

1788 June 30th Teste J Beckley C:h:d.

Agreed to by the Senate H. Brooke CS

260-H. Jaquelin Ambler to the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Delegates, Treasury Office, Richmond, 24 October 1788 [8]

The sum of £5,509._.10. was applied to the payments of the expences attending the Convention in June last, the Session of Assembly which succeeded, and the Warrants produced at that time on account of the expences accruing in certain Counties for Scouts and Rangers.—this sum is £490.19.2. short of what was directed by the Honobl. The Assembly to be borrowed for those purposes. £490.19.2. may therefore, I presume, be applied with strict propriety to the payment of the Scouts and Rangers under the former authority: but, as this sum is inadequate to the discharge of the whole Claims now due on that score, the further Order of the Honobl. House is necessary to justify the making up the deficiency from the funds in the public Treasury, the present State of which, I have the honor to lay before the Committee.

260-I. Leighton Wood to Thomas Mathews, Speaker of the House of Delegates Solicitor's Office, Richmond, 20 November 1788 (excerpts) [9]

. . . [Enclosure]

A State of Expenditures by the Commonwealth of Virginia from the 1st September 1787 to the 31st August 1788 inclusive as appear on the Books in the Office of the Auditor for Publick Accounts

. . . Amount of Warrants issued for payment of Salaries due Officers of Civil Government including Naval Officers & Searchers together with the Expences of the General Assembly & the Convention Viz to Officers of Civil Goverment including Naval Officers & Searchers 11,101.4.9

for Expences of Assembly & Convention 14,057._.11

. . .

260-J. Senate Proceedings, Thursday 2 December 1790 (excerpts) [10]

. . . Mr. Cabell reported, from the committee appointed to examine the treasurer's accounts, that the committee had, according to order, proceeded therein, and having gone through the same, in conjunction with a committee from the House of Delegates, had agreed to the following report:

Your committee find since the last settlement made by Jaquelin Ambler, treasurer, on the 25th of November 1789, that there has been received at the treasury on public account, as followeth, viz: . . .

From sundry persons on sundry accounts, as under mentioned viz: . . .

Edmund Randolph, balance of money as a member of the General Convention, 10[s] 9[d]. . . .

1. *House Journal* [23–30 June 1788] (Richmond, 1828), 147.
2. *Ibid.,* 149. For the manuscript copy of this report, see the Papers of the House of Delegates, 1788, Vi.
3. *House Journal* [23–30 June 1788], 150, 151, 152.
4. *Senate Journal* [23–30 June 1788] (Richmond, 1828), 7, 9, 10.
5. MS, Enrolled Bills, June and October Sessions, 1788, Vi.
6. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills, June 1788, Vi.
7. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills, June 1788, Vi.
8. RC, Executive Communications, 1788, Vi.
9. RC, Executive Communications, 1788, Vi.
10. *Senate Journal* [18 October–29 December 1790] (Richmond, 1828), 34, 36–37.

261. Massachusetts Spy, 26 June 1788

We expect every moment intelligence from Virginia, respecting the fate of the Federal Constitution in their State Convention; all accounts from that quarter continue to say it will be adopted.

262. Providence United States Chronicle, 26 June 1788

Authentic Accounts from Virginia inform us—That the Convention of that State met at Richmond, on Monday the 2d Instant; and after electing the Hon. Judge Pendleton, *President*—Mr. J. Beckley, *Secretary*—Rev. Abner Waugh, *Chaplain*—and Mr. Augustine Davis, *Printer*—they ordered 200 Copies of the Federal Constitution to be printed, and distributed among the Members of the Convention.—It was the next Day voted "That no Question, general or particular, shall be propounded in this Convention, upon the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, or upon any Clause or Article thereof until the Constitution shall have been discussed, Clause by Clause, through all its Parts."—Our latest Accounts are to the 12th of the Month, at which Time, they had not got through the Debates—but it was supposed, they would take the final Question on Friday or Saturday last—so that we may hourly expect to hear the Result.

263. Draft of Virginia's 14th Structural Amendment on Judicial Power c. 27 June 1788[1]

The Judical Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court. whose Jurisdiction shall extend to all Cases arising under *this Consti-*

tution and Treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States To all Cases affecting Ambassadors other public foriegn Ministers and Consuls To all Cases of Admiralty and maratime Jurisdiction. To controvercies to which the United States shall be a Party. To controvercies between two or more States. Between *a State and its own Citizens or the Citizens of another State.* Between Citizens or others claiming Lands under the grants of different States. *and between a State and foreign States the Citizens or Subjects of a Foreign State*

In all cases affecting Ambassadors other public foriegn Ministers and Consuls and those [to?] which a State shall be a Party the Judiciary of the United States shall have original Jurisdiction in all the other cases before mentioned the Judiciary of the United States shall have appellate Jurisdiction as to all matters of law arising [in?] the trial of such cases with such exceptions and under such Regulations as the Laws of Congress shall make direct—

But the judicial Power of the United States shall extend to no Case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this Constitution.

[– – –] this provisoe is too general, & will preclude in every Instance, the [– – –] following Cases, in which the federal Court ought to have Jurisdiction, [viz.?] Disputes between States about their Territory, & Disputes between Individuals claiming Lands under the Grants of different States

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1. Draft, Mss 13: 1788 June 27:2, ViHi. The last paragraph is in a different handwriting.

264. William Bingham to Tench Coxe
New York, 27 June 1788[1]

Your several Inclosures in your Letter of the 18th Inst. were very flattering as our federal friends had begun to despond, from the Tenor of the Advice that had been previously received from Virginia—

Since the Adoption of New Hampshire, the Virginia Politics are not so interesting—the federal Edifice is now compleat, altho the Support of the other States will greatly strengthen it—

If the Virginia Convention has not decided before the Ratification of New Hampshire reaches them, I have no doubt of a favorable Issue—

I find by Letters received here from the antifederal Party at Richmond, that they are sanguine,—but not so confident as our Friends—this is a good Sign—

New York will reject—but no opinion can be formed of the Manner of doing it—

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi.

265. Delegate Paul Carrington Daybook
27, 30 June 1788 (excerpts)[1]

27// Cash recc. & Wages. (Convention)	17.10.5
30// Cash Expences Richmond, Convention, Travelling &c	20.12–

1. MS, Paul Carrington Daybook, 1 January 1787–5 January 1792, Mss1C 2358 f23, ViHi.

266. Francis Taylor Diary
Midland, Orange County, Va., 28 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

28 Foggy morning, cleared without rain

Went with my father to Herndons Mill, on fishing party. Heard that Virginia adopted the new Constitution in the Convention at Richmond, Wednesday the 25th instant. . . .

1. MS, Acc. 18710, Vi.

267. James Iredell to John Gray Blount
Edenton, N.C., 29 June 1788[1]

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

1. RC, Blount Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

268. Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth
New York, 29 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I rejoce with you on New Hampshires adoption—It secures the points—Virginia will accept without doubt with a small majority Maddison writes so by the last Post dated the 19th But it is not certain whether the question would have been taken on the 21st, or that a small adjournment of a few days should then take place to accomodate the Assembly which was to meet on the 23d—a majority was supposed to be secured in either case but if the adjournment took place untill tomorrow as was probable the ma-

jority will be encreased by the news from New Hampshire for it will reach richmond this day or early tomorrow morning. . . .

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

269. Samuel Smith to Tench Coxe
Baltimore, 29 June 1788[1]

Before this Can Arrive you will have had the Agreeable Accot. of Virga. having Adopted on the 25h by a Majority of Ten—On which Interesting success Permit me to Congrat[ul]ate you—Colo. Henley pass'd thro: at 11 O'Clock on Friday.—It is pleasing that the Ancient Dominion had Adopted before the Accot. of N.H. Could have any Influence—

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi. The letter is dated and postmarked 29 June, but Coxe incorrectly docketed the letter "Saml Smith Baltimore/June 27th. 1787."

270. Richard Curson to Horatio Gates
Baltimore, 30 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The News of the Virga. Convention reached us on Saturday Afternoon; Goddard has been made acquainted of this Opportunity. . . .

1. RC, Gates Papers, NHi.

271. William Hartshorne to Nathaniel West & Company
Alexandria, Va., 30 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Our Convention have adopted the new constitution and I hope next year all partial duties will be done away and the Trade again opened between Boston & this Place, whenever that is the case I shall be glad to render you or your Friends my best Services here—

1. RC, John Barton Papers, Essex Institute Library, Salem, Mass.

272. John May to Harry Innes
Richmond, 30 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Convention have ratified the new Constitution by a Majority of 8 amongst Friends to which were H Marshall, R Breckenridge, & Mr Bullock. . . .

1. RC, Innes Papers, DLC.

273. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 30 June 1788

The animated speech of governor Randolph, in the convention of Virginia, operated very forcibly on the members, particularly those who were wavering; so that there is not the least doubt but the federal constitution will be adopted by a large majority.

274. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 1 July 1788[1]

Last Evening accounts were received from Virginia, that the Convention of that State had adopted the New Constitution on Wednesday last—Yeas 88—Nays 78—Majority 10.

1. On the same day, this item also appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Philadelphische Correspondenz*.

275. James Black to Levi Hollingsworth
New Castle County, Del., 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . PS I cincerely Congratulate you on the Ratification of the new goverment by the old State of verginia which Im. informd by Post from P. has taken place may god grant it to be truth and give our widely Extended States vertue and wisdom, (as he gives Solomon) to govern So vast a people—I thought of Coming up to your grand Rejocing but have my harvest affers to [– – –]

1. RC, Hollingsworth Papers, PHi.

276. Robert Breckinridge to James Breckinridge
Richmond, 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I saw a letter from Mr. Brown the other day in which we have the satisfactory information of the disposition of the Eastern Delegates in Congress to open the Navigation of Missippi for the exportation of produce from the Western Country—This will in a great measure ease the minds of those who have been under such apprehension of the cession of the River to Spain, and will be a means of reconciling them to the new System of Government.

I feel some consolation in having so respectable a character as Mr. Brown of the same oppinion of myself on the subject of the new plan of Gov. particularly as he is from the same part of the County—the most of the Kentuckyans execrate the plan because some leading men in that country anticipate dangers in the muta[t]ion—I leave Town on friday to accompany

F. Preston to Hanover, & from thence to Staunton, where you may direct leters for some time—& will in a Mo. go to Botetourt

P.S. New hampshire adopted New Plan of Gov. two days before it was done at this place, so the Virga. is the ninth state in the adoption.

1. RC, MSS A B829, Folder 6, Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.

277. Jacob Broom to Levi Hollingsworth
Wilmington, Del., 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

I congratulate you on the adoption of the Fœderal Constitution by Virginia—an event of vast Importance to the United States, the present Generation & their posterity; for tho' it will be but the 1/13th. spoke in the Wheel of Governmt. yet it is an important one. . . .

1. RC, Hollingsworth Papers, PHi.

278. Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth
New York, 5:00 A.M., 2 July 1788[1]

My dear friend

Rejoice—Heaven has influenced the Virginia convention to adopt the constitution by a Majority of *ten*—this great event took place on Wednesday the 25th of June some amendments will be stated in the manner of Massachusetts.

Colonel Henley who went express from this City on Wednesday last with the adoption of New Hampshire met the express from Richmond at Alexandria on Saturday the 28th—He stayed there that day & dined in company with the General & returned here about three hours ago—

An express will be at Poughke[e]psie about two oclock this day

You will remember I depend on you entirely to make the arrangements to send on the money, at my expence

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, CtHi. Knox wrote on the address page: "Favored by Mr Pease with the glorious News of the adoption by Virginia."

279. Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin
New York, 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

Yesterday the news of the adoption of the new Constitution by the State of Virginia was received. The majority was weak. Other details are not yet known. It is probable that the state of North Carolina, which is to meet in Convention tomorrow, will follow Virginia's example. It is hoped that [the

Convention] of New York, now deliberating, will not want to stand out from the union by itself, because Rhode Island counts for nothing and moreover the one and the other by their situation would be exposed to great disadvantages if all the other States combine against them. Thus it is believed that New York will accede and that Rhode Island will reconsider its refusal. Ten [states] now form the Confederation according to the new system, which must bring about a consolidation rather than a new Confederation. Congress is going to be immediately occupied with some last formalities necessary to sanction the new Government. It will decide at the same time in which place the new Congress, which is to replace it, will assemble. The decision on this[,] the choice of its permanent residence[,] and the final resolutions on the establishment of the federal City will be left to it. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Vol. 33, ff. 225–26, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. This letter was endorsed as received on 23 August.

280. Pieter Johann Van Berckel to the Estates General
New York, 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

A week ago today the message arrived with the Express that the State of New Hampshire had passed the new Constitution, and this morning at four o'clock another express arrived from Virginia, stating that that State also adopted it, after which all the bells of the city were rung, and the cannons at the Battery were fired, while other similar signs of joy also took place. Thus at the moment there are ten States, which have accepted this new plan of Government, in which, however, many of them have proposed amendments and changes, which cannot be brought in for discussion before the new Congress is organized and functioning, to which end the necessary Steps will undoubtedly be taken very soon.

The Convention of the State of New York is currently in session, and it is expected that its decision will be made within eight days, so that this important point of the new Government for these 13 States will be settled in the course of this month, and be concluded, of which I will not fail to inform you at once. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Staten-Generaal Liassen, No. 7130, America, 1782–1788, Dispatch No. 7, pp. 311–13, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, The Netherlands.

281. Samuel Blachley Webb to Joseph Barrell
New York, 4:00 A.M., 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . 4 o'Clock Wednesday morng. I Congratulate you my Dr Br. on the Joyfull news of Virginia's adopting the Constitution this day week 88 in favor & 78 against, we Recd. the Intelligence by Colo. D. Henly who arrived in Town abt 1 oClock this morng.—we have just fired a salute of ten Guns & all our Bells are now ringing.—Pease waits & I have no time to add, our express has gone for Poughkeepsie & will be there by 2 oClock this day, we hope it may have the desired effect, but *I doubt.*

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Printed: Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb* (3 vols., New York, 1893–1894), III, 108–9.

282. Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom
New York, 6:00 A.M., 2 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . This morning at 2 oClock an Express arrived from Virginia with the important news of that State haveing adopted the proposed Constitution; at the dawning of the day all the Bells of the City began and Rung for four hours at the Suns riseing we were saluted with Ten—Twenty four poundders which made noise sufficient to awaken the most drowsy. in short the whole day has been devoted to amusement, and altho: my Ancle prevents my rambling much abroad, I have had a circle at my room, & to prevent their further intrusion while writing you I have closed my front Windows. . . .

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY.

283. Thomas Willing to William Bingham
Philadelphia, 2 July 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . From my heart I congratulate you on the News from Virginia. their Ratification has put an end to the dying faction here, & will totally extinguish the flame wh. a few only of this City had kindled in the Western Country. . . .

I write this only to send you a Copy of Mr. Madison's letter to T. Coxe, it is pleasing of [i.e., to] see that the great business has been conducted with so much regularity—other letters' say "that the greater part of the Minority at Richmond have declared their intentions to assist the federal Government now that a Majority have agreed to accept it, & say that their Votes in many instances were given in compliance with their Instructions tho: contrary to their own private inclinations & judgement". . . .

1. RC, Gratz Collection, Old Congress, PHi.

284. Broadside Announcing Virginia Ratification
Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 2 July 1788

◆ *To view this document, see Evans 45393, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

285. New York Daily Advertiser, 2 July 1788

By a passenger of veracity, who came in the stage from Philadelphia, and arrived here last evening, we are informed, That the State of Virginia has ADOPTED the Federal Constitution.

286. New York Independent Journal, 2 July 1788 (supplement)

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

287. New York Journal, 2 July 1788

NEWS from VIRGINIA!

What this news is, could not be ascertained last evening, but we shall doubtless hear this day by express. It is pretty well authenticated, that the bells rang at Philadelphia Monday evening—and it is *supposed,* that the cause was, the RATIFICATION of the constitution, by Virginia!

The express above referred to, arrived, of which particularly to-morrow.—4 o'clock, A.M.

288. New Jersey Journal, 2 July 1788

New-Hampshire ratified the Constitution the 21st ultimo. Majority eleven.

Tenth Prop to the New Edifice.

Yesterday passed through this town, on his way to the eastward, Col. Henley, who communicated the agreeable and important intelligence of the adoption of the New Constitution by the State of Virginia. Majority eleven.—The genial beams of union play around and pervade the continent, and seem to animate the mass of the people. Avaunt locallities and disunited states Respectability shall blossom, and honours, in quick succession, incircle their consolidated empire. Now we meet our rivals in commerce, armed at all points to repel their illiberality, too long already exercised!

289. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 2 July 1788

On the evening of the day when the above important intelligence was received a great number of citizens were convened at the tavern of Mr. John Smith, to testify their joy on this happy event.—An elegant repast having been prepared, the following toasts were drank.

The New Constitution.

The Majority of the Convention of the State of New Hampshire.

The majority of the Convention of the State of Virginia.

The TEN Federal Pillars.

May the New Federal Government remain to the most distant ages a monument of the wisdom and patriotism of the glorious year 1788.

General Washington—may he fill the Presidential Chair of the United States with the same lustre he commanded her armies.

The King of France—may he and his posterity find it their interest to continue the allies of the United States.

May harmony and unanimity prevail throughout the United States of America.

The commerce of Pennsylvania—and under the auspices of the Federal Flag may it flourish & be respectable all over the globe.

On this occasion upwards of eighty of the respectable inhabitants of this place attended—joy beamed on every face—each countenance bespeaking a heart-felt satisfaction.

290. Virginia Centinel, 2 July 1788

On Monday the inhabitants of [at least one line is missing] interesting event by military evolutions and other demonstrations of joy: the Light Infantry company, commanded by Captain Hieskill, under the immediate orders of Major M'Guire, discharged NINE vollies, in honor of the NINE PILLARS thus gloriously raised to support the FABRIC of COLUMBIA.—In the evening a bonfire was lighted on Federal-Hill, the fuel for which was carried in the Federal Waggon, drawn by NINE horses. Illuminations at the Courthouse, and many other buildings, added greatly to the brilliancy of the scene. Joy shone conspicuously on the countenances of all ranks, and the greatest hilarity and good humour universally prevailed. An elegant supper was provided at Mr. M'Guire's, of which a number of staunch Federalists partook, after which the following toasts were drank:

1. His Excellency GEN. WASHINGTON.
2. His Most Christian Majesty.
3. The Marquis de la Fayette.
4. The Hon. Benjamin Franklin, Esq.
5. The memory of the American Worthies who fell in the late revolution.

6. The United States.
7. The memorable 4th of July.
8. The Patrons of Freedom.
9. The friends of the Federal Constitution.
10. May the manufacturing spirit increase as the Federal Constitution becomes permanent and respectable.
11. The Majority of the Virginia Convention.
12. May the Federal Pillars be raised to the highest pitch of greatness.
13. May the sword never be drawn but in the cause of justice.

291. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 2 July 1788

Mr Henry spoke three hours in the Virginia convention, against the federal constitution. This gentleman is so very inimical to it, that he went to the principal towns, and harrangued the people, representing in glowing language the danger of adopting a new system, in his opinion, far inferior to the old one.

292. Thomas Goadsby to Kirkman, Holmes, & Company
New York, 3 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Accts arrived yesterday that Verginia, the Tenth State had adopted the New Constitution. & this Morning at 2 oClock Coll. WS Livingston our Counsellor, went express to the New York Convention 80 Miles from hence, to inform them the event, this State is very obstinate, & if they do not *adopt.* the consequence will be very serious. . . .

1. FC, Hancock Papers, Volume XVIII, Copies of Letters by Thomas Goadsby, 1787–1788, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

293. Ezra Stiles Diary
New Haven, Conn., 3 July 1788[1]

Early this Morng at break o' Day we were awaked with the Ringing of Bells announcing the Accession of Virginia the Xth State to the new fœderal Constitution. The Express from Congress for Boston left N York yesterdy Morng at VIIh. and arrived here a little after Midnight and left N Haven for Hartfd at IVh. 15 mans. I saw him. He shewed me Letters from Congress. The Virginia Convention at Richmond put the Question on Wednesdy the 25th. of June ten Majority. The Hampshire News & this met at Alexandria

in Virgin last Saturdy, where the Expresses dined with Gen. Washington. The news arrived in N York July 2d at IIh Mans. Congress dispatched instantly to the Convention at Poukeepsy. Mr Peas the Express this Way intends to reach Boston to morrow by Two O Clock P.M. to elevate the Rejoycings at the Anniversy of Independence. We shall rejoyce to morrow. I gave an Enl. Hist. Lect. or Chronoly. Beging a new Course

1. MS, Stiles Papers, CtY.

294. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Henry Knox
Hartford, Conn., 3 July 1788[1]

We Celebrated the Independance of America the 3d instead of the fourth— as our members [of] the Society of the Cincinnati live so remote they could not have returned home before Sunday had we delayed. We had an excellent Sermon from Parson Strong were finishing an Anthem with Vocal & instrumental Musick—at twelve oClock—when old Pease presented himselfe with your letters—which I imediately communicated—and the pleasing news of Virginias ratification gave such Spirits to our Society & a very Numeroce Collection of People assembled to hear the Sermon & I shall set out on Monday and bring You the Money—I asked You not to go Eastward till I came—as your future Monies—from this State depend on my seeing You before you go—

1. RC, Knox Papers, MHi.

295. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 3 July 1788[1]

Philadelphia, June 30, 1788, 9 *o'Clock, P.M.*

Sir, I have now the pleasure of informing you, that by express just arrived, we have certain & authentic accounts of the State of Virginia having adopted the Constitution, on Friday last, by a majority of ten. Your's, &c.

D. HUMPHREYS

Mr. Josiah Meigs, N. Haven.

1. This item was reprinted in the Litchfield, Conn., *Weekly Monitor,* 7 July.

296. Albany Gazette, 3 July 1788

It was last evening reported, that the Convention of *VIRGINIA* had adopted the New Constitution, by a majority of six.

297. Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 July 1788

Extract of another letter from Richmond, June 25.

"I have only at present to inform you of the Ratification of the Constitution in Convention this day, by a majority of ten only—Yeas 89, Nays 79. The first question was put for previous amendments, which was rejected by a majority of seven; but the final vote as above-mentioned—After which the House adjourned until to-morrow, when it is supposed they are to draw up subsequent amendments, somewhat similar to those of Massachusetts state.["]

298. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 3 July 1788

The convention in Virginia, adjourned for five days, for the purpose of giving time to those who want amendments annexed to the ratification of the constitution, to propose them for adoption. The question of adjournment was rather warmly opposed, and carried at last by a majority only of eight.

299. John Quincy Adams Diary
Boston, 4 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . in the afternoon I walk'd up on the common, to see the military parade, which was not however so spirited as at the last anniversary: but in the middle of the afternoon, the news arrived that Virginia had acceded to the federal Constitution, and immediately the bells were set to ringing, and the guns to firing again, without any mercy, and continued all the remainder of the afternoon. In the evening a number of young fellows paraded round the streets with candles lighted in their hands, and a drum before them, not much to their own credit or to the honour of the day; but they did no damage. . . .

1. MS, Adams Papers, MHi. Printed: David Grayson Allen et al., eds., *Diary of John Quincy Adams* (2 vols. to date, Cambridge, Mass., 1981–), II, 424–25.

300. William Heath Diary
Boston, 4 July 1788[1]

4th. Wind Southerly cloudy and in the afternoon Stormy.—This being the anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of america. The Day was observed with demonstrations of Joy in Boston, an

oration was delivered by Major Otis at the old South Meeting house to a crouded audience. The Governor Council and many Characters Civil and Military were present after the oration. The Governor &c. returned to the Senate Chamber where a repast at the expense of the Governor was provided, afterwards a large and respectable Company dined with his Excellency.—the day was marked with demonstrations Joy and festivity, which was heigthend in the afternoon by the interesting and agreeable intelligence that the State of Virginia have adopted the federal Constitution by a majority of Ten with proposed amendments Similar to those of Massachusetts—on this Bells in Boston Roxbury &c. were Set on ringing &c &c

1. MS, MHi.

301. William Pynchon Diary
Salem, Mass., 4 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . News comes of Virginia havg accepted ye fed. constitutn. wch. encreasest ye. Genl Joy. . . .

1. MS, Pynchon Papers, MHi. Printed: Fitch Edward Oliver, ed., *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem: A Picture of Salem Life, Social and Political, a Century Ago* (Boston and New York, 1890), 311.

302. James Brown Diary
Providence, R.I., 5 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

The acct. of Virginia's accession to the new constitution came to Town. . . .

1. Printed: Clarkson A. Collins III, ed., "James Brown Diary," *Rhode Island History,* VII (1948), 10.

303. John Doughty to Henry Knox
Fort Pitt, Pa., 5 July 1788 (excerpts)[1]

My dear General

. . . I congratulate you on the Adoption of the new Constitution by the State of Virginia, as this makes the ninth State who have come into the Measure, I am in Hopes Health & Vigour will soon be restored to our Body politic—This happy Circumstance must cheer the Hearts of our Countrymen, particularly those of our military Brethren, who have been Struggling through the late Revolution, & who to their immortal Honor appear to feel so much for the Honor & Dignity of their Country—for I flatter myself it will not be saying too much, to assert that our Society are more generally

Advocates for good Government, than perhaps any other Class of Citizins. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03927, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society. This letter was marked "*private.*" In June 1788 Doughty, stationed at Fort Harmar, was ordered to Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) by Brigadier General Josiah Harmar to meet and escort Arthur St. Clair, the new governor of the Northwest Territory, to the fort. St. Clair arrived at Fort Harmar on 9 July, bringing with him the news of Virginia ratification.

304. Pierse Long to Paine Wingate
Portsmouth, N.H., 7 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We have a report, this minute that Virginia has adopted the Constitution on the 25 June, by a Majority of 10—should it prove true—its an important pi[ece] of intelligence. Though 9 States are sufficient to set goverment agoing—yet that State, being large and commercial, respecting the carrying business, has & must have great weight in the federal System Scale—I am obliged to seal this before the post comes in—as I am called out of town on business—or should expect to have gave you Joy on the Virginia News being confirmed by the post. . . .

1. RC, Wingate Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.

305. Boston Gazette, 7 July 1788[1]

About five o'clock the joyful tidings of the adoption of the New Constitution by the State of Virginia arrived at his Excellency's Seat, by express, and upon His Excellency's communicating the same to the company, their ecstacy was undescribable.—The bells hereupon renew'd their peal, and in the evening a number of citizens paraded the streets with lighted candles, amidst the firing of rockets, loud huzzas, and other demonstrations of joy.

1. Reprinted on 10 July in the Boston *Independent Chronicle,* Rhode Island *Newport Herald,* and Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette.*

306. Rhode Island Newport Mercury, 7 July 1788[1]

Friday being the Anniversary of the Independency of America, the State Flag was displayed in honor of the day at Fort Washington.—The same day the intelligence of Virginia's adopting the new Constitution reach'd this place, but as the celebration of the nine States has been testified in one

public demonstration, and no one State had been publicly noticed, it was deemed most decent to put off any further rejoicing till this State joins in the general Ratification, when we make no doubt our public testimonials will evince the sincere joy they represent.

1. This item is transcribed from the 14 July issue of the *Boston Gazette,* which reprinted it from the no longer extant Rhode Island *Newport Mercury* of 7 July.

307. New York Journal, 7 July 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from Poughkeepsie, July 3.

"The Convention have got to the 2d article—several amendments have been proposed this day, and none dissented. Yesterday the news of the Virginia reservatory adoption arrived here from New-York, it is said in 9 hours. It has made, in my opinion, no impression upon the republican members."

1. This item was reprinted in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle,* 16 July.

308. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 8 July 1788[1]

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 28th June and beg you to accept my sincere acknowledgements for the particulars of the Celebration of the New Constitution I most heartily rejoice with you and all lovers of peace & concord, on this most glorious and unparall[el]ed occurrence in the course of human affairs.—The accession of New Hampshire ensured the System—that of Virginia will I think ensure tranquility though it has been confidently ascerted of the latter, that their adopting the Constitution has had no effect on the Convention at Poughkeepsie—I am not much inclined, however, to believe the report—I think there is a gleam of hope that, from a principle of fear, the anties will come about—accounts last evening give some countenance to this opinion; though the case is still very doubtful I am informed that they do not expect to close this week.—

The time for the meeting of the new Congress is not yet assigned—but the general opinion is that it may take place by the first of february—if so it may become necessary to have an early session of our Legislature.—I have nothing of importance to communicate—Mr Wingate desires his Compliments—Excuse haste—and suffer me to add only, that, with the highest Respect I have the honor to be

1. RC, John G. M. Stone Collection of Revolutionary and Early National Period Documents, Annapolis, Md.

309. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 8 July 1788[1]

> "*Hail,* INDEPENDENCE, *hail! Heaven's next best gift*
> *To that of life and an immortal soul!*
> *The life of life! that to the banquet high,*
> *And sober meal, gives taste; to the bow'd roof,*
> *Fair-dream'd repose*; *and, to the cottage, charms.*"

The Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence was celebrated in this town, on Friday last, in a manner which indicated the anticipation of a high degree of political happiness yet to result therefrom.

The Cadet and Artillery Companies paraded in honour of the day; and, by the performance of a variety of military manouvres, commanded the applause of numerous spectators.

The Company of Cadets dined at the Sun Tavern; and, after dinner, gave the following Toasts:—

1. His Excellency the Governour of this Commonwealth.
2. Hon. Major General of the County of Essex.
3. First Essex Regiment.
4. THIS AUSPICIOUS DAY, and every *independent* soul who enjoys it.
5. The Grand Federal Edifice—its speedy completion: May Virtue support its base, Justice compose its pillars, and its spires reach the zenith of glory.
6. The Cause of Liberty, throughout the world.
7. Honour and Honesty, Industry and Economy.
8. The illustrious WASHINGTON—May we strive to imitate him in virtue and in arms.
9. All Independent Corps—May they answer the end of their institution.
10. May we treat our friends kindly, and our enemies generously.
11. Agriculture, Fishery, Manufactures and Commerce.
12. The Federal Daughters of Salem, in the arms of Virtue.
13. May the Independence of America equal the sun in duration.

The Artillery Company dined in the Courthouse; and drank, under a discharge of cannon, the following Toasts:

1. The Governour and Commonwealth.
2. The United States of America.
3. The ever memorable Fourth of July 1776.
4. Unanimity at home and peace abroad.
5. The Allies of the United States of America.
6. The happy progress of the Arts in America.
7. Agriculture and Commerce.

8. The Massachusetts Fishery.
9. The Massachusetts Militia.
10. The States who have adopted the Federal Constitution.
11. The President of the late Federal Convention.
12. May Liberty ever be preserved in this American Empire.
13. The blessings of good government throughout the world.

In the evening, the joy of the inhabitants was demonstrated by the firing of rockets, bonfires, &c. in the midst of which, the glorious intelligence arrived, that Virginia had erected the Tenth Pillar of the Grand Federal Edifice; on which, repeated and animated shouts of joy burst from the throng, the curling flames more boldly climb'd the heavens, and the blazing rocket ascended with accelerated velocity.

The inhabitants retired, and all was hushed, at a season, which proved, that their rejoicings were the dictates, not of wild enthusiasm, but of sober reason.

1. Excerpts from this account, including the news of Virginia ratification, were reprinted in the Boston *Independent Chronicle,* 10 July, and *Massachusetts Gazette,* 15 July.

310. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 8 July 1788[1]

Havre de-Grace, July 5, 1788.

The agreeable news of the tenth pillar being added to the federal fabric, yesterday the glorious era of American independence, the respectable inhabitants of the country, in union with those of the town, convened here, to testify their reciprocal joy on this decided and important occasion—A neat and symbolical procession was formed by the various orders and professions of people, and with martial music and streamers displayed, they proceeded contiguous to the Banks of Susquehanna, where an ox was prepared for the refreshment of the company.—Mutual good will, and the rising glory of America, appeared to pervade every heart, and gladen every countenance, whilst the majestic Chesepeak in one view, and the boundless and luxuriant Susquehanna on the other, anticipated to every generous breast the future growing celebrity of this elegant and unrivalled spot—The following toasts were drank—

1. May the agreeable recollections of this day be as lasting as time!
2. Liberty and happiness to all the world.
3. The man of the people—George Washington, Esquire.
4. The memory of the departed patriots.
5. Industry, agriculture, and commerce.
6. The arts and sciences of America.
7. Wise rectors and virtuous citizens.

8. May good example always be imitated.
9. May federalism every where be triumphant.
10. Success to Havre-de-Grace.

1. This item also appeared in the *Maryland Journal* on the same day and was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 14 July.

311. John Brown to John Smith
New York, 9 July 1788 (excerpts)[1]

I was this day favor'd with yours of the 1st. Instant from Richmond for which accept my warmest thanks. . . .

I thank you for the Journal of the Virga. Convention containing the Ratification of & proposed Amendments to the New Constitution—the proceedings of that Body were recd. here with every possible mark of Joy—This State is still in Session what the result of their deliberations will be is as yet very uncertain. N. Carolina will doubtless adopt it. . . .

1. RC, Brown Papers, CtY.

312. Northampton, Mass., Hampshire Gazette, 9 July 1788

On the *28*th ult. the Convention of Virginia ratified the Federal Constitution, by a majority of ten.

313. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 9 July 1788

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

314. Massachusetts Spy, 10 July 1788[1]

The TENTH Federal Pillar!

The federal Constitution is now adopted and ratified by Ten States, viz. Newhampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Newjersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Southcarolina and Georgia. The state Convention of Newyork is now sitting—Northcarolina meets this month—and Rhodeisland talks of calling a legal Convention to determine the fate of the Constitution.

The greatest rejoicings that were ever known in this country, have been in all the capital towns in the United states, on account of the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Ninth and Tenth states. This great event will stand unrivalled in history—a revolution of the kind we have no record of. The present era is one of the most important of our country, and bids fair greatly to promote our political happiness.

1. The second paragraph was reprinted in the *Virginia Herald,* 24 July, and *Virginia Centinel,* 6 August. Outside Virginia, the first paragraph appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 19 July, and the second in eight newspapers between 11 and 24 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), Pa. (2).

315. Providence United States Chronicle, 10 July 1788

By Capt. George Allen, in the Polly Packet, who arrived from New-York last Saturday afternoon, we received the important Intelligence of the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, by our venerable Sister VIRGINIA—Majority in the Convention 10—88 voting for the Constitution and 78 against it.—The Vote was taken a Day or two before the Arrival of the Intelligence from New-Hampshire—otherwise it is probable the Majority would have been much larger.—This important News was announced to the Town by a Discharge of 10 Cannon from Col. Tillinghast's Park of Artillery, and the Ringing of all the Bells in Town;—which immediately collected a vast Concourse of People on FEDERAL-HILL, where 10 more heavy Cannon were fired;—and all those on the Hill, accompanied by the Students from the College, immediately formed themselves into a Procession, and with Drums beating and Colours flying, marched over the River to a Plain on the West Side of the Town, where being formed into a hollow Square, they gave 3 loud Huzzas.—The Procession then marched down Westminster Street, over the River, down to the lower End of the Town, up the Back Street to the upper End of the Town.—In passing the Rev. Mr. HITCHCOCK's Mansion-House, the whole Line gave 3 Cheers, to shew their Sense of the Oration he had pronounced the preceding Day.—The Procession then moved down the Main Street, until it came opposite the Court-House—having in the March through all the Streets received large Accessions of Numbers.—At the Back of the Court-House, and opposite Mr. Daggett's Tavern, the Procession formed in a Line, and were regaled with a Quantity of excellent Punch—After which they marched down to the Bridge, where being formed in a solid Column, they gave 10 hearty Cheers, in Honor of the 10 States which have adopted the Constitution, and then dispersed to their respective Homes.—The Procession was formed without any previous Arrangements—the Old and Young—the Rich and Poor, united together in hearty Acclamations on this happy Event.—Nearly 1000 Persons were present.

316. Connecticut Norwich Packet, 10 July 1788

Chelsea, July 5, 1788.

On receiving the highly agreeable and interesting intelligence, this day, that the State of Virginia had ratified the new Constitution, a number of respectable characters in this place and the vicinity, federally disposed, met

at 4 o'clock P.M. and partook of an entertainment provided on the occasion, at which were drank the following toasts; with discharge of cannon, ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy, viz.

1. The ten States who have adopted the new Constitution.
2. The worthy characters who composed the Constitution.
3. A speedy accession of the three remaining Pillars.
4. May perpetual harmony subsist between these United States.
5. May Agriculture and Commerce greatly flourish under the new Constitution.
6. Our worthy Allies.
7. May Justice and Liberty characterise these United States.
8. May the American Flag be respected in every part of the world.
9. May America ever afford an assylum to the distressed.
10. May Peace, Liberty and Plenty ever be the potion of the inhabitants of these States.

The day concluded with great good humour and festivity.

317. New York Journal, 10 July 1788

We are happy in being able, this day, to present the proposed amendments to the constitution by the state of Virginia.

318. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 10 July 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from a correspondent, in Tarborough (N.C.) June 29, 1788.

"We were informed last night by the arrival of the post, that the state of Virginia had ratified the new Constitution.—The satisfaction felt by each inhabitant of the town, in consequence of this information, was immediately made evident by the discharge of cannon, huzzas, &c. &c.

"A greater degree of unanimity, was perhaps never discovered on any occasion.—'May the Federal Constitution flourish!' was the general cry re-echoed through every quarter of the town."

1. This item probably first appeared in the no longer extant Petersburg *Virginia Gazette,* 10 July. It has been transcribed from the *Pennsylvania Mercury,* 19 July, which reprinted it under a Petersburg, 10 July, dateline. It was also reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 21 July.

319. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 10 July 1788[1]

On the 4th instant (July) the Dinwiddie cavalry, commanded by Capt. Gill, and the Prince-George cavalry, commanded by Captain Jones, assem-

bled in this town, for the purpose of celebrating the anniversary of American Independence.—In the evening they paraded, and after having performed the different evolutions, firings, &c. they marched through town; after which the company retired to an adjacent spring, where an entertainment was provided—and the evening was closed with that harmony and good fellowship, which we hope will ever distinguish our military citizens.

From a Correspondent.

On the arrival of the intelligence at Portsmouth, of this state having adopted the new constitution, the inhabitants of that town being convened, agreed to celebrate the joyful event, and the anniversary of our independence, on the 4th of July; accordingly the morning was ushered in by the discharge of 13 cannon from a battery under the direction of Captain Timpson—At 10 o'clock the inhabitants, assisted by a number of their friends from the country, assembled at the Market Hall, and formed a PROCESSION in the following manner:

Band of Music.
Farmers and Gardeners, sowing seed.
Two ploughs with horses.
Butchers leading an ox, decorated with ribbons.
Fishermen.
Bakers.
Brewers and Distillers.
Inspectors.
Merchants and Factors.
Vendue Masters.
Ship Carpenters and Caulkers.
Ship Joiners.
Boat Builders.
Sail Makers.
Pilots.
Block Makers.
Harbour and Ballast Masters.
Nailors, with the implements of their occupation,
and at work upon a machine constructed
for the purpose, inscribed with this motto,
"May the Nail of Union be driven by the
Hammer of Virtue."
SHIP FEDERALIST,
Drawn by Ten Horses.
Commanded by Captain RALPH PIGOT,
and manned by Officers and Seamen

belonging to the Port.
Ship Masters.
Mates and Seamen.
Commissioners of the Marine Hospital.
House Carpenters.
Masons, Bricklayers and Plaisterers.
Painters and Glaziers.
Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers.
Wheelwrights and Turners.
Coopers at work upon a cart, with a flag inscribed
with this motto, "Prosperity to all
True Federalists."
Hatters.
Taylors and Habit Makers with their
implements, at work.
Shoe and Boot Makers.
Tanners, Curriers and Leather Dressers.
Sadlers and Harness Makers
Peruke Makers and Hair Dressers.
Gold and Silversmiths.
Watch and Clock Makers.
Gun Smiths and Lock Smiths.
Tallow Chandlers and Soap Boilers.
Draymen and Carters.
Searche[r]s.
Physicians and Surgeons.
Clergymen of every denomination.
Lawyers.
School Masters with scholars, globes and books.
Town Clerk.
Trustees.
Magistrates and Strangers.
Constables with their staves.
The procession closed by the Portsmouth Volunteers,
commanded by Captain Harper.

In this manner the procession advanced until its arrival at the town Point, when a salute of ten guns was discharged from the ship Federalist, and returned by a like number from the battery, which was followed by ten rounds from the Volunteers; after which the company retired to a repast,

and spent the day in the greatest harmony and festivity. The ships in the harbour decorated with the flags of different nations, made a most brilliant appearance. At sun set 13 cannon were discharged from the battery, the evening concluding with illuminations, bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy. The thanks of the inhabitants of Portsmouth are justly due to Samuel Davis, Esquire, chairman, and the gentlemen of the federal committee; also to John Kearnes, Esq. marshal, for their management on this occasion.

1. This item was transcribed from the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 21 July which published it under the dateline, "PETERSBURG, July 10." It was probably printed in the no longer extant Petersburg *Virginia Gazette,* 10 July.

320. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 10 July 1788[1]

Friday last being the 4th of July, and the Annaversary of American Independence, the day was ushured in by the discharge of 13 cannon, and at 12 o'clock 13 more. A dinner was provided at the Eagle Tavern, by Mr. Robert Anderson, for a very numerous company, to celebrate the day, and to testify their joy on the adoption of the Fœderal Constitution. On the close of the day 10 more guns were fired, in respect to the states which had adopted the Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 16 July; *New York Journal,* 18 July.

321. Connecticut Gazette, 11 July 1788[1]

At the publication of this paper, the public rejoicing of this city on the accession of *ten States* to the *New Constitution,* both just commenced—Guns firing, bells ringing, &c. &c. particulars we have not time to announce to the public.

1. Reprinted in the *Boston Gazette,* 21 July, and New York *Daily Advertiser,* 24 July.

322. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 11 July 1788 (excerpt)

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Maryland to his friend in this city, dated July 6.

"It was for a long time doubtful whether the convention of Virginia would embrace the new federal faith or not, and it was carried at last but by a very small majority. They have however clogged it with a bill of rights and some considerable amendments, which have damped the spirits of many of our furious and zealous federalists. . . ."

323. Maryland Journal, 11 July 1788[1]

FREDERICK, JULY 7.

The glad Tidings of the complete Adoption of the Federal Government, by the Accession of Virginia and New-Hampshire, having reached this Place, the Friends of the Government determined to celebrate the most interesting Event. Fortunately the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence being nearly arrived, they resolved to consolidate the Rejoicings on those two memorable Acts. A Dinner was prepared, the 4th Instant, on the Cannon-Hill, about Two o'Clock, where a respectable Number of the Inhabitants met and dined together in the most perfect Harmony; and the Remainder of the Day was spent with great Mirth and good Humour.

The following Toasts were drank after Dinner, and an 28-Pounder was fired, on a Signal being given, after each Toast:

1. The Ten Confederating States.
2. The speedy Accession of New-York and North-Carolina; and the Revival of Public Virtue in the remaining 13th State.
3. May there be no further Obstruction to the complete Organization of the Federal Government.
4. May the Saviour of America gratify the ardent Wishes of his Countrymen, by accepting that Post which the Voice of Mankind has assigned him.
5. The King and Nation of France.
6. The Memory of the deceased Heroes, and Patriot-Statesmen of America.
7. The surviving Officers and Soldiers of the late American Army.
8. The Framers and Supporters of the Federal Plan of Government.
9. May the late Opposers of the Federal Government exhibit an Example of Candour and Patriotism.
10. May the Example of the New World enlighten the nations of the Old; and may America remain an Asylum for the injured and oppressed of every other Country.

1. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 19 July, and *Pennsylvania Mercury,* 22 July.

324. New Hampshire Spy, 12 July 1788[1]

FEDERALISM OF NEWMARKET.

We hear from *Newmarket,* that a number of our brethren, the respectable inhabitants of that town, upon receiving intelligence of the ratification of the new Constitution by the State of Virginia, assembled at the house of General HILL, where they regaled themselves in a very decent manner,

partook of some *federal punch,* and drank TEN *federal* toasts, suited to the joyous occasion. Every countenance wore an aspect expressive of the joy which animated their hearts, whilst the propriety of their conduct marked them as Federalists and friends to order and good government.

1. Reprinted in the *Boston Gazette,* 21 July.

325. Jean Baptiste Petry to Comte de la Luzerne
Charleston, S.C., 13 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We have just learned, My Lord, that Virginia has ratified the Constitution by a majority of 10 Votes, (78 Against 68). according to this intelligence the Convention of North Carolina which is to assemble on the 21st of this month will not have, as I had the honor to inform you, the option of rejecting it. Its opposition still Continues with Violence. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Affaires [90?]trangeres, Correspondance Consulaires, BI 372, Charleston, Vol. I, ff. 293–98, Archives Nationales, Paris. This letter, dispatch number 55, was docketed as received on 12 October.

326. Charleston, S.C., Columbian Herald, 14 July 1788

Extract of a letter from Wilmington, North-Carolina,
received by Capt. Swain, who arrived yesterday afternoon:

"The northern post brings intelligence, that the state of Virginia has adopted the *Constitution,* by a majority of ten."

327. Pennsylvania Mercury, 15 July 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from Head of Elk, July 7.

"Your late favour came duly to my hand, fraught with good news of the ratification of the Federal Government by New-Hampshire—and at the same instant of time, I received a letter from Richmond, with the additional felicity of the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia, which pleasing event drew together a number of your old friends and acquaintances; and as the Anniversary of Independence was at hand, we agreed to celebrate the glad tidings on that memorable day. Accordingly, on the 4th of July, the meeting was opened by prayers, and a sermon very suitable to the occasion by the Rev. Joseph Cowden, from these words, 'Stand fast in the delivery, wherewith Christ hath made you free.'

"The principal part of the audience, and some hundred ladies and gentlemen of this county, proceeded to a rural situation on the banks of Elk, where an elegant repast was provided, and joyously partook of. Every coun-

tenance was expressive of the satisfaction and felicity they experienced on the occasion—and the following toasts were drank attended with the discharge of cannon.

"1. The Fœderal Constitution. 2. The States which have adopted the Constitution. 3. A speedy ratification by the remaining three States. 4. The illustrious George Washington. 5. His most Christian Majesty and our other allies. 6. A speedy revival of public and private credit. 7. Wise Federal Laws, and may they be well executed. 8. The memory of those who fell in defence of American Liberty. 9. May the American flag be respected in every part of the globe. 10. May the Liberty of America be perpetual. May the virtues of her sons remain unshaken, and her daughters be blessed with good husbands.[a] 12. May the seat of the Federal Government be fixed at the junction of the three states, viz. Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. 13. The federalists throughout America, as well as freedom of conscience.

"After a short interval, volunteer toasts were drank to the ten states in union, under the ratification of the New Constitution, agreeable to their several orders of time, under the discharge of cannon.—The assembly then returned home in the greatest harmony of spirits, highly pleased with the day, as well as with the joyous occasion."

(a) The junction of the three states, alluded to in the 12th toast, is on a high, commanding, healthy country, a few miles north west of the village of New Ark, and north of Elkton; and as the Old Ark saved the elect in the Old World, so may a NEW ARK be erected to save the United States from a deluge of anarchy.

1. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* 16 July, and *New York Morning Post,* 17 July.

328. Maryland Journal, 15 July 1788

TALBOT, July 7, 1788.

On Monday, the 30th of June, we received the joyful and interesting Intelligence of the Ratification of the Federal Government by the States of Virginia and New-Hampshire. Words are too weak to describe, and none but the federal Heart can conceive, the Transport and Extacy that instantly glowed in every Countenance.—It was immediately proposed and agreed, that this great and auspicious Event should be celebrated on the succeeding Friday, being the Anniversary of our Freedom and Independence.—Accordingly on Friday, the 4th of July, a Number of Gentlemen assembled at Talbot, the County Town, where an elegant Dinner was prepared at Mr.

Corner's Tavern.—The utmost Hilarity, Joy and Heart-felt Satisfaction prevailed during the Repast, each Man congratulating his Neighbour, and others, on the pleasing Prospect now opening to us. Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures, with all their smiling Train, rose in Succession to our warmed Fancies, and excited Sensations above all Description.—Dinner being over, the following Toasts were drank under a Discharge of Cannon.—

1st. The Federal Government.—*May it last as long as Time itself, and be the Source of endless Felicity to the Citizens of America.*

2d. The late Federal Convention.—*May their Virtue be transmitted to the latest Posterity, and may every American retain a grateful Sense of their patriotic Exertions.*

3d. The late Convention of Maryland.—*May their Firmness be rewarded by seeing good Government and Happiness established in their Country.*

4th. The United States of America.—*May they ever be the Seat of Liberty, Learning and Virtue, and may they prove an Asylum to all who fly to them.*

5th. The Federalists throughout the Union.—*May all their Hopes for Happiness under the Federal Government be realized; and may their Choice of a President, Vice-President, and Legislature of the United States, be a happy Presage of their future Prosperity.*

6th. Louis XVIth, King of France.—*May he continue to be the Friend of invaded Liberty and oppressed Virtue.*

7th. George Washington, Esq;—*May he long live, and add Lustre to the highest Seat in the Temple of Fame.*

8th. The Friends of the United States of America all over the World.—*May* THEY *continue their Friendship, and* WE *continue to deserve it.*

9th. To the Memory of our fallen Heroes and departed Friends.—*May the Blood they have shed, and the Struggles they have made for American Liberty, cement our Union, and stimulate us to deserve so worthy Beneactors.*

10th. The States that have not yet confederated.—*May they have Wisdom to discern, and Virtue to imitate, the noble Conduct of their Sister States.*

11th. John Adams, Esq;—*A welcome Return to this worthy Veteran in the Cause of America.*

12th. Mr. Jefferson.—*May all his Wishes for American Happiness be fulfilled, and all his Endeavours be crowned with Success.*

13th. The Anniversary of American Independence.—*May the annual Return of this Day excite us to great and noble Actions, and may we ever retain a grateful Sense of the Merits of those who have made it conspicuous in the American Calendar.*

Nothing could exceed the Joy and Harmony that prevailed on this happy Occasion, till nearly at the Conclusion, Two worthy Men, who most cheerfully had served as Artillery-Men, were wounded by the accidentally going off of a Gun, that had not been properly wormed and sponged—One of these poor Men had his Arm so terribly shattered, that the Surgeons, who were happily of the Company, were obliged immediately to take it off; the other had the first Joint of his Thumb, with which he was stopping the Touch-Hole, blown off—But we have the Consolation to know that these unfortunate Men will have every Attention and Assistance given them by the Surgeons, that feeling Hearts and a perfect Knowledge of their Business can afford them—The Business of this festive Day being over, and the unhappy Sufferers properly taken Care of, the Company parted in the utmost good Humour, and with the fullest Confidence that the Revolution of 1788, will be attended with much more important Consequences to the Interests of Mankind in general, than that of 1688 was to Great-Britain in particular.

329. John O'Connor's Fourth of July Speech
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 16 July 1788[1]

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

1. In 1789, writing as "A Citizen of America," John O'Conner included this speech in a pamphlet entitled *Political Opinions, Particularly respecting the Seat of Federal Empire* . . . ([Georgetown], 1789) (Evans 22072). Significant differences between the pamphlet and newspaper versions are indicated in the notes below and in the notes to the printed excerpt (RCS:Va., 1740).

[Footnotes 2 and 3 are cited within the Facsimile itself.]

2. The pamphlet continues with an additional sentence: "This is a conclusion no man conversant in history will dispute" (p. 47).

3. The pamphlet continues: "and jealousy separated and scattered that power, which, co-centered, might prove invincible" (p. 49).

330. Boston Independent Chronicle, 17 July 1788[1]

We hear from Marlboro' that on the arrival of intelligence, that *Virginia* had ratified the Constitution, several musquets were immediately employed in echoing the grateful tidings. The firing soon excited the curiosity of those industrious husbandmen, to know the occasion; one left the field; another sent his son; others went with *all* their sons, equip'd for joining the part, if the design appeared laudable. A very considerable number of the most reputable inhabitants being thus collected, the countenance of each animated the rest, 'till the honest effusions of joy rose so high, as to render the interposition of sedate commanders necessary, to check, or rather to regulate their exultations. Major SAWIN, and Capt. WILLIAMS being present, they

took seperate commands. The proceedings of the afternoon being agreed upon, and the several manœuvres planned by the commanders, a spirited skirmish commenced; the Major attempted to form, but finding it impracticable, and being unable to stand the fire, retreated, disputing every inch of ground near a mile. The caprice of fortune seem'd to assist him in collecting his men in a moment, and forming a front which allured victory to perch upon his plume. The dispute, by volleys and plattoons, glow'd incessant, 'till the Capt. gave way, and retired with as much confusion as he had ever seen exemplified by his enemy. The whole was conducted with great decency and good humour. The remainder of the day was spent in such expressions of joy, and civil recreations as were dictated by genuine *federalism*: whatever, therefore, they *have said,* or *done,* relative to the New Constitution, cool and deliberate examination has made them *federalists.* They did not embrace it rashly: they weighed the matter, and the above is the result, the scale of antifederalism "*hop'd up and kick'd the beam.*"

The following patriotic Toasts were drank.

1. The Federal Constitution.
2. May Independence and American Liberty, be as lasting and extensive as her Territories.
3. His Excellency the Governour, and Commonwealth.
4. His Excellency General Washington.
5. Our Illustrious Allies.
6. General Brooks, and the officers and soldiers of the third Division.
7. May the Thirteenth Pillar soon be erected.
8. May the Electors for President and Vice President be mindful of such worthy characters, as a Washington and a Hancock.
9. May the New Congress, so regulate our trade as that unity of sentiment and interest may subsist between the Farmer, Merchant and Mechanick.
10. May our Manufactures be encouraged.
11. The tenth Pillar.
12. Arts and Sciences.
13. May universal Peace, Liberty and Concord, extend throughout the World.

1. This item, without the toasts, was reprinted in the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury,* 22 July, and *Pennsylvania Packet,* 15 August.

331. Providence United States Chronicle, 17 July 1788

Mr. WHEELER, A Number of Gentlemen (firm Friends to good Government) who were Passengers on board the Polly Packet, George Allen, Master, which brought the Intelligence to Providence of the Adoption of the Fed-

eral Constitution by Virginia; on the 2d Instant after Dinner drank the following Toasts—which you are desired to publish.

Onboard the Polly, on her Passage from N. York to Providence, July 2, 1788.

1. The President of the United States of America—may he ever shine in the Annals of Fame.
2. May Peace and Harmony reign from the Eastern to the Western Boundaries of America, till Time shall be no more.
3. May the Members of the Grand Council of America be endowed with Wisdom to hold the Reins of Government, in a Manner the most conducive to the public Weal of this infant, but growing Empire.
4. Confusion to all Enemies of good Government.
5. May the *three* delinquent Branches of the *old* speedily become Members of the *new Union*.
6. May the FOURTH of JULY ever be dear to Americans.
7. May the whole World be united as one great Family.
8. Rest to the Heroes who fell in the late American Contest.
9. May the Daughters of America ever be as celebrated for Virtue, Merit and Beauty, as her Sons have been for Skill and Courage in Battle.
10. May the Sons of America be as distinguished for Agriculture and Manufactures in Time of Peace, as for Bravery and good Conduct in War.

332. A Plebeian
Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 17 July 1788[1]

Of all the congratulations that I have ever read on the return of a *great man* to his native country, the one contained in your paper of the 10th instant, under Boston, June 19th, does exceed. Whoever was the scribe, it is certainly a debt due his abilities, to set the congratulatory performance to music; as I know of no other method so likely to perpetuate a record of his literary skill, and at the same time, of furnishing us with an eulogium on the services rendered the United States by Mr. Adams; particularly in his *book* which shews the great number of defects in the American Constitutions, and the *perfection* of the English one. My imagination is caught up above the clouds, when I behold the word "*Exellency*" mentioned *fourteen times* in such a concise account: This word, if well placed in a Federal Sonata, would make the vital current thrill along the veins of *us* poor vassals, infinitely quicker than any of the Italian airs: But soft—Has the Minister brought no title from Europe, superior to that of "*Excellency?*"—nor present either from Prince, or Potentate? Bless me, he must have had much philosophy, and great self

denial, for we read in his *own book,* that "men of letters deserve much praise," and that "Monarchies and Aristocracies *pay well,* and *reward liberally*"—["]But whither am I going—Dare I take in vain the name of his Demi-Majesty?—Demi-Majesty! (I sit corrected) he will be Majesty itself, or all his constitutional works of *political faith,* and great fervors of *monarchical love,* will be unrewarded." "Treason! Treason! Treason!" But is there no forgiveness? I implore the riches of his goodness! Ha! he is a lawyer, I will see him: But hold—where is the money?—The money?—That's true—what will be done? O! an Ambassador has ample powers; aye, he will negociate for me; I don't fear them; he must prevail, for he is "*well born.*"

Petersburg, July 15.

1. "A Plebeian" has been transcribed from the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer,* 1 August, which printed it under the heading "From the VIRGINIA GAZETTE." Since "A Plebeian" dated his article "*Petersburg, July* 15," it is likely that it first appeared in the no longer extant 17 July issue of the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*—the paper that appeared immediately after the 10 July issue mentioned by "A Plebeian."

333. Georgia State Gazette, 19 July 1788

It is with the greatest pleasure we inform the public, that on Wednesday the 25th of June last, the Convention of Virginia adopted the Federal Constitution. Yeas 82. Nays 72. Majority 10.

334. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 22 July 1788[1]

Last night was received from Virginia, the agreeable news of the ratification of the new constitution by that state, on the 25th ult. by a majority of ten. On this joyful occasion the bells of the different churches in this city [New York City] began to ring at half after three this morning, and at sun rise a salute of ten guns was fired from the fort, in honor of those states who have adopted the constitution.

1. The *City Gazette* printed this item under a New York, 2 July, dateline. It might originally have appeared in the no longer extant 2 July issue of the *New York Morning Post.*

335. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 24 July 1788[1]

The general joy which has diffused throughout America, in consequence of the adoption of the New Constitution, is a striking proof of that philanthropic disposition, which has hitherto so eminently distinguished the enlightened patriots of America—Willing to relinquish whatever might be found necessary for the preservation of the whole, they have generously

given up all local advantages, with a firm and determined resolution of supporting the union, and establishing that friendship and reciprocity of interest, which cannot but contribute to the general welfare. Fears and apprehensions have arisen in the minds of those, whose characters deserve our highest veneration, from the powers vested in the general government by this constitution: but these, if they are found dangerous to our liberties, will doubtless be removed; for America has yet citizens who have wisdom and circumspection enough to discern them. Our first and principal care ought to be, in being watchful of whom we trust—and to choose none but those who are undeniably friends to the rights of human nature. Those who wish to preserve their liberty, ought to remember, that their dignity, their honor, and happiness, rests with those they appoint to represent them.—And let the government be what it will, if the representatives are virtuous, the people may live happy. But when the citizens neglect this great and important privilege, and forget that they are freemen, designing men may step into authority—that predominant principle, ambition, will most assuredly follow, and usurpation must be the natural consequence.

1. This article has been transcribed from the 2 August issue of the *Pennsylvania Journal* which printed it under a Petersburg, 24 July dateline. It probably first appeared in the no longer extant 24 July issue of the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette.* The article was also reprinted in the Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal,* 6 August. Immediately below the article, the printer of the *Freeman's Journal* inserted this paragraph in square brackets: "*There is no great danger but men will be honest if they dare not be villains. Lead us not into temptation is a petition that would not only suit our rulers, but for their creators.*"

336. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 24 July 1788[1]

On Monday last the Convention of the state of North-Carolina met at Hillsborough. We learn, there is a considerable majority of the members of that convention against the new government—but the supporters of it have great hopes, since this state has acceded to it. Had Virginia rejected the government, it is generally agreed, that North-Carolina would certainly have followed her; but that state having South-Carolina on one side and Virginia on the other, might it is feared, place herself in a disagreeable situation by rejecting the government altogether—it is therefore expected, that some mode of reconciliation will be concluded on, so as to render it more satisfactory to the opposition.

1. Reprinted in twenty-six newspapers by 21 August: N.H. (1), Mass. (5), R.I. (3), Conn. (6), N.Y. (1), Pa. (9), Md. (1). Excerpts also appeared in the nationally circulated Philadelphia *American Museum* and the *Germantauner Zeitung.* Because the issue of the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette* for 24 July is not extant, this item was transcribed from the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer,* 1 August, which reprinted it under a Petersburg, 24 July, dateline.

337. Adam Boyd to Jonathan Trumbull
New London, Conn., 29 July 1788 (except)[1]

. . . In Virginia the opposition, I believe, would have succeeded but that the governor's patriotism was superior to his pride and determined him to relinquish his first opinion rather than hazard the union. Pride or rather vanity strengthened Mr. Henry's resolution, which, it is evident, he had originally made on selfish principles. He saw he could not succeed, & that a failure would greatly affect his popularity: and not having candor enough to confess his error, he took the desperate part & fought hard to the last. This is the representation of some of my acquaintance there; and tho' I should be sorry a man so gifted as Mr. Henry is, should deserve the character, yet I believe it is the truth, or very near to it.

In N Carolina the convention is now sitting: but I am afraid the grand question will be lost. By far the largest portion of wisdom & knowledge possest by the convention, is the absolute property of the Federalists: but many of the others are bound by their constituents to vote against it, and ignorance is as obstinate, as it is unsuseptible of reason & judgment. The decision however of Virginia is favorable for N. Carolina: for that state commonly follows the *Ancient Dominion*. . . .

1. RC, Trumbull Papers, CtHi.

338. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 30 July 1788[1]

Extract of a letter from Washington, N.C. dated July 1, 1788.

"The news of Virginia having ratified the New Constitution came to hand yesterday, and diffused general joy amongst the inhabitants of this town, which they signified by a discharge of nine guns in honour of the Nine States which had ratified the Constitution, and a tenth in gratitude to the Grand Convention which formed it. In the evening the artillery was moved to Horn's Tavern, where a great number of the inhabitants met and discharged ten more guns, after which the following toasts were drank—

1. The late F'deral Convention.
2. The New Constitution.
3. The Nine wise and virtuous States which have adopted the same.
4. May the wisdom and virtue of the Nine which have adopted the New Constitution pervade the remaining Four.
5. The Continental Congress.
6. His Excellency General Washington.

7. Our generous Ally the King of France.
8. May agriculture, manufactures and commerce flourish throughout the United States of America.
9. The memory of the worthies who have fallen in defence of America.
10. The friends of liberty throughout the world.

The evening was spent in the utmost harmony and good order."

1. This item, minus the toasts, was reprinted six times between 9 and 26 August: N.Y. (4), Pa. (2).

339. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 31 July 1788[1]

Considering the condition of our commerce and public credit, and that dangerous lethargy which has so long prevailed, every means ought to be employed to arouse the people to a sense of their duty—and restore to the American empire her wonted animation and vigour. If forms of government alone could ensure happiness, the citizens of America would have little reason to complain of their present situation:—For the rights of mankind have been no where more secure, nor the political equality of individuals more firmly established, than within the limits of our Federal Government. But when government is left to its natural operation, and the people slumber away their inherent rights, by a tacit acquiescence to whatever authority might think proper to impose,—they lose sight of that political jealousy which will preserve their freedom, and forget the means of improving those arts which render the absence of war delightful. While the principles of our government are attended to, by our citizens, and maintained in their original splendor, we have no reason to dread the turbulence of anarchy, the abuse of power, or the vicious inclinations of individuals—for we have neither a nobility to insult our feelings, nor a standing army to violate our darling birth-rights.—Every State should therefore act with wisdom, but they should maintain their resolutions with dignity—and unless they mean to quit the ensigns of authority to the first daring hand that should attempt to seize them—they should watch the early encroachments of power with attention and repel them with spirit.

1. This article was reprinted in the *New York Morning Post,* 16 August; Trenton, N.J., *Federal Post,* 19 August; and *Massachusetts Spy,* 28 August. The *Morning Post* and *Spy* reprinted it as an extract of a 31 July letter from Petersburg.

340. Governor Edmund Randolph to Governor George Clinton
Richmond, 6 August 1788[1]

Your excellency will oblige me much, if you will turn to the letter, which I wrote to you, inclosing the *law,* concerning our late convention. The original *resolutions* appear to have been transmitted on the 14th. of Novr. 1787; the law on the 27th. of decr. 1787. It has been reported here, that the law was witholden for a considerable time. The back of my letter will shew the day, on which it was put into the post office; and I am desirous of knowing the date, which is impressed by the postmaster. If your excellency can inform me of any reasons such as your absence from town &c, which could have prevented the letter from reaching your hands, as soon as it ought, I will thank you to add them. But I must beg your pardon for intruding on you upon a subject, which belongs not to the public, but myself only.

1. RC, J.S.H. Fogg Autograph Collection, Maine Historical Society.

341. Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 7 August 1788

Being informed by colonel John Mercer, that reports have been circulated in Maryland, that he (colonel Mercer) had written to his brother, James Mercer, Esq; informing him, that the people of Maryland were so averse to the new constitution of government recommended by the late federal convention, that they would take up arms against it; that this information had been communicated by some of the members, and particularly by me, to the Virginia convention; in consequence whereof some persons had come from the Virginia convention to Maryland, to make inquiry, and take depositions respecting it—I do hereby certify, that no such communication was made to the Virginia convention by me, nor by any other member, to my knowledge, nor any such measure as taking depositions in Maryland, mentioned, that I heard of, during my attendance in convention, which was very constant, from the beginning to the end of it.—That James Mercer, Esq; never communicated to me any letter from his brother colonel John Mercer, informing him, that the people of Maryland would take up arms against the said new government; nor do I believe that there is any foundation for the above mentioned reports, having never heard them in Richmond, or any where else, until this day, from colonel John Mercer himself.

Given under my hand, in Stafford county, in Virginia, this 8th day of June, 1788.

G. MASON.

This is the certificate I refer to in my certificate of this date.
July 8, 1788. JAMES MERCER.

July 8, 1788.

My brother, John Mercer, Esq; of Annapolis, having shewn me a certificate of colonel George Mason's (which, to identify, is subscribed with my name) in confirmation of what colonel Mason says, I do certify, I never received from my brother any such information, or to that purpose, as contained in colonel Mason's certificate, nor did I ever communicate to colonel Mason, or any other person, any such information—And I further certify, that though I was in the city of Richmond eight days during the sitting of the convention, and heard much out of doors conversation respecting the Maryland convention, and the sentiments of the people of that state, I never heard any think like the matter contained in colonel Mason's certificate, until I read the same when shewn to me by my brother.

JAMES MERCER.
Annapolis, July 29, 1788.

The foregoing certificates are not published with an intention to revive any question relative to the new continental government, or to disclaim or avow the opinion conveyed in the information imputed to me, but solely to expose the malice of those calumniators who fabricated and propagated the report. I have never written to but four persons in the state of Virginia respecting this government since its publication, nor is it mentioned but in seven letters (to the best of my recollection) and in some of these but slightly, being complicated with my private business. I have taken pains to regain what have written on this subject, and am in possession of all that has been received or preserved (as I believe) except one letter to governor Randolph, which I have written for. These letter[s], I now retain, for the perusal of any gentleman; and for the truth of the facts they contain, and the substantiality of the opinions delivered in them, I hold myself answerable to the public and individuals.—This measure is truly disagreeable and painful, particularly as it exposes letters highly confidential and of a private nature, but I know of no other method of effectually exposing the slanders which have been propogated respecting them.

JOHN F. MERCER.

342. Patrick Parker to James Parker
Norfolk, Va., 30 August 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I found every thing in Statu quo on my return—except ye State having adopted ye New Constitution a subject which gives universal satisfaction. in political matters Tempora mutaetur—Patrick Henry some time ago at ye Convention Said—"I supported my Country in ye Day of Danger against what I then deem'd British Tyranny yes I was a Rebell to my King—and

Sooner than give my Sanction to ye *New Constitution* Let me [be] Deemd a Rebell to *your* Congress"—he was powerfully supported by ye Backwoods members but many of them for once forsook him and Edmd Randolph contrary to the Opinion of Every body was ye most Stren[u]ous advocate it had. . . .

1. RC, Parker Family Papers, Liverpool Libraries, Liverpool, England.

343. Depositions in Disputed Louisa County Elections
Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 4 September 1788

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

344. Edward Carrington to James Monroe
New York, 15 September 1788 (excerpt)[1]

My Dear Friend

I now do myself the pleasure to return the Pamphlet, agreably to your request, which you was so kind as to favor me with the perusal of. Your remarks upon the old federal system perfectly accord with my ideas of that ilconcerted Fabric, and fully display the necessity for a change.

I sincerely wish we could as well associate our opinions as to the New Constitution: it is, however, by that comparison of ideas which you have done me the honor to propose, that so desirable an object is to be obtained, and whatever may be the difference between us upon this important subject, I yet acknowledge myself under much obligation for the extensive field you have opened to my view, discovering the quicksands & Rocks to be guarded against, in directing the ship we have launched.

You have gone deeply into the subject, and presented many points which still engage my serious contemplation: upon one or two of your objections I will, however, now submit some thoughts which occur to me. The power of direct Taxation is the first in magnitude—this, my dear Friend, is, in my estimation the vital principle of the Government; take it away and the Govt. must decline into nearly, the same contemptible situation which has characterized the old one, or the respon[si]bility of the State must be secured by means such as you have hinted, and seem to rely upon, but which in my opinion, would be utterly inconsistent with every idea of freedom: in the one case we shall have gained nothing by the change in regard to Revenue but the impost; in the other, Tyranny, which you so much dread will be established, or at least be introduced. You declare this power to be unnecessary, because, when the U.S possess considerable Revenues, & have at their command a Fleet & army, with the absolute controul of Trade, you cannot but suppose that their constitutional demands & requisitions, will be com-

plied with. as your reliance seems to be rested upon these circumstances of *power,* it is to be presumed you calculate upon the actual exercise of Military force, or that the States shall apprehend the exercise of it; or the apprehension of it by the States; in either case the compliance is to be effected under military influence: Now, my dr sir, would this entitle the Constitution to the republican character? to my conception of a free Govt. the accomplishment of all its internal purposes by the ordinary operation of Civil authorities, constitutionally created, is essential; and in the levies of Money, in particular, this ought to be the case. Nor do I agree with those Gentlemen who think that the right of the U.S to Tax, should be consequent only upon a failure in any State to comply with a requisition, for this would eventually lead to a necessity for the exercise of military force, if the money should be got at all.—place the business upon this footing, and the federal authority, in whatever shape it might be introduced, would come under the odious character of a minister of punishment—faith could not be placed in Citizens of the same State as agents—resort must be had to those of other States, not alike delinquent, & these could not be expected to effect any thing without military aid. But let the Genl. Govt. have, at once, the power of direct Taxation, such as the Constitution gives, and wise arrangements may be made for the collection, by agents who shall be respectable Citizens of the States in which they are respectively to act, say the sherifs or other collectors of the Counties who act under the authority of the State—one man may be vested with both authorities; the people will scarsely discern a difference between the one & the other power, and a ready obedience will be yielded. But, *perhaps,* the impost will be sufficient for all the purposes of the Union! why then give also a power to collect money by direct Taxation? should it prove that the impost be sufficient, there can arise no inconvenience from the other power being vested in the Fedl. Govt. because it will never the [i.e., be] exercised; But on the other hand should the impost prove deficient public ruin might ensue from a want of the command, constitutionally, of other resources,—it is therefore prudent to secure such a provision.—The most certain way to prevent oppressive strides of power, is to make a constitutional provision for every contingency.

Your difficulties upon the judiciary appear not to have been brought to any decided objection—you suggest, however, a dependance upon the State Courts for carrying into effect the greatest part of the Laws of the Genl Govt—you do not say whether they ought in these cases to derive their authority from the Genl. Govt., & therefore I can not combat your opinions upon this point. my idea, is that all the Courts, upon which the Federal Laws depend for their execution, ought to derive their authorities from, & be

amenable to, the Federal Govt. and I think it would be wise to institute, the state courts, where they are well established, as the inferior Federal Courts;— here I pursue the principle which governed me as to the collection of Taxes, one that will diffuse the fedl. authority in full efficiency, and at the same time, will scarsely occasion a visible change in the accustomed police of the States. I perfectly agree with you that the *federal* Govt. which we are erecting, can only be successful by preserving a due distinction between the proper objects of it, & those of the State Govts. and it appears to me that the institution of the State Courts, where they are well established, into the inferior fedl. ones, will give us, at least a, flattering, prospect, that this discrimination will be kept—the Judges will feel an equal obligation & attachment to both authorities, and will be impartial, as well as able, guardians of each—but should the U.S. erect separate Courts the probability is, that bickerings will arise between the two jurisdictions: this, as you say is in the discretion of the Congress, & I trust, that that discretion, will be exercised properly.

Your remarks upon the Executive pretty fully accord with my ideas— have always thought that to assign a Council for the guide of the Chief Magistrate, who is to act by written Laws, is absurd, & that it, in fact, gives him a shelter from the consequences of the most flagrant abuses.

My further remark upon this subject will be reserved until I have the pleasure to see you in October, when I shall freely confer with you, and doubt not that many of the points upon which we now differ will be placed in different lights in the eyes minds of each. . . .

1. RC, Monroe Papers, DLC.

345. Harry Innes to Arthur Campbell
Danville, Ky., 19 September 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I am not now pleased with the Fœdral Government as a Citizen of Kentucky, the Eastern & Western Interests are in my view irreconcilable, & I know of no such doctrine in Politicks as Justice, of course there can be no such thing as an Equi Librium kept between the Eastern & Western parts of the Union, We have had a most glaring instance of their selfish contracted Policy—remember the Navigation of the Mississippi—I am authorised to say the same principles still continue, & what can we expect from the New System—there may be a change of men, but their Ideas will be the same, & when you reflect that the promoting of the Interest of the Western Country, will tend to almost a depopulation of the Eastern, we cannot even hope that our Interests will be considered. . . .

1. RC, Draper Manuscripts, King's Mountain Papers, WHi.

346. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 2 October 1788[1]

At no period since the establishment of our liberty were the affairs of our country more seriously interesting than now.—Congress having fixed on a time for commencing proceedings under the new constitution, it behooves every citizen to pay some attention to the important subject. The invaluable privilege of representation, the enjoyment of the rights of freemen, and the advantages of political liberty, have been already sufficiently impressed on our minds—they are blessings the most exalted and important which society can boast of, and ought to pervade and animate the citizens of every free government, for if these sacred rights are treated with indifference and inattention, we may have to lament that we ever became free and independent.—It is from a just and upright legislature that this country can expect to be relieved from her present embarrassments, and establish her future prosperity: and it is from that truly patriotic spirit which dignifies and adorns every friend of liberty, that we can preserve the blessings of peace and happiness.—Let us then with a becoming firmness investigate the characters of those candidates for power and preeminence, that may offer to represent us under the new constitution. To scrutinize those who may exhibit themselves to the public as the political guides of a whole community, is a duty we owe to mankind and our country: And if we should be so happy as to place our confidence in men of liberality, integrity and virtue, we may expect to transmit our independence to future generations—but if wicked men should step into authority, they will encourage animosities in every department of society, impede the progress of our government, obstruct all moral improvement, retard the operation of the most salutary laws, and promote the establishment of a government that may deprive us of all the privileges of freemen.

1. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal,* 15 October (excerpt); New Brunswick, N.J., *Brunswick Gazette,* 21 October; and Baltimore *Maryland Gazette,* 21 October. The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette* for 2 October is not extant; the article was transcribed from the *Maryland Gazette,* which reprinted it under the dateline "PETERSBURG, *October* 2."

347. Governor George Clinton to Governor Edmund Randolph
New York, 4 October 1788[1]

I received your Excellency's letter of the 6th. of August at the moment I was setting out to hold a Treaty with the Indians at Fort Stanwix in the Western Parts of this State, and from whence I did not return until Tuesday last. This has prevented me from giving you an earlier answer.

Your letter of the 27th. of December covering the law concerning your late Convention was not received by me until the 7th. of March—by the

stamp upon the cover, it appeared to have been committed to the Post Office in Richmond, but the impression was so faint, that this only could be discovered—the day or even month it was put in, did not appear.

On the 8th. of May I wrote to your Excellency in answer to that letter and put mine in the Post Office here—this letter, I presume, you have received and by recurring to it, you will observe that I have mentioned the day on which I received your letter and the circumstance of its appearing to have been committed to the Post Office in Richmond. Until that time, I had preserved the cover of your Excellency's letter, but having no farther use for it then, it was destroyed.

At the time of receiving your Excellency's Letter I was not indeed in this City. Our legislature was convened at Poughkeepsie about 80. miles from this place in the beginning of January—I almost constantly attended there until the following spring—and at that place I received your letter; this, however, could not have delayed its reception above two or three days, as a Mail passed thro' that town from New York to Albany twice a week, by which I had during my stay at Poughkeepsie received letters, forwarded thro' the medium of the Post Office at New York.

I am sorry that you have experienced any uneasiness respecting the delay of the delivery of your letter, and I wish, therefore, that I could account for it in a satisfactory manner. I can only add that while the new Constitution was in agitation, I have discovered that many letters written to me have never been delivered, and that others especially those which came by private conveyances, appeared to have been opened on their passage.

1. RC, Theodorus Bailey Myers Papers, NN.

348. A Supplemental Stanza to The New Constitution: A Song
Kentucky Gazette, 11 October 1788[1]

When Lucifer fell,
From Heaven to Hell,
And first cross'd the stygian ferry;
There fell with him too,
Among his curs'd crew,
His fav'rite prime Secretary.
Since that fatal time,
In prose and in Rhyme,
He has ne'er ceas'd in publishing evil;
But *this* song above all,
Proves dim still at a call,
The poetical Clerk of the devil.

1. "The New Constitution: A Song" originally appeared in the *Virginia Herald* about 10 January (RCS:Va., 299–302) and was reprinted in the *Kentucky Gazette,* 4 October.

349. Augustine Davis to Governor Edmund Randolph
Post Office, Richmond, 15 October 1788[1]

On Application of his Excellency Governor Randolph Esquire, to certify to the best of my Recollection, respecting sundry public Dispatches which his Excellency sent to this Office to be forwarded about the last of December, 1787, among which was a packet for Governor Clinton of New York, which Governor Clinton writes Governor Randolph he did not receive before the 7th of March following:—On recurring to my Office Book of letters forwarded, it appears that a Mail was made up for the Northward the 27th of December last (the Day which his Excellency thinks his Dispatches were dated and sent to the Office) and that in the Bill for New York was entered seven unpaid and one paid letter, amounting to 54 dwts. unpaid, and 12 dwts paid; which, from the number of letters and amt. of Dwts. sent to other States at the same time, it is probable that by the Mail of that Day were forwarded the Dispatches alluded to above.—But as the Superscriptions are never entered in the Office Book, I cannot say with certainty that his Excellency's Dispatches were actually forwarded on the 27th of December last; but do certify that all Letters &c. which were put into this Office on the day above mentioned for the Northern Mail, were forwarded that evening, and the mail sent to the Stage Office between nine and ten o'Clock at Night, the usual time of closing the Mail—Given under my Hand

1. RC, Executive Papers, Vi. Endorsement on wrapper: "October 18. 1788— / The inclosed papers, I wish / Mr. Blair to keep in the archives, / without putting them on record / E.R." Davis was postmaster for Richmond.

350. Honestus
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 29 October 1788

MR. DAVIS, The disposition which several of the states have shewn to enter into a general government for the mutual good of the whole, and the internal policy of some of the states, as things now stand, appearing to me opposed to its intended operation, makes me solicitous to communicate a few thoughts to the public on that head through the medium of your independent press; which even should they be improper, I hope, will never prove injurious to any but THE AUTHOR.

Oct. 24, 1788.

To the GOOD PEOPLE *of* VIRGINIA.

There is nothing which ought to employ the attention of a free people more than the subject of politics. Government is a business which can neither be too well understood, nor too well administered, *by any,* to set at naught the suggestions of all besides. Hence I am induced, once more, to call the attentions of my countrymen to some important points, which still remain untouched; and which, from their natural station on this new political globe, could not have turned up in the course of the late dispute about the constitution, and are therefore now subsequently due.

A general government is now adopted, which having had a full and fair discussion, exists by the will of a free and voluntary majority: whence it becomes the duty of all to support it. The very reasons for which some have opposed it, are now turned into the strongest arguments for their protecting it; since the principle of governing by the majority is the very essence of that republicanism for whose *dear existence sake* they had once contested its passage. But here too let it be remembered that with its adoption every former difference of opinion, about it, ought to be forgotten; and that so far from condemning all of those, on either side, who differed from the other, we ought to consider it now as a glorious proof of that American spirit and brotherly love for freedom, which only then divided us in opinion to unite us in our wishes. For nothing surely can tend more to the political security of a people than a thorough investigation of the government they are about to adopt, unless it be that concomitant one, of its having convinced those who are to administer it, what they have to expect from an undue exercise of those authorities, which in their most favorite light have met with so violent an opposition from a respectable part of the community.

But then, a bare acquiescence under this general government is not all that is necessary for its operation; neither is a mere general operation alone adequate to all its promised effects. A correspondency of state measures, together with such a general operation alone can produce them all. To look for perfection in a national government (however pure itself) while its municipal laws are bad, would be to seek a heaven on earth because the wicked world below is under the government of a pious one above. It would be an idle inconsistency indeed for any one to endeavor to impose himself on the world as a friend to a general, pure, and honest system over the whole, while at the same time he should *be* found to be an advocate for local, narrow, and even dishonest politics throughout a part; yet such will be found to be the inconsistency of the present times, to point out which, and shew the necessity of a different conduct in some of the individual states, are the principal objects of the present paper. And if in doing that I should use a

little asperity and warmth, let it be remembered that the reproaches of the pen, like the infamy of a gallows, can only be offensive where their applications are merited; and if strictly enquired into, would be found to have nearly the same votes for their mutal expulsion.

The principal objects of that new government, are, the establishment of private honesty, and punctuality among individuals, and public faith and justice throughout the states; neither of which are to be acquired by the mere adoption of a new, or an alteration of an old plan, as it is not by a sudden transition from bad to good that any government is to operate on the politics of a country; but by the general tendency that government has to improve both the morals and understandings of its citizens. Whence it becomes our immediate business to turn our eyes to those things which are most likely to lead us thither; and as the moral character is no way more sensibly wrought upon, than by the powerful means of example; and as it is only the example of those whom we see above us, that we ever hold worthy [of] imitation, it should be the first care of government to place the most exalted of its citizens, in that situation, which would produce that conduct in them, which would be the most laudable in all. And there is a happy medium between arrogance and meanness to be found, wherein those in office should be placed, to render them the worthy objects of imitation, as well as the impartial administers of that justice they are meant to execute. To have them placed beyond the influence of their political creators, and above the reach of bribery and corruption from those over whom they are to preside on the one hand; and to keep them indebted for their official existence to the rectitude and integrity of their own lives, on the other, is in the fullest degree sufficient to avoid either of those extremes; at the same time it creates a desire for those valuable improvements which may rear the lowest peasant in the state up to the highest pitch of grandeur in the government.

But alas! how different is our state policy from that? Instead of raising persons up to things, the most exalted things have been constantly let down to a level with the most humble persons; whence the whole of our system, instead of a government of wisdom, strength and justice, must at last become a scene of weakness and corruption.

Look round but a moment and behold the truths I assert? See your Judiciary, that independent and firm support of every free people, already languishing under the hands of ignorance and oppression, the members of it being on the point of abandoning their appointments through necessity; and the whole state rendered destitute of a future supply, by laws discouraging to improvement, and oppressive to every laudable endeavor!—while those who are content to drudge on with a more humble reputation to

support them, make a merit of conferring their services, where private convenience alone leads them. For oft have we seen the most zealous patriots, of this kind, launch forth in the service of their country to save it a *world of expence* by preventing *some poor county court clerk* from the means of keeping a *riding house,* who at the same time was husbanding a sufficient bank from a daily public pittance *himself* to encrease his private stock of slaves. Hence we are taught to believe, that the most liberal rewards of government are not the most likely to become the objects of penury and speculation among its citizens; but on the contrary, the most degraded, and worst rewarded places are most likely to become sacrificed to private interest, and turned into individual emolument; since they are an object only with the most ignorant and worthless, to whom the lowest salaries in government are more lucrative, than the highest would be to those who value the appointments for the credit they do their understandings, and not for the distance their profits overgo the wages of common hirelings.—Thus private policy, under the disguise of public œconomy, implants future ignorance and ignominy, while it levels every thing to the convenient height of a certain class of men, who have the inclination to officiate, without the ability or industry to aspire for it. From which, together with another consideration, we shall easily determine the *dignity,* the *purity,* and the *felicity* of our future political state. For whoever will look back, and behold the political Meriandrews of each former year advancing to the grand theatre of public life to act the farce of legislation, and will but make a *small comparison* between the insignificance of things, and the eminence of their probable destiny, will easily solve within himself all doubts about our future political salvation. Already indeed have we seen the first places in government no longer an object with any, who are qualified for them, save only a few *old broken down statesmen,* who like the worn-out steads of royal pageantry, would only now be harnessed with the homely trappings of a republican vehicle, to avoid toiling in a common dung cart for a scanty sustenance.

But this is not all. The same retrospective view will inform us of a still more melancholy truth. Under that loose mask of public œconomy, we have already observed the strongest features of private injustice, as well as public indignity, prevail. Nay even that conduct which common modesty had once taught to support the appearance of a kind of day-light honesty, has long since made its mid-night appearance at other times besides in Masquerade. During the late war it was held prudent to keep up appearances at least; and then it was we saw a virtuous army most bountifully fed and clothed *with resolutions*; a set of creditors most punctually paid with promises; and every class of citizens equally protected in their property. But with the dawn of peace immediately opened to our view the glaring light of that bad-candid-

truth which taught us to believe that all before were nothing else than the mere delusions of enchanting mist. For all was clear. Soldiers were forgot; creditors unpaid; citizens unjustly discriminated in your revenue laws; and with all a set of merchants plundered of their property under the vile pretence of salutary *inspection laws*—a new kind of public œconomy and benefit to the state;—while billiard-tables, dice boxes, and card-rooms overflowed with the drainings of a treasury prostrate at the will of a wanton Legislature. These are facts which nothing less than the general overflowings of Lethe can obliterate; and which, while extant, will blacken the page of mid-night iniquity itself. And these are proceedings which, if continued, will eventually subvert the very best constructed government on earth. Permit me then to hope, from the late instance you have given of your willingness and desire to alter a system so pernicious as this, that you will fully prove your seriousness in wishing the new Constitution to take effect, as well by your choice of an assembly to aid its operations, as by the vote you have lately given for its adoption. Let us hope to see through your present representation the strongest marks of justice and liberality shewn; and let us also hope to see that state policy, under the benign auspices of which, both integrity and knowledge may expand themselves to view, and finally diffuse their general influence through the system of the whole. May it be their first care then to encourage, instead of disheartening men from qualifying themselves to become an ornament, as well as a blessing to their country when acting in the public offices of the nation; but above all, may they make their judges independent, since it must be confessed they stand in need of it, as might clearly be proved from their secrecy, in the late appointment of *certain clerks,* as well as from their own public confession.

One thing however I shall take the liberty of cautioning you against. Some men in this and other states still dissatisfied at not having been noticed in the appointments to the late continental convention, may now propose the destruction of the new government under the pretence of an attempt to amend it.—Though even admitting their pretensions to be real, what have we to expect from their corrections? We have already seen how various are the opinions about the faults of that system; and if all its enemies have not been able yet to fix with precision which were its real faults, there is little chance that any thing less than experience should teach them which to amend. And even when that should be ascertained, another still greater mischief might arise—How far in this conjecture however I may be mistaken, I will not undertake to say, as I pretend to no great depth in political affairs; but in all the common concerns of life which bear the least resemblance to them, I would venture to predict it would happen nine times out of ten—as I have seen many an excellent suit of clothes by falling into the

hands of some poor awkward miserable genius of a tailor, from being sufficient to have clad a GIANT, so mangled and distorted as to fall below the standard of the most pitiful *dwarf*.

351. Virginia House of Delegates Proceedings on a Resolutions on a Second Constitutional Convention, 30 October 1788[1]

◆ *To view this document, see Evans 22226, or visit the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection at https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Constitution*

1. *Journal of the House of Delegates* [20 October–30 December 1788] (Richmond, 1789), 12–13 (Evans 22226).

352. Draft of Virginia House of Delegates Resolutions on a Second Constitutional Convention, 30 October 1788[1]

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

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Resolutions Calling Convention for Amendments to Constitution, Vi.

353. Edmund Pendleton to Nathaniel Pendleton, Jr. Edmundsbury, Caroline County, Va., 25 November 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . When the Constitution for the fœdral Government first past Our people expressed their General approbation of it, from a *confidence* in the Convention—the two Members withholding their Signature At first gave some Alarm, but it seem'd to turn into blame agt. them, as three of their Members, & among those the beloved General, had signed it. however it's friends being generally temperate & inactive, & opposers furious & active, Occasioned uneasiness in the minds of many good Citizens; however I believe the Majority wch. appeared in Convention, was a true representation of that of the people, who retained their Original Opinion in spite of misrepresentation, & therefore, tho' small, was dignified. Our Assembly however have the Majority the other way & have done two improper things, first in inforcing the Amendments (which they had nothing to do with) they reflected on the Opinion of the Convention; and in chusing Senators for the New Congress they elected two Gentlemen distinguished for Opposition to that Government, & avowedly because they were so; and I am told are so modelling the Districts for choice of Representatives to the other House, as to have those Elections turn on the same Basis. which seems to me as irrational, as to vote into a State legislature, a man who is a professed Enemy to it's Government,

and thus may these Gentlemen verify their predictions of a bad Government, as effectually as the Physician may his, who having foretold a Patient's death, is yet intrusted with administring his Physic. As to the merits of the Constitution, tho' I wish some Amendments, yet I think those not mistaken who pronounce it more perfect than any now subsisting. man can't live without Society—that must have Government for it's Support—& Government must include a *legislature* to fix on a Rule of Conduct & it's sanctions—an *Executive* to direct & apply the force of the Society to preserve Obedience to those Rules & the Public peace against foreign & domestic violence—And a *Judiciary* to Criminate the guilty & protect the Innocent by a fair & open trial—as well as to decide between Citizens contending about rights, or reparation for Injuries. A pure democracy, so far from effecting those ends, is the child of an idle brain, the mere creature of Queen Mab—all admit it will do only for a very small family Society; but I assert, & am justified by experience, that it will not succeed in the smallest, a private family. This suggested the happy Idea of the members of Society acting by representatives of their own choice, and produced the true & only Practicable Republican Government—where the great Principle of Liberty "That all Government is in, and must be derived from the People" is preserved, and yet the good & necessary effects of good Government Secured.

The Safety of America is in *Union*—this the voice of America declared in 1774, not from a course of reasoning, but it struck as an Electrical fluid from N. Hampshire to Georgia, or like the Rays of the Sun in a clear Atmosphere, proving that luminary not to be obscured by Clouds.—The Union can no more be supported without Governmt. than any other Society—the Confederation was no Government, as it had not a single *coercive* power, but depended on the consent of 13 different legislatures to execute it's plans; it was not that paper, but our common danger, which preserved the Union & produced the happy effects; of which no other proof need be given than that the moment of peace discovered it's pernicious imbecility. The articles of that great Work yet unperformed on our part—the debts of the War unattended to in some States & but partially in all, notwithstanding the most earnest recommendations of Congress—who, our Government, & consequently our selves became dishonour'd abroad, uneasy & distracted at home—Ma[n]y measures judged Salutary by 12 States were prevented by one, of whom it may be said, with more propriety than St. Paul of himself, "she is not meet to be called a State", having apostatized from every Principle of Virtue.

'Twas time then to have done with that inefficient Paper, & seek for the best Substitute—A consolidated Government, by which I understand the having one law, or rule of Conduct, one legislature, Executive & Judiciary

in all cases throughout the whole, was not calculated for any territory so extensive, since Government must be *Tyrranical* in the Centre, or too *weak* in the remote parts, but was particularly Inconvenient in Our union, from the different customs, manners, emploiments & Interest of the states. this would not therefore do, nor as experience taught, would a Confederacy of the State Governments, by which a Negative to all propositions in the fœdral head was in any one State. a middle way then was to form a Plan by wch. should be preserved to the State Governments their full & exclusive Power in all cases of a local nature in which the other States or foreigners were not Interested—and those of General concern transmitted to the fœdral head.

Examine the Constitution upon all these Principles and it will stand the test of the severest Scrutiny.

In every Branch of Government You see the representative Character Preserved—the President—Senate & other House all the immediate or mediate choice of the people, & what I appoint another to do, I do my self—The Powers of each are defined, & the line between General & local concerns, happily drawn.—Representation, the great Pillar of the Fabric, & Palladium of liberty, is put upon true ground—the right of suffrage on the best footing, each state being left to please it self in that respect—the scale of representation to the most important house is equal & uniform to the numbers of the whole, & secures the large states From improvident or unjust decisions that are local or Partial—and their Connection with taxation, is not only just, but a security against Change in the former. The departure from that Principle indeed in the Senate, has the appearance of being wrong, but it seemed a necessary caution in the small States to secure themselves against even a total anihilation, as the large States were by numbers in the other house. It is perfectly republican to leave the door open for Merit in the Elected, requiring none other qualification but that of *residence,* by which Attachment to, & having a common Interest with the Electors, is Secured, as Responsibility is by the short duration of Office, the important body only two years, the Presidt. 4—& the Senate tho' elected for 6, exchanges 1/3d. of it's members at the end of each two years, a great security agt. Injurious Combinations.

I have not strength to write (if I could suppose you have Patience to read) my thoughts upon the Various parts of the Plan—The Judiciary part in my Judgment may, by the laws of Congress, be placed upon ground wholly unexceptionable, or made very Oppressive to the people; but I have ever felt perfect Security that they would chuse the better part, when I consider it to be the Interest of all to do so, (except perhaps that in which Congress sits) more or less, differing only in degree as they retire in situation from that of Congress.

Thus you have my judgment in favr. of the Constitution upon it's General principles—it may be erroneous, & probably is in some things, but it is candid, & unbiassed by self Interest other than in common with my fellow-Citizens—I am sure I shall gain no Power by it—if I loose any in the Judiciary, I am content tho' it extend to the whole. I must however from the impulse of Candour, point out what appears to me a considerable defect; that is, that the Senate are made the Standing Executive Council—thus exercising the Powers of the Legislative & Executive, which ought to be kept distinct, in order to be a Check on each other; and to add absurdity to impropriety, they are to be Judges of impeachments—that is, they are to trie themselves, or the President acting by their advice. this I hope to see changed, and a Seperate Executive Council allowed; & then *I* shall be satisfied. . . .

1. RC, Pendleton Family Papers, CtY.

354. Governor George Clinton to John Dawson
Albany, N.Y., 12 December 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The letter of the legislature of Virginia is not yet received, and I am not without apprehensions that measures may be taken to retard the delivery of it so as to defeat its utility. You will not, I am persuaded, ascribe my suspicions on this occasion to an undue degree of jealousy when you recollect the circumstance respecting my letter which was laid before your convention. . . .

1. Printed: Moncure Daniel Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph* . . . (New York and London, 1888), 114–15.

355. James Monroe to George Washington
Fredericksburg, Va., 15 February 1789 (excerpt)[1]

I take the liberty to submit the enclos'd to your perusal. It was written before the meeting of the late Convention, but being inaccurately printed and delay'd in the press untill the week it assembled, it was for those reasons at that time suppress'd. Had not the propriety of making my sentiments known upon a late occasion, suggested this mode, in that situation it would have remain'd. Having suffer'd it to escape me, it is with pleasure that I enclose you a copy. I am not aware that it contains any thing worthy of attention. It was however written in haste, and whilst other engagements employ'd much of my attention. . . .

1. RC, Elihu B. Washburne Autograph Collection, bMS.AM. 1583, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

356. George Washington to James Monroe
Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Va., 23 February 1789[1]

I received by the last Mail your letter dated the 15th. of this month, accompanied with your printed observations on the new Constitution, and am much obliged by this token of your polite attention. However I may differ with you in sentiment on some of the points, which are advocated in your Treatise; I am pleased in discovering so much candour and liberality as seem to predominate in your Style and manner of investigation. That a Spirit of unanimity, accomodation and rectitude may prevail so extensively as to facilitate the means for removing any well grounded apprehensions of the possible future ill consequences, which may result from the general government, is the sincere wish of

1. FC, Washington Papers, DLC.

357. Benjamin Harrison to George Washington
Berkeley, Charles City County, Va., 26 February 1789 (excerpt)[1]

It is long since I had the pleasure of any of your favors; which I hope does not proceed, from any alteration in your friendship for me; as I am not conscious of any cause that could produce such an alteration in a breast so perfectly liberal, as I know yours to be. That we have differ'd in sentiments is true; yet as that difference arose from the same pure motives in both of us; that is, what we both thought was for the general good of the whole community; a friendship of such standing, and so cemented, can not be shaken on that account. . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.

358. Decius XVII
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 1 April 1789[1]

To the PRINTER.
FEBRUARY, 1789.

In compliance with my plan, I shall now take the liberty of addressing a few observations to another of the great champions of anti-federalism; who, ushered forth a few years ago into public life (from which he had experienced a considerable lapse) by one, to whose knowledge and recommendation of men, he stands a solitary monument of error and mistake, he was honored with a seat in the general convention, where he soon shewed a disposition to do, what he has since acknowledged was intended as the destruction of both the property and liberties of the people;—for

he had the honor, I am told, of proposing that very mode of taxation, to which he has since been so violently opposed—which is a kind of witchcraft that has no parallel, except in the conduct of old women towards children, who often conjure up ghosts in order to shew their influence in laying them.

The most of this business has been a kind of mystery and contradicttion of things. In the first place, a certain set of men have set themselves up as the heroes of liberty in time of peace, many of whom, were only the admirers[2] of that great blessing in time of war; and among that number, in high repute,[3] shall stand the man, who because of the resentment of the people of one county,[4] mounted the rostrum in another,[5] and like a hardened sinner, who was just about to be exalted on the last eminence of human infamy, regardless of the opinions of a world in which he could no longer exist, closed the last scene of an ill-spent political life, with an indiscriminate abuse on all around—being disgusted with some, and envious of others, whose lives he could not imitate. "Speculators, placehunters, and horse-jockeys composed that infamous body of traitors," of which he had the honor to be the only one himself perhaps, who answered any part of the description. For let it be remembered that among that collection of patriots, was one in particular, towards whom, the slightest hint of disrespect, would be among the highest insults that could be offered a grateful people; and which, of itself, would be sufficient to consign to public infamy, the character of an individual, whose insignificance might possibly have sheltered him from the contempt of the world, had he not pointed his dark insinuations towards that man, whose virtues in reality are superior to any he can possibly possess, even in idea.

But lest my intention should be mistaken, and myself condemned for taking up so much time, in exposing a man whose influence, it is well known, is far below the possibility of doing harm; and whose feelings, I am sure, are in a temperature far above the penetration of the keenest pen, let it be remembered that it is not on his account I have said so much, but to assist in opening the eyes of those, among whom, of late, he has been one of the principal agents of deception; and to whom we are as much indebted for all the bitterness and acrimony which has been, and is still used; as any other individual in the community. For it was him who first started the idea of keeping up an opposition to the constitution after it had been fairly decided on by the people; to which effect, a remonstrance was introduced, which wore so much of the native bitterness and austerity of the father on its countenance, as to make the hearts of the most daring revolt at the sight;—whence he became as solitary and contemptible with his own party in remonstrance then, as he had been publicly infamous in his attack on the other before.

But whether would the warmth of resentment, kindled at the recollection of the last mentioned national insult, carry me! I will no more: Silence is eloquence when words fail to be expressive of contempt.

1. The paragraph on George Mason's campaign speech in Stafford County was reprinted in the pamphlet *Decius's Letters on the Opposition to the New Constitution in Virginia, 1789* (Richmond, [1789]) (Evans 21971), 57–58. Significant differences between the two versions are indicated in notes 2–5 below. Thomas Jefferson's copy of the pamphlet (located in the Library of Congress) contains marginal notes by John Nicholas, Jr. Nicholas commented on the Mason's speech: "This part is supposed to be levld. at G. Mayson—who in a public speech to the people of Stafford took the method here described to vent his envy & hatred for Genl. Washington."
2. "Silent" is added in the pamphlet.
3. In the pamphlet, "high repute" is italicized.
4. In the pamphlet, "one county" is replaced by "Fairfax."
5. In the pamphlet, "another" is replaced by "Stafford."

359. Robert Johnson to Benjamin Johnson
Great Crossing, Ky., 28 June 1789 (excerpt)[1]

. . . our convention is to meet soon and it is thought they will Decline separating from the state of Virginia we have Generally Been ante federalists in this country but since I have seen the Debates I am led to think more favourable of it than before but am still Doubtfull some parts Gives a Dangerous Latitude, for Instance, the congress may so allter the time place and maner of Electing senators and Representatives Eccept the place of Chosing senators that to absorb the state Goverment (or nearly) will not be repugnant to the Constitution also the administration of Justice will probably be very Pernisious, as it is supposed there will be one Grand court of appeals, which may by the vast number of Disputes in land unsett[l]ed in this country which may come on with citizens of other states. and suppose there should be an inferior court in Every state to take original Jurisdiction still they may appeal To the Grand federal court which I suppose will amount to almost an intire prohibition of Justice as there is so many People in this country having one piece of Land and small property though they mite have the best right, Rather than Go to new york or to near that Distance would be better of[f] to Give up their Land begin the world again than attempt to prosecute their rights through such Dificulties in short it would be out of thier power to raise the money nesasary for the prosecution their Land being in Dispute they could not sell a part of That to raise it and the small nesisaries of life they have besids they could not spare and besides if an inferior court should Be in virginia I supose it will not be in the District of Kentucky therefore to Go before that Tribunall would be nearly as Expensive as to the court of appeals I must conclude without Going through the subject

1. RC, Barbour Family Papers, Acc. 38–144, ViU.

360. Philo-Decius
Virginia Independent Chronicle, 15 July 1789

To the Printer of the VIRGINIA INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE, *and* GENERAL ADVERTISER.

JUNE 10, 1789.

"*Although he may be endowed with brilliant talents, I have a right to consider his politics as abandoned—yet his private virtues may merit applause.*"

Debates Con. Virg. Vol. 2, *page* 243, *line* 1*st.*

Sir, To arraign the private character of an individual, by bringing his errors in his domestic conduct before the public, is beneath the dignity of *him,* who has in view, the support of the great, essential, and unalienable privileges of the people—candour compels me to acknowledge that if this investigation was admissible, little aid could be drawn from reviewing the private character of the person—whose political conduct hath called forth my poor abilities into exertion, to avert the *dangers* that must inevitably attend its success. He is not the first who has made his *seniores virtutes* his fireside—his social virtues and talents vastly operative in the advancement of his political undertakings.—Conscious of

the goodness of heart, and the amiable display of merit manifested throughhout the circle of his private actions—those who are under the influence thereof are necessarily brought into a reliance upon him so confident and unsuspicious, that they, by lending *him* their aid in every instance, are absolutely assisting to forge shackles for themselves. Thus, building their attachments upon the social virtues of the demagogue, they are blind to his usurpations until they have fallen irrecoverably under the power of the despot. The first C'sar, (among many others) possessed the *seniores virtutes* in an eminent degree—and his successes against his country may be attributed in great measure to the connections and attachments he was perpetually forming with his fellow-citizens by the unbounded exercise of these amiable qualifications.

I am solicitous to obtain the candid consideration of my fellow-citizens; if they will attend to the facts that are about to be adduced—the danger that now threatens them will be averted—They will discover that my correspondence with you is not founded upon a design to animadvert on the fortitude, or the private character and conduct of the individual—but that it is the earnest intention of my soul, to guard by it, against the fatal consequences of this *Legislator*'s misguided politics—which have been heretofore prejudicial—and will inevitably, if followed in future, be destructive to the interests and to the liberties of our country.

From the first projection of a Convention to amend the confederation, the conduct of this gentleman must be considered—He was elected by a

very honorable vote to represent this state in the proposed convention;—acceptance of the appointment had hitherto been the invariable consequence of his *election*—no occasion of more importance ever occurred. The rapid decay of order which prevailed throughout the Union, was apparent and alarming—national bankruptcy stared us in the face—in short, the consummation of misery, contempt, and wretchedness, was just ready to be our portion—and no possible relief could be derived from the inert, the inefficient operation of the confederated government. Virginia taking the station she had ever maintained, appeared the foremost in the formation of measures toward the impending destruction, and to shield, protect, and foster the blessings of liberty, and of republican government—but her former *bold assertor* of the *rights of mankind* held back—He was blind to the accumulation of danger that threatened—he refused the honorable appointment of his country.

The grand Convention promulgated their system in September, 1787;—in October the Assembly met—and the Constitution found the great orator (as it was long before suspected) in the van of the opposition to it—The Convention that met in June, 1788, opened the eyes of many that were unsuspicious before—and confirmed the judicious conjectures of those who had entertained an idea that separate confederacies had become the favorite object of the great opponent to the new system of government—Blind to the mischiefs that the then government was pregnant with—we hear it asserted, "That our political and natural hemisphere are now equally tranquil"—"I know" *it is said,* "of no danger awaiting us; public and private security are to be found here in the highest degree."[(a)] Can we believe it possible that such were the real sentiments of the man who uttered them? No—wretched as the alternative is, which degrades the understanding, in order to salve the heart—it will not avail: temperately digest the debates that are published—weigh the declamatory sentences that fell from *his* lips—in the scale of reason—and the object *he* had in view—*who* delivered them will be apparent—misrepresentation marks them throughout—hyperbolical mischief are conjured up, so gross as sometimes to defeat the effect intended to be obtained by them—Arguments not drawn from facts, or founded upon the subject matter in debate, but directed to the personal feelings of individuals, in order to obtain suffrages from the operation of private interest upon the passions[(b)]—Historical quotations, not founded in fact, introduced to direct and mislead[(c)]—In short an assemblage of every artifice—of every lure—of every thought, and suggestion, to persuade, to charm, to intimidate, and deter, that great penetration, wonderful acuteness, and consummate ingenuity would generate—furthered by a flow of oratory, and a knowledge how to arouse the passions, in opposition to the reason—in a degree greater than was ever before found to be engrossed by any *one*

individual in this country, will be discovered to have been called into action in opposition to the present government. In spite of all the attendant artifice in the moment of ardour, sentiments sometimes slipped out—marked by the real feelings of the heart—we hear it said, that "Virginia and North-Carolina are despised. They could exist separated from the rest of America. Maryland and Vermont were not overrun when they were out of the confederacy—I trust that on examination it will be found that Virginia and North-Carolina would not be swallowed up, in case it were necessary for them to be joined together."[d]

Let these debates be impartially considered—and those who are open to conviction, will be by them satisfied, that the whisper which has gone forth against *him* as the friend of separate confederacies, has some foundation.

The blindness to the evils that threatened the Union, which gave birth to the reformation now in force, which blindness continued through the Convention, the last session of Assembly, and perhaps until this moment, would, had it been a general calamity, have *permitted* the separation of the confederacy to have been *accomplished* by the certain operation of that chain of pernicious causes—nurtured by the inert operation of the confederation.

It is almost logically deducible, that a friend to the old confederation, must be an advocate for the dissolution of the Union—the sense of America has sanctioned this opinion—and the subsequent conduct of *the statesman* who passed so many eulogiums upon it, in Convention—who was so blind to the evils generated under it, and so vitally opposed to the adoption of the present government, corroborates thoroughly to support it.

On the 30th of October, 1788, this gentleman introduced resolutions,[e] the preamble to which, declares that the amendments of the Convention involved all the great, essential, and unalienable privileges of freemen—and the Constitution as adopted, if it did not cancel, had rendered insecure all those great and inestimable privileges—after thus censuring the illustrious majority of June 1788, and pronouncing the sentence of faction from the sacred seat of sovereign legislation—the resolutions go on to demand the aid of our sister states, to move the Congress, for the constitution of another Convention, to amend the at that time unoperated upon system—It was upon this occasion, *said by the great leader of the majority*—"If the Congress or the states do not comply with this request as speedily as possible—*it will be better for Virginia to stand upon her own legs.*" My countryman, Mr. Printer, will take notice, *he* has pronounced it in the Assembly—that (it shall be again repeated)—"*it is better for Virginia to stand upon her own legs, than to remain in the confederacy—should a Convention to amend be denied.*" A Conven-

tion has been denied[f]—Virginia, attended by New-York, have applied for a Convention, and their requisitions have had the honor of being silently consigned to the files of Congress—such is the issue of the honorable measures set in motion by the veteran patriot.

As my fellow-citizens are thus warned of the endeavours that will be made use of, to detach them from the Union—they, if they value their liberties, will be guarded against the attempt. Patriotism exists in actions—not merely in professions—and be *his* own declarations what they may, *that man* who advises the dissolution of the confederacy, commits treason against the rights of human nature.—Should it be still doubted whether disunion is the object of this gentleman—let us recur to the resolutions *he* introduced into the House of Delegates on the 19th of May, 1784,[g] for enabling the then Congress to levy the arrearages of the requisitions in the delinquent states, by an armed force—had his usual success attended him at that time—the feat would have been long ere this accomplished. If he admired the Union—he ought to have accepted his appointment to the grand Federal Convention—If *latterly,* amendments *only* had been his object—it was his duty to have solicited—instead of refusing a seat in the Federal Senate—His apology—that his conscience would not suffer him to take an oath to support the government—was adequate only to make known to the candid world the secret workings of his soul against United Government—For as it is said—that "it is a novelty in the political world, to find rulers without private interests and views of personal emoluments and ambition."[h] Perhaps it may be his personal ambition to lord it over a southern confederacy—Be attentive, all you who value liberty—who admire the confederacy—and are capable of enjoying the sublime excellencies of republican government. Venerate the old maxim of "*United* we stand, divided we fall"—and execrate the wretch who would cajole you into forgetfulness of its value.

(a) Debates of the Convention of Virginia, Vol. 1, page 144, line 16th.

(b) Such as the inglorious Mississippi business—professed by a scuffling for Kentucky votes. Debates Con. Virg. Vol 2, page 141.

(c) Such as the eulogiums past upon the happy republic of the United Provinces (in reality a most horrid and rigid oligarchy) when it is said— "notwithstanding two of their provinces have paid nothing; yet I hope that the example of Holland will tell us, that we can live happily without changing our present despised government." Debates Con. Virg. Vol 1, page 163.

(d) Debates, Volume 1, page 163, line 164.

(e) See the Journals of the Delegates of Virginia.

(f) See the Journals of the House of Representatives of the United States, May 5, and 6, 1789.

(g) See the Journals of the Delegates of Virginia.
(h) Debates Con. Virg. Vol. 2, page 170, line 234.

361. John Dawson to Otho Holland Williams
Fredericksburg, Va., 24 September 1790 (excerpt)[1]

. . . with this you'll receive an exact copy of Mr. H—ys letter to me, agreeably to my promise—at the time that I solicited him to accept of the appointment of a Senator, I made known him the death of our worthy friend Grayson—the first part of his letter refers to that unfortunate event—the whole of it is from one friend to another & therefore shoud be shewn only to a friend—I also forward to you a set of the debates of the Convention of this state of which I request your acceptance—in them you will observe this great man nobly struggling against the storms of faction—the influence of names, & the obstinacy of predetermined opinions; & ably & eloquently supporting the rights of his countrymen amidst the applauses of all who heard him—you will also see the speech of Colo: I—s & judge how far it merits the encomiums lavished on it by Mr. M—d—. . .

1. RC, Williams Papers, MdHi.

362. Edmund Pendleton Autobiography
20 July 1793 (excerpt)[1]

. . . In 1788, when a State Convention was to meet to consider of a new proposed plan of federal Government, and all the officers of the State made eligible, my good old friends in Caroline again called me to their representation in Convention, and that respectable body to preside over them, indulging me with sitting in all my official duties, usually performed standing. Thus without any classical education—without patrimony—without what is called the influence of Family Connection, and without solicitation, I have attained the highest offices in my Country. . . .

1. Printed: David John Mays, ed., *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton, 1734–1803* (2 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1967), II, 606.

363 A–C. Humphrey Marshall Defends His Vote to Ratify the Constitution
4 September–13 October 1806

363-A. Independence
Kentucky Gazette, 4 September (excerpt)

. . . Has he *forgot* when he was elected a member of the Virginia Convention, and abused the trust reposed in him, by violating his promise, and voting contrary to the known will of his constituents? . . .

363-B. Franklin II
Kentucky Gazette, 15 September (excerpt)

. . . Recollect the man, who was opposed to your separation from Virginia, lest the surveyor's office might be jeopardized—he who opposed your efforts to procure the navigation of the Mississippi—who, like the serpent in Paradise, held out the fascinating fruit for deception, pledged himself to pursue the known will of his constitutents, in the Grand Convention of Virginia, and shamefully with the truth, abandoned their instructions. . . .

363-C. Humphrey Marshall's Address Continued
Kentucky Gazette, 13 October

It is remarkable that Mr. Thomas Bodley, in discharging *the duties of his new office of public printer,* has adopted a new method of exhibiting criminal charges—instead of affirmation, he employs interrogation.

In this shape, I next meet the old, the hacknied, and the unpardonable offence of voting for the adoption of the present Federal Constitution. To the *Spanish associates,* this I admit, *was a crime never to be forgiven.* And I learn from their *humble servants, Thomas Bodley* and his coadjutor "*Franklin,*" who before long will meet the proper attention, is still on this occasion remembered with original antipathy. To the honest, and well meaning citizen, it was a service which merited a better fate.

If there ever was a man, (and the fact cannot be denied) who voted on any public question from pure motives, from a high sense of public trust, from the full conviction of his best judgment, and from a perfect conception of his standing and responsibility, I am bold to say that on that question, I was that man. Near twenty years have elapsed since that vote was given—it has been the subject of much invective with my enemies, it has been a object of much reflection with my self—this is the first time I have noticed it publicly, and will probably be the last, and I now solemnly declare, and my adversaries are welcome to the full extent of [– – –] if the same thing was to do again, under the same circumstances, I am the man who would do it—and greatly daring, (in the opinion of my accusers) TO SAVE MY COUNTRY, I WOULD SACRIFICE MY POPULARITY. But upon that occasion I was not punished by the people to the extent of my deserts—for, on my return home, the next year they elected me to the Convention of Kentucky, which was to determine, and did determine on the *legal* separation, which afterwards took place. But what the people did not chuse to do, the *Spanish associates,* their *minions* and *tools,* have executed with ample measure. Now whom did I offend by that vote, the *people* or the *Spanish associates?* I leave the reader to supply the answer.

This however, is not all that is to be said on the subject.

I am asked by Mr. Bodley, with his usual candor and discrimination, "Has he forgot when he was elected a member of the Virginia Convention, and abused the trust reposed in him by violating his promise, and voting contrary to the known will of his constituents?" What was never true cannot be remembered—I leave it to Mr. Bodley to prove whether it can be forgotten.

But I shall be excused by the *Spanish associates,* and the rest of my readers will need no apology for adding to this interrogatory of Mr. Bodley, the call of "Franklin" on the public to recollect, "Who like the Serpent in Paradice, held out the fa[s]cinating fruit for deception, pledged himself to pursue the known will of his constituents in the Grand Convention of Virginia, and shamefully with the truth, abandoned their instructions." A most formidable charge, arrayed in all the terror of accusation!! *The vain efforts of contemptible falsehood.* But to rescue this allegation from the *sublime obscurity of unmeaning eloquence,* "which depicts the inanity of a certain little fatuttous Judge," and to reduce it to the intelligible form of common sense, I take the *promise* in the one case, and the *fascinating fruit* in the other, to imply that I had pledged myself to the public to vote against the adoption of the Constitution at all events, and it is implied that I had instructions to this effect. In this point of view, the charge is unfounded in truth, neither had I instructtions. Neither did I consider myself as conclusively pledged by any thing that I had said on the subject of adoption. I understood the people, (the *Spanish associates,* nevertheless, always excepted,) to desire the adoption of the Constitution, with some amendments; those amendments to my knowledge were never digested. Much had been said in Kentucky about *previous* and *subsequent* amendments. At the time, for it was before party spirit attained its height, I did not foresee, nor can it be said that the people did foresee, that to insist upon *previous* amendments, was in effect to reject the Constitution. And I had given it as my opinion on one, and probably on more than one occasion, that the adoption of the Constitution should be after amendment, or to that effect. How far this opinion influenced the election, I am utterly incapable of saying. After the election, I have no recollection of any thing in particular being said in a public way, and am very certain I had no instructions; nor did I deem instructions necessary to bind me to pursue the *substantial interest* of my constituents, of whom I will venture to say, there was not one *Spanish associate.* In pursuing this interest, it was a consideration of weight, to pursue even the popular idea of adopting the Constitution with amendments, but in doing this I did not feel myself justified, much less bound, to sacrifice the *substance* to the shadow. The adoption of the Con-

stitution, as essential to the public security and happiness, was the first object. The amendments, tho' desirable, were but secondary. Then but a young man, and in the dawn of political life, I with deep interest and great solicitude, attended the lengthy debates in the Convention, which placed the adoption, with previous and with subsequent amendments, in almost every possible point of view, and before I voted for the adoption, I became perfectly convinced that *previous amendments* were unattainable, without the delay and the danger of calling another Continental Convention, and that such a *measure* was wholly unadvisable in the then agitated state of the public mind: that to adopt it, would be to risk unnecessarily, and in all probability to lose all that had been gained, the Constitution as it was, which was greatly preferable to the old and debilitated articles of confederation, and with it the desired amendments of course.

There was before me, one plain and practicable way to secure the Constitution, and to obtain all the amendments that were really necessary: and that was by adopting the Constitution first, and amending it afterwards. The Constitution itself prescribed the mode of obtaining amendments, and there was no reasonable ground to apprehend an opposition to amendments that were necessary. Thus stood the case, and I had no means of consulting my constituents, nor did I deem it necessary—I stood in their place, and it was necessary only to understand the public interest, and to pursue it according to my best judgment. And notwithstanding I found that a great majority of the Kentucky members were against the adoption, and although I was *kindly admonished,* that I should lose my popularity; yet committing all to my conscience, and my country, I voted, and I glory in it—the United States from anarchy to order, from despair to hope, from bankruptcy to credit, from poverty to afluence, from impotence to power, to public security, and to private happiness, for such has been the effect of adopting the Constitution, and all the necessary amendments followed in this happy train of consequences.

But this vote of adoption, was to the *Spanish associates,* "the unkindest cut of all."—It must have appeared to them, and will now appear probable, in a retrospective view, that in the debilitated and weak state of the old Confederation, which hardly kept the States together at that time; that but for the change of government, they might have carried their scheme into effect. On the subject of not receiving Kentucky into the Union, and on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi, there is much reason to apprehend that the people of Kentucky might have been *irritated* into a declaration of *Independence,* and into a connection with Spain.

The adoption of a new and energetic government, which held out to the people the promise of those blessings which it has since realised, was therefore to be deprecated by those who were *intriguing* for a dismemberment of the Union.

This new government not only held out to the people a new and interesting object of attachment, but it held up to the *associates* the image of power, which appalled them. It was necessary to make, before the new government was put into motion, their utmost effort for a declaration of *Independence,* and accordingly it was made; and failed in 1788.

And thus did "an enterprise of great pith and moment" meet its merited fate, and almost lose the name of action; while Spanish pensions and Spanish titles "sunk into the baseless fabrick of a vision," a few instances perhaps excepted.

For this vote of adoption, the *Spanish junto* raised the cry against me, and they have found yelpers to repeat it upon *all suitable occasions,* from that time down to the days of Thomas Bodley.

I shall close this paper with a vote which I really did give in the Convention.

[The Virginia Form of Ratification omitting the Constitution is printed here, followed by:] *Thus did I vote, and confirm myself a Federalist.*

There was a proposition, that previous to the ratification, a declaration of rights, together with amendments, ought to be refered to the other states *for their consideration*—this was offered by the *anti-federalists,* and was understood as a substitute for rejection. Many of the States had then adopted the Constitution, and there appeared no practicable mode suggested by which amendments could be thus incorporated. Against this idle and inefficient suggestion I voted.—This was on the 25th of June, 1788.

On the 27th, the Convention adopted the form of a Bill of Rights, and amendments to be recommended to the first Congress—for these I voted, because in this way, they could be incorporated into the Constitution, and many of them have been agreed to, in substance, and now make a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Thus have I thought it useful to be rather prolix on this subject, that the public might see what were my views.

It is rather singular, that I should be reproached with betraying my trust, when I executed it *compleatly in substance,* when I had no instructtions to the contrary, when reasoning upon what I understand to be the true principle of representation, which is *that the representative stands in the place and stead of the represented*; I could but infer, that were the people informed as I was, they would think as I thought, and doubting not that I was pursuing *their real interests,* I had a right to conclude that they *willed* me to pursue *those*

interests, AND WOULD JUSTIFY ME IN SO DOING. I took the responsibility upon myself—if *public prosperity* was the desire of the people, and if *private happiness* makes any consideration in the estimate of public measures, then I have a right to say, after eighteen years experience, that so far as my voice went in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, I have been the cause of a degree of *private happiness,* and of *public prosperity* to the citizens of the United States, unparalleled in the history of other countries. May my enemies forever reproach me with such crimes!

October 2, 1806.

364. William Wirt's Comments on David Robertson's *Debates and Other Proceedings of the Virginia Convention,* 1817

The debates and proceedings of this convention, by Mr. David Robertson of Petersburg, have passed through two editions; yet it is believed, that their circulation has been principally confined to Virginia; and even in this state, from the rapid progress of our population, that book is supposed to be in, comparatively, few hands. Hence it has been thought proper to give a short sketch of Mr. Henry's course in this body. It ought to be premised, however, that the published debates have been said by those who attended the convention, to present but an imperfect view of the discussions of that body. In relation to Mr. Henry, they are confessedly imperfect; the reporter having sometimes dropped him in those passages, in which the reader would be most anxious to follow him. From the skill and ability of the reporter, there can be no doubt that the substance of the debates, as well as their general course, are accurately preserved. The work is, therefore, a valuable repository of the arguments by which the constitution was opposed on one hand, and supported on the other; but it must have been utterly impossible for a man, who possesses the sensibility and high relish for eloquence which distinguish the reporter, not to have been so far transported by the excursions of Mr. Henry's genius, as sometimes, unconsciously, to have laid down his pen.

1. William Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia, 1817), 263n–64n.

365 A–D. Timothy Pickering Notebook, 1828 and Undated

365-A. April 1828 [1]

Patrick Henry

I think it was at the time when the House of Representatives of the United States [In the margin: "See post p. 73"] were engaged in the impeachment

of Judge Chase—perhaps when they were preparing the Articles of Impeachment—that my friend Hillhouse & I, having been invited to dine with President Jefferson—(say in 1804, or 1805, about the month of February)—the subject of conversation led Mr. Jefferson to speak of Patrick Henry; and he said, "That Mr. Henry was the most eloquent man he had ever heard speak." Mr. Wirt, in his interesting Life of Henry, gives him a like character.

I have just now (April 1828) [In the margin: "See post pp. 86, 87."] been reading some of his speeches in the Virginia Convention, considering the federal Constitution, assembled in June 1788, and sitting from the 2d. to the 27th of that month; and I must say, that I never witnessed in any debate or disquisition such palpable misconceptions of the points discussed—such a want of facts to support his remarks—and such a mass of sophisms. His imagination conjured up "Gorgons and Hydras and chimeras dire." He appears overwhelmed with fancied horrors; and sometimes almost frantic: and throughout was so animated, that I am disposed to think that his Eloquence so much celebrated and eulogized—was really characterised more for fluency, bold figures, and vehement declamation, than correct and forcible reasoning. Hence the effect of his oratory on a Popular Assembly, and on a Jury.

The Virginia Convention comprehended a great number of very able men. On the main question, the Constitution for the United States was adopted by the votes 89 to 79. By another resolve, the Convention passed on twenty articles which were to constitute a Bill of Rights, the admission of which, as amendments to the Constitution, the Representatives in Congress from Virginia, were enjoined to use their exertions to obtain, in the manner provided by the fifth article of the Constitution.

365-B. 12 June 1828[2]

Patrick Henry & Wm. Wirt

On reading again, after the lapse of ten years, Wirt's Life of Mr. Henry, I have been struck with the extravagance of the authors eulogies of all the leading gentlemen of Virginia engaged in the public affairs of that state and in those of the United States. In the 8th section of his work, Mr. Wirt gives the history of the Virginia Convention (who sat in June 1788) assembled to consider and decide on the adoption or rejection of the Constitution formed by the General Convention of Delegates from the 13 United States, at Philadelphia, in the year 1787.

As an instance of Mr. Wirt's liberal use of the figure in Rhetoric called Hyperbole, I here mention the first three (as tho' he was about to notice many groupes of Threes, like Davids life of Worthies)—[In the margin:

"The Life p. 263."] "Mr. Madison, the late President of the U. States; Mr. Marshall, the Chief Justice; and Mr. *Monroe,* now the President." and then he exclaims—"What will the reader think of a body in which men like these were only among equals! Yet such is the fact; for there, were those sages of other days Pendleton and Wythe; there was seen displayed, the Spartan vigour & compactness of George Nicholas; and there shone the radiant genius and sensibility of Grayson; the Roman energy and the Attic wit of George Mason was there; and there, also, the classic taste and harmony of Edmund Randolph; 'the splendid conflagration' of the high mined Innis; [In the margin: "See ante p. 22."] and the matchless eloquence of the immortal Henry!"

The entire debates in the Virginia Convention must be read, in order to estimate, individually, as well as comparatively, the talents of the speakers. At page 22; I have expressed the opinion forced from me on the reading of some of "the immortal Henry's" speeches; which, in my view, run into palpable absurdities; and if the advocates for the adoption of the Constitution forbore to pronounce in plain language, what they really thought of them—it must have risen from the respect due to so distinguished a revolutionary patriot and honest man;—and, if any thing like ridicule were attempted, the fear of his terrifying frown and the cutting lashes of his retort. His fundamental error lay, in his really contemplating the Congress, the President, and all the Officers of the Genera[l] Government, to be organized in conformity with the Constitution,—*as persons holding all their powers independently of the People of the United States*; and their being once in the possession of the supreme power, they would exercise it to establish a tyranny; while all of them depended on periodical popular elections; as really so, as the governors, senators, & representatives of the several state governments.

365-C. Undated[3]

Patrick Henry—character of his Eloquence, by Gouverneur Morris, in his letter dated at Richmond 13th June 1788—on the debates in the Convention then sitting there. the letter addressed to Hamilton. [In the margin: "No. 234. of Hamilton's Papers Vol. V."]

Extract.

"Matters are not going so well in this State as the friends of America could wish. If indeed the debates in Convention were alone attended to, a contrary inference would be drawn. for altho' Mr. Henry is most warm & powerful in Declamation, being perfectly master of 'action, utterance, and the power of[4] speech to stir mens' blood,' yet the weight of argument is so strong on the side of Truth, as wholly to destroy, even on weak minds, the effects of

his eloquence. But there are, as you well know, certain dark modes of operating on the minds of members, which, like contagious diseases, are only known by their effects on the frame: and unfortunately, our moral, like our physical doctors, are often mistaken in their judgment from diagnostics. Be of good cheer. My religion steps in where my understanding falters; and I feel faith as I lose confidence."

[That is, That the Constitution would be adopted.][5]

365-D. Undated (excerpt) [6]

. . . There was one more office to be filled, that of Attorney General. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, had risen to considerable distinction as a lawyer; had been governor of that State; and was an active member of the General Convention, by whom the Constitution of the United States had been framed. He had also been a member of the State Convention of Virginia, elected to pass on that Constitution, by adopting or rejecting it. If I do not mistake, he made objections; at any rate, was not one of its hearty approvers; tho' he might, finally, have voted for its adoption; with a marked expectation of its receiving amendments.(a) . . .

[(a) Examine the debates of the Virginia Convention, to ascertain the part he took; & for Jefferson's letter, and its influence.][7]

1. MS, Pickering Papers, Notebook F, p. 22, MHi.
2. MS, Pickering Papers, Notebook F, pp. 86–87, MHi.
3. MS, Pickering Papers, Notebook H, pp. 47–48, MHi. RC of letter printed in RCS:Va.
4. In the margin alongside everything that follows is the comment:
"In conversation with Mr. Jefferson when he was President, he said, That Patrick Henry was the most eloquent speaker that he had ever heard."
5. Brackets in the original.
6. MS, Pickering Papers, Notebook D, p. 69, MHi.
7. Brackets in the original.

366. John Taliaferro to Samuel L. Gouverneur
Washington, D.C., 8 April 1844[1]

In compliance with your request, I now relate to you the circumstances of an incident which I have always thought to have been the *turning point* in the after pursuits of our distingu[ish]ed & beloved friend, Colo: James Monroe, for by that title we all called him, even after he had been Governor of Virg:, President of the U: States, & all the rest—

When the present constitution of the U: States was submitted to the States for adoption, Mr. Monroe, tho' as earnestly desirous of Federalunion, as any one, had serious objections to that instrument in the form it was submitted; &, as you know, such was the view of many distinguished men in Virginia—

When the election of Delegates to the Convention of Virginia came on, to take under consideration, the Constitution refered to, Mr. Monroe was put in nomination to represent the County of King George in that Convention—He of course was the candidate of the party then called anti-federal—King George County being in the immediate vicinity of the birth-place of Genl. Washington, *his sanction* of the Constitution, as submitted, gave it great popularity, so that all argument to show its defects were unavailing—Owing to this state of things, Mr. Monroe was not elected; at which event we all felt deep concern & mortification—particularly so when we looked at the great inferiority of his successful opponents—In the midst of our dismay at a defeat which seemed irreparable, my Brother, then a lad about nineteen years old, broke the general silence by a proposition that Mr. Monroe should be nominated a candidate at the election to take place in Spotsylvania the ensuing Monday—it then being Thursday—To this was objected, that candidates of the two parties had been long in nomination for that County, & if otherwise the time between Thursday & the following Monday was too short a period to make such arrangements, as to afford the least hope for success—To the first objection the Lad replied, that he felt entire confidence, that Major John Willis, the anti-federal nominee for that County, would, on the first intimation, decline in favor of Mr. Monroe; & as to time, he avered, as his belief, that there was not another County in the State which would reject Mr. Monroe—These zealous assertions produced the effect, & the result was, that Mr. Monroe, taken almost by force, for he was the most modest, & unaspiring man I ever knew, accompanied, of course by My Brother, & Colo: John Taliaferro, a near relative, & intimate friend of Major Willis, started the following morning (Friday) for Spotsylvania County—It was Saturday evening before they reached Willis, who, as had been predicted, entered heartily into the support of Mr. Monroe—Accordingly he sent for some three or four active young men, his neighbors, & gave them instructions to scour every part of the County, between that time & Monday, & make it known to all his friends, that he had declined in favor of Mr. Monroe—This was done, & on Monday, the day of election, when the people had assembled, Willis made a public annunciation of his retiring, in favor of Mr. Monroe, who followed by an address to the voters—The result was, his election to the State Convention by a triumphant majority—After the dissolution of the Continental Congress, in which Mr. Monroe was serving when that event occurred, he had entered actively on the prosecution of his profession—& but for the event mentioned above might have remained a long time, if not altogether out of public life—As it was, his service in the State Convention was no sooner over, than he was elected to the Senate of the U: States, and, as Mr. Jefferson once told him, from that time he became

Public property—What a contrast between such a man, and nearly all the politicians of the present day—Disinterested patriotism, & an observance of Justice in the administration of public affairs, seem to have grown out of fashion; so that unless I still retained great reliance on that providence which has conducted us safely thro' so many trials, my apprehension for the future would be truly distressing—

1. RC, Gouverneur Papers, NN. This letter probably refers to James Monroe's legislative defeat in King George County in 1786 and his subsequent election to the House of Delegates in 1787.

367–456. PROSPECTS FOR RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN VIRGINIA
29 October 1787–1 July 1788

367. Thomas Forrest to Joseph Ward
Philadelphia, 29 October 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . virginia seems doubtfull Yett I hope she will comply . . .

1. RC, Ward Papers, Chicago Historical Society. For the entire letter, see Mfm:Pa. 169.

368. Edward Lloyd to Lambert Cadwalader
Wye House, Md., 10 November 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the proposed National Government bids fair to go down with us. Virginia from whence I returned the last week, generally in favor of it. Mr. Randolph their Governor G. Mason Rd. Heny. Lee & Patrick Henry all I am informed opposed to it. how far their influence may operate time must unfold. . . .

1. RC, Cadwalader Papers, PHi. "Wye House" was the Lloyd family's estate in Talbot County, Md.

369. Mark Pringle to Samuel Myers
Baltimore, Md., 16 November 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . This Government, as far as I can learn, will meet with very great opposition in Virginia, with some in this State and New York, but I still hope it will be adopted. . . .

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Henry Jackson Papers, Boston Public Library.

370. Henry Knox to Adam Stephen
New York, 12 December 1787 (excerpts)[1]

. . . I am glad you approve of the new government. . . . I hope that Virginia will relish it better than it is reported she does at present . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03724, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

371. Henry Knox to Marquis de Lafayette
New York, 14 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . It is said that Virginia will be opposed to it lest Navigation acts should be passed peculiarly oppressive to her commerce. . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03726, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

372. Henry Knox to François-Louis Teissèdre de Fleury
New York, 26 December 1787 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The states which appear to oppose it most are Virginia New York and Rhode Island, but so many states will soon adopt it, and there are such large bodies favorably disposed to it in the dissenting States that much doubt cannot be enter[tained?] with respect to its final adoption by all the States . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03740, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

373. Jeremiah Hill to George Thatcher
Biddeford, Maine, 1 January 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . but I think the fate of this Constitution and the political Salvation of the united States depend chiefly on the part that Virginia & this State take in the Matter but I am happy to hear that Delaware & Pensylvania have accepted it as well as the Jersey. . . .

1. RC, Chamberlain Collection, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library. A longer excerpt is printed in the *Historical Magazine,* 6 (November 1869), 260–61.

374. William DuVal to Francis Jerdone
Richmond, 8 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I think the new Constitution had better be adopted than rejected & really believe it will be acceded to by this State but several persons of Note will greatly oppose it. . . .

1. RC, Jerdone Papers, ViW.

375. Walter Rutherfurd to John Stevens, Sr.
New York, 9 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . There is no doubt of New-Hampshire, and all the southern States, except Virginia, where a Struggle is expected, also in Maryland. . . .

1. RC, Stevens Family Papers, New Jersey Historical Society.

376. Thomas Fitch Oliver to Benjamin Lynde Oliver
Marblehead, Mass., 11 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . How are you disposed in Virginia I hope well in the present instance & that all the federal pillars will join the support of the new Eddifice. . . .

1. RC, Oliver Family Papers, MHi.

377. From Olney Winsor
Alexandria, Va., 19 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Politicks—waitg for Massachusetts—their influence even here—. News of th[e]ir adoption—defuses Joy—some say your State will adopt before this—may it be so—great pains taken here to defeat it—

1. FC, Winsor Letters, Vi. The letter is addressed to "My Dr Friend" and was "forwd. 14 Mar '88 / Captn Manchester via Baltimore."

378. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 21 February 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Virginia,
to his friend in this City. Feb. 1*st,* 1788.

As to the new Federal Constitution, we are encouraged by persons of the best information, to hope that it will be adopted by a large majority of our Convention, which is to meet in June—notwithstanding some considerable opposition is expected.

379. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 27 February 1788 (excerpt)[1]

A correspondent sympathizes with the Anti-Federalists of Cumberland county upon the following inauspicious events, viz. lastly, that some of the principal leaders of opposition in Virginia, begin to relax, and consent that Pennsylvania and the northern commercial states shall no longer be deprived of the carrying trade, which since the peace has been chiefly in the hands of our late enemies. This being their principal objection, it is there-

fore become almost certain that Virginia will accede to the new government. . . .

1. For the entire piece, see Mfm:Pa. 454.

380. James de Caledonia to James Bowdoin
Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788 (excerpts)[1]

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

My Lord,

. . . In Virginia, *P. Henry* is now more popular by far than our Fabius [George Washington], who is almost alone. *Henry* is very warm against us, and is backed by nine-tenths of the people with all the leading characters almost. . . .

1. For the entire text of this fictitious satirical letter, see Mfm:Pa. 481. The letter was reprinted in the *New York Journal,* 10 March.

381. Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort
New York, 18 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . To the Southward party runs very high South & North Carolina & Maryland will certainly adopt the Constitution Virginia & North Carolina are more divided yet from the Letters to their respective Delegates and especially one from Genl. Washington (private) to the president of Congress it seems there is little doubt of its favorable Issue. . . .

1. RC, Gansevoort-Lansing Papers, NN.

382. Battaile Muse to George Washington
Berkeley County, Va., 19 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I am Very Sorry To see, & hear, that their is So many People of this state against the Proposed government—still in hopes their will be a Majority In Favour of it.—

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.

383. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 19 March 1788 (excerpts)[1]

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

Dear SIR,

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

1. For the entire piece, see Mfm:Pa. 542.

384. Philip Thomas to Horatio Gates
Frederick, Md., 21 March 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We are highly pleased to hear that the opposition abates in your quarter and strongly hope the dominion will finally ratify. If you will drive envy out of the state there would be no doubt of the success of the plan.

[P.S.] written in great haste

1. RC, Gates Manuscripts (Collected by Emmet), NN.

385. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 5 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Accts. from *Virginia* are favorable. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: "Correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard: Part II," Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* 5th series, III (1877), 28–29.

386. Nathan Dane to Manasseh Cutler
New York, 6 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . It is rather uncertain as yet how the elections for the State Convention have gone in Virginia. . . .

1. Printed: William P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler, *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1888), I, 382.

387. Melancton Smith to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker
New York, 6 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Accounts from Virginia And North Carolina, Represent that they are much Opposed to it—

1. RC, Franklin D. Roosevelt Manuscript Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

388. Alexander Contee Hanson to Tench Coxe
Annapolis, Md., 11 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . There has been published a supposed state of the returns in Virginia which was a majority in favor of about 14 or 15 counties. . . .

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi. This excerpt was written in the margin on page two of the letter.

389. Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane
New York, 12 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . 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 & and 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 probabi[li]ty 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: Charles E. L. Wingate, *Life and Letters of Paine Wingate* . . . (2 vols., Medford, Mass., 1930), I, 224–26.

390. Samuel Smith to Tench Coxe
Baltimore, Md., 13 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Letters from good authority in Virga. give us every assurance that a Majority of Federalists are chosen to their Convention—

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi.

391. Whiteside & Caton to Henry Hill
Baltimore, Md., 13 April 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . P.S. . . . I am advised by a Letter from Virga just recd. that there are 12 counties of a Majority for the new governmt. Mr Maddison was elected

by 4 to 1.—may we all see realised those Blessgs. ev'ry friend to the New Const promises himself—

1. RC, John Jay Smith Manuscript Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia. The postscript was signed by only Richard Caton.

392. Rudolph H. Van Dorsten to Peter Van Gaasbeek
New York, c. 15 April 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . There is very little doubt but it will be rejected in Virginia. . . .

General Washington has refused a Seat in the Convention of Virginia, who is to meet the 4th. thursday in May. . . .

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, Senate House Museum, Kingston, N.Y. A cover sheet is endorsed: "Private letters/from R. H. V D/April/1788."

393. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 16 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Our last accounts from Virginia are favourable. But I am almost too late for the post. Adieu.

1. Printed: "Correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard: Part II," Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* 5th series, III (1877), 30–31.

394. Rufus King to John Langdon
New York, 16 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Accounts of the Elections from Virginia indicate that the Parties will be powerful & nearly equal. . . .

1. RC, King Papers, NHi. Printed: Charles R. King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* . . . (6 vols., New York, 1894–1900), I, 326.

395. 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. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03843, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

396. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer
17 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

Time, that discoverer of all solid truths, will shew that the new constitution will never be received by the union as a government. Virginia rejects it. . . .

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal,* 23 April; Boston *American Herald,* 5 May; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette,* 15 May. For the entire piece, see Mfm:Pa. 638.

397. Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca
New York, 22 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the information received this day from Virginia confirms with much foundation the Suspicion that that State will not adopt the New Plan of Government.

With this Information I have communicated in confidence with the President [Cyrus Griffin], who is a Virginian, and a sincere man, and he has Responded to me, that the probability is very much to the contrary, because the Representatives of Kentucky upon whom he was relying are very much opposed, from which he deduces that the best that could possibly happen is that it will be delayed much more than was believed. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Estado, Legajo 3894, Apartado No. 1, Letter No. 261, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

398. Abraham Baldwin to Enos Hitchcock
New York, 23 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Maryland delegates have no doubt of the success of the new Constitution in their state. Many gentlemen from Virginia express almost the same confidence respecting their state, but not upon so good grounds. South Carolina is to meet the 12 of May, there will be some opposition, but not formidable, I count that to make the eighth, where we are to get the ninth is the difficult question. N. Hampshire, R Island New York, Virginia, and North Carolina are the unpromising materials from which it is to be wrought.

1. RC, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Hitchcock Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society.

399. Henry Knox to John Doughty
New York, 24 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Virginia which has been much opposed appears to have elected a majority of federal members below the Montains—Should the Kentucky members [– – –] no prejudices it is highly probable the new Constitution will be adopted in Virginia. . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03855, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

400. Samuel A. Otis to James Warren
New York, 24 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . N Carolina will probably operate as Virginia, which State I think will be nearly divided; But I rather think from the best information attainable, the majority will carry it for adopting, with amendments, upon the plan of Massachusetts. . . .

1. RC, Mercy Warren Papers, MHi. Printed: Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings, October 1911–June 1912,* XLV (1912), 333–36. The date can be read as either 24 or 26 April.

401. Henry Knox to Marquis de Lafayette
New York, 26 April 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the Elections in Virginia are just known to us, and notwithstanding all the falshoods, that have been propagated against the constitution it is now pretty well ascertained that it will be adopted in Virginia whose Convention meets the first Monday in June . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03860, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

402. Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 April 1788 (excerpts)[1]

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, dated April 24, 1788.

". . . By my last accounts from Virginia, there will be a majority of more than twenty in their Convention. . . ."

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette,* 9 May; Providence *United States Chronicle,* 15 May.

403. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Henry Knox
Hartford, Conn., May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I am highly pleased with the news from Virginia. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03881, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

404. Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker
New York, 2 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I understand that in your State there is a clear Majority of the Delegates Friends to the new System. . . .

1. RC, Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

405. Arthur Lee to Jeremiah Wadsworth
New York, 3 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Elections in Virginia are in favor of it, thõ it was expected they woud be much otherwise.

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

406. Paine Wingate to John Sullivan
New York, 3 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The latest accounts from Virginia are, that from the returns of the delegates which are now generally made, a majority will be for the new government. . . .

1. RC, State Papers Relating to the Revolution, II (1785–89), 149–50, New Hampshire State Archives. Printed: Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army* (3 vols., Concord, N.H., 1930–1939, Vols. 13–15 of the New Hampshire Historical Society *Collections*), III, 586–87.

407. Massachusetts Centinel, 3 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

Extract of a letter, dated Georgetown (Maryland)
April 13, 1788.

". . . From the best accounts I can collect from Virginia, there will be at least a majority of 12 counties federal, and the weight of oratory is on the part of the federalists."

1. Reprinted: Providence, R.I., *United States Chronicle,* 8 May.

408. Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

Extract of a letter from Annapolis, dated April 28.

". . . By the best and latest information from Virginia, there is a majority of forty voices in favor of adopting the Federal Constitution. . . ."

1. Reprinted eleven times by 23 May: N.H. (2), Mass. (6), N.Y. (1), N.J. (1), S.C. (1).

409. James Pemberton to James Phillips
Philadelphia, 4 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . maryland has lately acceded to the plan making the seventh state, it seems yet doubtful whether Virginia, Carolina, New Hampshire, and New York will come in to it. . . .

1. FC, Pemberton Papers, PHi. For the entire letter, see Mfm:Pa. 668.

410. Vermont Gazette, 5 May 1788

Accounts from Maryland and Virginia, advise, that the new federal constitution will be adopted by a very large and respectable majority.—*Thus saith the illustrious* Washington.

411. John Langdon to Rufus King
Portsmouth, N.H., 6 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . I think affairs to the South look well. . . . We Watch and pray for Virginia and North Carolina I cannot help thinkg but they'll both Agree to it. . . .

1. RC, King Papers, NHi. Printed: Charles R. King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* . . . (6 vols., New York, 1894–1900), I, 328.

412. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 6 May 1788 (excerpt)

By the most authentic information, we are persuaded Virginia will follow our example. . . .

413. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 8 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Accots. from Virginia are favorable. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: "Correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard: Part II," Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* 5th series, III (1877), 34.

414. William R. Davie to James Iredell
Halifax, N.C., 10 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . I have some hopes, I think well grounded too, that So. Carolina and Virginia will put the government in motion before we meet in Convention. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Donna Kelly and Lang Baradell, eds., *The Papers of James Iredell* (Raleigh, N.C., 2003), vol. III, 397–98.

415. Massachusetts Centinel, 10 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

Our accounts from Virginia and South-Carolina, which may confided in, inform, that the Federal Constitution will be ratified in those two States. . . .

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 24 May.

416. New Hampshire Spy, 13 May 1788 (excerpt)

Accounts from Virginia and South Carolina, all concur in the probability of those states adopting the proposed Constitution—In Virginia, it is said, there will be a majority of more than *twenty four* in their Convention. . . .

417. Henry Knox to Marquis de Lafayette
New York, 15 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Reports from Virginia are favorable.—The Convention of that State will meet the first week in June. . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03874, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

418. Mercy Otis Warren to Catherine Macaulay Graham
Milton, Mass., c. 16 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Virginia and New York are still doubtful, but most will probably accede. . . .

1. FC, Mercy Warren Papers, Letterbook, pp. 25–26, MHi.

419. Henry Knox to Henry Jackson
New York, 18 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

My dear Harry

. . . You will see from the papers the state of politics—South Carolina and Virginia will probably adopt New Constitution. . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03875, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

420. Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher
New York, 18 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . The accounts are favorable from the South and unless Virginia *does,* I hardly apprehend a negative from the Southern States. . . .

I find it is the general opinion that the New wheel will revolve—N Carolina, our pompous brother [Hugh] Williamson thinks there will be no fear of, nor perhaps will there be of SC, and Virginia with all her stateliness, will be very unwilling to stand alone. . . .

1. RC, Washburn Papers, MHi. Printed: Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates of Congress, 1774–1789* (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976–2000) XXV, 103–4.

421. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 21 May 1788

Accounts from Virginia seem to wear a very favourable aspect; it is said, that there is every probability of their having a considerable majority in their State Convention, in favour of the proposed federal government.

422. Lambert Cadwalader to William Gough
Trenton, N.J., 27 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . we hourly expect to hear that S Carolina has acceeded—and it is probable Virginia will—then we shall have clenched the Business—we shall all have much Reason to rejoice. . . .

1. RC, Cadwalader Papers, PHi.

423. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 29 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . late accounts from Virginia on this subject are favourable.—

1. RC, John G. M. Stone Collection of Revolutionary and Early National Period Documents, Annapolis, Md.

424. John Jay to George Washington
New York, 29 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

I was two Days ago favored with yours of 15th. Instant.

it gives me pleasure to find that the Probability of Virginia's adopting the proposed Constitution rather encreases—such an Event would undoubtedly disarm the Opposition. . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, ed., *The Selected Papers of John Jay* (7 vols., Charlottesville and London, 2010–2021), IV, 714–15.

425. Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin
New York, 29 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Since the publication of the Act of the English Parliament concerning the Commerce of the British Colonies with the united States it is hoped, My Lord, that Virginia and the other States which seemed opposed to the new Constitution will feel the necessity of adopting it in order to plan the means to get revenge for the harshness with which they are treated by this act. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Vol. 33, ff. 178–81, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

426. Benjamin Rush to Jeremy Belknap
Philadelphia, 29 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Our Accounts from South Carolina & Virginia of the certainty in the one, & great probability in the other case of the Adoption of the fœderal goverment are very agreeable & flattering. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. For the entire letter, see Mfm:Pa. 685.

427. Providence United States Chronicle
29 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Next Monday the Convention of the "Ancient Dominion" of *Virginia* will meet—Accounts from that State make from 14 to 24 Majority in the Convention in Favor of the Constitution.—If *South-Carolina* should adopt it, at their present Meeting (of which there is but little Doubt) *Virginia* will make the *Ninth* State. . . .

1. Reprinted five times by 10 June: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), Pa. (1).

428. Baron Beelen-Bertholff to Count Trauttmannsdorf
Philadelphia, 31 May 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . P.S. . . . It is thus, My Lord, even in Virginia where it appeared up until now that the votes would not be united or at least united with great difficulty for the new constitution, considering the force of argument and the characters of the people who expound them, there is now such a preponderance for agreeing that it is not at all probable that the minority will be able to succeed in counterbalancing it. . . .

1. Printed (Tr.): Hanns Schlitter, ed., *Die Berichte des Ersten Agenten Österreichs in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika Baron de Beelen-Bertholff* . . . (Vienna, 1891), 811–18. This postscript appears in one of the enclosures.

429. Samuel Hodgdon to Timothy Pickering
Philadelphia, 31 May 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We momently expect to hear of the adoption of the New Constitution by the state of south Carolina—Virginia the Ninth state enters on that business on Monday next, and it is thought will prevent further doubt or expectation on that subject. . . .

1. RC, Pickering Papers, MHi.

430. John Murray to John Wheelock
Newburyport, Mass., 4 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . you know Maryland has accepted it—& we all believe S. Carol. has before now, & are assured by Washington himself Virginia will. . . .

1. RC, Document 788354, Archives Department, Dartmouth College Library.

431. Peter Allaire: Journal of Occurrences
New York, 6 June 1788 (excerpts)[1]

. . . South Carolina, meet the 14th May, and Virginia the 28th. May: South Carolina are Federalists three to one, and by the best information from Virginia they will have a Majority of upwards of forty, those two States, adopting the Constitution, forms the federal Union. . . .

May [i.e., June] 3d. Virginia are become federalist & South Carolina: Virginia we expect will Adopt it this Month. . . .

1. RC, Foreign Office, Class 4, America, Vol. 6, Public Record Office, London.

432. Pierpont Edwards to Susanna Edwards
New York, post-9 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The accounts from Virginia all agree that it is a matter of great doubt whether they will adopt the Constitution. . . .

1. Printed: *The Collector,* Vol. LI, no. 3 (January 1937), 29. *The Collector* dated this letter "N.Y., 1788." Edwards was a Connecticut delegate to Congress in New York City from 9 June to 2 July and later. The letter was probably written to his daughter Susanna to whom he also wrote on 14 June (General Manuscripts, Princeton University Library).

433. John Pintard to Elisha Boudinot
New York, 10 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We are in anxious expectation of good news from Virginia which I hope may arrive in time to influence our Copperheads. . . .

1. RC, Boudinot-Pintard Papers, NHi.

434. John Vaughan to John Jay
Philadelphia, post-10 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Virginia will I believe adopt—Randolph has declared highly for it in the present Situation of affairs—my intelligence comes from a Member of Va Convn. . . .

1. RC, Jay Collection, Columbia University Library. Printed: Henry P. Johnston, ed., *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1890–1893), III, 335–36. The letter is undated, but it was written after Vaughan visited Benjamin Franklin on the evening of 10 June.

435. James Wilson to Arthur St. Clair
Philadelphia, 10 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We expect soon to hear of the Adoption of the new System by Virginia and New Hampshire. . . .

1. RC, Peter Force Miscellany, DLC.

436. William Tilghman to Tench Coxe
Head of Elk, Md., 11 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . If Virginia ratifies the thing is done—and I hope there is little doubt but she will. . . .

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi.

437. John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush
Carlisle, Pa., 12 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . our Porspects of haveing the new Goverment Established Brightens I hop verginia will soon make the ninth Pillar and a substansial one god grant it . . .

1. RC, Rush Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia. For the entire letter, see Mfm:Pa. 691.

438. Richard Platt to Winthrop Sargent
New York, 14 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Eight States have adopted the Constitution, and Virginia have had hold of it two Weeks—Our accounts from thence, to several Members of Congress are flattering, & admit of not the least Doubt—In Consequence of which, we are preparing for it's Celebration both here & in Philada. . . .

1. RC, Sargent Papers, MHi.

439. Jonathan Williams to Tench Coxe
Philadelphia, 14 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . [P.S.] Extract of a Letter from Richmond June 3. 1788.

"People here seem pretty sanguine about the Constitution & if So Carolina comes in I think we shall: Good Calculators say we have a Majority of 15—They have settled to proceed by paragraphs but no vote 'till the last.["]

The above shows how opportunely the decision of Carolina has been.—If we gain in Virginia I shall look on No Carolina & Hampshire as certain, & the alternative with New York & Rd Iland will be an awfull one.

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi.

440. Nathan Dane to Caleb Strong
New York, 15 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . by the inclosed paper you will see how affairs stood in Virginia relative to the Constitution on the 4 instant—I need only add that the extracts of letters mentioned in this paper are genuine, and from originals which I saw—and them from men whose information, I suppose, may be relied on—I yesterday saw a letter from a member of that Convention dated the 6th.

instant in which he states that the prospect of adopting the Constitution increases—but adds that nothing can be said with certainty. . . .

1. RC, Strong Papers, Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.

441. Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing
New York, 15 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Virginia the federalist are Confident will adopt and so they say will New Hampshire. . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN.

442. Nova Scotia Gazette, 17 June 1788 (excerpt)

The State of South-Carolina has acceded to the New Constitution; and Virginia, it is expected, will likewise adopt it. . . .

443. John Pintard to Elisha Boudinot
New York, 19 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . We are in anxious expectation of good news from Virginia & Hampshire. . . .

1. RC, Boudinot-Pintard Papers, NHi.

444. James Kent to Robert Troup
Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 20 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the decision in Newhampshire & Virginia we are flattering ourselves will be favorable and that they will give energy to the debate on one side In our Convention, and confusion if not absolute dispair to the other side. . . .

1. Copy, Autograph Letters, NHi.

445. Peter Van Schaack to Henry Van Schaack
Kinderhook, N.Y., 22 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Virginia, Virginia! if She adopts, all will be well, and I believe She will. . . .

1. RC, Henry Van Schaack Scrapbook, Newberry Library, Chicago. Printed: Henry C. Van Schaack, *The Life of Peter Van Schaack* . . . (New York, 1842), 159 (longer excerpt).

446. Benjamin Harrison, Jr., to William Bell
Richmond, 23 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the Tryal of the Cyrus is delayed on account of two of the Judges of the Admiralty being members of our Convention, now sitting & uncertain when it will rise, it is also uncertain whether the Constitution will be adopted or not, tho I am rather inclined to think it will be receivd by a very small Majority . . .

1. FC, Benjamin Harrison, Jr., Letterbook, NHi.

447. Hewes & Anthony to Christopher Champlin
Philadelphia, 23 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . we hope before this Reaches you that you will have Accounts of the New Constitution being Rattified by the Commonwealth of Virginnia; but by Late Accounts from thence, it appears *more Doubtfull* then we *Once* Expected. . . .

1. RC, Wetmore Papers, Wetmore Collection on Rhode Island Commerce, MHi. Printed: *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726–1800* (2 vols., Boston, 1914–1915, Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* 7th series, Vols. 9–10), II, 373.

448. John Pintard to Elisha Boudinot
New York, 23 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Our politicians are looking out for good news this week from Virginia & N Hampshire. . . .

1. RC, Boudinot-Pintard Papers, NHi.

449. Philip Schuyler to Henry Van Schaack
Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 24 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . the Anties do not seem inclined to make much Speed in the business. they probably wish to learn the result of Virginia's convention—and from Accounts conveyed by some of our friends of the 13th Instant from Richmond the event is very problematical, should Virginia reject, I fear the Anties here will follow the example. . . .

1. RC, Henry Van Schaack Scrapbook, Newberry Library, Chicago.

450. Sarah Jay to John Jay
Elizabethtown, N.J., 25 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . [P.S.] I have just heard that New Hampshire has adopted the proposed Constitution & Congratulate you upon it. I wish it may prove a stimulous to your Convention & should rejoice still more were they to anticipate Virginia. . . .

1. RC, John Jay Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

451. Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing
New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Whilst I am Writing advice is brought (I write this in Congress) that New hampshire had adopted the New Constitution Which bread such an inattention to the Business some the Southern Members to Write Letters to Verginia ⟨The Virginia Legislature meet the twenty third and by that time it is Supposed the Convention Will have Come to a decission so that by next Saturday it is expected that the Convention We Will hear the Event⟩ . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. The text in angle brackets was written as an insert in the margin.

452. Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca
New York, 26 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . The Resolution of Virginia is so doubtful, as they confirm, that the Voters numbering more than One Hundred Sixty, they find themselves so equal, that it is not known for which of the parties the Decision Will Result. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Estado, Legajo 3894, Apartado No. 1, Letter No. 268, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

453. St. Jean de Crevecoeur to James Bowdoin
New York, 28 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . nine States have at Last adopted it, God Grant we may Soon hear that the Majority of the Good people of Virginia are become fédéraliste—Some people Seem to doub[t] it, we have as yet no certain News. . . .

1. RC, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, MHi.

454. Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing
New York, 29 June 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . Should Virginia adopt and wether they Will or not is problematical then there will be New exclamations: Can our State Stand alone? . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN.

455. Adrian Wynkoop to Cornelius Ten Broeck
Hurley, N.Y., 1 July 1788 (excerpt)[1]

. . . as all the Nine States have accepted it and every day the Same is to be expected from Virginia. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Ten Broeck Papers, Rutgers University Library.

456. New Hampshire Spy, 1 July 1788 (excerpt)

Accounts received through various channels, agree in the probability of Virginia's adopting the New-Constitution. . . .

Appendix

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

Virginia Newspapers, 1787–1788

Kentucky Gazette, Lexington
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, Norfolk
Virginia Centinel; or the Winchester Mercury, Winchester
Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle, Richmond
Virginia Gazette and Petersburg Intelligencer, Petersburg
Virginia Gazette, and Winchester Advertiser, Winchester
Virginia Gazette, and Weekly Advertiser, Richmond
Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser, Fredericksburg
Virginia Independent Chronicle, Richmond
Virginia Journal, and Alexandria Advertiser, Alexandria

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:1	Resolution of Congress, 21 February 1787 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 24 February 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 8 March *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 14 March
CC:3-A	Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 15 February 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 14 March
CC:3-B	Reason New York *Daily Advertiser*, 24 March 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 April
CC:4	George Washington to the State Executives (1783) Providence *United States Chronicle*, 15 March 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 10 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 4 June 1788
CC:5-B	Halifax Letter *New York Journal*, 15 March 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 4 April
CC:6	Charlestown, Mass., *American Recorder*, 16 March 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 12 April
CC:7	Providence *United States Chronicle*, 29 March 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 May
CC:11	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 April 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 12 April

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:12	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 11 April 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 2 May
CC:16-A	John Adams, *Defence of the Constitutions* Preface, *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 April 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 16 May *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 17 May
CC:16-D	Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 3 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 18 July
CC:16-E	Senex Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 2 or 9 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 15 August *Virginia Journal*, 30 August
CC:18-B	Agrarian Unrest and the Constitution *Massachusetts Centinel*, 16 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 6 June
CC:18-C	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 6 June *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 7 June
CC:18-D	Litchfield, Conn., *Weekly Monitor*, 21 May 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 7 June
CC:18-F	*Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 July 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:18-G	Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 September 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:19	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23 May
CC:20-B	Speculation about a New Constitution *Massachusetts Gazette*, 12 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13 June
CC:20-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 25 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 8 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 9 August
CC:22	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 May 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 24 May *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 May *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 31 May
CC:24	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 19 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 May
CC:26	Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 20 June *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 21 June

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:29	Harrington *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 May 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13 June
CC:30-A	Reports of Constitutional Convention Proceedings *Pennsylvania Herald*, 30 May 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 7 June *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13 June
CC:30-B	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 2 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 20 June
CC:30-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 13 June 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 27 June
CC:30-E	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 June
CC:30-I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 8 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 9 August
CC:30-K	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 15 August 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 23 August *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 29 August
CC:30-L	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 20 September
CC:33	West-Chester Farmer New York *Daily Advertiser*, 8 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 June
CC:34	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 June 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 21 June
CC:35-A	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 20 June *Virginia Journal*, 21 June *Kentucky Gazette*, 8 September
CC:37	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 18 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 4 July
CC:38	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 June 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 5 July
CC:40-D	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 22 August *Virginia Journal*, 23 August
CC:41	*Albany Gazette*, 21 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 July

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:42	Civis *Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August
CC:44	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 June 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 July
CC:46-A	The United States, Spain, and the Navigation of the Mississippi River *Maryland Journal*, 3 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 July
CC:46-C	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 25 July
CC:51-B	Monarchical Tendencies in America Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 2 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 22 August *Virginia Journal*, 23 August
CC:51-C	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 18 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 29 August *Virginia Journal*, 30 August
CC:52	Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 26 July 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:53	Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August
CC:56	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 8 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 9 August
CC:57	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 15 August
CC:58	Americanus New York *Daily Advertiser*, 1 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August
CC:59	An American *Massachusetts Centinel*, 4 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 30 August
CC:60	Boston *American Herald*, 6 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August
CC:62	*New Hampshire Spy*, 7 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August
CC:63	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August *Virginia Journal*, 30 August

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:64	*New York Journal*, 16 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August
CC:65	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 30 August
CC:66	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 5 September *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 6 September Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 September
CC:67	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 August 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 5 September *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 6 September Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 September
CC:69	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 29 August 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 September
CC:72	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 September
CC:74	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 27 September
CC:88	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 September 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 3 October
CC:96-A	Destiny and George Washington *Delaware Gazette*, 26 September 1787 (not extant) *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 4 October
CC:96-B	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 24 October
CC:98	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 3 October *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 6 October
CC:99	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 6 October *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 10 October *Virginia Journal*, 11 October
CC:100-A	An American Citizen I Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787 *Virginia Herald*, 11 October *Virginia Journal*, 18 October *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 7 November Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:101	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 September 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 6 October *Virginia Herald*, 11 October
CC:102	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 September 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:109	An American Citizen II Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 September 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 1 November *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 7 November Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December
CC:111	Curtius New York *Daily Advertiser*, 29 September 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 December *Virginia Herald*, 26 June 1788 (Reprinted from Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 5 June)
CC:112	An American Citizen III Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 September 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 7 November *Virginia Journal*, 8 November Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December
CC:120	Boston *American Herald*, 1 October 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 18 October
CC:125-A	The Address of the Seceding Pennsylvania Assemblymen Broadside, 2 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 17 October
CC:131-K	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 31 October 1787 *Virginia Herald*, 8 November
CC:133	Centinel I Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 October 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 November *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 7, 14 November Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December
CC:134	James Wilson's State House Speech, 6 October 1787 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 October (Extra) *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 24 October *Virginia Journal*, 25 October Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:135	The Grand Constitution *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 October 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 29 November *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 13 December
CC:136	Blessings of the New Government Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 October 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 October
CC:138-B	George Mason's Objections, 7 October 1787 (*See* CC:276-B, below.)
CC:150	Foederal Constitution *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 22 November (excerpts) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 23 November (excerpts)
CC:154	*Virginia Herald*, 11 October 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:156-A	Philadelphia Baptist Meeting *New York Packet*, 12 October 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 November
CC:161	*Boston Gazette*, 15 October 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 9 November
CC:183-A	An American Citizen IV Broadside, 21 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21 November Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December
CC:190	Centinel II Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 24 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21, 28 November Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December
CC:192	Report of Connecticut Delegates to Constitutional Convention Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 25 October 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 22 November
CC:197-B	A Son of Liberty *New York Journal*, 8 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 December
CC:198	*Newport Herald*, 25 October 1787 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 21 November (1st paragraph) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 November (2nd paragraph)

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:201	The Federalist 1 New York *Independent Journal*, 27 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (J. Dixon), c. 15 December
CC:211	*Boston Gazette*, 29 October 1787 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 21 November
CC:214	Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 30 October 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 6 December
CC:217	The Federalist 2 New York *Independent Journal*, 31 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (J. Dixon), c. 15 December
CC:218	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 16 November
CC:219	Ship News Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 1 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 28 November
CC:227-A	Elbridge Gerry to Massachusetts General Court *Massachusetts Centinel*, 3 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 5 December Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 December *Virginia Journal*, 13 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (J. Dixon), c. 15 December
CC:228	The Federalist 3 New York *Independent Journal*, 3 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (J. Dixon), c. 15 December
CC:233-A	*New Jersey Journal*, 7 November 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 22 November *Virginia Herald*, 22 November *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 29 November Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 November
CC:234	The Federalist 4 New York *Independent Journal*, 7 November 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 22 December
CC:236	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 7 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21 November

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 22 September 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 5 October *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 6 October *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 10 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 25 September 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 3 October *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 6 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 October 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 24 October (3rd and 4th paragraphs)
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 5 December
CC:252	The Federalist 5 New York *Independent Journal*, 10 November 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 December *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 29 December
CC:254	A Landholder II *Connecticut Courant*, 12 November 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 4 January 1788
CC:257	The Federalist 6 New York *Independent Journal*, 14 November 1787 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 9 January 1788
CC:260	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 14 November 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:268	An American: The Crisis *Massachusetts Centinel*, 17 November 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 13 December
CC:270-A	*Pittsburgh Gazette*, 17 November 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 27 December
CC:276-B	George Mason's Objections *Virginia Journal*, 22 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 5 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December Richmond pamphlet anthology (J. Dixon), c. 15 December Broadside (Thomas Nicholson), n.d. Version published by Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 23 November No Virginia reprints

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:279-B	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 21 November 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 December
CC:299	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 28 November 1787 No Virginia reprints
CC:317	The Federalist 16 *New York Packet*, 4 December 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 9 April 1788
CC:325	Richard Henry Lee to Governor Edmund Randolph Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 December 1787 Richmond pamphlet anthology (A. Davis), c. 15 December
CC:326	A True Friend Broadside (Augustine Davis), 6 December 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 December 1787
CC:329	*Massachusetts Gazette*, 7 December 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 3 January 1788
CC:335	Landholder VI *Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 January 1788
CC:339-B	President John Sullivan's Speech to the N.H. Legislature *New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 March
CC:342	Philadelphiensis IV Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 November 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 25 September 1788
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 November 1787 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 21 November 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 6 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 30 November 1787 *Virginia Journal*, 13 December Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	*Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 January 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 10 January 1788
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Plain Truth Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 November 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21 November

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:353	The Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 December 1787 Richmond pamphlet (A. Davis), early January 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 1 Feb.–14 March 1788 (serialized)
CC:385	Edmund Randolph's 10 October 1787 Letter Richmond pamphlet, c. 27 December 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 2 January 1788 Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 3, 10 January *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 3, 10 January
CC:386-A	George Washington to Charles Carter *Maryland Journal*, 1 January 1788 (Reprinted from the no longer extant *Virginia Herald* issue of 27 December) No Virginia reprints
CC:406	Advertisement for the Pamphlet Edition of *The Federalist* New York *Independent Journal*, 2 January 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 30 January *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 6 February, 12 March (Extra)
CC:407	An Old Man Pennsylvania *Carlisle Gazette*, 2 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23 January *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 31 January
CC:430	Tamony *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 January 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:439	Governor George Clinton's Speech to the New York Legislature New York *Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 30 January
CC:447	Report of New York's Delegates to Constitutional Convention New York *Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 30 January
CC:448	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 January 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 6 February
CC:451	Luther Martin's Genuine Information VI Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 January 1788 Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 13 March
CC:454	Philanthropos *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 6 February

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:481	*State Gazette of South Carolina*, 28 January 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 April
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 December 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 29 December
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 December 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 29 December *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 9 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 December 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 29 December *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 9 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 December 1787 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 3 January 1788
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 29 December 1787 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 January 1788 (1st paragraph) *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 10 January (1st paragraph) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 18 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 January 1788 *Virginia Journal*, 29 January (1st extract)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Richmond Political Society *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 16 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	John Hancock and the Constitution, 3 January–4 February 1788 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 11 January *Virginia Journal*, 5 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 8 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	The Pillars of the American Republic, 9–16 January 1788 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 13 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	The Pillars of the American Republic, 9–16 January 1788 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January (5th Pillar) *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 22 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13 February (2nd paragraph)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Letter from Newport *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 January 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 7 February

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 25 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 6 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 January 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13 February (2nd paragraph) *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 20 February (2nd paragraph)
CC:498	Civis Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 4 February 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 17 April (Supplement) *Virginia Centinel*, 30 April
CC:504	"A.B.": The Raising *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 6 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 20 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:507	Philadelphiensis IX Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 6 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 March (1st paragraph)
CC:529-A	Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 14 May (reprint taken from *Maryland Journal*, 6 May) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 May (reprint taken from *Maryland Journal*, 6 May)
CC:534	Spurious Centinel XV *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 16 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 March *Kentucky Gazette*, 14 June
CC:548	Marcus I *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 20 February 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:552	A Yankee *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 March *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 13 March *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 19 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 19 March
CC:553	The New Litany *Virginia Herald*, 21 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 March *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March
CC:566-A	Governor John Hancock's Speech to the Legislature Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 March

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
	Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March (excerpts) *Virginia Herald*, 27 March
CC:566-C	*New York Journal*, 24 March 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 14 May
CC:571	Marcus II *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 27 February 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:594	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April
CC:596	Marcus III *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 5 March 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:602	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 March *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April
CC:608-A	The Fabrick of Freedom Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 8 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March
CC:616	Marcus IV *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 12 March 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:624	Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 18 March 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 15 April
CC:627	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 16 April *Virginia Centinel*, 23 April
CC:629	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:630	Marcus V *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 19 March 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:638-A	George Washington to Caleb Gibbs *Massachusetts Centinel*, 22 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 16 April Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 16 April *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 17 April
CC:639-A	Publication and Sale of Book Edition of *The Federalist* (Volume I) New York *Independent Journal*, 22 March 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 2, 9, 16 April *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23, 30 April

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:643	Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 25 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23 April (Extra)
CC:647	Purported Letters from George Bryan to John Ralston *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 23 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 February *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 28 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Packet*, 5 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Newport Herald*, 7 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 9 April (1st paragraph) *Virginia Centinel*, 9 April (1st paragraph)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Journal*, 7 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Herald*, 7 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 8 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 February *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 28 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 9 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 6 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	New York *Independent Journal*, 16 February 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 5 March *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April (last paragraph) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 April (last paragraph)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Accounts from England, 18 February–22 March 1788 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Accounts from England, 18 February–22 March 1788 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 19 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Accounts from England, 18 February–22 March 1788 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 February *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 13 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 19 March

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Accounts from England, 18 February–22 March 1788 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 1 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March *Virginia Herald*, 27 March *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 2 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Accounts from England, 18 February–22 March 1788 Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette*, 22 March *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 24 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March (1st and 2nd paragraphs)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 19 March (1st and 5th paragraphs)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Newport Herald*, 21 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	South Carolina Calls a Convention *Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 March *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 3 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 February 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 12 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 26 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 20 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 February 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 12 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	South Carolina Legislature *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 February 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 13 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 March *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 19 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Letter from Wilmington *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 February 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 13 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 19 March

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Packet*, 29 February 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Providence Gazette*, 1 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Morning Post*, 3 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March (paraphrase of first letter, reprinted from *New York Journal*, 3 March)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*New York Journal*, 3 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 4 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 20 March Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 8 March 1788 *Virginia Journal*, 28 March (3rd and 4th paragraphs) *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 2 April (4th paragraph) *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April (3rd and 4th paragraphs) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 April (4th paragraph) *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 April (3rd and 4th paragraphs)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 26 March (2nd and 3rd paragraphs) *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April (1st paragraph) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 April (1st and 3rd paragraphs)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 March 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 2 April (2nd paragraph) *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 2 April (2nd paragraph) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 9 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Federalist *Massachusetts Centinel*, 26 March 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23 April (Extra) *Virginia Centinel*, 30 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 9 April (1st paragraph) *Virginia Centinel*, 15 April (1st paragraph)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 6 February 1788 No Virginia reprints

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 16 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*Maryland Journal*, 29 February 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 March (1st paragraph) Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 19 March (printers' letter)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*Maryland Journal*, 11 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Manco *Maryland Journal*, 18 March 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Petition of Philadelphia Newspaper Printers Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 2 April 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 16 April Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 16 April (different version) *Virginia Centinel*, 23 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	*New York Journal*, 21 March 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 15 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March–9 April 1788 (5 items) No Virginia reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Mentor Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 3 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 23 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	A Correspondent Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 15 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 May
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 May (excerpt)
CC:658	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 May
CC:668	"K" Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 8 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23 April
CC:677	Fabius I Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 April
CC:678	Advertisement for Pamphlet Edition of Genuine Information Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 12 April 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, 28 June
CC:684	Fabius II *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 15 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 7 May

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:685	Peter Prejudice Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 July
CC:690	Fabius III *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 17 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 14 May
CC:693	Fabius IV *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 19 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21 May
CC:699	Fabius V *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 22 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 28 May
CC:716-A	Proposed Maryland Amendments *Maryland Journal*, 29 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 7 May *Virginia Centinel*, 7 May Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 May *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 8 May
CC:720	A Society of Western Gentlemen Revise the Constitution *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 April, 7 May 1788 (Extra) No Virginia reprints
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 16 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Letter from Charleston *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 April 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 24 April Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	William Blount's Opinion *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*New York Morning Post*, 11 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 April *Virginia Centinel*, 30 April Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 April 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 May *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 8 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 16 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 30 April Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 April *Virginia Centinel*, 7 May

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 April 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 7 May Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette*, 29 April 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 4 June
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 1 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 21 May Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 May *Kentucky Gazette*, 2 August
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	British Intrigue *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 21 May Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Letter from Charleston *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 21 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Delaware Gazette*, 7 May 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 29 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	*Maryland Journal*, 9 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 May
CC:747	*Maryland Journal*, 16 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 28 May
CC:751	An American *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21, 28 May 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 28 May, 4 June *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 5 June *Virginia Herald*, 5, 12 June
CC:752	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 28 May
CC:753	South Carolina Convention Amendments, 23 May 1788 Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 May *Virginia Herald*, 12 June *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 18 June *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 June
CC:759	Advertisement for Volume II of *The Federalist* New York *Independent Journal*, 28 May 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 4, 11, 18 June, 3 September *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 June, 23 July (Extra)

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:770	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 June 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 June Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June
CC:773	David Ramsay's Oration Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 5 June 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 13, 20 August
CC:784	*New Jersey Journal*, 18 June 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 June
CC:790	Virginia Convention Amendments, 27 June 1788 (from Broadside) *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 2 July 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 3 July *Virginia Centinel*, 9 July *Kentucky Gazette*, 9, 16 August
CC:793	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 June 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 July
CC:799-E	James Wilson's Fourth of July 1788 Speech *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 July 1788 (Supplement) *Virginia Herald*, 7 August *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 3 September
CC:806	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 July 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 6 August
CC:815	*New York Journal*, 24 July 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 27 August
CC:816	New York Circular Letter, 26 July 1788 Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 5 August *Virginia Centinel*, 20 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 21 August
CC:817	New York Convention Amendments, 26 July 1788 Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 29 July, 12 August *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 13, 20 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 14 August
CC:821	North Carolina Convention Amendments, 2 August 1788 Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 29 August *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 4 September
CC:822	A Federal Song *Albany Journal*, 4 August 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 3 September *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 4 September
CC:834	Solon, Jr. *Providence Gazette*, 23 August 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 25 September

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:845	U.S. Congress Election Ordinance, 13 September 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 24 September *Virginia Herald*, 25 September *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 1 October *Virginia Centinel*, 1 October Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 1 October *Kentucky Gazette*, 1 November
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*New Hampshire Spy*, 10 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 11 June Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 11 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*New Hampshire Spy*, 13 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 4 June *Virginia Herald*, 5 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Gazette*, 13 May 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 11 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	New York Convention Elections *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 28 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Great Majority in North Carolina *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 28 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Backcountry Favors Constitution *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 28 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Providence *United States Chronicle*, 22 May 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 18 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 24 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 11 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 26 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Providence *United States Chronicle*, 29 May 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June (paraphrase of portion on North Carolina)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	The Approaching Summer *New York Journal*, 29 May 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 12 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Present Political Situation *New York Journal*, 29 May 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 12 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 4 June 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 June

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Providence *United States Chronicle*, 5 June 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 2 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	English Packet *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 June 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 25 June Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Letter from Virginia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 June 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 June 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 3 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 16 June 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 26 June *Kentucky Gazette*, 2 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 18 June 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 2 July Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*New York Journal*, 19 June 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 June 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 9 July *Virginia Herald*, 14 August (last paragraph)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 27 June 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 9 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Maryland Journal*, 1 July 1788 *Kentucky Gazette*, 26 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Ship News *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 24 July Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Report from London *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 14 August Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 20 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Rhode Island Governor *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 23 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Newport and Providence Celebrate New Hampshire's Ratification *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 23 July *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 24 July

CC:No.	Item/Virginia Reprints
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Letter from New York *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 July 1788 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 July *Virginia Centinel*, 16 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Virginia Ratifies *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 July 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 16 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Mr. Madison *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 July 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 16 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Nothing Can More Strongly Evince *Newport Herald*, 3 July 1788 Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 3 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	New York *Daily Advertiser*, 4 July 1788 Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 30 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Massachusetts Spy*, 10 July 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 24 July *Virginia Centinel*, 6 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Newport Herald*, 10 July 1788 *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 13 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 July 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 24 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 July 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 31 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 24 July 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 29 July 1788 *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 20 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Transcendent Joy Over New York Ratification *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 July 1788 *Virginia Herald*, 7 August Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 20 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 31 July 1788 No Virginia reprints
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	*New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 August 1788 *Virginia Centinel*, 10 September *Virginia Herald*, 11 September *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 25 September
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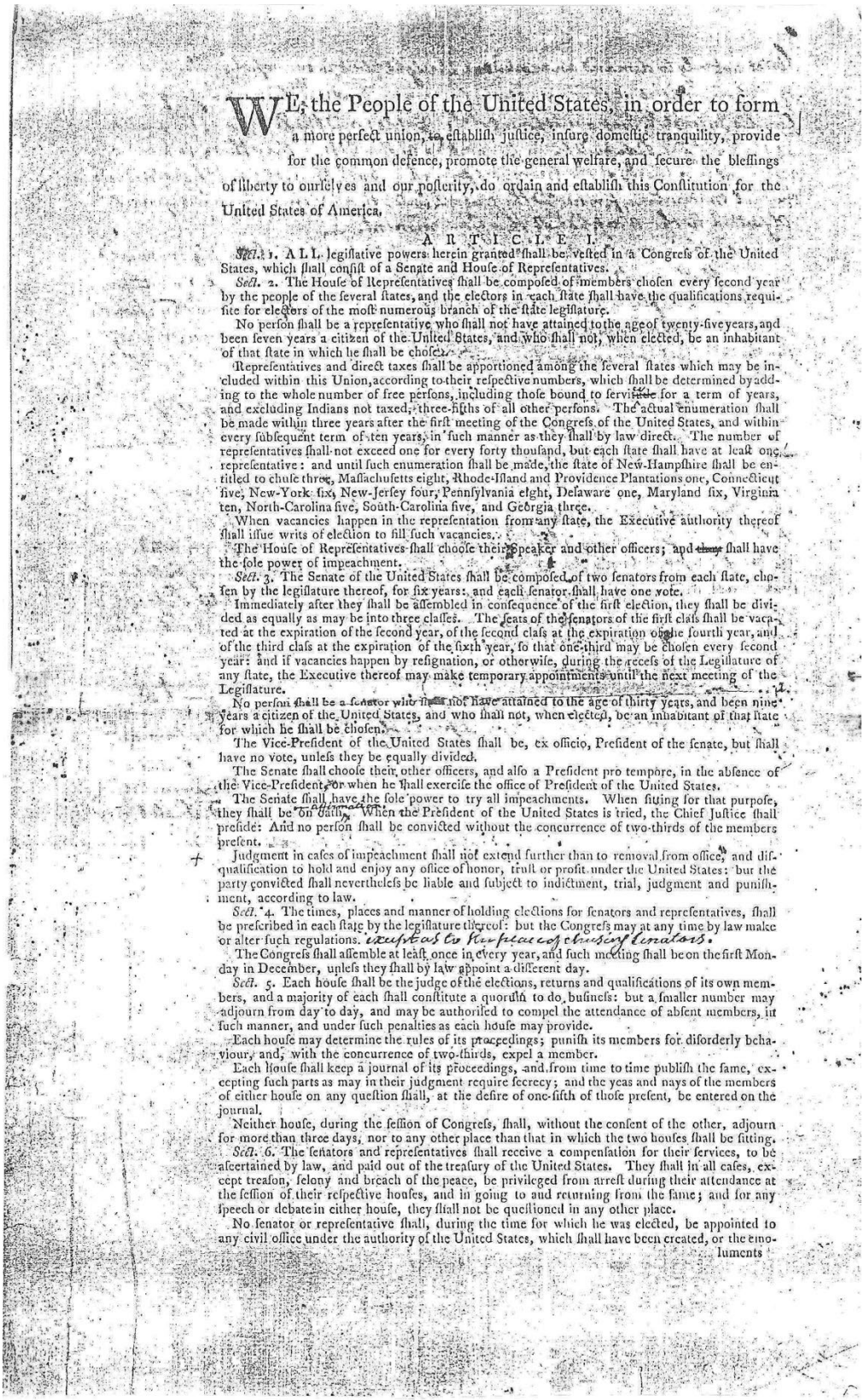
1-A. George Mason: Annotated Copy of the Committee of Style Report, c. 12–13 September 1787.[1]



WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, 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, do ordain and eſtabliſh this Conſtitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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 ſervitude 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 forty 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 chooſe their Speaker and other officers; and ~~they~~ ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

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: 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.

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, ex officio, Preſident of the ſenate, but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The Senate ſhall chooſe 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.

Sect. 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 place 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.

Sect. 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 authoriſed 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.

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. 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 emo-

luments

1. This annotated broadside is in the Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. On the verso of the broadside Mason wrote his objections to the Constitution.

luments 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.

Sect. 7. The enacting stile of the laws shall be, "Be it enacted by the senators and representatives in Congress assembled."

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 ~~three fourths~~ two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sect. 8. The Congress may by joint ballot appoint a treasurer. They 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 & Excises~~ shall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, 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 mart 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.

Sect. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as the ~~several~~ 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 shall be passed, nor any ex post facto law.

No capitation tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

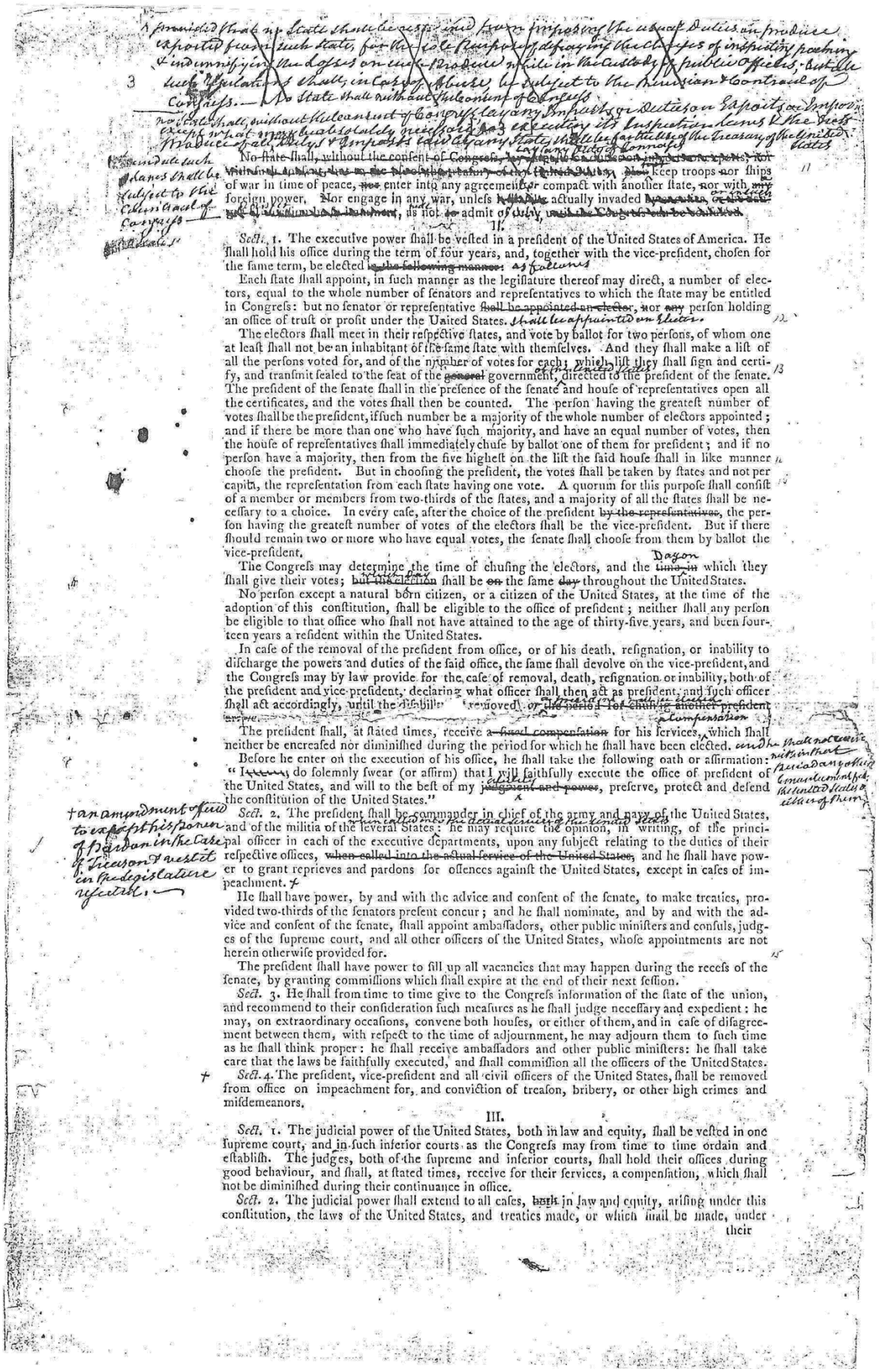
No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

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.

Sect. 10. No state shall coin money, nor emit bills of credit, nor make any thing but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts, nor pass any bill of attainder, nor ex post facto laws, nor laws altering or impairing the obligation of contracts; nor grant letters of marque and reprisal, nor enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, nor grant any title of nobility.

No

Sect. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty Alliance or Confederation, grant Letters of marque & reprisal, coin money, emit Bills of Credit, make any thing but Gold or Silver Coin a Tender in payment of Debts, pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligations of Contracts, or grant any Title of nobility.



No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of Congreſs, lay any duties upon imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws: and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any ſtate, 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 on tonnage, keep troops, or ſhips of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another ſtate, or with any foreign power, or engage in any war, unleſs actually invaded by enemies, or in ſuch imminent danger as will not admit of delay, until the Congreſs can be conſulted.

II.

Sect. 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 in the following manner: 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 Congreſs: but no ſenator or repreſentative ſhall be appointed an elector, nor any 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 general government, 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 chooſe the preſident. But in chooſing the preſident, the votes ſhall be taken by ſtates and not per capita, 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 by the repreſentatives, 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 chooſe from them by ballot the vice-preſident.

The Congreſs may determine the time of chuſing the electors, and the time in which they ſhall give their votes; but the election ſhall be on the ſame day 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 removed, or a preſident ſhall be elected.

The preſident ſhall, at ſtated times, receive a fixed compenſation for his ſervices, which ſhall neither be encreaſed nor diminiſhed during the period for which he ſhall have been elected.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he ſhall take the following oath or affirmation: "I, A B, 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 judgment and power, preſerve, protect and defend the conſtitution of the United States."

Sect. 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: 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, when called into the actual ſervice of the United States, 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.

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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

III.

Sect. 1. The judicial power of the United States, both in law and equity, 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.

Sect. 2. The judicial power ſhall extend to all caſes, both in law and equity, ariſing under this conſtitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under their

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 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.

Sect. 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, nor forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

IV.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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, ~~and~~ to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person ~~legally held~~ to service or labour in one state, escaping into another, shall in consequence ~~of regulation subsisting~~ of any law or therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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, against domestic violence.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, or on the application of two-thirds of the legislatures of the several states, shall propose amendments to this constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part thereof, when the same shall have been ratified by ~~three fourths at least of~~ the legislatures 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 1808 shall in any manner affect the ——— and ——— sections of article ———

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.

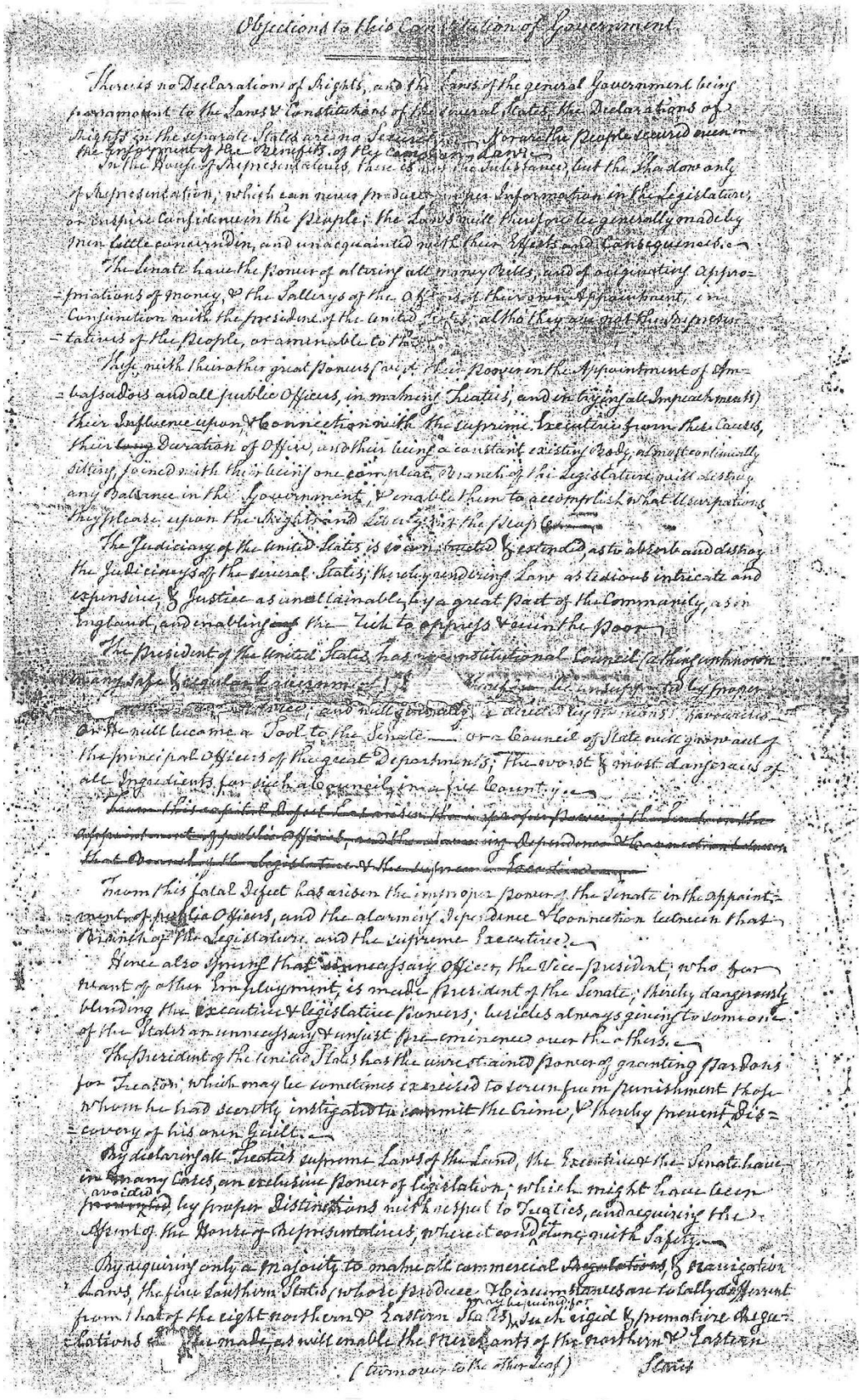
This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the ~~United States~~ 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.

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.

1-B. George Mason: Objections to the Constitution, c. 12–13 September 1787.[1]



Objections to this Constitution of Government

There is no Declaration of Rights, and the Laws of the general Government being paramount to the Laws & Constitutions of the several States, the Declarations of Rights in the separate States are no Security. Nor are the People secured even in the Enjoyment of the Benefits of the Common Law.

In the House of Representatives, there is not the Substance, but the Shadow only of Representation; which can never produce proper Information in the Legislature, or inspire Confidence in the People; the Laws will therefore be generally made by Men little acquainted with, and unconcerned in their Effects and Consequences.

The Senate have the Power of altering all Money Bills, and of originating Appropriations of Money, & the Salleries of the Officers of their own Appointment, in Conjunction with the President of the United States, although they are not Representatives of the People, or amenable to them.

This, with their other great Powers (viz. their Power in the Appointment of Ambassadors and all public Officers, in making Treaties, and in trying all Impeachments) their Influence upon & Connection with the supreme Executive from these Causes, their long Duration of Office, and their being a constant existing Body, almost continually sitting, joined with their being one compleat Branch of the Legislature, will destroy any Ballance in the Government, & enable them to accomplish what Usurpations they please upon the Rights and Liberties of the People.

The Judiciary of the United States is so constituted & extended, as to absorb and destroy the Judiciarys of the several States; thereby rendering Law as tedious intricate and expensive, & Justice as unattainable by a great part of the Community, as in England, and enabling the Rich to oppress & ruin the Poor.

The President of the United States has no constitutional Council (a thing unknown in any safe & regular Government). He can therefore be under no Restraint, but may constantly sacrifice the Interest of the Public to his own Passions, or to the Seductions of Ambitious & designing Men. And as he is to be supported by great Pomp & Parade, and kept in State, as the Creature of Grandeur, he will become a Tool to the Senate — or a Council of State will grow out of the principal Officers of the great Departments; the worst & most dangerous of all Ingredients for such a Council in a free Country.

~~From this capital Defect he cannot be impeached, where the Powers of the Senate, the Appointment of public Officers, and other things depending thereon, that Branch will be Legislature & the supreme Executive.~~

From this fatal Defect has arisen the improper Power of the Senate in the Appointment of public Officers, and the alarming Dependence & Connection between that Branch of the Legislature, and the supreme Executive.

Hence also spring that unnecessary Office, the Vice-President, who for want of other employment, is made President of the Senate, thereby dangerously blending the executive & legislative Powers, besides always giving to some one of the States an unnecessary & unjust pre-eminence over the others.

The President of the United States has the unrestrained Power of granting Pardons for Treason, which may be sometimes exercised to screen from Punishment those whom he had secretly instigated to commit the Crime, & thereby prevent the Discovery of his own Guilt.

By declaring all Treaties supreme Laws of the Land, the Executive & the Senate have in many Cases, an exclusive Power of Legislation; which might have been avoided by proper Distinctions with respect to Treaties, and requiring the Assent of the House of Representatives, where it could be done with Safety.

By requiring only a majority to make all commercial Regulations, & Navigation Laws, the five Southern States, whose Produce & Circumstances are totally different from that of the eight Northern & Eastern States, may be subjected for many Years to such rigid & premature Regulations as may enable the Merchants of the Northern & Eastern

(Turn over to the other side) States

1. Mason's objections appear on the verso of his broadside copy of the Committee of Style report. For more on Mason's objections, see RCS:Va., 40–46.

States not only to demand an exorbitant Freight, but to monopolize the Purchase of the Commodities at their own Prices for many Years; to the great Injury of the landed Interest, & Impoverishment of the People: and the Danger is the greater, as the Gain of the Side will lie in Proportion to the Loss on the other. Whereas requiring two Thirds of the Members present in both Houses would have produced mutual Moderation, promoted the general Interest, and removed an insuperable Objection to the Adoption of this Government.

Under their own Construction of the general Clause, at the End of the enumerated Powers, the Congress may grant Monopolies in Trade & Commerce, constitute new Crimes, inflict unusual and severe Punishments, & extend their Powers as far as they shall think proper, so that the State Legislatures have no Security for the Powers now presumed to remain to them, or the People for their Rights.

There is no Declaration of any Kind, for preserving the Liberty of the Press, or the Trial by Jury in Civil Causes; nor against the Danger of standing Armys in time of Peace.

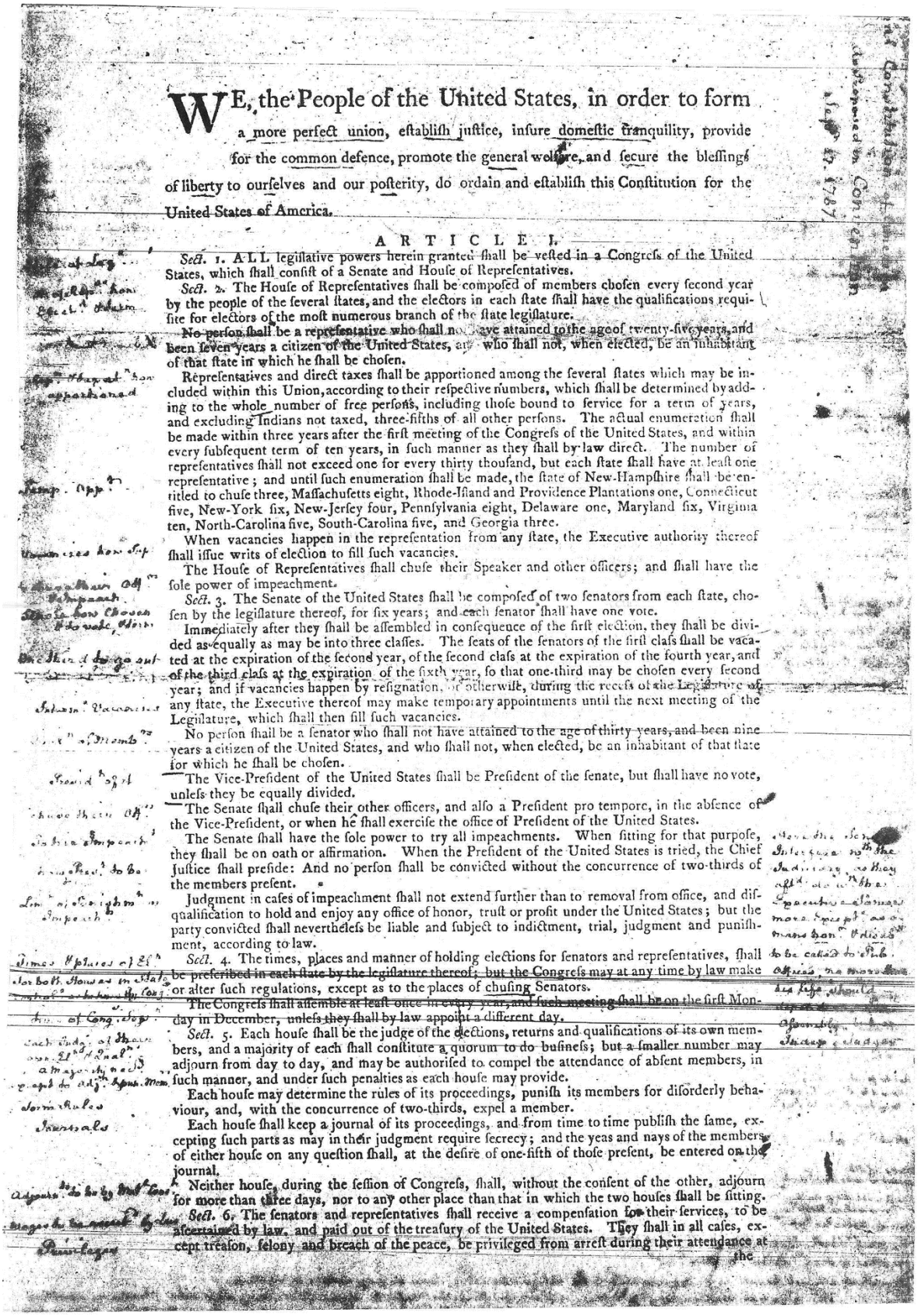
The State Legislatures are restrained from laying Imposts or Duties on their own Produce.

* Both the general Legislature and the State Legislatures are expressly prohibited making ex post facto Laws, tho' there never was, nor can be a Legislature but must and will make such Laws, when Necessity & the public Safety require them; which will hereafter be a Breach of all the Constitutions in the Union, and afford Precedents for other Innovations.

This Government will not end in a moderate Aristocracy: it is at present impossible to foresee whether it will, in its Operation, produce a Vitious Aristocracy, or a limited tyrannical Aristocracy; it will most probably vibrate sometimes between the two, and then terminate in the one or the other.

* The general Legislature is restrained from prohibiting the further Importation of Slaves for twenty odd Years; though such Importation underthe limited States may render them more vulnerable, and less capable of Defence.

2. Edmund Pendleton: Annotated Copy of the Constitution, post-20 September 1787.[1]



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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

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; 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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 authoriſed 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.

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. They ſhall in all caſes, except treaſon, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at the

1. This broadside, printed for the Constitutional Convention by Dunlap and Claypoole, is in the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers at the Library of Congress.

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.

Sect. 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 conſideration 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.

Sect. 8. The Congreſs ſhall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts and exciſes, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, 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.

Sect. 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.

2. 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.

3. No bill of attainder or ex poſt facto law ſhall be paſſed.

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

5. 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

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.

Sect. 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 its 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.

II.

Sect. 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 encreased 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."

Sect. 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.

Sect. 3.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

III.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

IV.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

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 seven hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

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

The senators and representatives beforementioned, 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.

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.

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.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President,
And Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.	*John Langdon*, *Nicholas Gilman.*	DELAWARE.	*George Read*, *Gunning Bedford, Junior*, *John Dickinson*, *Richard Bassett*, *Jacob Broom.*
MASSACHUSETTS.	*Nathaniel Gorham*, *Rufus King.*	MARYLAND.	*James M'Henry*, *Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer*, *Daniel Carrol.*
CONNECTICUT.	*William Samuel Johnson*, *Roger Sherman.*	VIRGINIA.	*John Blair*, *James Madison, Junior.*
NEW-YORK.	*Alexander Hamilton.*	NORTH-CAROLINA	*William Blount*, *Richard Dobbs Spaight*, *Hugh Williamson.*
NEW-JERSEY.	*William Livingston*, *David Brearley*, *William Paterson*, *Jonathan Dayton.*	SOUTH-CAROLINA.	*John Rutledge*, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*, *Charles Pinckney*, *Pierce Butler.*
PENNSYLVANIA.	*Benjamin Franklin*, *Thomas Mifflin*, *Robert Morris*, *George Clymer*, *Thomas Fitzsimons*, *Jared Ingersoll*, *James Wilson*, *Gouverneur Morris.*	GEORGIA.	*William Few*, *Abraham Baldwin.*

Attest, *William Jackson*, SECRETARY.

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,

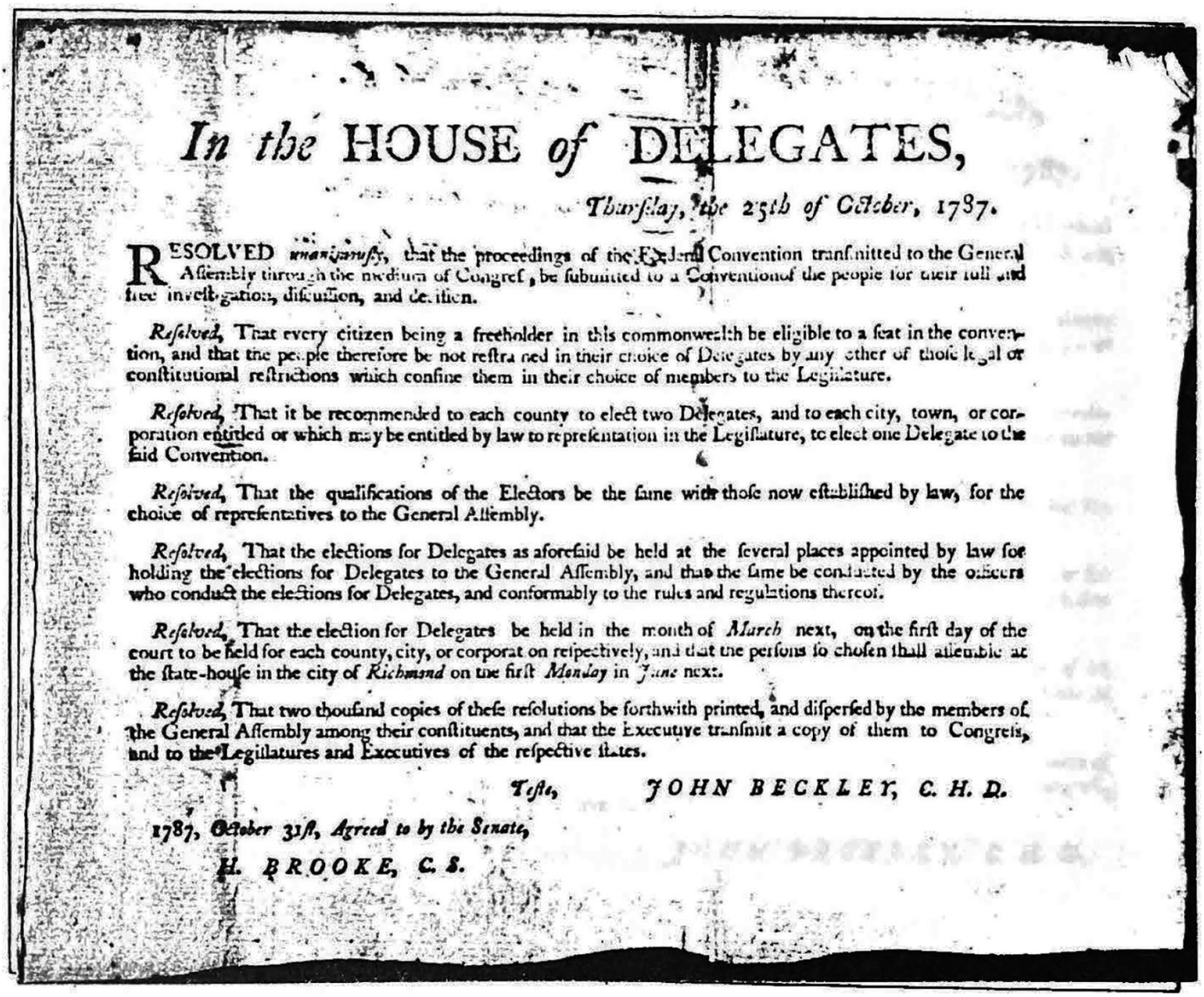
THAT the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature, for their 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,
GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

William Jackson, Secretary.

11-A. Resolutions Calling the State Convention, 31 October 1787.



In the HOUSE *of* DELEGATES,

Thurſday, the 25th of October, 1787.

RESOLVED *unanimouſly*, that the proceedings of the Federal Convention tranſmitted to the General Aſſembly through the medium of Congreſs, be ſubmitted to a Convention of the people for their full and free inveſtigation, diſcuſſion, and deciſion.

Reſolved, That every citizen being a freeholder in this commonwealth be eligible to a ſeat in the convention, and that the people therefore be not reſtrained in their choice of Delegates by any other of thoſe legal or conſtitutional reſtrictions which confine them in their choice of members to the Legiſlature.

Reſolved, That it be recommended to each county to elect two Delegates, and to each city, town, or corporation entitled or which may be entitled by law to repreſentation in the Legiſlature, to elect one Delegate to the ſaid Convention.

Reſolved, That the qualifications of the Electors be the ſame with thoſe now eſtabliſhed by law, for the choice of repreſentatives to the General Aſſembly.

Reſolved, That the elections for Delegates as aforeſaid be held at the ſeveral places appointed by law for holding the elections for Delegates to the General Aſſembly, and that the ſame be conducted by the officers who conduct the elections for Delegates, and conformably to the rules and regulations thereof.

Reſolved, That the election for Delegates be held in the month of *March* next, on the firſt day of the court to be held for each county, city, or corporation reſpectively, and that the perſons ſo choſen ſhall aſſemble at the ſtate-houſe in the city of *Richmond* on the firſt *Monday* in *June* next.

Reſolved, That two thouſand copies of theſe reſolutions be forthwith printed, and diſperſed by the members of the General Aſſembly among their conſtituents, and that the Executive tranſmit a copy of them to Congreſs, and to the Legiſlatures and Executives of the reſpective ſtates.

Teſte, JOHN BECKLEY, C. H. D.

1787, *October 31ſt, Agreed to by the Senate*,

H. BROOKE, C. S.

23. Charles M. Thruston to the Mayor of Winchester Richmond, 15 November, Winchester *Virginia Gazette,* 23 November 1787.[1]

WINCHESTER, Nov. 23.

The following letter has been received by the Mayor of this town, from C. M. THRUSTON, Esq. one of the Representatives for Frederick county, in the General Assembly of this State.

Richmond, Nov. 15, 1787.

Dear Sir,

"I duly received both the memorial of the merchants of Winchester, respecting duties on inland importations, &c. and the instructions of the freeholders of the county to their Delegates. These have been, and shall be, paid all proper attention to; the former having been presented immediately after its reception, and, I wish I could say, with a prospect of redressing the just grievances complained of. However, no decision has yet been had on it. The former has been published in the Gazette, and met with the approbation of the judicious. Every person, who has the least pretence to a knowledge of politics or government, is engaged here on the important subject of the new Federal Constitution, and the most respectable names appear in the number of the *pros.* and *cons.* That you and the good people of the town may form some idea of the question, as it stands at present, I will take the liberty of giving you a short list of those said to be on one side and the other. I will place at the head of those for it, Judge Pendleton, who is looked up to as the President of the Convention to be held in June, Nicholas Wythe, Blair, the Pages, —— Johnson, Stuart, Harvie, Jones, Wood, and a multitude of others. Against it,—First, as the leader of this party, Henry Mason, Governor Randolph, Lawson, John Taylor, with most of the General Court Lawyers, and many of the Judges, the Nelsons, R. H. Lee, (in many instances father against son) and many others. In a word, the division of the multitude is great; but, after all, it appears to me, the party in favor of the Constitution must prevail; the signature and approbation of our great and good Washington, will give it a preponderancy to weigh down all opposition.

"The Assembly as yet has done little, and I fear the session will end, after a great deal of bustle, in mere smoke, except what may bear relation to fiscal adjustments. The best thing to be hoped for, is a reduction of our taxes.

"Paper money; payment of debts by property; instalment of them in three annual portions; prohibition of spirits of all sorts; beer; soap; candles; hemp; and British debts:—these, with a reform of our finances, are the principal things which have been under contemplation: the two first may be said to be dead and buried, as far as words and resolutions can effect the purpose, and were our ficklenss out of the question, it should seem, for ever.

"The friends to district courts were willing to admit instalments as a kind of compromise and purchase of them but, both are like to fail, as also the prohibitory scheme, at least in part. British debts are to be agitated this day. This is all worthy communication in the public line; in the mercantile walk, I will just add, that the arrival of a large ship to lade with wheat, for Liverpool or Bristol, has given a rise to that grain. This is of consequence to our people.

"I am, Sir,

"With great regard,

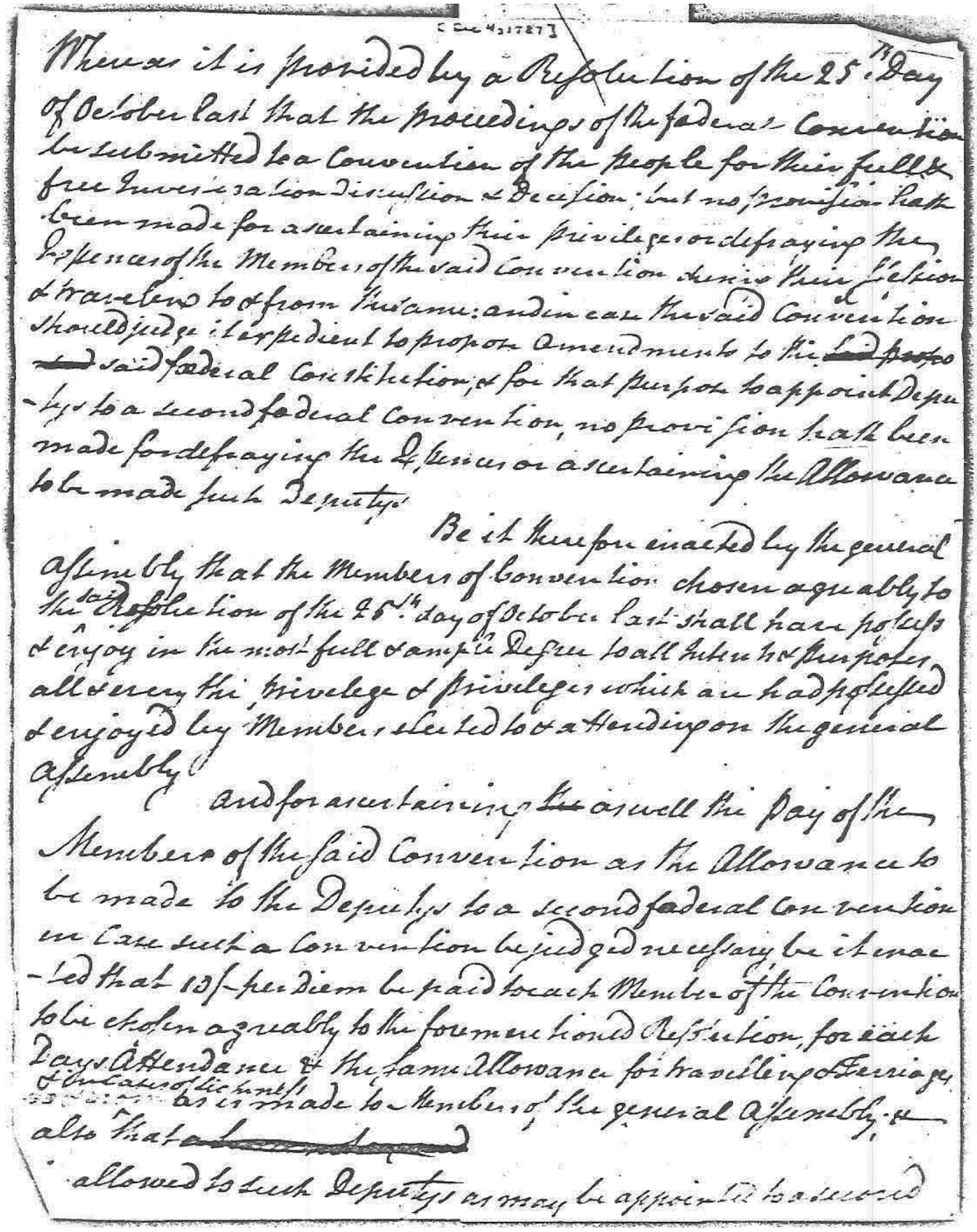
"Your most obedient servant,

"C. M THRUSTON.

"N. B. Through you, I must beg a communication of this to the town."

1. For reprints, see RCS:Va., 165, note 1.

28-A. Patrick Henry's Draft of House Bill Concerning the State Convention, 4 December 1787.[1]



[Dec 4, 1787]

Whereas it is provided by a Resolution of the 25th. Day of October last that the proceedings of the federal Convention be submitted to a Convention of the people for their full & free Investigation Discussion & Decision: but no provision hath been made for ascertaining their privileges or defraying the Expenses of the Members of the said Convention during their Session & travelling to & from the same: and in case the said Convention should judge it expedient to propose Amendments to the ~~said~~ proposed said federal Constitution, & for that purpose to appoint Deputies to a second federal Convention, no provision hath been made for defraying the Expenses or ascertaining the Allowance to be made such Deputies

Be it therefore enacted by the general assembly that the Members of Convention chosen agreably to the said Resolution of the 25th. day of October last shall have powers & enjoy in the most full & ample Degree to all Intents & purposes all & every the Privilege & Privileges which are had possessed & enjoyed by Members elected to attend upon the general Assembly

and for ascertaining as well the Pay of the Members of the said Convention as the Allowance to be made to the Deputies to a second federal Convention in Case such a Convention be judged necessary be it enacted that 15/- per diem be paid to each Member of the Convention to be chosen agreably to the forementioned Resolution, for each Days Attendance & the same Allowance for travelling & Ferriage & in Case of sickness as is made to Members of the general Assembly, & also that a Compensation be allowed to such Deputies as may be appointed to attend

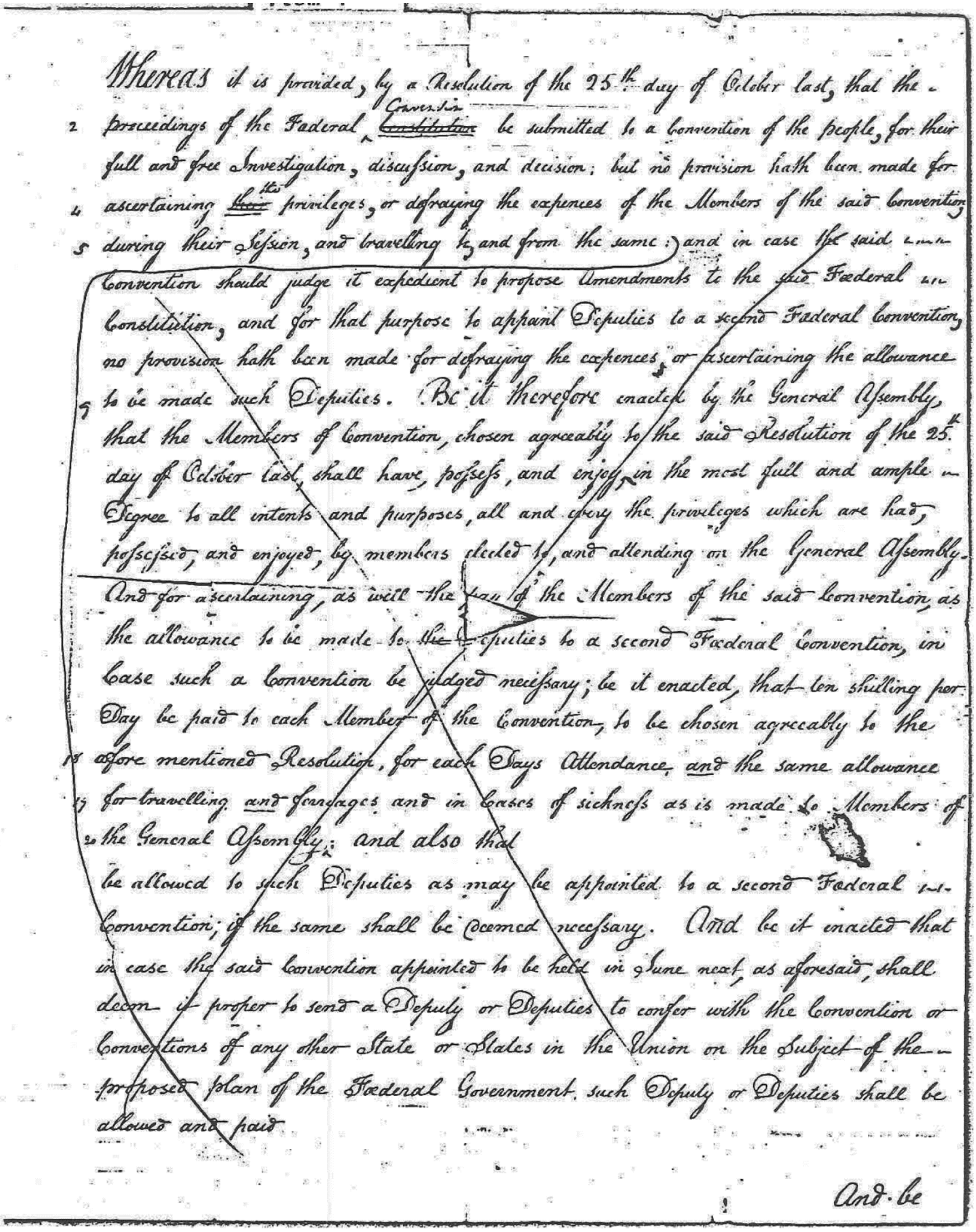
1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Virginia State Library.

federal Convention if the same shall be deemed necessary

and be it enacted that in Case the said Convention appointed to be held in June next as aforesaid shall deem it ~~necessary~~ proper to send a Deputy or Deputys to confer with the Convention or Conventions of any other State or States in the Union on the Subject of the proposed Plan of federal Government, such Deputy or Deputys shall be allowed & paid

And be it further enacted that the several Sums of Money beforementioned shall be paid by the Treasurer out of any unappropriated Money in his Hands, to the several Claimants under this Act

28-B. House Bill Concerning the State Convention (In Clerk's Handwriting), 4 December 1787.[1]



Whereas it is provided, by a Resolution of the 25th day of October last, that the proceedings of the Federal Convention be submitted to a Convention of the people, for their full and free Investigation, discussion, and decision: but no provision hath been made for ascertaining their privileges, or defraying the expences of the Members of the said Convention during their Session, and travelling to and from the same: and in case the said Convention should judge it expedient to propose Amendments to the said Federal Constitution, and for that purpose to appoint Deputies to a second Federal Convention, no provision hath been made for defraying the expences, or ascertaining the allowance to be made such Deputies. Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that the Members of Convention, chosen agreeably to the said Resolution of the 25th day of October last, shall have, possess, and enjoy, in the most full and ample Degree to all intents and purposes, all and every the privileges which are had, possessed, and enjoyed, by members elected to, and attending on the General Assembly. And for ascertaining, as well the [illegible] of the Members of the said Convention, as the allowance to be made to the Deputies to a second Federal Convention, in case such a Convention be judged necessary; be it enacted, that ten shilling per Day be paid to each Member of the Convention, to be chosen agreeably to the afore mentioned Resolution, for each Days Attendance, and the same allowance for travelling and ferriages and in cases of sickness as is made to Members of the General Assembly; and also that be allowed to such Deputies as may be appointed to a second Federal Convention, if the same shall be deemed necessary. And be it enacted that in case the said Convention appointed to be held in June next, as aforesaid, shall deem it proper to send a Deputy or Deputies to confer with the Convention or Conventions of any other State or States in the Union on the Subject of the proposed plan of the Federal Government such Deputy or Deputies shall be allowed and paid

And be

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Virginia State Library.

And be it farther enacted, That the several sums of Money beforementioned ~~to~~ shall be paid by the Treasurer ~~out of any unappropriated Money in his Hands~~, to the several Claimants under this Act out of the money arising from ~~the~~ and if the same shall not be sufficient out of any unappropriated Money in the Treasury

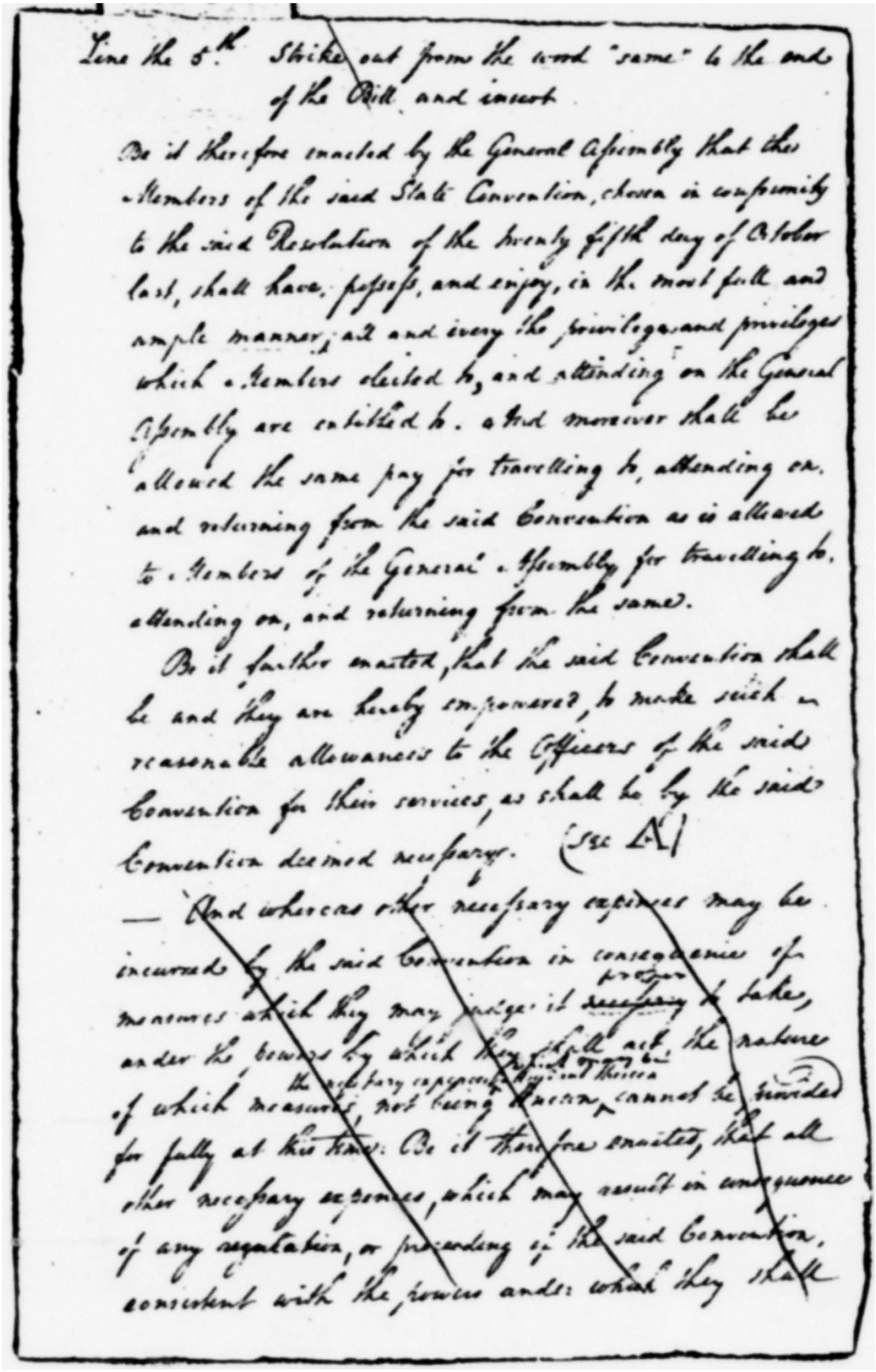
A Bill
concerning the Convention to be held in Richmond

December 4th 1787.
Read the first time and ordered to be read a second time tomorrow.

December 5th 1787.
Read the second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House on friday next.

to be Engrossed.

28-C. Amendments to House Bill Concerning the State Convention, 7 December 1787.[1]



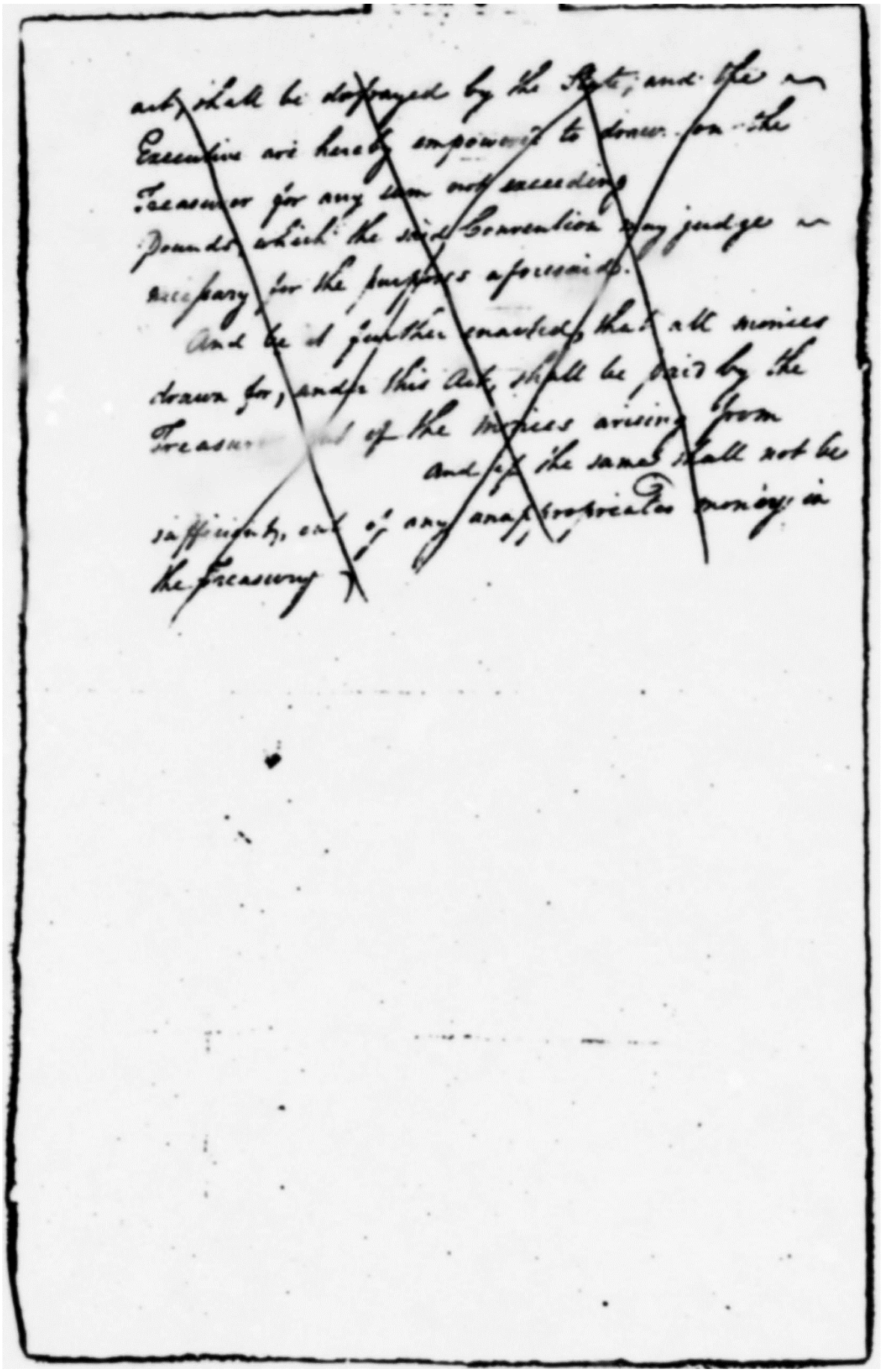
Line the 5th Strike out from the word "same" to the end of the Bill and insert

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly that the Members of the said State Convention, chosen in conformity to the said Resolution of the twenty fifth day of October last, shall have, possess, and enjoy, in the most full and ample manner, all and every the priviledges and priviledges which Members elected to, and attending on the General Assembly are entitled to. and moreover shall be allowed the same pay for travelling to, attending on, and returning from the said Convention as is allowed to Members of the General Assembly for travelling to, attending on, and returning from the same.

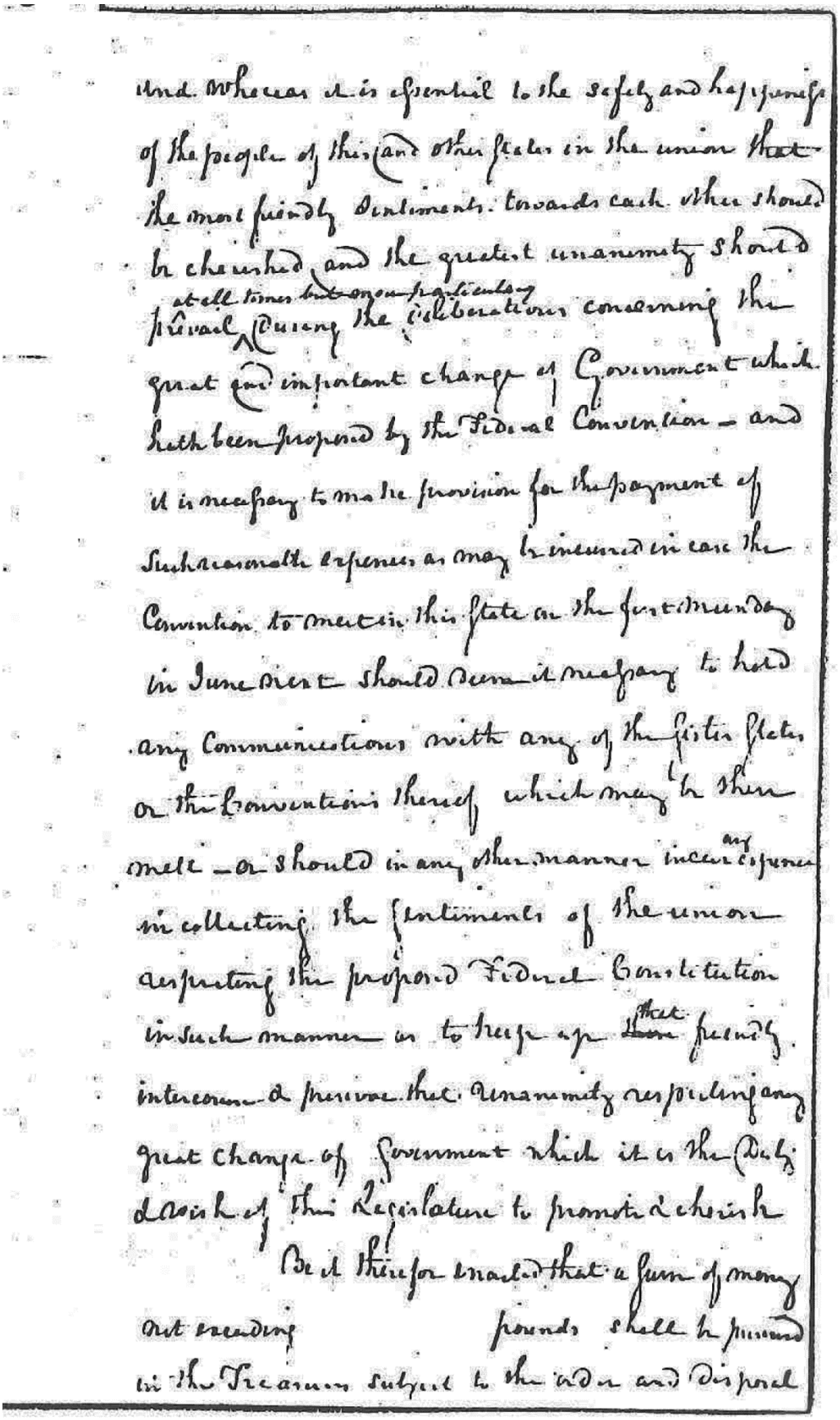
Be it further enacted, that the said Convention shall be and they are hereby empowered, to make such reasonable allowances to the Officers of the said Convention for their services, as shall be by the said Convention deemed necessary. (See A)

— And whereas other necessary expences may be incurred by the said Convention in consequence of measures which they may judge it proper necessary to take, under the powers by which they will act, the nature of which measures, not being known, cannot be provided for fully at this time: Be it therefore enacted, that all other necessary expences, which may result in consequence of any regulation, or proceeding of the said Convention, consistent with the powers under which they shall

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Virginia State Library.



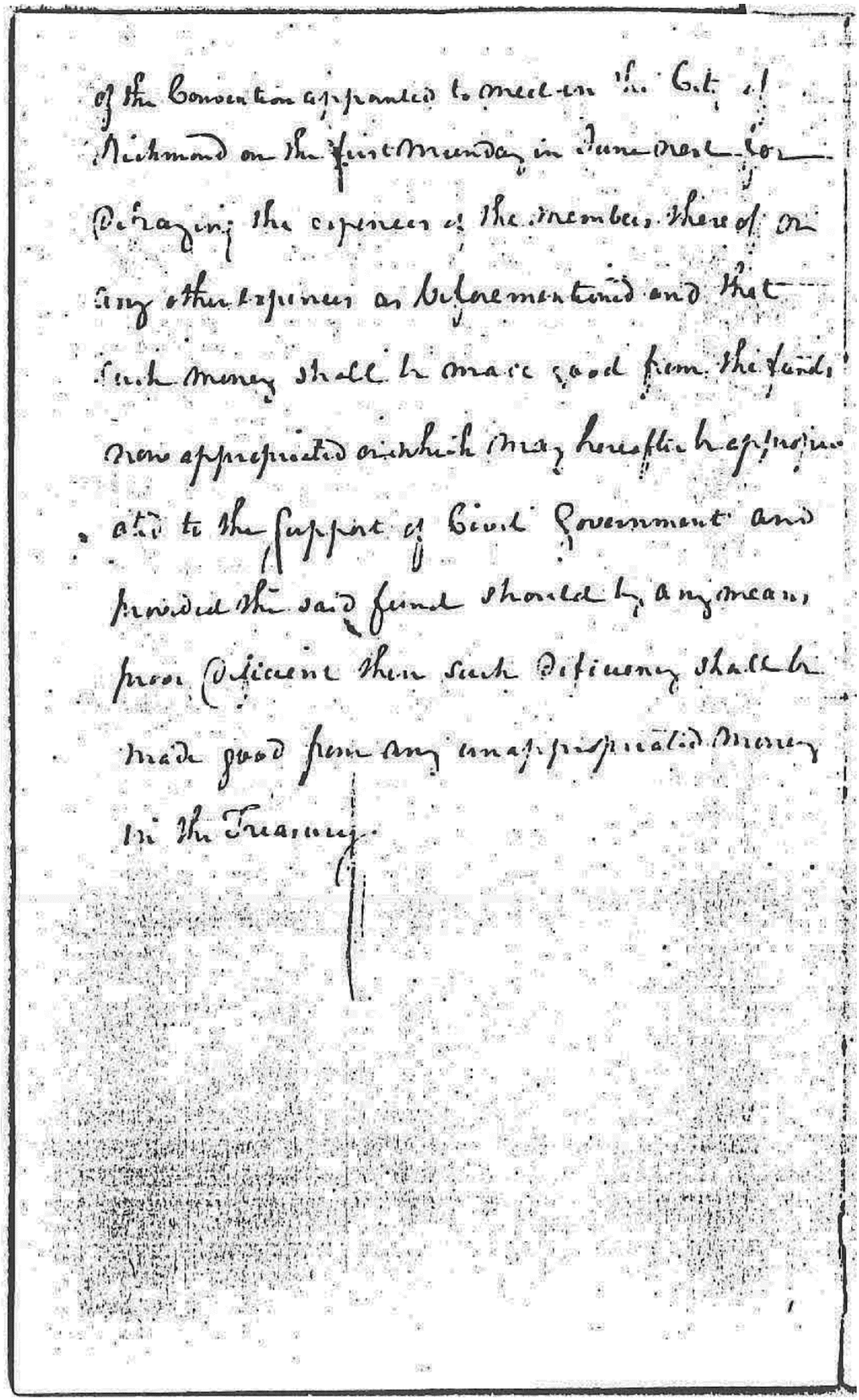
28-D. Amendments to House Bill Concerning the State Convention, 8 December 1787.[1]



And Whereas it is essential to the safety and happiness of the people of this (and other states in the union that the most friendly Sentiments towards each other should be cherished and the greatest unanimity should at all times but on particularly prevail during the deliberations concerning the great and important change of Government which hath been proposed by the Federal Convention — and it is necessary to make provision for the payment of such reasonable expences as may be incurred in case the Convention to meet in this state on the first Monday in June next should deem it necessary to hold any Communications with any of the sister states or the Conventions thereof which may be then met — or should in any other manner incur any expence in collecting the sentiments of the union respecting the proposed Federal Constitution in such manner as to preserve upon that friendly intercourse and preserve that unanimity respecting any great change of government which it is the Duty & Wish of this Legislature to promote & cherish

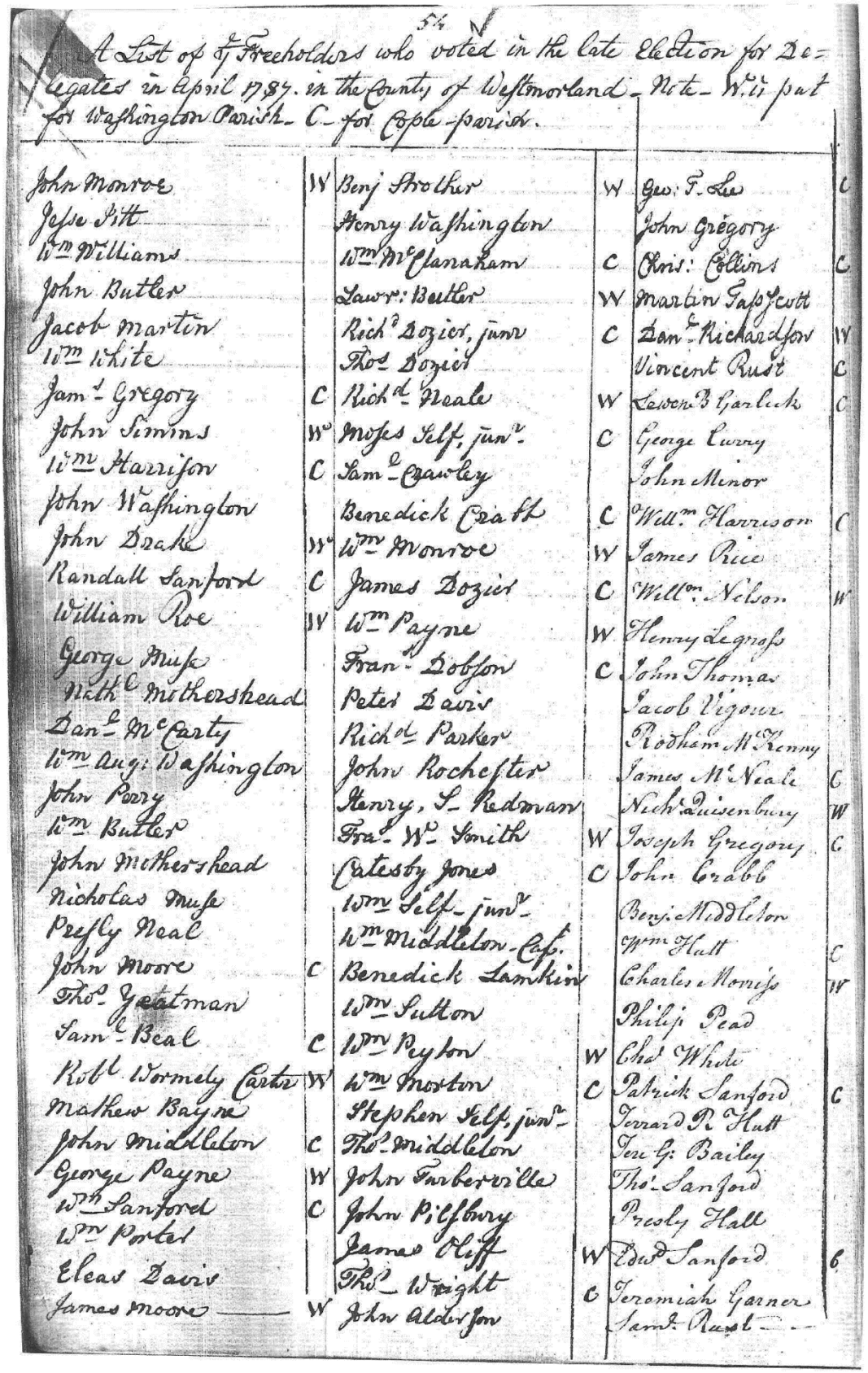
Be it therefore enacted that a Sum of money not exceeding pounds shall be paid out of the Treasury subject to the order and Disposal

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Bills of a General Assembly . . . October 15, 1787, Virginia State Library.



of the Convention appointed to meet in the City of
Richmond on the first Monday in June next for
Defraying the expences of the members thereof or
any other expences as before mentioned and that
such money shall be made good from the funds
now appropriated or which may hereafter be appropria-
ted to the support of Civil Government and
provided the said fund should by any means
prove Deficient then such Deficiency shall be
made good from any unappropriated Money
in the Treasury.

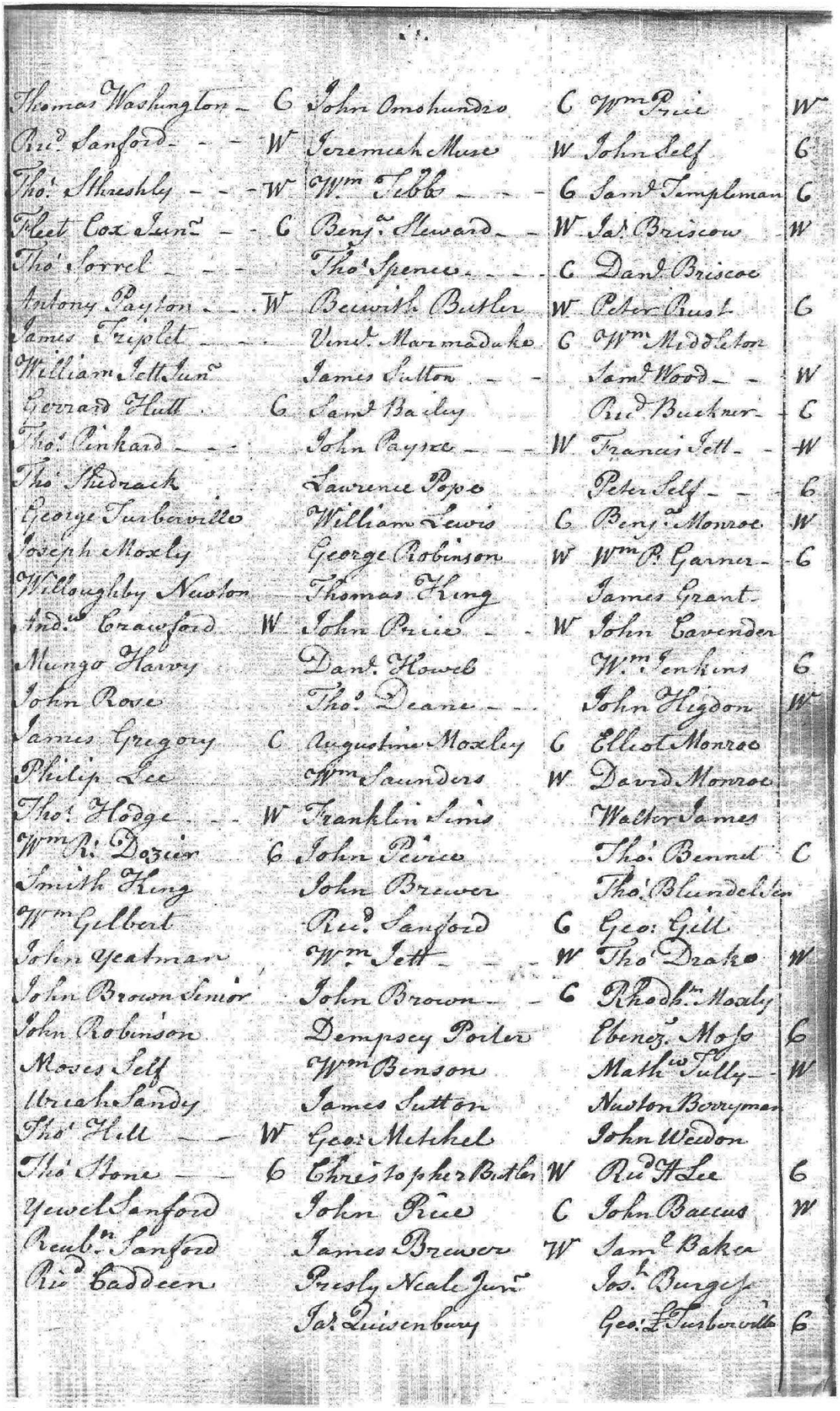
32. James Bland's List of Westmoreland County Freeholders Supplied to Robert Carter, c. 17–22 December 1787.[1]



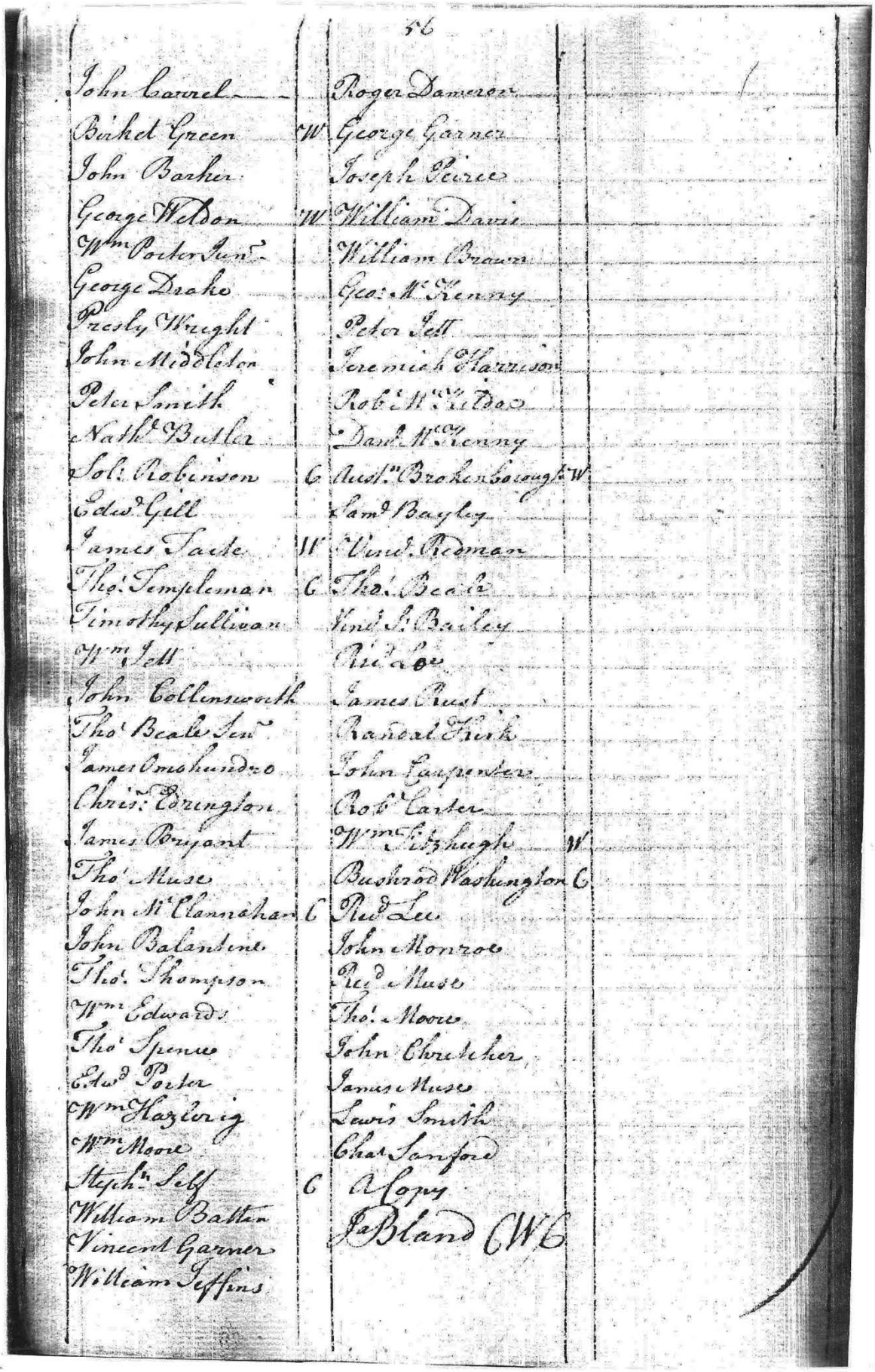
A List of the Freeholders who voted in the late Election for Delegates in April 1787. in the County of Westmoreland. Note. W. is put for Washington Parish. C. for Copie-parish.

John Monroe	W	Benj. Strother	W	Geo. F. Lee	C
Jesse Pitt		Henry Washington		John Gregory	
Wm. Williams		Wm. McClanaham	C	Chris. Collins	C
John Butler		Lawr. Butler	W	Martin Gaskett	
Jacob Martin		Richd. Dozier, junr.	C	Danl. Richardson	W
Wm. White		Thos. Dozier		Vincent Rust	C
Jamn. Gregory	C	Richd. Neale	W	Lewis B. Garlick	C
John Simms	W	Moses Self, junr.	C	George Curry	
Wm. Harrison	C	Saml. Crawley		John Minor	
John Washington		Benedick Craft	C	Willm. Harrison	C
John Drake	W	Wm. Monroe	W	James Rice	
Randall Sanford	C	James Dozier	C	Willm. Nelson	W
William Roe	W	Wm. Payne	W	Henry Legrose	
George Muse		Franc. Dobson	C	John Thomas	
Nathl. Mitchershead		Peter Davis		Jacob Vigour	
Danl. McCarty		Richd. Parker		Rodham M'Kenny	
Wm. Aug: Washington		John Rochester		James M'Neale	C
John Peery		Henry, S. Redman		Nichs. Quisenbury	W
Wm. Butler		Frans. W. Smith	W	Joseph Gregory	C
John Mitchershead		Catesby Jones	C	John Crabb	
Nicholas Muse		Wm. Self, junr.		Benj. Middleton	
Presly Neale		Wm. Middleton, Capt.		Wm. Hutt	C
John Moore	C	Benedick Lankin		Charles Morris	W
Thos. Yeatman		Wm. Sutton		Philip Pead	
Saml. Beale	C	Wm. Peyton	W	Chas. White	
Robt. Wormely Carter	W	Wm. Morton	C	Patrick Sanford	C
Mathew Bayne		Stephen Self, junr.		Jerard P. Hutt	
John Middleton	C	Thos. Middleton		Jer. G. Bailey	
George Payne	W	John Barberville		Thos. Sanford	
Wm. Sanford	C	John Pilsbury		Presly Hall	
Wm. Porter		James Cliff	W	Edwd. Sanford	C
Elias Davis		Thos. Wright	C	Jeremiah Garner	
James Moore	W	John Alderson		Saml. Rust	

1. FC, Carter Letterbooks, Duke University.



Thomas Washington	C	John Omohundro	C	Wm Price	W
Rid Sanford	W	Jeremiah Muse	W	John Self	C
Tho: Threshly	W	Wm Tebbs	C	Sam[l] Templeman	C
Fleet Cox Junr	C	Benj[a] Steward	W	Jas Briscow	W
Tho: Sorrel		Tho: Spence	C	Dan[l] Briscoe	
Antony Payton	W	Beswith Butler	W	Peter Rust	C
James Triplet		Vinc[t] Marmaduke	C	Wm Middleton	
William Jett Junr		James Sutton		Sam[l] Wood	W
Gerrard Hutt	C	Sam[l] Bailey		Rid Buckner	C
Tho: Pinkard		John Payne	W	Francis Jett	W
Tho: Shedrack		Laurence Pope		Peter Self	C
George Turberville		William Lewis	C	Benj[a] Monroe	W
Joseph Moxly		George Robinson	W	Wm P. Garner	C
Willoughby Newton		Thomas King		James Grant	
Ind[s] Crawford	W	John Price	W	John Cavender	
Mungo Harvy		Dan[l] Howell		Wm Jenkins	C
John Rose		Tho: Deane		John Higdon	W
James Gregory	C	Augustine Moxley	C	Elliot Monroe	
Philip Lee		Wm Saunders	W	David Monroe	
Tho: Hodge	W	Franklin Sims		Walter James	
Wm R. Dozier	C	John Pierce		Tho: Bennet	C
Smith King		John Brewer		Tho: Blundel Sen[r]	
Wm Gilbert		Rid Sanford	C	Geo: Gill	
John Yeatman		Wm Jett	W	Tho Drake	W
John Brown Senior		John Brown	C	Rhodh[m] Mosby	
John Robinson		Dempsey Porter		Ebenez. Mojo	C
Moses Self		Wm Benson		Math[w] Tully	W
Uriah Sandy		James Sutton		Newton Berryman	
Tho: Hill	W	Geo: Mitchel		John Weedon	
Tho: Stone	C	Christopher Butler	W	Rid H Lee	C
Yewel Sanford		John Price	C	John Baccus	W
Reub[n] Sanford		James Brewer	W	Sam[l] Baker	
Rid Taddeen		Presly Neale Junr		Jos[h] Burgess	
		Jas Duisenbury		Geo: F Turberville	C



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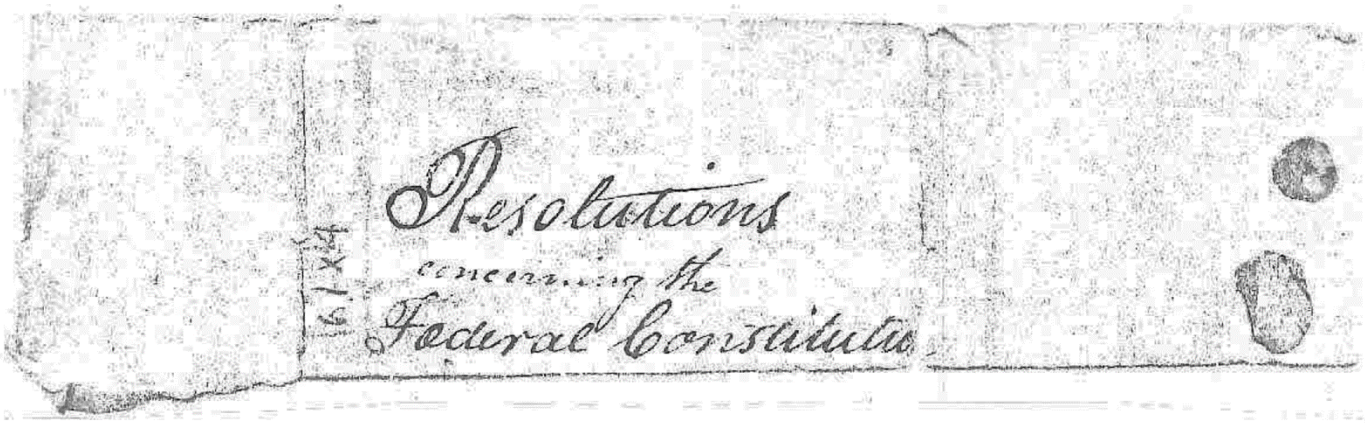
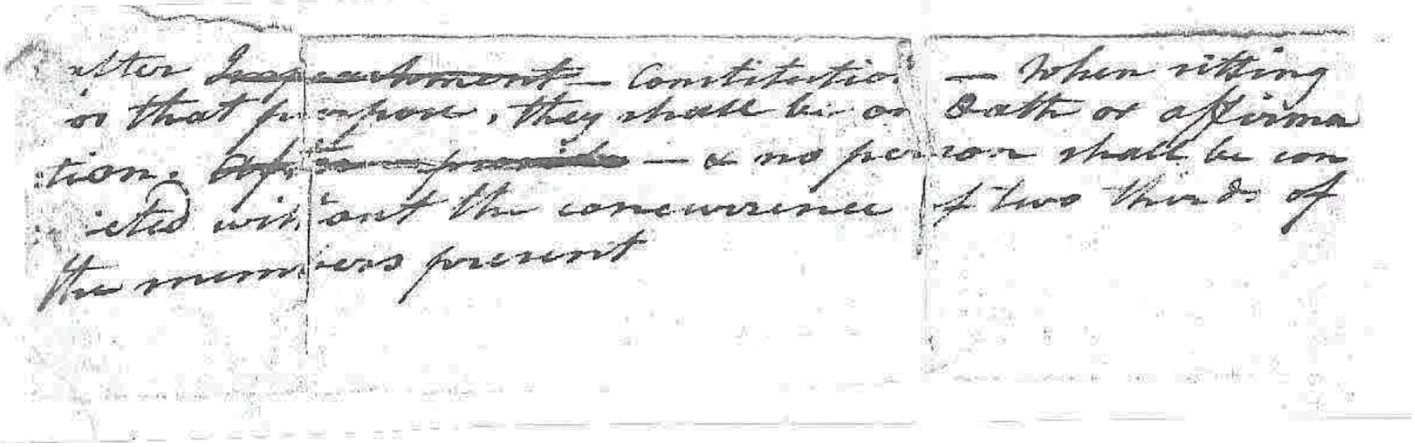
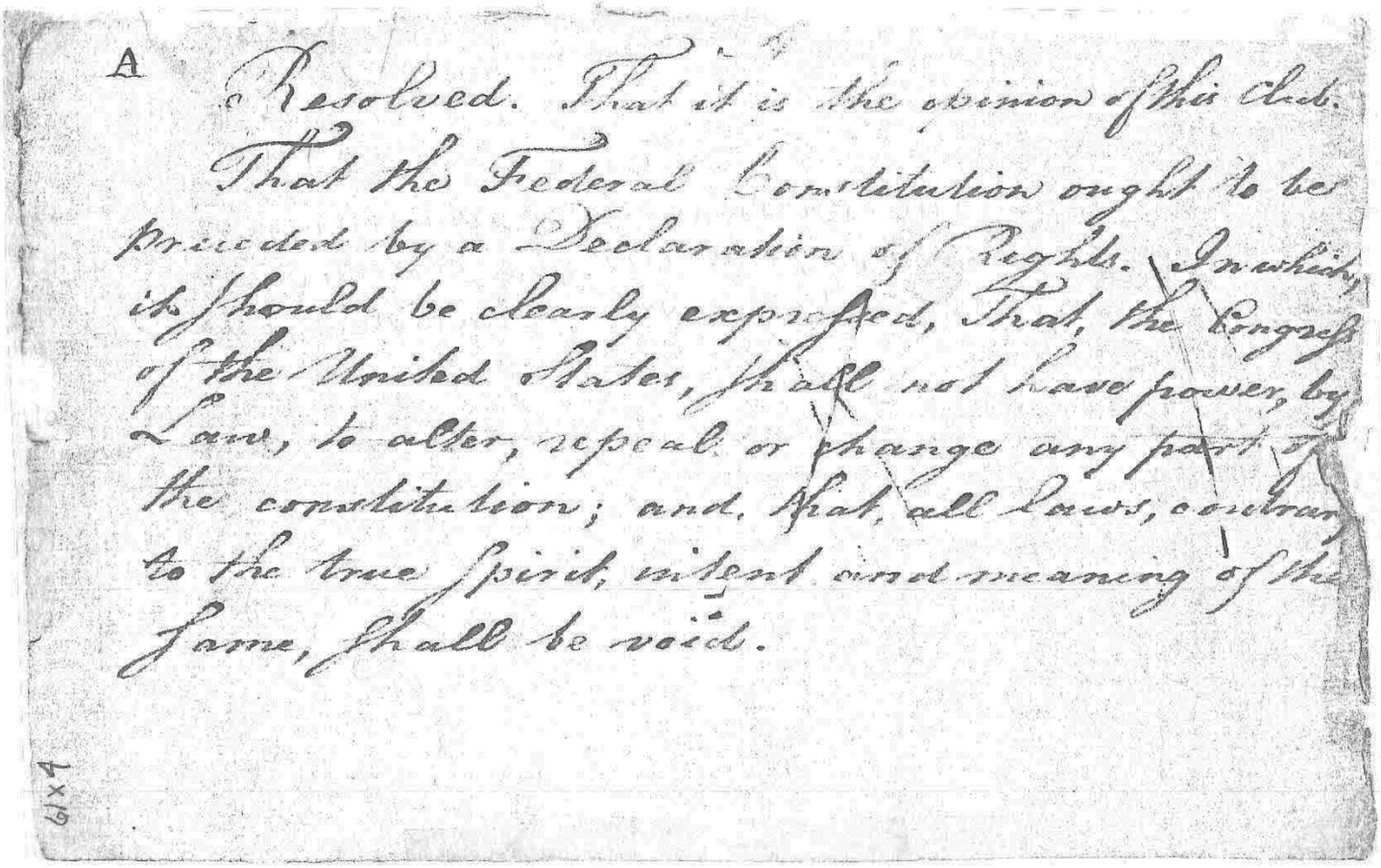
John Carrel		Roger Dameron	
Richd Green	W	George Garner	
John Barker		Joseph Peirce	
George Weldon	W	William Davis	
Wm Porter Junr		William Brown	
George Drake		Geo: M.c Kenny	
Presly Wright		Peter Jett	
John Middleton		Jeremiah Harrison	
Peter Smith		Robt M.c Tildoe	
Nathl Bustle		David M.c Kenny	
Sol: Robinson	C	Austn Brokenborough	W
Edwd Gill		Saml Bayley	
James Tate	W	Vinel Roman	
Thos Templeman	C	Thos Beale	
Timothy Sullivan		Vinel S. Bailey	
Wm Jett		Richd Lee	
John Collinsworth		James Rust	
Thos Beale Senr		Randal Fuik	
James Onishundro		John Carpenter	
Chris: Lorington		Robt Carter	
James Bryant		Wm Fitzhugh	W
Thos Muse		Bushrod Washington	C
John M.c Clannahan	C	Richd Lee	
John Balantine		John Monroe	
Thos Thompson		Richd Muse	
Wm Edwards		Thos Moore	
Thos Spence		John Chrutcher	
Edwd Porter		James Muse	
Wm Hazlerig		Lewis Smith	
Wm Moore		Chas Sanford	
Steph.n Self	C	A Copy	
William Batten		Jas Bland CWC	
Vincent Garner			
William Jeffins			

50-A. Resolutions.


Resolutions
concerning the
Federal Constitution

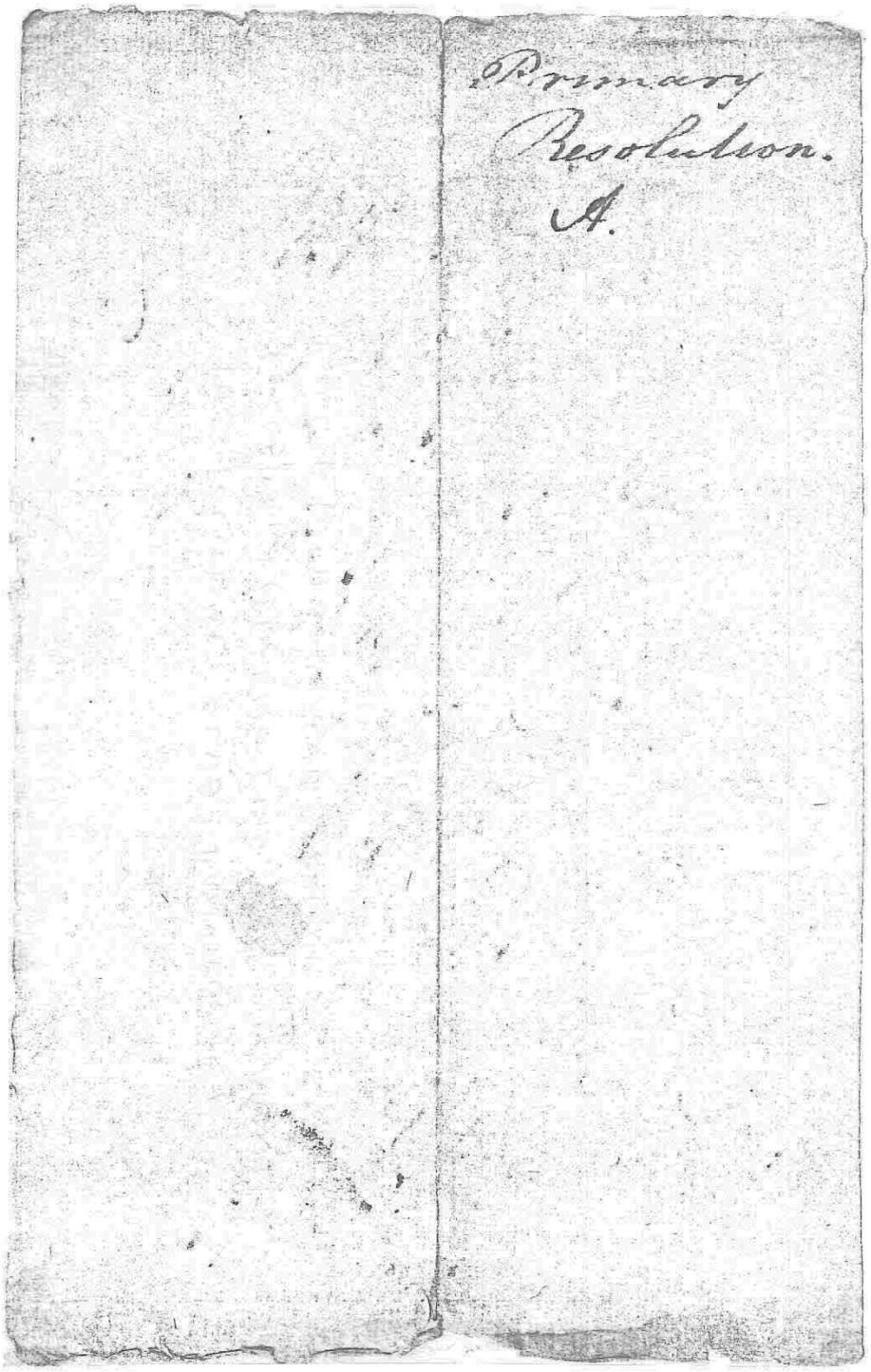

after Impeachment — Constitution
or that purpose, they shall be on
oath or affirmation. ~~But~~
cted without the concurrence
the members present
— When sitting
Oath or affirma
no person shall be con
of two thirds of



A

Resolved. That it is the opinion of this Club.
That the Federal Constitution ought to be
preceded by a Declaration of Rights. In which
it should be clearly expressed, That the Congress
of the United States, shall not have power, by
Law, to alter, repeal or change any part of
the constitution; and, That all Laws, contrary
to the true Spirit, intent and meaning of the
Same, shall be void.

61 x 9


Primary
Resolution.
A.

B.

Art. I. Sect 3. Resolved as the opinion of this Club that the Senate of the United States ~~shall~~ ought to be compos: of two Senators from each State chosen by the Legisla: ture thereof for three years & each Senator ~~shall~~ ought to have one vote, & immediately after they ~~shall~~ have assembled, they ~~shall~~ ought to

61X4

be devided into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class ~~to be shall be~~ vacated at the end of one year, the second Class at the end of the second year, & the third Class at the end of the third year, & no Member of the Senate ~~to shall~~ be again eligible for three years after the vaca: tion of his Seat

D strike out
Article I. Sect. 3. Cl. 4. 5. 6. 2 ninent
Resolved, as the opinion of this Club.
That the Senate ought to have the power of
chusing their Speaker, and all their other officers:
and the sole power to try all Impeachments,
under this Federal Constitution. When sitting for
that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. And no
person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds

6x4

of the Members present

Art. 1. Sect. 4. of Resolved, that the times places & manner of holding elections for Senators & representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof — Strike out the Remainder of the Para. graph 6 & 4

ators and Representatives."

Ar I Sect 7. Cl 2.

Resolved, as the opinion of this Club.

That every bill which shall have passed the house of Representatives & Senate (money bills excepted) before it becomes a Law, ~~shall be~~ be presented to the Pres. of the U S, and by him be laid before the Executive Council & Judges of the Supreme Court for their opinion on the same. To be by him, with the advice & consent of the Council & Judges, approved & signed, when it shall become a Law; or returned with his objections, to that house, in which it shall have originated.

And that every order, resolution or Vote & (except in case of a question of adjournment) which is to pass on a Division of Arguments shall have the same ~~power~~ respect to be proceeded on in the same manner. Which House are to enter the objections at their Journal and proceed to reconsider them. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill it shall be sent

6 1x4

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

Art. 2 — Sect 6th line 3d after the — insert ~~the~~ Et: :dest Councellor present who shall act as — after Vicepresident ~~shall~~ strike out to ~~end~~ ~~shall~~ ~~cease~~

61x4

~~who~~ until

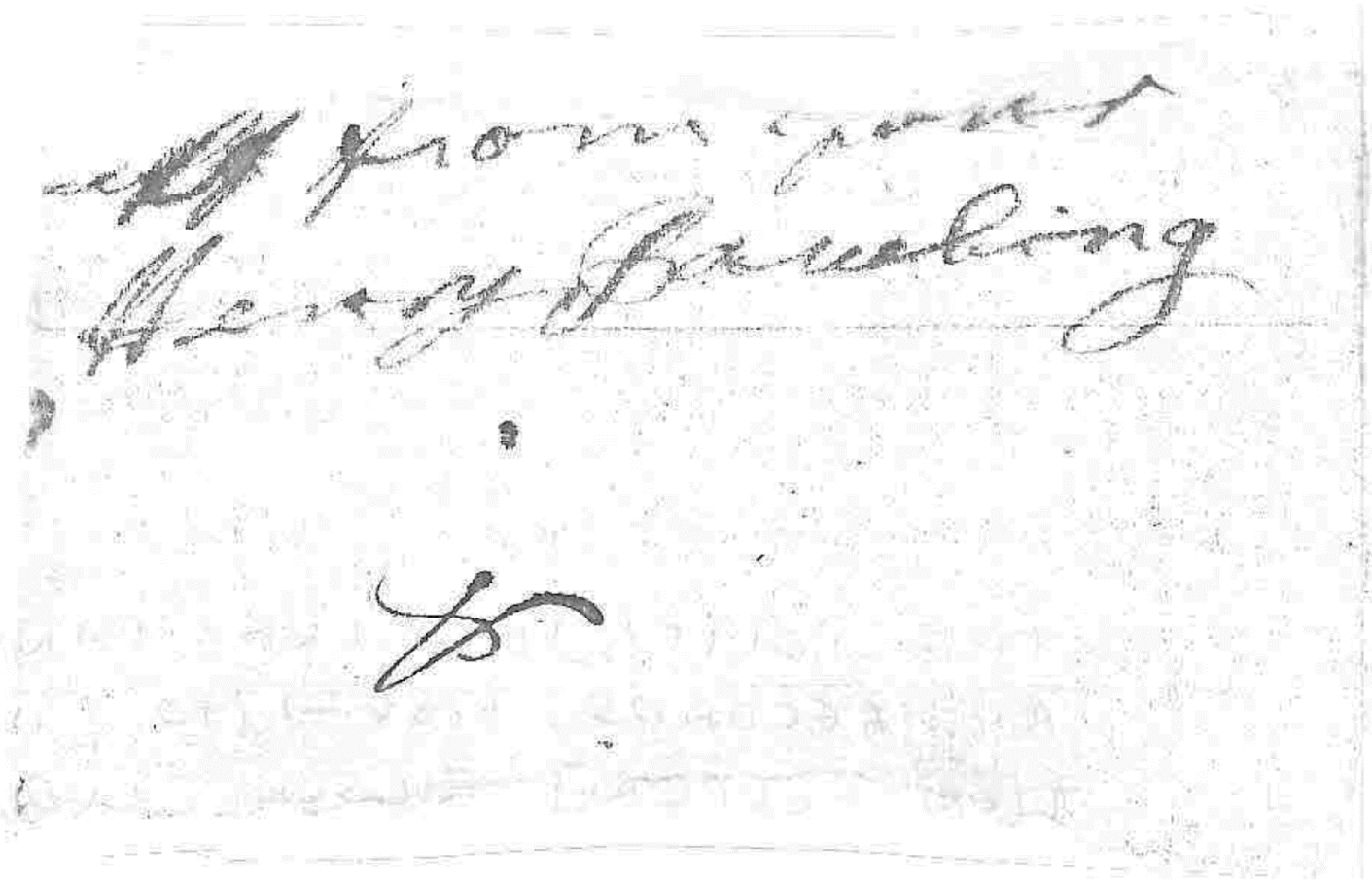
Art. 3d Sect. 1. Strike out from — and — in the 2d line to the word — The — in line the 4th — & insert at least — one Inferior Court in each State

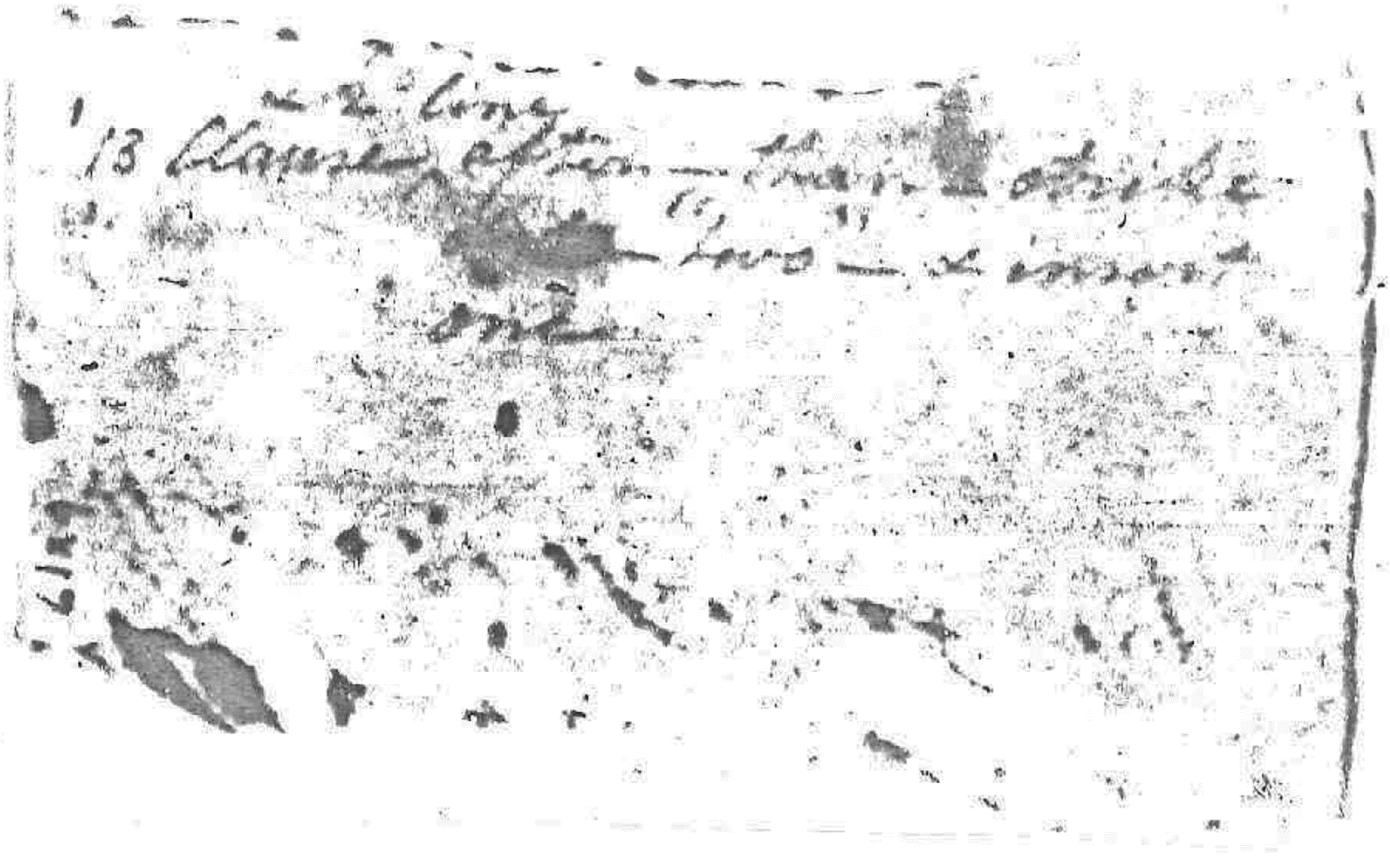
61x4

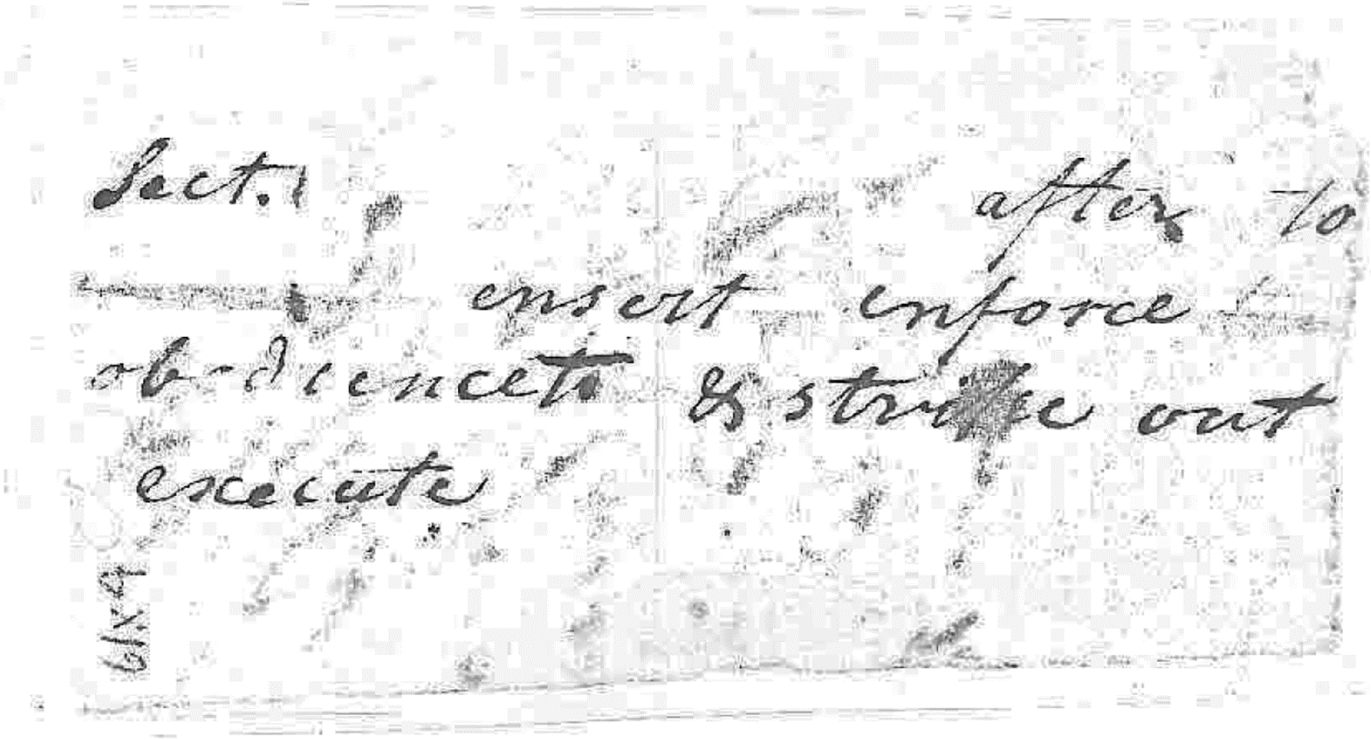
Art. 3. Sect. 2. Strike out from — State — in the 8th line, to — between" ~~in the 9th line~~ in the same Line.
6/xA

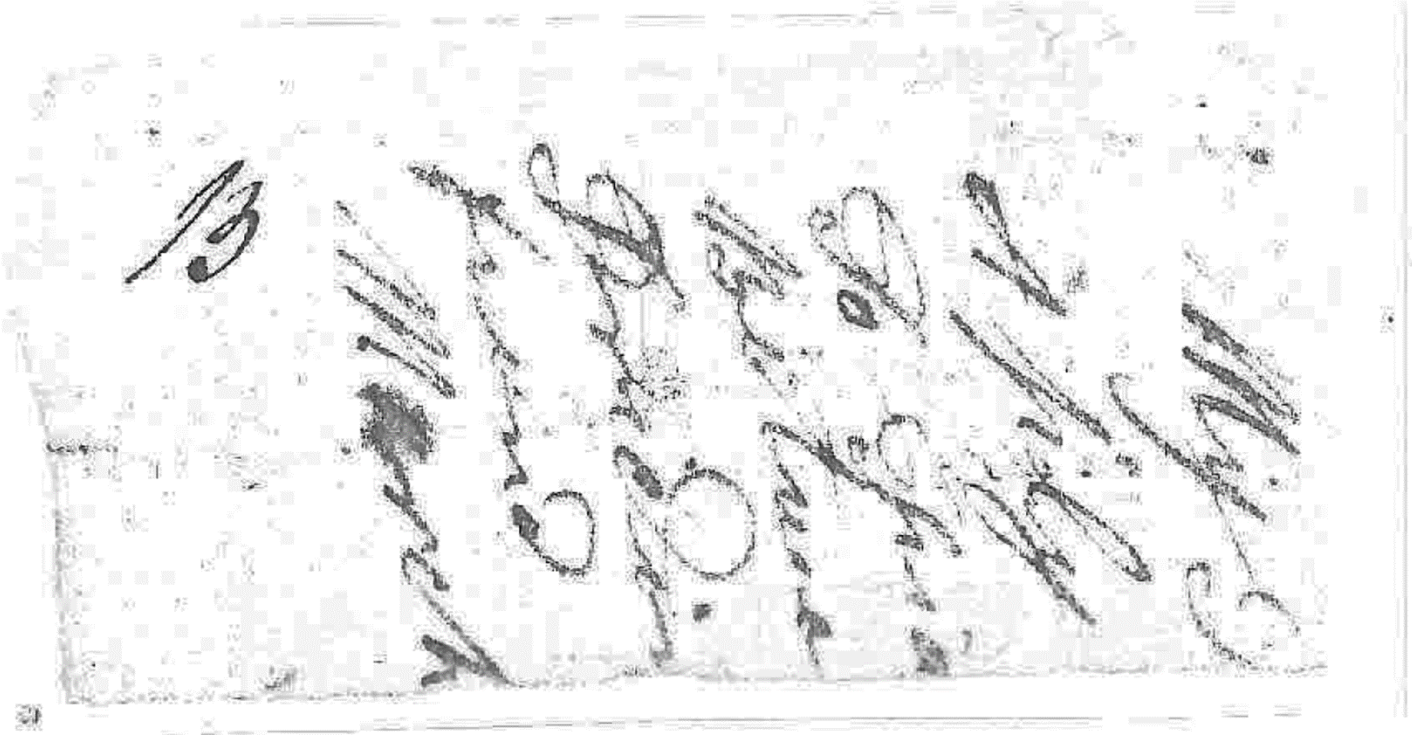
&c.

Page the 8. line 2. insert — One — in the room of three — & Line the 3d — Right — in the room of Rights
6/x4






Sect. 1 after to
insert enforce
obedience & strike out
execute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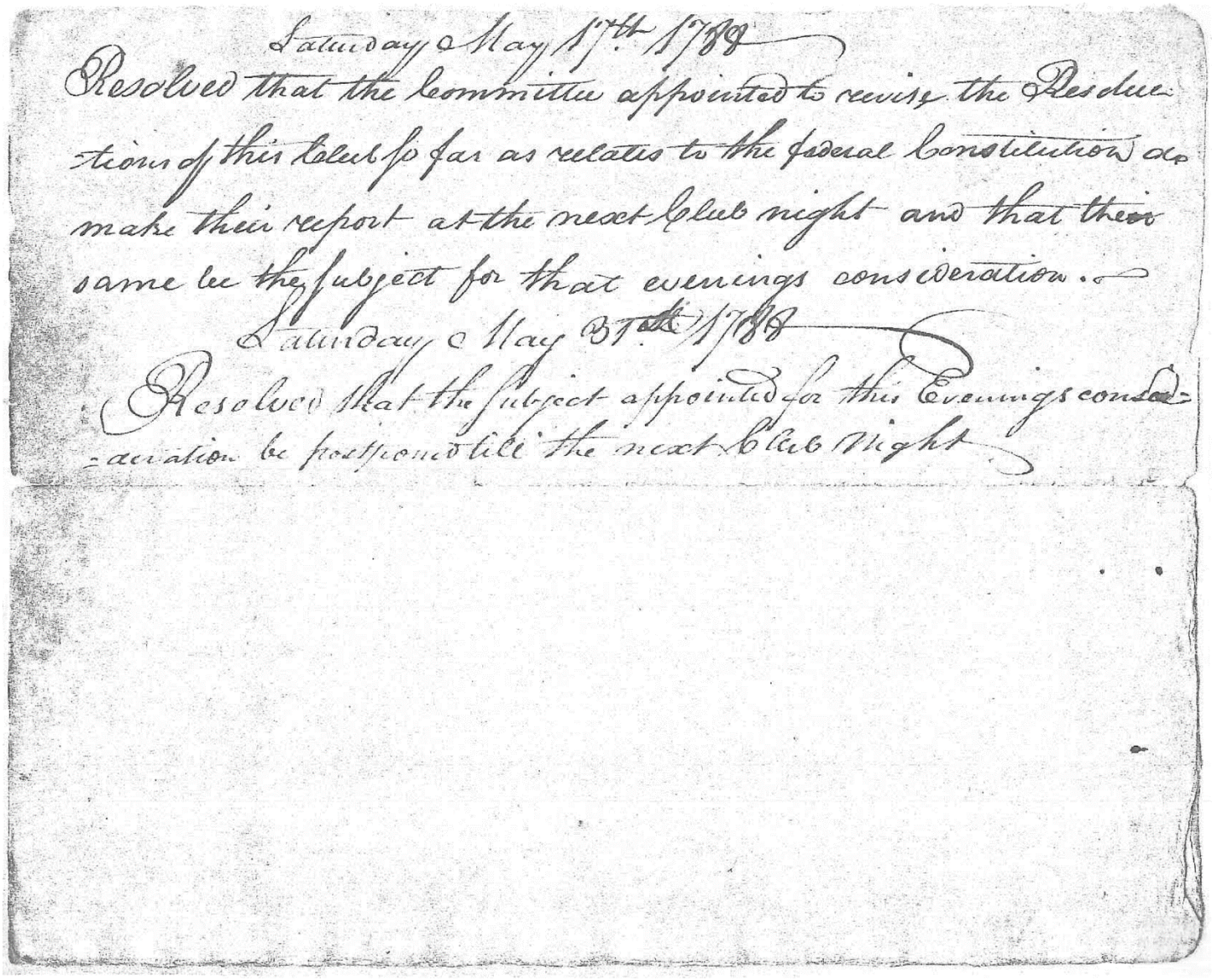


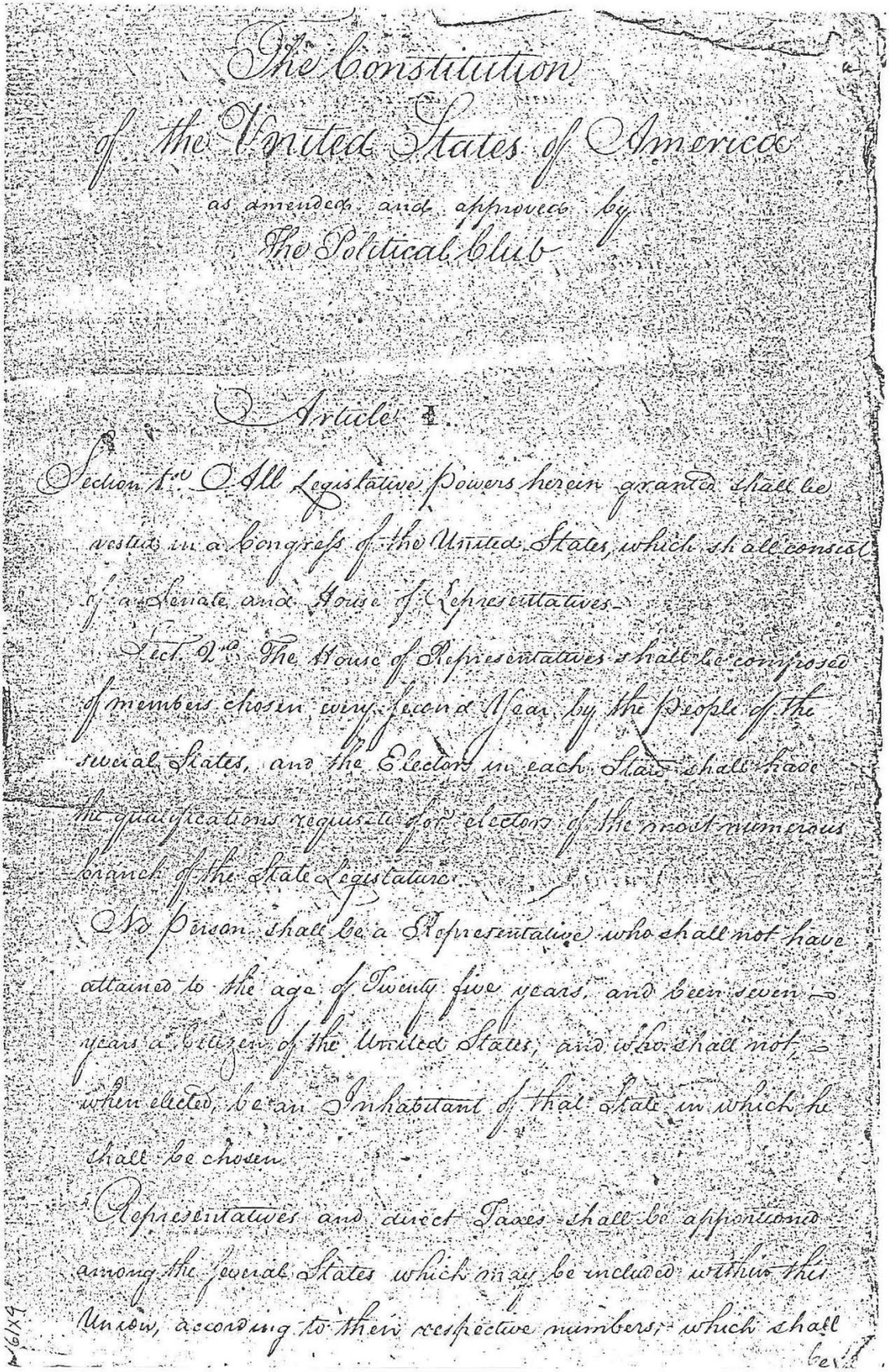
Saturday 17th May 1788

Resolved that the committee appointed to revise the Resolutions of this Club so far as relates to the federal Constitution do make their report at the next Club night and that their same be the subject for that evenings consideration.

Saturday 31st May 1788

Resolved that the subject appointed for this Evenings consideration be postponed till the next Club Night

50-B. Revised Constitution (Manuscript).



The Constitution
of the United States of America
as amended and approved by
The Political Club

Article I.

Section 1.st 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.

Sect. 2.d 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

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 five, 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 3rd. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for three Years; and each Senator,

shall have one Vote. Immediately after they ~~have~~ shall be assembled they ~~assistant~~ shall be divided into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class to be vacated at the end of ~~the second~~ one year; the second Class at the end of the second Year, and the third Class at the end of the third year; and no Member of the Senate to be again eligible for three years after the vacation of his Seat; so that one third may be chosen every ~~second~~ year, and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during ~~recess~~ 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 five~~ 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 Senate of the United States shall choose their Speaker, and all their other Officers, and shall have the sole power to try all Impeachments under the Federal Constitution. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on Oath or affirmation, and no person shall be convicted without the consent 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 & punishment according to Law

Sect. 4th. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof. *

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

Sect. 5th. 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 authorised to compell 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 expell 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.

Sect. 6th. 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.

Sect. 7th. 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 (money Bills excepted) before it becomes a Law shall be presented to the President of the United States, and by him laid before the Executive Counsel and Judges of the Supreme Court for their opinion on the same; to be by him with the advice and consent of the Judges Counsel signed when it shall become a Law, or returned with their objections to that House in which it shall have originated. x And that every order, Resolution (except in cases of appropriation of money and on a Question of adjournment) shall be proceeded on in the same manner, x which House are to enter their objections on their Journals, and proceed to reconsider them. If, after such reconsiderations 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

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 it had been signed as before directed, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a Law.

Section 8th The Congress shall have power to

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

exclusive Right to their respective Writings and discoveries;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Laws 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 one year;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the Land and Naval ~~Military~~ Forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to enforce obedience to the Laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repell 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 Officers, and the authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress; 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 9th 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 Law or 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 and account statement 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 Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince or foreign State.

Section 10th No State shall enter into any Treaty, alliance or confederation; grant Letters of marque and reprisal; coin

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 Congress lay any imposts or duties on imports and exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws; and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by the 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 engagment or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in War unless actually invaded, or in such eminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Art. II.

Section 1st. 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, after which period he shall be ineligible for the four succeeding years, and shall 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 Speaker of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Repre-sentatives, 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 Representatives shall immediately chuse by ballot one of them for President. But in chusing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the Re-presentation 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.

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.

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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 resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from Office, or of his death, resignation, or inabilities to discharge the powers and duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the eldest Counselor present who shall act as Vice President, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall at stated times receive a compensation for his services, which shall neither be encreased nor deminished, 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."

Sect. 2nd The President shall be Commander in Chief of the armies and navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States

States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal Officers in each of the executive departments, upon the 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 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.

Sect. 3d 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, in extraordinary occasions convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of

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.

Sect. 4th. The President and 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.

Art. III.

Sect. 1st. The Judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and at least one inferior Court in each State. The Judges, both of the Supreme & inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation ~~for their services a compensation~~ which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

Sect. 2nd. 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 & Consuls; to all

2

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 & citizens of another State; 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 & 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.

Sect. 3rd 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

No Person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two Witness 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.

Art. IV.

Sect. 1st. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the publick Acts, Records & judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the manner in which such Acts, Records & proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 2nd The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of Citizens of 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 from which he flees, 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.

Sect. 3rd. New States may 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 & 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.

Sect. 4th. The United States shall Guarantee to every State within 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.

Art. V.

The Congress when two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of

ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the Year one Thousand eight Hundred & eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Art. VI.

All Debts contracted & engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

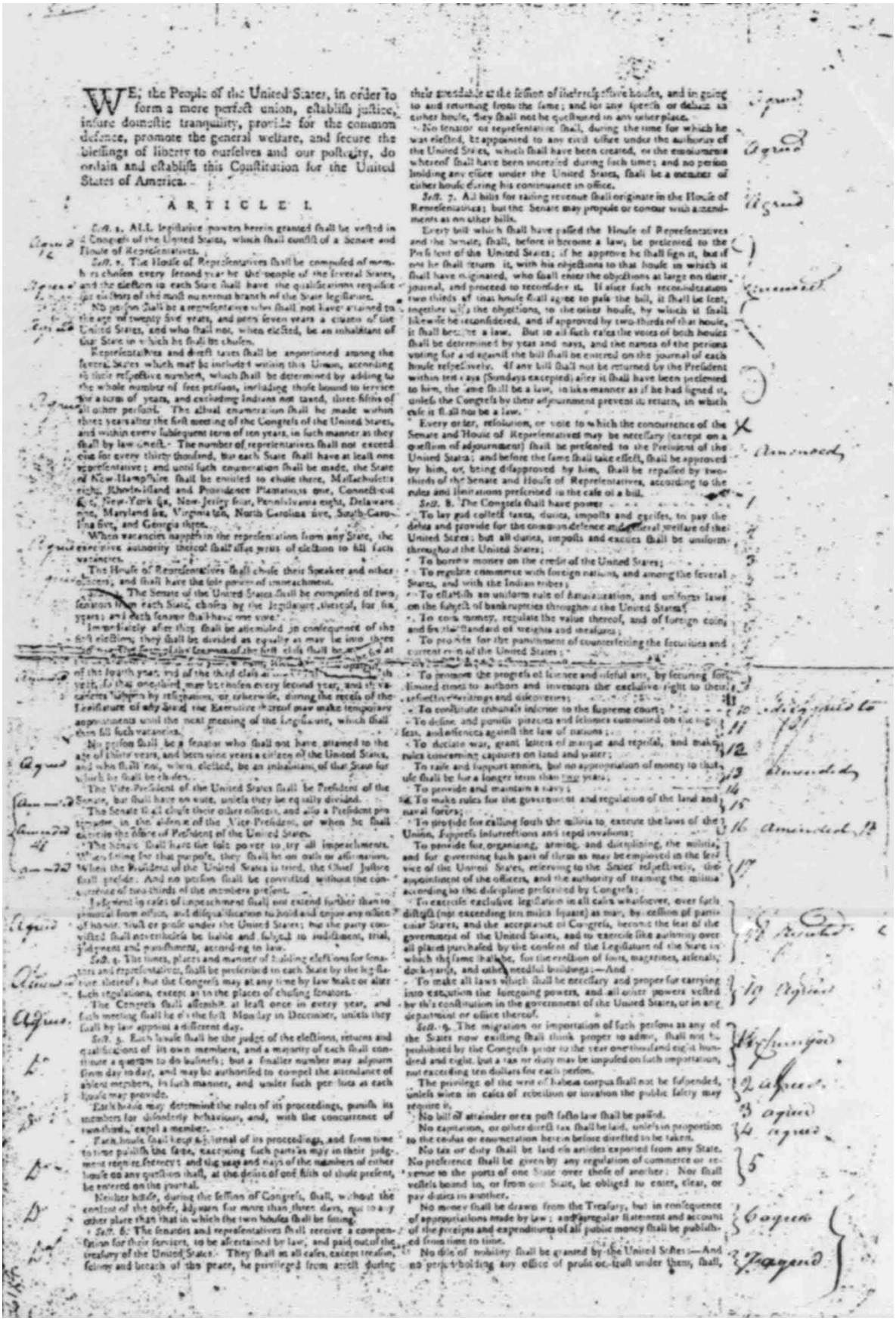
This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made, in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Lands; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all Executive & 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.

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.

50-C. Annotated Broadside of U.S. Constitution.[1]



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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

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; 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

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. 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 increased 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 8. The Congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, 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 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.

Sect. 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,

1. This broadside is in The Records of the Political Club of Danville at the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.

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.

Sect. 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 its 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 control 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.

II.

Sect. 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 choose 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."

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

III.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

IV.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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 labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

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 clauſe in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no State, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the Senate.

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 beforementioned, 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.

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.

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.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident, and Deputy from Virginia.

New-Hampſhire. John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
Maſſachuſetts. Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
Connecticut. William Samuel Johnſon, Roger Sherman.
New-York. Alexander Hamilton.
New-Jerſey. William Livingſton, David Brearly, William Paterſon, Jonathan Dayton.
Pennſylvania. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzſimons, Jared Ingerſoll, James Wilſon, Gouverneur Morris.
Delaware. George Read, Gunning Bedford, jun. John Dickinſon, Richard Baſſett, Jacob Broom.
Maryland. James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.
Virginia. John Blair, James Madiſon, jun. Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamſon.
South-Carolina. John Rutledge, Charles Cotſworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
Georgia. William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Atteſt, WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

In Convention, Monday, September 17, 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 preceding 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,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident.

WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

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 encreaſed by a conſideration of the ſeveral States as to their ſituation, extent, habits and particular intereſts.

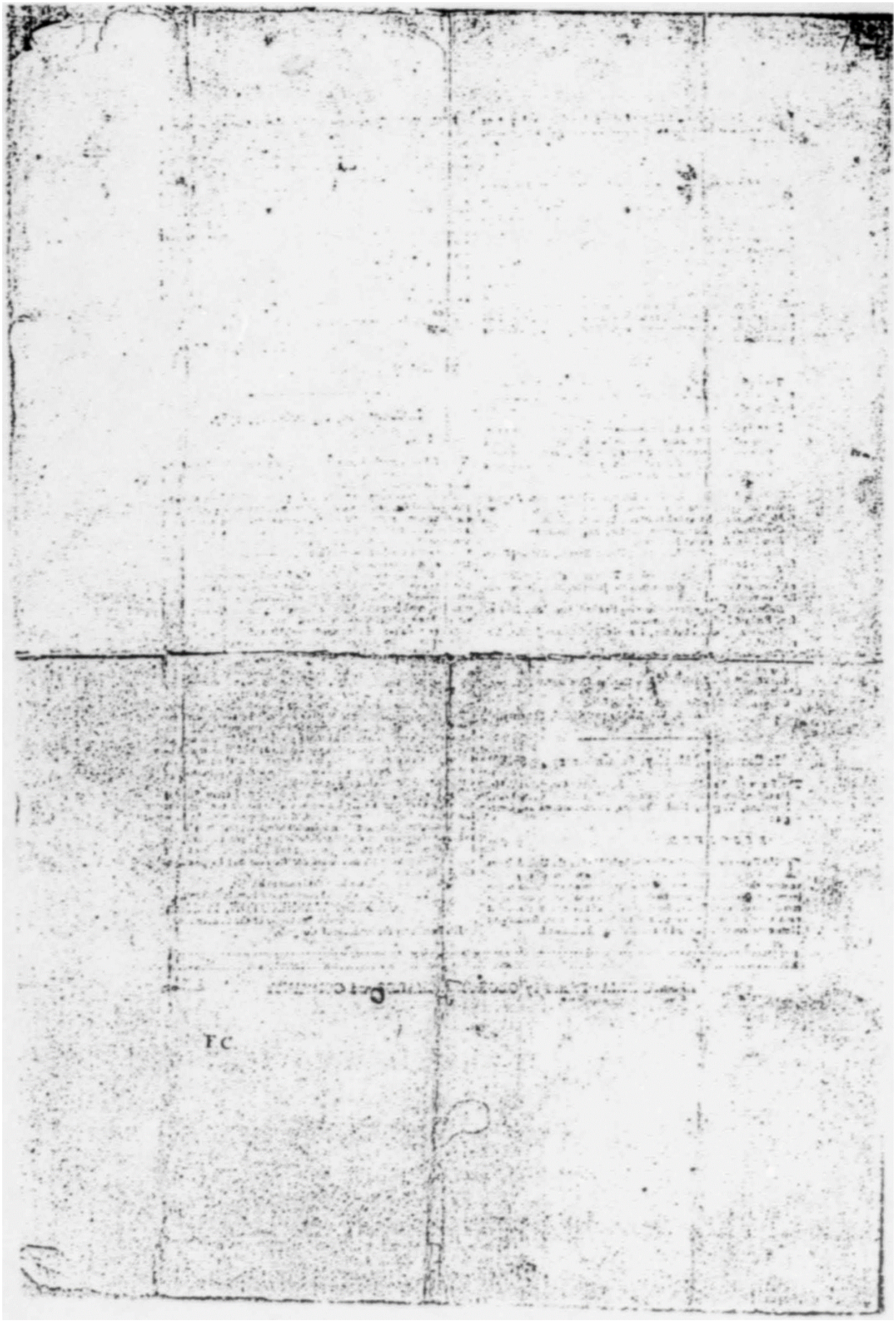
In all our deliberations on this ſubject we kept ſteadily in our view, that which appears to us the greateſt intereſt of every true American, the conſolidation of our Union, in which is involved our proſperity, felicity, ſafety, perhaps our national exiſtence. This important conſideration, ſeriouſly 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 indiſpenſible.

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.

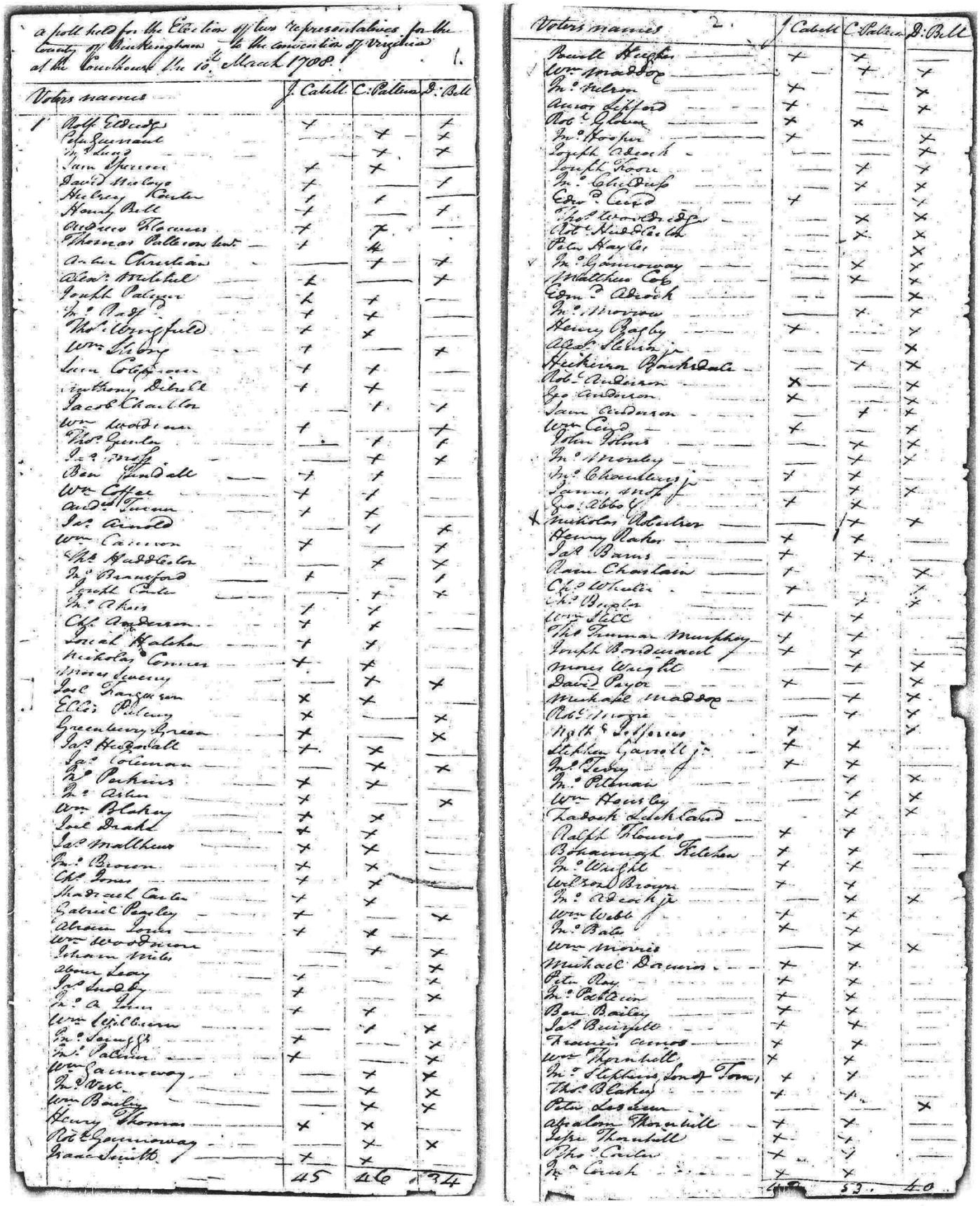
With great reſpect, we have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's moſt obedient and humble Servants,
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident.
By unanimous Order of the Convention.

His Excellency the Preſident of Congreſs.

ALEXANDRIA: Printed by GEORGE RICHARDS and COMPANY.



58-A. Buckingham County Poll List, 10 March 1788.[1]

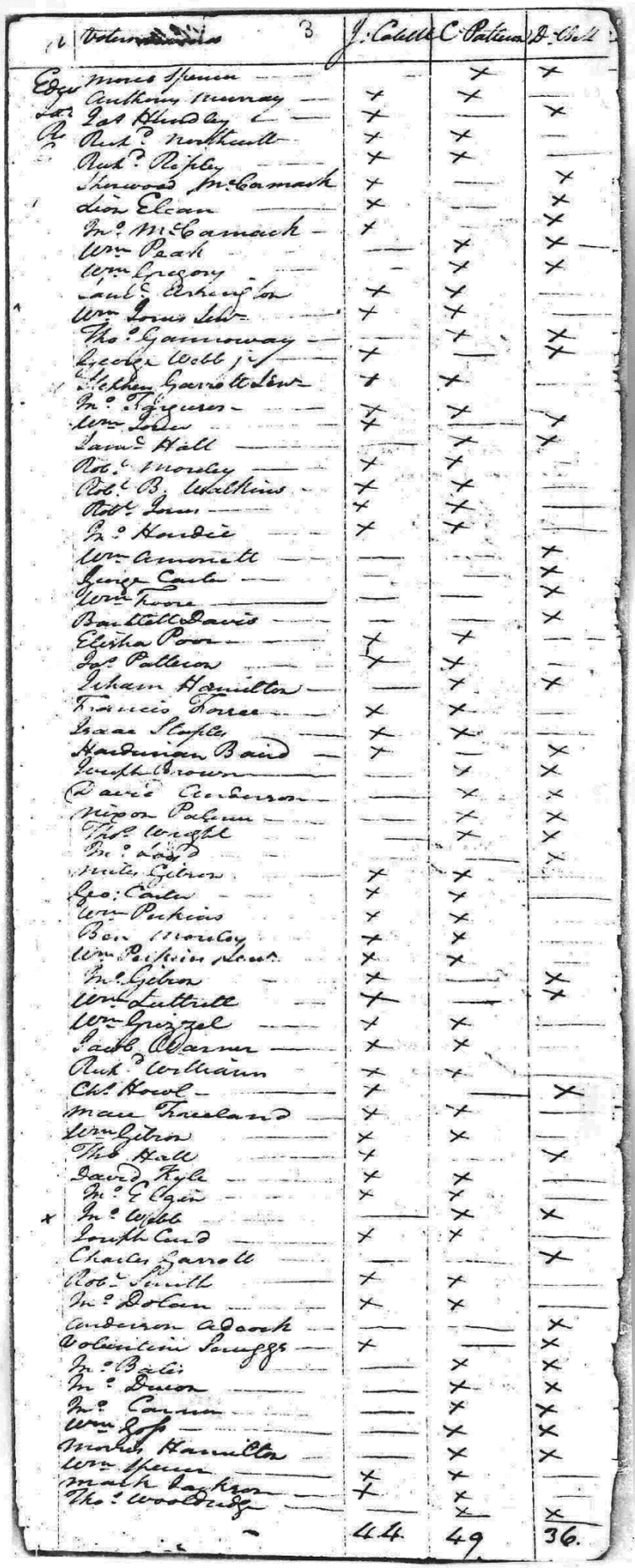


a poll held for the Election of two Representatives for the County of Buckingham to the convention of Virginia at the Courthouse the 10th March 1788. 1.

Voters names	J. Cabell	C. Patteson	J. Bell
Rolf Eldridge	+	+	+
Pet. Guinand		+	+
[illegible]		+	+
Sam. Spencer	+	+	
David Mackay	+		+
Halsey Carter	+	+	
Henry Ball	+		+
Andrew Reames	+	+	
Thomas Patteson sent	+	+	
Archer Christian		+	+
Alex. Mitchell	+		+
Joseph Pulyan	+		
Jno. Ball	+	+	
Thos. Longfield	+	+	
Wm. Sibley	+		+
Sam. Coleman	+	+	
Anthony Bibb	+	+	
Jacob Charlton		+	+
Wm. Woodson	+		+
Thos. Gunter		+	+
Isa. Wolf		+	+
Ben. Tindall	+	+	
Wm. Coffee	+	+	
Andw. Duncan	+	+	
Jas. Arnold		+	+
Wm. Cannon	+		+
Thos. Waddelow		+	+
Jno. Bransford	+		+
Ignatius Cole		+	+
Jno. Rhea	+	+	
Chs. Anderson	+	+	
Isaac Walker	+	+	
Nicholas Comer	+	+	
Moses Guerry		+	+
Jas. Dawson	X	+	
Ellis Pillsay	X		+
Greenbury Green	+		+
Jas. Hubbard	+	+	
Jas. Coleman		+	+
Wm. Perkins	+	+	
Jno. Allen	+		+
Wm. Blakey	+	+	
Joel Drake	+	+	
Jas. Mallhews	+	+	
Jno. Brown	+	+	
Chs. Jones	+	+	
Shadrack Carter	+	+	
Gabriel Pawley	+		+
Abram Lowe	+	+	
Wm. Woodroon		+	
Johnn. Mills			+
Abner Leary	+		+
Jas. Lindsey	+		+
Jno. A. Penn	+	+	
Wm. Lewis Clarke		+	+
Jno. Seay Jr.	+		+
Jno. Patteson	+		+
Wm. Cannoway		+	+
Jno. Vest		+	+
Wm. Bailey		+	+
Henry Thomas	X	+	
Robt. Cannoway		+	+
Isaac Smith	+	+	
	45	46	34

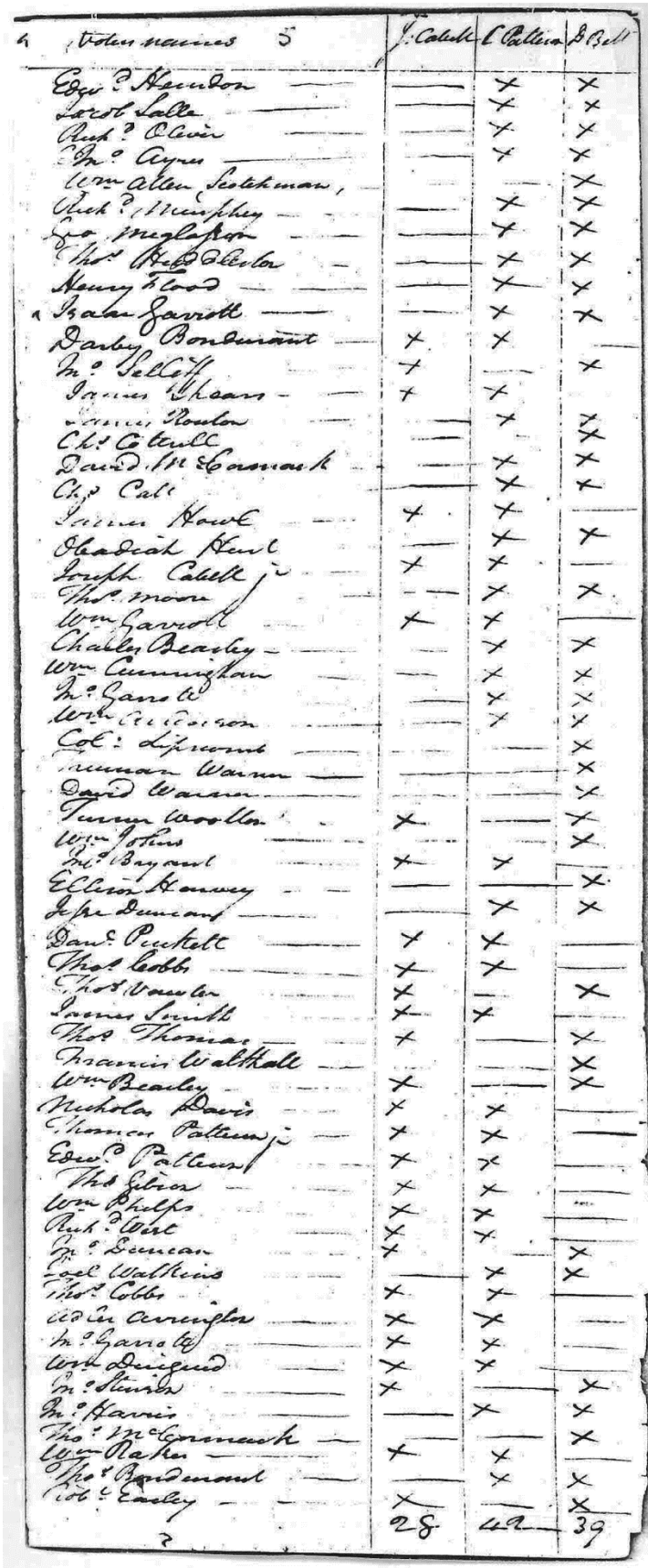
Voters names 2.	J. Cabell	C. Patteson	J. Bell
Paul Hughes	+	+	
Wm. Maddox		+	+
Jno. Nelson	+		+
Amos Gifford	+		+
Robt. Oliver	+	+	
Jno. Hooper	+		+
Joseph Adcock			+
Joseph Moore		+	+
Jno. Chiddup		+	+
Edw. D. Cooper	+		+
Thos. Woodridge		+	+
Robt. Ruddle Clark		+	+
Peter Hayle			+
Jno. Cannoway		+	+
Matthew Cole		+	+
Edm. Adcock			+
Jno. Morrow		+	+
Henry Bagby	+		+
Alex. Nelson jr.			+
Hickman Buckdale		+	+
Robt. Anderson	+		+
Geo. Anderson	+		+
Sam. Anderson		+	+
Wm. Cook	+		+
John Johns			+
Jno. Mosby		+	+
Jno. Chambers jr.	+	+	
James Nash		+	+
Geo. Abbo	+	+	
Nicholas Webster		+	+
Henry Baker	+	+	
Jas. Barns	+	+	
Asa. Chamlain	+		+
Chs. Wheeler	+		+
Chs. Bugler		+	
Wm. Slate	+	+	
Thos. Truman Murphy	+	+	
Joseph Bondurant	+	+	
Moses Wright		+	+
David Payor	+		+
Michael Maddox		+	+
Robt. Morgan		+	+
Nath. Jefferies	+		+
Stephen Carroll jr.	+	+	
Jno. Terry	+	+	
Jno. Pitman		+	+
Wm. Hensley		+	+
Ladock Edeh Cabell		+	+
Ralph Thomas	+	+	
Bohannah Ritchie	+	+	
Jno. Wright	+	+	
Wilson Brown	+	+	
Jno. Adcock jr.		+	+
Wm. Webb	+	+	
Jno. Bates	+	+	
Wm. Morris		+	+
Michael C. Bowers	+	+	
Peter Ray	+	+	
Jno. Patteson	+	+	
Ben. Bailey	+	+	
Jas. Berryhill	+	+	
Francis Amos	+	+	
Wm. Thornhill	+	+	
Jno. Stephens Sondy Town	+	+	
Thos. Blakey	+	+	
Peter Lesueur			+
Absalom Thornhill	+	+	
Jesse Thornhill	+	+	
Thos. Carter	+	+	
Jno. Couch	+	+	
	40	53	40

1. MS, Acc. 20238, Virginia State Library.

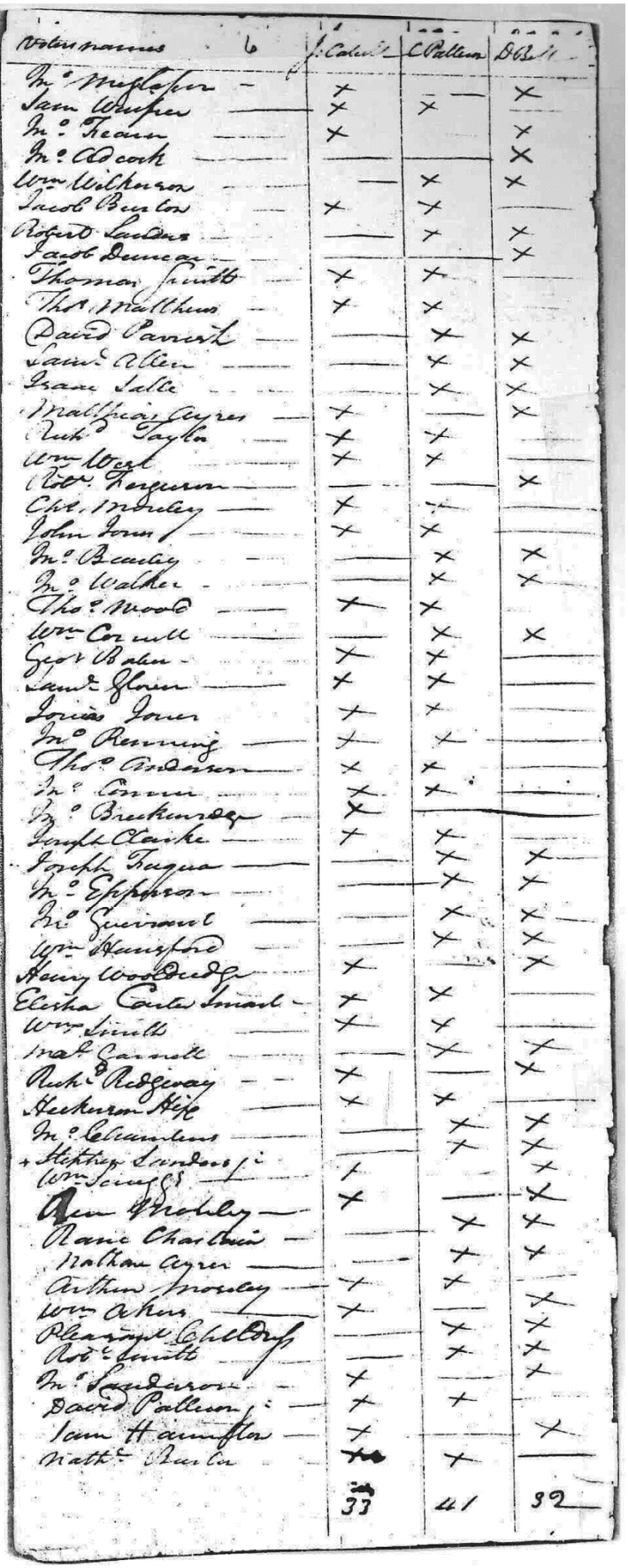


Voters names	J. Cabell	C. Patteson	D. Bell
Edm: Jones Spencer		X	X
Anthony Murray	X	X	
Jas. Gist Hudson	X		X
Rich: Northcutt	X	X	
Richd: Ripley	X	X	
Sherwood McCormack	X		X
Dion Elcan	X		X
Jno. McCormack	X		X
Wm. Peak		X	X
Wm. Gregory		X	X
Saml. Berkeley Jon.	X	X	
Wm. Lewis Sub	X	X	
Thos. Gamoway		X	X
Archer Webb Jr.	X		X
Nathan Garrott Sub	X	X	
Jno. Figures	X	X	
Wm. Lyle	X		X
Saml. Hall		X	X
Robt. Moseley	X	X	
Robt. B. Watkins	X	X	
Robt. Jones	X	X	
Pa. Hardie	X	X	
Wm. Armistead			X
Geo. Carter			X
Wm. Moore			X
Barthw. Davis			X
Elisha Poor	X	X	
Jos. Patteson	X	X	
Isham Hamilton		X	X
Francis Toney	X	X	
Isaac Staples	X	X	
Hardiman Baird	X		X
Joseph Brown		X	X
Davis Anderson		X	X
Nicon Patteson		X	X
Thos. Wright		X	X
Jno. Reid			
Nath. Gibson	X	X	
Geo: Carter	X	X	
Wm. Perkins	X	X	
Benj. Moseley	X	X	
Wm. Perkins Jun.	X	X	
Jno. Gibson	X		X
Wm. Luttrell	X		X
Wm. Grizzel	X	X	
Jacob Warner	X	X	
Robt. Williams	X	X	
Chs. Rowe	X		X
Isaac Freeland	X	X	
Wm. Gibson	X	X	
Thos. Hall	X		X
David Kyle	X	X	
Jno. Cowan	X	X	
Jno. Webb		X	X
Joseph Cook	X	X	
Charles Carroll			X
Robt. Smith	X	X	
Jno. Dolan	X	X	
Anderson Adcock			X
Valentine Saunders	X		X
Jno. Bates		X	X
Jno. Dixon		X	X
Jno. Cannon		X	X
Wm. Lyle		X	X
Mark Hamilton		X	X
Wm. Spencer		X	
Mark Jackson	X	X	
Thos. Woodruff		X	X
	44	49	36

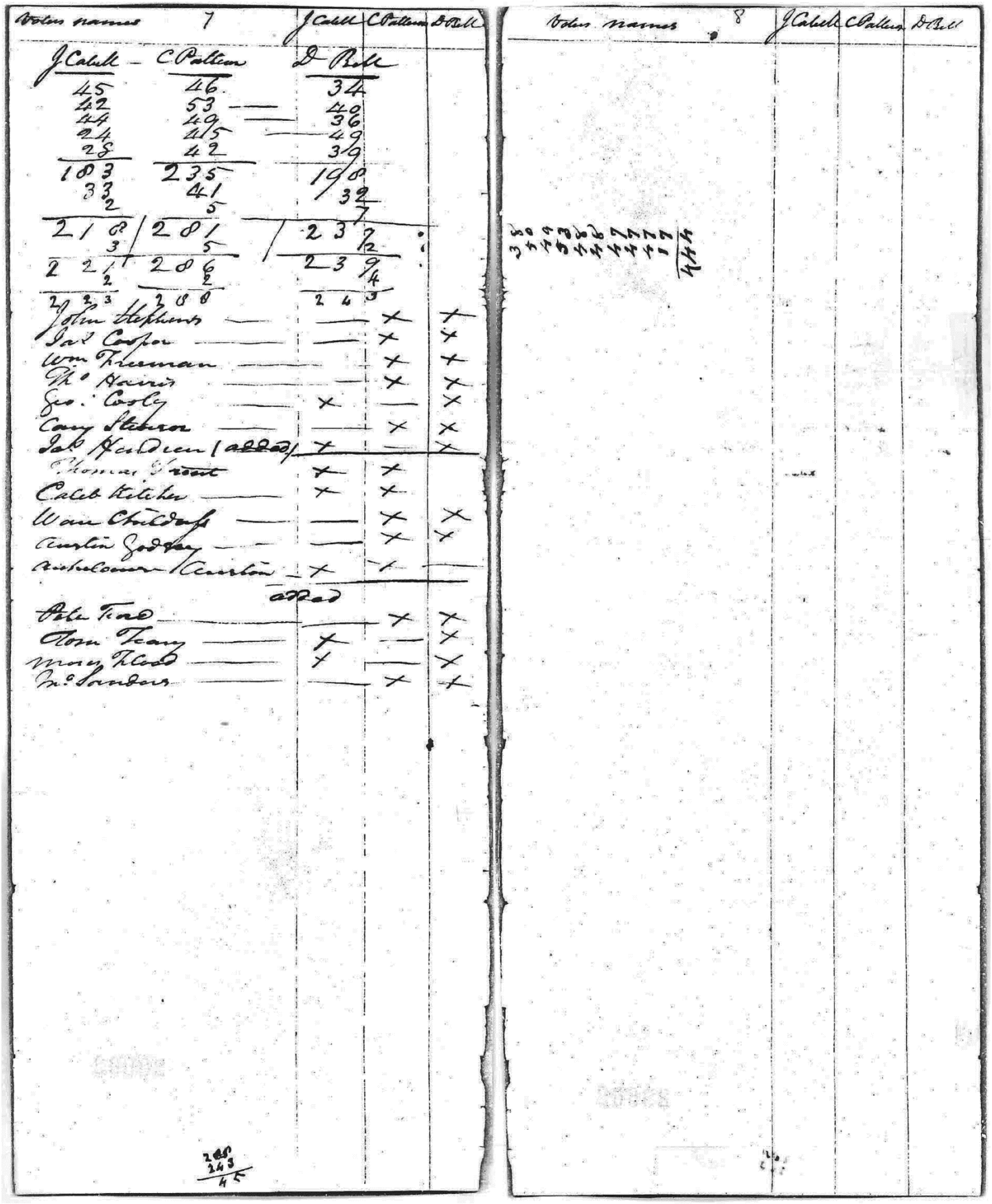
Voters names	J. Cabell	C. Patteson	D. Bell
Walter Morris		X	X
Wm. Cayton		X	
Patrick Obryan			X
Noah Floyd			X
Isaac Staples Jun.		X	X
Geo: David		X	X
Chs. Nicary	X	X	
Gregory Hammoway		X	X
Richd. North	X	X	
Gideon Crews		X	
Joseph Childress		X	X
Jno. Dix		X	X
Jno. Childress			X
Thos. Moss			X
Geo: Duncan			X
Edwd. Maxey	X	X	
Jno. Maxey		X	X
Jas. Bradford		X	X
Langston Maxey	X		X
James Agee	X		X
Jno. Bondurant	X	X	
Jno. Brothers	X		X
Edwd. Dupe	X	X	
Jno. Speight	X	X	
Thos. Sanders	X	X	
Boaz Ford		X	X
Lesk. Garland		X	X
Robt. Carr			X
Jno. Ships			X
Dudley Thweat	X		
Jno. Bagby	X	X	
Francis Spencer	X	X	
Jno. Toney Sen.		X	X
Joseph Scott	X	X	
Leonard Ballowe	X	X	
Edwd. Maxey	X		X
Edm: Gregory	X		X
Joseph Bucknall			X
Jno. Coulter			X
Pat. Peacock	X	X	
Archer Baird		X	X
Geo. Adcock		X	
Thos. Stephens	X	X	
Jno. Carroll Comp. Ct.			X
Edwd. Lankester	X	X	
Anthony Winston		X	X
Jno. Saunders		X	X
James Saunders	X		X
Nehemiah Estill		X	X
Jno. Ford			X
Jno. Moseley			X
Dick Gilliam		X	X
Jas. Bonner	X	X	
Jno. Parker		X	X
Jno. Brown Stanford			X
Hamlet Glanville		X	X
Isaiah Jones		X	X
Stephen Bailey		X	X
Sam. Lasseter			X
Wm. Jefferies		X	X
Wm. Goff			X
Benj. Morris		X	X
Jno. Hardiman	X	X	
Thos. Gregory		X	X
Walter Bluford	X		X
	24	45	49



4 Voters names 5	J. Cabell	C Patteson	D Bell
Edm^d Henderson	—	X	X
Sorrel Sallé	—	X	X
Richd Clair	—	X	X
Jno Ayres	—	X	X
Wm Allen Scotchman,			X
Richd Murphey	—	X	X
Geo. Meglaphon	—	X	X
Thos Reid Allister	—	X	X
Henry Flood	—	X	X
Isaac Garrott	—	X	X
Darby Bondurant	X	X	—
Jno Sellett	X	—	X
James Thears	X	X	—
James Roulon	—	X	X
Ch^s Colvill	—	—	X
David Mc Cannack	—	X	X
Ch^s Call	—	X	X
James Hawk	X	X	—
Obadiah Hurl	—	X	X
Joseph Cabell jr	X	X	—
Thos moon	—	X	X
Wm Garrott	X	X	—
Charles Bearley	—	X	X
Wm Cunningham	—	X	X
Jno Garrott	—	X	X
Wm Anderson	—	X	X
Col: Lipscomb	—	—	X
Truman Warren	—	—	X
David Warren	—	—	X
Turner Woodson	X	—	X
Wm Johns	—	—	X
Mr Bryant	X	X	—
Elkin Harvey	—	—	X
Jesse Duncan	—	X	X
Danl Puckett	X	X	—
Thos Cobbs	X	X	—
Thos Vawter	X	—	X
James Smith	X	X	—
Thos Thomas	X	—	X
Francis Walthall	—	—	X
Wm Bearley	X	—	X
Nicholas Davis	X	X	—
Thomas Patteson jr	X	X	—
Edwd Patteson	X	X	—
Thos Gibson	X	X	—
Wm Phelps	X	X	—
Richd Ware	X	X	—
Jno Duncan	X	—	X
Edwd Watkins	—	X	X
Thos Cobbs	X	X	—
Edwd Carrington	X	X	—
Jno Garrott	X	X	—
Wm Duiguid	X	X	—
Jno Shrieve	X	—	X
Jno Harris	—	X	X
Thos Mc Cannack	—	—	X
Wm Baker	X	X	—
Thos Bondurant	—	X	X
Col^o Easley	X	—	X
	28	42	39



Voters names 6	J. Cabell	C Patteson	D Bell
Jno Mosby	X	—	X
Sam Woofter	X	X	—
Jno Fearn	X	—	X
Jno Adcock	—	—	X
Wm Wilkerson	—	X	X
Jacob Burton	X	X	—
Richard Sanders	—	X	—
Jacob Duncan	—	—	X
Thomas Smith	X	X	—
Thos Matthews	X	X	—
David Parrish	—	X	X
Saml Allen	—	X	X
Isaac Sallé	—	X	X
Matthias Ayres	X	—	X
Richd Taylor	X	X	—
Wm West	X	X	—
Robt Ferguson	—	—	X
Ch^s Mosley	X	X	—
John Jones	X	X	—
Jno Beasley	—	X	X
Jno Walker	—	X	X
Thos Moore	X	X	—
Wm Cornell	—	X	X
Geo^r Baber	X	X	—
Saml Glover	X	X	—
Louis Jones	X	X	—
Jno Penning	X	X	—
Thos Anderson	X	X	—
Jno Cowan	X	X	—
Jno Breckenridge	X	—	—
Joseph Clarke	X	X	—
Joseph Fagan	—	X	X
Jno Epperson	—	X	X
Jno Guerrant	—	X	X
Wm Humphore	—	X	X
Henry Woodridge	X	—	X
Elisha Carter Smart	X	X	—
Wm Smith	X	X	—
Mal^l Garrett	—	X	X
Richd Ridgeway	X	—	X
Heckerson Fike	X	X	—
Jno Chambers	—	X	X
Stephen Sanders jr	—	X	X
Wm Young	X	—	X
Wm Mosby	X	—	X
Isaac Charlton	—	X	X
Nathan Ayres	—	X	X
Arthur Mosley	X	X	—
Wm Akers	X	—	X
Pleasant Chiles	—	X	X
Robt Smith	—	X	X
Jno Sanderson	X	—	X
David Patteson jr	X	X	—
Sam Harrison	X	—	X
Nathl Burton	X	X	—
	33	41	32



Voters names 7

J Cabell	C Patteson	D Bell
45	46	34
42	53	40
44	49	36
24	45	49
28	42	39
183	235	198
33	41	32
2	5	7
218	281	237
3	5	2
221	286	239
2	2	4
223	288	243
John Stephens —	—	X	X
Sal Cooper —	—	X	X
Wm Thurman —	—	X	X
Th° Davis —	—	X	X
Geo. Cosby —	X	—	X
Cary Stebbins —	—	X	X
Jab Haldren (added)	X	—	X
Thomas Grant	X	X	
Caleb Ketchen —	X	X	
Wm Childress —	—	X	X
Austin Godsey —	—	X	X
Archelaus Austin —	X	X	—
added			
Peter Toad —	—	X	X
Tom Teany —	X	—	X
Mary Toad —	X	—	X
Th° Sanders —	—	X	X

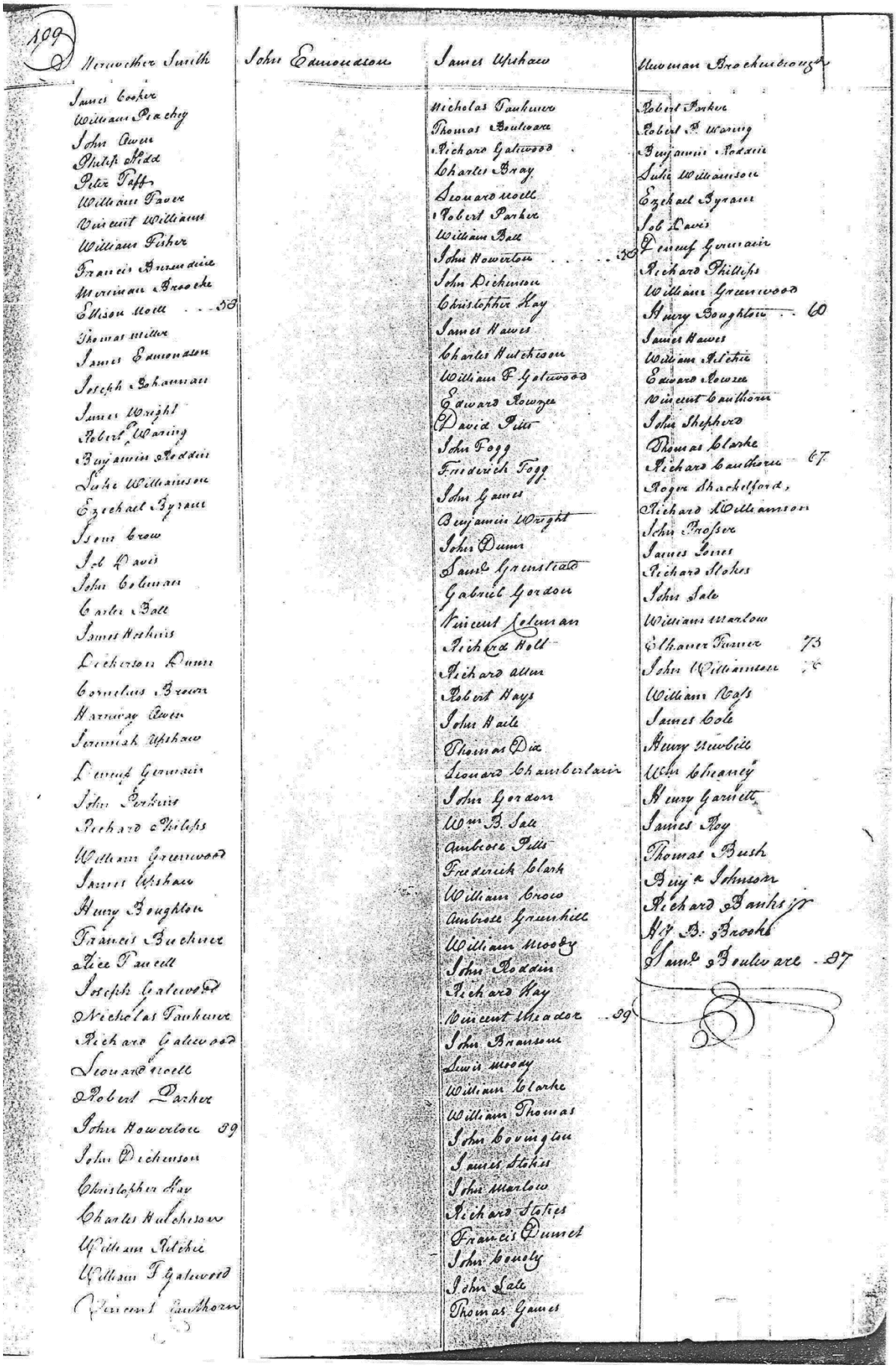
245
243
45

Voters names 8

J Cabell	C Patteson	D Bell
35		
50		
49		
53		
46		
47		
47		
47		
1		
444		

58-C. Essex County Poll List, 17 March 1788.[1]

1. MS, Essex County Deed Book, No. 33, pp. 108–10, County Records, Virginia State Library.



109

Mercr Smith
James Cooke
William Peachy
John Owen
Philip Fidd
Peter Pate
William Paver
Vincent Williams
William Fisher
Francis Brunedine
Merriman Brooke
Ellison Mottl . . . 58
Thomas Miller
James Edmondson
Joseph Shannan
James Wright
Robert Waring
Benjamin Roddin
Jahe Williamson
Ezekiel Byrant
Isom Crow
Jol Davis
John Coleman
Carter Ball
James Hopkins
Dickerson Dunn
Cornelius Brown
Harmony Owen
Jeremiah Upshaw
Lewis Germain
John Perkins
Richard Phillips
William Greenwood
James Upshaw
Henry Boughton
Francis Buchner
Alex Parnell
Joseph Galewood
Nicholas Faulkner
Richard Galewood
Leonard Ricell
Robert Parker
John Howerton 59
John Dickenson
Christopher Ray
Charles Hutchison
William Ritchie
William F Galewood
Vincent Southorn

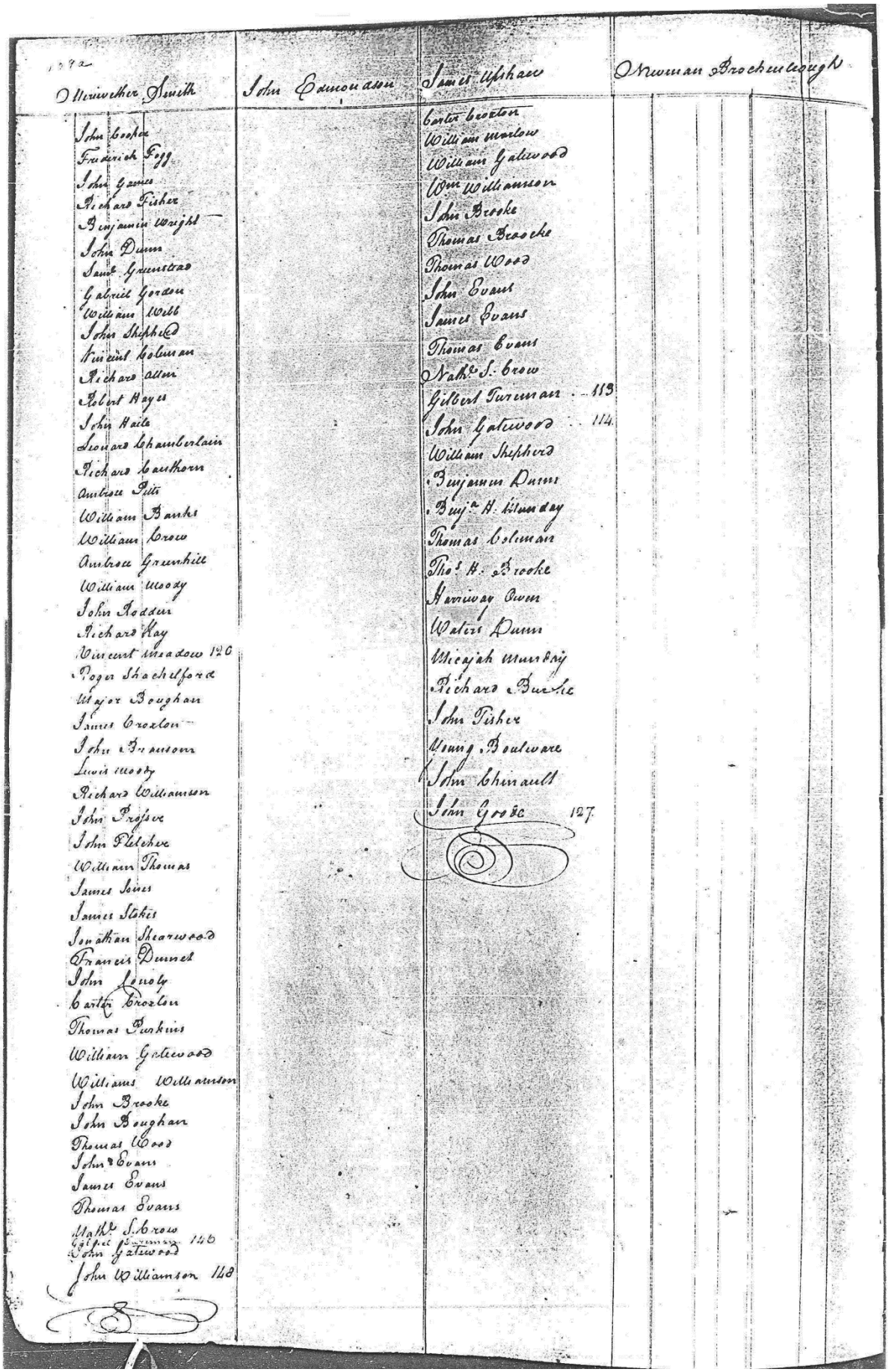
John Edmondson

James Upshaw

Nicholas Faulkner
Thomas Boulware
Richard Galewood
Charles Bray
Leonard Ricell
Robert Parker
William Ball
John Howerton 59
John Dickinson
Christopher Ray
James Hawes
Charles Hutchison
William F Galewood
Edward Rowzee
David Pitts
John Fogg
Frederick Fogg
John Grimes
Benjamin Wright
John Dunn
Saml Grenstead
Gabriel Gordon
Vincent Coleman
Richard Hall
Richard allen
Robert Hays
John Hail
Thomas Dix
Leonard Chamberlain
John Gordon
Wm B. Sale
Ambrose Pitts
Frederick Clark
William Crow
Ambrose Greenhill
William Moody
John Roddin
Richard Ray
Vincent Theador . 99
John Branson
Lewis Moody
William Clarke
William Thomas
John Covington
James Stokes
John Marlow
Richard Stokes
Francis Dunnet
John Lovely
John Sale
Thomas Grimes

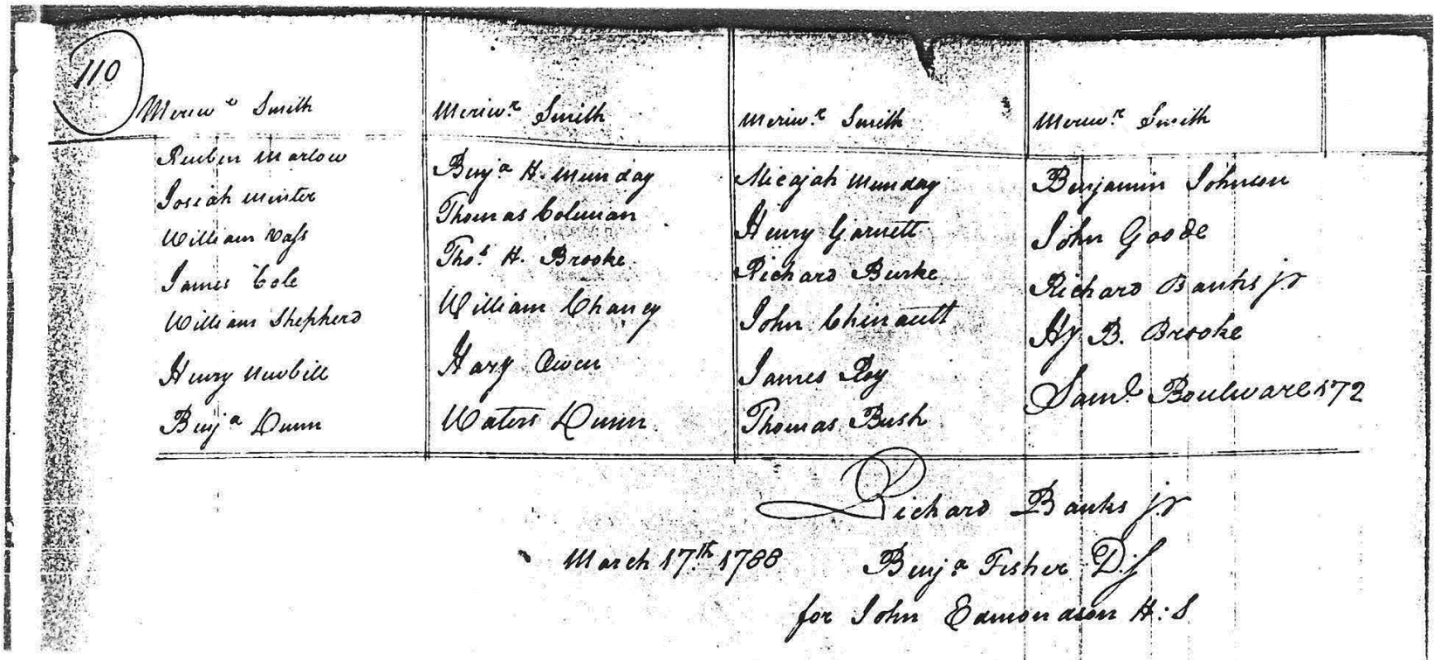
Ulverman Brockenbrough

Robert Parker
Robert P Waring
Benjamin Roddin
Jahe Williamson
Ezekiel Byrant
Jol Davis
Dennis Germain
Richard Phillips
William Greenwood
Henry Boughton . 60
James Hawes
William Ritchie
Edward Rowzee
Vincent Southorn
John Shepherd
Thomas Clarke
Richard Southorn 67
Roger Shackelford
Richard Williamson
John Prosser
James Jones
Richard Stokes
John Sale
William Marlow
Elhanner Penner 73
John Williamson 76
William Nash
James Cole
Henry Newbill
Wm Chearey
Henry Garnett
James Roy
Thomas Bush
Benja Johnson
Richard Banks Jr
Wm B. Brooks
Saml Boulware . 87



1788

Meriwether Smith	John Camouan	James Upshaw	Newman Brockenbrough
John Cooke		Carter Braxton	
Frederick Fogg		William Marlow	
John Gaines		William Gatewood	
Richard Fisher		Wm Williamson	
Benjamin Wright		John Brooke	
John Dunn		Thomas Brooke	
Saml Greenstead		Thomas Wood	
Gabriel Gordon		John Evans	
William Webb		James Evans	
John Shepherd		Thomas Evans	
Vincent Coleman		Nath[l] S. Brown	
Richard Allen		Gilbert Turnman 113	
Robert Hayes		John Gatewood 114	
John Hailes		William Shepherd	
Leonard Chamberlain		Benjamin Dunn	
Richard Cauthorn		Benj[a] H. Gilmday	
Ambrose Pitt		Thomas Coleman	
William Banks		Tho[s] H. Brooke	
William Brown		Harriway Owen	
Ambrose Greenhill		Walter Dunn	
William Moody		Micajah Murray	
John Rodden		Richard Burke	
Richard Hay		John Fisher	
Vincent Meadows 120		Young Boulware	
Roger Shackelford		John Chinault	
Major Boughan		John Goode 127	
James Braxton			
John Branson			
Lewis Moody			
Richard Williamson			
John Prosser			
John Fletcher			
William Thomas			
James Soines			
James Stokes			
Jonathan Shearwood			
Francis Dunnel			
John Lovely			
Carter Braxton			
Thomas Perkins			
William Gatewood			
Williams Williamson			
John Brooke			
John Boughan			
Thomas Wood			
John Evans			
James Evans			
Thomas Evans			
Math[l] S. Brown			
Gilbert Turnman 140			
John Gatewood			
John Williamson 148			



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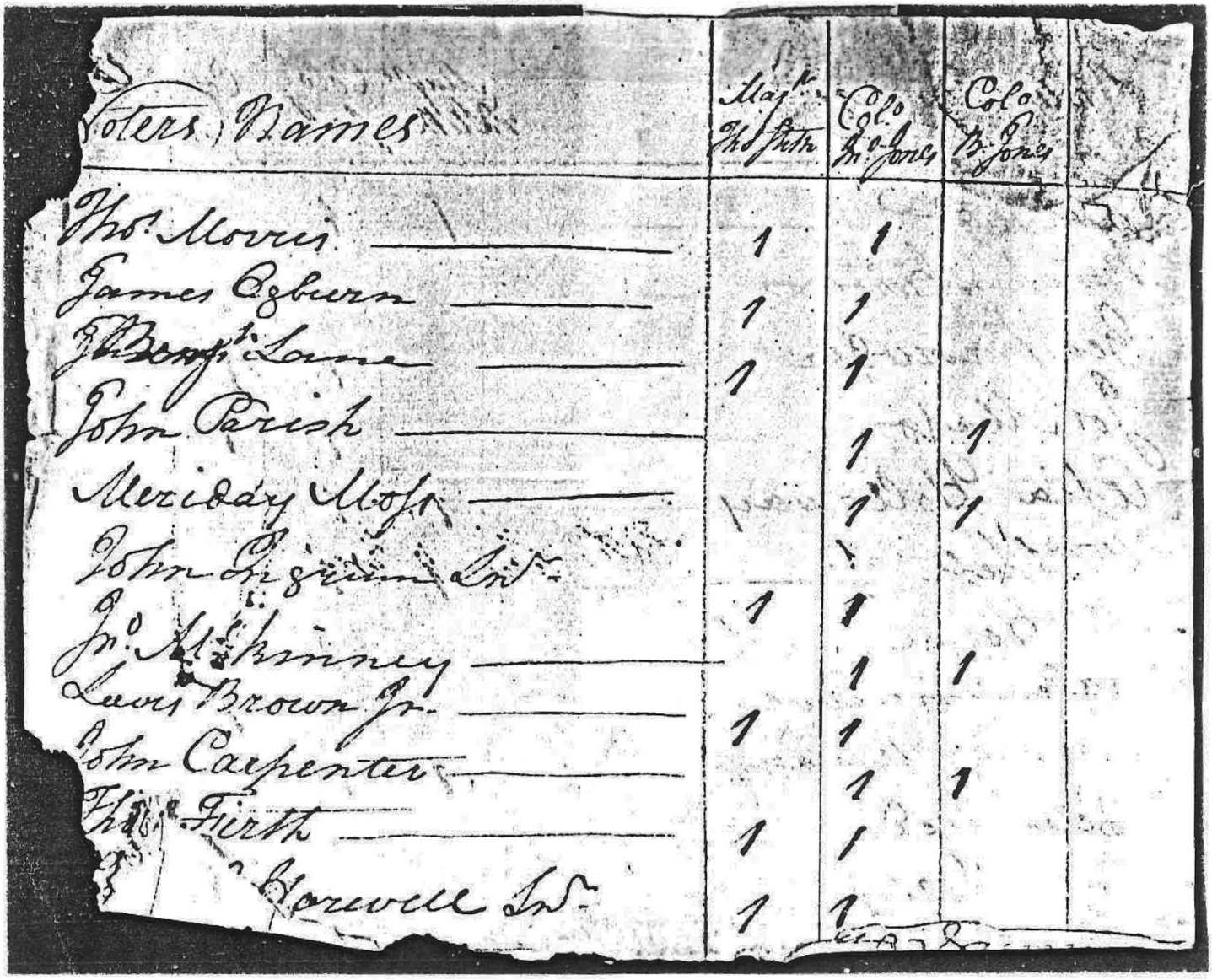
Merin.r Smith	Merin.r Smith	Merin.r Smith	Merin.r Smith
Reuben Marlow	Benj.a H. Munday	Micajah Munday	Benjamin Johnson
Josiah minter	Thomas Coleman	Henry Garnett	John Goode
William Wash	Tho.s H. Brooke	Richard Burke	Richard Banks jr
James Cole	William Chaney	John Chinault	Hy B. Brooke
William Shepherd	Gary Ower	James Fay	Saml Boulware 172
Henry Umbill	Waters Dunn	Thomas Bush	
Benj.a Dunn			

Richard Banks jr

March 17.th 1788 Benj.a Fisher D.f

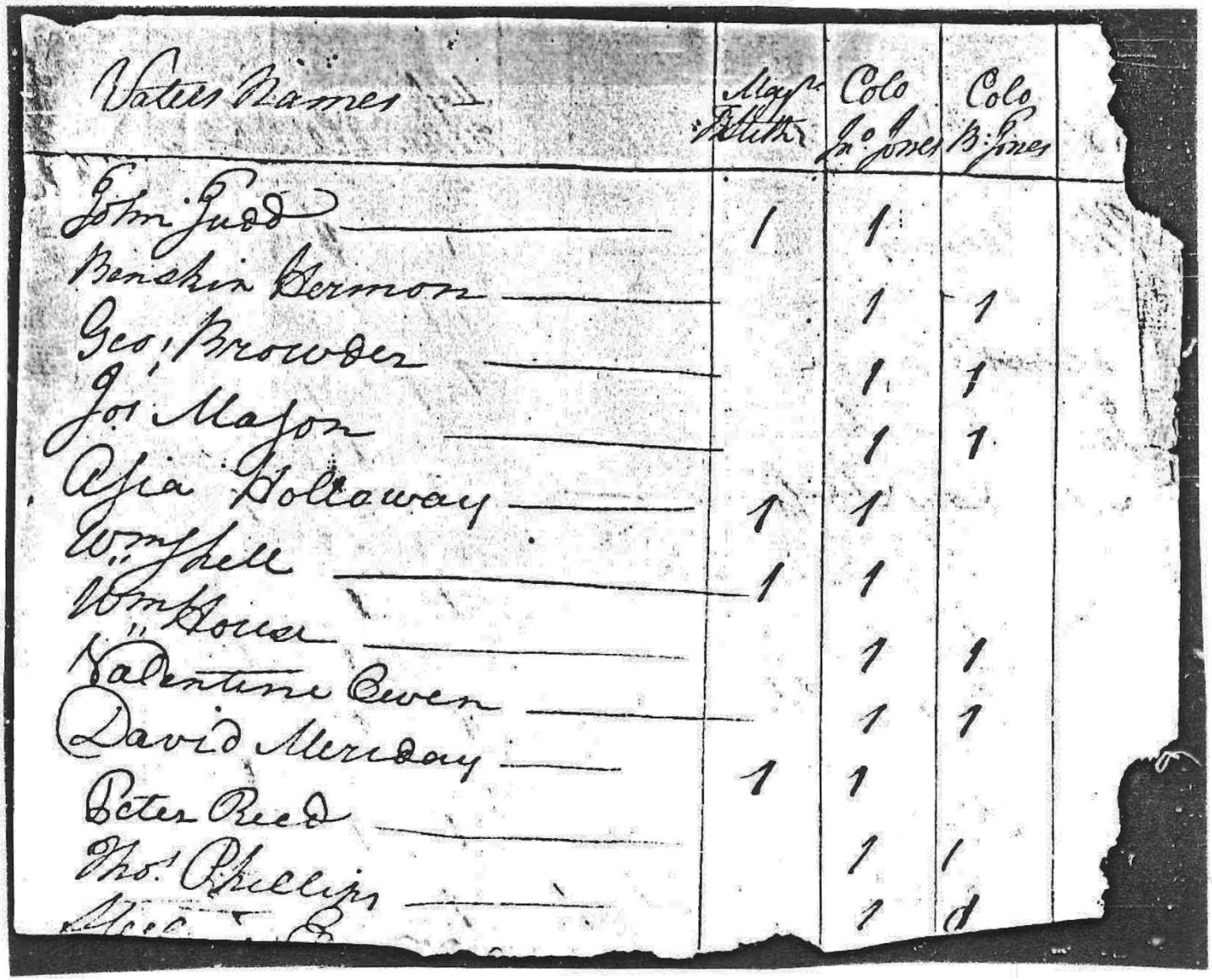
for John Samon asen H.S

58-D. Brunswick County Poll List, 24 March 1788.[1]

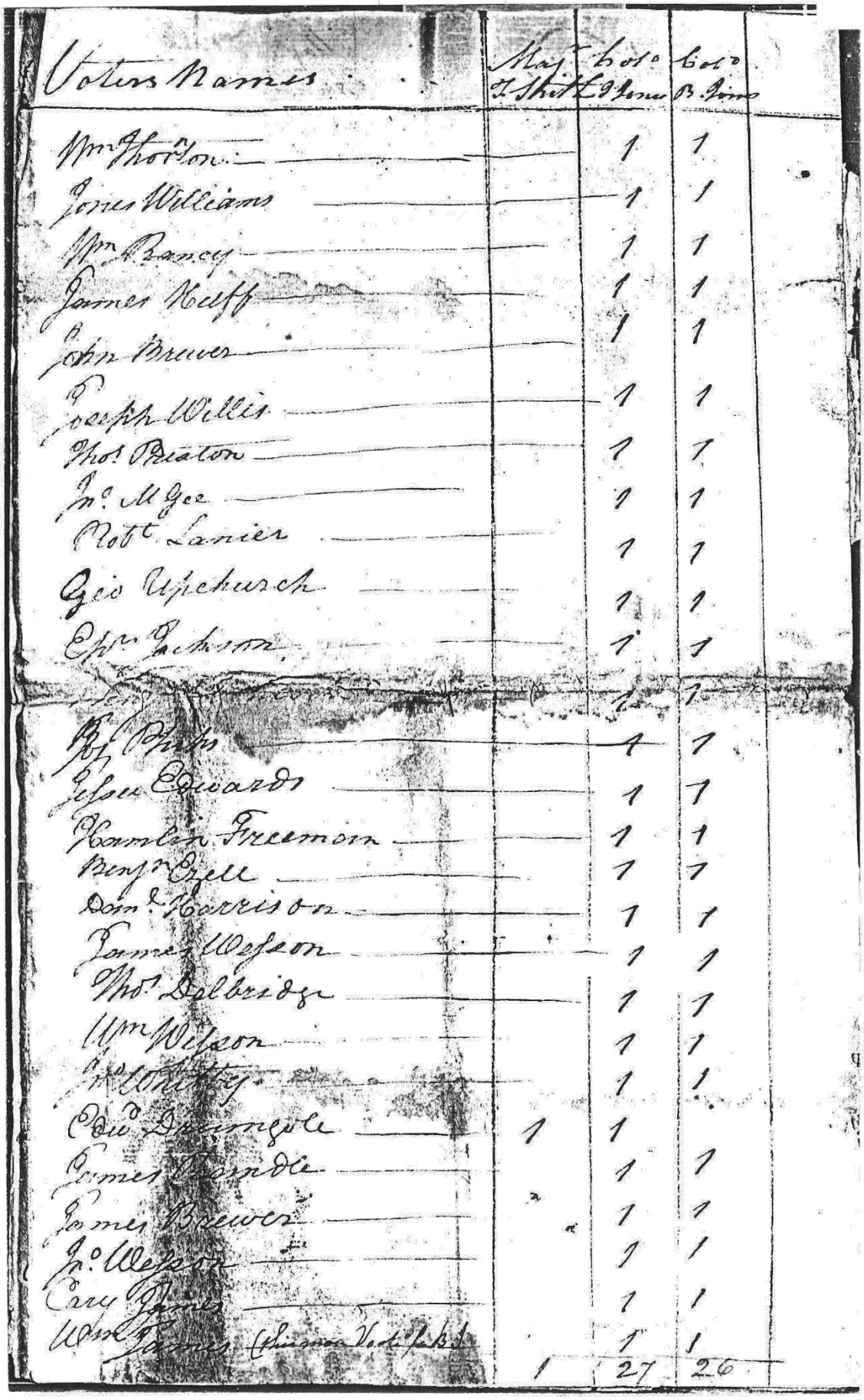


Voters Names	Majr. Th.s Firth	Col.o Jno. Jones	Colo B. Jones	
Thos. Morris	1	1		
James Osburn	1	1		
Benj.a Lane	1	1		
John Parish		1	1	
Meriday Mosr.		1	1	
John Griffin Jnr.		1		
Jno. McKinney	1	1		
Lewis Brown Jr.		1	1	
John Carpenter	1	1		
Thos. Firth		1	1	
Horwell Jnr.	1	1		

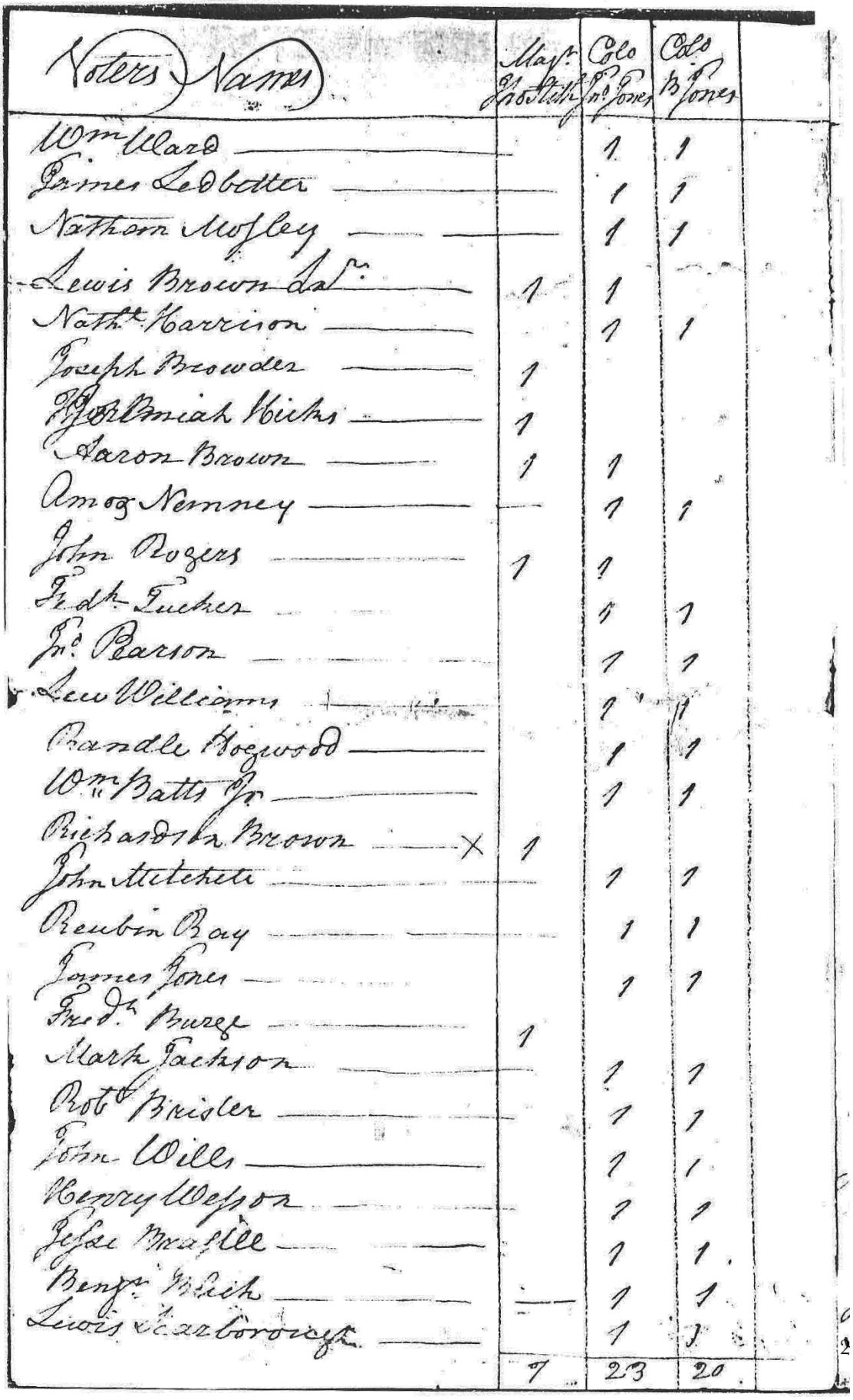
1. MS, Virginia State Library. For a discussion of this poll list, see RCS:Va., 574–75.



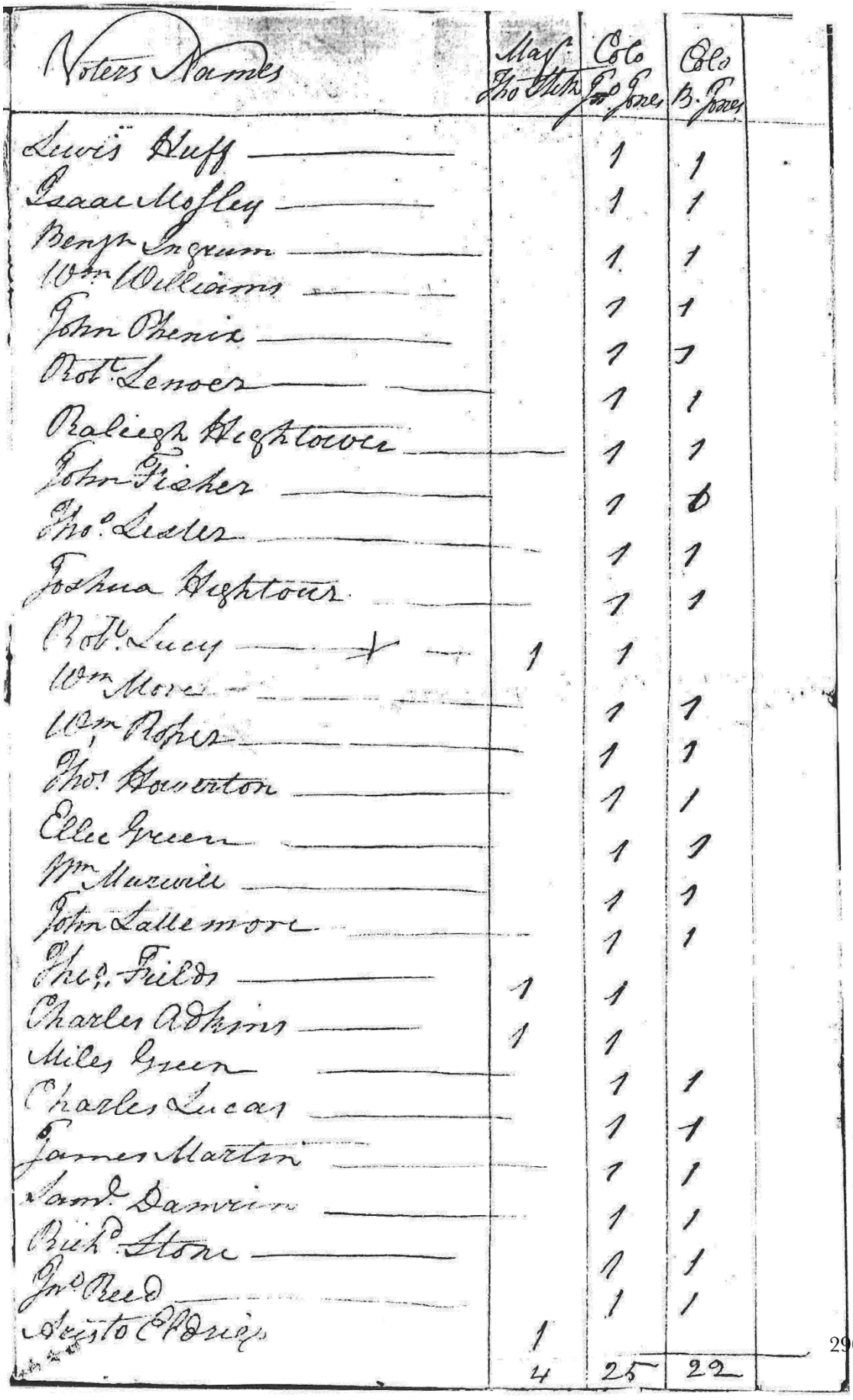
Voters Names	Majr. Fitzhugh	Colo. Jno. Jones	Colo. B. Jones	
John Judd	1	1		
Benskin Berrnon		1	1	
Geo. Browder		1	1	
Jos. Mason		1	1	
Ajia Holloway	1	1		
Wm. Shell	1	1		
Wm. Bowen		1	1	
Valentine Owen		1	1	
David Merriday	1	1		
Peter Reed		1	1	
Thos. Phillips		1	1	
Wm. [illegible]		1	1	



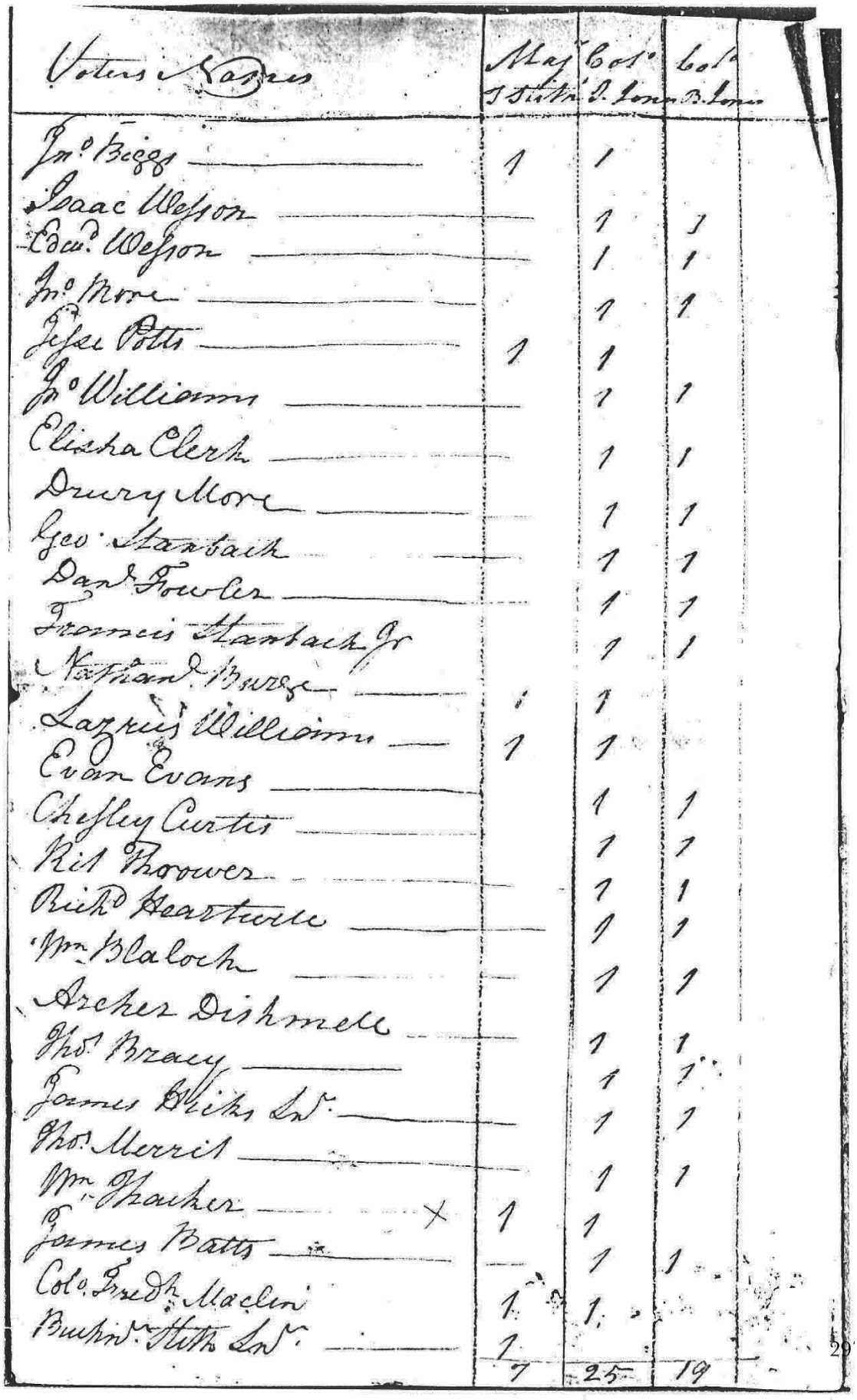
Voters Names	Maj. Gen. H. Skitt	Col. Lewis	Col. B. Lewis
Wm. Thornton		1	1
James Williams		1	1
Wm. Bancy		1	1
James Kelly		1	1
John Brewer		1	1
Joseph Willis		1	1
Thos. Preston		1	1
Jno. M Gee		1	1
Robt. Lanier		1	1
Geo. Upchurch		1	1
Chr. Jackson		1	1
[illegible]		1	1
Jos. Potts		1	1
Silvs. Edwards		1	1
Hamlen Freeman		1	1
Benj. Bell		1	1
Danl. Harrison		1	1
James Wilson		1	1
Thos. Delbridge		1	1
Wm. Wilson		1	1
[illegible]		1	1
Dav. Dromgole	1	1	
James Randle		1	1
James Brewer		1	1
Jno. Wilson		1	1
Cary [illegible]		1	1
Wm. James (Chairman Vo. & Pd.)		1	1
	1	27	26



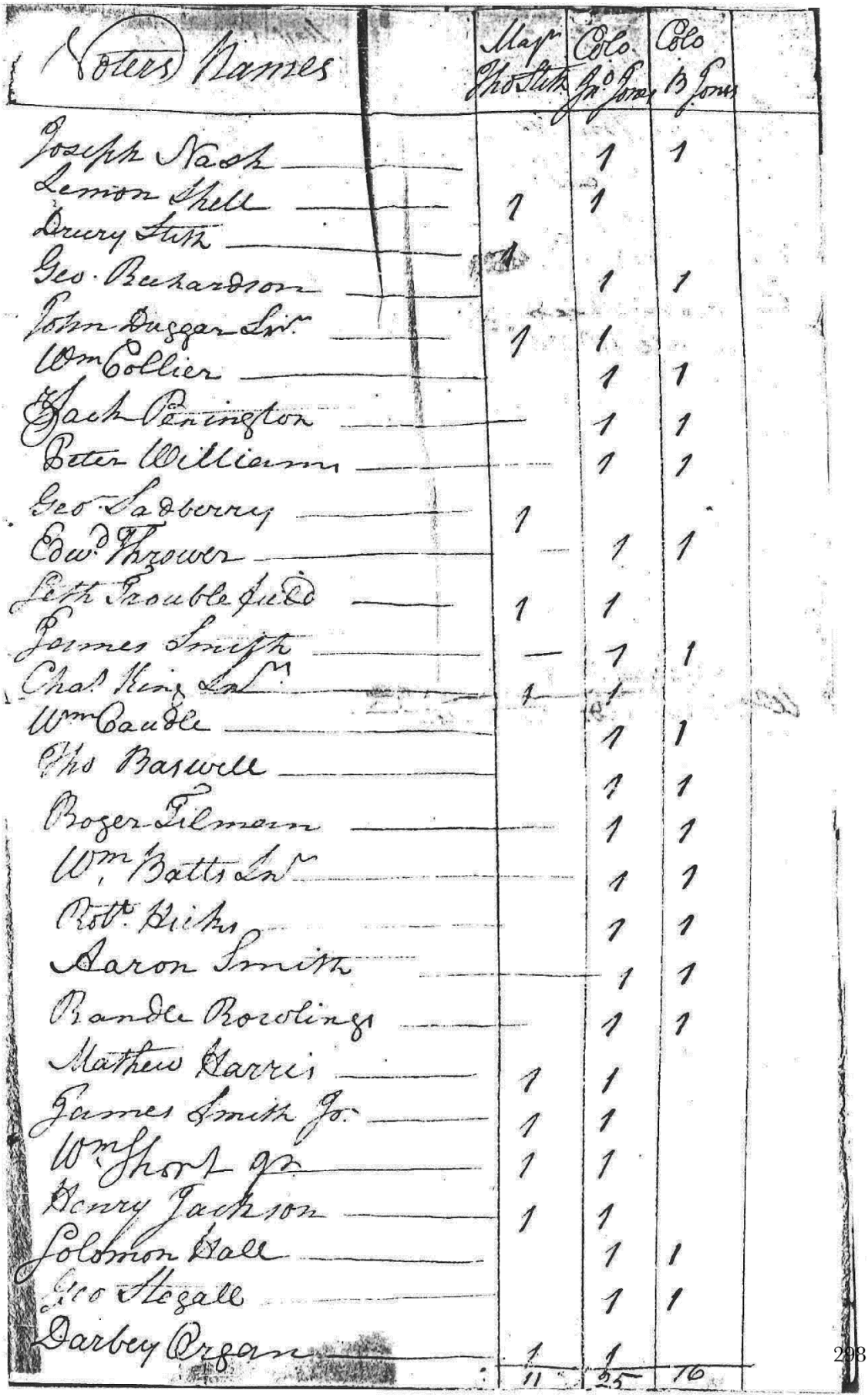
Voters Names	Majr. Jno Nicholas	Colo Wm. Jones	Colo B. Jones	
Wm Ward		1	1	
James Ledbetter		1	1	
Nathan Mosley		1	1	
Lewis Brown Senr.	1	1		
Nathl. Harrison		1	1	
Joseph Browder	1			
Jeremiah Hicks	1			
Aaron Brown	1	1		
Amos Nennney		1	1	
John Rogers	1	1		
Edwd. Tucker		1	1	
Jno. Barron		1	1	
Lew Williams		1	1	
Randle Hogwood		1	1	
Wm. Batts Jr.		1	1	
Richardson Brown X	1			
John Stitcheth		1	1	
Reubin Bay		1	1	
James Jones		1	1	
Fredk. Burge	1			
Mark Jackson		1	1	
Robt. Brisler		1	1	
John Wills		1	1	
Henry Wilson		1	1	
Jesse Bragle		1	1	
Benjn. Welch		1	1	
Lewis Scarborough		1	1	
	7	23	20	



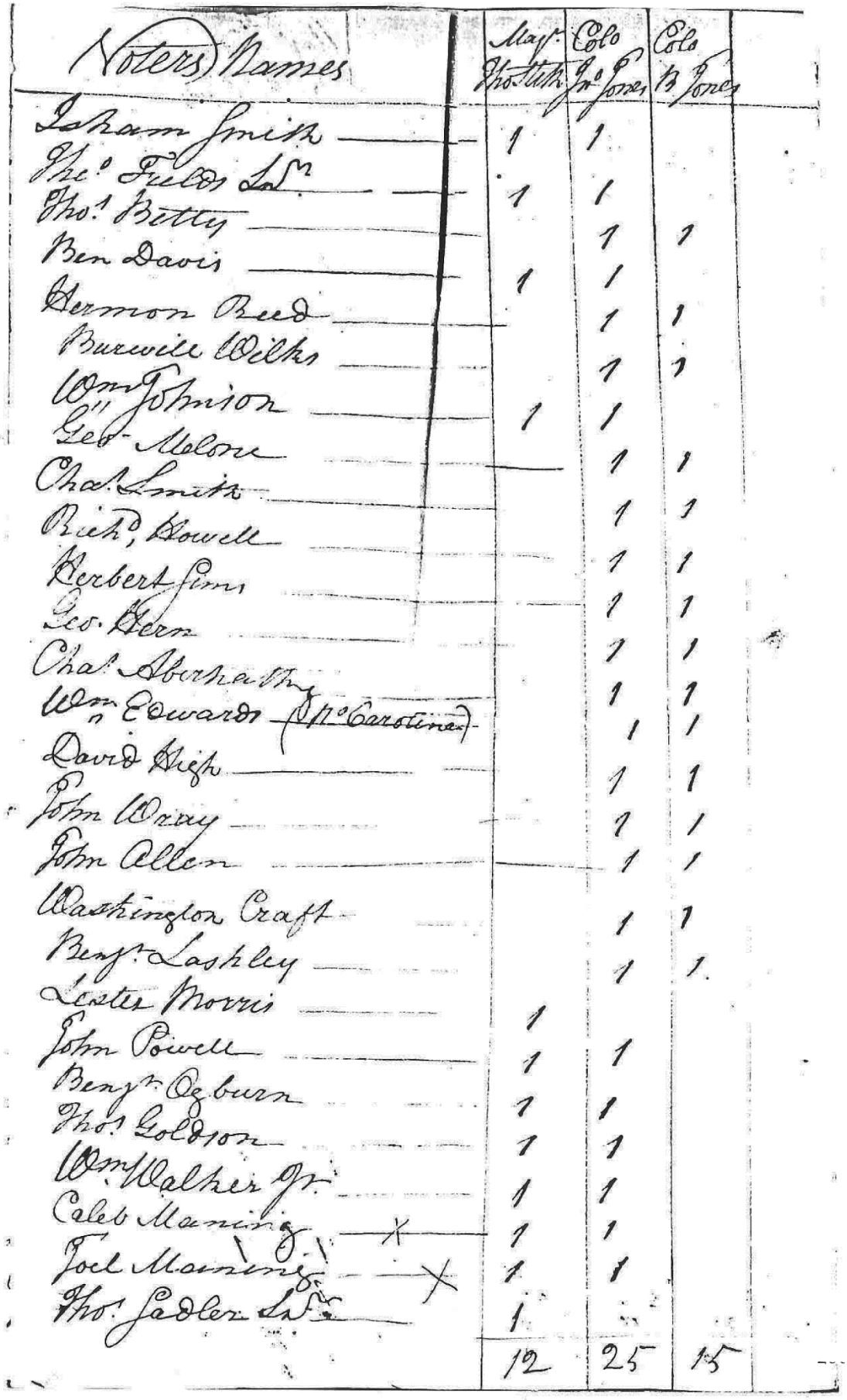
Voters Names	Majr Tho Elliott	Colo Jno Jones	Colo B. Jones	
Lewis Huff		1	1	
Isaac Mosley		1	1	
Benja Ingram		1	1	
Wm Williams		1	1	
John Phenix		1	1	
Robt Lenoer		1	1	
Raleigh Hightower		1	1	
John Fisher		1	0	
Jno Lucas		1	1	
Joshua Hightower		1	1	
Robt Lucy	1	1		
Wm Moore		1	1	
Wm Rogers		1	1	
Tho Houerton		1	1	
Ellic Green		1	1	
Wm Maxwell		1	1	
John Lallemore		1	1	
Jno Fields	1	1		
Charles Adkins	1	1		
Miles Green		1	1	
Charles Lucas		1	1	
James Martin		1	1	
Saml Damron		1	1	
Richd Stone		1	1	
Jno Reed		1	1	
Seyto Phips	1			
	4	25	22	



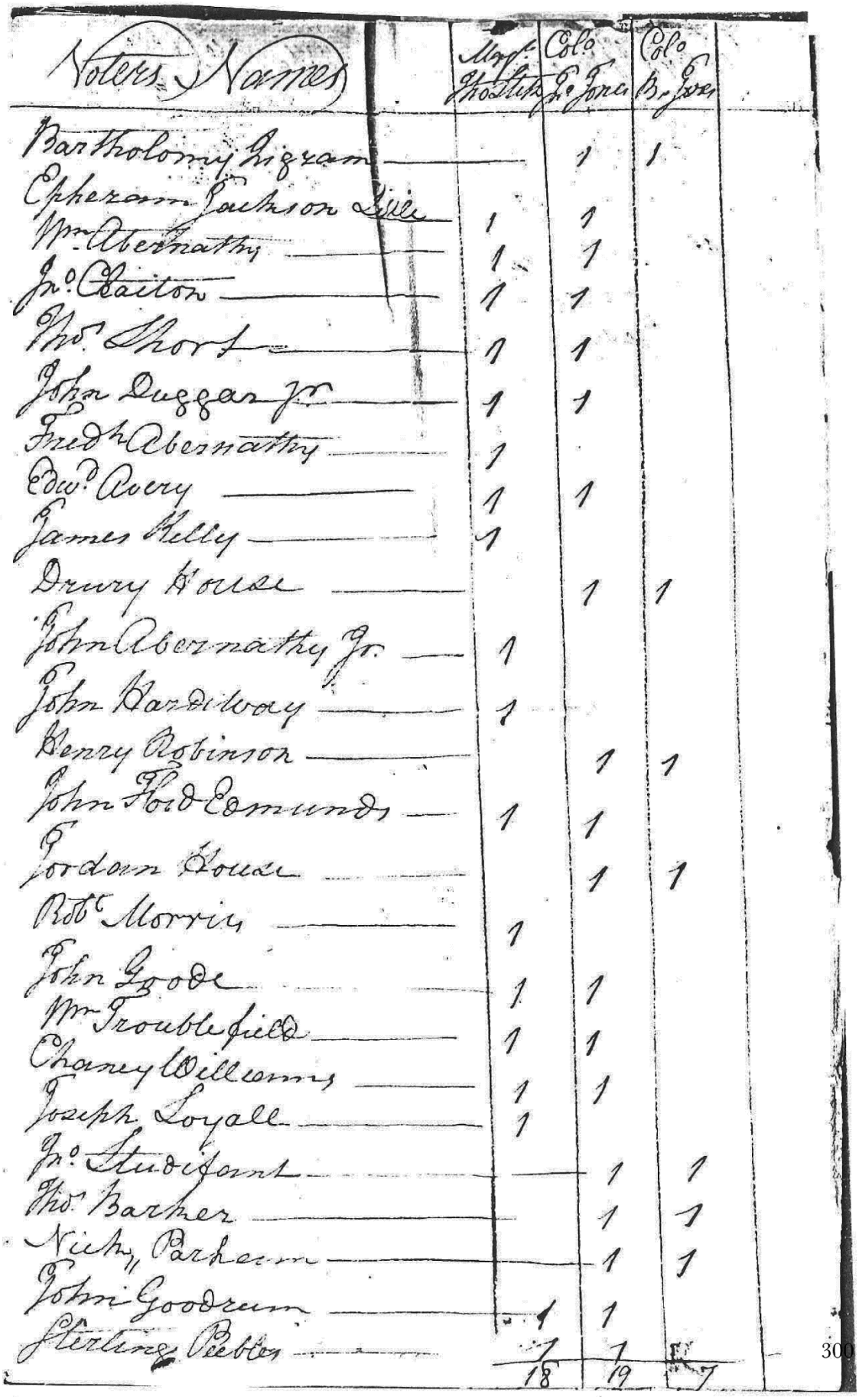
Voters Names	Maj. Gen. Smith	Col. D. Jones	Col. B. Jones
Jno. Biggs	1	1	
Isaac Wesson		1	1
Edw. Wesson		1	1
Jno. Moore		1	1
Jesse Potts	1	1	
Jno. Williams		1	1
Elisha Clerk		1	1
Drury Moore		1	1
Geo. Stanback		1	1
Dan'l Fowler		1	1
Francis Stanback Jr		1	1
Nathan'l Burge		1	
Lazarus Williams	1	1	
Evan Evans		1	1
Chesley Curtis		1	1
Rich'd Thrower		1	1
Rich'd Heartwell		1	1
Wm. Blalock		1	1
Archer Dishmell		1	1
Tho's Bray		1	1
James Hicks Sen'r		1	1
Tho's Merrit		1	1
Wm. Parker	1	1	
James Batts		1	1
Col'o Fred'k Maclin	1	1	
Buckn'r Hutch Sen'r	1		
	7	25	19



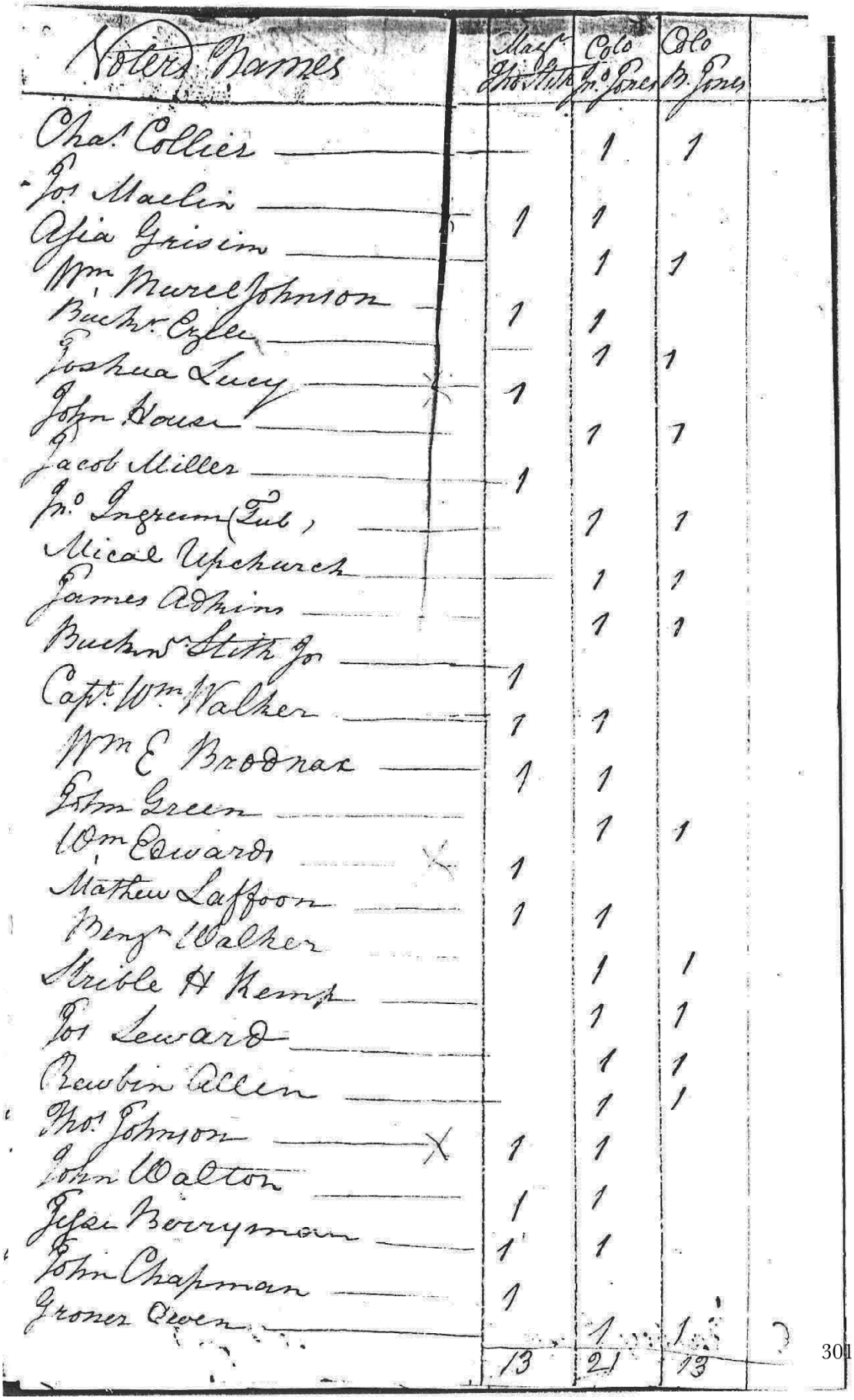
Votes	Names	Majr Tho Stith	Colo Jno Jones	Colo B Jones
	Joseph Nash		1	1
	Lemon Shell	1	1	
	Drury Stith	1		
	Geo. Richardson		1	1
	John Duggar Junr	1	1	
	Wm Collier		1	1
	Jack Pennington		1	1
	Peter Williams		1	1
	Geo. Sadberry	1		
	Edwd Thrower		1	1
	Seth Trouble Jude	1	1	
	James Smith		1	1
	Chas King Junr	1	1	
	Wm Caudle		1	1
	Phs Baswell		1	1
	Roger Tilman		1	1
	Wm Batts Junr		1	1
	Robt Hicks		1	1
	Aaron Smith		1	1
	Randle Rowlings		1	1
	Mathew Harris	1	1	
	James Smith Jo.	1	1	
	Wm Short Jr	1	1	
	Henry Jackson	1	1	
	Solomon Hall		1	1
	Geo Hegall		1	1
	Darby Organ	1	1	
		11	25	16



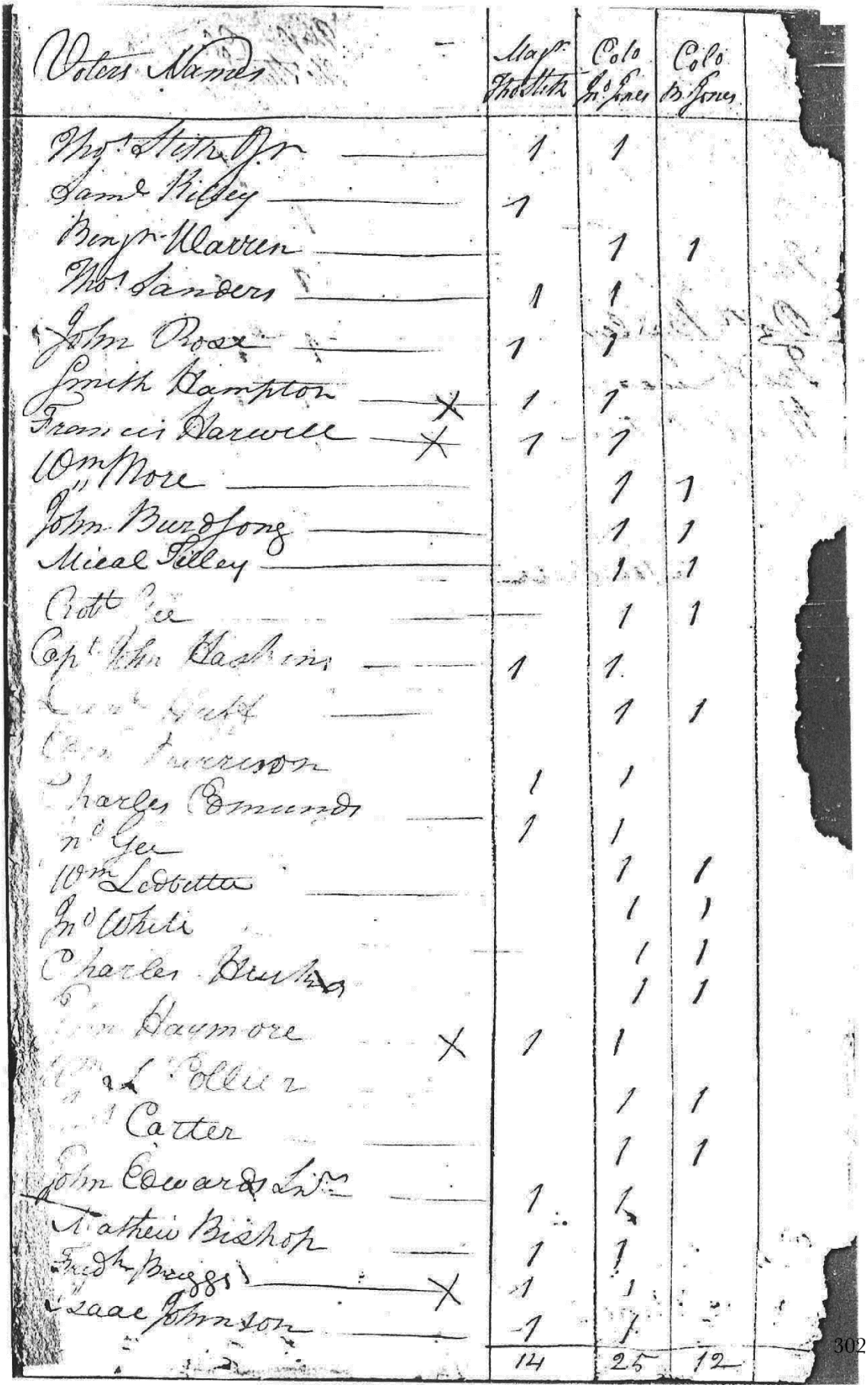
Voters Names	Majr. Thos. Tucker	Colo Jno Jones	Colo B Jones
Isham Smith	1	1	
Jno. Fulton Ldr	1	1	
Thos. Betty		1	1
Ben Davis	1	1	
Sermon Reed		1	1
Burwell Wilks		1	1
Wm Johnson	1	1	
Geo. Malone		1	1
Chas. Smith		1	1
Richd. Powell		1	1
Herbert Sims		1	1
Geo. Dean		1	1
Chas. Abernathy		1	1
Wm Edwards (N°Carolina)		1	1
David Dieth		1	1
John Wray		1	1
John Allen		1	1
Washington Craft		1	1
Benjn. Lashley		1	1
Lestes Morris	1		
John Powell	1	1	
Benjn. Ogburn	1	1	
Thos. Goldson	1	1	
Wm. Walker Jr.	1	1	
Caleb Manning X	1	1	
Joel Manning X	1	1	
Thos. Jadler Ldr	1		
	12	25	15



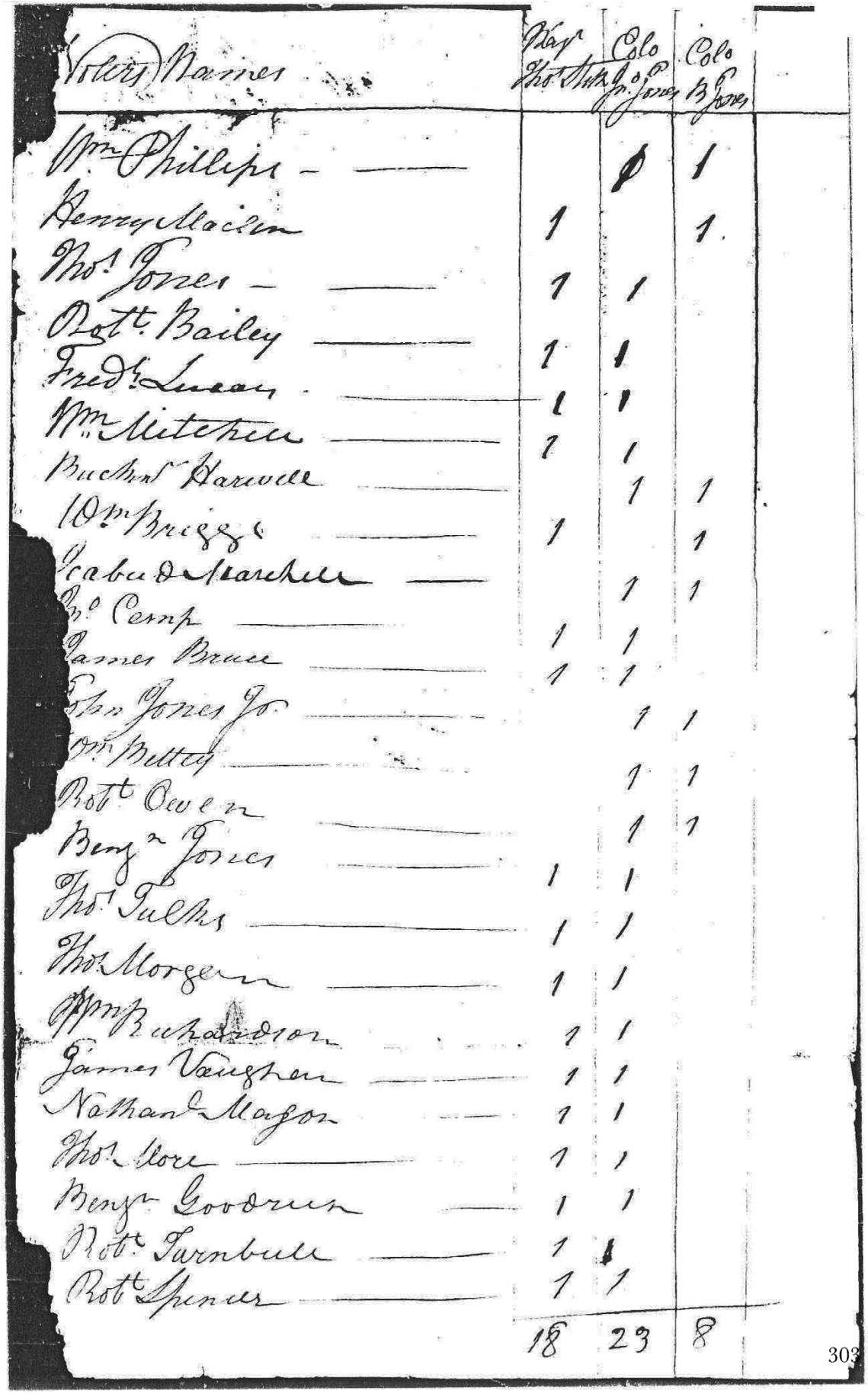
Voters Names	Majr Hostin	Colo E. Jones	Colo B. Jones
Bartholomy Ingram		1	1
Epheram Jackson Sen	1	1	
Wm Abernathy	1	1	
Jno Baiton	1	1	
Thos Short	1	1	
John Duggar jr	1	1	
Fredk Abernathy	1		
Edw. Avery	1	1	
James Kelly	1		
Drury House		1	1
John Abernathy Jr.	1		
John Bardaway	1		
Henry Robinson		1	1
John Ford Edmunds	1	1	
Jordan House		1	1
Robt Morris	1		
John Goode	1	1	
Wm Troublefield	1	1	
Chaney Williams	1	1	
Joseph Loyall	1		
Jno Studivant		1	1
Thos Barker		1	1
Nicky Parham		1	1
John Goodrum	1	1	
Sterling Peebles	1	1	
	18	19	7



Voters Names	Majr Thos Tabb	Colo Jno Jones	Colo B. Jones
Chas Collier		1	1
Jos Maclin			
Ajia Grisim	1	1	
Wm Murel Johnson		1	1
Buckr Ogle	1	1	
Joshua Lucy		1	1
John Bouse	1		
Jacob Miller		1	1
Jno Ingram (Tul,	1		
Mical Upchurch		1	1
James Adkins		1	1
Buckner Stith Jor		1	1
Capt Wm Walker	1		
Wm E Brodnax	1	1	
Wm Green	1	1	
Wm Edwards		1	1
Mathew Laffoon	1		
Benj Walker	1	1	
Stribble & Kemp		1	1
Jos Seward		1	1
Reubin Allen		1	1
Thos Johnson		1	1
John Walton	1	1	
Jesse Berryman	1	1	
John Chapman	1	1	
Groner Owen	1		
		1	1
	13	21	13



Voters Names		Majr. Thos. Tatum	Colo. Jno. Jones	Colo. B. Jones
Thos. Tatum Jr.		1	1	
Saml. Ridley		1		
Benjn. Warren			1	1
Wm. Sanders		1	1	
John Knox		1	1	
Smith Hampton	X	1	1	
Francis Harwell	X	1	1	
Wm. Moore			1	1
John Burdsong			1	1
Mical Tilley			1	1
Crotte [illegible]			1	1
Capt. Wm. Haskins		1	1	
[illegible] Hall			1	1
[illegible] Jurreson				
Charles Edmunds		1	1	
[illegible] Lee		1	1	
Wm. Lobetta			1	1
Jno. White			1	1
Charles Burch			1	1
[illegible] Haymore	X	1	1	
[illegible] Collier			1	1
[illegible] Carter			1	1
John Edwards Junr.		1	1	
Mathew Bishop		1	1	
Fredk. Boggs	X	1	1	
Isaac Johnson		1	1	
		14	25	12



Voters Names	Majr Hot Stith	Colo Jno Jones	Colo B Jones
Wm Phillips		0	1
Benny Macon	1		1
Thos Jones	1	1	
Robt Bailey	1	1	
Fredk Lucas	1	1	
Wm Mitchell	1	1	
Buckner Harwell		1	1
Dan Briggs	1		1
Isaac Markham		1	1
Jno Camp	1	1	
James Bruce	1	1	
Thos Jones Jo		1	1
Wm Bettey		1	1
Robt Owen		1	1
Benja Jones	1	1	
Thos Talks	1	1	
Thos Morgan	1	1	
Wm Richardson	1	1	
James Vaughan	1	1	
Nathan Mason	1	1	
Thos Hore	1	1	
Benja Goodman	1	1	
Robt Turnbull	1	1	
Robt Spencer	1	1	
	18	23	8

59-K. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 20 March 1788.

Delegates to ſerve in Convention elected ſince our laſt viz. :New Kent, WILLIAM CLAYTON and BURWELL BASSETT, ſen. Eſquires—Cheſterfield, DAVID PATTERSON and STEPHEN PANKEY, Eſquires.—Albemarle, GEORGE NICHOLAS and WILSON NICHOLAS, Eſquires.—Frederick, ELLIOTT WHITE and SHERMAN WOODCOCK, Eſquires.—Stafford, Col. GEORGE MASON and ANDREW BUCHANAN, Eſqrs.—Richmond, ROBERT W. CARTER and GEORGE L. TURBERVILLE, Eſquires.—King George, BURDETT ASHTON and WILLIAM THORNTON, Eſquires.—Loudon, LEVIN POWELL and STEPHENS THOMSON MASON, Eſquires—Goochland, JOHN GARRON and WILLIAM SAMPSON, Eſquires.—Caroline, EDMUND PENDLETON and JAMES TAYLOR, Eſquires.—York, GEORGE WYTHE & JOHN BLAIR, Eſquires—Prince George, THEODORICK BLAND and EDMUND RUFFIN, Eſquires.—Charlotte, PAUL CARRINGTON and THOMAS READE, Eſquires.—Louiſa, Wm. WHITE and Wm. O'CALLIS, Eſquires. Northumberland, Dr. WALTER JONES and THOMAS GASKINS, Eſquires. King and Queen, JOHN ROANE and Wm FLEET, Eſquires.—Franklin, THOMAS ARTHUR and JOHN EARLY, Eſquires

59-L. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 26 March 1788.[1]

RICHMOND, *March* 26.

Delegates chosen to serve in the State Convention to be held in June next.

ZACHARIAH JOHNSON & ARCHIBALD STUART, Eſquires, Auguſta.

HENRY BELL and DAVID PATTERSON, Eſqrs. Buckingham.

HORATIO GATES and ADAM STEVENS. Eſqrs. Berkley.

FRENCH STROTHER and JOEL EARLEY, Eſqrs. Culpeper.

EDMUND WINSTON and JOHN ALEXANDER, Eſqrs. Campbell.

JOHN TYLER and BENJAMIN HARRISON, Eſqrs. Charles City.

JOSEPH JONES and WM. WATKINS, Eſqrs. Dinwiddie.

MERIWETHER SMITH and JAMES UPSHAW, Eſqrs. Eſſex.

DAVID STUART and CHARLES SIMMS, Eſqrs. Fairfax.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON and JOSEPH HEADING, Eſqrs. Fluvanna.

ISAAC VANMETER and JOBE WELTON, Eſqrs. Hardy.

ANDREW WODROW and RALPH HUMPHREYS, Eſqrs. Hampſhire.

THOMAS PEARCE & JAMES JOHNSON, Eſqrs. Iſle of Wight.

HOLT RICHESON and BENJAMIN TEMPLE, Eſqrs. King & Queen.

JONATHAN PATTERSON & CHRISTOPHER ROBERTSON, Eſqrs. Lunenburg.

JAMES TAYLOR & JAMES WEBB, Eſqrs. Norfolk.

WILLIS RIDDICK and SOLOMON SHEPERD, Eſqrs. Nanſemond.

LITTLETON EYRE & JOHN STRATTEN, Eſqrs. Northampton.

PATRICK HENY & ROBERT LAWSON, Eſqrs. Prince Edward.

ANTHONY WALKE and THOMAS WALKE, Eſqrs. Princeſs Ann.

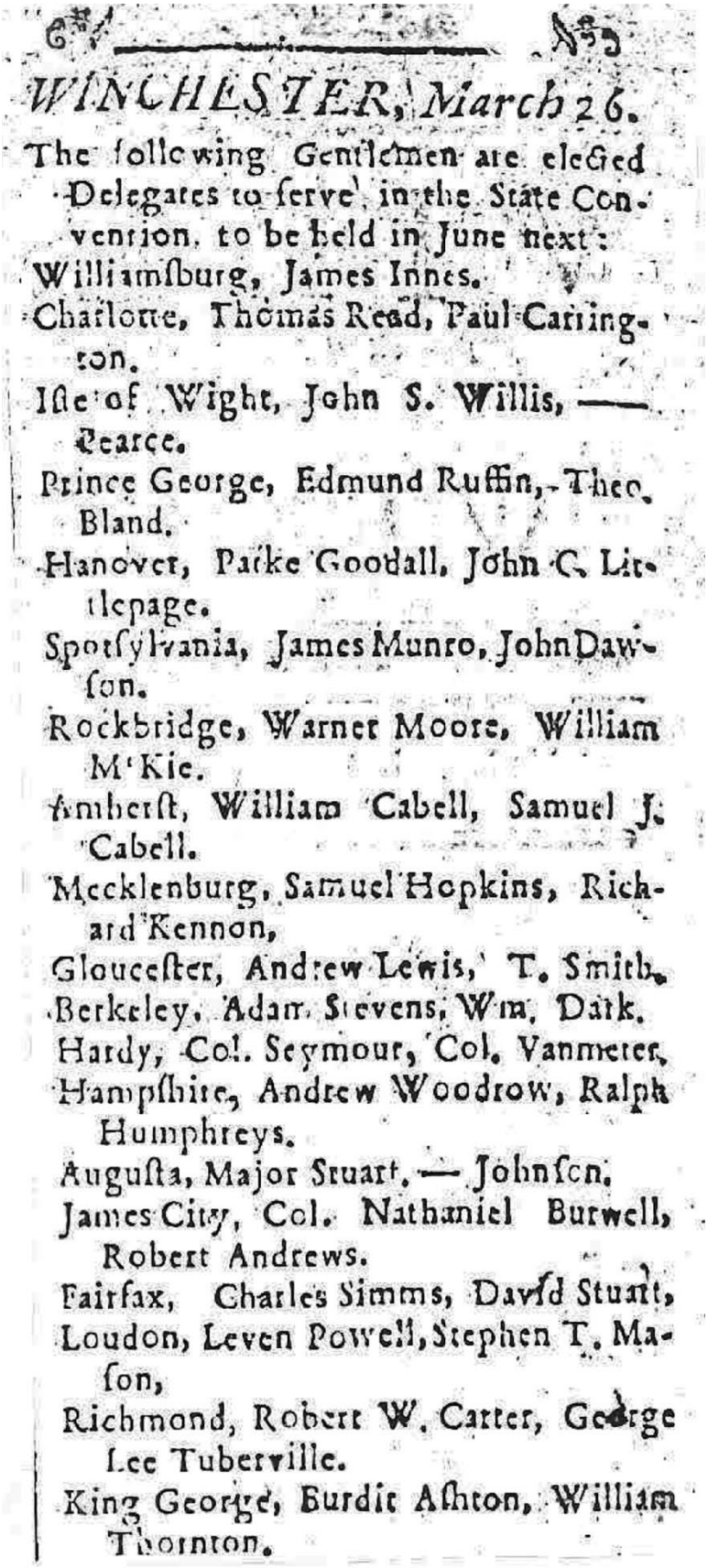
WILLIAM RONALD and THOMAS TURPIN, Eſqrs. Powhatan.

BENJAMIN BLOUNT and SAMUEL KELLO, Eſqrs. Southampton.

RICHARD CARY, Sen. and COLE DIGGES, Eſqrs. Warwick.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 10 April.

59-M. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 26 March 1788.



WINCHESTER, March 26.

The following Gentlemen are elected Delegates to serve in the State Convention, to be held in June next:

Williamsburg, James Innes.

Charlotte, Thomas Read, Paul Carrington.

Isle of Wight, John S. Willis, —— Pearce.

Prince George, Edmund Ruffin, Theo. Bland.

Hanover, Parke Goodall, John C. Littlepage.

Spotsylvania, James Munro, John Dawson.

Rockbridge, Warner Moore, William M'Kie.

Amherst, William Cabell, Samuel J. Cabell.

Mecklenburg, Samuel Hopkins, Richard Kennon,

Gloucester, Andrew Lewis, T. Smith,

Berkeley, Adam Stevens, Wm. Dark,

Hardy, Col. Seymour, Col. Vanmeter,

Hampshire, Andrew Woodrow, Ralph Humphreys.

Augusta, Major Stuart, — Johnson,

James City, Col. Nathaniel Burwell, Robert Andrews.

Fairfax, Charles Simms, David Stuart,

Loudon, Leven Powell, Stephen T. Mason,

Richmond, Robert W. Carter, George Lee Turberville.

King George, Burdit Ashton, William Thornton.

59-N. Virginia Herald, 27 March 1788.

Frederickſburg, March 27.

Delegates choſen to Convention from the undermentioned counties.

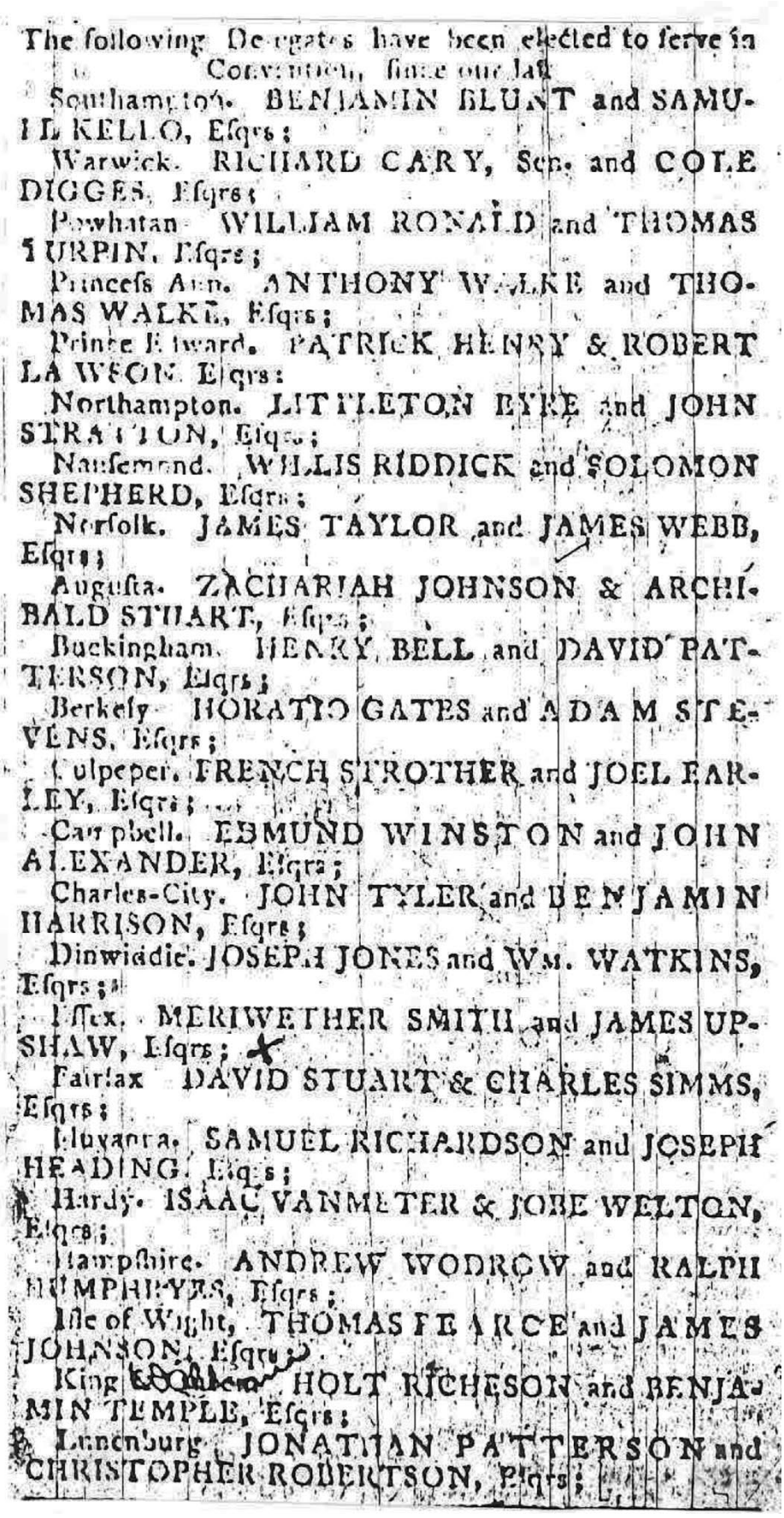
James City, Nathaniel Burwell and Robert Andrews, Eſq'rs.—*New-Kent*, Wm. Clayton and Burwell Baſſett, Eſquires.—*Prince-George*, Theodorick Bland and Edward Ruffin, Eſq'rs.—*Gloucester*, Warner Lewis and Thomas Smith, Eſq'rs.—*Rockſbridge*, Andrew Moore and Wm. M'Kie, Eſq'rs.—*Albemarle*, George Nicholas and Wilſon Nicholas, Eſq'rs.—*Caroline*, Edmund Pendleton and James Taylor, Eſq'rs.—*Charlotte*, Paul Carrington and Thomas Read, Eſquires.—*Louiſa*, Wm. White and Wm. O. Callis, Eſq'rs.—*Northumberland*, Doct. Walter Jones and Thomas Gaſkins, Eſq.—*King and Queen*, John Roane and Wm. Fleet, Eſq'rs.—*Franklin*, Thomas Arthur and John Earley, Eſq'rs.—*Goochland*, John Guarrant, and Wm. Sampſon, Eſq'rs.—*York*, Geo. Wythe and John Blair, Eſq'rs.—*Loudon*, Leven Powell & Stephen Maſon, Eſq'rs.—*Nanſemond*, Willis Budlock and Sol. Shepherd, Eſq'rs.—*Warwick*, Richard Carey, ſen. and Cole Diggs, Eſq'rs.—*Northampton*, Littleton Eyre and John Stratton, Eſq'rs.—*Fairfax*, Charles Simms and David Steuart, Eſquires.—*Culpepper*, French Strother and Joel Early, Eſq'rs.—*Eſſex*, Meri. Smith and Thomas Upſhaw, Eſq'rs.—*Fauquier*, Martin Pickett and Humphrey Brook, Eſq'rs.

At the cloſe of the poll for Orange county on Monday laſt, the numbers ſtood as follow:

James Madiſon, jun.	202
James Gordon, jun.	178
Thomas Barber,	56

Whereupon the two former were declared to be elected.

59-O. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 27 March 1788.



The following Delegates have been elected to serve in Convention, since our last

Southampton. BENJAMIN BLUNT and SAMUEL KELLO, Esqrs;

Warwick. RICHARD CARY, Sen. and COLE DIGGES, Esqrs;

Powhatan. WILLIAM RONALD and THOMAS TURPIN, Esqrs;

Princess Ann. ANTHONY WALKE and THOMAS WALKE, Esqrs;

Prince Edward. PATRICK HENRY & ROBERT LAWSON, Esqrs:

Northampton. LITTLETON EYRE and JOHN STRATTON, Esqrs;

Nansemond. WILLIS RIDDICK and SOLOMON SHEPHERD, Esqrs;

Norfolk. JAMES TAYLOR and JAMES WEBB, Esqrs;

Augusta. ZACHARIAH JOHNSON & ARCHIBALD STUART, Esqrs;

Buckingham. HENRY BELL and DAVID PATTERSON, Esqrs;

Berkely. HORATIO GATES and ADAM STEVENS, Esqrs;

Culpeper. FRENCH STROTHER and JOEL EARLEY, Esqrs;

Campbell. EDMUND WINSTON and JOHN ALEXANDER, Esqrs;

Charles-City. JOHN TYLER and BENJAMIN HARRISON, Esqrs;

Dinwiddie. JOSEPH JONES and Wm. WATKINS, Esqrs;

Essex. MERIWETHER SMITH and JAMES UPSHAW, Esqrs;

Fairfax DAVID STUART & CHARLES SIMMS, Esqrs;

Gloucester. SAMUEL RICHARDSON and JOSEPH HEADING, Esqrs;

Hardy. ISAAC VANMETER & JOBE WELTON, Esqrs;

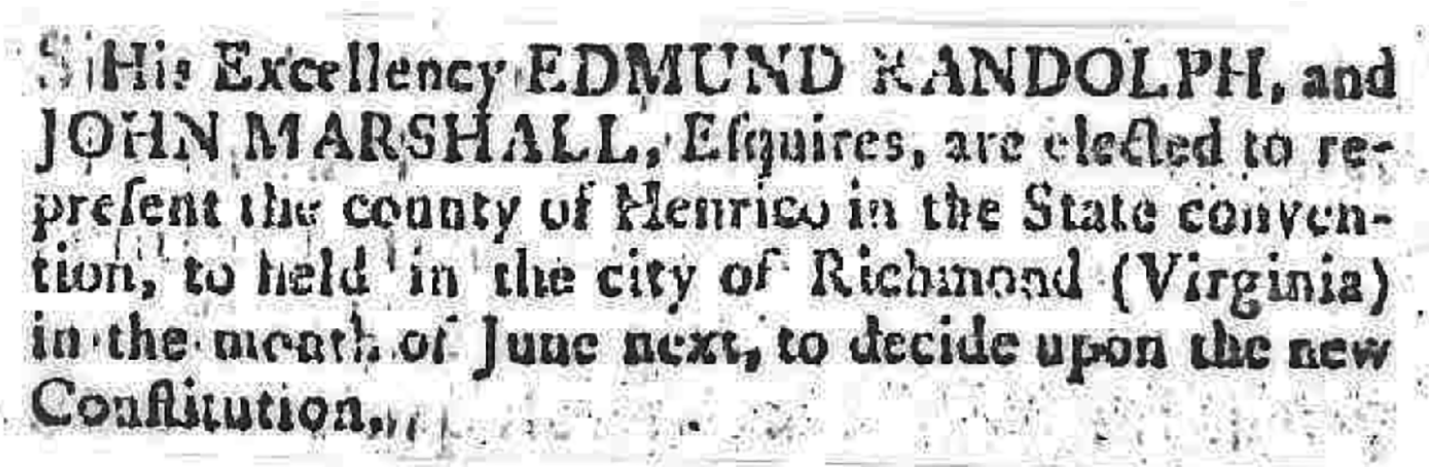
Hampshire. ANDREW WODROW and RALPH HUMPHREYS, Esqrs;

Isle of Wight, THOMAS PEARCE and JAMES JOHNSON, Esqrs;

King [illegible] HOLT RICHESON and BENJAMIN TEMPLE, Esqrs;

Lunenburg. JONATHAN PATTERSON and CHRISTOPHER ROBERTSON, Esqrs;

59-P. Boston American Herald, 31 March 1788.



His Excellency EDMUND RANDOLPH, and JOHN MARSHALL, Esquires, are elected to represent the county of Henrico in the State convention, to held in the city of Richmond (Virginia) in the month of June next, to decide upon the new Constitution.

59-Q. Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 2 April 1788.

NORFOLK, *April* 2.

DELEGATES for the enſuing Convention,

Elizabeth-City——Miles King, and Worlich Wellwood, Eſqrs.

59-R. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 2 April 1788.[1]

RICHMOND, *April* 2.

Delegates chosen to serve in the State Convention to be held in June next.

JOHN PRIDE and EDMUND BOOKER, Esquires, Amelia.

WILLIAM FLEMING and MARTIN M'FARRAN, Esqrs. Botetourt.

CHARLES PATTESON and DAVID BELL, Esqrs. Buckingham.

JOHN JONES and BINNS JONES, Esqrs. Brunswick.

THOMAS DREW and JOSEPH MISCHEW, Esqrs. Cumberland.

MILES KING and WILSON M. CARY, Esqrs. Elizabeth City.

MARTIN PICKETT and HUMPHREY BROOKE, Esqrs. Fauquier.

WILLIAM MASON and DANIEL FISHER, Esqrs. Greensville.

THOMAS COOPER and JOHN MANN, Esqrs. Henry.

ISAAC COLES and GEORGE CARRINGTON, Esqrs. Halifax.

HOLT RICHESON and BENJAMIN TEMPLE, Esqrs. King-William.

JAMES GORDON and HENRY TOWLES, Esqrs. Lancaster.

FRANCIS CORBIN and RALPH WORMELEY, Esqrs. Middlesex.

THOMAS MATTHEWS, Esq; Norfolk Borough.

JAMES MADISON, jun. and JAMES GORDON, Esqrs. Orange.

ROBERT WILLIAMS and JOHN WILSON, Esqrs. Pittsylvania.

JOHN G. JONES and THOMAS LEWIS, Esqrs. Rockingham.

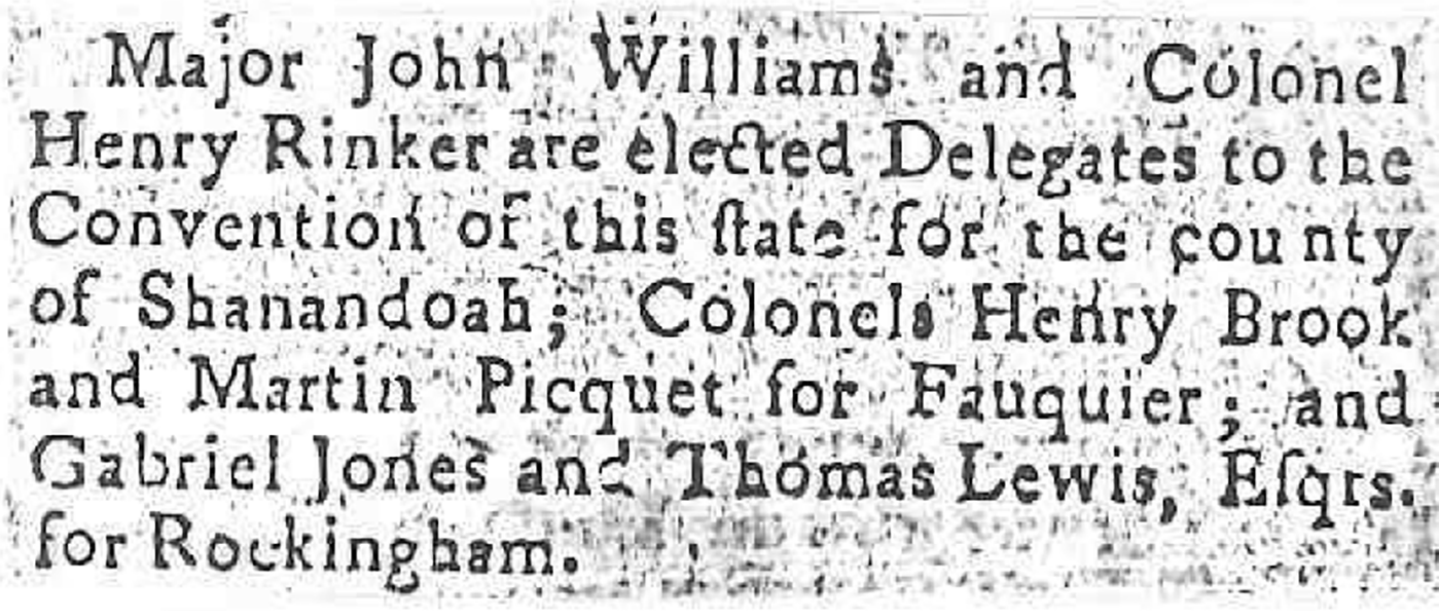
THOMAS EDMONDS and JOHN H. BRIGGS, Esqrs. Sussex.

JOHN H COCKE and JOHN ALLEN, Esqrs. Surry.

BUSHROD WASHINGTON and HENRY LEE, Esqrs. Westmoreland.

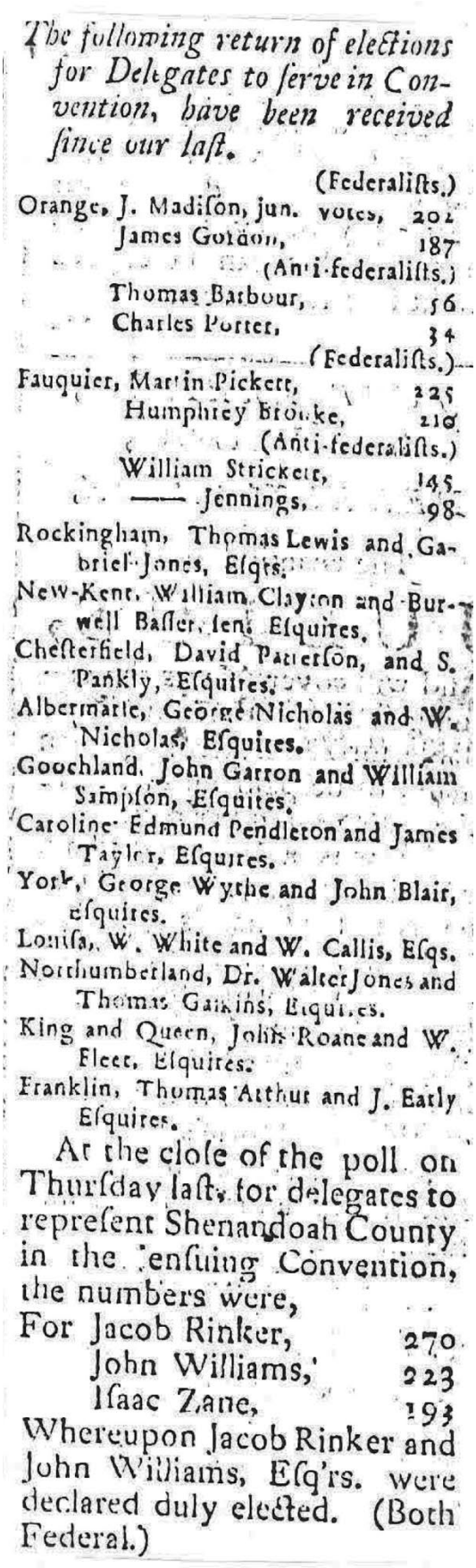
1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet,* 10 April; *New York Journal,* 12 April.

59-S. Virginia Centinel, 2 April 1788.



Major John Williams and Colonel Henry Rinker are elected Delegates to the Convention of this ſtate for the county of Shanandoah; Colonels Henry Brook and Martin Picquet for Fauquier; and Gabriel Jones and Thomas Lewis, Eſqrs. for Rockingham.

59-T. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 2 April 1788.



The following return of elections for Delegates to serve in Convention, have been received since our last.

(Federaliſts.)
Orange, J. Madiſon, jun. voted, 202
James Gordon, 187
(Anti-federaliſts.)
Thomas Barbour, 56
Charles Porter, 34

(Federaliſts.)
Fauquier, Martin Pickett, 225
Humphrey Brooke, 210
(Anti-federaliſts.)
William Strickett, 145
—— Jennings, 98

Rockingham, Thomas Lewis and Gabriel Jones, Eſqrs.
New-Kent, William Clayton and Burwell Baſſer, ſen. Eſquires.
Cheſterfield, David Patterſon, and S. Pankly, Eſquires.
Albermarle, George Nicholas and W. Nicholas, Eſquires.
Goochland, John Garron and William Sampſon, Eſquires.
Caroline Edmund Pendleton and James Taylor, Eſquires.
York, George Wythe and John Blair, eſquires.
Louiſa, W. White and W. Callis, Eſqs.
Northumberland, Dr. Walter Jones and Thomas Gaskins, Eſquires.
King and Queen, John Roane and W. Fleet, Eſquires.
Franklin, Thomas Arthur and J. Early Eſquires.

At the cloſe of the poll on Thurſday laſt, for delegates to repreſent Shenandoah County in the enſuing Convention, the numbers were,
For Jacob Rinker, 270
John Williams, 223
Iſaac Zane, 193
Whereupon Jacob Rinker and John Williams, Eſq'rs. were declared duly elected. (Both Federal.)

59-U. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 3 April 1788.

Delegates chosen to serve in the State Convention since our last.

Surry, JOHN ALLEN and JOHN H. COCKE, Esquires.

Lancaster, JAMES GORDON and HENRY TOWLES, Esquires.

Middlesex, RALPH WORMLEY and FRANCIS CORBIN, Esquires.

Fauquier, MARTIN PICKETT and HUMPHREY BROOKE, Esquires.

Westmoreland, HENRY LEE and BUSHROD WASHINGTON, Esquires.

Halifax, ISAAC CULES and GEORGE CARRINGTON, Esquires

Cumberland, JOSEPH MICHAUX and THOMAS HAYNES DREW, Esquires.

Amelia, JOHN PRIDE and EDMUND BOOKER, Esquires.

Pittsylvania, ROBERT WILLIAMS and JOHN WILSON, Esquires.

Henry, JOHN MAR and THOMAS COOPER, Esquires.

Mecklenburg, SAMUEL HOPKINS, jun. & RICHARD KENNON, Esquires.

Rockingham, CHARLES PATTERSON and DAVID BELL, Esquires.

Orange, JAMES MADISON, jun. and JAMES GORDON, Esquires.

Princess Anne, ANTHONY WALKE and THOMAS WALKE, Esquires.

Norfolk Borough, THOMAS MATTHEWS, Esq.

59-V. New York Journal, 9 April 1788.

We hear that the following gentlemen are elected delegates to the convention of the ſtate of Virginia, to be held in June next, viz.

Loudon—Leven Powell, Stephen T. Maſon.

Lunenburg—Jonathan Patterſon, Chr. Robertſon.

Cheſterfield—David Patterſon, Stephen Pankey.

New-Kent—William Clayton, Burwell Baſſett.

Albemarle—George Nicholas, William Nicholas.

Caroline—Edmund Pendleton, James Taylor.

Northumberland—Dr. W. Jones, T. Gaſkins.

King and Queen—John Roane, William Fleet.

Franklin—Thomas Arthur, John Early.

Goochland—John Guarrant, William Sampſon.

York—George Wythe, John Blair.

James City—Nathaniel Burwell, Robert Andrews.

Nanſemond—Willis Riddick, Solomon Shepherd.

Frederick—Elliot White, Sherm. Woodcock.

Staffordſ—George Maſon, Andrew Buchanan.

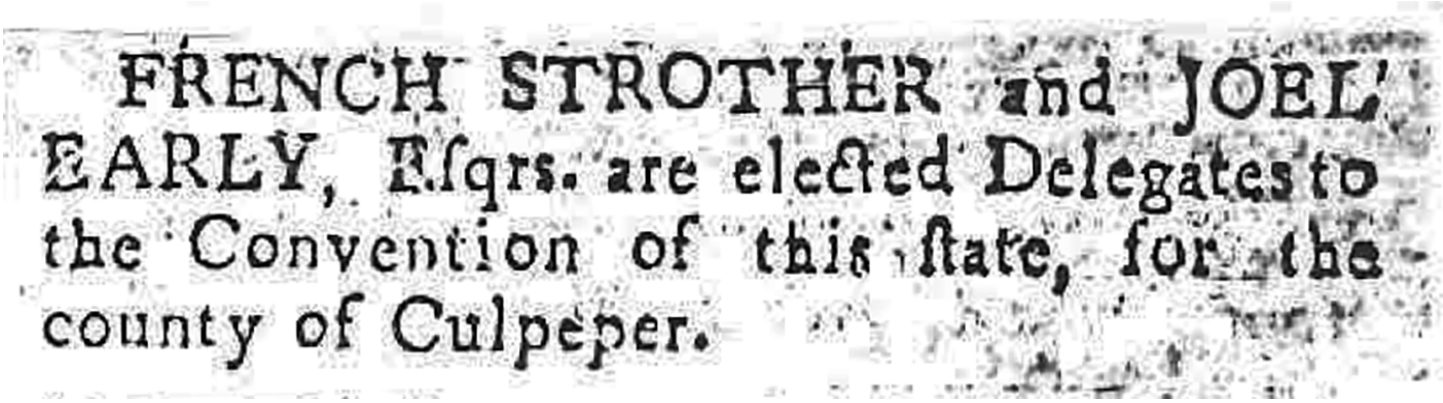
Richmond—R. W. Carter, G. L. Turberville.

King-George—Burdit Aſhton, William Thornton.

Dinwiddie—Joſ. Jones, William Watkins.

Louiſa—William White, W. O. Callis.

59-W. Virginia Centinel, 9 April 1788.



FRENCH STROTHER and JOEL EARLY, Esqrs. are elected Delegates to the Convention of this state, for the county of Culpeper.

59-X. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 16 April 1788.[1]

RICHMOND, *April* 16.

Delegates chosen for the Convention.

Bedford, John Trigg, —— Clay.
Fayette, Thomas Marshall, John Fowler.
Greenbrier, John Stuart, Geo. Clendinen.
Harrison, Geo. Jackson, John Prunty.
Lincoln, Geo. Thomson, Roger Thomson.
Montgomery, —— Crockett, —— Trigg.
Monongalia, —— M'Clary, —— Evans.
Washington, —— Montgomery, —— Edmondson.

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* 17 April; *Pennsylvania Packet,* 24 April.

59-Y. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 16 April 1788.

Delegates chosen to represent this State on the Federal Constitution, received since our last, viz.

Buckingham, Henry Bell and David Patterson, Esquires.

Culpeper, French Strother and Joel Earley, Esquires.

Dinwiddie Joseph Jones and William Watkins, Esquires.

Fluvanna, Samuel Richardson and Joseph Heading, Esquires.

Lunenburgh, Jonathan Patterson and Christopher Robertson, Esquires.

Norfolk, James Taylor and Ja. Webb, Esquires.

Northampton, Littleton Eyre and John Stratton, Esquires.

Prince Edward, Patrick Henry and R. Lawlon, Esquires.

Princess Anne, Anthony Walke and T. Walke, Esquires.

Powhatan, William Ronald and Thomas Turpin, Esquires.

Southampton, Benjamin Blount and S. Kello, Esquires.

Warwick, Richard Cary, sen. and Cole Diggs, Esquires.

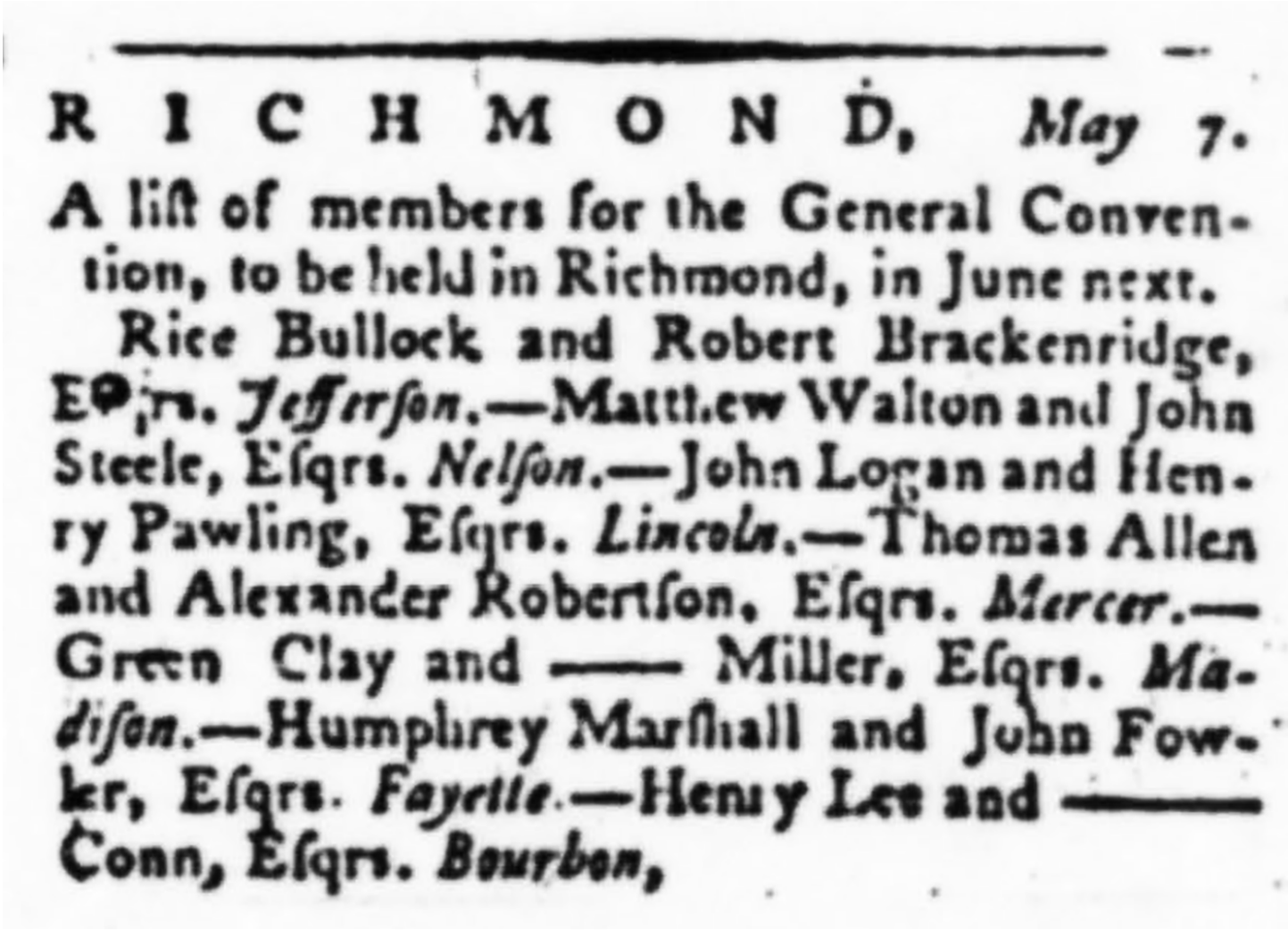
Surry, John Allen and John H. Cocke, Esquires.

Lancaster, James Gordon and Henry Towles, Esquires.

Middlesex, Ralph Wormley and Francis Corbin, Esquires.

Washington, Col. Rawlens, and Col. Barnes.

59-Z. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 7 May 1788.[1]



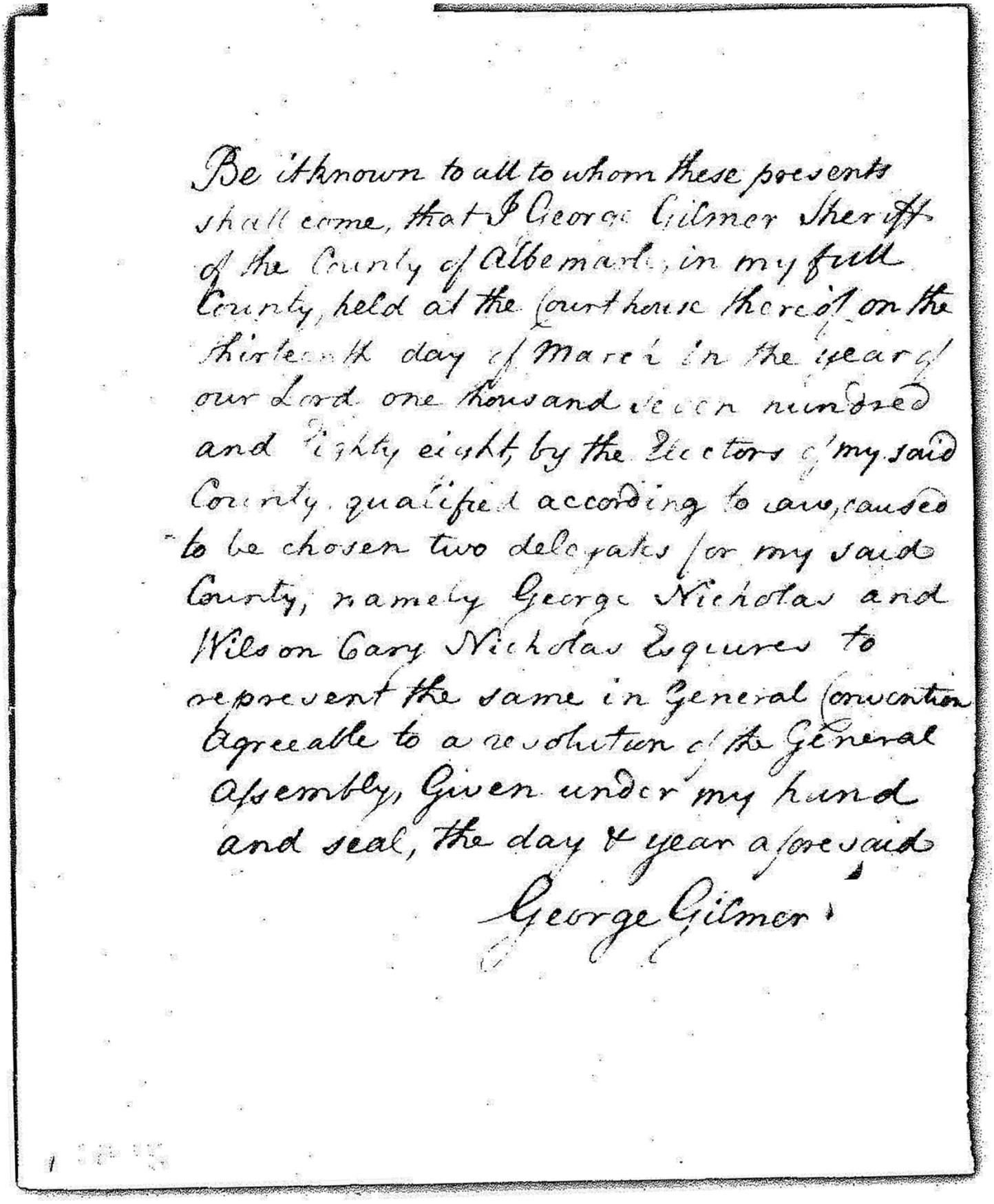
RICHMOND, *May* 7.

A list of members for the General Convention, to be held in Richmond, in June next.

Rice Bullock and Robert Brackenridge, Esqrs. *Jefferson.*—Matthew Walton and John Steele, Esqrs. *Nelson.*—John Logan and Henry Pawling, Esqrs. *Lincoln.*—Thomas Allen and Alexander Robertson, Esqrs. *Mercer.*—Green Clay and —— Miller, Esqrs. *Madison.*—Humphrey Marshall and John Fowler, Esqrs. *Fayette.*—Henry Lee and —— Conn, Esqrs. *Bourbon,*

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* 8 May.

60. Albemarle County Election Certificate.



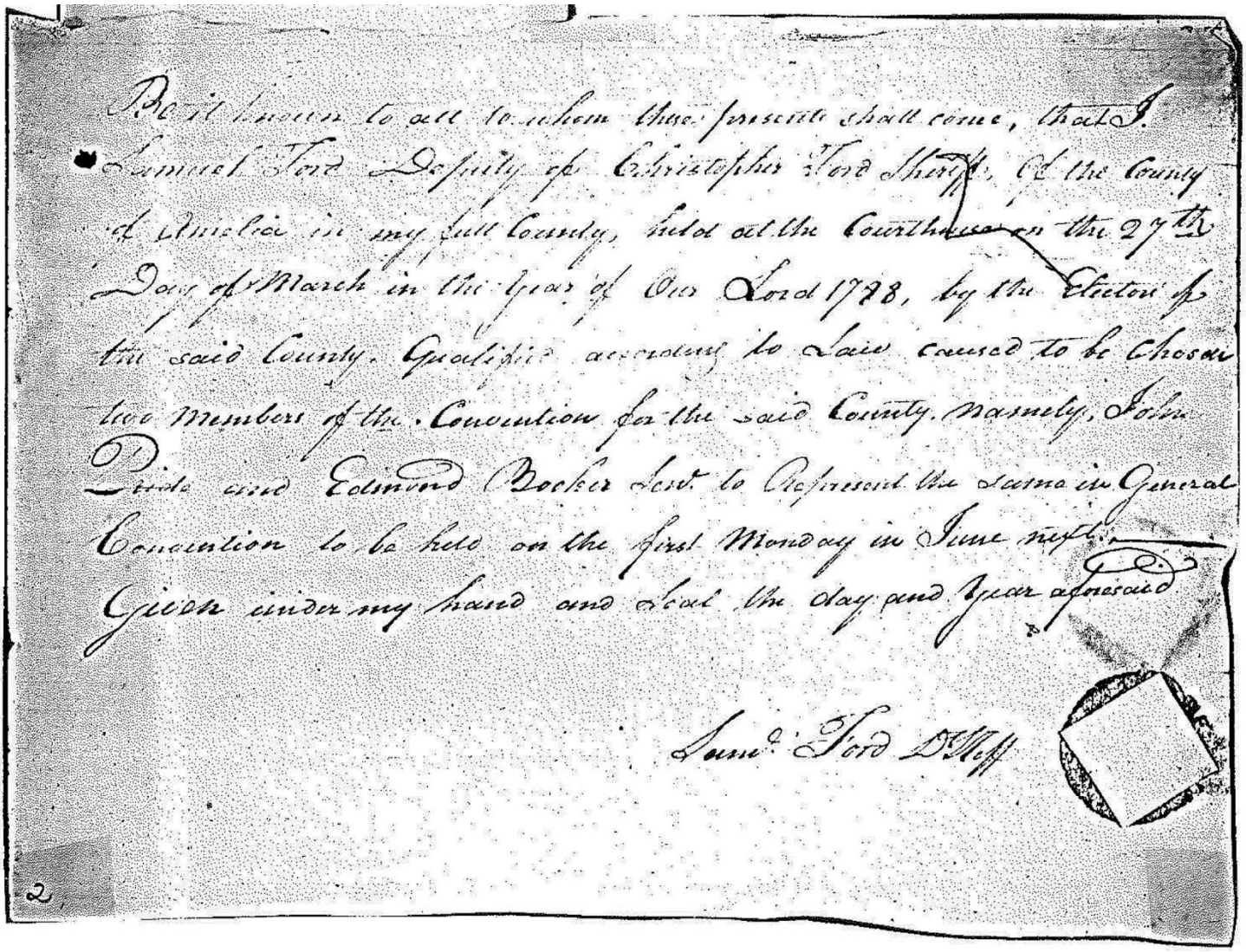
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I George Gilmer Sheriff of the County of Albemarle, in my full County, held at the Courthouse thereof on the thirteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two delegates for my said County, namely George Nicholas and Wilson Cary Nicholas Esquires to represent the same in General Convention agreeable to a resolution of the General Assembly, Given under my hand and seal, the day & year aforesaid

George Gilmer

Albemarle
Return for Convention
March 1788

12

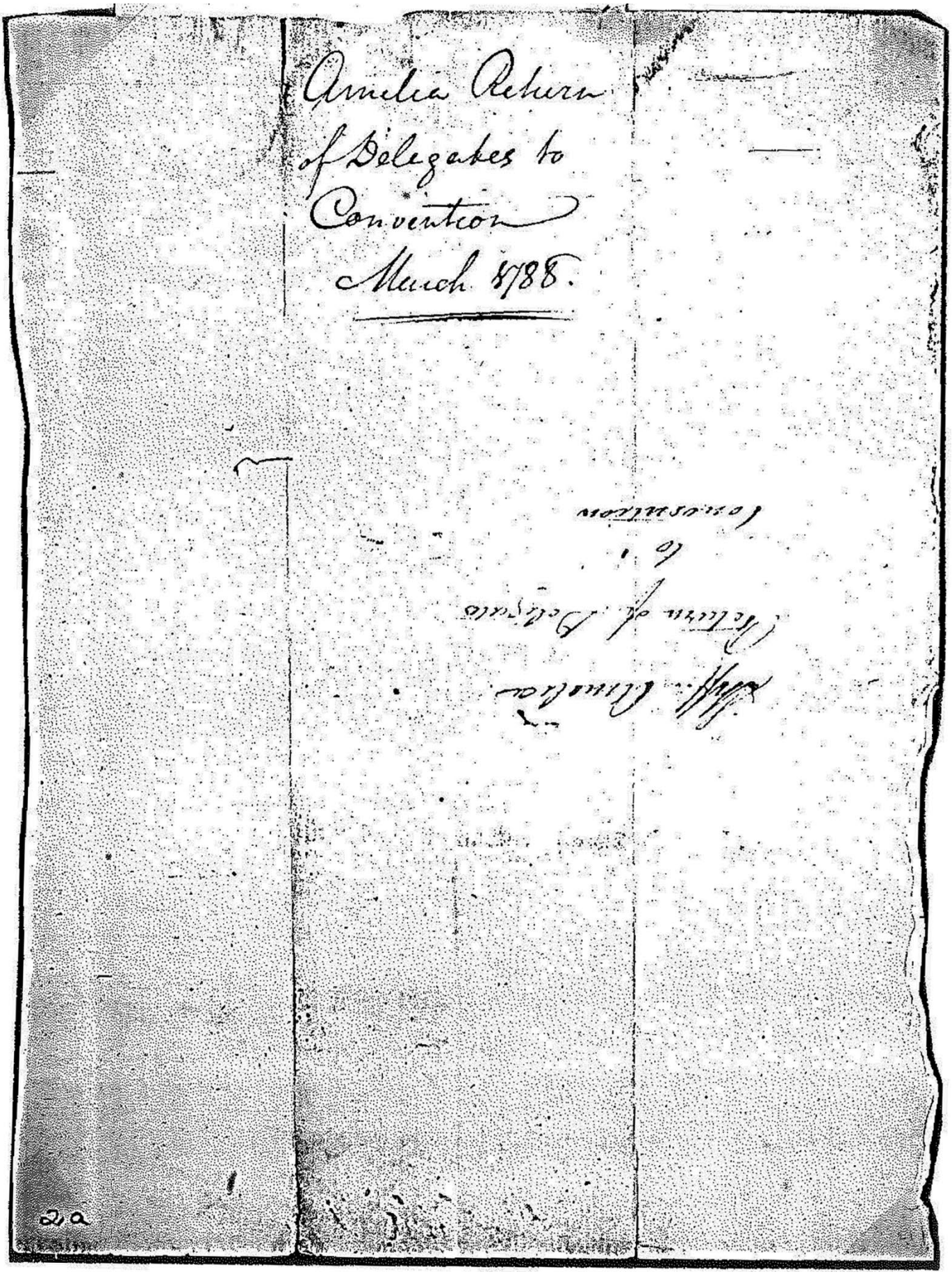
61. Amelia County Election Certificate.



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Samuel Ford Deputy of Christopher Ford Sheriff, of the County of Amelia in my said County, held at the Courthouse on the 27th Day of March in the year of Our Lord 1778, by the Election of the said County, Qualified according to Law caused to be Chosen two Members of the Convention for the said County, Namely, John Tyde and Edmund Booker Sent to Represent the same in General Convention to be held on the first Monday in June next. Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid

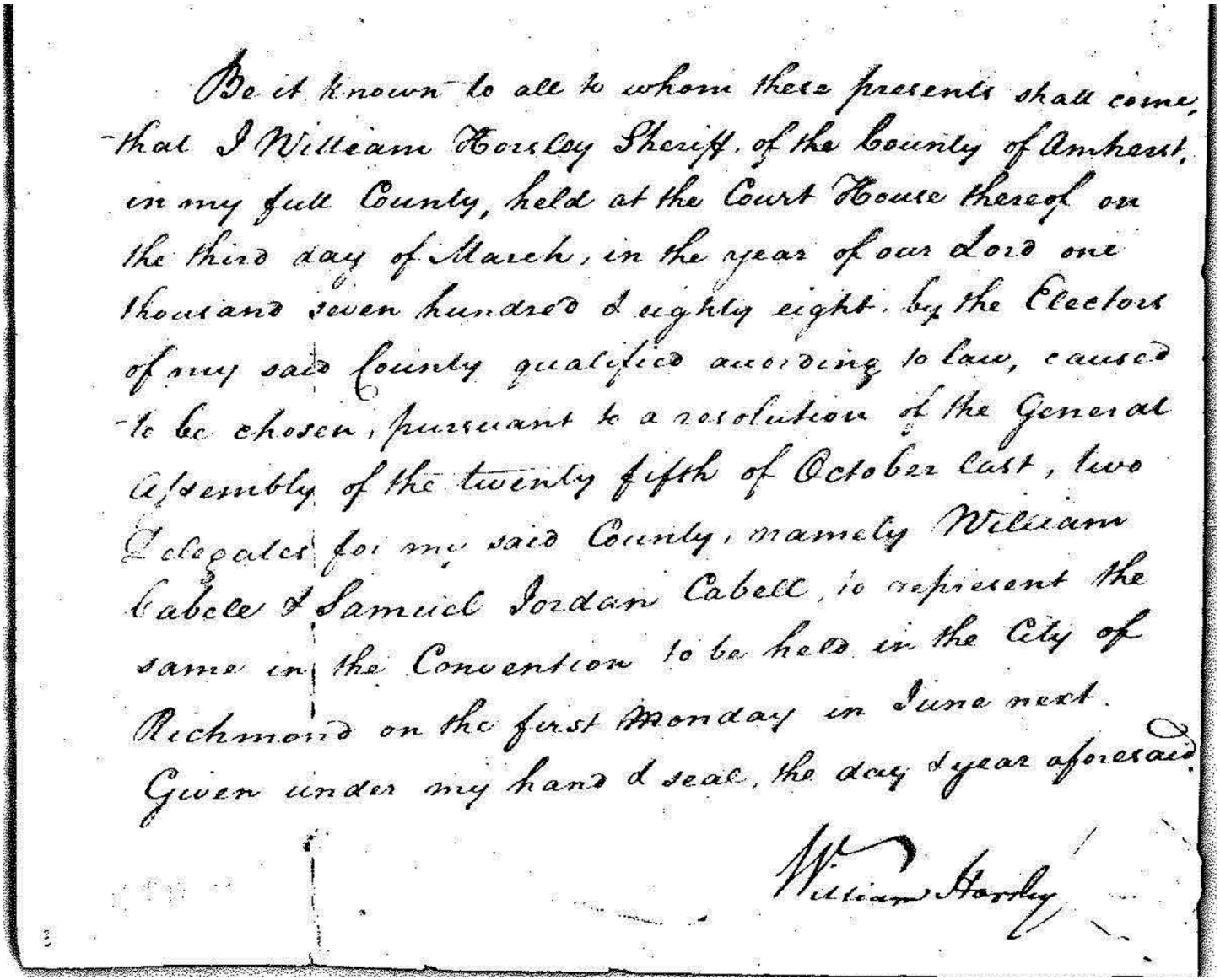
Samuel Ford DSh.

2



Amelia Return
of Delegates to
Convention
March 1788.

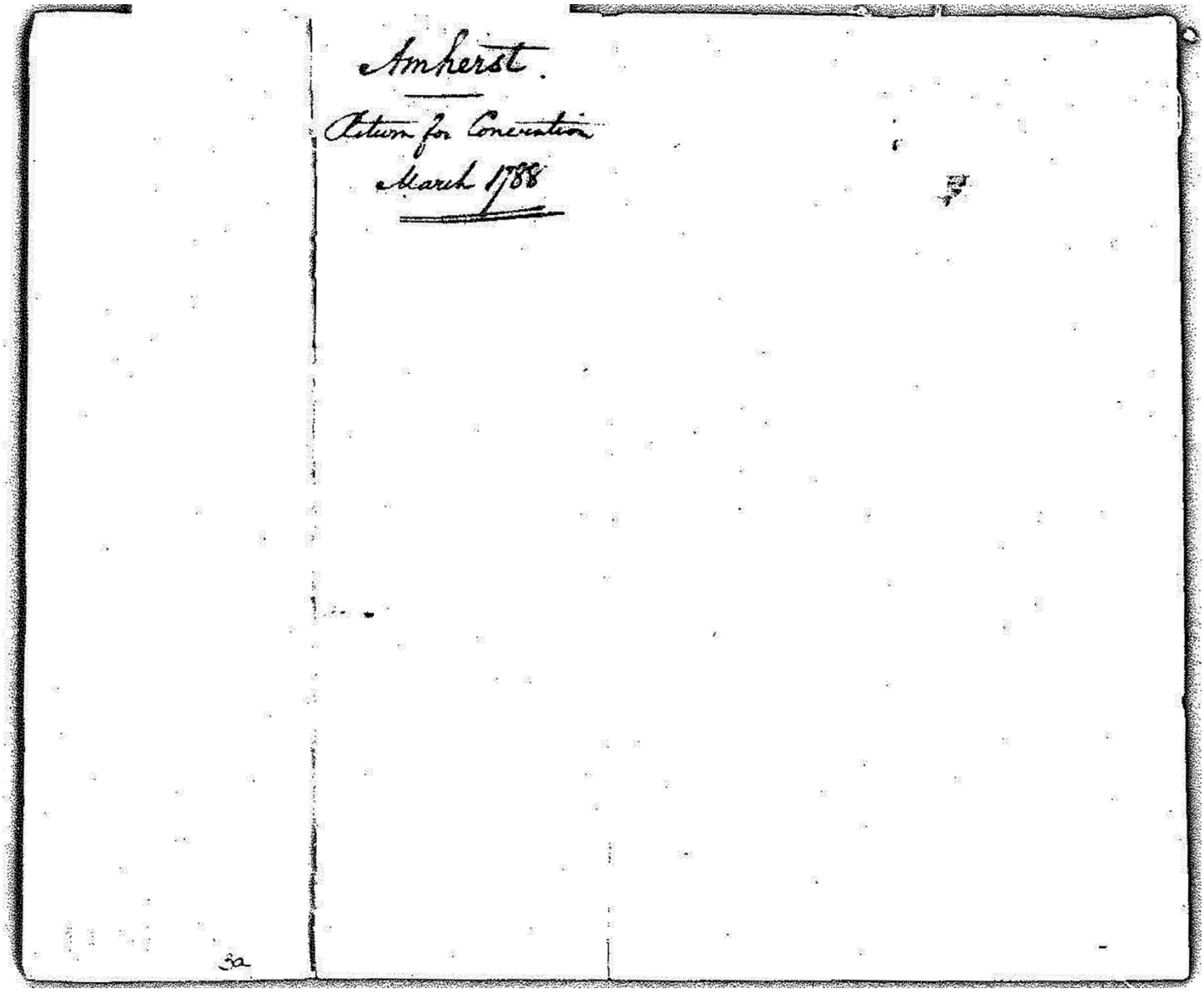
62. Amherst County Election Certificate.



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I William Horsley Sheriff of the County of Amherst, in my full County, held at the Court House thereof on the third day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County qualified according to law, caused to be chosen, pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly of the twenty fifth of October last, two Delegates for my said County, namely William Cabell & Samuel Jordan Cabell, to represent the same in the Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next.

Given under my hand & seal, the day & year aforesaid.

William Horsley



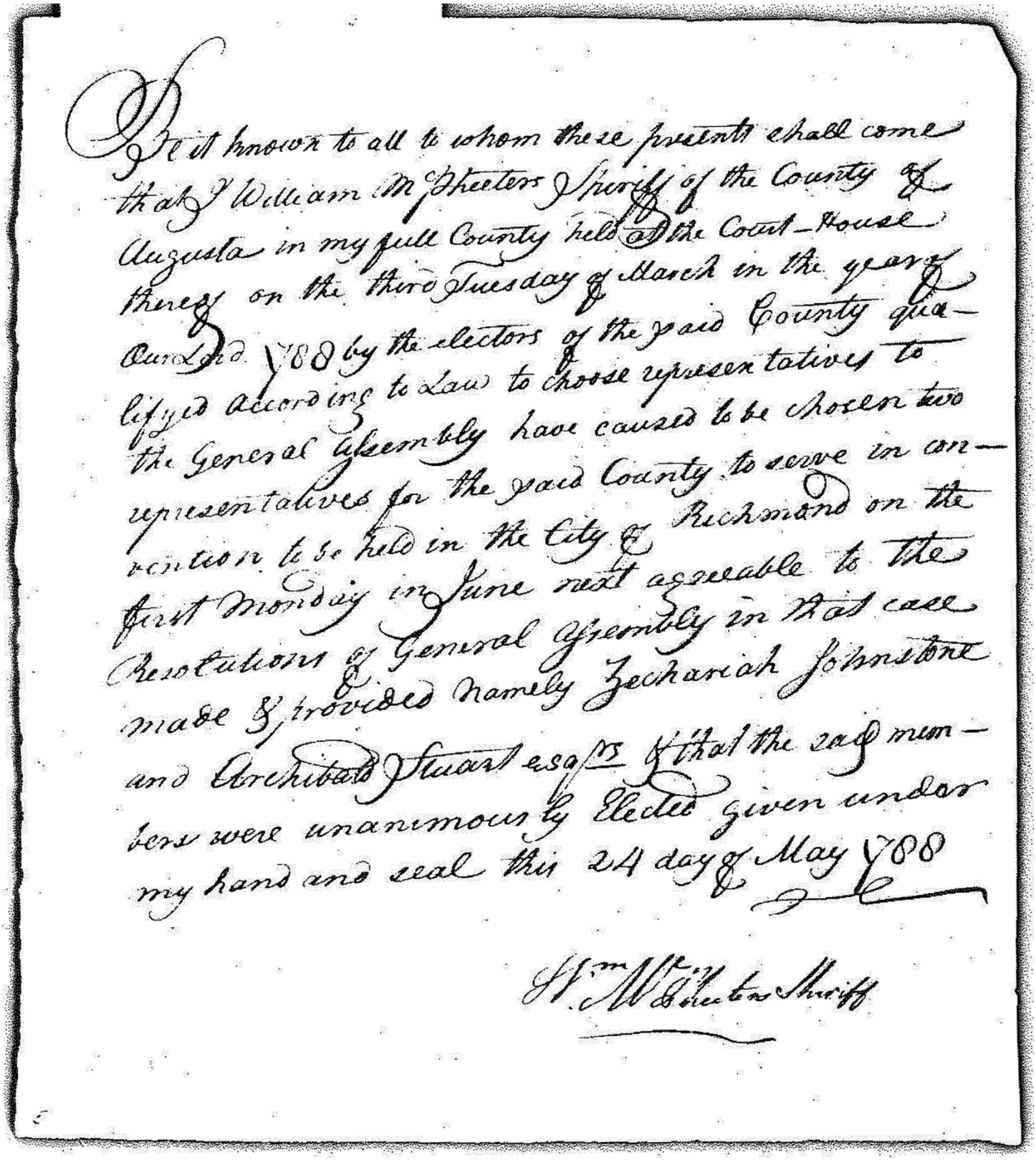
Amherst.

Return for Convention

March 1788

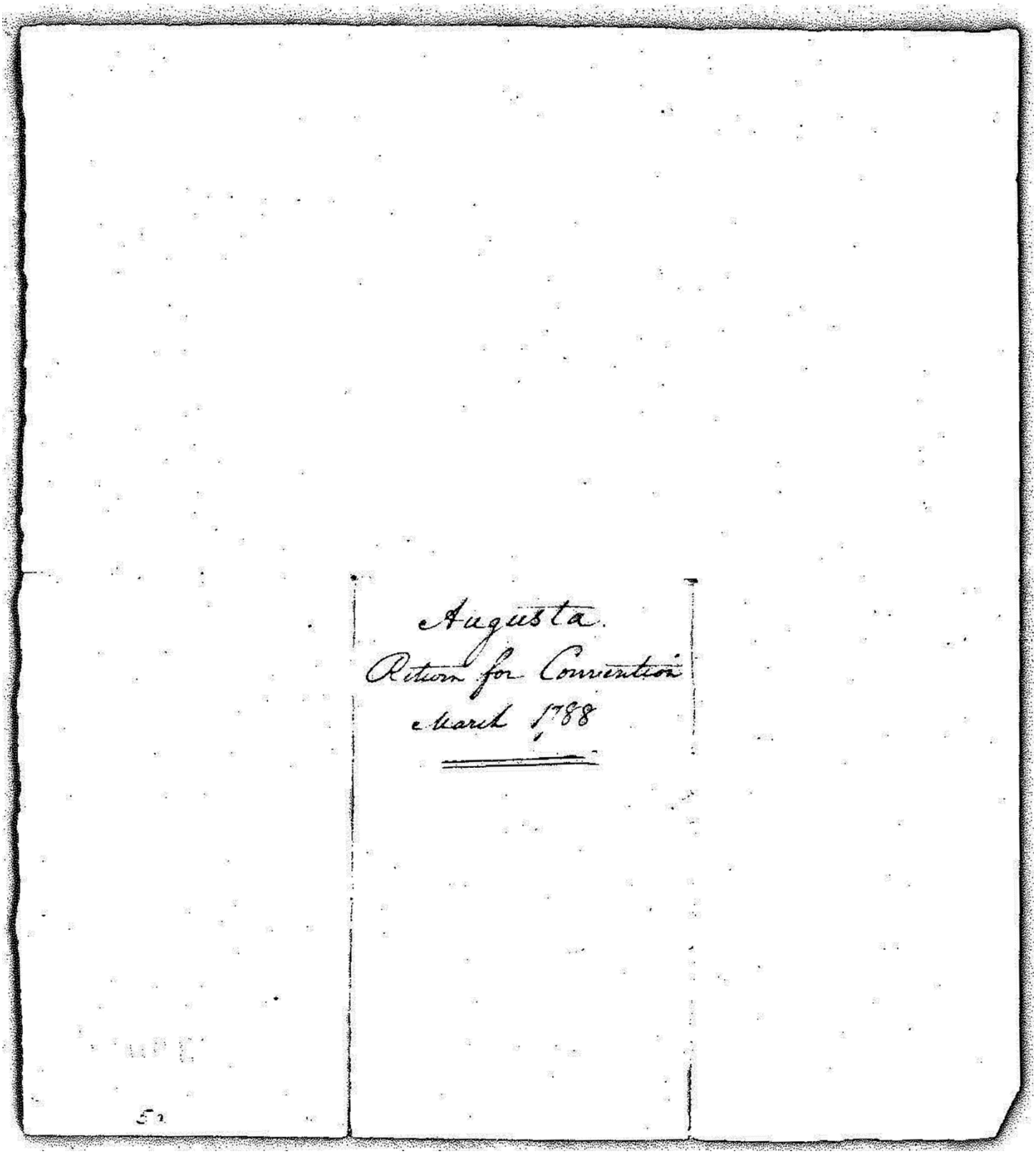
3a

63. Augusta County Election Certificate.



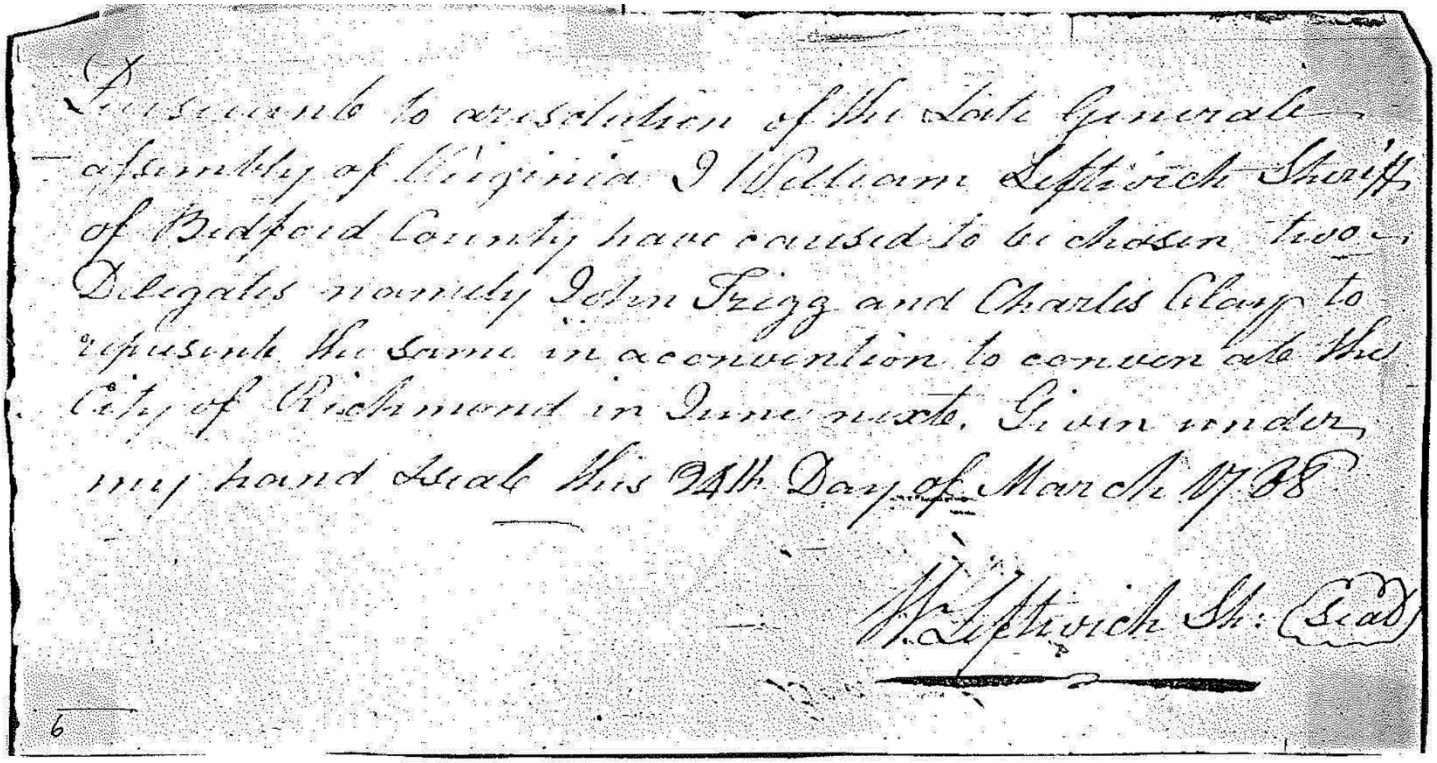
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I William McPheeters Sheriff of the County of Augusta in my full County held at the Court-House there on the third Tuesday of March in the year of Our Lord 1788 by the electors of the said County qualified according to Law to choose representatives to the General Assembly have caused to be chosen two representatives for the said County to serve in convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next agreeable to the Resolutions of General Assembly in that case made & provided Namely Zechariah Johnstone and Archibald Stuart esqrs & that the said members were unanimously Elected given under my hand and seal this 24 day of May 1788

Wm McPheeters Sheriff



Augusta.
Return for Convention
March 1788

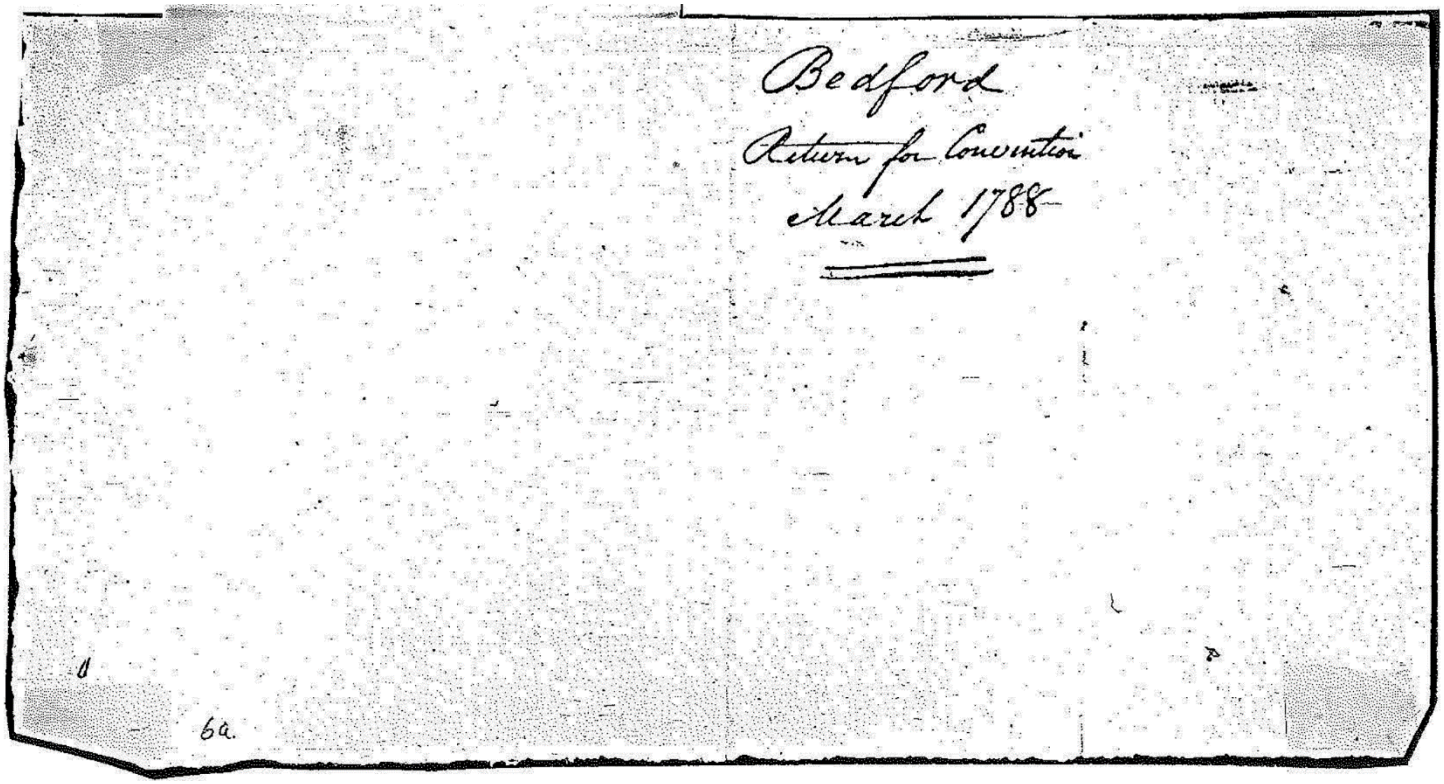
64. Bedford County Election Certificate.



(1)
Pursuant to a resolution of the Late General
Assembly of Virginia I William Leftwich Sheriff
of Bedford County have caused to be chosen two
Delegates namely John Trigg and Charles Clay to
represent the same in a convention to convene at the
City of Richmond in June next. Given under
my hand Seal this 24th Day of March A 1788

W. Leftwich Sh: (Seal)

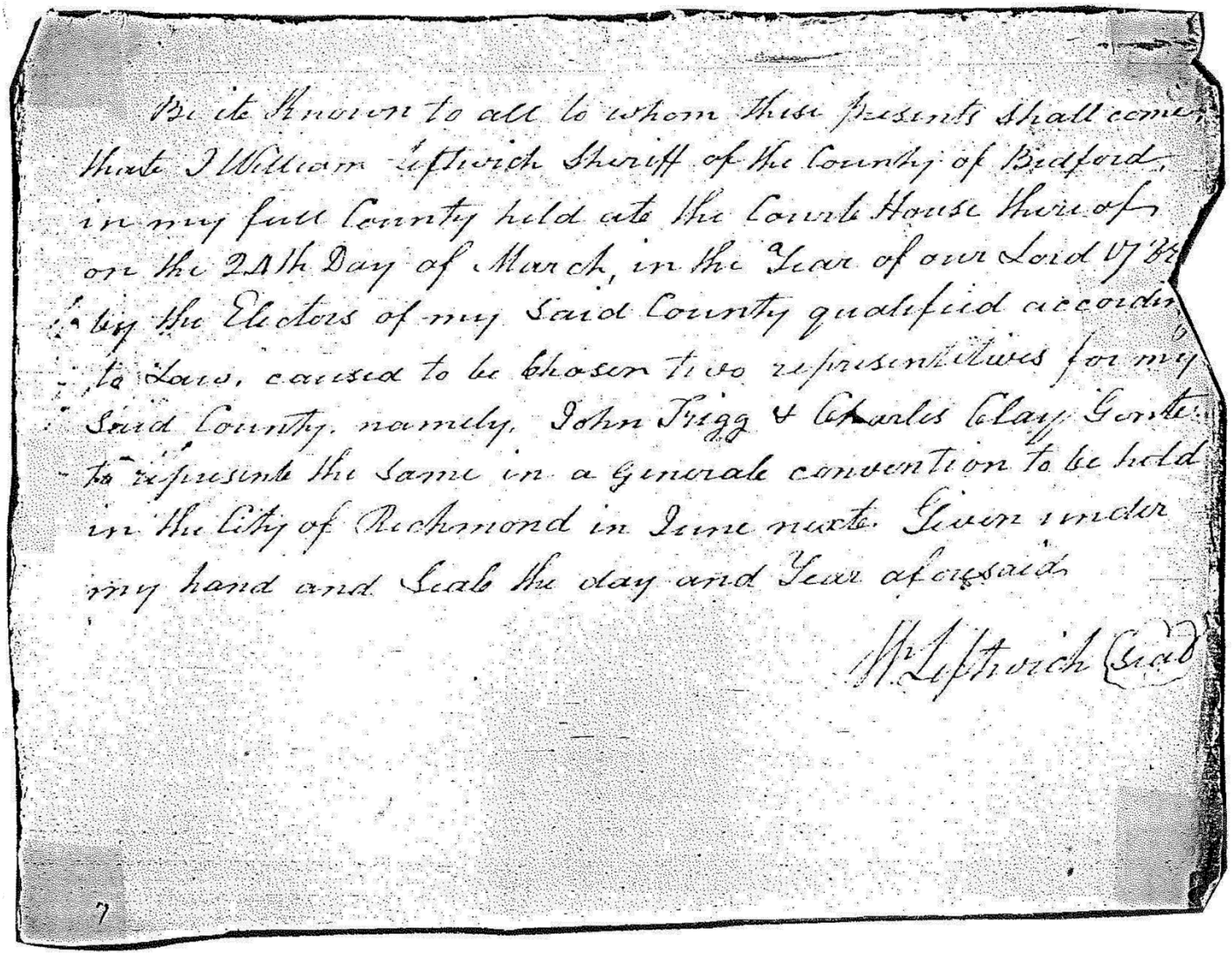
6



Bedford
Return for Convention
March 1788

6a

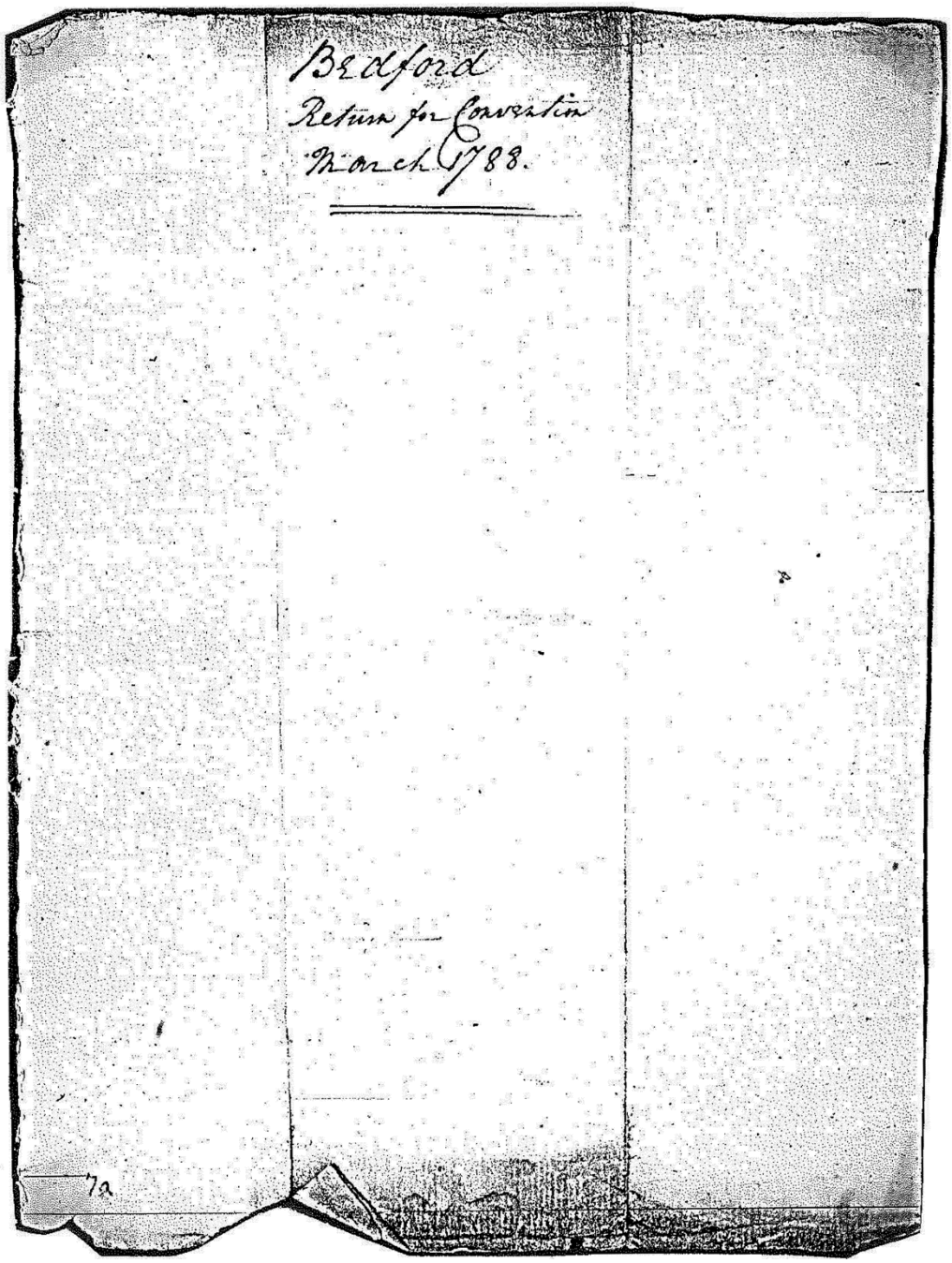
65. Bedford County Election Certificate.



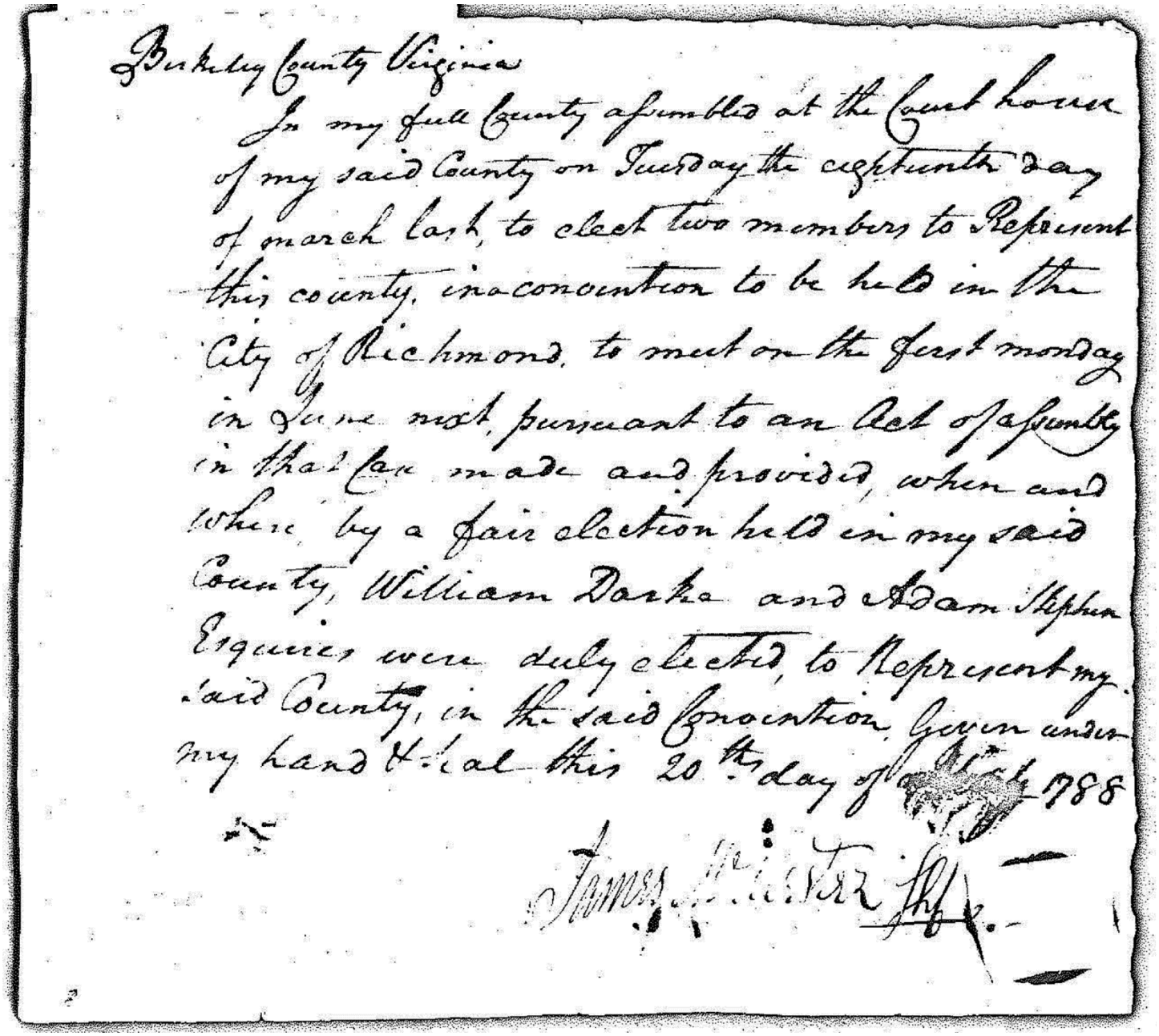
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come
that I William Leftwich Sheriff of the County of Bedford
in my full County held at the Court House thereof
on the 24th Day of March, in the Year of our Lord 17[illegible]
by the Electors of my said County qualified accordin
to Law, caused to be chosen two representatives for my
said County, namely, John Trigg & Charles Clay Gentn
to represent the same in a Generale convention to be held
in the City of Richmond in June next. Given under
my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid

Wm Leftwich (Seal)

7


Bedford
Return for Convention
March 1788.

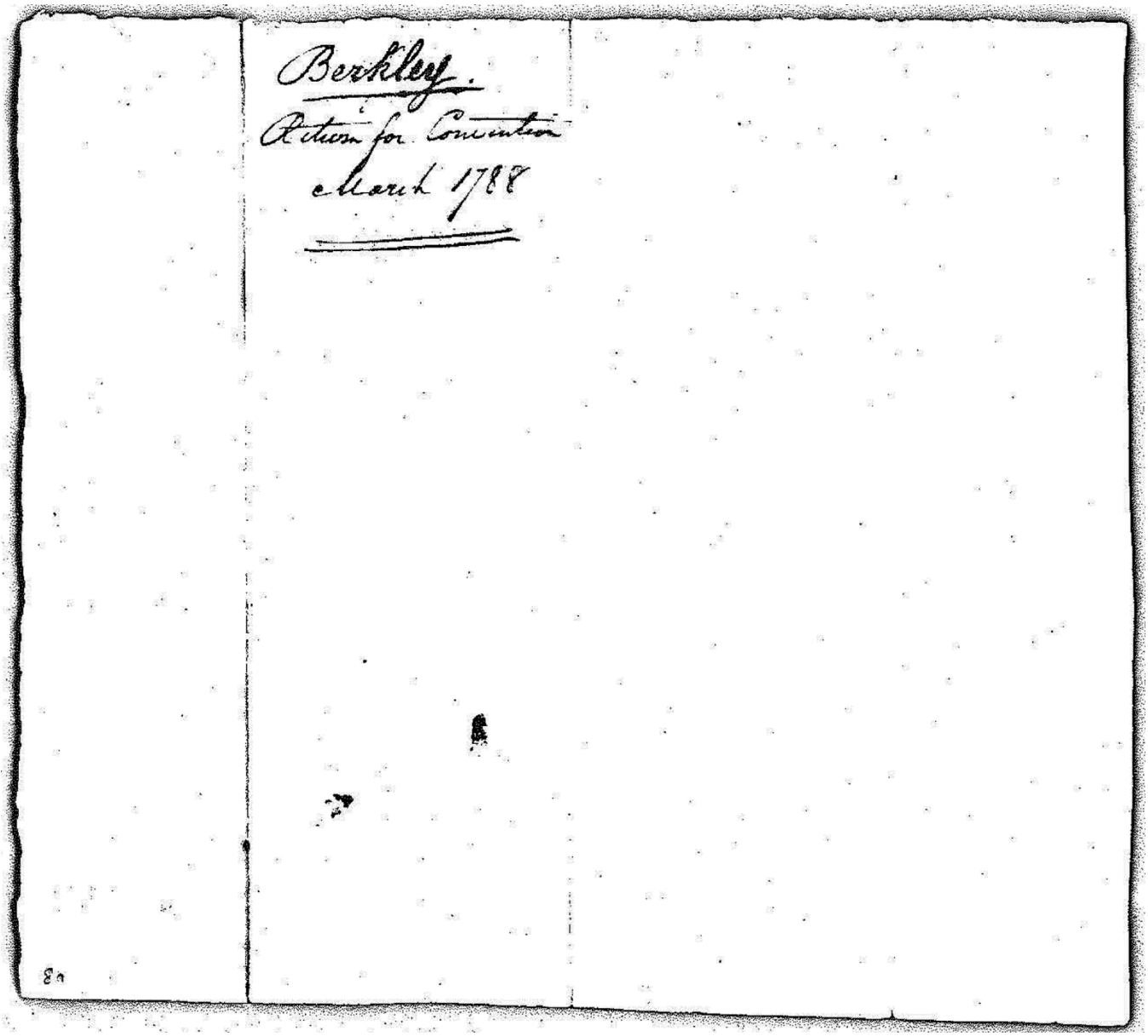
66. Berkeley County Election Certificate.



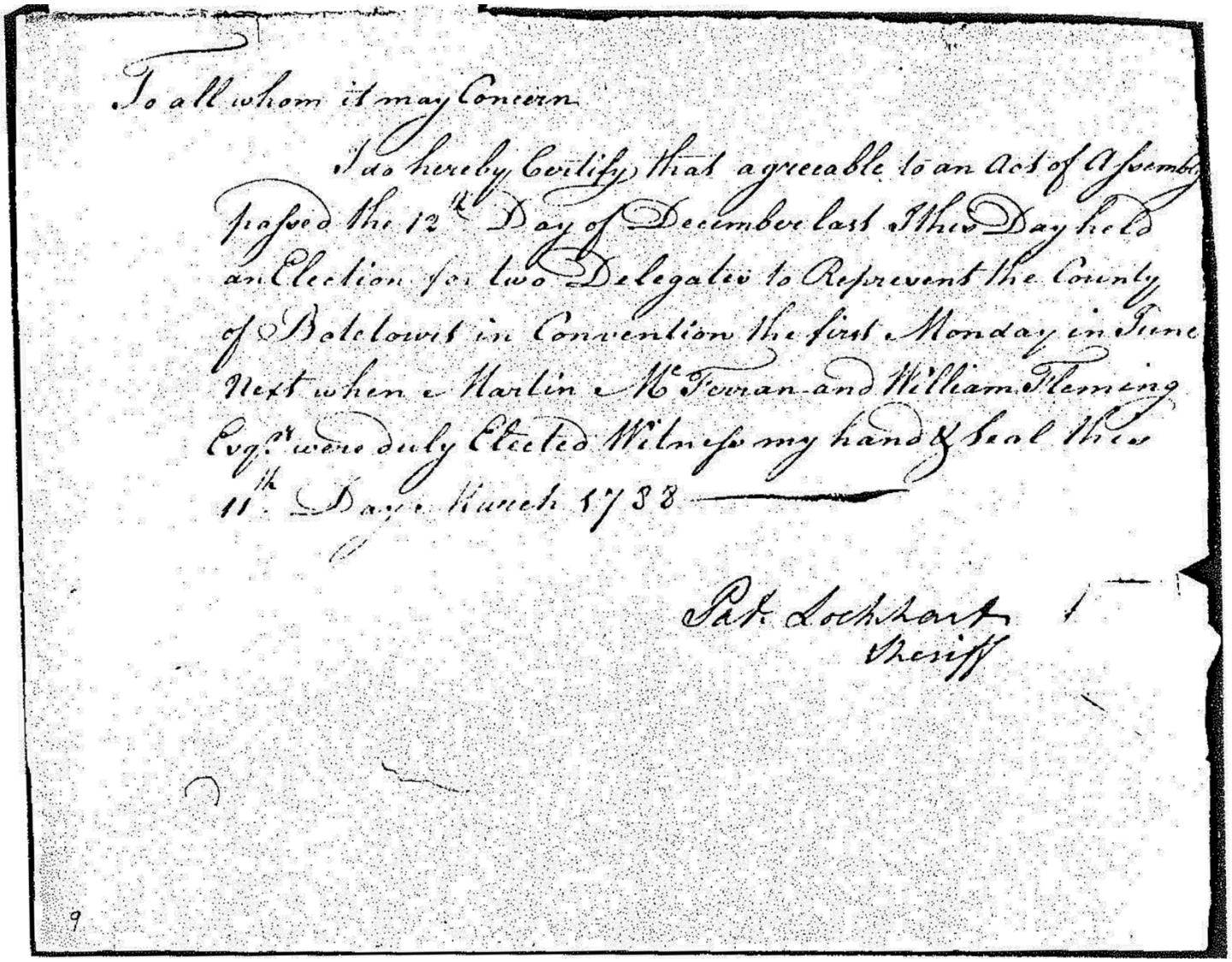
Berkeley County Virginia

In my full County assembled at the Court house of my said County on Tuesday the eighteenth day of march last, to elect two members to Represent this county, in a convention to be held in the City of Richmond, to meet on the first monday in June next, pursuant to an Act of assembly in that case made and provided, when and where, by a fair election held in my said County, William Darke and Adam Stephen Esquires were duly elected, to Represent my said County, in the said Convention. Given under my hand & seal this 20th day of March 1788

James Hunter Jnr


Berkley.
Return for Convention
March 1788

67. Botetourt County Election Certificate.

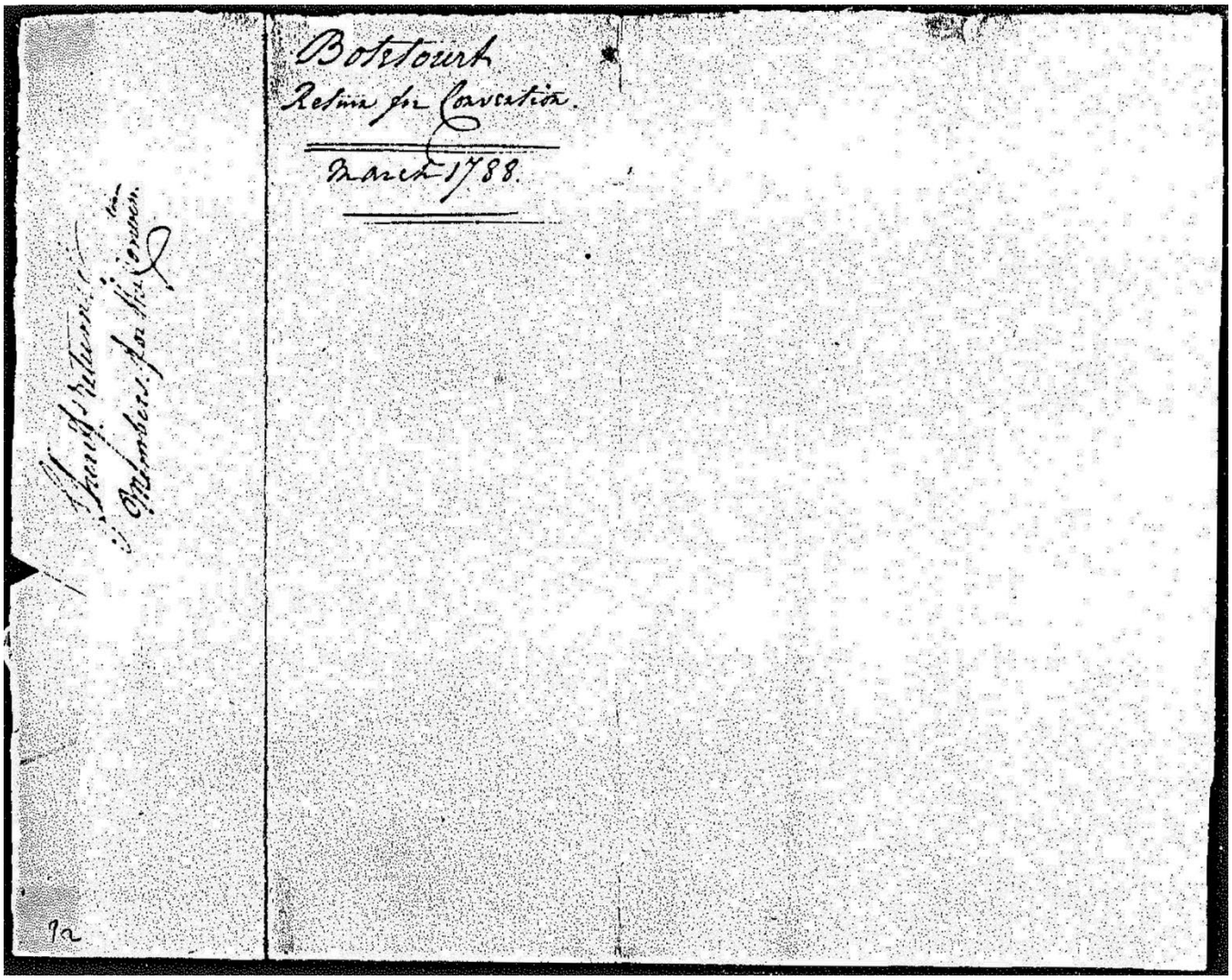


To all whom it may Concern

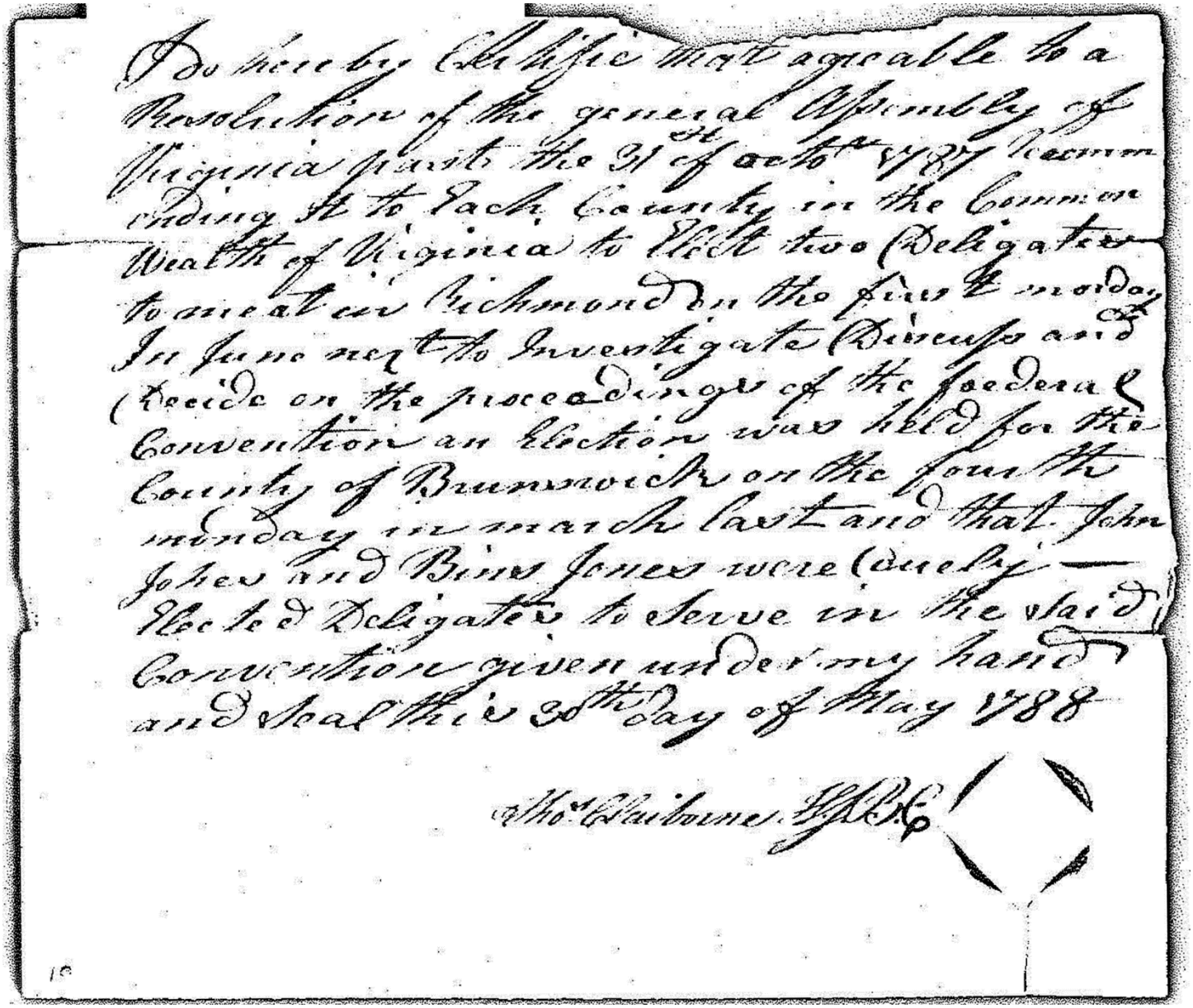
I do hereby Certify that agreeable to an Act of Assembly passed the 12th Day of December last Whereby held an Election for two Delegates to Represent the County of Botetourt in Convention the first Monday in June Next when Martin McFerran and William Fleming Esqrs were duly Elected Witness my hand & Seal this 11th Day of March 1788

Pat. Lockhart
Sheriff

9


Botetourt
Return for Convention.
March 1788.

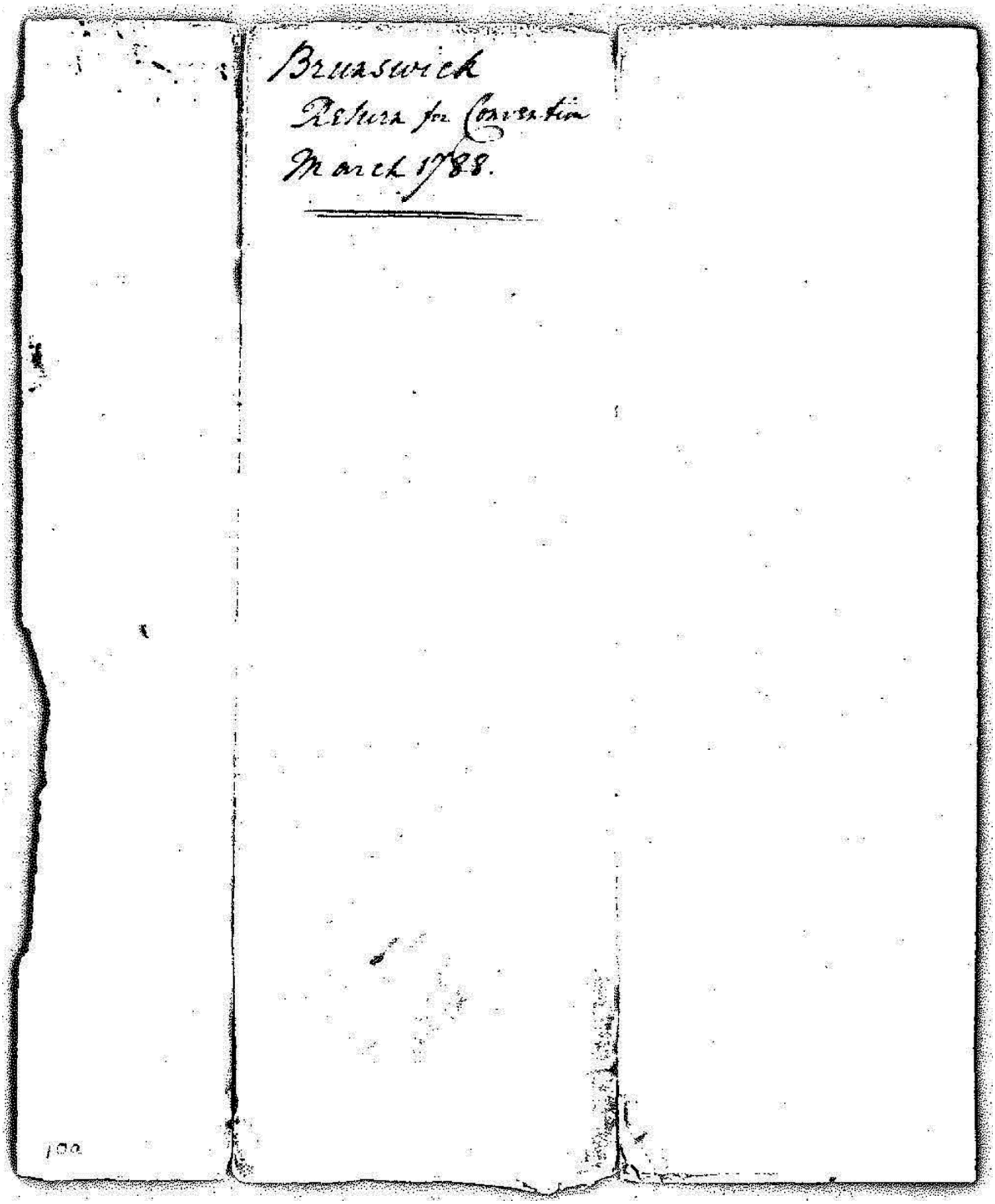
68. Brunswick County Election Certificate.



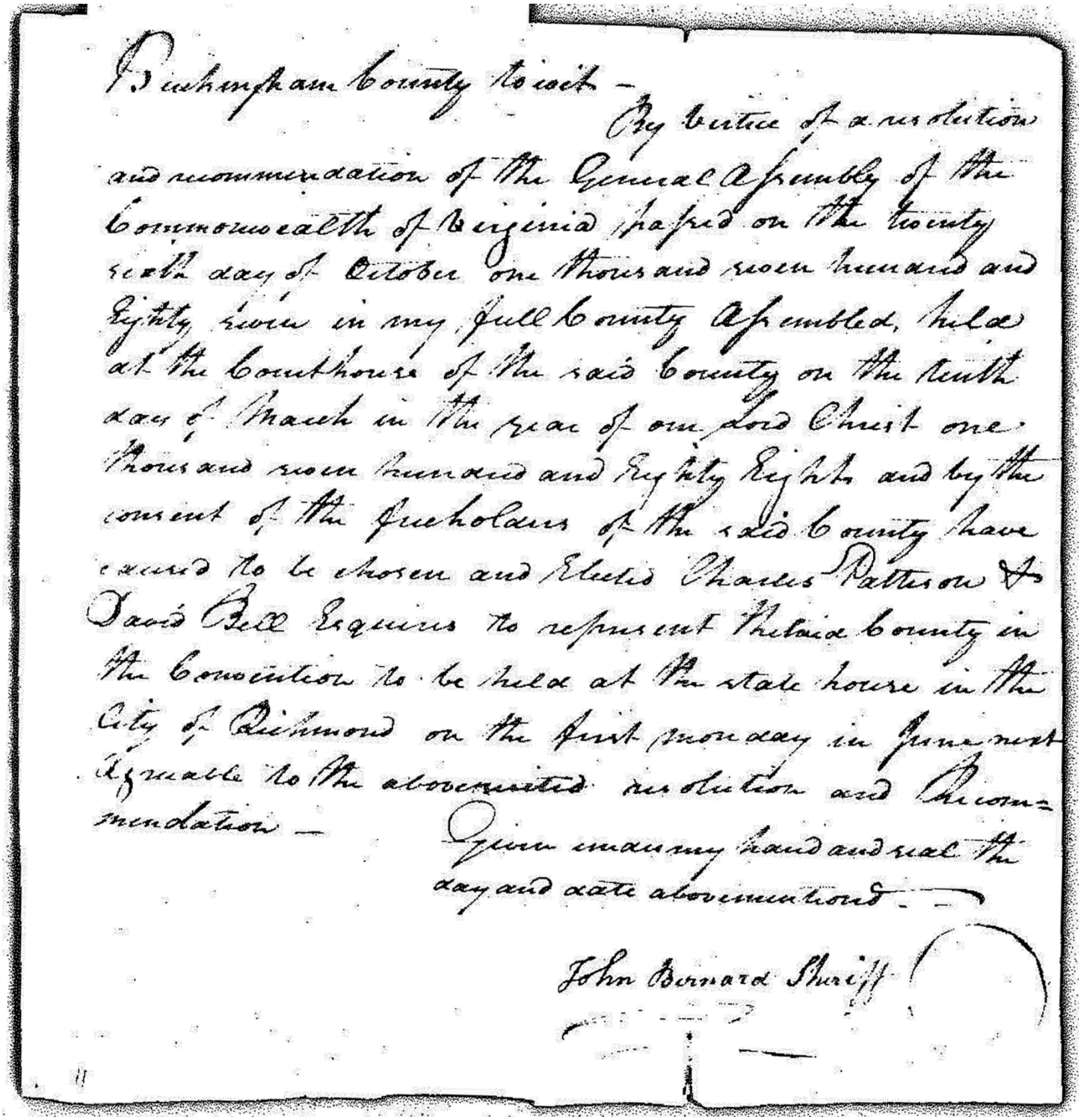
I do hereby Certifie that agreable to a Resolution of the general Assembly of Virginia passed the 31st of octo 1787 Recommending it to Each County in the Commonwealth of Virginia to Elect two Deligates to meet in Richmond on the first monday in June next to Investigate Discuss and Decide on the proceedings of the foederal Convention an Election was held for the County of Brunswick on the fourth monday in march last and that John Jones and Burr Jones were duely Elected Deligates to Serve in the said Convention given under my hand and Seal this 30th day of May 1788

Tho. Claiborne. Sh. B.C.

10


Brunswick
Return for Convention
March 1788.

69. Buckingham County Election Certificate.

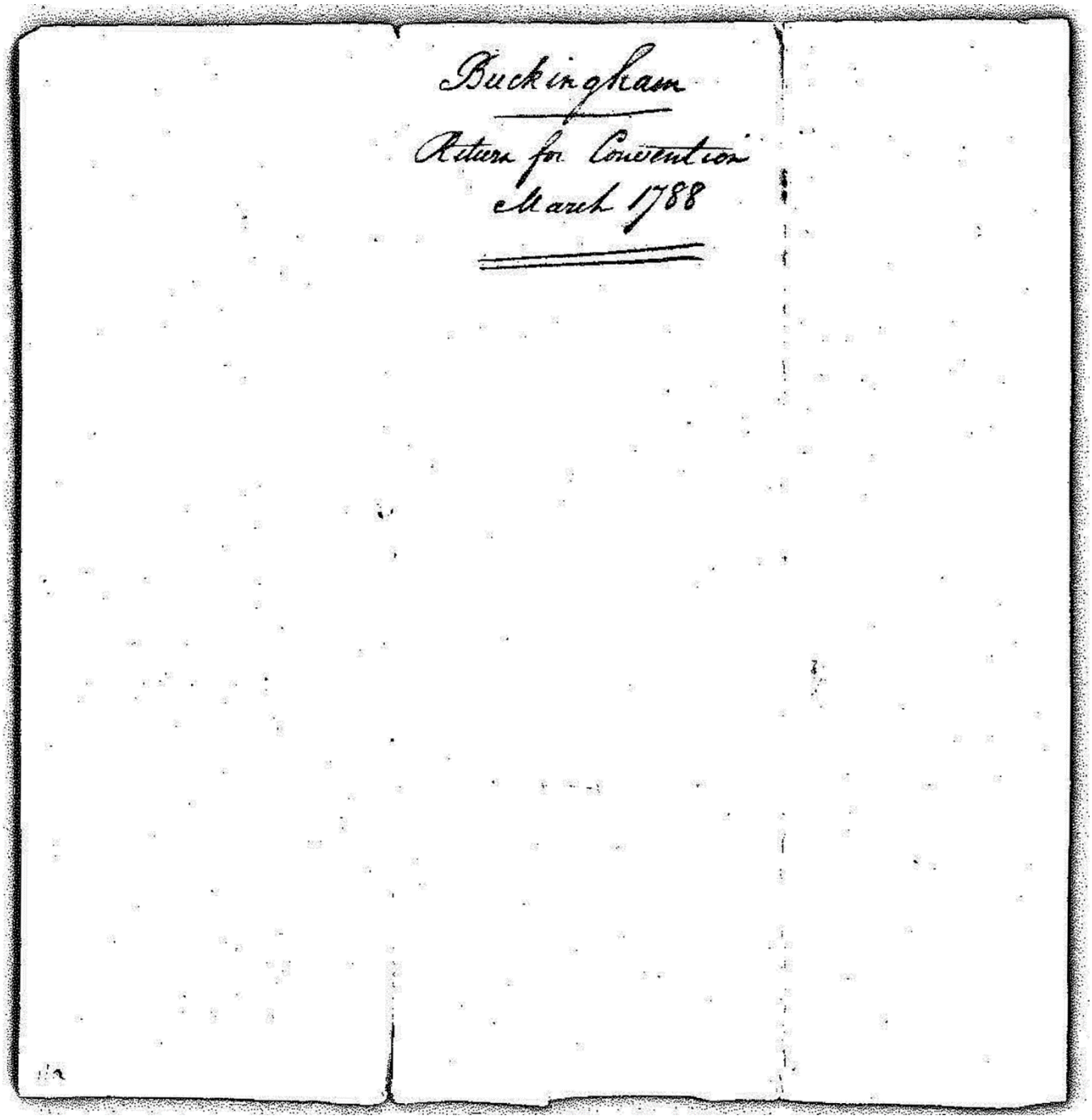


Buckingham County to wit —

By virtue of a resolution and recommendation of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia passed on the twenty seventh day of October one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven in my full County Assembled, held at the Courthouse of the said County on the tenth day of March in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Eight and by the consent of the freeholders of the said County have caused to be chosen and elected Charles Patteson & David Bell Esquires to represent the said County in the Convention to be held at the state house in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June next Agreable to the abovementioned resolution and Recommendation —

Given under my hand and seal the day and date abovementioned. —

John Bernard Sheriff

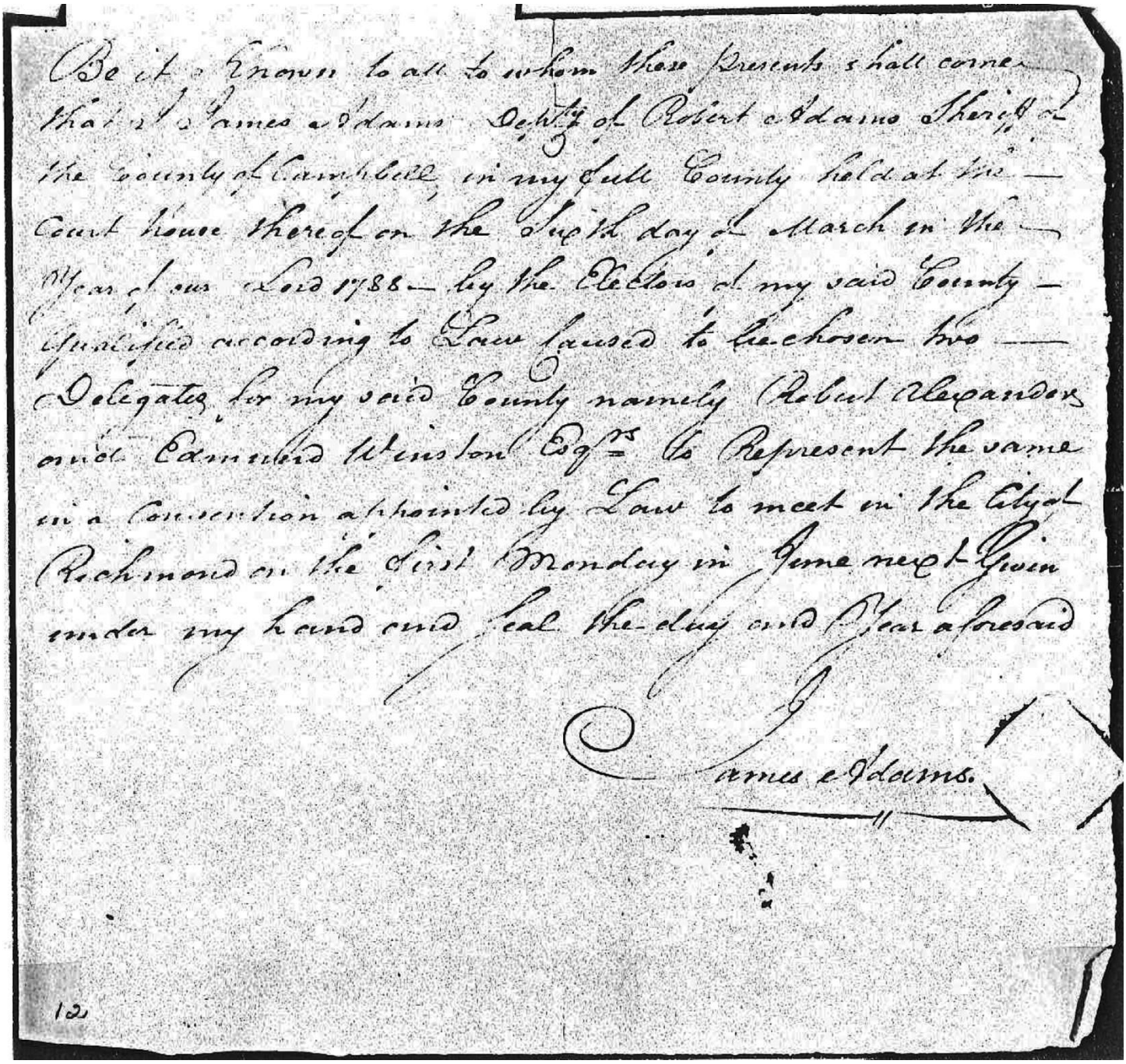


Buckingham

Return for Convention

March 1788

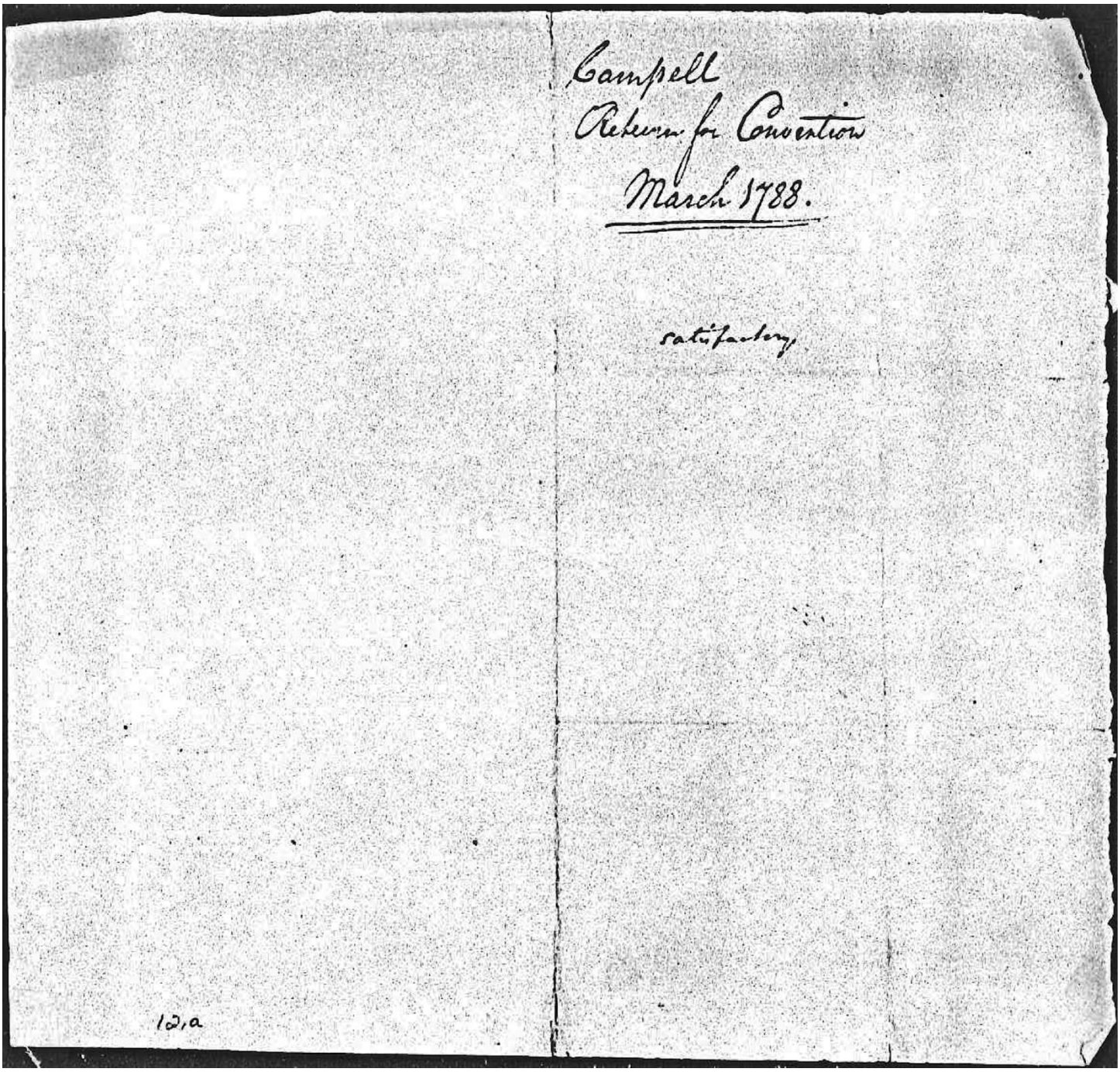
71. Campbell County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come
that I James Adams Deputy of Robert Adams Sheriff of
the County of Campbell in my said County held at the
Court House thereof on the 24th day of March in the
Year of our Lord 1788 by the Electors of my said County
qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two
Delegates for my said County namely Robert Alexanders
and Edmund Winston Esqrs to Represent the same
in a Convention appointed by Law to meet in the City of
Richmond on the first Monday in June next Given
under my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid

James Adams.

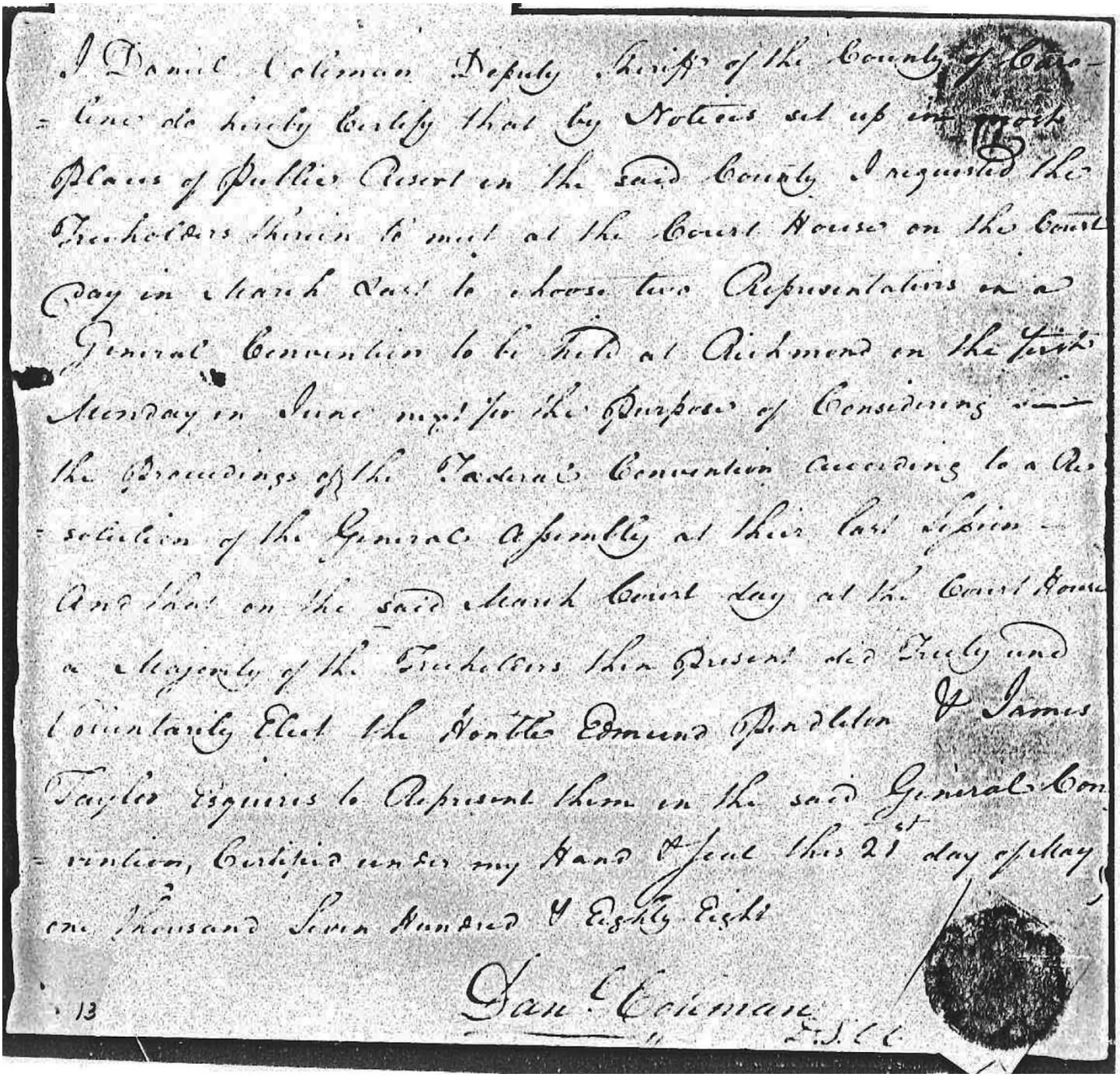
12


Campbell
Returns for Convention
March 1788.

satisfactory

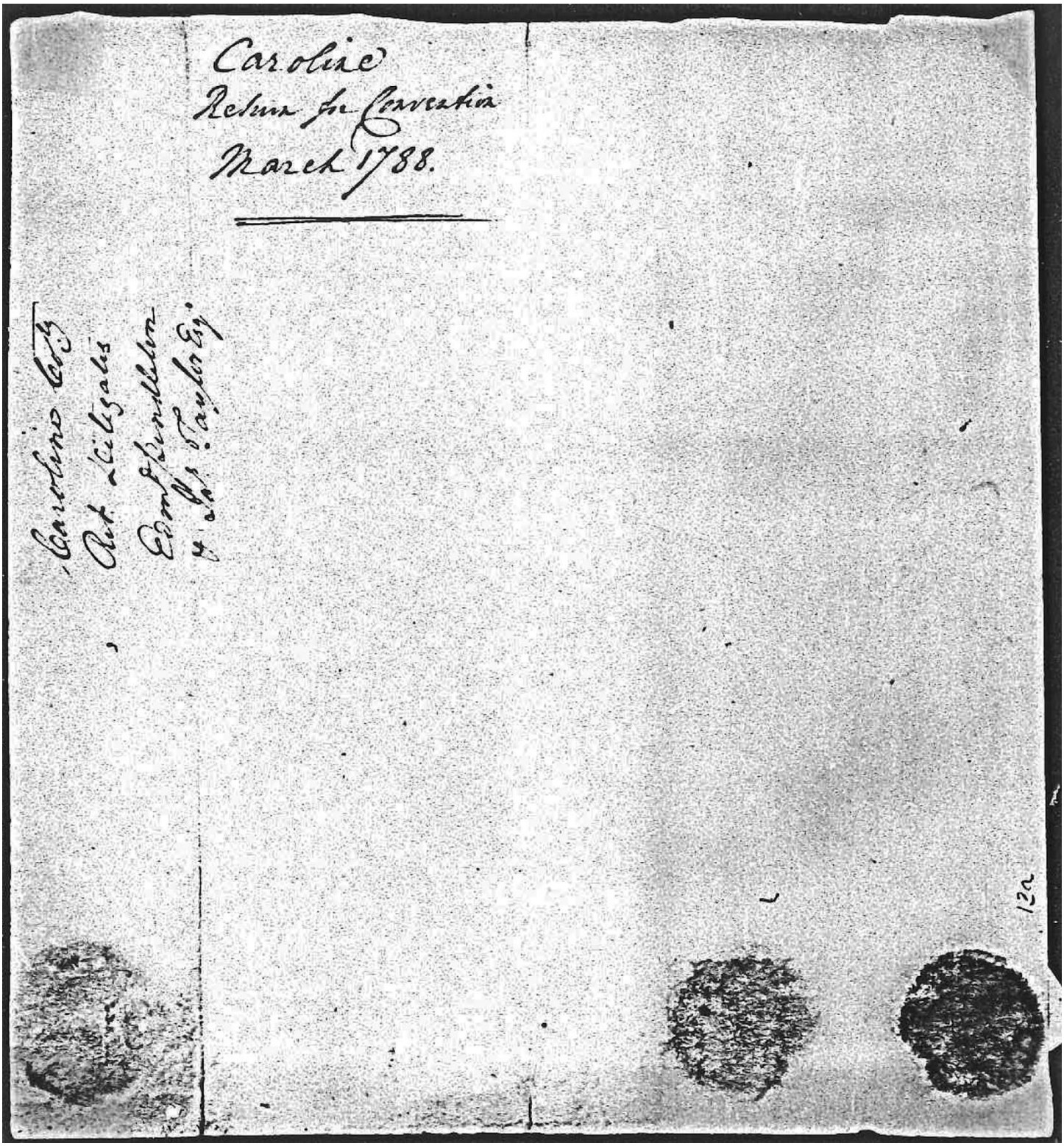
12,a

72. Caroline County Election Certificate



I Daniel Coleman Deputy Sheriff of the County of Caroline do hereby Certify that by Notices set up in the Places of Publick Resort in the said County I requested the Freeholders therein to meet at the Court House on the Court Day in March last to choose two Representatives in a General Convention to be held at Richmond on the first Monday in June next for the Purpose of Considering the Proceedings of the Federal Convention according to a Resolution of the General Assembly at their last Session And that on the said March Court day at the Court House a Majority of the Freeholders then present did Freely and Voluntarily Elect the Honble Edmund Pendleton & James Taylor Esquires to Represent them in the said General Convention, Certified under my Hand & Seal this 21st day of May one Thousand Seven Hundred & Eighty Eight

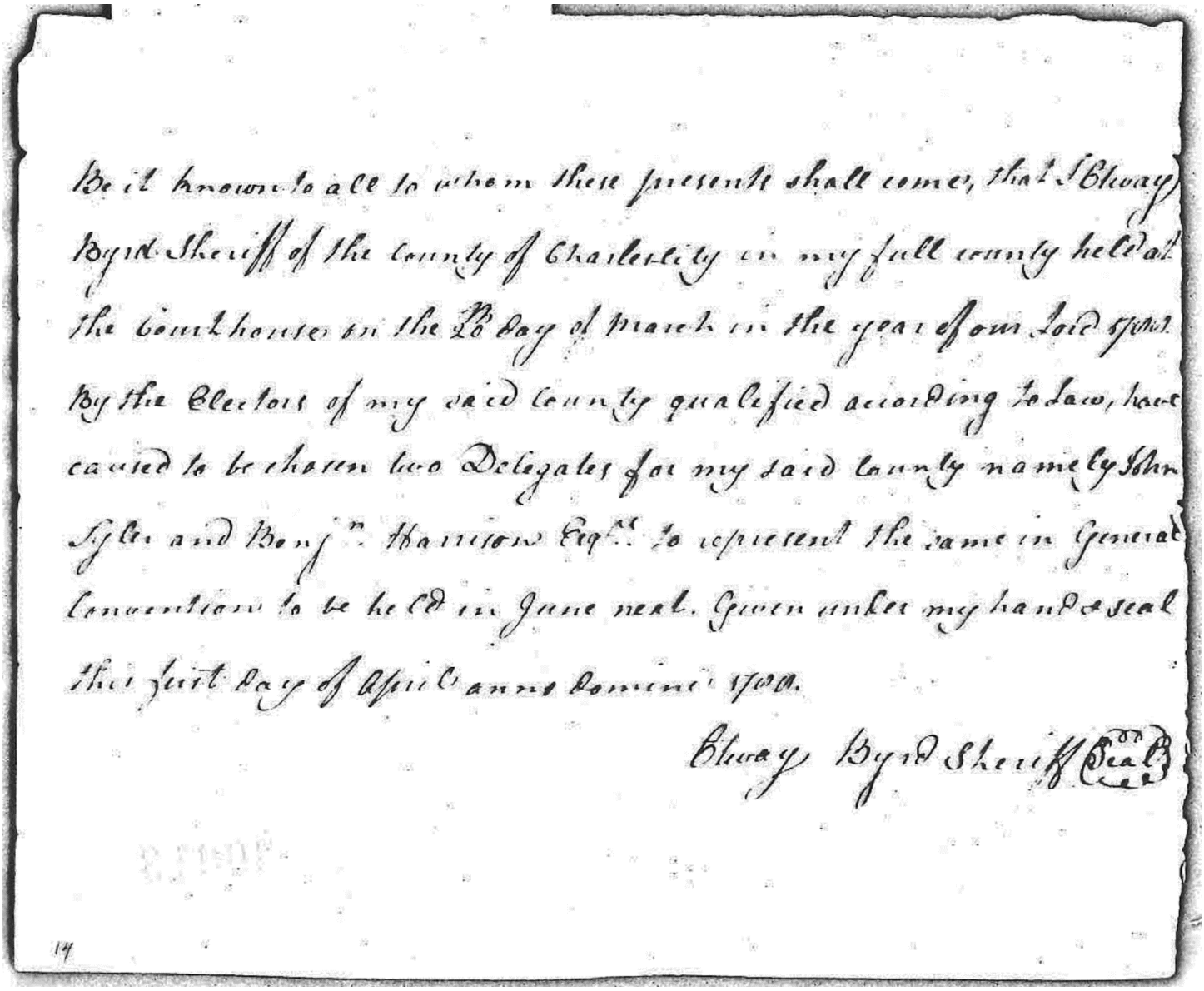
Dan.l Coleman D.S.C.C.


Caroline
Return for Convention
March 1788.

Caroline County
Act of Delegates
Edmd Pendleton
& Mr. Taylor Esq.

12

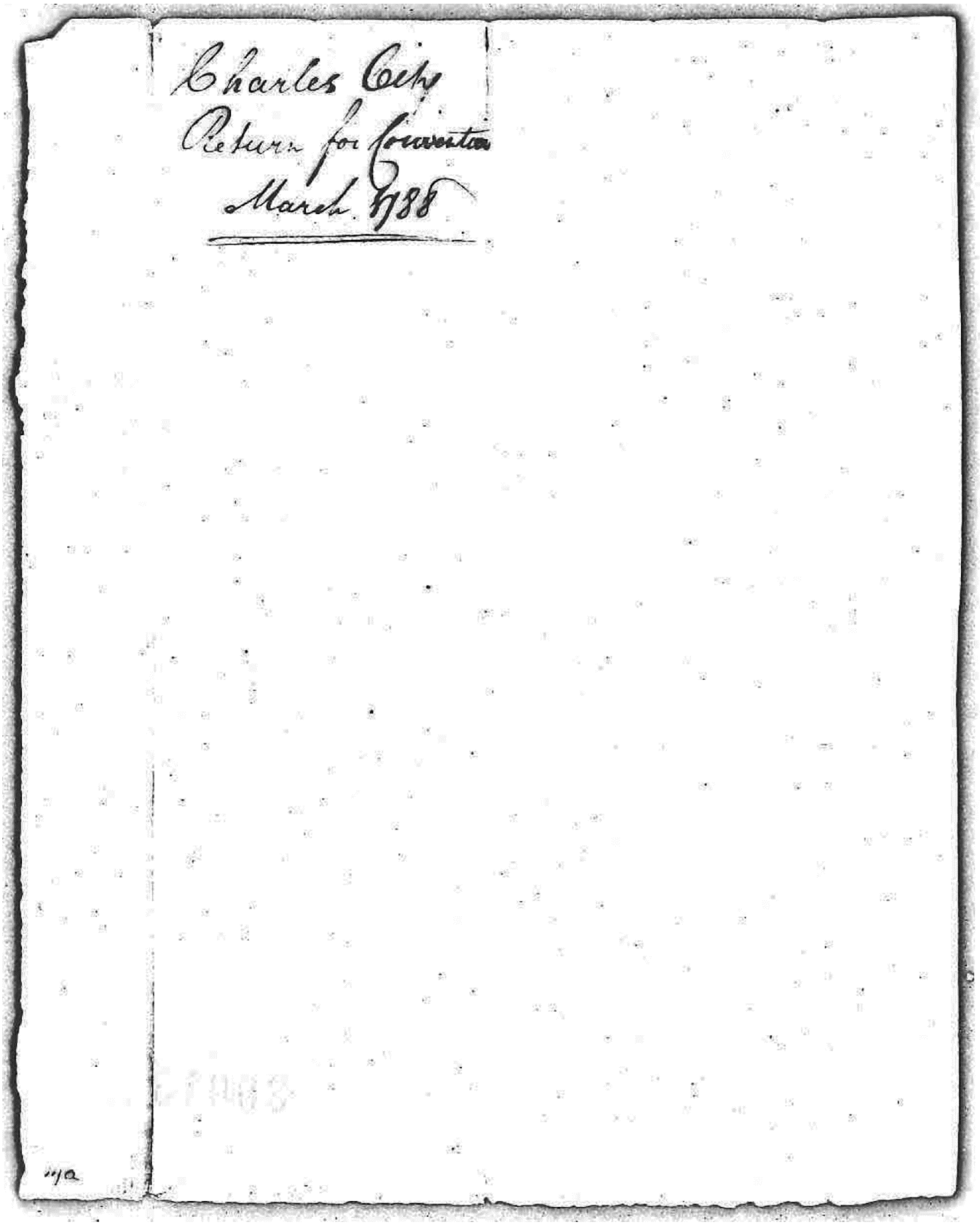
73. Charles City County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Elway Byrd Sheriff of the County of Charles City in my full county held at the Courthouse on the 26 day of March in the year of our Lord 1788 By the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law, have caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely John Tyler and Benj.n Harrison Esq.rs to represent the same in General Convention to be held in June next. Given under my hand & seal this first day of April Anno Domini 1788.

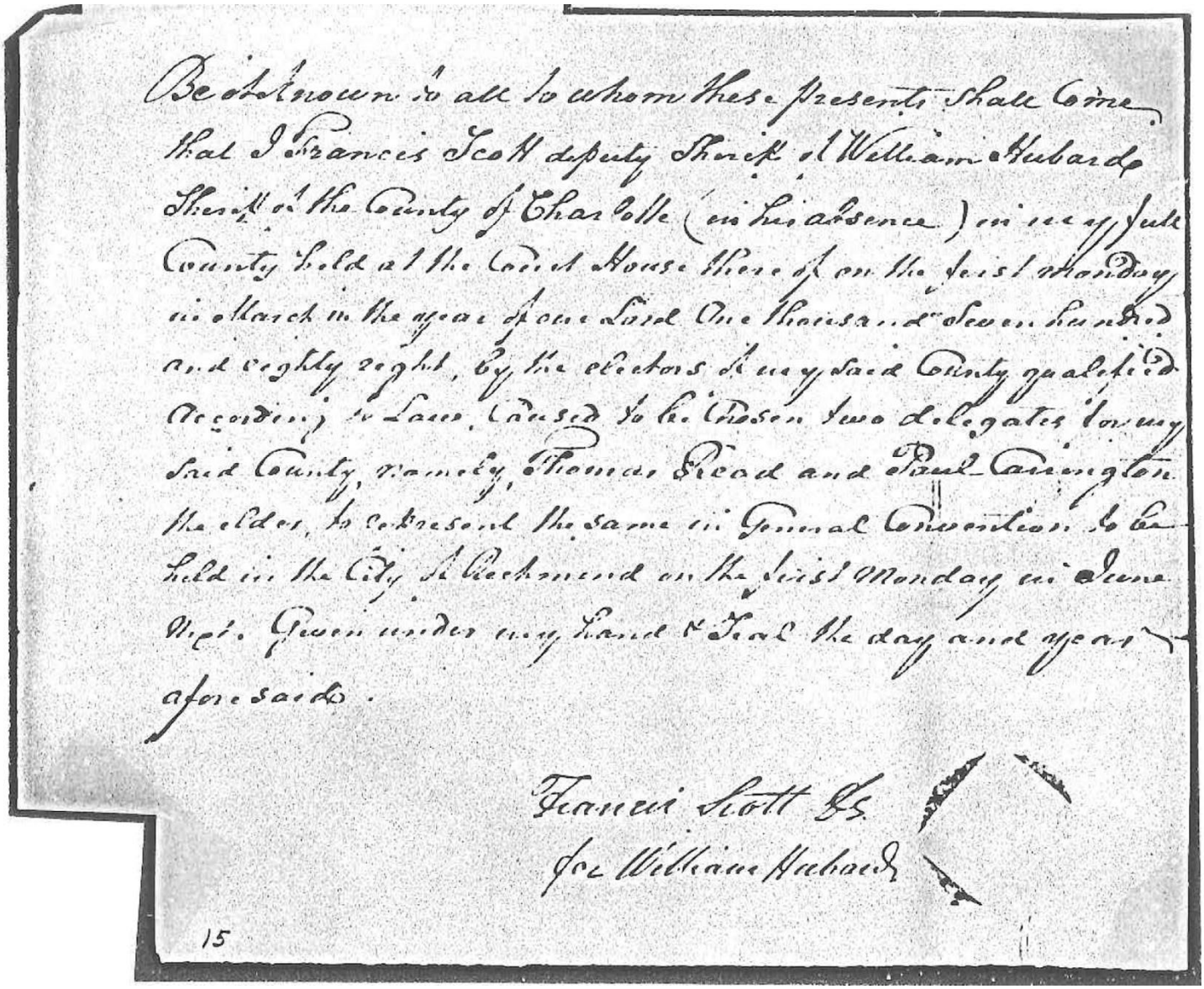
Elway Byrd Sheriff (Seal)

14


Charles City
Return for Convention
March 1788

n/a

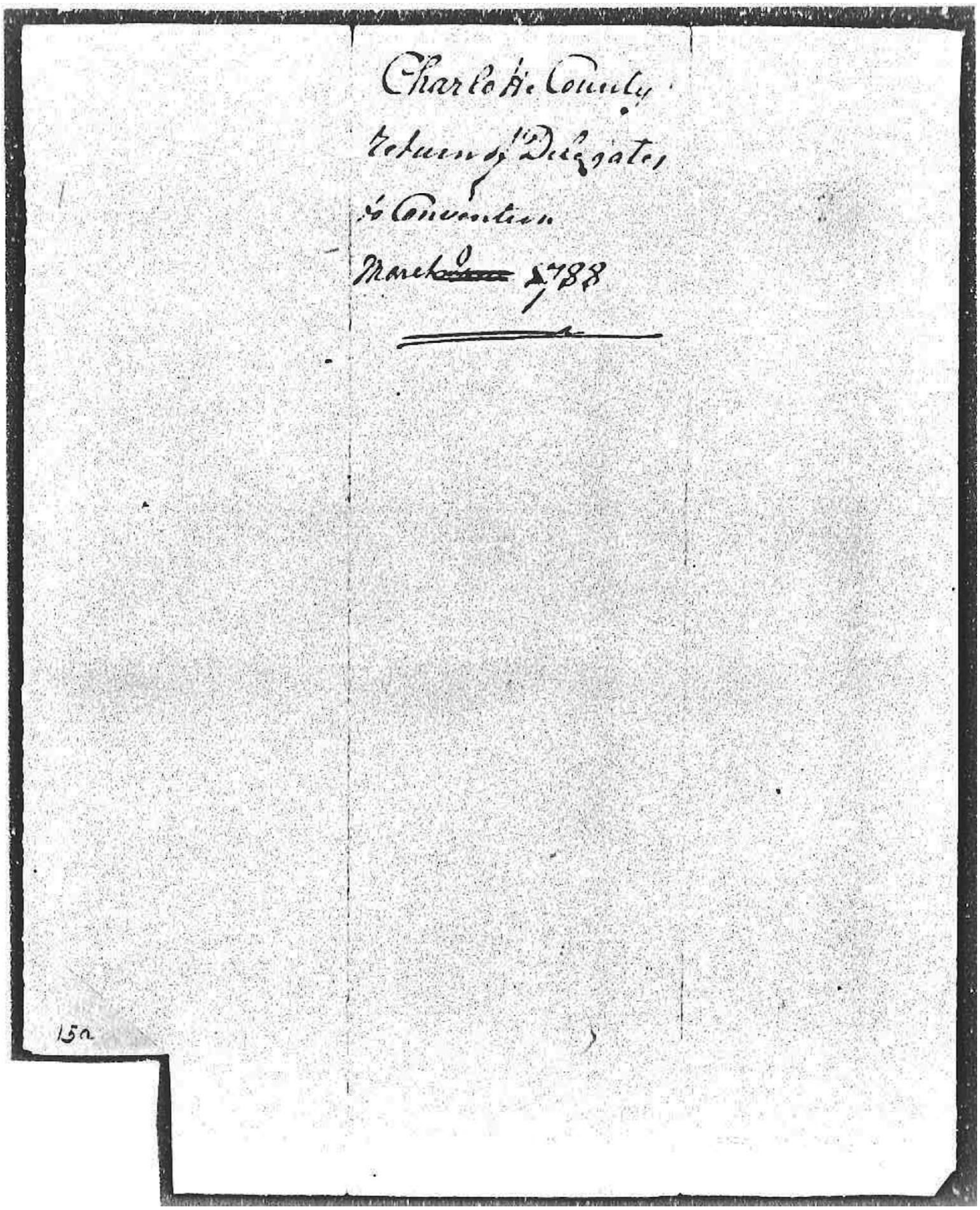
74. Charlotte County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Francis Scott deputy Sheriff of William Hubard Sheriff of the County of Charlotte (in his absence) in my said County held at the Court House there on the first Monday in March in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the electors of my said County qualified According to Law, caused to be Chosen two delegates for my said County, Namely, Thomas Read and Paul Carrington the elder, to represent the same in General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June Inst. Given under my hand & Seal the day and year aforesaid.

Francis Scott DS
for William Hubard

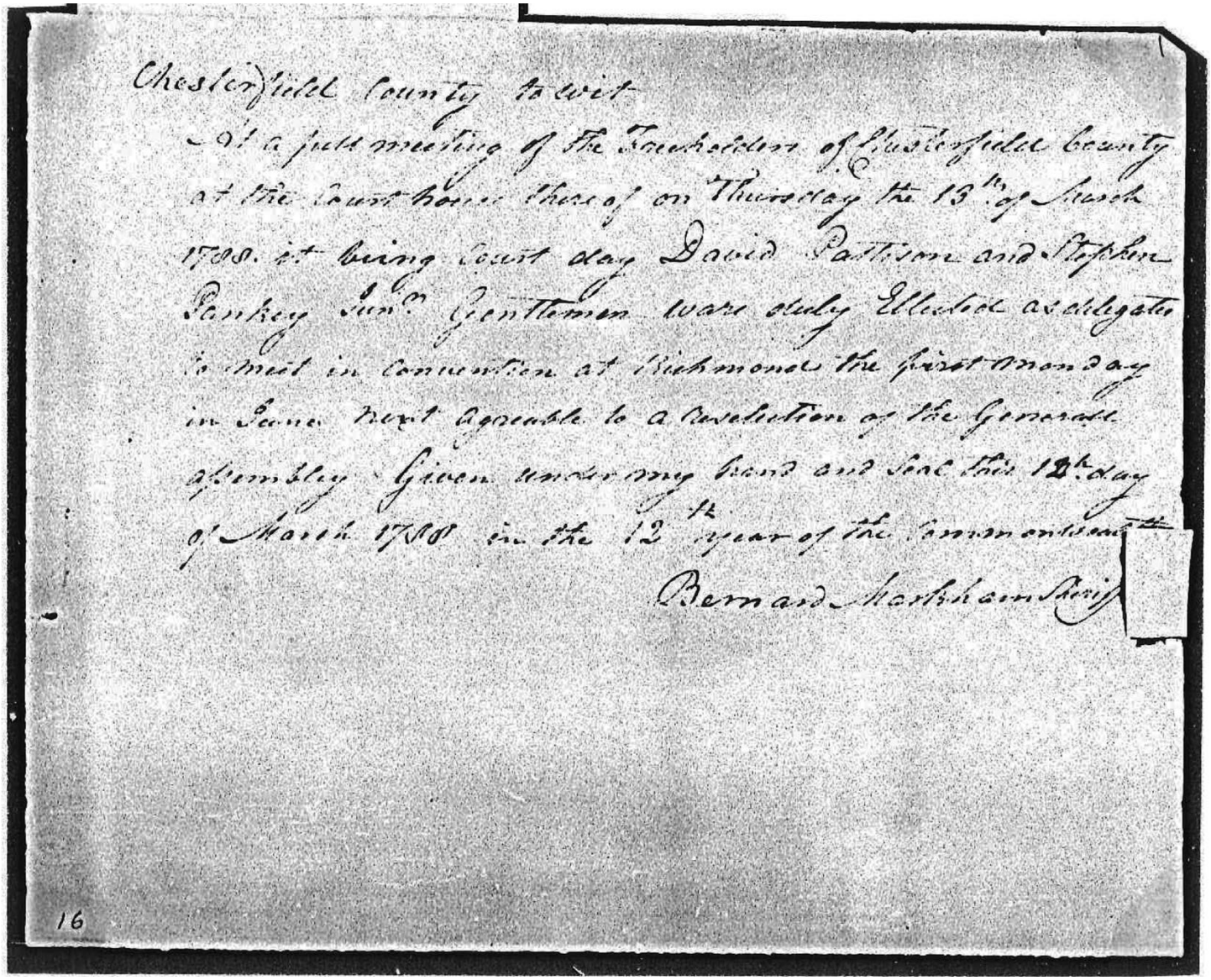
15



Charlotte County
Return of Delegates
to Convention
March ~~[illegible]~~ 1788

150

75. Chesterfield County Election Certificate

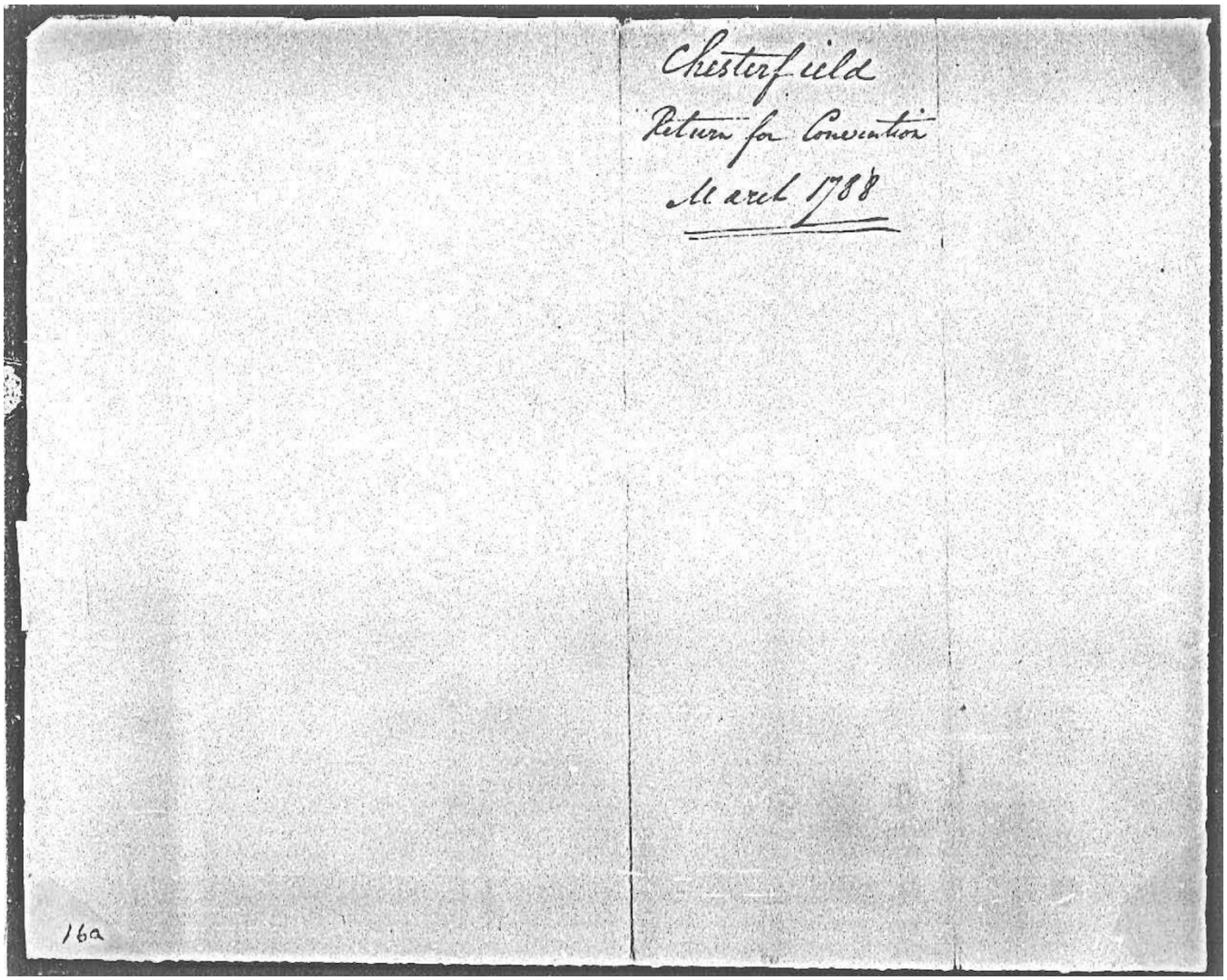


Chesterfield County to wit

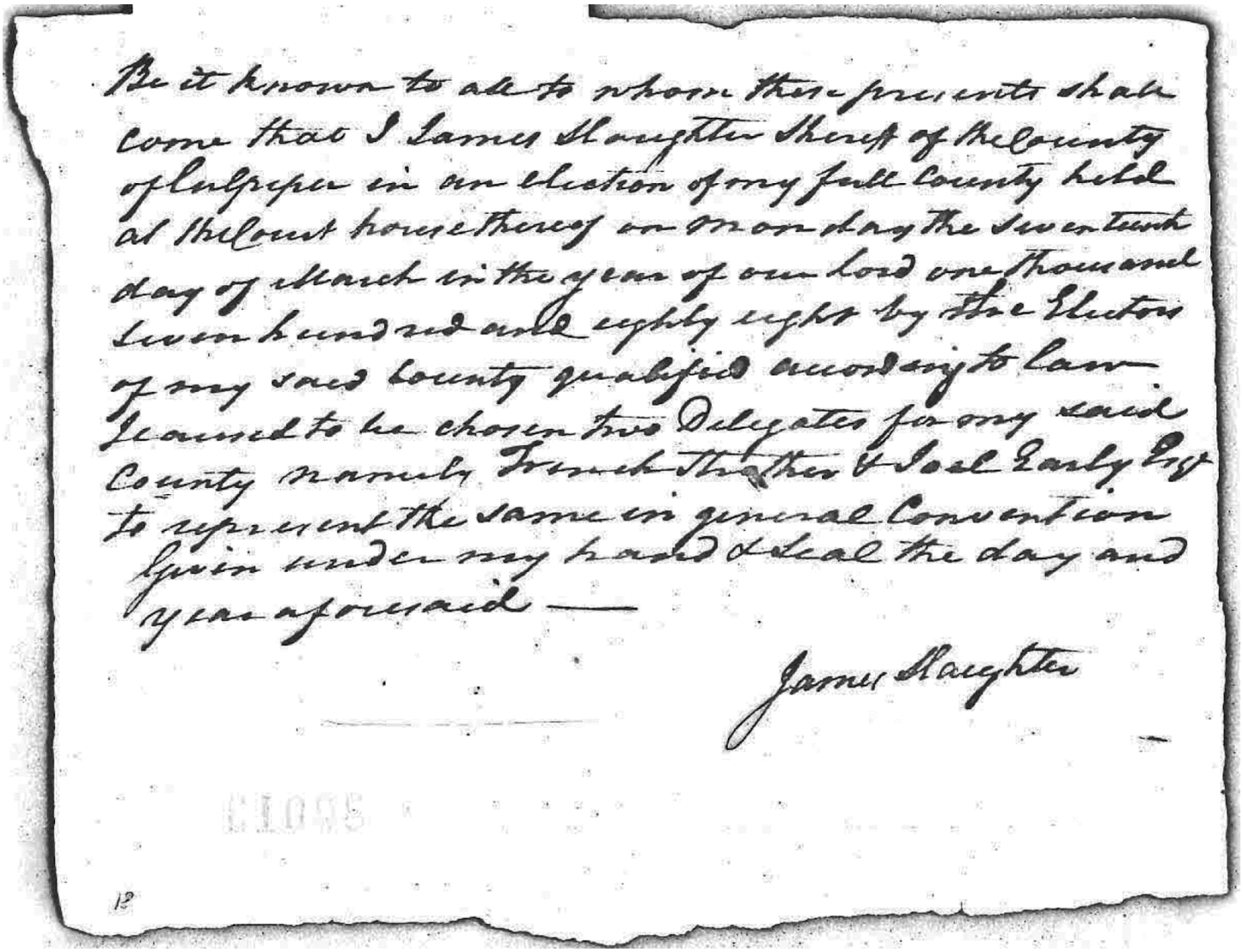
At a Just meeting of the Freeholders of Chesterfield County at the Court house there of on Thursday the 13th of March 1788. it being Court day David Patterson and Stephen Pankey Junr Gentlemen were duly Elected as delegates to meet in Convention at Richmond the first Monday in June next agreable to a Resolution of the Generall Assembly Given under my hand and Seal this 13th day of March 1788 in the 12 year of the Commonwealth

Bernard Markham Shff

16


Chesterfield
Return for Convention
March 1788
16a

76. Culpeper County Election Certificate

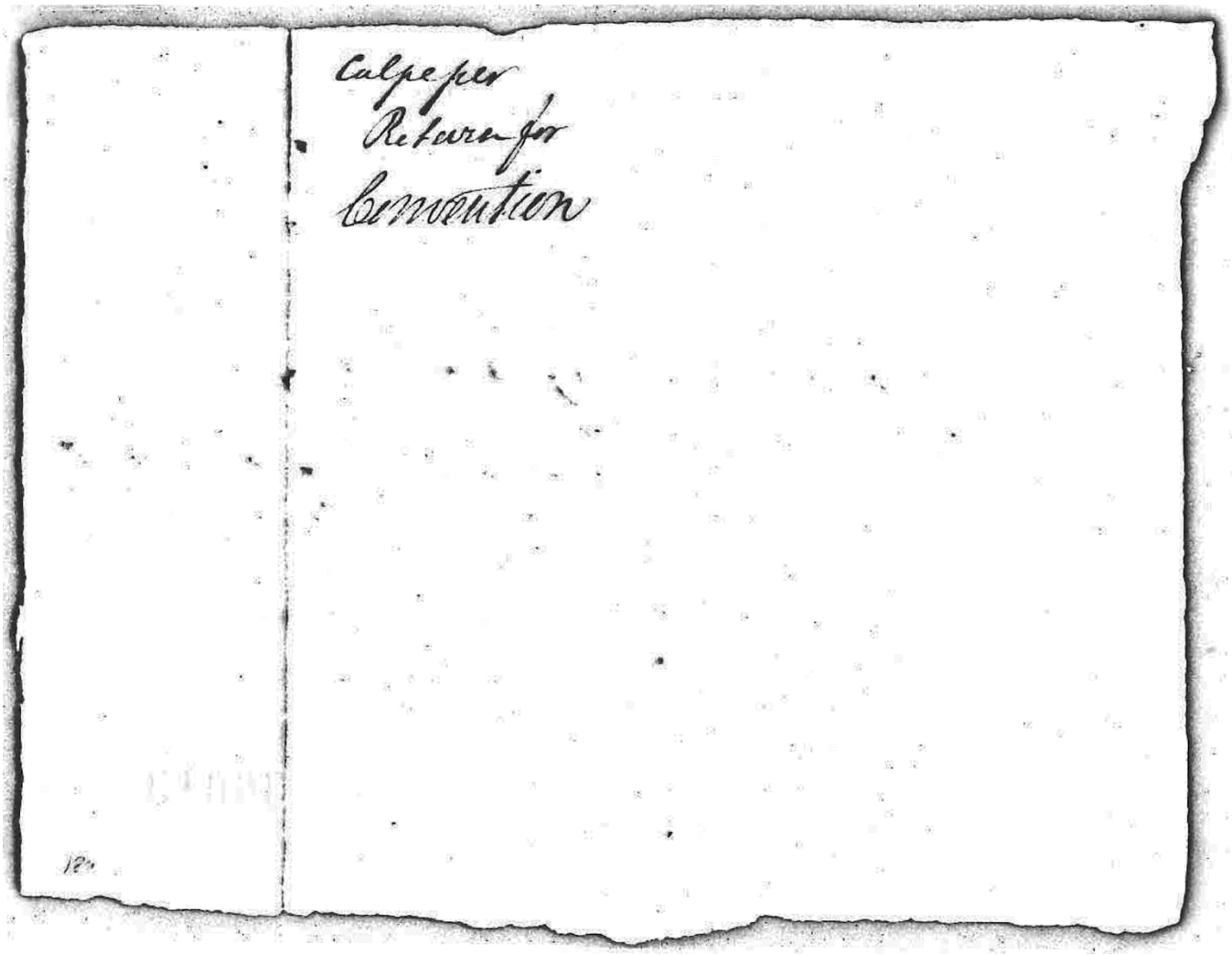


Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I James Slaughter Sheriff of the County of Culpeper in an election of my said County held at the Court house thereof on on on day the seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law Elected to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely French Strother & Joel Early Esq to represent the same in general Convention Given under my hand & seal the day and year aforesaid ——

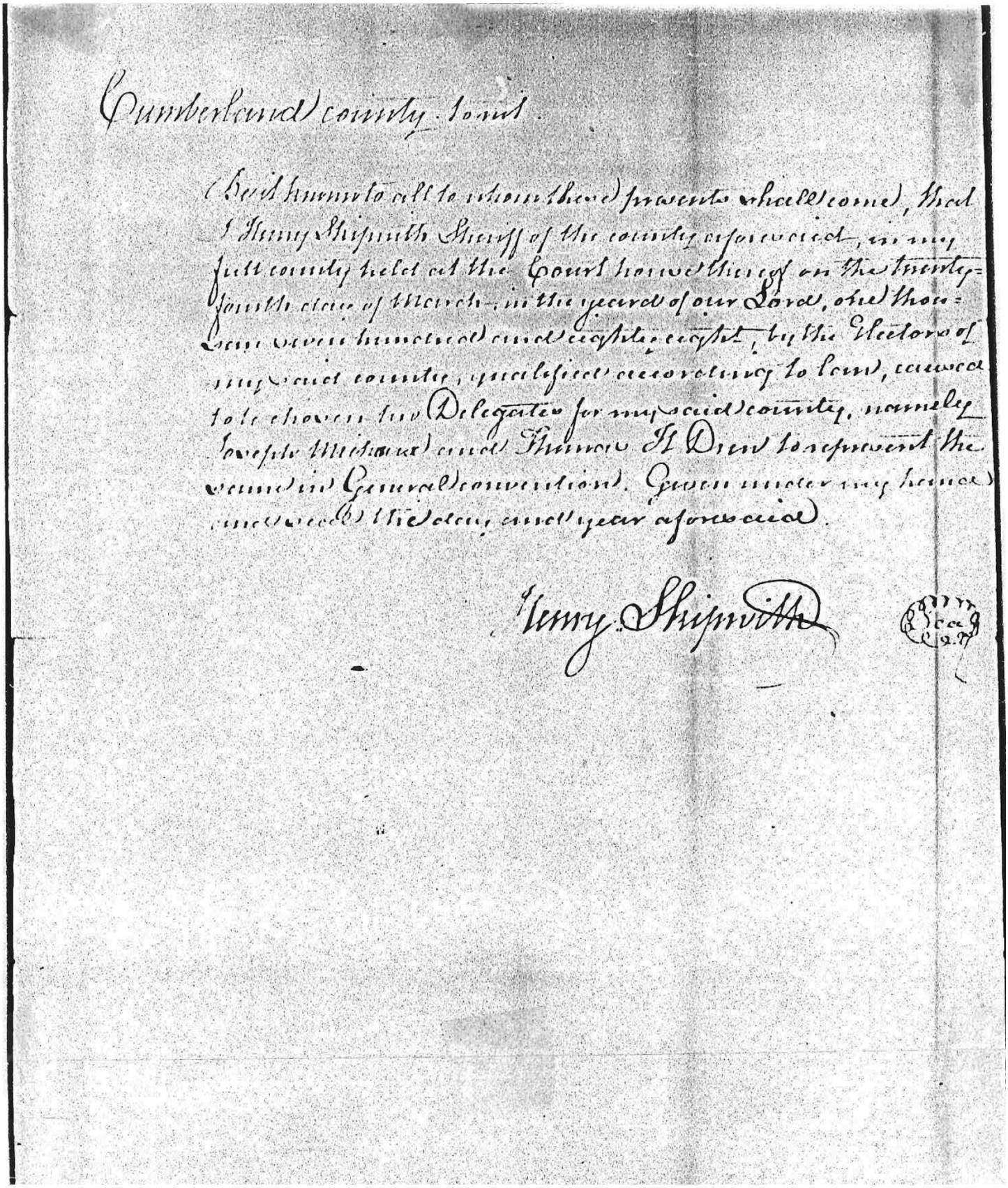
James Slaughter

CLOSE

12


Culpeper
Return for
Convention
12

77. Cumberland County Election Certificate



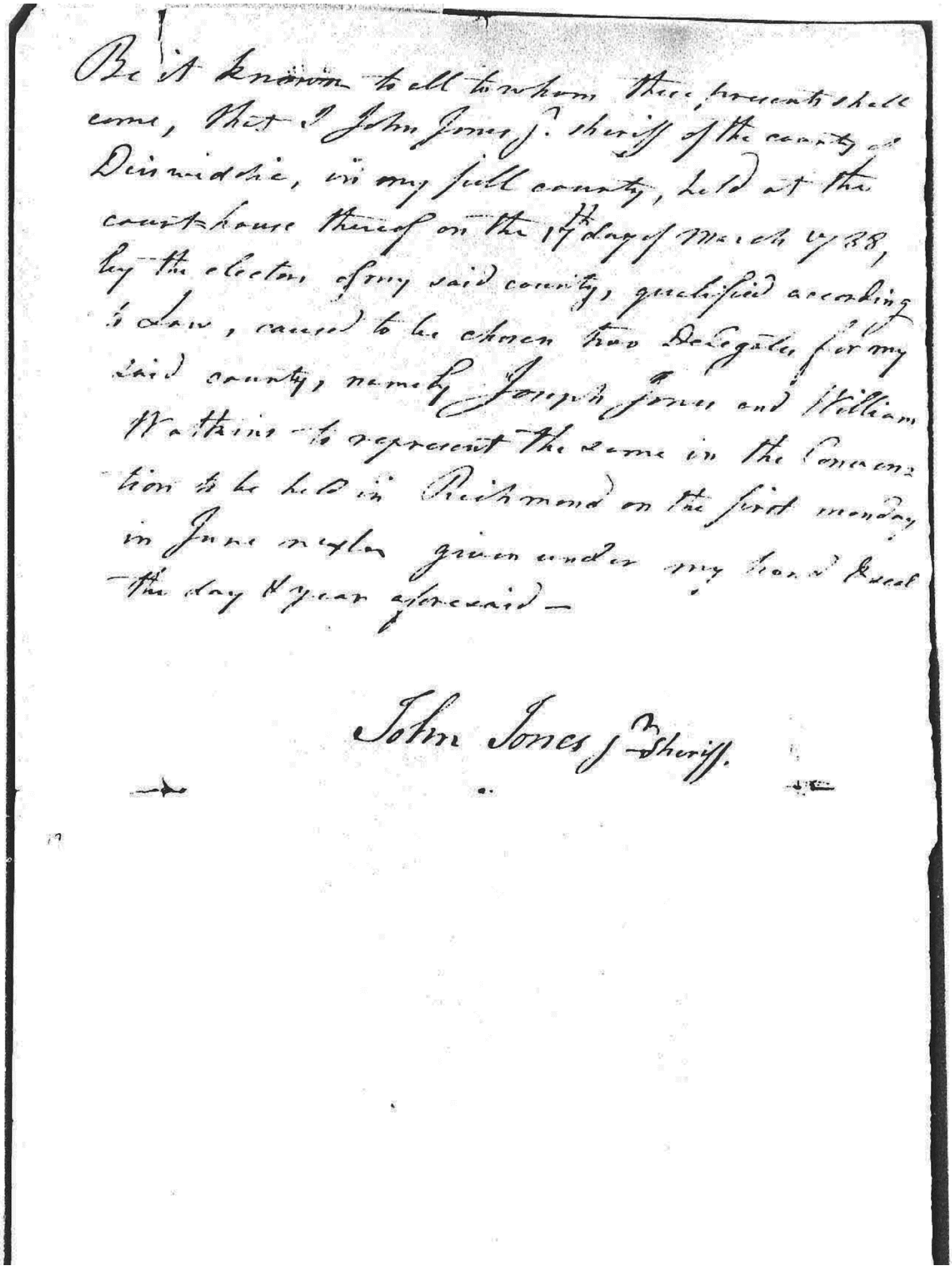
Cumberland county. to wit.

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Henry Skipwith Sheriff of the county aforesaid, in my full county held at the Court house thereof on the twenty-fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Electors of my said county, qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said county, namely Joseph Winston and Thomas H Drew to represent the same in General convention. Given under my hand and seal this day and year aforesaid.

Henry Skipwith

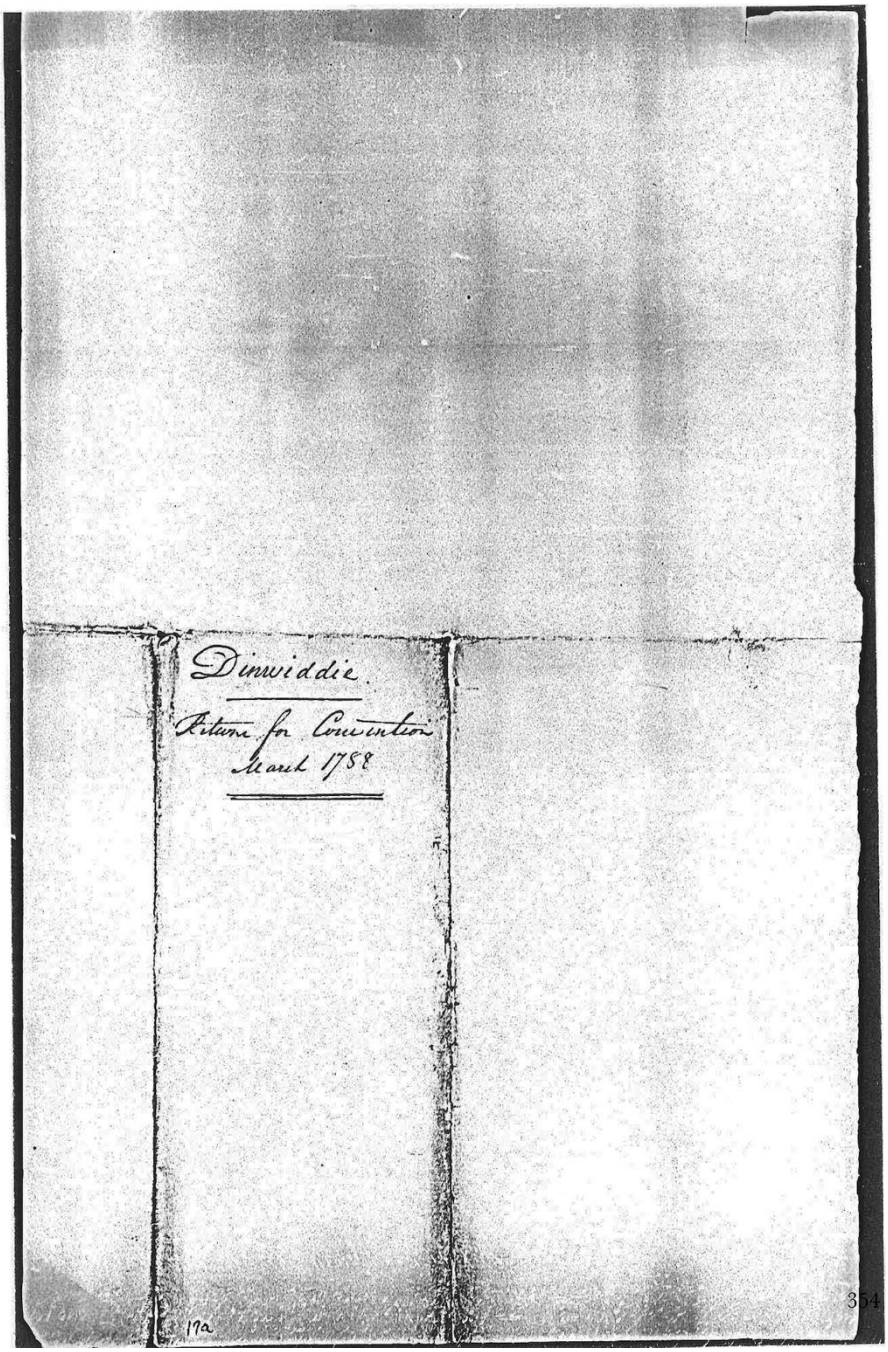
Cumberland
Return for Convention
March 1788.
17a

78. Dinwiddie County Election Certificate

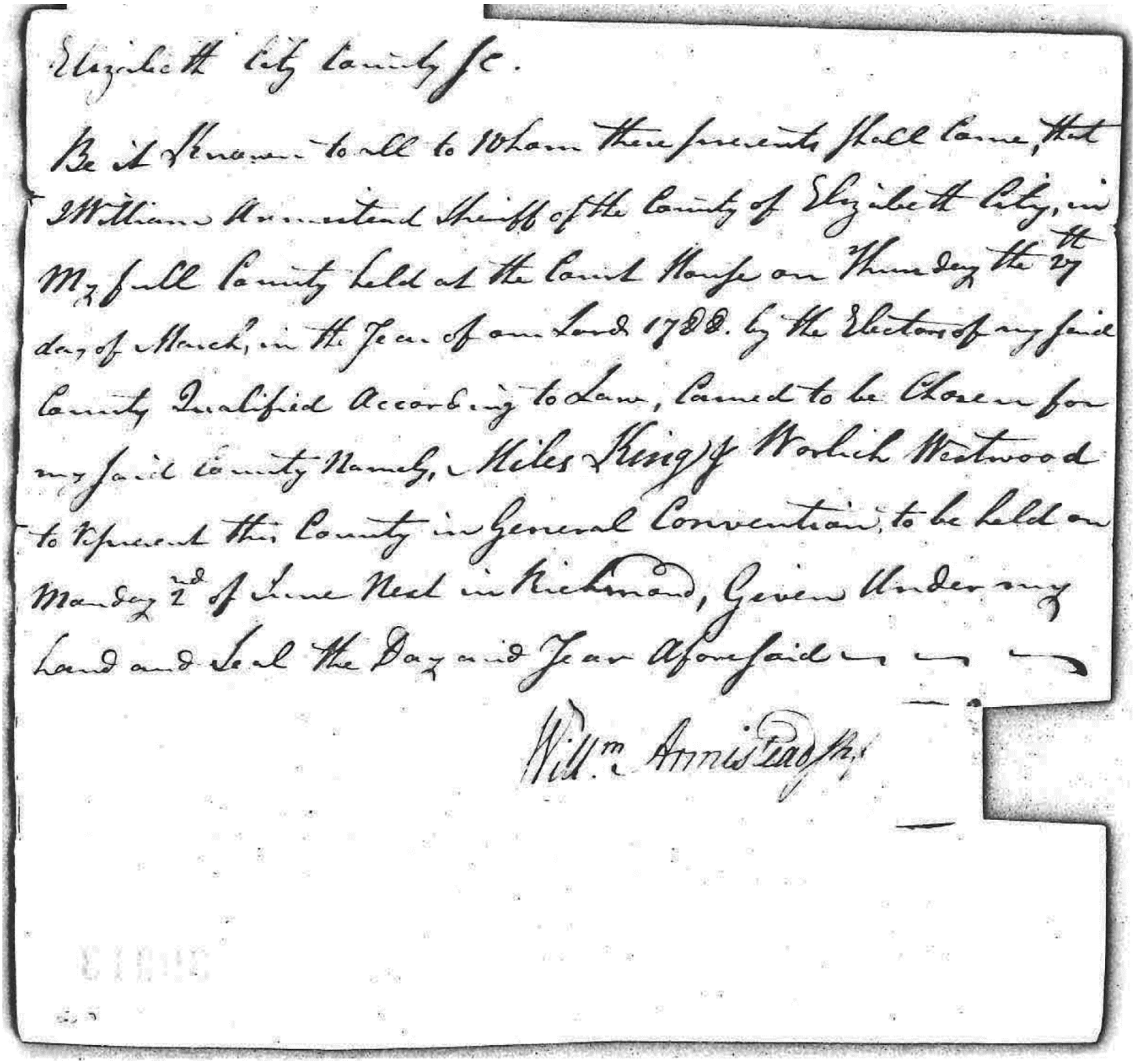


Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I John Jones Jr. sheriff of the county of Dinwiddie, in my said county, held at the court-house thereof on the 14th day of March 1788, by the electors of my said county, qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said county, namely Joseph Jones and William Watkins to represent the same in the Convention to be held in Richmond on the first monday in June next. given under my hand & seal the day & year aforesaid—

John Jones Jr Sheriff.


Dinwiddie
Returns for Convention
March 1788
17a
354

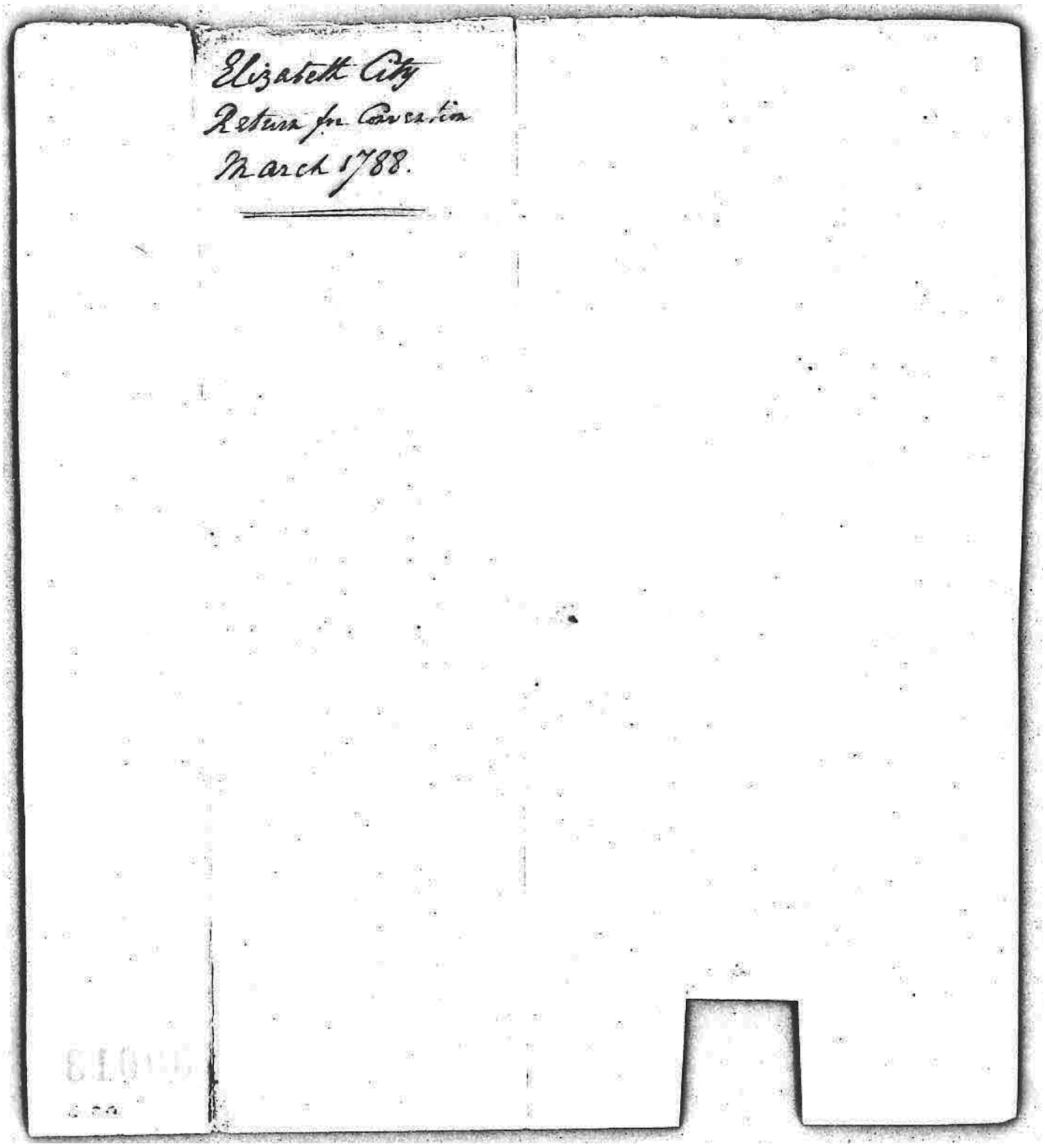
79. Elizabeth City County Election Certificate



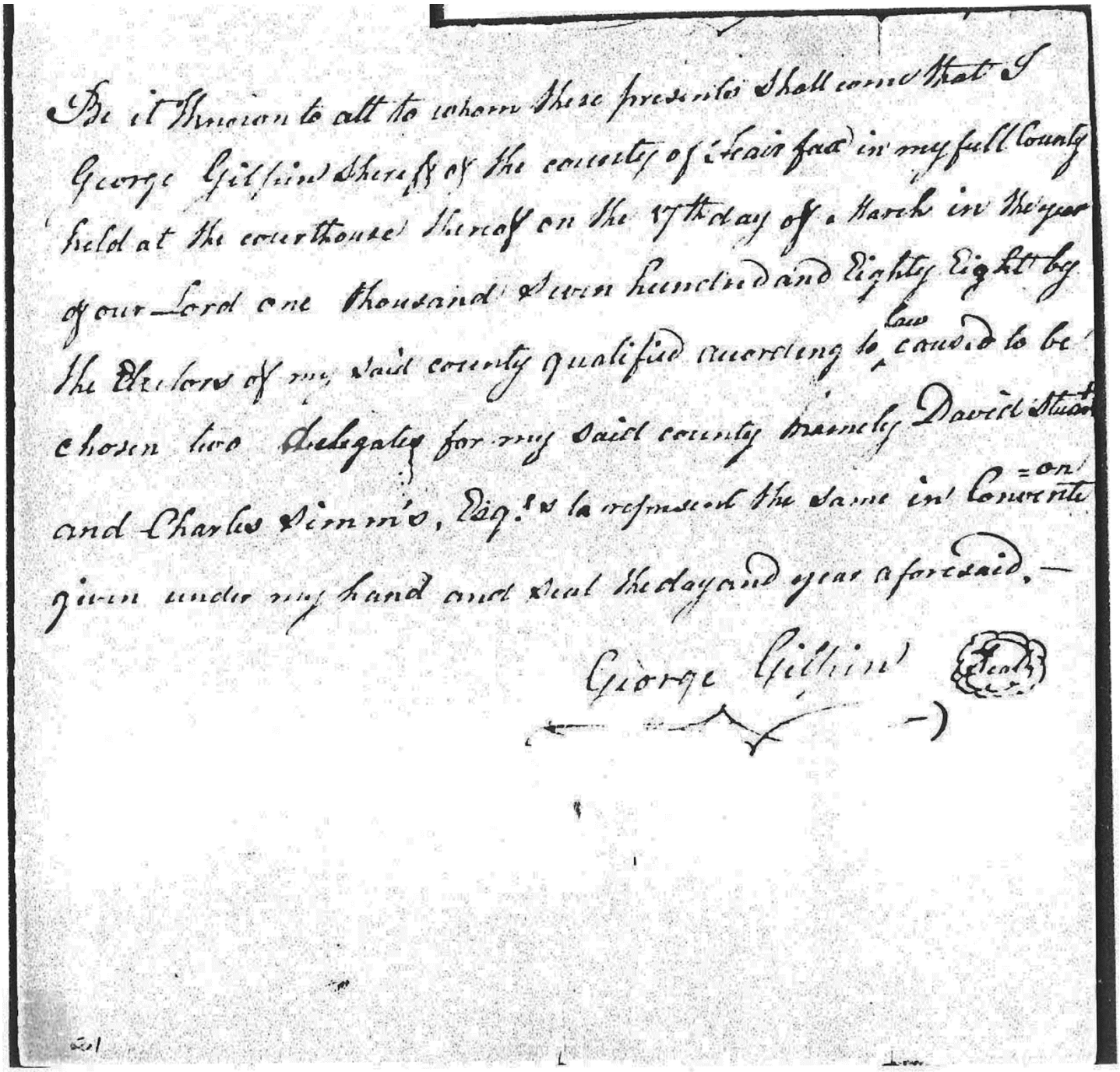
Elizabeth City County &c.

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I William Armistead Sheriff of the County of Elizabeth City, in My full County held at the Court House on Thursday the 27th day of March, in the Year of our Lord 1788. by the Electors of my said County Qualified According to Law, Caused to be Chosen for my said County Namely, Miles King & Warlich Westwood to Represent this County in General Convention, to be held on Monday 2nd of June Next in Richmond, Given Under my Hand and Seal the Day and Year aforesaid

Wm. Armistead Shff

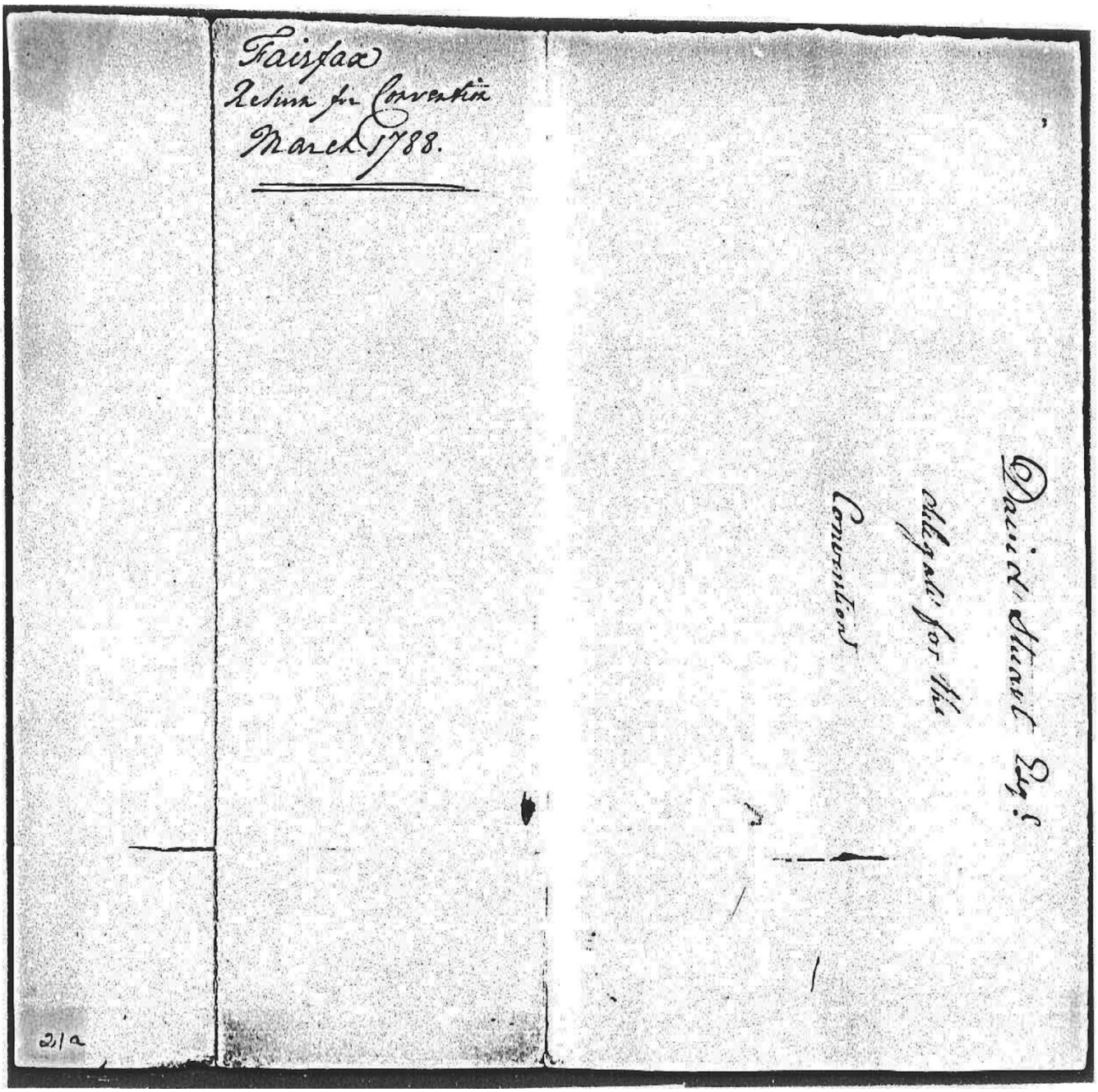

Elizabeth City
Return for Convention
March 1788.

80. Fairfax County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I George Gilliam Sheriff of the county of Fairfax in my full County held at the courthouse thereof on the 17th day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Eight by the Electors of my said county qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said county namely David Stuart and Charles Simms, Esq.rs to represent the same in Convention given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid. —

George Gilliam (Seal)

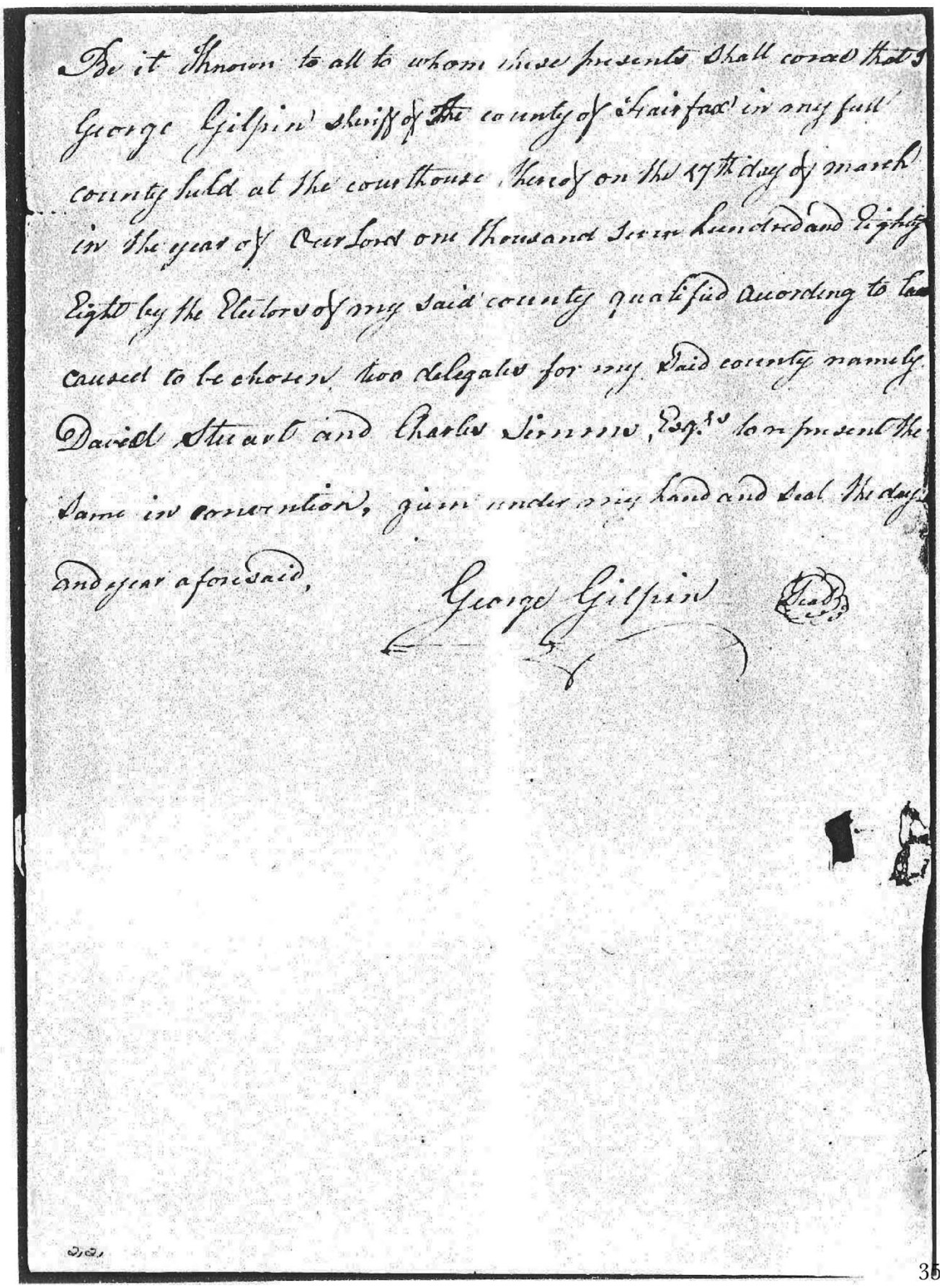


Fairfax
Return for Convention
March 1788.

David Stuart Esq.
Delegate for the
Convention

2/a

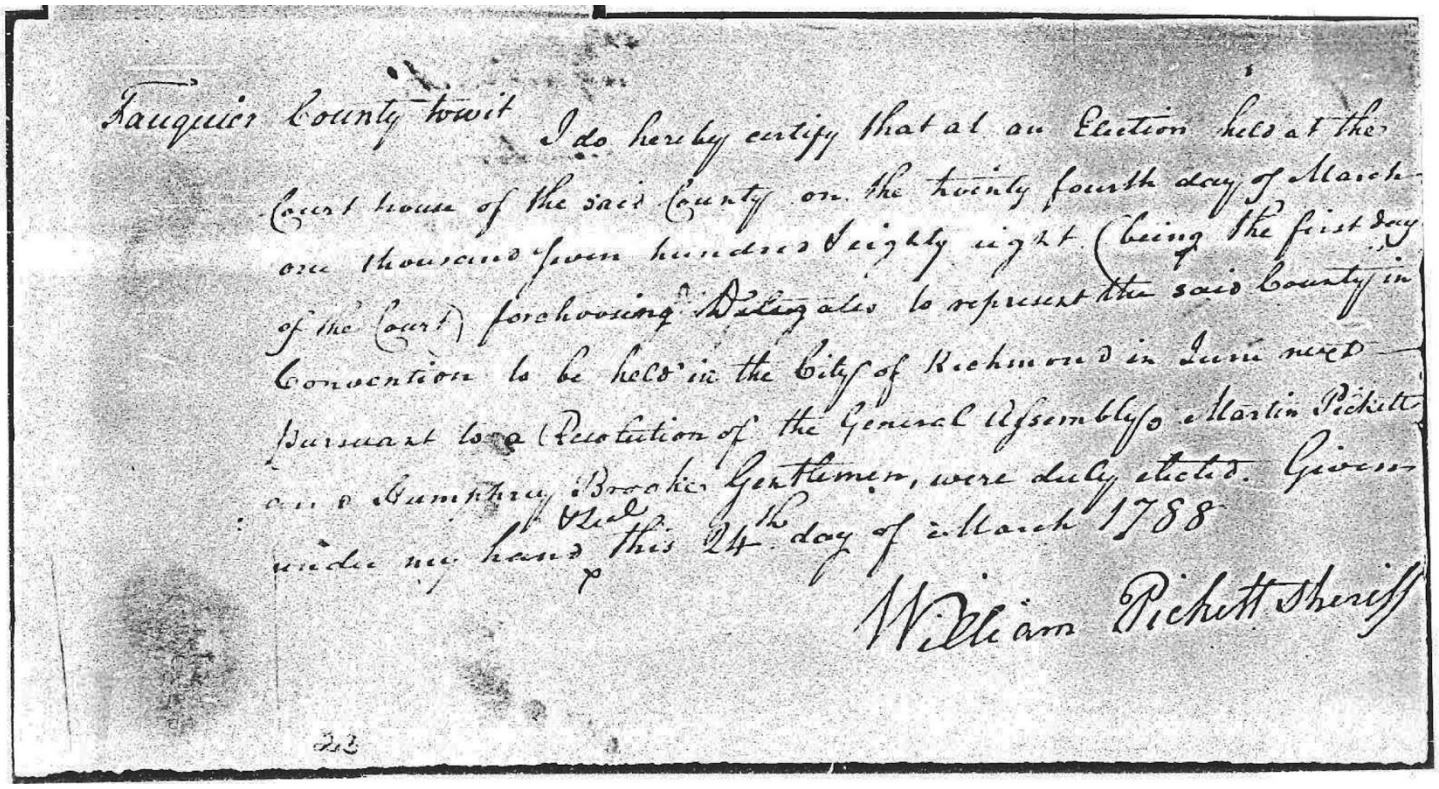
81. Fairfax County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I George Gilpin sheriff of the county of Fairfax in my full county held at the courthouse thereof on the 17th day of march in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty Eight by the Electors of my said county qualified according to law caused to be chosen two delegates for my said county namely David Stewart and Charles Simms, Esq.rs to represent the same in convention, given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid,

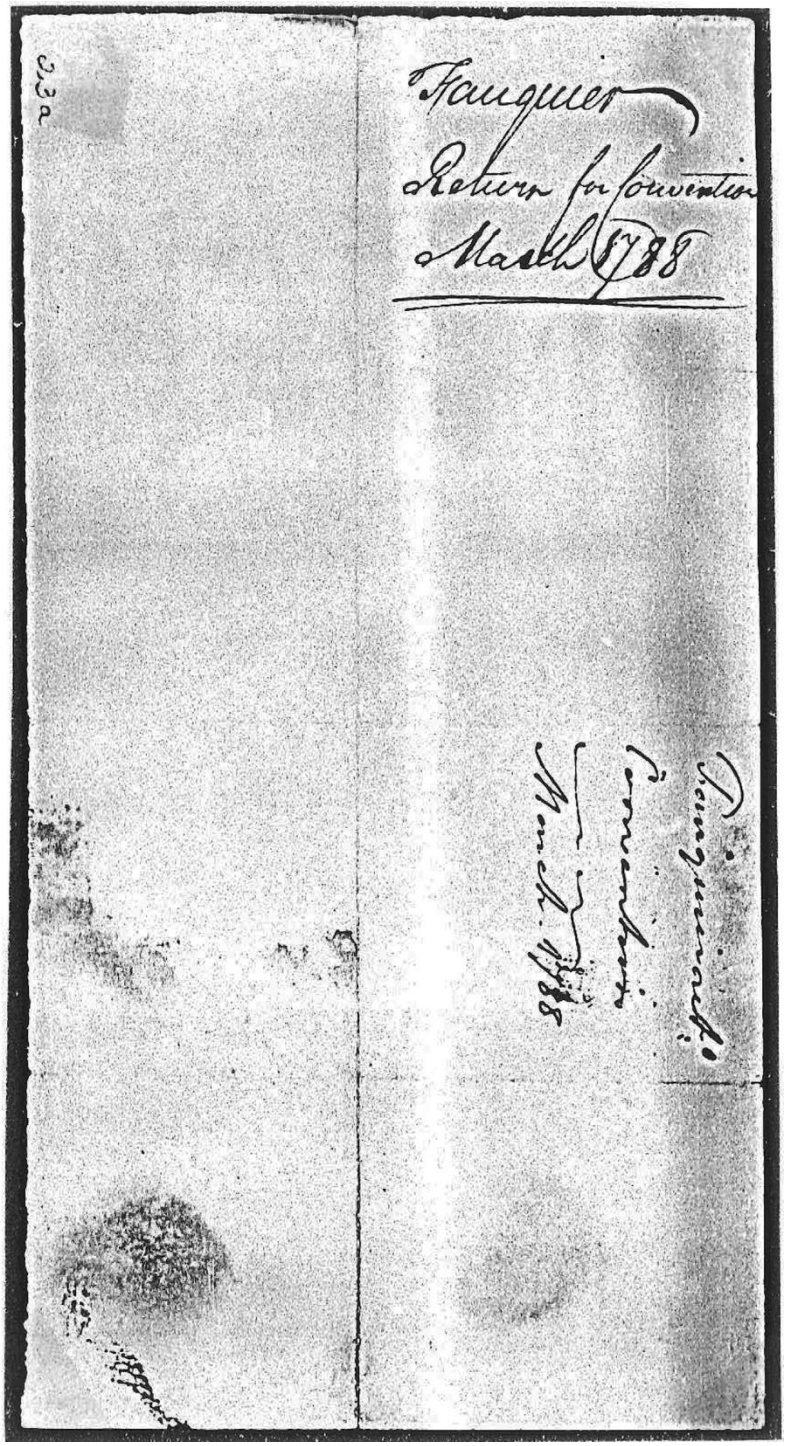
George Gilpin (Seal)

82. Fauquier County Election Certificate

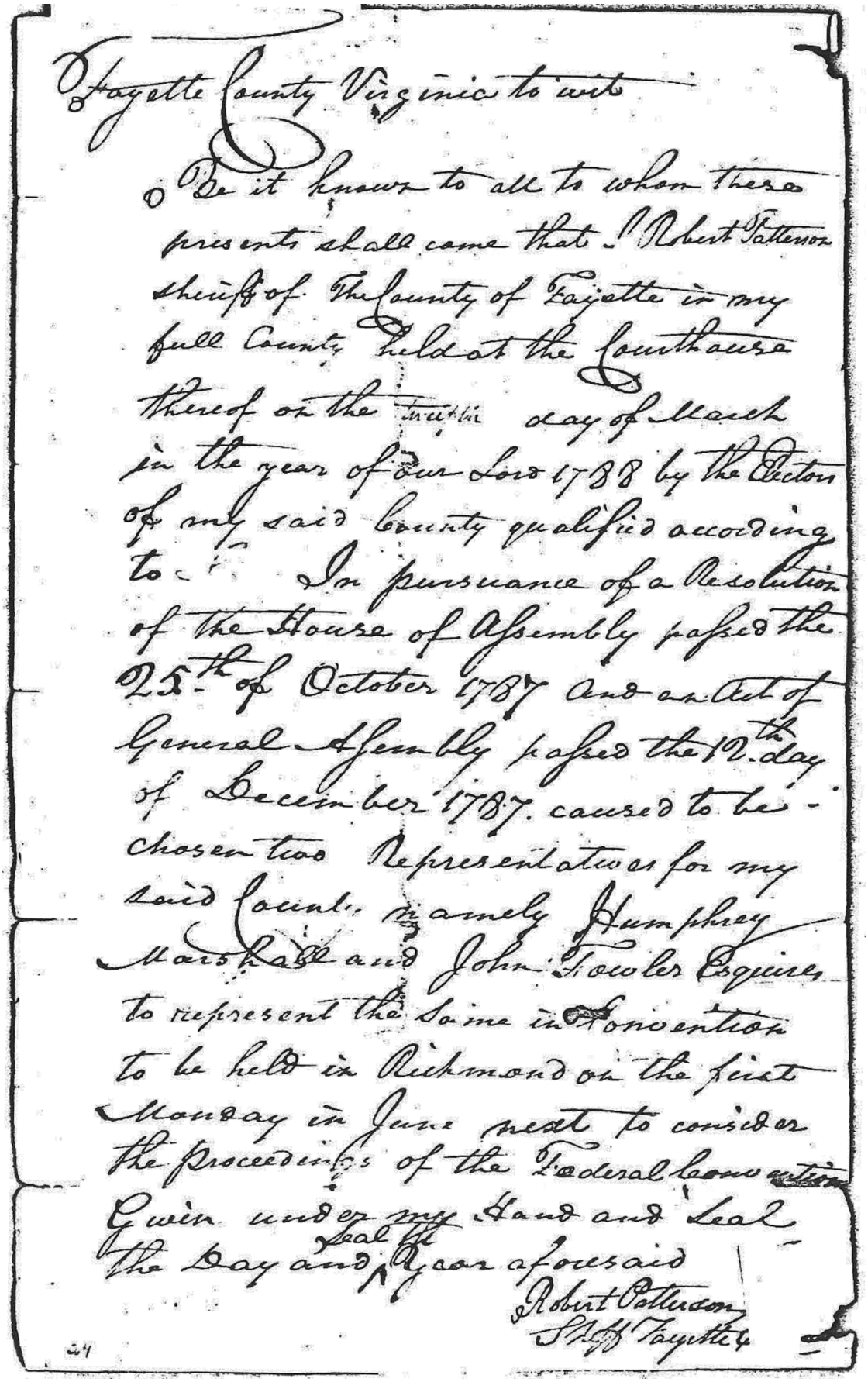


Fauquier County towit I do hereby certify that at an Election held at the Court house of the said County on the twenty fourth day of March one thousand seven hundred & eighty eight (being the first day of the Court) for choosing Delegates to represent the said County in Convention to be held in the City of Richmond in June next Pursuant to a Resolution of the General Assembly of Martin Pickett & Humphrey Brooke Gentlemen, were duly elected. Given under my hand this 24th day of March 1788

William Pickett Sheriff


Fauquier
Return for Convention
March 1788
3.3a

83. Fayette County Election Certificate

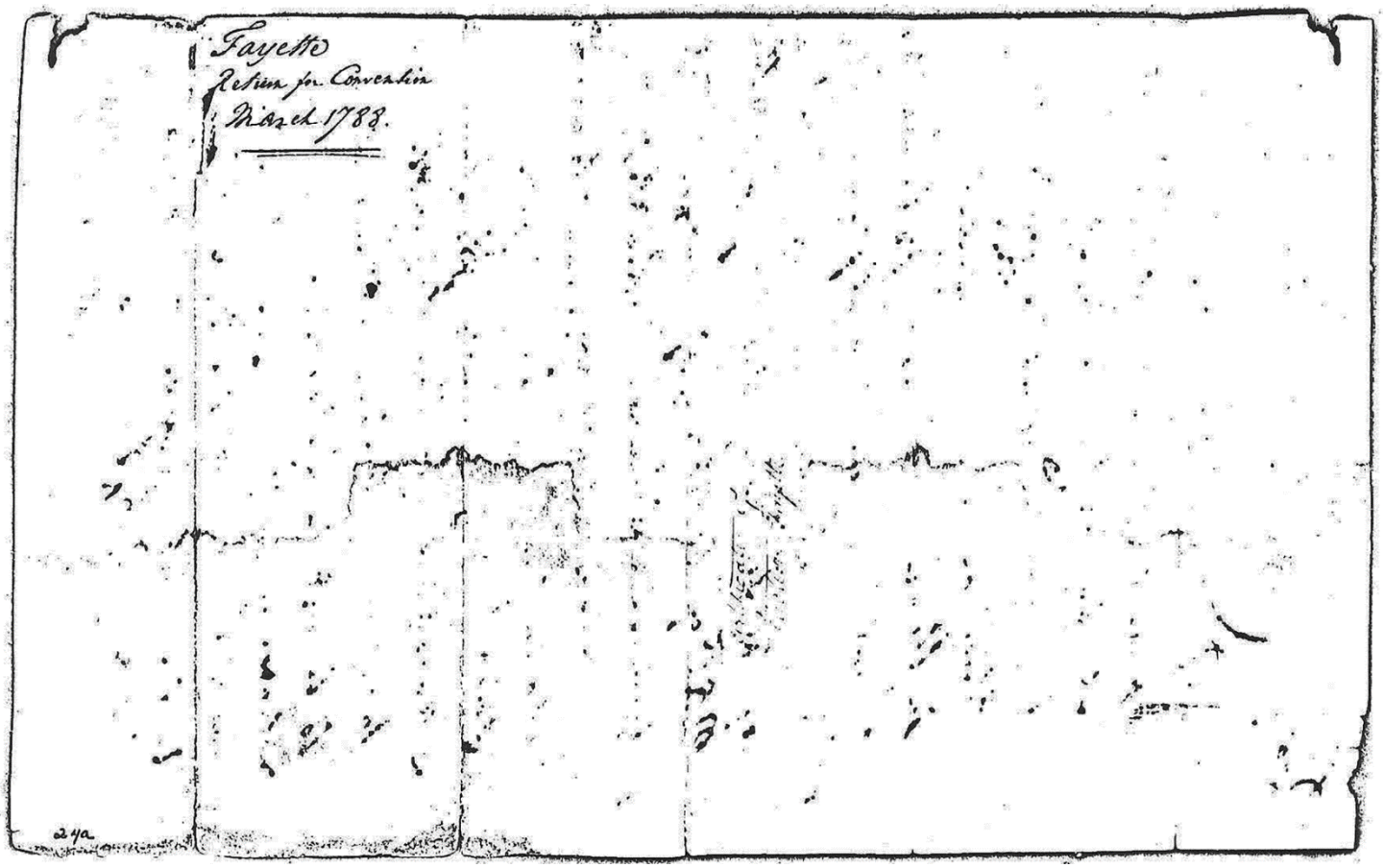


Fayette County Virginia to wit

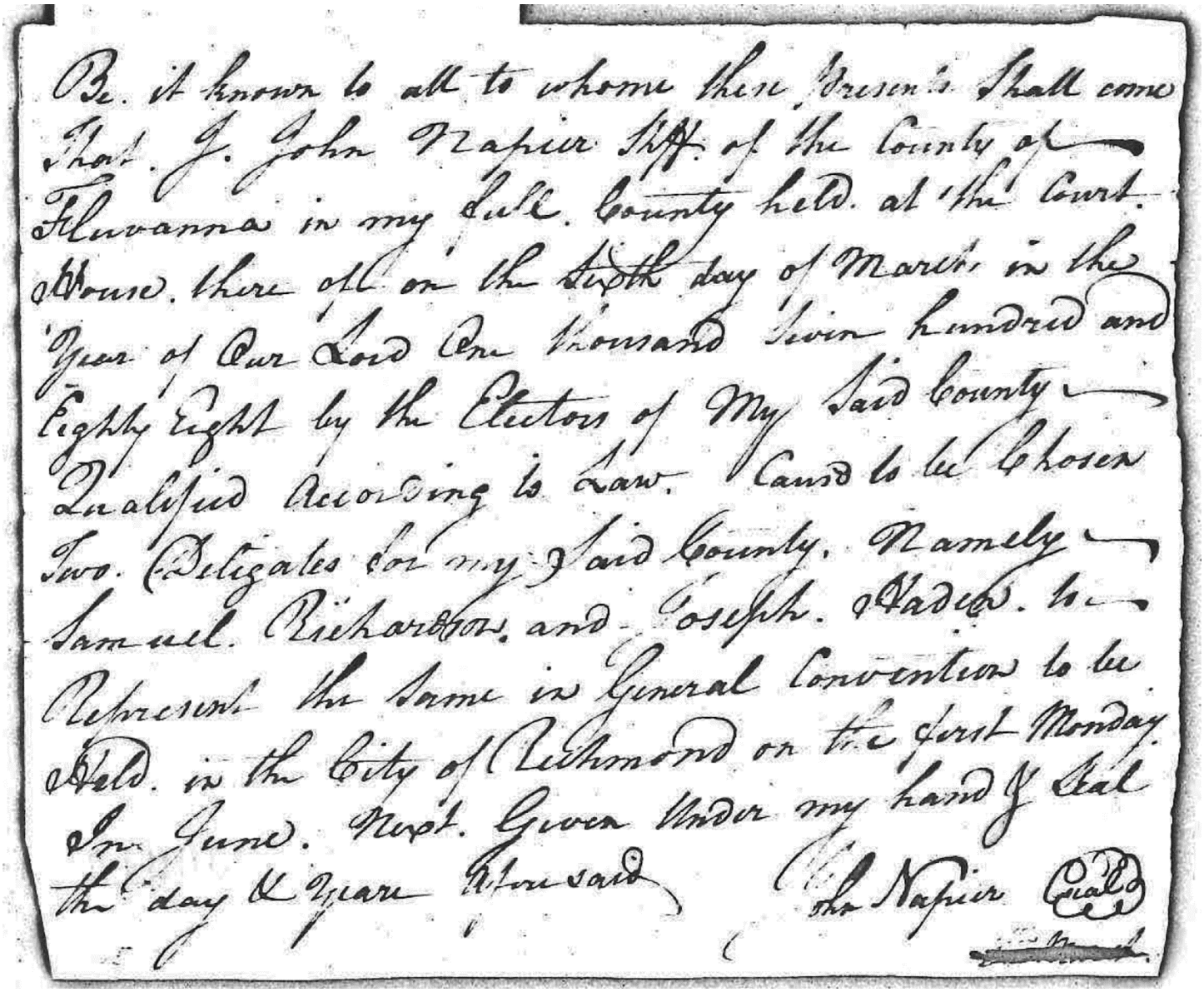
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Robert Pattenson sheriff of the County of Fayette in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the twenty sixth day of March in the year of our Lord 1788 by the Electors of my said County qualified according to In pursuance of a Resolution of the House of Assembly passed the 25th of October 1787 and an Act of General Assembly passed the 12th day of December 1787. caused to be chosen two Representatives for my said County namely Humphrey Marshall and John Fowler Esquires to represent the same in Convention to be held in Richmond on the first Monday in June next to consider the proceedings of the Federal Convention Given under my Hand and Seal the Day and Year aforesaid

Robert Pattenson
Sh Fayette

24

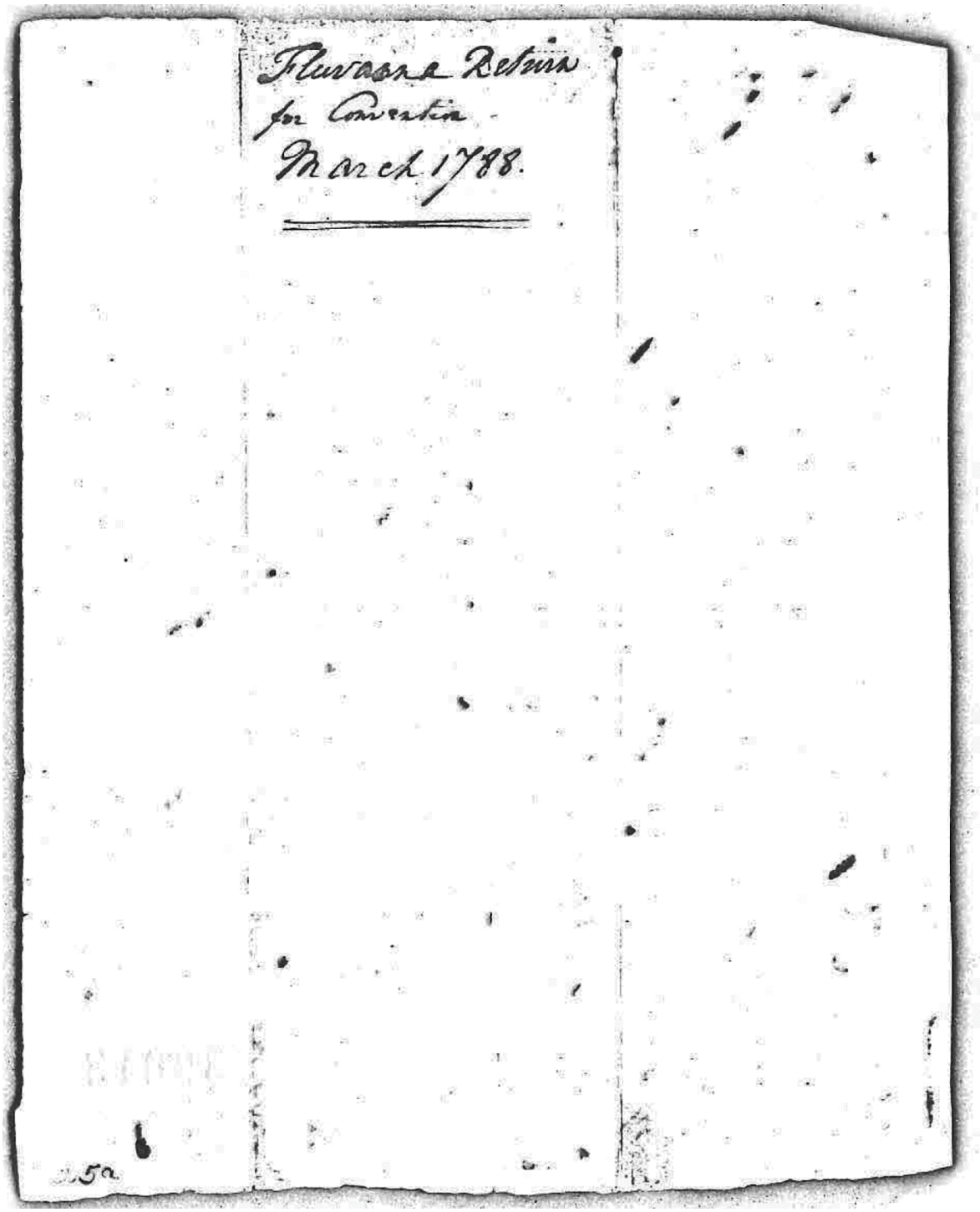

Fayette
Return for Convention
March 1788.
24a

84. Fluvanna County Election Certificate



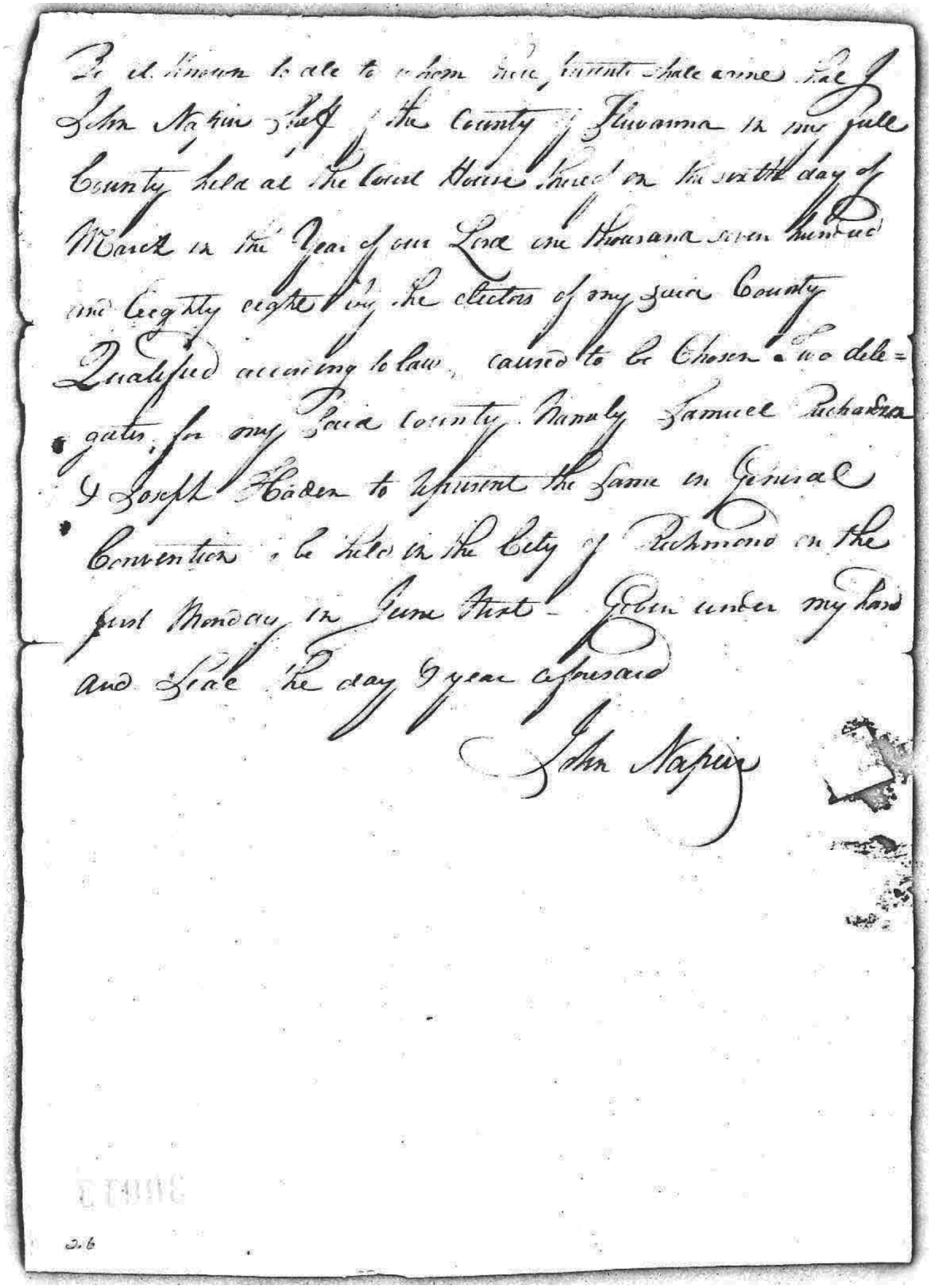
Be it known to all to whome these Presents Shall come
That I. John Napier Shff. of the County of
Fluvanna in my Said County held at the Court
House there on the Eighth day of March in the
Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and
Eighty Eight by the Electors of My Said County
Qualified According to Law. Cause to be Chosen
Two Deligates for my Said County. Namely
Samuel Richardson and Joseph Wade. to
Represent the Same in General Convention to be
Held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday
in June Next. Given Under my hand & Seal
the day & Year Aforesaid

John Napier (Seal)



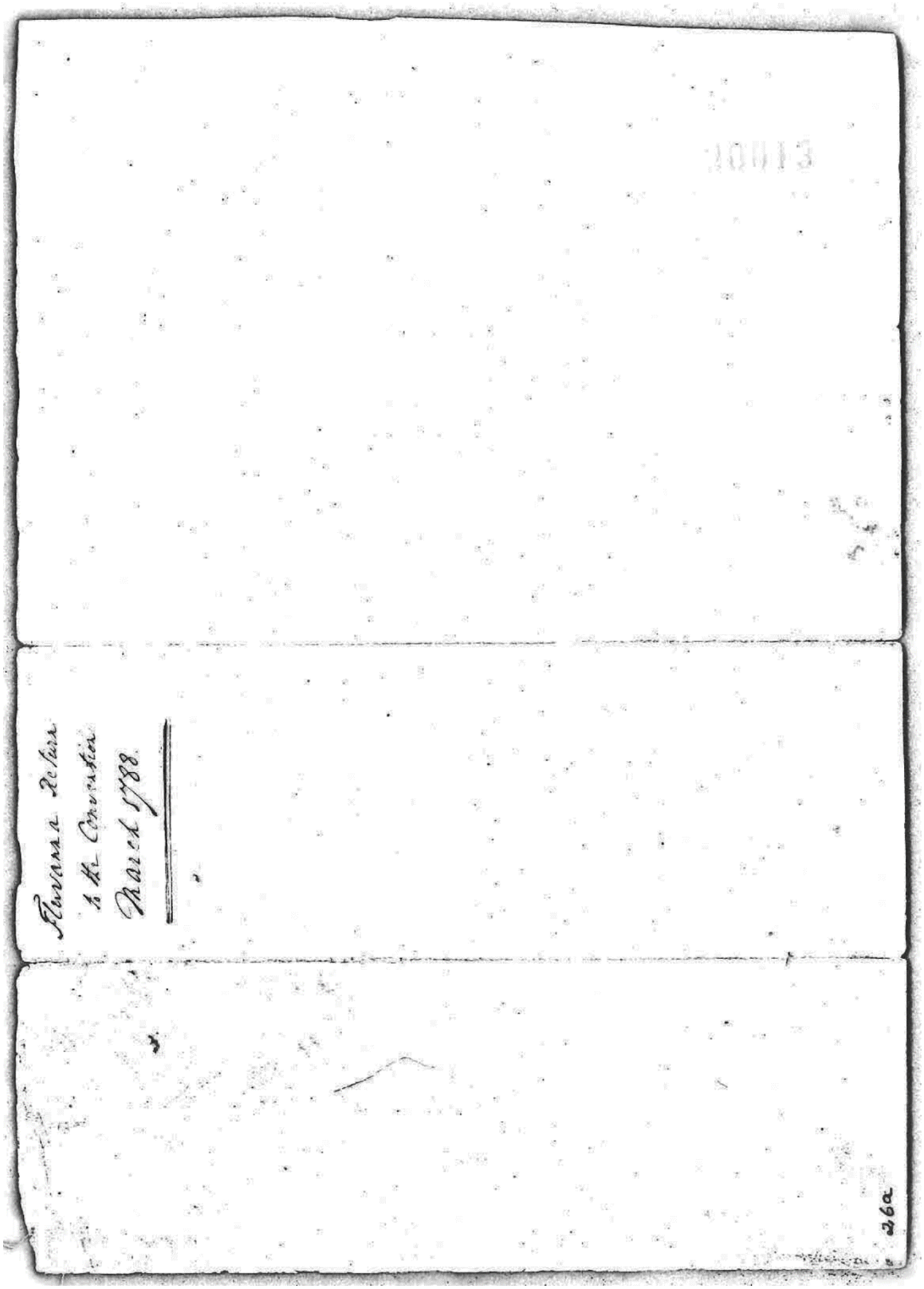
Fluvanna Return
for Convention
March 1788.

85. Fluvanna County Election Certificate

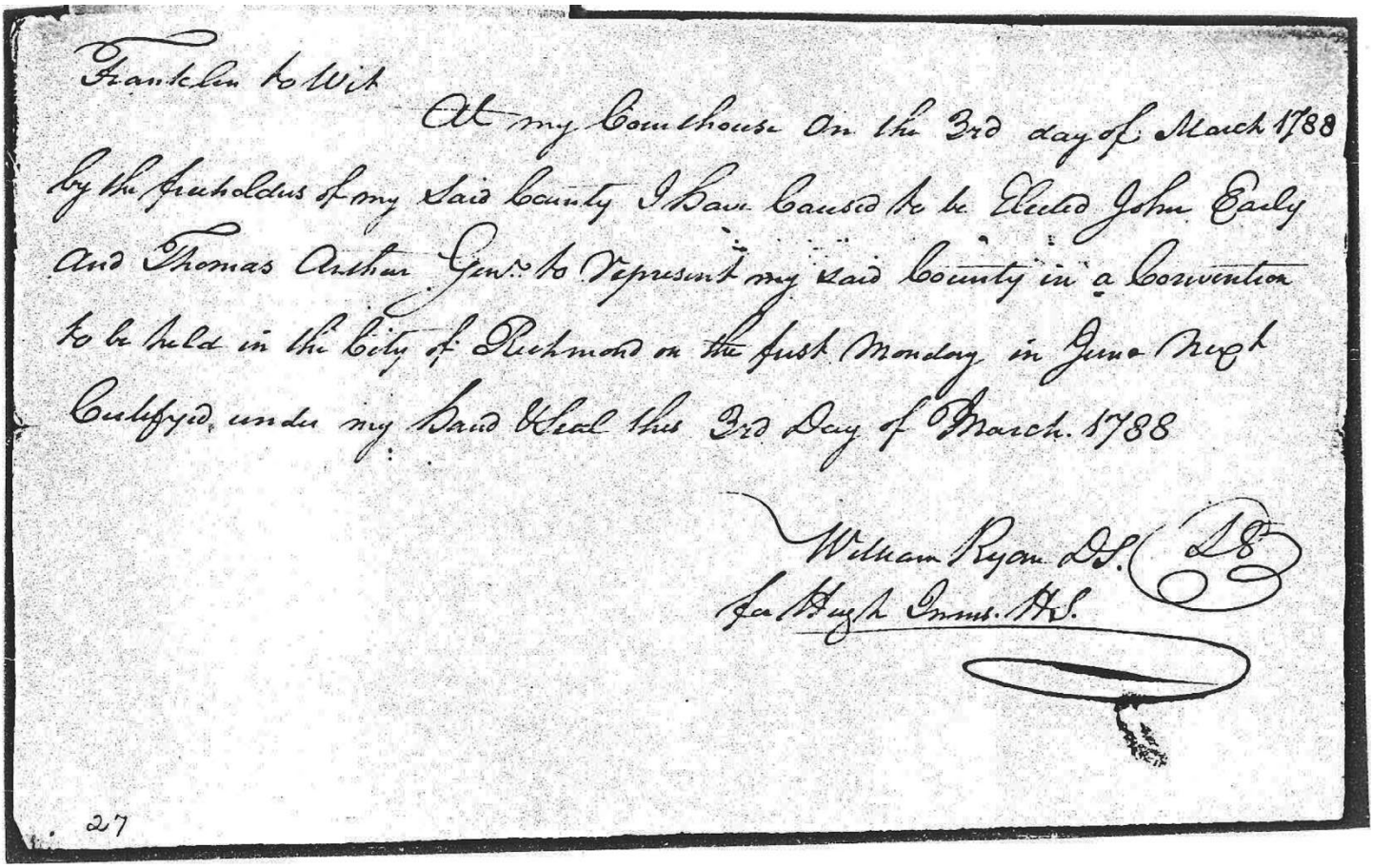


To all whom these Presents shall come I
John Napier Sheriff of the County of Fluvanna in the
County held at the Court House fixed on the sixth day of
March in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred
and Eighty eight for the Electors of my said County
Qualified according to Law, caused to be Chosen two dele=
gates for my said County Namely Samuel Richardson
& Joseph Eaden to represent the same in General
Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the
first Monday in June next Given under my hand
and Seal the day & year aforesaid

John Napier


Fluvanna Return
to the Convention
March 1788.
36a

86. Franklin County Election Certificate



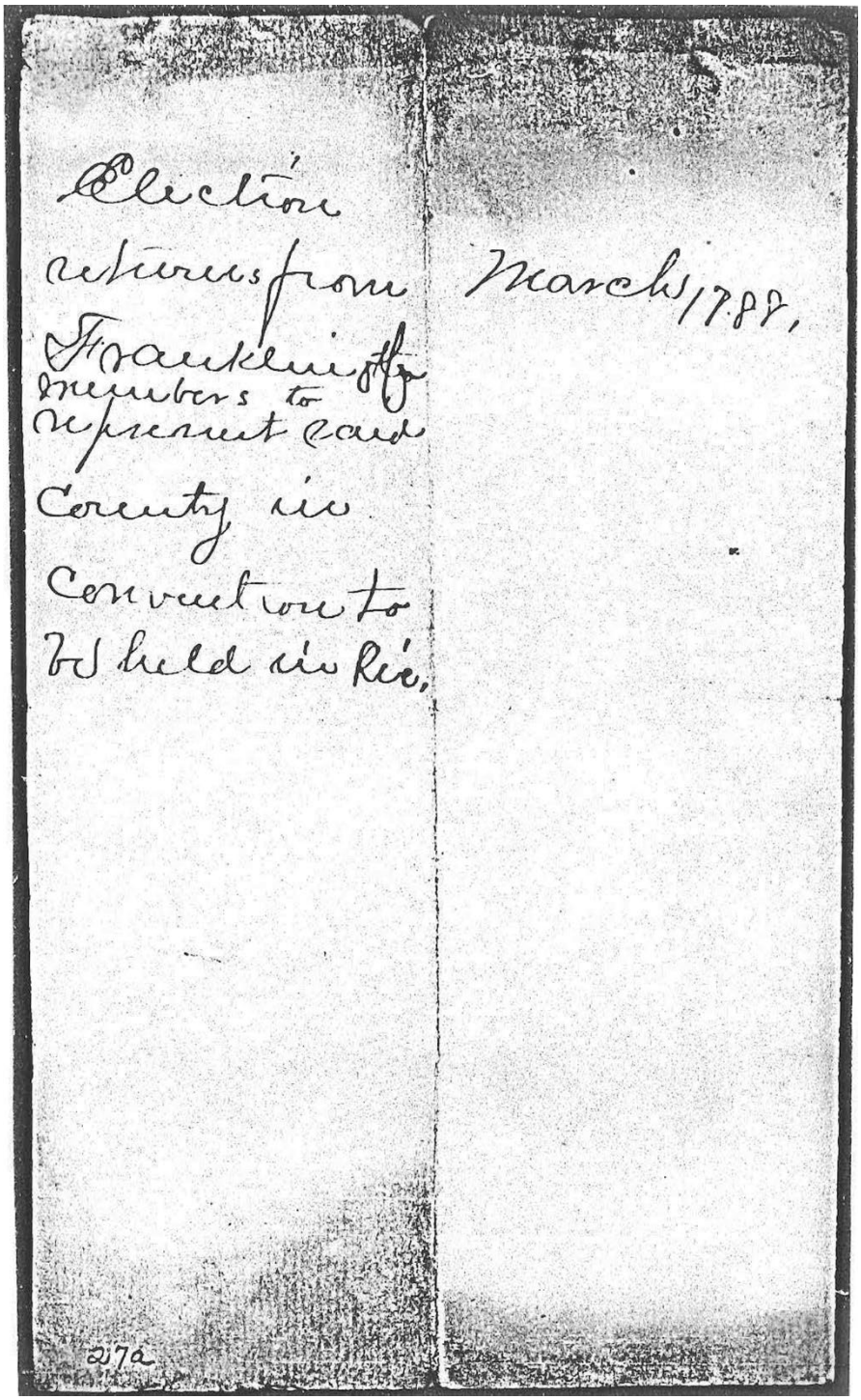
Franklin to Wit

At my Courthouse on the 3rd day of March 1788 by the freeholders of my said County I Have Caused to be Elected John Early and Thomas Arthur Gent.ⁿ to Represent my said County in a Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June Next Certifyed under my Hand & Seal this 3rd Day of March 1788

William Ryan D.S. LS

Jas Bugh Comm. R.C.

27

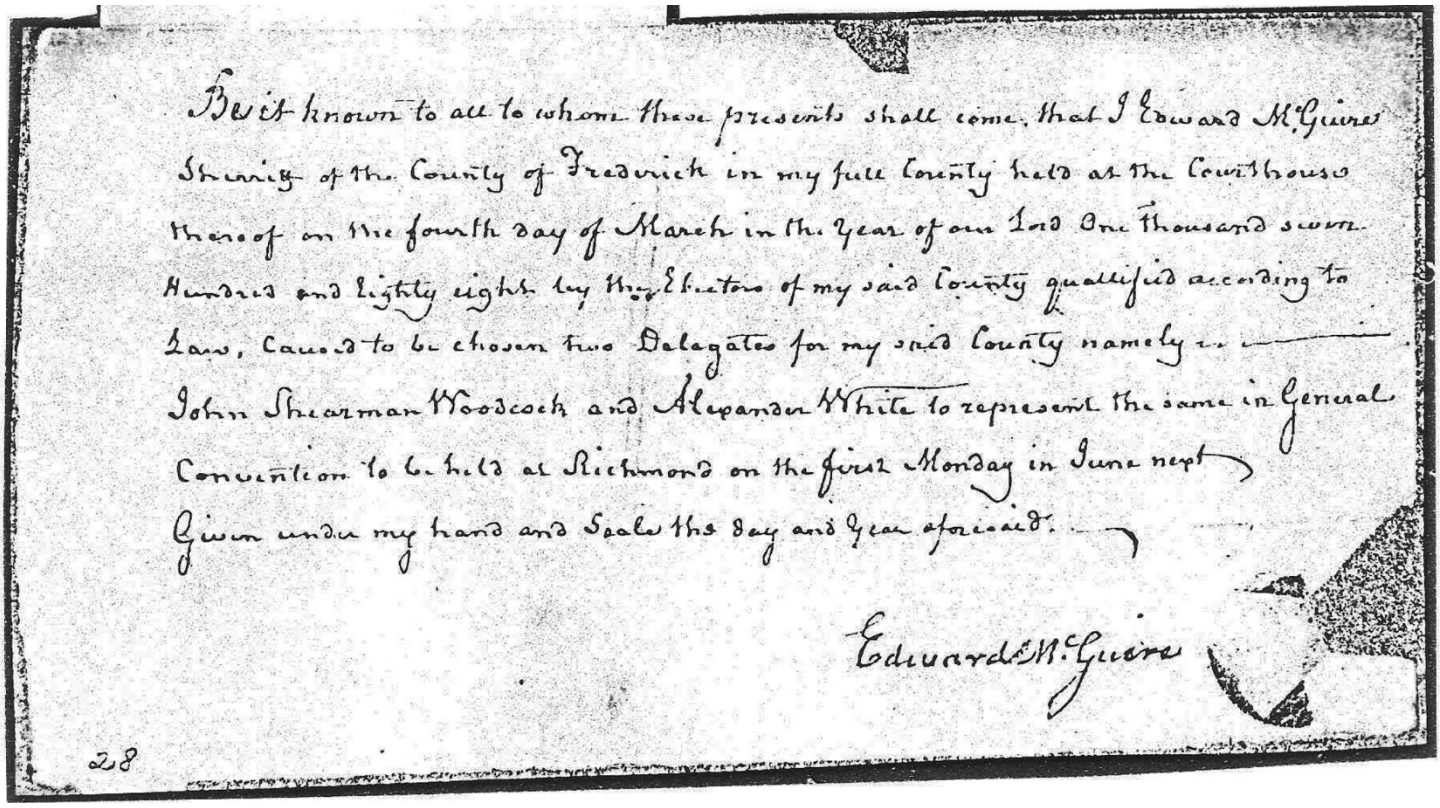


Election
returns from
Franklin to
Members to
Represent said
County in
Convention to
be held in Rich.

March 1788.

217a

87. Frederick County Election Certificate

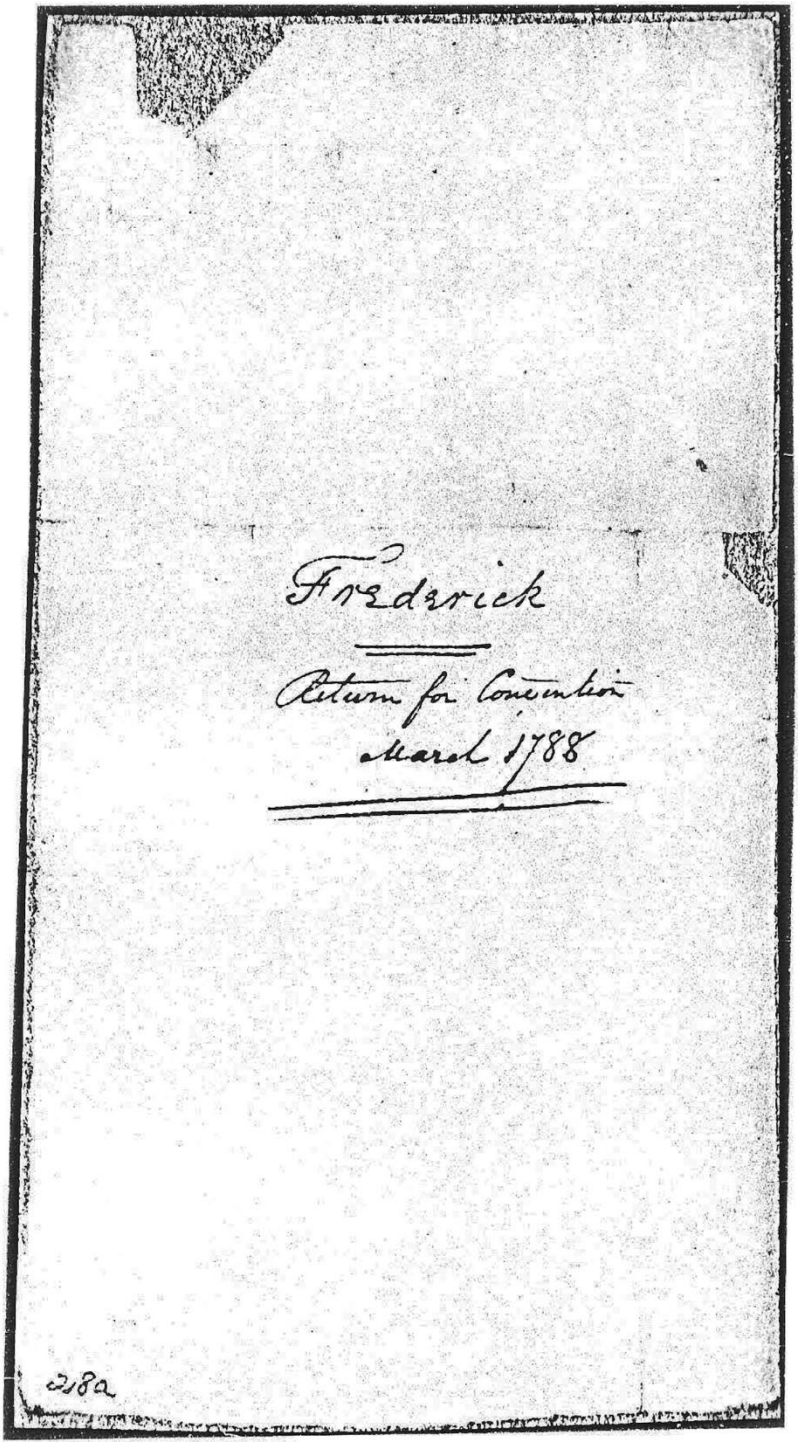


Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Edward McGuire Sheriff of the County of Frederick in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the fourth day of March in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven Hundred and Eighty eight by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely — John Shearman Woodcock and Alexander White to represent the same in General Convention to be held at Richmond on the first Monday in June next

Given under my hand and Seale the day and Year aforesaid.

Edward McGuire

28

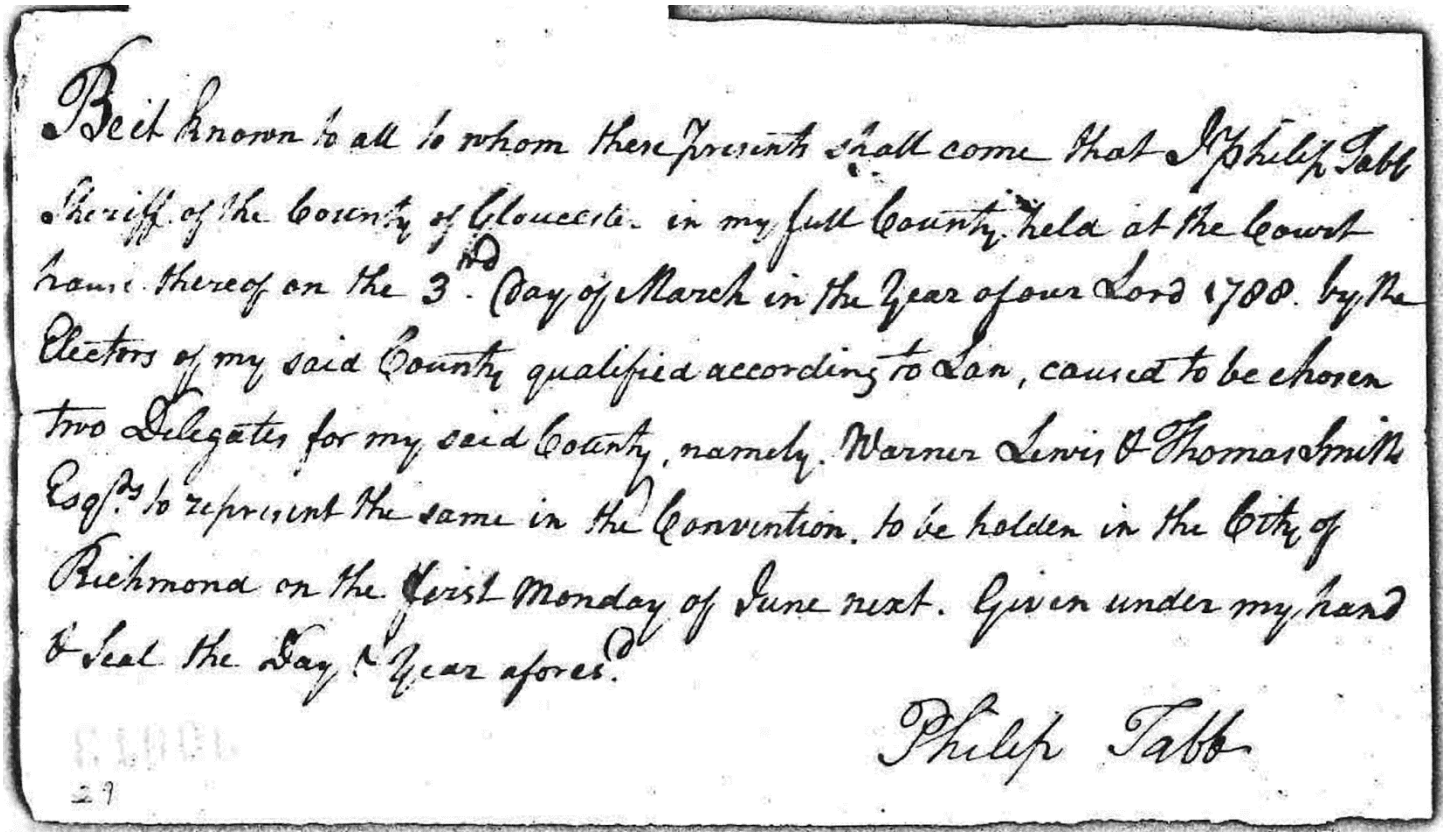

Frederick

Return for Convention

March 1788

218a

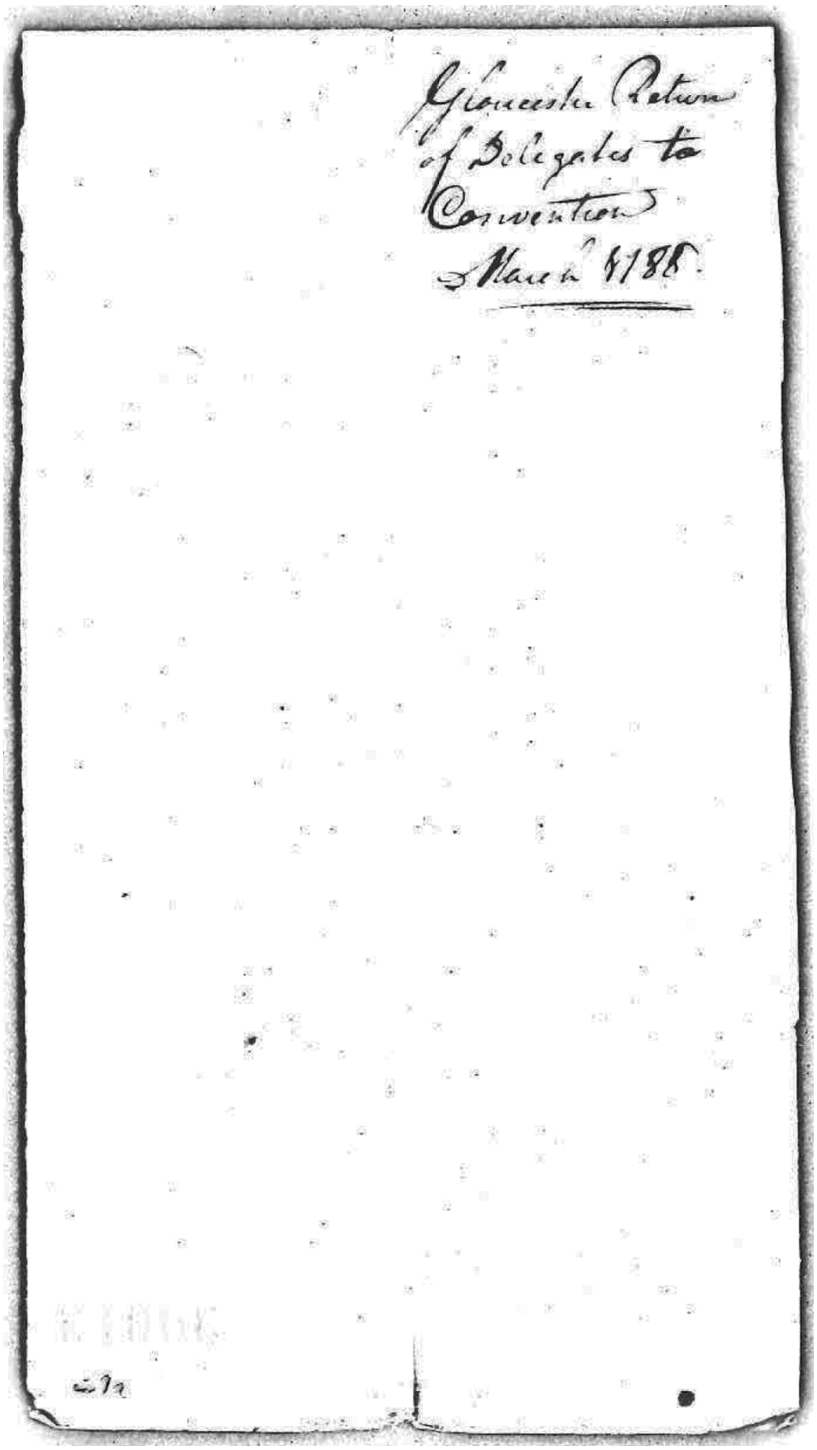
88. Gloucester County Election Certificate



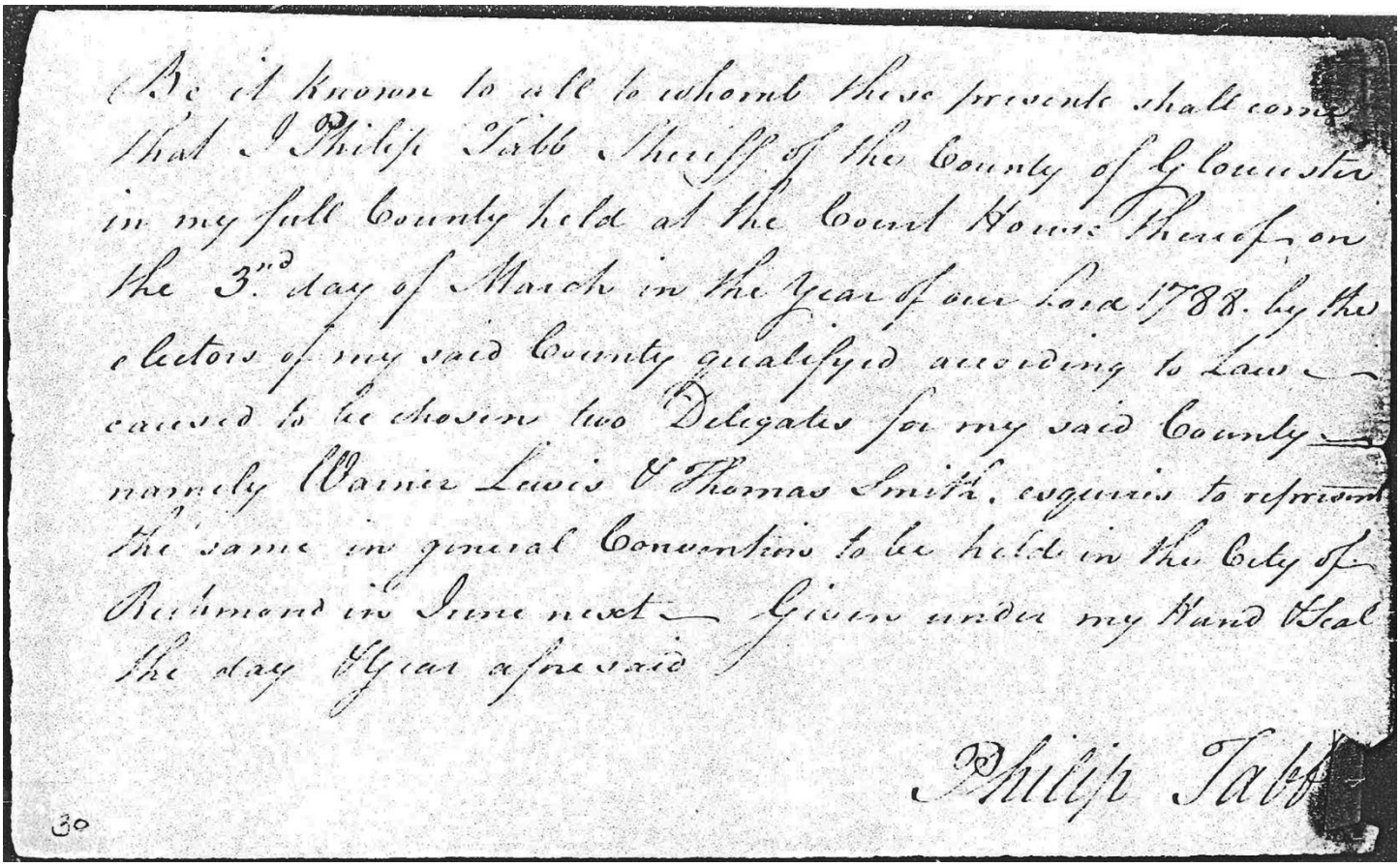
Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come that I Philip Tabb Sheriff of the County of Gloucester in my full County held at the Court House thereof on the 3d Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1788. by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely. Warner Lewis & Thomas Smith Esqrs to represent the same in the Convention. to be holden in the City of Richmond on the first Monday of June next. Given under my hand & Seal the Day & Year afores.d

Philip Tabb

29


Gloucester Return
of Delegates to
Convention
March 1788.

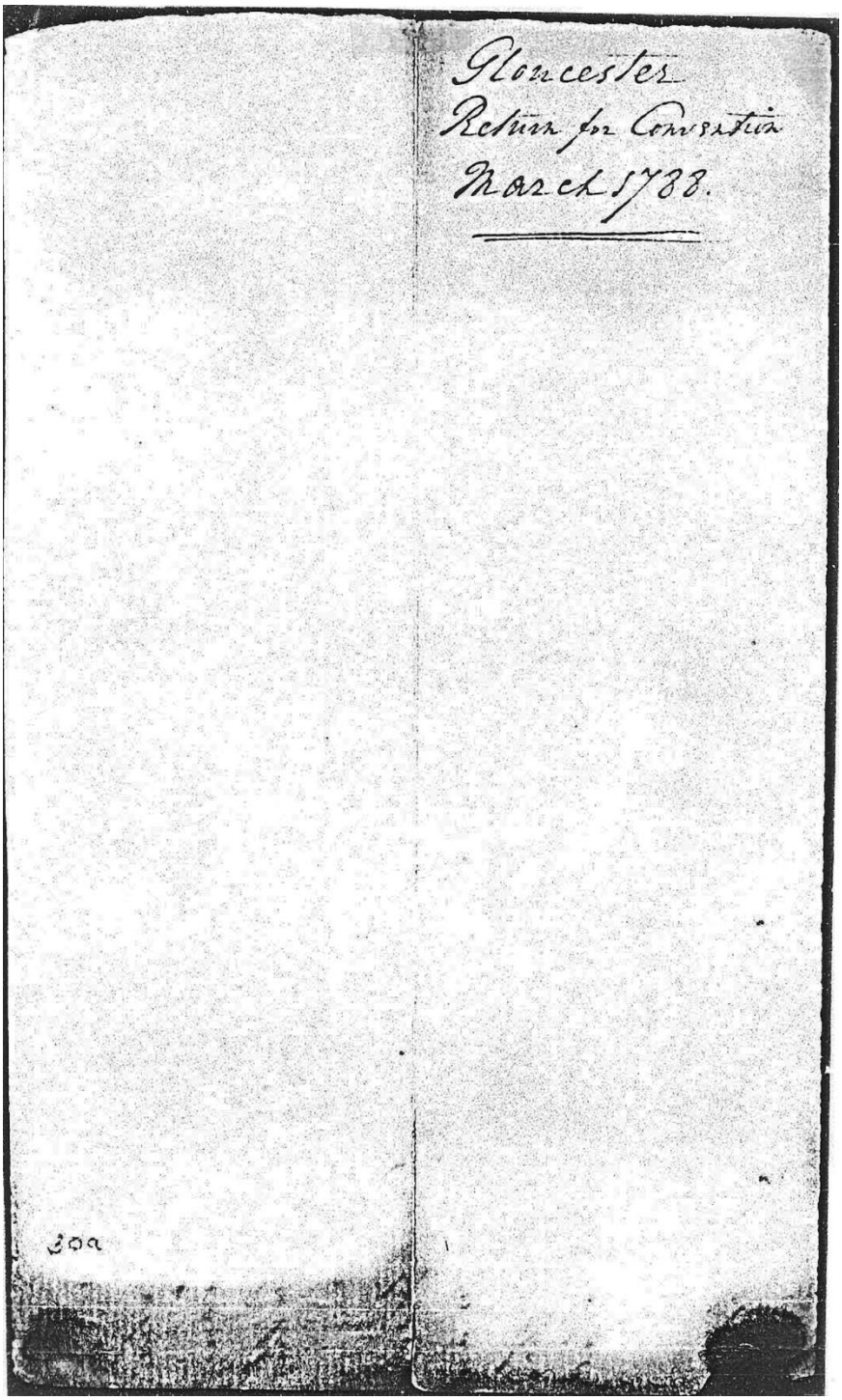
89. Gloucester County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come
that I Philip Tabb Sheriff of the County of Gloucester
in my full County held at the Court House thereof on
the 3rd day of March in the year of our Lord 1788. by the
electors of my said County qualified according to Law
caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County
namely Warner Lewis & Thomas Smith, esquires to represent
the same in general Convention to be held in the City of
Richmond in June next — Given under my Hand & Seal
the day & year aforesaid

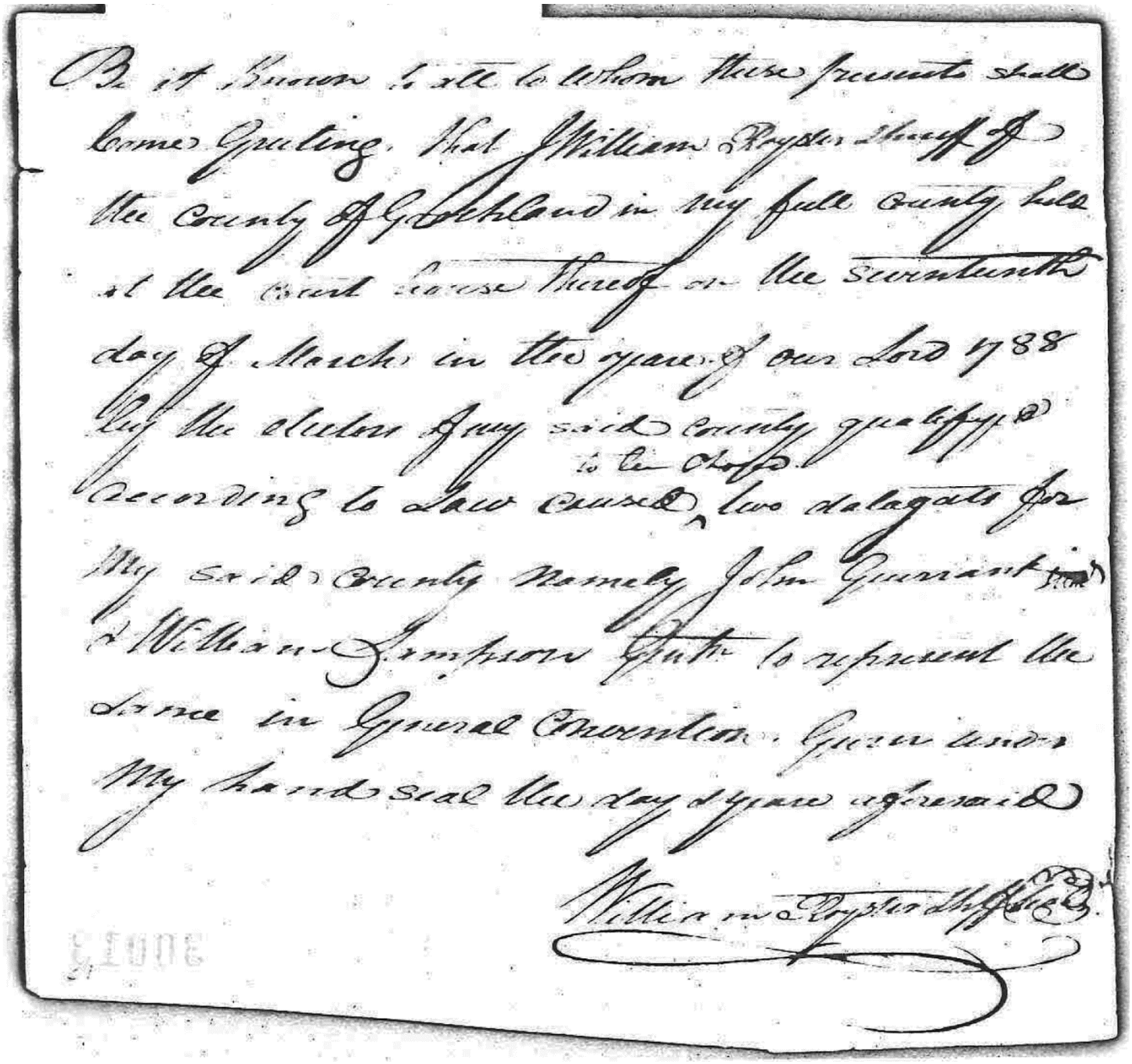
Philip Tabb

30


Gloucester
Return for Convention
March 1788.

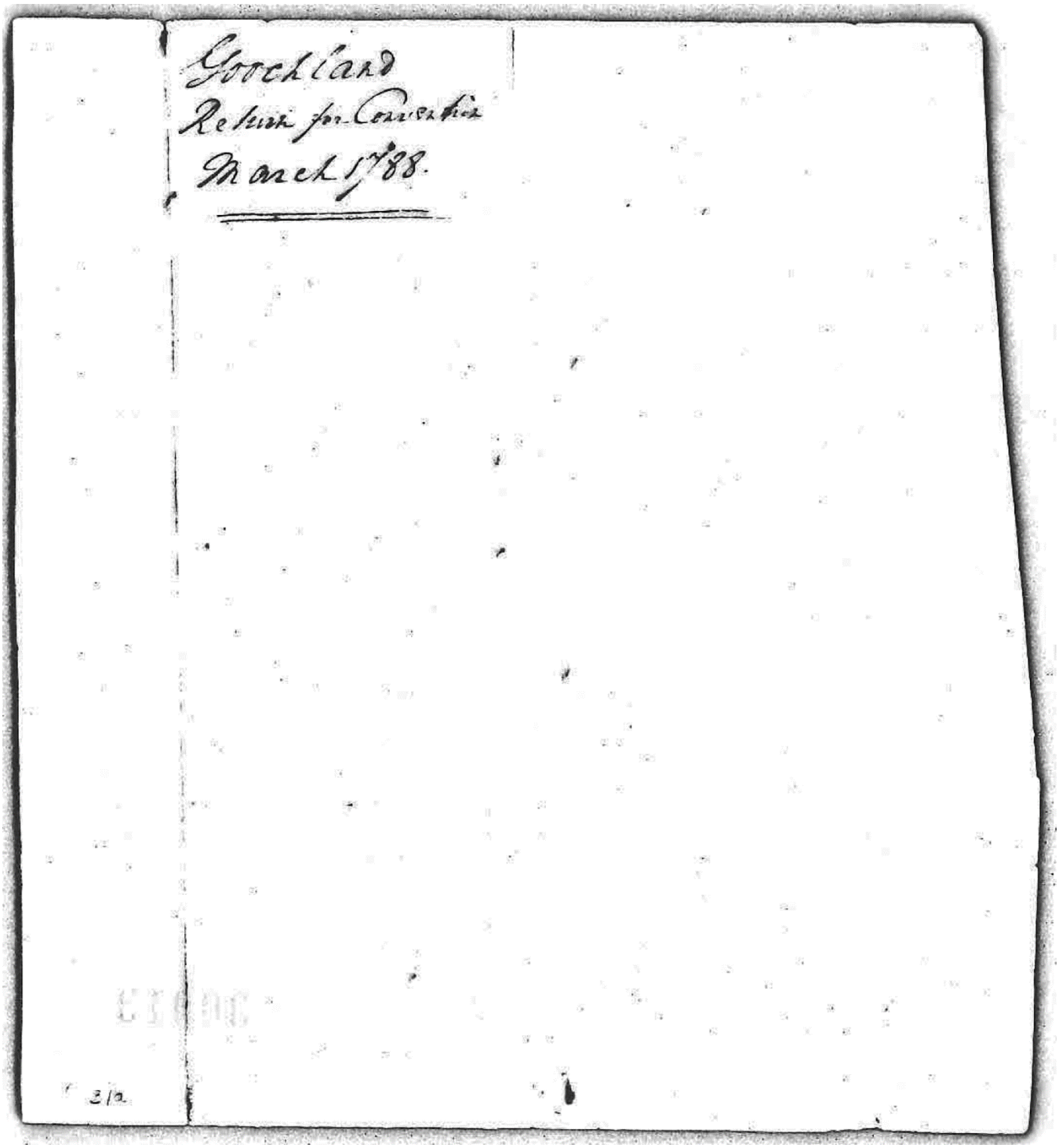
30a

90. Goochland County Election Certificate



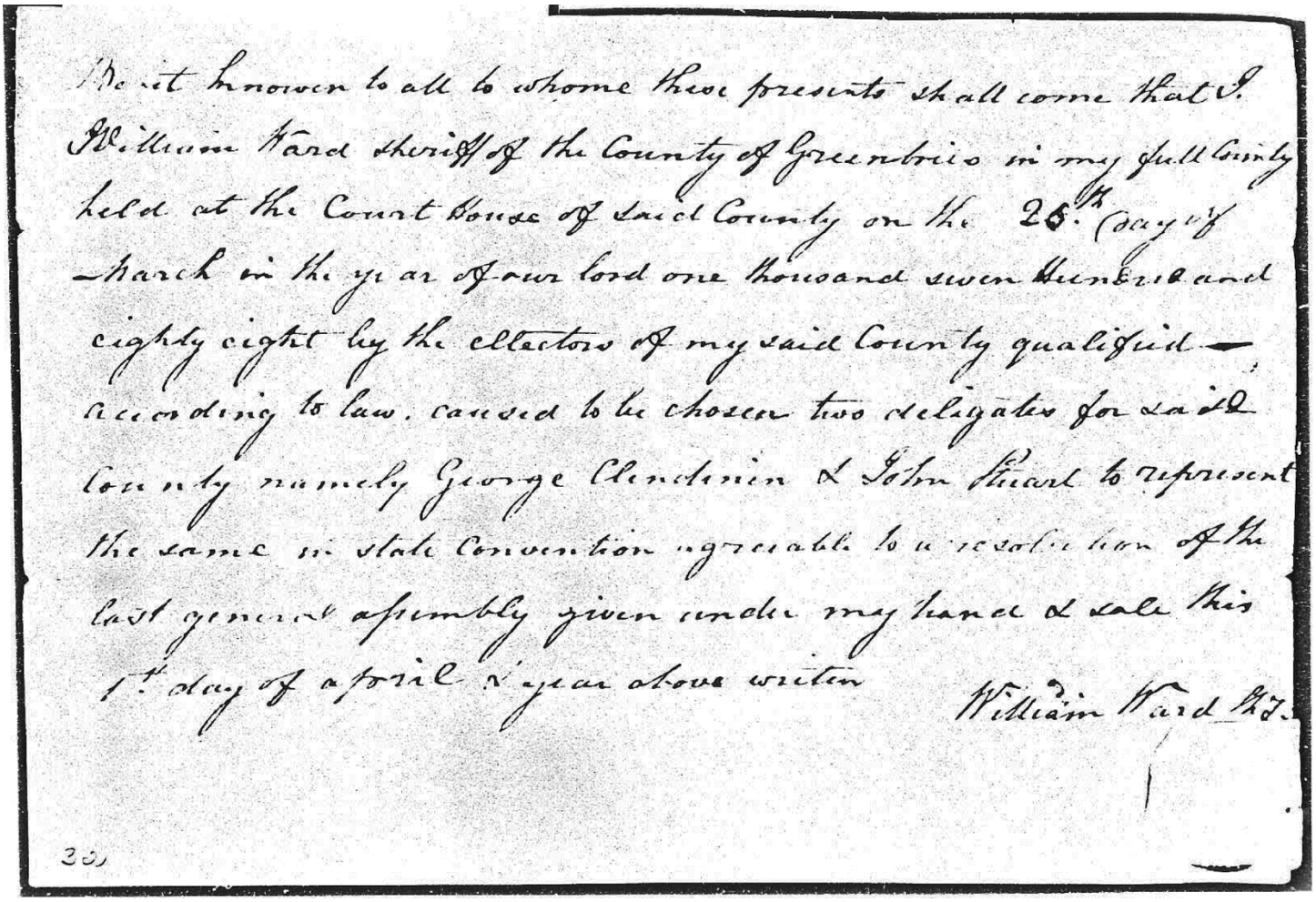
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall
Come Greeting. That I William Royster Sheriff of
the County of Goochland in my full County held
at the Court House thereof on the Seventeenth
day of March in the year of our Lord 1788
for the election of my said County qualified
to be chosen.
According to Law caused two delegates for
My said County Namely John Guerrant Esq.
& William Simpson Gent. to represent the
same in General Convention. Given under
My hand & seal the day & year aforesaid

William Royster Sheriff G.


Goochland
Return for Convention
March 1788.

210

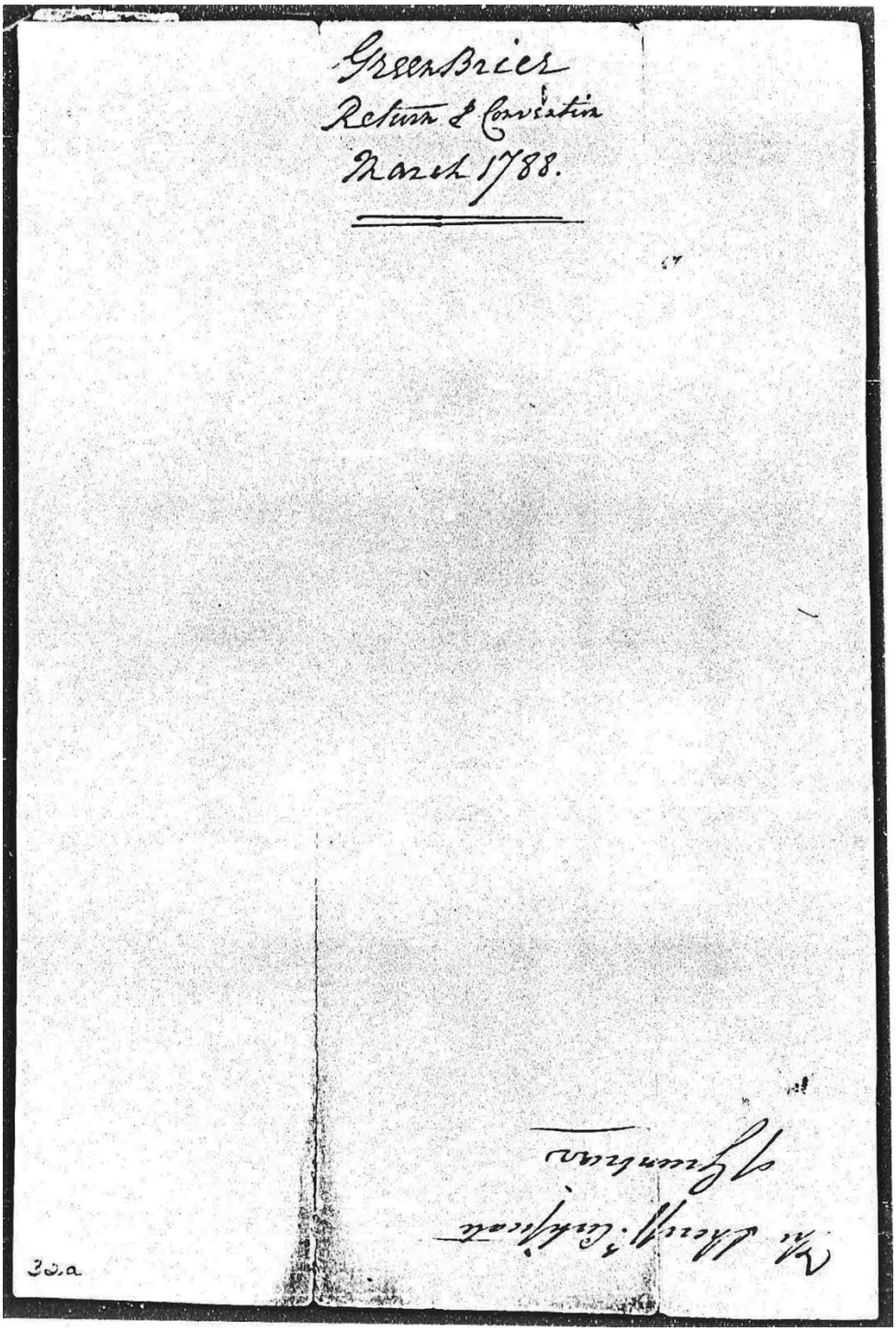
91. Greenbrier County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whome these presents shall come that I William Ward sheriff of the County of Greenbrier in my full County held at the Court house of said County on the 26th day of March in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the electors of my said County qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two deligates for said County namely George Clendinien & John Stuart to represent the same in state Convention agreeable to a resolution of the last general assembly given under my hand & sale this 1st day of aprile in year above writen

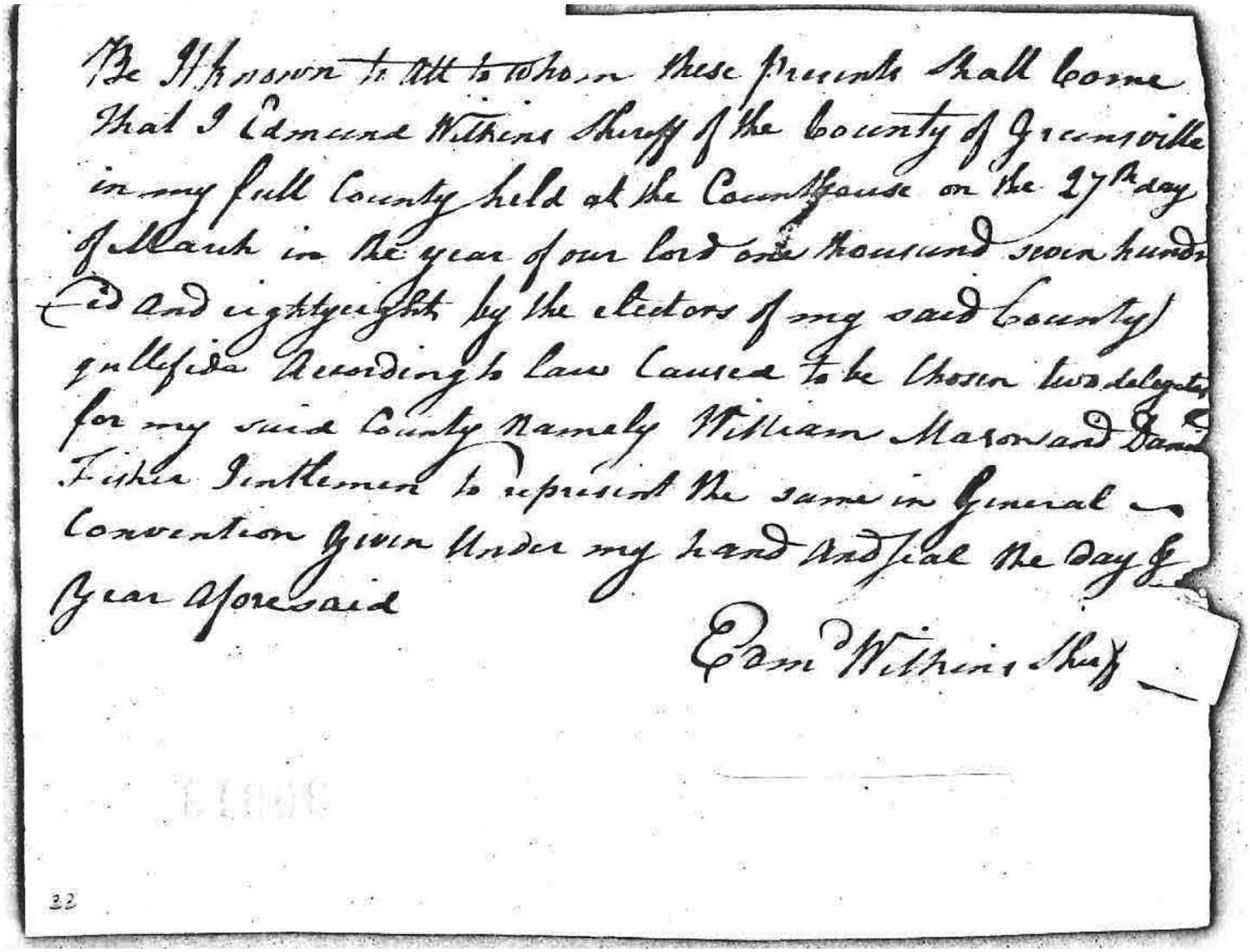
William Ward Sh.

30


Greenbrier
Return & Convention
March 1788.

30a

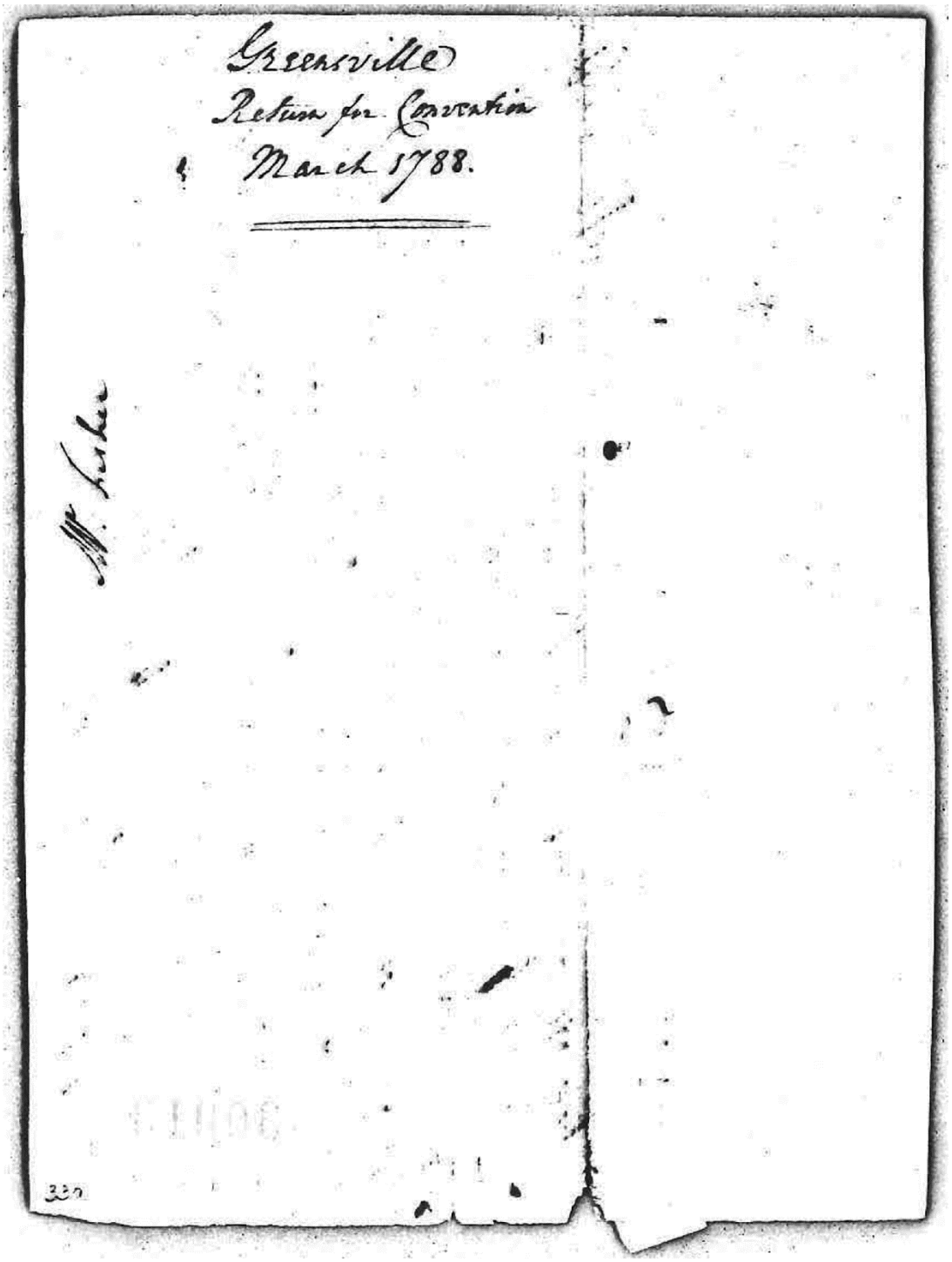
92. Greensville County Election Certificate



Be It known to all to whom these presents shall come
That I Edmund Wilkins Sheriff of the County of Greensville
in my full County held at the Courthouse on the 27th day
of March in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred
and eighty eight by the electors of my said County
pursuant according to law caused to be chosen two delegates
for my said County Namely William Mason and Daniel
Fisher Gentlemen to represent the same in General
Convention Given Under my hand and Seal the Day &
Year aforesaid

Edm Wilkins Sheriff

32

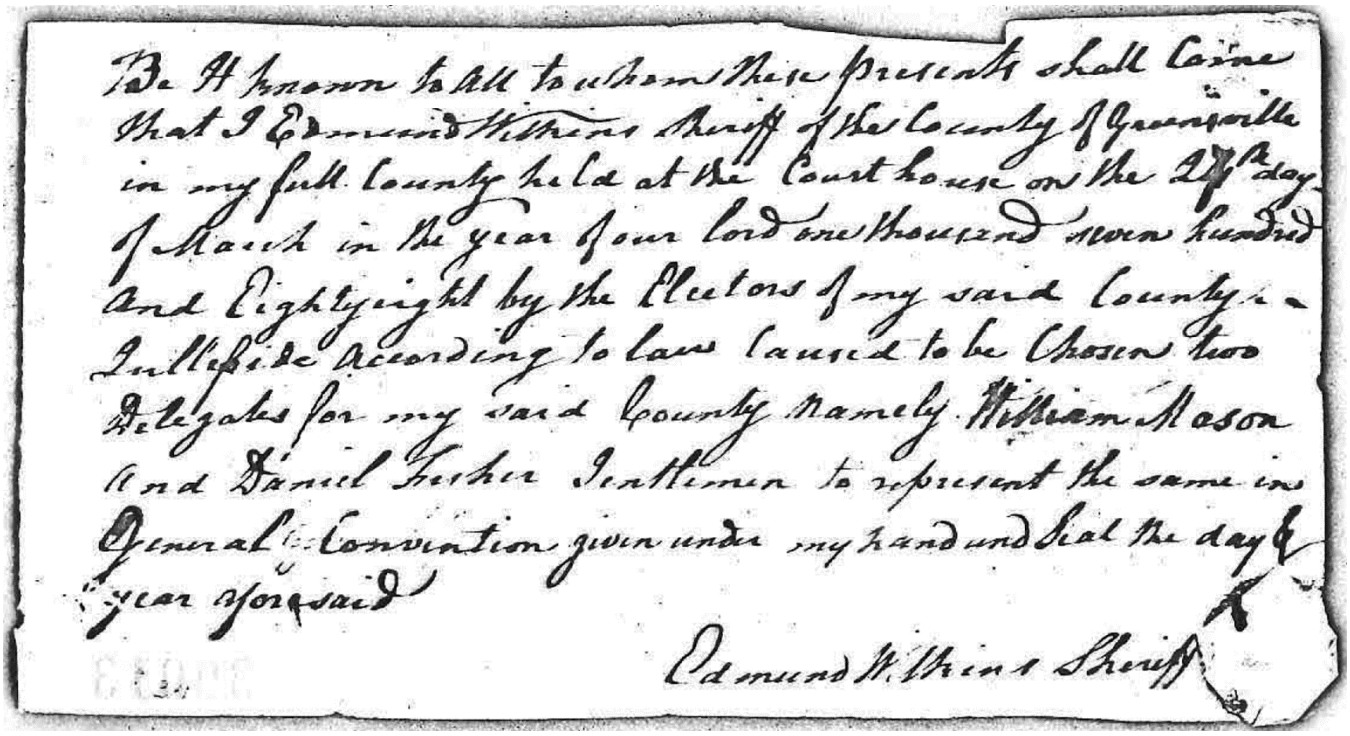


Greensville
Return for Convention
March 1788.

Mr. Tucker

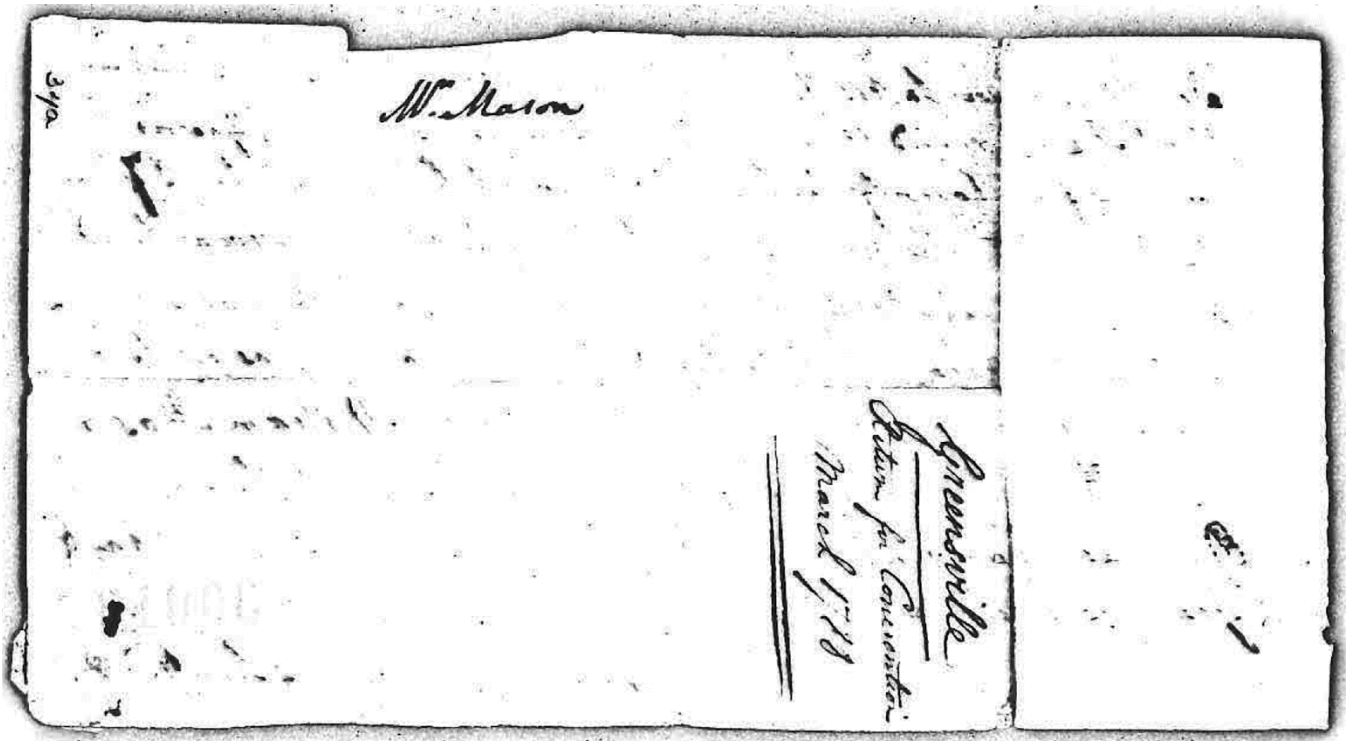
330

93. Greensville County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Edmund Wilkins Sheriff of the County of Greensville in my full County held at the Court house on the 27th day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty eight by the Electors of my said County in pursuance according to law caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County Namely William Mason and Daniel Parker Gentlemen to represent the same in General Convention given under my hand and Seal the day & year aforesaid

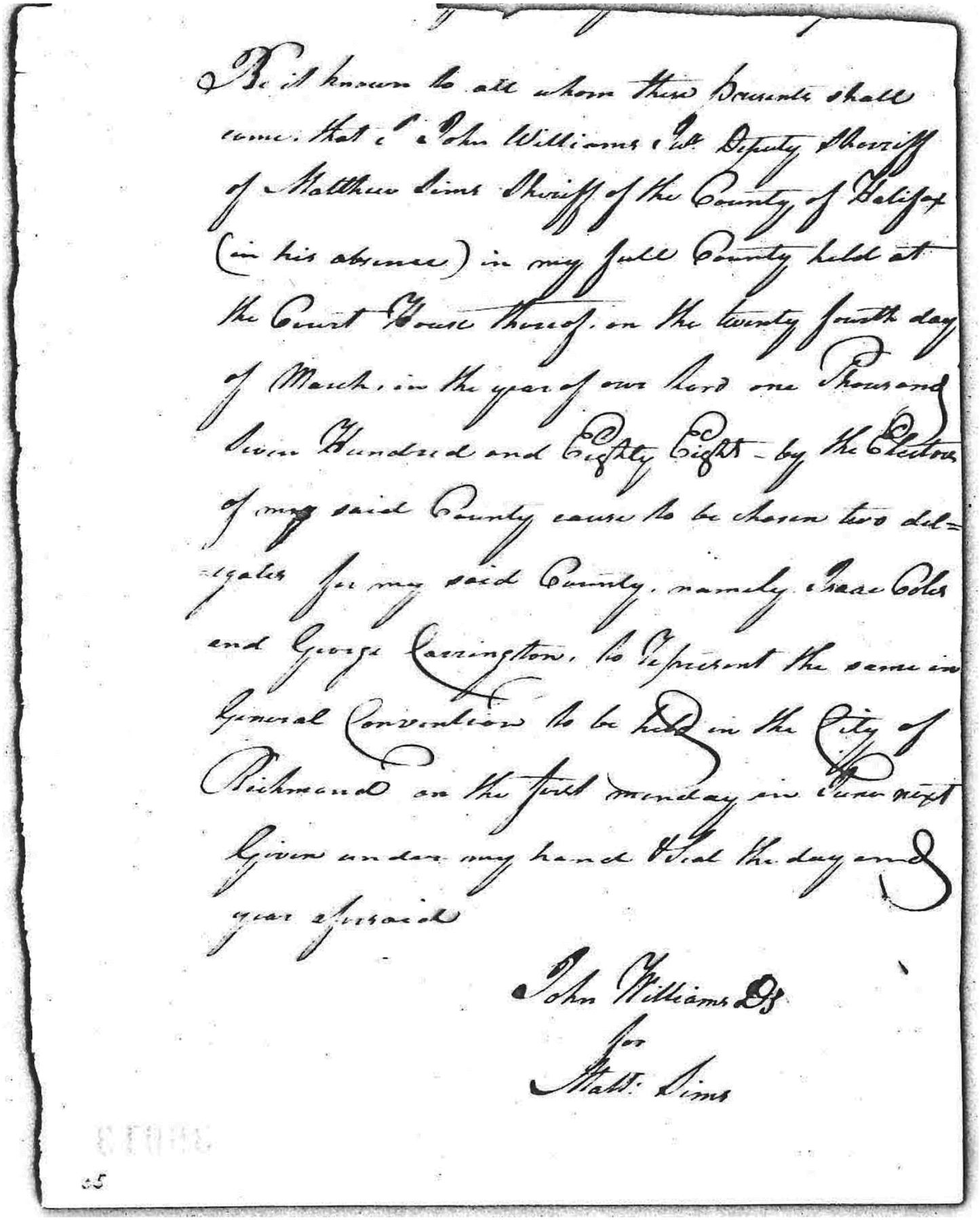
Edmund Wilkins Sheriff



Mr. Mason

Greensville
Letter for Convention
March 1788

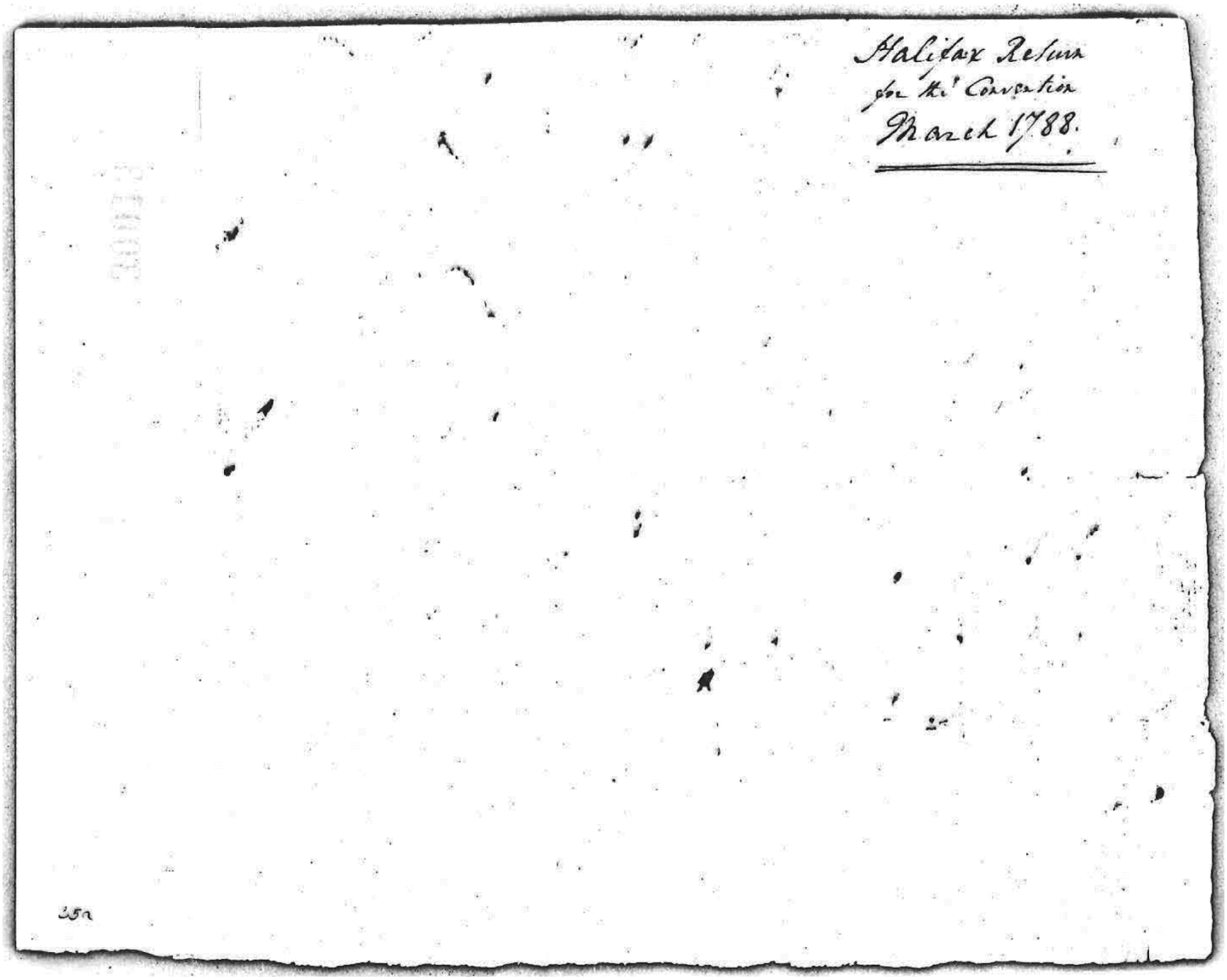
94. Halifax County Election Certificate



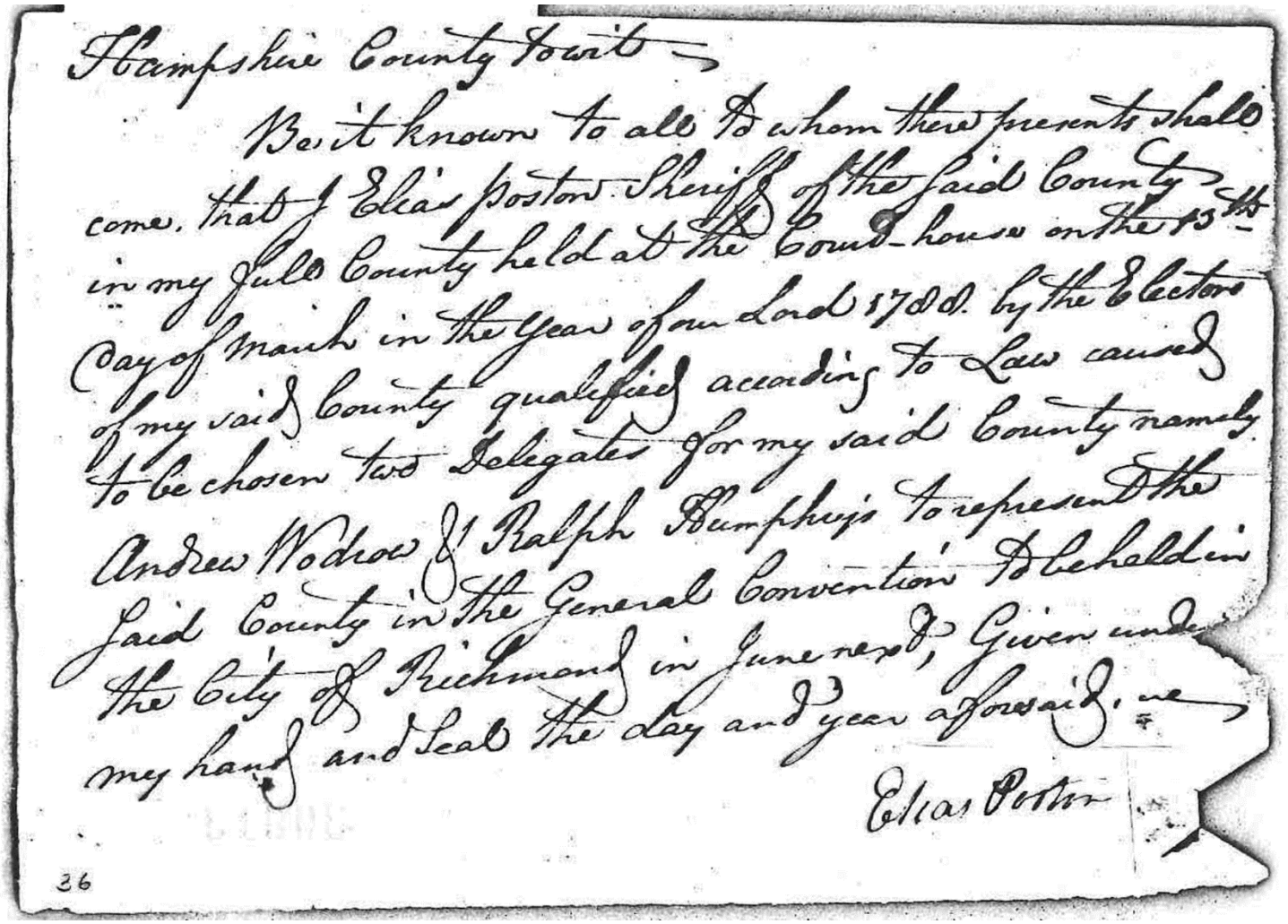
Be it known to all whom these Presents shall come, that I John Williams Gent. Deputy Sheriff of Matthew Sims Sheriff of the County of Halifax (in his absence) in my full County held at the Court House thereof, on the twenty fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Eight - by the Electors of my said County caused to be chosen two delegates for my said County, namely Isaac Coles and George Carrington, to represent the same in General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June next Given under my hand & Seal the day and year aforesaid

John Williams Ds
for
Matt. Sims

35


Halifax Return
for the Convention
March 1788.
35a

95. Hampshire County Election Certificate

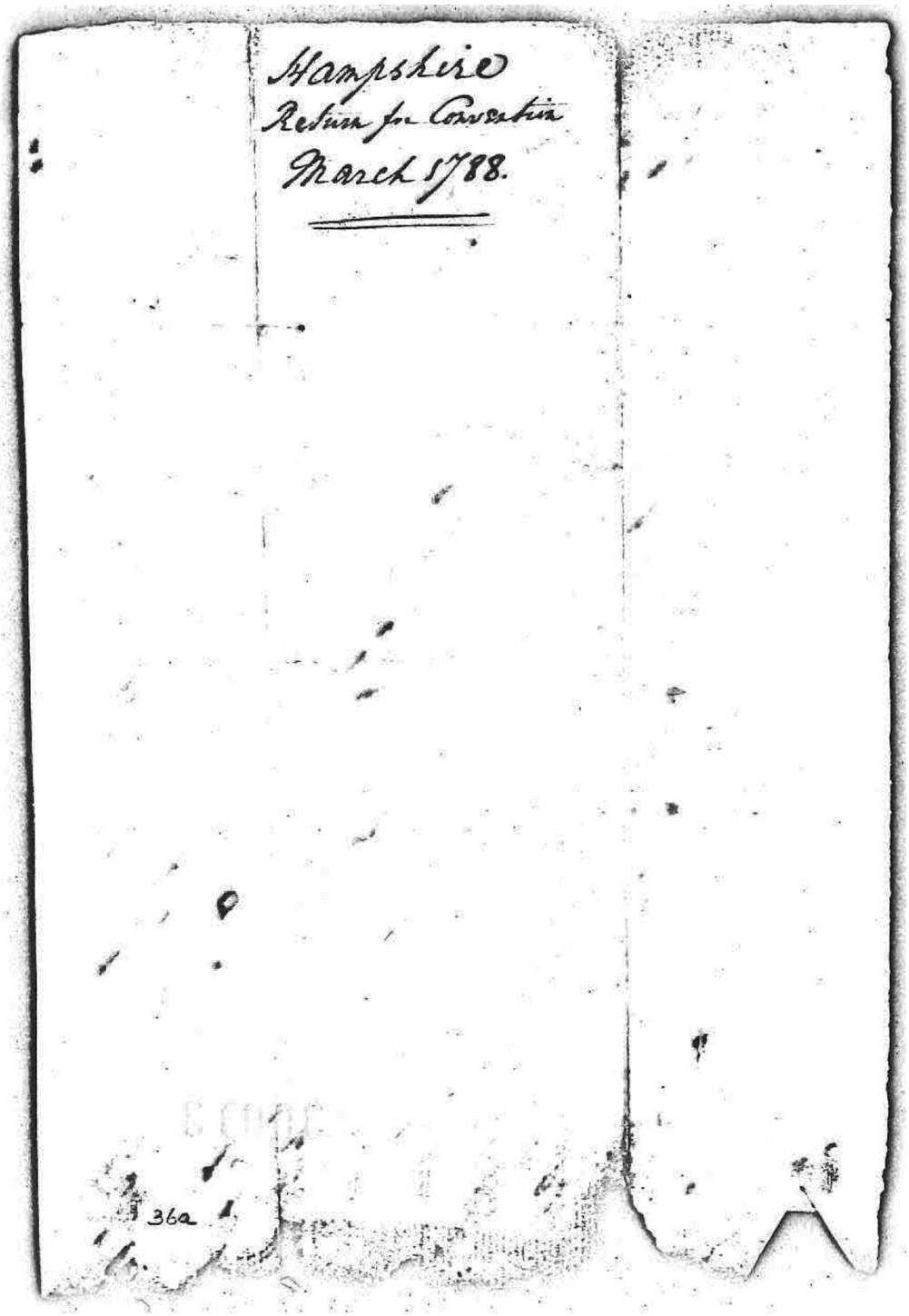


Hampshire County Towit

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Elias Poston Sheriff of the said County in my said County held at the Court-house on the 15th Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1788. by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely Andrew Woddrow & Ralph Humphrys to represent the said County in the General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond in June next, Given under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid.

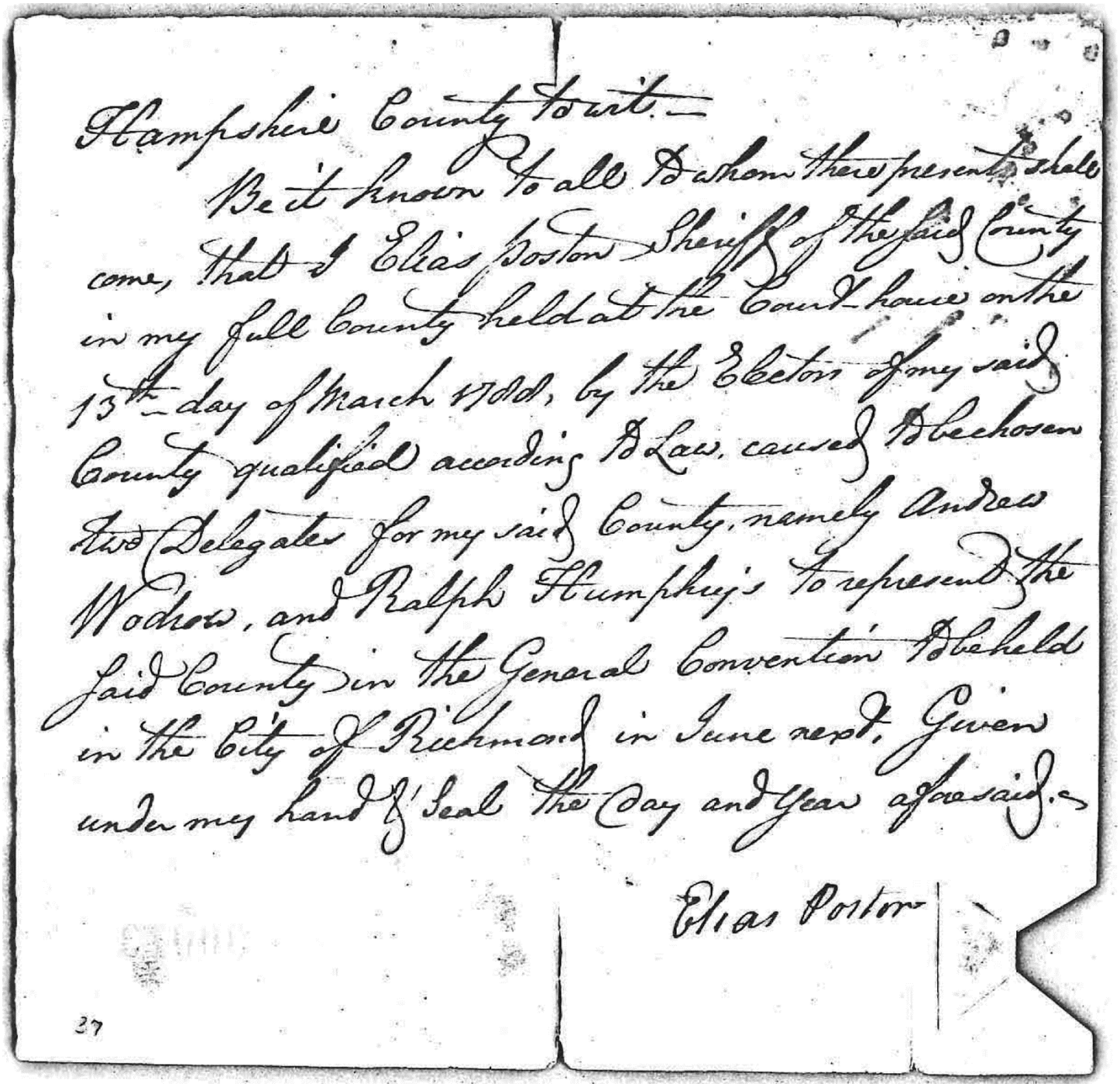
Elias Potter

36


Hampshire
Return for Convention
March 1788.

36a

96. Hampshire County Election Certificate

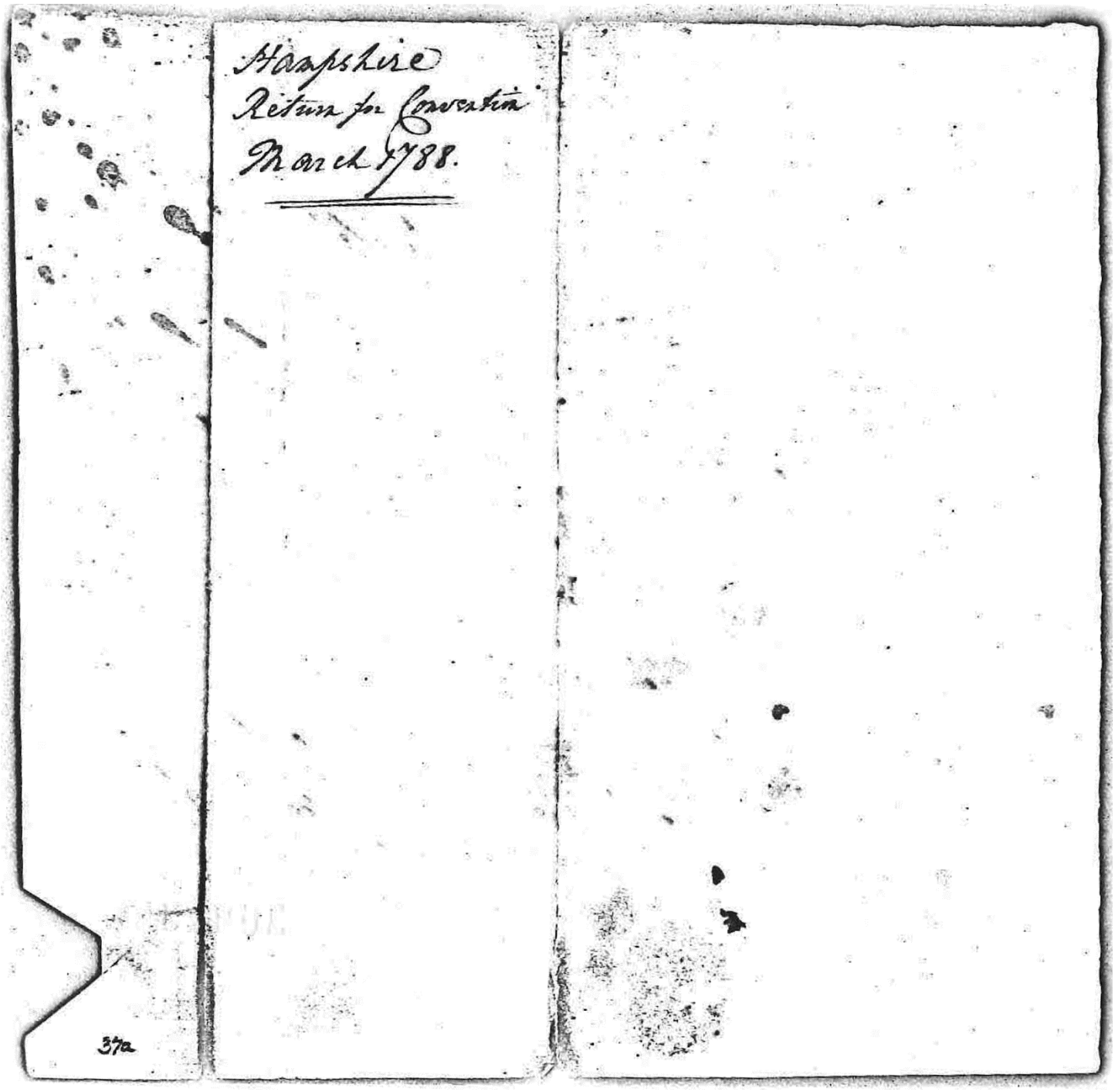


Hampshire County to wit.—

Be it known to all & whom these presents shall come, that I Elias Poston Sheriff of the said County in my full County held at the Court house on the 13th day of March 1788, by the Elector of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely Andrew Woddrow, and Ralph Humphrys to represent the said County in the General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond in June next. Given under my hand & Seal the Day and Year aforesaid.—

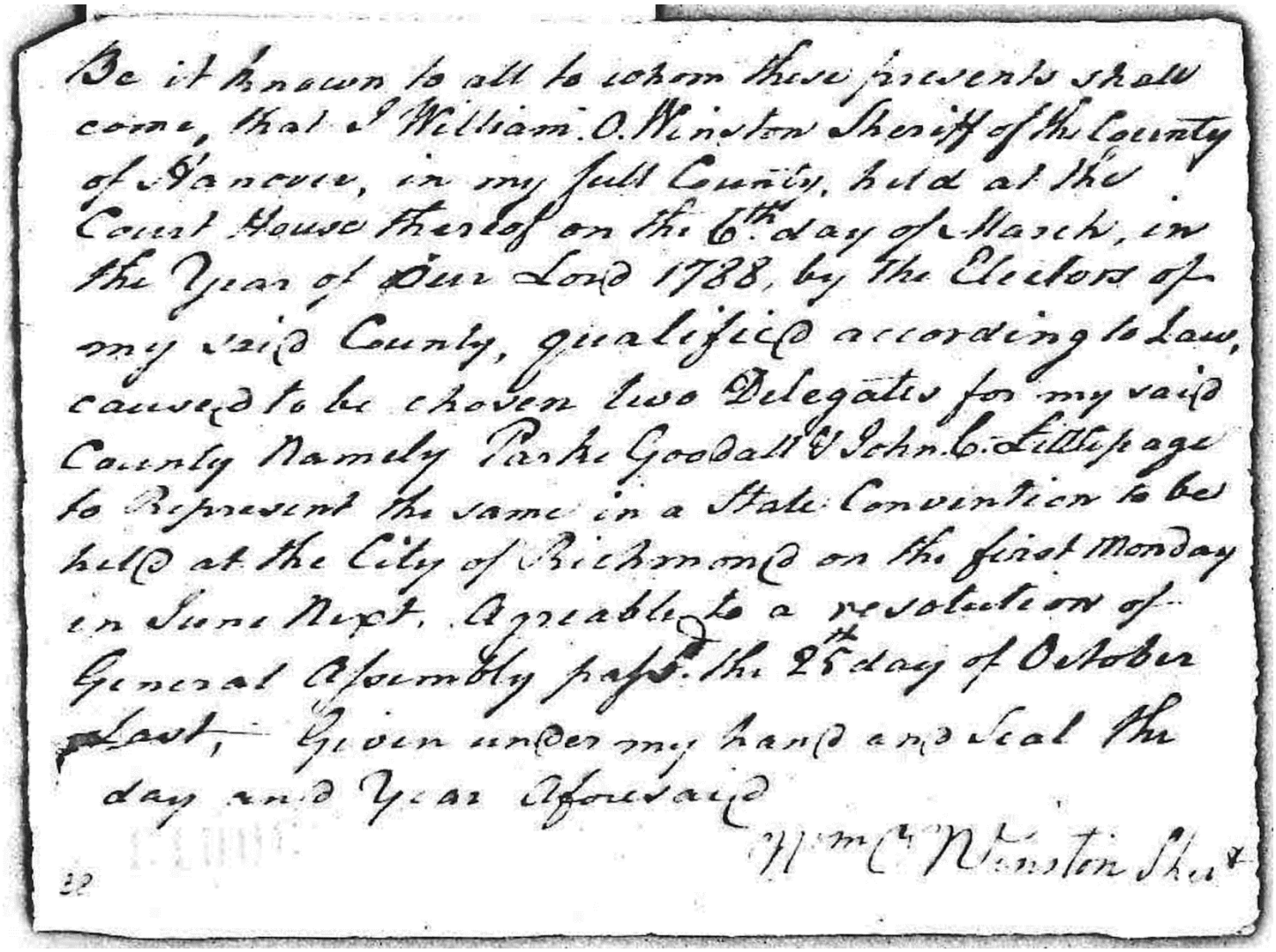
Elias Poston

37


Hampshire
Return for Convention
March 1788.

37a

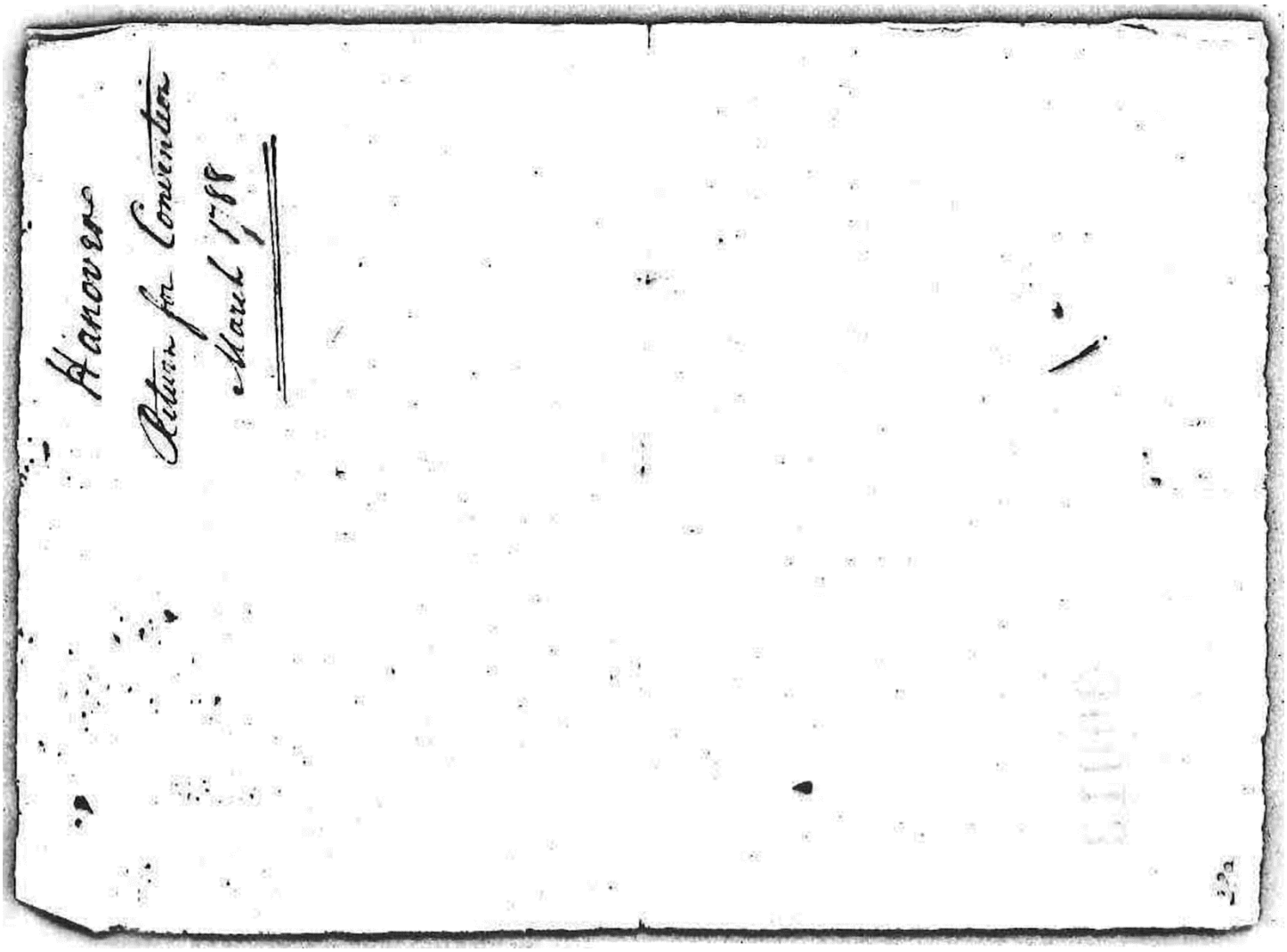
97. Hanover County Election Certificate



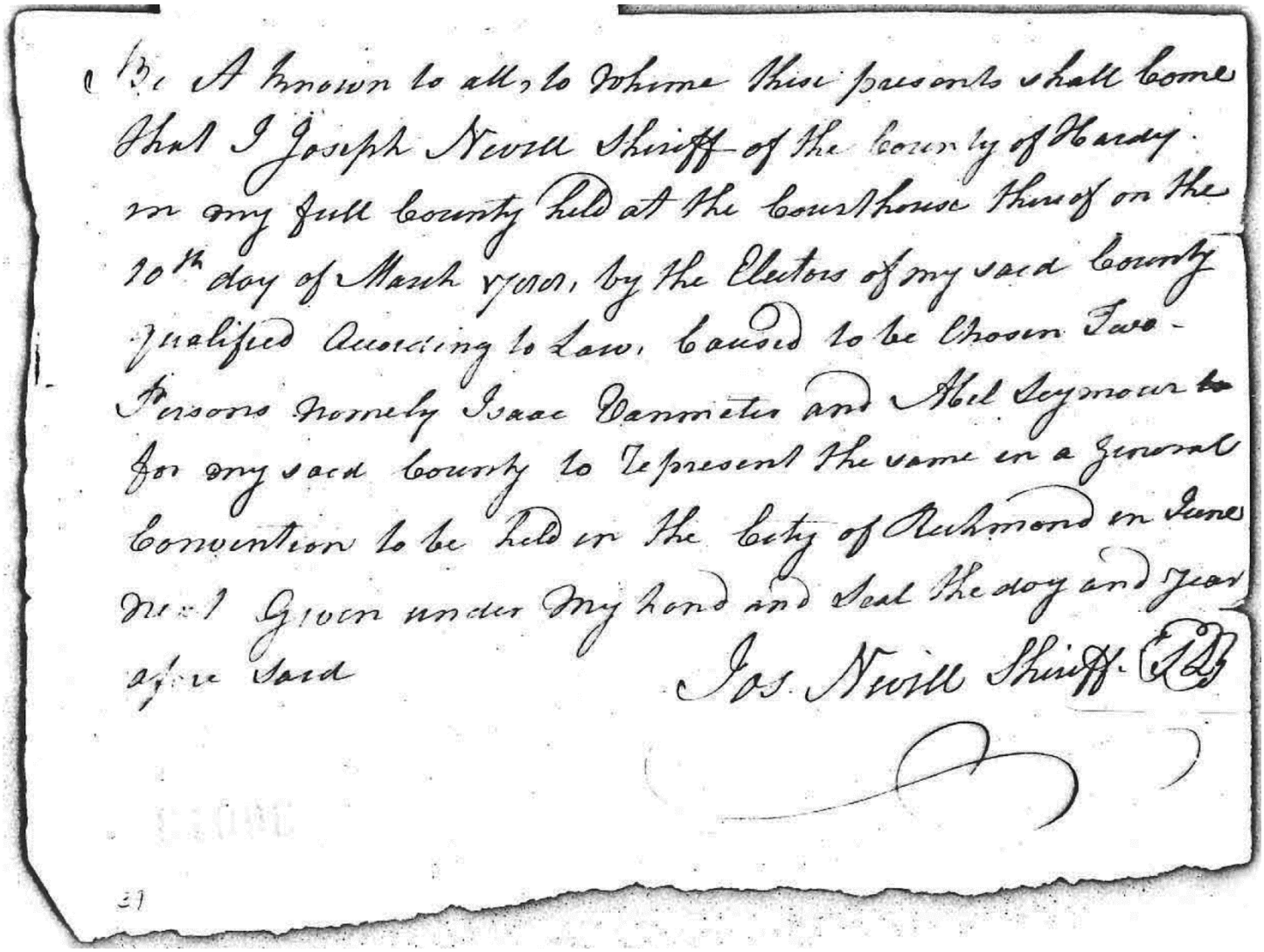
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I William. O. Winston Sheriff of the County of Hanover, in my full County, held at the Court House thereof on the 6th day of March, in the Year of our Lord 1788, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County Namely Parke Goodall & John. G. Littlepage to Represent the same in a State Convention to be held at the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June Next. Agreable to a resolution of General Assembly past the 25th day of October last, Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year Aforesaid

Wm C. Winston Sh.r

22

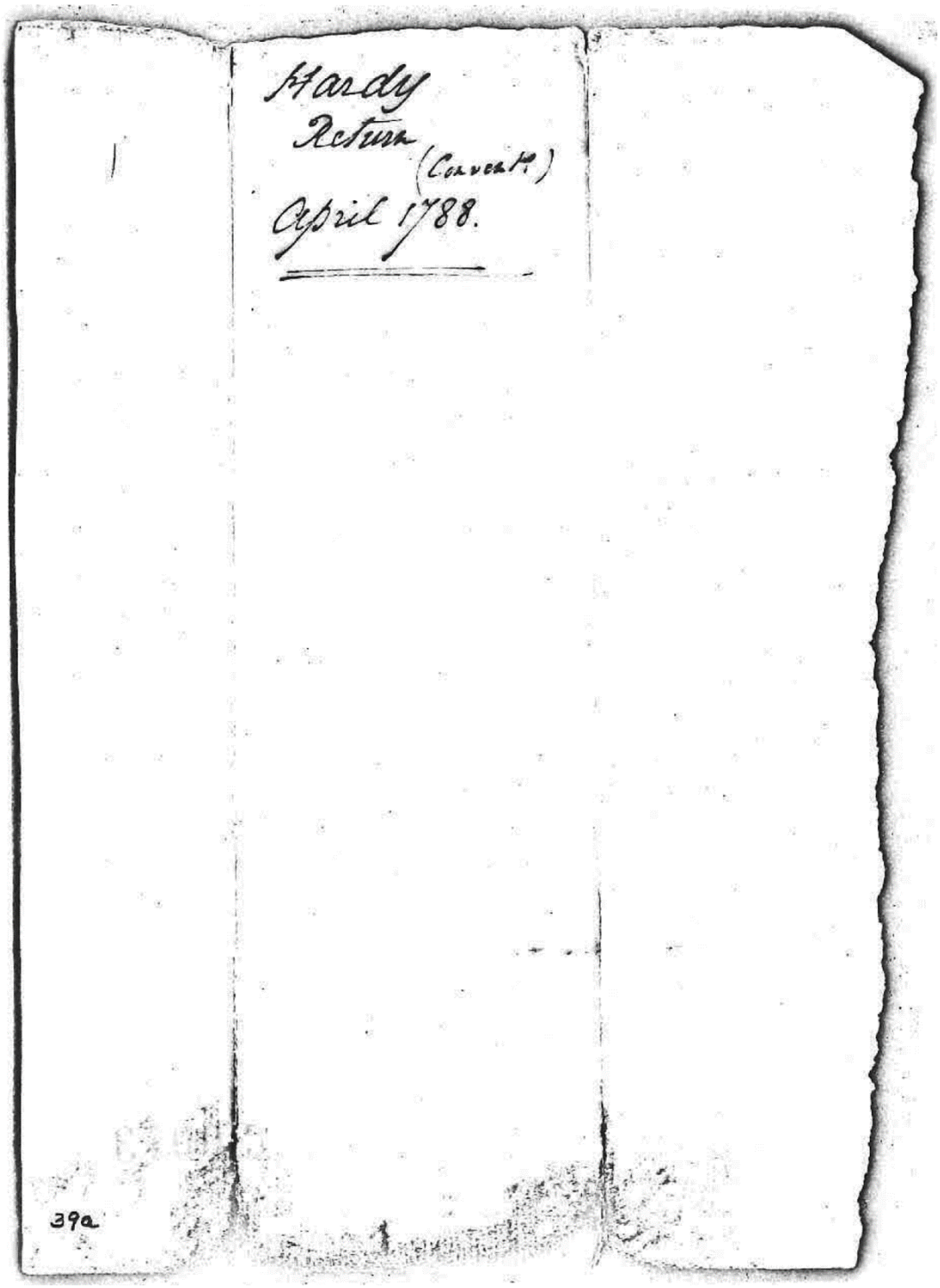

Hanover
Return for Convention
March 1788

98. Hardy County Election Certificate



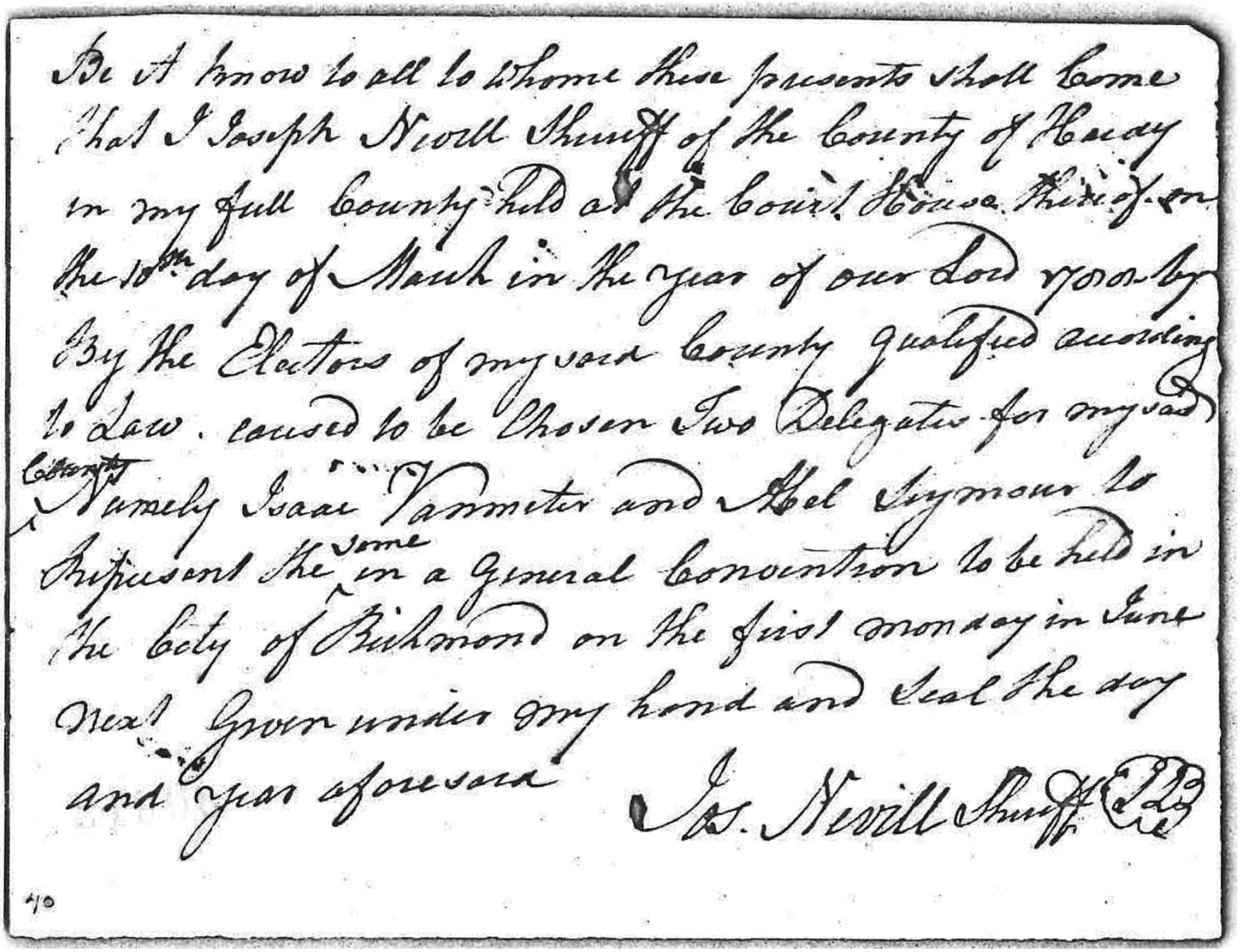
Be it known to all to whome these presents shall come
that I Joseph Neville Shiriff of the County of Hardy
in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the
10th day of March 1788, by the Electors of my said County
qualified according to Law, caused to be Chosen Two
Persons Namely Isaac Vanmeter and Abl Seymour to
for my said County to Represent the same in a General
Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on June
next Given under My hand and Seal the day and Year
aforesaid

Jos. Neville Shiff. (SEAL)


Hardy
Return (Corrected)
April 1788.

39a

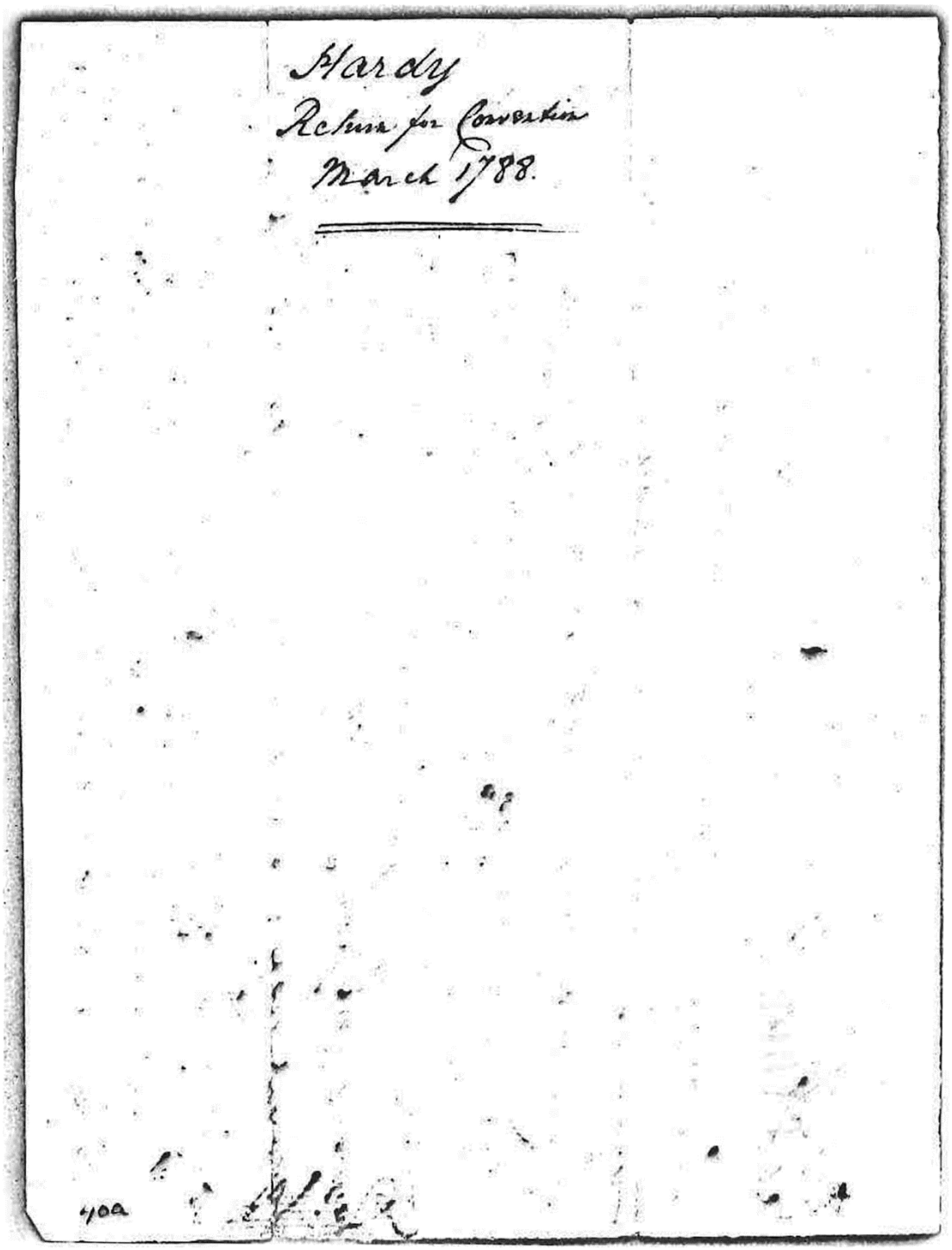
99. Hardy County Election Certificate



Be it know to all to whome these presents shall come
That I Joseph Neville Sheriff of the County of Hardy
in my full County held at the Court House thereof on
the 10th day of March in the year of our Lord 1788 by
By the Electors of my said County qualified according
to Law. caused to be Chosen Two Delegates for my said
County Namely Isaac Vanmeter and Abel Seymour to
Represent the same in a General Convention to be held in
the City of Richmond on the first monday in June
Next Given under my hand and Seal the day
and year aforesaid

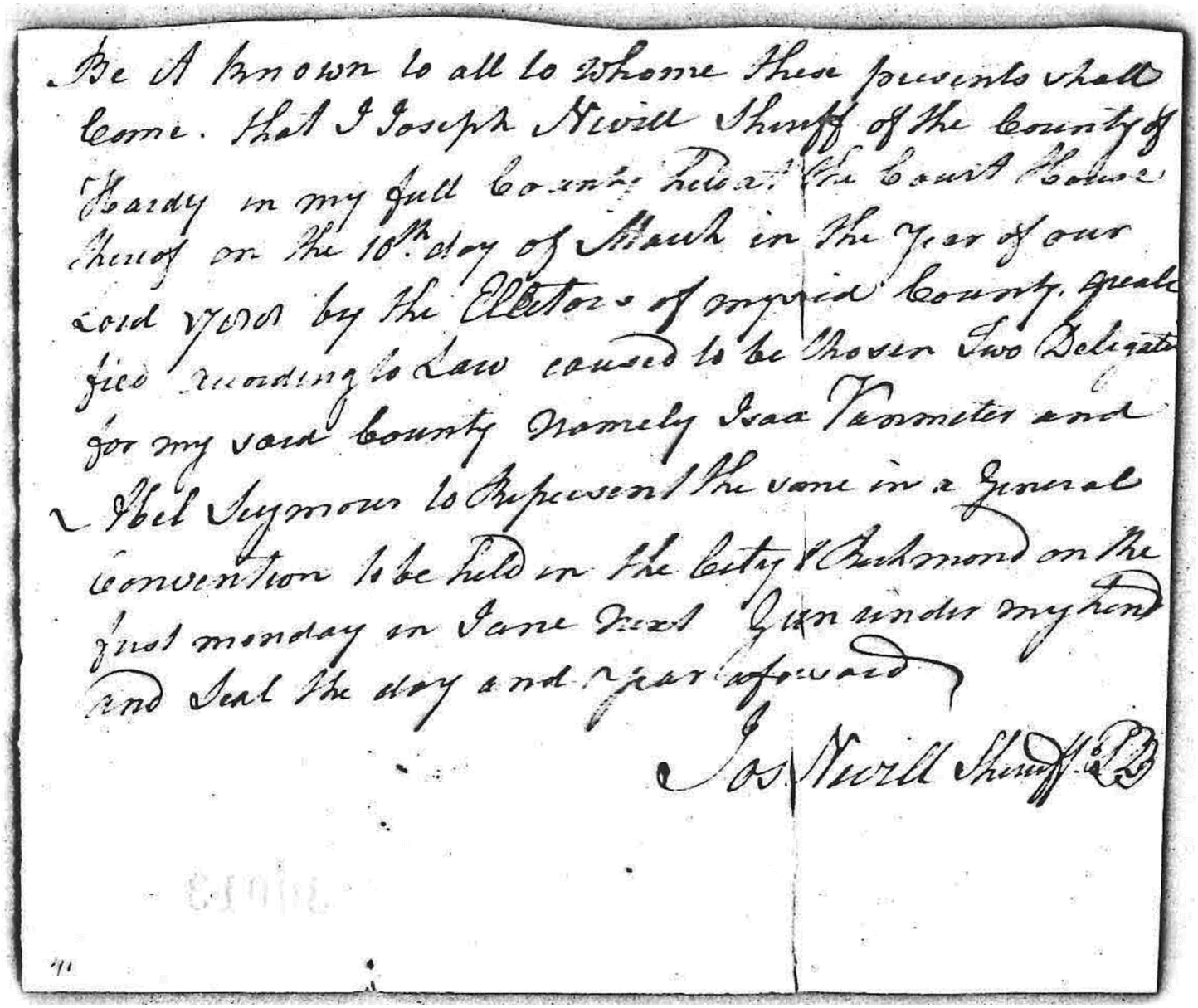
Jo. Neville Sheriff (L.S.)

40


Hardy
Return for Convention
March 1788.

402

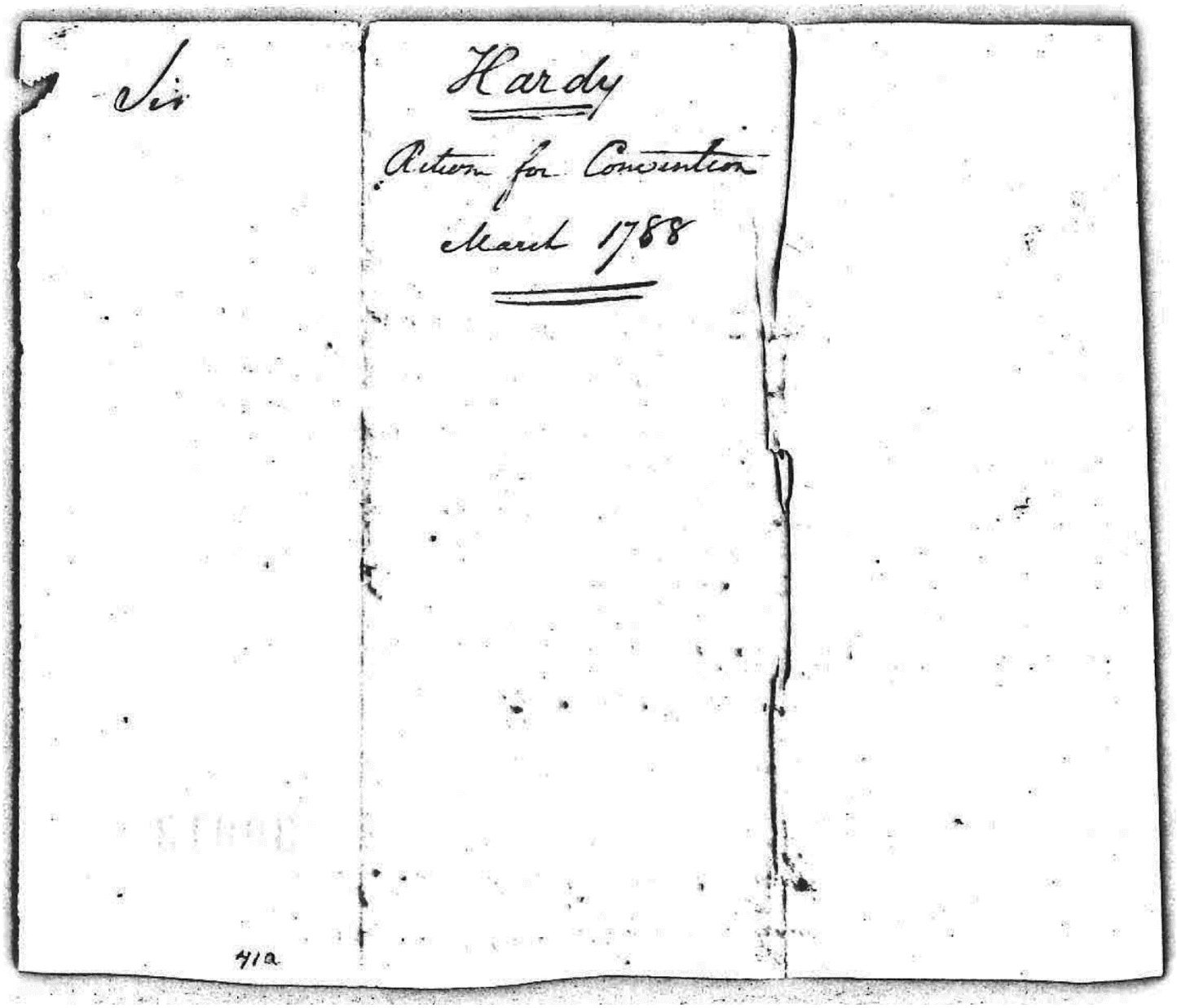
100. Hardy County Election Certificate



Be A known to all to Whome these presents shall
Come. that I Joseph Nevill Sheriff of the County of
Hardy in my full County Court Held
thereof on the 16th day of March in the Year of our
Lord 1788 by the Electors of my said County, qualle
fied according to Law caused to be Chosen Two Delegate
for my said County Namely Isaac Vanmeter and
Abel Seymour to Represent the same in a General
Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the
first monday in June Next Given under my hand
and Seal the day and year aforesaid

Jos. Nevill Sheriff H.C.

41


Sir

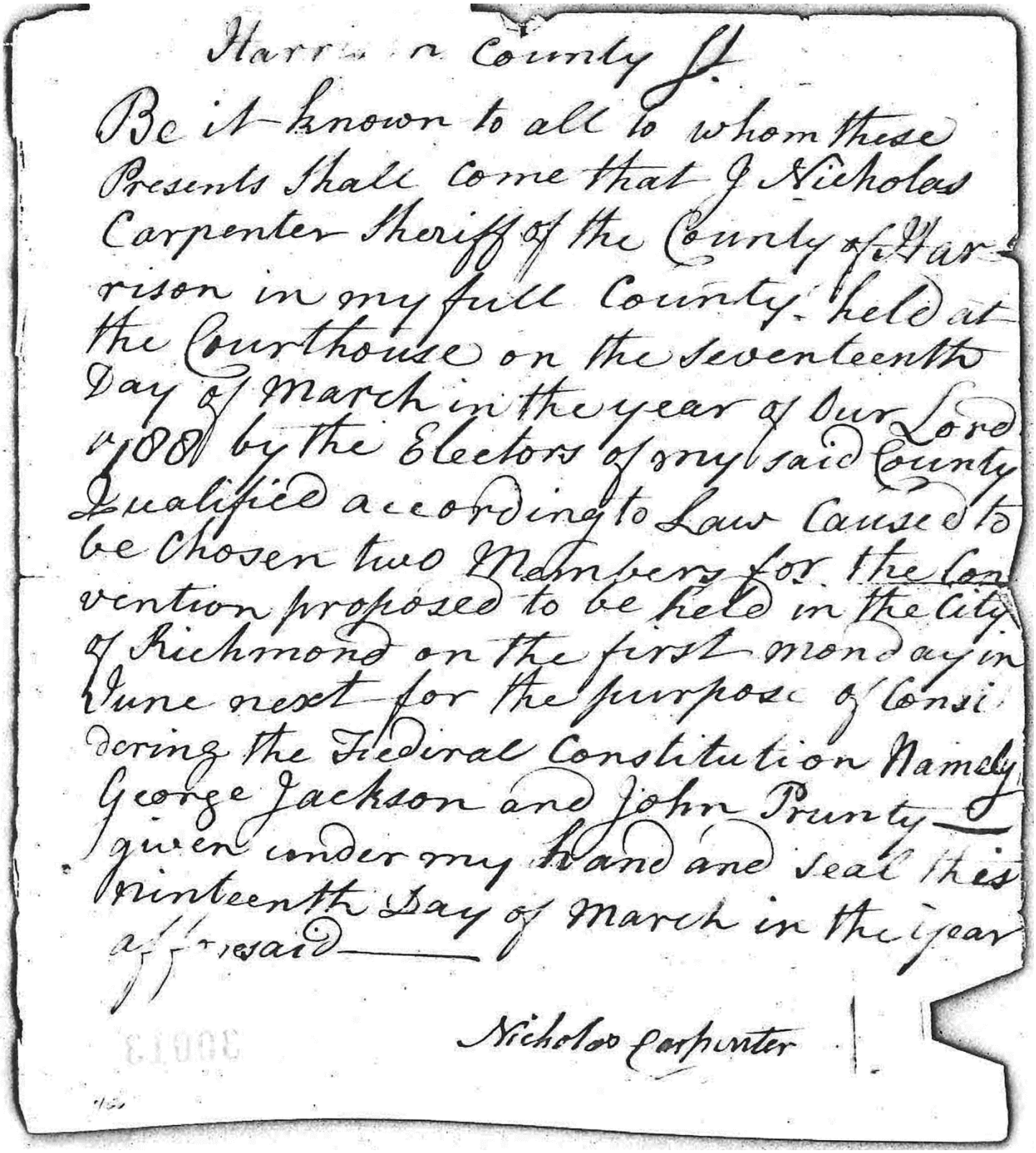
Hardy

Return for Convention

March 1788

412

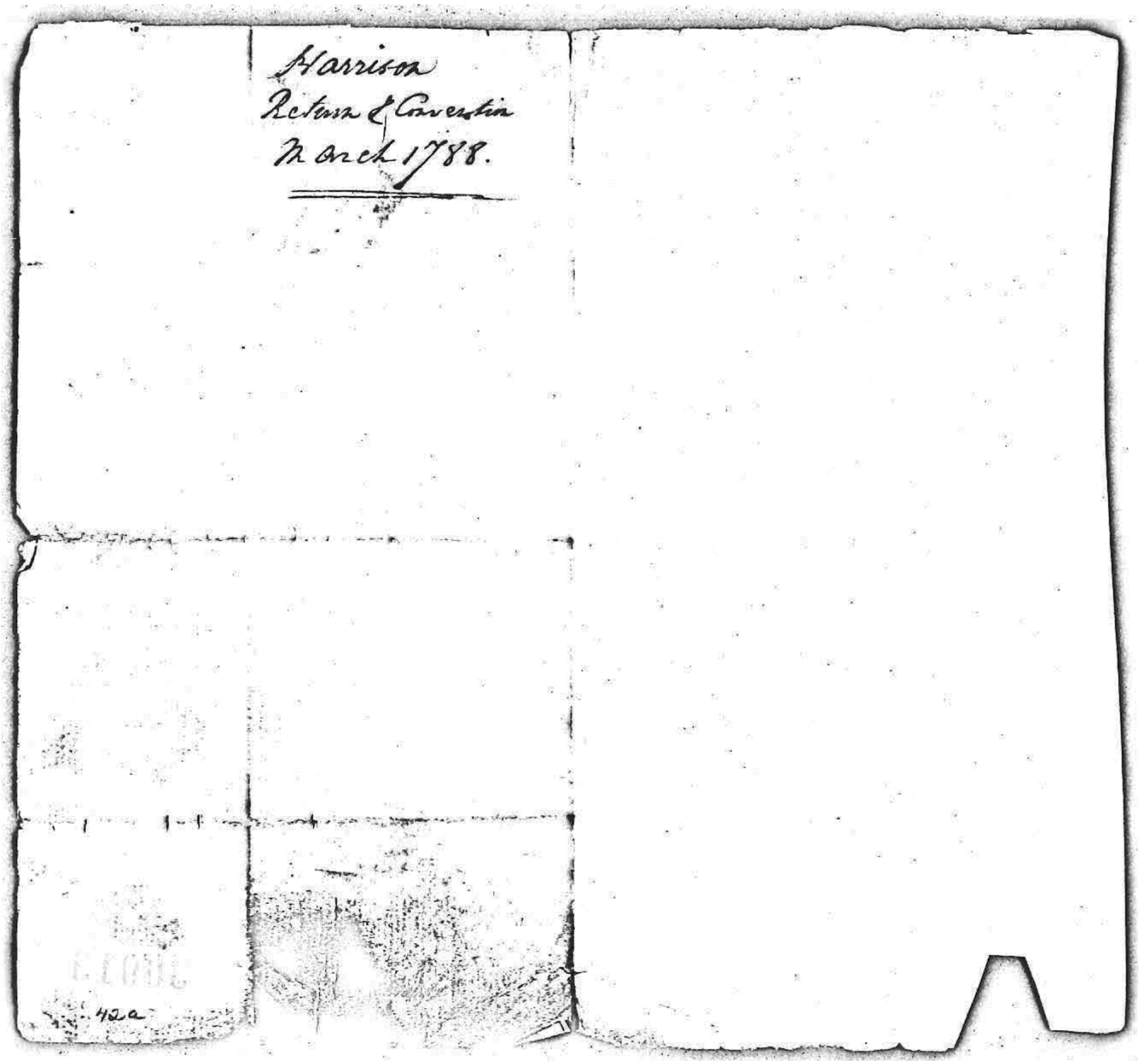
101. Harrison County Election Certificate



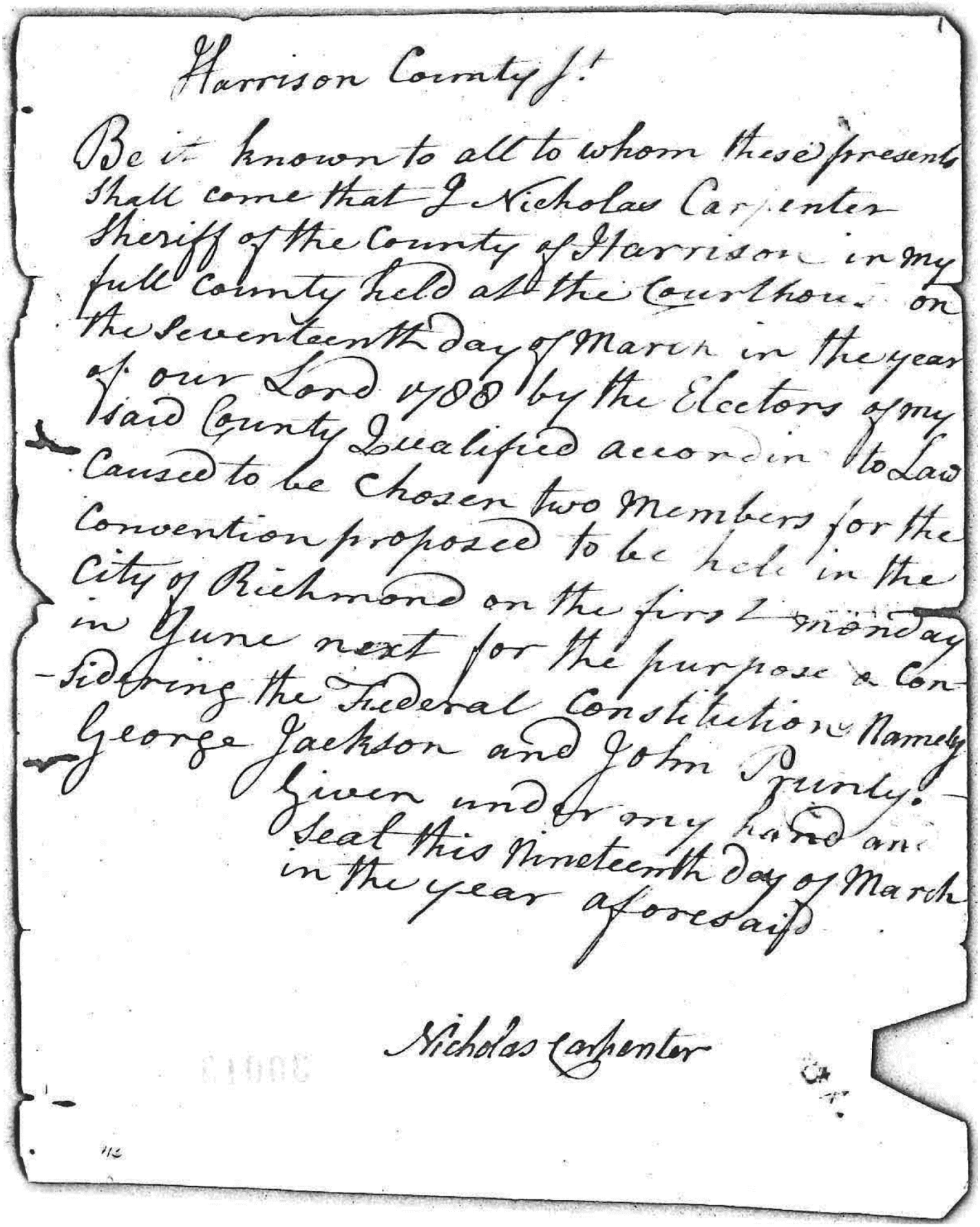
Harrison County ss.

Be it known to all to whom these Presents Shall come that I Nicholas Carpenter Sheriff of the County of Harrison in my full County held at the Courthouse on the seventeenth Day of March in the year of our Lord 1788 by the Electors of my said County Qualified according to Law Caused to be Chosen two Members for the Convention proposed to be held in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June next for the purpose of Considering the Federal Constitution Namely George Jackson and John Prunty — Given under my Hand and Seal this Nineteenth Day of March in the year aforesaid

Nicholas Carpenter


Harrison
Return of Convention
March 1788.
42a

102. Harrison County Election Certificate



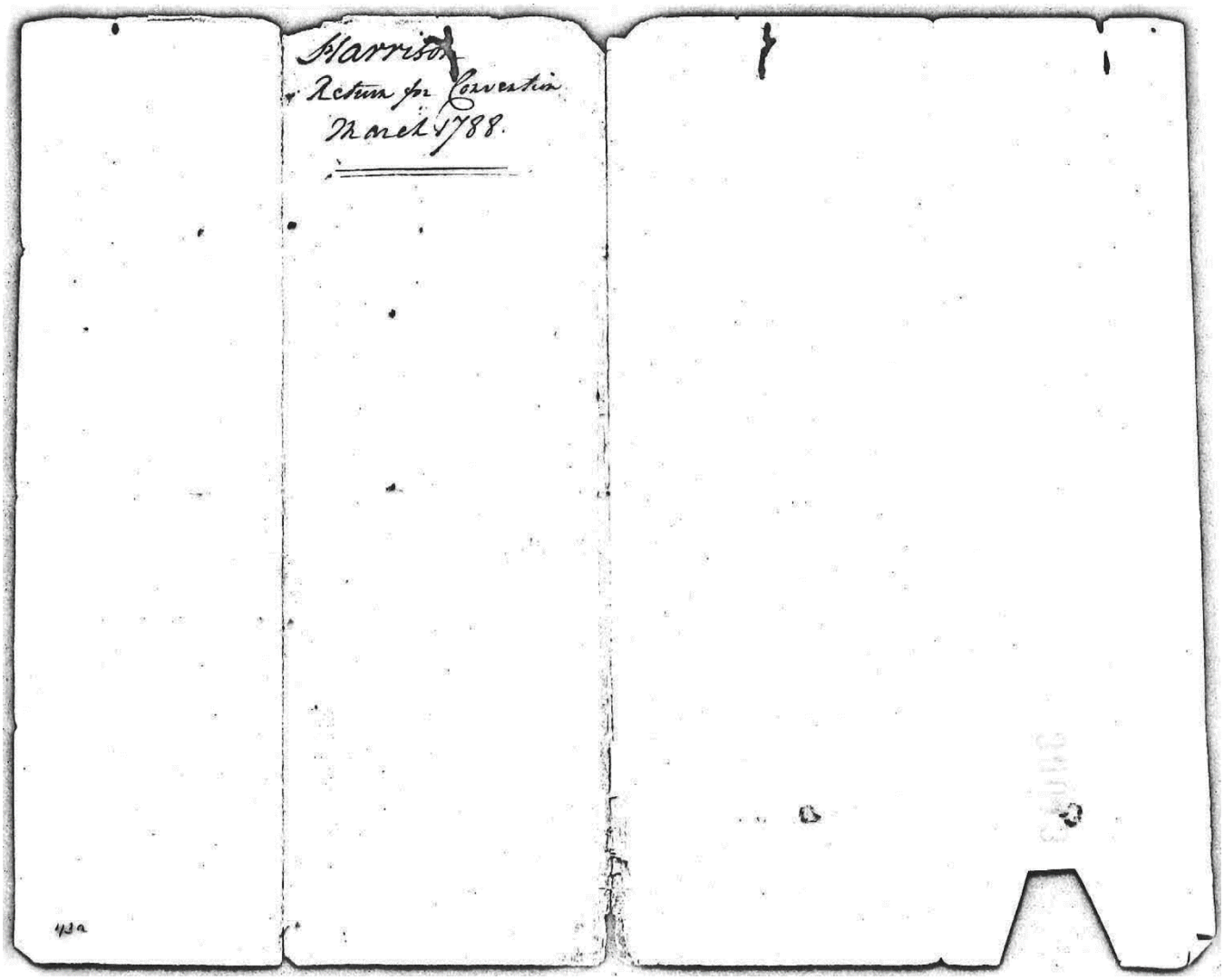
Harrison County ſ.t

Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Nicholas Carpenter Sheriff of the County of Harrison in my full County held at the Courthouse on the Seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord 1788 by the Electors of my said County Qualified according to Law Caused to be Chosen two Members for the Convention proposed to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next for the purpose of Considering the Federal Constitution Namely George Jackson and John Purdy.

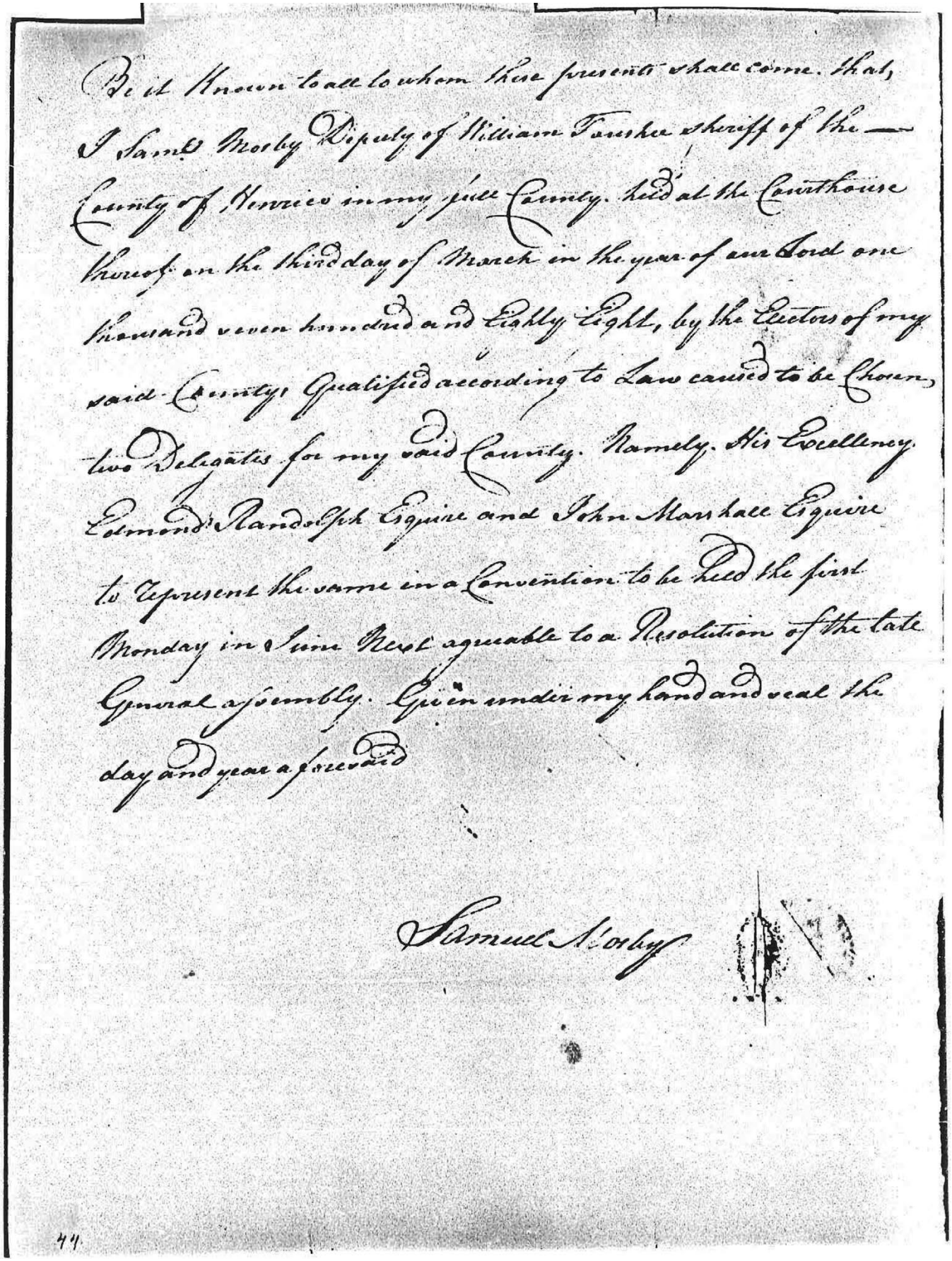
Given under my hand and seal this Nineteenth day of March in the year aforesaid

Nicholas Carpenter

112


Harrison
Return for Convention
March 1788.

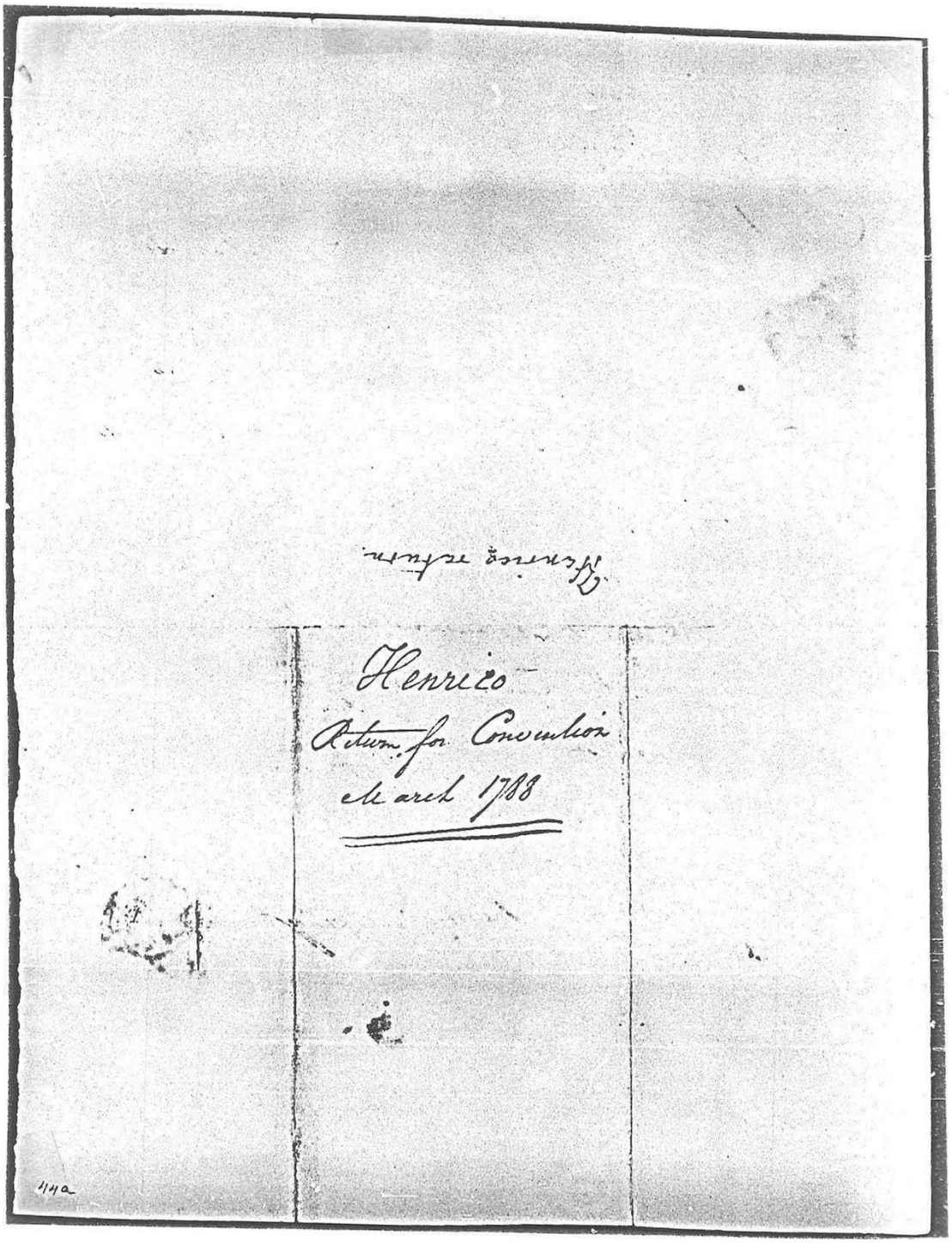
103. Henrico County Election Certificate



Be it Known to all to whom these presents shall come. That, I Samll Morby Depuly of William Fouke sheriff of the — County of Henrico in my full County. held at the Courthouse there of on the third day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Eight, by the Electors of my said County, Qualified according to Law caused to be Chosen, two Delegates for my said County. Namely. His Excellency Edmond Randolph Esquire and John Marshall Esquire to Represent the same in a Convention to be held the first Monday in June Next agreable to a Resolution of the late Genral assembly. Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid

Samuel Morby

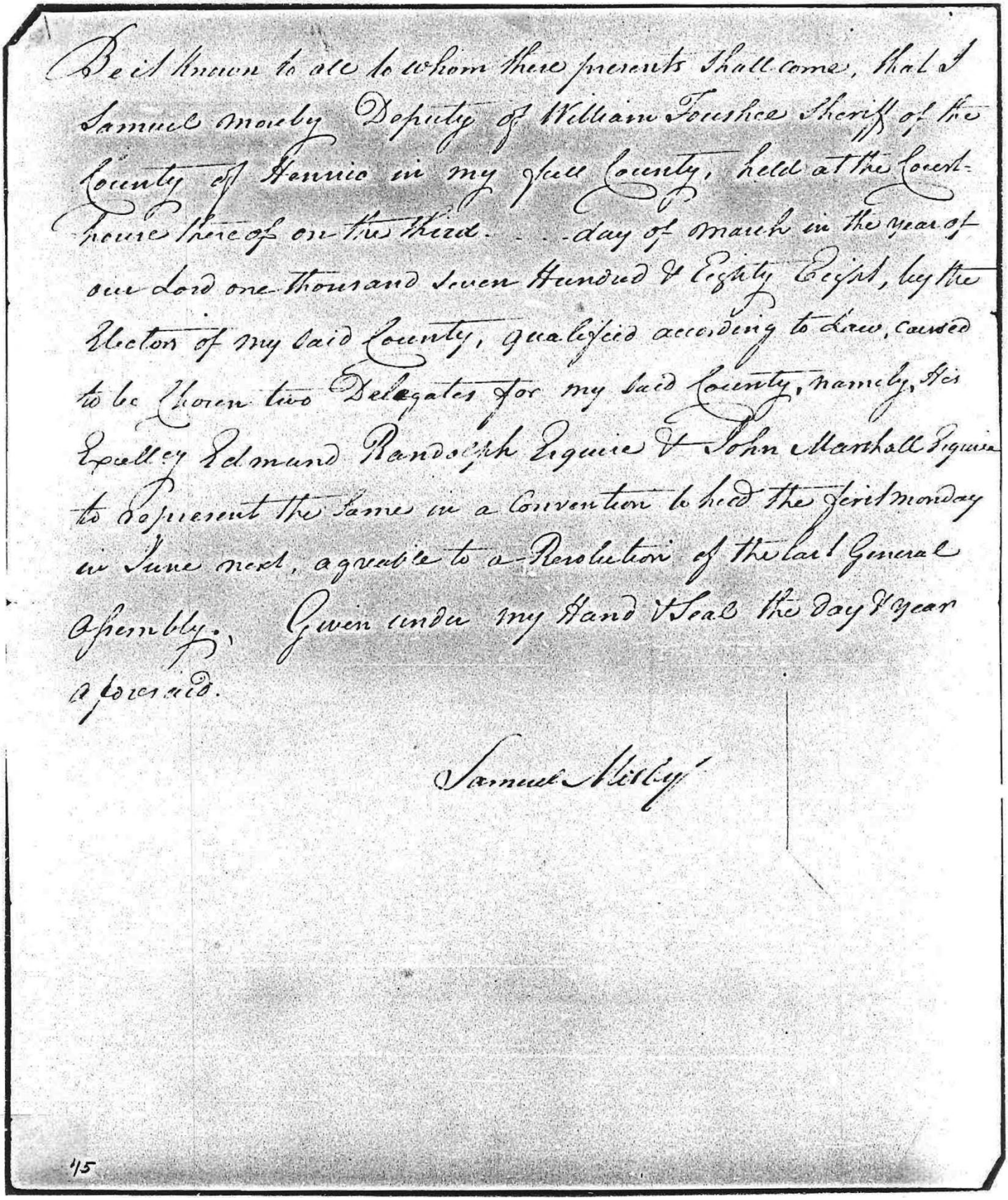
44



Henrico
Return for Convention
elected March 1788

114a

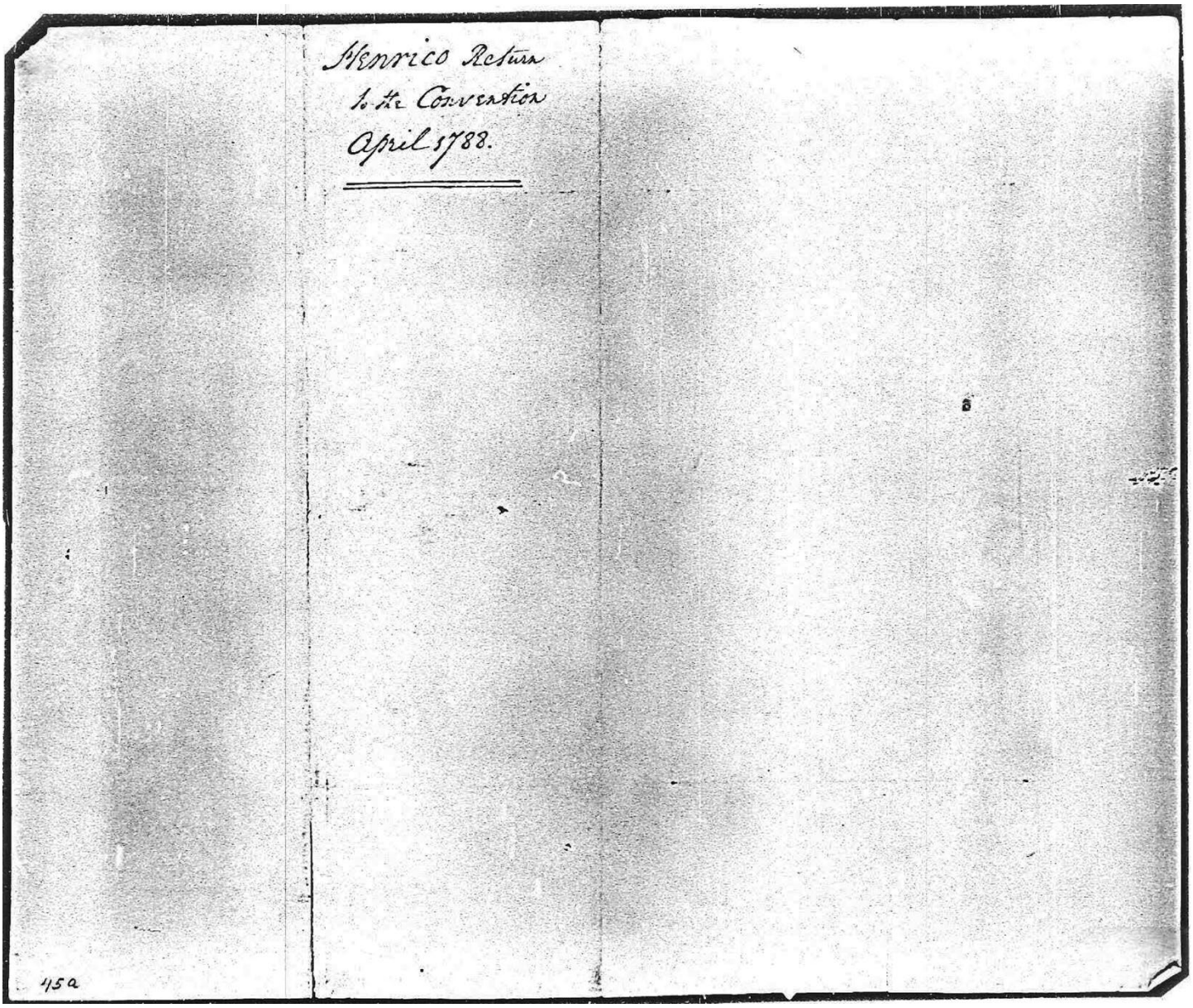
104. Henrico County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Samuel Morby Deputy of William Fourshee Sheriff of the County of Henrico in my said County, held at the Court-house there on the third . . . day of march in the year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred & Eighty Eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely, Mrs Dudley Edmund Randolph Esquire & John Marshall Esquire to represent the same in a Convention to be held the first monday in June next, agreable to a Resolution of the last General Assembly. Given under my Hand & Seal the day & year aforesaid.

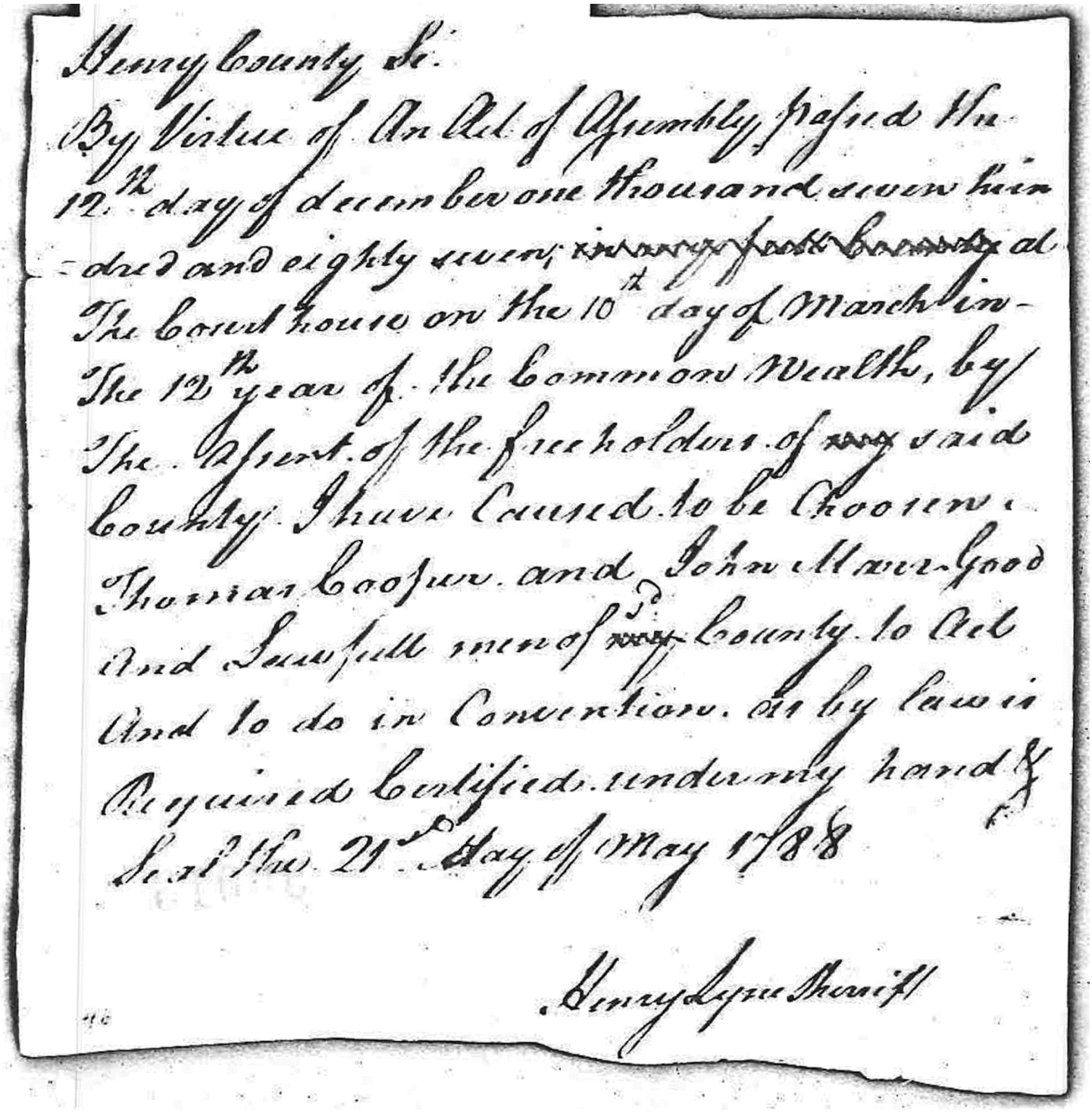
Samuel Morby

15


Henrico Return
to the Convention
April 1788.

45a

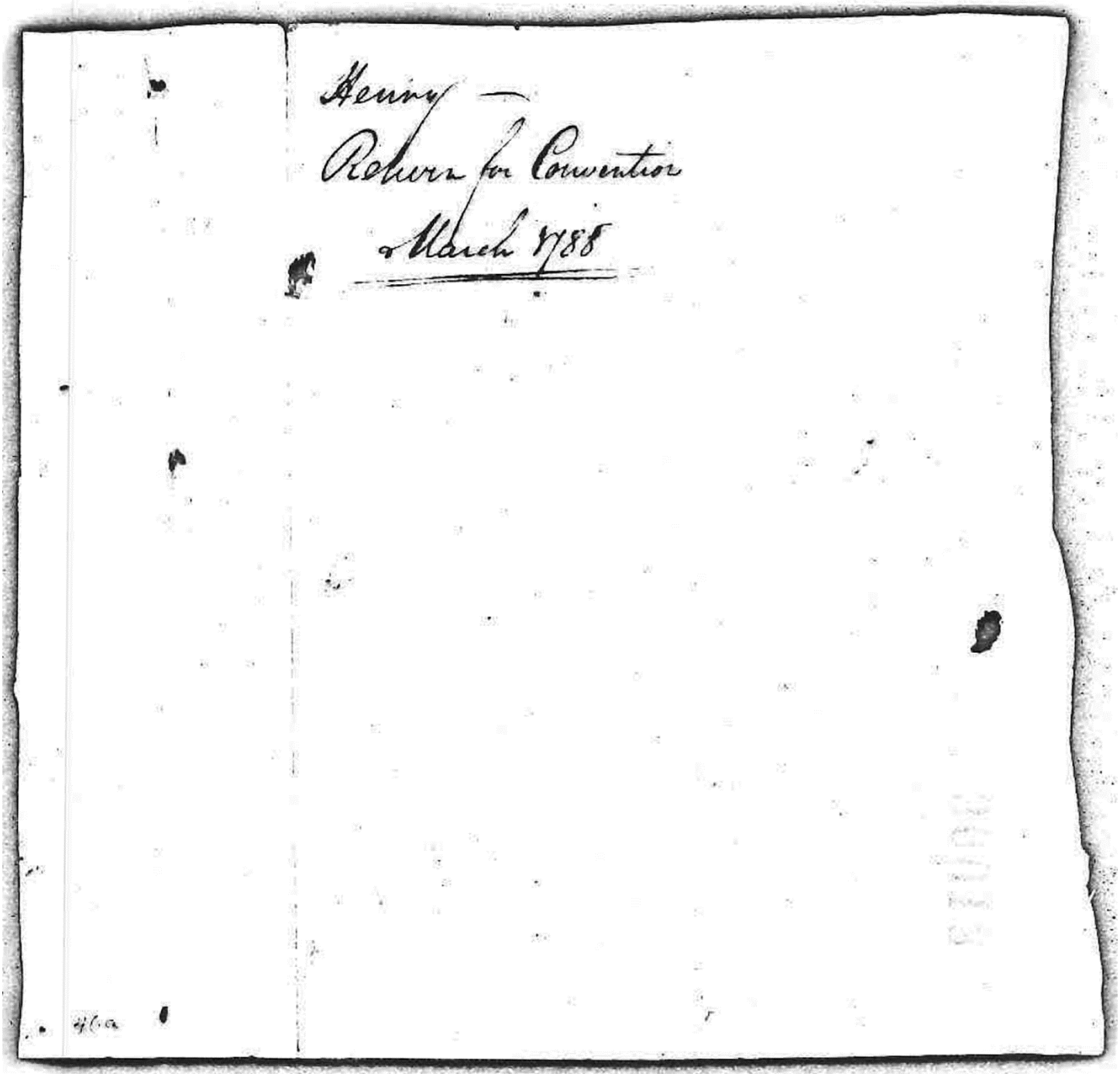
105. Henry County Election Certificate



Henry County Sc.

By Virtue of An Act of Assembly Passed the
12th day of december one thousand seven hun-
-dred and eighty seven, at a
The Court house on the 10th day of March in
The 12th year of the Common Wealth, by
The Assent of the Freeholders of said
County. I have Caused to be Chosen
Thomas Cooper and John Mann Good
And Lawfull men of said County to Act
And to do in Convention. as by law is
Required Certified. under my hand &
Seal This 21st Day of May 1788

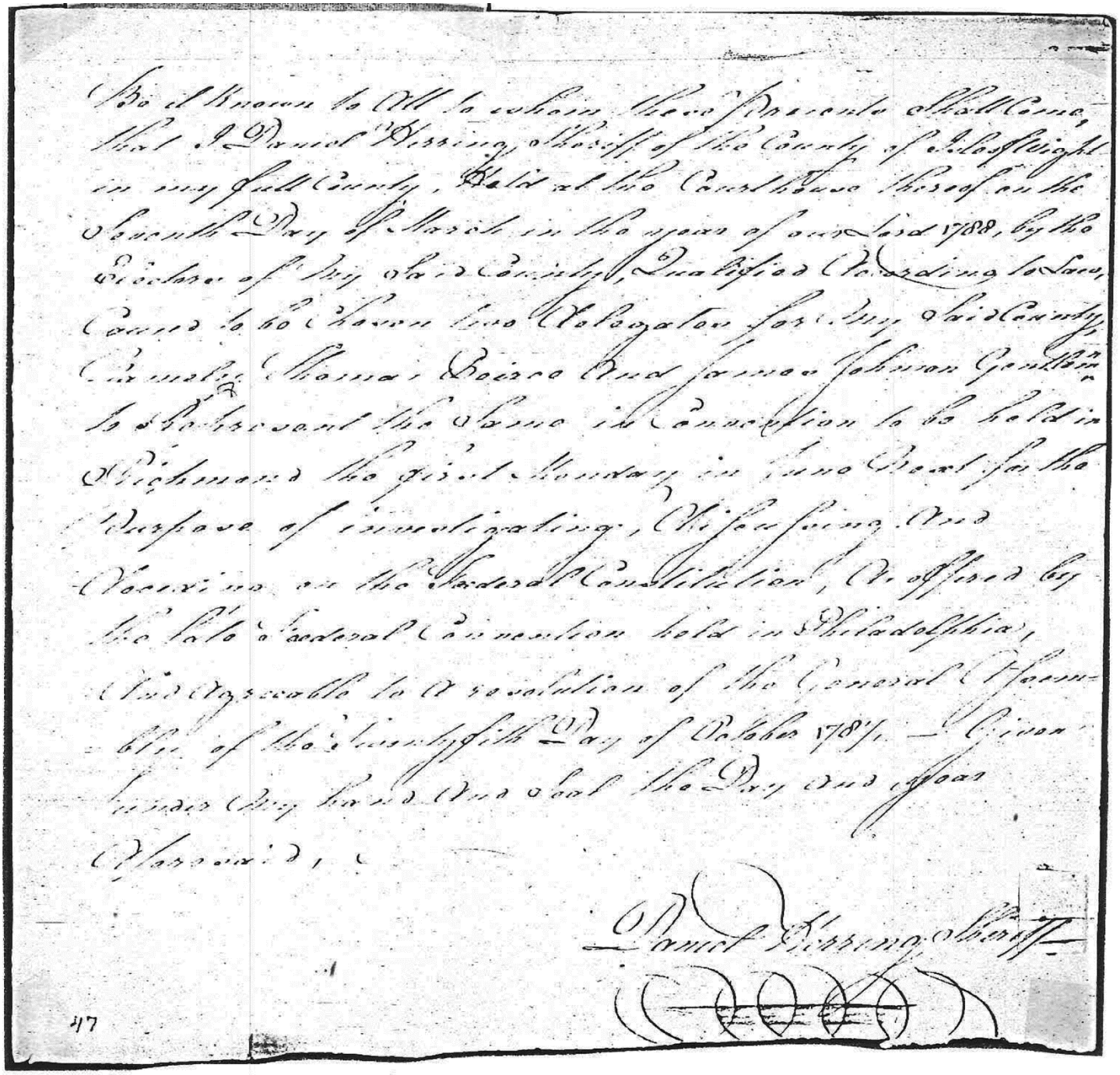
Henry Lyne Sheriff



Henry —
Return for Convention
March 1788

46a

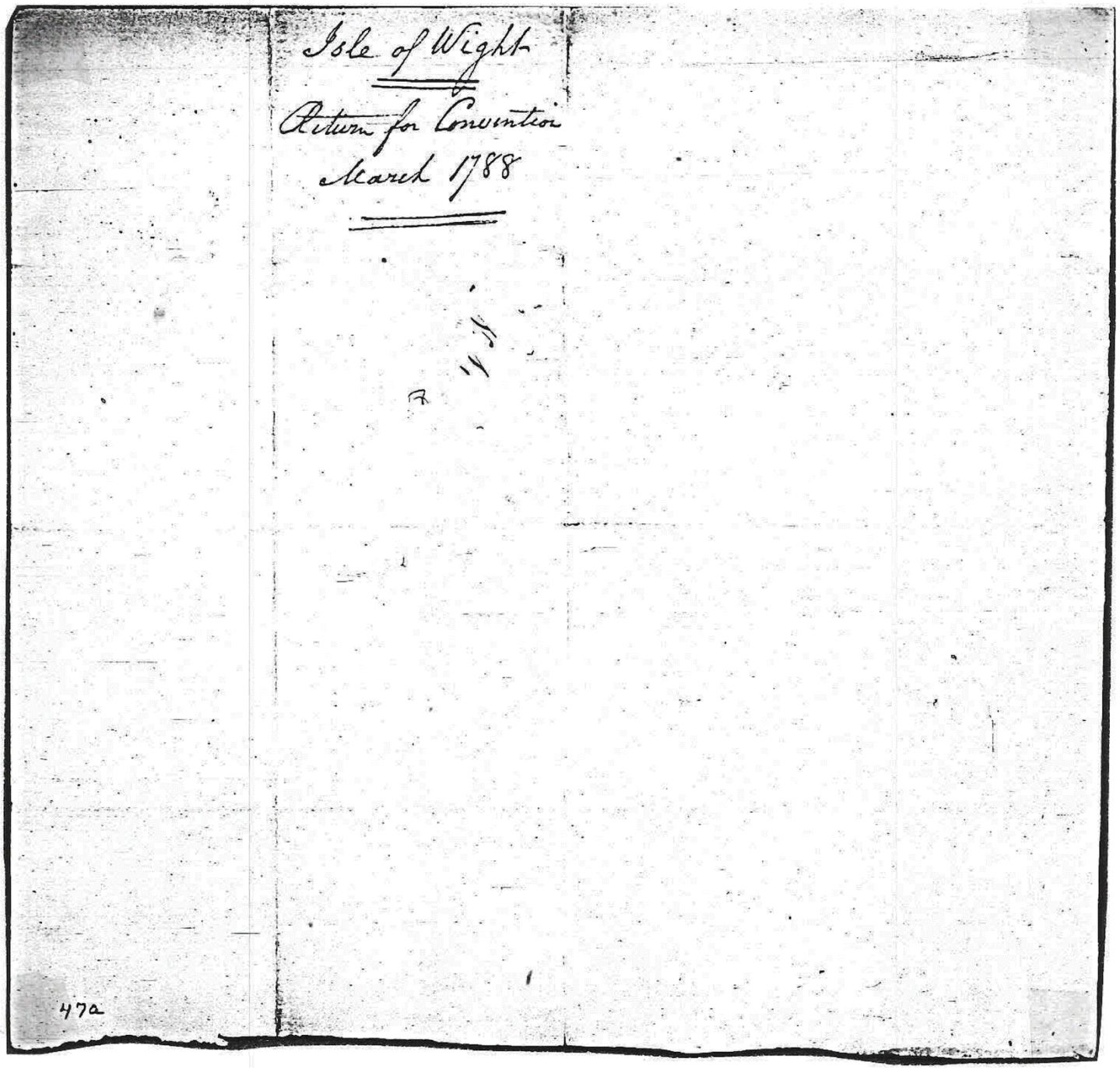
106. Isle of Wight County Election Certificate



Be it known to All to whom these Presents shall Come
that I Daniel Gibson, Sheriff of the County of Isle of Wight
in my said County, Held at the Court house thereof on the
Seventh Day of March in the year of our Lord 1788, by the
Freeholders of the said County, Qualified (according to Law,
Caused to be Chosen two Delegates for the said County,
Viz. Thomas Reade and James Johnson Gentlemen
to Represent the same in Convention to be held in
Richmond the first Monday in June next for the
Purpose of investigating, Discussing and
Determining on the Federal Constitution, Proposed by
the late Federal Convention held in Philadelphia,
And Agreeable to a Resolution of the General Assem-
bly of the Thirty fifth Day of October 1787. — Given
under my hand and Seal the Day and Year
aforesaid, /

Daniel Gibson Sheriff

47

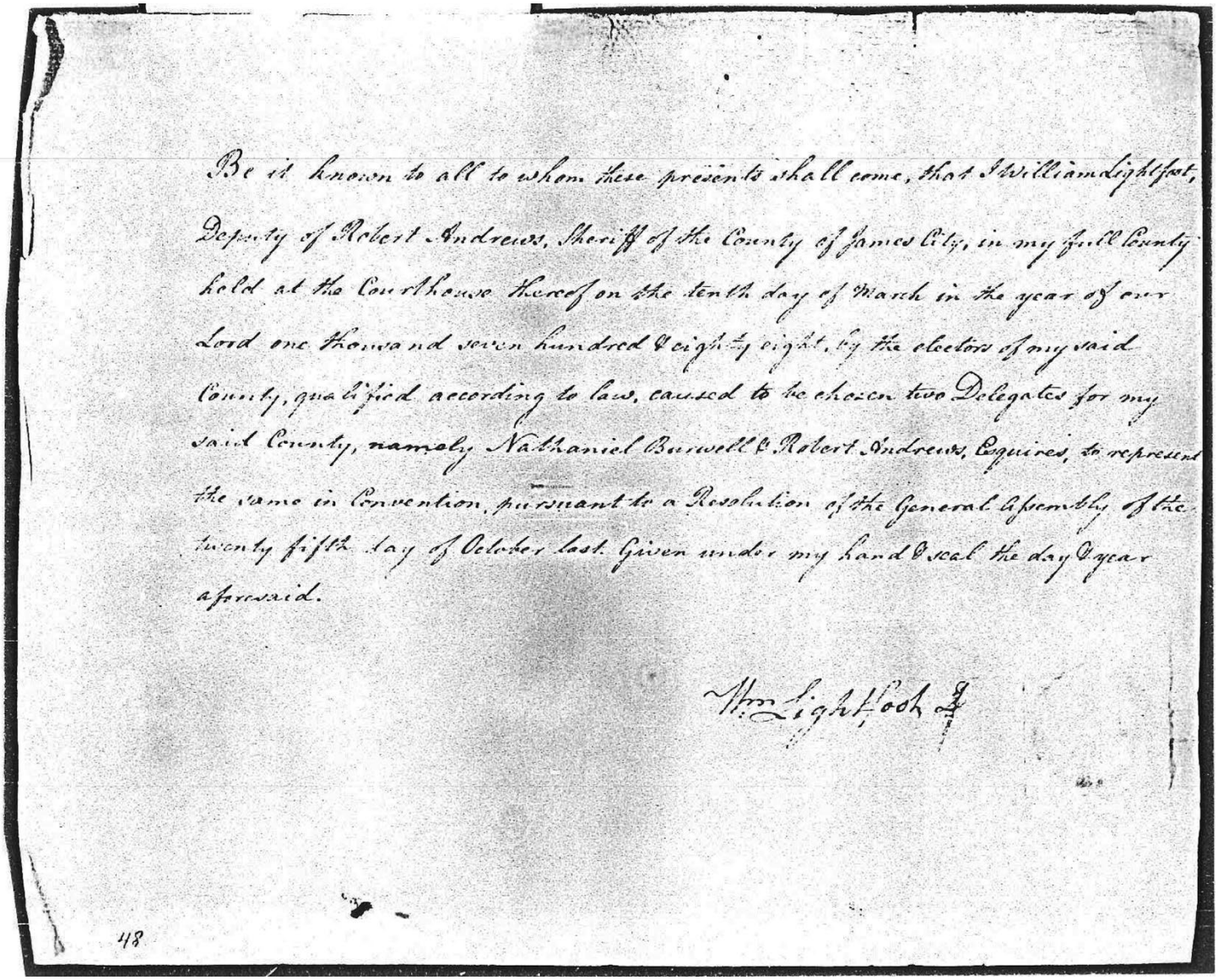

Isle of Wight

Return for Convention

March 1788

47a

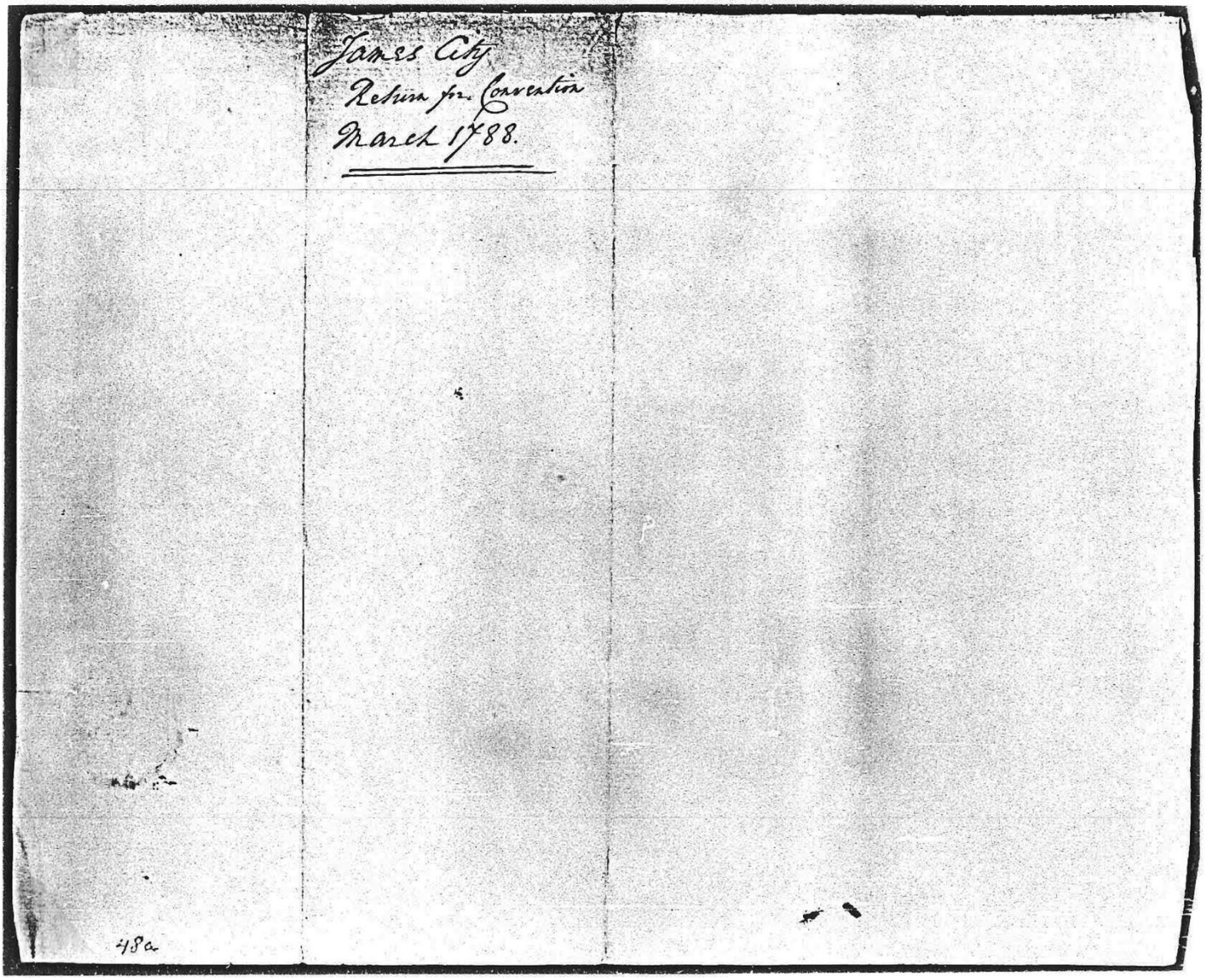
107. James City County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I William Lightfoot, Deputy of Robert Andrews, Sheriff of the County of James City, in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the tenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty eight, by the electors of my said County, qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely Nathaniel Burwell & Robert Andrews, Esquires, to represent the same in Convention, pursuant to a Resolution of the General Assembly of the twenty fifth day of October last. Given under my hand & seal the day & year aforesaid.

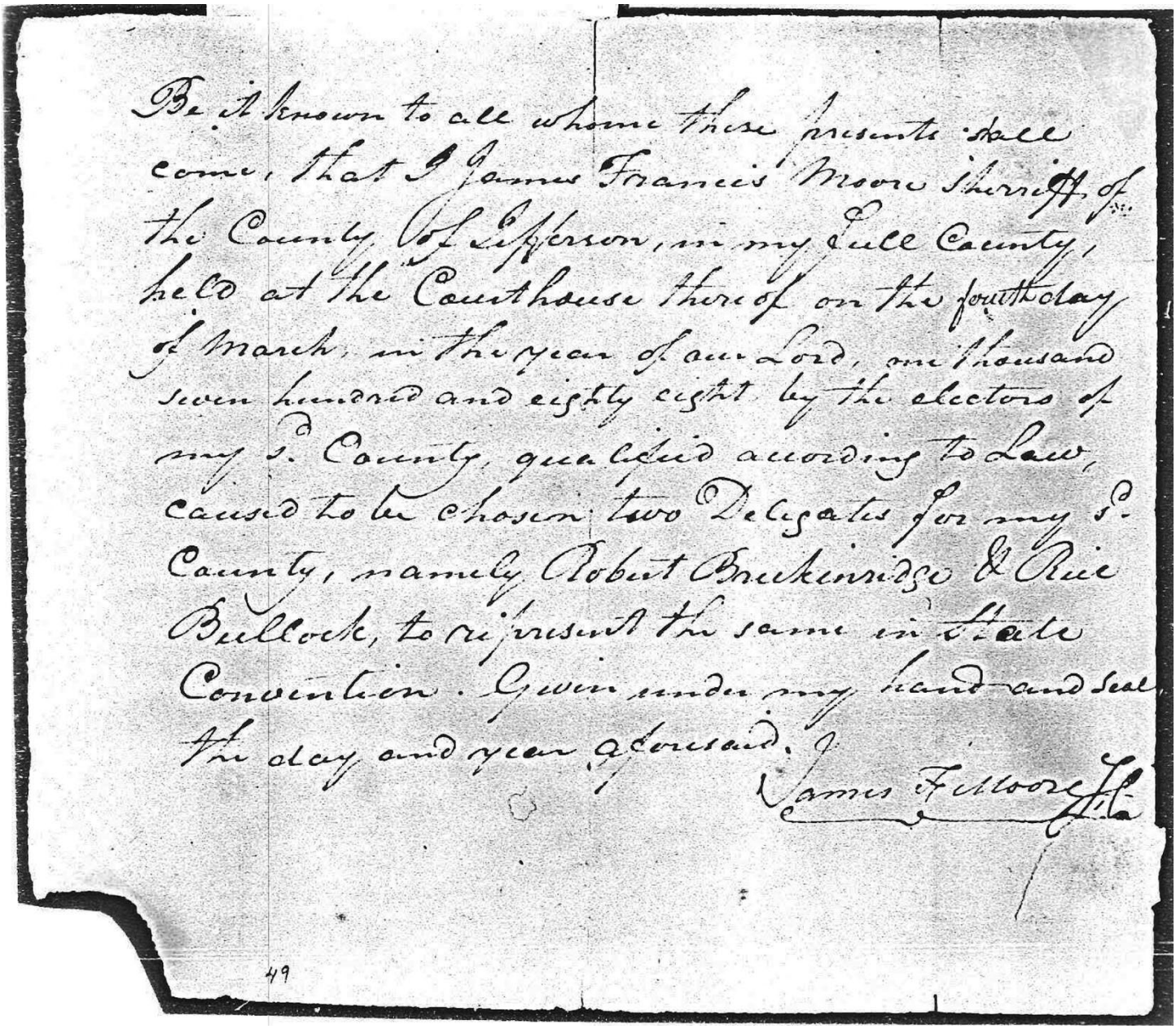
Wm Lightfoot D

48


James City
Return for Convention
March 1788.

48a

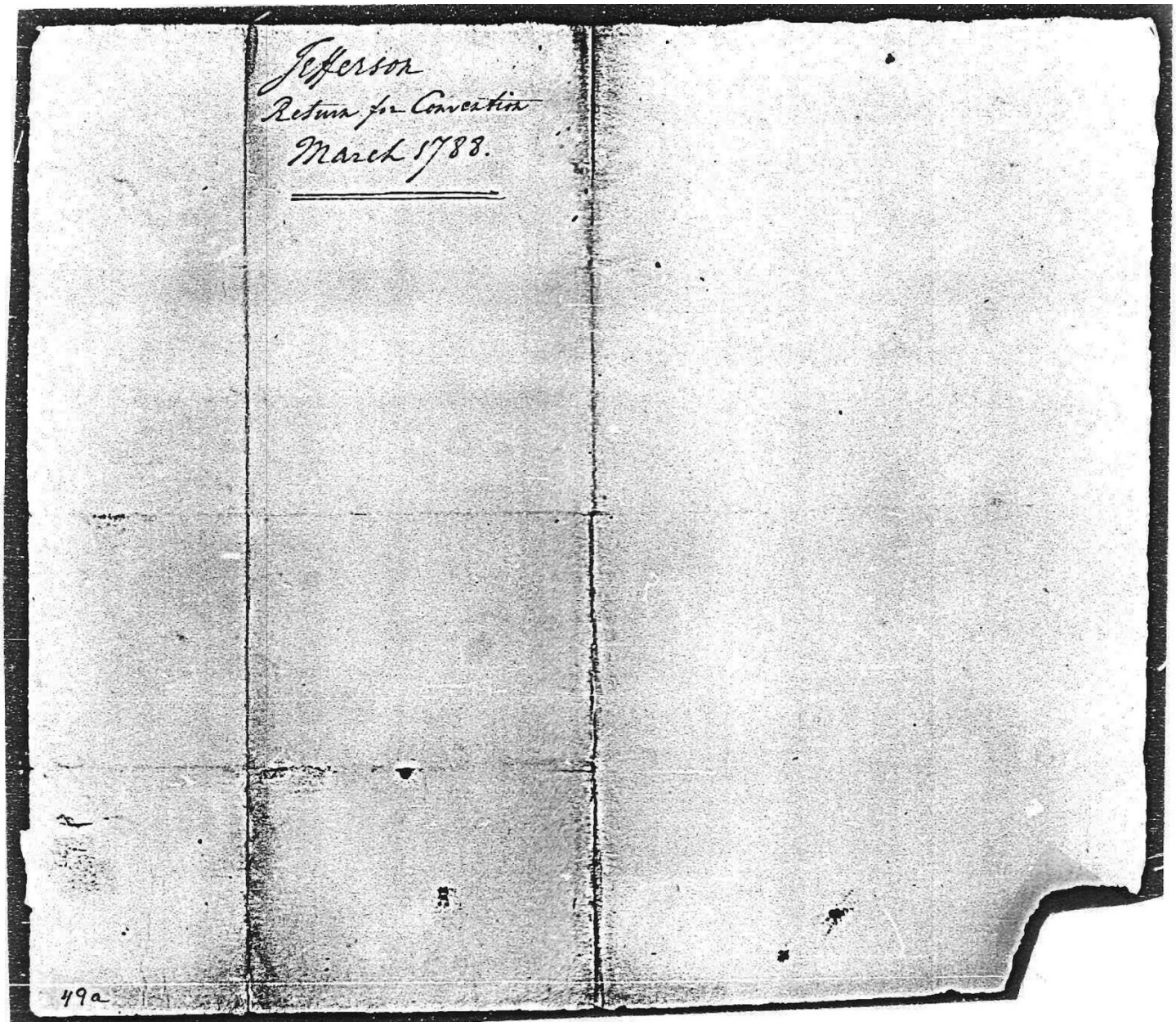
108. Jefferson County Election Certificate



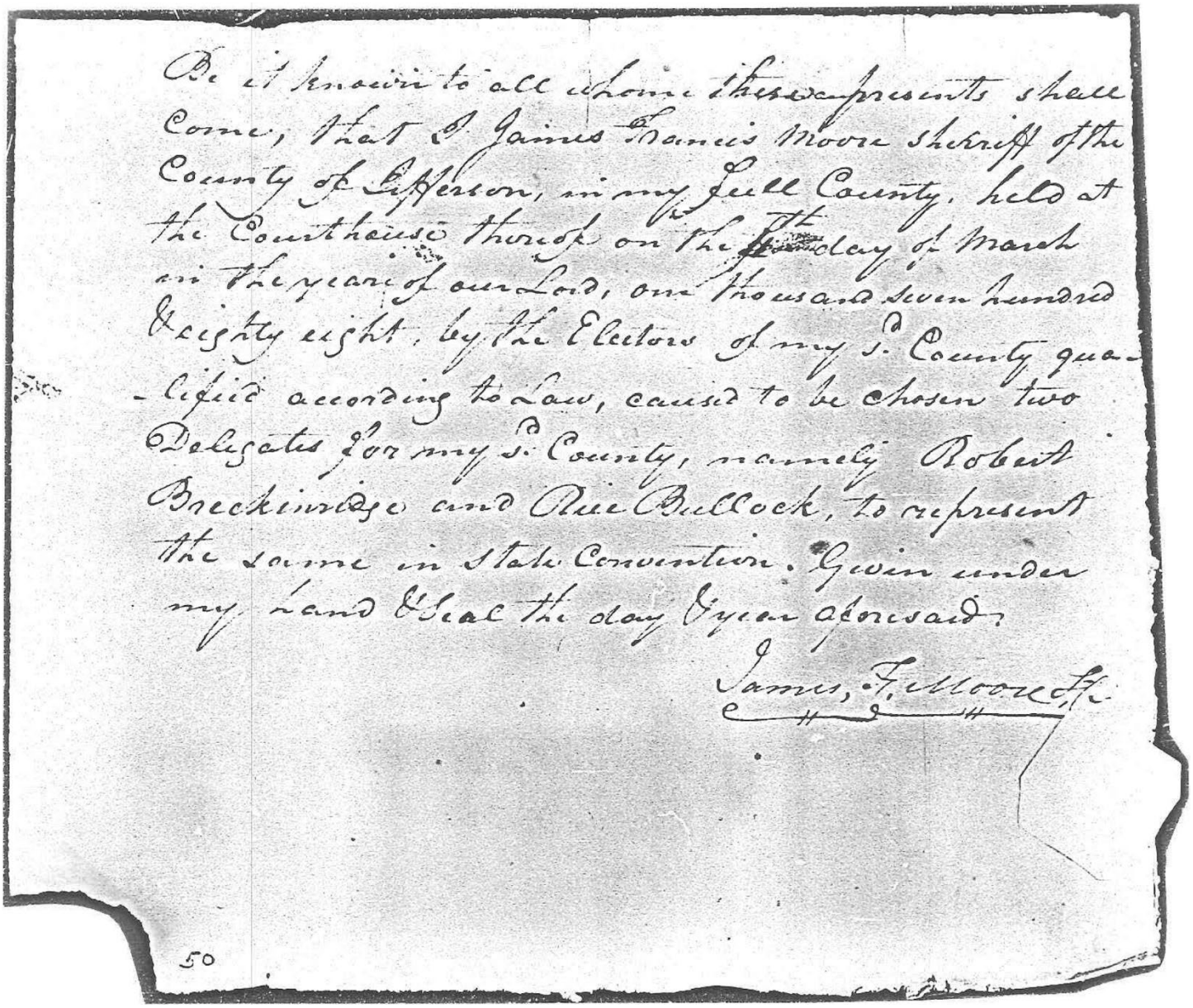
Be it known to all whom these presents shall come, that I James Francis Moore Sheriff of the County of Jefferson, in my full County, held at the Courthouse thereof on the fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the electors of my s. County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my s. County, namely Robert Breckinridge & Ric Bullock, to represent the same in State Convention. Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid. J

James F Moore Sh Ja

49


Jefferson
Return for Convention
March 1788.
49a

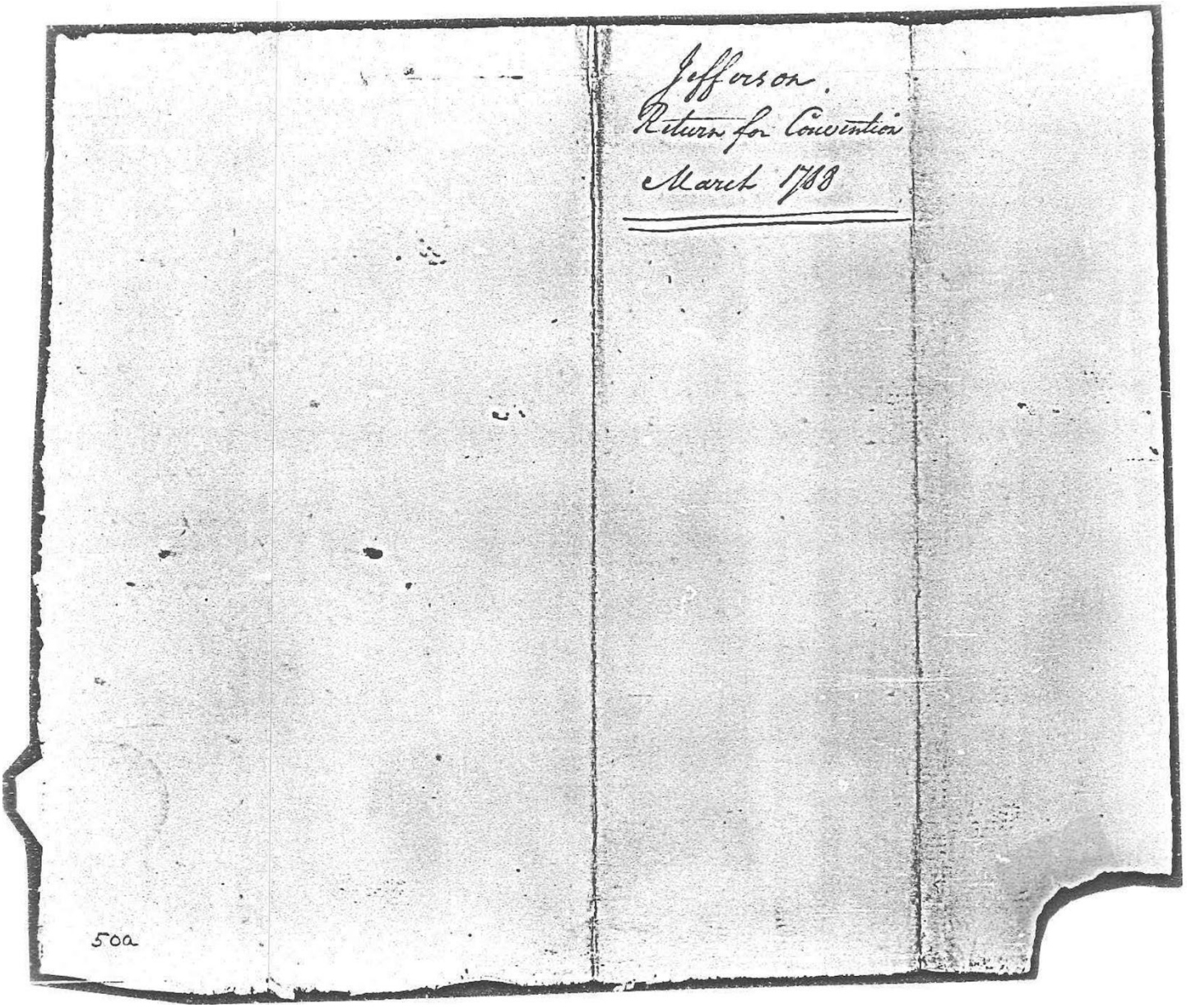
109. Jefferson County Election Certificate



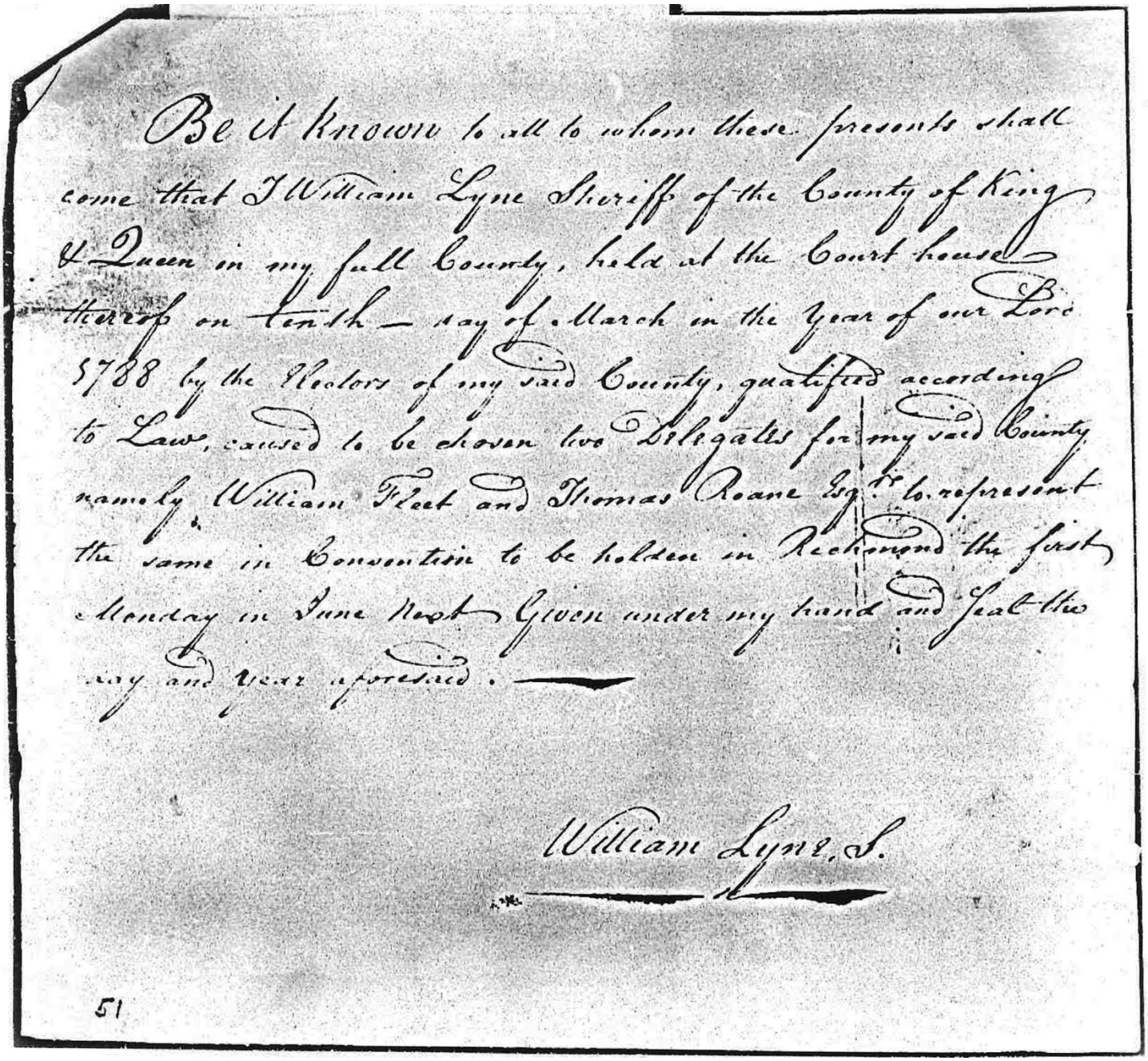
Be it known to all whom these presents shall
Come, That I James Francis Moore Sheriff of the
County of Jefferson, in my full County, held at
the Courthouse thereof on the 7th day of March
in the year of our Lord, one Thousand seven hundred
& eighty eight, by the Electors of my s. County qua-
-lified according to Law, caused to be chosen two
Delegates for my s. County, namely Robert
Breckinridge and Rue Bullock, to represent
the same in State Convention. Given under
my hand & Seal the day & year aforesaid.

James, F. Moore, Sh.

50


Jefferson.
Return for Convention
March 1788
50a

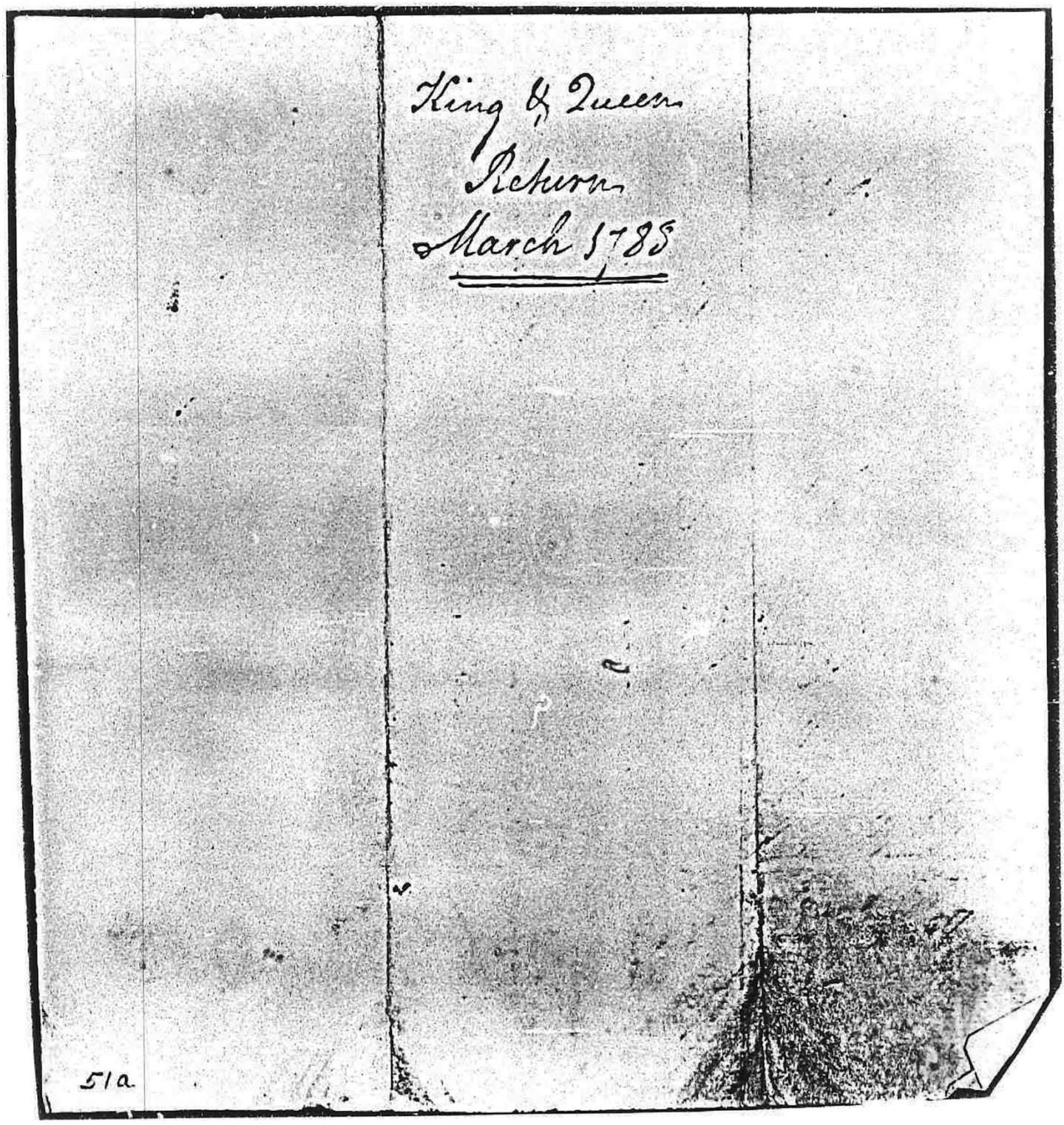
110. King and Queen County Election Certificate



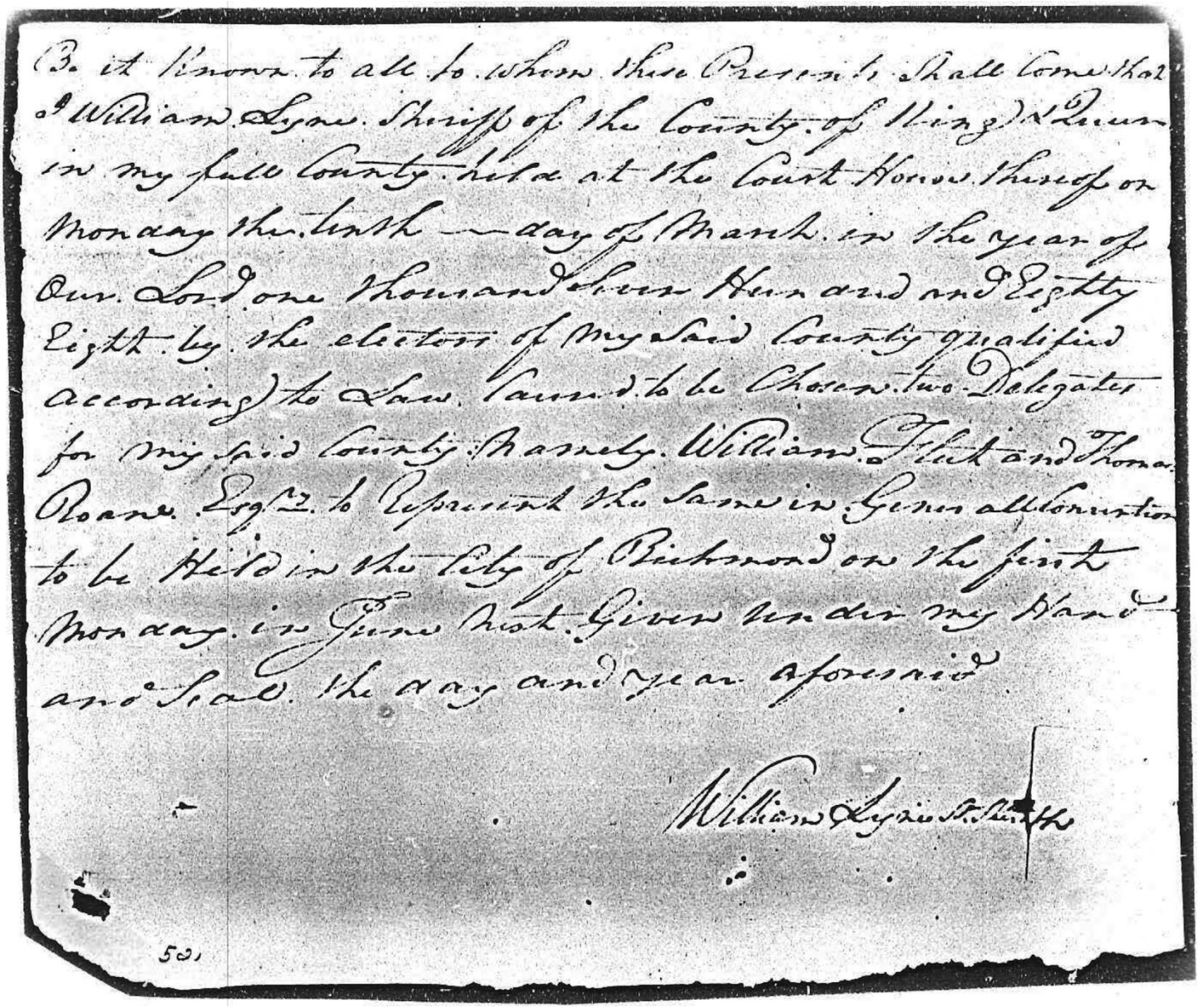
Be it Known to all to whom these presents shall come that I William Lyne Sheriff of the County of King & Queen in my full County, held at the Court house thereof on tenth day of March in the Year of our Lord 1788 by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely William Fleet and Thomas Roane Esqr. to represent the same in Convention to be holden in Richmond the first Monday in June Next Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid.

William Lyne, S.

51


King & Queen
Return
March 1785
51a

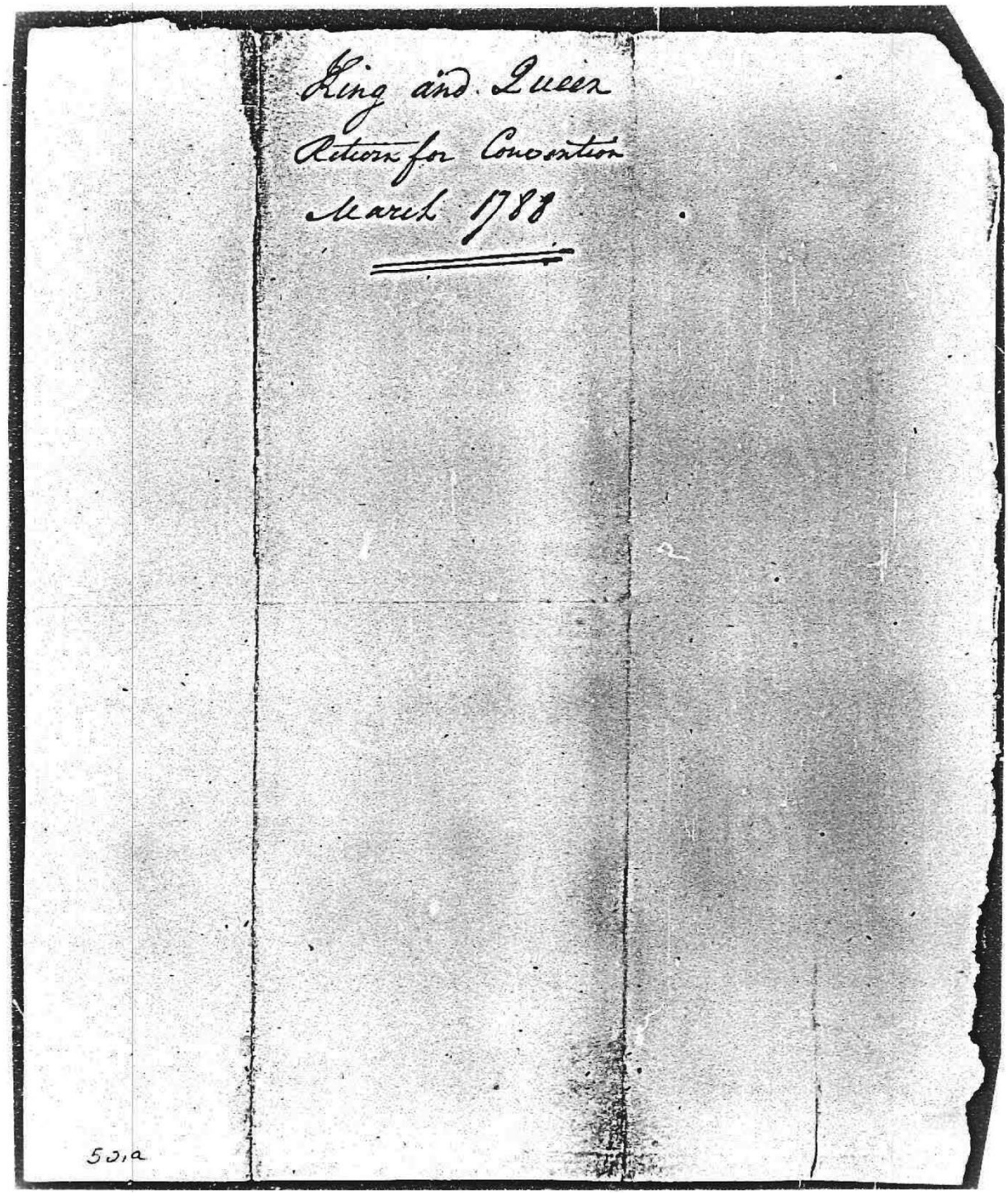
111. King and Queen County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come that
I William Lyne Sheriff of the County of King & Queen
in my said County held at the Court House thereof on
Monday the tenth day of March in the year of
Our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and Eighty
Eight by the election of my said County qualified
according to Law, caused to be Chosen two Delegates
for my said County Namely William Fleet and Thomas
Roane Esqrs to Represent the same in General Convention
to be Held in the City of Richmond on the first
Monday in June next. Given under my Hand
and Seal the day and year aforesaid

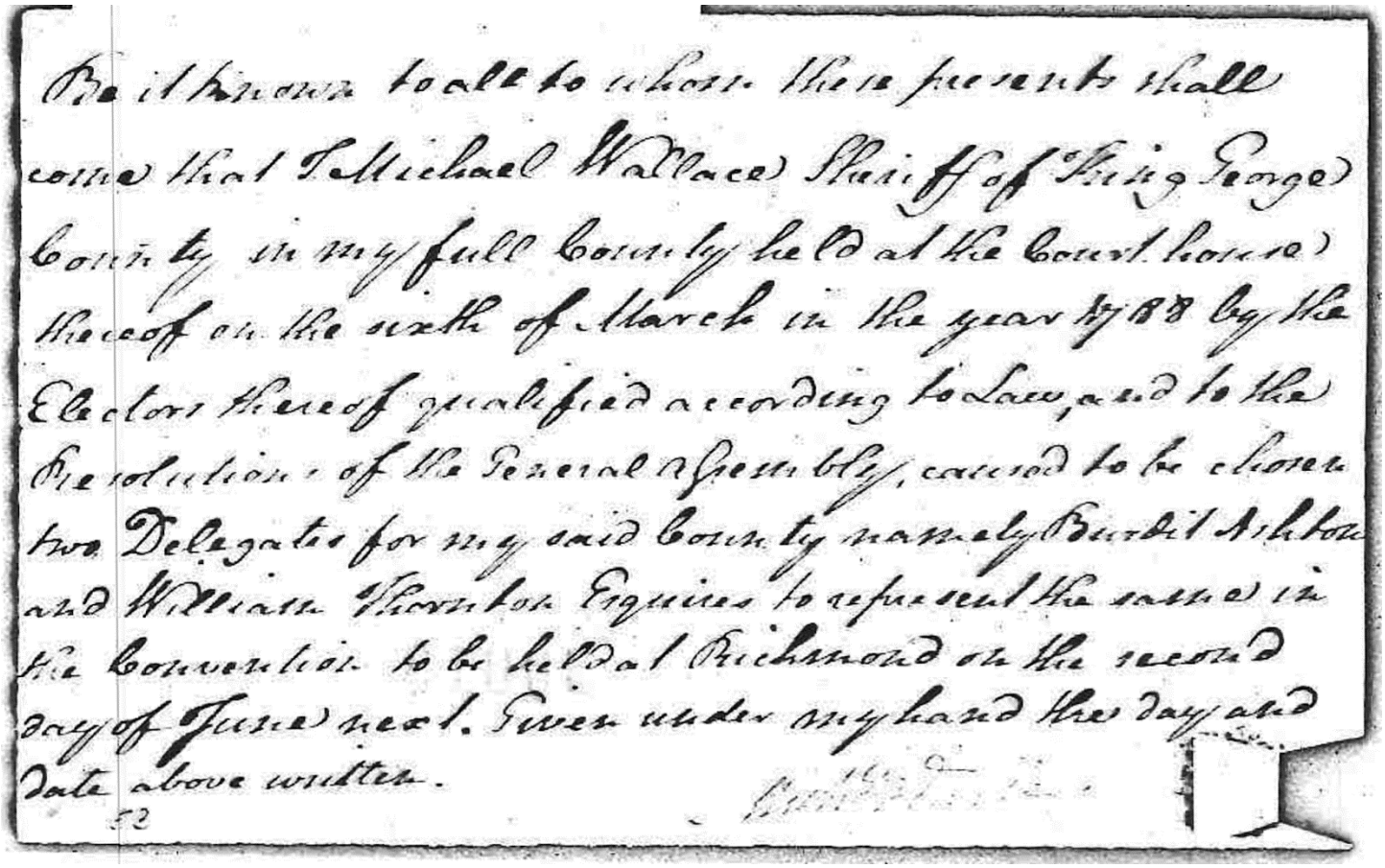
William Lyne Sh. K. & Q.

501


King and Queen
Return for Convention
March 1788

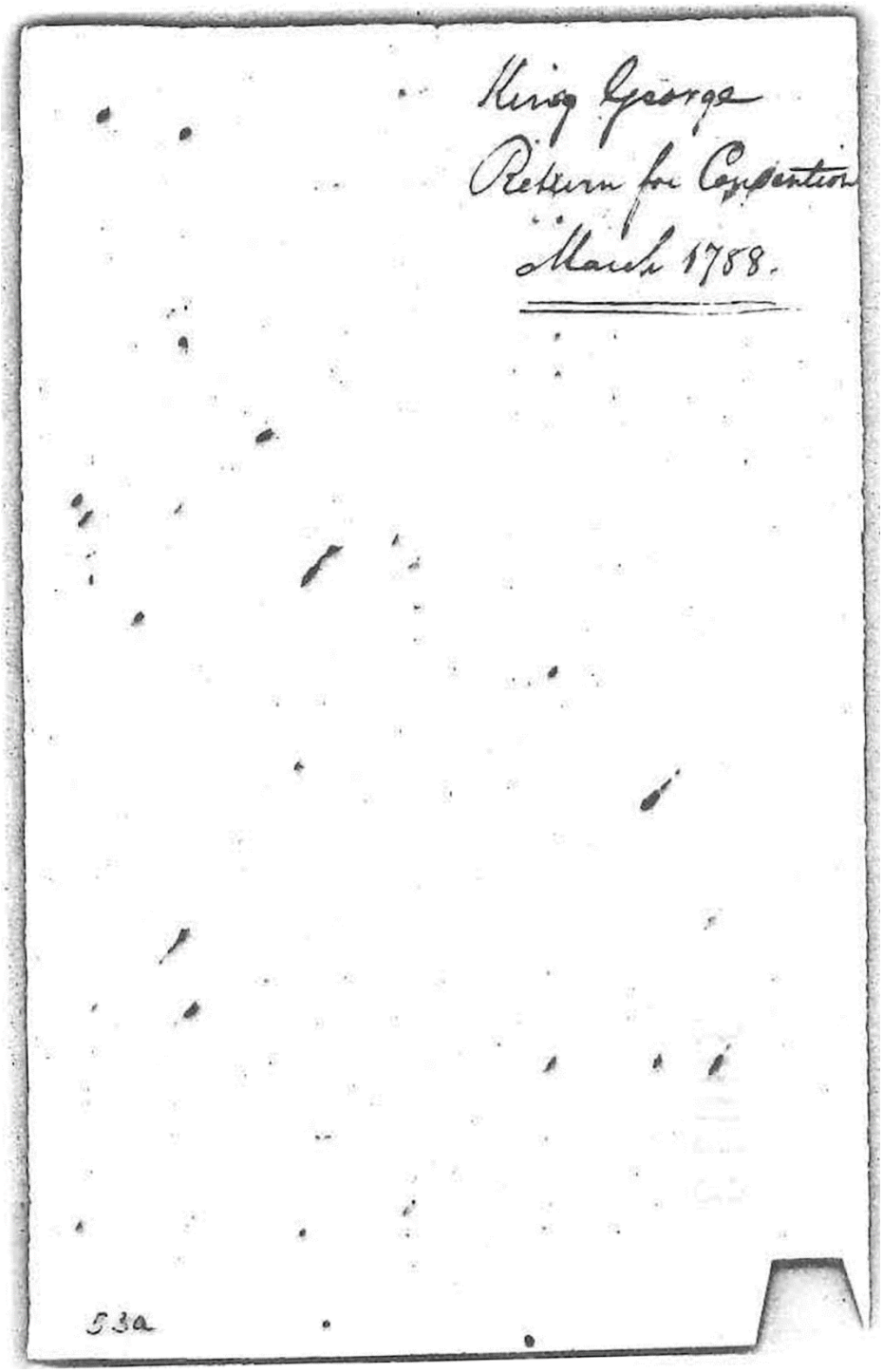
50,a

112. King George County Election Certificate



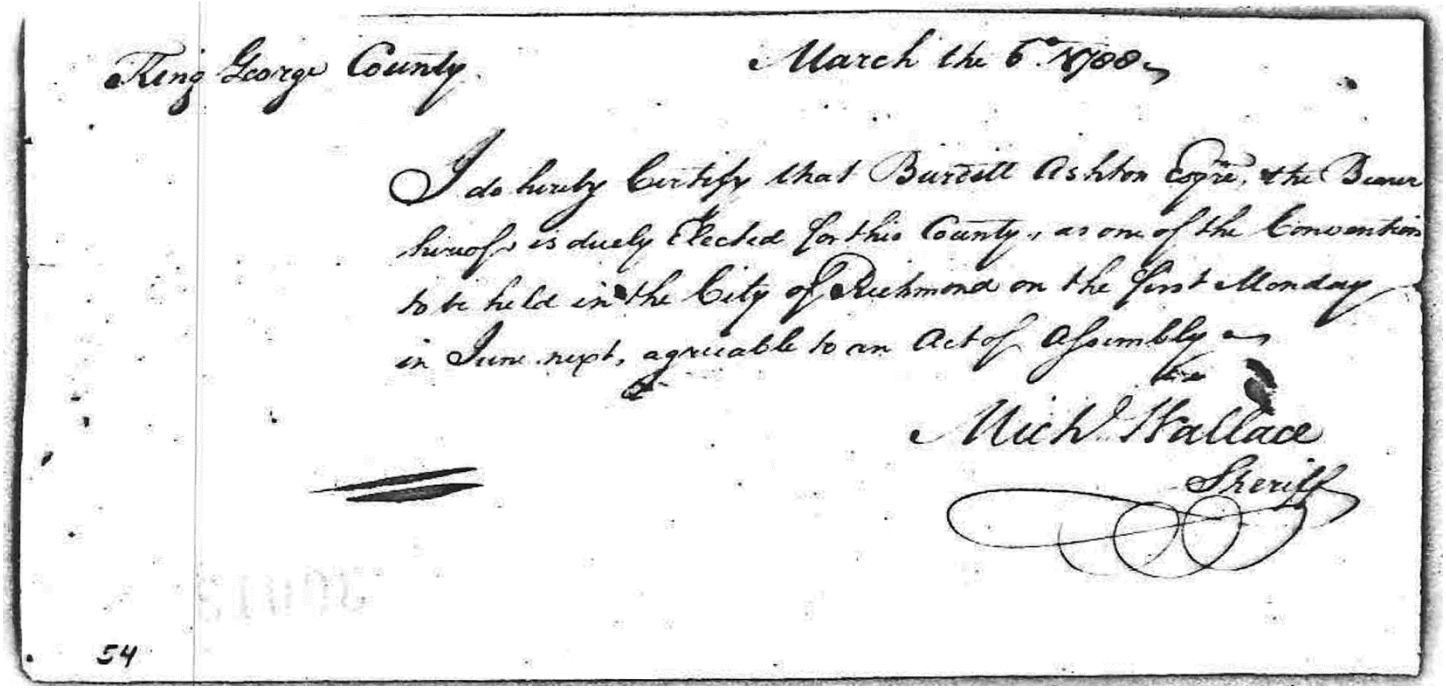
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Michael Wallace Sheriff of King George County in my full County held at the Court house thereof on the sixth of March in the year 1788 by the Electors thereof qualified according to Law, and to the Resolutions of the General Assembly, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely Burdit Ashton and William Thornton Esquires to represent the same in the Convention to be held at Richmond on the second day of June next. Given under my hand the day and date above written.

[illegible]


King George
Return for Convention
March 1788.

53a

113. King George County Election Certificate

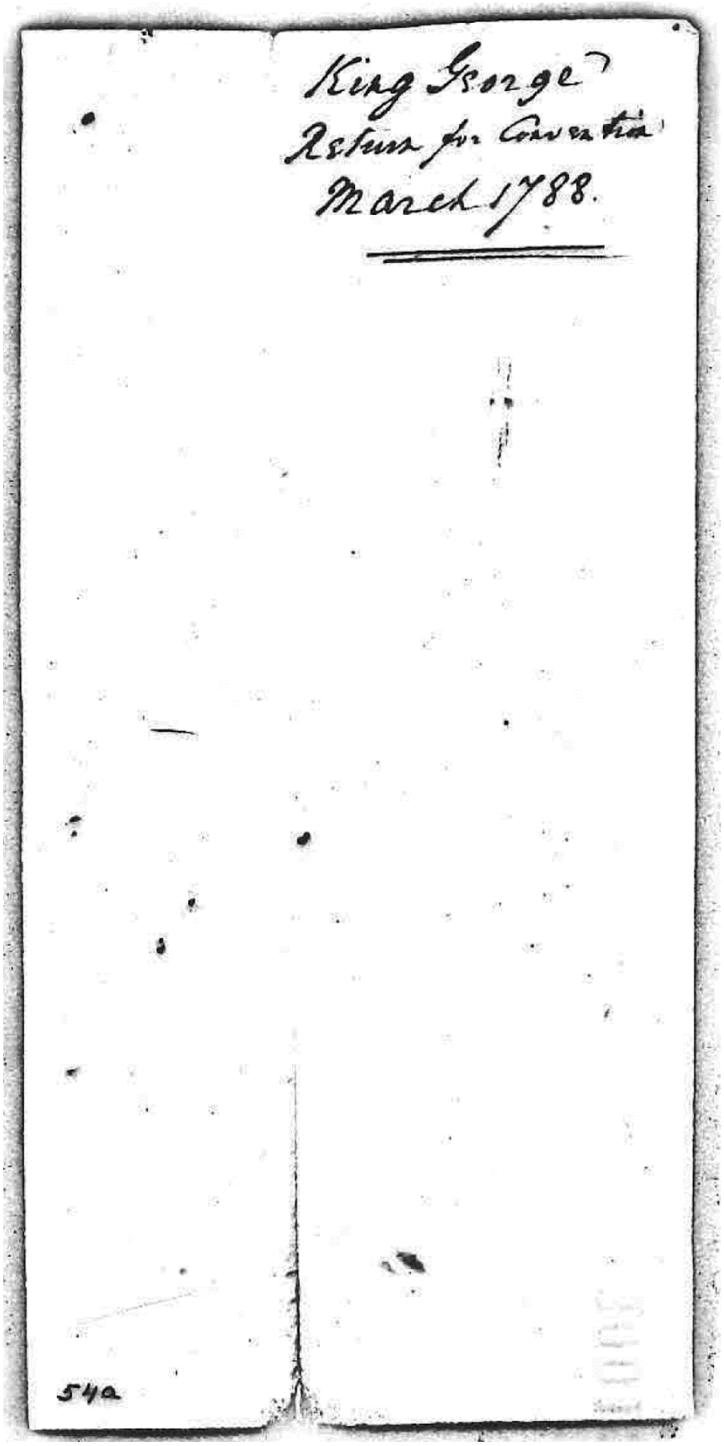


King George County. March the 6. 1788

I do hereby Certify that Burrell Ashton Esqr. the Gentleman whose is duely Elected for this County, as one of the Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next, agreeable to an Act of Assembly

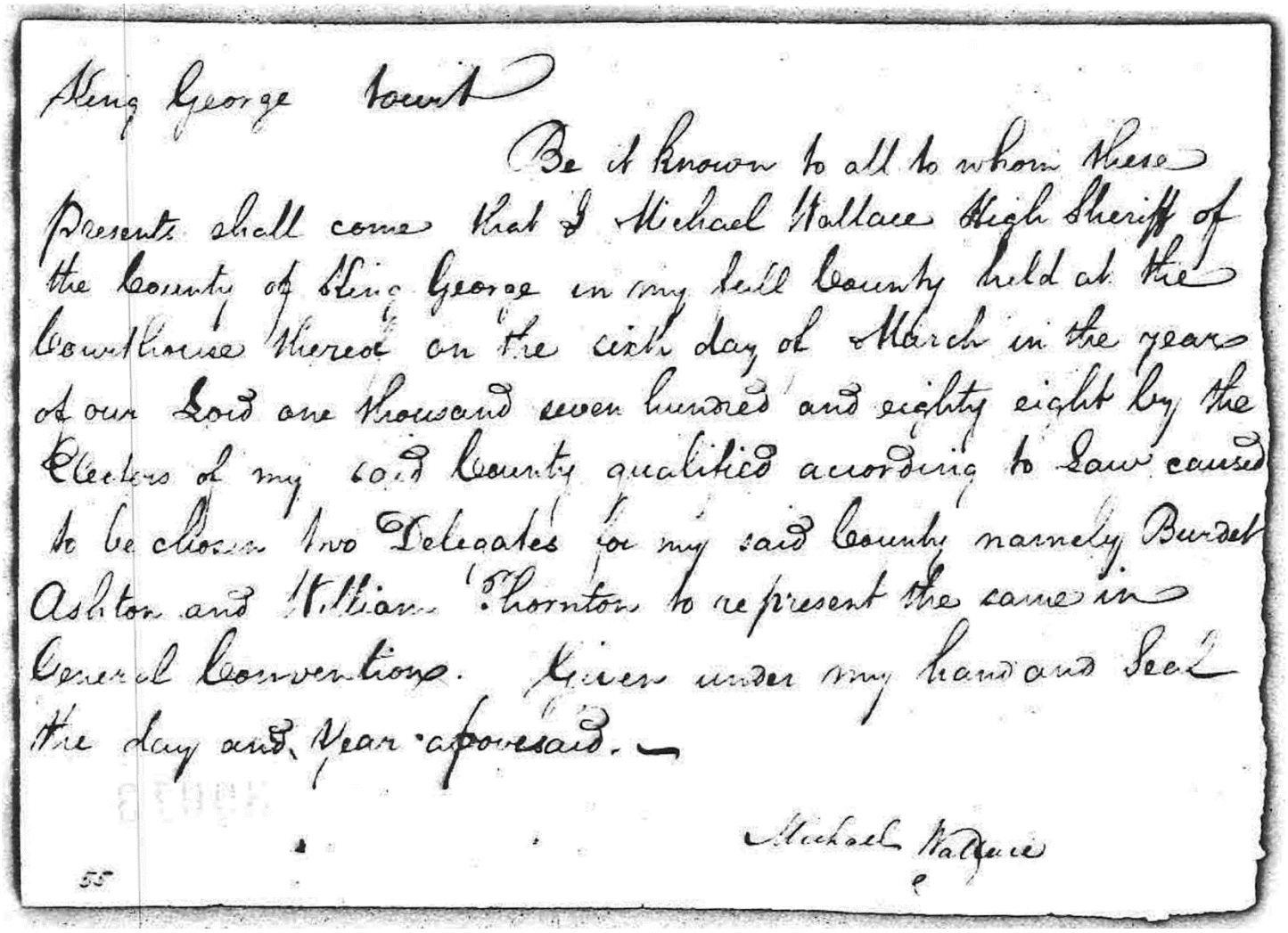
Mich. Wallace
Sheriff

54


King George
Return for Convention
March 1788.

542

114. King George County Election Certificate

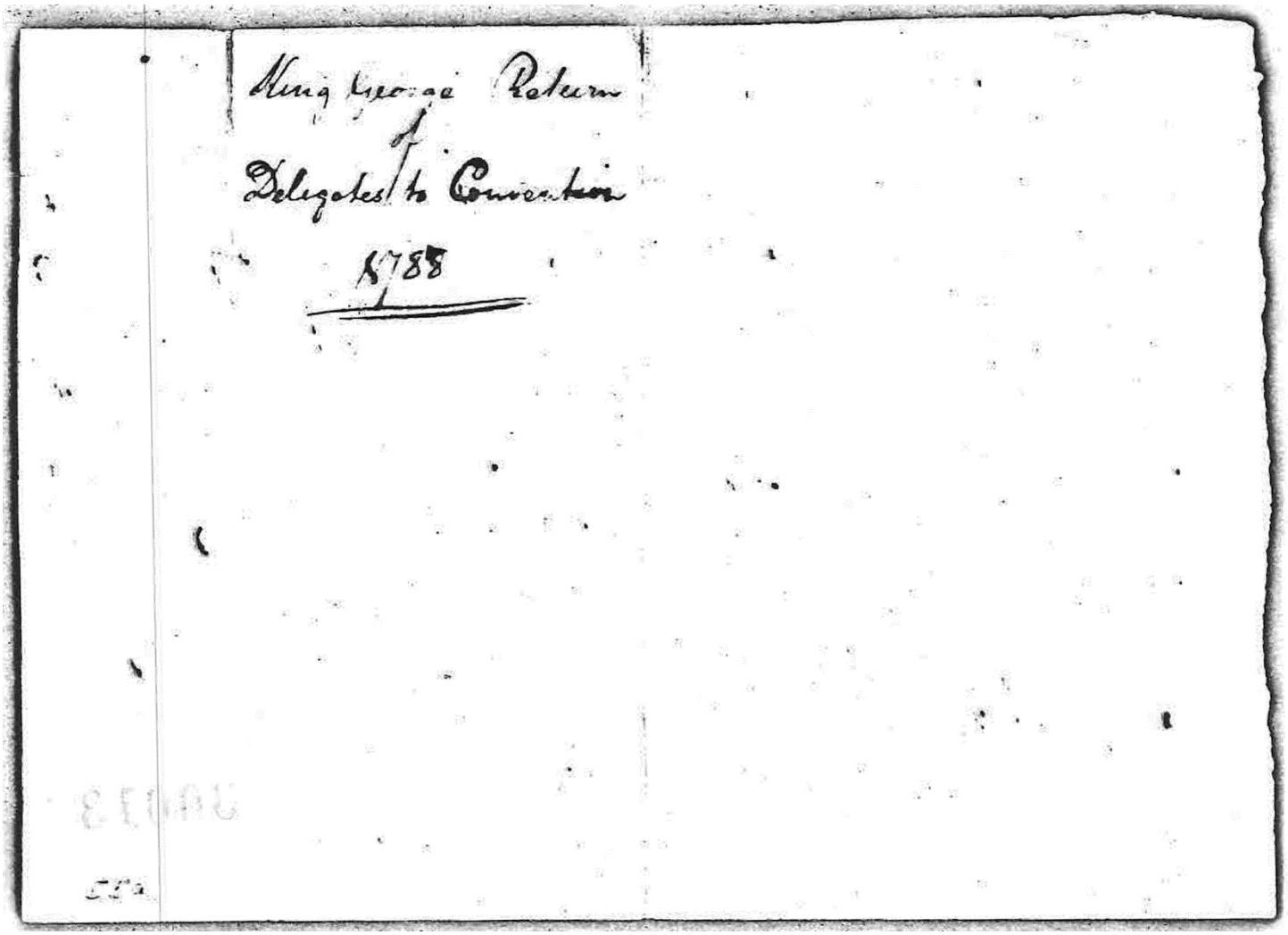


King George Court

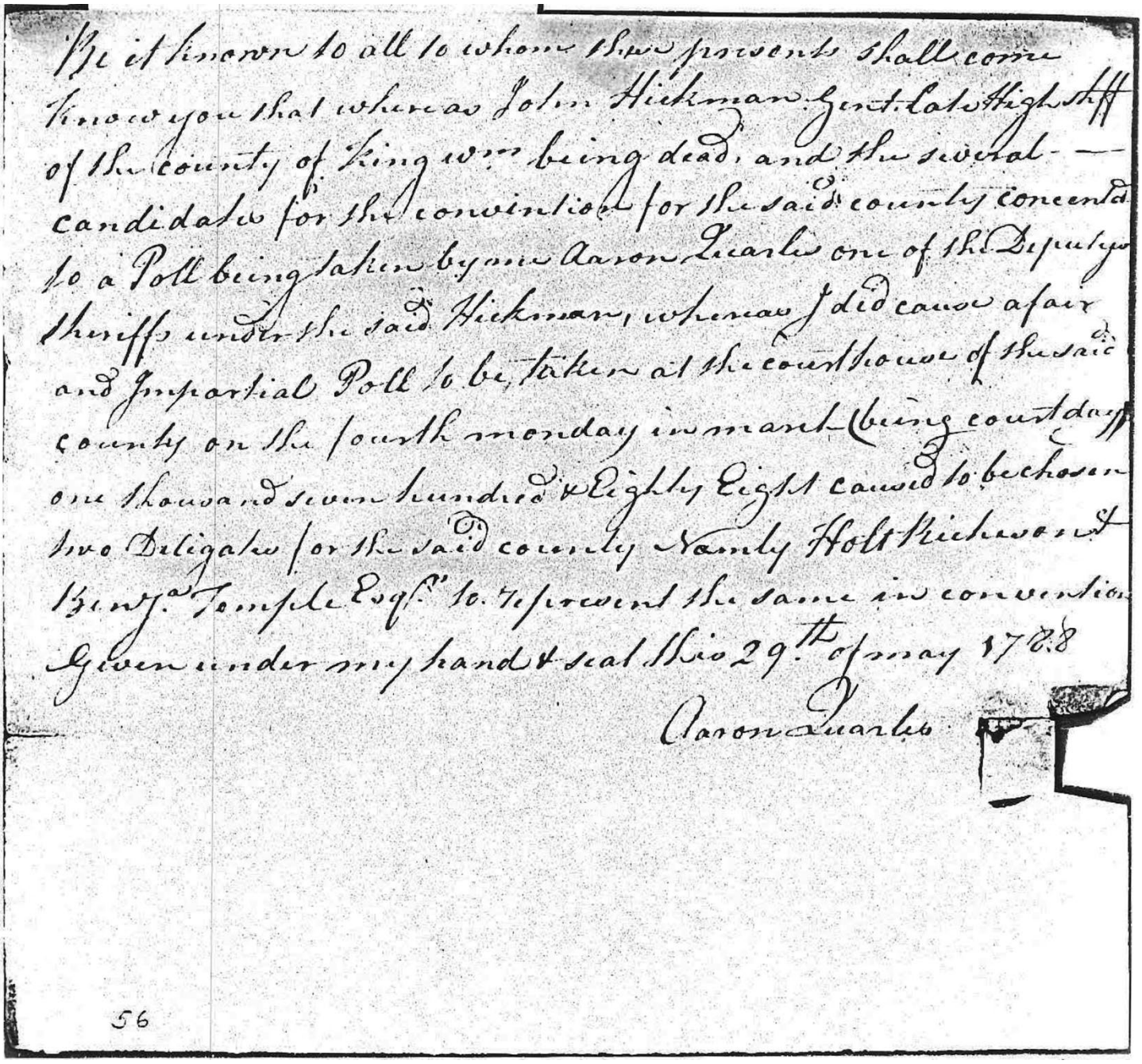
Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come that I Michael Wallace High Sheriff of the County of King George in my said County held at the Courthouse thereof on the sixth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely Burdet Ashton and William Thornton to represent the same in General Convention. Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid.

Michael Wallace

55


King George Return
of
Delegates to Convention
1788

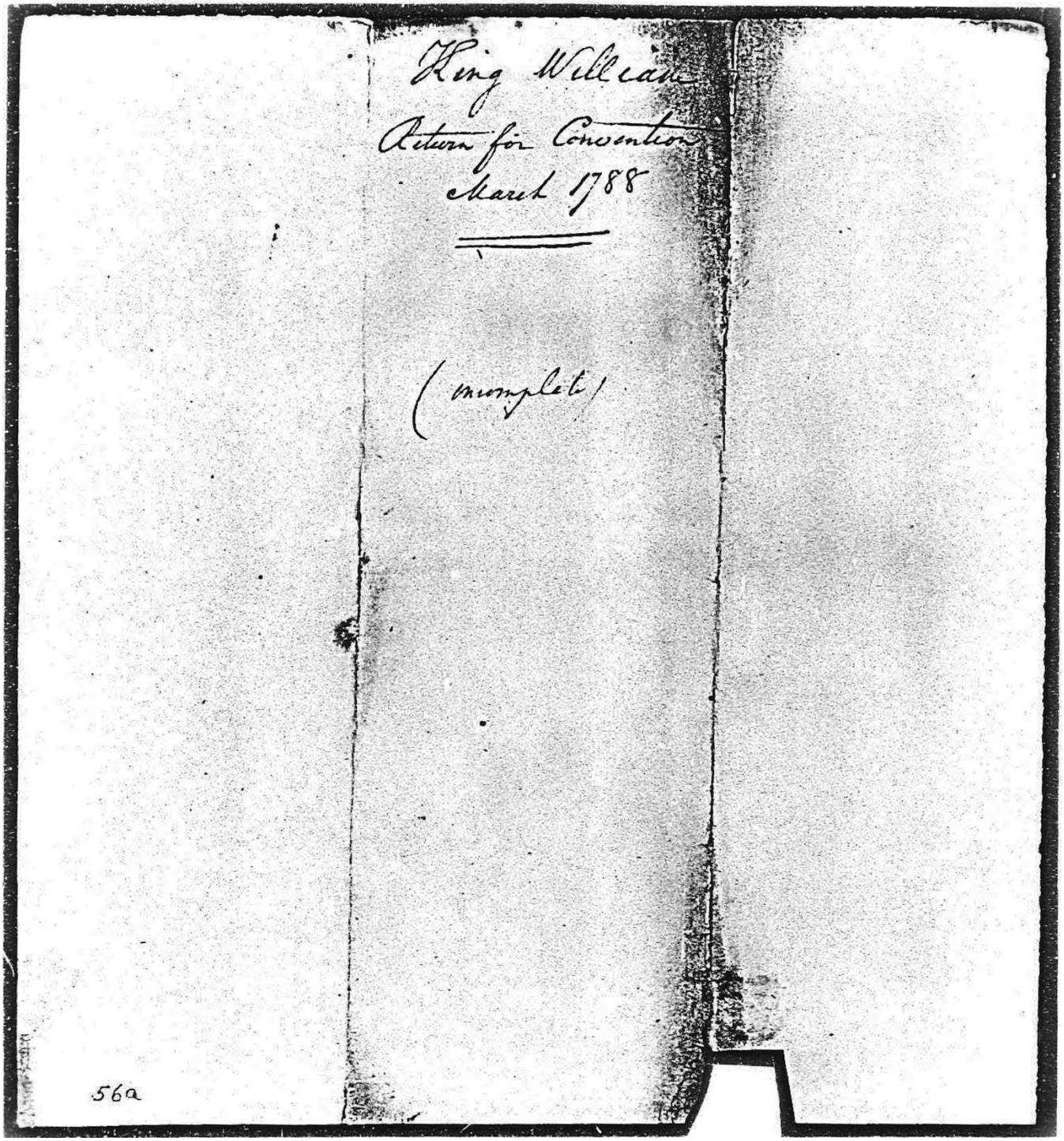
115. King William County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come
Know ye that whereas John Hickman Gent. late High Sheriff
of the County of King Wm being dead, and the several
candidates for the convinction for the said county conceeding
to a Poll being taken by me Aaron Quarles one of the Deputy
Sheriffs under the said Hickman, whereas I did cause a fair
and impartial Poll to be taken at the courthouse of the said
County on the fourth monday in march (being court day)
one thousand seven hundred & Eighty Eight caused to be chosen
two Deligates for the said county Namly Holt Richeson &
Benj.a Temple Esq.r to represent the same in convention
Given under my hand & seal this 29.th of may 1788

Aaron Quarles

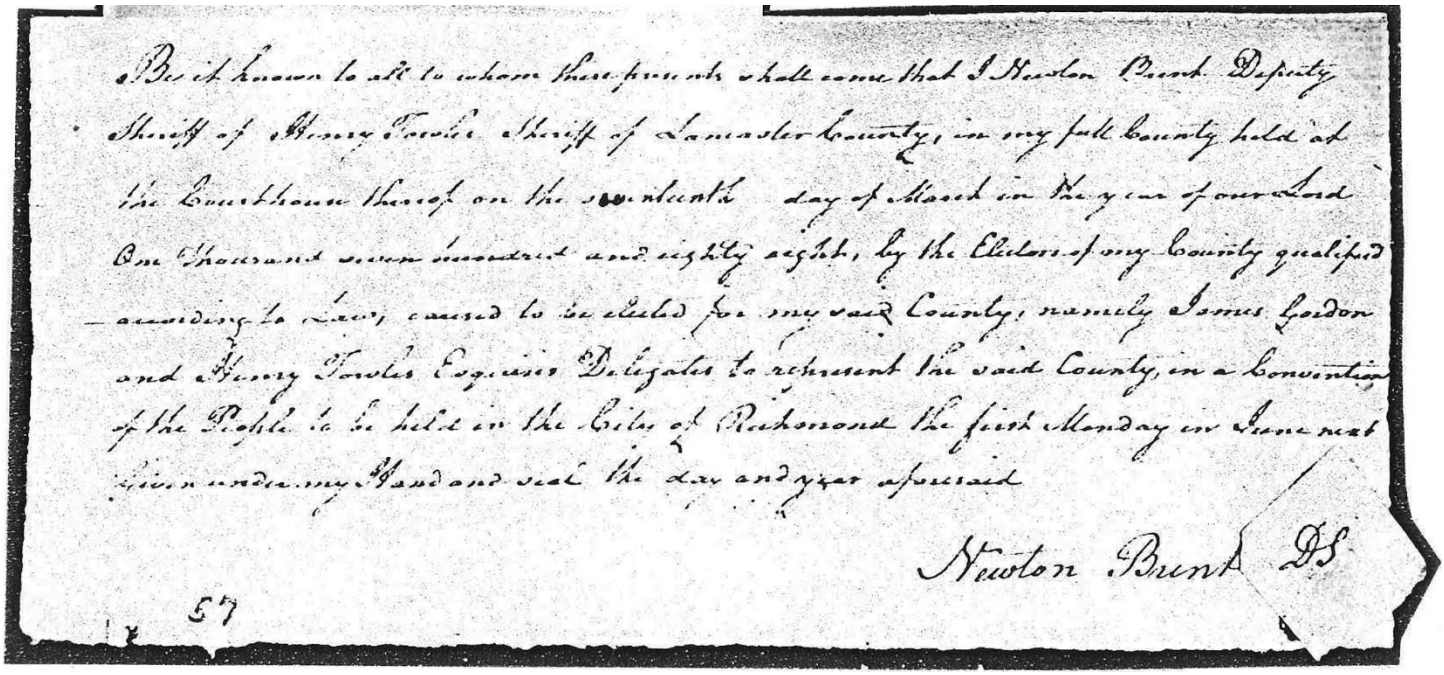
56


King Williams
Return for Convention
March 1788

(incomplete)

56a

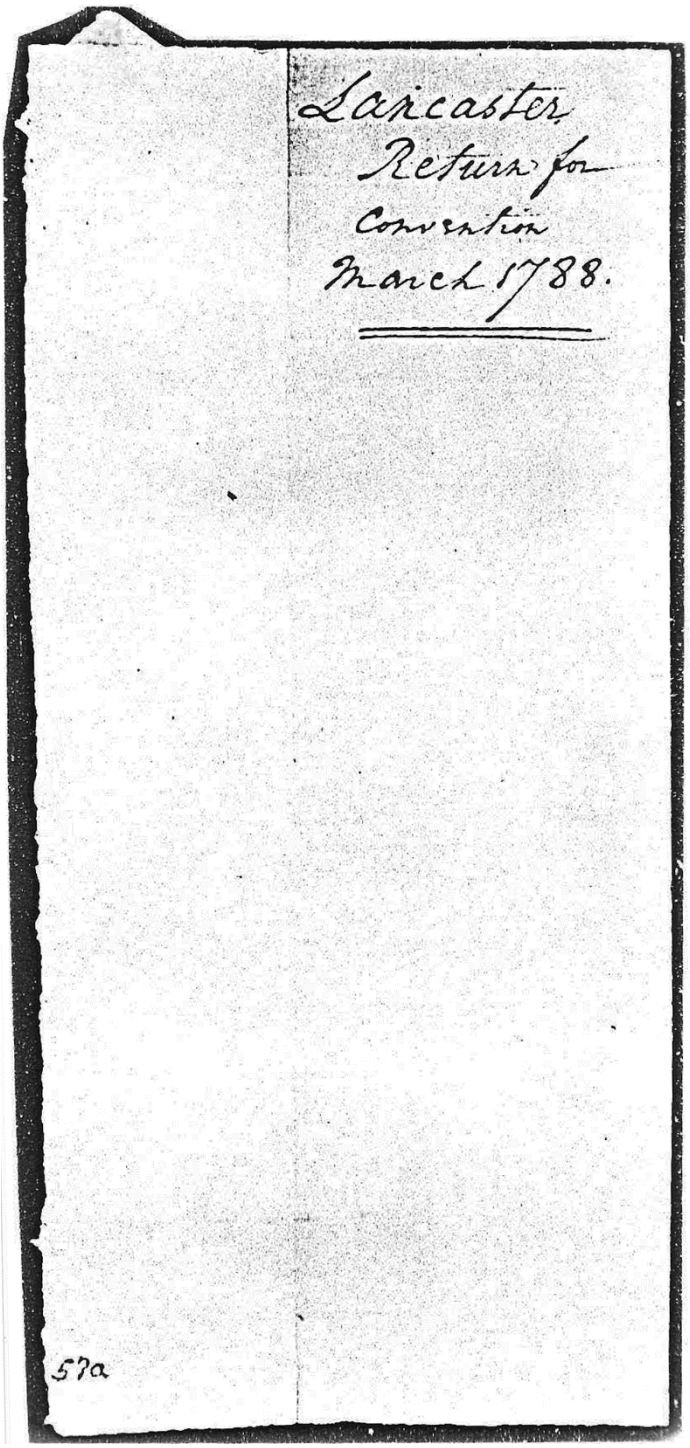
116. Lancaster County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Newton Brent Deputy Sheriff of Henry Fowle Sheriff of Lancaster County, in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Citizens of my County qualified according to Law, caused to be elected for my said County, namely James Gordon and Henry Fowle Esquires Delegates to represent the said County, in a Convention of the People to be held in the City of Richmond the first Monday in June next Given under my Hand and seal the day and year aforesaid

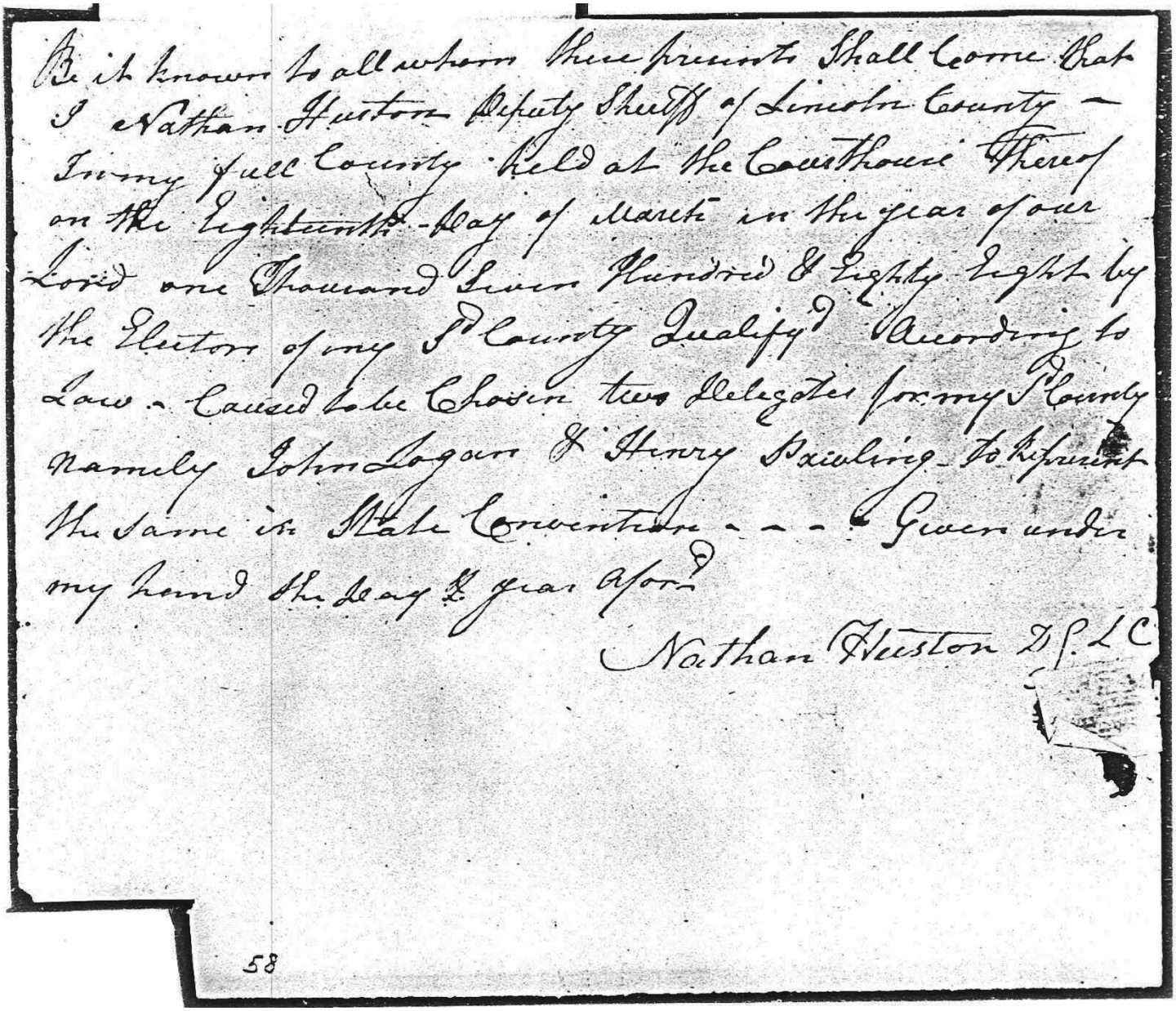
Newton Brent DS

57


Lancaster
Return for
Convention
March 1788.

57a

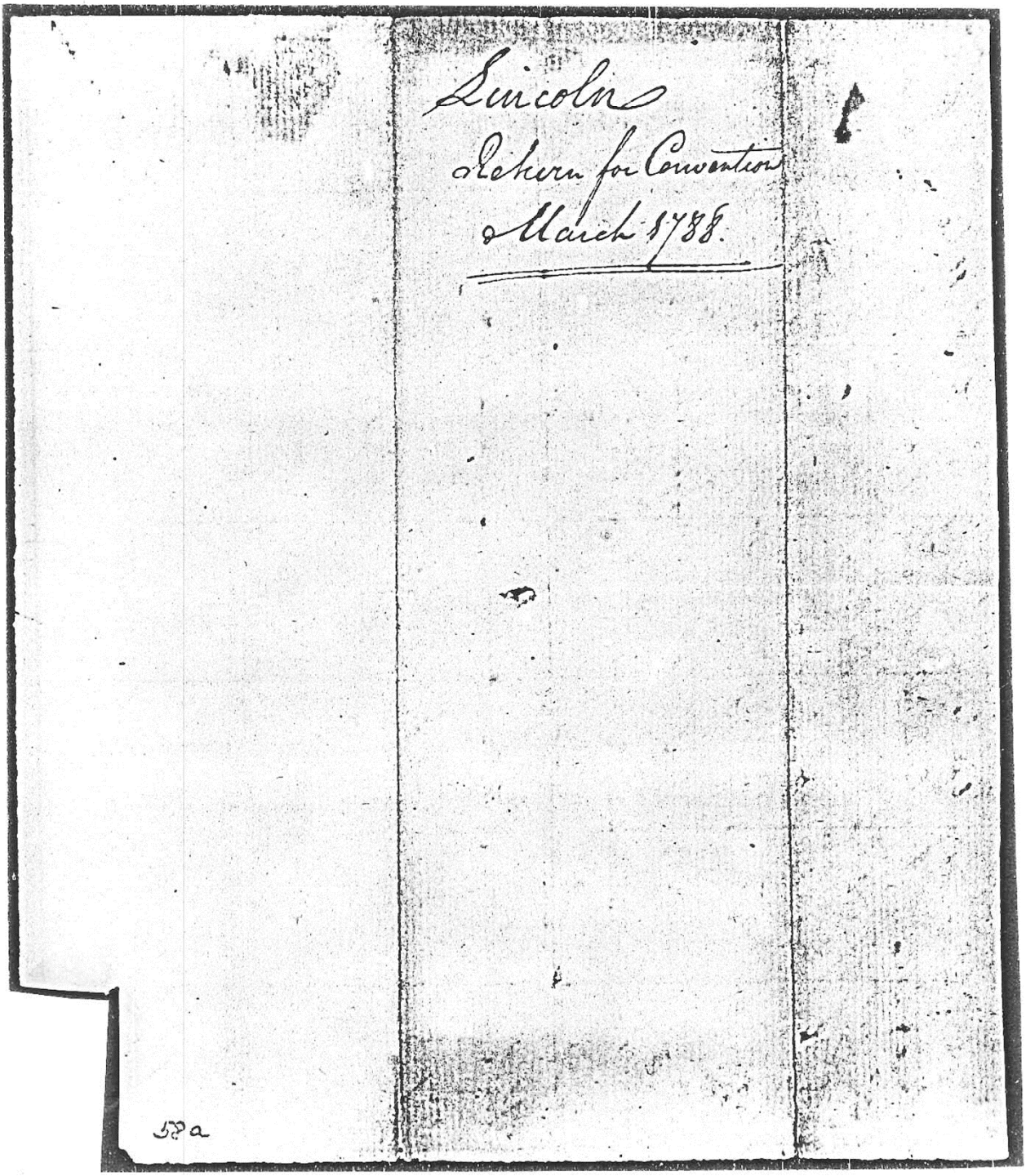
117. Lincoln County Election Certificate



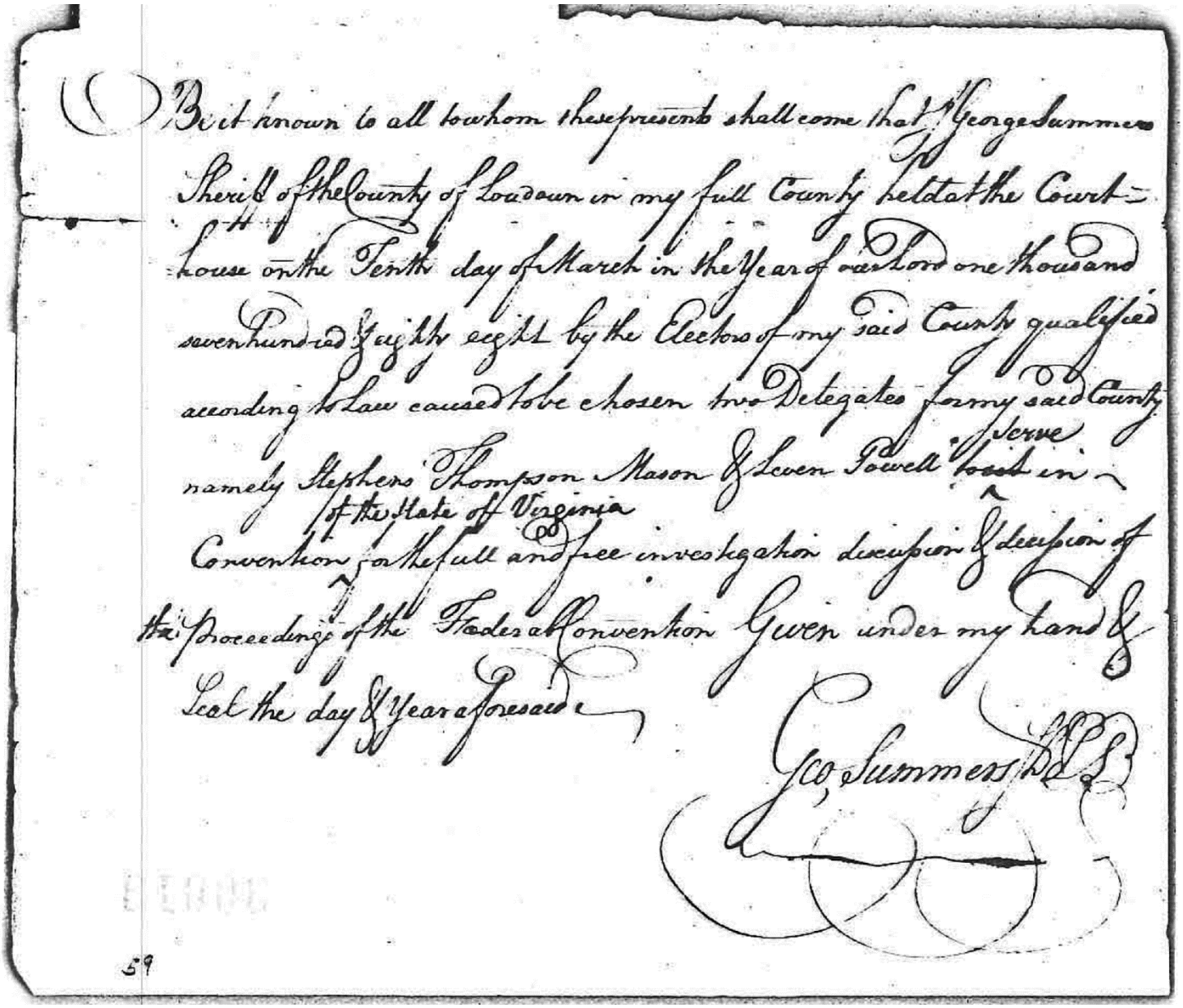
Be it known to all whom these presents Shall Come that
I Nathan Huston Deputy Sheriff of Lincoln County —
Jenny Pull County held at the Courthouse thereof
on the Eighteenth day of March in the year of our
Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred & Eighty Eight by
the Electors of my Sd County Qualify'd According to
Law — Caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my County
Namely John Logan & Henry Pickling to Represent
the same in State Convention — — — Given under
my hand the day & year aforesd

Nathan Huston D.S.L.C

58


Lincoln
Return for Convention
March 1788.
59a

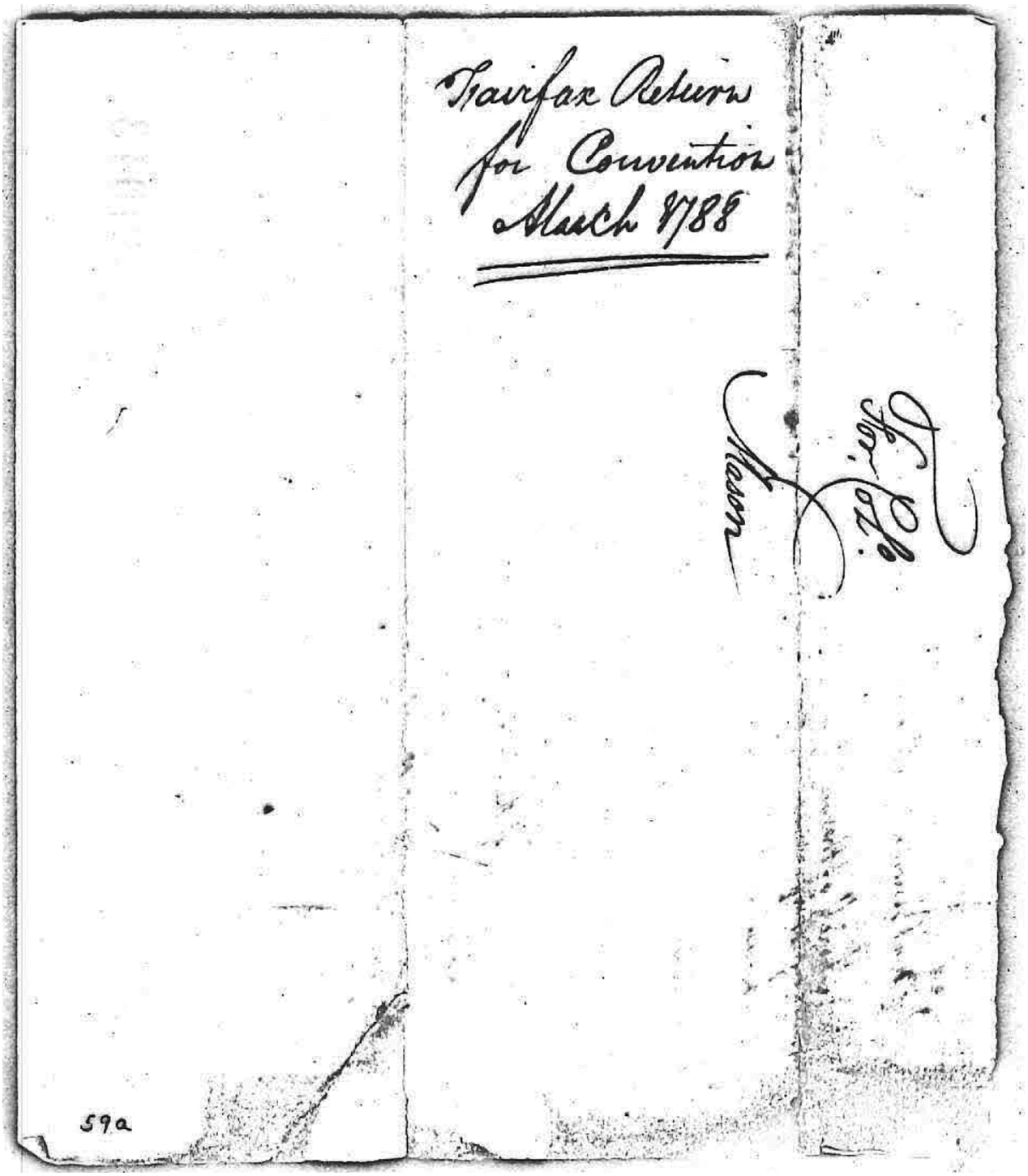
118. Loudoun County E.C., verso of Loudoun County Certificate.



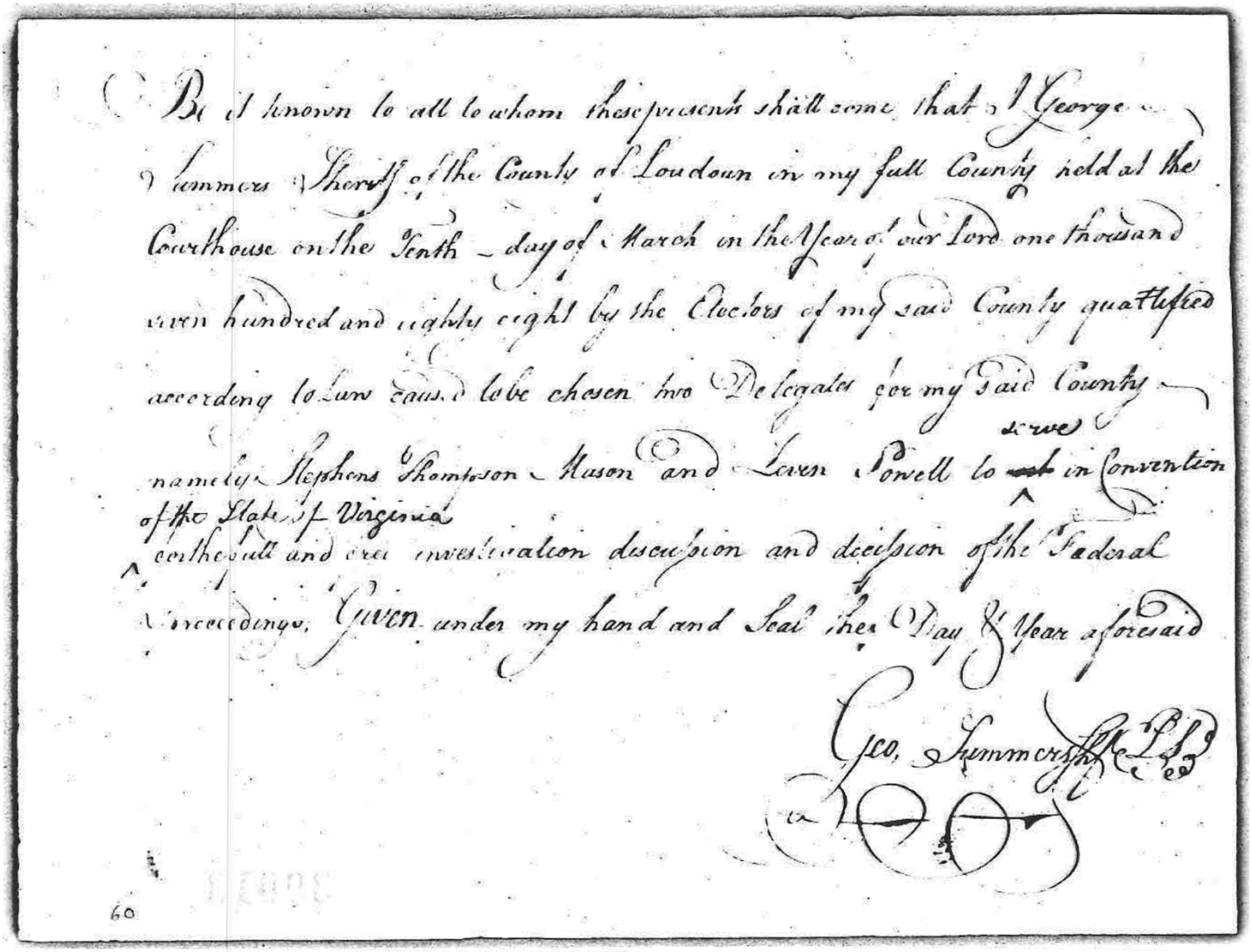
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I George Summers
Sheriff of the County of Loudoun in my full County held at the Court=
house on the Tenth day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand
seven hundred & eighty eight by the Electors of my said County qualified
according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County
namely Stephens Thompson Mason & Leven Powell to serve
of the State of Virginia
Convention for the full and free investigation discussion & decision of
the proceedings of the Federal Convention Given under my hand &
Seal the day & Year aforesaid

Geo. Summers Sh. L. S.

59


Fairfax Returns
for Convention
March 1788
Geo. Mason
59a

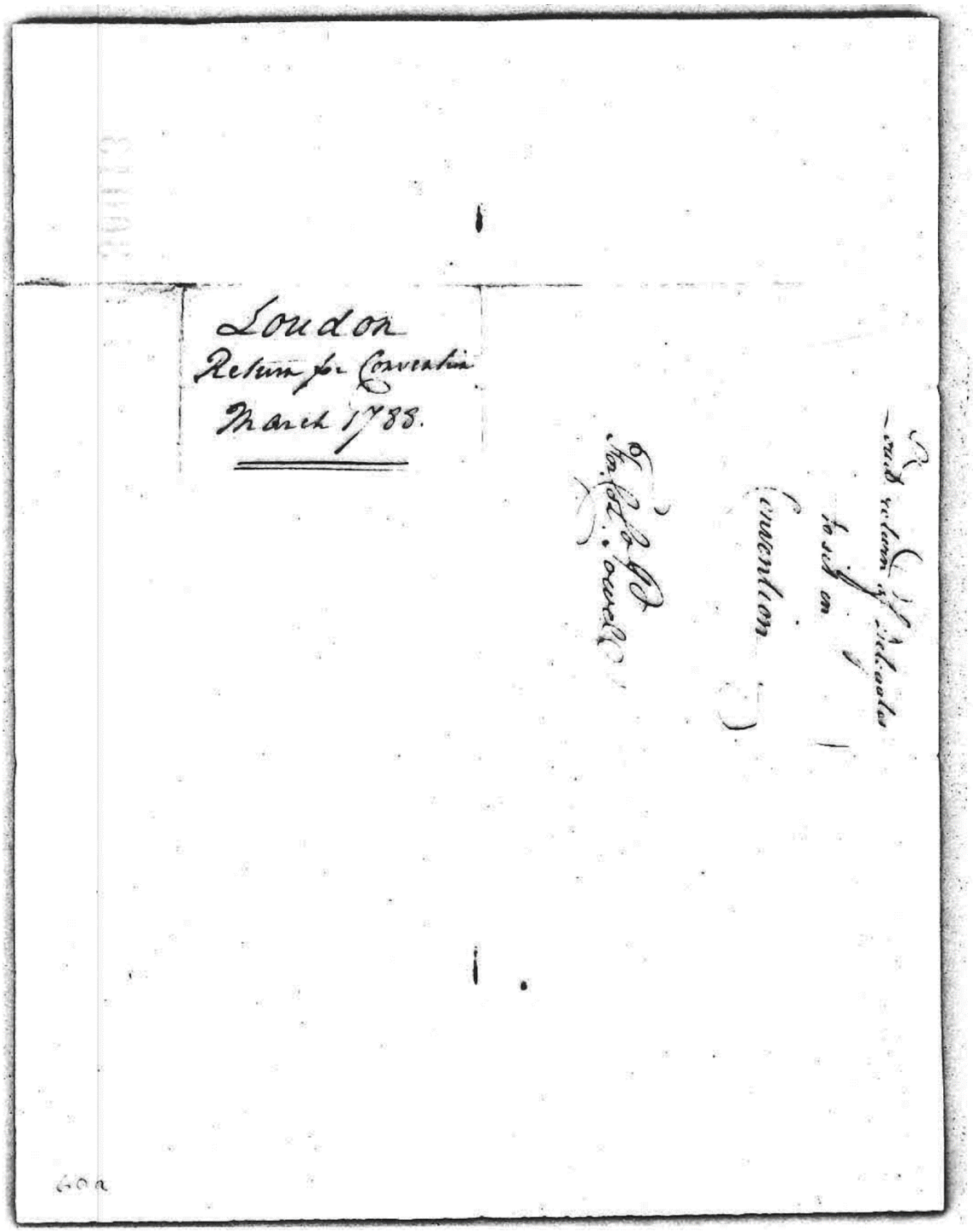
119. Loudoun County Election Certificate



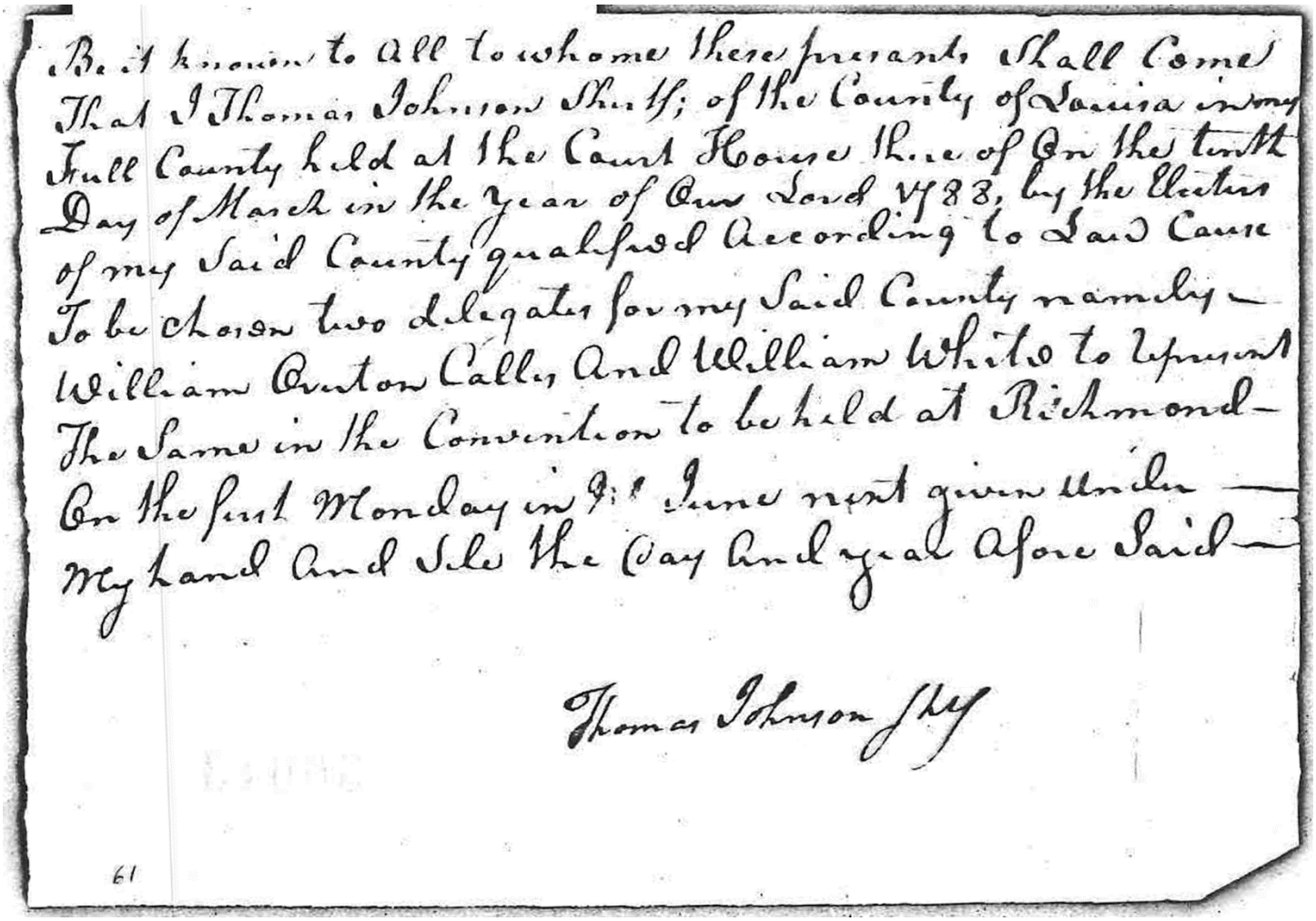
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I George Summers Sheriff of the County of Loudoun in my full County held at the Courthouse on the Tenth day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely Stephens Thomoson Mason and Leven Powell to serve in Convention of the State of Virginia to the full and free investigation discussion and decision of the Federal Proceedings. Given under my hand and Seal the Day & Year aforesaid

Geo. Summers Sh. L.S.

60


London
Return for Convention
March 1788.
60a

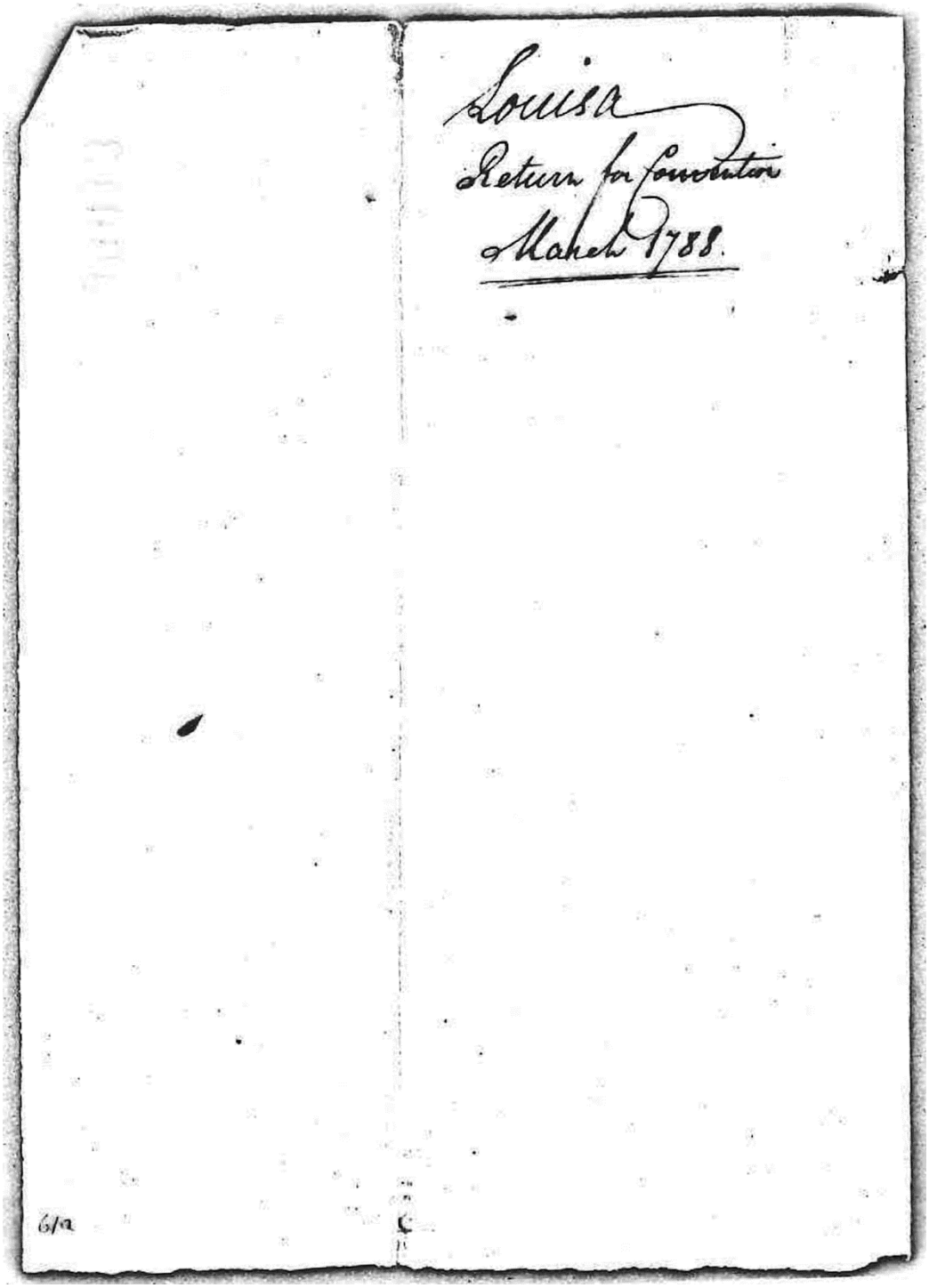
120. Louisa County Election Certificate



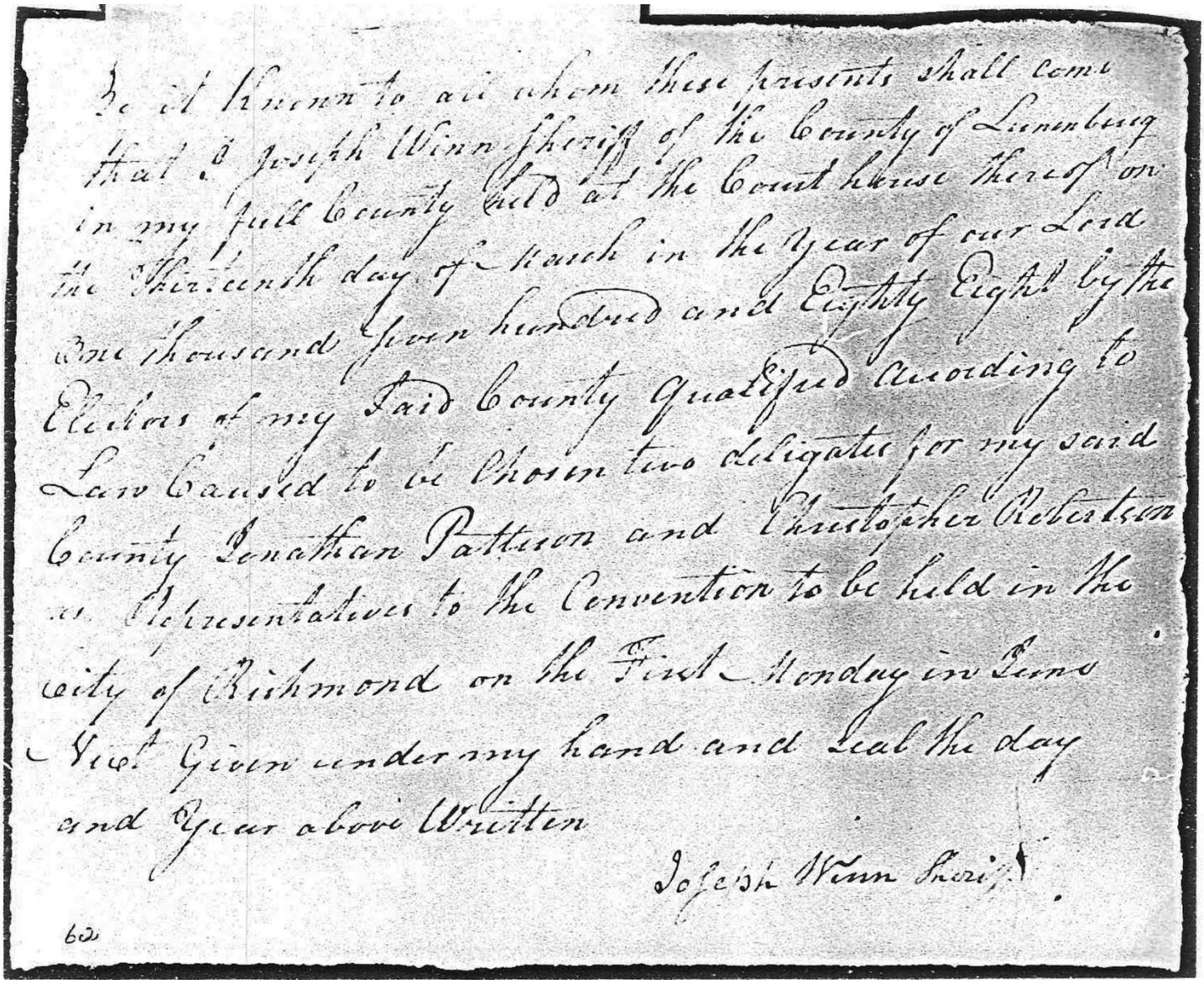
Be it known to all to whome these presents Shall Come
That I Thomas Johnson Sheriff of the County of Louisa in my
Full County held at the Court House Door of On the tenth
Day of March in the year of Our Lord 1788, by the Electors
of my Said County qualified According to Said Cause
To be Chosen two delegates for my Said County namely —
William Overton Calley And William White to Represent
The Same in the Convention to be held at Richmond —
On the first Monday in 2d June next given Under —
My hand And Seal the Day And year Afore Said —

Thomas Johnson Shff

61


Louisa
Return for Convention
March 1788.
6/2

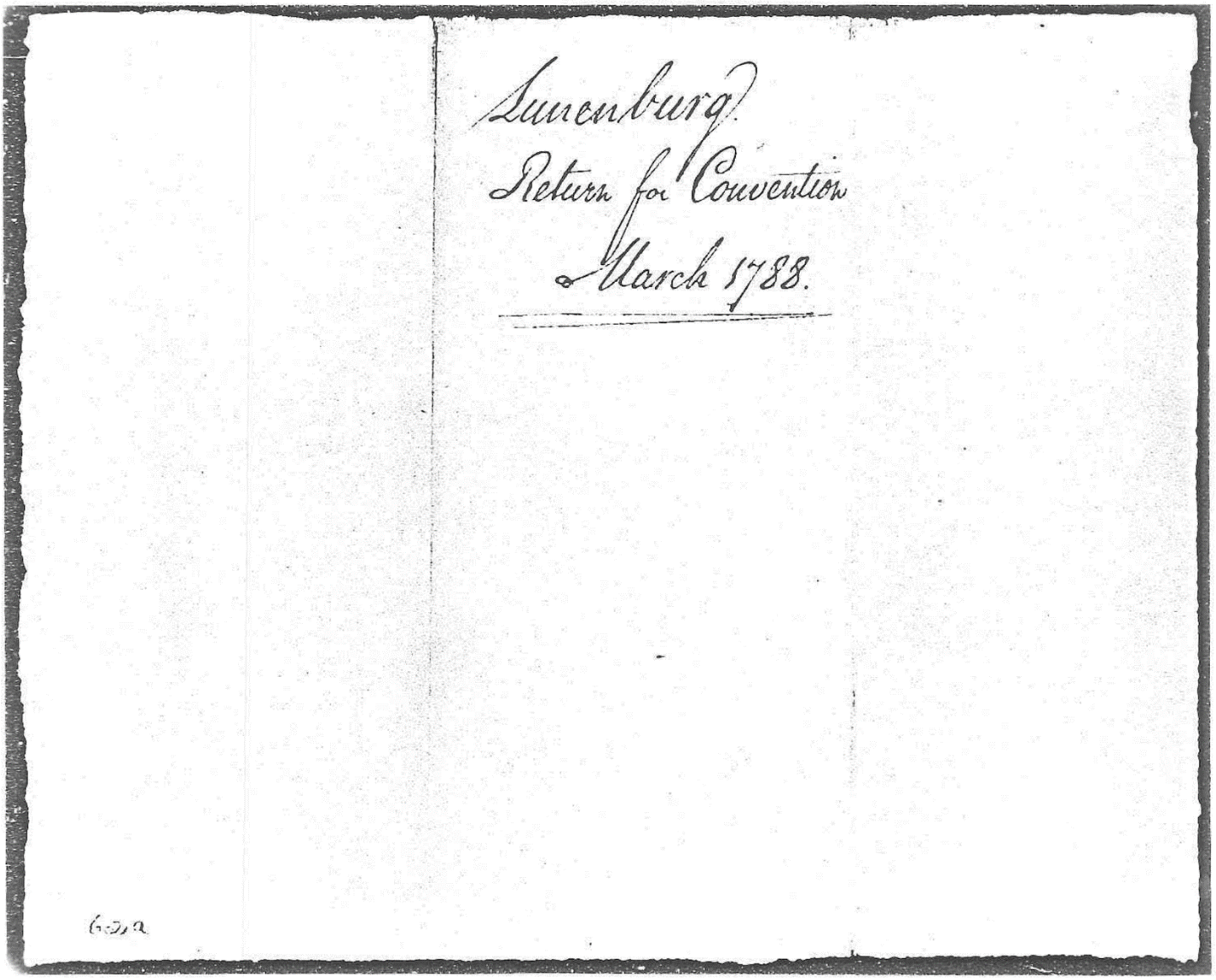
121. Lunenburg County Election Certificate



Be it known to all whom these presents shall come that I Joseph Winn Sheriff of the County of Lunenburg in my said County Held at the Court house thereof on the Thirteenth day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Eight by the Electors of my said County Qualified According to Law Caused to be Chosen two delegates for my said County Jonathan Patterson and Christopher Robertson as Representatives to the Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the First Monday in June Next Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year above Written

Joseph Winn Sheriff

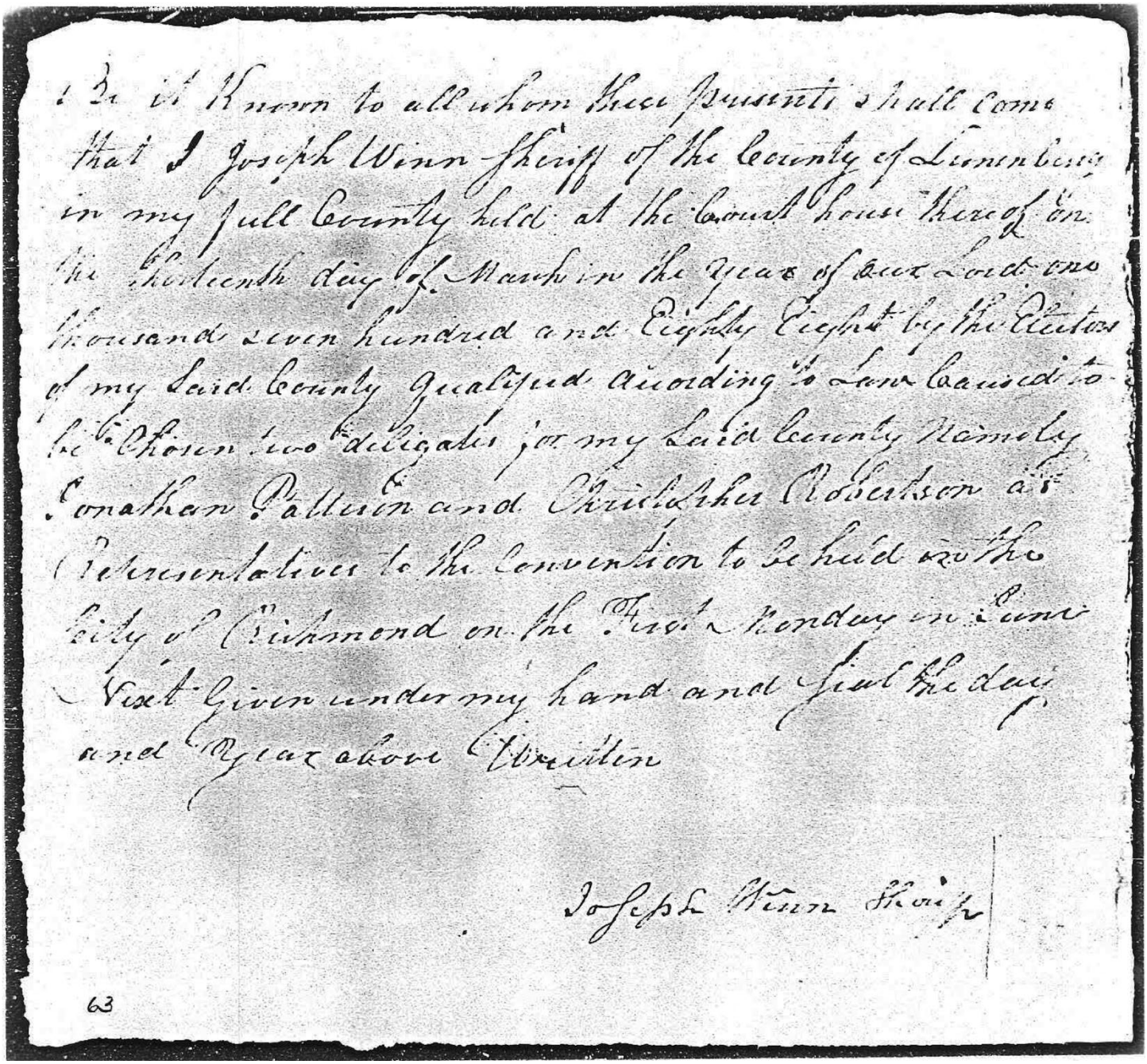
60



Lunenburg
Return for Convention
March 1788.

6-52

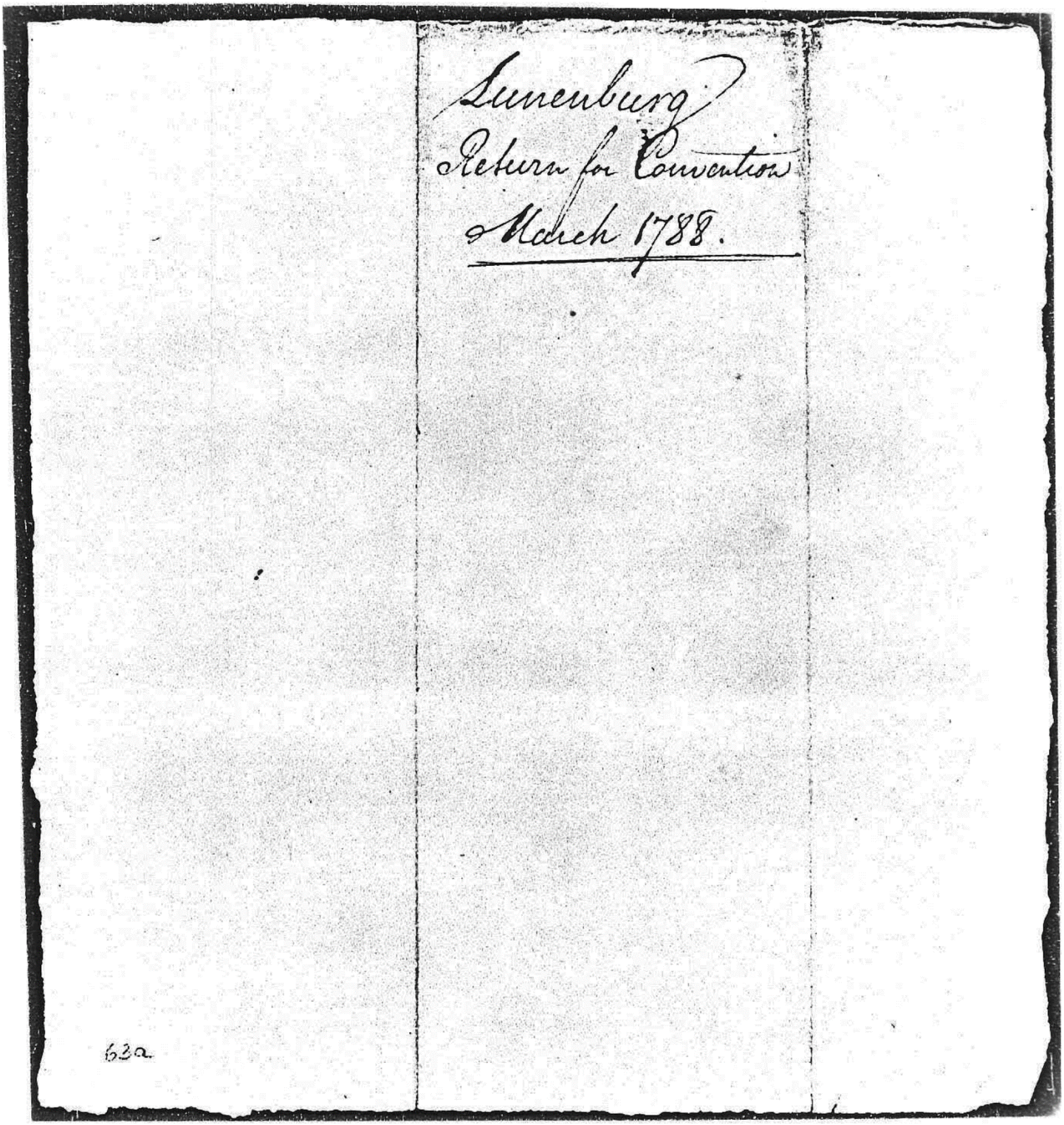
122. Lunenburg County Election Certificate



Be it Known to all whom these presents shall come that I Joseph Winn Sheriff of the County of Lunenburg in my full County held at the Court House thereof on the fourteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Eight by the Electors of my said County Qualified according to Law caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County Namely Jonathan Pattison and Archibald Robertson as Representatives to the Convention to be held at the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year above Written

Joseph Winn Sheriff

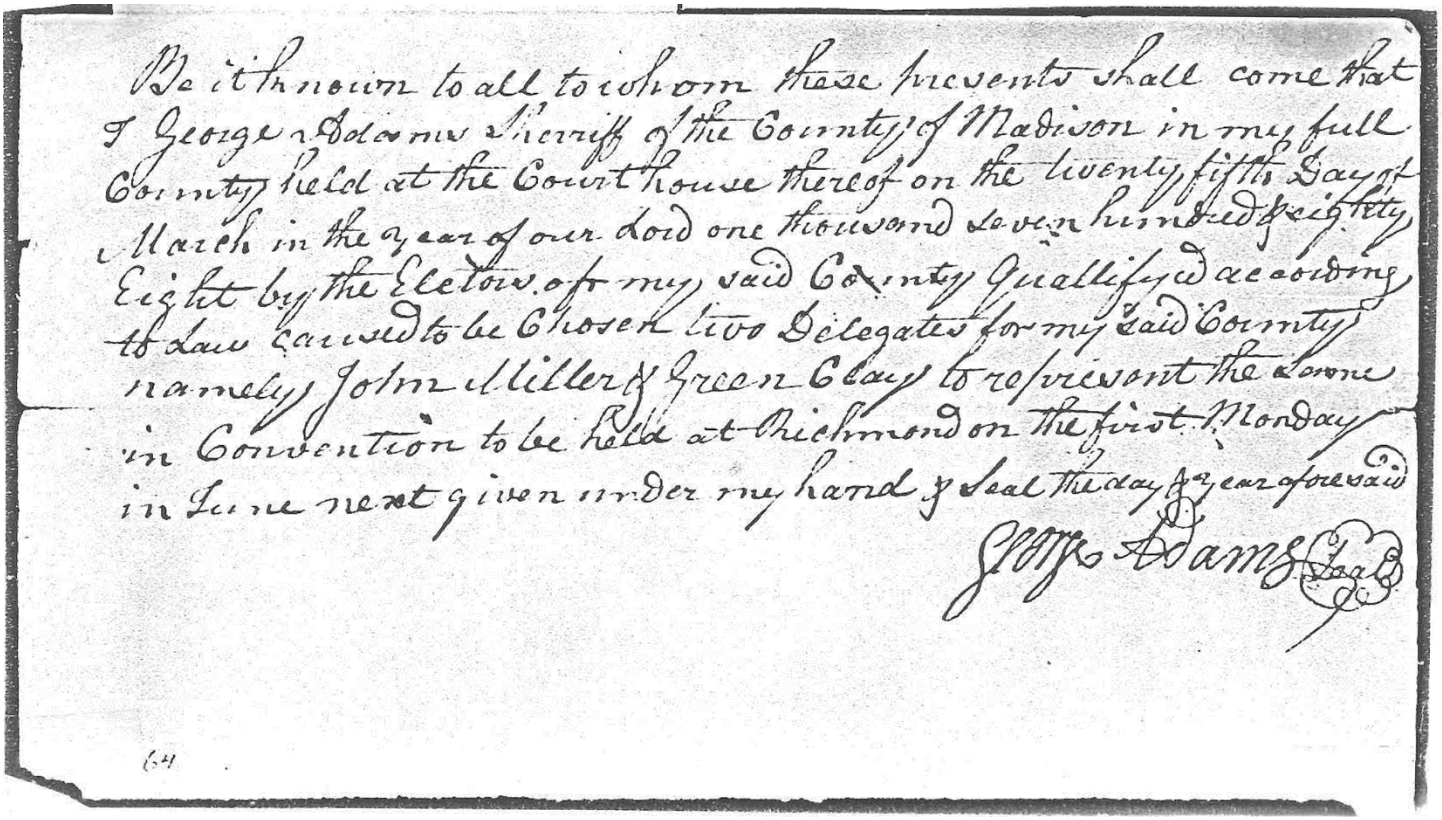
63



Lunenburg
Return for Convention
March 1788.

63a

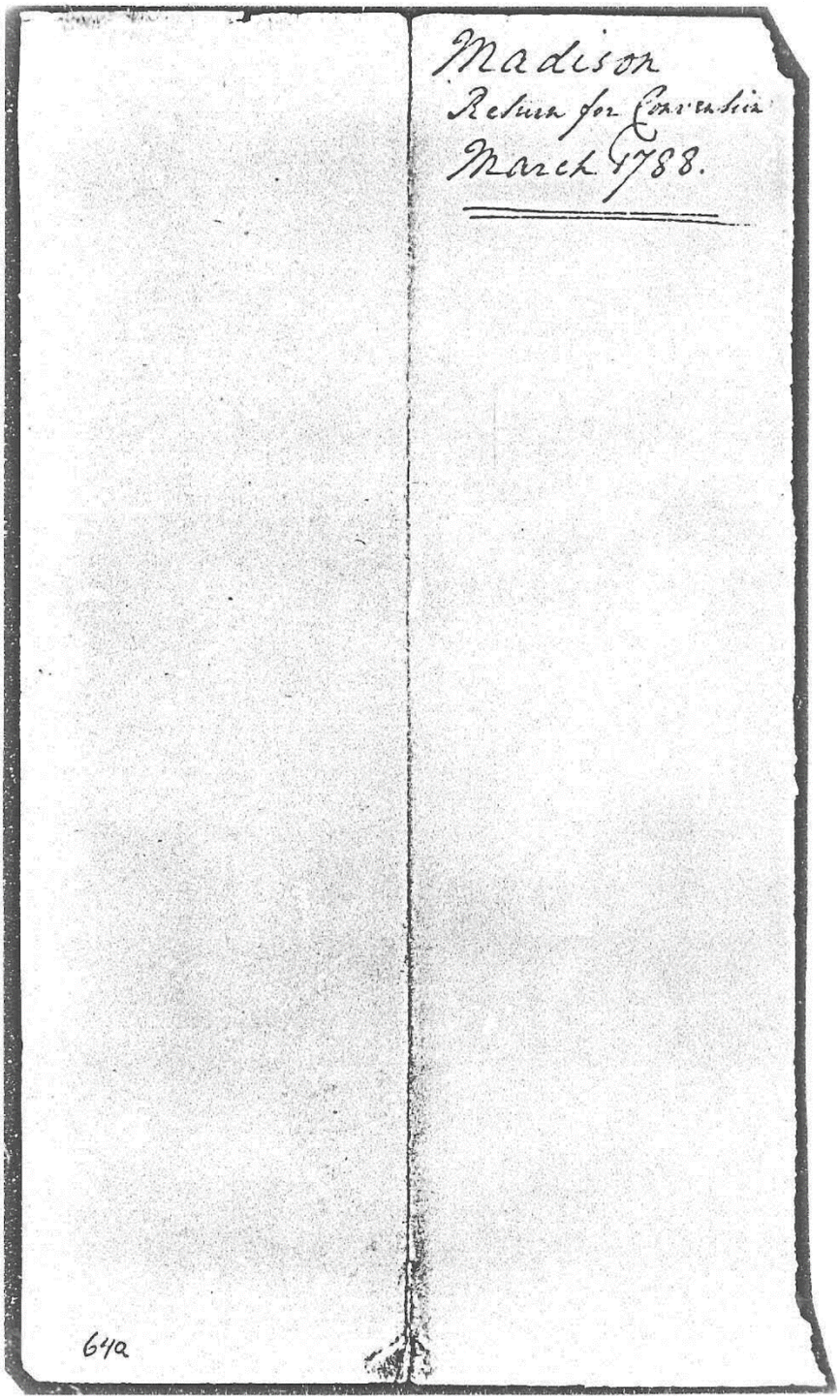
123. Madison County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I George Adams Sheriff of the County of Madison in my full County held at the Court House thereof on the twenty fifth Day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty Eight by the Electors of my said County Qualified according to Law caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County namely John Miller & Green Clay to represent the same in Convention to be held at Richmond on the first Monday in June next given under my hand & Seal the day & year aforesaid

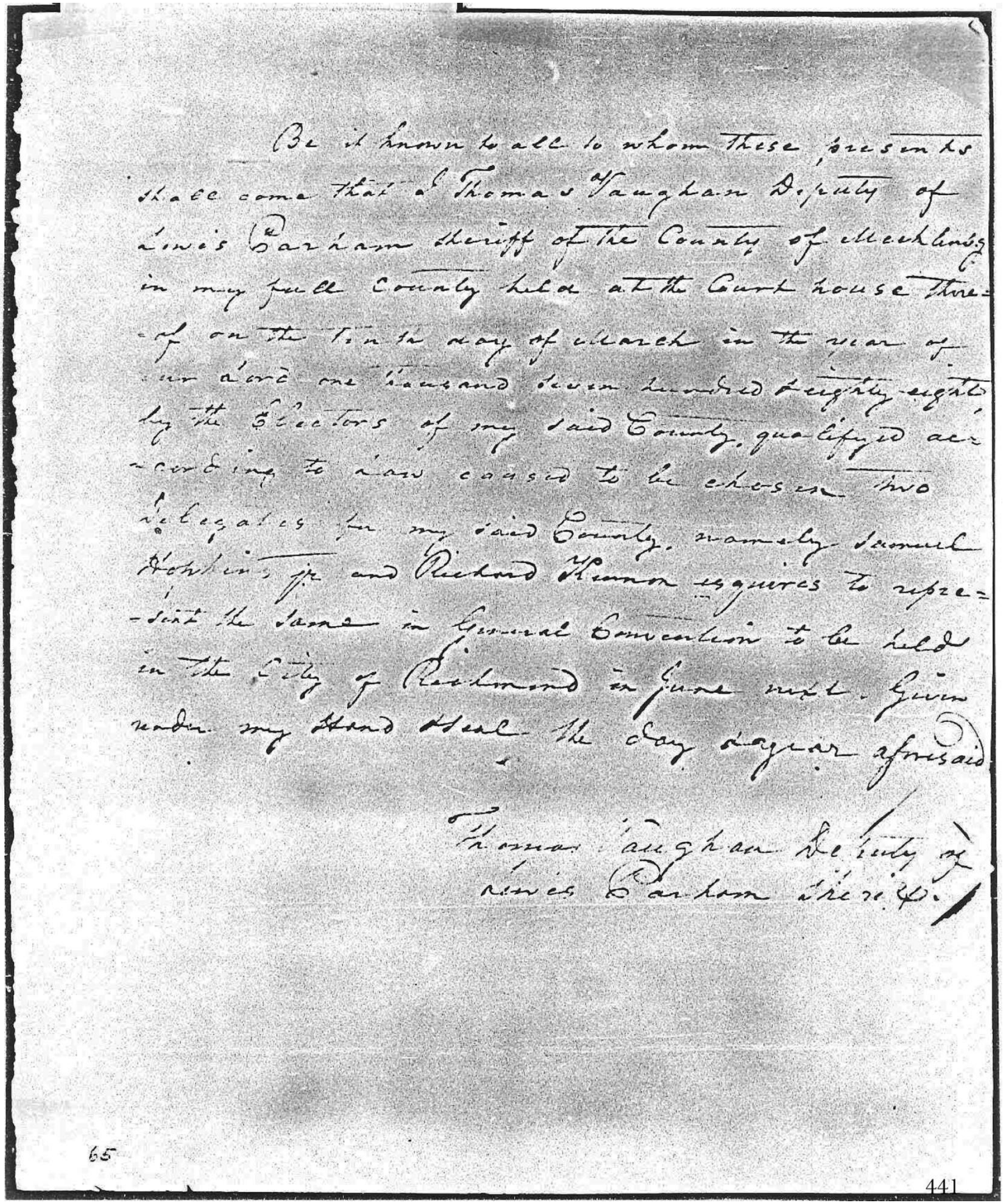
Geo. Adams Sh. M.C.

64


Madison
Return for Convention
March 1788.

64a

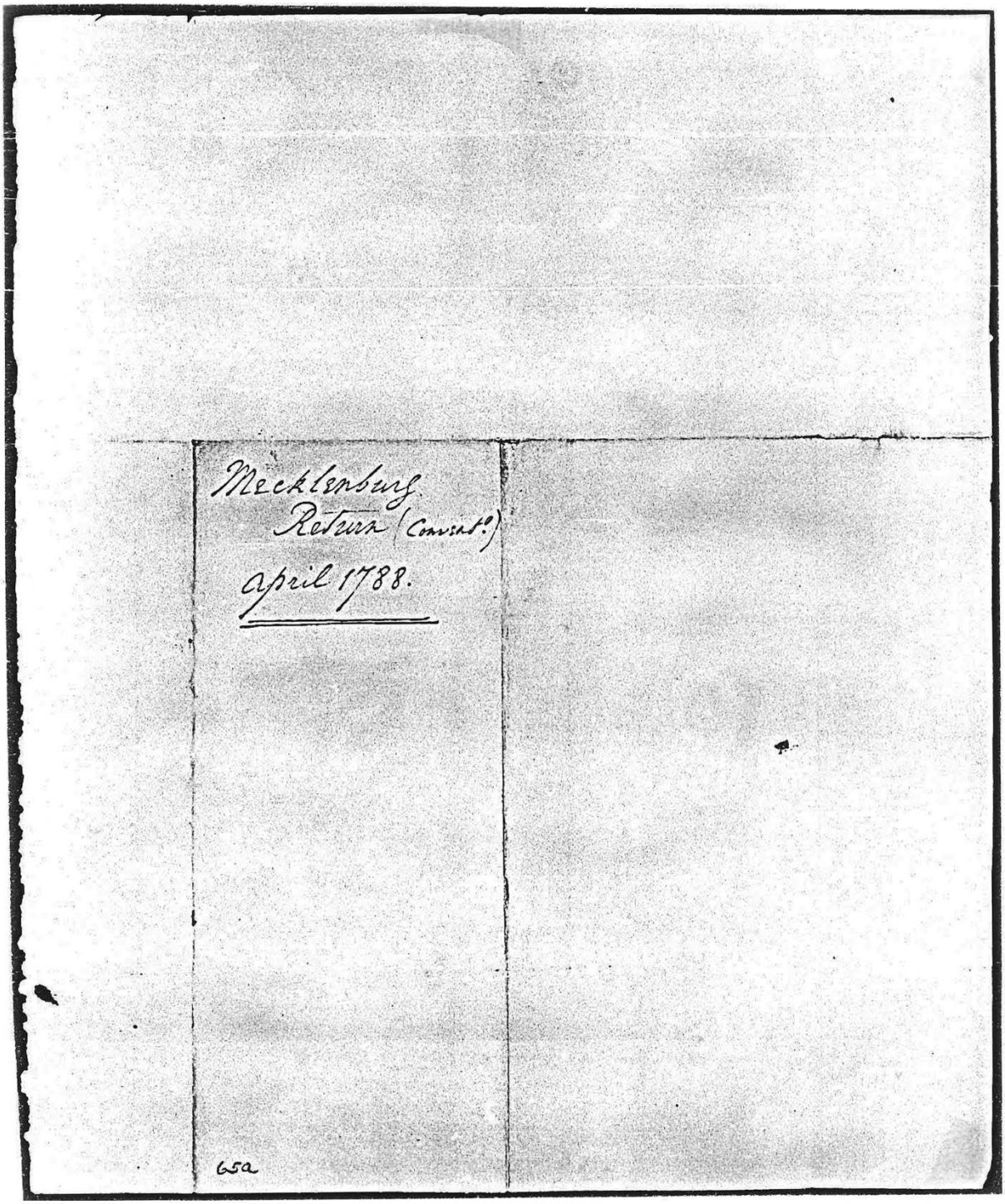
124. Mecklenbury County Election Certificate



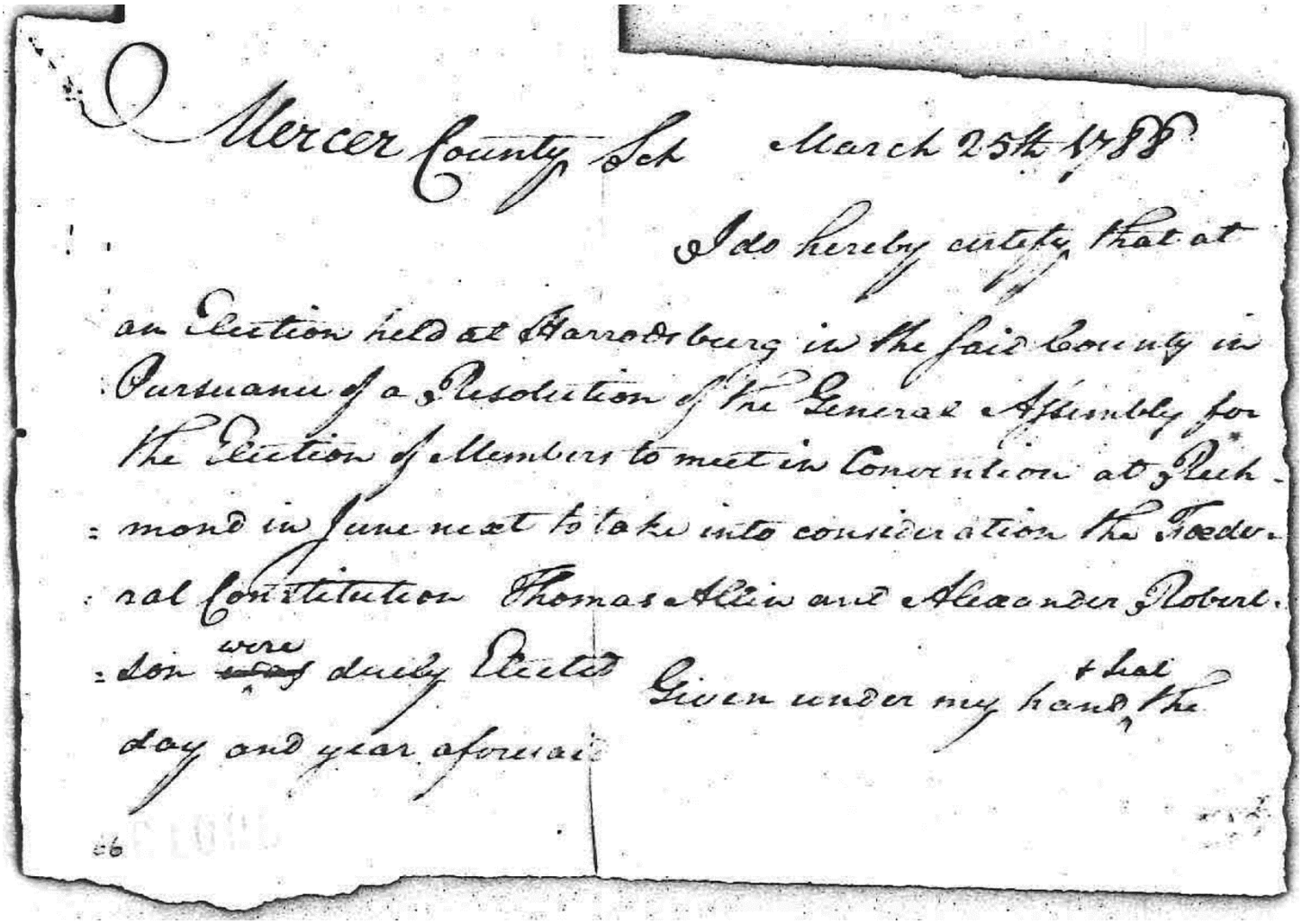
Be it known to all to whom these presents
shall come that I Thomas Vaughan Deputy of
Lewis Parham sheriff of the County of Mecklenburg
in my said County held at the Court house there=
-of on the 7th day of March in the year of
our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty-eight
by the Electors of my said County, qualified ac=
-cording to law caused to be chosen two
Delegates for my said County, namely Samuel
Hopkins jr and Richard Mann esquires to repre=
-sent the same in General Convention to be held
in the City of Richmond in June next. Given
under my hand & seal the day & year aforesaid

Thomas Vaughan Deputy of
Lewis Parham Sheriff.

65

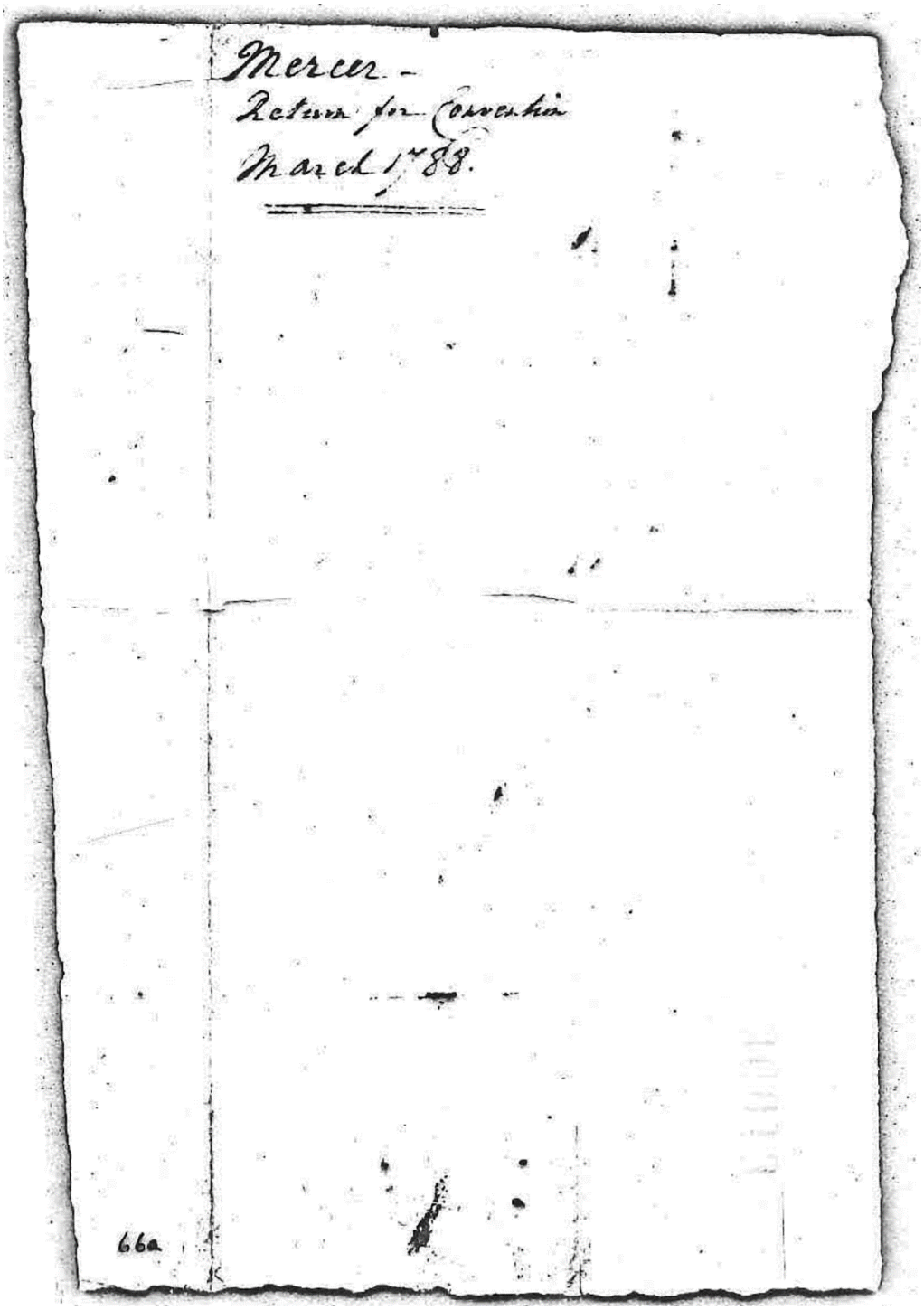

Mecklenburg
Return (Convent.)
April 1788.
65a

125. Mercer County Election Certificate



Mercer County Sct March 25th 1788

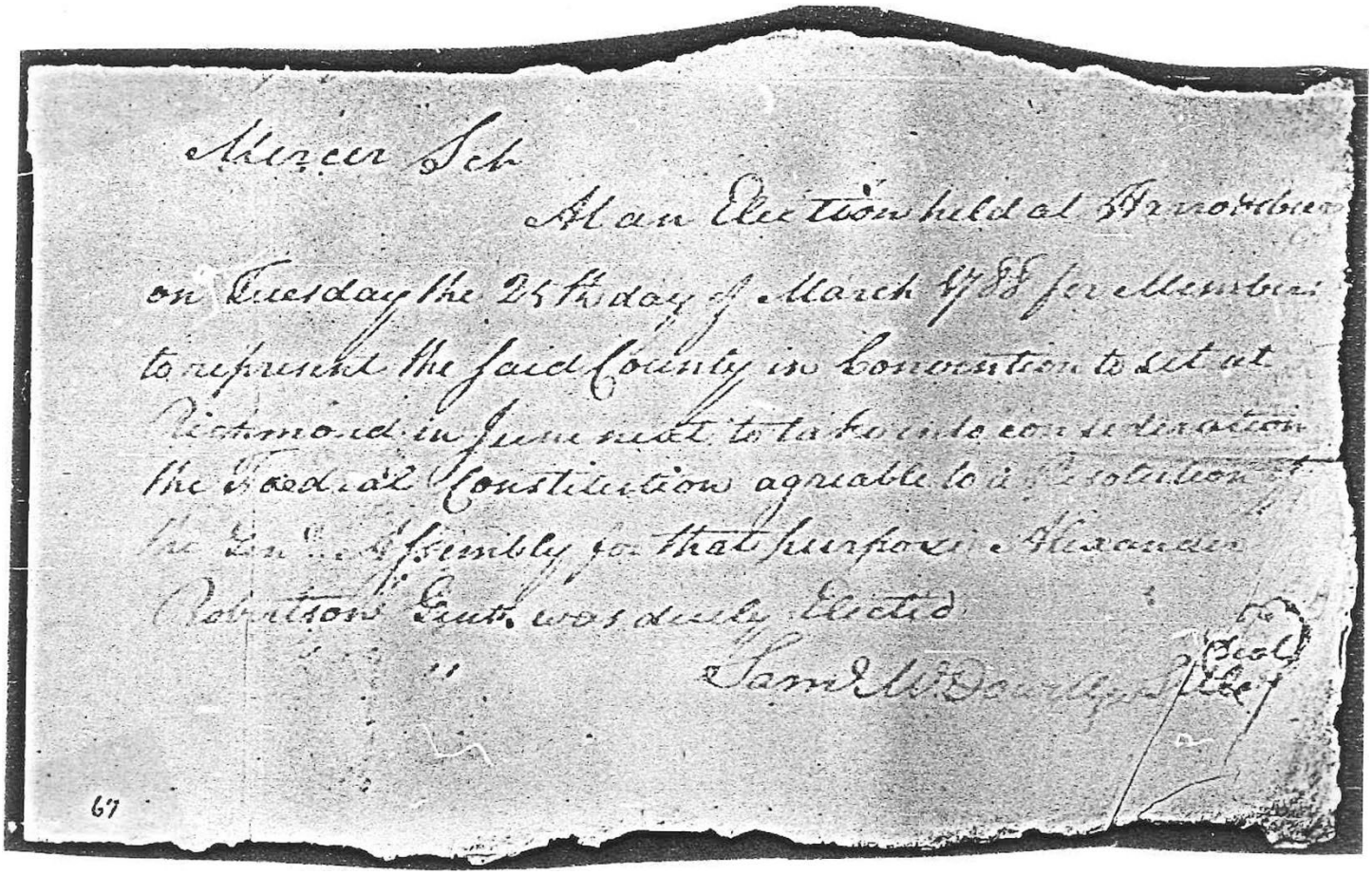
I do hereby certify that at an Election held at Harrodsburg in the said County in Pursuance of a Resolution of the General Assembly for the Election of Members to meet in Convention at Richmond in June next to take into consideration the Federal Constitution Thomas Allin and Alexander Robertson were duly Elected Given under my hand & seal the day and year aforesaid



Mercer –
Return for Convention
March 1st 88.

66a

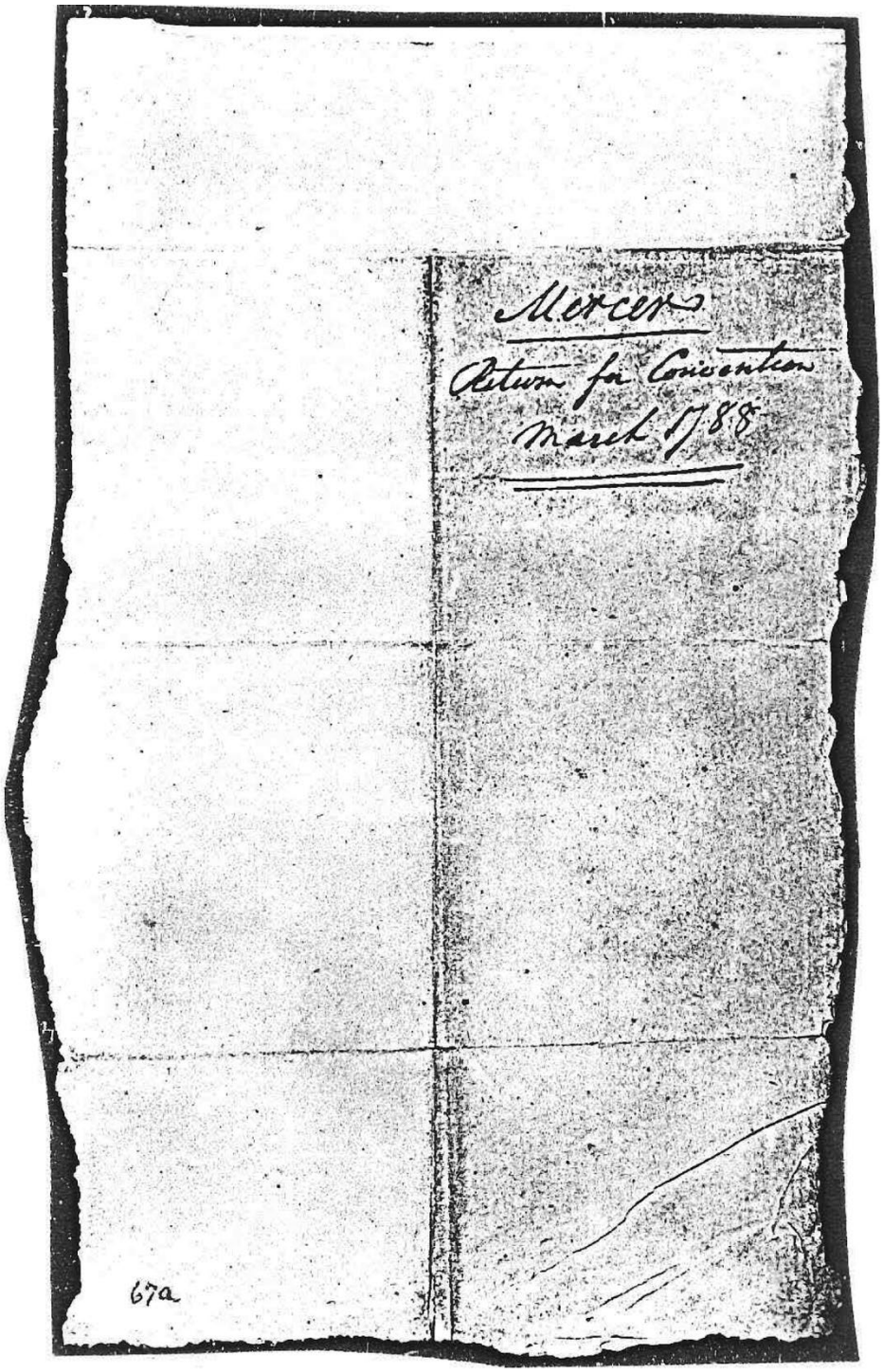
126. Mercer County Election Certificate


Mercer Sct

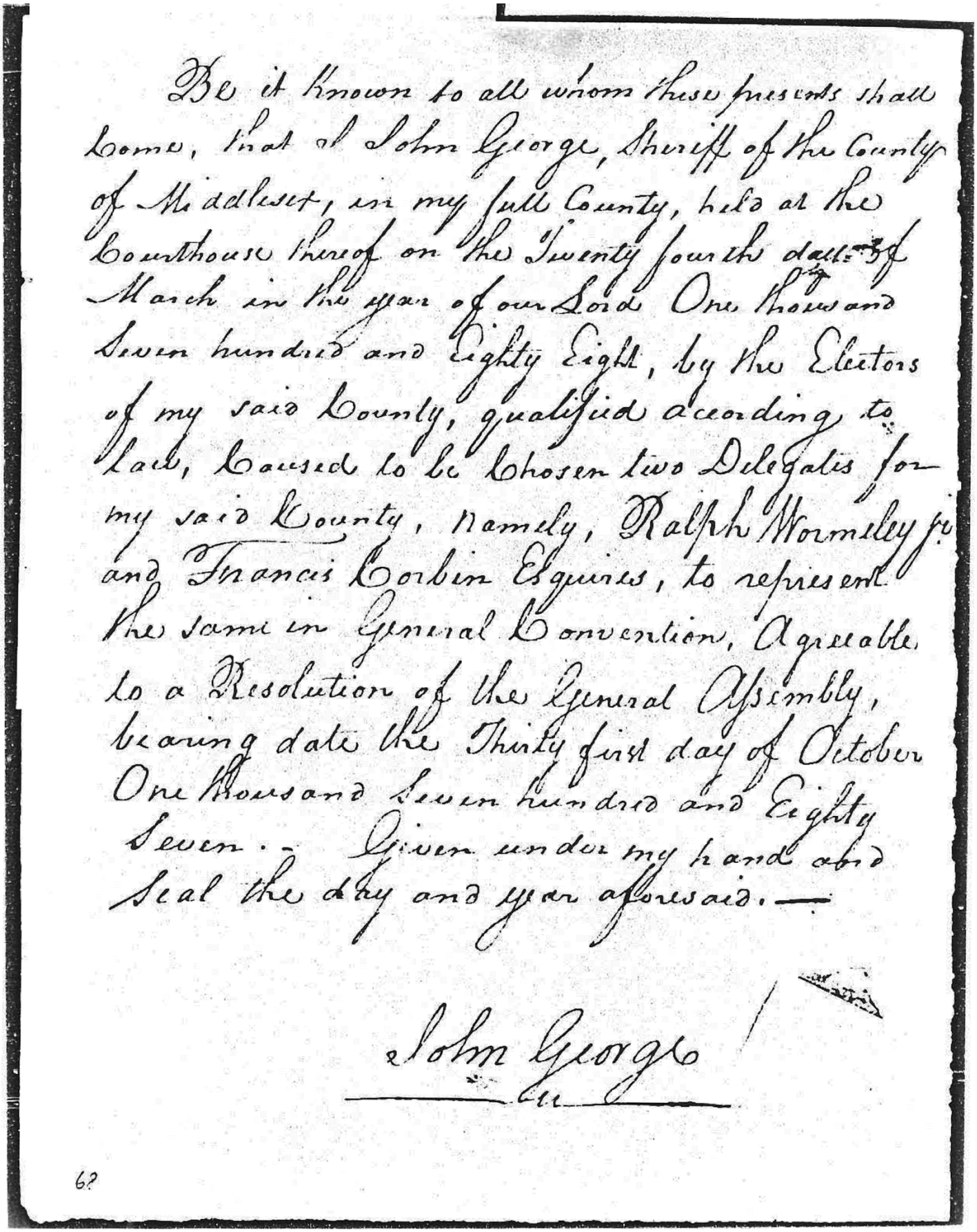
At an Election held at Harrodsburg
on Tuesday the 25th day of March 99 for Members
to represent the said County in Convention to set at
Richmond in June next to take into consideration
the Federal Constitution agreable to a Resolution of
the Gen. Assembly for that purpose. Alexander
Robertson Esqr. was duly Elected

Saml McDowell Clerk

67


Mercer
Return for Convention
March 1788
67a

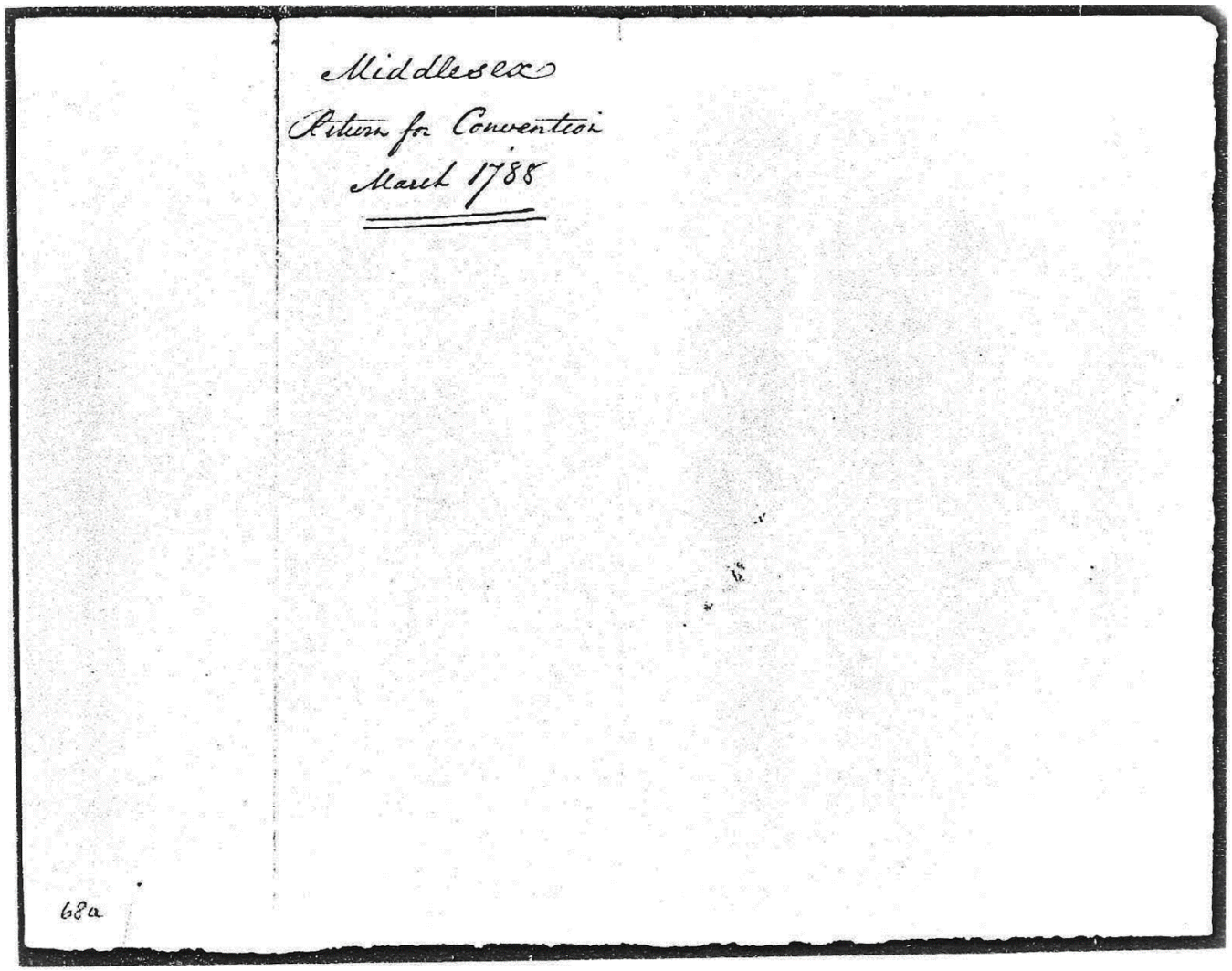
127. Middlesex County Election Certificate



Be it known to all whom these presents shall come, that I John George, Sheriff of the County of Middlesex, in my said County, held at the Courthouse thereof on the Twenty fourth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, Caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County, Namely, Ralph Wormeley jr. and Francis Corbin Esquires, to represent the same in General Convention, Agreeable to a Resolution of the General Assembly, bearing date the Thirty first day of October One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Seven. Given under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid.

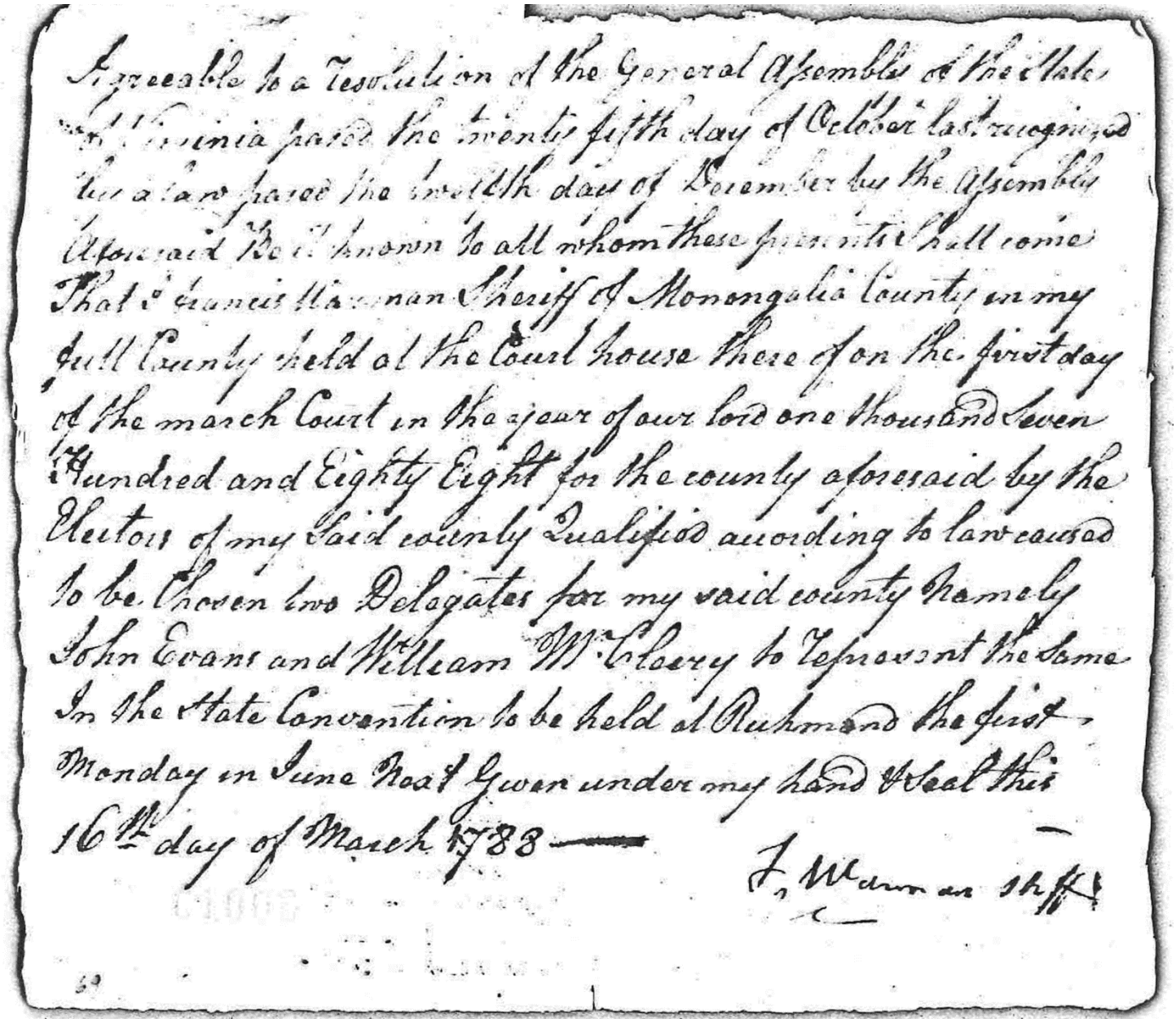
John George

62


Middlesex
Return for Convention
March 1788

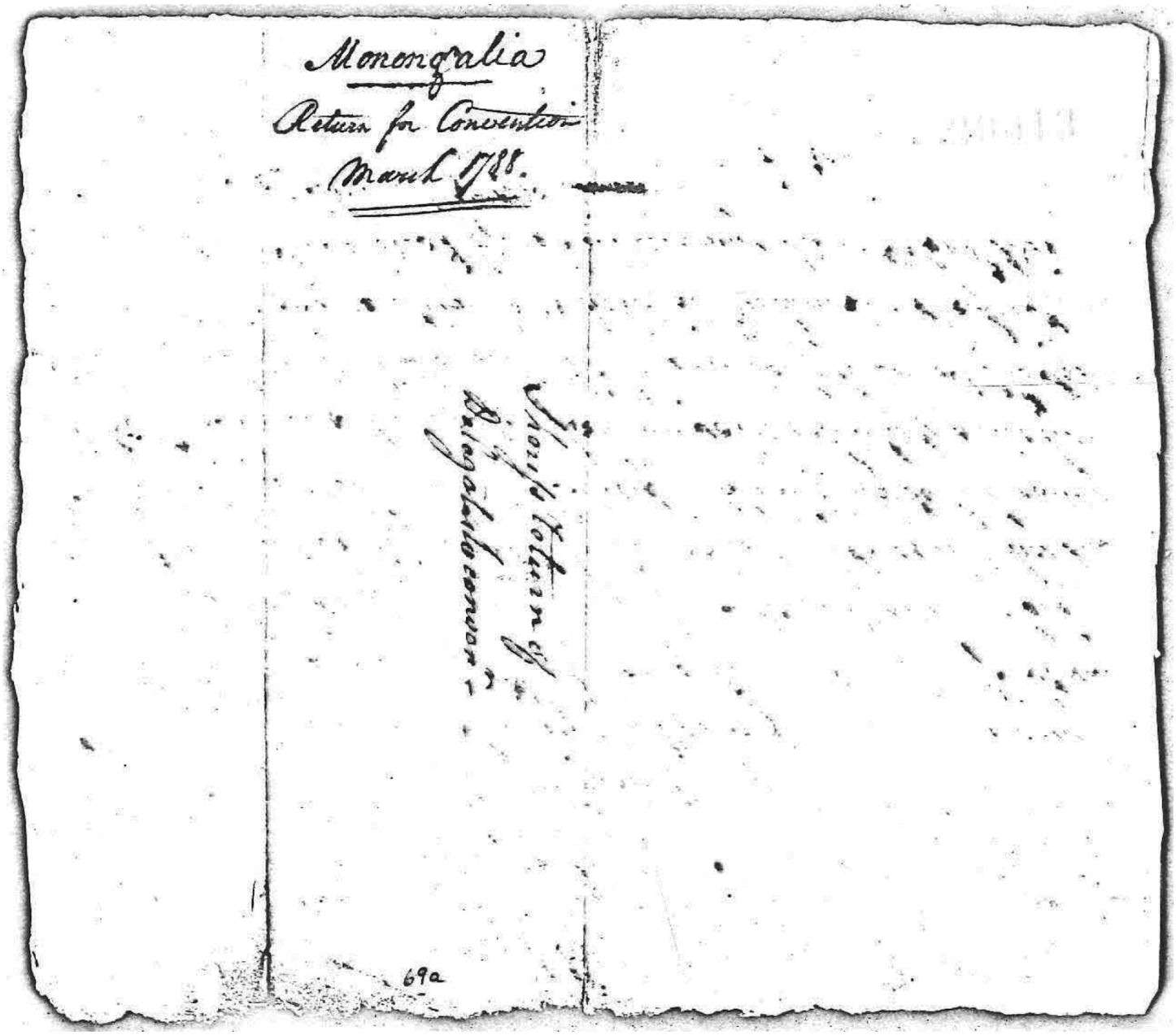
68a

128. Monongalia County Election Certificate



Agreeable to a Resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia passed the twenty fifth day of October last recognized by a law passed the twelfth day of December last the Assembly aforesaid Be it known to all whom these presents shall come That I Francis Hanman Sheriff of Monongalia County on my full County held at the Court house there on the first day of the march Court in the year of our lord one thousand seven Hundred and Eighty Eight for the county aforesaid by the Electors of my said county Qualified according to law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said county Namely John Evans and William W. Cleary to represent the same In the State Convention to be held at Richmond the first Monday in June Next Given under my hand & Seal this 16th day of March 1788

F. Wanman Sh[illegible]



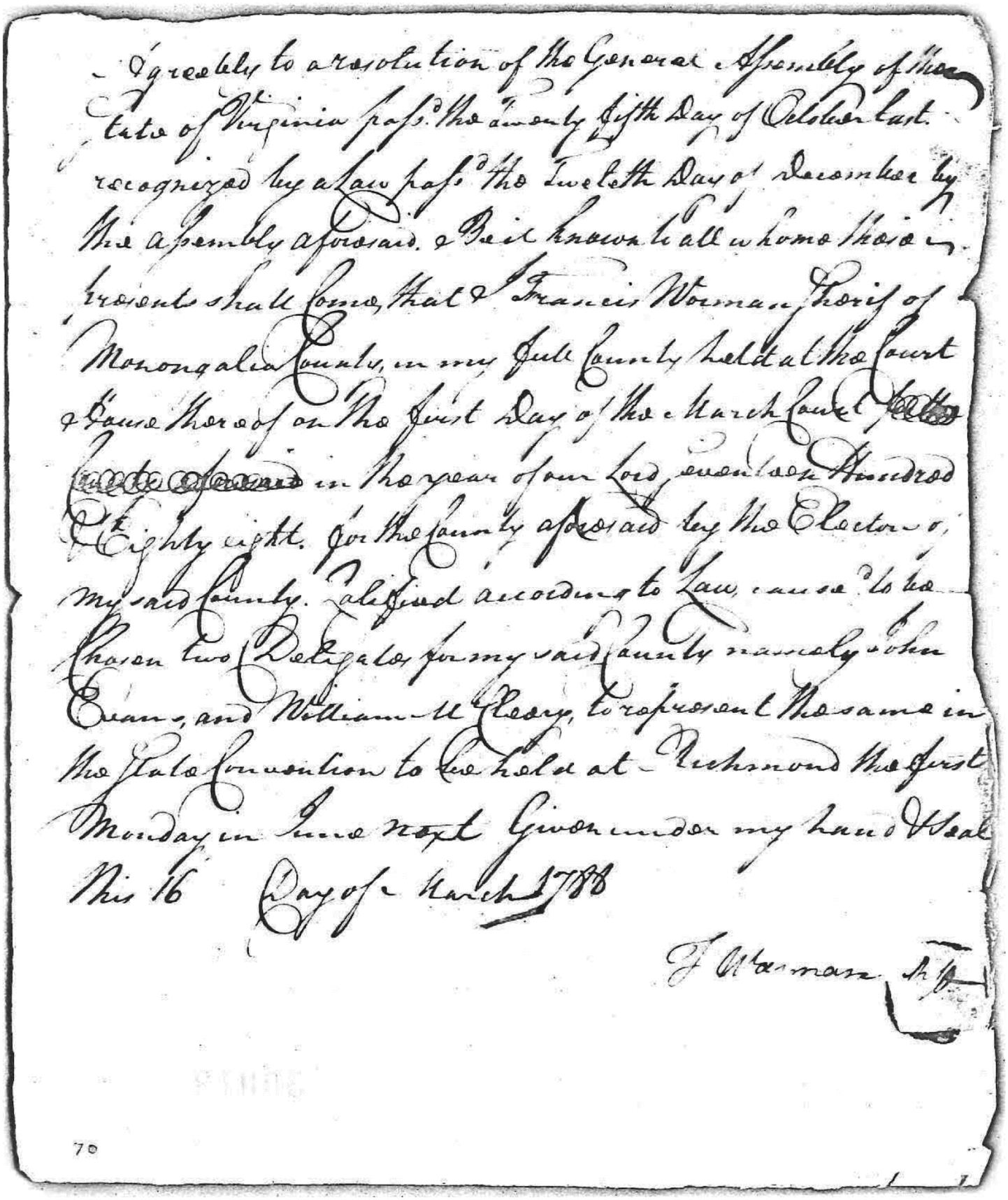
Monongalia

Return for Convention

March 1788.

69a

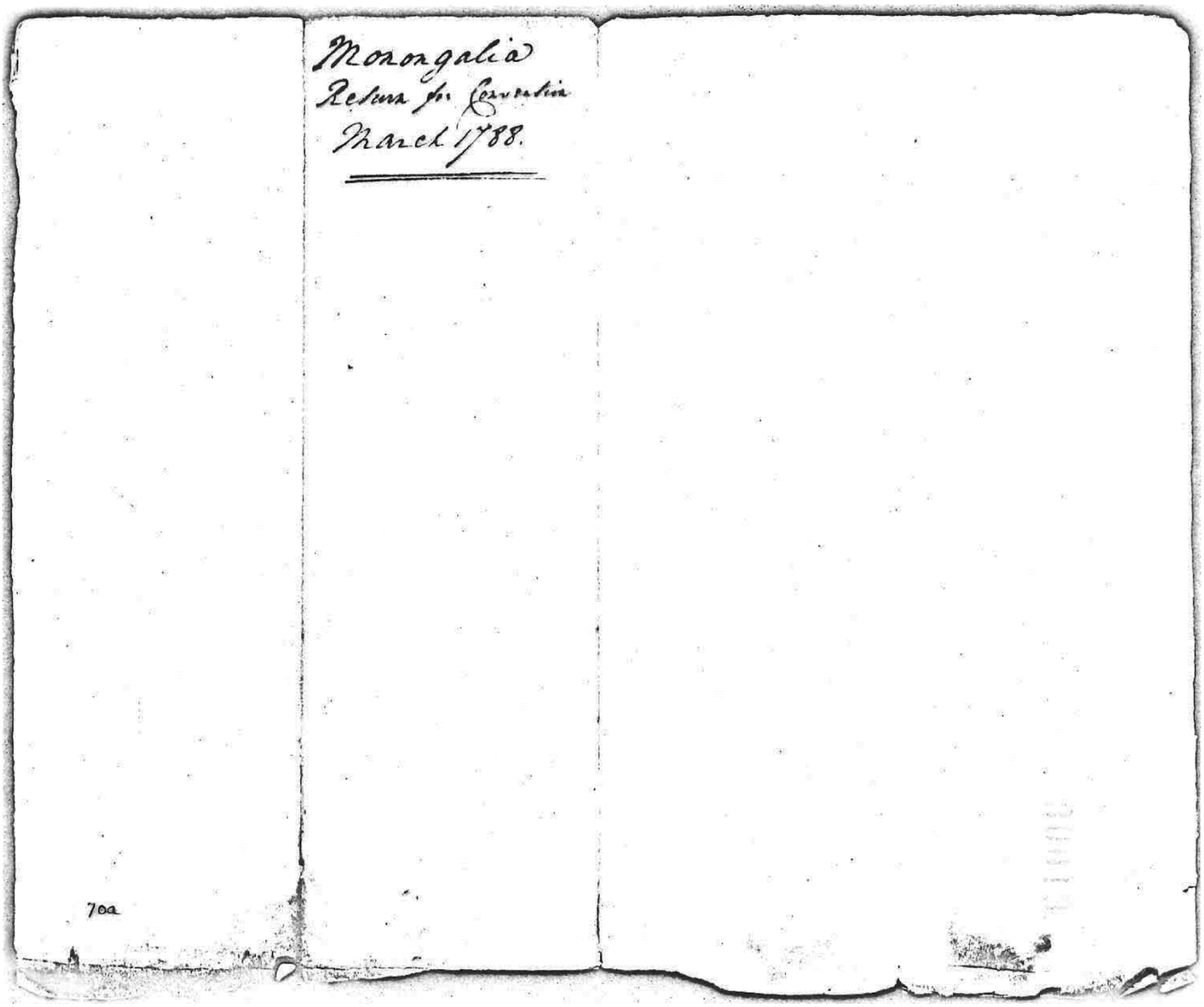
129. Monongalia County Election Certificate



Agreeably to a resolution of the General Assembly of the
State of Virginia pass'd the twenty fifth Day of October last
recognized by a Law pass'd the Twelfth Day of December by
the Assembly aforesaid. Be it known to all whome these
presents shall come, that I Francis Worman Sheriff of
Monongalia County, in my full County held at the Court
House thereof on the first day of the March Court, [illegible]
[illegible] in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred
& Eighty eight. for the County aforesaid by the Electors of
my said County. qualified according to Law, caused to be
Chosen two Delegates for my said County namely John
Evans, and William McCleary, to represent the same in
the State Convention to be held at Richmond the first
Monday in June next Given under my hand & Seal
this 16 Day of March 1788

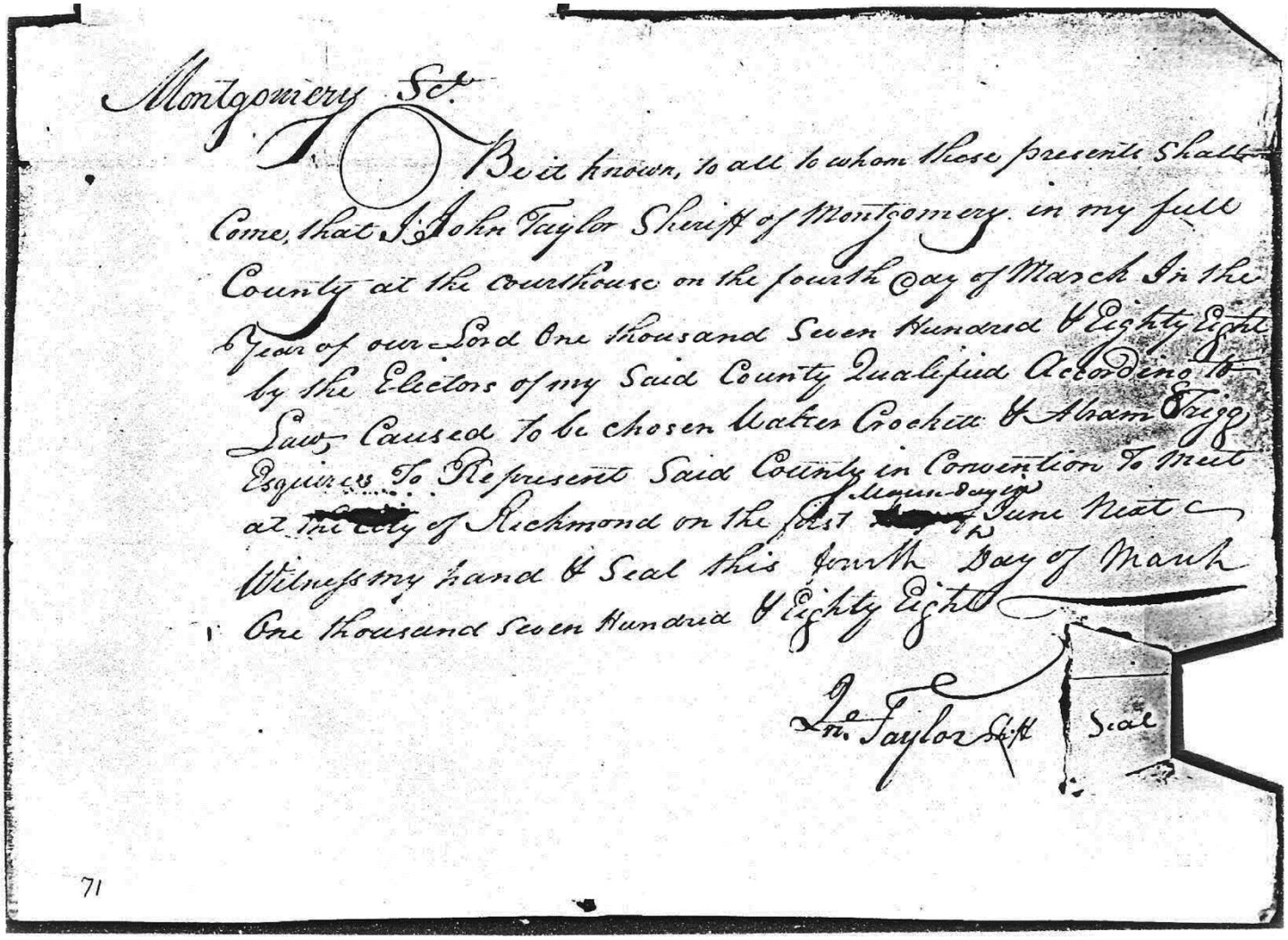
J Worman Sh

70


Monongalia
Return for Convention
March 1788.

70a

130. Montgomery County Election Certificate



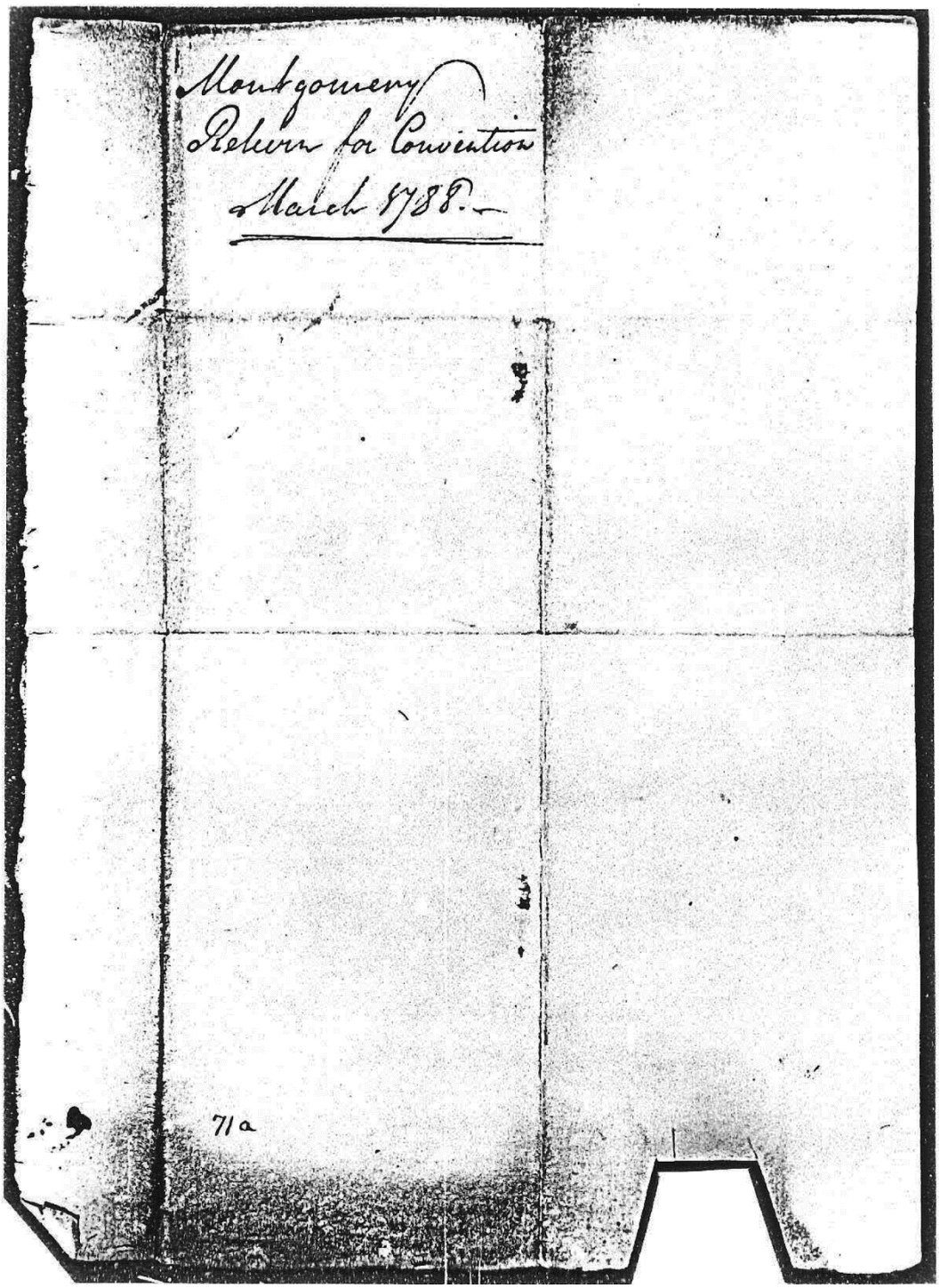
Montgomery Sc.

To Be it known, to all to whom these presents Shall Come, that I John Taylor Sheriff of Montgomery in my full County at the courthouse on the fourth day of March In the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred & Eighty Eight by the Electors of my Said County Qualified Acceording to Law, Caused to be chosen Walter Cockett & Abram Trigg Esquires To Represent Said County in Convention To Meet at the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June Next

Witness my hand & Seal this fourth Day of March One thousand seven Hundred & Eighty Eight

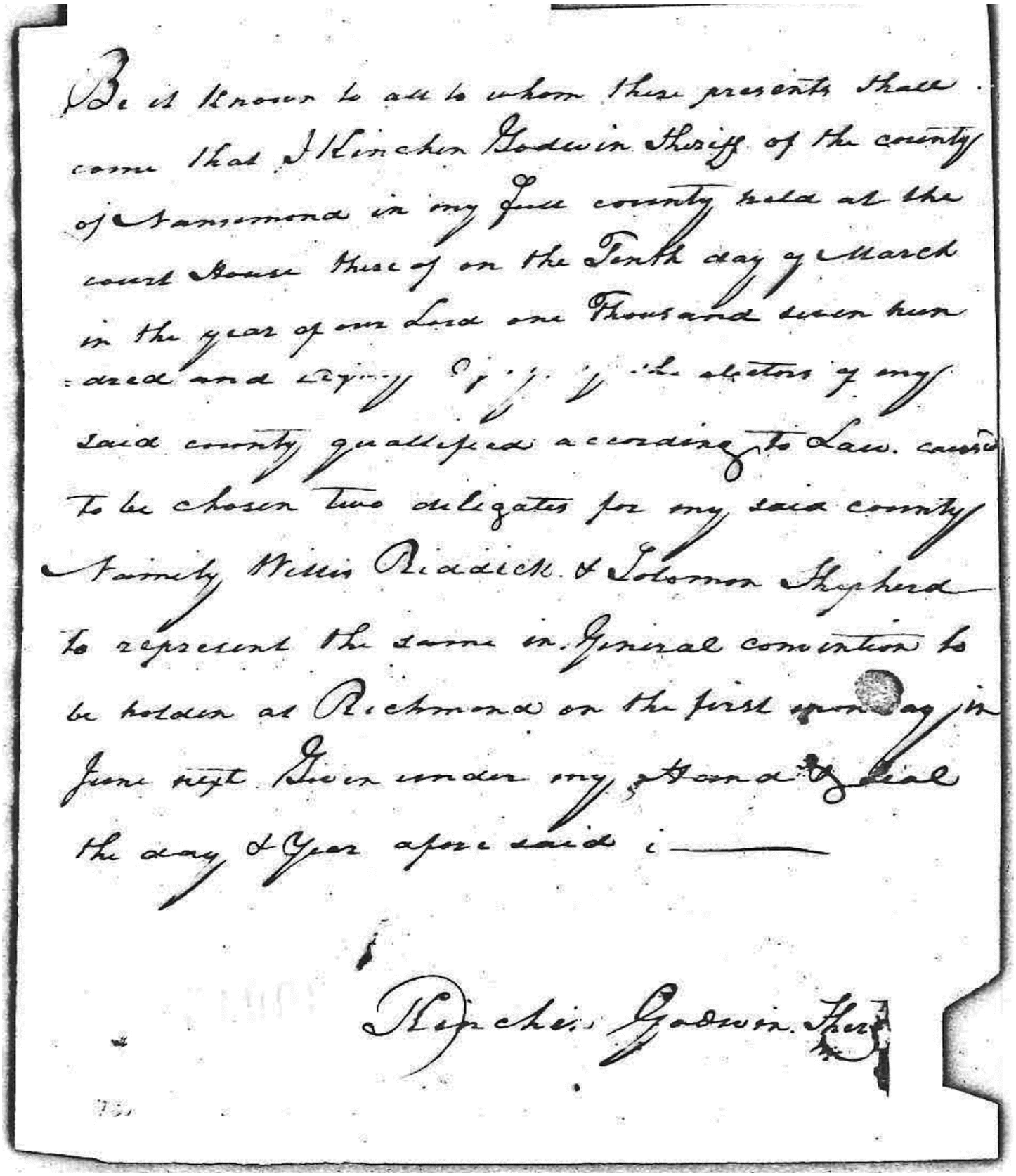
Jn. Taylor Sh.ff Seal

71


Montgomery
Return for Convention
March 1788.

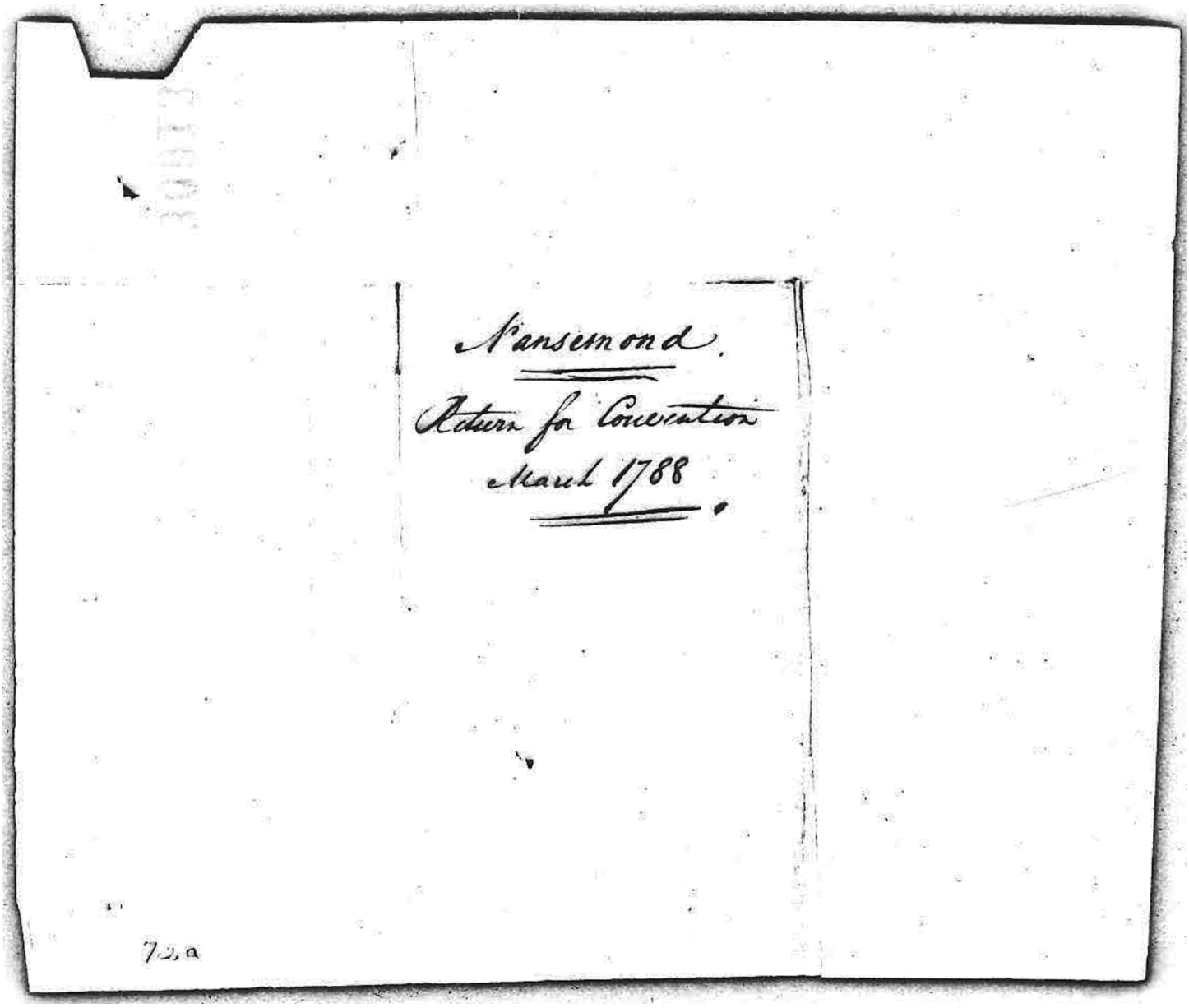
71a

131. Nansemond County Election Certificate



Be it Known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Kinchen Godwin Sheriff of the county of Nansemond in my fine county held at the court House thereof on the Tenth day of March in the year of our Lord one Thousand eight hundred and sixty [illegible] the electors of my said county qualified according to Law. caused To be chosen two delegates for my said county Namely Willis Riddick & Solomon Shepherd to represent the same in Genral convention to be holden at Richmond on the first monday in June next. Given under my hand & Seal the day & Year aforesaid i ——

Kinchen Godwin. Sher



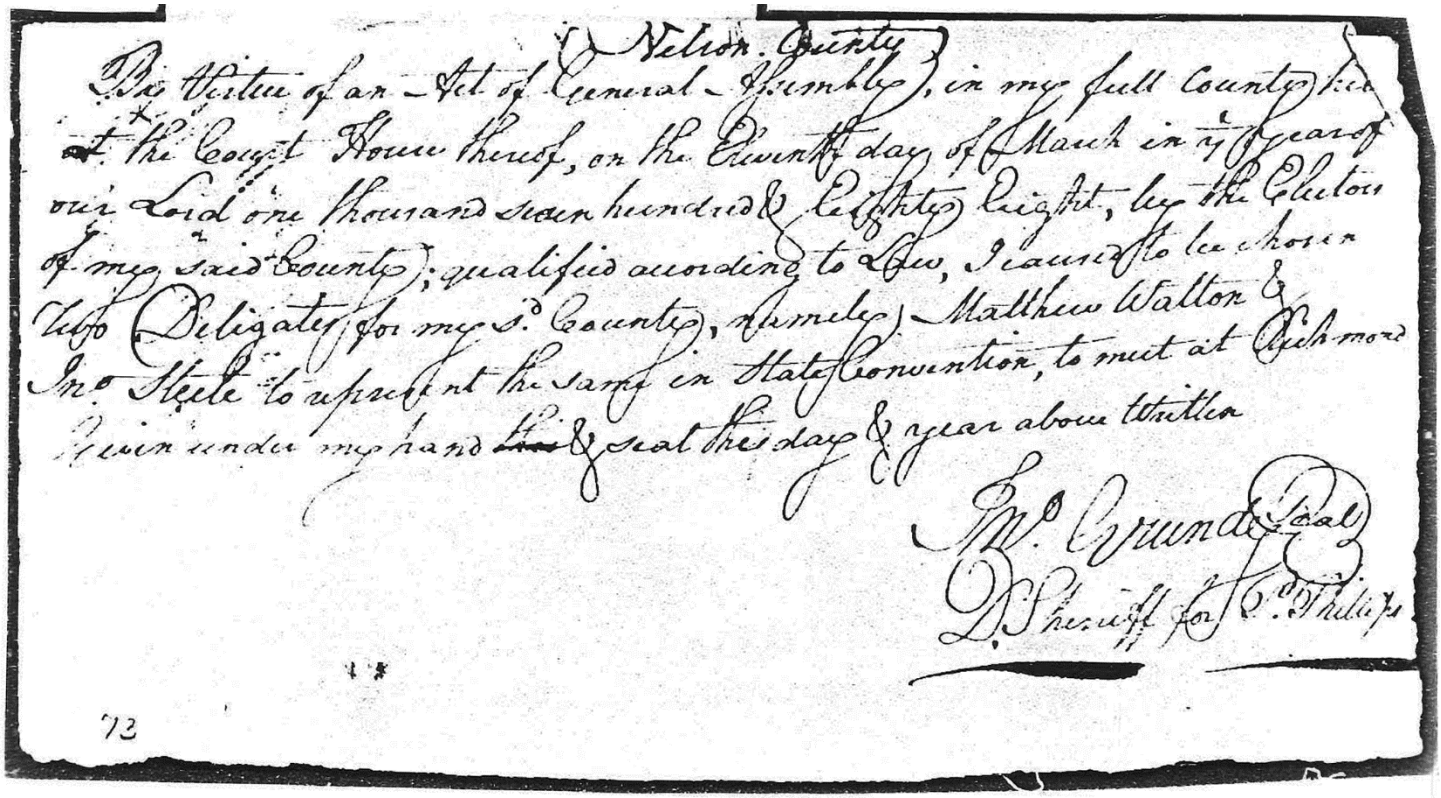
Nansemond.

Return for Convention

March 1788.

72.a

132. Nelson County Election Certificate

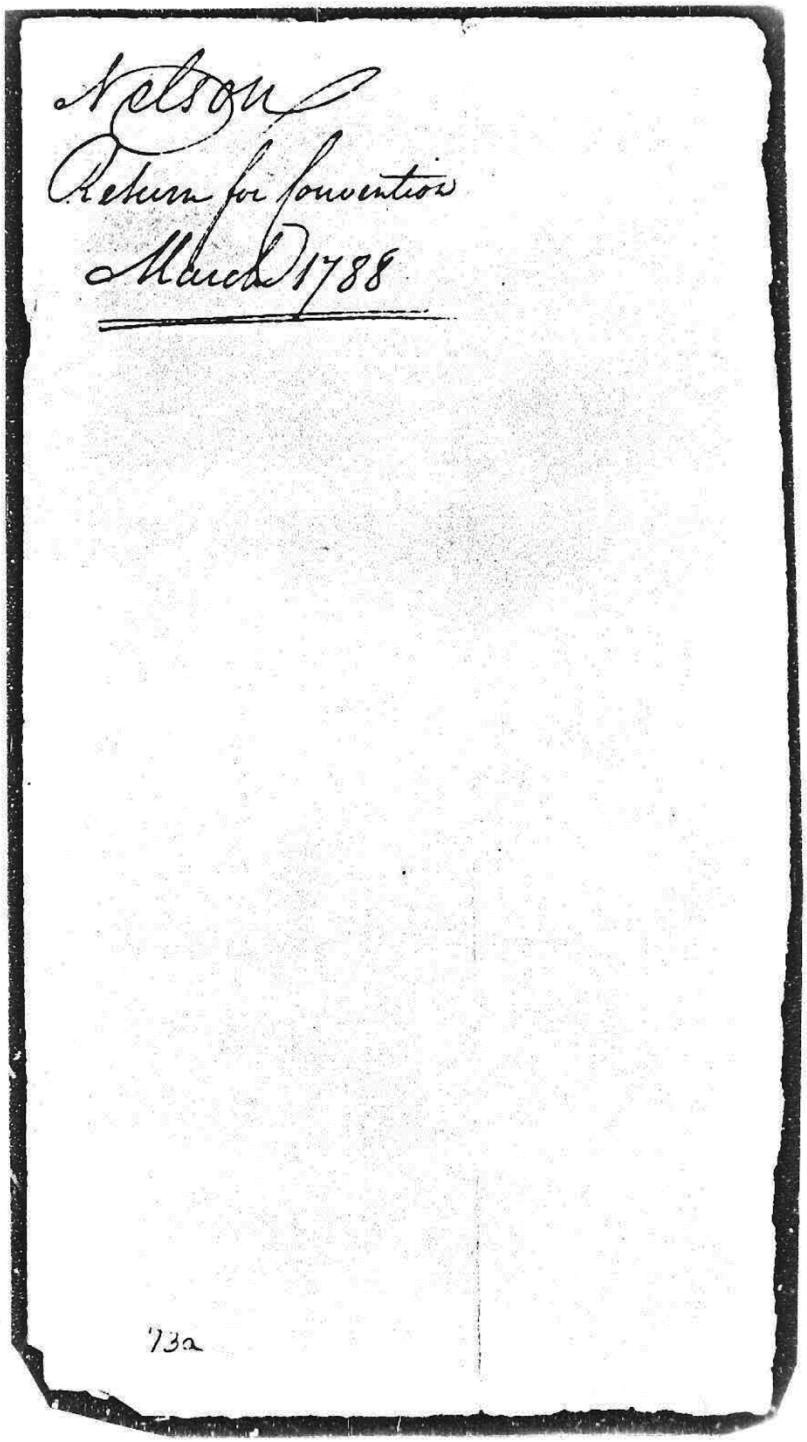


Nelson. County

By Virtue of an Act of General Assembly, in my full County Court
at the Court House thereof, on the Eleventh day of March in the Year of
our Lord one thousand seven hundred & Eighty Eight, by the Electors
of my said County, qualified according to Law, I caused to be chosen
two Deligates for my S.d County, Namely, Matthew Walton &
Jno Steele to represent the same in State Convention, to meet at Richmond
Given under my hand & seal this day & year above written

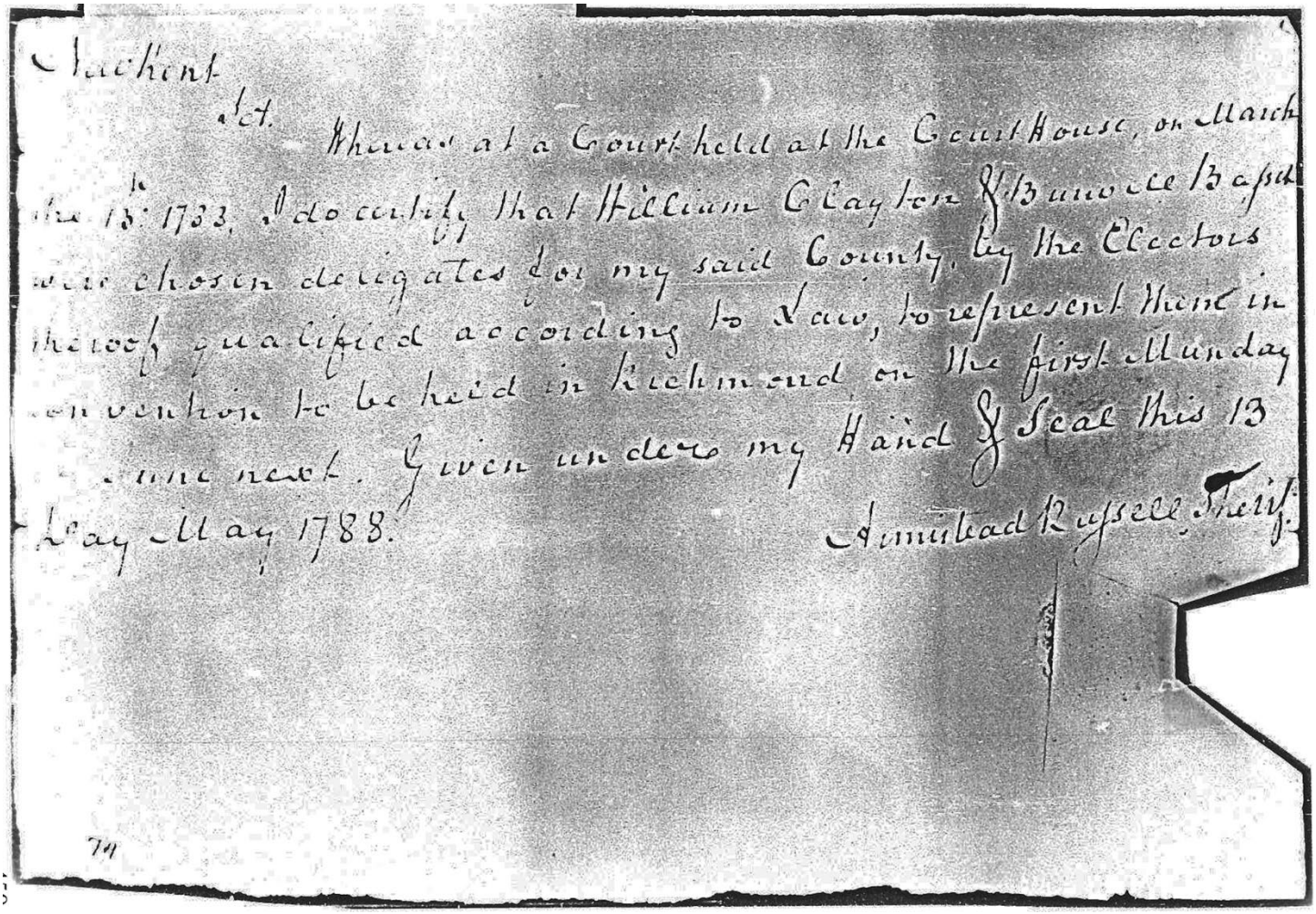
Wm Grundy Seal
D. Sheriff for C. Phillips

73


Nelson
Return for Convention
March 1788

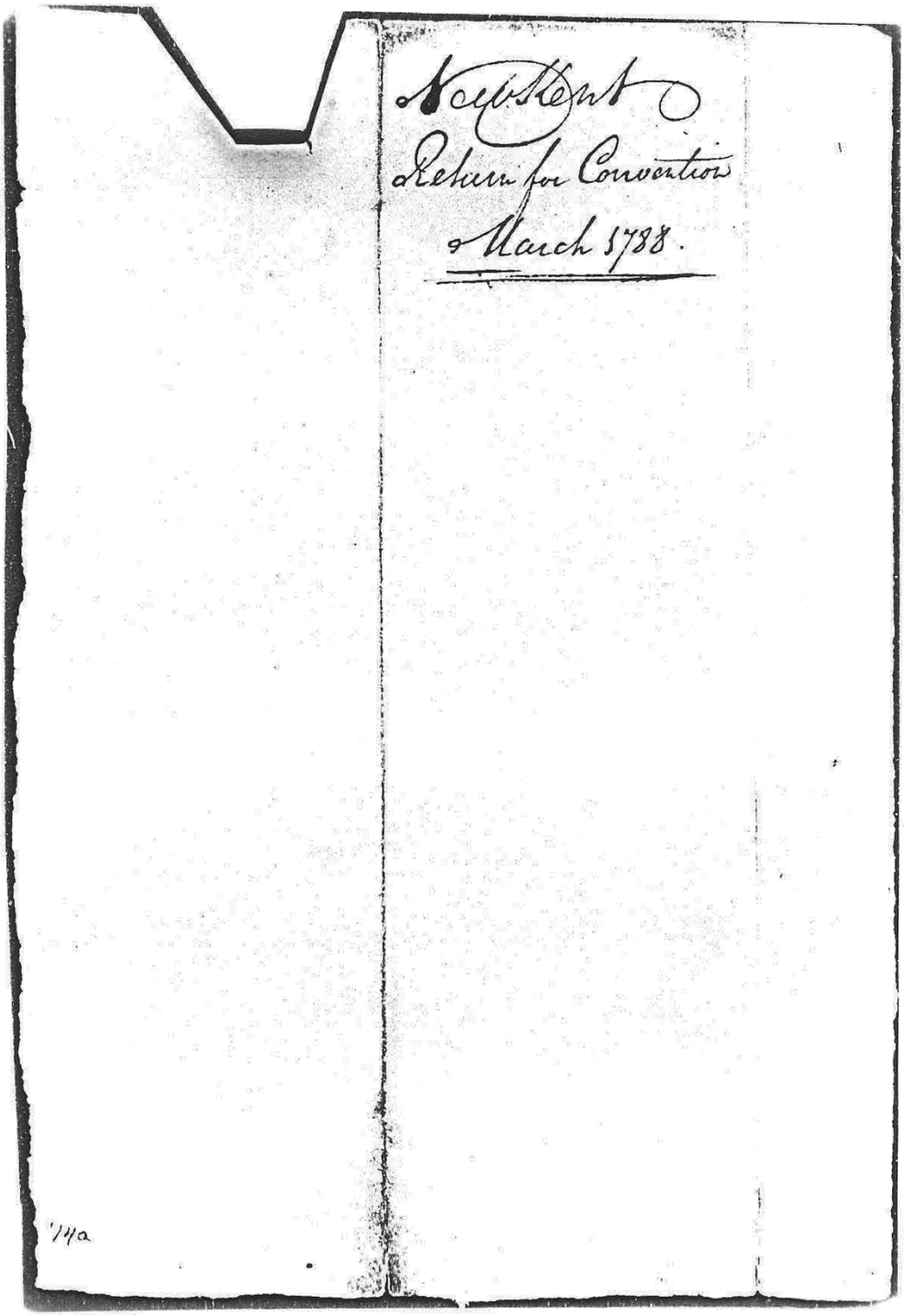
732

133. New Kent County Election Certificate

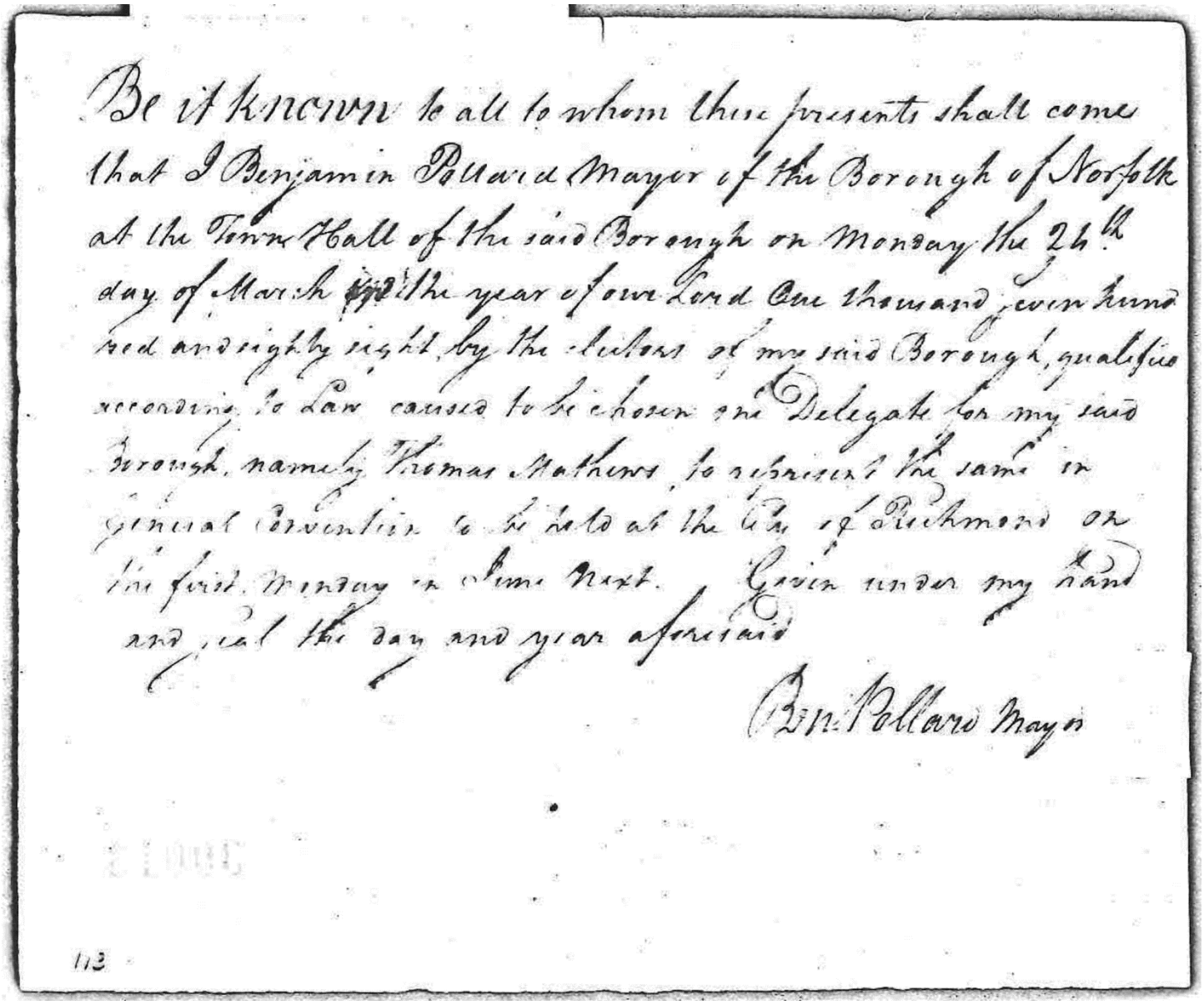


New Kent
to wit. Whereas at a Court held at the Court House, on March
the 13th 1788, I do certify that William Clayton & Burwell Bassett
were chosen delegates for my said County, by the Electors
thereof, qualified according to Law, to represent them in
Convention to be held in Richmond on the first Monday
in June next. Given under my Hand & Seal this 13
Day of May 1788. Edmund Russell Sheriff.

74


New Kent
Return for Convention
March 1788.
114a

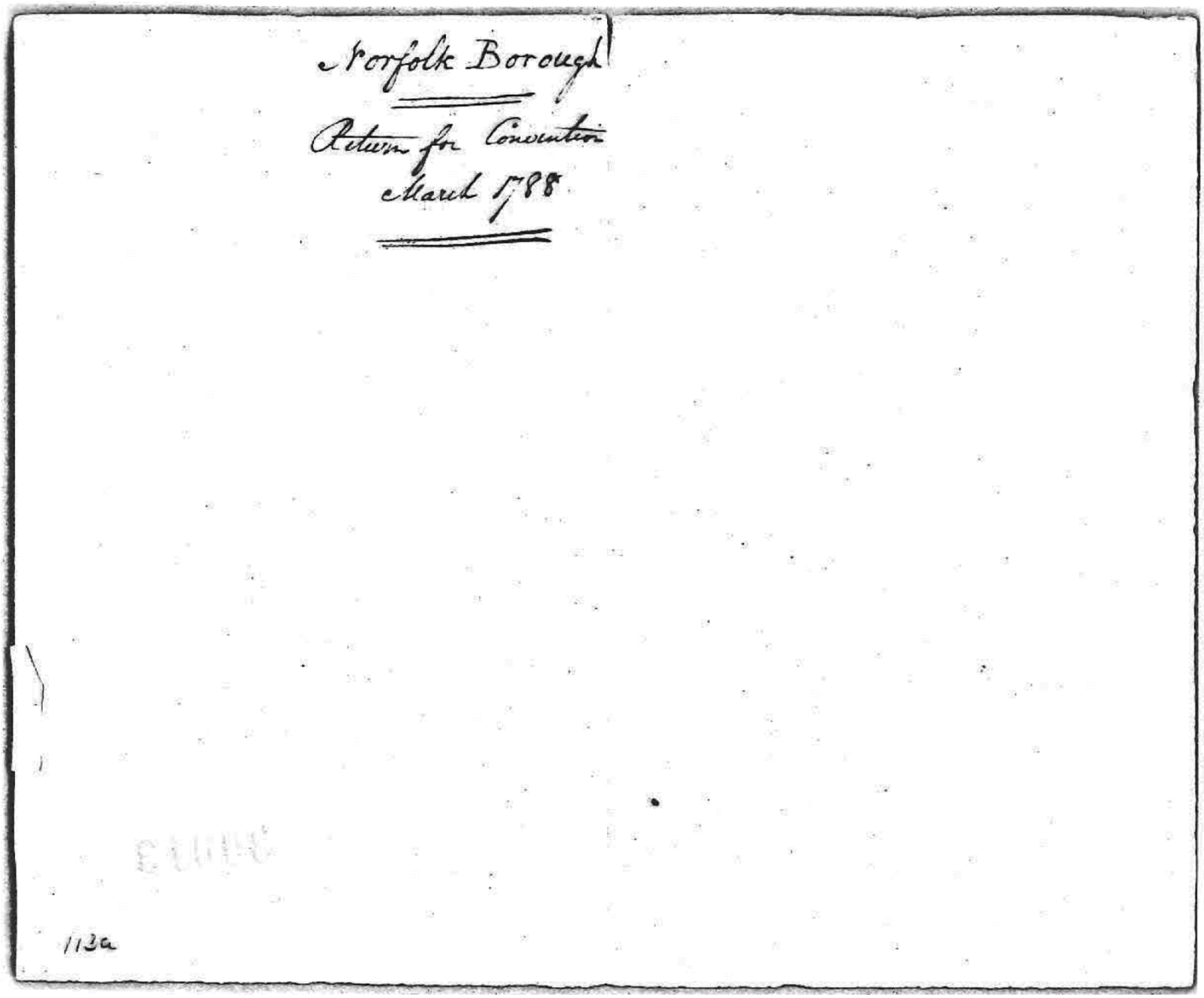
134. Norfolk Borough Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Benjamin Pollard Mayor of the Borough of Norfolk at the Town Hall of the said Borough on Monday the 24th day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Electors of my said Borough, qualified according to Law caused to be chosen one Delegate for my said Borough, namely Thomas Mathews, to represent the same in general Convention to be held at the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June Next. Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid

Benj. Pollard Mayor

113

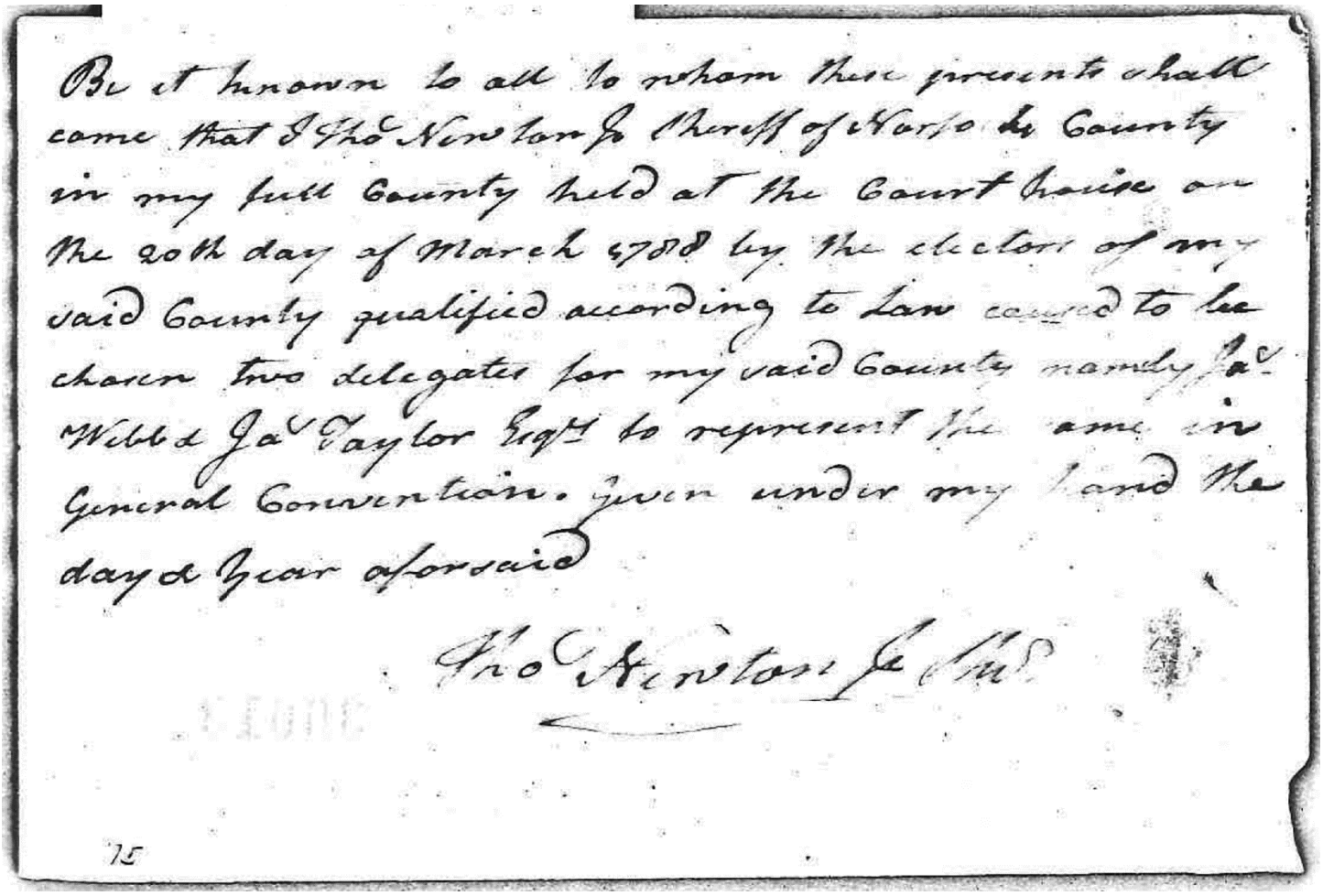

Norfolk Borough

Return for Convention

March 1788

113a

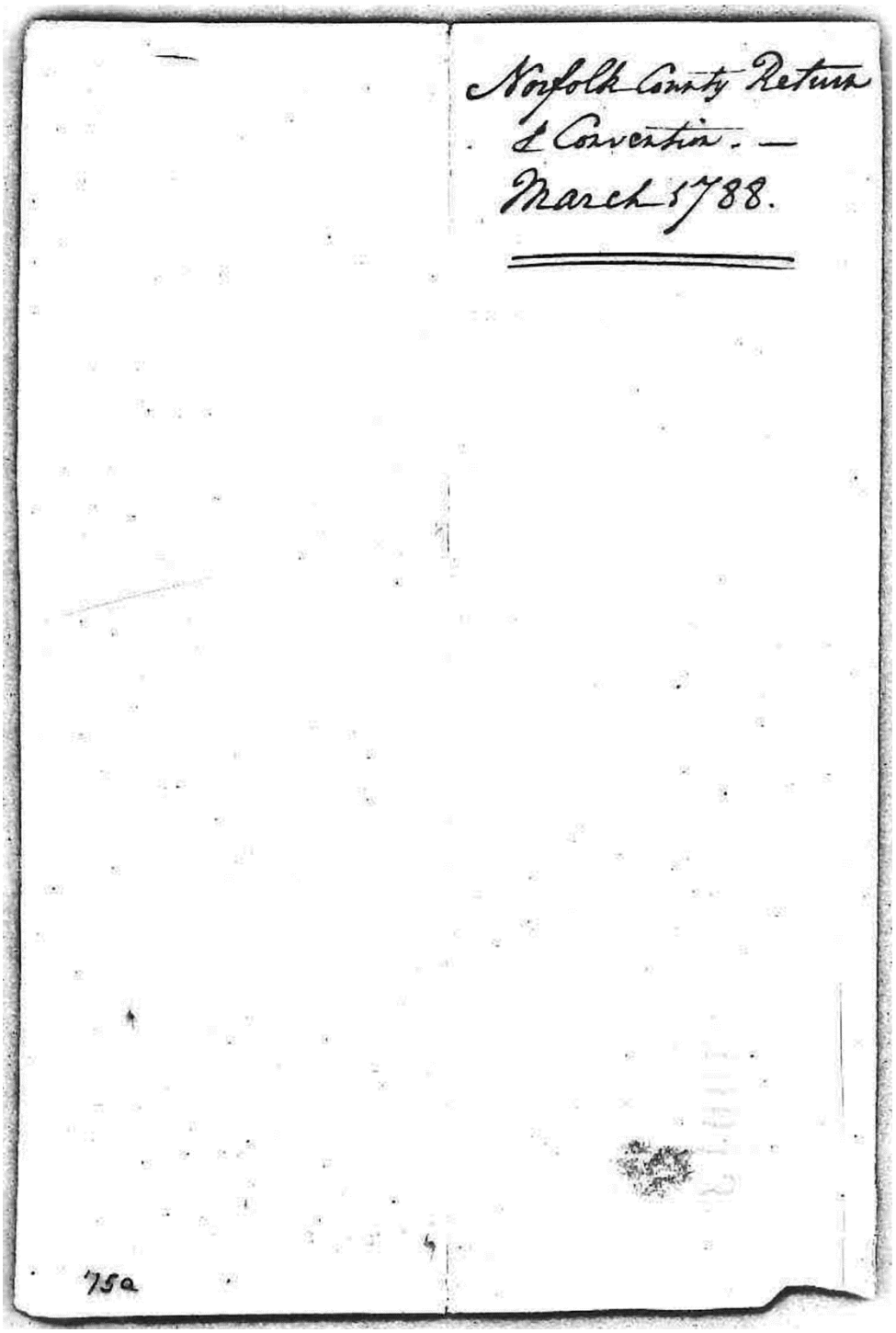
135. Norfolk County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall
come that I Thos Newton Jr Sheriff of Norfo Co County
in my full County held at the Court House on
the 20th day of March 1788 by the electors of my
said County qualified according to Law caused to be
chosen two delegates for my said County namely Jas
Wilkes Jas Taylor Esqrs to represent the same in
General Convention. Given under my hand the
day & Year aforesaid

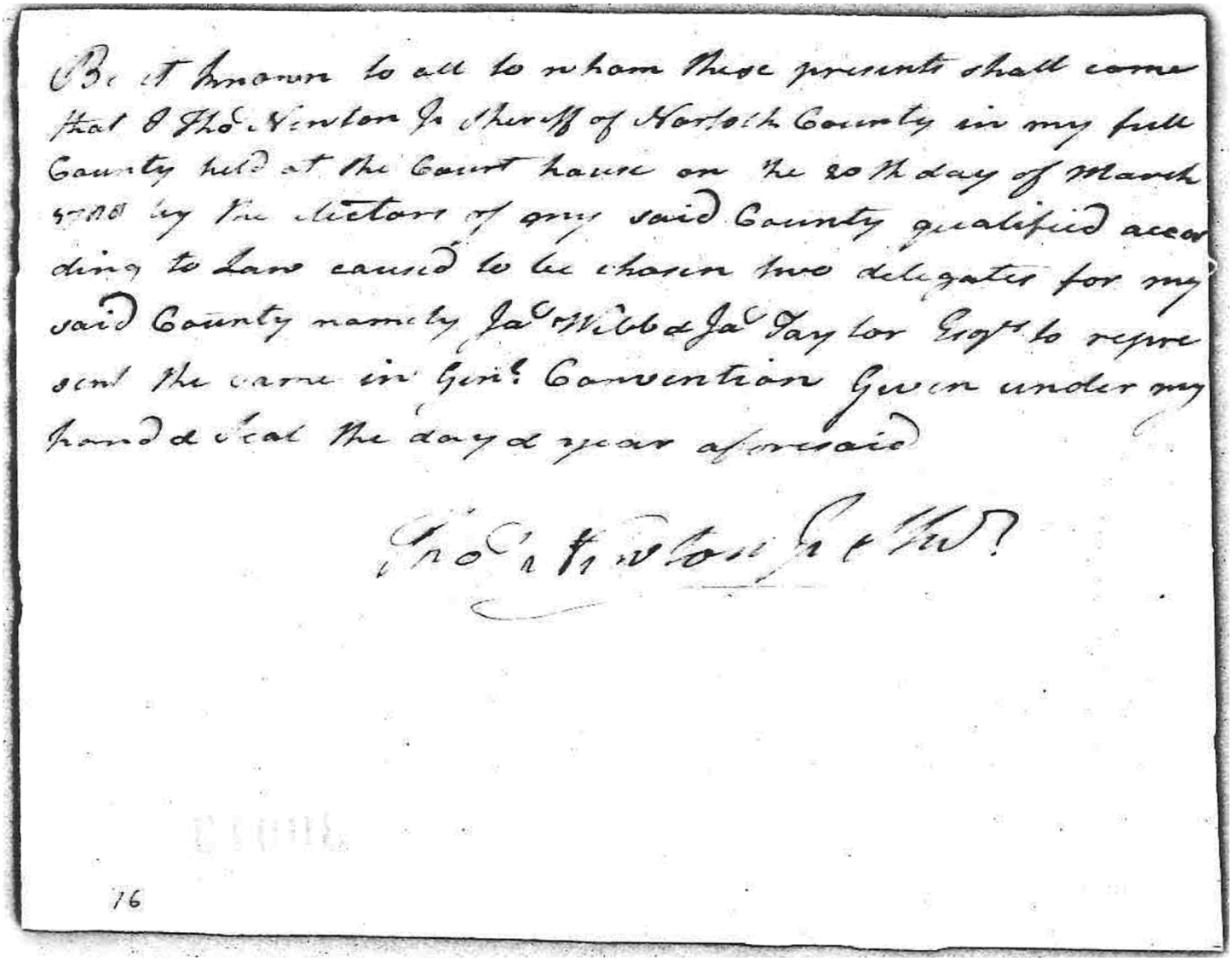
Thos Newton Jr Shff

75


Norfolk County Return
& Convention. —
March 1788.

75a

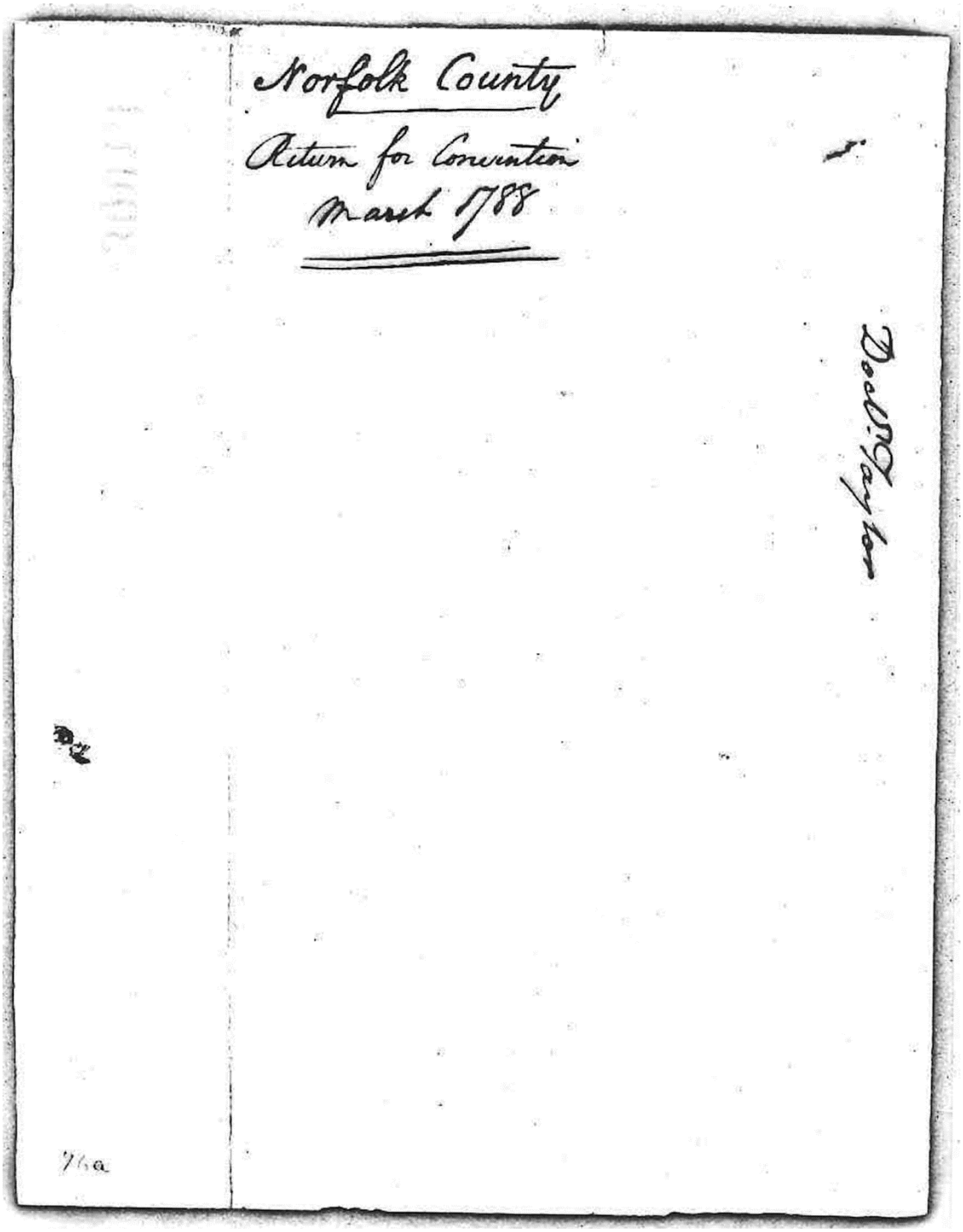
136. Norfolk County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Thos. Newton Jr Sheriff of Norfolk County in my full County held at the Court house on the 20th day of March 1788 by the electors of my said County qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two delegates for my said County namely Jas. Wibb & Jas. Taylor Esqrs to represent the same in Genl. Convention Given under my hand & seal the day & year aforesaid

Thos. Newton Jr. Shff

16

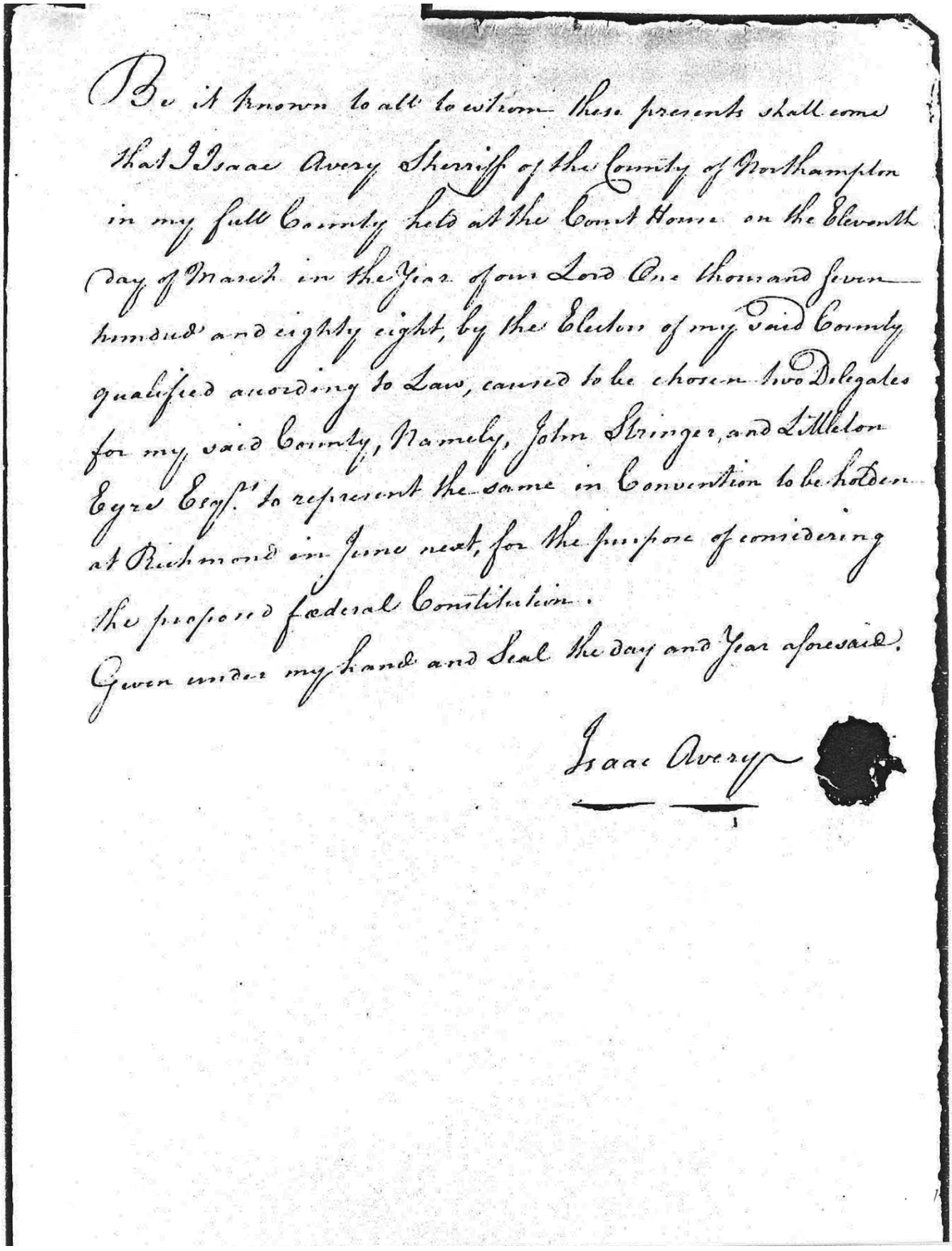


Norfolk County
Return for Convention
March 1788

Dodd Dayton

7Va

137. Northampton County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Isaac Avery Sheriff of the County of Northampton in my full County held at the Court House on the Eleventh day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Election of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Deligates for my said County, Namely, John Stringer, and Littleton Eyre Esq.r to represent the same in Convention to be holden at Richmond in June next, for the purpose of considering the proposed federal Constitution.

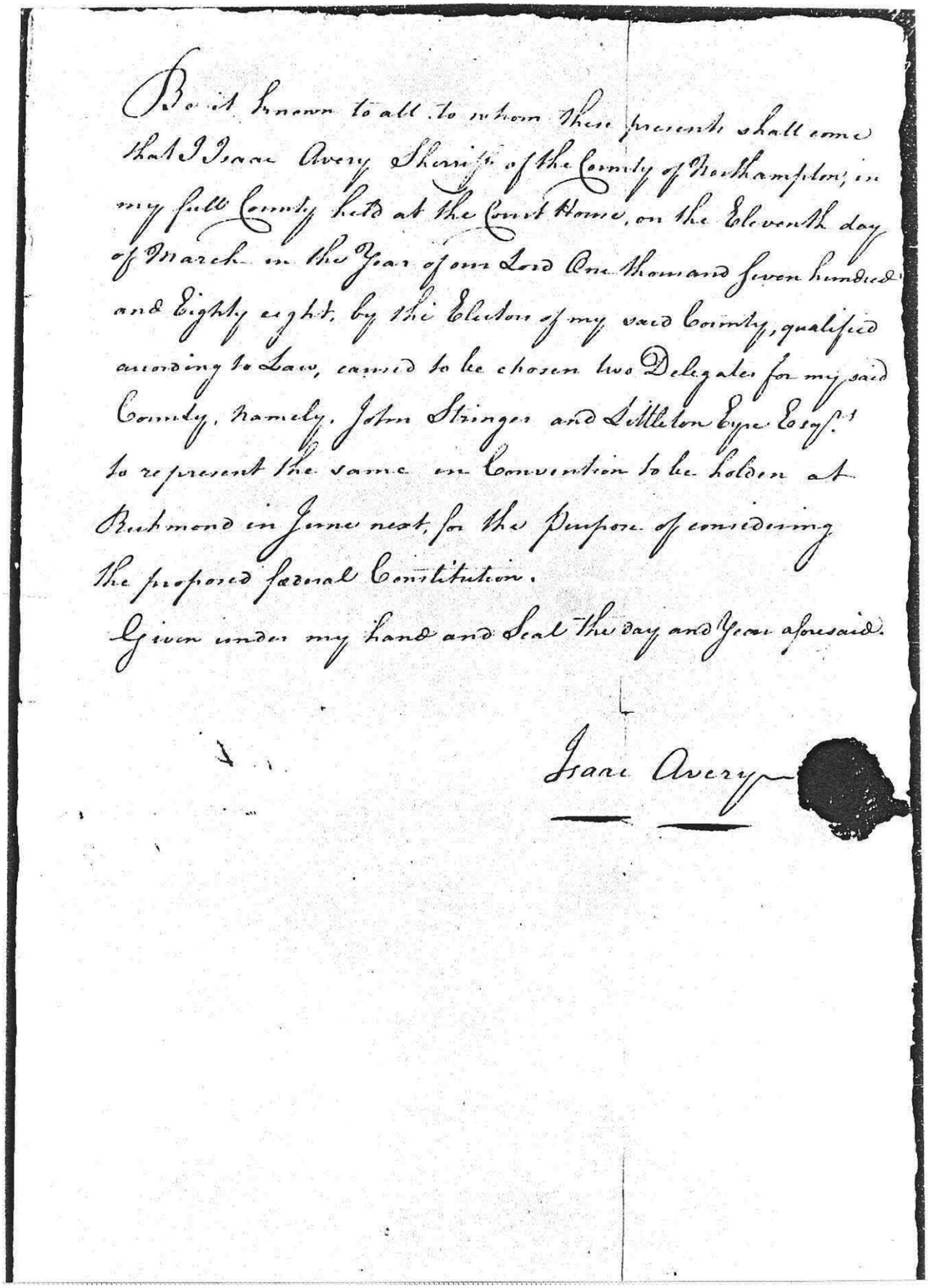
Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid.

Isaac Avery

Northampton Return
Delegates to Convention

Northampton
Return of Convention
March 1788.

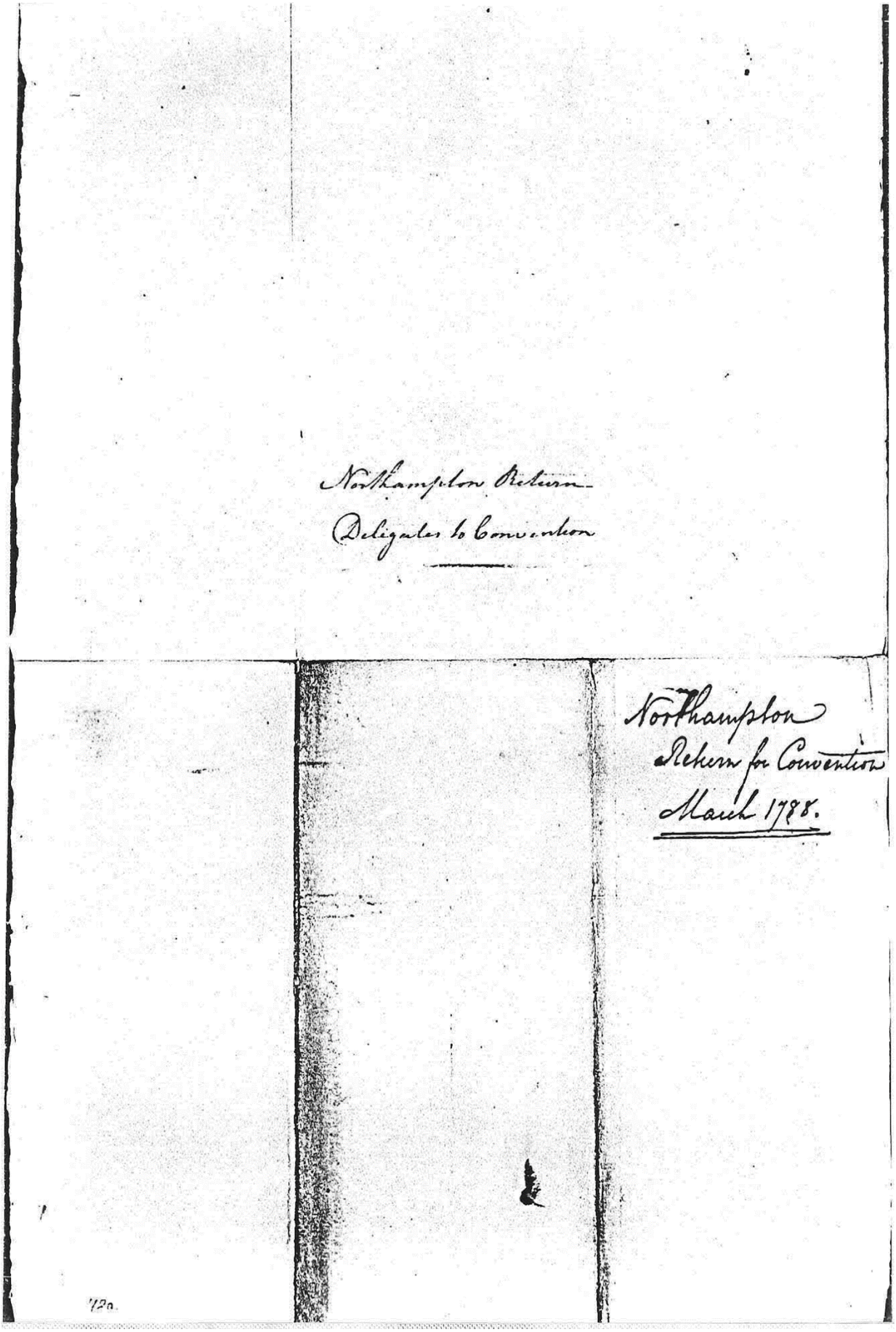
138. Northampton County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Isaac Avery Sheriff of the County of Northampton, in my full County held at the Court House, on the Eleventh day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, Namely, John Stringer and Littleton Eyre Esqrs to represent the same in Convention to be holden at Richmond in June next, for the Purpose of considering the proposed federal Constitution.

Given under my hand and Seal the day and Year aforesaid.

Isaac Avery

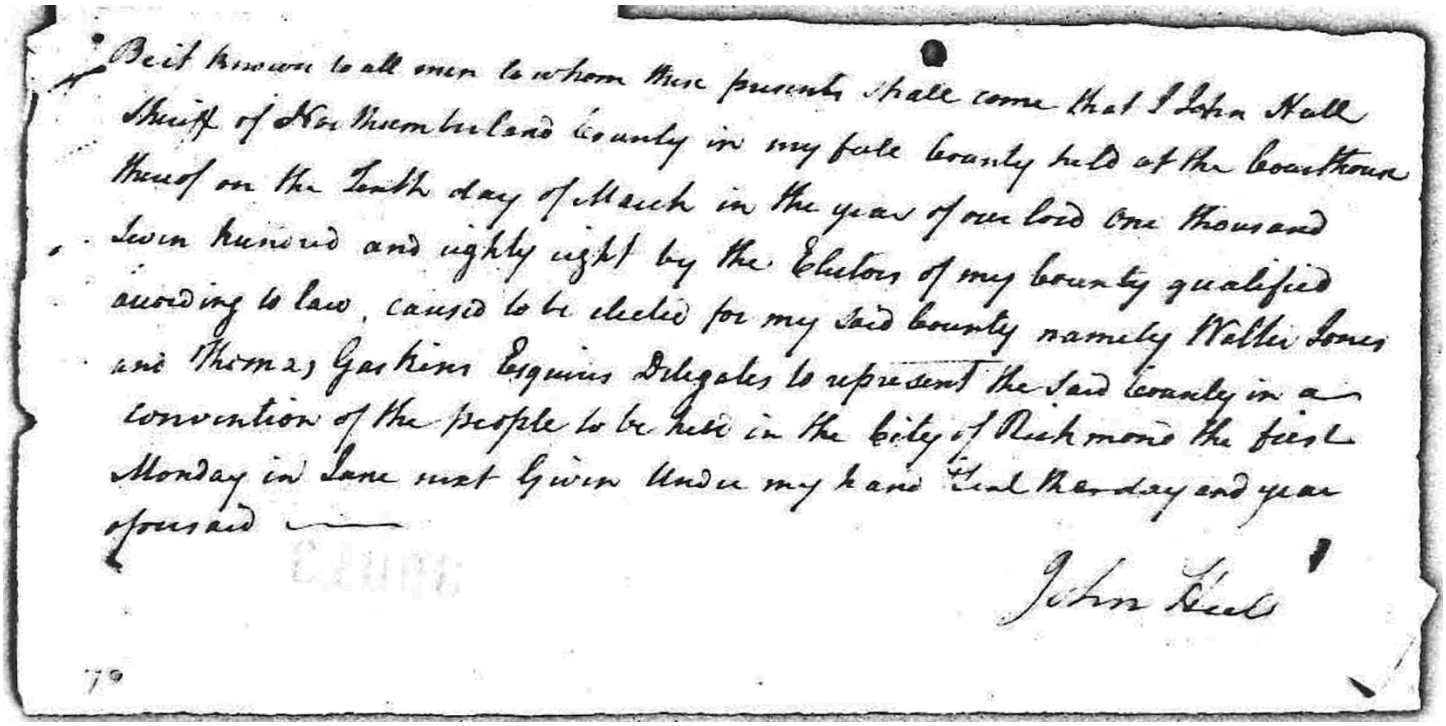


Northampton Return
Delegates to Convention

Northampton
Return for Convention
March 1788.

120

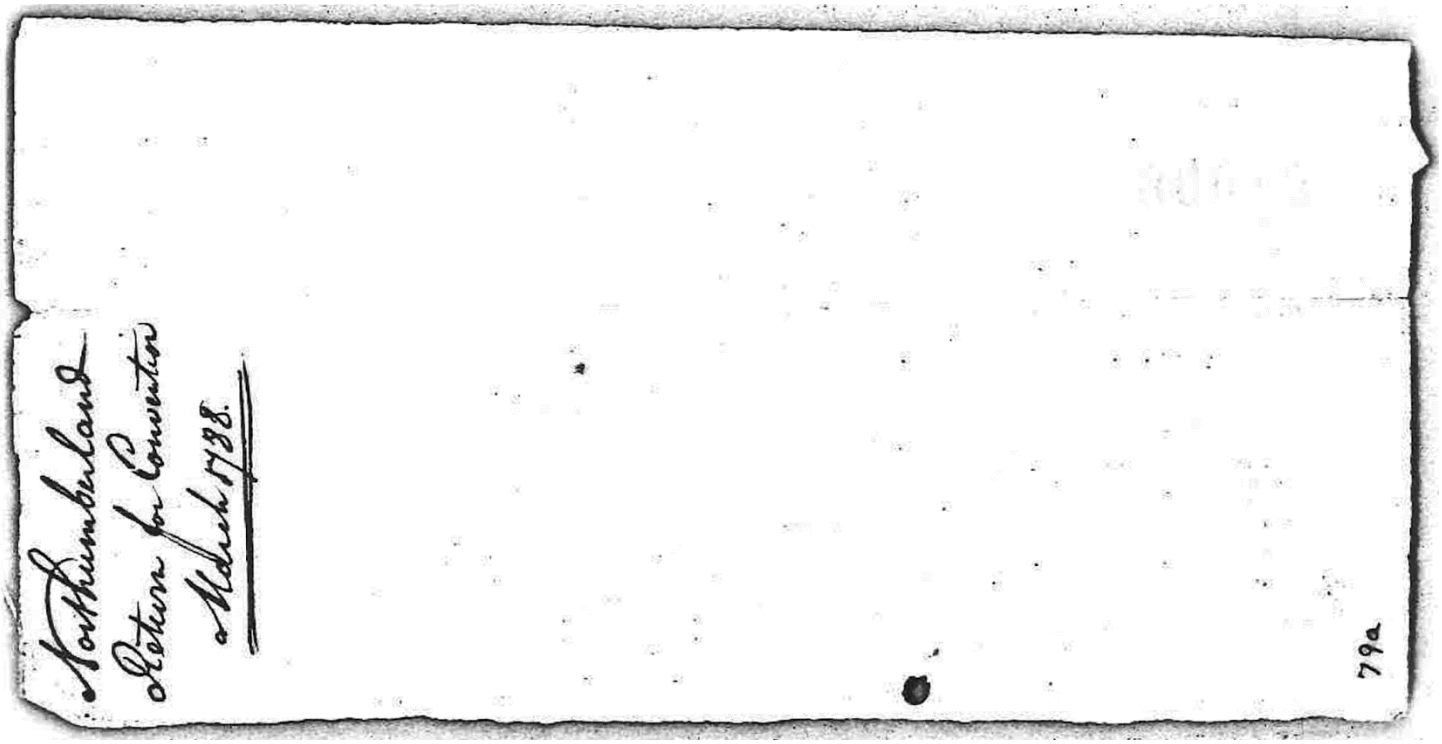
139. Northumberland County Election Certificate



Be it known to all men to whom these presents shall come that I John Hall Sheriff of Northumberland County in my sole County held at the Courthouse thereof on the Tenth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and eighty eight by the Electors of my County qualified according to Law, caused to be elected for my said County namely Walter Jones and Thomas Gaskins Esquires Delegates to represent the said County in a Convention of the People to be held in the City of Richmond the first Monday in June next Given Under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid —

John Hall

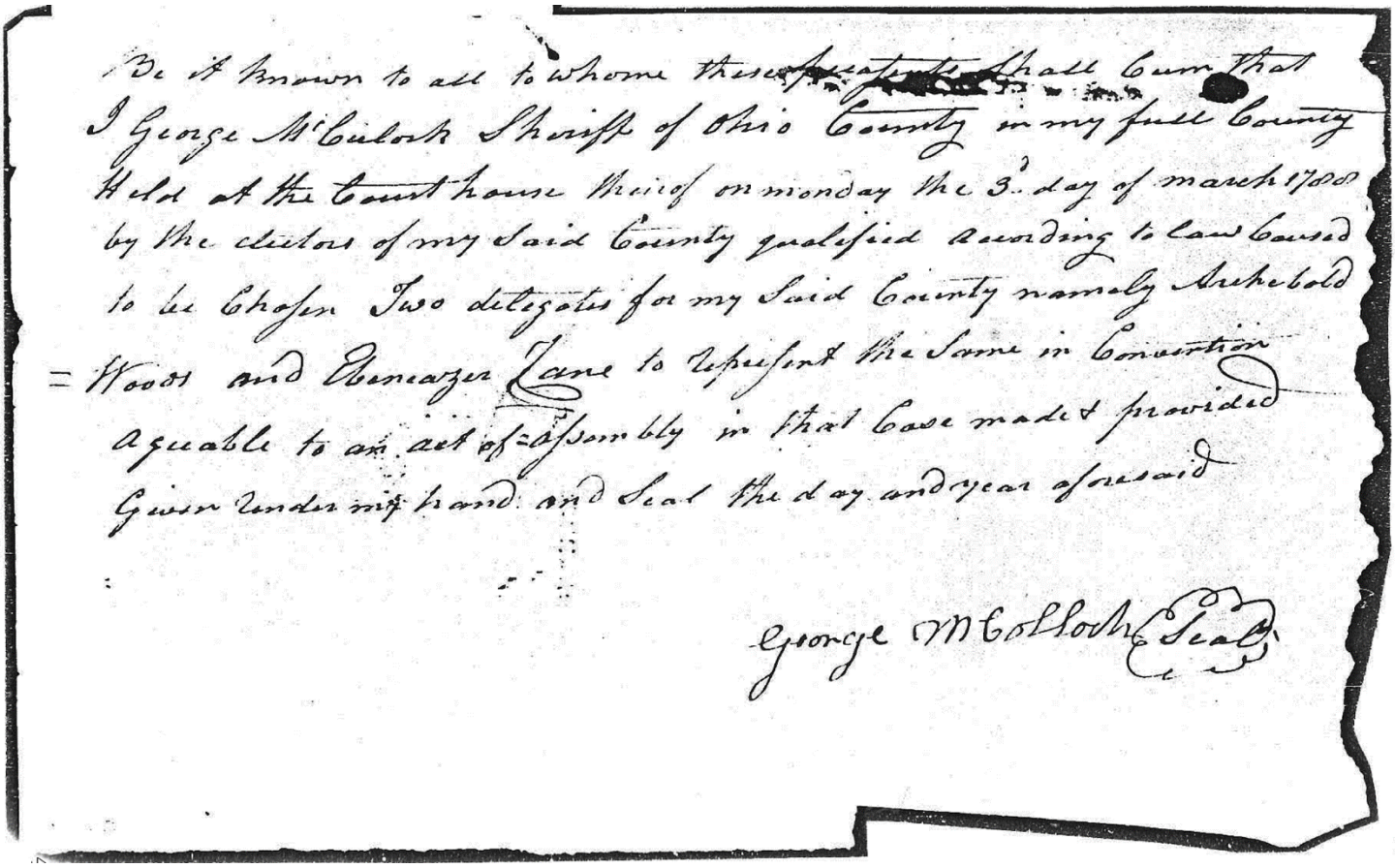
79



Northumberland
Return for Convention
March 1788.

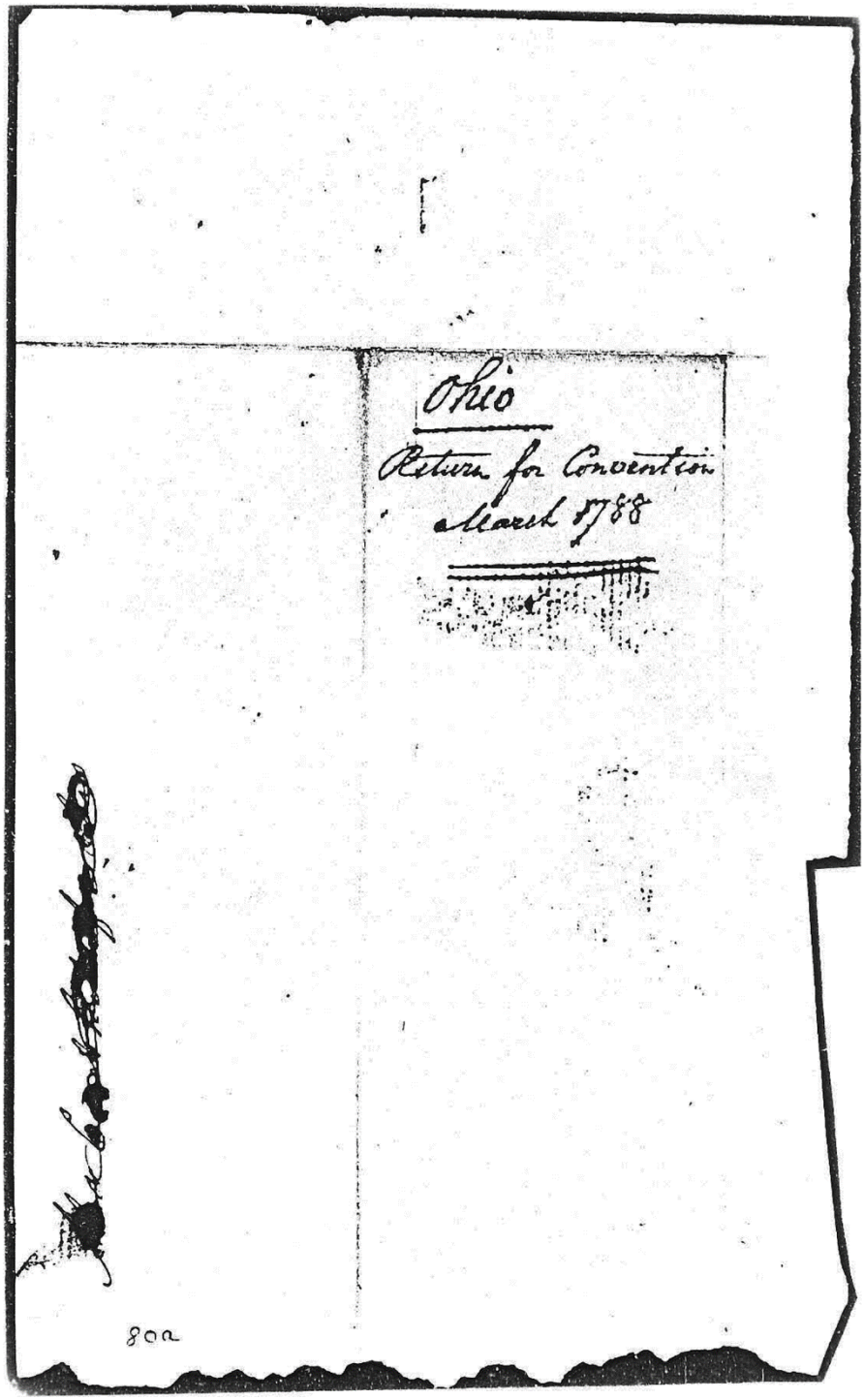
79a

140. Ohio County Election Certificate

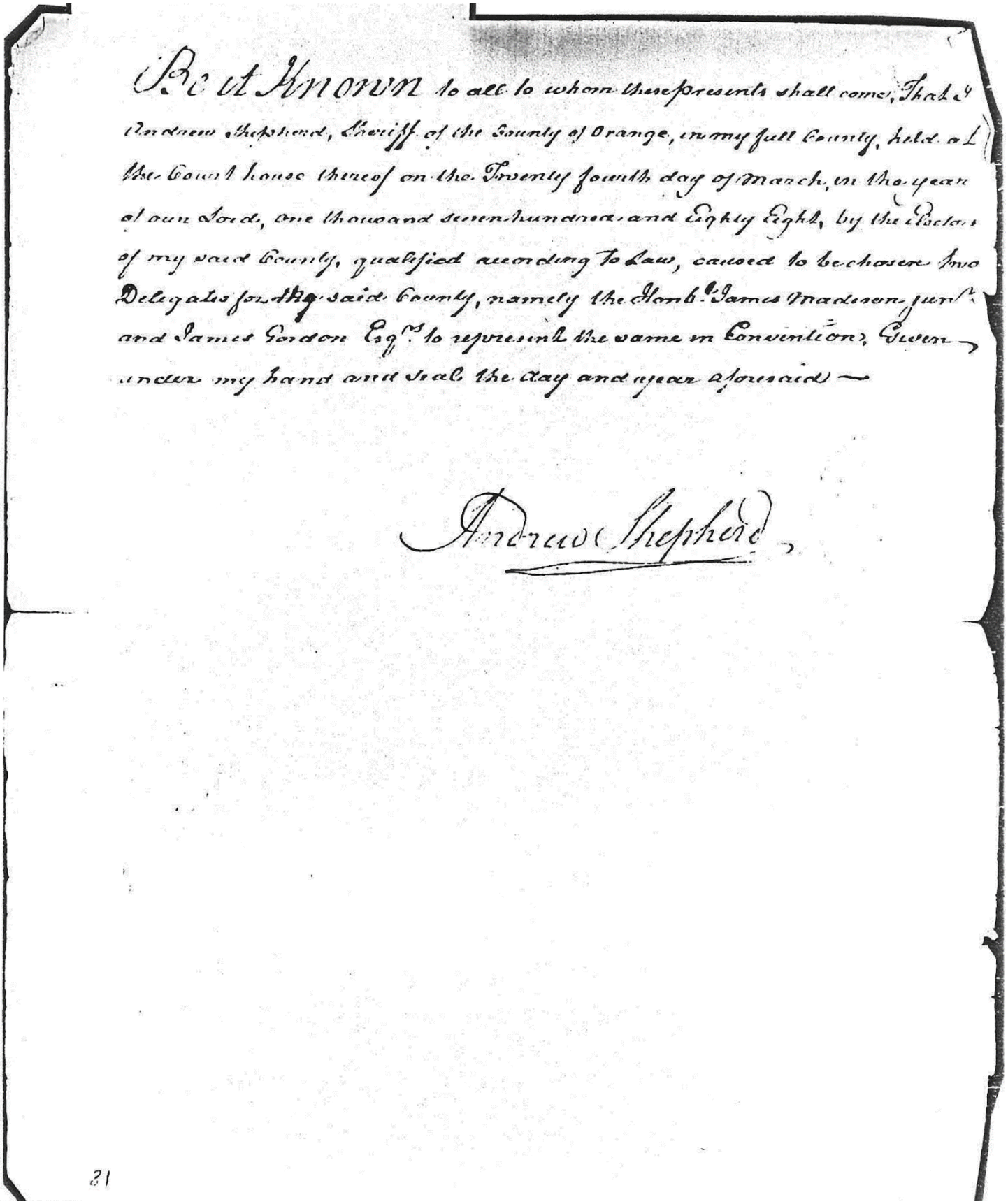


Be it known to all to whom these presents shall Com That
I George M'Culloh Sheriff of Ohio County in my full County
Held at the Court house thereof on monday the 3d day of march 1788
by the electors of my said County qualified according to Law Caused
to be Chosen Two delegates for my Said County namely Archebald
= Woods and Ebenezer Zane to Represent the Same in Convention
agreable to an act of Assembly in that Case made & provided
Given under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid

George M'Culloh Seal


Ohio
Return for Convention
March 1788
80a

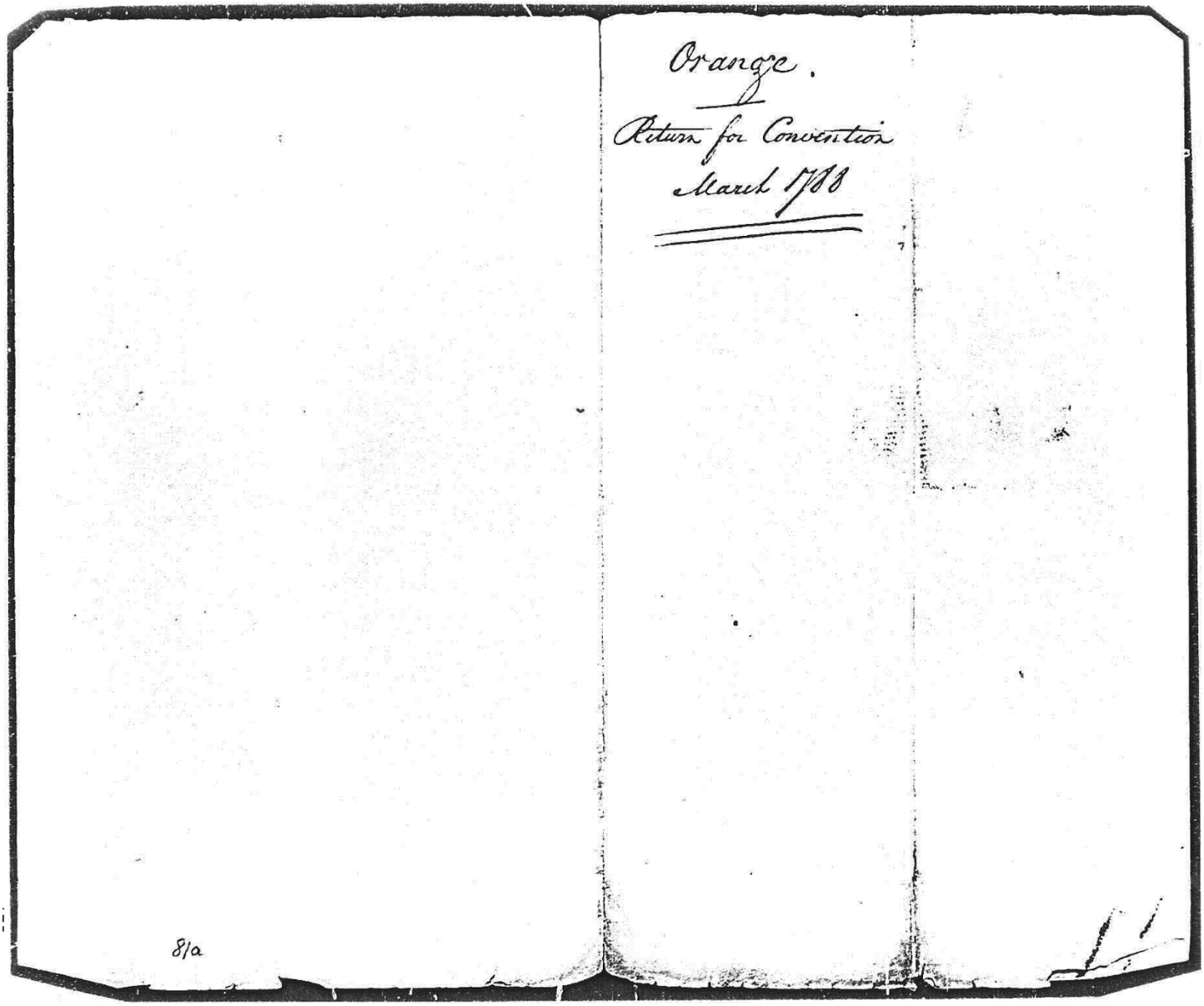
141. Orange County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, That I Andrew Shepherd, Sheriff of the County of Orange, in my full County, held at the Court house thereof on the Twenty fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for the said County, namely the Honb.ᵉ James Madison junr.ᵗ and James Gordon Esq.ᵉ to represent the same in Convention; Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid —

Andrew Shepherd

81


Orange.

Return for Convention

March 1788

8/a

142. Orange County Election Certificate

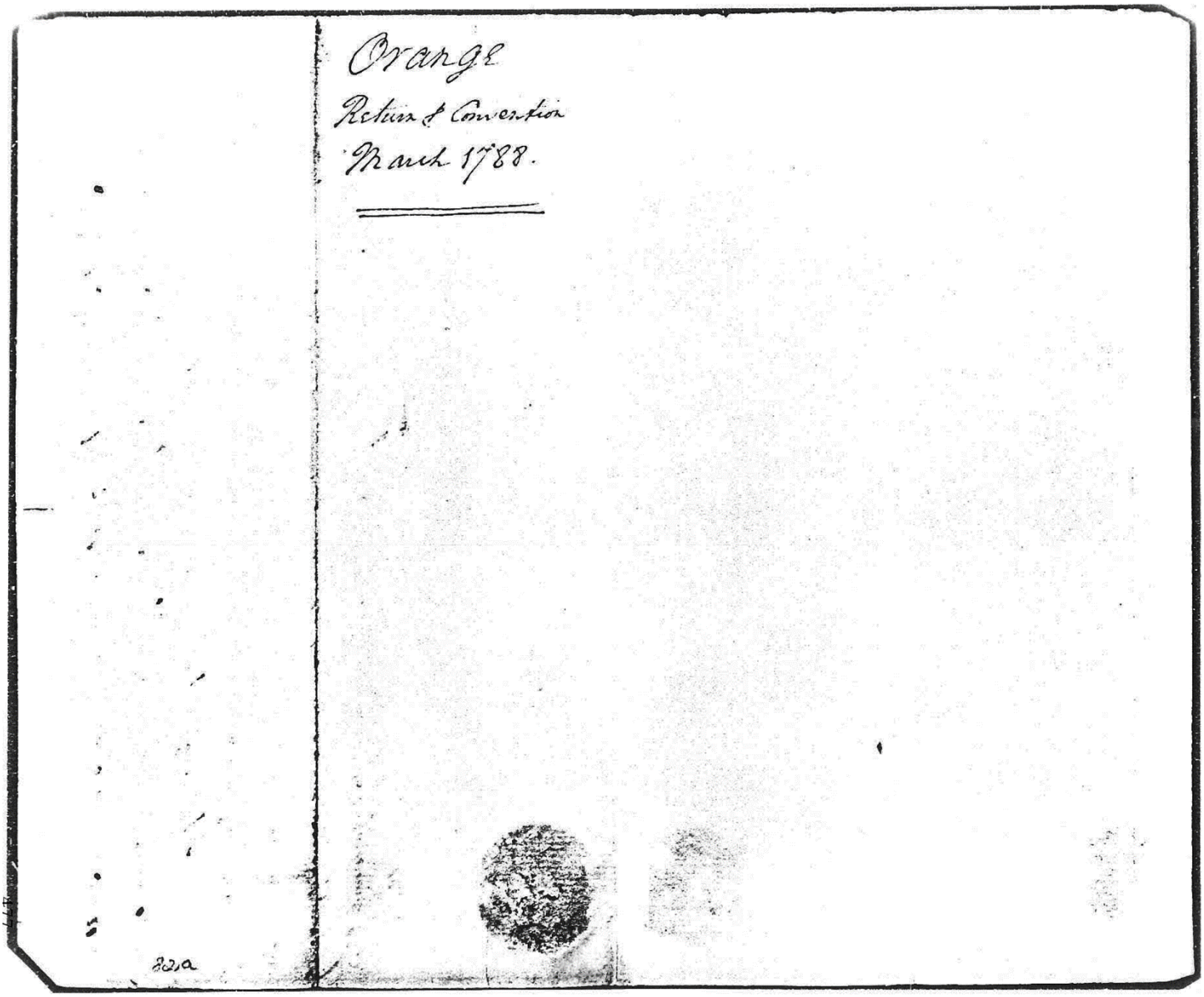
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, That I Andrew Shepherd Sheriff of the County of Orange, on my full County, held at the Court house thereof on Twenty fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and Eighty Eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates from my said County, namely The Honble James Madison Jr and James Jordon Esqr to represent the same in Convention — Given under my hand and seal, the day and year aforesaid

Andrew Shepherd

[redacted]

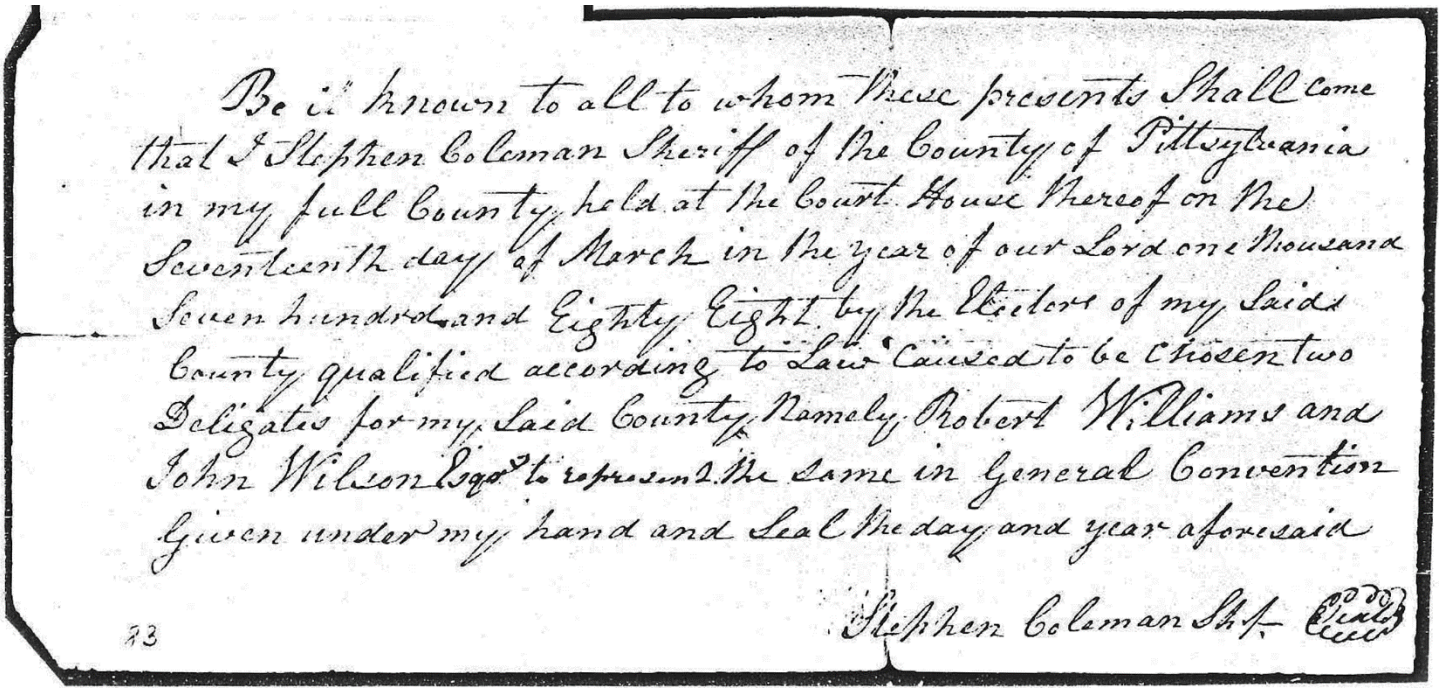
[redacted]

80


Orange
Return of Convention
March 1788.

821a

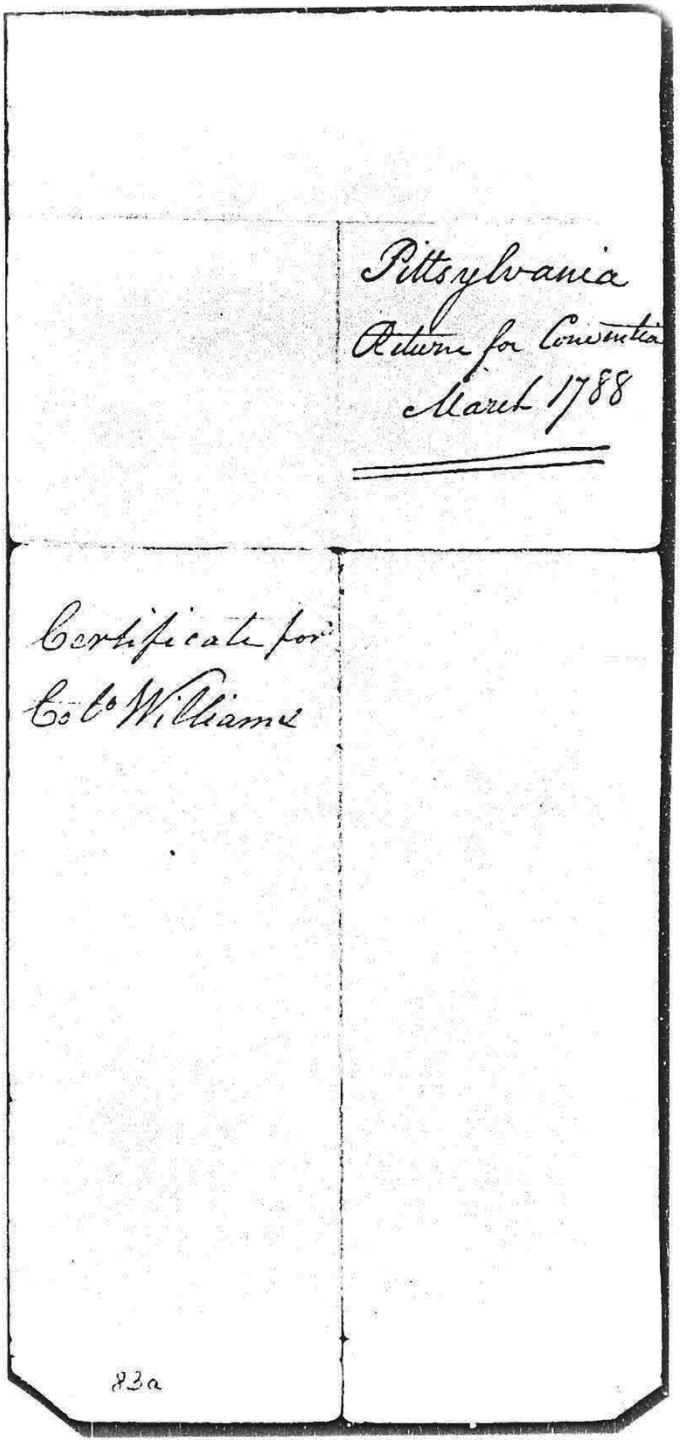
143. Pittsylvania County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come
that I Stephen Coleman Sheriff of the County of Pittsylvania
in my full County held at the Court House thereof on the
Seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one Thousand
Seven hundred and Eighty Eight by the Electors of my said
County qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two
Deligates for my said County Namely Robert Williams and
John Wilson Esqrs to represent the same in General Convention
Given under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid

Stephen Coleman Sh.f. Seal

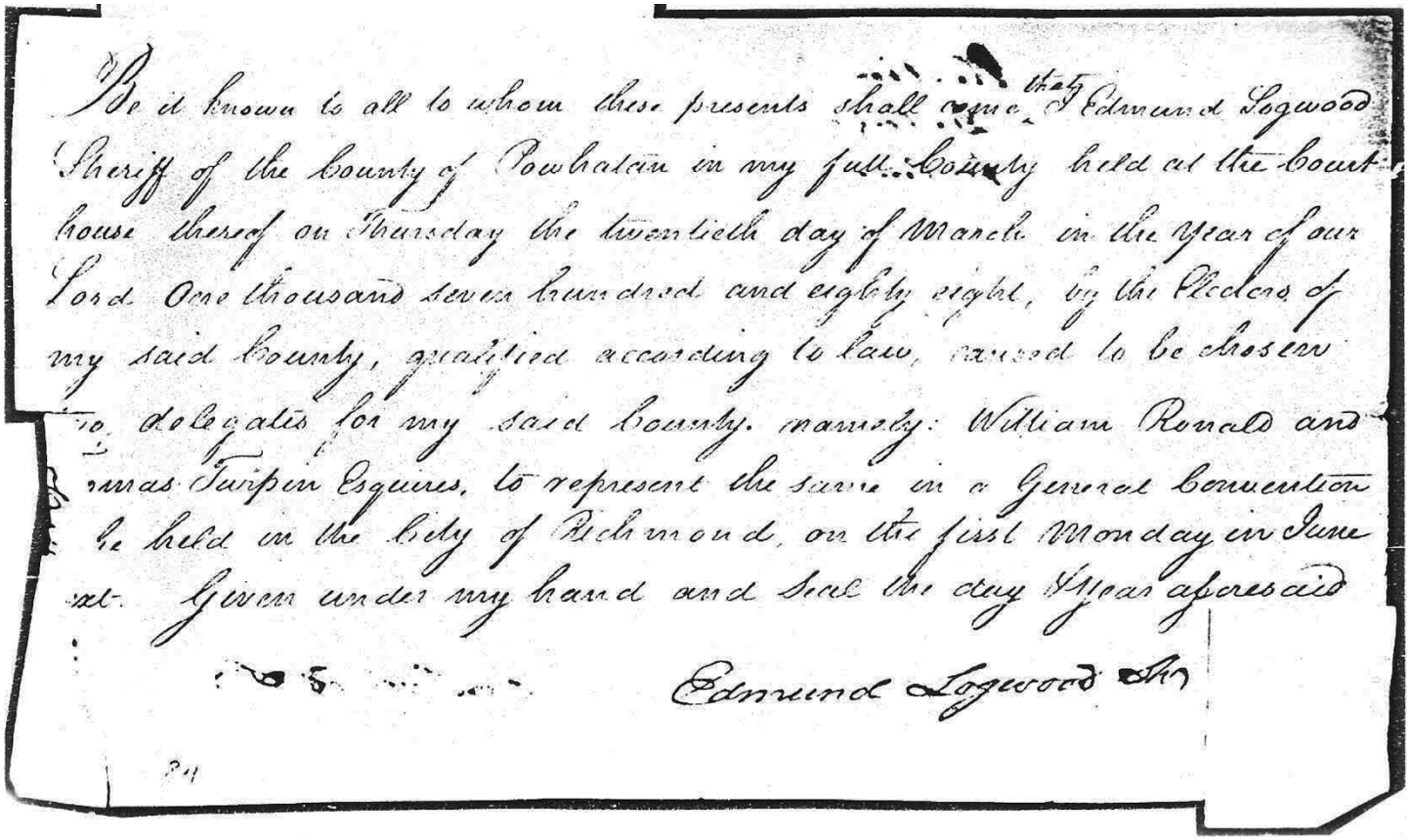
33


Pittsylvania
Returns for Convention
March 1788

Certificate for
Co^l^ Co^l^ Williams

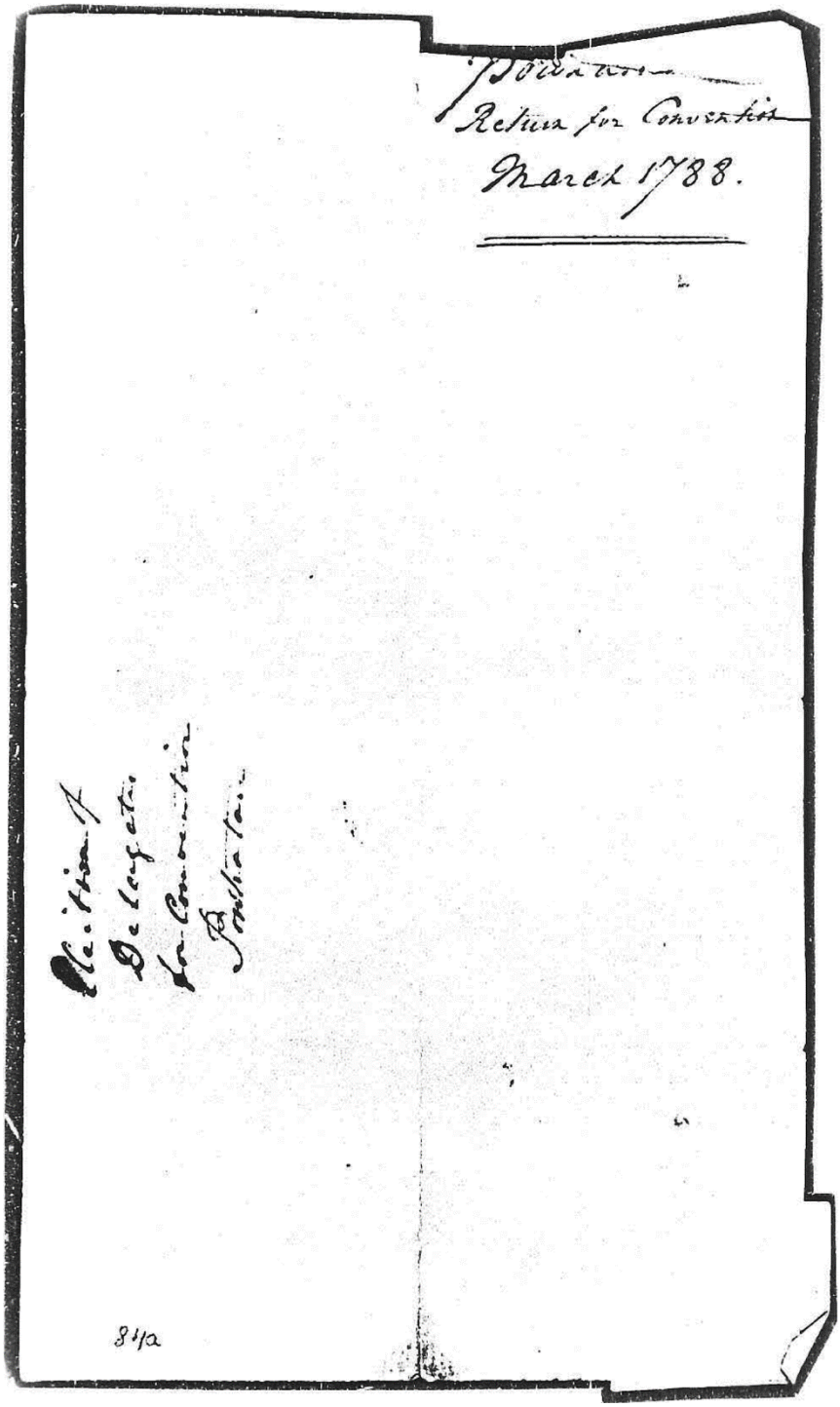
83a

144. Powhatan County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Edmund Logwood Sheriff of the County of Powhatan in my full County held at the Court-house thereof on Thursday the twentieth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Freeholders of my said County, qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two delegates for my said County, namely: William Ronald and Thomas Turpin Esquires, to represent the same in a General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond, on the first Monday in June next. Given under my hand and Seal the day & year aforesaid

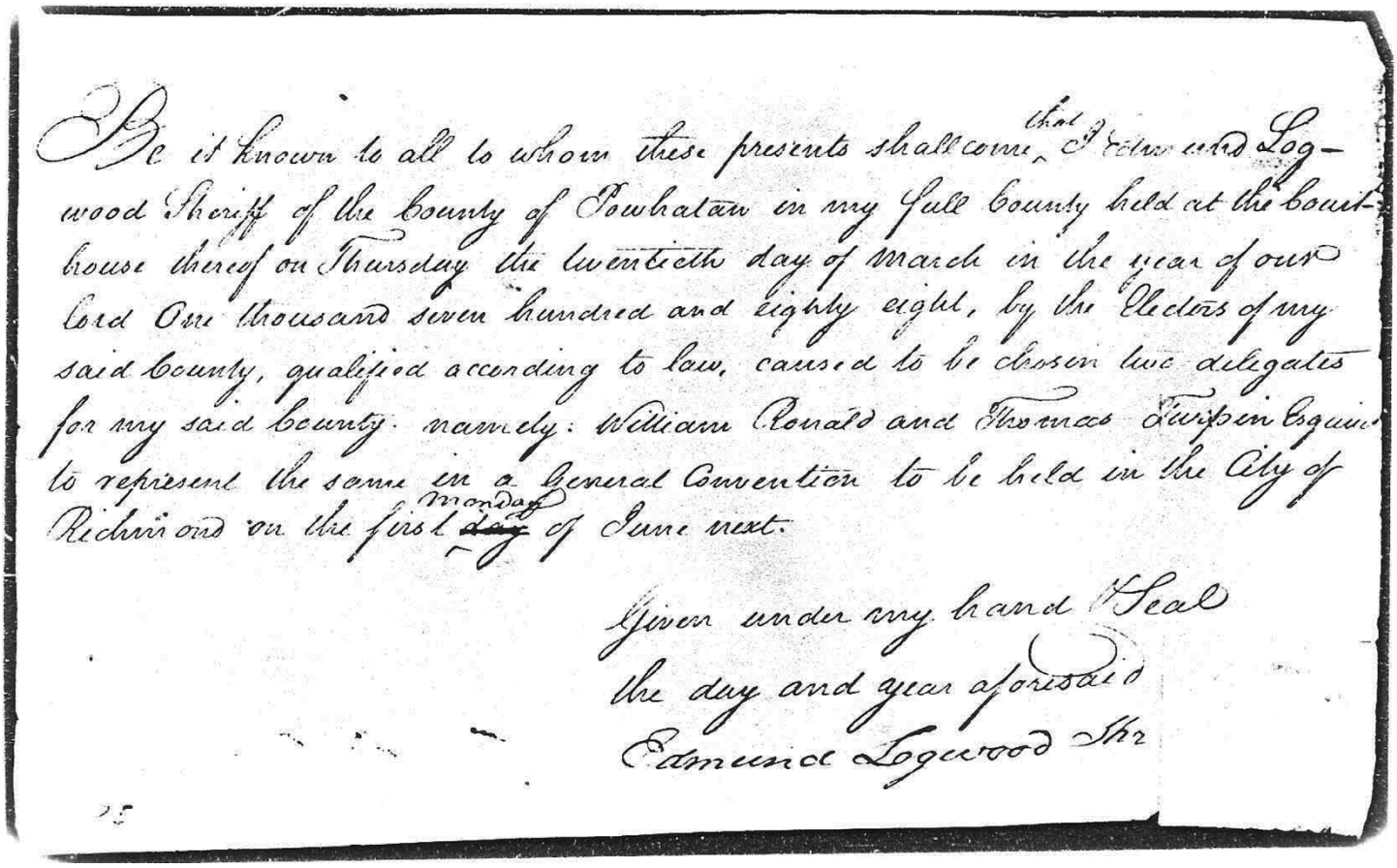
Edmund Logwood Sh


Powhatan
Return for Convention
March 1788.

Petition of
Delegates
for Convention
Powhatan

84/a

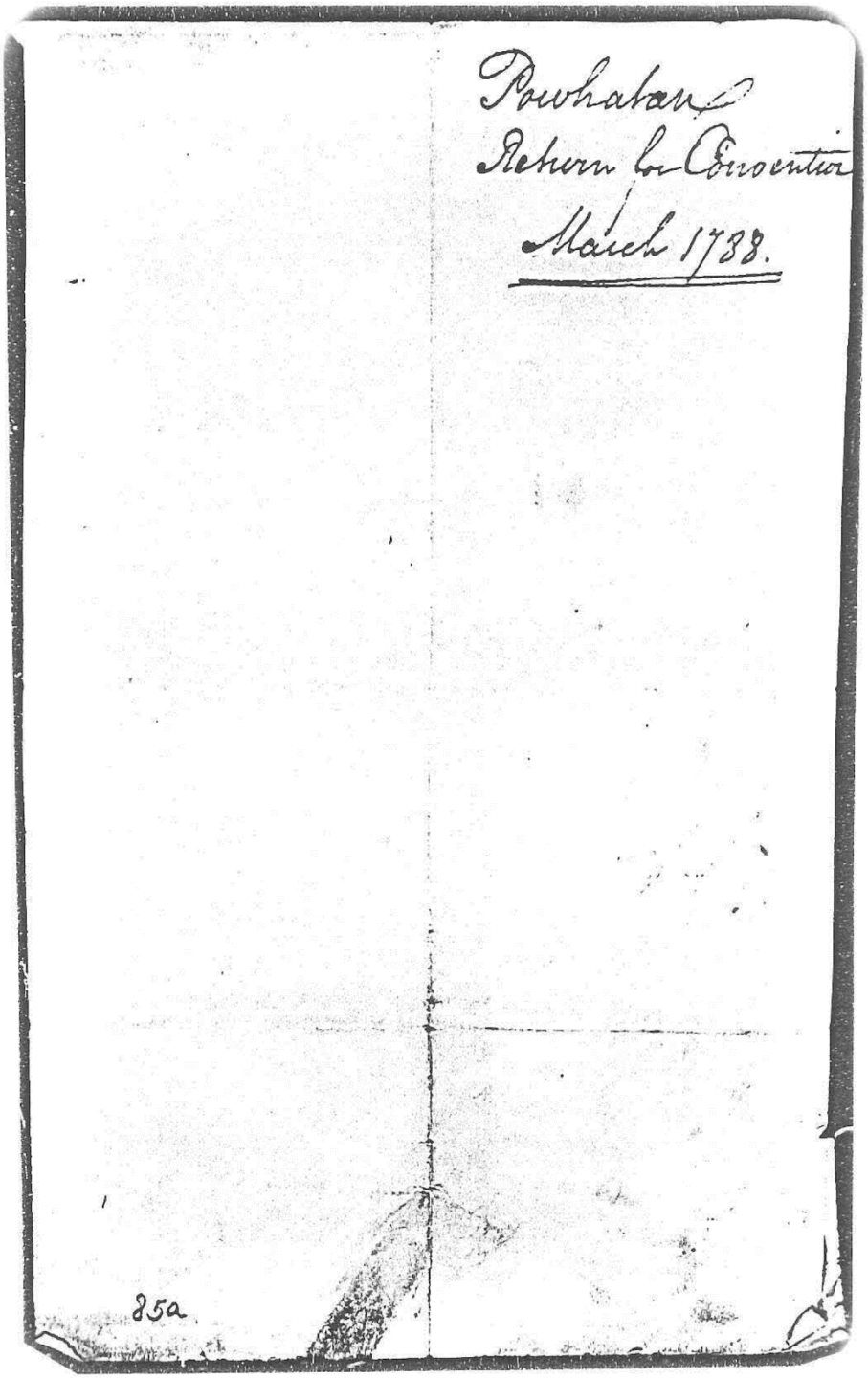
145. Powhatan County Election Certificate



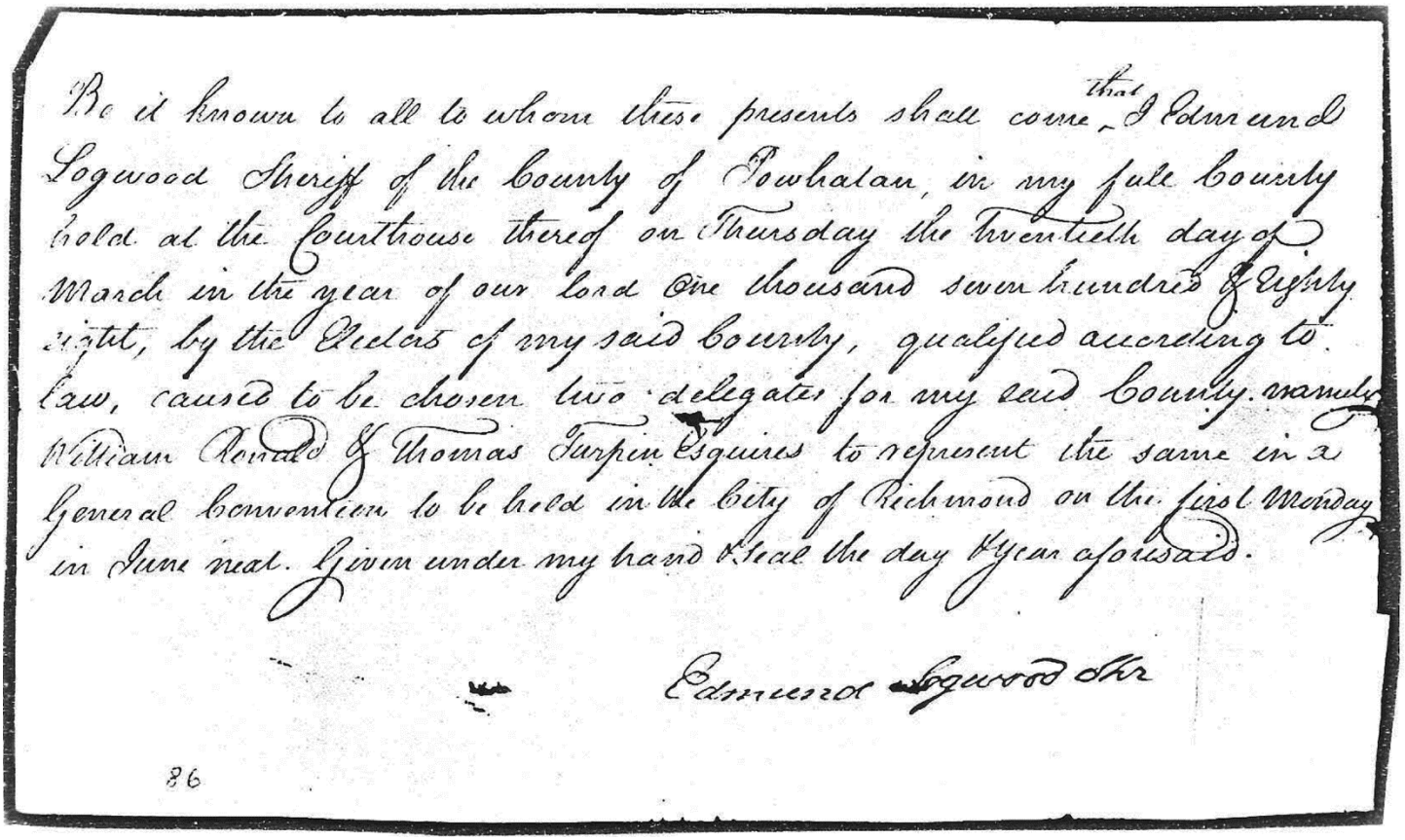
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Edmund Logwood Sheriff of the County of Powhatan in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on Thursday the twentieth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two delegates for my said County namely: William Ronald and Thomas Turpin Esquires to represent the same in a General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday of June next.

Given under my hand & Seal the day and year aforesaid

Edmund Logwood Shr


Powhatan
Return for Convention
March 1788.
85a

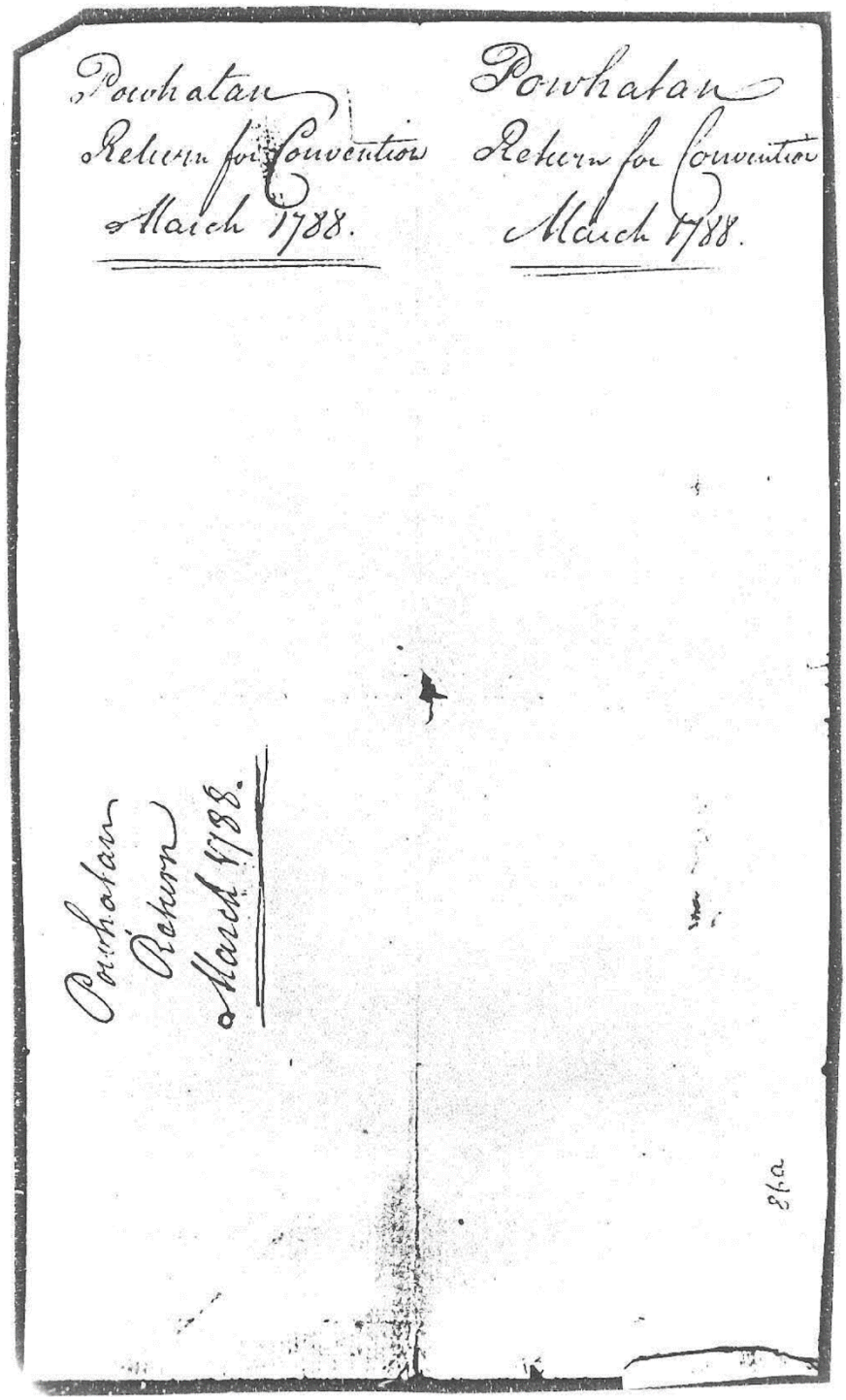
146. Powhatan County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Edmund Logwood Sheriff of the County of Powhatan, in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on Thursday the twentieth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred & Eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two delegates for my said County. namely William Ronald & Thomas Turpin Esquires to represent the same in a General Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next. Given under my hand & Seal the day & year aforesaid.

Edmund Logwood Shr

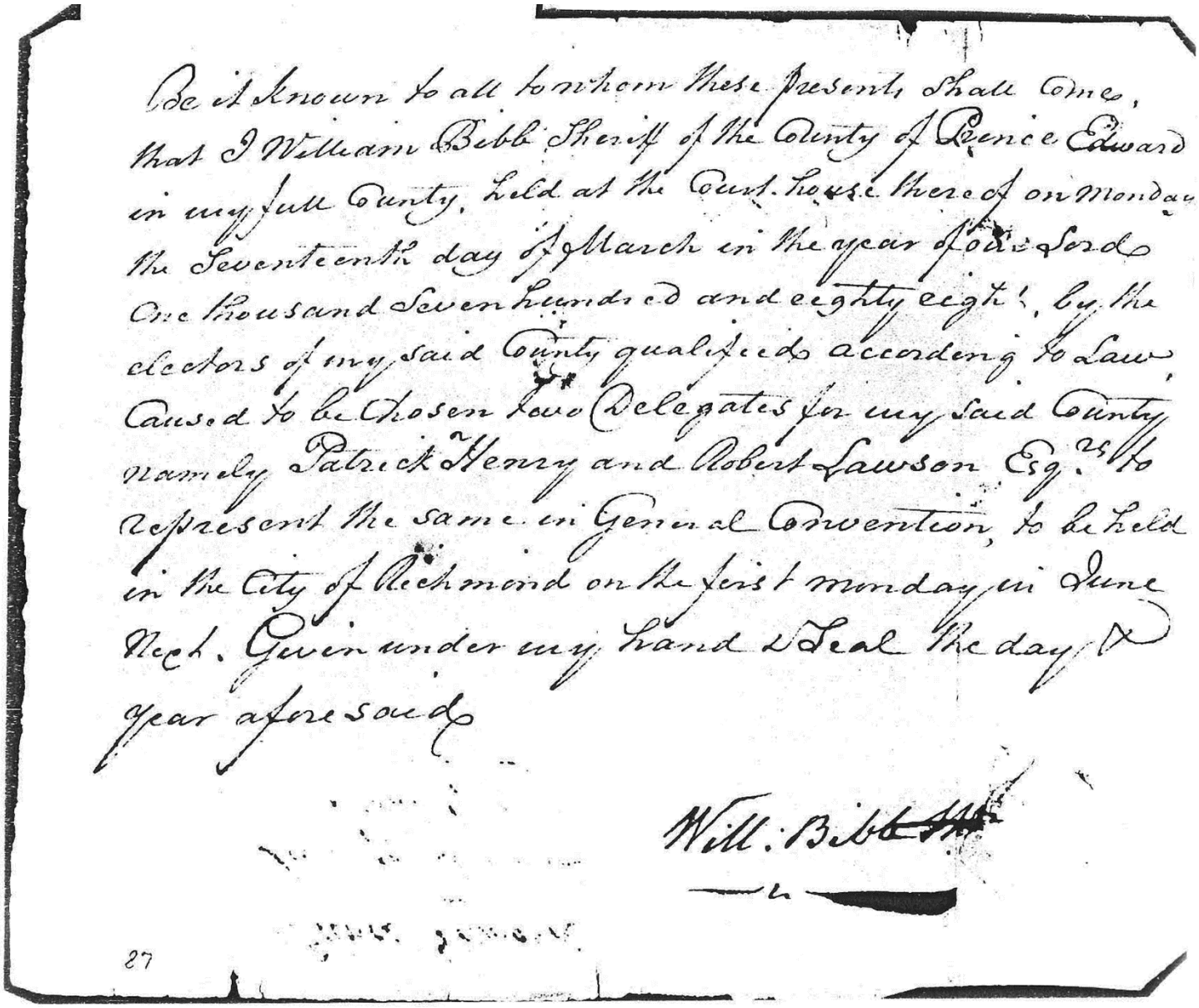
86


Powhatan
Return for Convention
March 1788.

Powhatan
Return for Convention
March 1788.

Powhatan
Return
March 1788.

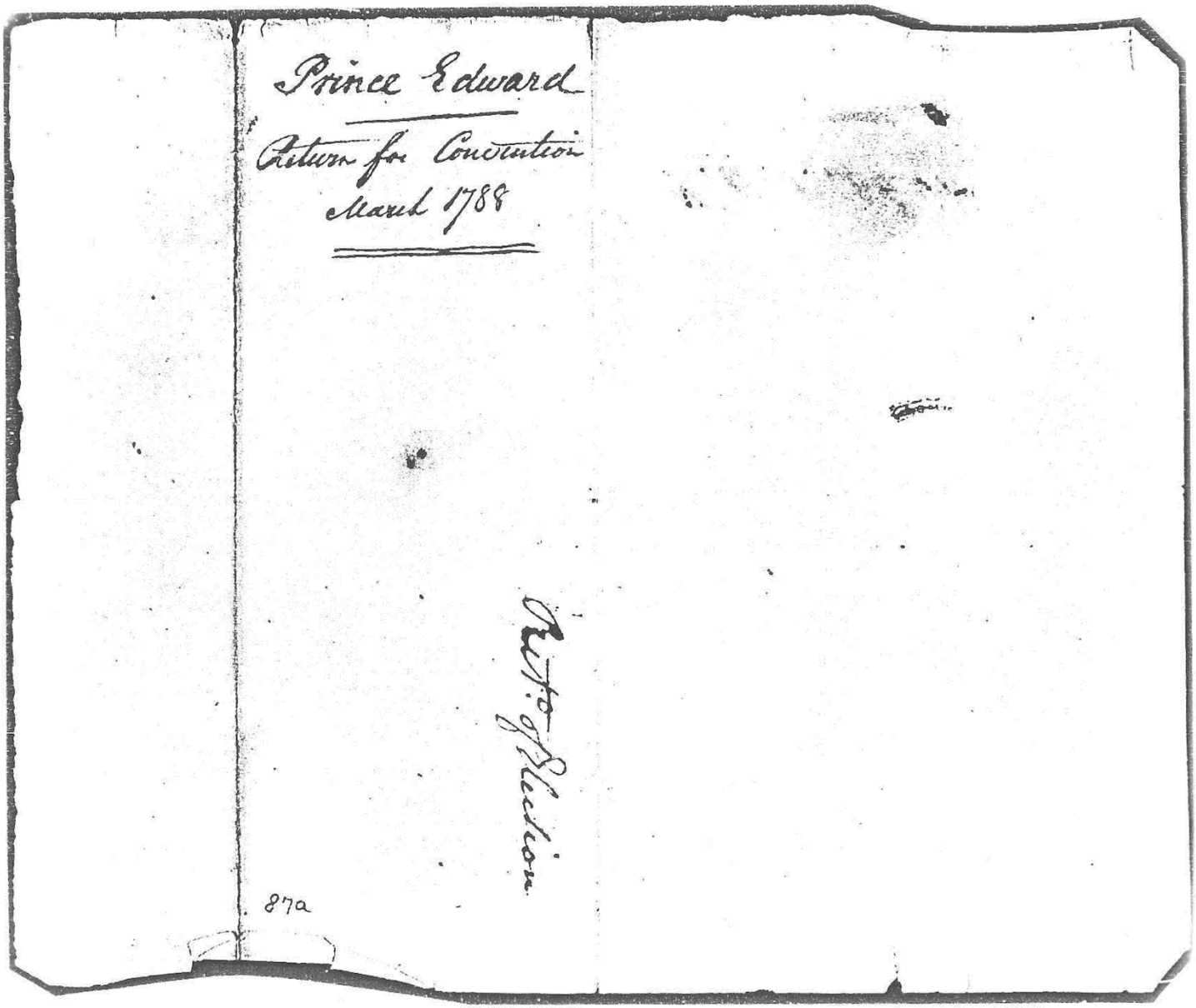
147. Prince Edward County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come, that I William Bibb Sheriff of the County of Prince Edward in my said County, Held at the Court House there on Monday the Seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and eighty eight, by the electors of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County namely Patrick Henry and Robert Lawson Esq.rs to represent the same in General Convention, to be held in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June Next. Given under my Hand & Seal the day & year aforesaid

Will: Bibb

27



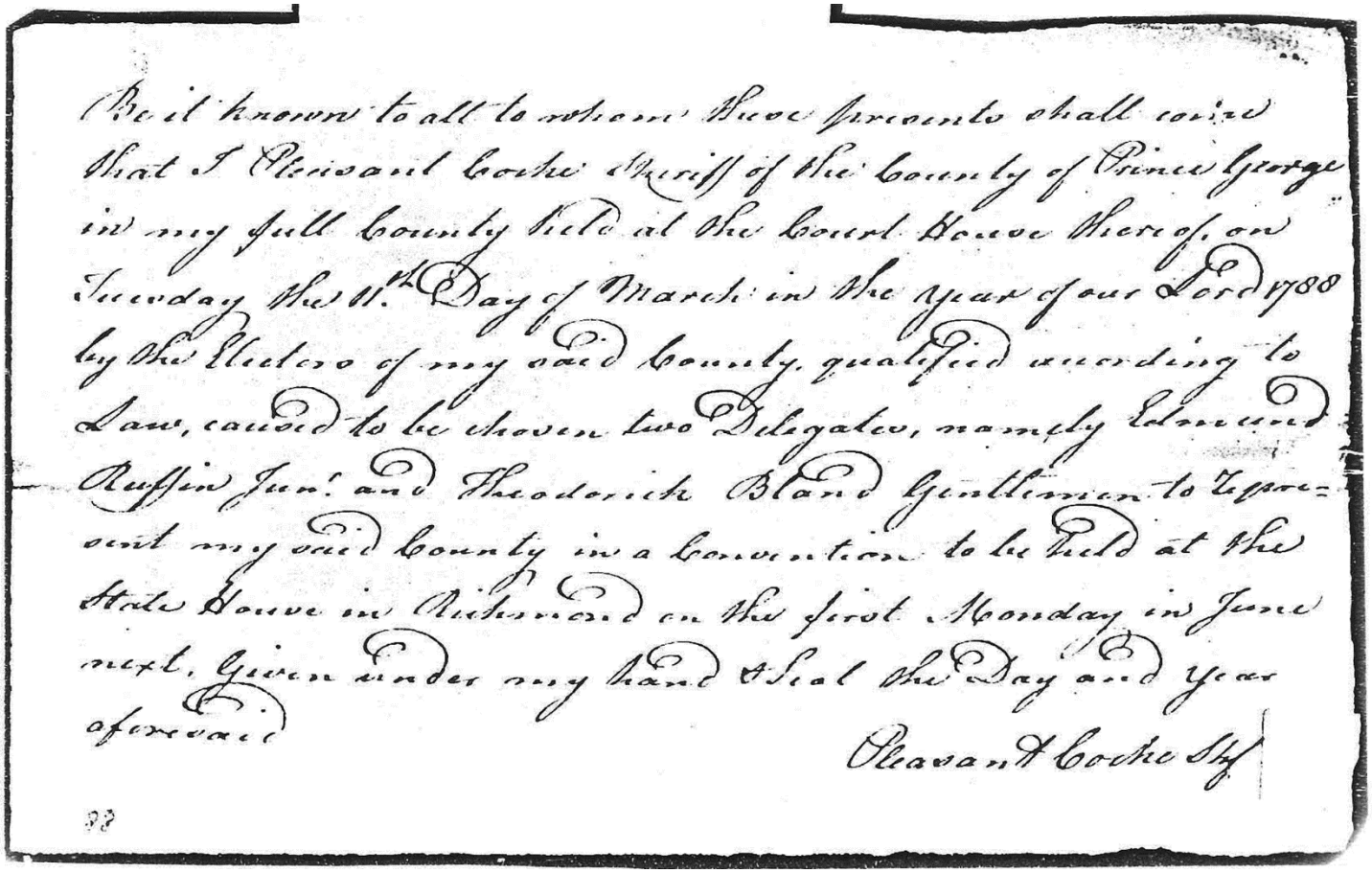
Prince Edward

Return for Convention
March 1788

Ret. of Election

87a

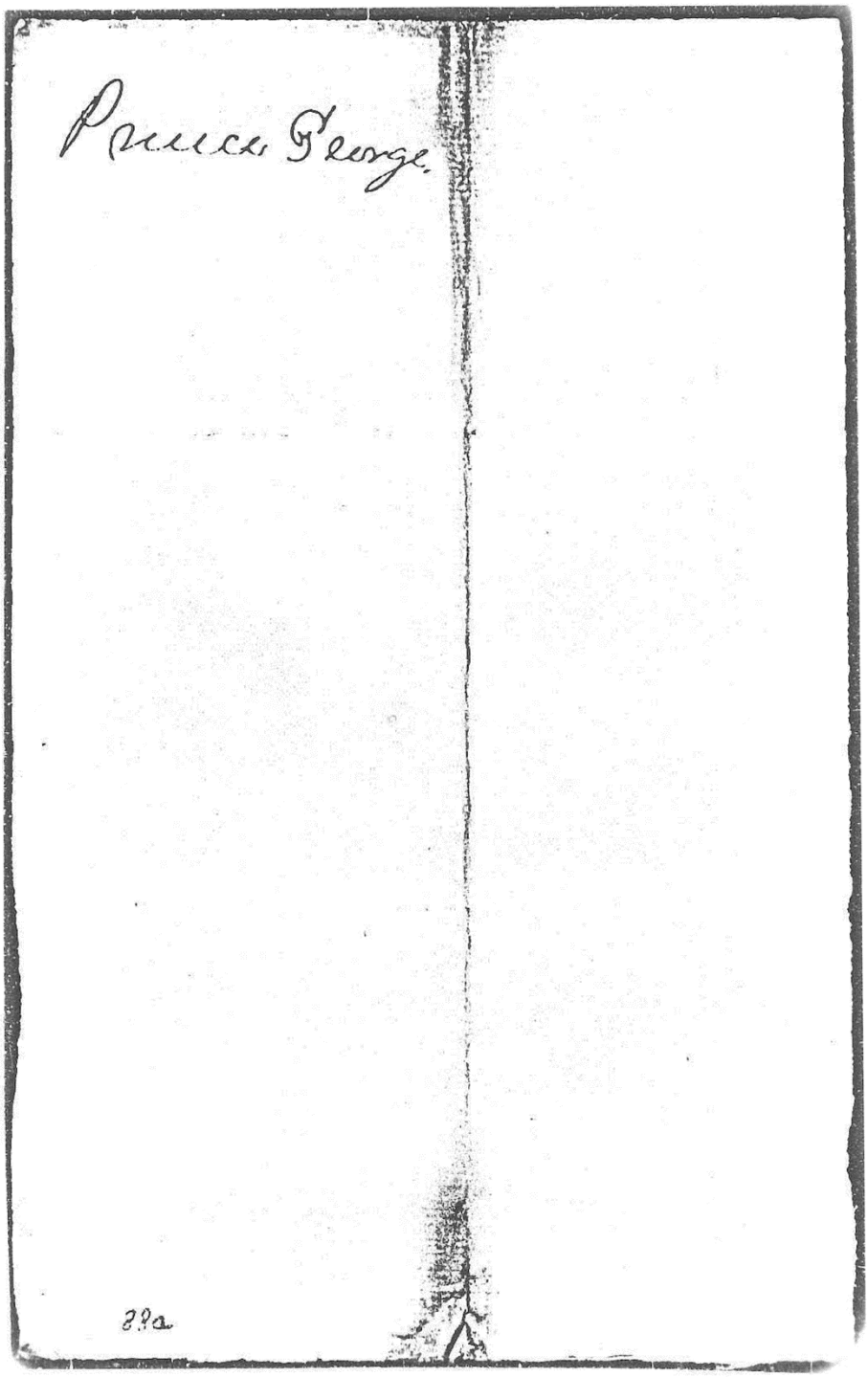
148. Prince George County Election Certificate



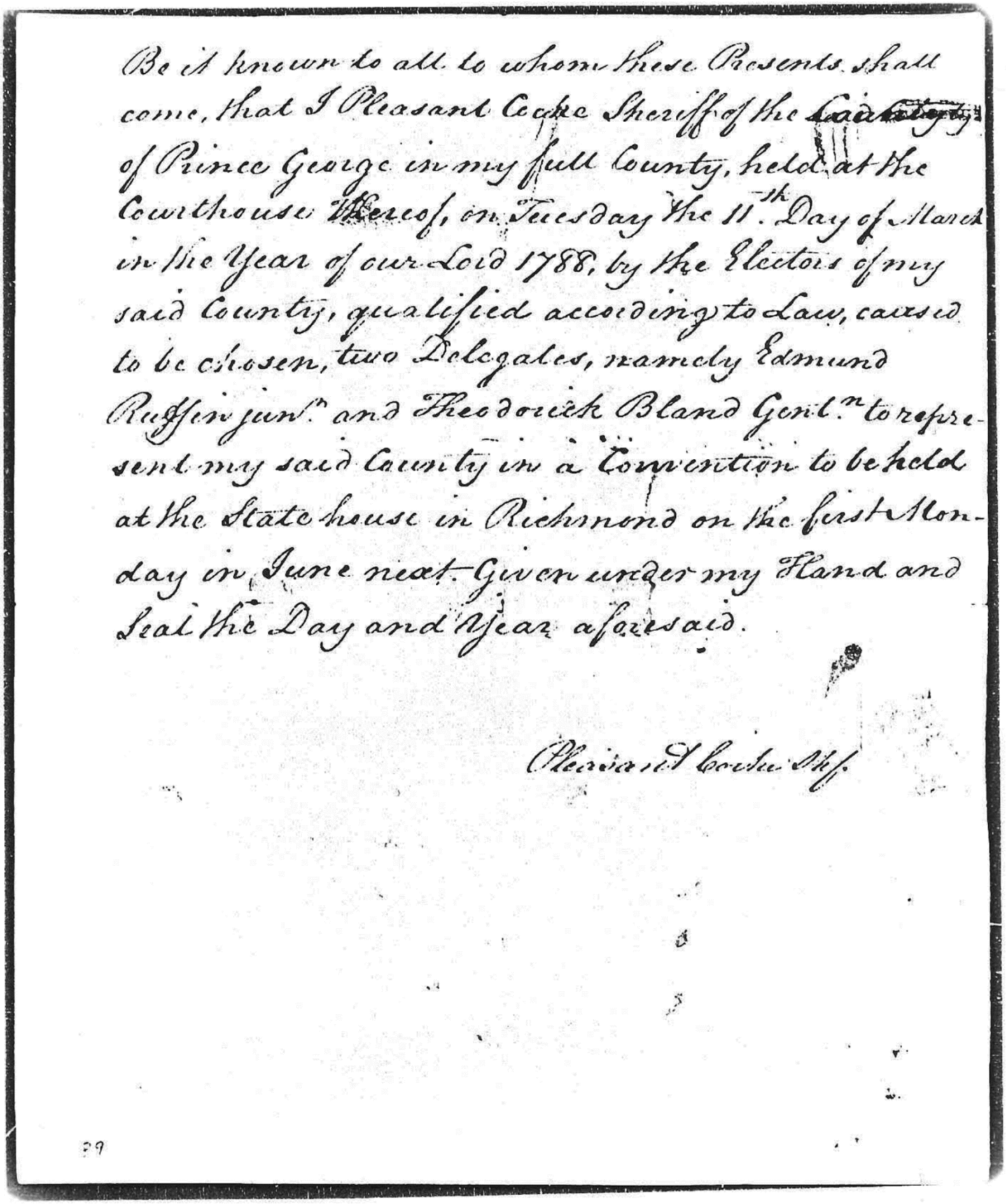
Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come
that I Pleasant Cocke Sheriff of the County of Prince George
in my full County held at the Court House thereof, on
Tuesday the 11th Day of March in the year of our Lord 1788
by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to
Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates, namely Edmund
Ruffin Junr. and Theodorick Bland Gentlemen to repre-
sent my said County in a Convention to be held at the
State House in Richmond on the first Monday in June
next. Given under my hand & Seal the Day and Year
aforesaid

Pleasant Cocke Shff

88


Prince George.
89a

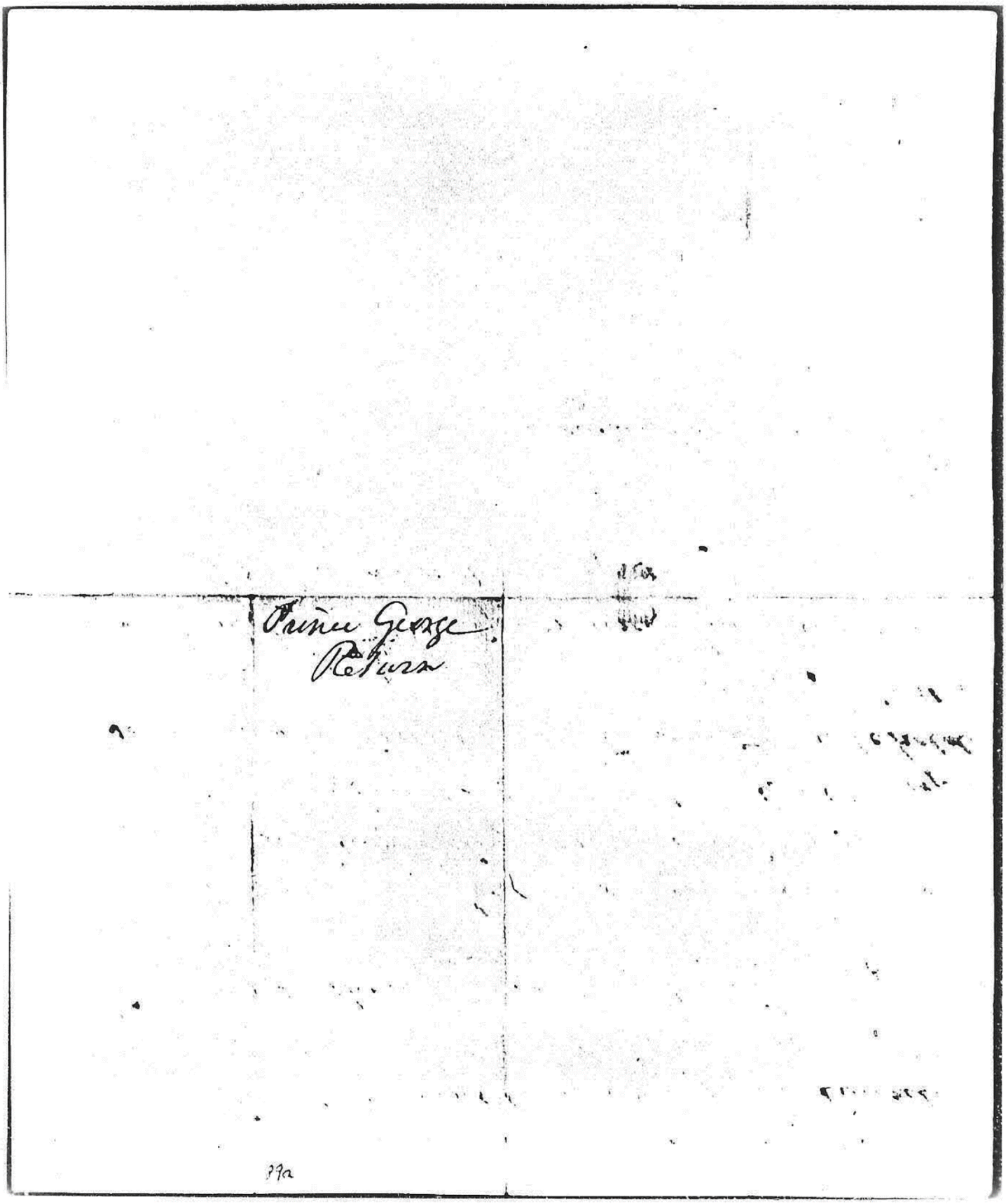
149. Prince George County Election Certificate



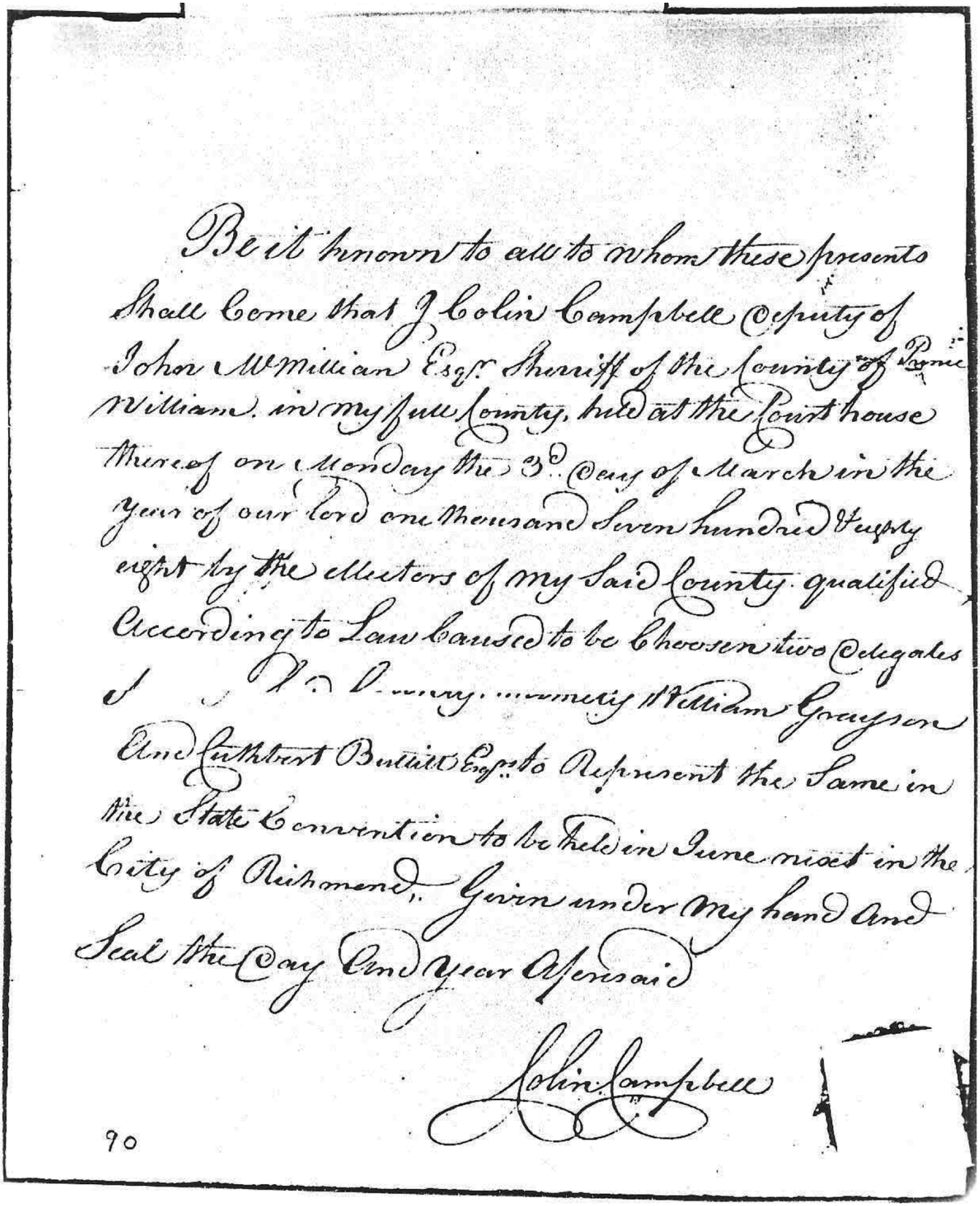
Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come, that I Pleasant Cocke Sheriff of the ~~said County~~ of Prince George in my said County, held at the Courthouse thereof, on Tuesday the 11th. Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1788, by the Electors of my said County, qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen, two Delegates, namely Edmund Ruffin junr. and Theodorick Bland Genl.n to represent my said County in a Convention to be held at the State house in Richmond on the first Monday in June next. Given under my Hand and Seal the Day and Year aforesaid.

Pleasant Cocke Shff.

79


Prince George
Return

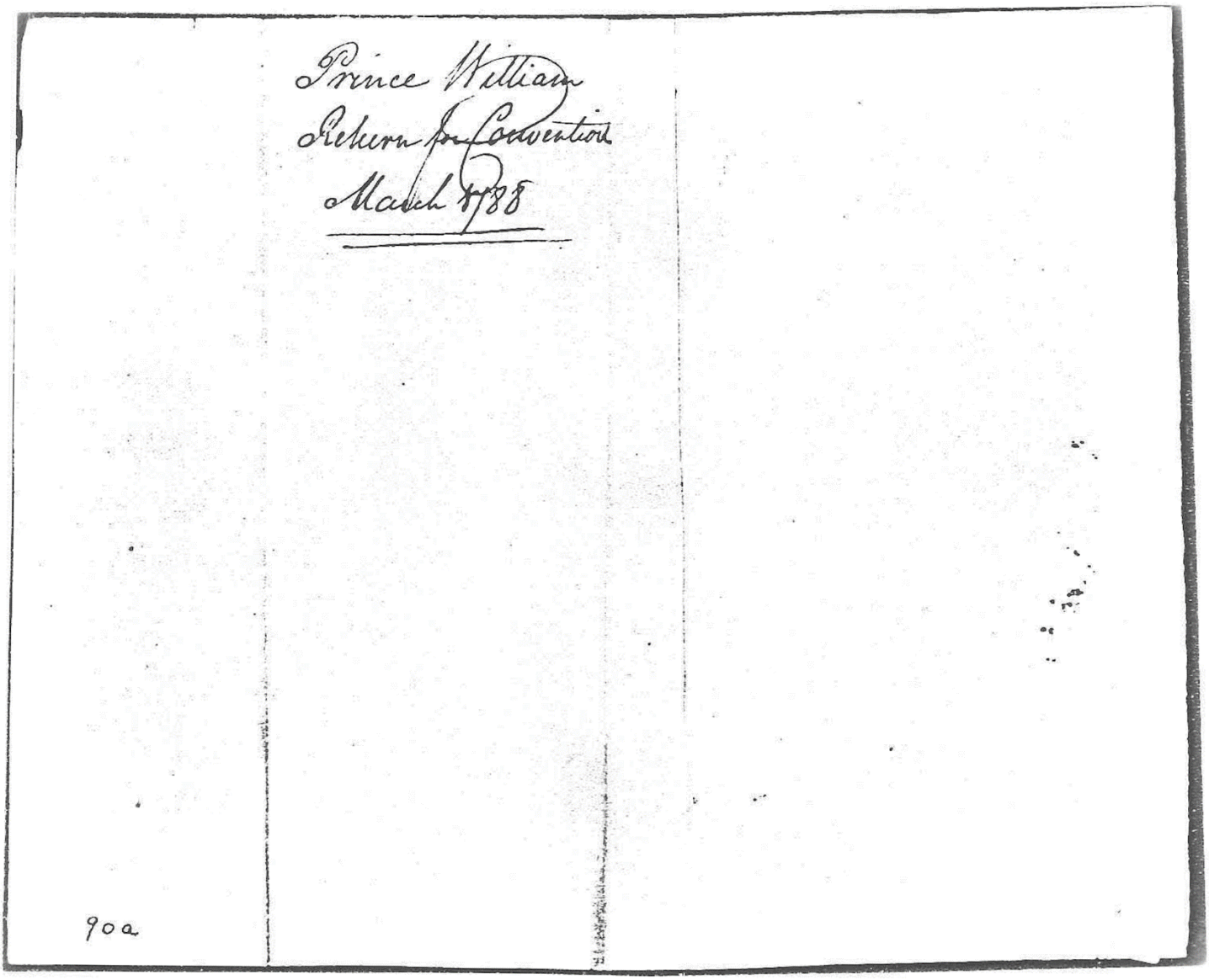
150. Prince William County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents
Shall Come that J Colin Campbell Deputy of
John McMillian Esqr. Sheriff of the County of Prince
William in my full County, held at the Court house
thereof on Monday the 3d. Day of March in the
Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred & Eighty
eight by the Electors of my said County qualified
According to Law caused to be Choosen two Delegates
to Represent the County aforesaid, namely William Grayson
And Cuthbert Bullitt Esqrs to Represent the Same in
the State Convention to be held in June next in the
City of Richmond. Given under my hand And
Seal the Day And Year aforesaid

J Colin Campbell

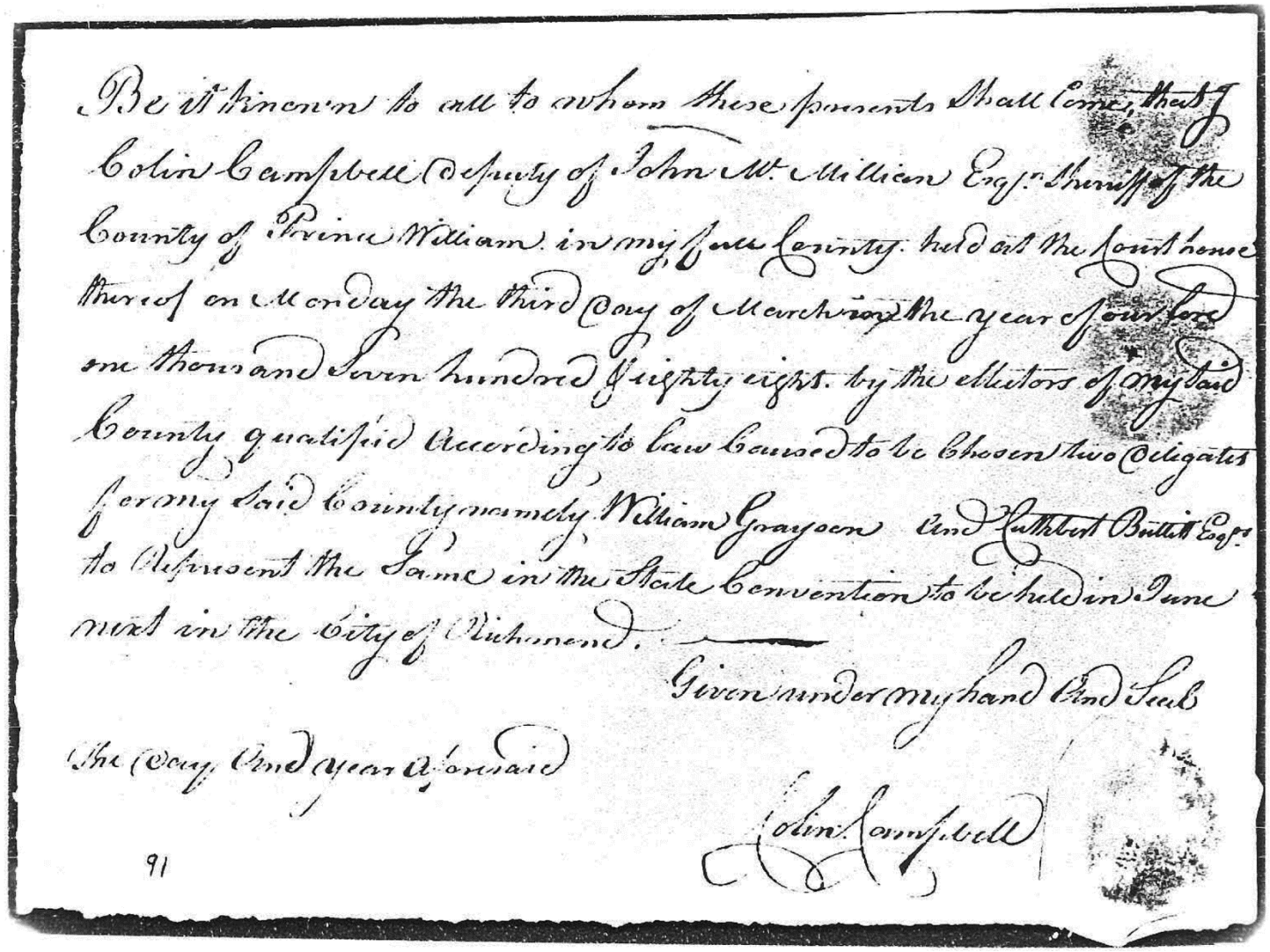
90



Prince William
Return for Convention
March 1788

90a

151. Prince William County Election Certificate

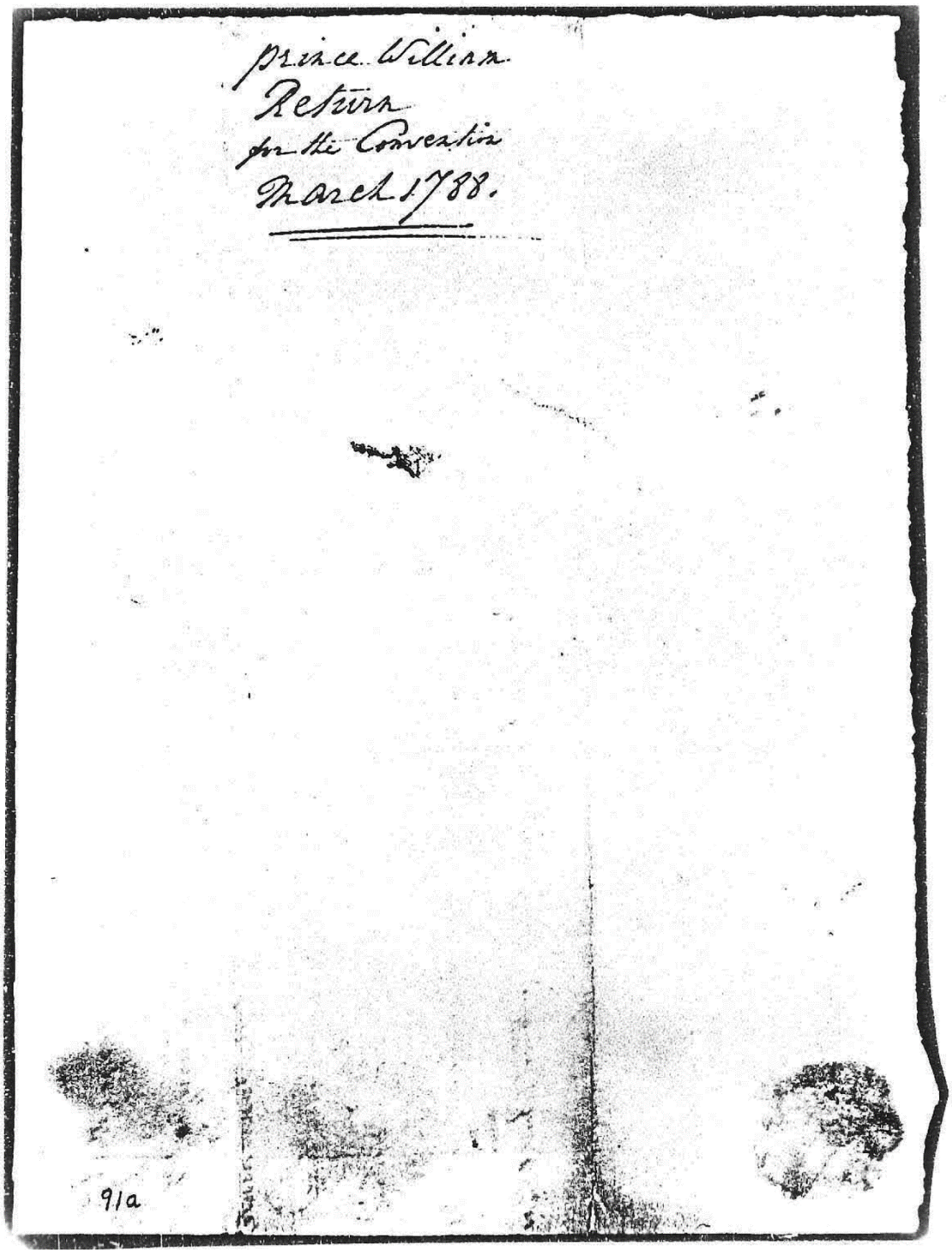


Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I Colin Campbell Deputy of John Mc Millian Esqr. Sheriff of the County of Prince William in my said County. hold at the Court house thereof on Monday the third day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & eighty eight. by the electors of my said County qualified according to law caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County namely William Grayson and Cuthbert Bullitt Esqrs to Represent the Same in the State Convention to be held in June next in the City of Richmond.

Given under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid

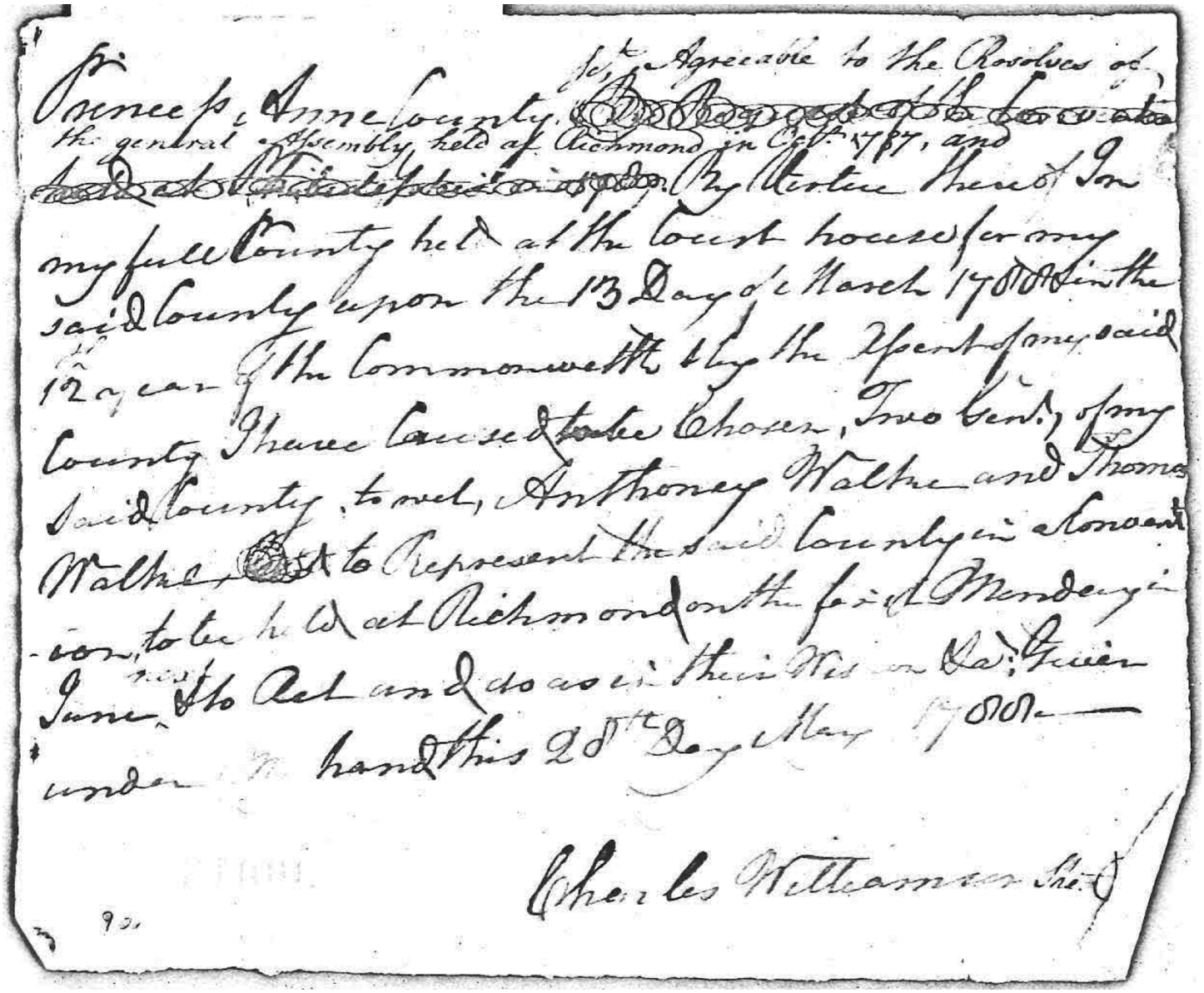
Colin Campbell

91


Prince William
Return
for the Convention
March 1788.

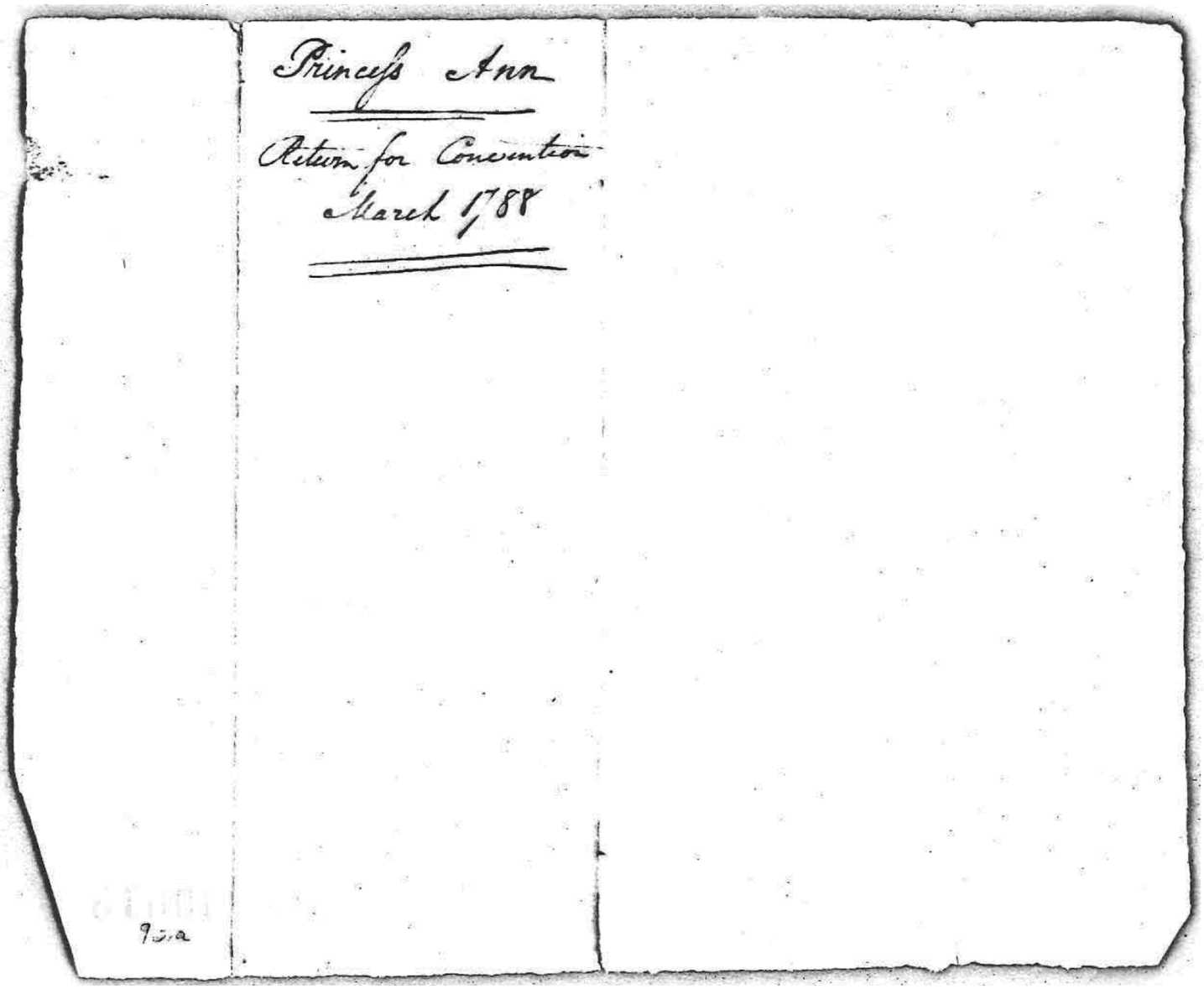
91a

152. Princess Anne County Election Certificate



Princess Anne County. [illegible] Agreeable to the Resolves of the general Assembly, held at Richmond in Oct.r 1787, and [illegible] By Virtue thereof I on my full County held at the Court house for my said County upon the 13 Day of March 1788 in the 12th year of the Commonwealth by the Voices of my said County I have caused to be Chosen, Two Citizens of my said County, to wit, Anthoney Walke and Thomas Walke to Represent the said County in Convention to be held at Richmond on the first Monday in June next to Act and do as in their Wisdom Shall seem [illegible] under my hand this 28th Day May 1788

Charles Williamson Shff



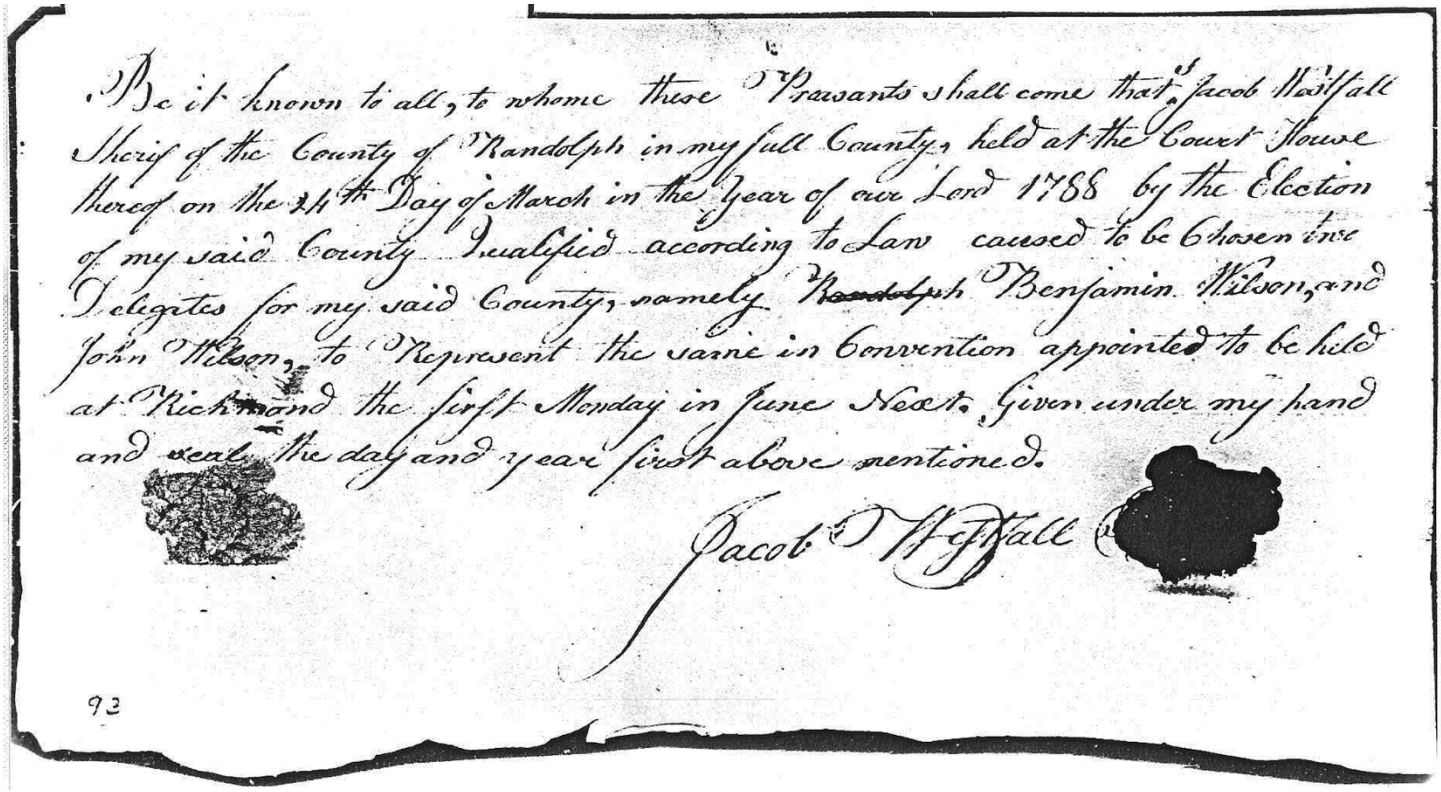
Princess Ann

Return for Convention

March 1788

9.a

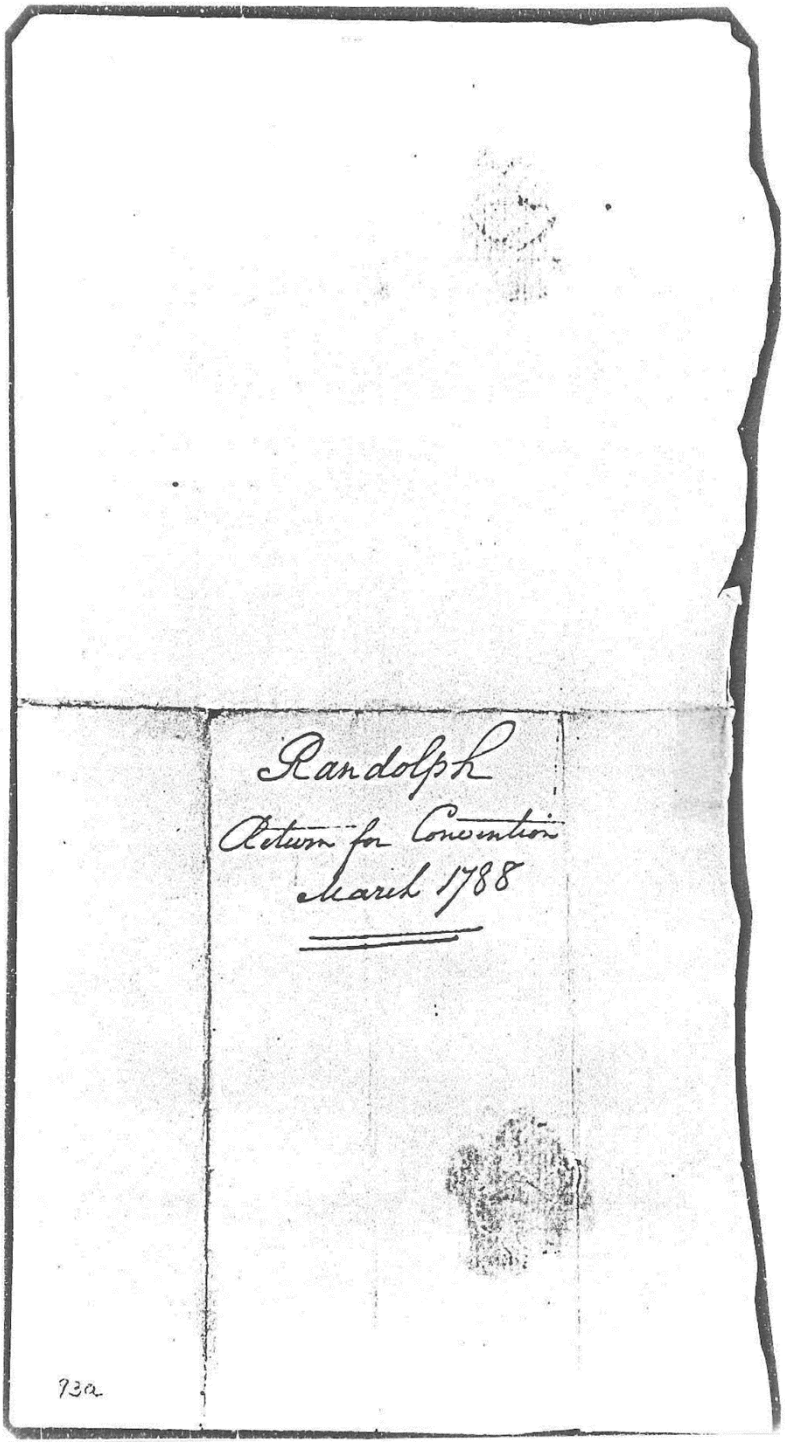
153. Randolph County Election Certificate



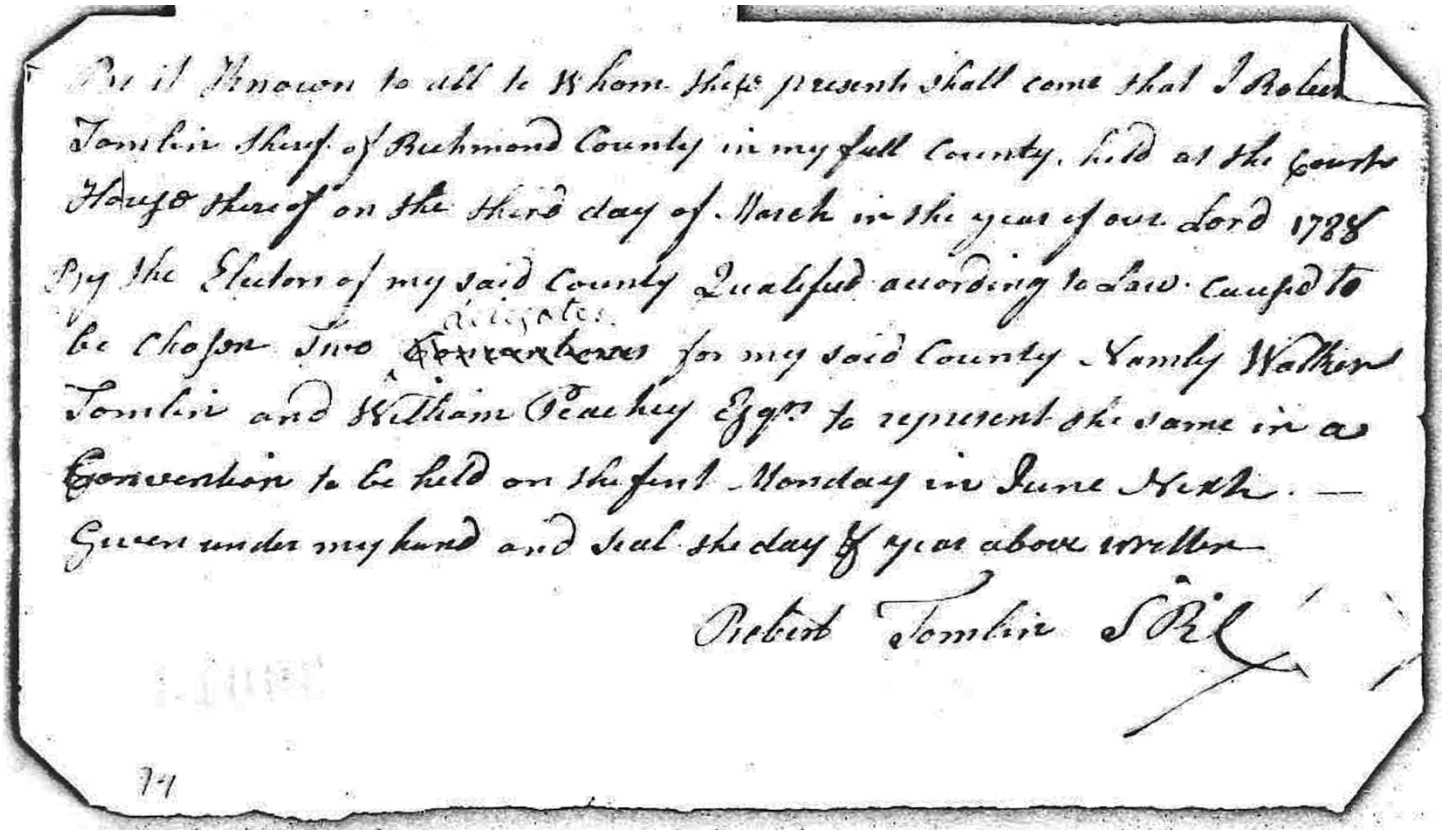
Be it known to all, to whome these Presents shall come that I Jacob Wolfall Sheriff of the County of Randolph in my full County, held at the Court House thereof on the 24th Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1788 by the Election of my said County Qualified according to Law caused to be Chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely Randolph Benjamin Wilson, and John Wilson, to Represent the same in Convention appointed to be held at Richmond the first Monday in June Next. Given under my hand and seal the day and year first above mentioned.

Jacob Wolfall

93


Randolph
Return for Convention
March 1788
93a

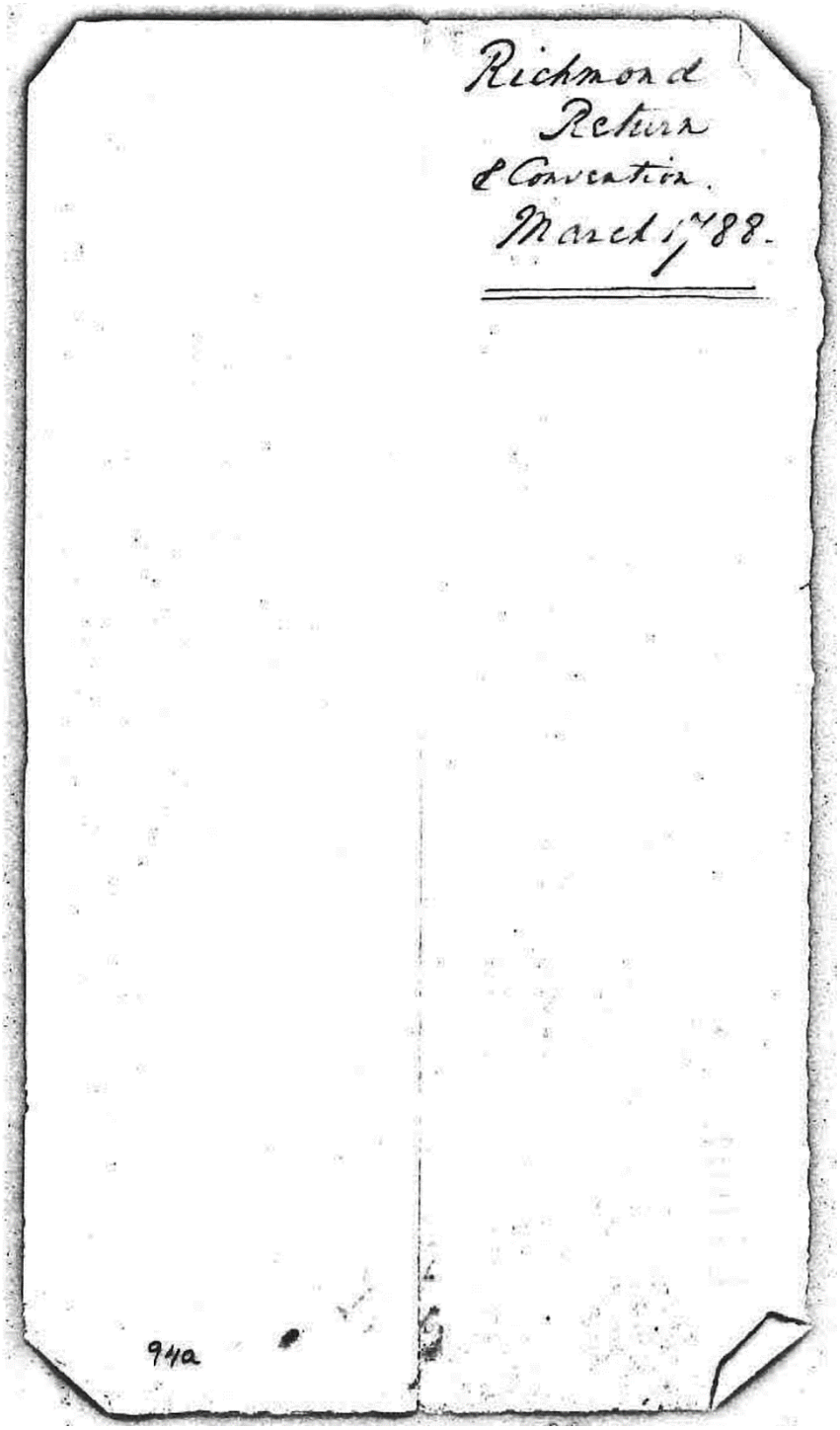
154. Richmond County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to Whom these presents shall come that I Robert Tomlin Sheriff of Richmond County in my full County, held at the Court House thereof on the third day of March in the year of our Lord 1788 By the Electors of my said County Qualified according to Law. Caused to be chosen Two Delegates for my said County Namly Walker Tomlin and William Peachey Esqrs to represent the same in a Convention to be held on the first Monday in June Next. — Given under my hand and Seal the day & year above written

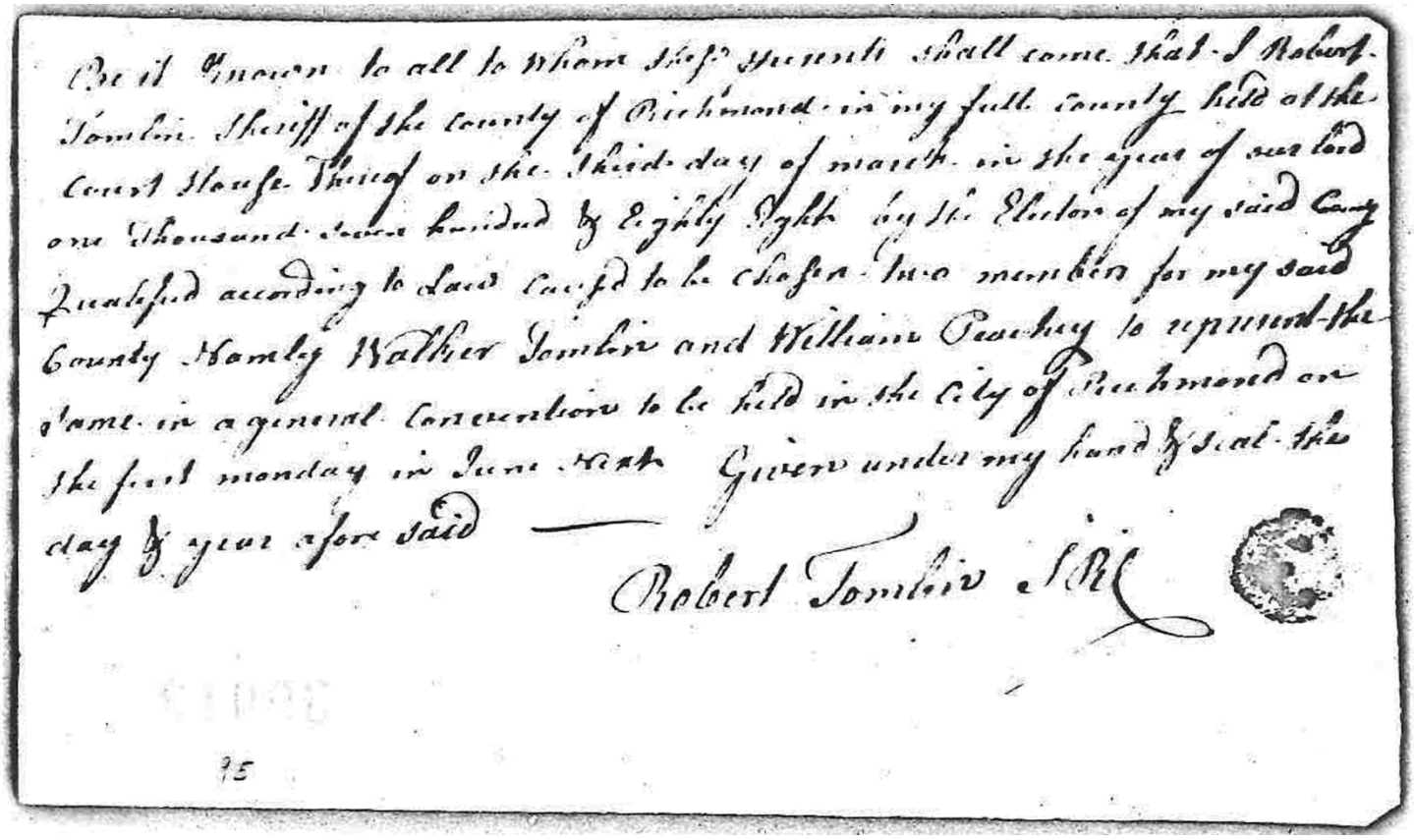
Robert Tomlin SR

74


Richmond
Return
& Convention.
March 1st 88.

94a

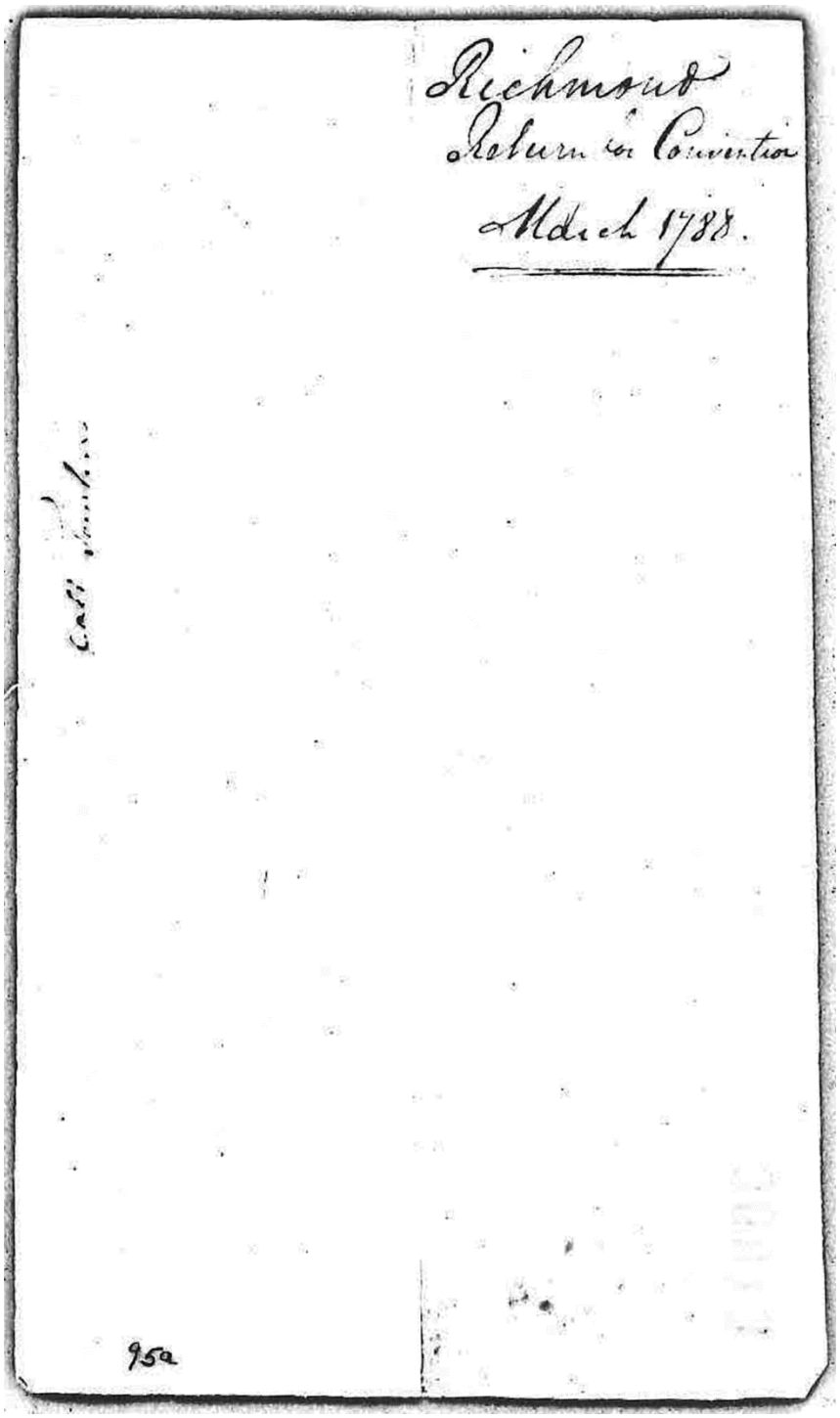
155. Richmond County Election Certificate



Be it Known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Robert Tomlin Sheriff of the County of Richmond in my full County Court at the Court House There on the third day of march in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred & Eighty Eight by the Electors of my said County Qualified according to Law Elected to be chosen two member for my said County Namely Walker Tomlin and William Peachey to represent the same in a general Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June next Given under my hand & Seal the day & year afore said

Robert Tomlin SRC

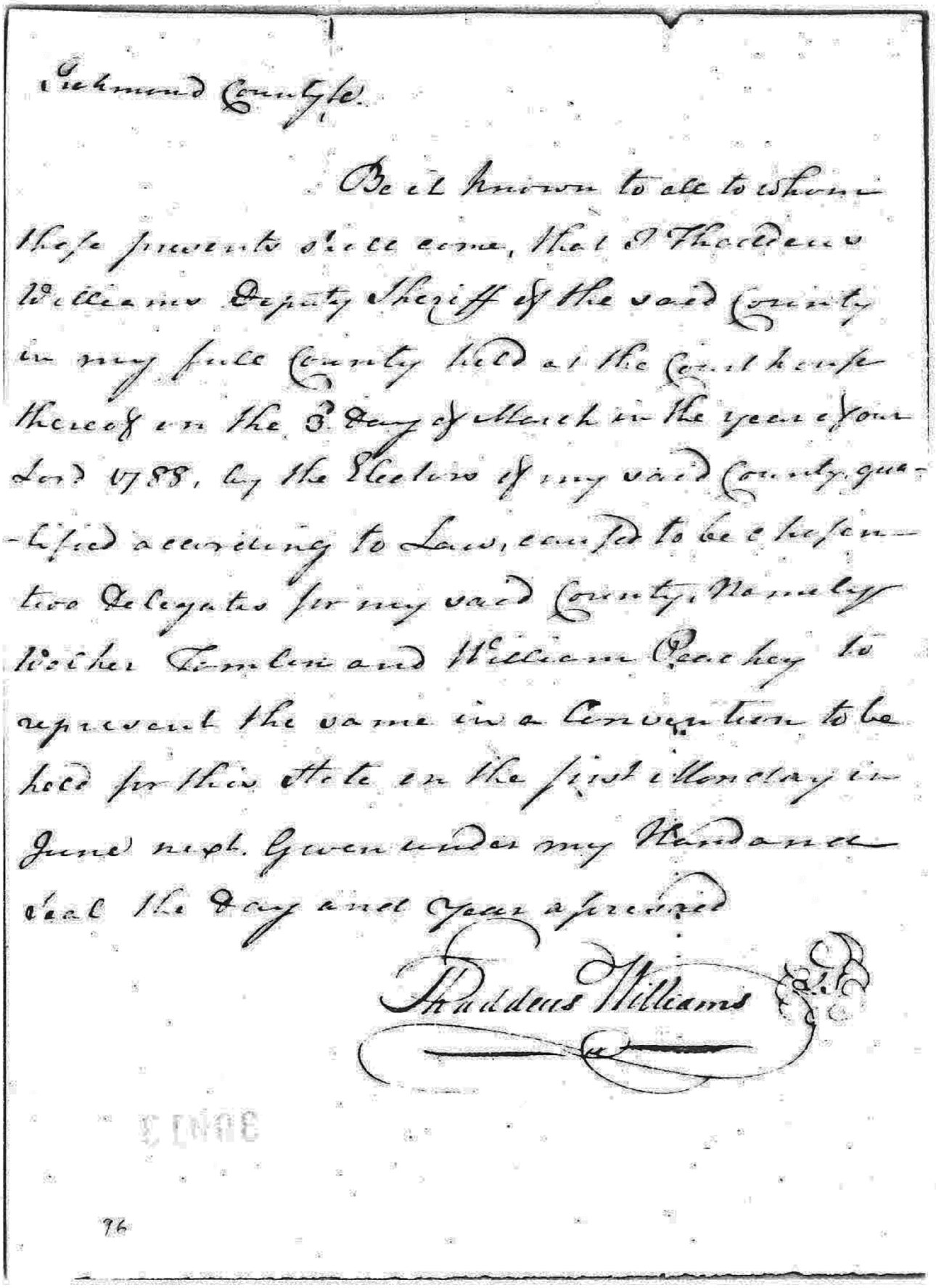
95



Richmond
Return of Convention
March 1788.

95a

156. Richmond County Election Certificate

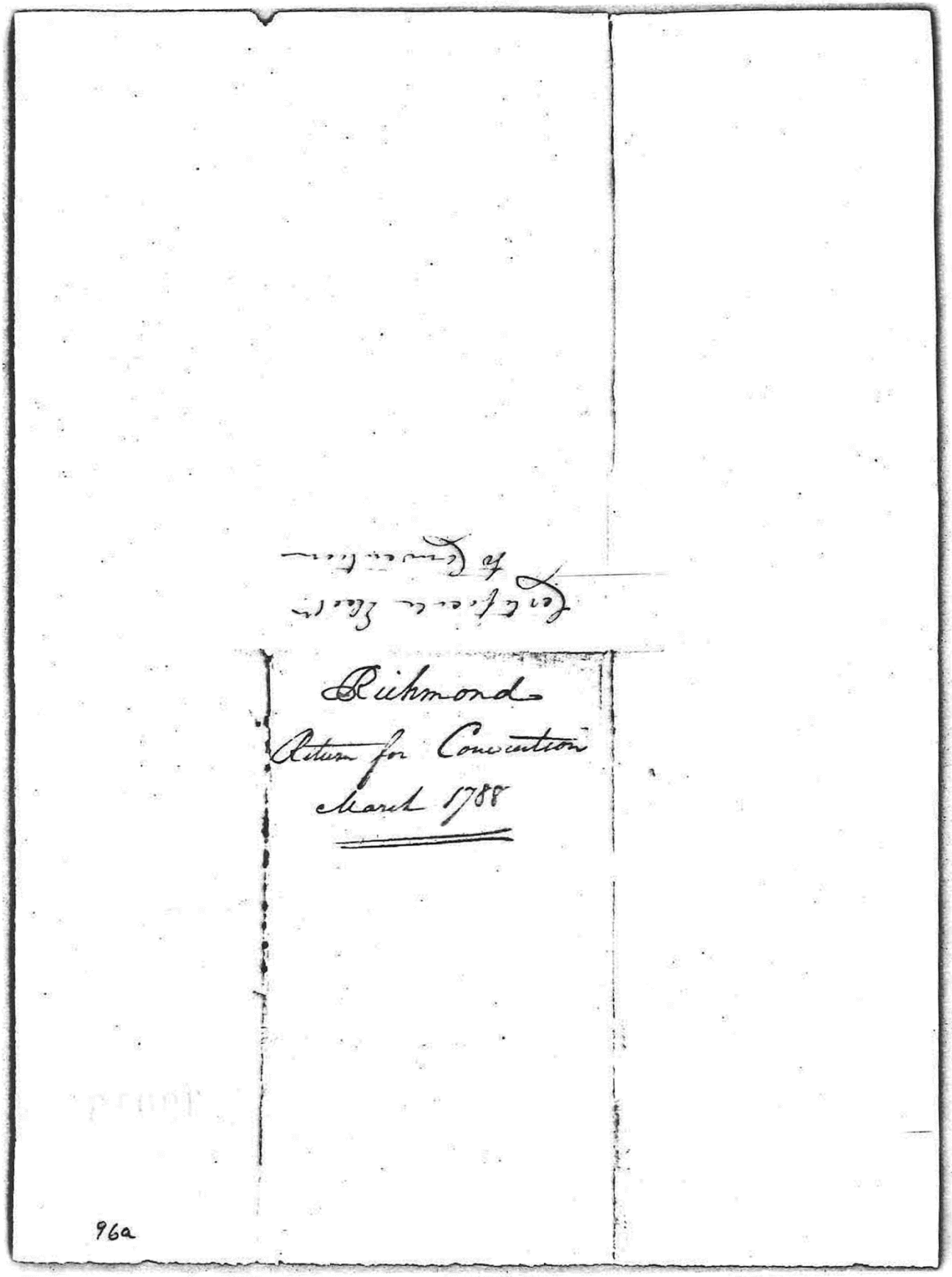


Richmond County ſct.

Be it known to all to whom
theſe preſents ſhall come, that I Thaddeus
Williams Deputy Sheriff of the ſaid County
in my late County held at the Court houſe
thereof on the 3d day of March in the year of our
Lord 1788, by the Freeholders of my ſaid County qua-
-liſied according to Law, cauſed to be elected
two Delegates for my ſaid County, Namely
Walter Jones and William Peachey to
repreſent the ſame in a Convention to be
held for this State on the firſt Monday in
June next. Given under my Hand and
Seal the Day and Year aforeſaid

Thaddeus Williams

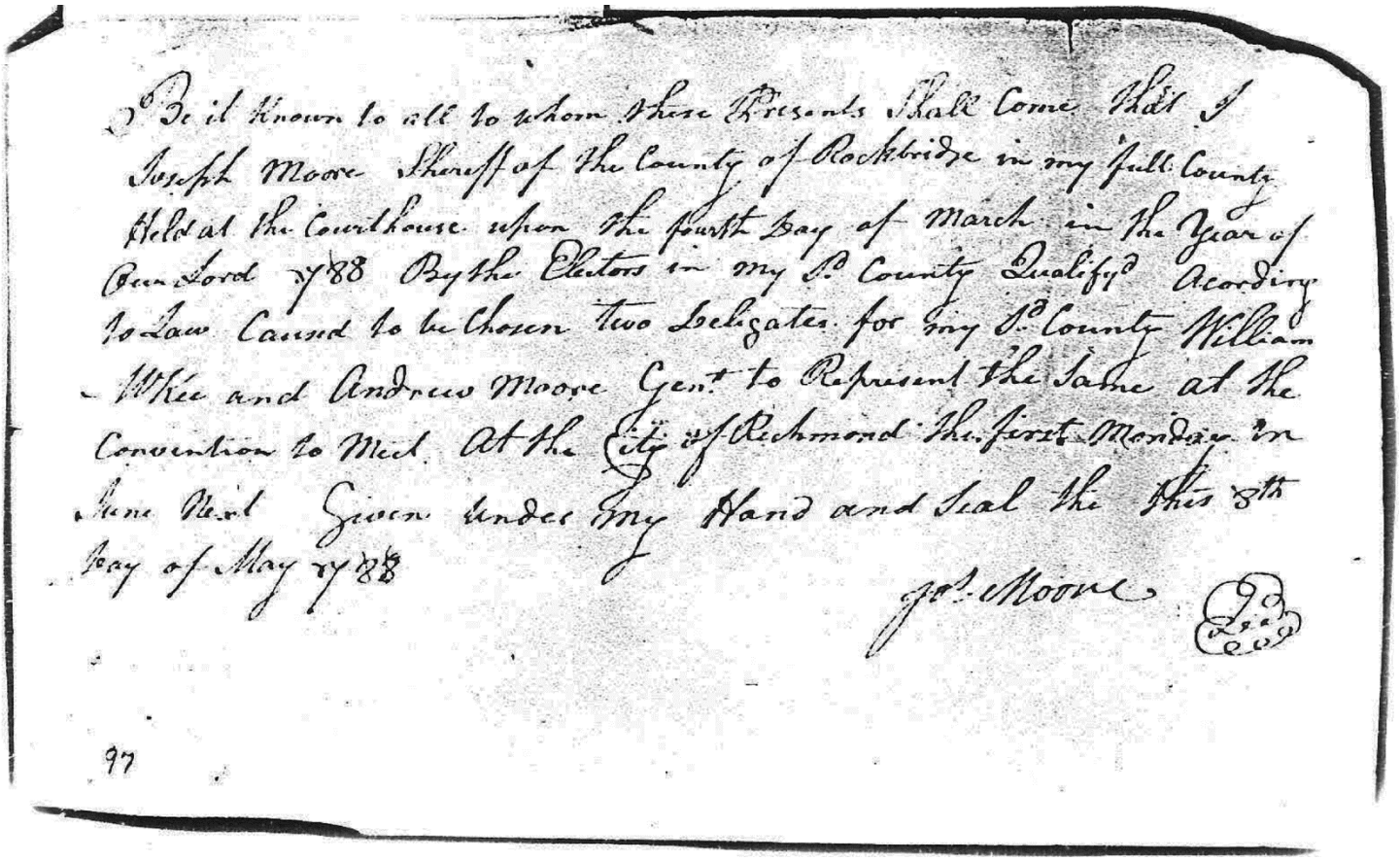
96



Richmond
Return for Convention
March 1788

96a

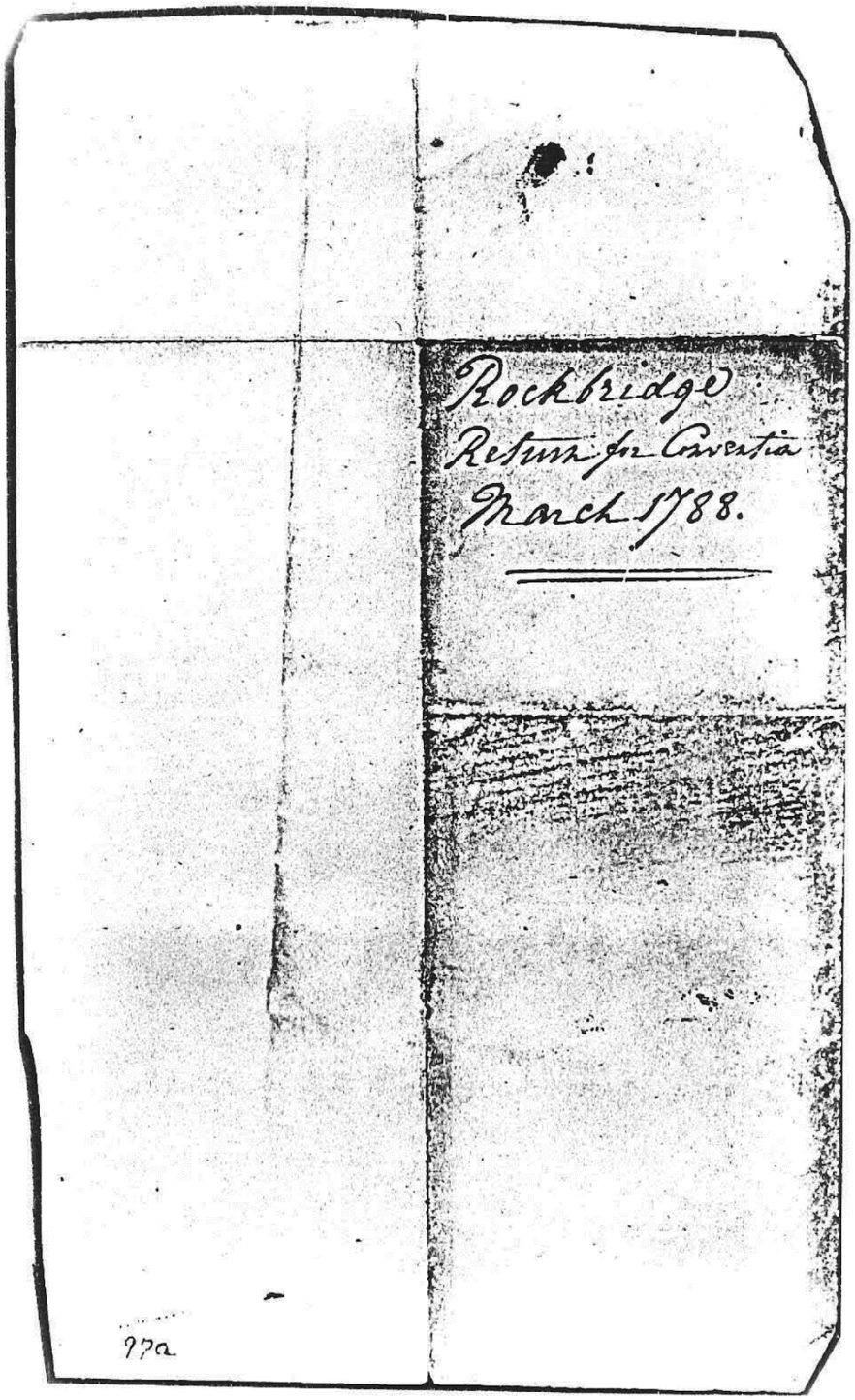
157. Rockbridge County Election Certificate



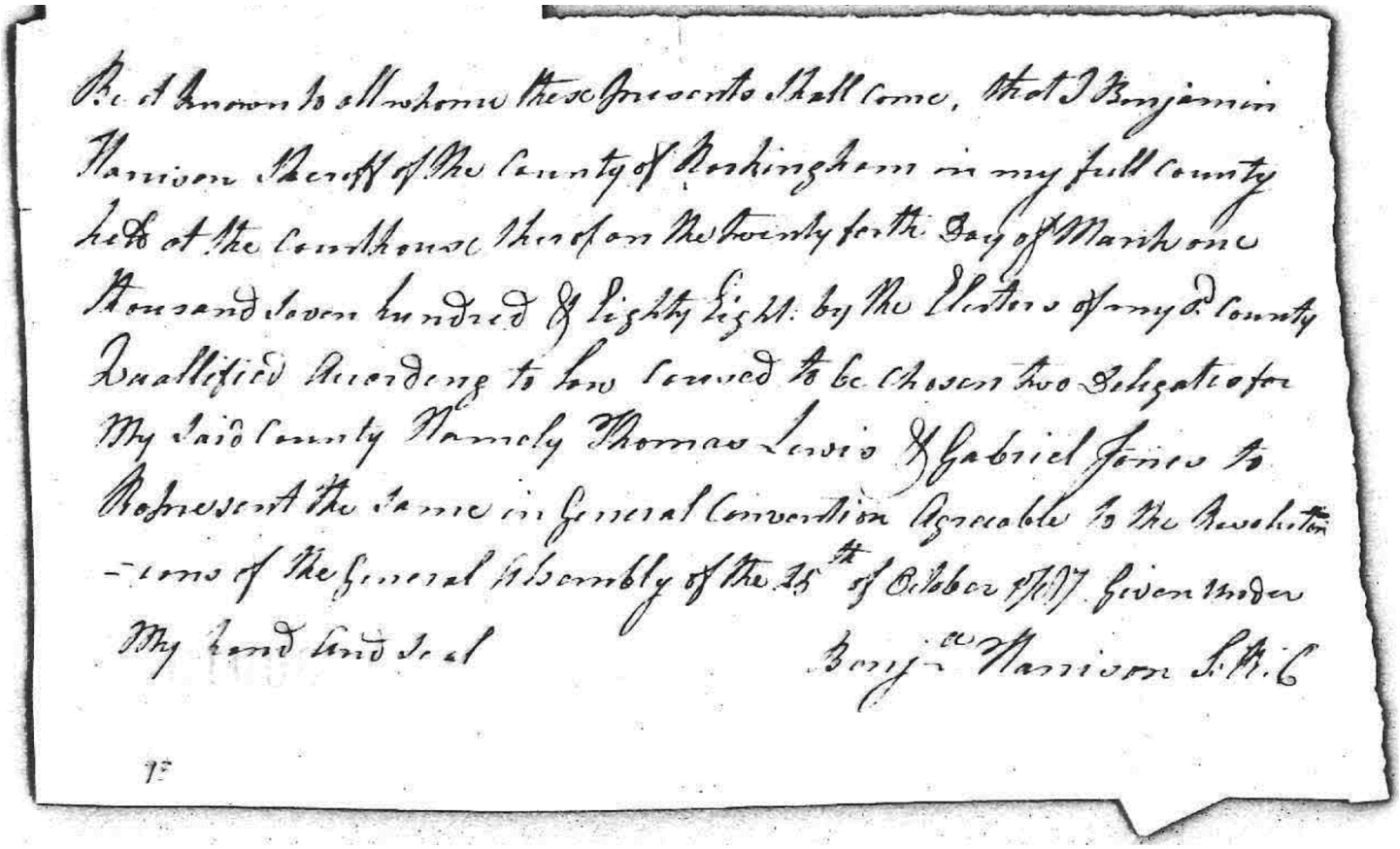
Be it Known to all to whom these Presents Shall Come that I Joseph Moore Sheriff of the County of Rockbride in my full County Held at the Courthouse upon the fourth Day of March in the Year of Our Lord 1788 By the Electors in my S.d County Qualify.d Acording to Law Caused to be Chosen Two Deligates for my S.d County William McKee and Andrew Moore Gent.n to Represent the Same at the Convention to Meet At the City of Richmond the first Monday in June Next Given Under my Hand and Seal the this 8th Day of May 1788

Jos.h Moore

97

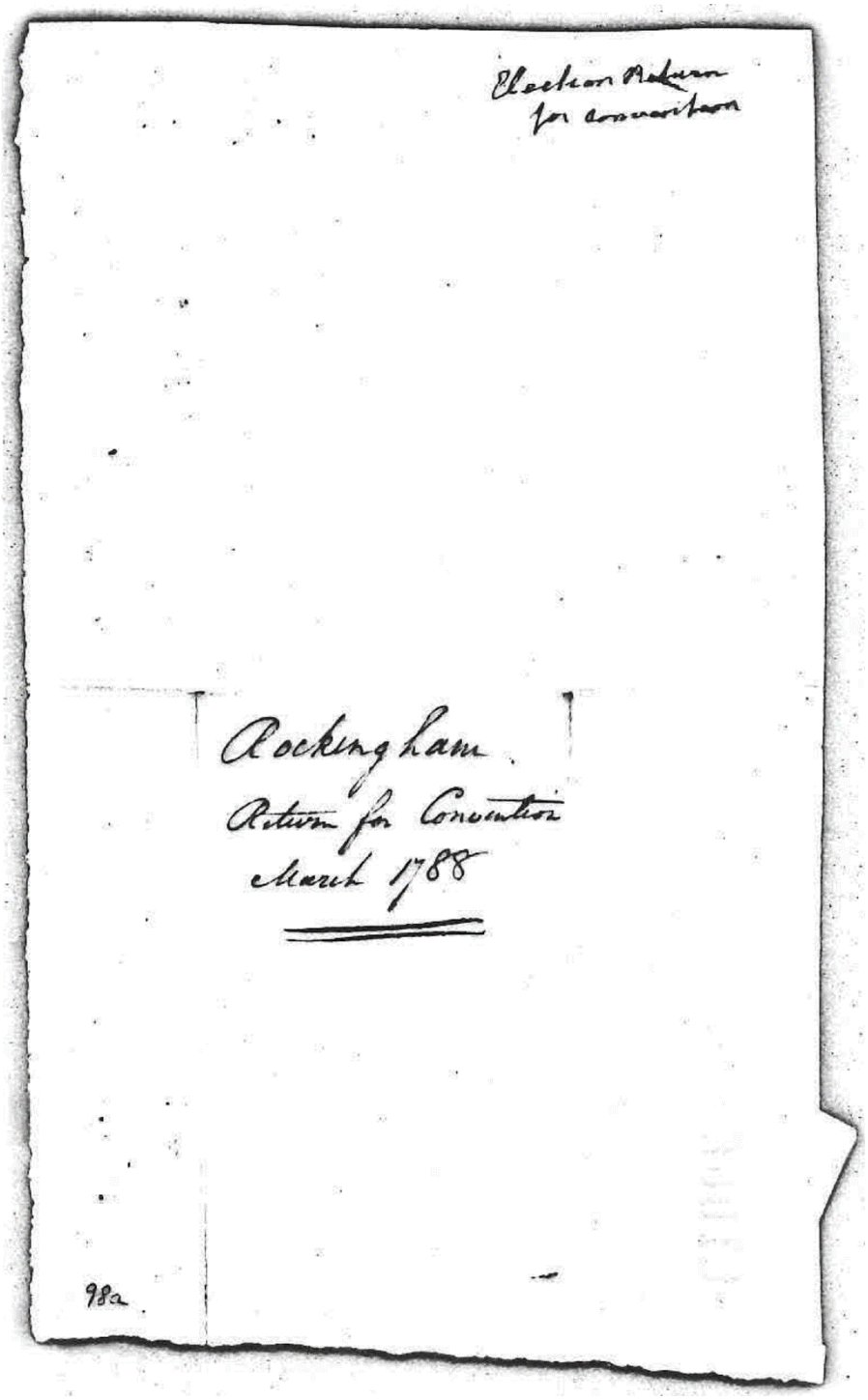

Rockbridge
Return for Convetia
March 1788.
77a

158. Rockingham County Election Certificate



Be it known to all whom these presents shall come, that I Benjamin Harrison Sheriff of the County of Rockingham in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the twenty forth Day of March one thousand seven hundred & eighty eight by the Electors of my d. County duallified according to law caused to be chosen two Delegates for My said County Namely Thomas Lewis & Gabriel Jones to Represent the same in General Convention Agreeable to the Resolutions of the General Assembly of the 25th of October 1787 given under My hand and Seal

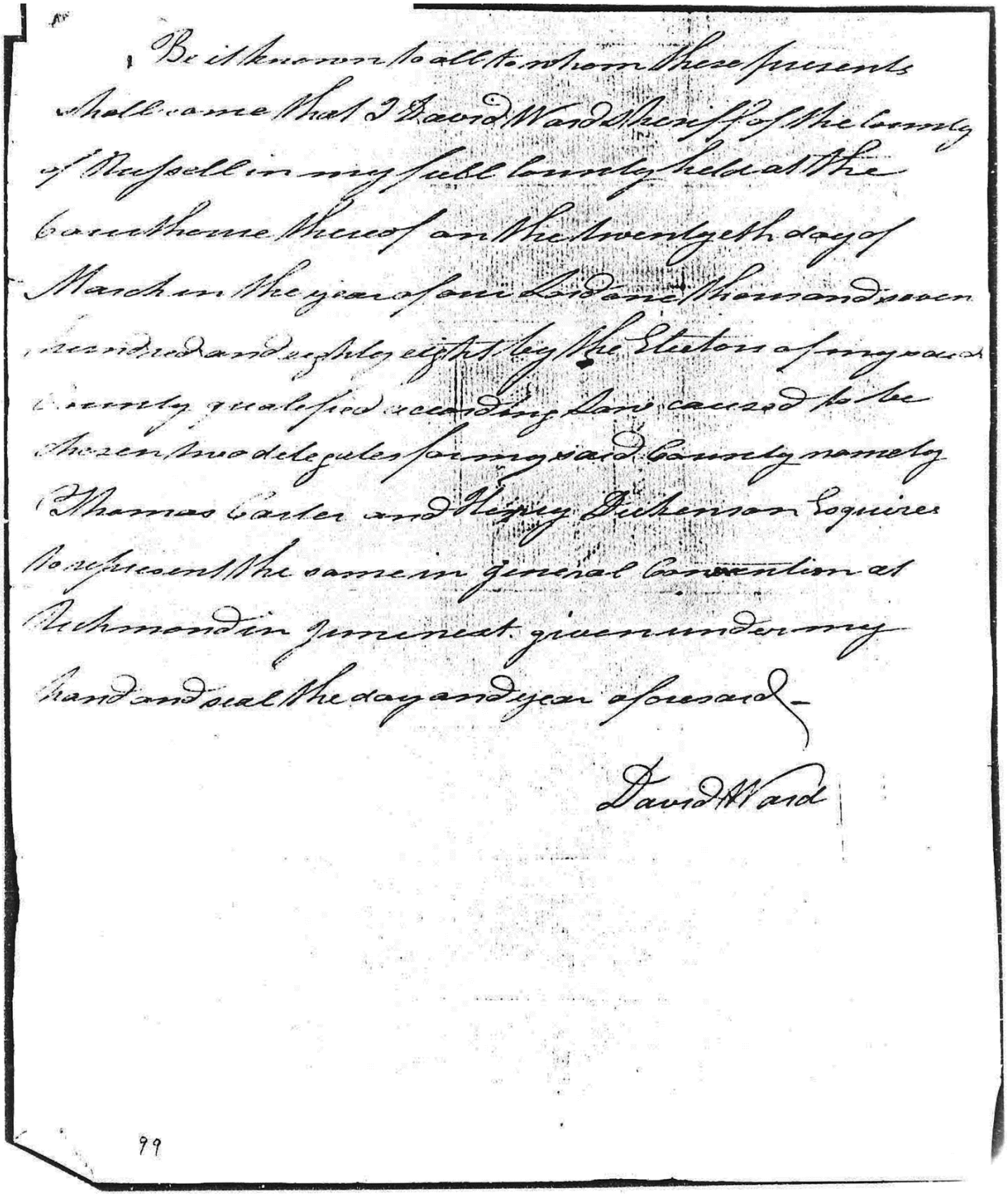
Benja. Harrison S.R.C.


Election Return
for convention

Rockingham
Return for Convention
March 1788

98a

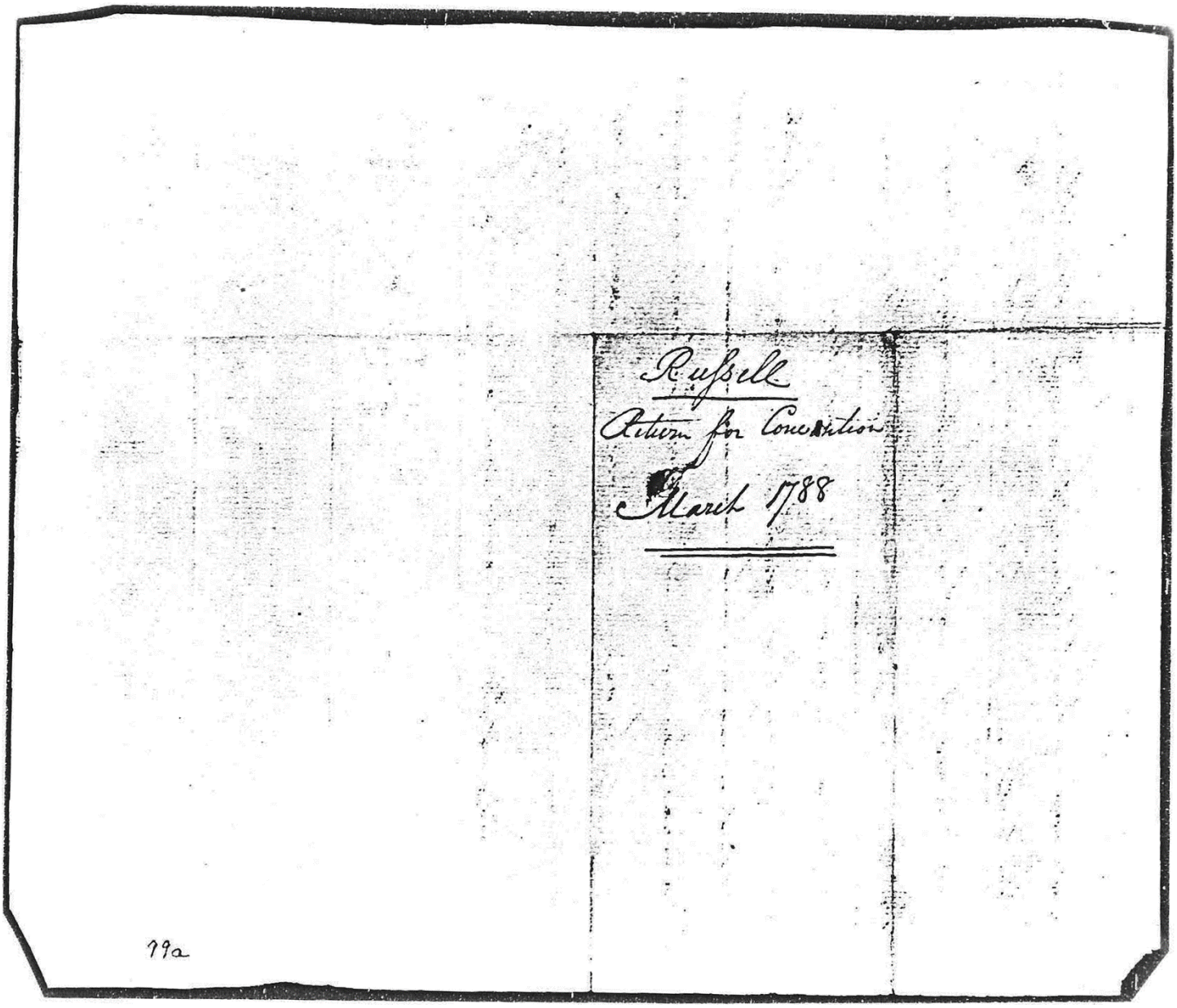
159. Russell County Election Certificate



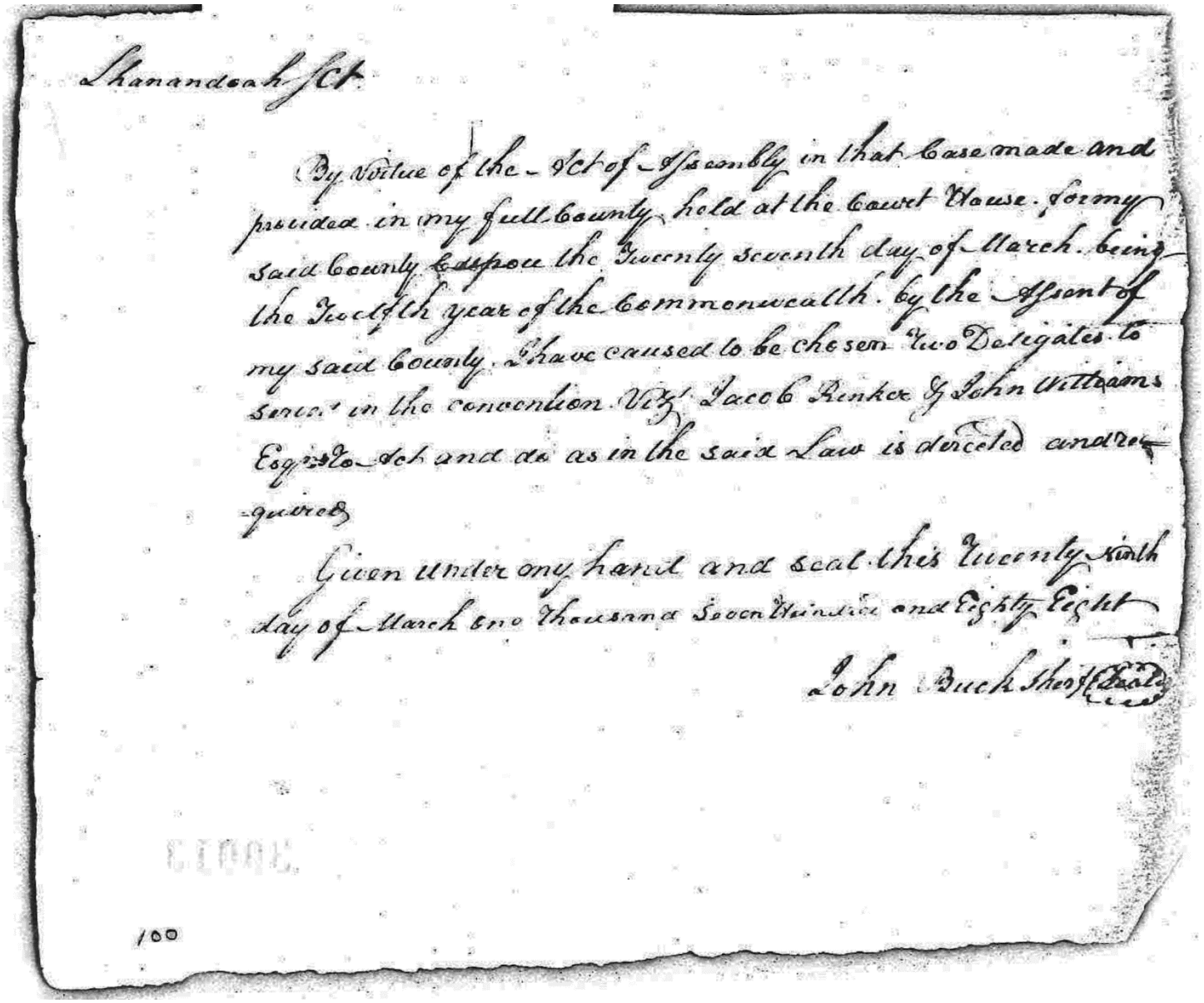
Be it known to all to whom these presents
shall come that I David Ward Sheriff of the County
of Russell in my said County held at the
Courthouse thereof on the twenty eth day of
March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven
hundred and ninety eight by the Electors of my said
County qualified according to Law caused to be
chosen two delegates for my said County namely
Thomas Carter and Henry Dickenson Esquires
to represent the same in general Convention at
Richmond in pursuance of given under my
hand and seal the day and year aforesaid -

David Ward

99


Russell
Return for Convention
March 1788
79a

160. Shenandoah County Election Certificate



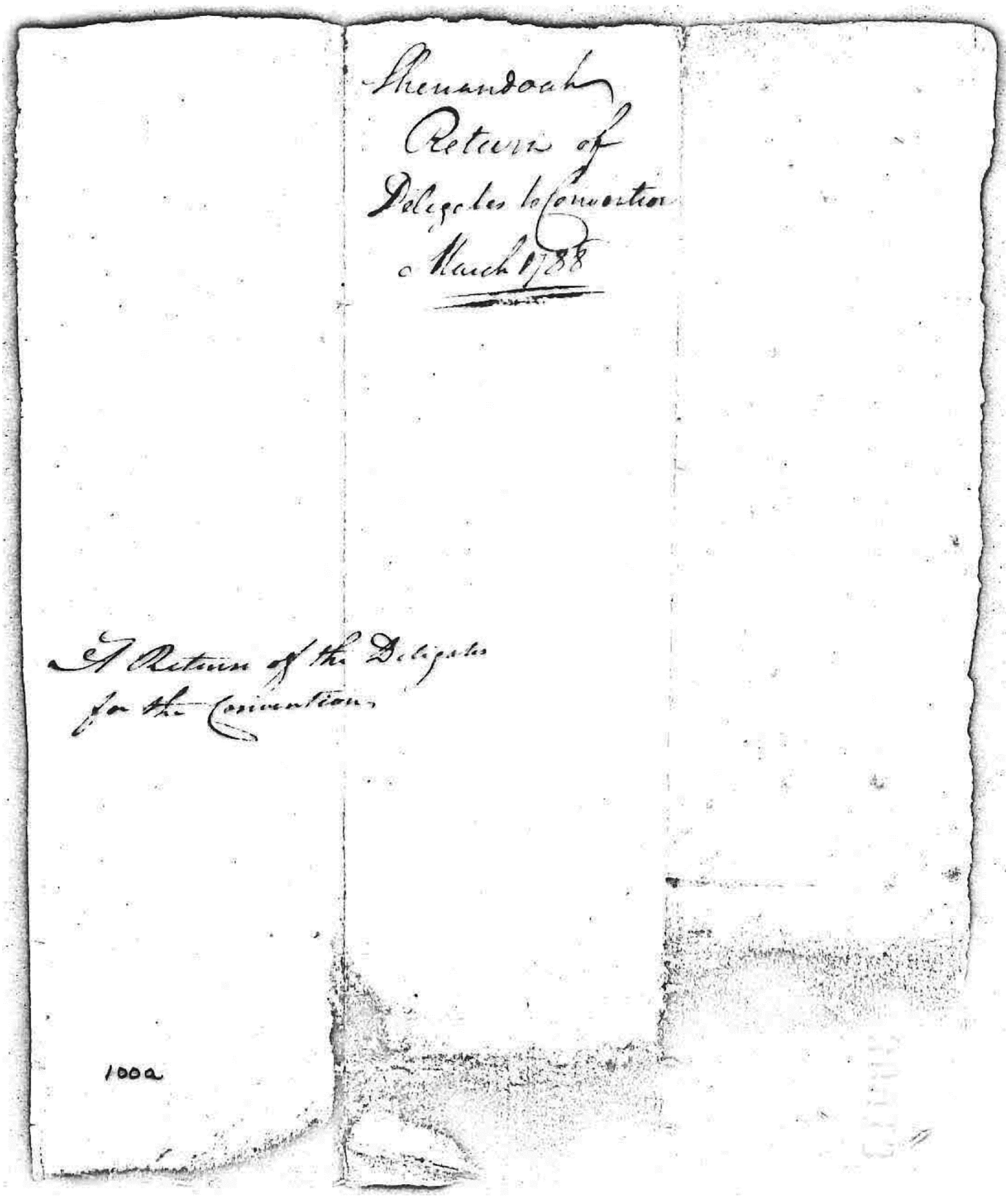
Shenandoah Sct.

By Virtue of the Act of Assembly in that Case made and provided in my full County held at the Court House for my said County on the Twenty seventh day of March being the Twelfth year of the Commonwealth by the Assent of my said County I have caused to be chosen Two Delegates to serve in the convention Viz. Jacob Rinker & John Williams Esqrs. Each and do as in the said Law is directed and required

Given under my hand and seal this Twenty ninth day of March one Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Eight

John Buck Sheriff Seal

100

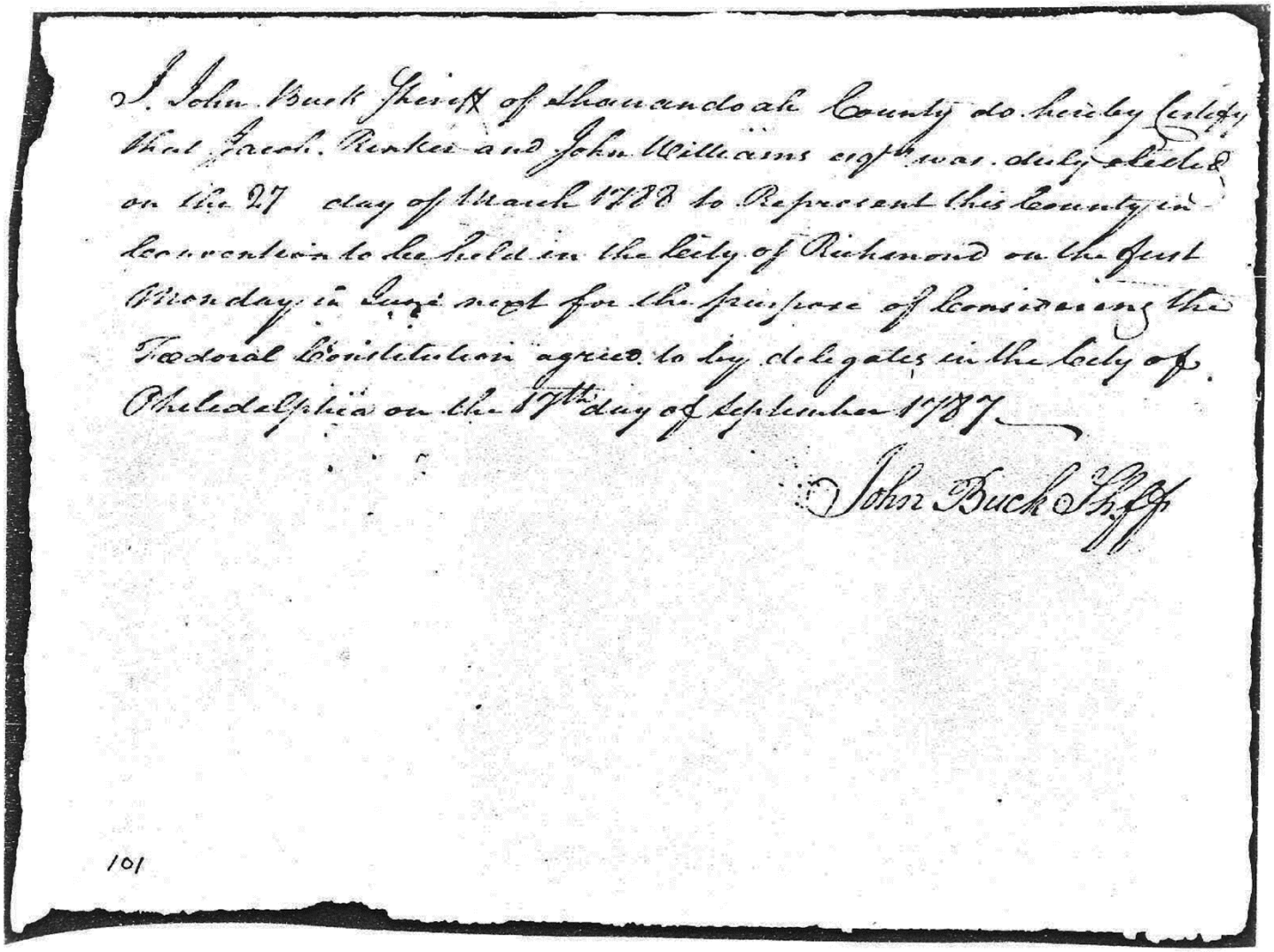


Shenandoah
Return of
Delegates to Convention
March 1788

A Return of the Delegates
for the Convention

100a

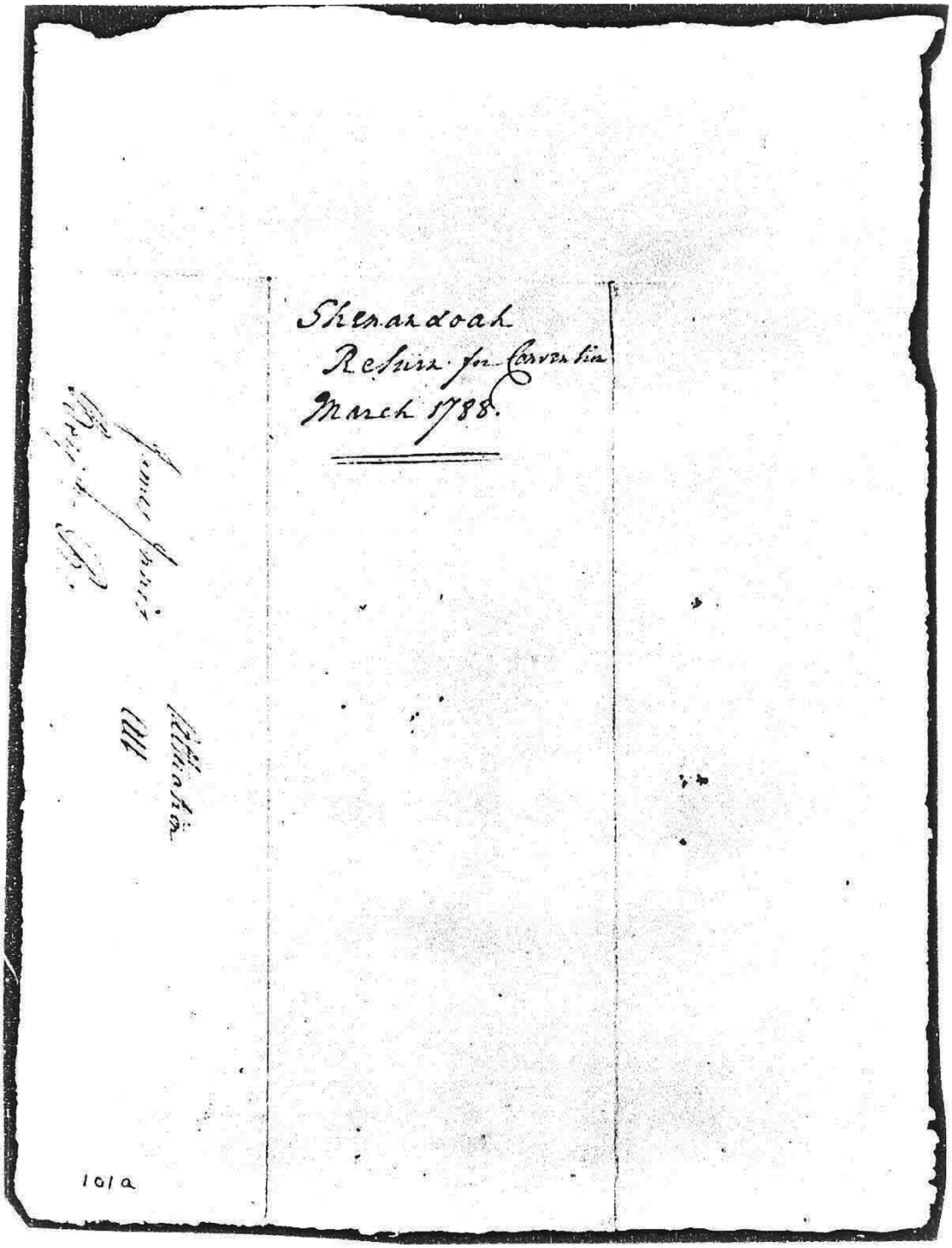
161. Shenandoah County Election Certificate



I John Buck Sheriff of Shenandoah County do hereby Certify that Jacob Rinker and John Williams esqrs was duly elected on the 27 day of March 1788 to Represent this County in Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first Monday in June next for the purpose of Considering the Federal Constitution agreed to by delegates in the City of Philadelphia on the 17th day of September 1787

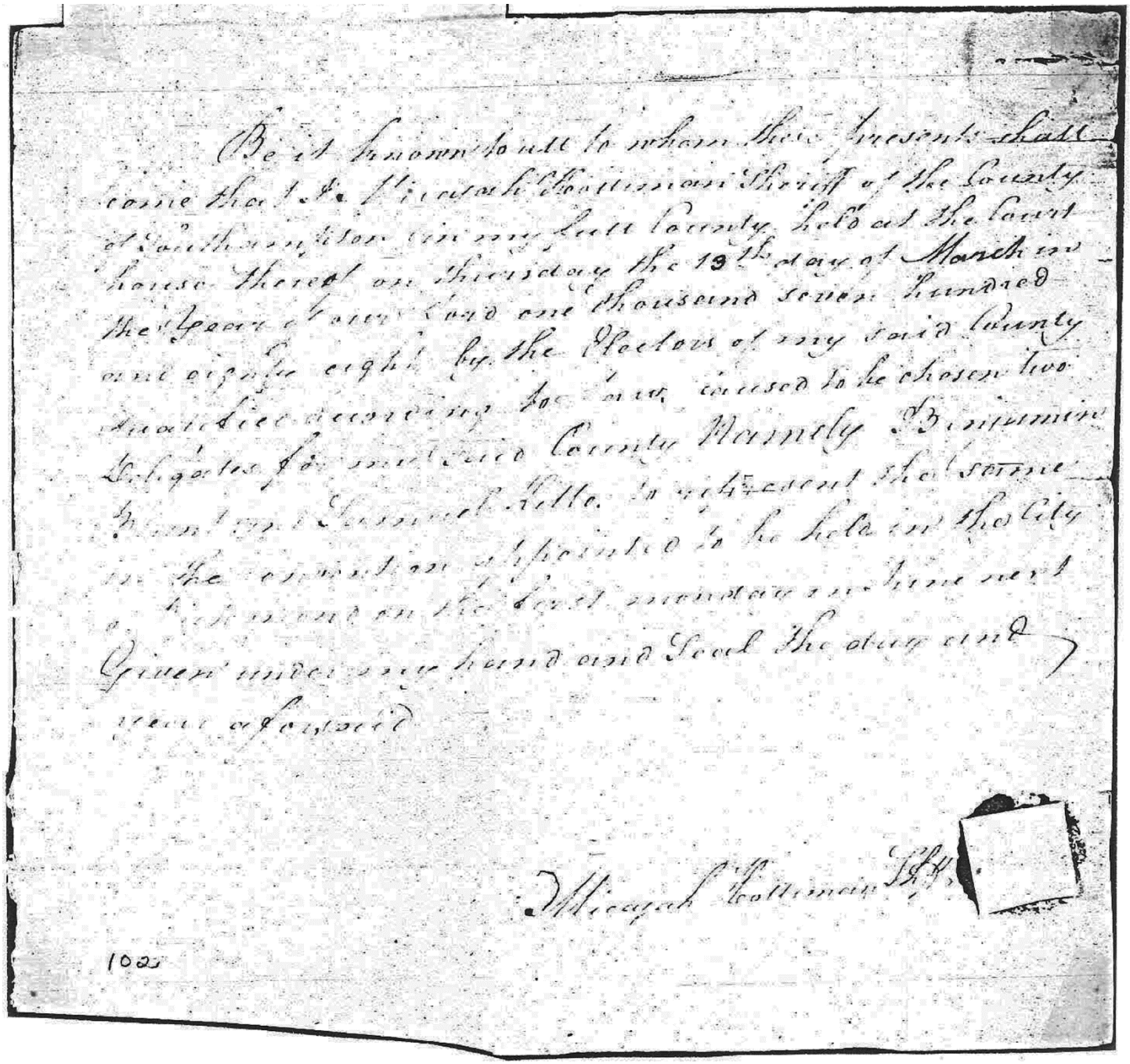
John Buck Shff

101


Shenandoah
Return for Convention
March 1788.

101a

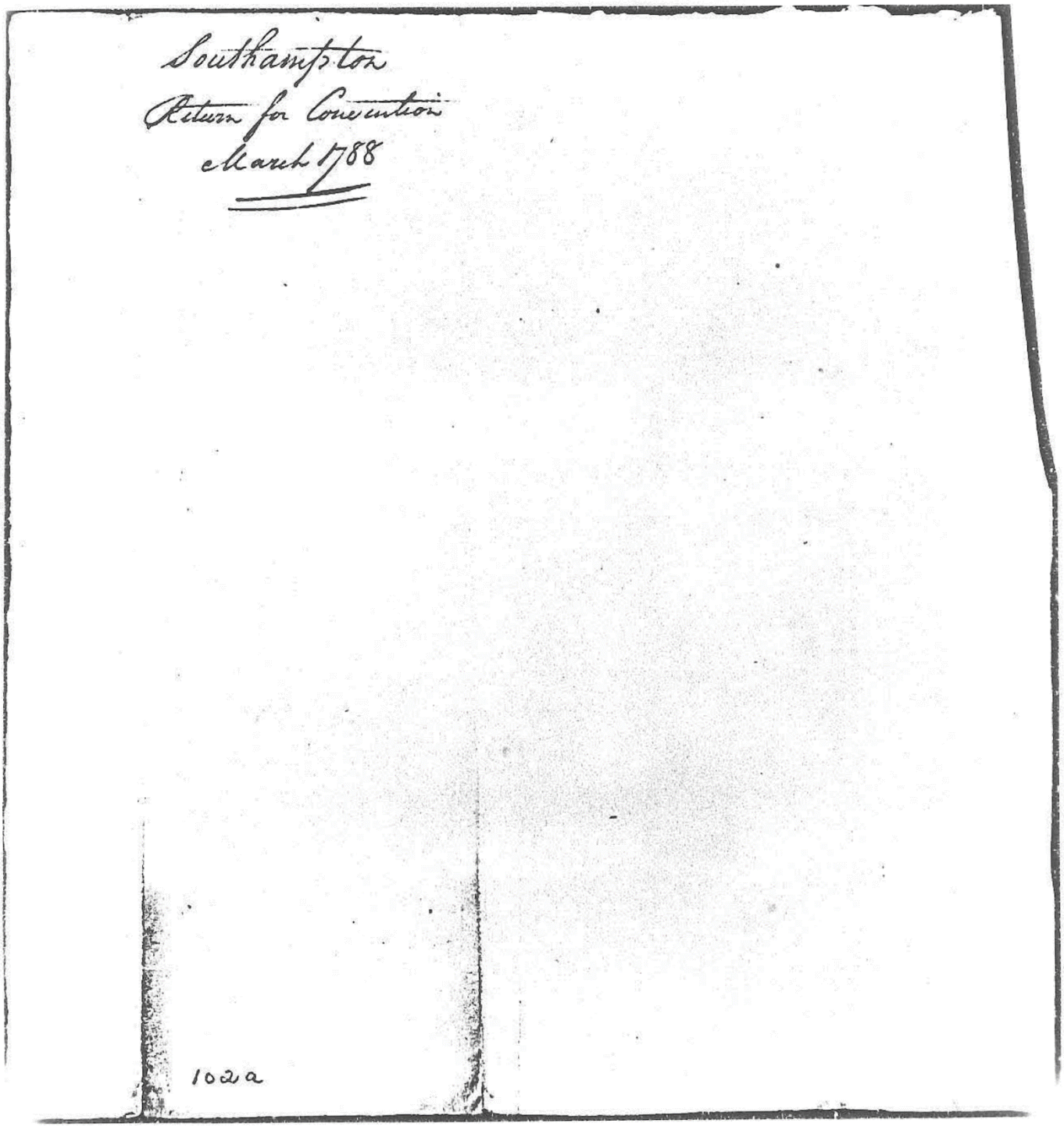
162. Southampton County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I Micajah Coleman Sheriff of the County of Southampton in my said County held at the Court House thereof on Thursday the 13th day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the Electors of my said County duly qualified according to Law caused to be chosen two Delegates for said County Namely Benjamin Goodwyn & Samuel Ridley in pursuance of a precept to me directed for the purpose aforesaid to be held on the last mentioned day at which time and place I did attend and Held the said Election and caused the Votes given in for the Candidates aforesaid to be taken and Sealed up and returned as the Law directs

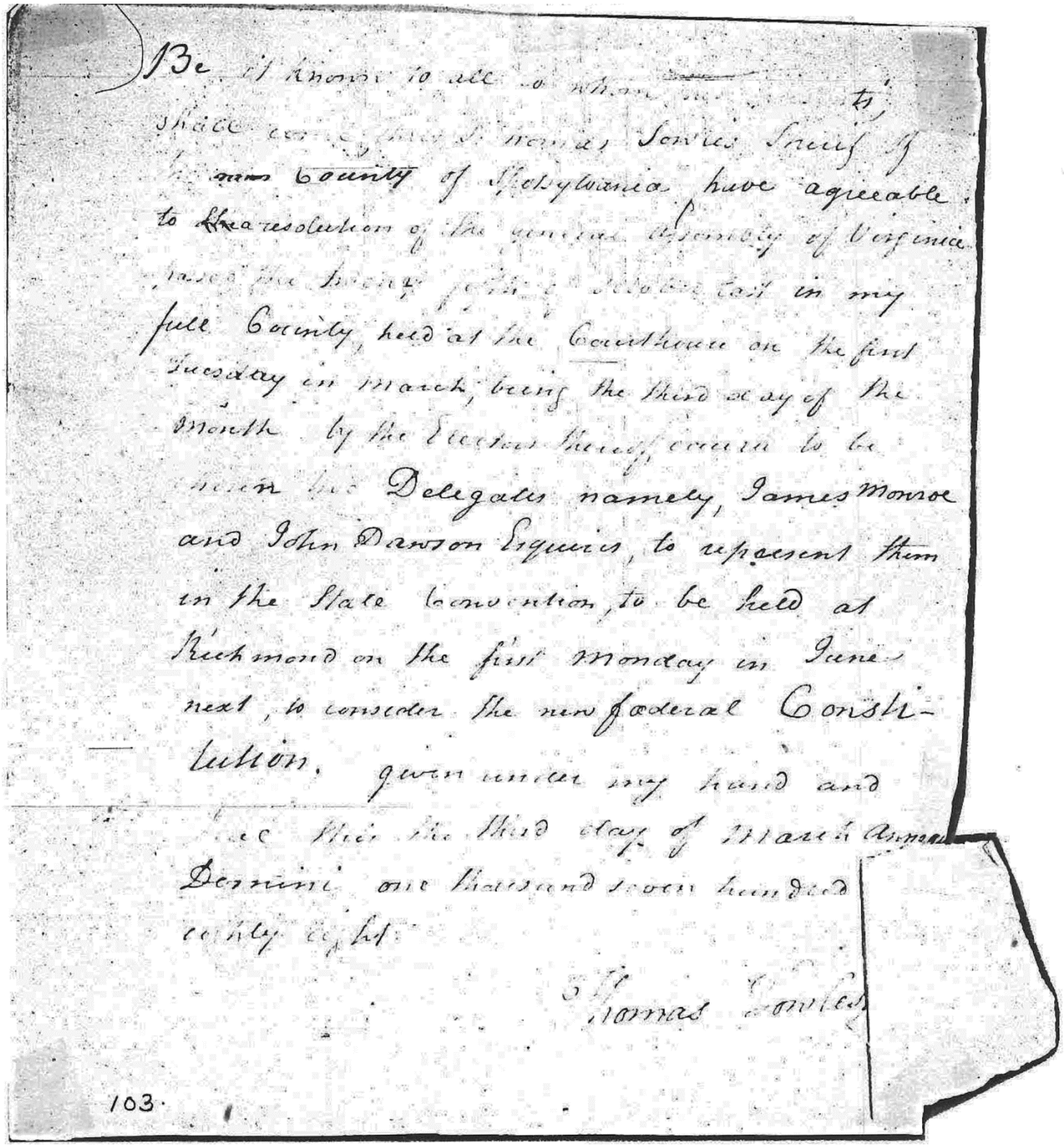
Micajah Coleman Shff

102


Southampton
Return for Convention
March 1788

102a

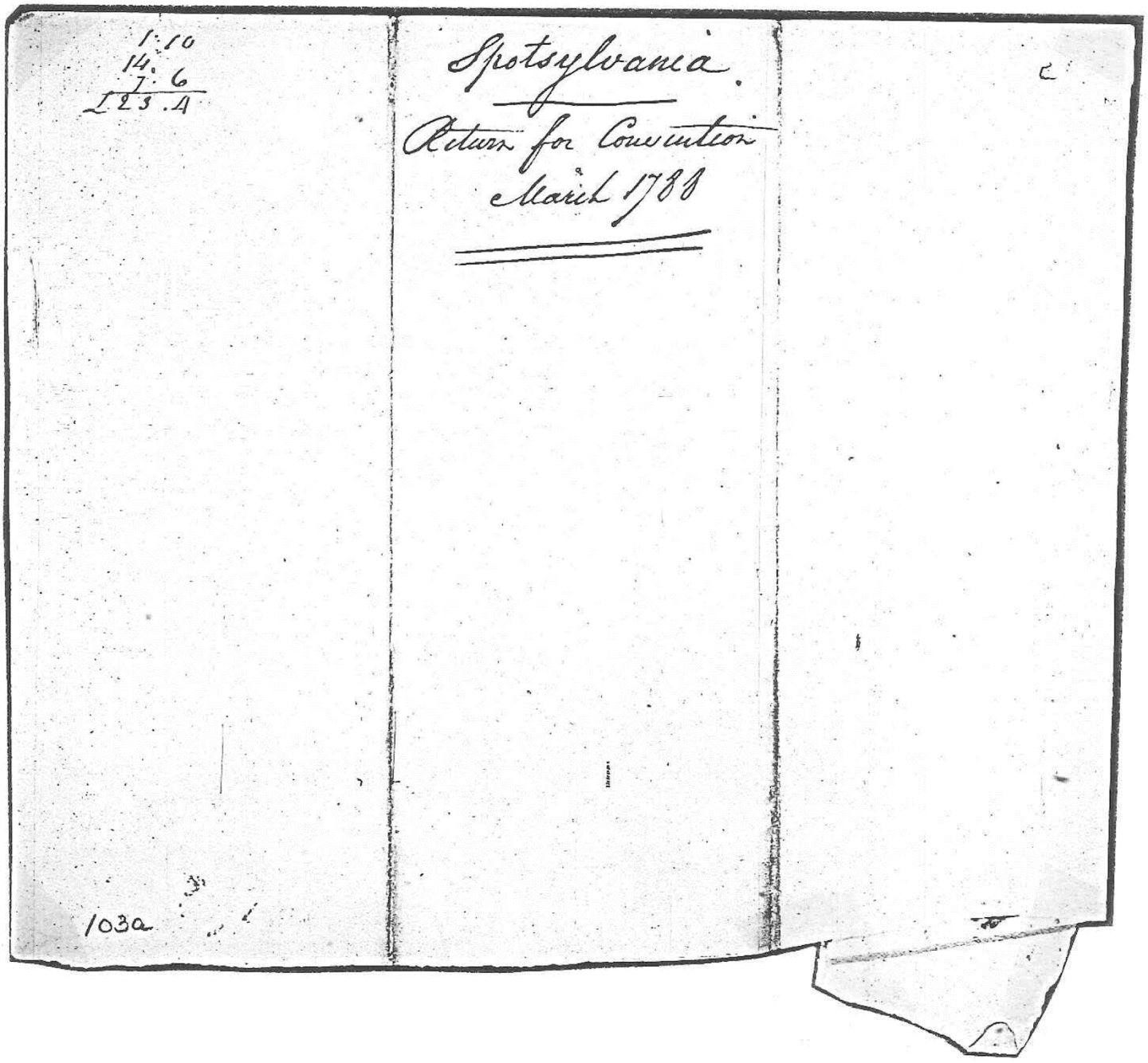
163. Spotsylvania County Election Certificate



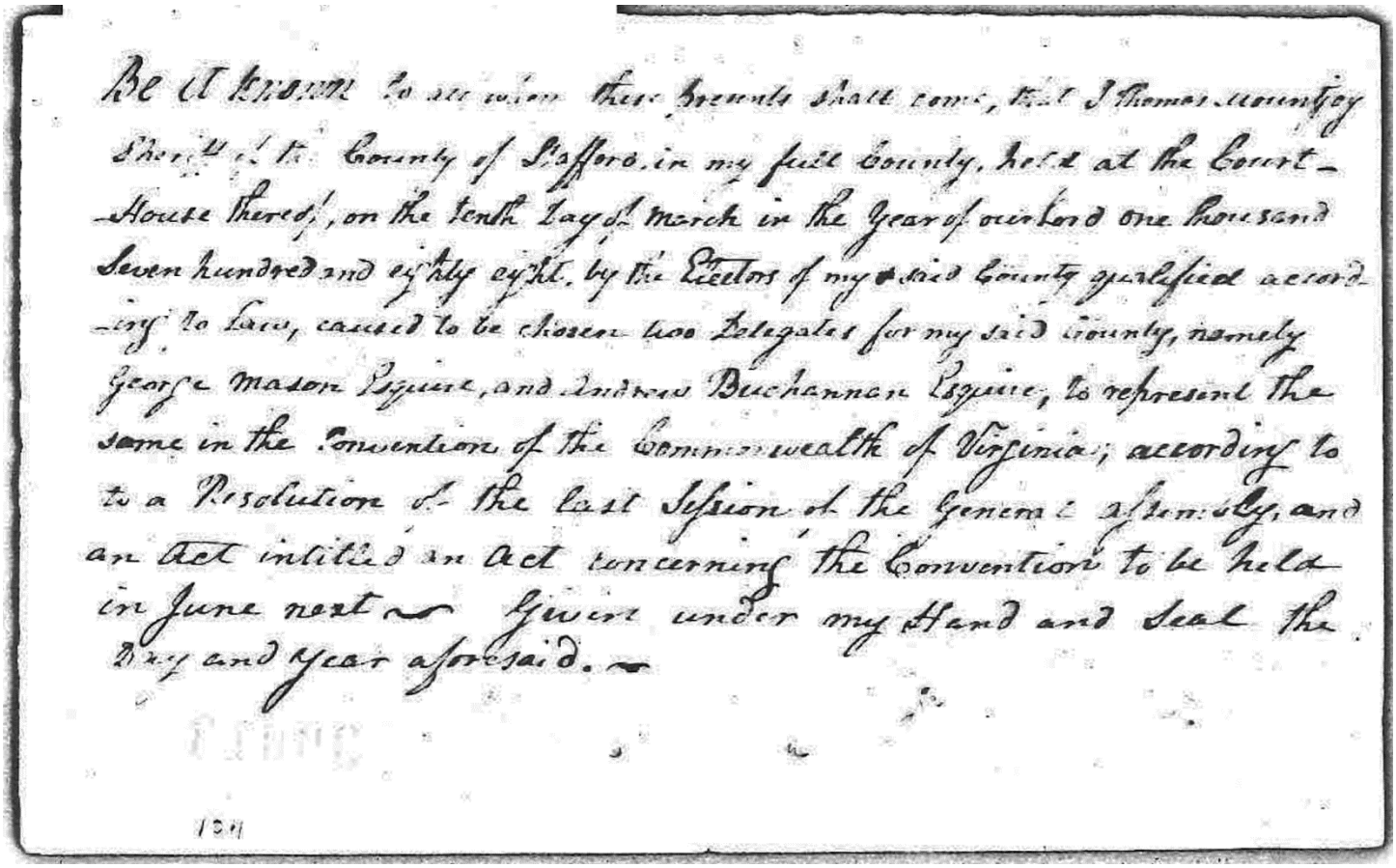
Be it known to all whom it may concern that at a
place called [illegible] in the County of Spotsylvania, have agreeable
to the resolution of the general assembly of Virginia
passed the twenty fifth of October last in my
full County held at the Courthouse on the first
Tuesday in March, being the third day of the
month by the Electors then present to be
their Delegates namely, James Monroe
and John Dawson Esquires, to represent them
in the State convention, to be held at
Richmond on the first monday in June
next, to consider the new federal Consti-
tution. given under my hand and
seal this the third day of March Anno
Domini one thousand seven hundred
eighty eight.

Thomas Coutts

103.

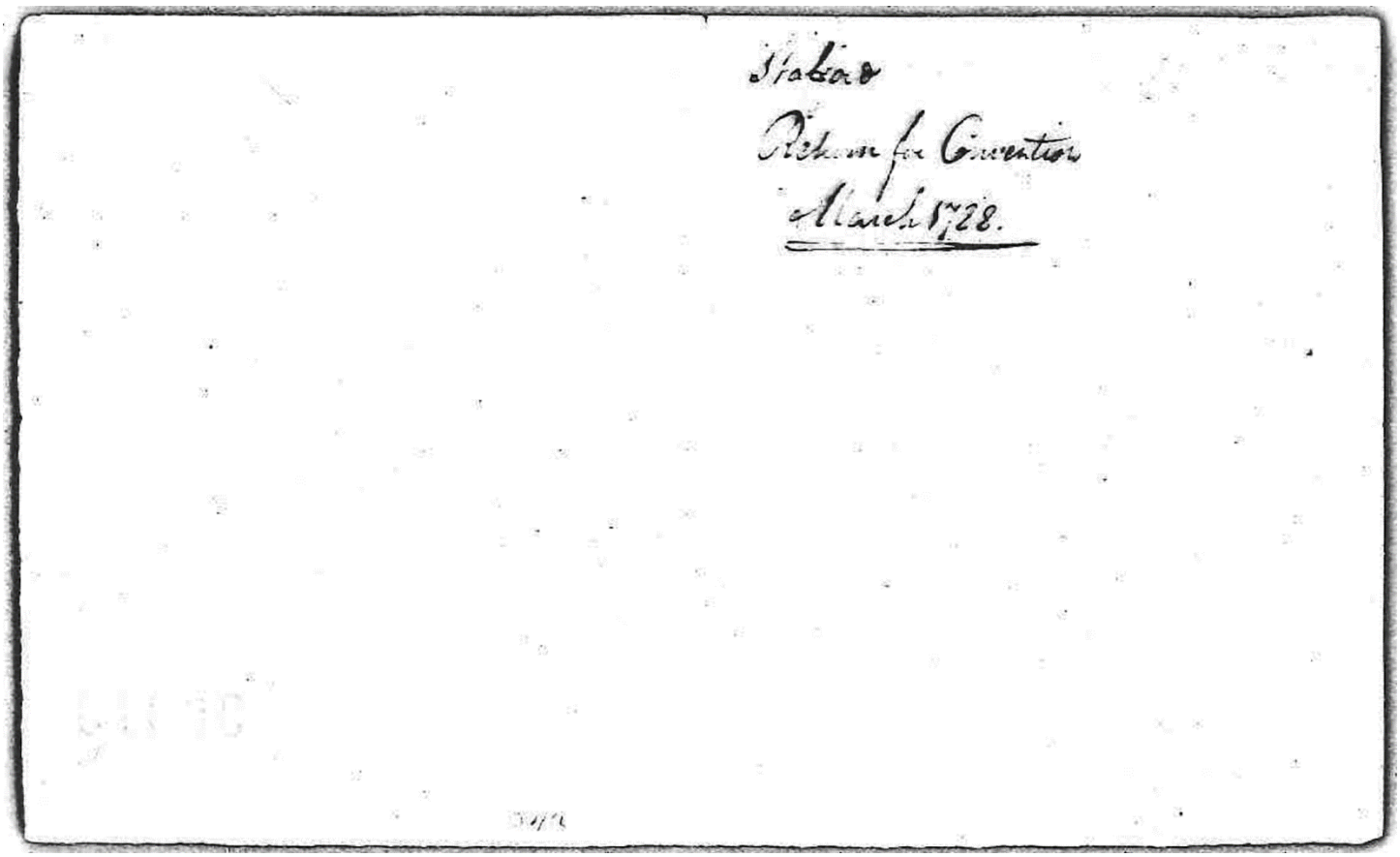

1:10
14:6
7:6
123.A
Spotsylvania.
Return for Convention
March 1788
C
103a

164. Stafford County Election Certificate



Be it known to all whom these presents shall come, that I Thomas Mountjoy Sher.ff of the County of Stafford, in my full County, held at the Court-House thereof, on the tenth day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely George Mason Esquire, and Andrew Buchannan Esquire, to represent the same in the Convention of the Commonwealth of Virginia; according to a Resolution of the last Session of the General Assembly, and an Act intitled an Act concerning the Convention to be held in June next — Given under my Hand and Seal the Day and Year aforesaid. —

1011

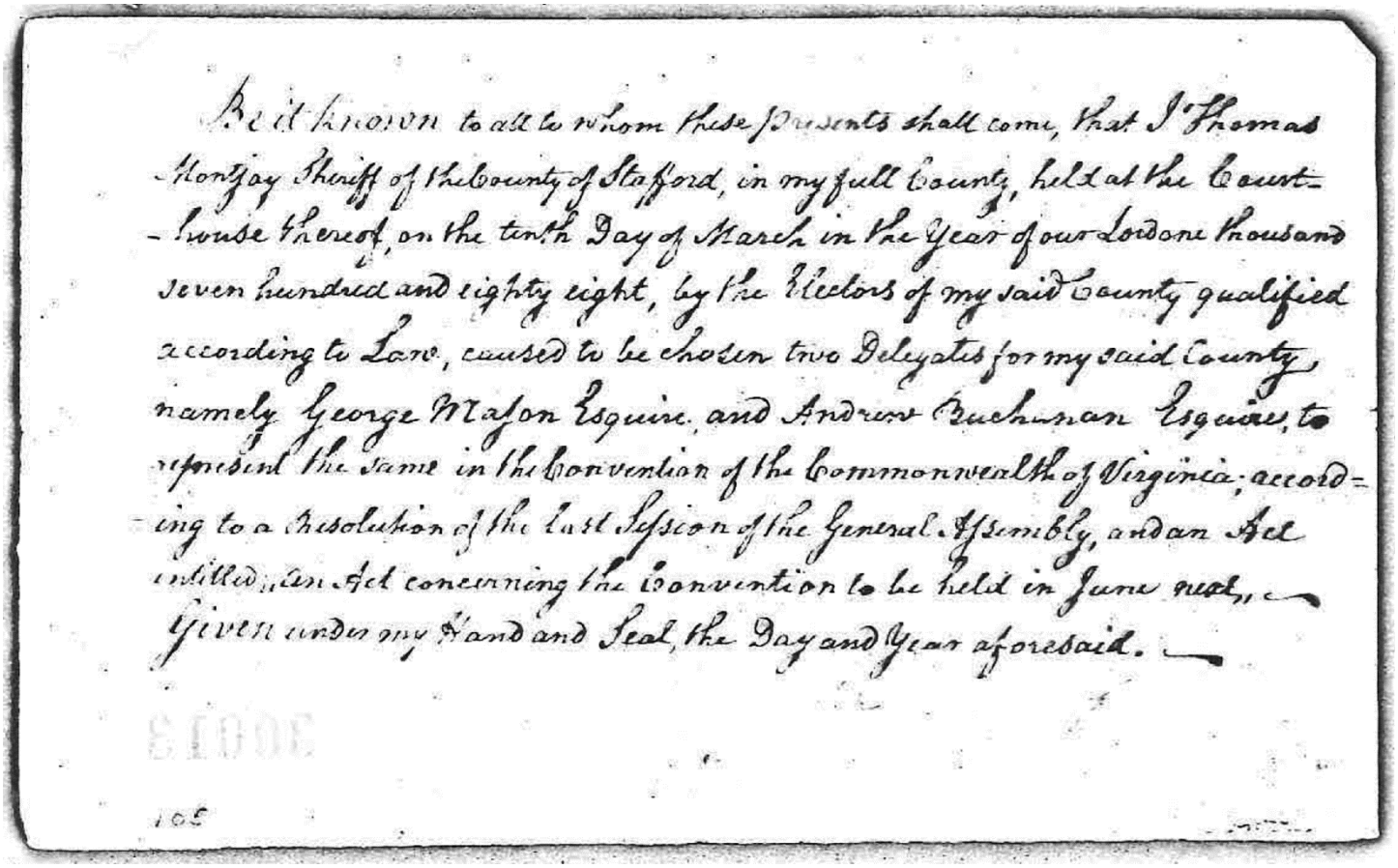


Stafford

Return for Convention

March 1788.

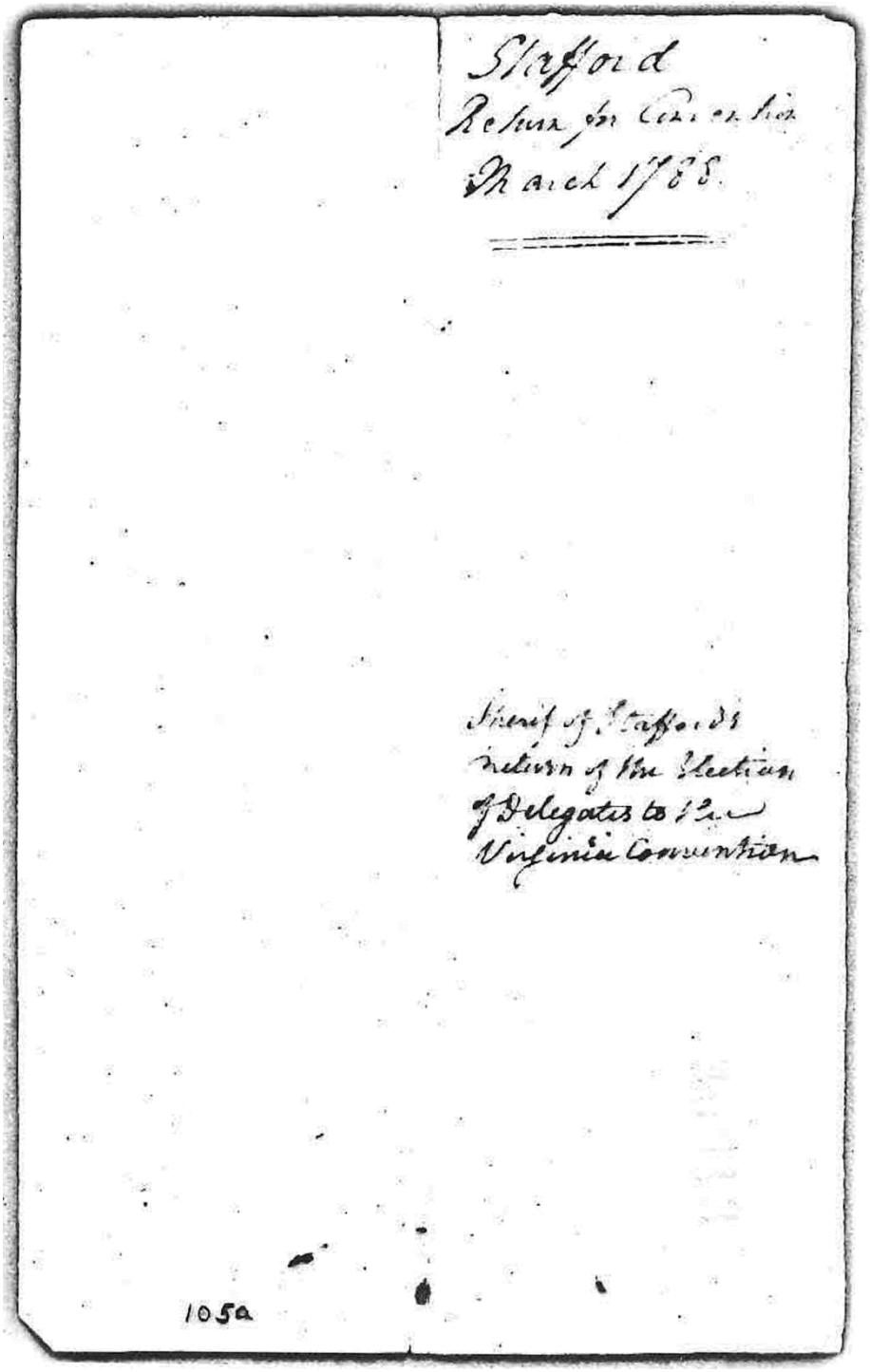
165. Stafford County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come, that I Thomas Montjoy Sheriff of the County of Stafford, in my full County, held at the Court-house thereof, on the tenth Day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, by the Electors of my said County qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely George Mason Esquire, and Andrew Buchanan Esquire, to represent the same in the Convention of the Commonwealth of Virginia; according to a Resolution of the last Session of the General Assembly, and an Act intitled, An Act concerning the Convention to be held in June next, —

Given under my Hand and Seal, the Day and Year aforesaid. —

105

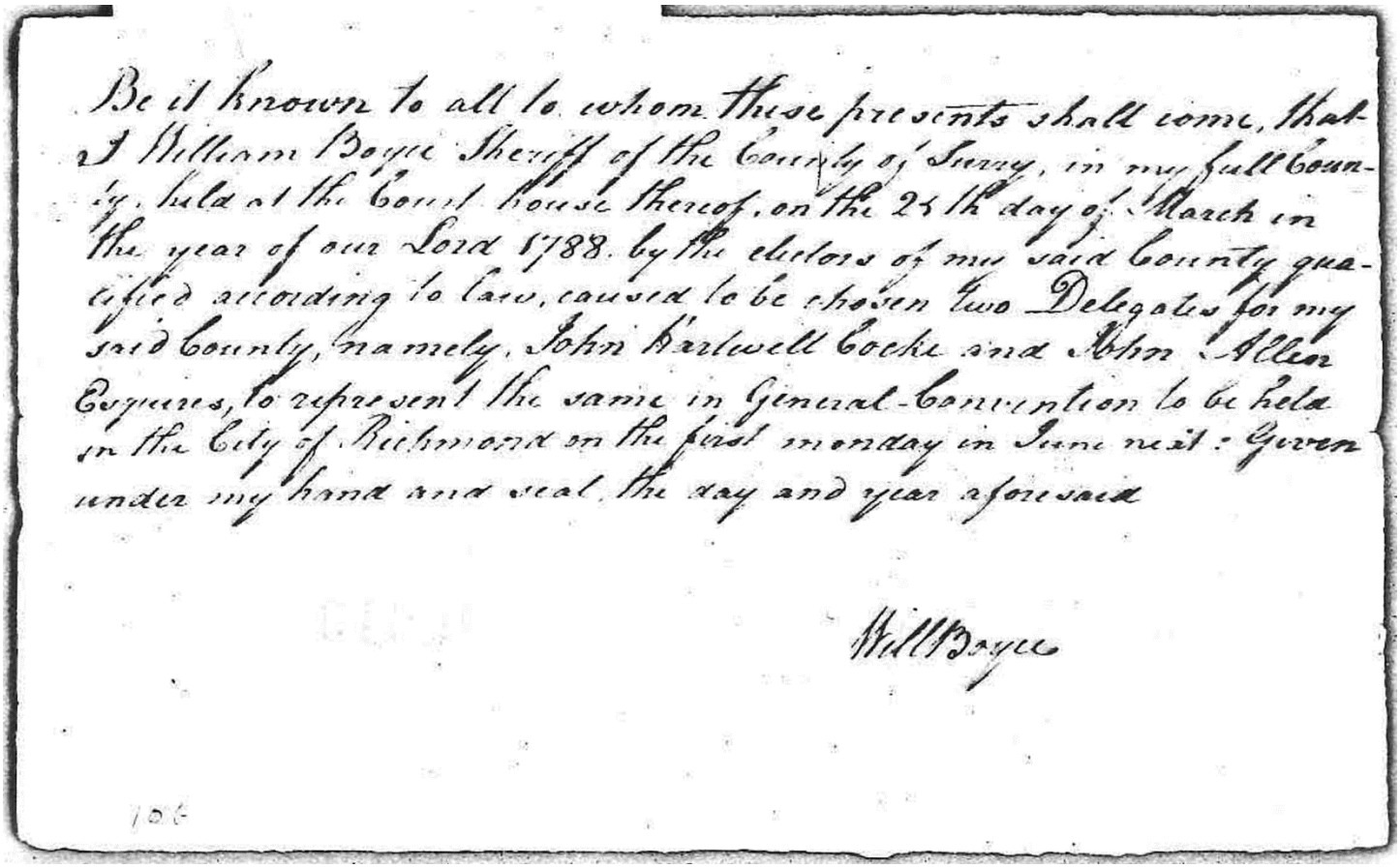


Stafford
Return for Convention
March 1788.

Sheriff of Stafford's
return of the Election
of Delegates to the
Virginia Convention

105a

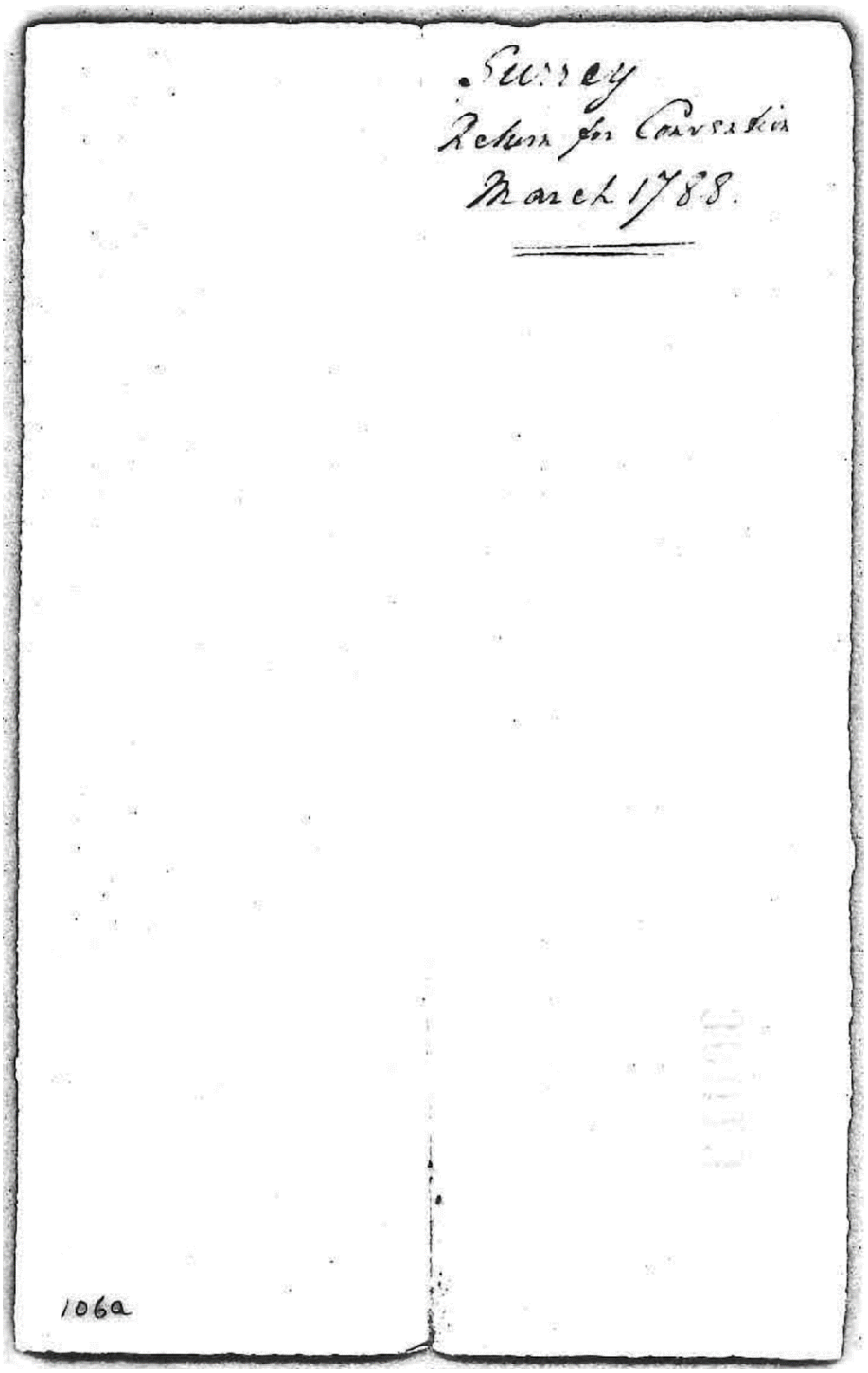
166. Surry County Election Certificate



Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that I William Boyce Sheriff of the County of Surry, in my full County, held at the Court House thereof, on the 24th day of March in the year of our Lord 1788. by the electors of my said County qualified according to law, caused to be chosen two Delegates for my said County, namely, John Barlwell Cocke and John Allen Cygnus, to represent the same in General-Convention to be held in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June next: Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid

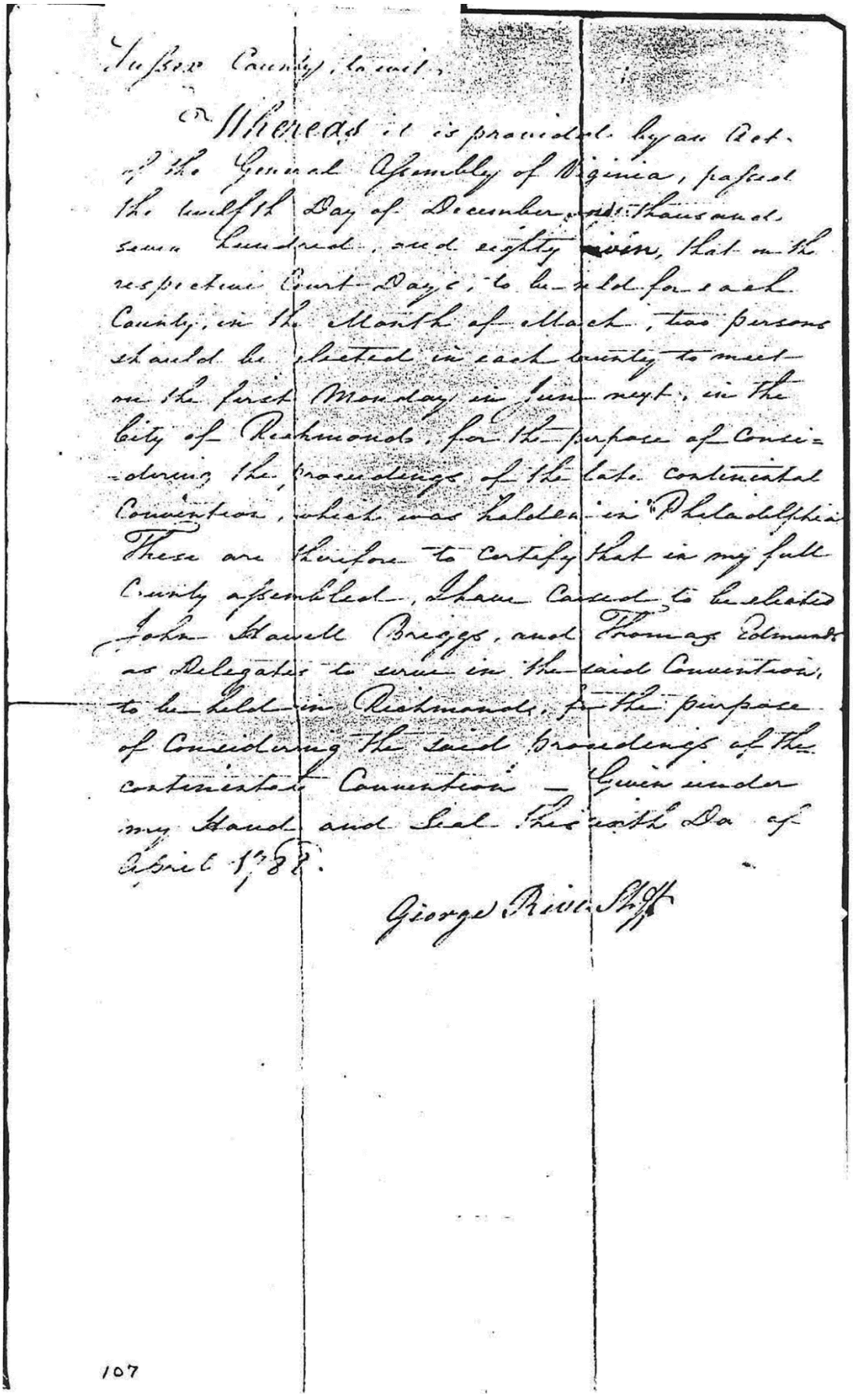
Will Boyce

106


Surry
Return for Convention
March 1788.

1060

167. Sussex County Election Certificate

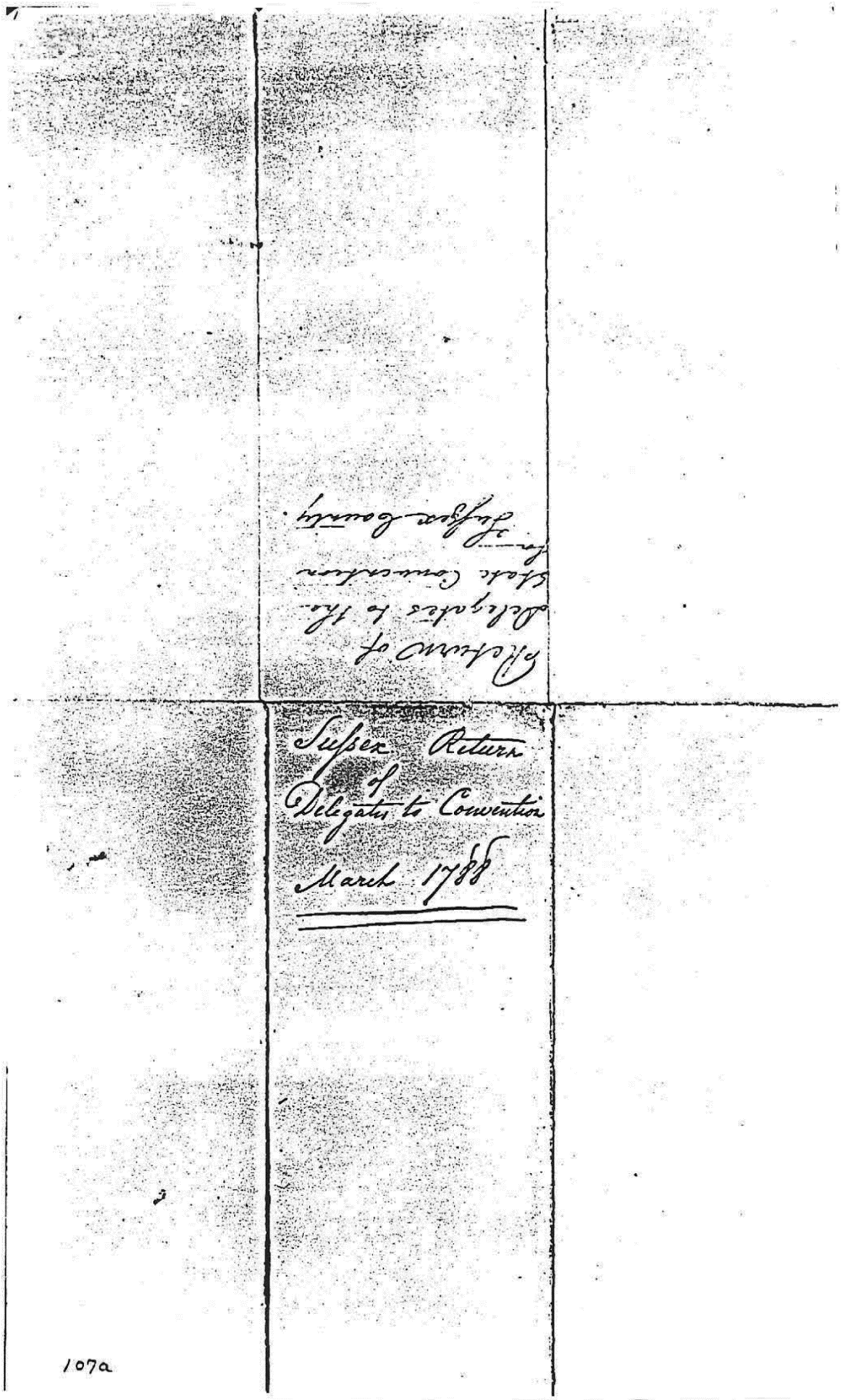


Sussex County, to wit.

Whereas it is provided by an Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed the twelfth Day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, that on the respective Court-Days, to be held for each County, in the Month of March, two persons should be elected in each county to meet on the first Monday in June next, in the city of Richmond, for the purpose of considering the proceedings of the late continental Convention, which was holden in Philadelphia These are therefore to Certify that in my full County assembled, I have caused to be elected John Harvell Briggs, and Thomas Edmunds as Delegates to serve in the said Convention, to be held in Richmond, for the purpose of considering the said proceedings of the continental Convention — Given under my Hand and Seal this ninth Da of April 1788.

George Rives Shff

107

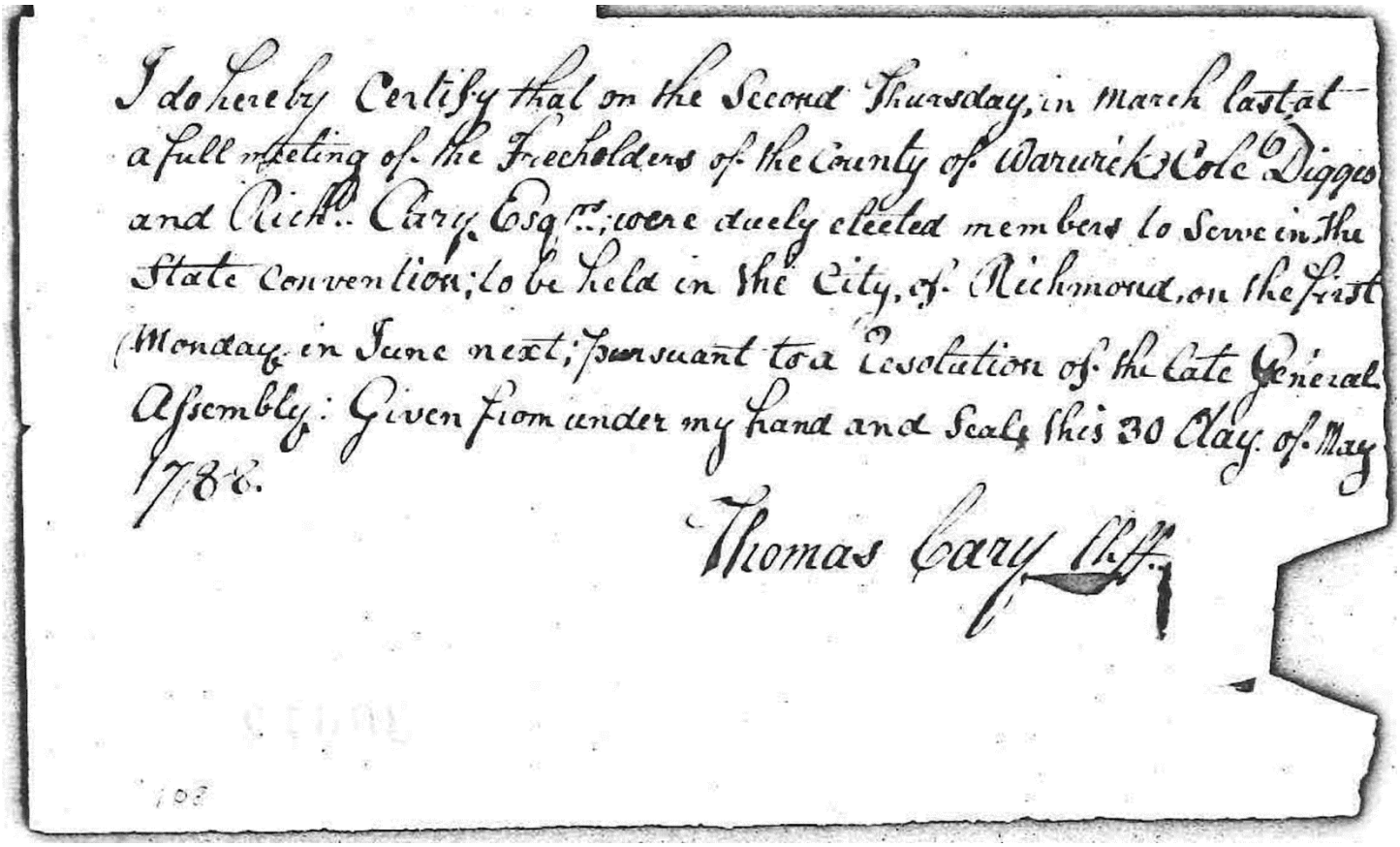


Sussex Return
of
Delegates to Convention
March 1788

Return of
Delegates to the
State Convention
for
Sussex County.

107a

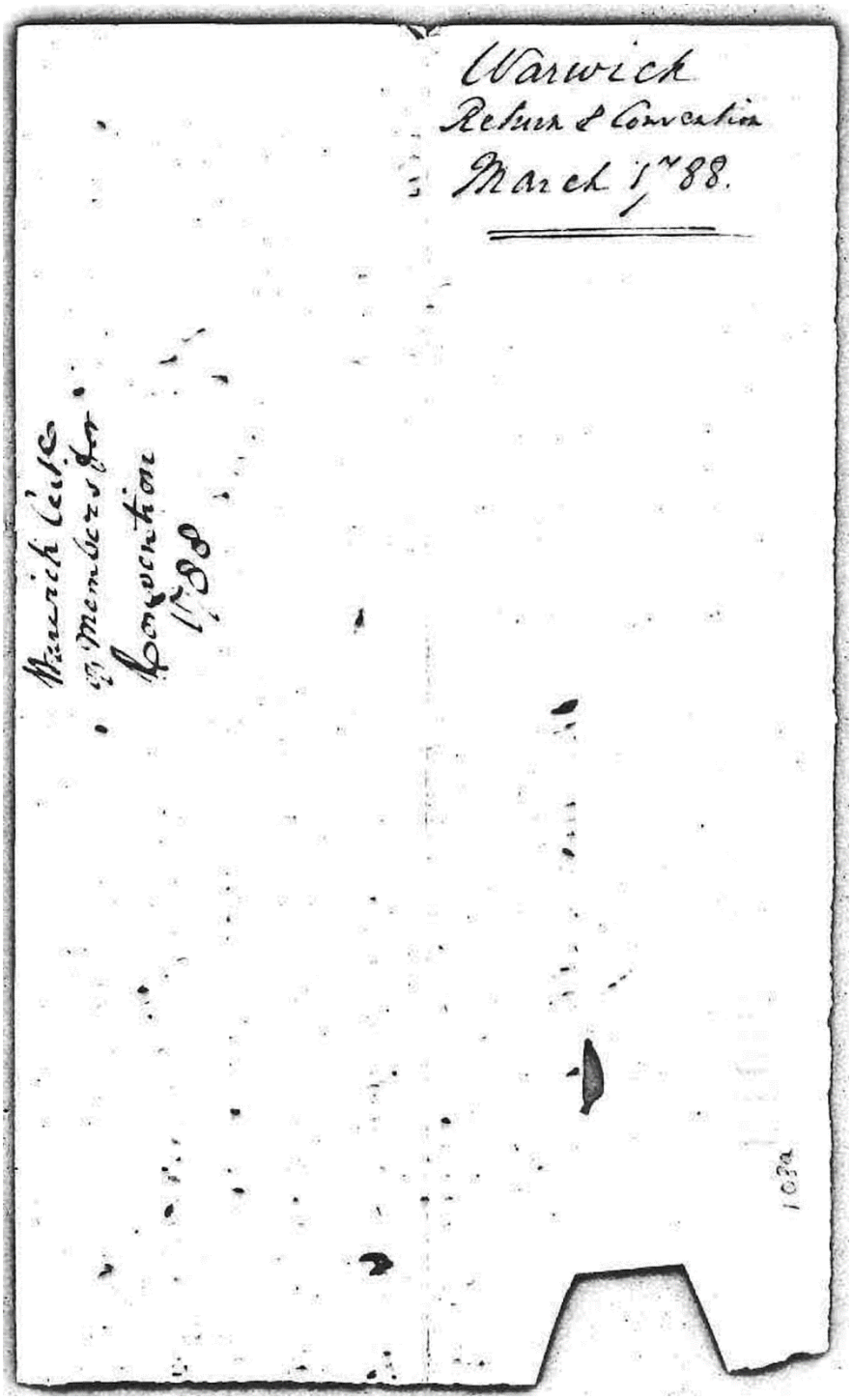
168. Warwick County Election Certificate



I do hereby Certify that on the Second Thursday, in March last, at a full meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Warwick Cole Digges and Richd. Cary, Esqrs.; were duely elected members to Serve in the State Convention; to be held in the City of Richmond, on the first Monday in June next; pursuant to a Resolution of the late General Assembly: Given from under my hand and Seal this 30 day of May 1788.

Thomas Cary Clk.

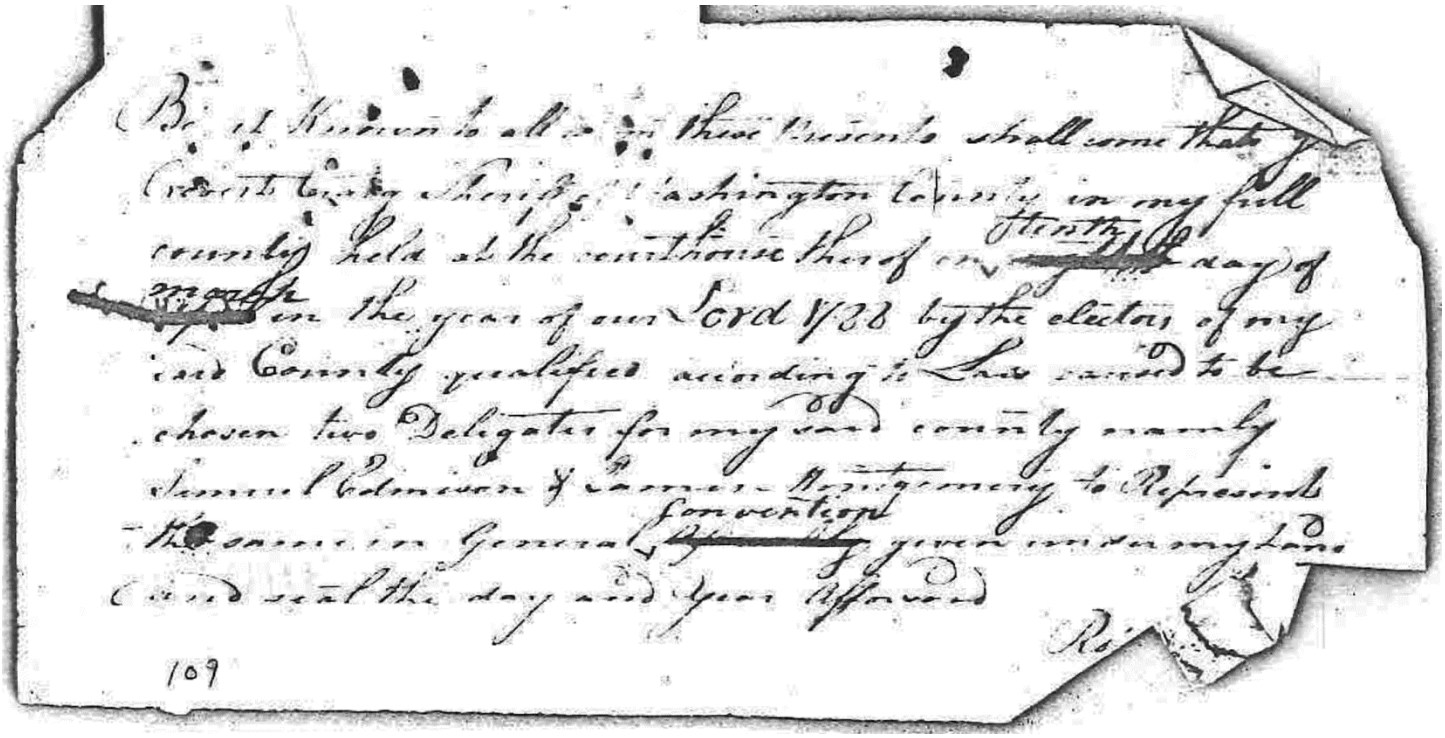
108


Warwick
Return of Convention
March 1st 88.

Warwick Cty
Members for
Convention
1788

1032

169. Washington County Election Certificate



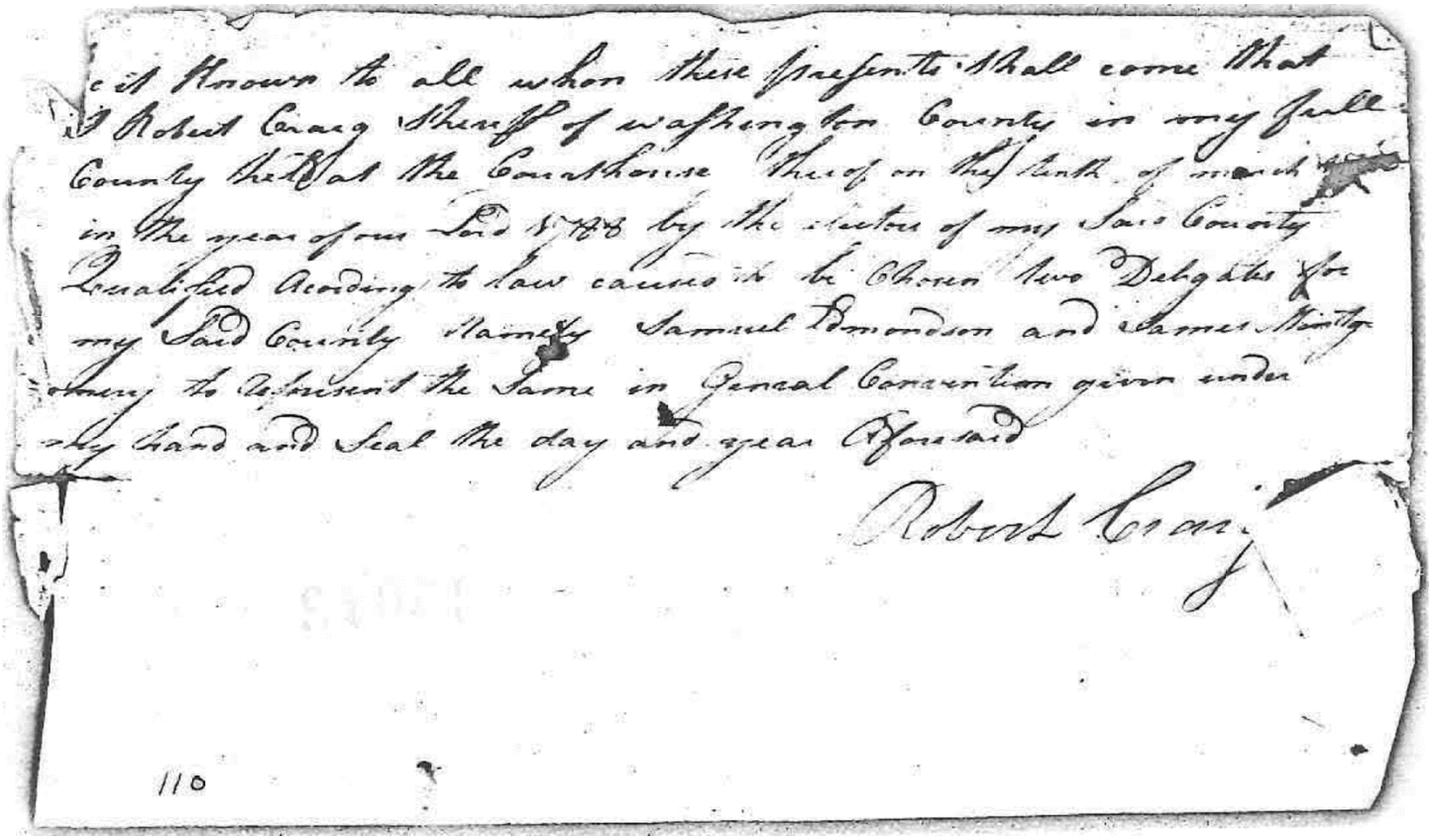
(B[y] it Remembd to all to whom these Presents shall come that I
Robert Cook Sheriff of Washington County in my full
county held at the Courthouse thereof on Tuesday the day of
month in the year of our Lord 1788 by the electors of my
said County qualified according to Law caused to be
chosen two Deligates for my said county namely
James Robinson & Samuel Montgomery to Represent
the same in Genera[l] Convention
(and seal the day and year aforesaid

109

Washington
Return of Convention
Recorded 1788.

1092

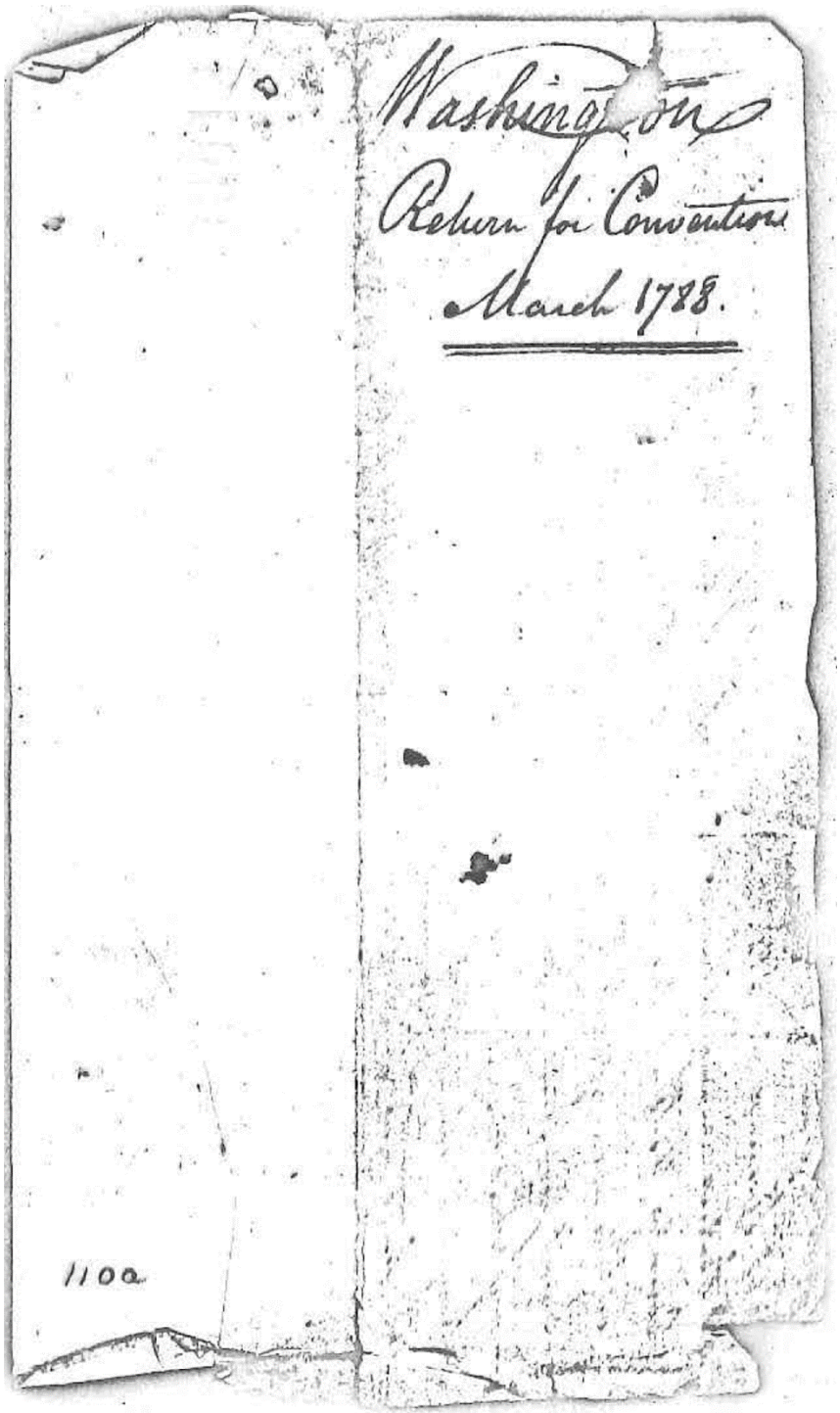
170. Washington County Election Certificate



Be it Known to all whom these Presents Shall come that
I Robert Craig Sheriff of Washington County in my full
County Court at the Courthouse thereof on the Tenth of March
in the year of our Lord 1788 by the Electors of my Said County
Qualified Acording to law caused to be Chosen two Delegates for
my Said County Namely Samuel Bowmeson and Charles Mantgy
Comery to Represent the Same in Penral Convention given under
my Hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid

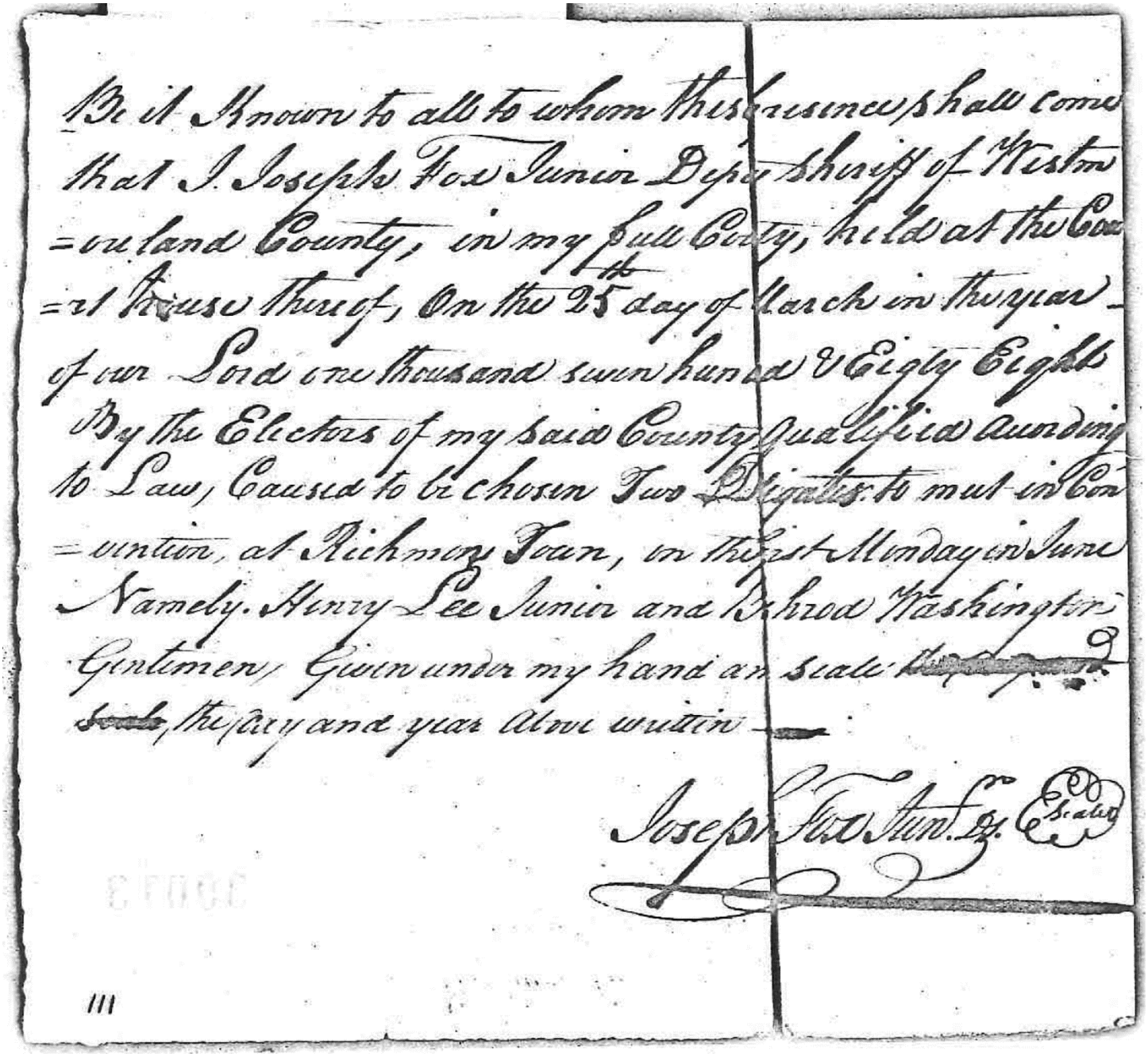
Robert Craig

110


Washington
Return for Convention
March 1788.

1100

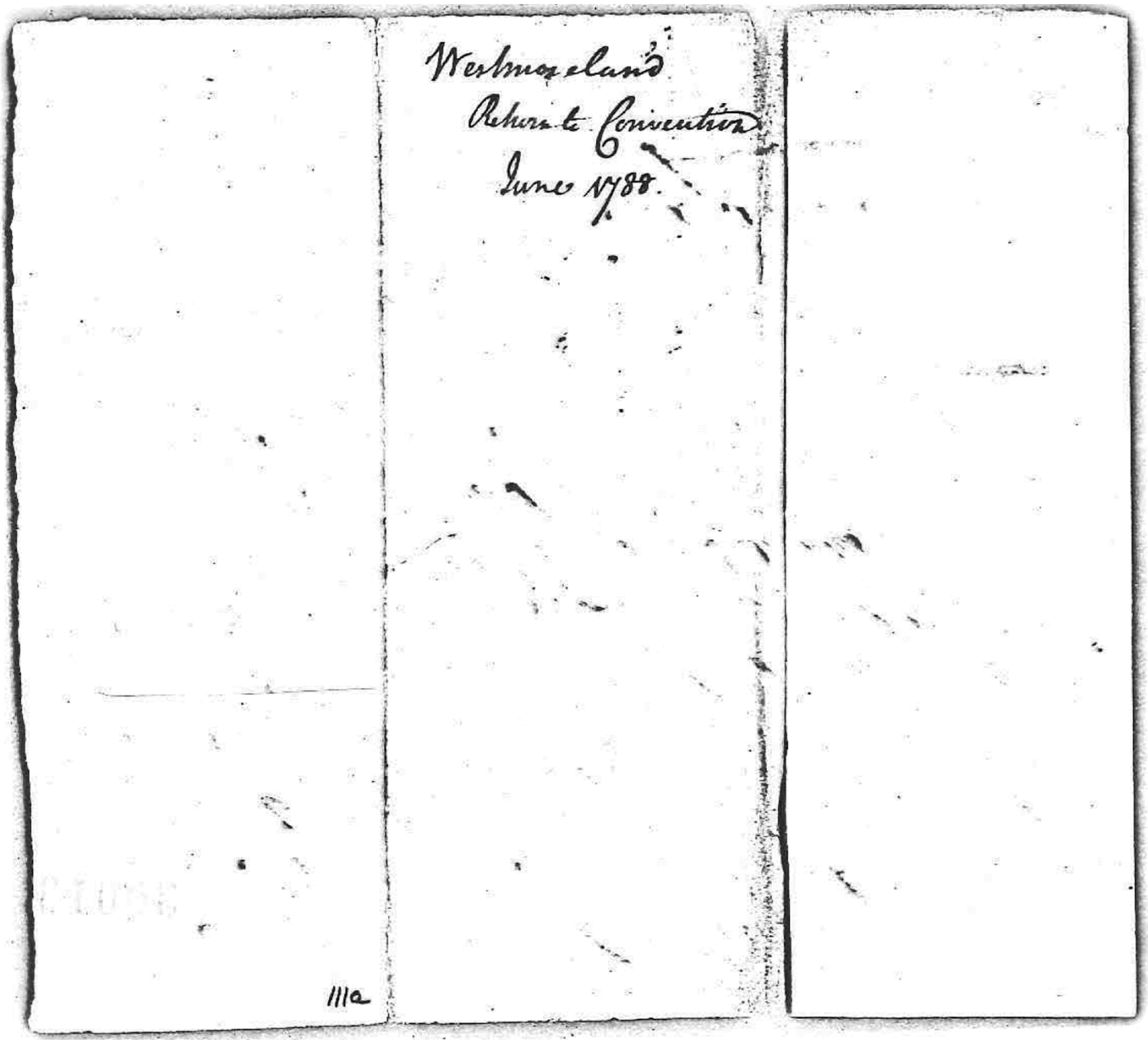
171. Westmoreland County Election Certificate



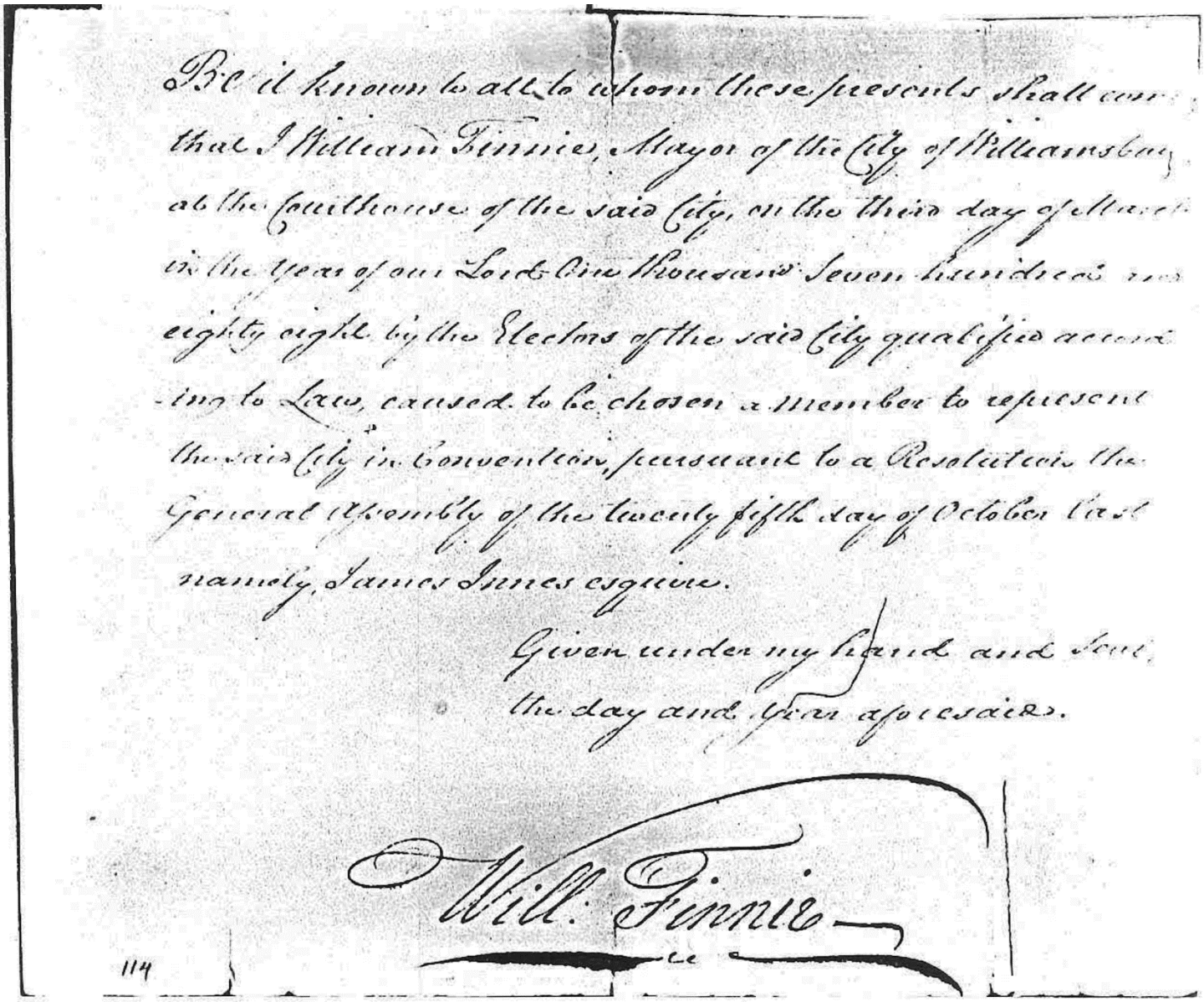
Be it Known to all to whom these presents shall come
that I Joseph Fox Junior Deputy Sheriff of Westm
=oreland County, in my full Coty, held at the Cou
=rt House thereof, On the 25 day of March in the year
of our Lord one thousand seven hund & Eigty Eight
By the Electors of my said County Qualified Accordin
to Law, Caused to be chosen Two Delegates to met in Con
=vention, at Richmon Town, on the 1st Monday in June
Namely. Henry Lee Junior and Throd Washington
Gintlemen, Given under my hand and Seale ~~of Office~~
~~Seale~~, the day and year Above written

Joseph Fox Jun. Dy. Sheriff (Seal)

111


Westmoreland
Return to Convention
June 1788.
111a

172. Williamsburg City Election Certificate.

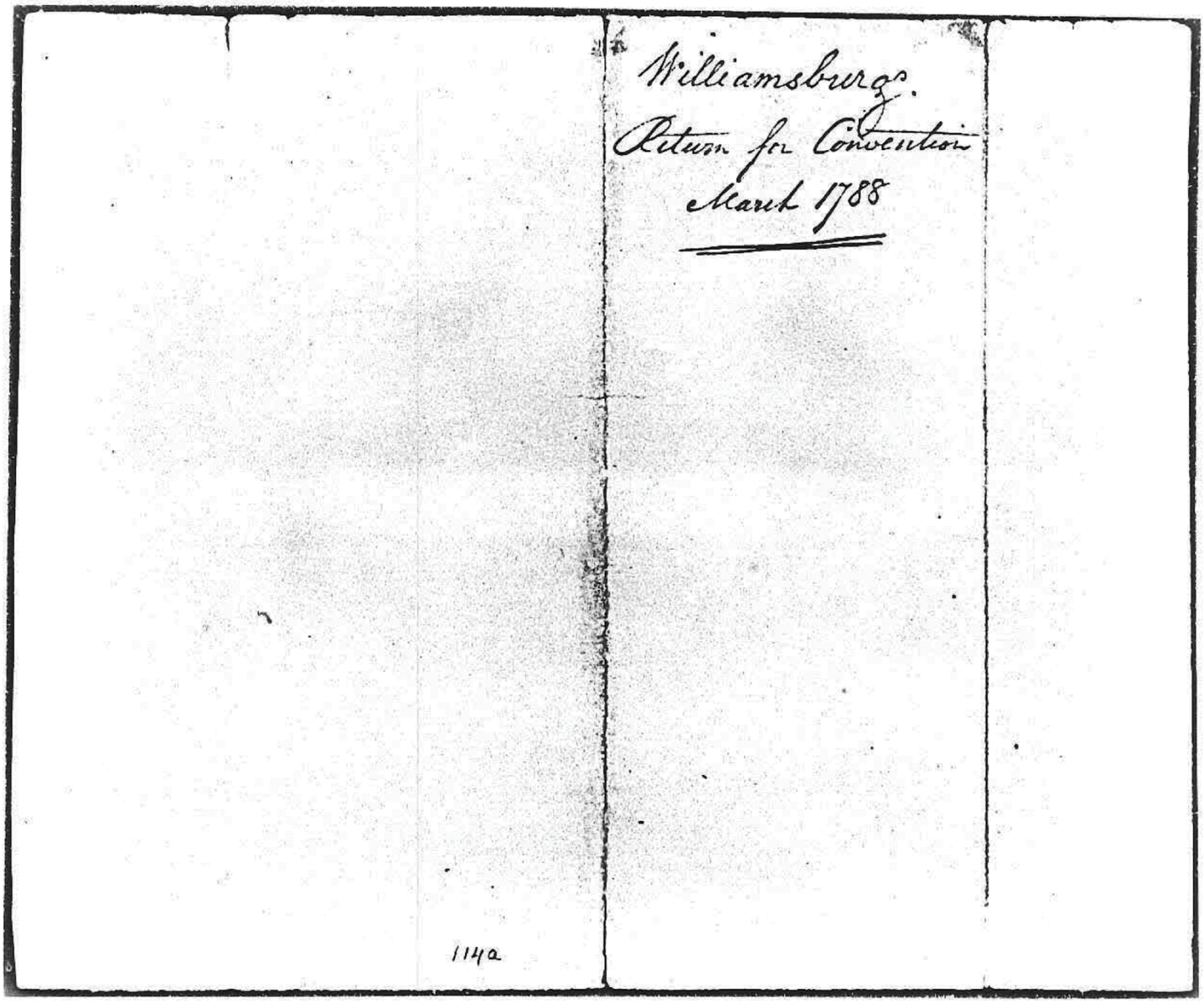


Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come that I William Finnie, Mayor of the City of Williamsburg at the Courthouse of the said City, on the third day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and eighty eight by the Electors of the said City qualified according to Law, caused to be chosen a Member to represent the said City in Convention, pursuant to a Resolution the General Assembly of the twenty fifth day of October last namely, James Innes esquire.

Given under my hand and Seal, the day and Year aforesaid.

Will. Finnie

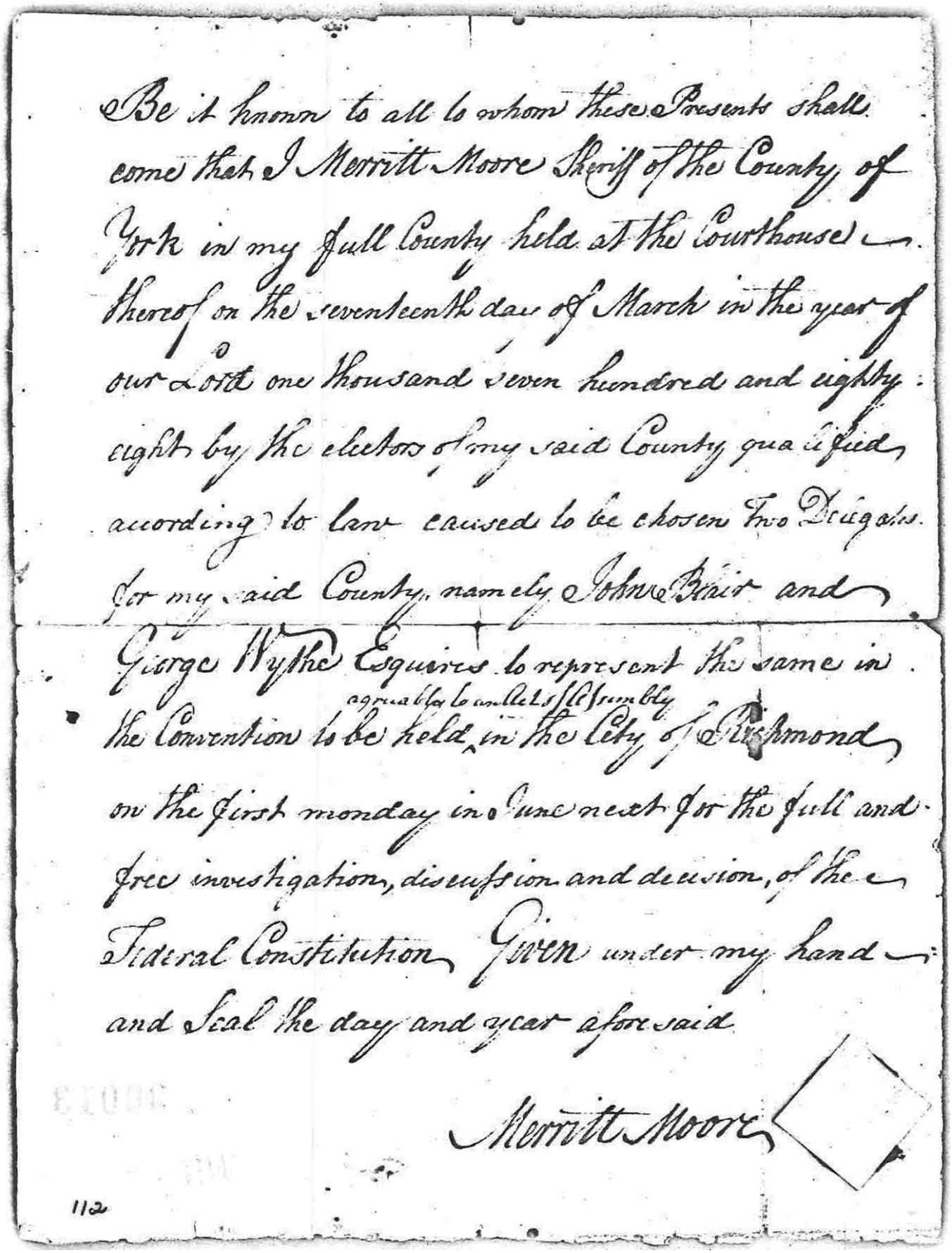
114



Williamsburgs.
Return for Convention
March 1788

114a

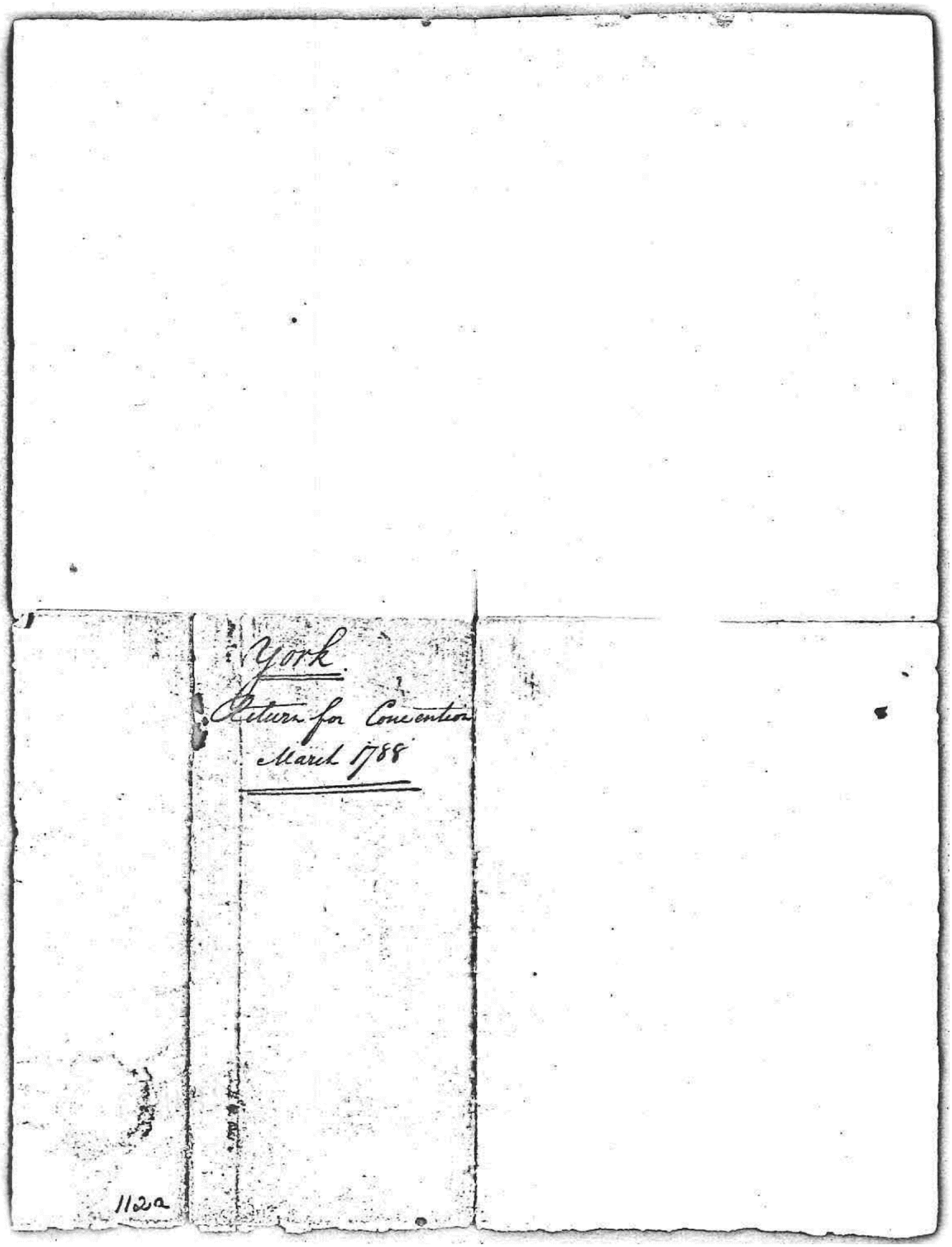
173. York County Election Certificate



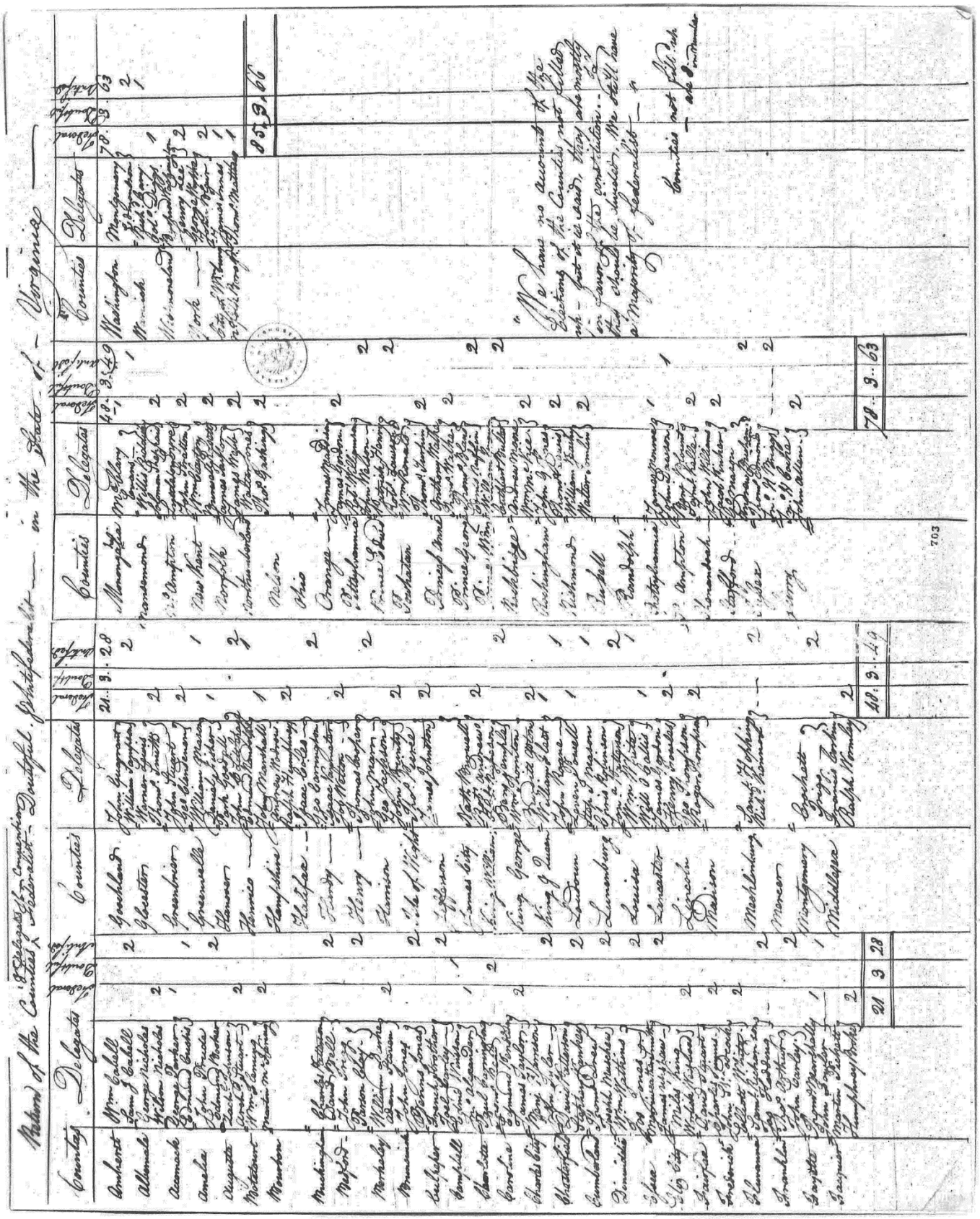
Be it known to all to whom these Presents shall come that I Merritt Moore Sheriff of the County of York in my full County held at the Courthouse thereof on the seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight by the electors of my said County qualified according to law caused to be chosen Two Delegates for my said County, namely John Blair and George Wythe Esquires to represent the same in the Convention agreeable to an Act of Assembly to be held in the City of Richmond on the first monday in June next for the full and free investigation, discussion and decision, of the Federal Constitution Given under my hand and Seal the day and year aforesaid

Merritt Moore

112


York.
Return for Convention
March 1788
1120

189. David Henley's List of Convention Delegates, Enclosed in Henley's Letter to Samuel Henley, New York, 28 April 1788.[1]



1. RC, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, David Henley Folder, Library of Congress.

190. The Society of Western Gentlemen Revise the Constitution, *Virginia Independent Chronicle,* 30 April, 7 May 1788 (extraordinary).

The FEDERAL CONSTITUTION amended: or, an ESSAY to make it more conformable to the ſenſe of a majority of the Citizens of the United States.

A DECLARATION of RIGHTS, or Fundamentals of Republican Government.

WHEREAS the happineſs of mankind, eſſentially depends upon the principles of government which have been adopted, or may gradually be received by the ſocieties in which they live; and whereas the fundamental rules of a civil ſociety, have the ſame tendency to encreaſe the virtuous diſpoſitions of good Governors, and reſtrain the vices of bad ones, as any other principles of morality have to form the manners and characters of individuals:—Therefore we the people of the United States, by our repreſentatives in full and free convention aſſembled have maturely reſolved on the following DECLARATION of RIGHTS, as the baſis of our government.

1. That all men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inherent and unalienable rights, namely the enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, poſſeſſing, and protecting property, and purſuing and obtaining happineſs and ſafety.

2. That the duty of worſhipping Almighty God, of enquiring after, and poſſeſſing the truth, according to the dictates of conſcience, is equally incumbent on all mankind: That for the more general diffuſion of benevolence, hoſpitality, and undiſſembled honeſty, among all ranks of people, the free exerciſe and enjoyment of religious profeſſion, and worſhip without *preference*, ſhall forever hereafter be allowed within the United States.

3. That the nature and divine end of all power, is to promote the happineſs of mankind; that all civil power is veſted in, and derived from the people; all magiſtrates, and rulers, and their truſtees and deputies, and are at all times accountable to them.

4. That the beſt form of government, is that which will produce the greateſt common good, with the leaſt danger, trouble, and expence, to individuals, and will moſt effectually guard againſt mal adminiſtration; and when any government is found inadequate to theſe purpoſes, the people have a right to alter or aboliſh the ſame.

5. That no man, or ſet of men, are entitled to excluſive or ſeparate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in conſideration of public ſervices; wherefore no title of place of honor, or profit, ſhould be hereditary.

6. That the freedom of the people eſſentially depends on their making their own laws. Therefore all elections ought to be frequent and free, and all men having ſufficient evidence of permanent common intereſt with an attachment to the community, have the right of ſuffrage: inequality, and all kinds of reſtraint, bribery and corruption in elections, is deſtructive of freedom, and ought to be guarded againſt.

7. That every Individual in ſociety has a right to be protected by it, in the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and reputation, and ought to find a certain remedy againſt all injuries, or wrongs, obtaining his right freely, without purchaſe, compleatly without denial, and promptly without delay, according to law.

8. That in all capital, or criminal proſecutions, every perſon has a right to be heard by himſelf, or his council, to demand the cauſe and nature of his accuſation, to be confronted with the accuſers and witneſſes, to call for evidence in his favor, and a ſpeedy public trial by an impartial Jury of the vicinage, without whoſe conſent, he cannot be found guilty: nor can he be compelled to give evidence againſt himſelf, nor can any man be deprived of his liberty, but by the laws of the land or judgment of his peers.

9. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor puniſhments inflicted exceeding the nature of the crime; for if puniſhments were proportioned to crimes, humanity, inſtead of pleading for the criminal, would call for their execution.

10. Every perſon has a right to hold himſelf, his houſe, papers, and poſſeſſions free from ſearch or ſeizure, therefore general warrants to ſeize any perſon or his property, without evidence of a fact committed, and a particular deſcription of his offence, are grievous and oppreſſive and ought not to be granted.

11. That the people have a right to the freedom of speech, of writing, and publishing their sentiments; therefore printing presses shall not be subject to restraint, other than liableness to legal prosecution, for false facts printed and published.

12. Laws made to punish for actions which have not been declared crimes, by preceding laws, are inconsistent with the fundamental principles of a free government.

13. The people have a right to keep and bear arms, for the national defence; standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, therefore the military shall be subordinate to the civil power.

14. The community have a right to require of every individual his personal services when necessary for the common defence, and to demand a just and equal portion of his property for public uses in consideration of the protection which he enjoys.

15. In order to preserve the blessings of liberty, frequent and stated recurrence must be had to fundamental principles, and a firm adherence must be maintained, to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, industry, and virtue.

The CONSTITUTION or form of GOVERNMENT.

Art. 1. *Sect.* 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.

Sect. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen *annually* 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, all those bound to to service for a term of years. 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

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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 choose their speaker, and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state chosen by the legislature thereof, for three years; and be ineligible the three succeeding 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 *first* year, of the second class at the expiration of the *second* year, and of the third class at the expiration of the *third* year, so that one third may be chosen every 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 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 choose 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 power to try impeachments, except against members of their own body, who shall be tried by the judges of the supreme court. Both of which 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.

Sect. 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: Provided the legislatures aforesaid, omit passing laws for that purpose.

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.

Sect. 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 authorised 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 behavior, 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.

Sect. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a *moderate* 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; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7. All laws shall originate in the house of representatives, to be concurred with, or rejected by the senate, or to be amended with the consent of the house of representatives, except bills for raising revenue, which in no instance shall be altered by the senate; but wholly approved or rejected.

Sect. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, 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 pass laws, to encourage, and secure, the use and freedom of the press.

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 *one* year.

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 organising, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such parts 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, 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.

Sect. 9. The previlege 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 *tax* shall be laid, unless with the consent of the *legislatures* of the different states.

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.

Sect. 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 its inspection laws; and the nett 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.

(*To be concluded in our next.*)

7 May 1788

The CONSTITUTION or form of GOVERNMENT.

(Concluded from the Independent Chronicle of last week.)

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 be ineligible the four succeeding 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 choose 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 choose the president, 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 choose from them by ballot the vice president.

The Congress may determine the time of chooing 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 reasonable compensation, which shall neither be encreased 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.

Sect. 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 officers 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 of Congress to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the members 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 recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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.

Sect. 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, *if of good behaviour, for the term of seven years; but may be eligible to be re appointed at the expiration of every such term;* they shall at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. 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 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.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a 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 causes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state, where the cause of action arose, or where the crime may have been committed; but when committed without any of the states, the trial shall be at such place or places, as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sect. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or 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.

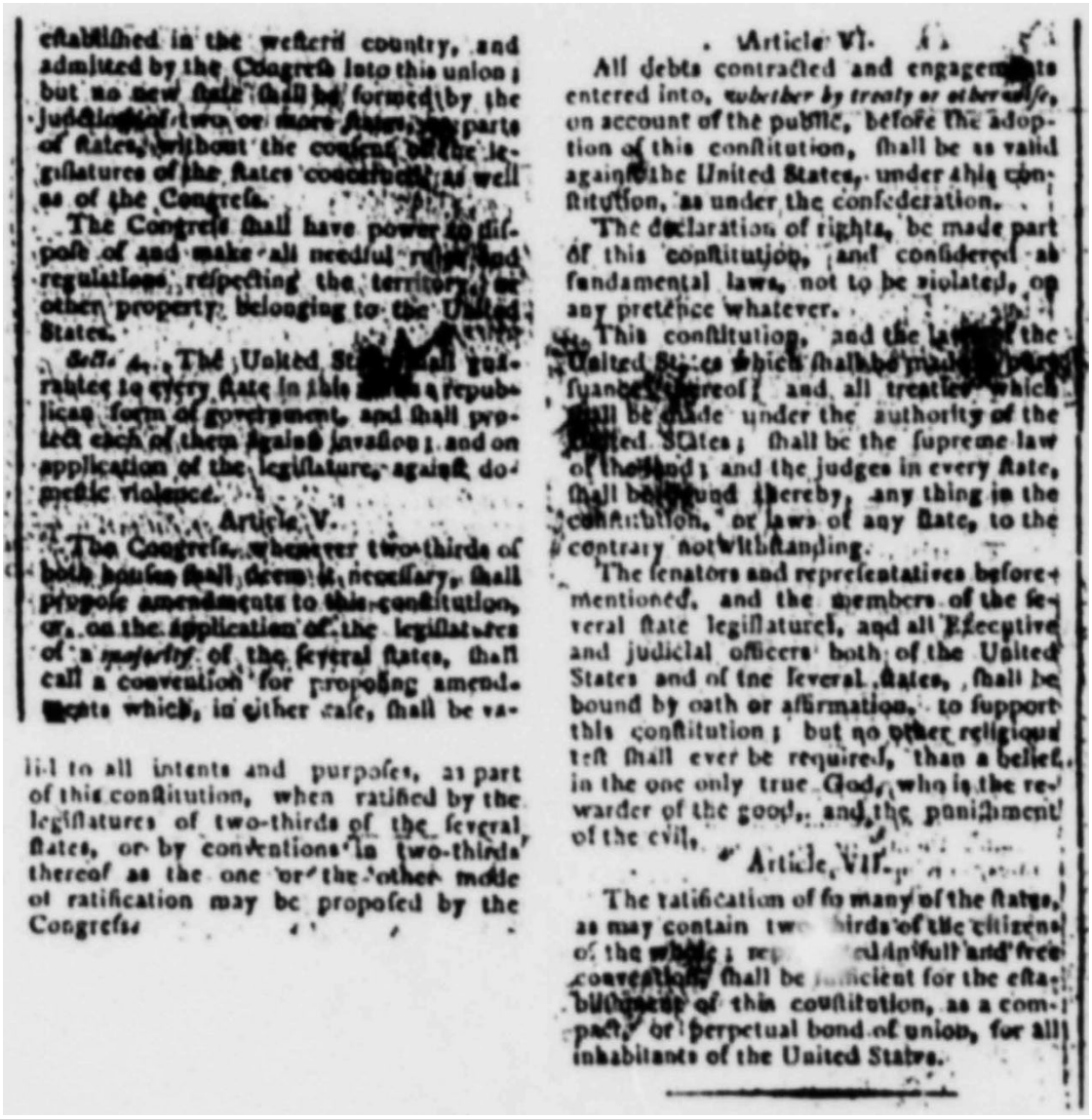
Sect. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 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 labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sect. 3. New states containing a suitable extent of territory, and a number of inhabitants equal at least to some one of the original states, shall in due time be



established in the western country, and admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new state shall 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.

Sect. 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, 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 a majority 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 two-thirds of the several states, or by conventions in two-thirds thereof as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.

Article VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, *whether by treaty or otherwise*, on account of the public, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this constitution, as under the confederation.

The declaration of rights, be made part of this constitution, and considered as fundamental laws, not to be violated, on any pretence whatever.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made pursuance thereof, and all treaties 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 other religious test shall ever be required, than a belief in the one only true God, who is the rewarder of the good, and the punishment of the evil.

Article VII.

The ratification of so many of the states, as may contain two-thirds of the citizens of the whole; [illegible] shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, as a compact, or perpetual bond of union, for all inhabitants of the United States.

193. Remonstrance of the Court of Appeals, 12 May 1788, *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 21 May 1788 (extraordinary).

At a COURT *of* APPEALS, *held at the Courthouſe in* Richmond, *on* Monday, *the 12th of* May, 1788.

ON Conſideration of a late Act of Aſſembly, intituled 'An Act Eſtabliſhing Diſtrict Courts,' *after ſeveral Conferences and upon mature Deliberation, the Court do adjudge that Clerks of the ſaid Courts ought not now to be appointed, for Reaſons contained in a Remonſtrance to the General Aſſembly in the Words following, to wit:*

To the Hon. the SPEAKERS and other MEMBERS of the SENATE and HOUSE of DELEGATES, of the COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA, in GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The reſpectful REMONSTRANCE *of the* COURT *of* APPEALS.

THE Remonſtrants finding themſelves called upon by a late act of the General Aſſembly, intituled "*An act eſtabliſhing Diſtrict Courts*," to proceed at this ſeſſion to the appointment of Clerks to the ſaid courts, that whole act was neceſſarily brought into their view; in conſidering which they encountered many difficulties, of an ordinary nature, ſuch as, whether their power of appointing now, though directed by the ſecond ſection, was not controuled by the 116th, declaring that the act ſhould take effect and be in force from and after the firſt day of July, in the year 1788, and not before; whether the Diſtrict Courts have juriſdiction of any ſuits now depending in the General Court of above £30 value; whether any, and what, proviſion was made for the trial of criminals, who might remain in the Public Jail after the ſeſſion of the General Court in June next, or who might be examined and committed prior the ſaid firſt day of July; and whether, for want of preciſion in ſeveral other parts of the law, it was, in the reſpective caſes, to operate from the time of paſſing, or from the firſt day of July. (In other inſtances, particularly in the conſtruction of the late execution law, regularly brought before the court this term, they have to lament the laſt difficulty, which they found ſo great, that nothing but the repoſe of the community, and the neceſſity of having one uniform ſyſtem in that reſpect could have induced the court to decide upon it, at leaſt without farther conſideration.)

But in the progreſs of their diſcuſſion, they found it unavoidable to conſider more important queſtions, viz. Whether the principles of this act do not violate thoſe of the Conſtitution or form of Government, which the people in 1776, when the former bands of their ſociety were diſſolved, eſtabliſhed as the foundation of that government which they judged neceſſary for the preſervation of their perſons and property; and if ſuch violation were apparent, whether they had power, and it was their duty to declare that the act muſt yield to the Conſtitution.

And here they have again to lament, that there ſhould be occaſion to decide thoſe important queſtions in any caſe, eſpecially at a time when the minds of the citizens are agitated upon other queſtions of great and national concern, more ſo that the neceſſity ſhould occur in a caſe wherein their individual intereſts are involved, and ſtill more, that a diciſion one way might ſuſpend, though for a ſhort time, the beneficial effects of a law tending to promote the ſpeedy and eaſy adminiſtration of juſtice.

On this view of the ſubject, the following alternatives preſented themſelves to the court; either to decide thoſe queſtions or reſign their offices. The latter would have been their choice, if they could have conſidered the queſtions as affecting their individual intereſts only; but viewing them as relating to their office, and finding themſelves called by their country to ſuſtain an important poſt as one of the three pillars on which the great fabric of Government was erected, they judged that a reſignation would ſubject them to the reproach of deſerting their ſtation, and betraying the ſacred intereſts of ſociety entruſted with them, and

that ground found themſelve obliged to decide, however their delicacy might be wounded, or what ever temporary inconveniencies might enſue, and in that deciſion to declare, that the Conſtitution and the act are in oppoſition, and cannot exiſt together; and that the former muſt controul the operation of the latter. If this opinion, declaring the ſupremacy of the Conſtitution, needed any ſupport, it may be found on the opinion of the Legiſlature themſelves, who have in ſeveral inſtances conſidered the Conſtitution as preſcribing limits to their powers as well as to thoſe of the other departments of government.

In forming their judgment upon both queſtions, they had recourſe to that article in the declaration of rights, that no free government, or the bleſſing of liberty can be preſerved to any people but (among other things) by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles; an article worthy to be written in letters of gold. The propriety and neceſſity of the independence of the Judges is evident in reaſon and the nature of their office; ſince they are to decide between government and the people as well as between contending citizens, and if they be dependent on either, corrupt influence may be apprehended, ſacrificing the innocent to popular prejudice; and ſubjecting the poor to oppreſſion and perſecution by the rich. And this applies more forcibly to exclude a dependence on the Legiſlature, a branch of whom, in caſes of impeachment, is itſelf a party.—This principle ſuppoſed, the Court are led to conſider, whether the people have ſecured, or departed from, it in their Conſtitution or form of government.—In that ſolemn act they diſcover the people diſtributing the governmental powers into three great branches, Legiſlative, Executive, and Judiciary, in order to preſerve that equipoiſe, which they judged neceſſary to ſecure their liberty, declaring that thoſe powers be kept ſeparate and diſtinct from each other, and that no perſon ſhall exerciſe at the ſame time an office in more than one of them. The independence of the two former could not be admitted, becauſe in them a long continuance in office might be dangerous to liberty, and therefore they provided for a change, by frequent elections at ſtated periods; but in the laſt, from the influence of the principle before obſerved upon, they declared, that the Judges ſhould hold their offices during good behaviour. Their independence would have been rendered complete, by fixing the quantum of their ſalaries, which perhaps would have been done, if the duties of their office had been at that time aſcertained. But although it was not then done, yet in reſpect to this, the Conſtitution gives a principle, not to be departed from, declaring that the ſalaries ſhall be adequate and fixed, leaving it to the Legiſlature to judge what would be adequate when they ſhould appoint the duties. And when they had ſo done they exerciſed their whole power over the ſubject, and the ſalary was thenceforth to be conſidered as fixed, while the duties ſhould continue the ſame, and when public utility ſhould require an increaſe or diminution of duty, there ſhould be an analogous alteration of ſalary, with this reſtriction, however, that ſuch regulation ſhould not blend the duties of the Judges of the General Court, Court of Chancery, and Court of Admiralty, which the Conſtitution ſeems to require to be exerciſed by diſtinct perſons; and the Legiſlature appear to have ſo conſidered it in the arrangement of thoſe Courts.

The Court of Appeals, of whomſoever conſtituted, muſt neceſſarily act upon the ſubjects referred to all the others, and therefore the forming it ſo as to conſiſt of all the Judges is no violation of the Conſtitution; and that mode, aſſimilated to adjournments, of caſes before all the Judges of England in the Exchequer Chamber, may have been dictated by neceſſity.

The Court then proceeded to conſider what had been done by the Legiſlature, in conſequence of the Conſtitution. In the October ſeſſion of 1777 they paſſed two acts, organizing the General Court and Court of Chancery, giving to the former juriſdiction at common law, in civil caſes as well as criminal, and to the latter, juriſdiction in all caſes in equity. The duties of each were diſtinctly pointed out; and a ſalary of £500 to each Judge was thought by the Legiſlature to be an adequate reward for thoſe duties, and this previous to the appointment of any Judges. The election of the Judges followed, when four of thoſe at preſent in office were of the number elected; who thinking, as they ſtill think, the ſalary was adequate to the ſervices, declined other purſuits, and accepted their appointments, under a confidence that the Conſtitution, would entitle them to that ſalary ſo long as they ſhould perform the duty, in an upright manner. The nominal ſum they conceived was to be paid them in ſpecie, or in ſomething equivalent thereto, and they have reaſon to believe the Legiſlature ſo underſtood it, from laws in force at that period, making it penal to demand an allowance for the difference between ſpecie and paper money. And though the other Judges have been called into duty by ſubſequent appointments they may be ſuppoſed to ſtand upon the ſame ground of original compact. The Court of Admiralty, indeed, was not permanently conſtituted until the year 1779, and the Judges then appointed, yet by being made Judges of the Court of Appeals, they have ever ſince been put upon the ſame footing with their brethren in point of ſalary. The various ſubſtitutions of paper-money

and tobacco for ſpecie, which was not to be had, the Judges conſidered as temporary expedients, which, though operating greatly to the diminution of their ſalaries, were not deſigned to affect their independence; and therefore they acquieſced, content to ſhare in the public calamities, in hopes of a recurrence to the conſtitutional principle in better times. And they conſidered in the ſame light the act of 1781, ſtating the ſalary at £ 300, as dictated by neceſſity, and not proceeding from deſign, and therefore did not conceive it to be their official duty to interpoſe.

But the act now under conſideration, preſenting a ſyſtem, which aſſigns to the Judges of the Chancery and Admiralty juriſdiction in common law caſes, which ſo far may be conſidered as a new office, the labour of which would greatly exceed that of the former, without a correſpondent reward; and to the Judges of the General Court 'duties,' which though not changed as to their ſubjects, are yet more than doubled, without any increaſe of ſalary, appeared ſo evident an attack upon the independency of the Judges, that they thought it inconſiſtent with a conſcientious diſcharge of their duty to paſs it over. For vain would be the precautions of the founders of our government to ſecure liberty, if the Legiſlature, though reſtrained from changing the tenure of judicial offices, are at liberty to compel a reſignation by reducing ſalaries to a copper, or by making it a part of the official duty to become hewers of wood, and drawers of water: or if, in caſe of a contrary diſpoſition, they can make ſalaries exorbitant, or by leſſening the duties render offices almoſt ſinecures; the independence of the Judiciary is in either caſe equally annihilated. The Court, however, willing to hope, that in the preſent inſtance the Legiſlature had no ſuch deſign, but that inattention or ſome other circumſtances might occaſion the deviation, and that upon a reviſion of the ſubject, this law will be placed upon unexceptionable ground, had only to conſider what ought to be their conduct in the mean time. The reſult of which was, that they ought not to do any thing officially in execution of an act which appeared to be contrary to the ſpirit of the Conſtitution, and therefore they declined to appoint the Clerks of the Diſtrict Courts under the ſaid act.

To obviate a poſſible objection, that the Court, while they are maintaining the independency of the Judiciary, are countenancing encroachments of that branch upon the departments of others, and aſſuming a right to controul the Legiſlature, it may be obſerved, that when they decide between an act of the people and an act of the Legiſlature, they are within the line of their duty, declaring what the law is, and not making a new law. And ever diſpoſed to maintain harmony with the other members of government, ſo neceſſary to promote the happineſs of ſociety, the Court moſt ſincerely wiſh, that the preſent infraction of the Conſtitution may be remedied by the Legiſlature themſelves, and thereby all further uneaſineſs on the occaſion be prevented. But ſhould their wiſhes be diſappointed by the event they ſee no other alternative for a deciſion between the Legiſlature and Judiciary than an appeal to the people, whoſe ſervants both are, and for whoſe ſakes both were created, and who may exerciſe their original and ſupreme power, whenever they think proper. To that tribunal, therefore, the Court, in that caſe, commit themſelves, conſcious of perfect integrity, in their intentions, however they may have been miſtaken in their judgment."

It is ordered that the Preſident of the Court do deliver the ſaid remonſtrance to his Excellency the Governor, with a requeſt that he will be pleaſed to lay the ſame before the General Aſſembly at their firſt ſeſſion.

(A Copy)

Teſte, J. BROWN, C. C.

200. Delegate William Fleming Diary and Living Expenses During the Virginia Convention, 27 May–11 June 1788.[1]

DIARY KEPT DURING A TRIP TO RICHMOND TO ATTEND CONVENTION HELD THERE.

1788.

May 27—Left Bellmont May 27th, breakfasted at McClellan's. Came to N. London, lodged at Capt. Austin's.

28—Came to Capt. Wallace's in Charlotte.

29—Rode to Wm. Thorp's, 5 miles above Charlotte C. H. Col. Watkins rode from his store with me, and assisted in settling with Thorp. Lodged at Col. Watkins', 10 miles from C. H.

30—Went to Wm. Baker's; dined. Went by the Coledge & lodged at Col. Nashe's.

31—Went to an ordinary a mile from Genito Bridge.

June 1—Breakfasted at Hopkins'; rode to Manchester. Sent my Horse to Capt. Markam's, as he had got the . He undertook to cure, feed & pasture him. Lodged seventy Pounds, three & one penny with Mr. Lyle; went over the River. The Convention met the 2d and adjourned.

(EXPENSES.)

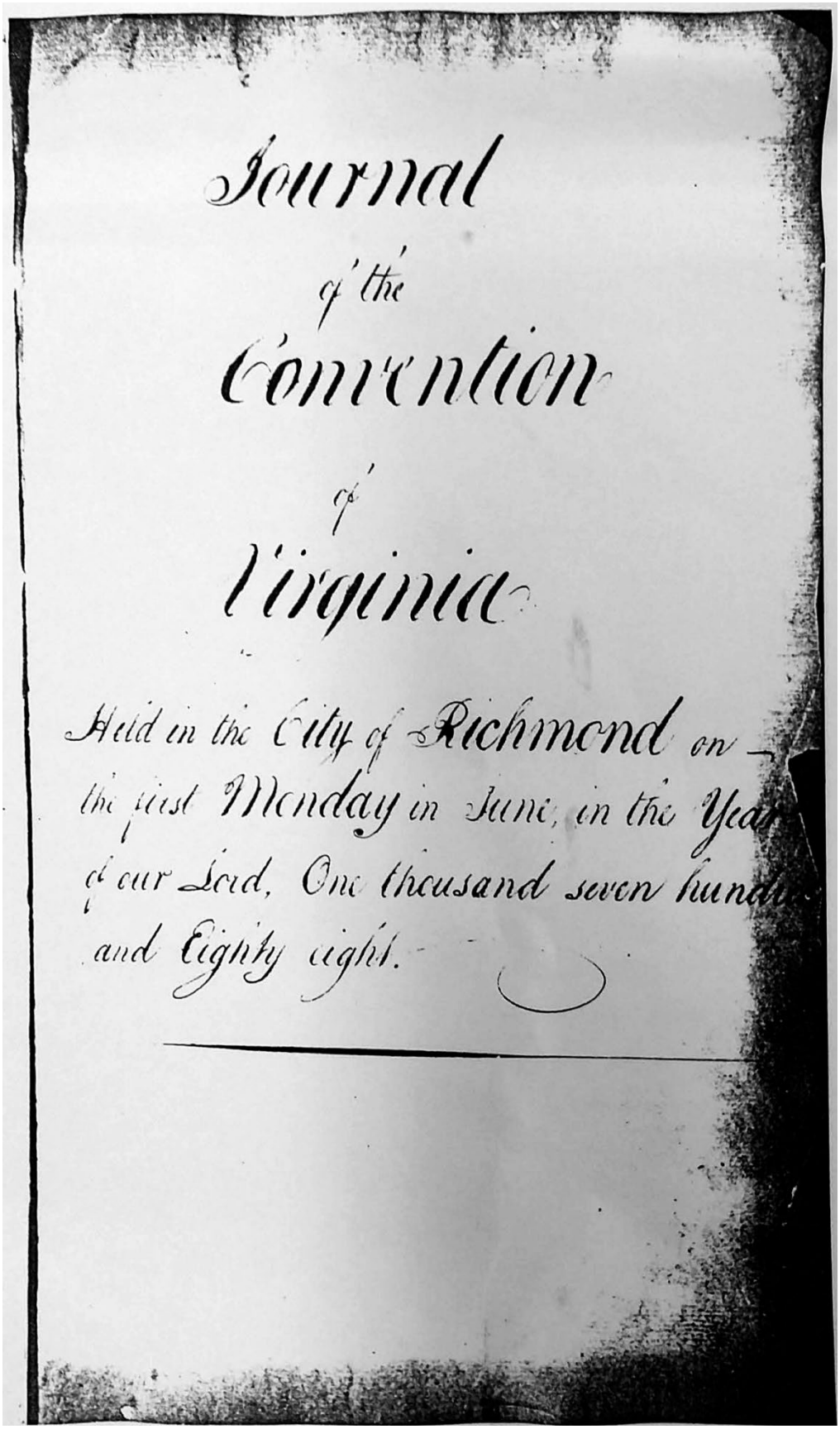
May 27—At Bedford C. H.,		2	6
At Hook's old Store,		2	
28—At Charlotte C. H.,		2	
29—At an ordinary,		1	3
31—At Genito Bridge,		6	0
A comb, 2s., knife, 4s. 6d.,		6	6
1 yard Ribbon,		1	3
Capt. Paulin,		12	0
June 1—Expenses at Balls,		8	4
Ferriage,		1	6
10—Expenses & Board altogether for a w'k,	1 18		7½
1 p'r Stockings,		12	0
At Rawlins',		4	6
11—Ferriage, &c.,		1	6
2 Crowns for Books,	1 6	0	
Hulchen's map & book,		12	0
Cullen on Materia Med.,		9	0
Bossus' Travels,		12	0
Tales of the Castle,		12	0

The Theatre—took lodgings with Mr. Vaugh at 28s. p. week.

June 2—Brought over,	2	8	0
Sully's Memoirs,		1	10
11—To Board at Vaughn's,	1	11	0
Mr. Vann, Board & washing,		25	7

1. "Price Lists and Diary of Col. Fleming," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* V (1897–1898), 265–66.

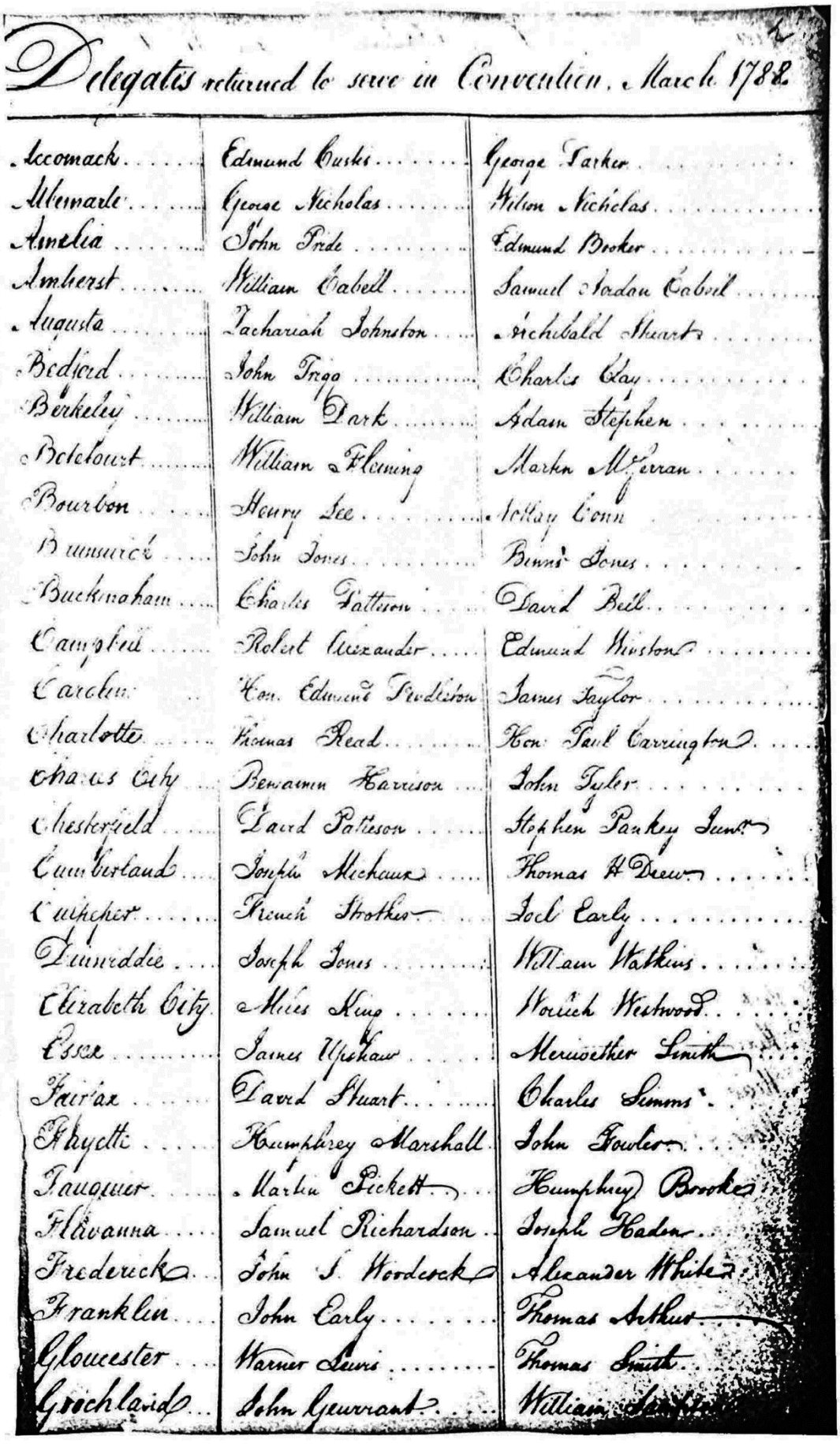
202. Manuscript Journal of the Virginia Convention, 2–27 June 1788.[1]



Journal
of the
Convention
of
Virginia

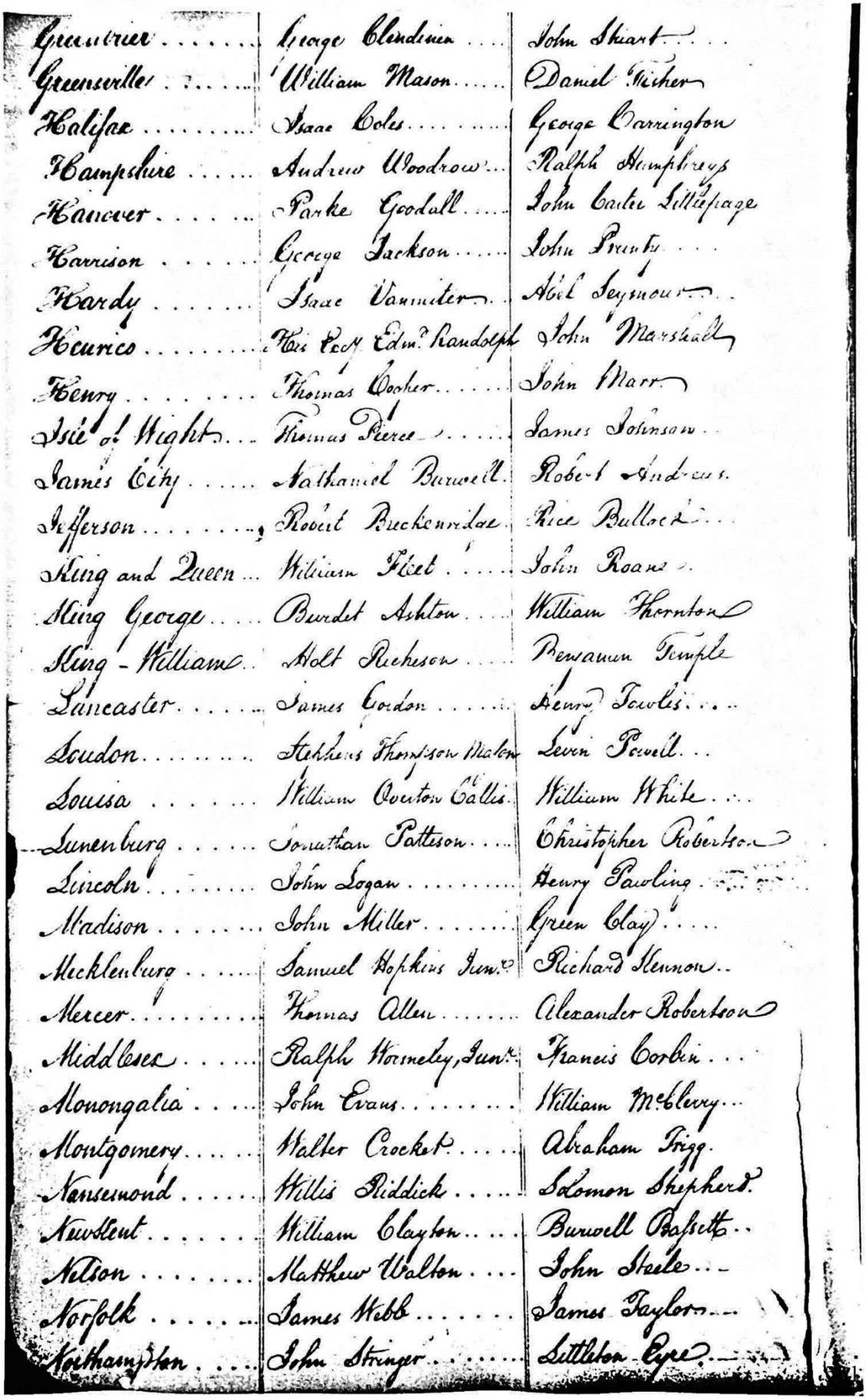
Held in the City of Richmond on
the first Monday in June, in the Year
of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred
and Eighty eight.

1. Virginia State Library.

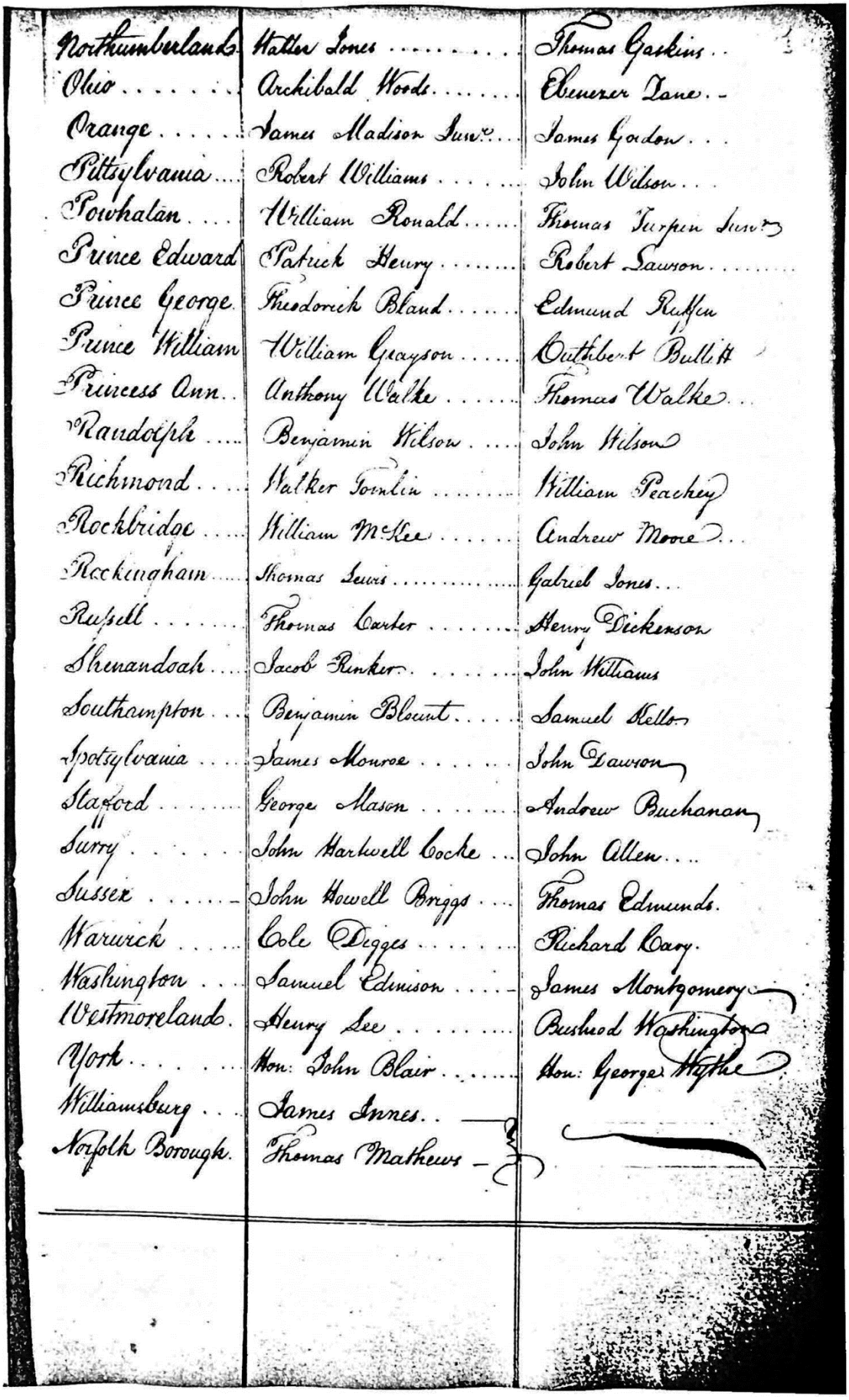


Delegates returned to serve in Convention. March 1788.

Accomack	Edmund Custis	George Parker
Albemarle	George Nicholas	Wilson Nicholas
Amelia	John Pride	Edmund Booker
Amherst	William Cabell	Samuel Jordan Cabell
Augusta	Zachariah Johnston	Archibald Stuart
Bedford	John Trigg	Charles Clay
Berkeley	William Clark	Adam Stephen
Botetourt	William Fleming	Marten Metcran
Bourbon	Henry Lee	Nelly Conn
Brunswick	John Jones	Burnl Jones
Buckingham	Charles Patterson	David Bell
Campbell	Robert Alexander	Edmund Winston
Caroline	Hon. Edmund Pendleton	James Taylor
Charlotte	Thomas Read	Hon. Paul Carrington
Charles City	Benjamin Harrison	John Tyler
Chesterfield	David Patteson	Stephen Pankey Junr
Cumberland	Joseph Michaux	Thomas H Drew
Culpeper	French Strother	Jacl Early
Dinwiddie	Joseph Jones	William Watkins
Elizabeth City	Miles King	Wollich Westwood
Essex	James Upshaw	Meriwether Smith
Fairfax	David Stuart	Charles Simms
Fayette	Humphrey Marshall	John Fowler
Fauquier	Martin Pickett	Humphrey Brooke
Flavanna	Samuel Richardson	Joseph Haden
Frederick	John J. Woodcock	Alexander White
Franklin	John Early	Thomas Arthur
Gloucester	Warner Lewis	Thomas Smith
Grochland	John Guerrant	William Lee



Greenbrier	George Clendinen	John Stuart
Greensville	William Mason	Daniel Fisher
Halifax	Isaac Coles	George Carrington
Hampshire	Andrew Woodrow	Ralph Humphreys
Hanover	Parke Goodall	John Carter Gillespage
Harrison	George Jackson	John Prunty
Hardy	Isaac Vanmeter	Abel Seymour
Henrico	Wm Peay Edm^d Randolph	John Marshall
Henry	Thomas Cooker	John Marr
Isle of Wight	Thomas Pierce	James Johnson
James City	Nathaniel Burwell	Robert Andrews
Jefferson	Robert Buckner Lee	Rice Bullock
King and Queen	William Fleet	John Roane
King George	Burdet Ashton	William Thornton
King-William	Holt Richeson	Benjamin Temple
Lancaster	James Gordon	Henry Towles
Loudon	Hebbens Thompson Mason	Levin Powell
Louisa	William Overton Callis	William White
Lunenburg	Jonathan Patteson	Christopher Robertson
Lincoln	John Logan	Henry Pawling
Madison	John Miller	Green Clay
Mecklenburg	Samuel Hopkins Junr	Richard Hennon
Mercer	Thomas Allen	Alexander Robertson
Middlesex	Ralph Wormeley, Junr	Francis Corbin
Monongalia	John Evans	William McClerry
Montgomery	Walter Crockett	Abraham Trigg
Nansemond	Willis Riddick	Solomon Shepherd
Newkent	William Clayton	Burwell Bassett
Nelson	Matthew Walton	John Steele
Norfolk	James Webb	James Taylor
Northampton	John Stringer	Littleton Eyre



Northumberland	Walker Jones	Thomas Gaskins
Ohio	Archibald Woods	Ebenezer Zane
Orange	James Madison Junr.	James Gordon
Pittsylvania	Robert Williams	John Wilson
Powhatan	William Ronald	Thomas Turpin Junr.
Prince Edward	Patrick Henry	Robert Lawson
Prince George	Theodorick Bland	Edmund Ruffin
Prince William	William Grayson	Cuthbert Bullitt
Princess Ann	Anthony Walke	Thomas Walke
Randolph	Benjamin Wilson	John Wilson
Richmond	Walker Tomlin	William Peachey
Rockbridge	William McKee	Andrew Moore
Rockingham	Thomas Lewis	Gabriel Jones
Russell	Thomas Carter	Henry Dickenson
Shenandoah	Jacob Rinker	John Williams
Southampton	Benjamin Blount	Samuel Kello
Spotsylvania	James Monroe	John Dawson
Stafford	George Mason	Andrew Buchanan
Surry	John Hartwell Cocke	John Allen
Sussex	John Howell Briggs	Thomas Edmunds
Warwick	Cole Digges	Richard Cary
Washington	Samuel Edmison	James Montgomery
Westmoreland	Henry Lee	Bushrod Washington
York	Hon: John Blair	Hon: George Wythe
Williamsburg	James Innes	
Norfolk Borough	Thomas Mathews	

Journal of the Convention.

At a Convention of Delegates from the several Counties and Corporations in the Commonwealth of Virginia entitled by Law to Representation in the Legislature, held at the State House in the City of Richmond on Monday the second of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, pursuant to the Resolutions of the General Assembly of the twenty fifth of October one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven for the purpose of a full and free investigation, discussion and decision upon the plan of Federal Government for the United States recommended by the late Federal Convention held in Philadelphia.

Monday, the 2nd day of June 1788.

On which Day being the day appointed by the Resolutions of the General Assembly for the meeting of the Convention, such of the Members as appeared, attended at the State House and took their Seats in Convention; and a majority of the whole number being present.

Ordered that Mr. John Beckley be appointed Secretary to the Convention.

The Honorable Edmund Pendleton was nominated and unanimously elected President to the Convention.

On motion, Ordered, that the Reverend Abner Waugh be appointed Chaplain to the Convention, and that he attend to read prayers every morning in the House, immediately after the Bell shall be rang for calling the House.

Ordered that William Drinkard Senior and William Drinkard Junior be appointed Door-keepers to the Convention and that they severally give their Attendance accordingly.

On motion, Ordered that a Committee of Privileges and Elections be appointed;

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Benjamin Harrison, Mr. George Mason, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Henry, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Paul Carrington, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Blair, Mr. Bland, Mr. Grayson, Mr. Ficker, Mr. Mathews, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Wythe, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. James Taylor of Caroline, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Corbin, Mr. Innes, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Henry Lee and Mr. Bullitt.

Ordered that the Committee of Privileges and Elections do examine and report the Returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention; and, that in cases where no Returns are made, it be an Instruction to the said Committee to receive such evidence as the sitting Member shall produce of his Election and report the same to the Convention.

On motion, Ordered that Mr. Edmund Pendleton Junior be appointed Clerk to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A Petition of Thomas Seith of the County of Brunswick was presented to the House and read, complaining of an undue Election and Return of Burnes Jones, Esquire, one of the Delegates returned to serve in this Convention for the said County of Brunswick.

Ordered,

Ordered that the said Petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine the matter thereof and report the same with their Opinion thereupon to the House.

On motion, Ordered, that Mr. Augustine Davis be appointed Printer to the Convention, and that he cause to be struck, forthwith, two hundred Copies of the Plan of Federal Government, also two hundred Copies of the Resolutions of the General Assembly of the twenty fifth of October last, to be distributed among the Members of this Convention.

On motion, Ordered, that the Convention be adjourned until tomorrow morning, eleven O'Clock, then to meet at the New Academy on Shockoe Hill, in this City.

Tuesday, the 3d day of June 1788.

The Convention met at the New Academy on Shockoe Hill, pursuant to Adjournment.

A petition of Richard Morris of the County of Louisa, was presented to the House and read, complaining of an undue Election and Return of William White, Esquire, as one of the Delegates to serve in this Convention for the said County of Louisa.

Ordered, that the said Petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same with their Opinion thereupon, to the House.

On motion, Ordered, that Mr. William Pierce be appointed Serjeant at Arms to the Convention.

On motion, Ordered, that Daniel Hicks be appointed a Door

to the Convention, and that he give his attendance accordingly.

On motion, Ordered, that the Rules and Orders for conducting Busines in the House of Delegates, so far as the same may be applicable to the Convention, be observed therein.

On motion, The Resolution of Congress of the twenty eighth of September last, together with the Report of the Federal Convention lately held in Philadelphia, the Resolutions of the General Assembly of the twenty fifth of October last, and the Act of the General Assembly intituled "An Act concerning the Convention to be held in June next", were read; Whereupon,

Resolved, that no question, general or particular shall be propounded in this Convention upon the proposed Constitution or Government for the United States, or upon any Clause or Article thereof, until the said Constitution shall have been discussed, Clause by Clause, through all its parts.

On motion, Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning eleven O'Clock.

Wednesday the 4th. day of June 1788.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, examined the Returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention, and had come to a Resolution thereupon which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in

in at the Clerk's table where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention for the Counties of Albemarle, Amelia, Amherst, Bedford, Botetourt, Berkeley, Brunswick, Buckingham, Caroline, Charlotte, Charles City, Chesterfield, Culpeper, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Elizabeth City, Fauquier, Fairfax, Fayette, Hawanna, Frederick, Gloucester, Goochland, Greenbrier, Greenville, Halifax, Hampshire, Hardy, Harrison, Hanover, Henrico, Henry, James City, Jefferson, Isle of Wight, King George, King William, King and Queen, Lancaster, Lincoln, Loudon, Louisa, Lunenburg, Madison, Mecklenburg, Mercer, Middlesex, Monongalia, Montgomery, Nansemond, New Kent, Nelson, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Ohio, Orange, Pittsylvania, Princess-Ann, Prince-George, Prince-William, Prince-Edward, Powhatan, Randolph, Richmond, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Russel, Shenandoah, Southampton, Spotsylvania, Stafford, Surry, Sussex, Warwick, Washington, York, and of a Delegate for the Borough of Norfolk, and City of Williamsburg, are satisfactory.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had enquired into the Elections of Delegates for the Counties of Accomack and Franklin, and had agreed to a Report, and come to several Resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

It appears to your Committee that no Returns have been made of the Election of Delegates to serve in this Convention for the Counties of Accomack and Franklin; that as to the Election of Delegates for the said County of Accomack, it appears from the information of Nathan Darby, and Littleton Eyre, Esquires, that they were at the Election of

Delegates for the said County of Accomack in March last, and that George Parker, and Edmund Custis, Esquires, (the sitting Members) were proclaimed by the Sheriff at the close of the Poll as duly elected Delegates to represent the said County in this Convention.

That as to the Election of Delegates for the said County of Franklin, it appears to your Committee from the information of Robert Williams, Esquire, that he was at the Election of Delegates for the said County of Franklin, in March last, and that John Early, and Thomas Arthurs, Esquires, (the sitting Members) were proclaimed by the Sheriff at the close of the Poll, as duly elected Delegates to represent the said County in this Convention.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that Edmund Custis, and George Parker, Esquires, were elected Delegates to represent the said County of Accomack in this Convention.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that John Early, and Thomas Arthurs, Esquires, were elected Delegates to represent the said County of Franklin in this Convention.

Ordered, that Mr. Madison, and Mr. Lawson, be added to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A Petition of Samuel Anderson, of the County of Cumberland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that Thomas H. Drew Esquire, one of the Delegates returned for the said County to serve in this Convention, was not, at the time of his Election, a freeholder in this Commonwealth, and praying that the Election of the said Thomas H. Drew may be set aside, and another Election directed to supply his place.

Ordered that the said Petition be referred to the Committee of

of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine the matter thereof (and report the same, with their Opinion thereupon, to the House.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention to take into consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Blythe reported, that the Committee had, according to Order, had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made some progress therein, but not having time to go through the same had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning eleven O'Clock.

Thursday, the 5th. of June 1788.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their consideration the Petition of Samuel Anderson to them referred, and had come to a Resolution thereupon, which he read in his place and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House as followeth:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Petition of the said Samuel Anderson praying that he

Mr Thomas H. Drew, a Member returned to serve in this Convention for the County of Cumberland may be set aside and a new Election had to supply his place, be rejected.

Mr Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, examined the Return of the Election of Delegates to serve in this Convention for the County of Westmoreland, and had come to a Resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Return of the Election of Delegates to serve in this Convention, for the said County of Westmoreland is satisfactory.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some ~~time~~ spent therein Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. [illegible] reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'clock.

Friday the 6th of June 1788.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had according to order, had under their consideration the petition of Thomas Stith, complaining of an undue Election and Return of Mr. Binns Jones, as a Delegates to this Convention for the County of Brunswick, and had come to several Resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as following:

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the usual rule prescribing a time for the delivery of Lists of persons to be objected to, be dispensed with on this occasion, the Petitioner having waved his Right to require the same from the sitting Member, and having agreed to deliver a list of persons to whom he objects, on or before twelve Oclock tomorrow.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Depositions of the Witnesses, as well on behalf of the Petitioner, as the sitting Member, be taken before Thomas Edmonds, Benjamin Blick, Sterling Edmonds, Andrew Meade, John F. Edmonds, John Powell, and James Fletcher, Gentlemen or any four of them.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that the farther Consideration of the said Petition be deferred until Wednesday the eighteenth of this Instant (June.)

The first and second Resolutions being severally read a second time, were, on the question put thereupon, agreed to by the

The last Resolution being again read, a motion was made, and the question put to amend the same by striking out the Words "(Wednesday) the eighteenth," and inserting in lieu thereof the Words "Friday the twentieth;"

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

And then the main question being put, that the House do agree to the Resolution so amended.

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

On motion, Ordered that the Committee of Privileges and Elections be discharged from further proceeding on the petition of Thomas Stith, and that the Petitioner have Leave to withdraw the same.

The Convention then, according to the Order of the Day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration, the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair, and Mr Wythe reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'Clock.

Saturday the 7th of June 1788.

Mr Wythe reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to Order, had under their Consideration, the petition of Richard Morris, complaining of an undue Election and Return of Mr William White, as a Delegate to serve in this Convention for the County of Louisa, and had come to several Resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again severally twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth.

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Petitioner do, either by himself or his Agent, within two Days, deliver to the sitting Member or his Agent, Lists of the persons intended by the Petitioner to be objected to, who voted for the sitting Member, giving in the said Lists the several heads of Objections, and distinguishing the same against the names of the Votes objected to; and that the sitting Member do, by himself or his Agent, on or before the fourteenth Day of this Instant (June) deliver the like lists, on his part, to the Petitioner or his Agent.

Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Depositions of the Witnesses, as well on behalf of the petitioner as the sitting Member, be taken before Nelson Anderson, Waddy Thompson, and Charles Yancey, Gentlemen, and Mr Johnson the Sheriff of the said County of Louisa, or any three of them.

Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the further consideration of the said Petition be deferred until Wednesday the eighteenth of this Instant, June).

The Convention then, according to the order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent thereon, Mr President resumed the Chair and Mr Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a further progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will on Monday next again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten O'clock.

Monday the 9th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair, and Mr Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'Clock.

Tuesday the 10th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair and Mr Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration and had made a farther pro-

but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning, ten O'Clock.

Wednesday the 11th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair and Mr Wythe reported, that the Convention had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'Clock.

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Thursday the 12th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair and Mr Blythe reported that the Committee had according to Order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning nine O'clock.

Friday the 13th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time therein, Mr President resumed the Chair, and [illegible] reported, that the Committee had, according [illegible]

had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning nine O'Clock.

Saturday, the 14th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Da. resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to Order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their Consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, on Monday next, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning nine O'Clock.

Monday the 16th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to Order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for Leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning nine O'Clock.

Tuesday the 17th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Con[illegible]

to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow nine O'Clock.

Wednesday the 18th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair, and Mr Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to Order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will tomorrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning nine O'Clock.

Thursday the 19th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair, and Mr Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration and had made a further progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning nine O'Clock.

Friday the 20th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the Chair, and Mr Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration and had made a further progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning nine O'Clock.

[illegible] June 1788.

Mr Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their further consideration, the Petition of Mr Richard Morris complaining of an undue Election and Return of Mr William White as a Delegate to serve in this Convention for the County of Lewis, and had agreed upon a Report and come to several Resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as follow[illegible]:

It appears to your Committee, from the deposition of Garrett Minor, that about the fourteenth of May last he applied to Hackley Young who voted for the sitting Member, to be informed from him, what entitled him to vote for Delegates to Convention, who informed the Deponent, that he voted on one hundred Acres of Land, but that he never had a Deed or Conveyance for the same, and is on the Land-roll for the year 1787.

It also appears to your Committee, from the deposition of Thomas Pulliam who voted for the sitting Member, that his father hath given him land, but had never made him a Deed for any, and that he has had possession of the land nine or ten years, and has paid the Taxes for the year 1785, and that it has been laid off several years.

It also appears to your Committee, from the deposition of Thomas Johnson, Junior, Sheriff, that he heard William Price say, who voted for the sitting Member, that he had in his possession a tract of land verbally given him by his father William Price, but never had a Deed from him for the same, though he has had it in possession several years, and has paid

the

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the taxes for the years 1796 and 1797.

It also appears to your Committee from the deposition of Waddy Thompson, that he has promised to give his Son Waddy Thompson Junior. who voted for the sitting Member, a Tract of Land in the said County of Louisa. that never made him a Deed for it, and that he is not a freeholder, that he knows of.

It also appears to your Committee from the Deposition of Benjamin Clarke, who voted for the sitting Member. that he is possessed of a Tract of Land devised to him by his father at his mother's death: and it appears from the testimony of John Poindexter. that the mother is now living; that he is on the Land-roll, and has paid the Taxes only of his own and his mother's property.

It also appears to your Committee from the deposition of Thomas Merriwether, that he heard Bartlett Anderson say, who voted for the sitting Member. that he had no Deed made him for any Land in Louisa, and that at the time of his voting he was sensible he had not a right to vote.

It also appears to your Committee from the Deposition of Asa Hall. who voted for the sitting Member, that he purchased land about three years ago, but never had a Deed for it; and that he has not any other land; and has his bond for a right.

It also appears to your Committee from the deposition of William Hughes, that he gave to his Son Joshua Hughes, who voted for the sitting Member, a Tract of land supposed to contain ninety acres, which he has lived on about twelve years, but never made him a deed for the same; that he is well acquainted with

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with John Bibb who voted for the sitting Member, and never knew him to have a lawful right to any Land in Louisa, although he has been Sheriff, Commissioner and Assessor in the said County: And that from the testimony of Thomas Barnett it appears, that, after the Election of Members to the Convention in Louisa, John Bibb informed him he had no title to any Land in the County, and that the Land, on which he lived, he rented from year to year: that Joshua Hughes is on the Land-roll.

It also appears to your Committee from the deposition of John Veal, who voted for the sitting Member, that he purchased a Tract of Land of Richard Poulett, which he took possession of in December 1787; and that at December Louisa-Court last the said Poulett acknowledged a Deed for the said Land which was ordered to be recorded; and that Poulett was not allowed to vote on the said Lands. Reg B P 17

It also further appears to your Committee from the deposition of Isaac Thacker, who voted for the sitting Member, that about sixteen years past he sold and conveyed by Deed all the Land he possessed in Louisa to John Richmond, but the Deed has never been recorded.

It also appears to your Committee from the Depositions of Nelson Anderson and Thomas Meriwether, that they heard Charles Jackson say, who voted for the sitting Member, that his father had given him a Tract of Land, which he has had possession of several years, but he had never made him a Deed for the same; and that his father is still living; and that he is on the Land-roll, and has paid the Tax for the year 1787.

It also appears to your Committee from the deposition of John Stinson

Shinger who voted for the sitting member, that his father Edmund Shinger has given him eighty acres of Land, which he has been in possession of about three years, but never had a Deed for the same; and that he lives on the Lands.

It also appears to your Committee from the Deposition of Martin Sharp, who voted for the sitting member, that his father had promised to give him the Tract of Land on which he then lived, but never had made a Deed for the same; and that he pays the Taxes of the Land to his father.

It appears to your Committee, that Charles Jackson, Barbara Anderson, Waddy Thomson Junior, Hackley Young, and John Bibb, were summonsed, but failed, to appear before the Commissioners.

The sitting member having failed to furnish the Petitioner with a list of the Voters to which he objected, or to attend in the County the examination of those objected to by the Petitioner, the Committee proceeded to examine the reports from Commissioners, and some doubts arising as to the evidence furnished respecting the qualification of some of the voters, Witnesses were called on to give testimony, and also the Land-roll introduced, respecting the same, by consent of the parties.

The sitting member afterwards required permission to have viva voce testimony, and the said Land-roll also introduced, to prove the disqualification of several of the voters for the Petitioner, which was rejected, because the sitting Member had not furnished the petitioner with a list of objectionable voters, agreeable to the Resolution of the Convention, and it would therefore be out of his power to produce evidence in support of such voters, and because the petitioner would not consent to it.

It also appears to your Committee that the number of Voters at the Close of the poll stood as follows.

For Mr William Wilkie 199

For Mr Richard Morris 195

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that such of the Voters on the Poll of the sitting Member as appeared only to have an equitable title to their Lands, were not qualified by law to vote for Delegates to the General Assembly.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that Buckley Young, Thomas Pulliam, William Price, Waddy Thomson, Junior, Benjamin Clark, Asa Hall, Joshua Hughes, John West, Charles Jackson, John Stringer and Martin Sharp, had only an equitable, and not a legal, title to the Lands, on which they severally voted.

Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that Bartlett Anderson, John Bibb, and Isaac Thacker had neither an equitable, nor legal, title to the Lands on which they respectively voted.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that, after taking from Mr White's number the votes of the aforesaid persons, the Poll will stand as following:

For Mr Richard Morris ..... 195.
For Mr William White ..... 185.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that Mr Richard Morris has a majority of Electors qualified by law to chuse Delegates to the General Assembly.

Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the said Richard Morris was duly elected a Delegate to represent the said County of Louisa in this Convention.

The said Report and Resolutions were severally again read, and on a motion made, ordered to be recommitted to the same Committee.

On

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On a motion made, Ordered, that the Committee of Privileges and Elections be instructed to receive such viva voce testimony, or such other satisfactory Evidence, as the sitting Member and the Petitioner shall be able to produce, to support their objections to such Votes, as they shall respectively furnish a list of, each to the other, before Monday next. And that the said Petition be finally heard before the said Committee on Thursday next.

Ordered, that Mr. Richard Cary and Mr. Samuel Hopkins be added to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

On motion, Ordered that the Committee of Privileges and Elections be discharged from further proceeding on the petition of Richard Morris, and that the petitioner have leave to withdraw the same.

The Convention then, according to the order of the Day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Convention will, on Monday next again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning nine O'Clock.

Monday the 23d. of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'Clock.

Tuesday, the 24th. of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Mathews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein but not having time to go through the same, had directed him

to

to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved that this Convention will tomorrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'Clock.

Wednesday, the 25th of June 1788.

The Convention, according to the Order of the Day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Mathews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their Consideration, and had gone through the same and come to several Resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as follow, viz.

Whereas the Powers granted under the proposed Constitution are the gift of the People, and every power not granted thereby remaining with them and at their will: No right, therefore, of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate, or House of Representatives, acting in any Capacity, by the President or any Department or Officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: And among other essential

Rights

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Rights, liberty of Conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified, by any authority of the United States;

And Whereas any imperfections which may exist in the said Constitution ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein for obtaining Amendments, than by a delay, under a hope of obtaining previous Amendments, to bring the Union into danger;

Resolved, that [illegible] of this Committee, that the said Constitution be ratified.

But in order to relieve the apprehensions of those who may be solicitous for Amendments,

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that whatsoever Amendments may be deemed necessary, be recommended to the consideration of the Congress, which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth Article thereof.

The first Resolution being read a second time, a Motion was made, and the question being put to amend the same by substituting in lieu of the said Resolution and its preamble the following Resolution;

"Resolved, that previous to the Ratification of the new "Constitution of Government recommended by the late Federal Convention, "a Declaration of Rights, asserting and securing from encroachment "the great principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, and the unalienable rights of the People, together with Amendments to the "most exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of Government,

ought

29 ought to be referred by this Convention to the other States in the American Confederacy, for their consideration;"

It passed in the Negative . . . Ayes 80. Noes 88.

On motion of Mr. Patrick Henry, seconded by Mr. Theodorick Bland, the Ayes and Noes on the said question were taken, as follow[s]:

Ayes, Mr. Edmund Custis, Mr. John Pride, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) The Honorable John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteson, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winston, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, The Honorable John Tyler, Mr. David Patteson, Mr. Stephen Parker Junr. Mr. Joseph Michaux, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joseph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Merriwether Smith, Mr. James Upshaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Joseph Haden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampson, Mr. Isaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeson, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stephens Thompson Mason, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Patterson, Mr. Christopher Robertson, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Lemmon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertson, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Walker Crockett, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams Mr. John Wilson (of Pittsylvania) Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawson, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr.

Thomas

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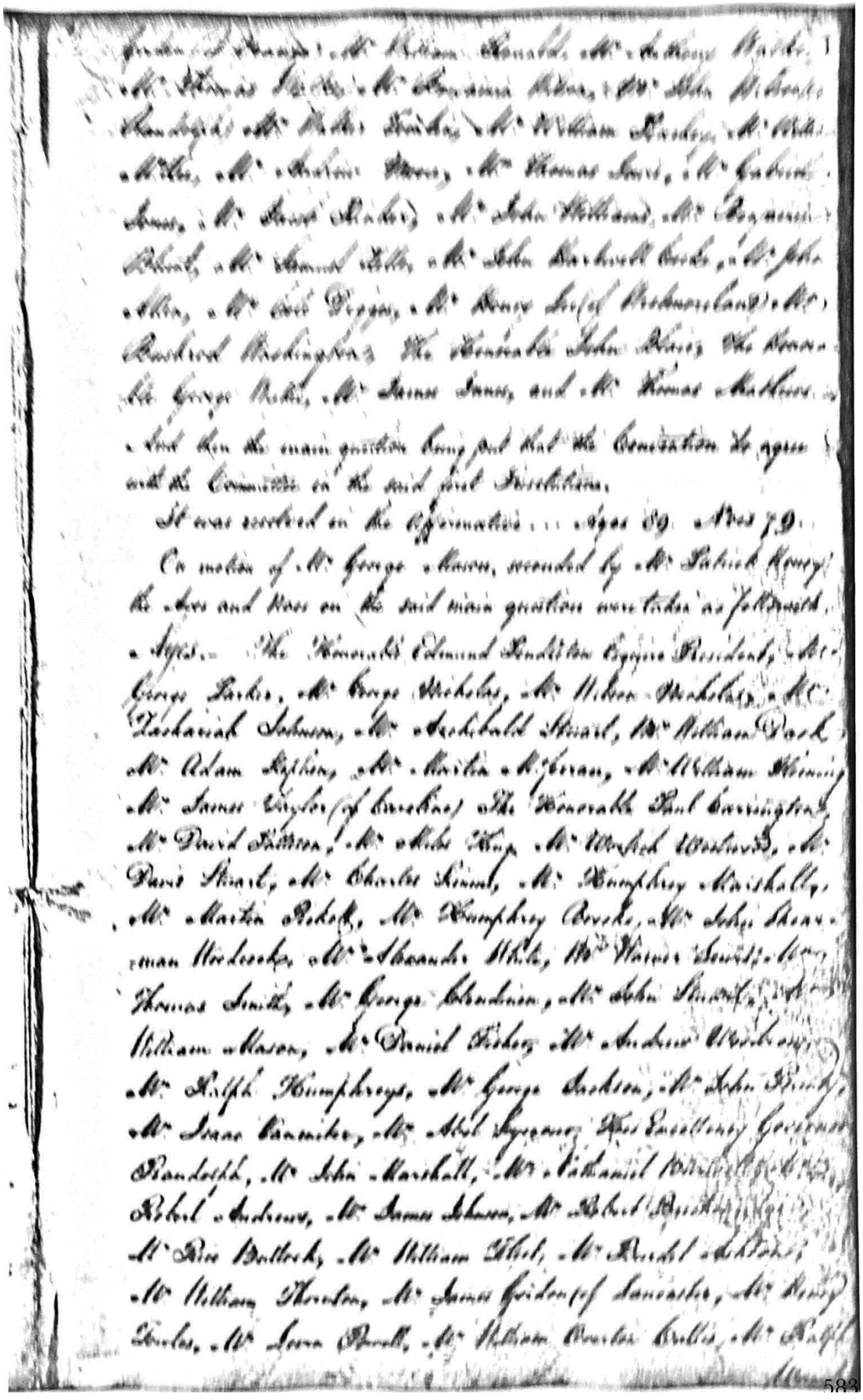
Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt
Mr. Thomas Barker, Mr. Henry Dickenson, Mr. James Monroe,
Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan,
Mr. John Hewitt Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmunds, The Honorable
Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmiston, and Mr. James Montgomery.

Nos. The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esquire
President, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilson
Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnston, Mr. Archibald Stuart,
Mr. William Clark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin McFerran,
Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor of Caroline, The Honorable
Paul Carrington, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Warlick Fishwood, Mr.
David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marshall,
Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphries Brooke, Mr. John S.
Norcomb, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas
Smith, Mr. George Claudius, Mr. John Stuart, Mr. William
Mason, Mr. Daniel Fisher, Mr. Andrew Woodrow, Mr.
Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prentis,
Mr. Isaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency
Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel
Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnson, Mr.
Robert Breckenridge, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. William Hubbs
Mr. Burdett Ashton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. James Gordon
(of Lancaster) Mr. Henry Tazewell, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William
Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley Junior, Mr. Francis Corbin
Mr. Nathan McCoy, Mr. Nathl. Pendleton, Mr. Solomon Sheppard
Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Bassett, Mr. James Webb
Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre,
Mr. Walker Lewis, Mr. Thomas Gaskins, Mr. Archibald Blagrove,
Mr. Ebenezer Zane, The Honorable James Madison, Mr. Isaac



Braxton, Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Thomas Harvie, Mr. Thomas Isaac, Mr. Archibald Blair, Mr. John Wickham, Mr. Richard Randolph, Mr. Robert Brooke, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. David Meade, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. Benjamin Edmunds, Mr. Edmund Winston, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Joseph Jones, Mr. Abel Pryor, Mr. Henry Lee (of Westmoreland), Mr. Richard Bland Lee, The Honorable John Blair, The Honorable George Nicholas, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Matthews.

And then the main question being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the said first Resolution.

It was resolved in the Affirmative ... Ayes 89. Noes 79.

On motion of Mr. George Mason, seconded by Mr. Patrick Henry, the Ayes and Noes on the said main question were taken as followeth, viz.

Ayes.— The Honorable Edmund Randolph, Esquire, Governor, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilson Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnson, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Adam Rayburn, Mr. Martin Pickeram, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline), The Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. David Patterson, Mr. [illegible] Clay, Mr. Winfield Woodward, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Mordecai, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Thornton, Mr. John Stuart, Mr. William Mason, Mr. Daniel Fisher, Mr. Andrew Woodson, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Isaac Cummins, Mr. Abel Seymour, The Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Harrison, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Mercer, Mr. Robert Brooke, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. William Short, Mr. Richard Adams, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaster), Mr. Henry Lee, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph

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Wormeley Junior, Mr Francis Corbin, Mr William M'Clung, Mr Willis Riddick, Mr Solomon Sheppard, Mr William Cabell, Mr Burwell Bassett, Mr James Webb, Mr James Taylor (of Norfolk), Mr John Stringer, Mr Littleton Eyre, Mr Walker Jones, Mr Thomas Gaskins, Mr Archibald Woods, Mr Thomas Dade, The Honorable James Madison, Mr James Gordon, Mr William Ronald, Mr Anthony Walke, Mr Thomas Walke, Mr Benjamin Wilson, Mr John Wilcox of Randolph, Mr Mitchell Towles, Mr William Rachey, Mr William M'Clee, Mr William Moore, Mr Thomas Lewis, Mr Gabriel Jones, Mr Jacob Rinker, Mr John Williams, Mr Benjamin Blunt, Mr Samuel Hide, Mr John Barbwell Cocke, Mr John Allen, Mr Col Peyton, Mr Henry (of Westmoreland), Mr Bushrod Washington, The Honorable John Blair, The Honorable George Wythe, Mr James Innes, and Mr Thomas Mathews.

NOES, Mr Edmund Eubank, Mr John Pride, Mr Edmund Booker, Mr William Cabell, Mr Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr John Trigg, Mr Charles Clay, Mr Henry (of Prince), The Honorable John Jones, Mr Isaac Jones, Mr Charles Patterson, Mr David Bell, Mr Robert Alexander, Mr Edmund Winston, Mr Thomas Read, Mr Benjamin Harrison, The Honorable John Tyler, Mr Stephen Parker Junior, Mr Joseph Mecham, Mr Thomas M'Dearmon, Mr French Strother, Mr Joel Early, Mr Joseph Jones, Mr William Watkins, Mr Meriwether Smith, Mr James Upshaw, Mr John Fowler, Mr Samuel Richardson, Mr Joseph Haden, Mr John Early, Mr Thomas Arthurs, Mr John Guerrant, Mr William Sampson, Mr Isaac Coles, Mr George Carrington, Mr Parke Goodall, Mr John Carter LeHupe, Mr Thomas Cooper, Mr John Marr, Mr Thomas Read, Mr Holt Richeson, Mr Benjamin Temple, Mr Stevens Thompson Mason, Mr William White, Mr Jonathan Patterson, Mr

Mr

33 Mr. Christopher Robertson, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Henson, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertson, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Walter Crockett, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson (of Pittsylvania) Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawson, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenson, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmunds, The Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmison, and Mr. James Montgomery.

The second Resolution being then read a second time, a motion was made and the question being put to amend the same by striking out the Preamble thereto,

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

And then the main question being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the second Resolution so amended,

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

On motion, **Ordered**, that a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a form of Ratification, pursuant to the first Resolution; and that his Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Madison, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Corbin, compose the said Committee.

On motion, **Ordered**, that a Committee be appointed to prepare and report such Amendments as shall by them be deemed necessary to be recommended, pursuant to the second Resolution; and that the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Henry, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Grayson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Dis-

Marshall, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Ronald, Mr. Bland, Mr. Mer
ewther Smith, The Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Innes,
Mr. Hopkins, The Honorable John Blair, and Mr. Simm
compose the said Committee.

His Excellency Governor Randolph reported from the Committee
appointed, according to order, a form of Ratification, which
was read and agreed to by the Convention, in the words fol
lowing:

Virginia to wit:

We the Delegates of the People of Virginia
duly elected in Pursuance of a recommendation from the General
Assembly, and now met in Convention; having fully and freely
investigated and discussed the Proceedings of the Federal
Convention, and being prepared, as well as the most mature
deliberation hath enabled us, to decide thereon, DO in the
name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, declare
and make known: that the powers granted under the Constitution
being derived from the People of the United States,
may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted
to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted
thereby remains with them and at their Will: that therefore no
right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained
or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representa
acting in any Capacity, by the President, or any department or
Officer of the United States, except in those instances in wh
Power is given by the Constitution for those Purposes: and that,
among other essential rights, the liberty of Conscience and of th
Press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified b
any

any authority of the United States.

That there impressions, with a solemn appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the purity of our Intentions, and under the Conviction, that whatsoever imperfections may exist in the Constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the Union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments, previous to the Ratification;

We the said Delegates, in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, do by these presents, assent to, and ratify the Constitution recommended on the seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven by the Federal Convention for the Government of the United States; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said Constitution is binding upon the said People, according to an authentic Copy hereto annexed, in the words following;

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 1st.

Section 1st. 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 2d. 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, [illegible] four, Pennsylvania eight

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eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia one.

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. 3d. 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 the 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 Affirmations. 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.

Sig. 4 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 4th. 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 5th. 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

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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 behavior, 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 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.

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Section 7th. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose, or concur with, Amendments, as in 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 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

House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a Bill.

Section 8th. 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;

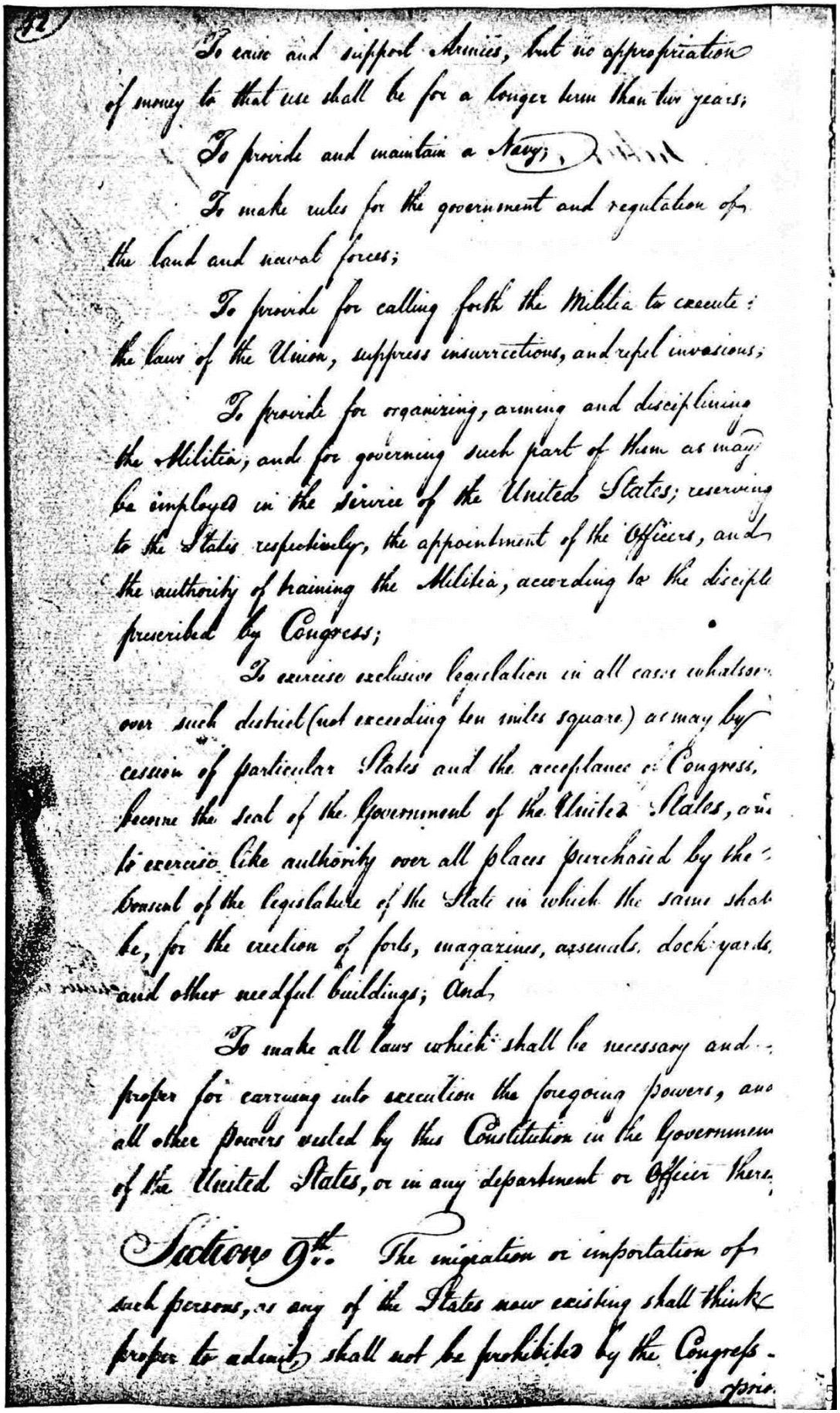
To promote the progress of Science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to Authors and Inventors, the exclusive right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

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



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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 9th. 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

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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, but in proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles 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 Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince or foreign State.

Section 10th. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and reprisal; coin m[illegible] emit Bills of Credit; make any thing but gold and silver coi[illegible] a tender in payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, [illegible] facto law, or law impairing the obligation of Contracts, or gra[illegible]

Title 4. Nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the nett 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 the Congress, lay any duty on 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 2d.

Section 1st. 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 any 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

inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of the persons voted for, and of the number of Votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify ~~and~~ 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 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 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

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 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 encreased 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 2d. 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 3d. 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 4th. 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. 3.d

Section 1st. 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 2d. 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 a 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.

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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 3d. 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 Bloods, or Forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Article 4th.

Section 1st. Full faith and credence 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 2d. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges 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 labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3d. 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 claim of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4th. 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 5th.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall

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deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution or, on application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided, that no Amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth Clauses in the ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

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

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this Constitution, but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public trust under the United States."

Article 7th.

"The ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same".

On motion, Ordered, that the Secretary of this Convention cause to be engrossed, forthwith, two fair Copies of the form of Ratification and of the proposed Constitution of Government, as recommended by the Federal Convention on the seventeenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning, twelve O'Clock.

Thursday, the 26th of June 1788.

An engrossed form of Ratification agreed to yesterday, containing the proposed Constitution of Government, as recommended by the Federal Convention on the seventeenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, being prepared by the Secretary, was read and signed by the President in behalf of the Convention.

On motion, Ordered, that the said Ratification be transmitted by the President, in the name of this Convention, to the United States in Congress assembled.

On motion

On motion, Ordered, that there be allowed to the President of this Convention for his services, the sum of forty shillings per day, including his daily pay as a member; to the Secretary the sum of forty pounds; to the Chaplain the sum of thirty two pounds; to the Sergeant the sum of twenty four pounds; to the Clerk of the Committee of Privileges, the sum of twenty pounds, and to each of the Door-keepers the sum of fifteen pounds for their respective services.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning ten O'Clock.

Friday, the 27th. of June 1788.

Another engrossed form of the Ratification agreed to on Wednesday last, containing the proposed Constitution of Government as recommended by the Federal Convention on the seventeenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, being prepared by the Secretary was read and signed by the President in behalf of the Convention.

On motion, Ordered, that the said Ratification be deposited by the Secretary of this Convention in the Archives of the General Assembly of this State.

Mr. Wythe reported from the Committee appointed such Amendments to the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, as were by them deemed necessary to be recommended to the consideration of the Congress which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth Article thereof; and he read the same in his place and afterwards

Colonel

delivered them in at the Clerks table, where the same were again read and are as followeth.

That there be a Declaration or Bill of Rights asserting and securing from encroachment the essential and unalienable Rights of the People in some such manner as the following:

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

2d. That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from, the People; that Magistrates therefore are their Trustees and Agents, and at all times amenable to them.

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

4th. That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate public emoluments or privileges from the Community but in consideration of public services; which not being descendible neither ought the offices of Magistrate, Legislator or any other public Office to be hereditary.

5th. That the legislative, executive and judiciary powers of Government should be separate and distinct, and that the Members

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14th That every freeman has a right to be secure from
all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his papers, &
property; all Warrants, therefore, to search suspected places, or
seize any freeman, his papers or property, without information
upon Oath (or Affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous
of

of taking an Oath) of legal and sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive, and all general Warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

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

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

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

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

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

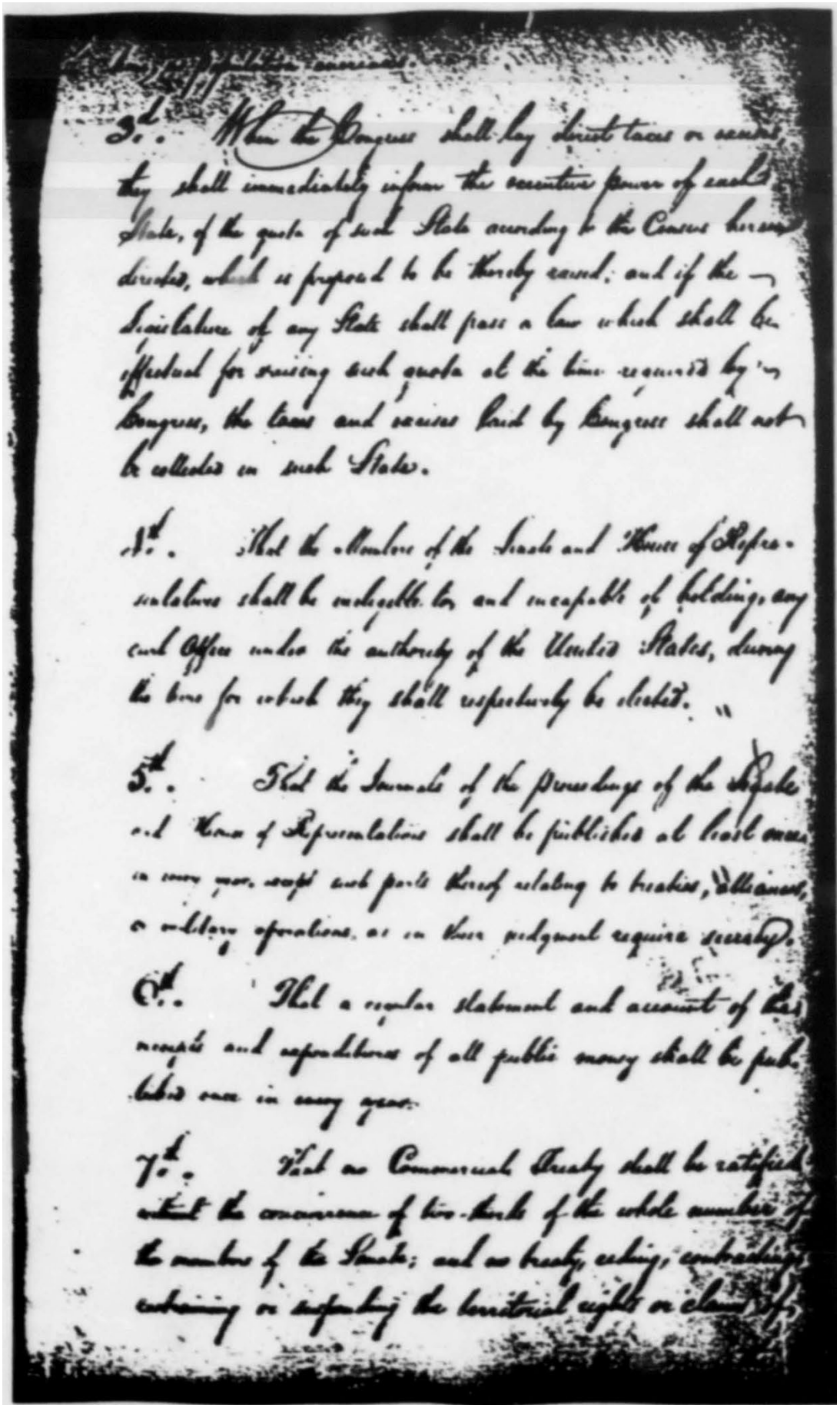
20th. That religion or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men have an equal, natural and unalienable right to the free exercise of Religion according to the dictates of Conscience,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

Amendments to the Constitution.

1st. That each State in the Union shall respectively retain every power, Jurisdiction and Right, which is not by this Constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States or to the Departments of the Federal government.

2d. That there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand according to the enumeration or census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of Representatives amounts to two hundred; after which that number shall be continued or encreased, as Congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the Constitution, by apportioning the representatives of each State to some greater number of People, from time to

time



3d. When the Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises they shall immediately inform the executive power of each State, of the quota of such State according to the Census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised: and if the Legislature of any State shall pass a law which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by the Congress, the taxes and excises laid by Congress shall not be collected in such State.

4th. That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to and incapable of holding any civil Office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected.

5th. That the Journals of the proceedings of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy.

6th. That a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published once in every year.

7th. That no Commercial Treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two thirds of the whole number of the members of the Senate; and no treaty ceding, contracting, restraining or suspending the territorial rights or claims of

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the United States, or any of them, or their, or any of their rights or claims to fishing in the American Seas, or navigating the American Rivers, shall be made but in cases of the most urgent and extreme necessity, nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three fourths of the whole number of the members of both Houses respectively.

8th. That no Navigation Law, or Law regulating Commerce shall be passed without the Consent of two thirds of the members present in both houses.

9th. That no standing army or regular Troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two thirds of the members present in both houses.

10th. That no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer time than the continuance of the war.

11th. That each State respectively shall have the power to provide for organizing arming and disciplining its own Militia whenever Congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the Militia shall not be subject to martial Law, except when in actual service in time of war invasion or rebellion, and when not in the actual service of the United States, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties, and punishments, as shall be directed or inflicted by the Laws of its own State.

12th. That the exclusive power of Legislation given to Congress over the Federal Town and its adjacent District, and the

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places purchased or to be purchased by Congress of any of the States, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

13th. That no person shall be capable of being President of the United States for more than eight years in any term of sixteen years.

14th. That the Judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court and in such Courts of Admiralty as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish in any of the different States. The Judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls; to all cases of Admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction, to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different States. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction; in all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, as to matters of law only: except in cases of equity and of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction, in which the Supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make. That the Judicial power of the United States shall extend to no

cases

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Case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this Constitution; except in disputes between States about their Territory; disputes between persons claiming Lands under the grants of different States, and suits for Debts due to the United States.

13th. That in criminal Prosecutions, no man shall be restrained in the exercise of the usual and accustomed right of challenging or excepting to the Jury.

14th. That Congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, or either of them, except when the Legislature of any State shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled by invasion or insurrection to prescribe the same.

15th. That those Clauses which declare that Congress shall not exercise certain powers be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever, to extend the powers of Congress; but that they be construed either as making exceptions to the specified powers of Congress where this shall be the case, or otherwise, as inserted merely for greater caution.

16th. That the Laws ascertaining the compensation of Senators and Representatives for their Services be postponed in their operation until after the election of Representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof; that excepted which shall first be passed on the Subject.

17th. That some Tribunal other than the Senate be provided for trying Impeachments of Senators.

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20th. That the Salary of a Judge shall not be increased or diminished during his continuance in office otherwise than by general regulations of Salary which may take place on a revision of the Subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such Salaries shall be first ascertained by Congress.

And the Convention do, in the name and behalf of the People of this Commonwealth, enjoyn it upon their Representatives in Congress to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a Ratification of the foregoing alterations and provisions in the manner provided by the fifth Article of the said Constitution; and in all Congressional Laws to be passed in the mean time, to conform to the Spirit of these Amendments as far as the said Constitution will admit.

And so much of the said Amendments as is contained in the first twenty Articles, constituting the Bill of Rights, being again read:

Resolved that this Convention doth concur thereinto.

The other Amendments to the said proposed Constitution, contained in twenty one articles, being then again read, a motion was made and the question being put, to amend the same by striking out the third Article containing these words:

"The Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, &c. shall

"immediately inform the executive power of each State, of the
"quota of such State according to the Census herein directed
"which is proposed to be thereby raised; and if the Legislature
"of any State shall pass a Law which shall be effectual
"for raising such Quota at the time required by Congress
"the taxes and excises laid by Congress shall not be
"collected in such State."

It passed in the Negative Ayes 65. Noes 85.

On motion of Mr. George Nicholas, seconded by Mr.
Benjamin Harrison, the Ayes and Noes on the said
Question were taken as followeth:

Ayes— Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wm.
Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnston, Mr. Archibald Stuart,
Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Markham
M. Ferran, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) Mr. David Stuart,
Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin
Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Woodson,
Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Lee
Mr. John Stuart, Mr. Daniel Fisher, Mr. Alexander
Woodrow, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prunty, Mr. Abel
Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John
Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews,
Mr. James Johnson, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. Burwell Ashton,
Mr. William Thornton, Mr. Henry Tazewell, Mr. Levin Powell
Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley, Mr.
Francis Corbin, Mr. William McClery, Mr. James Webb
Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer

66.

Mr Lyttleton Eyre, Mr Walter Jones, Mr Thomas Gaskins, Mr Archibald Woods, The Honorable James Madison, Mr James Gordon (of Orange) Mr William Ronald, Mr Thomas Walke, Mr Benjamin Wilson, Mr John Wilson, Mr William Pankey, Mr Andrew Moore, Mr Thomas Lewis, Mr Gabriel Jones, Mr Jacob Richcraft, Mr John Williams, Mr Benjamin Blunt, Mr Samuel Hall, Mr John Allen, Mr Col. Riggs, Mr Reuben Washington, The Honorable George Wythe, and Mr Thomas Mathews.

Noes— The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esquire, President, Mr Edmund Custis, Mr John Pride, Mr William Cabell, Mr Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr John Trigg, Mr Charles Clay, Mr William Fleming, Mr Henry Lee (of Bourbon) Mr John Jones, Mr Burnet Jones, Mr Charles Talbot, Mr Isaac Bell, Mr Robert Alexander, Mr Edmund Winston, Mr Thomas Read, The Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr Benjamin Harrison, The Honorable John Tyler, Mr David Patterson, Mr Stephen Pankey Junior, Mr Joseph Richeson, Mr French Strother, Mr Joseph Jones, Mr Miles King, Mr Joseph Eaton, Mr John Early, Mr Thomas Arthurs, Mr John Guerrant, Mr William Sampson, Mr Isaac Coles, Mr George Carrington, Mr Parke Goodall, Mr John Carter Gillespie, Mr Thomas Cooper, Mr William Hart, Mr Thomas Roane, Mr Holt Richeson, Mr Benjamin Temple, Mr James Gordon (of Dumfries) Mr Stephen Thompson Mason, Mr William White, Mr Jonathan Patterson, Mr John Logan, Mr Henry Pawling, Mr John Miller, Mr Green Clay, Mr Samuel Hopkins, Mr Richard Kennon, Mr Thomas Allen, Mr Alexander Robertson, Mr Walter Leroche, Mr Abraham Trigg, Mr Solomon Shepherd, Mr William Clayton, Mr Burwell Bassett, Mr Matthew Walker, Mr John

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Keele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt, Mr. Walker Tomlin, Mr. William McKee, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickinson, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Barbell Cooke, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmonds, The Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmison, and Mr. James Montgomery

And then the main question being put that this Convention doth concur with the Committee in the said Amendments;

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

On motion, Ordered, that the foregoing Amendments be fairly engrossed upon parchment, signed by the President of this Convention, and by him transmitted, together with the ratification of the Federal Constitution, to the United States in Congress assembled.

On motion, Ordered, that a fair engrossed Copy of the Ratification of the Federal Constitution, with the subsequent Amendments this day agreed to, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary of this Convention, be transmitted by the President in the name of the Convention to the Executive or Legislature of each State in the Union.

Ordered, that the Secretary do cause the Journal of the proceedings of this Convention to be fairly entered in a well-bound book, and after being signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary, that he deposit the same in the Archives of the Privy Council or Council of State.

On motion, Ordered, that the Clerk to this Convention

97.

to strike forthwith fifty Copies of the Ratification and subsequent Amendments of the Federal Constitution for the use of each County in the Commonwealth.

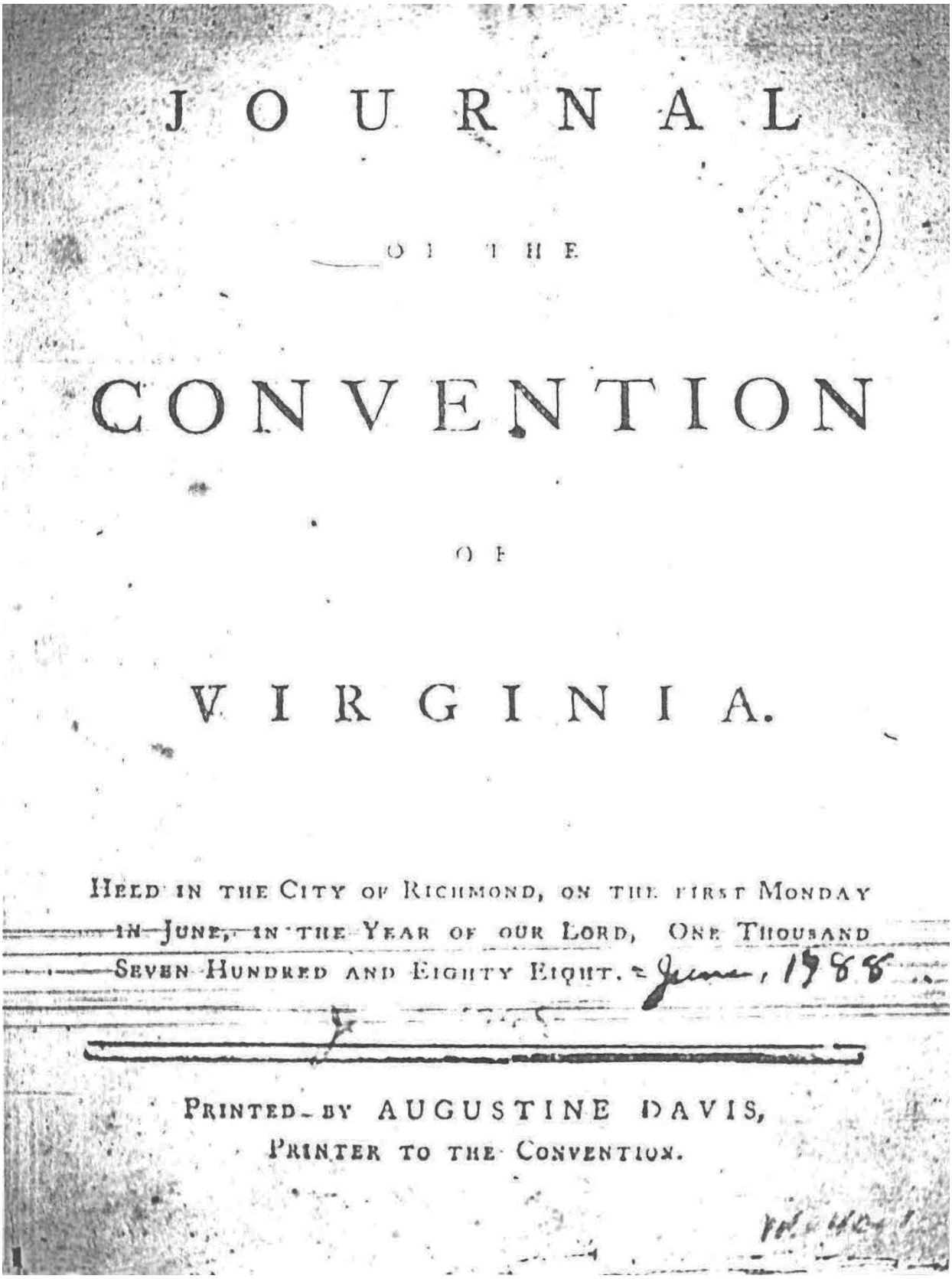
On motion, Ordered, that the public Auditor be requested to adjust the Accounts of the printer to the Convention for his services, and of the Workmen who made some temporary repairs and alterations in the new Academy, for the accommodation of the Convention; and to grant his Warrant on the Treasurer for the sums due the respective Claimants.

On motion: Resolved, unanimously, that the thanks of the Convention be presented to the President, for his able, upright, and impartial discharge of the Duties of that Office.

Whereupon the President made his Acknowledgment to the Convention for so distinguished a mark of his approbation.

And then the Convention adjourned sine die.

203. James Madison's Annotated Copy of the Printed Journal of the Virginia Convention, 2–27 June 1788.[1]



JOURNAL

OF THE

CONVENTION

OF

VIRGINIA.

HELD IN THE CITY OF RICHMOND, ON THE FIRST MONDAY IN JUNE, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY EIGHT. June, 1788

PRINTED BY AUGUSTINE DAVIS,
PRINTER TO THE CONVENTION.

1. This copy of the printed Convention Journal, with annotations, is in the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers at the Library of Congress.

More than ¾ of these members in those that are marked × were in the Legislature which met 26th oct. 1788, & passed the 1st. electoral Law. there were of the convention 46 members

14
4
56
32
88
2
176.
4

DELEGATES returned to serve in CONVENTION, MARCH, 1788.

The Leg. of Oct. 1788.

Accomack,
Edmund Curtis.
George Parker,

Albemarle,
George Nicholas,
Wilson Nicholas.

Amelia,
John Pride,
Edmund Booker.

Amherst,
William Cabell,
Samuel J. Cabell.

Augusta,
Zachariah Johnson,
Archibald Stuart.

Bedford,
John Trigg,
Charles Clay.

Berkeley,
Willian Dark,
Adam Stephen.

Botetourt,
Willaim Fleming.
Martin M'Farran,

Bourbon,
Henry Lee,
——— Count.

Brunswick,
John Jones,
Binns Jones.

Buckingham,
Charles Patteson,
David Bell,

Campbell,
Robert Alexander,
Edmund Winston.

Caroline,
Hon. Edm. Pendleton,
James Taylor

Charlotte,
Thomas Read,
Hon. P. Carrington.

Charles City,
Benjamin Harrison,
John Tyler.

Chesterfield,
David Patterson,
Stephen Pauley, jun.

Cumberland,
Joseph Michaux,
Thomas H. Dred.

Culpeper,
French Strother,
Joel Earley.

Dinwiddie,
Joseph Jones,
William Watkins.

Elizabeth City,
Miles King,
Warlich Westwood.

Essex,
James Upshaw,
Meriwether Smith.

Fairfax,
David Stewart,
Charles Simms.

Fayette,
Humphrey Marshall,
John Fowler.

Fauquier,
Martin Pickett,
Humphrey Brooke.

Fluvanna,
Samuel Richardson,
Joseph Hading.

Frederick,
John S. Woodrick,
Alexander White.

Franklin,
John Early.
Thomas Arthur,

Gloucester,
Warner Lewis,
Thomas Smith.

Goochland,
John Grayson,
William Sampson.

Greenbrier,
George Clendenin,
John Stewart,

Greensville,
William Mann,
Daniel Fisher.

Halifax,
Dan. Coles,
George Carrington.

Hampshire,
Andrew Woodrow,
Ralph Humphreys.

Hanover,
Paul. Carrington,
John G. Littlepage.

Harrison,
George Jackson,
John Prunty.

Hardy,
Isaac Vanmeter,
Abel Seymour.

Honrico,
Wm Ekr. E. Randolph,
John Marshall.

Henry,
Thomas Cooper,
John Mayo.

Isle of Wight,
Thomas Pierce,
James Johnson.

James City,
Nathaniel Burwell,
Robert Anderson.

Jefferson,
Robert Breckenridge,
Rice Bullock.

King & Queen,
William Fleet,
John Roane.

King Gorge,
Burdet Ashton,
William Thornton.

King William,
Will. Robinson,
Benjamin Temple.

Lancaster,
James Gordon,
Henry Towles.

Loudon,
Stephen T. Mason,
Leven Powell.

Louisa
William O. Callis,
William White.

Lunenburg,
Jonathan Pattyson,
Christopher Robinson

Lincoln,
John Logan,
Henry Pawling.

Madison,
John Miller,
Green Clay.

Mecklenburg,
Samuel Hopkins, jun.
Richard Kennon.

Mercer,
Thomas Allen,
Alexander Robertson.

Middlesex,
Ralph Wormley, jun.
Francis Corbin.

Monongalia,
John Evans,
William M'Clery.

Montgomery,
Walker Crockett,
Abraham Trigg.

Nansemond,
Willis Riddick,
Solomon Shepherd.

New-Kent,
William Clayton,
Burwell Baſſett.

Nelſon,
Matthew Walton,
John Steele.

Norfolk,
James Wibb,
James Taylor.

Northampton,
John Stringer,
Littleton Eyre.

Northumberland,
Walter Jones,
Thomas Gaſkins.

Ohio,
Archibald Woods,
Ebenezer Zane.

Orange,
James Madiſon, jun.
James Gordon.

Pittſylvania,
Robert Williams,
John Wilſon.

Powhatan,
William Renald,
Thomas Turpin, jun.

Prince Edward,
Patrick Henry,
Robert Lanſon.

Prince George,
Theodorick Bland,
Edmund Ruſſell.

Prince William,
William Grayſon,
Cuthbert Bullitt.

Princeſs Ann,
Anthony Walke,
Thomas Walke.

Randolph,
Benjamin Watſon,
John Watſon.

Richmond,
Walker Tomlin,
William Peachey.

Rockbridge,
William M'Kee,
Andrew Moore.

Rockingham,
Thomas Lewis,
Gabriel Jones.

Ruſſell,
Thomas Carter,
Henry Dickenſon.

Shenandoah,
Jacob Kinter,
John Williams.

Southampton,
Benjamin Bryant,
Samuel Kello.

Spotſylvania,
James Monroe,
John Dawſon.

Stafford,
George Maſon,
Andrew Buchanan.

Surry,
John Hart, Clerk,
John Allen.

Suſſex,
John Howell Briggs,
Thomas Edmunds.

Warwick,
Cole Digges,
Richard Cary.

Waſhington,
Samuel Edmiſon,
James Montgomery.

Weſtmoreland,
Henry Lee.
Buſhrod Waſhington,

York,
Hon. John Blair,
Hon. George Wythe.

Williamſburg,
James Innes.

Norfolk Borough,
Thomas Matthews.

By reference to the Journals of the General assembly of Virginia held in the City of Richmond on the 16th. oct. 1786, it will be seen That on the 4th. Dec. 1786, The house of Delegates and the Senate appointed by joint ballot seven deputies, to the convention to be held in Philadelphia for revising the federal Constitution viz. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, George Mason, & George Wythe, Esqrs

By reference to Journals of the General assembly of Virginia held in May 2. 1787, it appears that James M.r Clung Esq. was appointed a Deputy to supply the vacancy occasioned by Patrick Henry's having declined his appointment.

By the Journals of the federal Convention it is seen that these seven Deputies attended at Philadelphia

on the 14th May 1787. and by reference to this Journal, it is seen that E. Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, Geo: Mason, & Geo: Wythe were in the Convention that adopted the Constitution of the U. States on the part of the People of Virginia. By reference to the Debates of the Virginia it will be seen how those members of Convention who said Electors of Pres. & V. P. were to be chosen. of the members of the Va Convention that adopted the Const. U. S. those X marked X thus were also in the Legislature of Virginia that framed the first electoral law. viz.

Wilson Nicholas
Wm Cabell
Jam's Cabell
Jack. Johnson
John Trigg
Wm Ll. Ev's Harvey
Henry Lee of Barton
N. Cowen
Benj. Lane
Benj. Harrison
Francis Thornton
Jos. Early
Mat. King
David Stewart
Jno. Early
Jno. Guarrant
Geo: Abraham
Wm Mason
Dan: Fisher
Isaac Coleman
Gov: Randolph
Tho: Cooper
Levin Powell
Wm O Calvin
Wm White
Green C Clay
Jam's Hopkins
Rich'd Kennon

JOURNAL OF THE CONVENTION.

AT a Convention of Delegates from the several counties and corporations in the Commonwealth of Virginia, entitled by law to representation in the legislature, held at the State House in the City of Richmond, on Monday the second of June 1788, pursuant to the resolutions of the General Assembly of the 25th of October 1787, for the purpose of a full and free investigation, discussion, and decision upon the plan of Federal Government for the United States, recommended by the late Federal Convention held in Philadelphia.

MONDAY, the 2d of June, 1788.

ON which day, being the day appointed by the resolutions of the General Assembly for the meeting of the Convention, such of the members as appeared, attended at the state house and took their seats in Convention; and a majority of the whole number, being present,

Ordered, That Mr. John Beckley, be appointed Secretary to the Convention.

The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, was nominated, and *unanimously* elected, President to the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Reverend Abner Waugh be appointed Chaplain to the Convention, and that he attend to read prayers every morning in the House, immediately after the bell shall be rang for calling the House.

Ordered, That William Drinkard, senior, and William Drinkard, junior, be appointed door-keepers to the Convention, and that they severally give their attendance accordingly.

On

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of Privileges and Elections be appointed;

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Benjamin Harriſon, Mr. George Maſon, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Henry, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. John Marſhall, Mr. Paul Carrington, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Blair, Mr. Bland, Mr. Grayſon, Mr. Fiſher, Mr. Mathews, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Wythe, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Corbin, Mr. Innes, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Henry Lee, and Mr. Bullitt.

Ordered, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections do examine and report the returns for electing Delegates to ſerve in this Convention; and, that in caſes, where no returns are made, it be an inſtruction to the ſaid Committee, to receive ſuch evidence as the ſitting member ſhall produce of his election, and report the ſame to the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Edmund Pendleton, jun. be appointed Clerk to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A petition of Thomas Stith, of the county of Brunſwick, was preſented to the Houſe and read, complaining of an undue election and return of Binns Jones, Eſquire, one of the Delegates returned to ſerve in this Convention for the ſaid county of Brunſwick;

Ordered, That the ſaid petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine thereof, and report the ſame, with their opinion thereupon, to the Houſe.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Auguſtine Davis be appointed printer to the Convention, and that he cauſe to be ſtruck, forthwith, two hundred copies of the plan of Federal Government, alſo two hundred copies of the reſolutions of the General Aſſembly of the 25th of October laſt, to be diſtributed among the members of this Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Convention be adjourned until tomorrow morning, eleven o'clock, then to meet at the New Academy, on Shockoe-Hill, in this city.

Tueſday,

TUESDAY, the 3d of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention met at the New Academy on Shockœ-Hill, pursuant to adjournment.

A petition of Richard Morris, of the county of Louisa, was presented to the House and read, complaining of an undue election and return of William White, Esquire, as one of the Delegates to serve in this Convention, for the said county of Louisa;

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the House.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. William Peirce be appointed Serjeant at Arms to the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Daniel Hicks be appointed a doorkeeper to the Convention, and that he give his attendance accordingly.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the rules and orders for conducting business in the House of Delegates, so far as the same may be applicable to the Convention, be observed therein.

On motion,

The resolution of Congress of the 28th of September last, together with the report of the Federal Convention lately held in Philadelphia, the resolutions of the General Assembly of the 25th of October last, and the act of the General Assembly, intituled, "An act concerning the Convention to be held in June next," were read; whereupon,

Resolved, That no question, general or particular, shall be propounded in this Convention, upon the proposed constitution of government for the United States, or upon any clause or article thereof, until the said constitution shall have been discussed, clause by clause, through all its parts.

On motion, *Resolved*, That this Convention will to-morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole Convention, to take into consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, eleven o'clock.

Wednesday

WEDNESDAY, the 4th of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, examined the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention, and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention for the counties of Albemarle, Amelia, Amherst, Bedford, Botetourt, Berkeley, Brunswick, Buckingham, Caroline, Charlotte, Charles-City, Chesterfield, Culpeper, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Elizabeth-City, Fauquier, Fairfax, Fayette, Fluvanna, Frederick, Gloucester, Goochland, Greenbrier, Greensville, Halifax, Hampshire, Hardy, Harrison, Hanover, Henrico, Henry, James City, Jefferson, Isle-of-Wight, King George, King & Queen, King William, Lancaster, Lincoln, Loudon, Louisa, Lunenburg, Madison, Mecklenburg, Mercer, Middlesex, Monongalia, Montgomery, Nansemond, New-Kent, Nelson, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Ohio, Orange, Pittsylvania, Princess Anne, Prince George, Prince William, Prince Edward, Powhatan, Randolph, Richmond, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Russell, Shenandoah, Southampton, Spotsylvania, Stafford, Surry, Sussex, Warwick, Washington, York, and of a Delegate for the borough of Norfolk, and city of Williamsburg, are satisfactory:

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had enquired into the elections of Delegates for the counties of Accomack and Franklin, and had agreed to a report, and come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

It appears to your Committee, that no returns have been made of the election of Delegates to serve in this Convention, for the counties of Accomack and Franklin; that as to the election of Delegates for the said county of Accomack, it appears from the information of Nathaniel Darby, and Littleton Eyre, Esquires, that they were at the election

election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Accomack, in March laſt, and that George Parker and Edmund Cuſtis, Eſquires (the ſitting members) were proclaimed by the ſheriff at the cloſe of the poll as duly elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county in this Convention.

That as to the election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Franklin, it appears to your Committee, from the information of Robert Williams, Eſquire, that he was at the election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Franklin, in March laſt, and that John Early, and Thomas Arthurs, Eſquires, (the ſitting members) were proclaimed by the ſheriff at the cloſe of the poll as duly elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county in this Convention.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That Edmund Cuſtis, and George Parker, Eſquires, were elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county of Accomack in this Convention.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That John Early, and Thomas Arthurs, Eſquires, were elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county of Franklin in this Convention.

Ordered, That Mr. Madiſon and Mr. Lawſon be added to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A petition of Samuel Anderſon, of the county of Cumberland, was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth, that Thomas H. Drew, Eſquire, one of the Delegates returned for the ſaid county to ſerve in this Convention, was not, at the time of his election, a freeholder in this Commonwealth, and praying that the election of the ſaid Thomas H. Drew, may be ſet aſide, and another election directed to ſupply his place.

Ordered, That the ſaid petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the ſame, with their opinion thereupon, to the Houſe.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved,

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, eleven o'clock.

THURSDAY, the 5th of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their consideration, the petition of Samuel Anderson to them referred, and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the petition of the said Samuel Anderson, praying that the election of Mr. Thomas H. Drew, a member returned to serve in this Convention for the county of Cumberland, may be set aside and a new election had to supply his place, be rejected.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, examined the return of the election of Delegates to serve in this Convention for the county of Westmoreland; and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the return of the election of Delegates to serve in this Convention, for the said county of Westmoreland, is satisfactory.

The Convention according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration, the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration,

tion,

tion, and made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

FRIDAY, the 6th of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Harriſon reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their conſideration the petition of Thomas Stith, complaining of an undue election and return of Mr. Binns Jones, as a Delegate to this Convention for the county of Brunſwick, and had come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again read, and are as followeth;

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the uſual rule preſcribing a time for the delivery of liſts of perſons to be objected to, be diſpenſed with on this occaſion, the petitioner having waved his right to require the ſame from the ſitting member, and having agreed to deliver a liſt of perſons to whom he objects on or before 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the depoſitions of the witneſſes, as well on behalf of the petitioner as the ſitting member, be taken before Thomas Edmonds, Benjamin Blick, Sterling Edmonds, Andrew Meade, John F. Edmonds, John Powell, and James Fletcher, Gentlemen, or any four of them.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the farther conſideration of the ſaid petition be deferred until Wedneſday the eighteenth of this inſtant (June).

The firſt and ſecond reſolutions being ſeverally read a ſecond time, were, on the queſtion put thereupon, agreed to by the Houſe.

The

The laſt reſolution being again read, a motion was made, and the queſtion being put to amend the the ſame by ſtriking out the words "Wedneſday the eighteenth," and inſerting in lieu thereof the words "Friday the twentieth;"

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

And then the main queſtion being put, that the Houſe do agree to the reſolution ſo amended;

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections be diſcharged from further proceeding on the petition of Thomas Stith to them referred, and that the petitioner have leave to withdraw the ſame.

The Convention then, according to the order of the day, again reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration, the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

SATURDAY, the 7th of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Wythe reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their conſideration, the petition of Richard Morris, complaining of an undue election and return of Mr. William White, as a Delegate to

ſerve in this Convention for the county of Louiſa, and had come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again ſeverally twice read, and agreed to by the Houſe, as followeth:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the petitioner do either by himſelf, or his agent, within two days deliver to the ſitting member, or his agent, liſts of the perſons intended by the petitioner to be objected to, who voted for the ſitting member, giving in the ſaid liſts the ſeveral heads of objections, and diſtinguiſhing the ſame againſt the names of the votes objected to; and that the ſitting member do by himſelf, or his agent, on or before the 16th day of this inſtant, (June) deliver the like liſts, on his part, to the petitioner, or his agent.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the depoſitions of the witneſſes, as well on behalf of the petitioner as the ſitting member, be taken before Nelſon Anderſon, Waddy Thompſon, and Charles Yancey, Gentlemen, and Thomas Johnſon the ſheriff of the ſaid county of Louiſa, or any three of them.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the further conſideration of the ſaid petition be deferred until Wedneſday the 18th of this inſtant, (June.)

The Convention then, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, on Monday next, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten o'clock.

Monday,

MONDAY, the 9th of JUNE, 178[illegible].

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein; but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, the 10th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

Wednesday,

WEDNESDAY, the 11th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, the 12th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

Friday,

FRIDAY, the 13th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

SATURDAY, the 14th of JUNE, 1788.

A LETTER from the Honorable the Preſident to the Convention was read, ſtating his inability to attend his duty in the Houſe to-day;

Whereupon the Honorable John Tyler was *unanimouſly* elected Vice Preſident, to preſide during the inability of the Preſident.

The Convention then, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Vice Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, on Monday next, again reſolve itſelf into a Committe of the whole Convention on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, nine o'clock.

MONDAY, the 16th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

TUESDAY, the 17th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, the 18th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move, the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

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THURSDAY, the 19th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

Friday,

FRIDAY, the 20th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

SATURDAY, the 21ſt of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Harriſon reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their farther conſideration, the petition of Mr. Richard Morris, complaining of an undue election and return of Mr. William White, as a Delegate to ſerve in this Convention for the county of Louiſa, and had agreed upon a report and come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again read, and are as followeth:

It appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Garret Minor, that about the 14th of May laſt, he applied to Heckley Young, who voted for the ſitting member, to be informed from him what entitled him to vote for Delegates to Convention, who informed the deponent, that he voted on one hundred acres of land, but that he never had a deed or conveyance for the ſame; and is on the land roll for the year 1787.

It

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Thomas Pulliam, who voted for the ſitting member, that his father hath given him land, but had never made him a deed for any, and that he has had poſſeſſion of the land nine or ten years, and has paid the taxes for the year 1786, and that it has been laid off ſeveral years.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Thomas Johnſon, jun. ſheriff, that he heard William Price ſay, who voted for the ſitting member, that he had in poſſeſſion a tract of land verbally given him by his father William Price, but never had a deed from him for the ſame, though he has had it in poſſeſſion ſeveral years; and has paid the taxes for the years 1786 and 1787.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Waddy Thomſon, that he has promiſed to give his ſon Waddy Thomſon, jun. who voted for the ſitting member, a tract of land in the ſaid county of Louiſa, but never made him a deed for it, and that he is not a freeholder that he knows of.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Benjamin Clark, who voted for the ſitting member, that he is poſſeſſed of a tract of land deviſed to him by his father at his mother's death: and it appears from the teſtimony of John Poindexter, that the mother is now living; that he is on the land roll, and has paid the taxes out of his own and his mother's property.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Thomas Meriwether, that he heard Bartlott Anderſon ſay, who voted for the ſitting member, that he had no deed made him for any land in Louiſa, and that at the time of his voting he was ſenſible he had not a right to vote.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Aſa Hall, who voted for the ſitting member, that he purchaſed land about three years ago, but never had a deed for it; and that he has not any other land; and has his bond for a right.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of William Hughes, that he gave to his ſon Joſhua Hughes, who voted for the ſitting member, a tract of land ſuppoſed to contain ninety acres which he has lived on about twelve years, but never made him a deed for the ſame; that he is well acquainted with John Bibb, who voted for the ſitting

ſitting member, and never knew him to have a lawful right to any land in Louiſa, although he has been ſheriff, commiſſioner and aſſeſſor in the ſaid county; and that from the teſtimony of Thomas Barnett, it appears that after the election of members to the Convention in Louiſa, John Bibb informed him he had no title to any land in the county, and that the land on which he lived he rented from year to year; that Joſhua Hughes is on the land roll.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of John Veſt, who voted for the ſitting member, that he purchaſed a tract of land of Richard Powlett, which he took poſſeſſion of in December, 1787; and that at December Louiſa court laſt the ſaid Powlett acknowledged a deed for the ſaid land which was ordered to be recorded; and that Powlett was not allowed to vote on the ſaid land.

It alſo further appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Iſaac Thacker, who voted for the ſitting member, that about ſixteen years paſt he ſold and conveyed by deed all the land he poſſeſſed in Louiſa to John Richmond, but the deed has never been recorded.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſitions of Nelſon Anderſon and Thomas Meriwether, that they heard Charles Jackſon ſay, who voted for the ſitting member, that his father had given him a tract of land, which he has had poſſeſſion of ſeveral years, but he never had made him a deed for the ſame; and that his father is ſtill living, and that he is on the land roll, and has paid the tax for the year 1787.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of John Stringer, who voted for the ſitting member, that his father Edmond Stringer has given him eighty acres of land, which he has been in poſſeſſion of about three years, but never had a deed for the ſame; and that he lives on the land.

It alſo appears to your Committee, from the depoſition of Martin Sharp, who voted for the ſitting member, that his father, has promiſed to give him the tract of land on which he then lived, but never had made a deed for the ſame; and that he pays the taxes of the land to his father.

It appears to your Committee, that Charles Jackſon, Bartlett Anderſon, Waddy Thomſon, jun. Hackley Young, and John Bibb, were ſummoned but failed to appear before the commiſſioners.

The ſitting member having failed to furniſh the petitioner with a liſt of the voters to which he objected or to attend in the county, the examination of thoſe objected to by the petitioner, the Committee proceeded to examine the report from Commiſſioners, and ſome doubts ariſing as to the evidence furniſhed reſpecting the qualification of ſome of the voters, witneſſes were called on to give teſtimony, and alſo the land roll introduced reſpecting the ſame, by conſent of the parties.

The ſitting member afterwards required permiſſion to have *viva voce* teſtimony, and the ſaid land roll alſo introduced to prove the diſqualification of ſeveral of the voters for the petitioner, which was rejected, becauſe the ſitting member had not furniſhed the petitioner with a liſt of objectionable votes, agreeable to the reſolution of the Convention, and it would therefore be out of his power to produce evidence in ſupport of ſuch votes, and becauſe the petitioner would not conſent to it.

It alſo appears to your Committee, that the number of votes at the cloſe of the poll ſtood as follows:

For Mr. William White, - - - 199.
For Mr. Richard Morris, - - - 195.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That ſuch of the voters on the poll of the ſitting member as appeared only to have an equitable title to their lands, were not qualified to vote for Delegates to the General Aſſembly.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That Heckley Young, Thomas Pulliam, William Price, Waddy Thomſon, jun. Benjamin Clark, Aſa Hall, Joſhua Hughes, John Veſt, Charles Jackſon, John Stringer, and Martin Sharp, had only an equitable and not a legal title to the lands on which they ſeverally voted.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That Bartlett Anderſon, John Bibb, and Iſaac Thacker, had neither an equitable or legal title to the lands on which they reſpectively voted.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That after taking from Mr. White's number the votes of the aforeſaid perſons, the poll will ſtand as followeth:

For Mr. Richard Morris, - - - 195.
For Mr. William White, - - - 185.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That Mr. Richard Morris,

Morris has a majority of electors qualified by law to chooſe Delegates to the General Aſſembly.

Reſolved, *That it is the opinion of this Committee*, That the ſaid Richard Morris was duly elected a Delegate to repreſent the ſaid county of Louiſa in this Convention.

The ſaid report and reſolutions were ſeverally again read, and on a motion made, ordered to be re-committed to the ſame Committee.

On motion made, *Ordered*, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections, be inſtructed to receive ſuch *viva voce* teſtimony, or ſuch other ſatisfactory evidence as the ſitting member and the petitioner ſhall be able to produce to ſupport their objections to ſuch votes as they ſhall reſpectively furniſh a liſt of, each to the other, before Monday next. And that the ſaid petition be finally heard before the ſaid Committee on Thurſday next.

Ordered, That Mr. Richard Cary and Mr. Samuel Hopkins be added to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections be diſcharged from further proceeding on the petition of Richard Morris, and that the petitioner have leave to withdraw the ſame.

The Convention then, according to the order of the day, again reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States, and, after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and had made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, on Monday next, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, nine o'clock.

Monday,

MONDAY, the 23d of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into further consideration, the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and made some further progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, the 24th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Matthews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a further progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

Wednesday,

WEDNESDAY, the 25th of JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration, the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Matthews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had gone through the same, and come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as followeth;

WHEREAS the powers granted under the proposed Constitution are the gift of the people, and every power not granted thereby, remains with them, and at their will: No right therefore of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: And among other essential rights liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States;

AND WHEREAS any imperfections which may exist in the said Constitution ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein for obtaining amendments, than by a delay with a hope of obtaining previous amendments, to bring the Union into danger;

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the said Constitution be ratified.

But in order to relieve the apprehensions of those, who may be solicitous for amendments, *Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee*, That whatsoever amendments may be deemed necessary be recommended to the consideration of the Congress, which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof.

The first resolution being read a second time, a motion was made and the question being put to amend the same by substituting in lieu of the said resolution and its preamble, the following resolution;

" Here it does not say the People of the U. S. But see p. a. 2 8.

" Resolved,

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and I know of no department or body of men in the States, who have a right to cancel, abridge restrain or modify any of the powers created by the proposed Constitution, "which are retained thereby, and at their will. I know of no Clause to say so: Jefferson authorizing the State Legislatures to act in all cases not

otherwise provided for. Such.

" *Reſolved*, That previous to the ratification of the new Conſtitu-
" tion of Government recommended by the late fœderal Convention,
" a declaration of rights aſſerting and ſecuring from encroachment the
" great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable
" rights of the people, together with amendments to the moſt exceptio-
" onable parts of the ſaid Conſtitution of Government, ought to be
" referred by this Convention to the other ſtates in the American con-
" federacy for their conſideration."

It paſſed in the negative—Ayes 80—Noes 88.

On motion of Mr. Patrick Henry, ſeconded by Mr. Theodorick Bland, the ayes and noes on the ſaid queſtion were taken as followeth;

AYES—Mr. Edmund Cobbs, Mr. John Pugh, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Chriſtian Clay, Mr. Henry Lee, (of Bourbon) The Honorable John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteſon, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winſton, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harriſon, The Honorable John Tyler, Mr. David Patteſon, Mr. Stephen Parkey, jun. Mr. Joſeph M'Evans, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joſeph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Meriwether Smith, Mr. James Upſhaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardſon, Mr. Joſeph Holden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sanders, Mr. Iſaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeſon, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stephens Thompſon Maſon, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Patteſon, Mr. Chriſtopher Robertſon, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertſon, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Walter Crockett, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilſon, (of Pennſylvania) Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawſon, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayſon, Mr. Cuthbert Bullit, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenſon, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawſon, Mr. George Maſon, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howel Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmunds, The Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmiſton, and Mr. James Montgomery.

NOES—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Eſq. Preſident, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilſon Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnſon, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin M'Ferran, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Worlich Weſtwood, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marſhall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Clendinen, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. William Maſon, Mr. Daniel Fiſher, Mr. Andrew Woodrow, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackſon, Mr. John Prunty, Mr. Iſaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marſhall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnſon, Mr. Robert Breckenridge, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. William Fleet, Mr. Burdit Aſhton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaſter) Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormley, jun. Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William M'Clerry, Mr. Willis Riddick, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Baſſet, Mr. James Webb, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Thomas Gaſkins, Mr. Archibald Woods, Mr. Ebenezer Zane, the Honorable James Madiſon, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Thomas Walke, Mr. Benjamin Willon, Mr. John Wilſon (of Randolph) Mr. Walker Tomlin, Mr. William Peachey, Mr. William M'Kee, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rinker, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blunt, Mr. Samuel Kello, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Henry Lee (of Weſtmoreland) Mr. Bathrod Waſhington, the Honorable John Blair, the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Matthews.

And

And then the main queſtion being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the ſaid firſt reſolution;

It was reſolved in the affirmative—Ayes 89—Noes 79.

On motion of Mr. George Maſon, ſeconded by Mr. Patrick Henry, the ayes and noes on the ſaid main queſtion were taken as followeth;

AYES.—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Eſq. Preſident, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilſon Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnſon, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin M'Ferjan, Mr. William Fleming, Mr James Taylor (of Caroline) the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. David Patteſon, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Worlich Weſtwood, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marſhall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Clendinen, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. William Maſon, Mr. Daniel Fuller, Mr. Andrew Woodrow, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackſon, Mr. John Printy, Mr. Iſaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marſhall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnſon, Mr. Robert Breckenridge, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. William Fleet, Mr. Burdett Aſhton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaſter) Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley, jun. Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William M'Clerry, Mr. Willis Riddick, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Baſſett, Mr. James Webb, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Thomas Gaſkins, Mr. Archibald Woods, Mr. Ebenezer Zane, the Honorable James Madiſon, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Thomas Walke, Mr Benjamin Wilſon, Mr. John Wilſon (of Randolph) Mr. Walker Tomlin, Mr. William Peachey, Mr. William M'Kee, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rinker, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blunt, Mr. Samuel Kello, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Henry Lee (of Weſtmoreland) Mr. Buſhrod Waſhington, the Honorable John Blair, the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Matthews.

NOES.—Mr. Edmund Cuſtis, Mr. John Pride, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) the Honorable John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteſon, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winſton, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harriſon, the Honorable John Tyler, Mr. Stephen Pankey, jun. Mr. Joſeph Michaux, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joſeph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Meriwether Smith, Mr. James Upſhaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardſon, Mr. Joſeph Haden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr John Gurrant, Mr. William Sampſon, Mr. Iſaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeſon, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stevens Thompſon Maſon, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Patteſon, Mr. Chriſtopher Robertſon, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertſon, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Walker Crocket, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilſon (of Pittſylvania) Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawſon, Mr. Edmund Ruſſin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayſon, Mr. Cuthbert Bullit, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenſon, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawſon, Mr. George Maſon, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmunds, the Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmiſon, and Mr. James Montgomery.

The ſecond reſolution being then read a ſecond time, a motion was made and the queſtion being put to amend the ſame by ſtriking out the preamble thereto;

It was reſolved in the affirmative,

And then the main queſtion being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the ſecond reſolution ſo amended;

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

On motion,

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a form of ratification, purſuant to the firſt reſolution; and that his Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Marſhall, and Mr. Corbin, compoſe the ſaid Committee.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report ſuch amendments as ſhall by them be deemed neceſſary to be recommended, purſuant to the ſecond reſolution; and that the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Henry, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. George Maſon, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Grayſon, Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Tyler, Mr. John Marſhall, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Ronald, Mr. Bland, Mr. Meriwether Smith, the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Innes, Mr. Hopkins, the Honorable John Blair, and Mr. Simms, compoſe the ſaid Committee.

His Excellency Governor Randolph reported, from the Committee appointed, according to order, a form of ratification, which was read and agreed to by the Convention, in the words following:

VIRGINIA to wit:

WE the Delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in purſuance of a recommendation from the General Aſſembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely inveſtigated and diſcuſſed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the moſt mature deliberation hath enabled us, to decide thereon, DO in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the Conſtitution, being derived from the people of the United States may be reſumed by them whenſoever the ſame ſhall be perverted to their injury or oppreſſion, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified, by the Congreſs, by the Senate or Houſe of Repreſentatives acting in any capacity, by the Preſident or any department or officer of the United States, except in thoſe inſtances in which power is given by the Conſtitution for thoſe purpoſes: and that among other eſſential rights, the liberty of conſcience and of the preſs cannot be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified by any authority of the United States.

See p. a 25 here the word United States is added after People.

With theſe impreſſions, with a ſolemn appeal to the ſearcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction, that, whatſoever

whatsoever imperfections may exist in the Constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the Union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments, previous to the ratification:

We the said Delegates, in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, do by these presents assent to, and ratify the Constitution recommended on the seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, by the Fœderal Convention for the Government of the United States; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said Constitution is binding upon the said People, according to an authentic copy hereto annexed, in the words following:

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.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 choose 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 choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT.

SECT. III. 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 the 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 choose 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.

SECT. IV. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

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.

SECT. V. 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 authorised 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.

SECT. VI. 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

* Congress may prescribe the time of choosing Senators

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.

SECT. VII. 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-thrids of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives, according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

SECT. VIII. 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 Sates;

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 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

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.

SECT. IX. 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.

SECT. X. No ſtate ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprifal; 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 its inſpection laws, and the nett 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 the Congreſs, lay any duty on tonnage; keep troops,

or

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.

SECT. I. 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 choose 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 choose the President. But in choosing 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 choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

+ The Congress may determine the time of choosing 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 encreased 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.

+ Congress may determine or prescribe the time of choosing electors Before

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."

SECT. II. 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.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. IV. 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.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other

cases

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.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. IV. 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.

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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 its 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.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Secretary of this Convention cause to be engrossed, forthwith, two fair copies of the form of ratification, and of the proposed Constitution of Government, as recommended by the Fœderal Convention on the seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, twelve o'clock.

THURSDAY,

THURSDAY, the 26th of JUNE, 1788.

AN engroſſed form of the ratification agreed to yeſterday, containing the propoſed Conſtitution of Government, as recommended by the Fœderal Covention on the ſeventeenth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, being prepared by the Secretary, was read and ſigned by the Preſident in behalf of the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the ſaid ratification be tranſmitted by the Preſident, in the name of this Convention, to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

On motion, *Ordered*, That there be allowed to the Preſident of this Convention for his ſervices, the ſum of forty ſhillings, per day, including his daily pay as a member; to the Secretary, the ſum of forty pounds; to the Chaplain, the ſum of thirty-two pounds; to the Serjeant, the ſum of twenty-four pounds; to the Clerk of the Committee of Privileges, the ſum of twenty pounds; and to each of the Door-Keepers, the ſum of fifteen pounds, for their reſpective ſervices.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

FRIDAY, the 27th of JUNE, 1788.

ANOTHER engroſſed form of the ratification agreed to on Wedneſday laſt, containing the propoſed Conſtitution of Government, as recommended by the Fœderal Convention on the ſeventeenth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, being prepared by the Secretary, was read, and ſigned by the Preſident in behalf of the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the ſaid ratification be depoſited by the Secretary of this Convention in the archives of the General Aſſembly of this ſtate.

Mr. Wythe reported, from the Committee appointed, ſuch amendments to the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States, as were by them deemed neceſſary to be recommended to the conſideration of the Congreſs which ſhall firſt aſſemble under the ſaid Conſtitution, to be acted upon according to the mode preſcribed in the fifth article thereof; and he read the ſame in his place, and afterwards delivered them in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again read, and are as followeth;

That there be a Declaration or Bill of Rights aſſerting and ſecuring from encroachment the eſſential and unalienable rights of the people in ſome ſuch manner as the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14th. That every freeman has a right to be ſecure from all unreaſonable ſearches, and ſeizures of his perſon, his papers, and property; all warrants therefore to ſearch ſuſpected places, or ſeize any freeman, his papers or property, without information upon oath (or affirmation of a perſon religiouſly ſcrupulous of taking an oath) of legal and ſufficient cauſe, are grievous and oppreſſive, and all general warrants to ſearch

ſuſpected

ſuſpected places, or to apprehend any ſuſpected perſon without ſpecially naming or deſcribing the place or perſon, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

1ſt. That each ſtate in the union ſhall reſpectively retain every power, juriſdiction and right, which is not by this conſtitution delegated to the Congreſs of the United States, or to the departments of the Fœderal government.

2d. That there ſhall be one repreſentative for every thirty thouſand, according to the enumeration or cenſus mentioned in the Conſtitution, until the whole number of repreſentatives amounts to two hundred; after which that number ſhall be continued or encreaſed as Congreſs ſhall direct, upon the principles fixed in the Conſtitution, by apportioning the repreſentatives of each ſtate to ſome greater number of people from time to time as population encreaſes.

3d. When the Congreſs ſhall lay direct taxes or exciſes, they ſhall immediately inform the executive power of each ſtate, of the quota of ſuch ſtate according to the cenſus herein directed, which is propoſed to be thereby raiſed; and if the legiſlature of any ſtate ſhall paſs a law which ſhall be effectual for raiſing ſuch quota at the time required by Congreſs, the taxes and exciſes laid by Congreſs, ſhall not be collected in ſuch ſtate.

4th. That the members of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they ſhall reſpectively be elected.

5th. That the journals of the proceedings of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall be publiſhed at leaſt once in every year, except ſuch parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require ſecrecy.

6th. That a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, ſhall be publiſhed at leaſt once in every year.

7th. That no commercial treaty ſhall be ratified without the concurrence of two thirds of the whole number of the members of the Senate; and no treaty, ceding, contracting, reſtraining or ſuſpending the territorial rights or claims of the United States, or any of them, or their, or any of their rights or claims to fiſhing in the American ſeas, or navigating the American rivers, ſhall be made, but in caſes of the moſt urgent and extreme neceſſity, nor ſhall any ſuch treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three fourths of the whole number of the members of both houſes reſpectively.

8th. That no navigation law or law regulating commerce ſhall be paſſed without the conſent of two thirds of the members preſent, in both houſes.

9th. That no ſtanding army or regular troops ſhall be raiſed, or kept up in time of peace, without the conſent of two thirds of the members preſent, in both houſes.

10th. That no ſoldier ſhall be inliſted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

11th. That is to ſay the People of each State in their highest ſovereign authority. Not the Legislatures of the States. But can a power created by all the People of the States, & by this instrument to be exercised to the States respectively: can

11th. That each ſtate reſpectively ſhall have the power to provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining its own militia, whenſoever Congreſs ſhall omit or neglect to provide for the ſame. That the militia ſhall not be ſubject to martial law, except when in actual ſervice in time of war, invaſion or rebellion, and when not in the actual ſervice of the United States, ſhall be ſubject only to ſuch fines, penalties and puniſhments as ſhall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own ſtate.

12th. That the exclusive power of legiſlation given to Congreſs over the Federal Town and its adjacent diſtrict, and other places, purchaſed or to be purchaſed by Congreſs of any of the ſtates, ſhall extend only to ſuch regulations as reſpect the police and good government thereof.

13th. That no perſon ſhall be capable of being Preſident of the United States for more than eight years in any term of ſixteen years.

14th. That the judicial power of the United States ſhall be veſted in one Supreme Court, and in ſuch Courts of Admiralty as Congreſs may from time to time ordain and eſtabliſh in any of the different ſtates: The judicical power ſhall extend to all caſes in law and equity ariſing under treaties made, or which ſhall be made under the authority of the United States; to all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other foreign miniſters and conſuls; to all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction; to controverſies to which the United States ſhall be a party; to controverſies between two or more ſtates, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different ſtates. In all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other foreign miniſters and conſuls, and thoſe in which a ſtate ſhall be a party, the Supreme Court ſhall have original juriſdiction; in all other caſes before mentioned, the Supreme Court ſhall have appellate juriſdiction, as to matters of law only: except in caſes of equity, and of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction, in which the Supreme Court ſhall have appellate juriſdiction both as to law and fact, with ſuch exceptions and under ſuch regulations as the Congreſs ſhall make: But the judicial power of the United States ſhall extend to no caſe where the cauſe of action ſhall have originated before the ratification of this Conſtitution; except in diſputes between ſtates about their territory; diſputes between perſons claiming lands under the grants of different ſtates, and ſuits for debts due to the United States.

15th. That in criminal proſecutions, no man ſhall be reſtrained in the exerciſe of the uſual and accuſtomed right of challenging or excepting to the jury.

16th. That Congreſs ſhall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for Senators and Repreſentatives, or either of them, except when the Legiſlature of any ſtate ſhall neglect, refuſe, or be diſabled by invaſion or rebellion to prescribe the ſame.

17th. That thoſe clauſes which declare that Congreſs ſhall not exerciſe certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatſoever, to extend the powers of Congreſs; but that they be conſtrued either as making exceptions to the ſpecified powers where this ſhall be the caſe, or otherwiſe, as inſerted merely for greater caution.

18th. That the laws aſcertaining the compenſation of Senators and repreſentatives for their ſervices, be poſtponed in their operation, until after the election of repreſentatives immediately ſucceeding the paſſing thereof; that excepted, which ſhall firſt be paſſed on the ſubject.

19th. That ſome tribunal other than the Senate be provided for trying impeachments of Senators.

20th. That the ſalary of a judge ſhall not be encreaſed or diminiſhed during his continuance in office otherwiſe than by general regulations of ſalary, which may take place on a reviſion of the ſubject at ſtated periods of not leſs than ſeven years, to commence from the time ſuch ſalaries ſhall be firſt aſcertained by Congreſs.

AND the Convention do, in the name and behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, enjoin it upon their repreſentatives in Congreſs to exert all their influence and uſe all reaſonable and legal methods to obtain a RATIFICATION of the foregoing alterations and proviſions in the manner provided by the fifth article of the ſaid Conſtitution; and in all Congreſſional laws to be paſſed in the meantime, to conform to the ſpirit of theſe amendments as far as the ſaid Conſtitution will admit.

And ſo much of the ſaid amendments as is contained in the firſt twenty articles, conſtituting the Bill of Rights, being again read;

Reſolved, That this Convention doth concur therein.

The other amendments to the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution, contained in twenty-one articles, being then again read, a motion was made, and the queſtion being put, to amend the ſame by ſtriking out the third article, containing theſe words;

"When Congreſs ſhall lay direct taxes or exciſes, they ſhall immediately inform the Executive power "of each ſtate, of the quota of ſuch ſtate according to the cenſus herein directed, which is propoſed to be "thereby raiſed; and if the Legiſlature of any ſtate ſhall paſs a law which ſhall be effectual for raiſing

they respectively may alter, change, or resume or abridge the ſuch powers retained except in the mode pointed out. Having pointed out a mode by which these retained rights may be cancelled or abridged, no other mode is to be allowed. This

" ſuch quota at the time required by Congreſs, the taxes and exciſes laid by Congreſs ſhall not be collected " in ſuch ſtate."

It paſſed in the negative,—Ayes 65—Noes 85.

On motion of Mr. George Nicholas, ſeconded by Mr. Benjamin Harriſon, the ayes and noes on the ſaid queſtion were taken as followeth;

AYES.——Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilſon Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnſon, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin M'Ferran, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) Mr. David Stuart, Mr Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marſhall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr Thomas Smith, Mr. John Stuart, Mr. Daniel Fiſher, Mr. Alexander Woodrow, Mr. George Jackſon, Mr. John Prunty, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marſhall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnſon, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. Burdit Aſhton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley, Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William M'Clerry, Mr. James Webb, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Thomas Gaſkins, Mr. Archibald Woods, the Honorable James Madiſon, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Thomas Walke, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Benjamin Willſon, Mr. John Wilſon, Mr. William Peachey, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rinker, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blunt, Mr. Samuel Kello, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Buſhrod Waſhington, the Honorable George Wythe, and Mr. Thomas Mathews.

NOES.—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Eſq; Preſident Mr. Edmund Cuſhs, Mr. John Pride, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) Mr. John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteſon, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winſton, Mr. Thomas Read, the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Benjamin Harriſon, the Honorable John Tyler, Mr. David Patteſon, Mr. Stephen Pankey, jun. Mr. Joſeph Michaux, Mr. Francis Strother, Mr. Joſeph Jones, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Joſeph Haden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampſon, Mr. Iſaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. William Fleete, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeſon, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaſter) Mr. Stephens Thompſon Maſon, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Patteſon, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertſon, Mr. Walter Crocket, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Baſſett, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilſon, Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Edmund Ruſſin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayſon, Mr. Cuthbert Bullit, Mr. Walker Tomlin, Mr. William M'Kee, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenſon, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawſon, Mr. George Maſon, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmonds, the Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmiſon, and Mr. James Montgomery.

And then the main queſtion being put that this Convention doth concur with the Committee in the ſaid amendments;

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the foregoing amendments be fairly engroſſed upon parchment, ſigned by the Preſident of this Convention, and by him tranſmitted, together with the ratification of the Fœderal Conſtitution, to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a fair engroſſed copy of the Ratification of the Fœderal Conſtitution, with the ſubſequent Amendments this day agreed to, ſigned by the Preſident, and atteſted by the Secretary of this Convention, be tranſmitted by the Preſident in the name of the Convention to the Executive or Legiſlature of each ſtate in the union.

Ordered, That the Secretary do cauſe the journal of the proceedings

of this Convention to be fairly entered in a well bound book, and after being ſigned by the Preſident, and atteſted by the Secretary, that he depoſit the ſame in the archives of the Privy Council or Council of State,

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Printer to this Convention do ſtrike forthwith fifty copies of the Ratification and ſubſequent Amendments of the Fœderal Conſtitution for the uſe of each County in the Commonwealth.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Public Auditor be requeſted to adjuſt the accounts of the Printer to the Convention for his ſervices, and of the workman who made ſome temporary repairs and alterations in the New Academy, for the accommodation of the Convention, and to grant his warrant on the Treaſurer for the ſum due the reſpective claimants.

On motion, *Reſolved*, unanimouſly, That the thanks of the Convention be preſented to the Preſident, for his able, upright, and impartial diſcharge of the duties of that office.

Whereupon the Preſident made his acknowledgment to the Convention for ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of its approbation.

And then the Convention adjourned "*ſine die.*"

Signed,

EDMUND PENDLETON, PRESIDENT.

Atteſt,

JOHN BECKLEY, SECRETARY.

" thereby raiſed; and if the Legiſlature of any ſtate ſhall paſs a law which ſhall [illegible] ſuch

they respectively may, change, cancel or abridge the ſuch powers retained except in the mode pointed out. Having pointed out a mode by which these retained rights may be cancelled or abridged, no other mode is lawful. This

204-A. Proceedings, 2 June 1788, *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 4 June 1788.[1]

STATE CONVENTION,

Monday, the 2d of June, 1788.

ON which day, being the day appointed by the resolutions of the General Assembly for the meeting of the Convention, such of the members as appeared, attended at the State House and took their seats in Convention; and, a majority of the whole number, being present,

Ordered, That Mr. John Beckley, be appointed Secretary to the Convention.

The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, was nominated, and *unanimously* elected, President of the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Rev. Abner Waugh be appointed Chaplain to the Convention, and that he attend to read prayers every morning in the House, immediately after the bell shall be rang for calling the House.

Ordered, That William Drinkard, senior, and William Drinkard, junior, be appointed door keepers to the Convention, and that they severally give their attendance accordingly.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of Priviliges and Elections be appointed;

And a Committee was appointed; of Mr. Benjamin Harrison, Mr. George Mason, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Henry, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Paul Carrington, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Blair, Mr. Bland, Mr. Grayson, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mathews, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Wythe, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. James Taylor, of Caroline, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Corbin, Mr. Innes, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Henry Lee, and Mr. Bullit.

Ordered, That the Committee of Privliges and Elections do examine and report the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention; and, that in cases, where no returns are made, it be an instruction to the said Committee, to receive such evidence as the sitting member shall produce of his election, and report the same to the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Edmund Pendleton, jun. be appointed clerk of the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A petition of Thomas Stith, of the county of Brunswick, was presented to the House, and read, complaining of an undue election and return of Binns Jones, Esquire, one of the Delegates returned to serve in this Convention for the said county of Brunswick.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and elections, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the House.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Augustine Davis be appointed Printer to the Convention, and that he cause to be struck, forthwith, two hundred copies of the plan of Fœderal Government, also two hundred copies of the resolutions of the General Assembly of the 25th of October last, to be distributed among the members of this Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Convention be adjourned until to-morrow morning eleven o'clock, then to meet at the New Academy, on Shockœ-Hill, in this City.

1. For reprints, see RCS:Va., 910, note 1.

204-B. Proceedings, 3–7, 9 June 1788, *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 June 1788.[1]

STATE CONVENTION.

Tuesday, the 3d of June, 1788.

THE Convention met at the New Academy on Shocko-Hill, pursuant to adjournment.

A petition of Richard Morris, of the county of Louisa, was presented to the House, and read, complaining of an undue election and return of William White, Esquire, as one of the Delegates to serve in this Convention, for the said county of Louisa;

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and elections, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the House.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. William Pierce be appointed Serjeant at Arms to the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Daniel Hicks be appointed a door-keeper to the Convention, and that he give his attendance accordingly.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the rules and orders for conducting business in the House of Delegates, so far as the same may be applicable to the Convention, be observed therein.

On motion,

The resolution of Congress of the 28th of September last, together with the report of the Federal Convention lately held in Philadelphia, the resolutions of the General Assembly of the 25th of October last, and the act of the General Assembly, intituled, "An act concerning the Convention to be held in June next," were read; whereupon,

Resolved, That no question, general or particular, shall be propounded in this Convention, upon the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, or upon any clause or article thereof, until the said constitution shall have been discussed, clause by clause, through all its parts.

On motion, *Resolved*, That this Convention will to-morrow resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, eleven o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, the 4th of June.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, examined the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention, and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention for the counties of Albemarle, Amelia, Amherst, Bedford, Botetourt, Berkeley, Brunswick, Buckingham, Caroline, Charlotte, Charles-City, Chesterfield, Culpeper, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Elizabeth-City, Fauquier, Fairfax, Fayette, Fluvanna, Frederick, Gloucester, Goochland, Greenbrier, Greensville, Halifax, Hampshire, Hardy, Harrison, Hanover, Henrico, Henry, James-City, Jefferson, Isle of Wight, King George, King & Queen, King William, Lancaster, Lincoln, Loudoun, Louisa, Lunenburg, Madison, Mecklenbur, Mercer, Middlesex, Monongalia, Montgomery, Nansemond, New-Kent, Nelson, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Ohio, Orange, Pittsylvania, Princess Anne, Prince-George, Prince-William, Prince-Edward, Powhatan, Randolph, Richmond, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Russell, Shenandoah, Southampton, Spotsylvania, Stafford, Surry, Sussex, Warwick, Washington, York, and of a Delegate for the borough of Norfolk, and the city of Williamsburg, are satisfactory.

Mr. Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had enquired into the elections of Delegates for the counties of Accomack and Franklin, and had agreed to a report, and come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

1. For reprints see RCS:Va., 915, note 1; 941, note 1; 969, note 1; 1004, note 1; 1047, note 1; 1087, note 1.

It appears to your Committee, that no returns have been made of the election of Delegates to ſerve in this Convention, for the counties of Accomack and Franklin; that as to the election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Accomack, it appears from the information of Nathaniel Darby, and Littleton Eyre, Eſquires, that they were at the election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Accomack, in March laſt, and that George Parker and Edmund Cuſtis, Eſquires (the ſitting members) were proclaimed by the ſheriff at the cloſe of the poll as duly elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county in this Convention.

That as to the election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Franklin, it appears to your Committee, from the information of Robert Williams, Eſquire, that he was at the election of Delegates for the ſaid county of Franklin, in March laſt, and that John Early, and Thomas Arthurs, Eſquires, (the ſitting members) were proclaimed by the ſheriff at the cloſe of the poll as duly elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county in this Convention.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That Edmund Cuſtis, and George Parker, Eſquires, were elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county of Accomack in this Convention.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That John Early, and Thomas Arthurs, Eſquires, were elected Delegates to repreſent the ſaid county of Franklin in this Convention.

Ordered, That Mr. Maſon and Mr. Lawſon be added to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A petition of Samuel Anderſon, of the county of Cumberland, was repreſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth, that Thomas H. Drew, Eſquire, one of the Delegates returned for the ſaid county, to ſerve in this Convention, was not, at the time of his election, a freeholder in this Commonwealth, and praying that the election of the ſaid Thomas H. Drew, may be ſet aſide, and another election directed to ſupply his place.

Ordered, That the ſaid petition be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the ſame, with their opinion thereupon, to the Houſe.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into conſideration the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, eleven o'clock.

THURSDAY, the 5th of June.

Mr. Harriſon reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their conſideration, the petition of Samuel Anderſon to them referred, and had come to a reſolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame was again twice read, and agreed to by the Houſe, as followeth:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the petition of the ſaid Samuel Anderſon, praying that the election of Mr. Thomas H. Drew, a member returned to ſerve in this Convention for the county of Cumberland, may be ſet aſide and a new election had to ſupply his place, be rejected.

Mr. Harriſon reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, examined the return of the election of Delegates to ſerve in this Convention for the county of Weſtmoreland, and had come to a reſolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame was again twice read, and agreed to by the Houſe, followeth:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the return of the election of Delegates to ſerve in this Convention, for the ſaid county of Weſtmoreland, is ſatisfactory.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take in to farther conſideration, the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their conſideration, and made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

FRIDAY, the 6th of June.

Mr. Harriſon reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their conſideration the petition of Thomas Stith, complaining of an undue election and return of Mr. Binns Jones, as a Delegate to this Convention for the county of Brunſwick, and had come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again read, and are as followeth:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the uſual rule preſcribing a time for the delivery of liſts of perſons to be objected to, be diſpenſed with on this occaſion, the petitioner having waved his right to require the ſame from the ſitting member, and having agreed to deliver a liſt of perſons to whom he objects on or before 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the depoſitions of the witneſſes, as well on behalf of the petitioner as the ſitting member, be taken before Thomas Edmonds, Benjamin Blick, Sterling Edmonds, Andrew Meade, John F. Edmonds, John Powell, and James Fletcher, Gentlemen, or any four of them.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the farther conſideration of the ſaid petition be deferred until Wedneſday the eighteenth of this inſtant (June).

The firſt and ſecond reſolutions being ſeverally read a ſecond time, were, on the queſtion put thereupon, agreed to by the Houſe.

The laſt reſolution being again read, a motion was made, and the queſtion being put to amend the ſame by ſtriking out the words "Wedneſday the eighteenth," and inſerting in lieu thereof the words "Friday the twentieth,"

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

And then the main queſtion being put, that the Houſe do agree to the reſolution ſo amended;

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections be diſcharged from further proceeding on the petition of Thomas Stith to them referred, and that the petitioner have leave to withdraw the ſame.

The Convention then, according to the order of the day, again reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther conſideration, the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States; and after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Preſident reſumed the chair, and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution under their Conſideration, and made a farther progreſs therein, but not having time to go through the ſame, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to ſit again.

Reſolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, again reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the ſaid propoſed Conſtitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

SATURDAY, the 7th of June.

Mr. Wythe reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the Committee had, according to order, had under their consideration, the petition of Richard Morris, complaining of an undue election and return of Mr. William White, as a Delegate to serve in this Convention for the county of Louisa, and had come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again severally twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the petitioner do either by himself, or his agent, within two days deliver to the sitting member, or his agent, lists of the persons intended by the petitioner to be objected to, who voted for the sitting member, giving in the said lists the several heads of objections, and distinguishing the same against the names of the votes objected to; and that the sitting member do by himself, or his agent, on or before the 16th day of this instant, (June) deliver the like lists, on his part, to the petitioner or his agent.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the depositions of the witnesses, as well on behalf of the petitioner as the sitting member, be taken before Nelson Anderson, Waddy Thompson, and Charles Yancey, Gentlemen, and Thomas Johnson the sheriff of the said county of Louisa, or any three of them.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the further consideration of the said petition be deferred until Wednesday the 18th of this instant, (June.)

The Convention then, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr President resumed the chair, and Mr. Wyth reported that the committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, on Monday next, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten o'clock.

MONDAY, the 9th of June.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair and Mr. Wythe reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had made a farther progress therein, but not having time to go through the same, had directed him to move the Convention for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Convention will, tomorrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said proposed Constitution of Government.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

205-A. Advertisement for Subscribers, *Virginia Independent Chronicle,* 11 June 1788.[1]

PROPOSALS

For Publiſhing by Subſcription, the

DEBATES

OF THE

CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA:

CONDITIONS:

THE Debates ſhall be printed on good paper, and a legible Type.

The price to ſubſcribers will be 25 per cent. leſs than to non-ſubſcribers, which will be at the rate of one dollar for every 200 pages the work may contain.

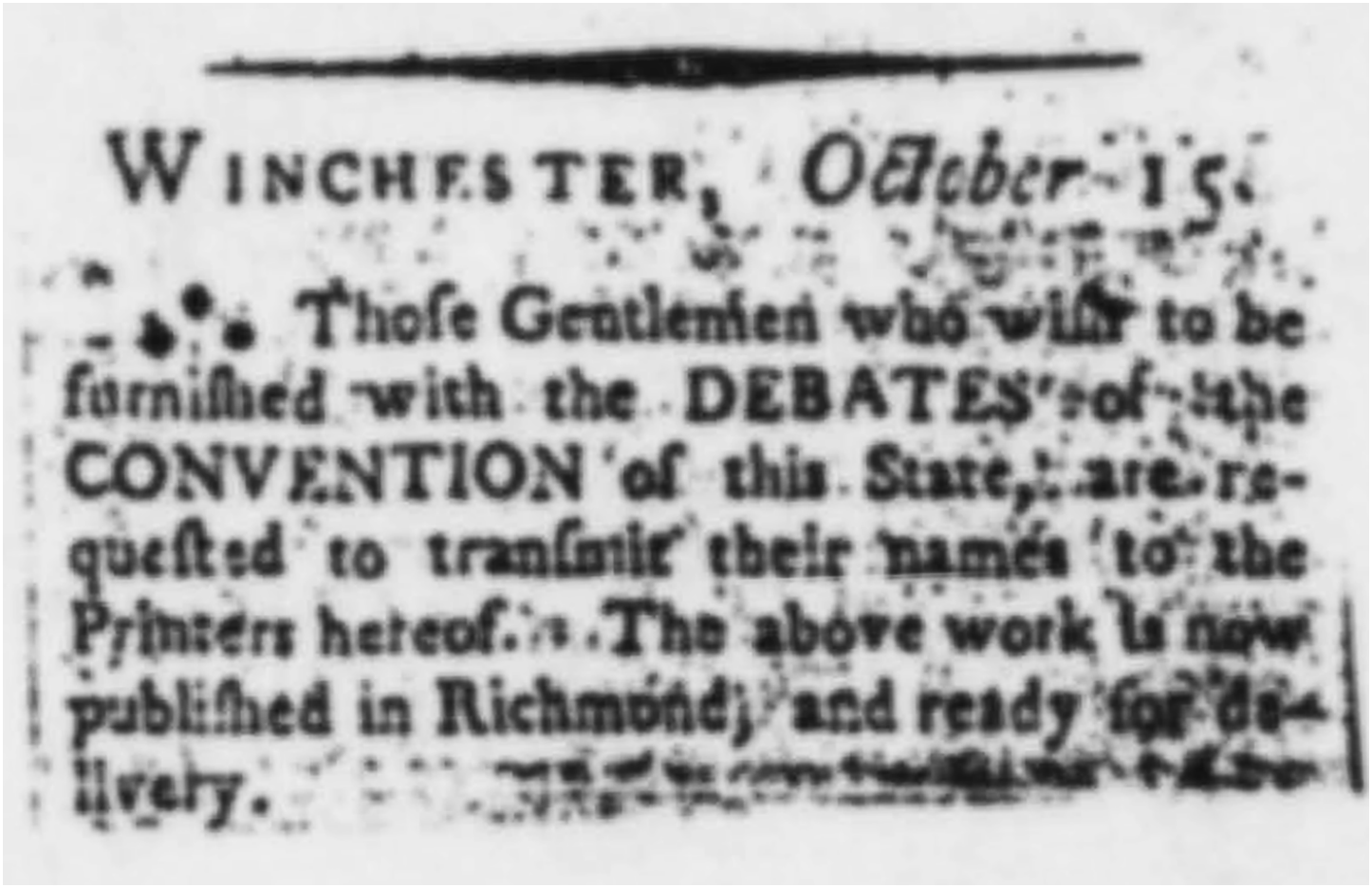
The work ſhall commence as ſoon as 500 copies are ſubſcribed for.

Subſcriptions are received at the printing offices in Alexandria, Frederickſburg, Peterſburg, Norfolk, and by the printer hereof.

☞ The public may reſt aſſured that the perſons who have undertaken this buſineſs are determined to act with the moſt perfect integrity and impartiality.

1. The *Virginia Independent Chronicle* printed this advertisement throughout June and July and on 6 August and 10 September. Similar advertisements appeared in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal,* 18 June, 3 September; *Virginia Herald,* 19 June; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette,* 25 June, 2 July. The New York *Daily Advertiser,* 1 July, carried a brief announcement of the proposals to publish the Virginia Convention debates.

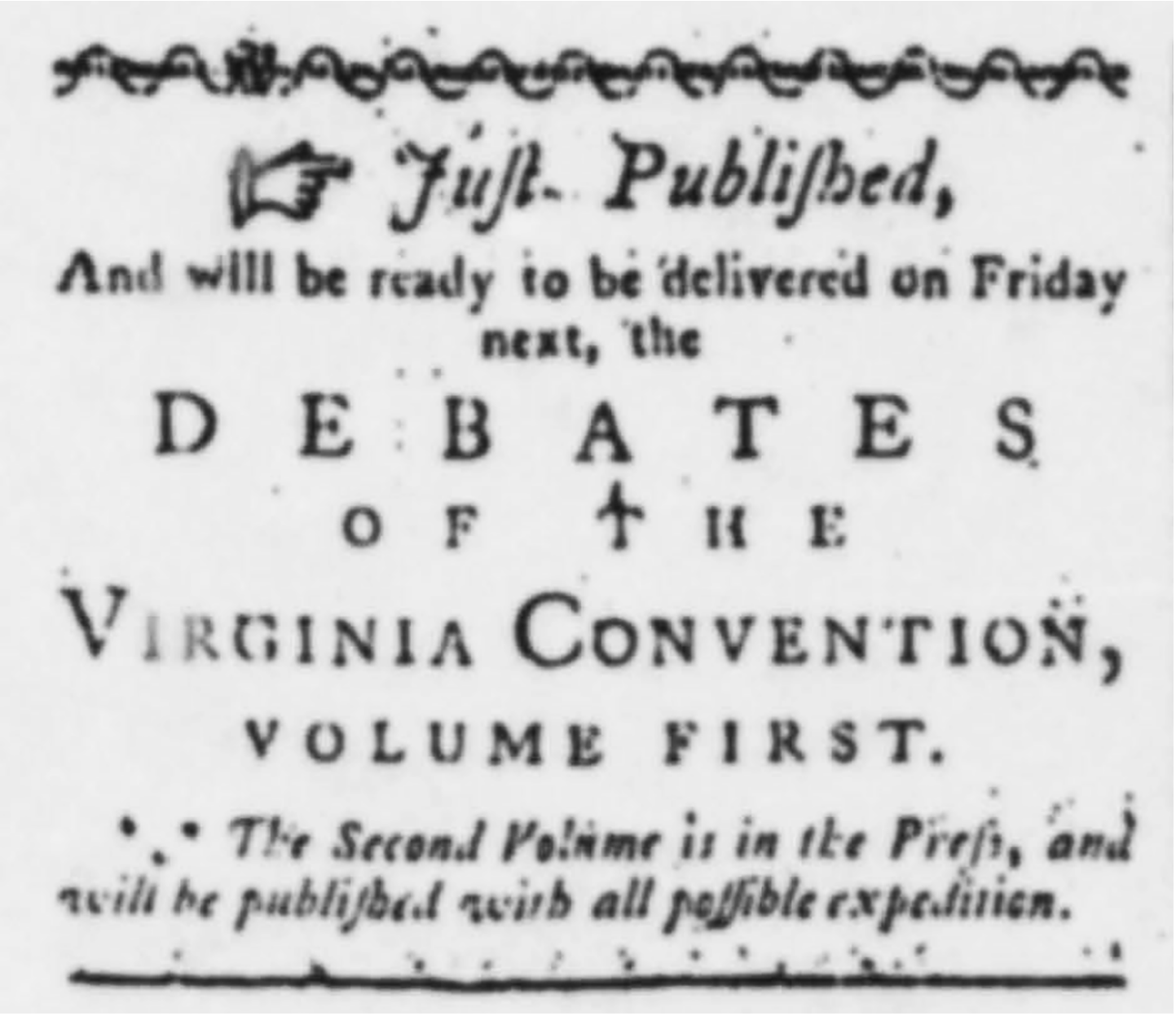
205-B. ***Virginia Centinel*****, 15 October 1788.**



WINCHESTER, October 15.

Thoſe Gentlemen who wiſh to be furniſhed with the DEBATES of the CONVENTION of this State, are requeſted to tranſmit their names to the Printers hereof. The above work is now publiſhed in Richmond, and ready for delivery.

205-C. *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 22 October 1788.



☞ *Juſt Publiſhed,*

And will be ready to be delivered on Friday next, the

DEBATES

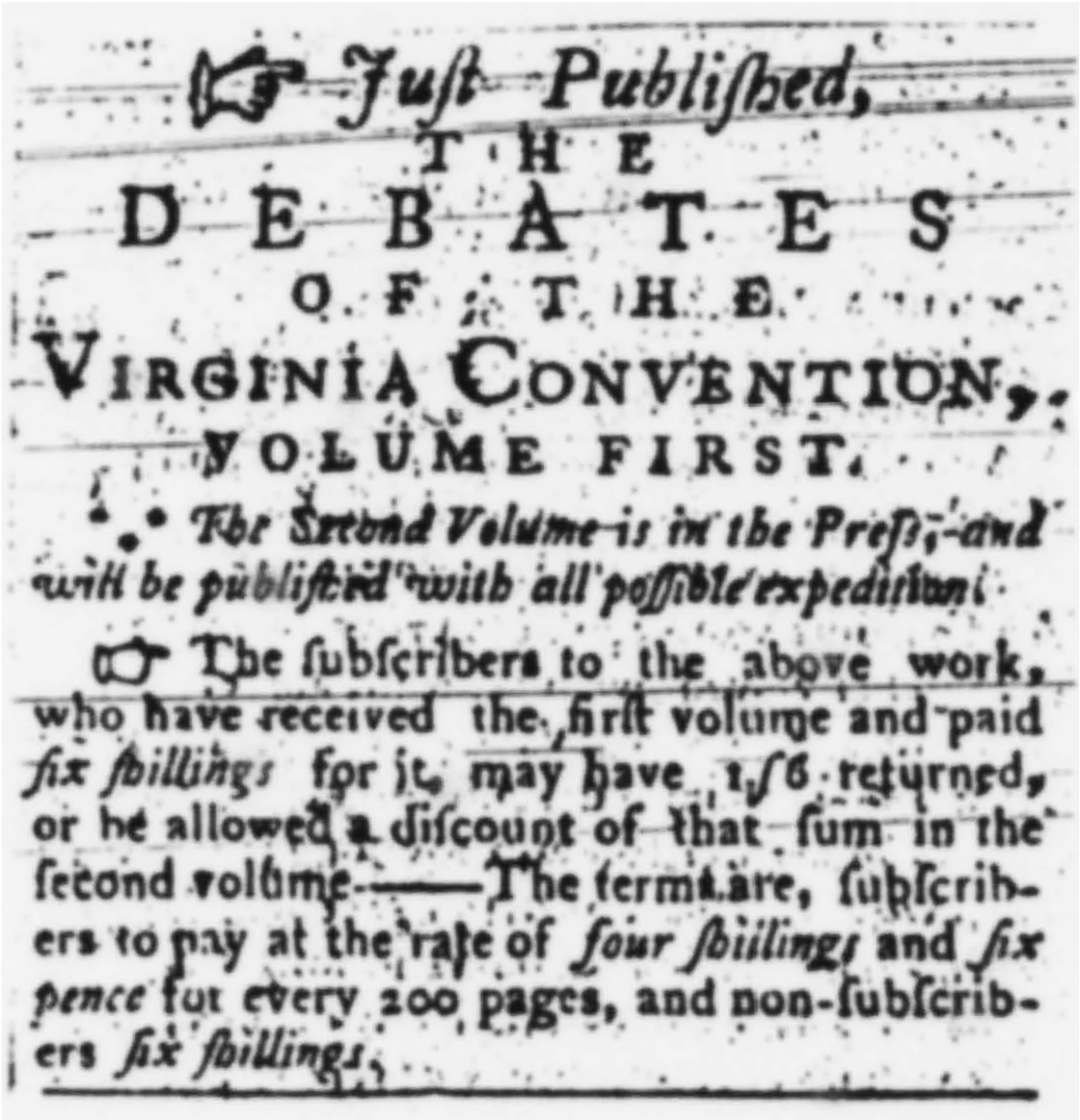
OF THE

VIRGINIA CONVENTION,

VOLUME FIRST.

*** *The Second Volume is in the Preſs, and will be publiſhed with all poſſible expedition.*

205-D. *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 29 October 1788.



☞ *Just Published,*

THE

DEBATES

OF THE

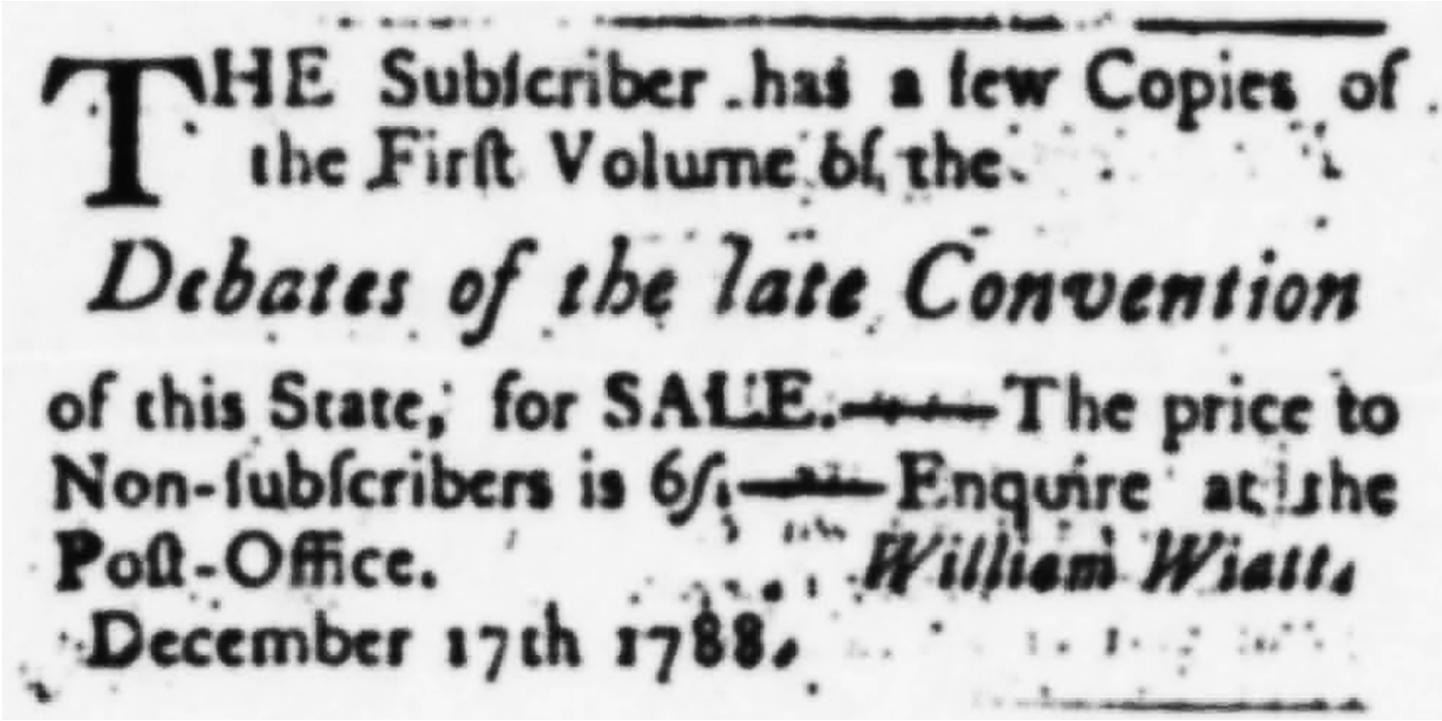
VIRGINIA CONVENTION,

VOLUME FIRST.

* * *The Second Volume is in the Press, and will be published with all possible expedition.*

☞ The ſubſcribers to the above work, who have received the firſt volume and paid *ſix ſhillings* for it, may have 1ſ6 returned, or be allowed a diſcount of that ſum in the ſecond volume——The terms are, ſubſcribers to pay at the rate of *four ſhillings* and *ſix pence* for every 200 pages, and non-ſubſcribers *ſix ſhillings*.

205-E. *Virginia Herald*, 18 December 1788.[1]



THE Subſcriber has a few Copies of the Firſt Volume of the

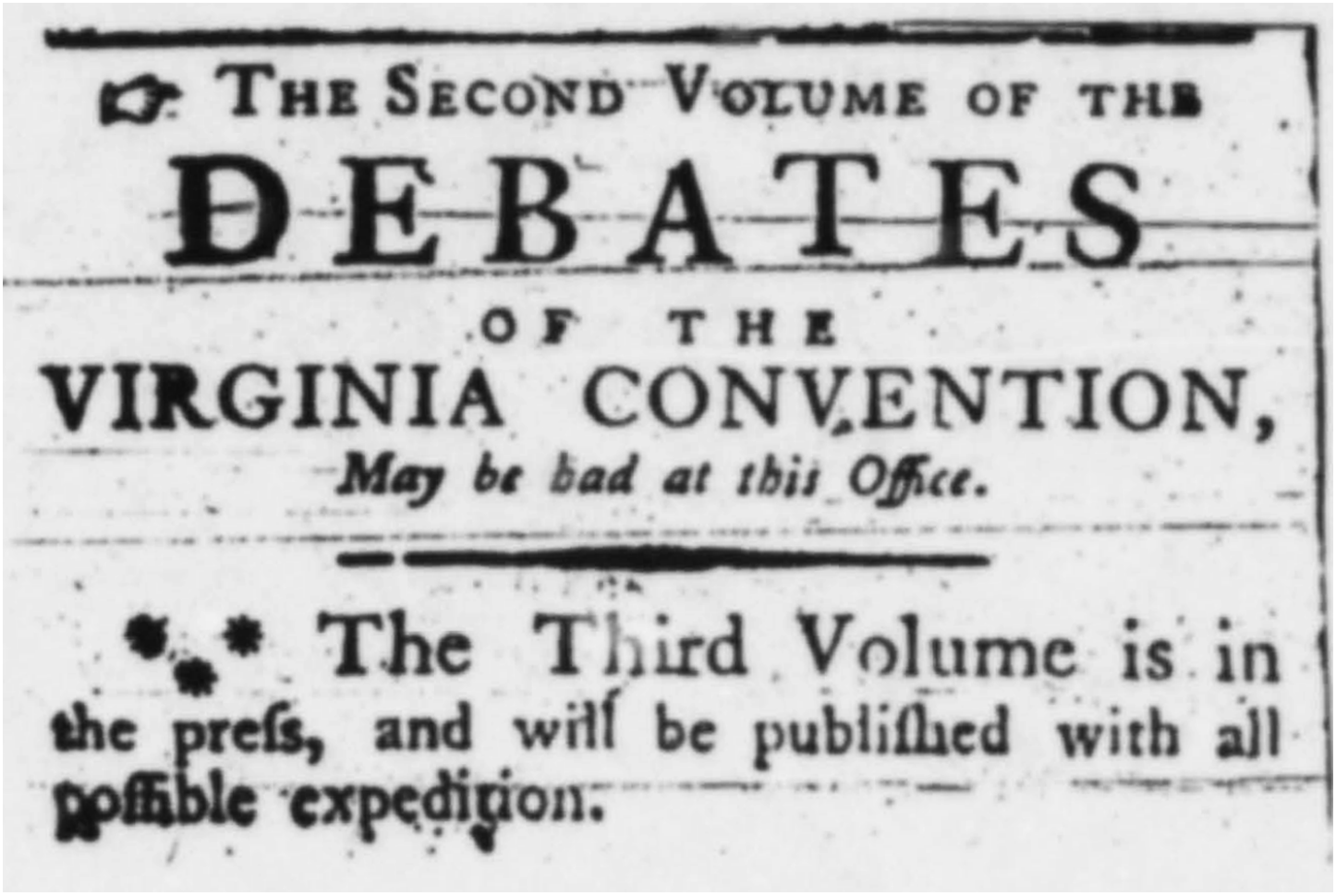
Debates of the late Convention

of this State, for SALE.—The price to Non-ſubſcribers is 6ſ.—Enquire at the Poſt-Office. *William Wiatt.*

December 17th 1788.

1. Repeated in the issue of 25 December.

205-F. *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 1 July 1789.[1]



☞ THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE

DEBATES

OF THE

VIRGINIA CONVENTION,

May be had at this Office.

*** The Third Volume is in the preſs, and will be publiſhed with all poſſible expedition.

1. Also printed in the issues of 8, 15 July.

205-G. Title Page and U.S. Constitution (1788–1789 edition).

DEBATES

AND OTHER

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONVENTION

OF

VIRGINIA,

Convened at *Richmond*, on *Monday* the 2d day of *June*, 1788, for the purpose of deliberating on the Constitution recommended by the Grand Federal Convention.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Virginia. Convention, 1788.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
CITY OF WASHINGTON

PETERSBURG:
PRINTED BY
HUNTER AND PRENTIS.
M,DGC,LXXXVIII.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES of AMERICA,

As agreed upon by the Convention of Delegates of the United States, held at Philadelphia.

PREAMBLE.

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.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SECTION I. 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.

SECT. II. 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

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 chooſe 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 chooſe their Speaker and other officers; and ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

SENATE.

SECT. III. 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 chooſe 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

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.

SECT. IV. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each State by the Legiſlature thereof; but the Congreſs may at any time by law make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the places of chooſing Senators.

GENERAL CONGRESS.

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.

SECT. V. 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 authoriſed 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.

SECT. VI. 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

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.

POWERS OF CONGRESS.

SECT. VII. 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.

SECT. VIII. 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

form 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 limitted 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.

RESTRICTIONS UPON CONGRESS.

SECT. IX. 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

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 monies 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.

RESTRICTIONS UPON RESPECTIVE STATES.

SECT. X. 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 gol[d] 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 its inſpection laws; and the nett 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 the 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.

PRESIDENT.

SECT. I. 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

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 chooſe 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 chooſe the Preſident. But in chooſing 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 chooſe from them by ballot the Vice-Preſident.

The Congreſs may determine the time of chooſing 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 enters 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, p otect and defend the Conſtitution of the United States."

SECT. II. 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.

SECT. III. 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 pub-

lic

lic Miniſters; he ſhall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and ſhall commiſſion all the officers of the United States.

SECT. IV. 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.
JUDICIARY.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 a 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.

SECT. III. 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

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.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 labor 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 labor, but ſhall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom ſuch ſervice or labor may be due.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. IV. 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.

AMENDMENTS PROVIDED.

The Congreſs, whenever two-thirds of both Houſes ſhall deem it neceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this Conſtitution,

ſtitution, or, on the application of the Legiſlatures of two-thirds of the ſeveral States, ſhall call a Convention for propoſing amendments, which, in either caſe, ſhall be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this Conſtitution, when ratified by the Legiſlatures of three fourths of the ſeveral States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be propoſed by the Congreſs; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no State, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

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.

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

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, *we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT,
and DEPUTY *from* VIRGINIA.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.	John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
MASSACHUSETTS.	Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
CONNECTICUT.	William Samuel Johnſon, Roger Sherman.
NEW-YORK.	Alexander Hamilton.
NEW-JERSEY.	William Livingſton, David Brearly, William Patterſon, Jonathan Dayton.
PENNSYLVANIA.	Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzſimons, Jared Ingerſoll, James Wilſon, Gouverneur Morris.
DELAWARE.	George Read, Gunning Bedford, *jun.* John Dickinſon, Richard Baſſett, Jacob Broom.
MARYLAND.	James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carrol.
VIRGINIA.	John Blair, James Madiſon, *jun.*
NORTH-CAROLINA.	William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamſon.
SOUTH-CAROLINA.	John Rutledge, Charles Coteſworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
GEORGIA.	William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Atteſt.

WILLIAM JACKSON, SECRETARY.

IN CONVENTION, MONDAY, September 17, 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 preceding 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,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

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

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 inferiour 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 indiſpenſible.

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 the unanimous Order of the Convention.

His Excellency the Preſident of Congreſs.

DEBATES

205-H. David Robertson's Comments (1788–1789 edition), Vol. III, p. 228.

Virginia. Convention. 1788.

DEBATES

AND OTHER

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONVENTION

OF

VIRGINIA,

Convened at *Richmond*, on *Monday* the 2d day of *June*, 1788, for the purpose of deliberating on the Constitution recommended by the Grand Federal Convention.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

VOLUME III.

PETERSBURG:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM PRENTIS,
M,DCC,LXXXIX.

☞ THE Gentleman who took the foregoing DEBATES in SHORT-HAND, having had but an ineligible ſeat in the Gallery, a ſituation remote from the ſpeakers, where he was frequently interrupted by the noiſe made by thoſe who were conſtantly going out and coming in, is conſcious that he muſt have loſt ſome of the moſt beautiful periods and beſt obſervations of the different ſpeakers; and is afraid that in ſome inſtances, he *may* have miſapprehended their meaning. He therefore hopes an indulgent forgiveneſs for any imperfections the DEBATES may contain, whether from omiſſion or other inaccuracy. He can with truth affirm, that he was governed by the moſt ſacred regard to juſtice and impartiality, of which, he flatters himſelf, the work itſelf will be a ſufficient proof.

He further begs leave to add, that his having taken the DEBATES of the Convention of North Carolina, and the preſſure of his other avocations, diſabled him from furniſhing the Printer with ſo fair a copy as he would otherwiſe have done—He was only able to give him a rough tranſcription from the Short-Hand original. The inaccuracies and errors in the punctuation, muſt be attributed to his inability to overlook the Preſs.—The Printer having been deprived of the uſual aid of a proof ſheet, it is hoped the typographical errors will be therefore excuſed.

FINIS.

205-I. Title Page and Preface to 1805 Edition.

DEBATES

AND

OTHER PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Convention of Virginia,

CONVENED AT RICHMOND, ON MONDAY THE SECOND DAY OF JUNE, 1788, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DELIBERATING ON THE CONSTITUTION RECOMMENDED BY THE GRAND FEDERAL CONVENTION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

TAKEN IN SHORT HAND,
BY DAVID ROBERTSON.....*OF PETERSBURG.*

SECOND EDITION.

PROPERTY OF
State Historical Society
OF WISCONSIN,

Richmond:
PRINTED AT THE ENQUIRER-PRESS,
FOR RITCHIE & WORSLEY AND AUGUSTINE DAVIS.

1805.

PREFACE.

ALMOST immediately after the revolution, the inefficacy of the confederation, and the necessity of a better system of general government for the United States, were universally admitted. This necessity was so strongly felt, that all the states, with the exception of Rhode-Island, deputed to a general convention to be held in Philadelphia, some of their most distinguished statesmen, orators and patriots, in order to provide some remedy for the evil; which could only be effected by amending the *old*, or devising a *new* federal constitution. That enlightened assembly deeming the confederation radically defective and unsusceptible of improvement, devised the present constitution of the United States.

This was a spectacle, which the political annals of the world had never before displayed. Almost all the governments which had preceded it, had been the offspring of force, or fraud, or ill-digested policy. They had been founded by the despotic power, or the intriguing arts of a few designing men. All the improvements which had been introduced into their fundamental principles, had flowed from the unobserved innovations of time, or sprung from the insurrective impulse of the nation. It was left to the United States to exhibit the unprecedented spec-

tacle of a people calmly electing representatives to organise the plan of a written constitution, founded upon the imperscriptible rights of man, and uncontaminated by peerage or privilege.

The work of so august a body, all the members of which were of very respectable, and some of pre-eminent talents, necessarily commanded great respect -It was no sooner published, than it became the general topic of discussion every where throughout the United States.—All the people from Georgia to New-Hampshire were animated by the subject.—The mechanic and farmer were as eagerly engaged in the investigation, as the man of science, or the professed politician.——The presses teemed with essays for and against it. Its advocates and opponents were equally enthusiastic:—but though the powers of language and argument seemed to be exhausted; the discussion was amicable and candid.—No indecorum or violence of expression interrupted the harmony of their public or private debates; no malignant abuse or virulent scurrility disgraced their writings. Happily for the people of America, party spirit, that bane of social happiness, was then unknown to them. Hence the minds of the great body of the people, became more enlightened on the science of government, than perhaps the people of any other country ever were before.—It was indeed a sublime spectacle, to behold all the inhabitants of a free and enlightened community in time of profound peace; engaged in canvassing the merits of a new plan of government, formed for their consideration and at their own request, by a select body of their wisest and best citizens!

The people being thus informed, every state selected some of its ablest citizens to convene for the purpose of deliberating on the merits of the proposed constitution. Virginia was in this respect, second to none of her sister states.—In almost every county, citizens conspicuous for their talents and integrity were chosen—no citizen was excluded from a seat in the convention, (as from the ordinary legislature) because he enjoyed an executive or judicial office; the governor, the chief justice, other judges, and the attorney general of the commonwealth, were all members of this most respectable assembly.

This convention was not collected into secret conclave. It was not to deliberate on subjects of limited or evanescent importance. But it was held in the face of the universe; and the whole universe might have seen it engaged in a discussion, the most interesting of all to a free people. It was not whether they should select a king or a parcel of nobles, to rule over their country; it was not to decide whether they should enlist themselves under the banners of a white or a red rose; whether they should select "a Cyrus or an Artaxerxes, a Mahomet or a Mustapha" to sway the sceptre of empire—but to decide how they should best organize a system of policy, which might perpetuate and perhaps *immortalize* the existing liberties of the nation. The members of the convention differed about subordinate expedients: they differed about the propriety of previous or subsequent amendments. —But on the fundamental principles of the constitution, on the sanctity of the *will of the people*, on the interminable inviolability of the *rights*

of man, there was but one sentiment and one voice. At every successive step of the discussion, it was marked and ennobled by the same undisguised dignity of sentiments. Every speech breathes the spirit of a freeman; and should the following record descend to an enslaved posterity, every page will become a monument of the political purity of their fathers, and of their own disgraceful degeneracy. Should the footsteps of a tyrant hereafter contaminate the soil of our country, the "Debates of the Virginia Convention" will, probably, be among the earliest victims of a suspicious proscription.

The talents of these statesmen were scarce inferior to their independence. They had been culled from the mass of the people, to represent their most important interests; and the people, regardful of the importance of the trust had selected their most enlightened friends to decide upon the constitution. It was an assembly of the most eloquent, the most experienced, and most sagacious statesmen in Virginia; many of whom had already filled the most honorable offices under the confederation or the commonwealth. Inexorable death has robbed us of many; yet many of them still survive to direct the affairs of their country. The eloquence of Henry is now mute. The Roman energy of Mason has expired. Pendleton is slumbering under the laurels of the tomb: And the genius of Grayson is gone forever. Yet, when this convention assembled, Henry, and Mason, and Pendleton, and Grayson, were among the living ornaments of their country. These were the co-

temporaries and fellow-labourers of men, who still occupy the most distinguished stations.—Among these let us mention, the present venerable Chancellor of Virginia: the Secretary of State: the Chief Justice of the United States: and our indefatigable Minister at the court of London. When such talents were combined with such an unshackled and manly spirit of investigation, what could have been expected but luminous and valuable discussions?

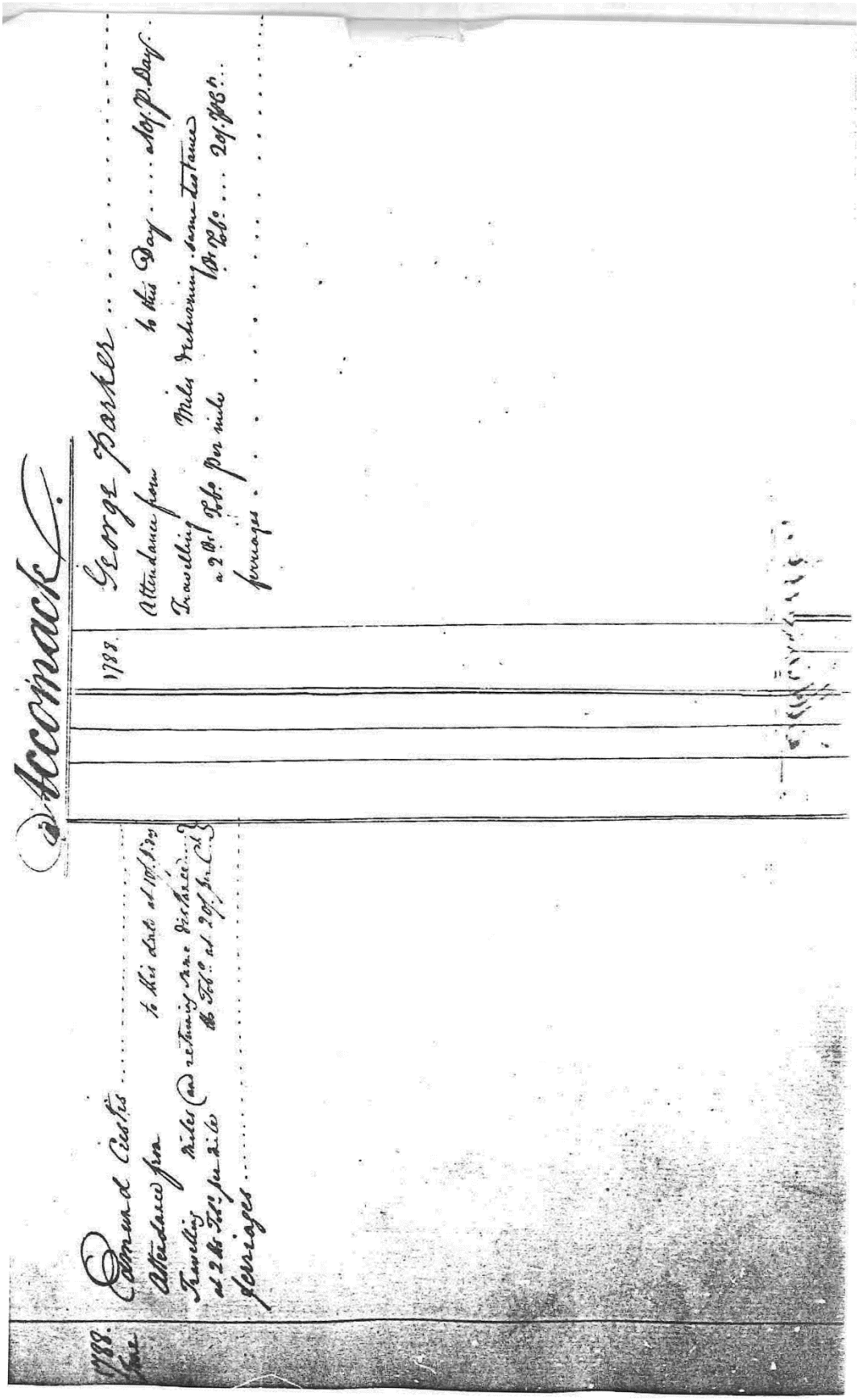
The great and general eagerness to know their deliberations, induced the publication of these debates, which were taken down in short hand, as fully and accurately as an ineligible seat, and other disadvantageous circumstances permitted the stenographer to take them.

Though they are much more detailed than such debates usually are, and though he was governed by the most sacred regard to strict justice and impartiality in taking and transcribing them, the peculiarity of his situation, must have rendered the publication imperfect, and perhaps in some (he hopes *few*) instances, have occasioned a misconception of the meaning of the speakers. Among other disadvantages, it was re-published without the aid of a *proof-sheet*. The transcriber had no opportunity of *examining* and *correcting* the *sheet* first committed to the press, so as to render all the other sheets accurate—a benefit which perhaps is common to every other publication in the English language. Yet the substance of those debates was so interesting, that the work met with general approba-

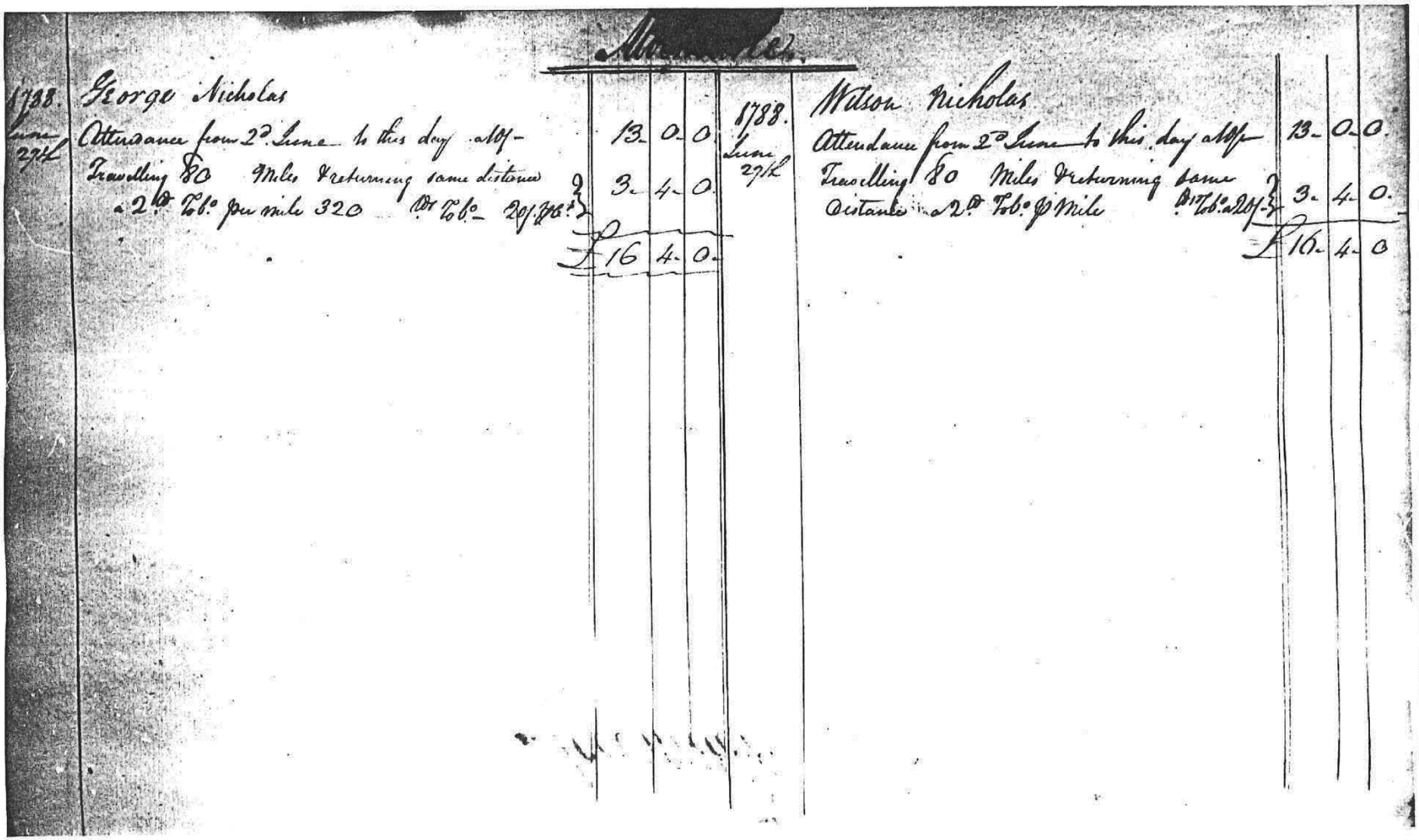
tion; and a much greater number of volumes might have been easily sold, than were published.—The book is now in great demand, and not to be procured. A second edition has been for a long time loudly called for. In compliance with what is conceived to be the general desire, it is now published. In order to make it more acceptable, it has been in part revised and corrected by the same stenographer who took them down. He has excluded, it is believed, most of the errors in the first edition.—He has been aided in doing so, by reference to part of the stenographical manuscript which is preserved in his possession; part of it has been destroyed. This revision might perhaps have been *perfect*, could he have had some communication with the speakers on some points. As he could not communicate with *all*, he declined, for obvious reasons, to communicate with *any*.

RICHMOND, JUNE 1st, 1805.

206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788.[1]



1. Virginia State Library.



1788. June 27th. George Nicholas
Attendance from 2d. June to this day at 10/- 13- 0- 0
Travelling 80 Miles & returning same distance 160 at 2d. Tob. per mile 320 Dt. Tob. 20/ 3- 4- 0
£ 16- 4- 0

1788. June 27th. Wilson Nicholas
Attendance from 2d June to this day at 10/- 13- 0- 0
Travelling 80 Miles & returning same distance 160 at 2d. Tob. p. Mile Dt. Tob. at 20/ 3- 4- 0
£ 16- 4- 0

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

Amelia

1788. John Pride

June 27 Attendance from 2 to this day 18/ — 13. —

Travelling 40 Miles returning same distance a 2d. Pr. Mile .160 @ Pr. Lb. 20/. pr. Ct. 1. 12. —

Ferriages 2. 6

£ 14. 14. 6

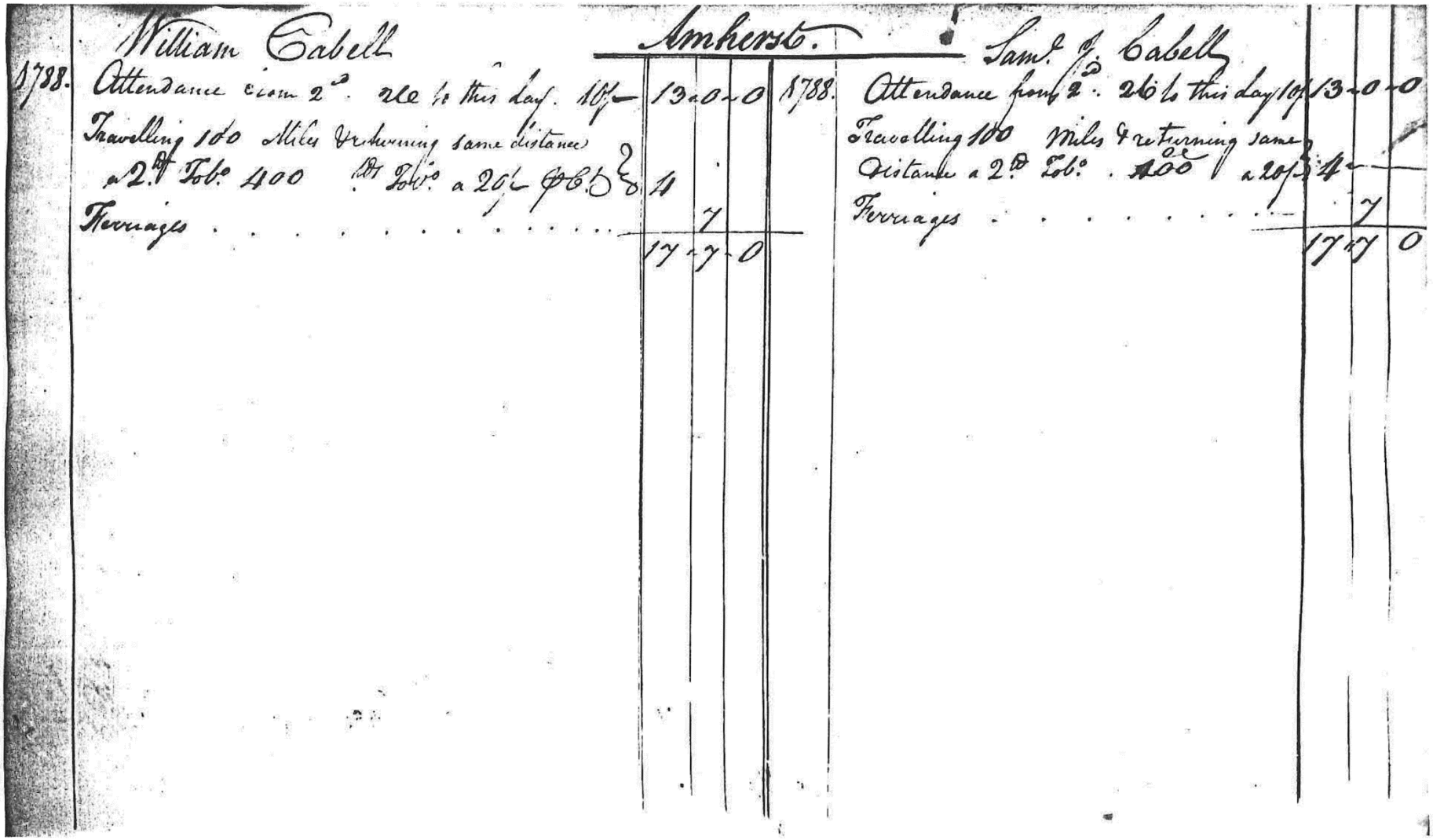
1788. Edmund Booker

June 26. Attendance from 2nd. Sest. . . to this day 18/ — 12. 10. —

Travelling 45. Miles returning same distance a 2d. Pr. Mile 130 @ Pr. Lb. a 20/ 1. 16. —

Ferriages 1. 3

£ 14. 7. 3.



Amherst.

William Cabell

1788. Attendance from 2d. 26th to this Day 16d — 13 0 0

Travelling 100 Miles & returning same distance a 2d. Pr. Mile 400 lbs Tobo. a 20/ per C. 4 0

Ferriages 7

17 7 0

1788. Attendance from 2d. 26th to this Day 16d 13 0 0

Travelling 100 Miles & returning same distance a 2d. Pr. Mile 400 lbs Tobo. a 20/ per C. 4 0

Ferriages 7

17 7 0

Sam.l J.d Cabell

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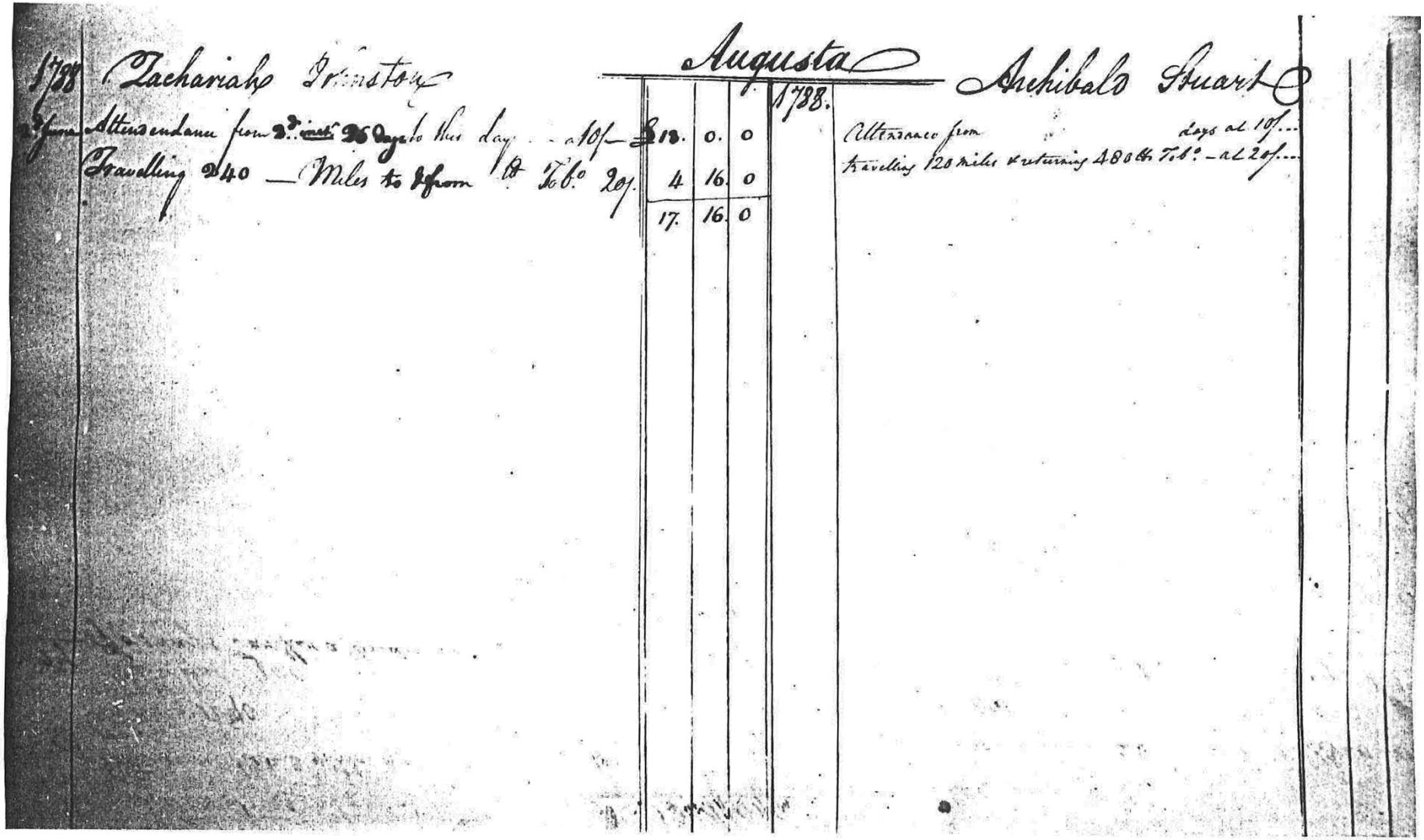


1788 Zachariah Johnston

Augusta Archibald Stuart

1788.

From Attendance from 2d inst. 26 Days to this Day ... at 10/ 13. 0. 0

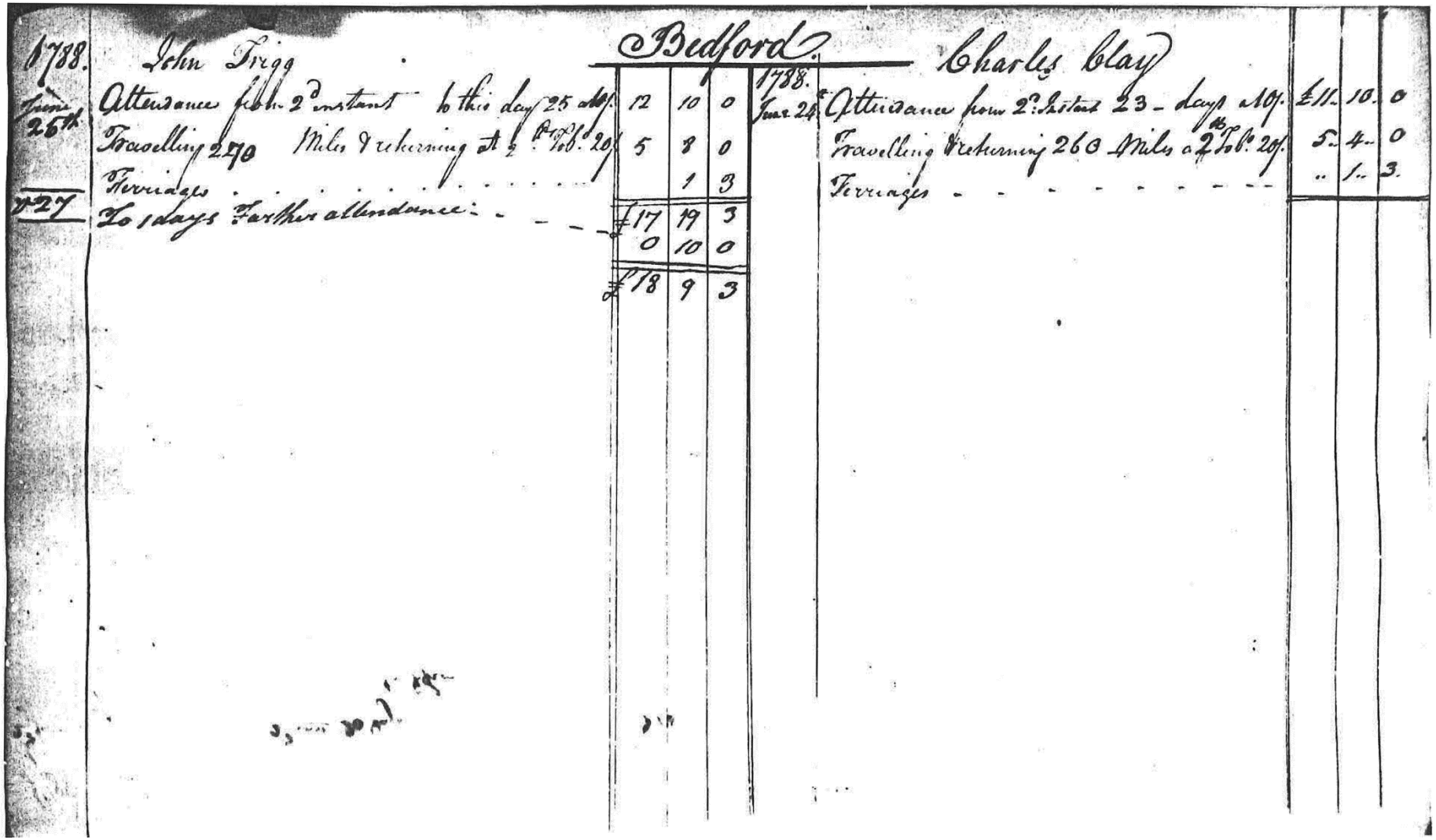
Travelling 240 Miles to & from Va. Feb. 20/. 4 16. 0

17. 16. 0

Attendance from ... days at 10/...

Travelling 120 miles & returning 480 do. T.d: - at 20/...

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Bedford.

1788. June 26th

John Trigg

Attendance from 2d instant to this day 25 days. £12 10 0

Travelling 270 Miles returning at ½ p. Mile 20 5 8 0

Ferriages 1 3

27 To 1 days further attendance £17 19 3
0 10 0

£18 9 3

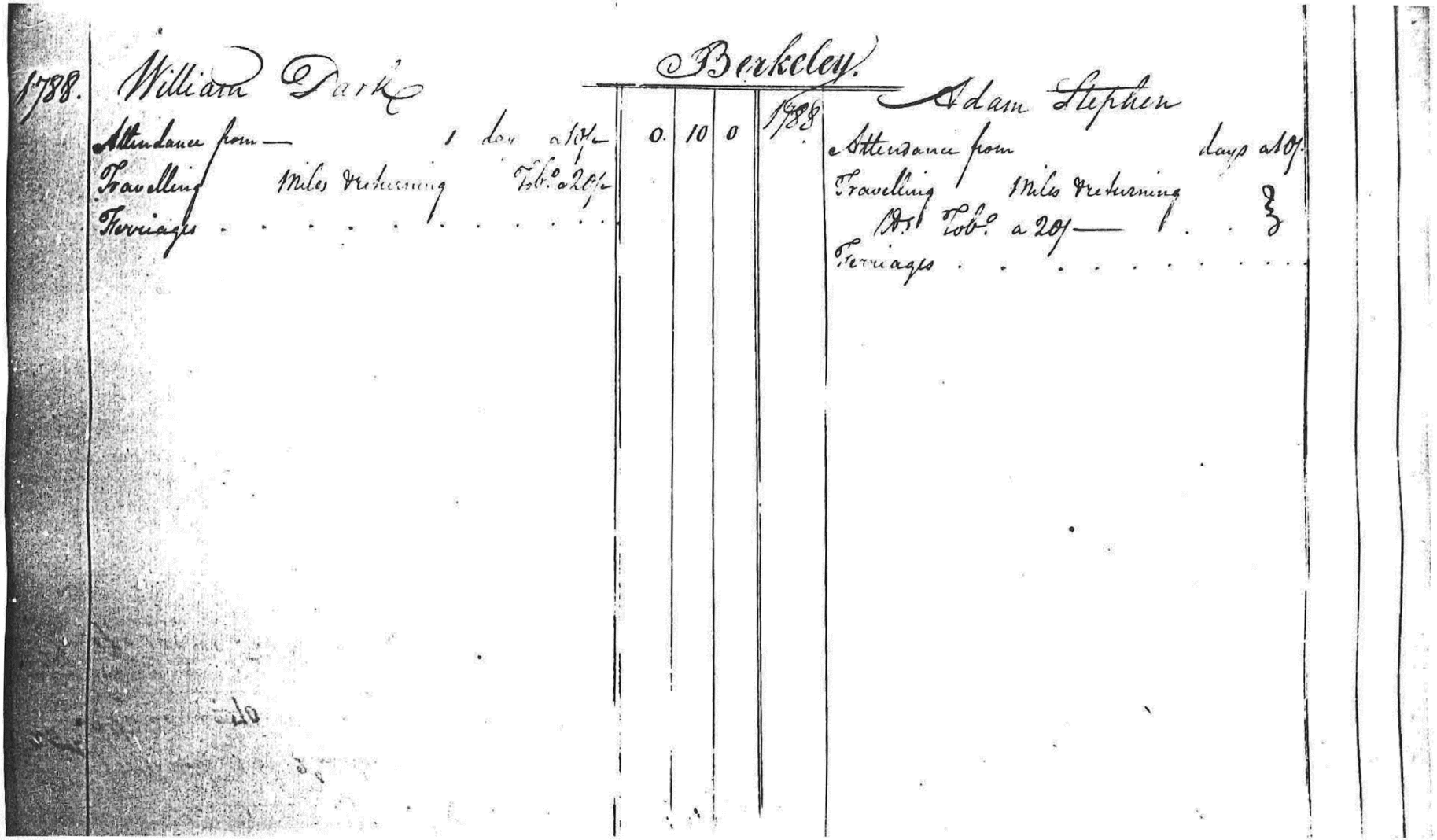
1788. June 26

Charles Clay

Attendance from 2d instant 23 days 10s. £11 10 0

Travelling returning 260 Miles at 2d p. Mile 20s. 5 4 0

Ferriages 1 3



1788. William Park — Berkeley. — Adam Stephen

Attendance from — 1 Day a 10/ — 0. 10. 0

Travelling Miles Returning Tob.o a 20/

Ferriages . . . . . .

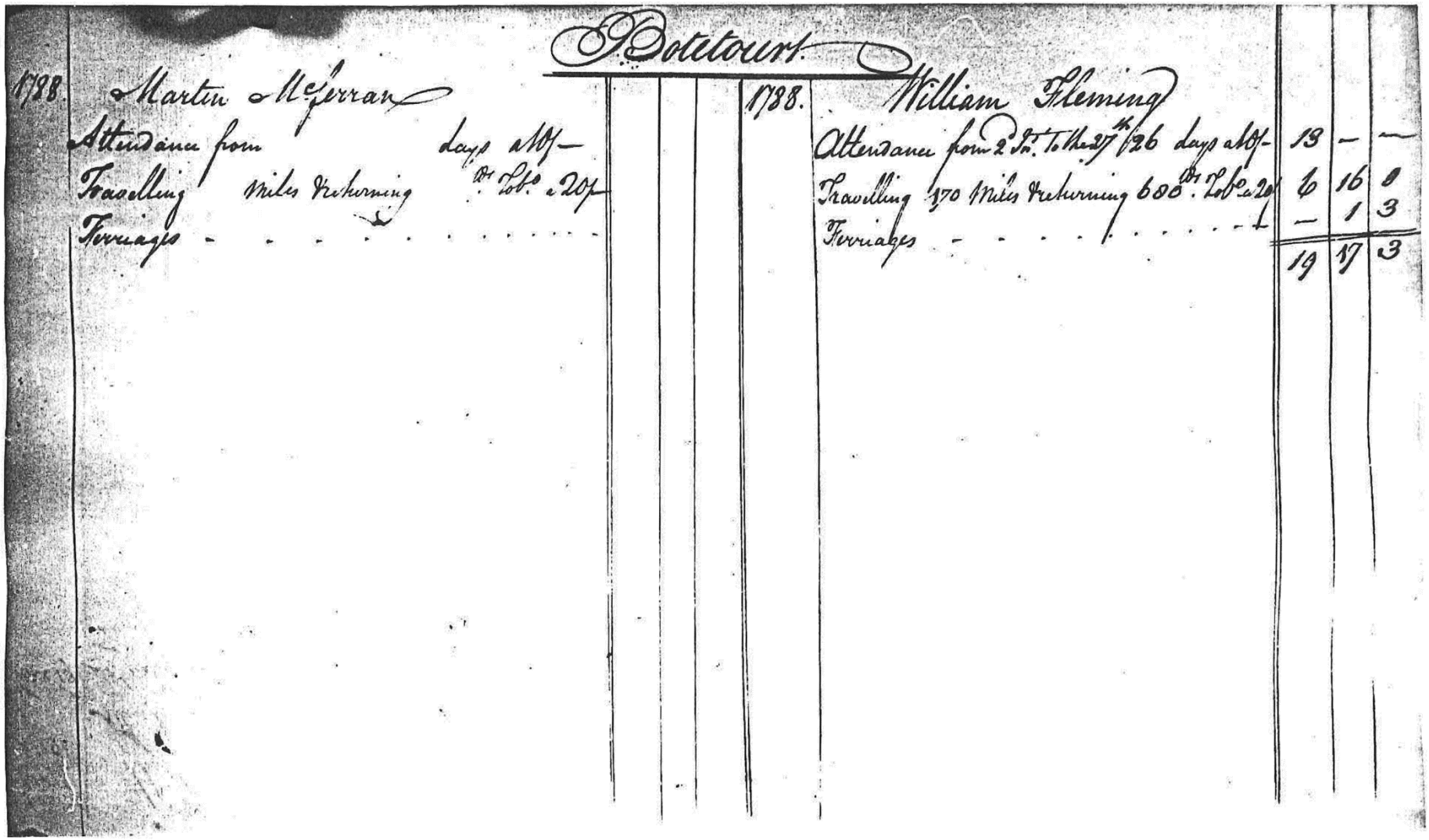
1788

Attendance from days a 10/.

Travelling Miles Returning

Tob.o a 20/ — /. . 3

Ferriages . . . . . .



Potetourt.

1788. Martin McFerran

Attendance from ____ Days at 10/—

Travelling ____ Miles Returning ____ Dr. Tob.o 20/—

Ferriages - - - - - - - - - -

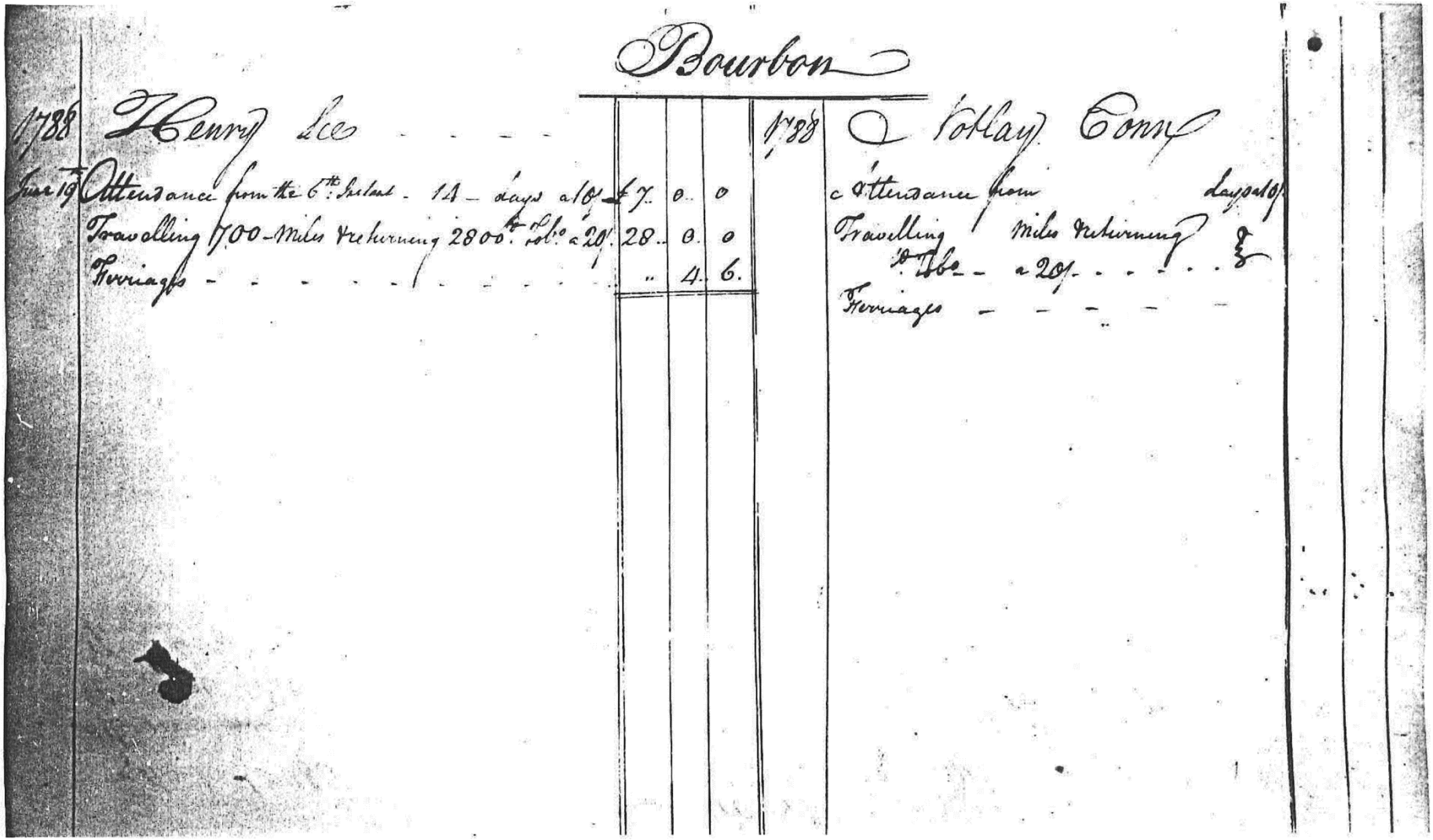
1788. William Fleming

Attendance from 2 Jan.y to the 27th 26 Days at 10/- 13 — —

Travelling 170 Miles Returning 600 Dr. Tob.o 20/ 6 16 0

Ferriages - - - - - - - - - - — 1 3

19 17 3



Bourbon

1788 Henry Lee

June 19 Attendance from the 6th: Instant - 14 - days a 10/ £7. 0. 0

Travelling 700 - Miles returning 2800 lbs. a 20/ 28.. 0. 0

Ferriages - - - - - .. 4. 6.

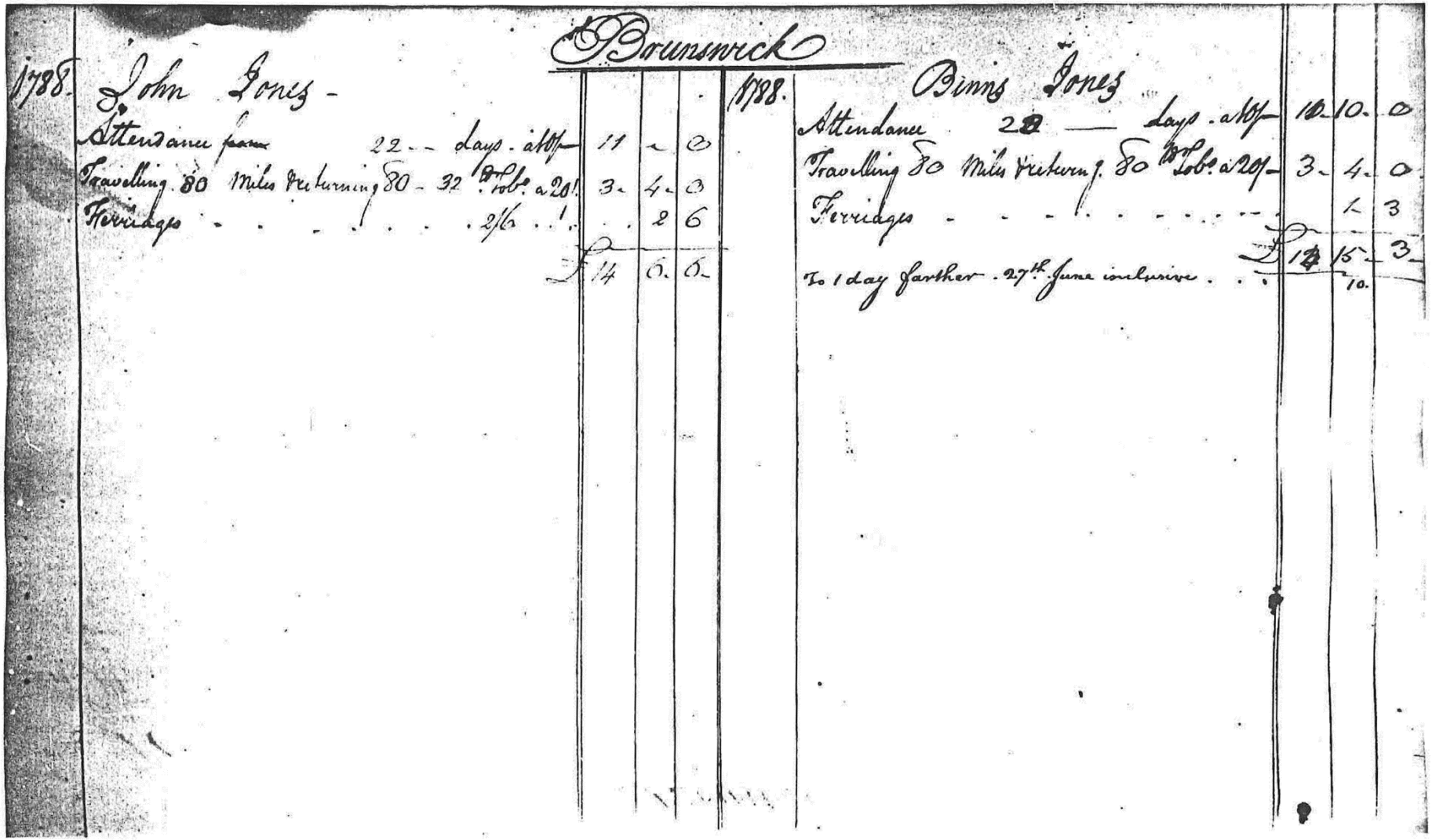
1788 Tobias Conn

Attendance from Layout

Travelling Miles returning

lbs. a 20/

Ferriages



Brunswick

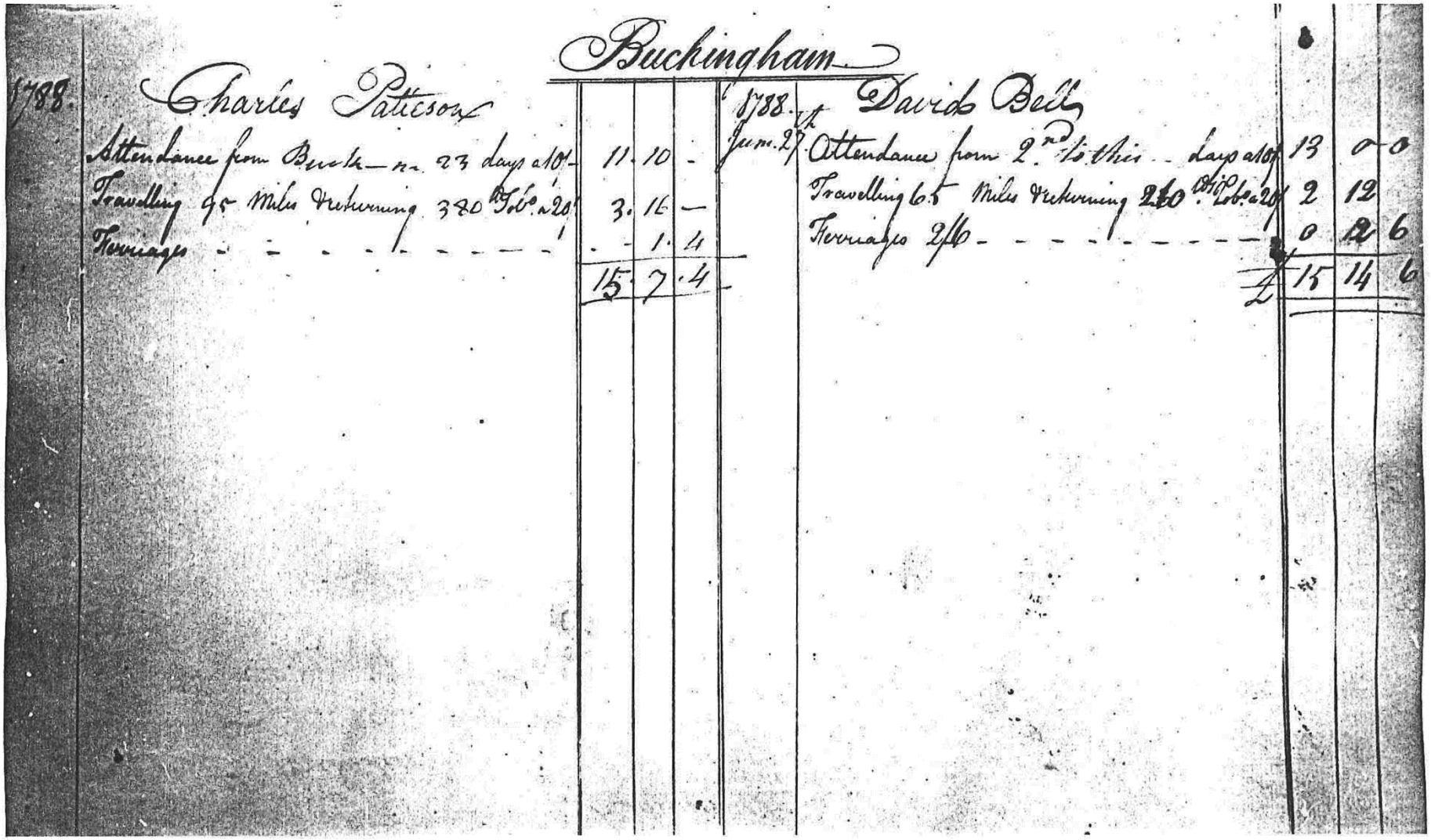
1788. John Jones -

Attendance from 22 -- Days . at 10/	11	-	0
Travelling 80 Miles Returning 80 - 32 Nobs. a 2/	3	4	0
Ferriages 2/6	1	2	6
	£14	6	6

1788. Binns Jones

Attendance 28 — Days . at 10/	10	10	0
Travelling 80 Miles Returng. 80 Nobs. a 2/	3	4	0
Ferriages		1	3
	£14	15	3
To 1 day farther . 27th June inclusive . .		10.	

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Buckingham

1788. Charles Patteson

Attendance from Buckn 23 days a 10/	11	10	-
Travelling 95 Miles & returning 380 Tob. a 20/	3	16	-
Ferriages - - - - - - - - - - - -	-	1	4
	15	7	4

1788. June 27. David Bell

Attendance from 2nd to this - - Days a 10/	13	0	0
Travelling 65 Miles & returning 260 Tob. a 20/	2	12	
Ferriages 2/6 - - - - - - - - - - - -	0	2	6
£	15	14	6

Campbell.

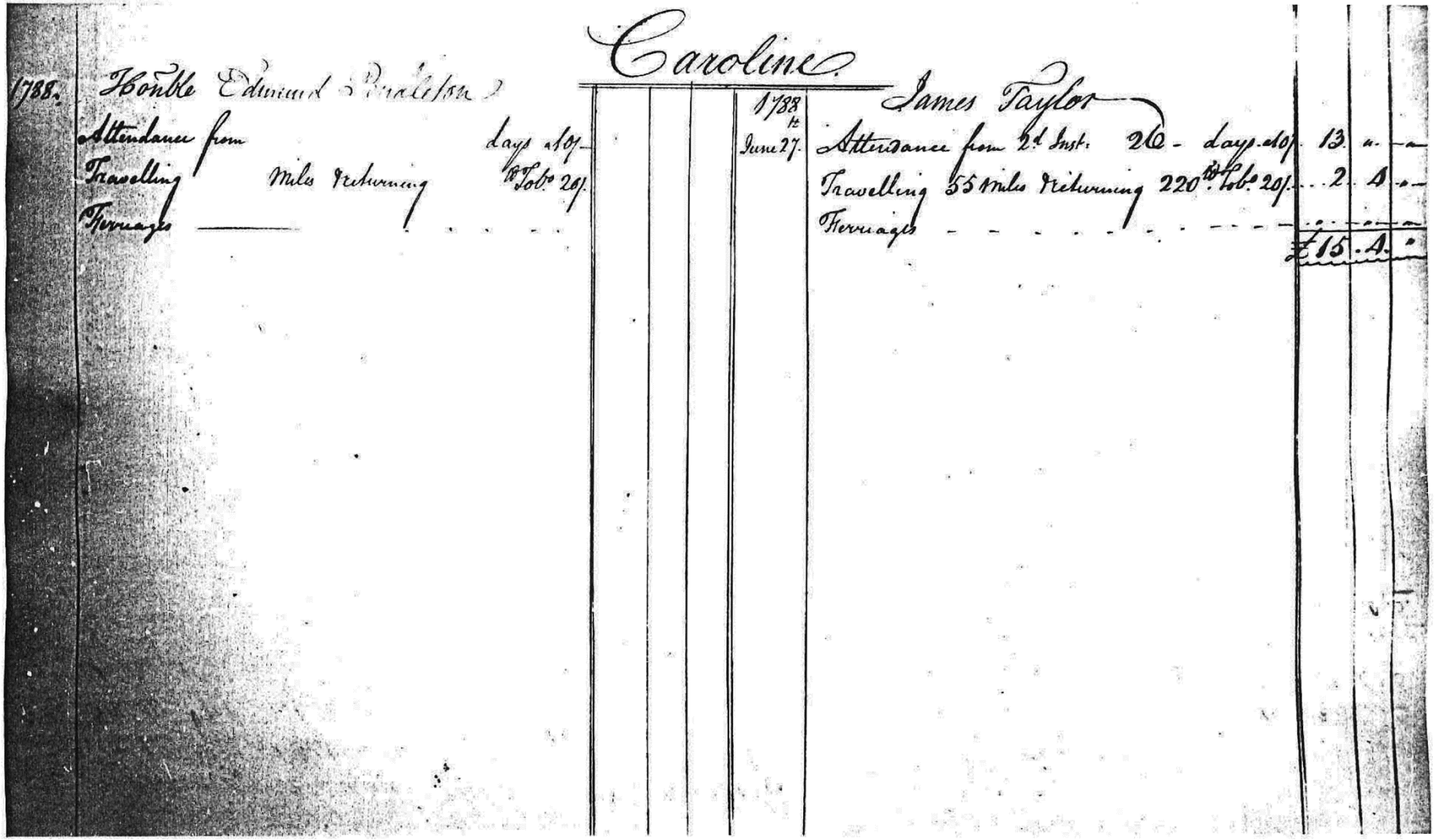
1788

Robert Alexander.

Attendance from the 1st to the 23 Days at 10/	11	10		1788.
Travelling 120 Miles returning 480 Do. Feb. 29.	4	16		June 26
Ferriages - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -		1	3	
	16	07	3	

Edmund Wenstay

Attendance from the 4th 23 Days at 10/	11	10	
Travelling 115 Miles returning 460 Do. Feb. 29	4	12	
Ferriages - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	16	2	



Caroline.

1788. Honble Edmund Pendleton

Attendance from ____ days at 10/

Travelling ____ Miles Returning ____ Feb. 20/

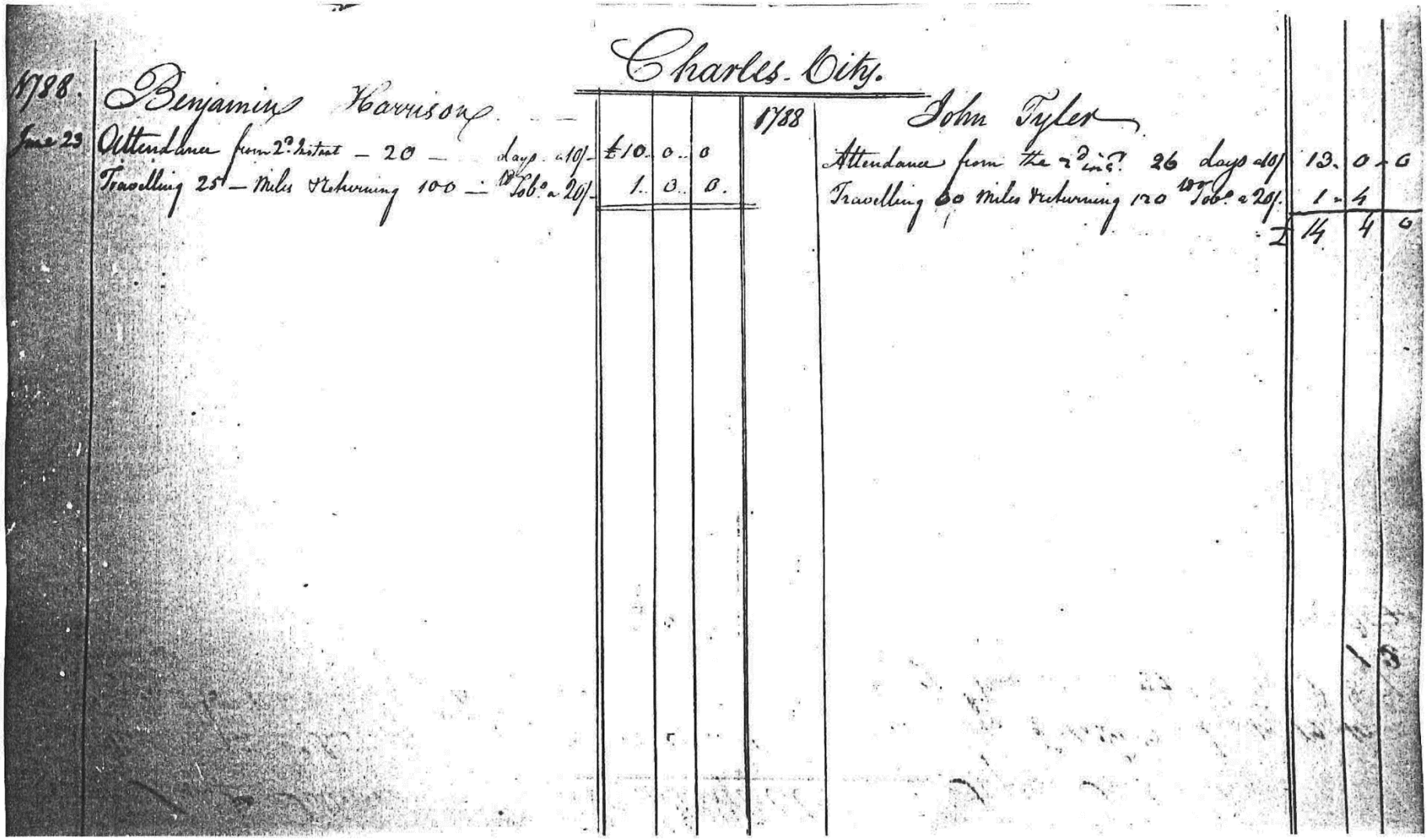
Ferriages ____

1788 June 27. James Taylor

Attendance from 2d Inst. 26 - days at 10/ 13. 0. 0

Travelling 55 miles Returning 220 Feb. 20/ 2. 5. 0

Ferriages - - -



Charles City.

1788. Benjamin Harrison. — 1788

June 23 Attendance from 2d. instant — 20 — days @ 10/ £10. 0. 0

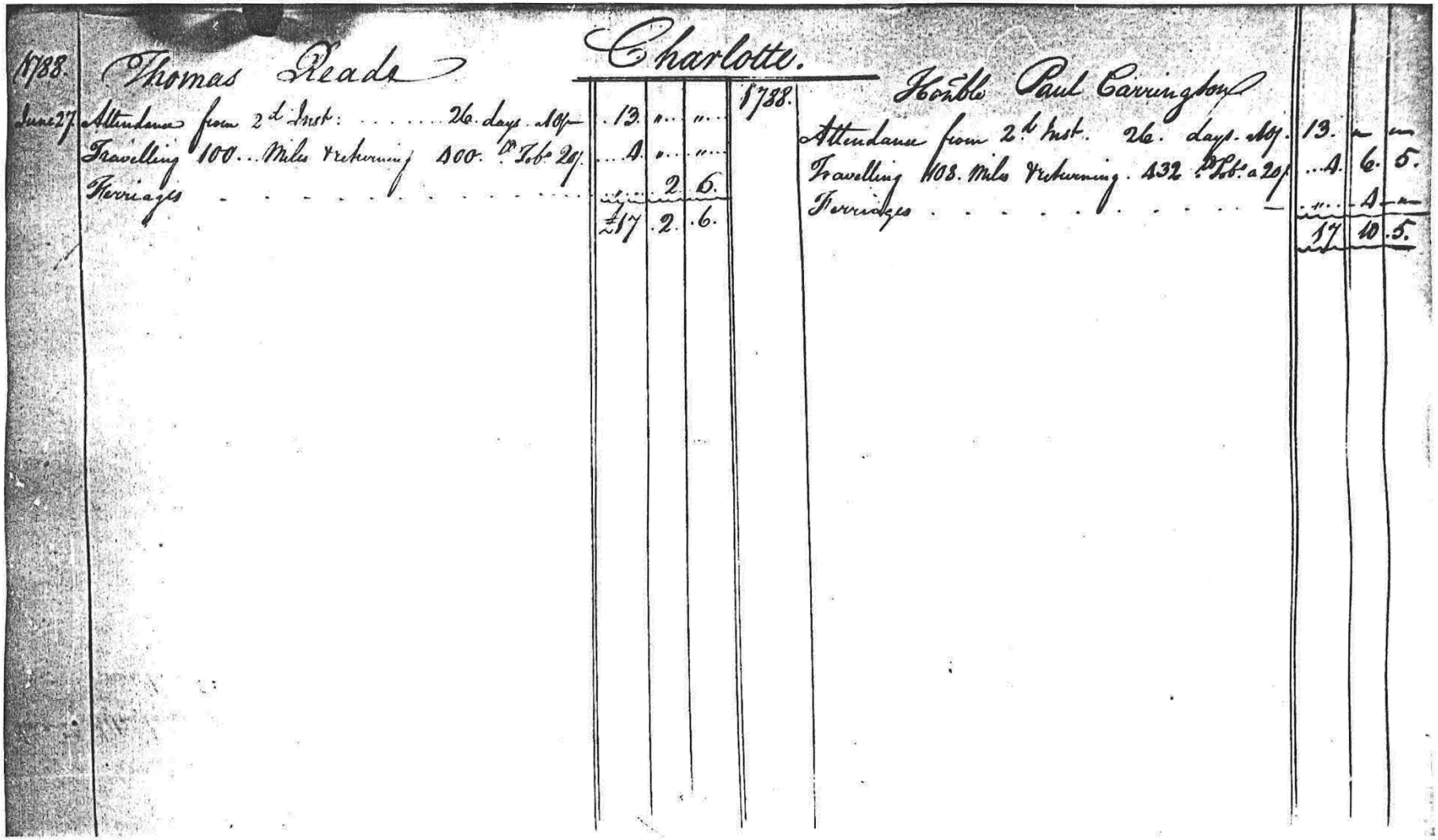
Travelling 25 — Miles Returning 100 — 125 Lbs. @ 2d/ 1. 0. 0.

John Tyler

Attendance from the 2d inst. 26 days @ 10/ 13. 0. 6

Travelling 60 miles returning 120 180 Lbs. @ 2d/ 1. 4

£ 14 4 6



1788. Charlotte. 1788.

June 27 Thomas Reade
Attendance from 2d Inst: ..... 26. days. 10/ ... £13 .. ..
Travelling 100 ... Miles returning 100. D° Feb. 20/ ... 1 .. ..
Ferriages ... 2 6
£17 2 6

Honble Paul Carrington
Attendance from 2d Inst. 26. days. 10/ ... 13 .. ..
Travelling 108. Miles returning 132 D° Feb. a 20/ ... 4 6 5
Ferriages ... 1 ..
17 10 5

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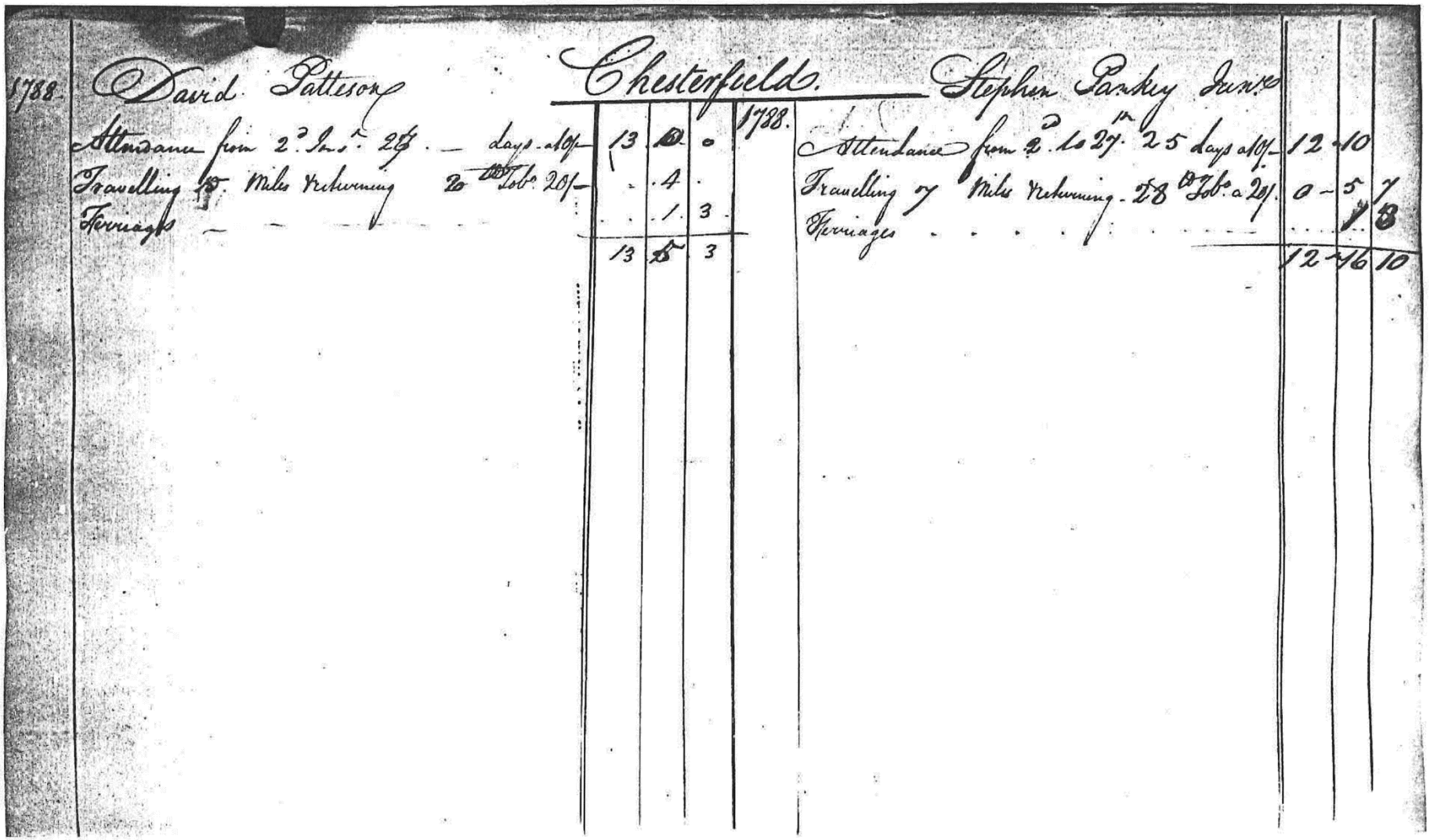
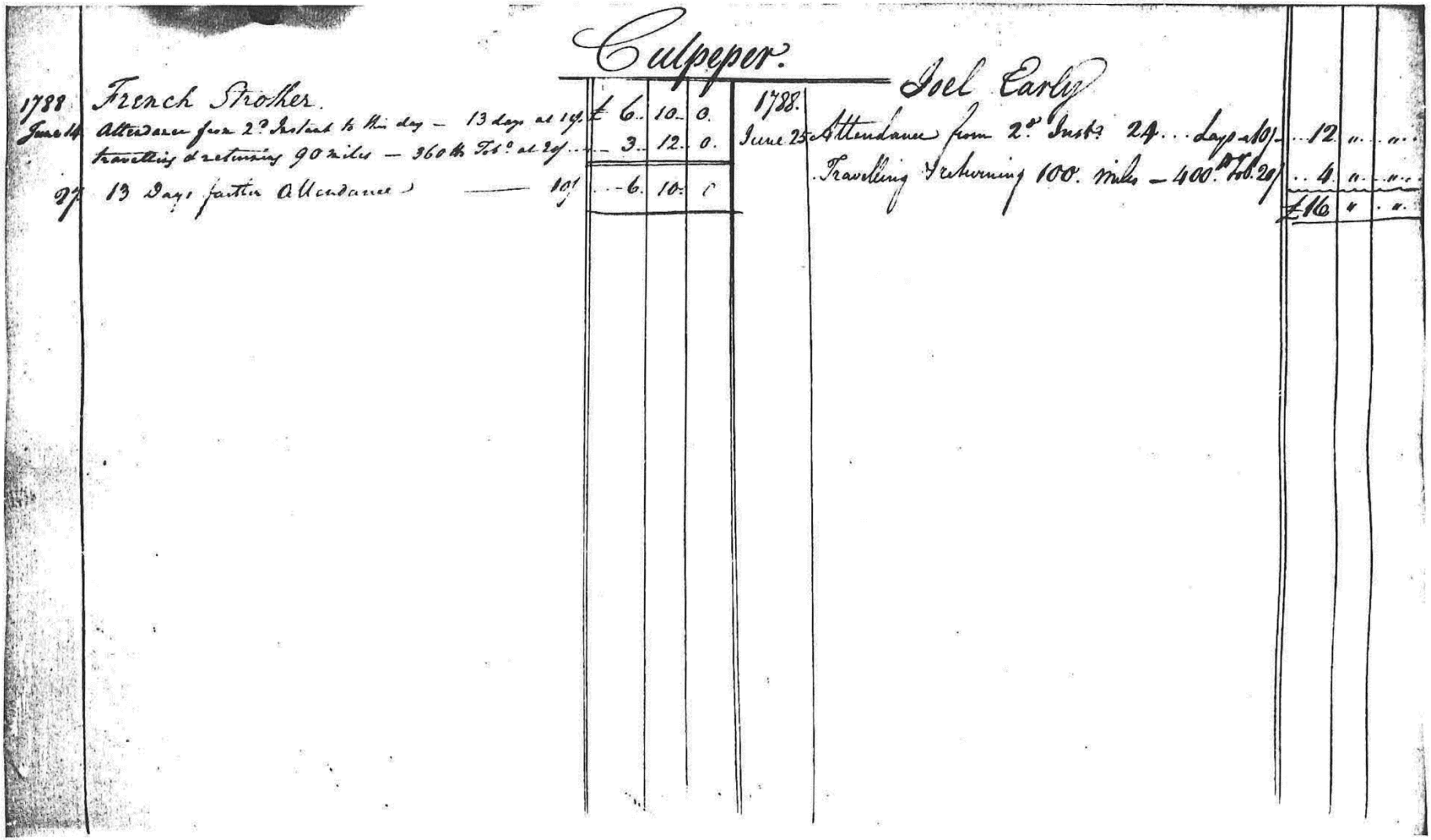


1788. David Patteson — Chesterfield. — Stephen Pankey Junr.

					1788.					
Attendance from 2d Inst. 27	days at 10/	13	10	0		Attendance from 2d to 27th	25 days at 10/	12	10	
Travelling 15 Miles Returning	20 do at 20/		4			Travelling 7 Miles Returning	28 do at 20/	0	5	7
Ferriages			1	3		Ferriages				8
		13	15	3				12	16	10

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Culpeper.

1788 French Strother.

June 14 Attendance from 2d Instant to this day — 13 Days at 10/ £ 6.. 10.. 0.
travelling & returning 90 miles — 360 lb Tob.o at 2/ .... 3.. 12.. 0.

27 13 Days further Attendance ——— 10/ .. 6.. 10.. 0

1788.

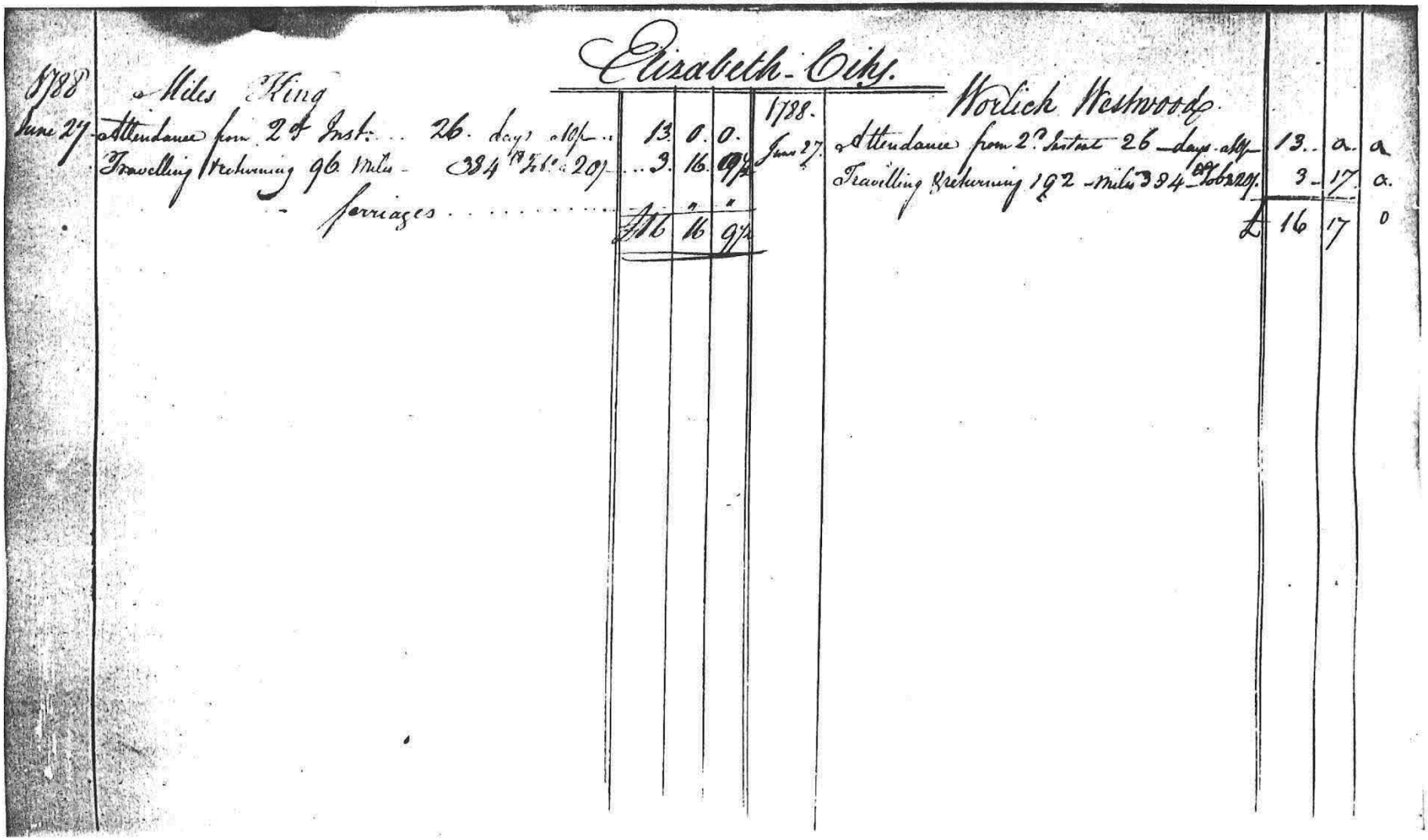
June 25 Joel Early

Attendance from 2d Instt 24 ... Days 10/ .. 12 .. ..
Travelling & returning 100 miles — 400 lb Tob.o 2/ .. 4 .. ..
£16 4 ..

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788 Joseph Michaux

Attendance from Cumberland 26 days @ 10/- £13
Travelling 79 Miles returning 300 Miles @ 20 3
Ferriages - - -



Elizabeth-City.

1788.

June 27. Miles King

Attendance from 2d Inst. ... 26. days @ 10/ .. 13. 0. 0.

Travelling (returning 96 Miles - 384 @ 2d) ... 3. 16. 9½

ferriages 16. 16. 9½

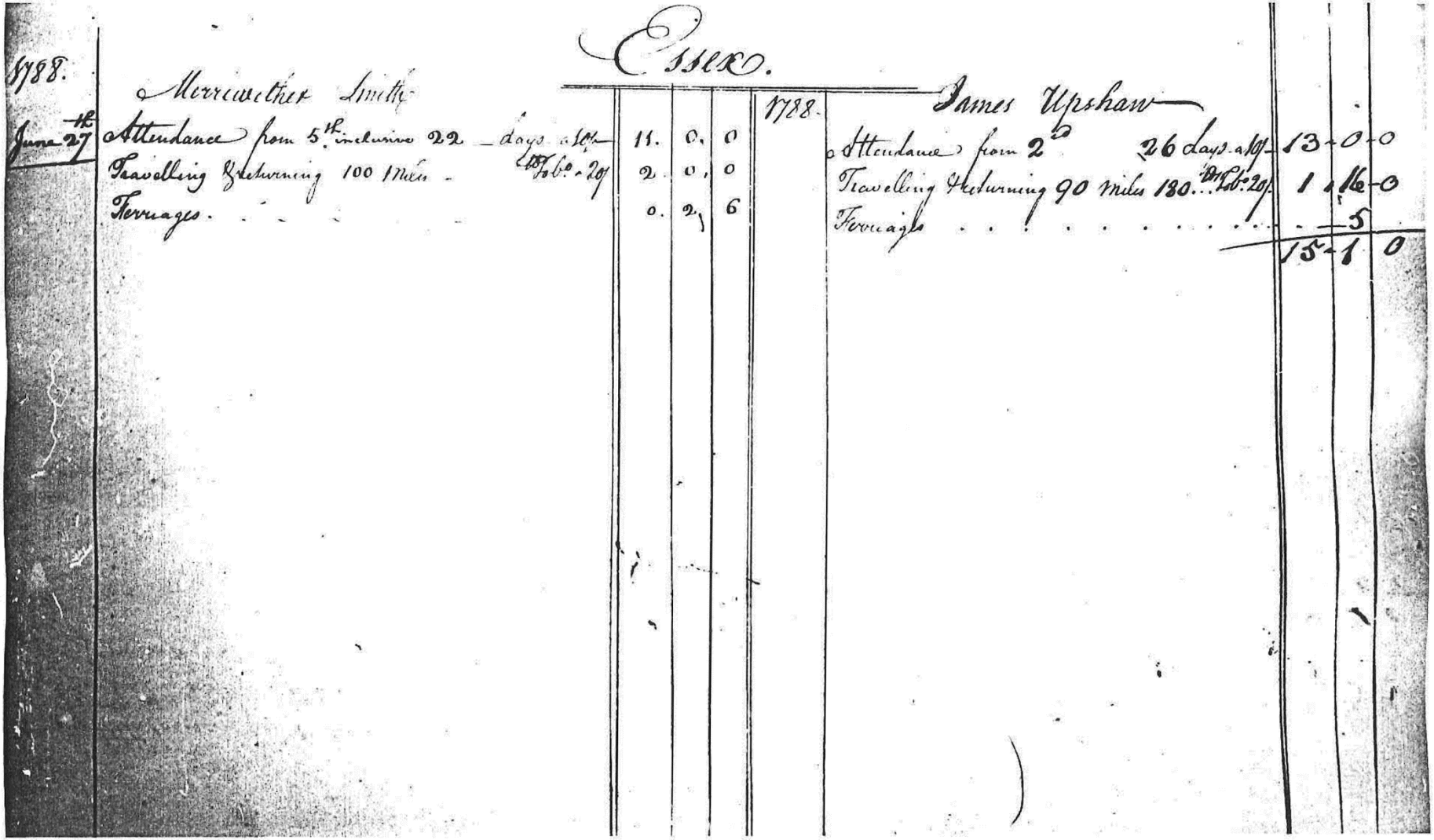
1788.

June 27. Worlick Westwood

Attendance from 2d Instat 26 days @ 10/ 13. 0. 0

Travelling (returning 192 Miles 384 @ 2d) 3. 17. 0

£ 16 17 0



1788.

Essex.

1788.

June 27th

Merriwether Smith

Attendance from 5th inclusive 22 days at 10/ 11. 0. 0

Travelling & returning 100 Miles 200 at 20/ 2. 0. 0

Ferriages. 0. 2. 6

James Upshaw

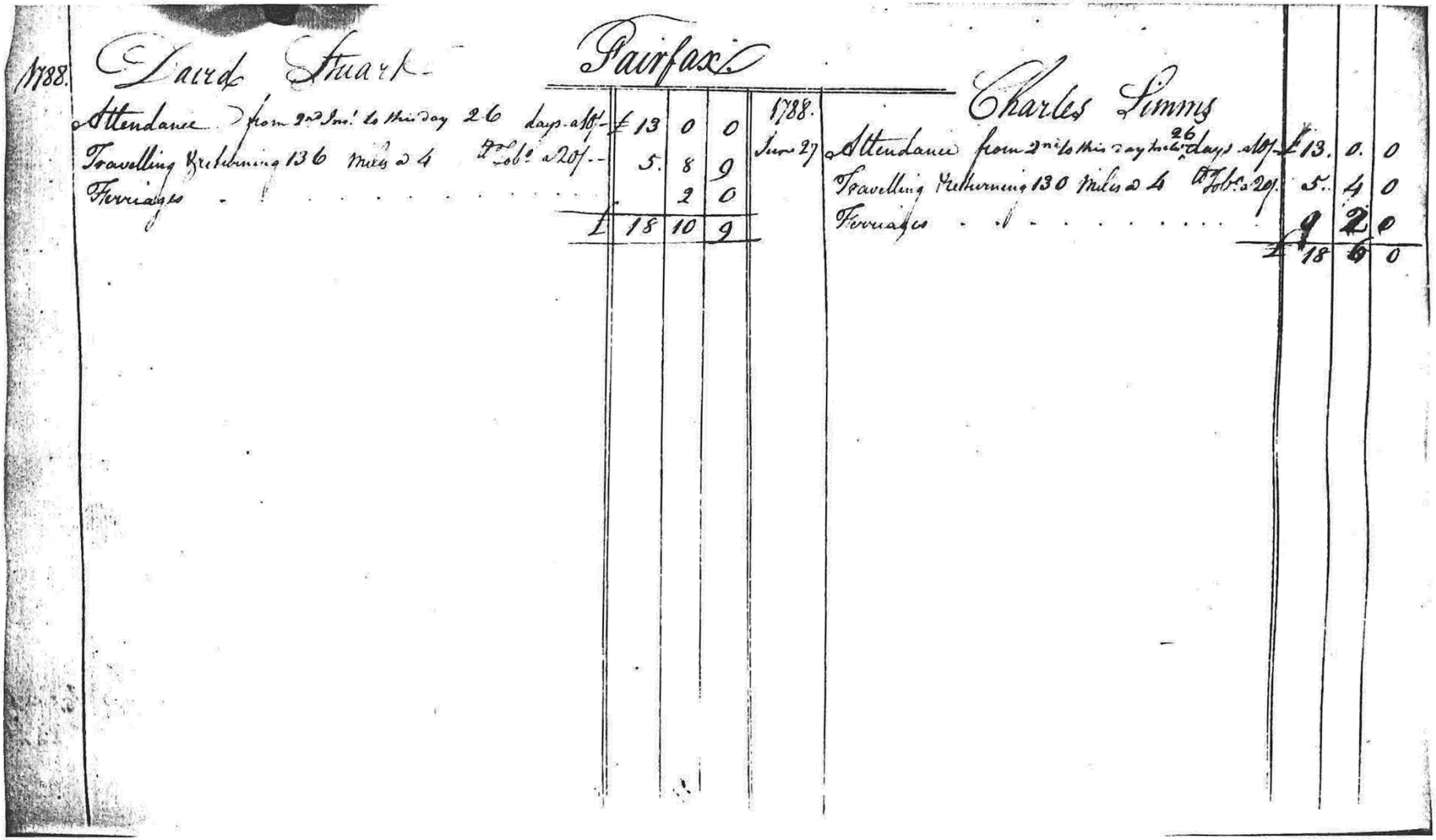
Attendance from 2d 26 days at 10/ 13-0-0

Travelling & returning 90 miles 180 at 20/ 1-16-0

Ferriages 5

15-1-0

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



1788. David Stuart — Fairfax

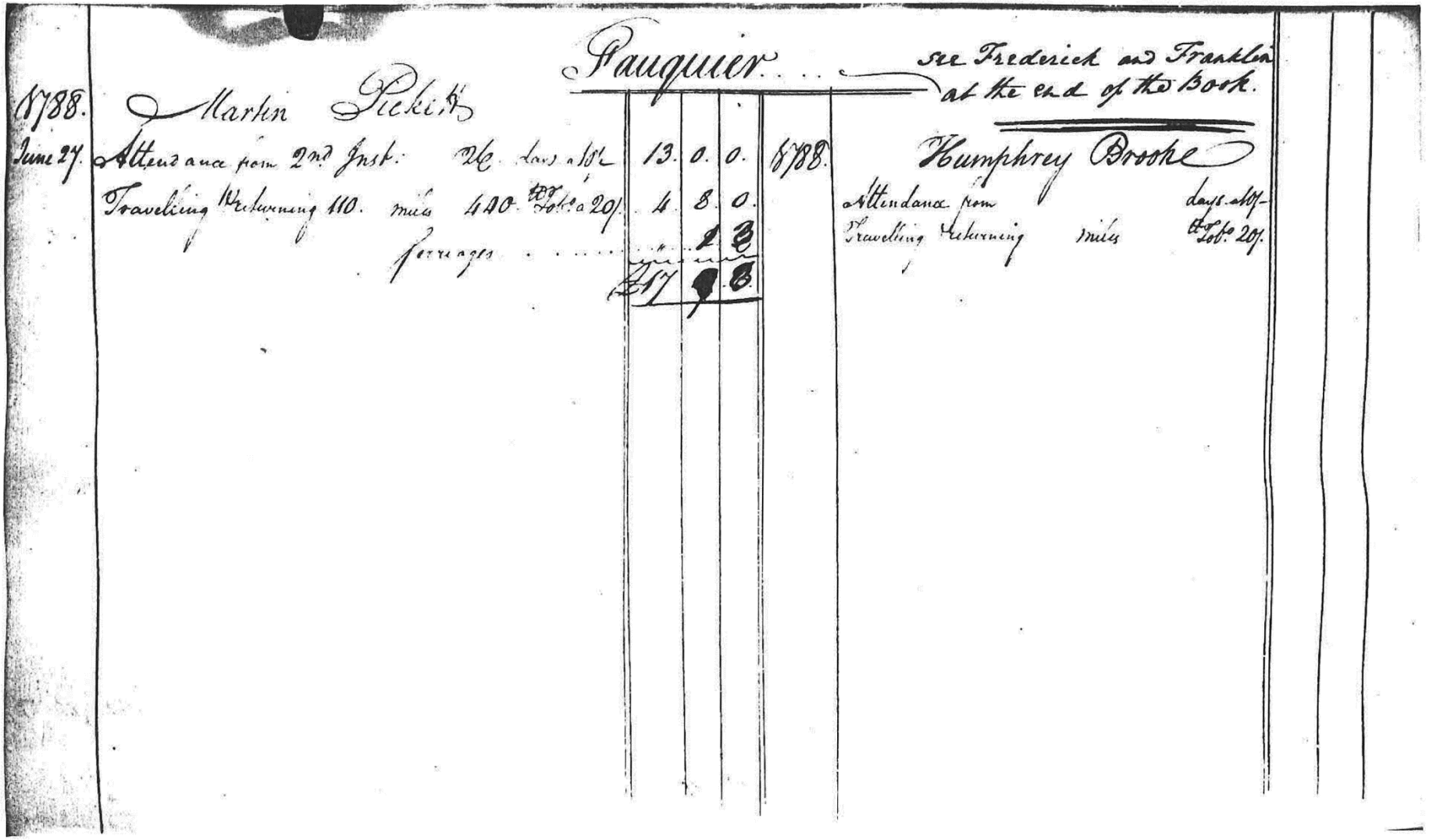
Attendance from 2nd Inst. to this day	26 days at 10/-	£ 13	0	0
Travelling Fredericksburg 136 Miles at 4	2d. to 20/-	5.	8	9
Ferriages			2	0
	£	18	10	9

1788. June 27

Charles Simms

Attendance from 2nd to this day inclusive	26 days at 10/-	£ 13.	0.	0
Travelling Fredericksburg 130 Miles at 4	2d. to 20/-	5.	4	0
Ferriages			2	0
	£	18	6	0

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Fauquier . . . . . see Frederick and Franklin at the end of the Book.

1788. Martin Pickett

June 27. Attendance from 2nd Inst. 26 days @ 10/ 13. 0. 0.

Travelling & returning 110. miles 440 Lbs @ 20/ 4. 8. 0.

Ferriages 2 3

£17 9 3

1788. Humphrey Brooke

Attendance from days @ 10/-

Travelling & returning miles @ 20/.

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788.
June 13.

Hampshire Marshall ..... D
Attends from 2 : Satisfied to this day inclusive / 12 days ..... £6. 0.. 0.
Travelling to & returning 1160 Miles at 2 lb. p.c. ..... 23.. 1.. 0.
ferriages .... 2.. 6.

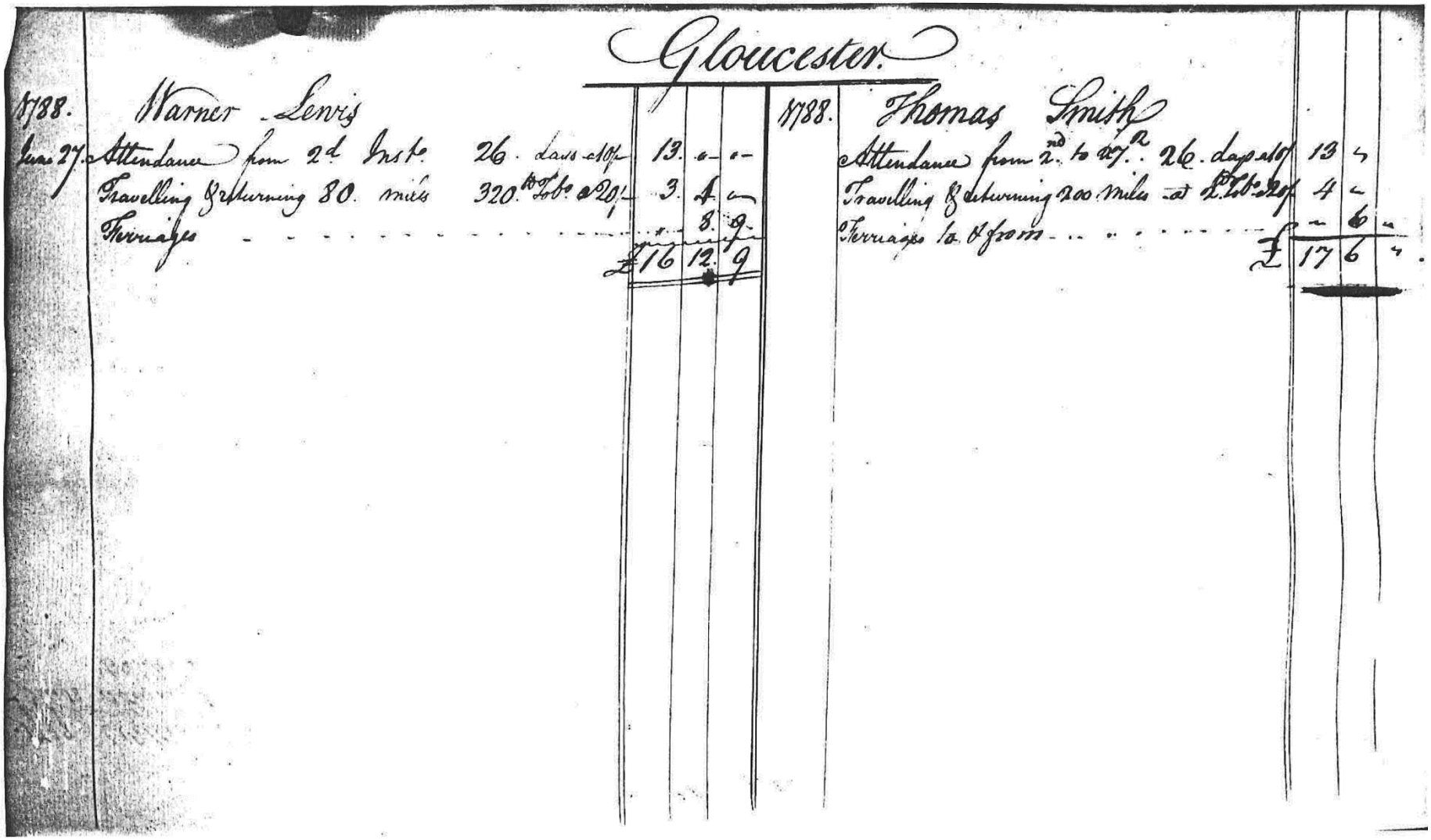
Fayette.

1788.
June 14.

John Fowler.
Attends from 2 : Satisfied - 13 days ..... £6.. 10.. 0
Travelling 120 miles - 240 lb. p.c. at 2d ..... 20.. 0.. 0.
ferriages .... 2.. 6.

Franklin.

1788	Thomas Arthurs.				1788	John Early.				
June 19.	Attendance from 9th Instant – 11 days at 10/	£	5.	10. 0.	June 23	Attendance from 2d Inst. 23 days – at 10/		11.	10.	0.
	travelling 180 miles & returning 720 Miles at 2/		7.	4. 0.		Travelling 180. Miles & returning 720. Miles at 2/		7	4	–
	2 eight Days further Attendance		–	1. 3.		ferriages		–	1.	3
			11	0 0				18	15.	3.



Gloucester.

1788. Warner Lewis

June 27. Attendance from 2d Inst. 26. Days @ 10/ 13. 0. 0.
Travelling & returning 80. miles 320. Lbs. @ 2d/ 3. 4. 0.
Ferriages - - -

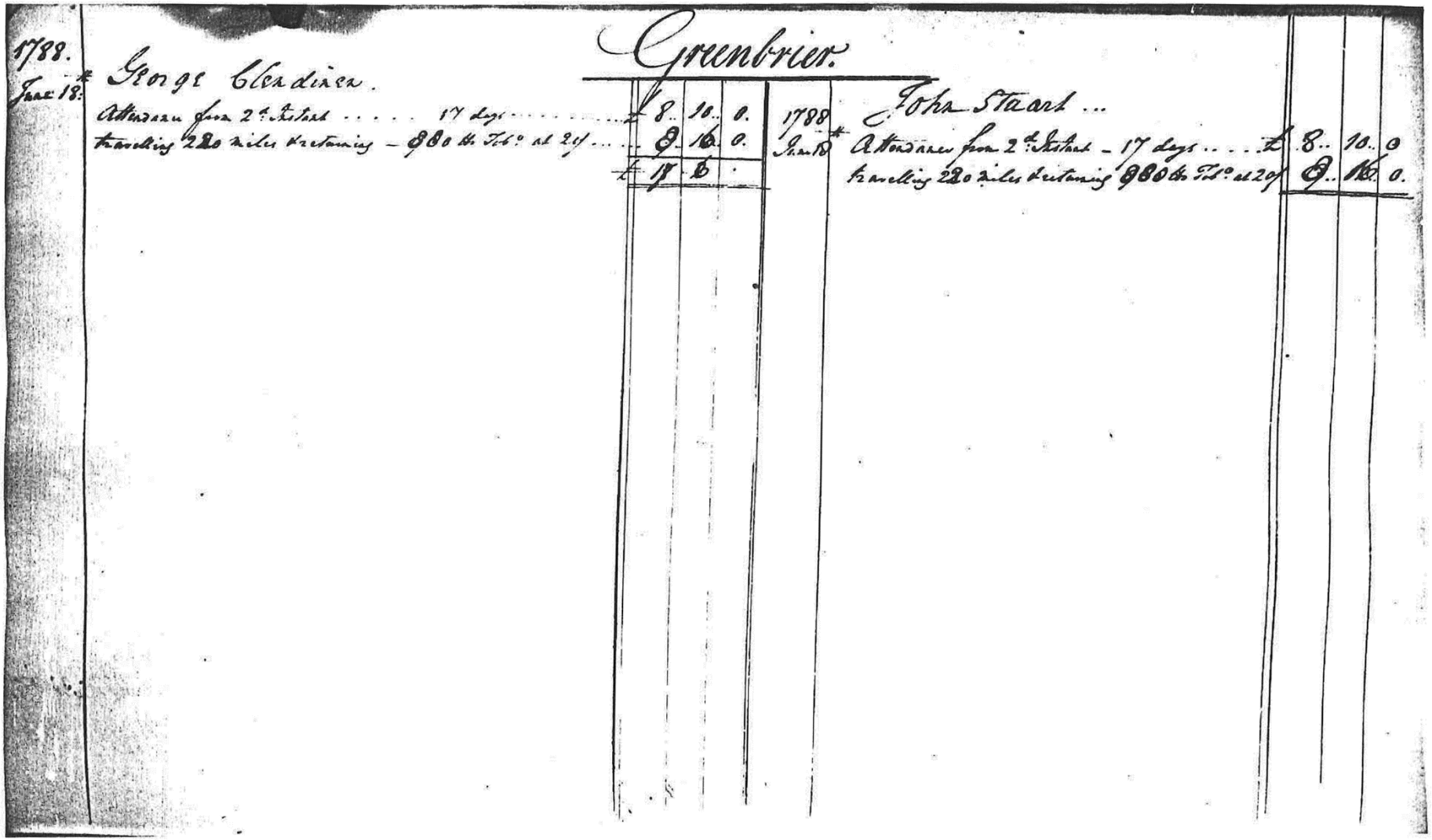
1788.
June 19. William Sampson
Attendance plus 2 Sundays ..... 1st days ... # 8.. 10.. 0
Travelling 92 miles at 5 ℔ ℔ ... 2d. ... 2.. 0.. 0.

Goochland.

1788.

Attended the Convention 26 days
Travelling Allowance 20 miles 1/2 Day

13 10 7
1 2 4
14 2. 11



1788.
June 18th

Grenbrier.

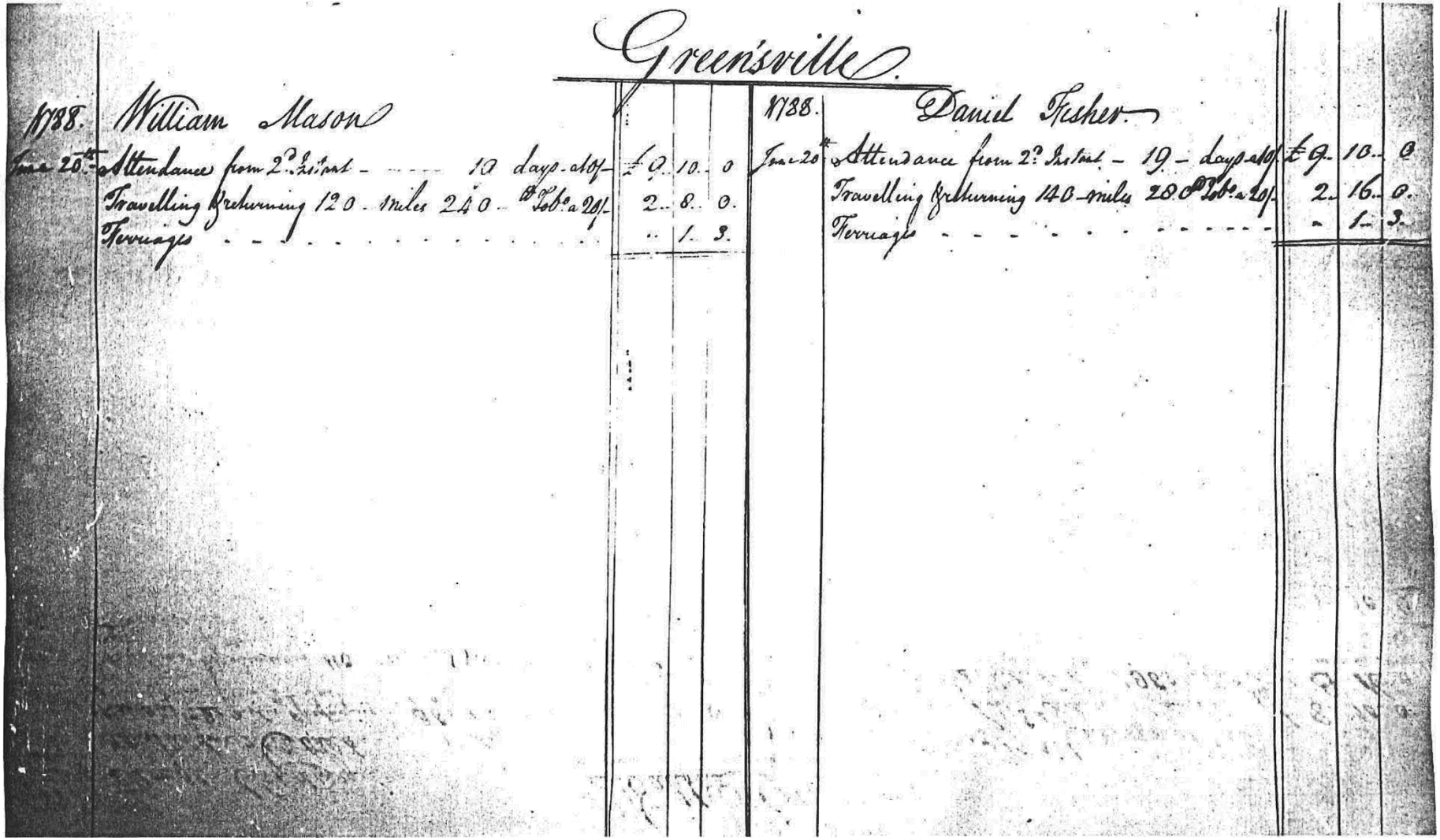
George Clendinen.

Attendance from 2d. instant ..... 17 days ..... £ 8.. 10.. 0.
travelling 220 miles & returning — 880 lb. Tob.o at 2/6 ..... 2.. 16.. 0.
£ 11.. 6..

1788
June 18th

John Stuart ...

Attendance from 2d. instant — 17 days ..... £ 8.. 10.. 0
travelling 220 miles & returning 880 lb. Tob.o at 2/6 2.. 16.. 0.



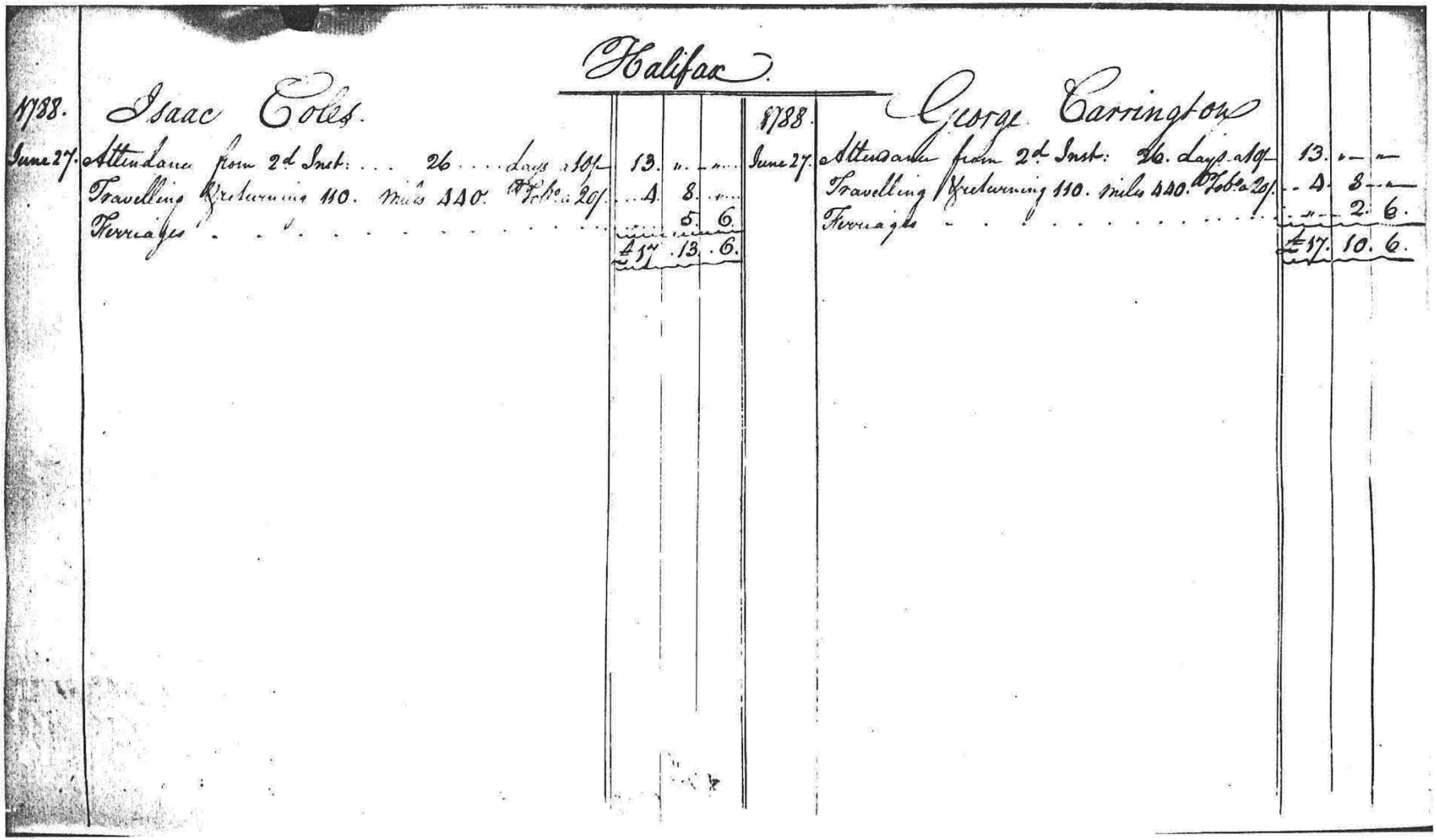
Greensville.

1788. William Mason

June 20th	Attendance from 2d. 21st inst. ——— 10 days. at 8/	£	0	10	0
	Travelling & returning 120 Miles 240 — 8d. a 2/		2	8	0
	Ferriages — — — — — — — — — — — — — —			1	3

1788. Daniel Fisher.

June 20th	Attendance from 2d. Inst. — 19 — days. at 10/	£	9	10	0
	Travelling & returning 140 Miles 280 — 8d. a 2/		2	16	0
	Ferriages — — — — — — — — — — — — — —		—	1	3



Halifax.

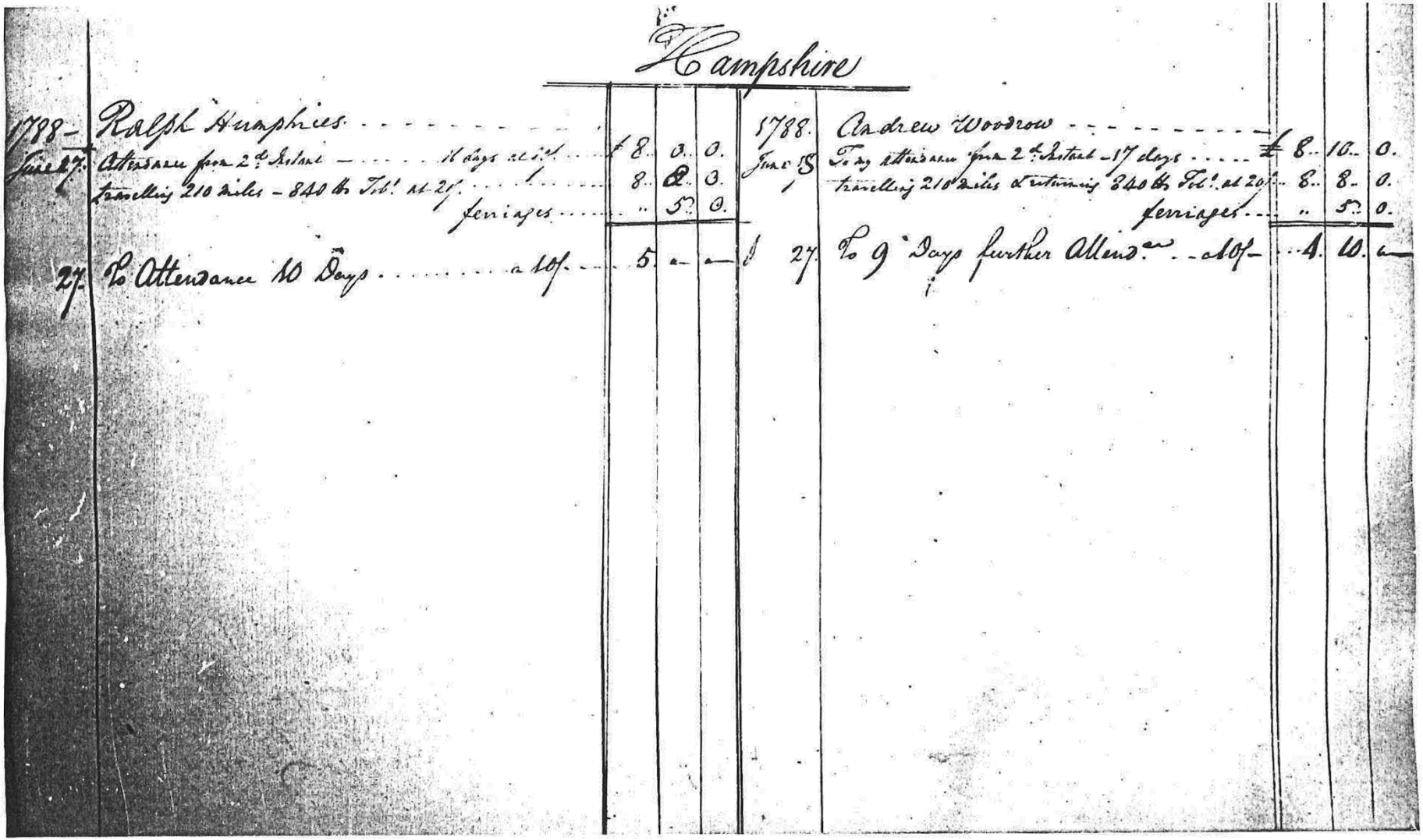
1788. Isaac Coles.

June 27. Attendance from 2d Inst: ... 26 ... Days @ 10/ ... 13. .. ..
Travelling & returning 110. Miles @ 40. Fobs. 20/ ... 4. 8. ....
Ferriages ... 5. 6.
£ 17. 13. 6.

1788. George Carrington

June 27. Attendance from 2d Inst: 26. Days @ 10/ ... 13. .. ..
Travelling & returning 110. miles @ 40. Fobs. 20/ ... 4. 8. ..
Ferriages ... 2. 6.
£ 17. 10. 6.

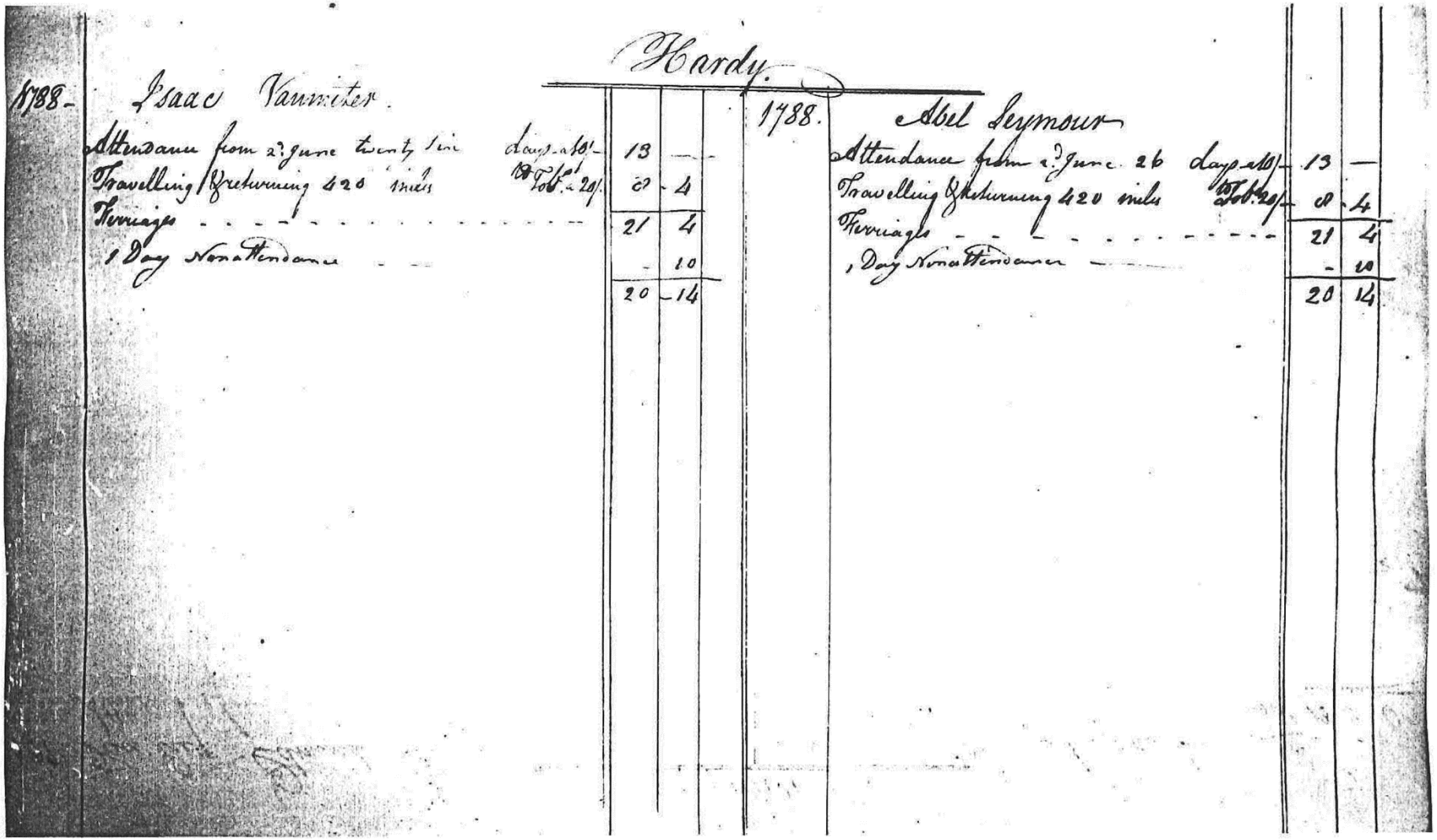
VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Hampshire

1788–	Ralph Humphries				1788.	Andrew Woodrow				
June 17.	Attendance from 2d. Instant – 16 days at 10/	£	8.	0.	0.	June 18	To 17 days attendance from 2d. Instant	£	8.	10. 0.
	travelling 210 miles – 840 lbs Tob.o at 2/		8.	0.	0.		travelling 210 miles & returning 840 lbs Tob.o at 2/		8.	8. 0.
	ferriages		..	5.	0.		ferriages		..	5. 0.
27.	To Attendance 10 Days – at 10/		5.	–	–	27.	To 9 Days further Attend.ce – at 10/		4.	10. –

1788. Parke Goodall
Attendance from
Travelling Journey
miles
Hanover.
days - at
Dollrs at
1788.
June 20
Wm Carter Stithpage
Attendance from 2d Instant 19 days at
Travelling Journey 10 miles 40 Dollrs a day
£9 10.
8.
£9 18.



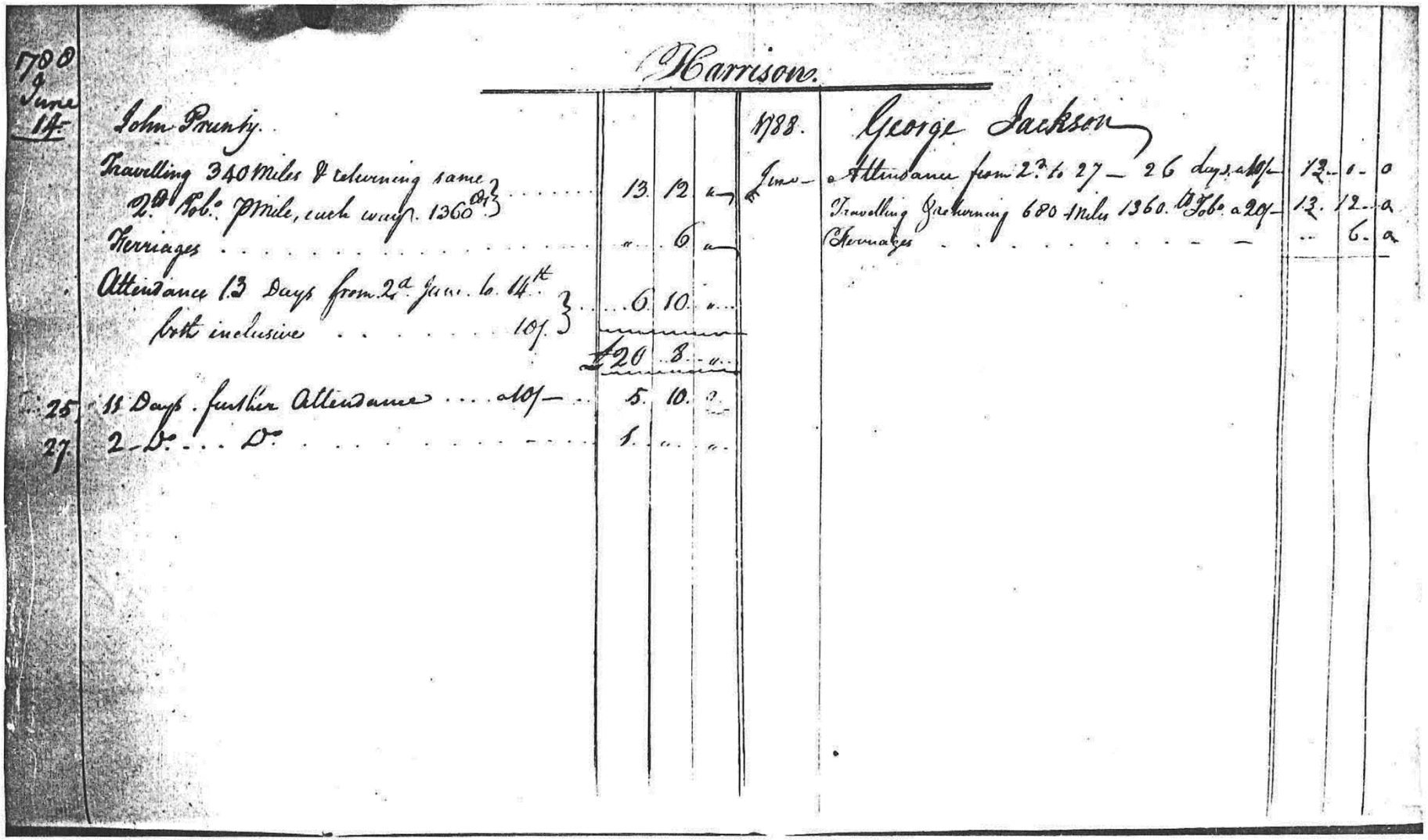
Hardy.

1788. Isaac Vanwinkle.

Attendance from 2d June twenty five	Days @ 10/	13	—
Travelling & returning 420 miles	100 @ 2/	20	4
Ferriages		21	4
1 Day Non attendance		—	10
		20	14

1788. Abel Seymour

Attendance from 2d June 26	Days @ 10/	13	—
Travelling & returning 420 miles	100 @ 2/	20	4
Ferriages		21	4
1 Day Non attendance		—	10
		20	14



Harrison.

1788 June 14 John Prunty.

Travelling 340 Miles & returning same 2 Days Feb.y p Mile, each way 1360 Miles ... 13. 12. 0

Ferriages ... 0. 6. 0

Attendance 13 Days from 2d June to 14th Inclusive ... 10/ 3 ... 6. 10. 0

£20. 8. 0

25 11 Days further Attendance ... 10/ ... 5. 10. 0

27 2 Do. ... Do. ... 1. 0. 0

1788. George Jackson

June Attendance from 2d to 27 — 26 Days 10/ ... 12. 1. 0

Travelling & returning 680 Miles 1360 Miles Feb.y 20/ ... 13. 12. 0

Ferriages ... — ... 0. 6. 0

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788.
Edmund Randolph
Attendance from
Geneva?
1788.
John Marshall
Attendance from
Augusta
13. 0. 0

1788. Henry Cooper
June Attendance from 2d. to Inst. 17 days ... # 8. 10. 0.
Travelling 200 miles Returning - 800 do. 1000 miles at 2 pence p. mile ... 8. 0. 0.
Ferriages ... - 2. 6.
9 days further attendance ... A. 10. 0.

Henry.

1788. June 19. Attendance from 2d. to Inst. 18 — Compensation ... 0. 0
Travelling Returning 100 miles at 2 pence p. mile ... 0. 0.
Ferriages ... - 6.
To regular Boys for his attendance ... 0. 0

List of Nights

1788.

James Johnson

June 2 Attendance from 2d Sess: 25; ... Days 12 ...

Travelling to Richmond 101 miles 404 Miles ... 4 ... 10

Remarks ... ...

James City.

1788.

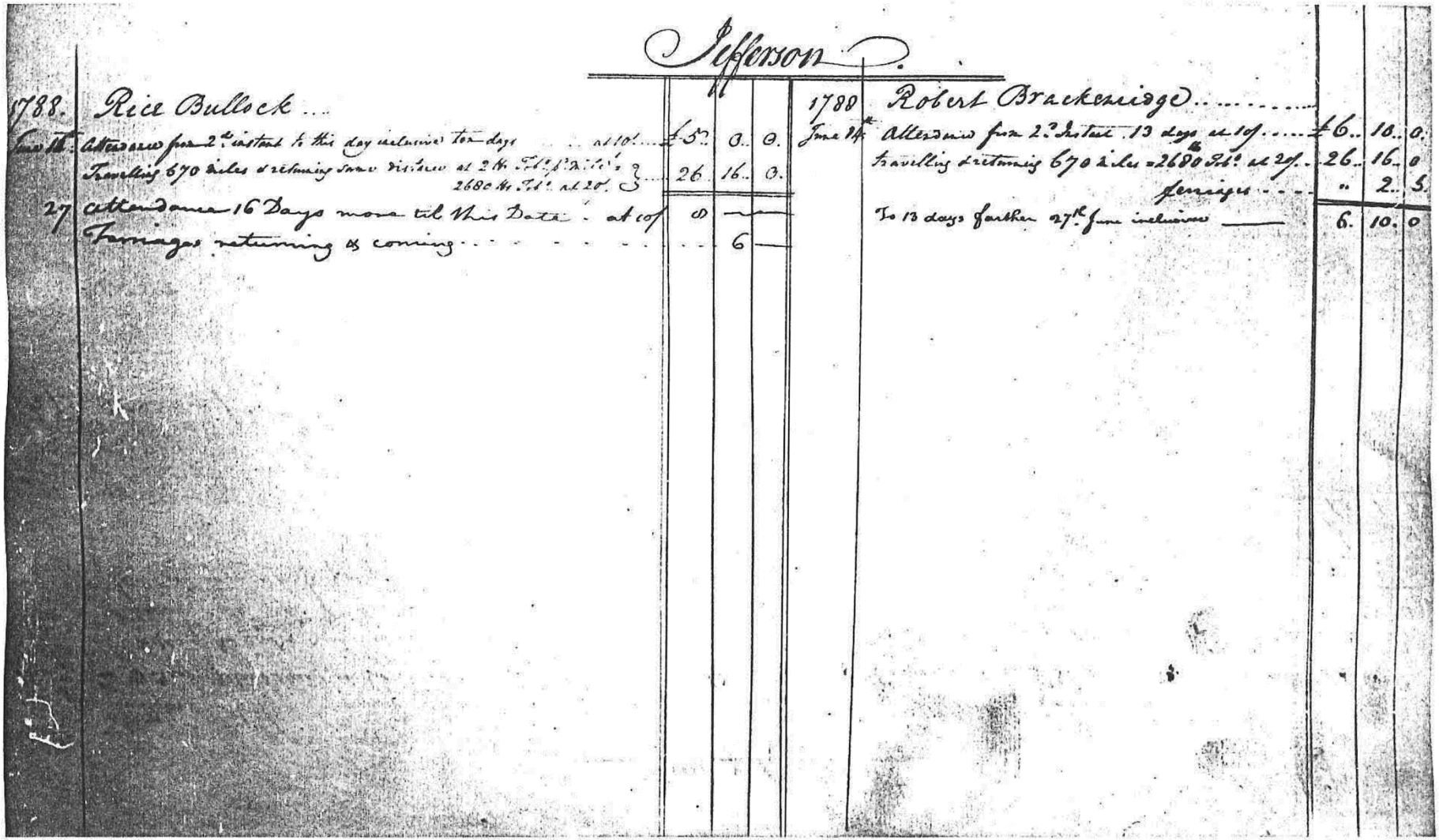
Robert Andrews

Nathaniel Burwell

June 27. Attendance from 2d Inst: 26 days @ 10/ 13 " "

Travelling Journey to & fr. miles 268 @ 2d 2/ 13/6 2/5

£15 13/6

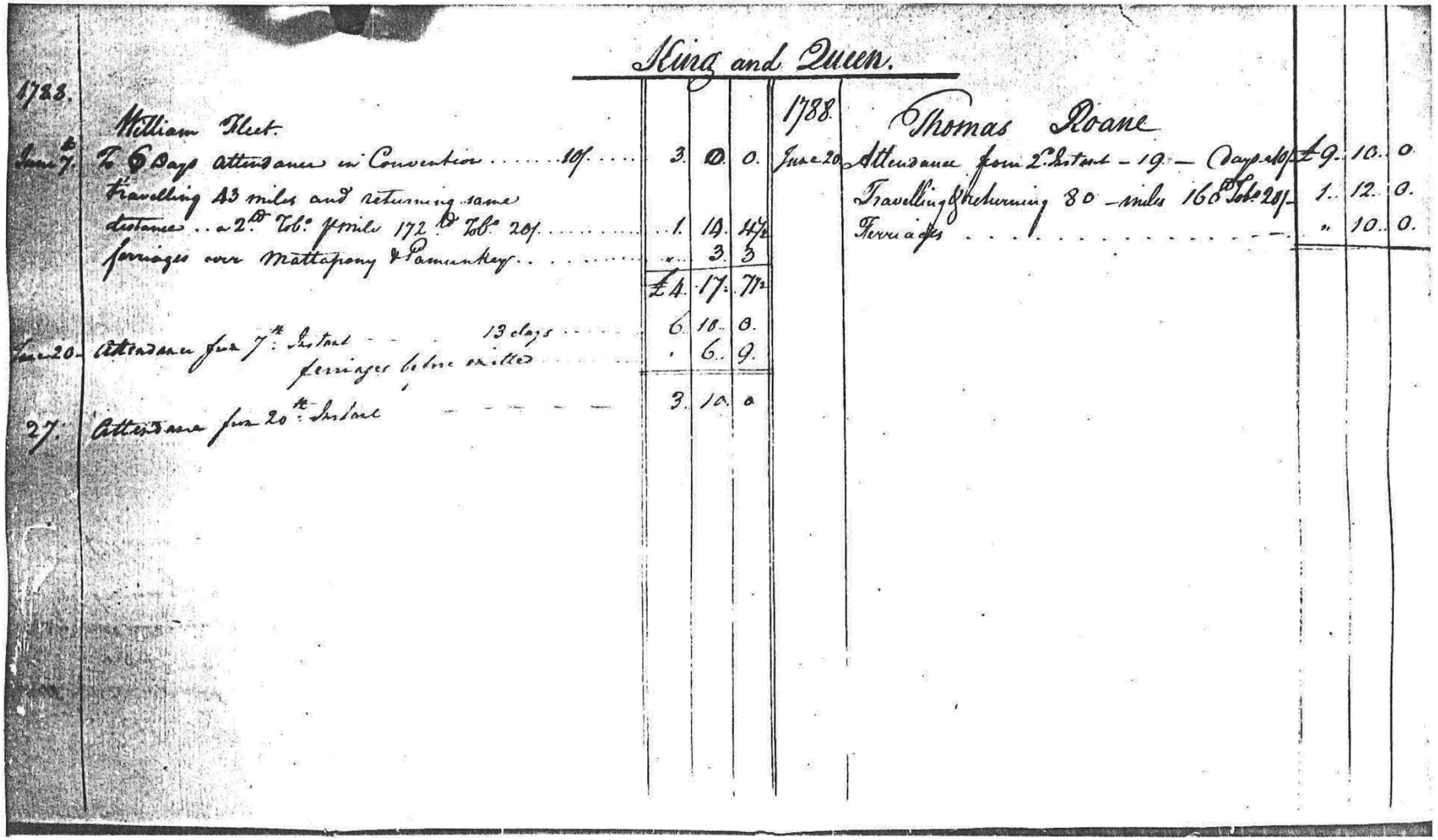


Jefferson D.

1788. Rice Bullock ...

June 14 Attendance from 2d instant to this day inclusive ten days ... at 10/ ... £5.. 0.. 0.
Travelling 670 miles & returning same distance at 2 ℔ Tol. 1340 ℔ Tol. 2680 ℔ Tol. at 20/ ... 26.. 16.. 0.
27 attendance 16 Days more til this Date ... at 10/ ... 0 —
Ferriages returning & coming ... 6 —

1788 June 14th Robert Brackenridge ...
Attendance from 2d Instant 13 days at 10/ ... £6.. 10.. 0.
travelling & returning 670 miles = 2680 ℔ Tol. at 20/ ... 26.. 16.. 0
ferriages ... .. 2.. 6.
To 13 days further 27th June inclusive ... 6. 10. 0



King and Queen.

1788.

William Fleet.

June 7. To 6 Days attendance in Convention ..... 10/ ..... 3. 0. 0.
Travelling 43 miles and returning same distance .. 2d Tob: 86 miles 172 D° Tob° 20/ 1. 14. 4½
Ferriages over Mattapony & Pamunkey ..... " 3. 3
£4. 17. 7½

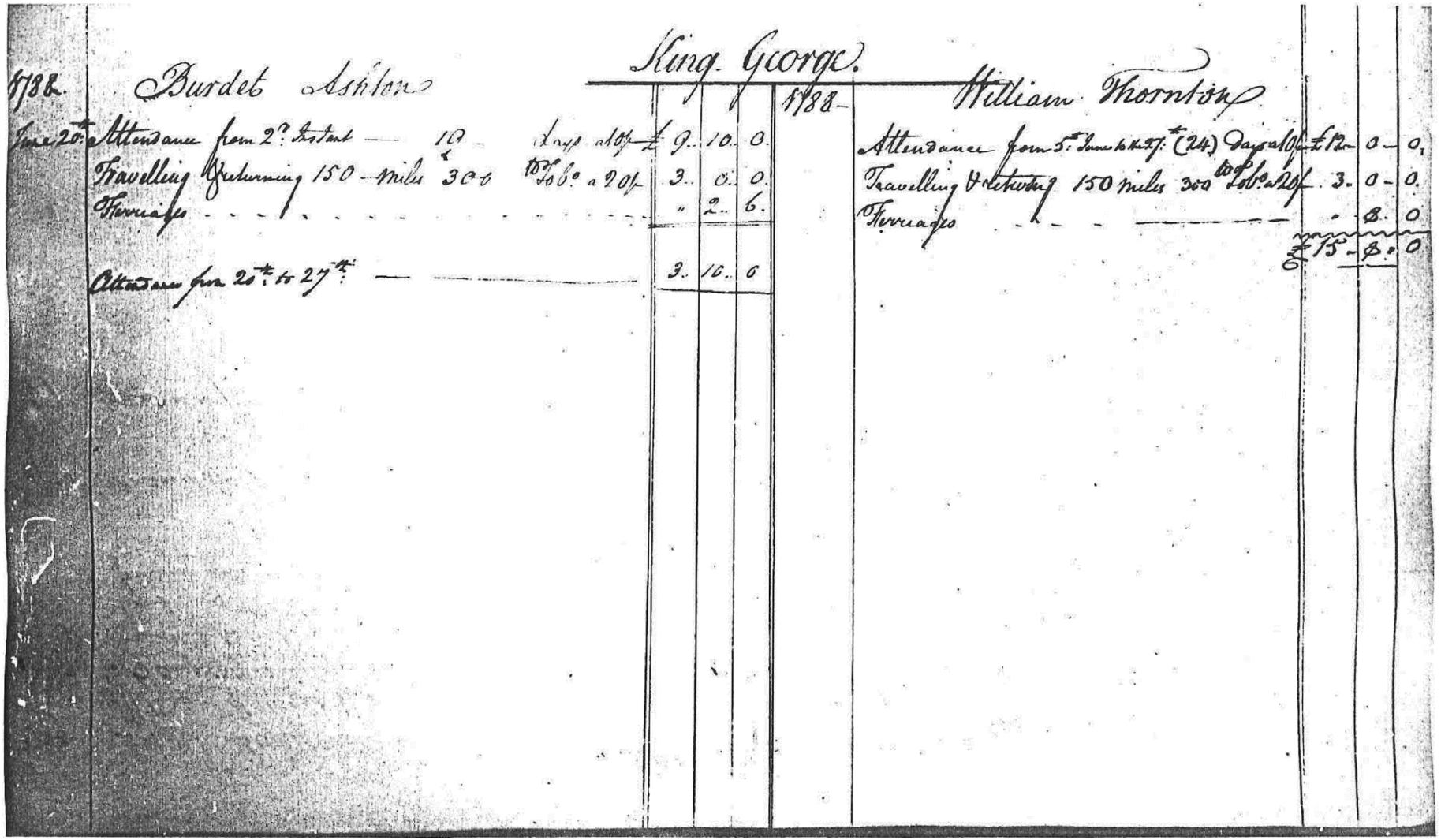
June 20. Attendance 13 days ..... 6. 10. 0.
Ferriages before omitted ..... 6. 9.

27. Attendance 20 days 3. 10. 0

1788.

Thomas Roane

June 20. Attendance from 2d Instant – 19 – Days 10/ £9. 10. 0
Travelling & returning 80 – miles 160 Tob° 20/ ..... 1. 12. 0.
Ferriages ..... " 10. 0.



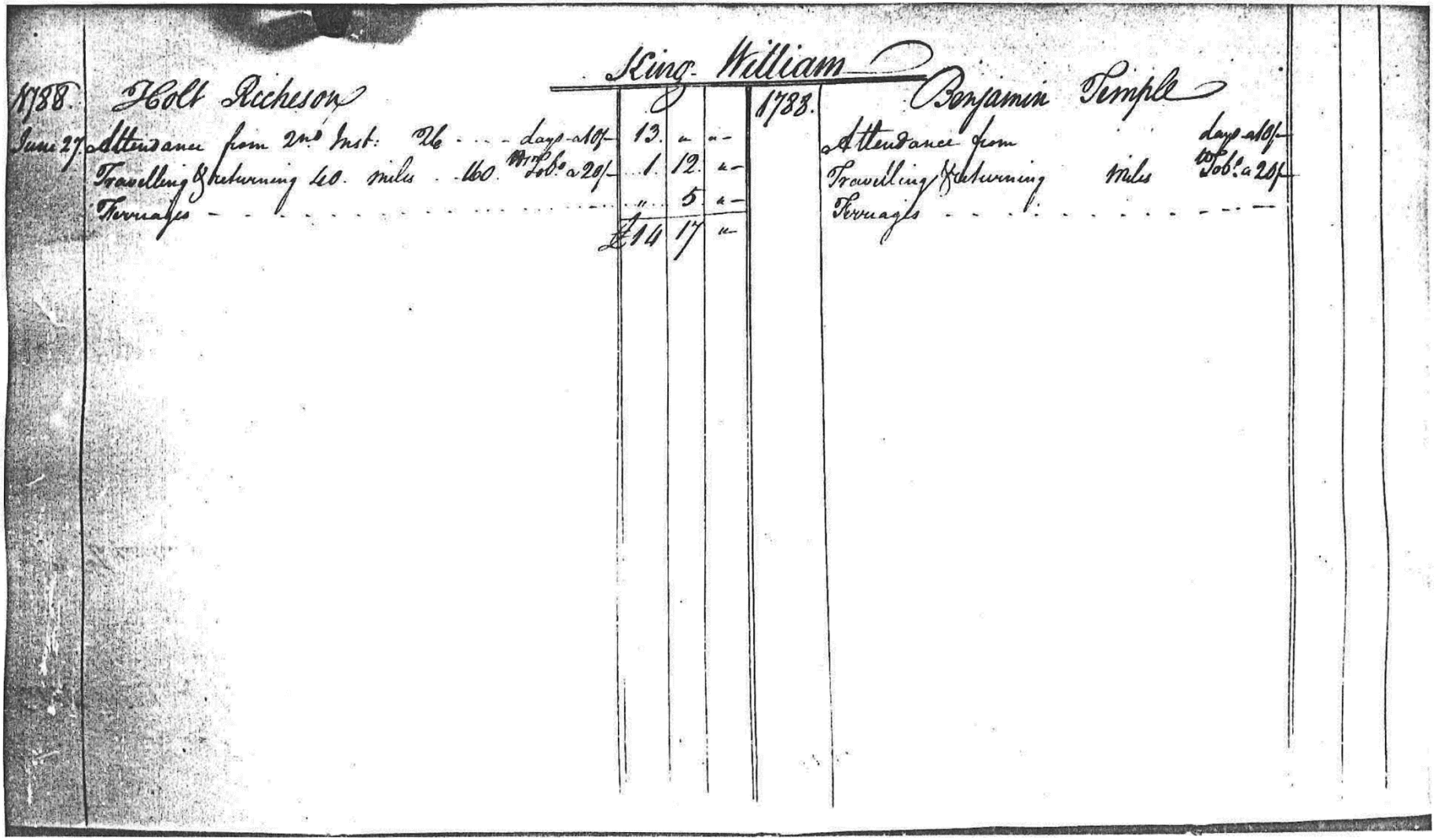
King. George.

1788. Burdet Ashton

June 20th	Attendance from 2d: Instant — 10 Days a 18/	£	9.	10.	0.
	Travelling & returning 150 Miles 300 to Feb.o a 2d/		3.	0.	0.
	Ferriages		"	2.	6.
	Attendance from 20th to 27th —		3.	10.	6

1788. William Thornton

Attendance from 5th June to 27th (24) Days a 10/	£	12.	0	0.
Travelling & returning 150 Miles 300 to Feb.o a 2d/		3.	0	0.
Ferriages			3.	0
	£	15	3.	0



King William

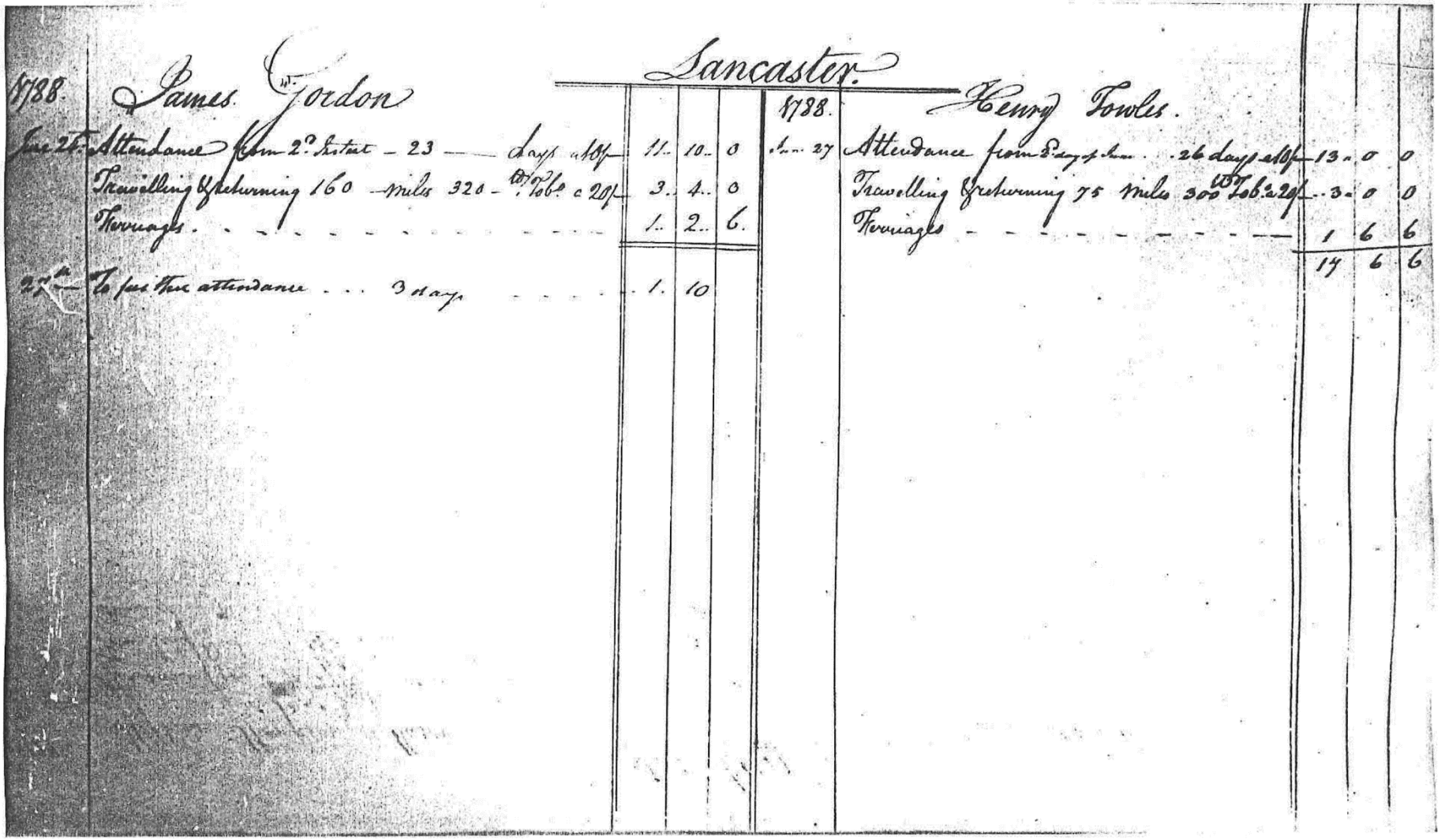
1788. Holt Recheson

June 27. Attendance from 2nd Inst. 26 ... days @10/ 13. — —
Travelling & returning 40 miles 160 Wt Lbs. @20/ 1. 12. —
Ferriages ... " 5. —
£14 17 —

1788. Benjamin Temple

Attendance from ... days @10/
Travelling & returning ... miles Wt Lbs. @20/
Ferriages ...

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Lancaster.

1788. James Gordon

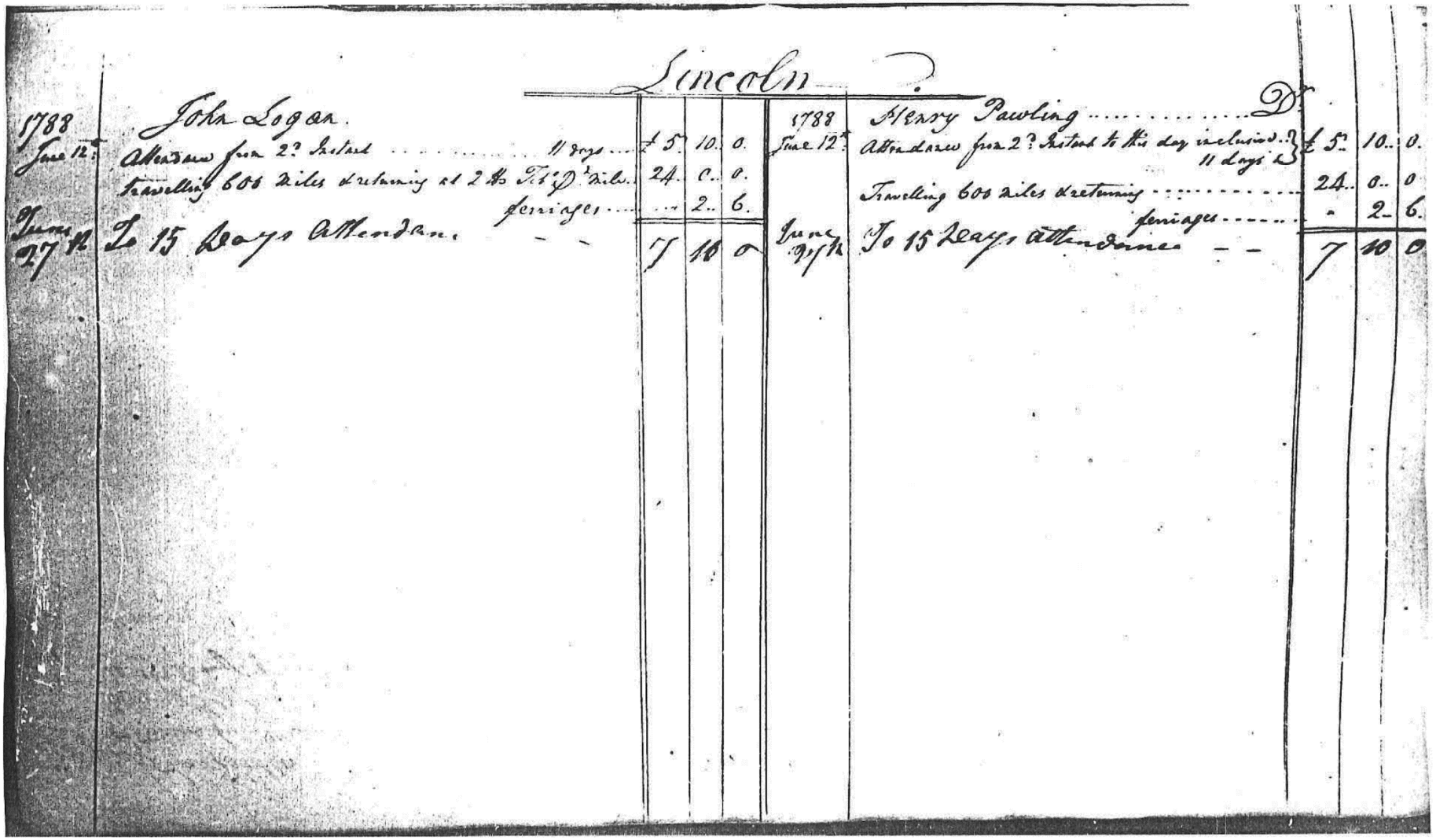
June 26. Attendance from 2d. Instat. – 23 —— Days @ 10/ — 11.. 10.. 0
Travelling & returning 160 — miles 320 — @ 10lb. c 2d/ — 3.. 4.. 0
Ferriages. — 1.. 2.. 6.

27th — To fee Thos attendance . . . 3 days — 1.. 10

1788. Henry Towles.

Jun. 27 Attendance from 3 days [illegible] . . 26 days @ 10/ — 13.. 0.. 0
Travelling & returning 75 miles 300 @ 2lb. 2d/ — 3.. 0.. 0
Ferriages — 1.. 6.. 6
17.. 6.. 6

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Lincoln

1788 John Logan.

June 12 Attendance from 2d Instant ..... 11 days .... £ 5. 10. 0.
Travelling 608 miles & returning at 2 lb Tit D. mile. 24. 0. 0.
ferriages .... 2. 6.

June 27th To 15 Days Attendance — — 7 10 0

1788 Henry Pawling ..... Dr.

June 12 Attendance from 2d Instant to this day inclusive 11 days } £ 5. 10. 0.
Traveling 608 miles & returning 24. 0. 0
ferriages ..... 2. 6.

June 27th To 15 Days attendance — — 7 10 0

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788. Stephen Thompson Mason

Attendance from Dumfries 150 miles, 3 days @ 2/6 — 2.5.0 — Days @ 10/ — 15 — 10 — 0

Travelling Returning Dumfries . . . . . Miles Days @ 10/ Days @ 2/6

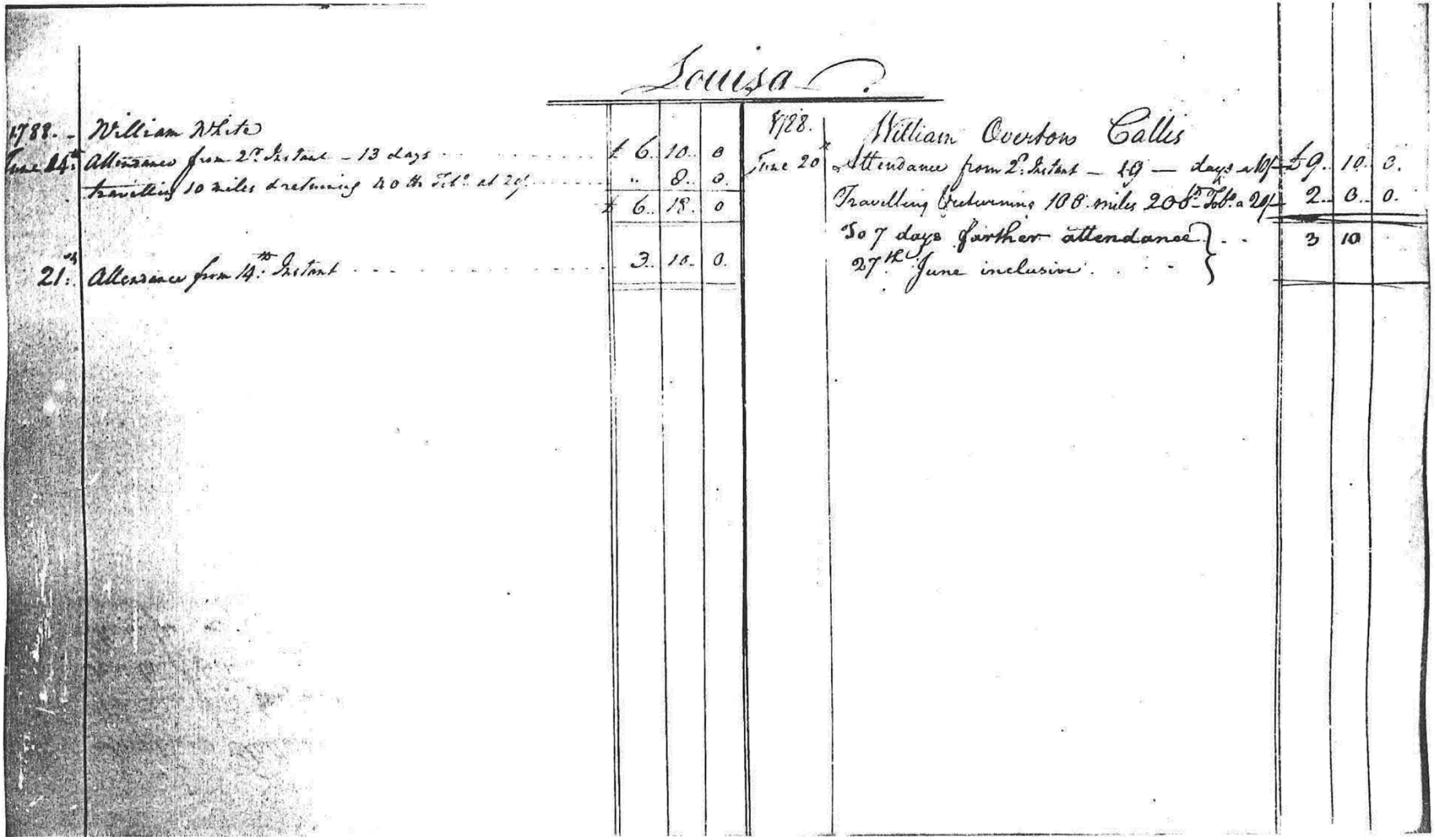
Loudon

1788.

Attendance from Travelling Returning Dumfries . . . . . Miles Days @ 10/ Days @ 2/6

Lewis Powell

	15	10	0
	0	1	0
	2		
	18	12	0



Louisa

1788. William White

June 14th Attendance from 2d Instant – 13 days ... £ 6. 10. 0

" Travelling 10 miles & returning 40 the Tot. at 2d ... " 8. 0.

£ 6. 18. 0

21st Attendance from 14th Instant ... 3. 10. 0

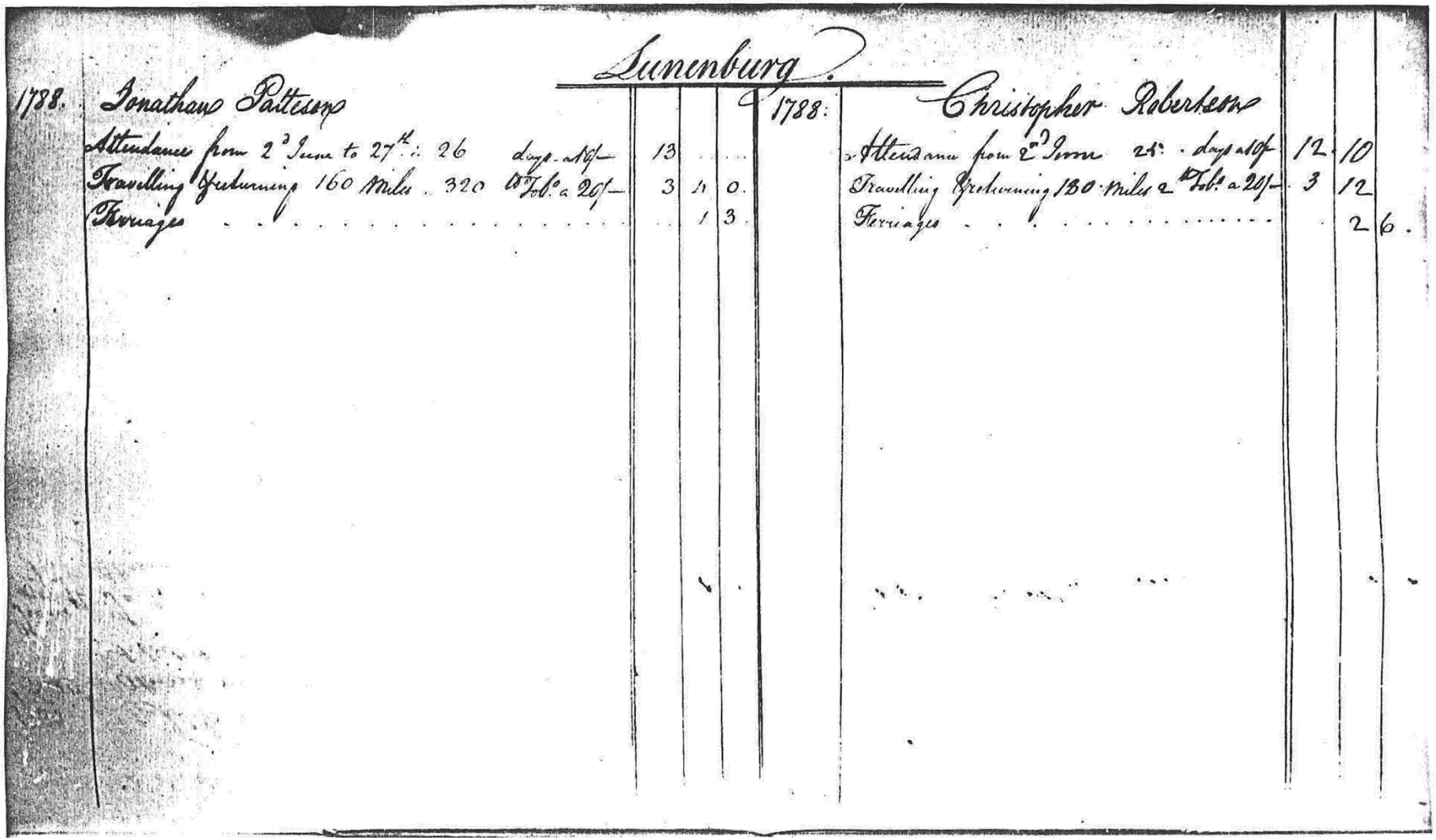
1788. William Overton Calles

June 20 Attendance from 2d Instant – 19 — days at 10/ ... 9. 10. 0.

Travelling & returning 100 miles 200 Tot. at 2d ... 2. 0. 0.

To 7 days farther attendance } ... 3 10

27th June inclusive ... }



Lunenburg.

1788. Jonathan Patterson

Attendance from 2d June to 27th: 26 days @ 10/ — 13 . .

Travelling & returning 160 Miles 320 @ 3d. & 2/ — 3 1 0.

Ferriages 1 3

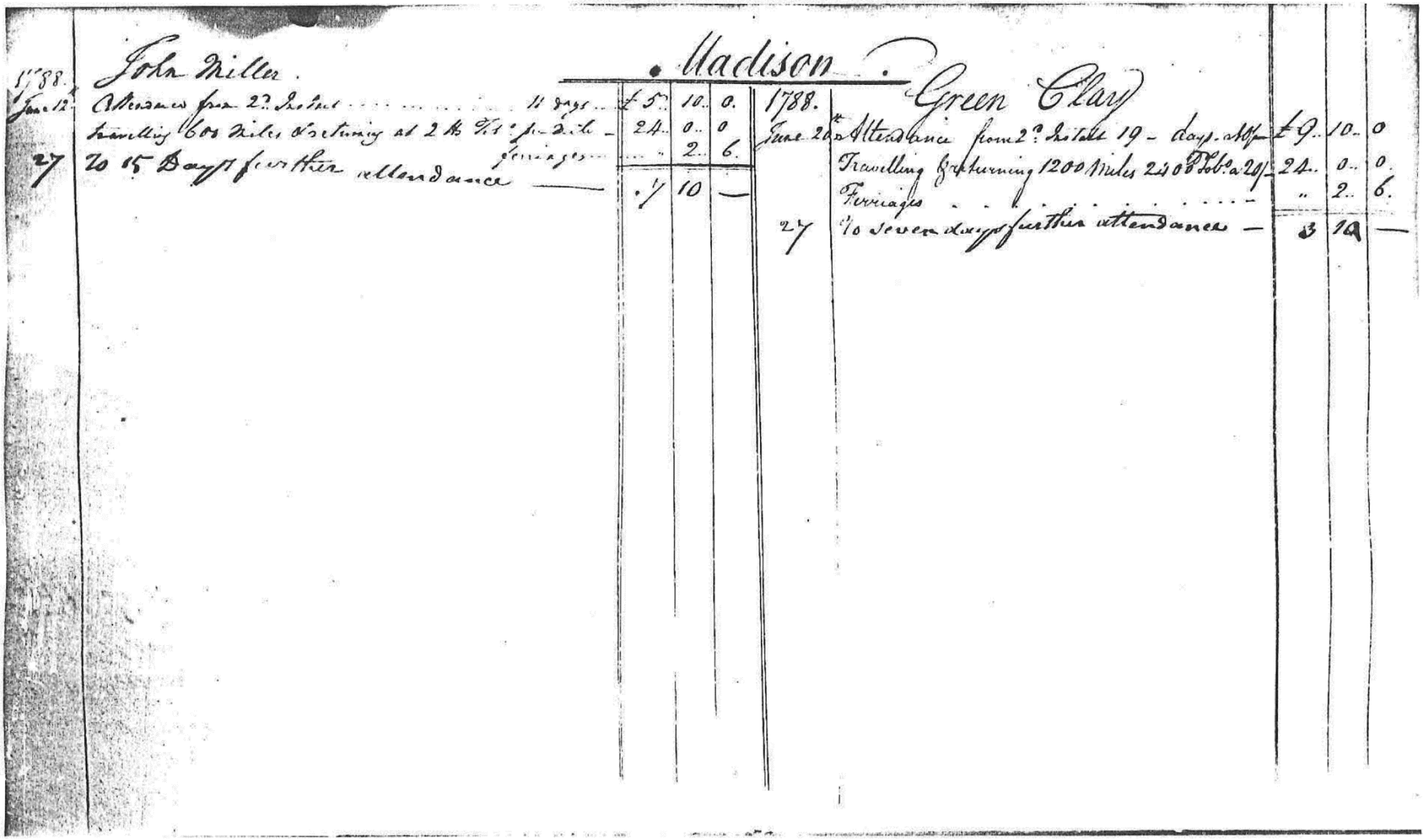
1788: Christopher Robertson

Attendance from 2d June 24: days @ 10/ — 12 10

Travelling & returning 130 Miles @ 3d. & 2/ — 3 12

Ferriages . . . . . 2 6.

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



1788.
June 12th John Miller.
Attendance from 2d. to 1st ... 11 days ... £5 10 0
Travelling 60 Miles & returning at 2 ℔ ℳ : p. Mile ... 24 0 0
Ferriages ... 2 6
27 To 15 Days further attendance ... 7 10 —

• Madison •

1788.
June 20th Attendance from 2d. to 1st 19 days at ℔ ... £9 10 0
Travelling & returning 1200 Miles 2 ℔ ℳ p. Mile ... 24 0 0
Ferriages ... " 2 6
27 To seven days further attendance ... 3 12 —

• Green Clay •

1788.

Samuel Hopkins Junior

Attendance from ... days ... £0/-

Travelling Journey ... miles ... £0/-

Ferriage - - - - - - - -

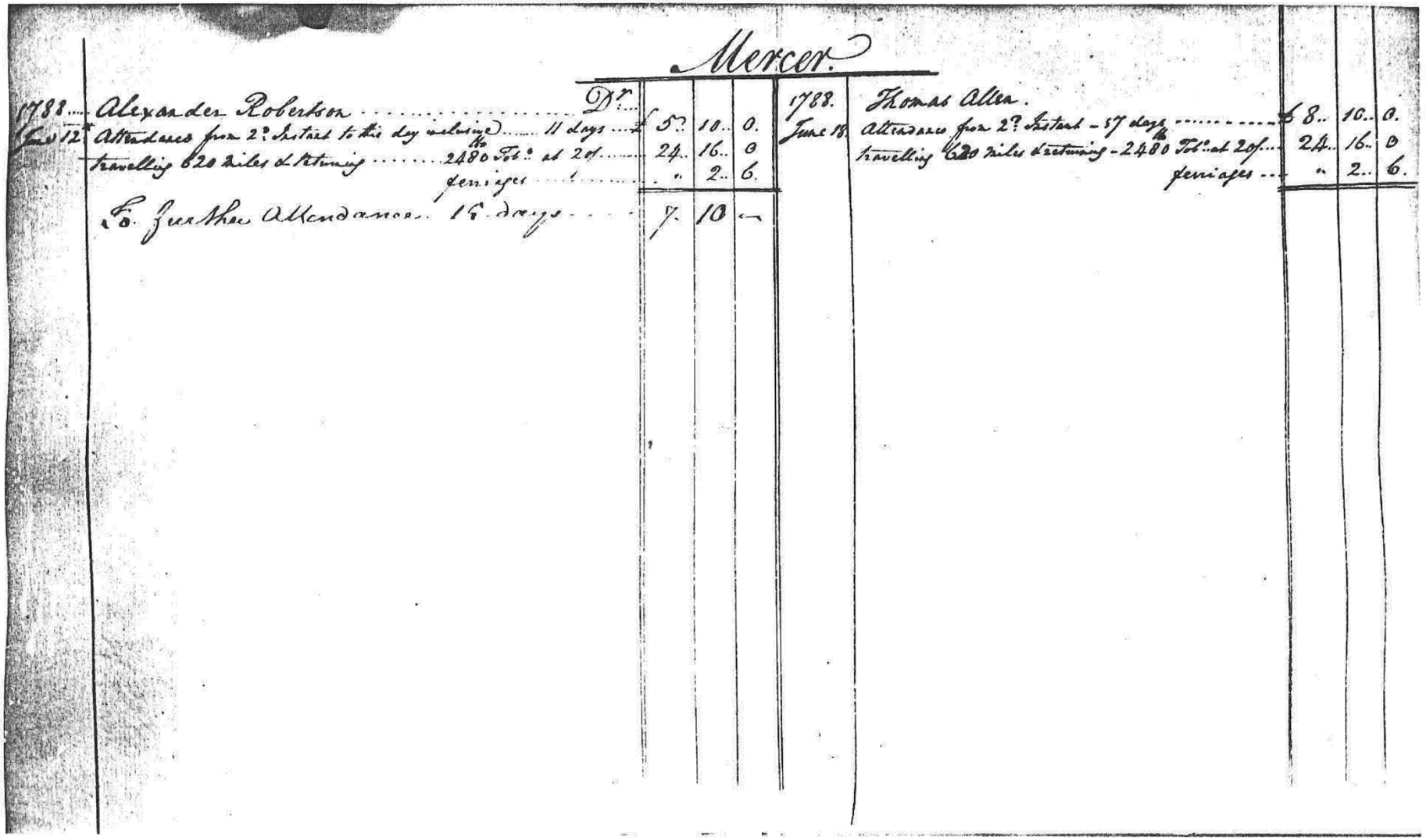
Mecklenburg. Richard Kennon

1788.

Attendance from ... days ... £0/-

Travelling Journey ... miles ... £0/-

Ferriage - - - - - - - -



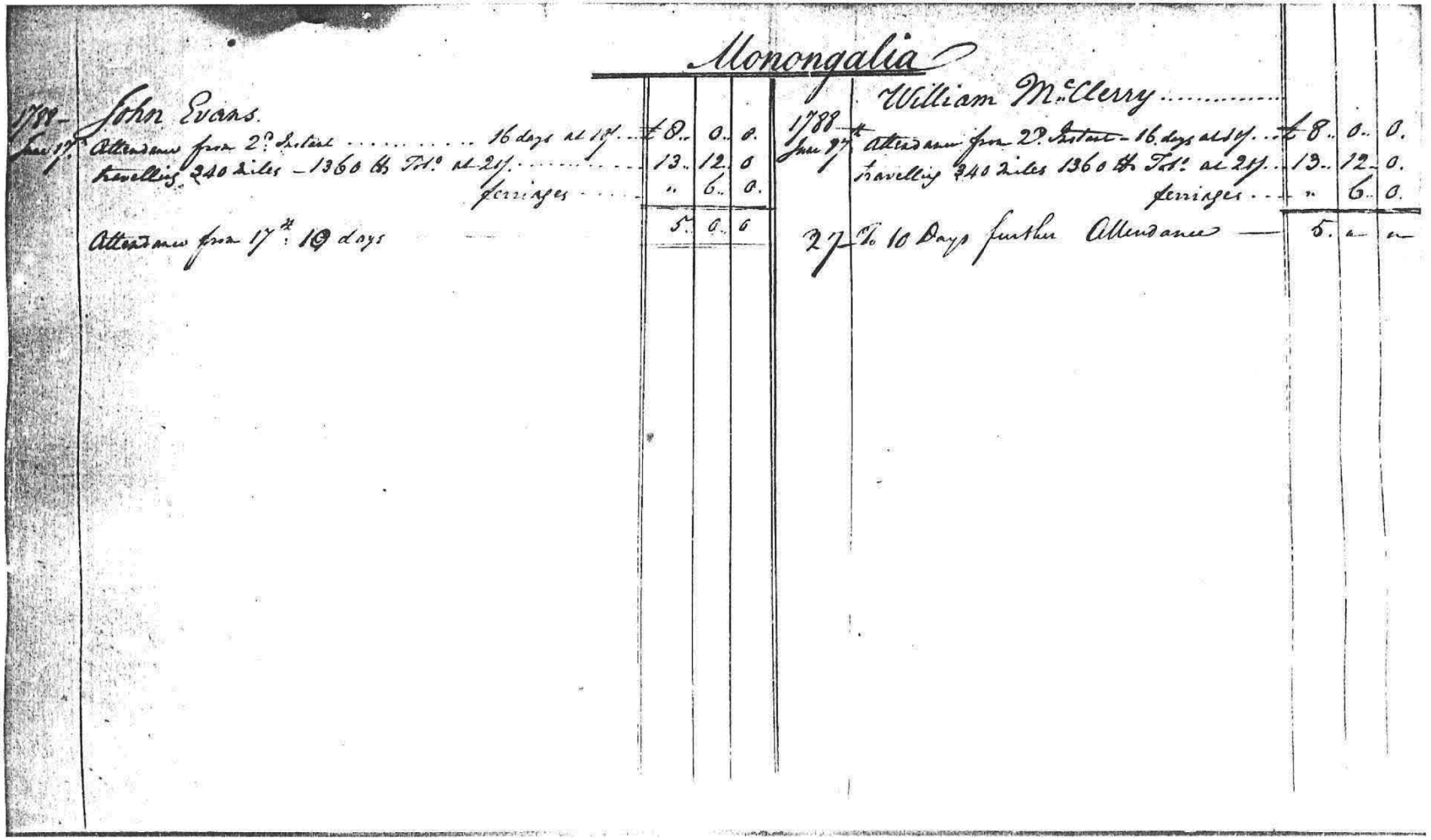
Mercer.

Dr.

1788. Alexander Roberson
June 12th Attendance from 2d Instant to this day inclusive ..... 11 days ..... £ 5.. 10.. 0.
travelling 620 miles & returning ..... 2480 Tobo at 2d ..... 24.. 16.. 0
ferriages .... 2.. 6.
To Juries Attendance 16 days ..... 7. 10 —

1788. June 18. Thomas Allen.
Attendance from 2d Instant - 17 days ..... £ 8.. 10.. 0.
travelling 620 miles & returning - 2480 Tobo at 2d ..... 24.. 16.. 0
ferriages .... 2.. 6.

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Monongalia

1788 June 17th John Evans.

Attendance from 2d Instant ..... 16 days at 10/	£8..	0..	0.
Travelling 240 miles – 1360 lb Tob.o at 2/1	13..	12..	0
Ferriages	"	6..	0.
	5.	0.	6

Attendance from 17th: 10 days

1788 June 27th William McClerry .....

Attendance from 2d Instant – 16 days at 10/ ...	£8..	0..	0.
Travelling 240 miles 1360 lb Tob.o at 2/1 ..	13..	12..	0.
Ferriages ...	"	6..	0.
	5.	"	"

27th Do. 10 Days further Attendance —

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788. Walter Crockett
Attendance from
Travelling & returning
Journey -
Miles
days at 10/
Dollrs 2 a 20/

Montgomery.

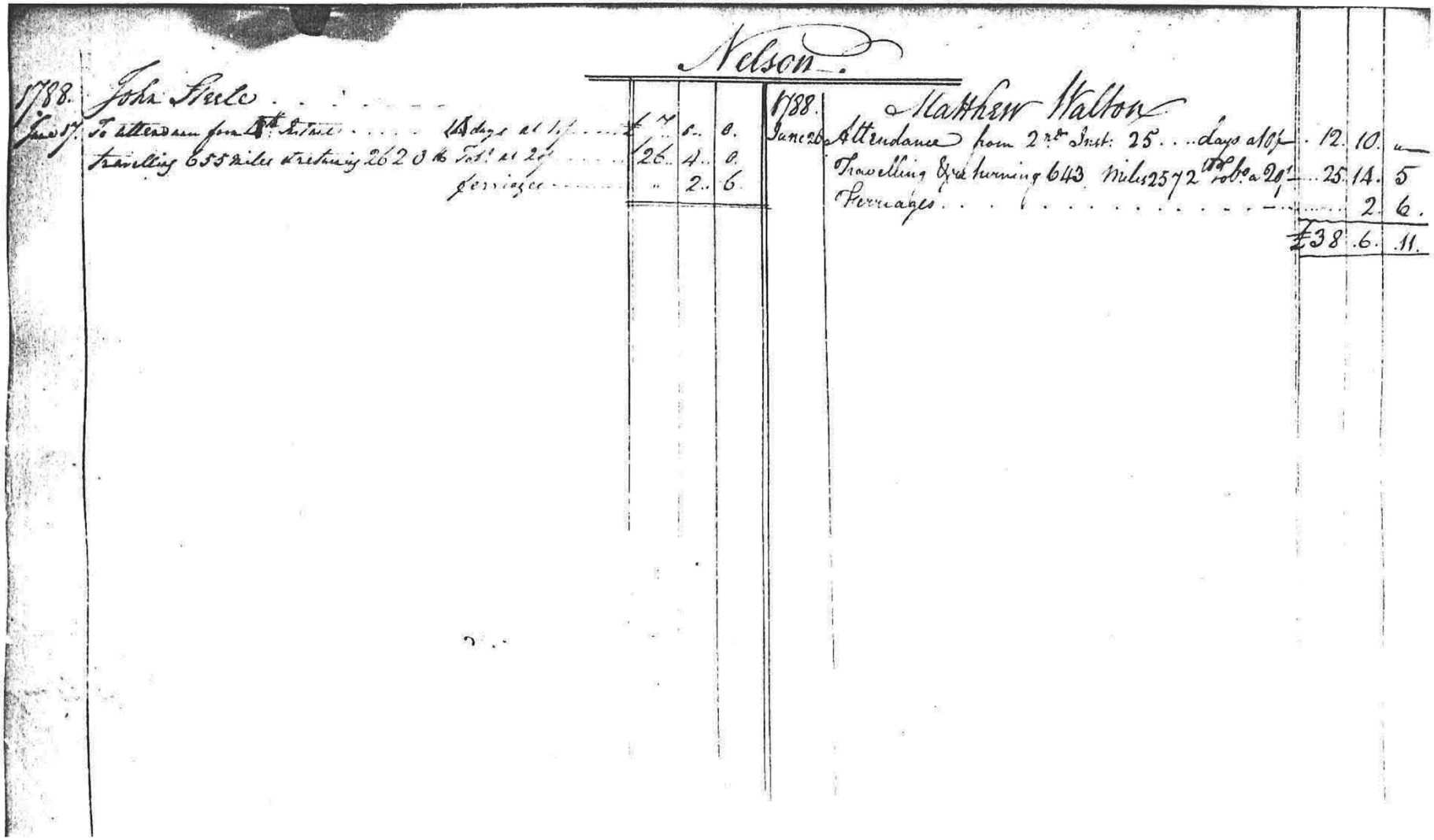
1788.
Abraham Trigg
Attendance from
Travelling & returning
Journey -
Miles
days at 10/
Dollrs 2 a 20/

1788. Wills Riddick

Attendance from 26 — — — days @ 10/ £13
Travelling & returning 200 Miles @ 6d 6
Ferriage 6
£14 . 6

Nansemond. 1788. Solmon Shepherd

Attendance from 26 — days @ 10/ £13 . 0 . 0
Travelling & returning 200 Miles @ 6d 6 . 0
Ferriage 6
£14 . 6



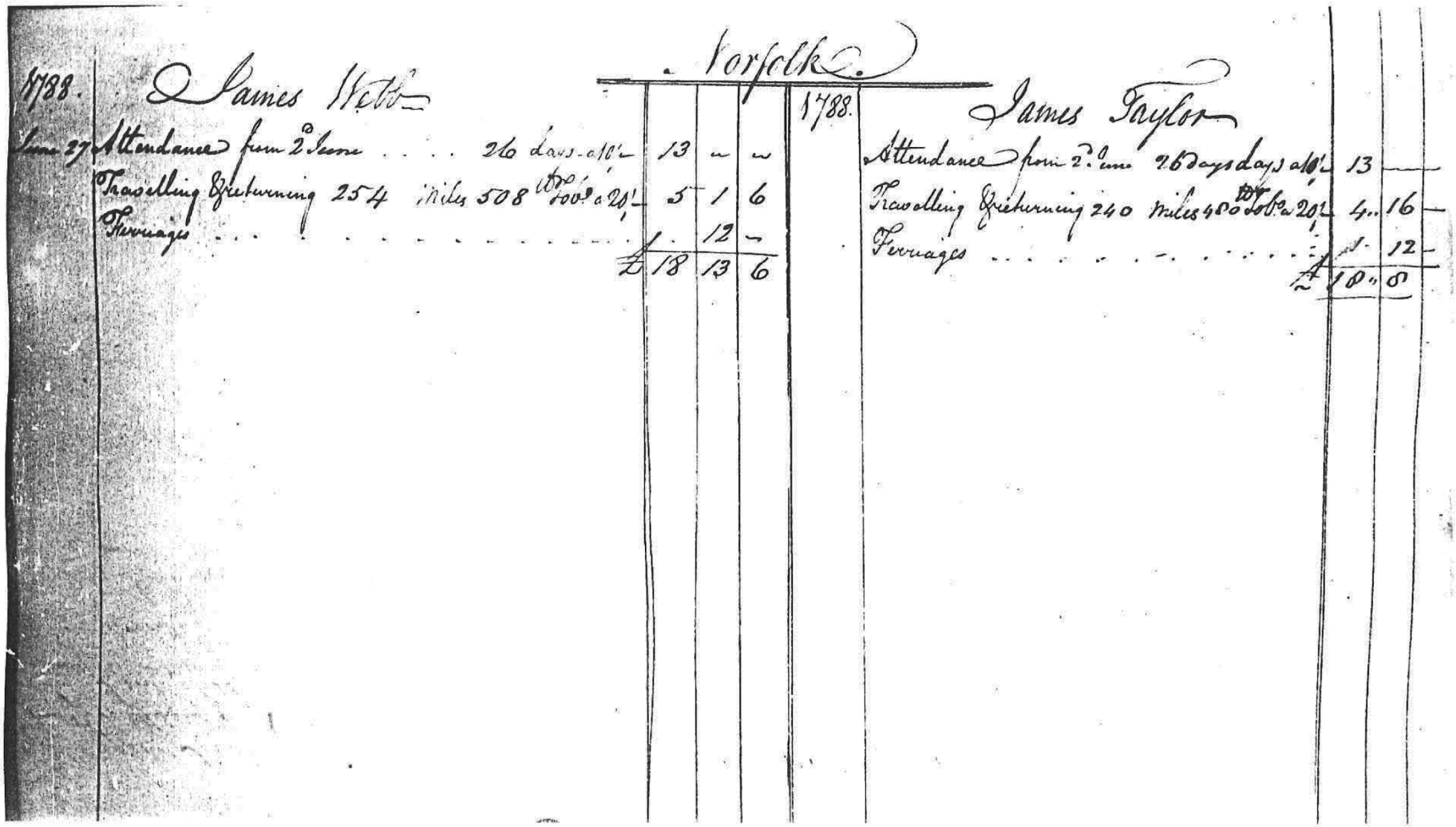
Nelson.

1788. June 8th. John Steele . . . . .
To attendance from 4th Instt. . . . . 18 days at 16/ . . . £ 14 s. 8 d.
travelling 655 miles & returning 2620 Miles Tob.o at 2d . . . . . 26. 4. 0.
ferriages . . . . . 2. 6.

1788. June 26. Matthew Walton
Attendance from 2nd Instt. 25 . . . days at 10/ . . . 12. 10. —
Travelling & returning 643 Miles 2572 Hhds Tob.o at 20/ . . . 25. 14. 5
Ferriages . . . . . 2. 6.
£38. 6. 11.

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788.
William Clay Ford
Attendance from
Travelling Returning
miles
days at 10/
£0 0 0
1788.
Burwell Bassett
Attendance from
Travelling Returning
miles
days at 10/
£0 0 0



Norfolk.

1788. James Webb

June 27	Attendance from 2d Sessn. . . . 26 Days @ 10/	13	—	—	
	Travelling & returning 254 miles 508 @ 20/	5	1	6	
	Ferriages		12	—	
		£ 18	13	6	

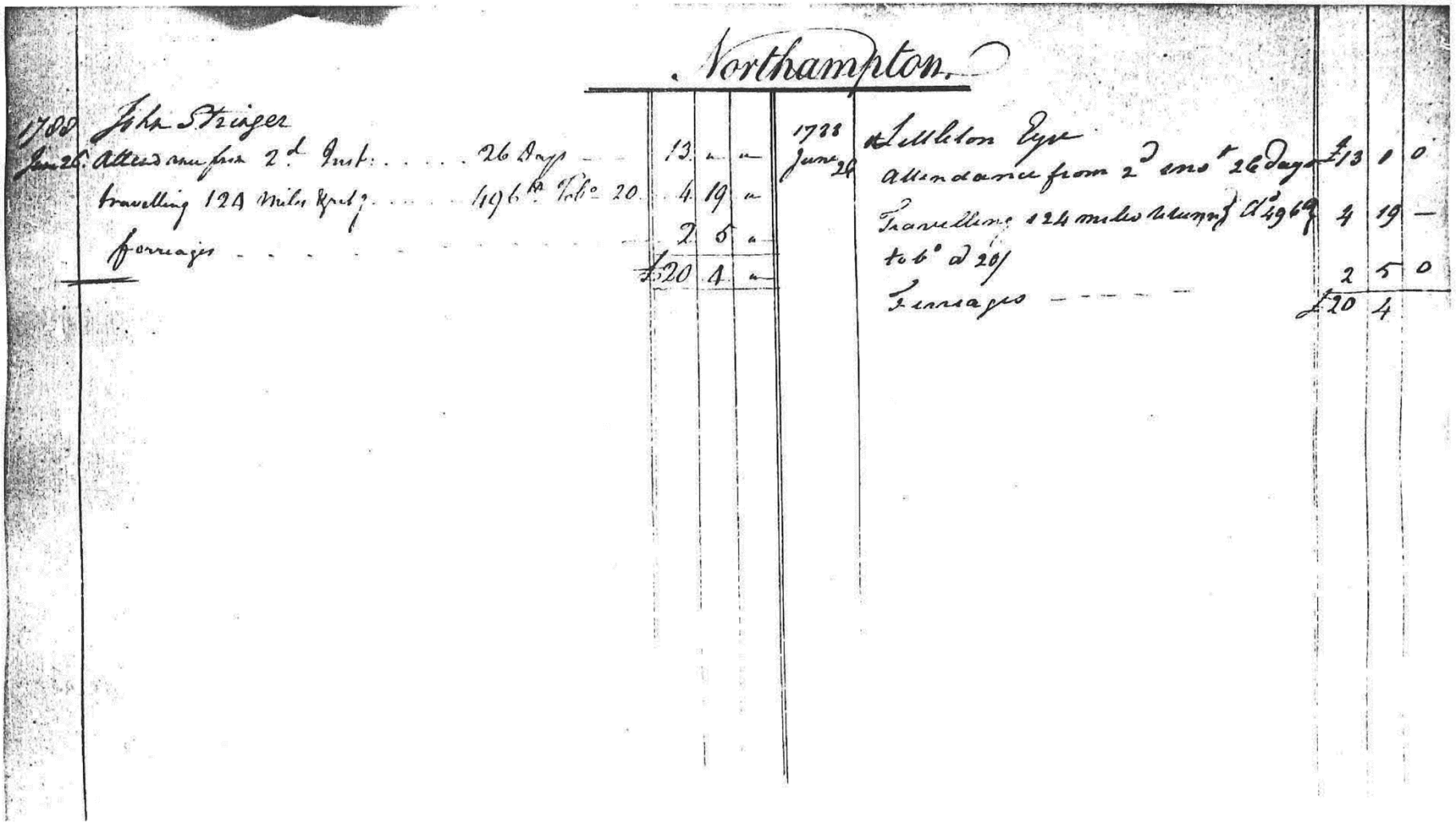
1788. James Taylor

Attendance from 2d Sessn 26 Days @ 10/	13	—		
Travelling & returning 240 miles 480 @ 20/	4	16	—	
Ferriages		12	—	
	£ 18	8		

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

Norfolk Borough

	£	s.	d.
1788. Thomas Markham			
June 2 Attendance from 2 to Inclusive 19 days	3.	16.	0.
Riding 96 miles 38 to the Inch	1.	11.	0.
Ferriages		11.	9.



Northampton.

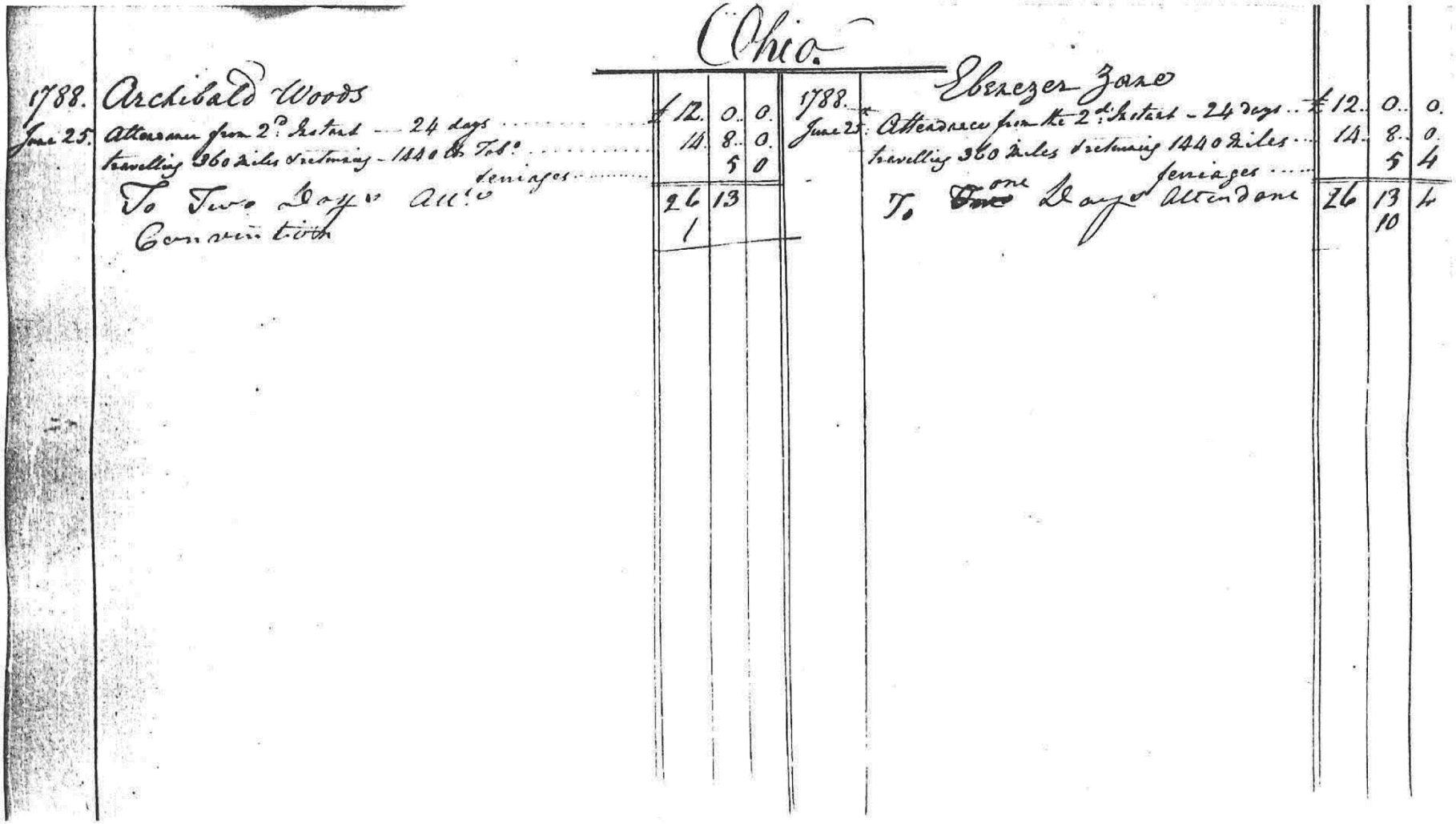
1788 John Stringer
June 26. Attendance from 2d Inst. . . . . 26 Days — 13 — —
travelling 124 Miles & ret.d . . . . 196 Tob.o 20 4 19 —
Ferriages . . . . . 2 5 —
£20 4 —

1788 Littleton Eyre
June 26 Attendance from 2d inst.r 26 Days £13 1 0
Travelling 124 miles & return.d 196 Tob.o @ 20/ 4 19 —
Ferriages 2 5 0
£20 4

Northumberland.

Walker Lewis
Abingdon from 2d June 6
this Day, inclusive 2 Do 3
Travelling 75 miles Returns 9 same
Evening

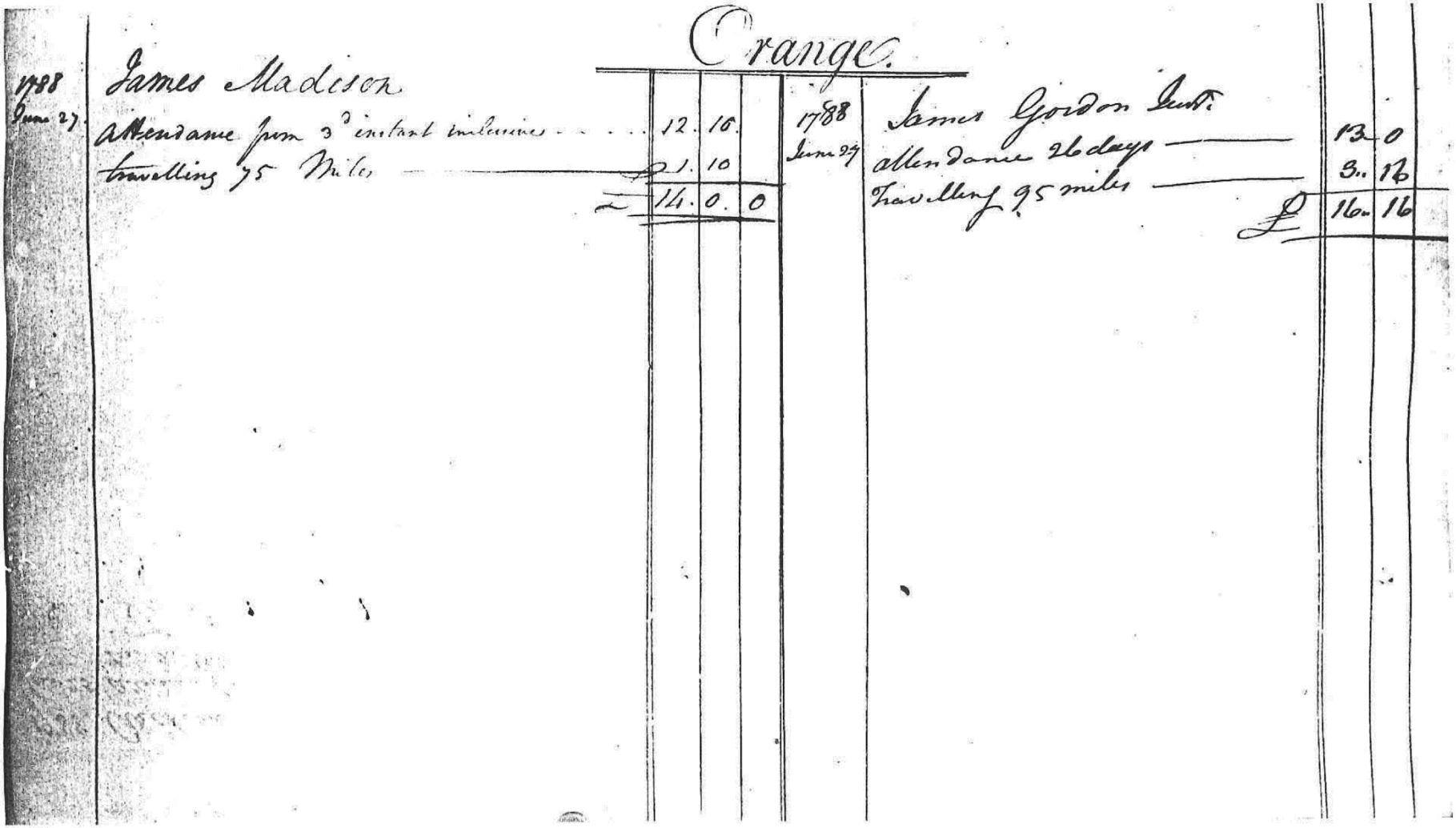
12. 16 —
3. — —
— 9. 3.
— 2 —
15 19. 3.



Ohio.

1788. Archibald Woods
June 25. Attendance from 2d Instant — 24 days ..... £ 12. 0. 0.
travelling 360 miles & returning 1440 do Ditto ..... 14. 8. 0.
5 0
To Two Days Attendance 26 13
Conventioth 1

1788. Ebenezer Zane
June 25. Attendance from the 2d Instant - 24 days .. £ 12. 0. 0.
travelling 360 miles & returning 1440 miles .... 14. 8. 0.
5 4
To ~~One~~ Days Attendance 26 13 4
10



Orange.

1788 James Madison

June 27. Attendance from 3d instant inclusive ..... 12. 10.

travelling 75 Miles 1. 10

£ 14. 0. 0

1788 James Gordon Gent.

June 27 Attendance 26 days 13. 0

Travelling 95 miles ..... 3.. 16

£ 16. 16

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

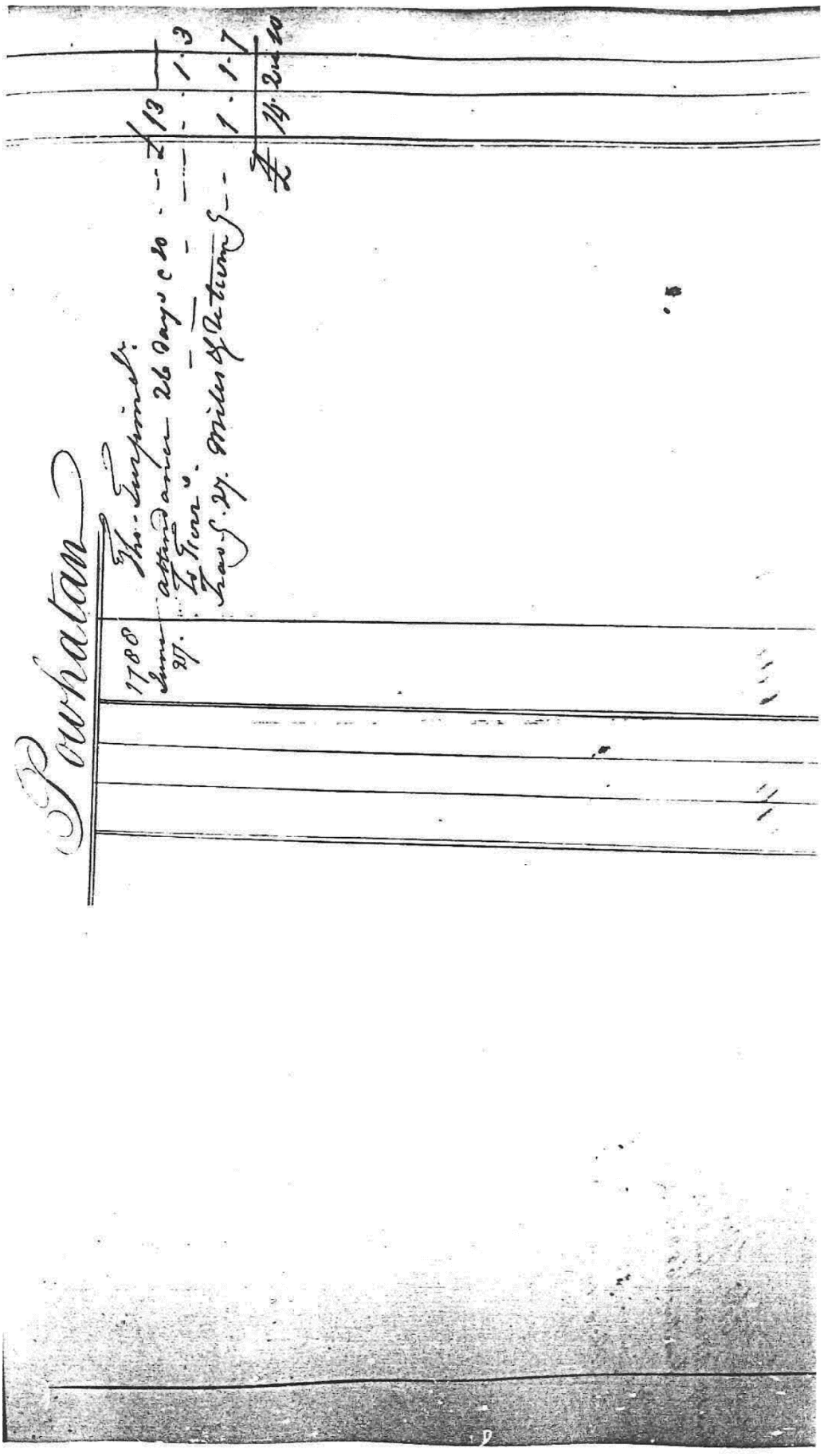
Pittsylvania

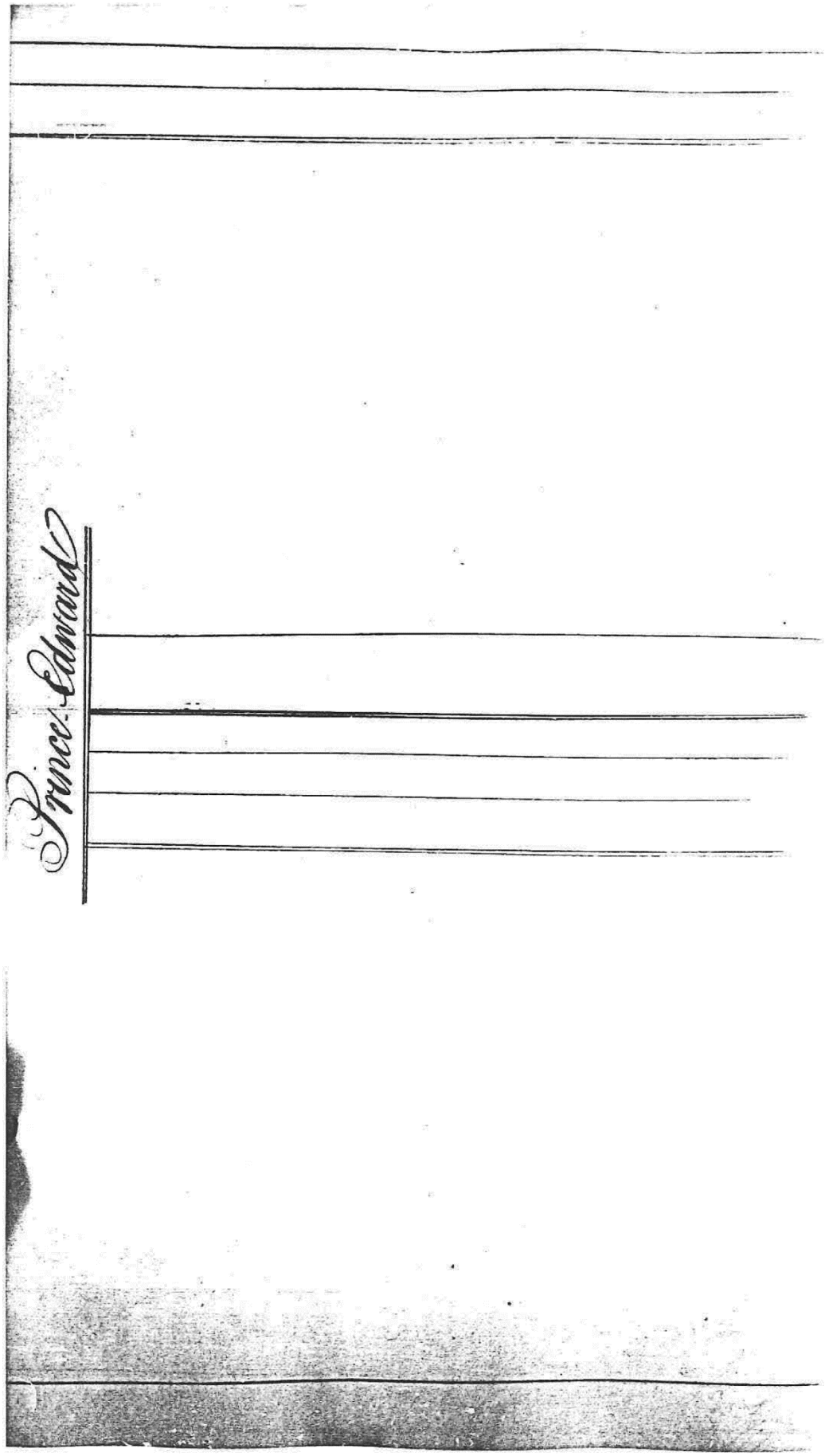
1788 June 19. John Wilson...

	£	s	d
Attendance from 2d Instant – 18 days	£ 9	0	0
travelling 165 miles & returning 660 lb Tob° at 2/	6	12	0
ferriages	"	3	3
Attendance bill 27th – 8 days	4	6	—

1788 June 19. Robert Williams

	£	s	d
Attendance from 2d Instant – 18 days	£ 9	0	0
travelling 163 miles & returning 652 lb Tob° at 2/			
ferriages	"	1	0

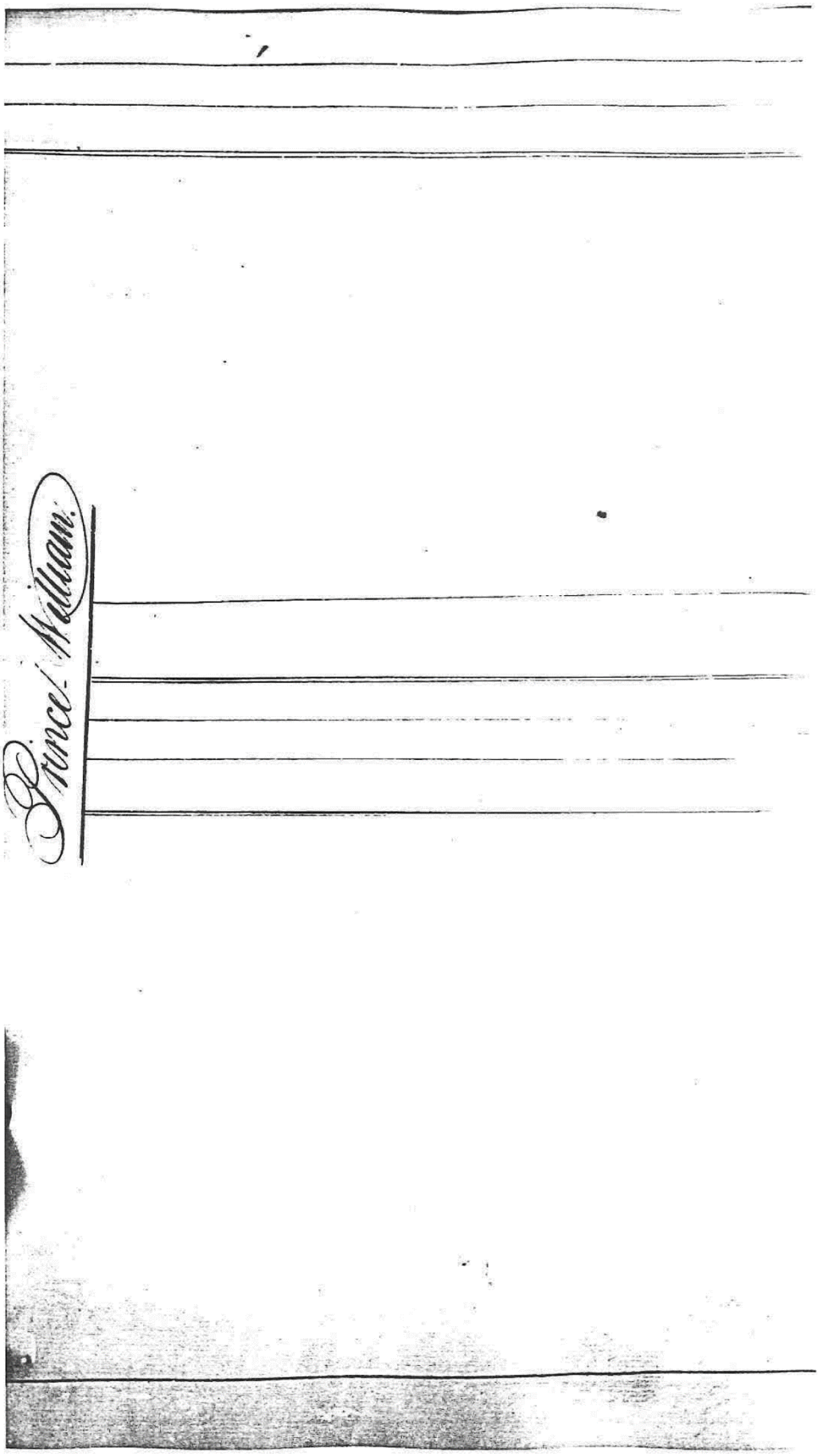

Pourtalai
1788
June
27.
Ino. Swymmell
attd 26 days @ 20
Travg.
Mileage & Return
£13 . . 2
1 . 1 . 3
1 . 1 . 7
£15 . 2 . 10

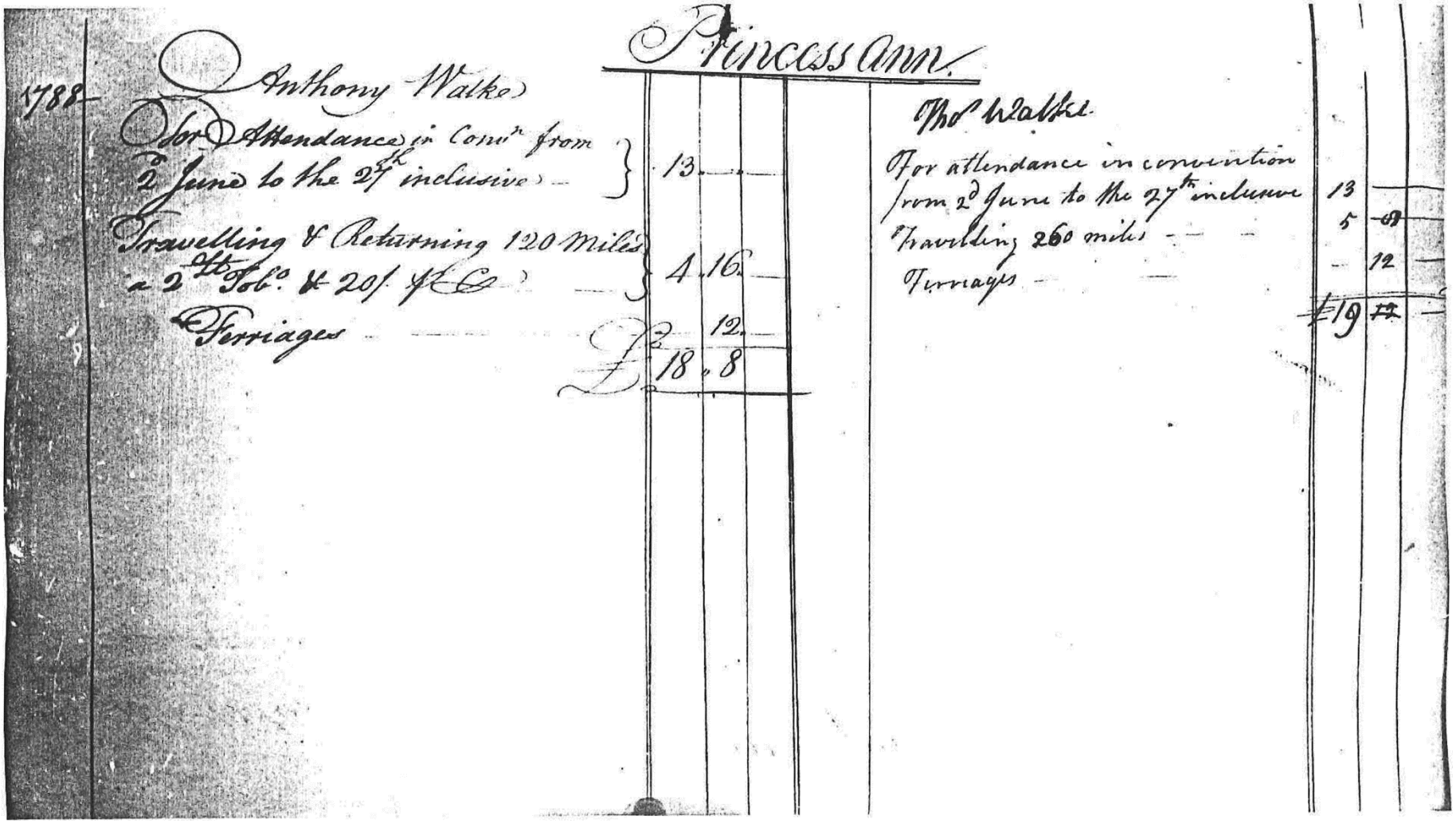

Prince Edward

1788 — Edmund Ruffin jun.
June 27. To 25 Days Attendance
To Travelling 80 Miles

Prince George.

| | | |


Prince William.



1788

Princess Ann.

Anthony Walke

For Attendance in Convn from 2 June to the 27th inclusive — 13 —

Travelling & Returning 120 Miles @ 2d ℔ 60. & 20/ ℔ C° — 4 . 16 —

Ferriages — — — 12 —

£ 18 . 8

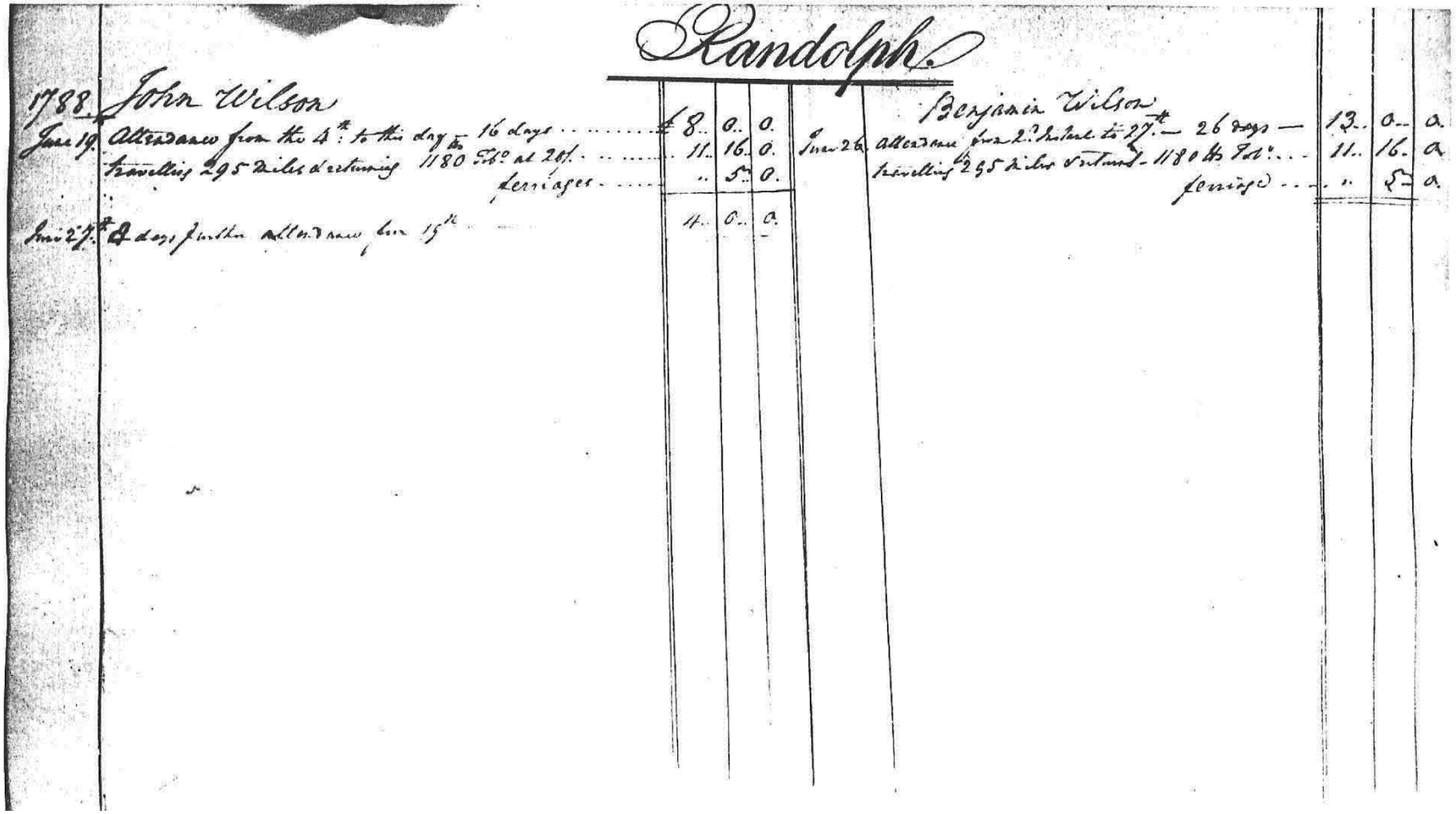
Tho.s Walker

For attendance in convention from 2d June to the 27th inclusive 13

Travelling 260 miles — 5 —

Ferriages — — 12

£ 19



Randolph.

1788. John Wilson

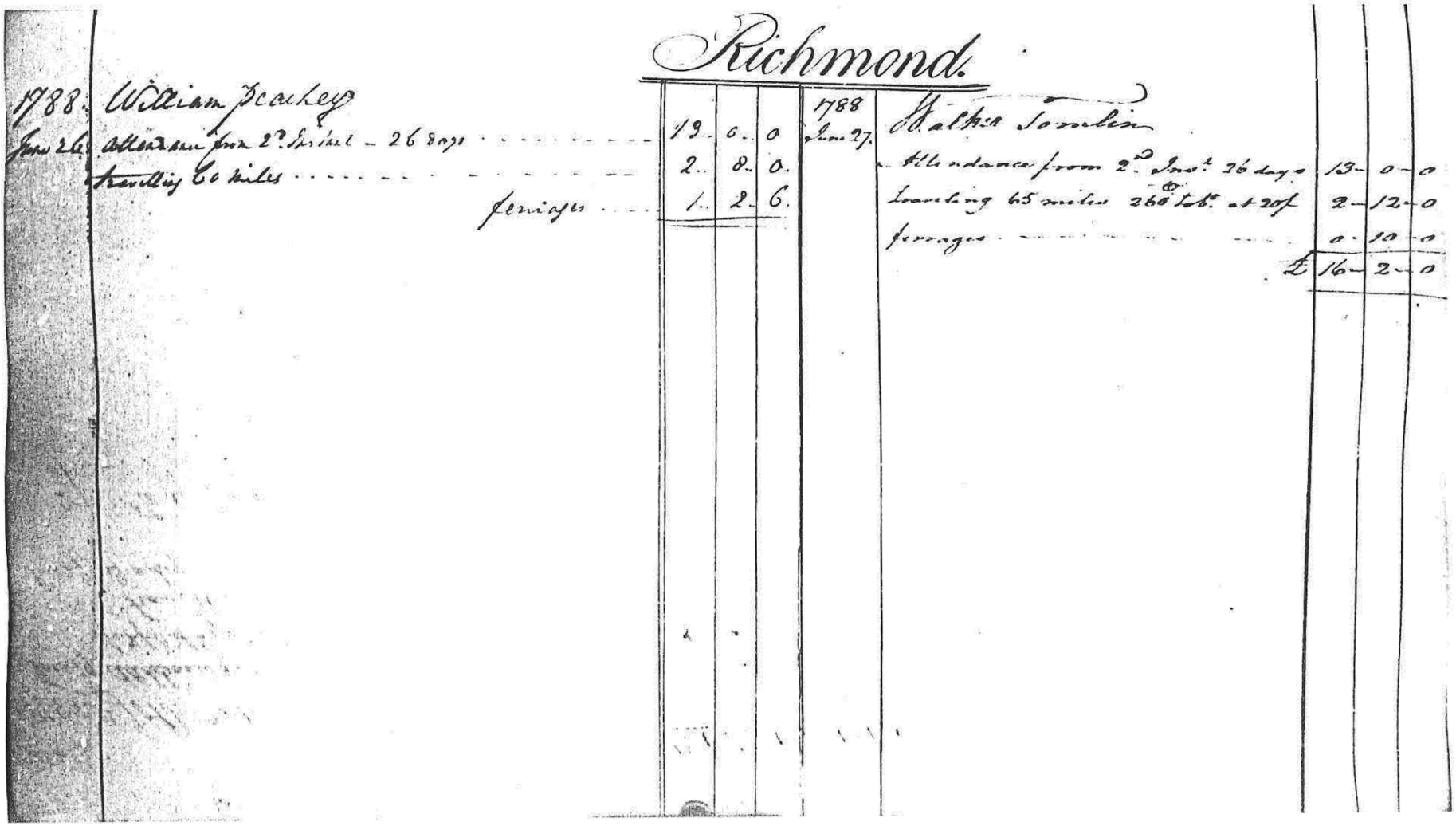
June 19. Attendance from the 4th to this day 16 days ..... £ 8.. 0.. 0.
travelling 295 Miles & returning 1180 Tob° at 20/. ..... 11.. 16.. 0.
ferriages .... 5.. 0.
1.. 0.. 0.

June 27th 8 days further attendance since 15th

Benjamin Wilson

June 26. attendance from 2d instant to 27th — 26 days — 13.. 0.. 0.
travelling 295 Miles & returned 1180 lb Tob°. . . 11.. 16.. 0.
ferriages . . . . 5.. 0.

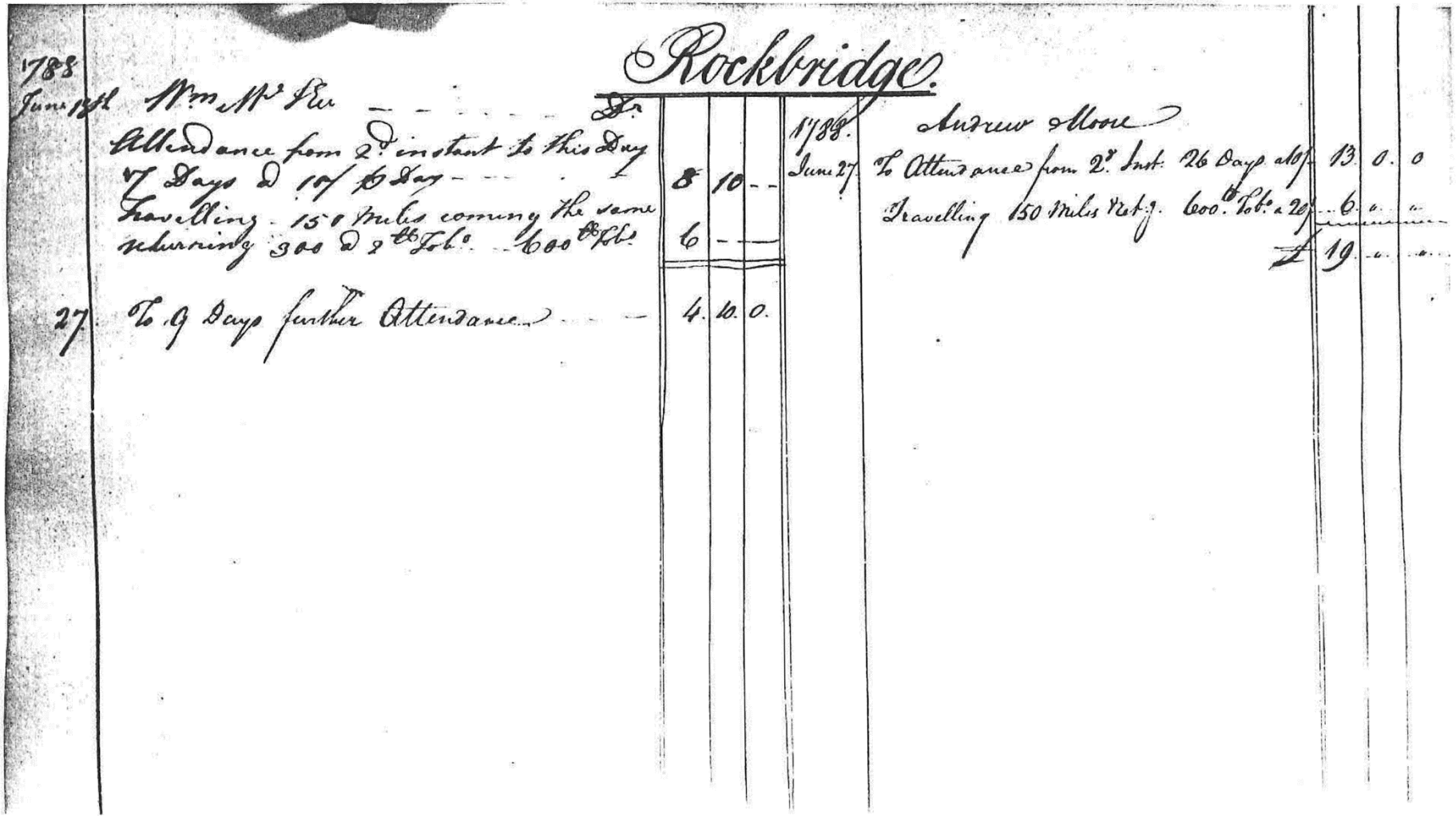
VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Richmond.

1788. William Peachey
June 26. Attendance from 2d. Instant – 26 days 13. 0. 0
Travelling 60 miles ..... 2. 8. 0.
ferriages ..... 1. 2. 6.

1788
June 27. Walter Jones
Attendance from 2d. Inst. 26 days ..... 13 – 0 – 0
Travelling 65 miles 260 lbs. at 2of ..... 2 – 12 – 0
ferriages ..... 0. 10 – 0
£ 16 – 2 – 0



Rockbridge.

1788
June 14th Wm McPherson — Dr.

Attendance from 2d instant to this Day
7 Days @ 10/ 6 Day — — — 8 10 — —
Travelling 150 Miles coming the same
returning 300 @ 2 ℔ Tob.° 600 ℔ Tob.° 6 — — —

27 To 9 Days further Attendance — — — 4 10 0

1788.
June 27 Andrew Moore
To Attendance from 2d Inst. 26 Days @ 10/ 13 0 0
Travelling 150 Miles Ret.d 600 Tob.° @ 20 6 " "
£ 19 " "

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

Rockingham.

1788 June 27.

Thomas Lewis.

Attendance from 2d Inst. to Thursday 26 Days @ 10/ £13.0.0

Travelling 120 Miles & returning 480 Tob. @ 20/ 4.16.0

£17.16.0

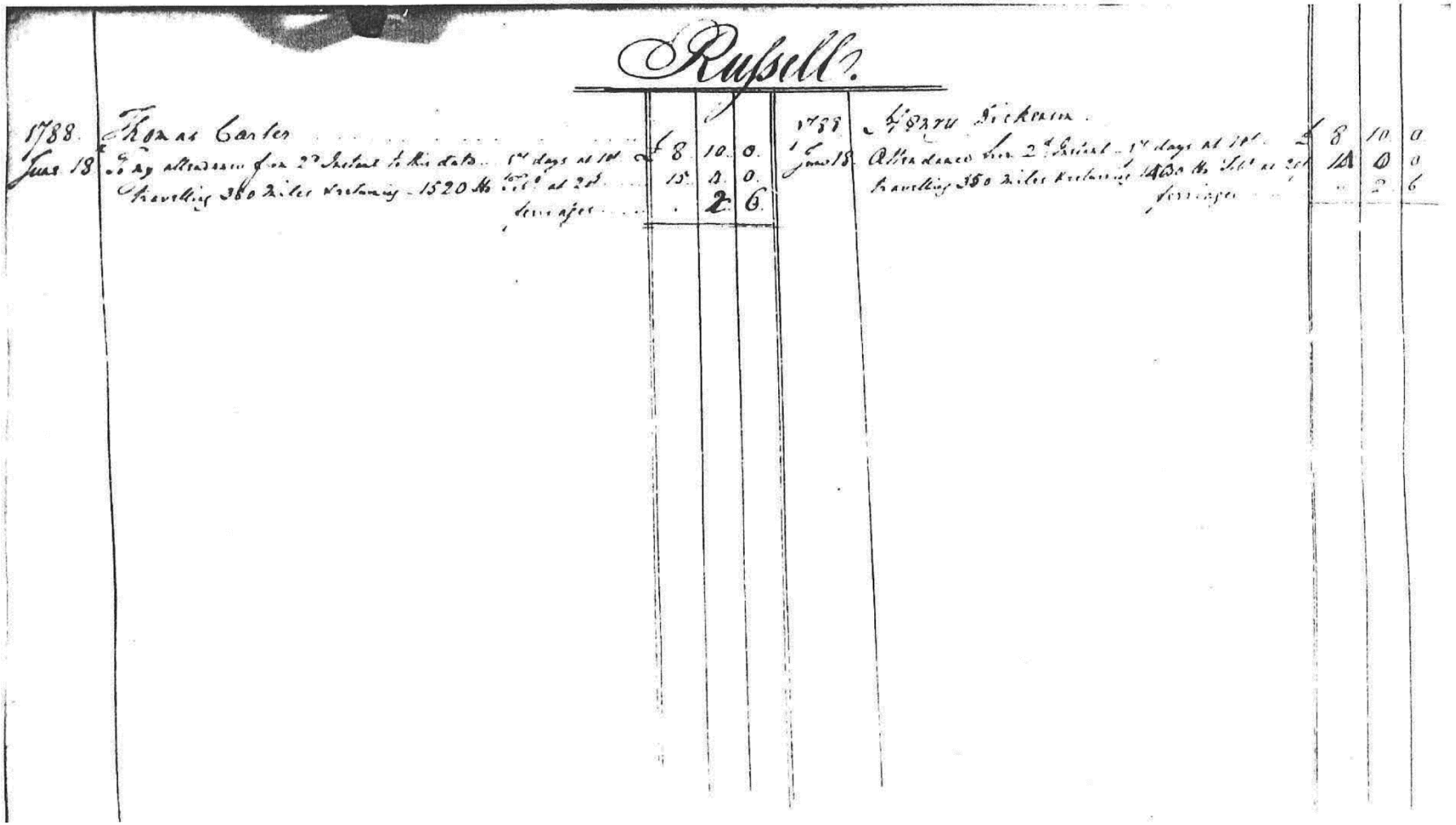
1788. June 2

Gabriel Jones.

Attendance from 2d Inst. 26 days @ 10/ 13.0.0

Travelling 120 miles & returning 480 Tob. @ 20/ 4.16.0

17.16.0

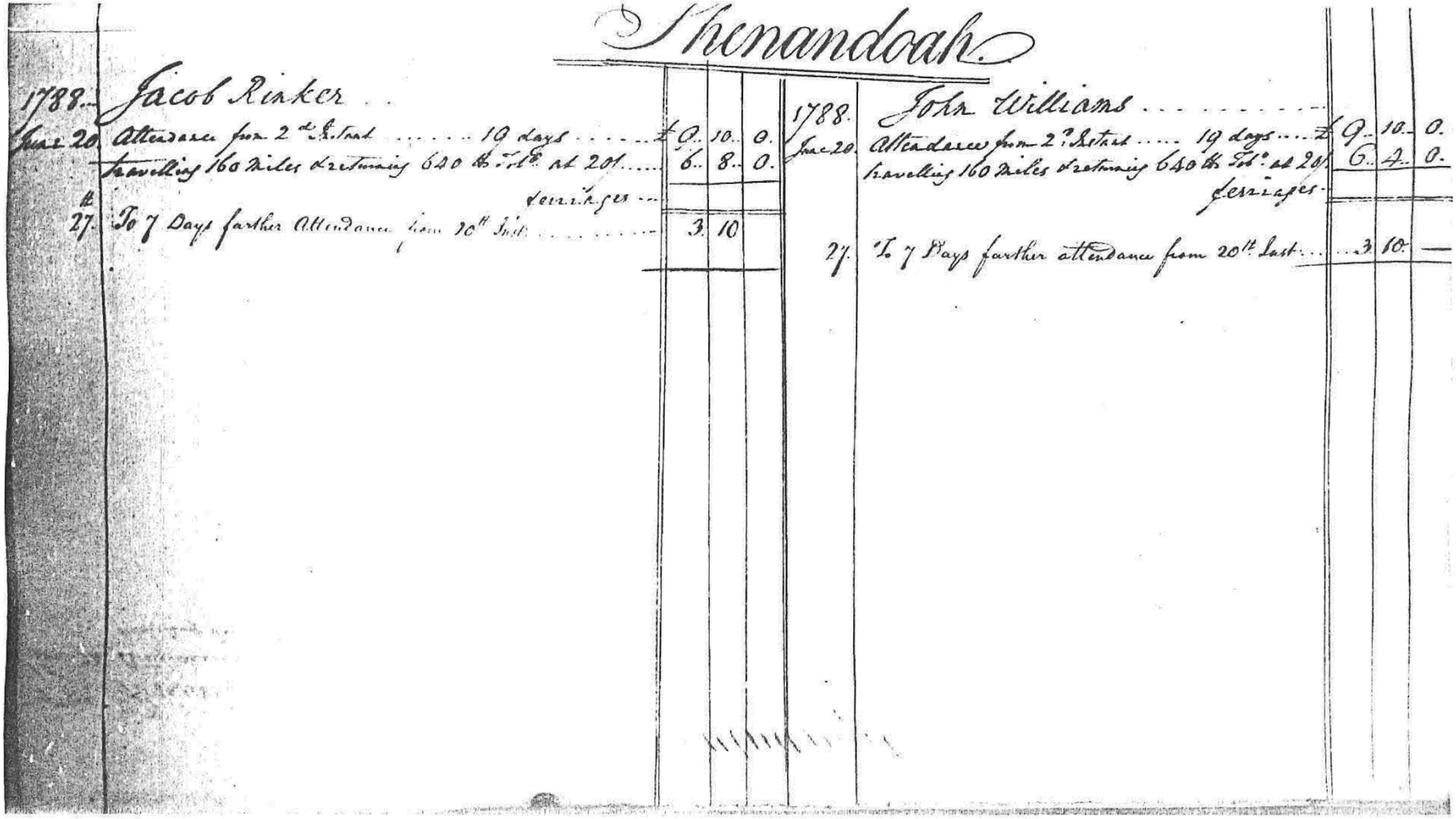


Russell?

1788		£	s	d
June 18	Thomas Carter			
	5 days attendance from 2d Instant to this date ... 5 days at 10/	8	10	0
	Travelling 380 miles Virginia Currency - 1520 lbs Tob° at 2/6	15	0	0
	Ferriages		2	6

1788		£	s	d
June 18	Richard ...			
	Attendance from 2d Instant - 5 days at 10/	8	10	0
	Travelling 350 miles Virginia Currency 1400 lbs Tob° at 2/6	14	0	0
	Ferriages		2	6

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



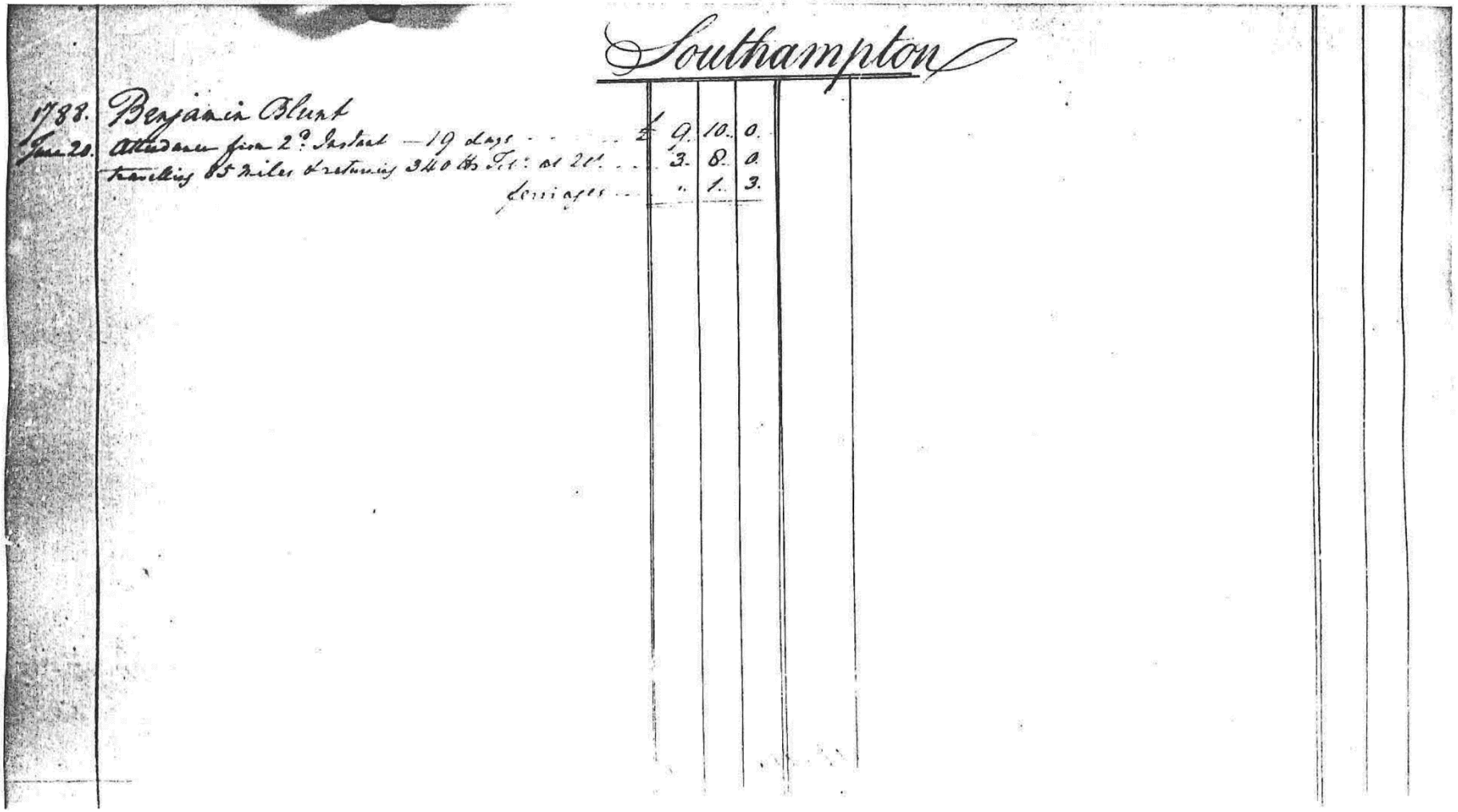
Shenandoah.

1788. Jacob Rinker . .

June 20 Attendance from 2d Inst. ..... 19 days ..... £ 9.. 10.. 0.
travelling 160 miles & returning 640 lb. Tob. at 20/ ..... 6.. 8.. 0.
ferriages ...
27. To 7 Days further Attendance from 20th Inst. 3. 10

1788. John Williams .....
June 20 Attendance from 2d Inst. ..... 19 days .... £ 9.. 10.. 0.
travelling 160 miles & returning 640 lb. Tob. at 20/ 6.. 4.. 0.
ferriages.
27. To 7 Days further attendance from 20th last ... 3 10 —

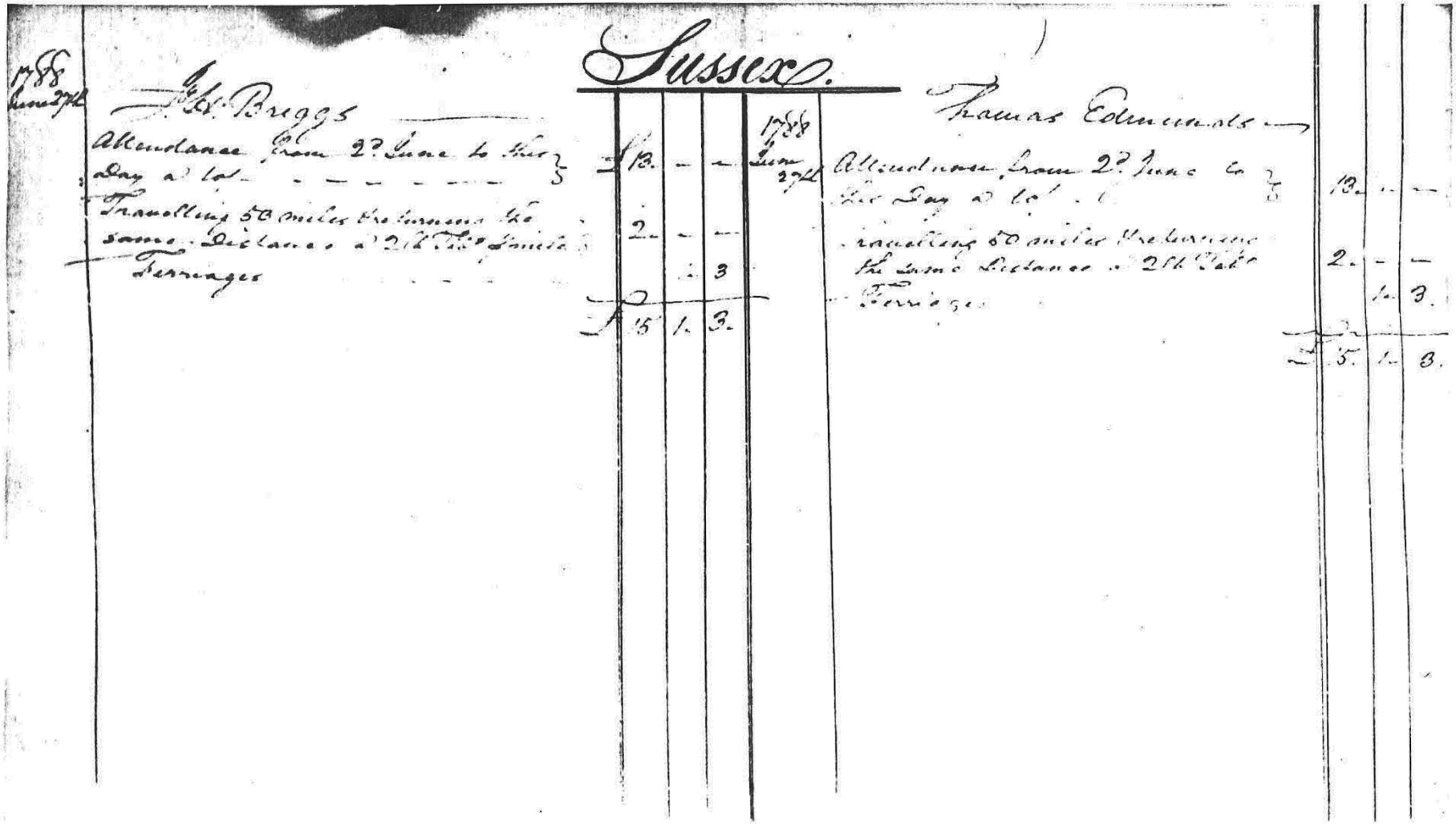
VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788



Southampton

1788.	Benjamin Blunt			
June 20.	Attendance from 2? Instant — 19 days	£ 9.	10.	0.
	travelling 85 miles & returning 340 Ms. Ct: at 2d.	3.	8.	0.
	Ferriages	.	1.	3.

June 12. John Dixon . . . . . £ s. d.
Attendance from No 2 Fluvanna to Richmond 12 Days . . . 2. 16. 0.
Ferriage Mo River at 2/6 Each . . . 2 Do at 2/6 . . . 0. 10. 0.
6. 0. 0.
To 12 days Ferriage 2/6 Each Do
To 3 days Ferriage 2/6 Each Do
1 10. 0



Sussex.

1788 June 27th — Peter Briggs

Attendance from 2d June to this day 26 — 25 days

Travelling 50 miles the nearest the same Distance 25 Miles Ferriages

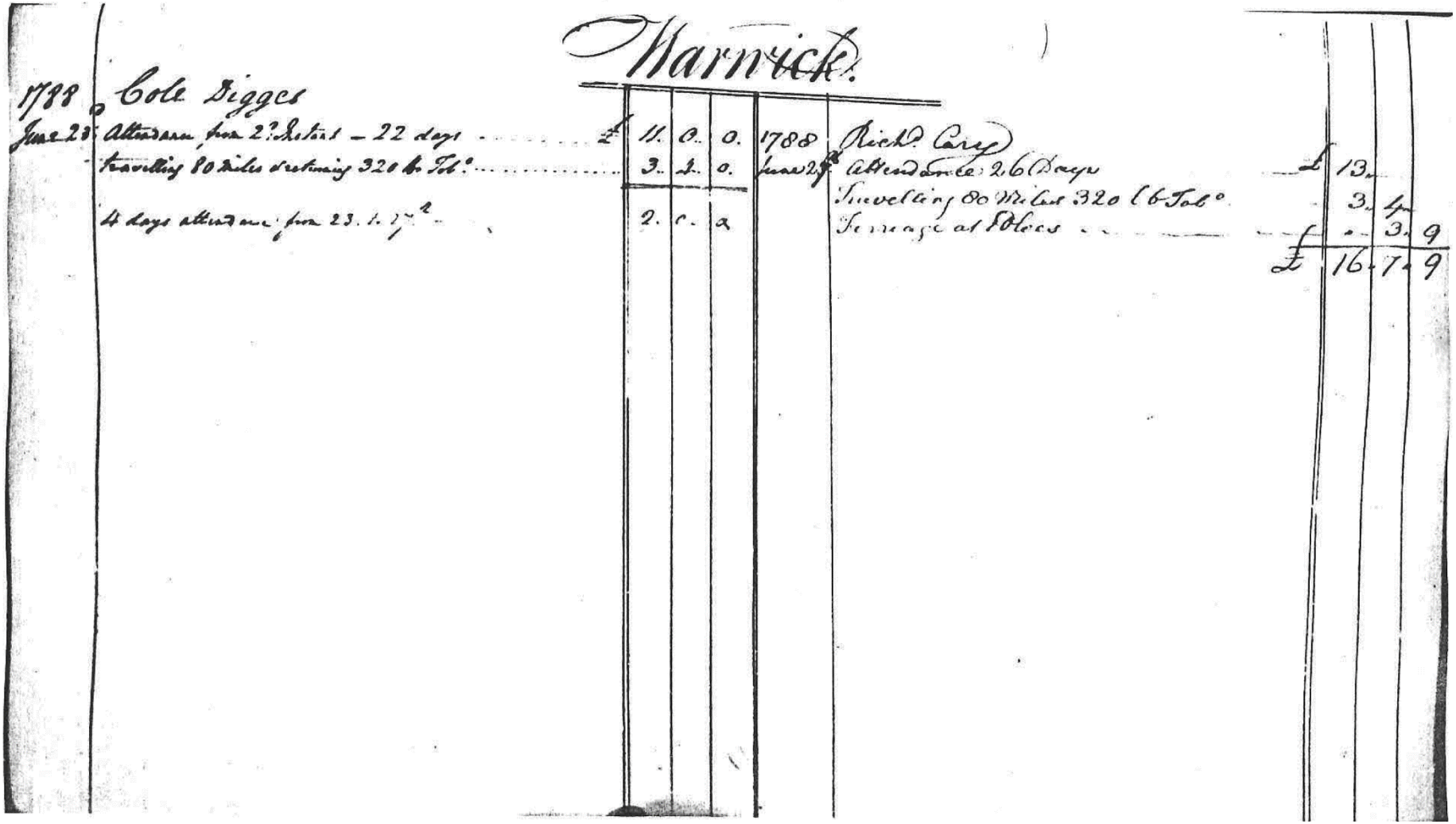
£ 13 — —
2 — —
3
£ 15 1 3

1788 June 27th — Thomas Edmunds

Attendance from 2d June to this Day 26 — 25 days

travelling 50 miles the nearest the same Distance 25 Miles Ferriages

13 — —
2 — —
1 3
£ 15 1 3



Warwick.

1788 Cole Diggs

June 23 Attendance from 2d Session – 22 days ..... £ 11. 0. 0.
Travelling 80 Miles returning 320 M. Tol° ..... 3. 1. 0.

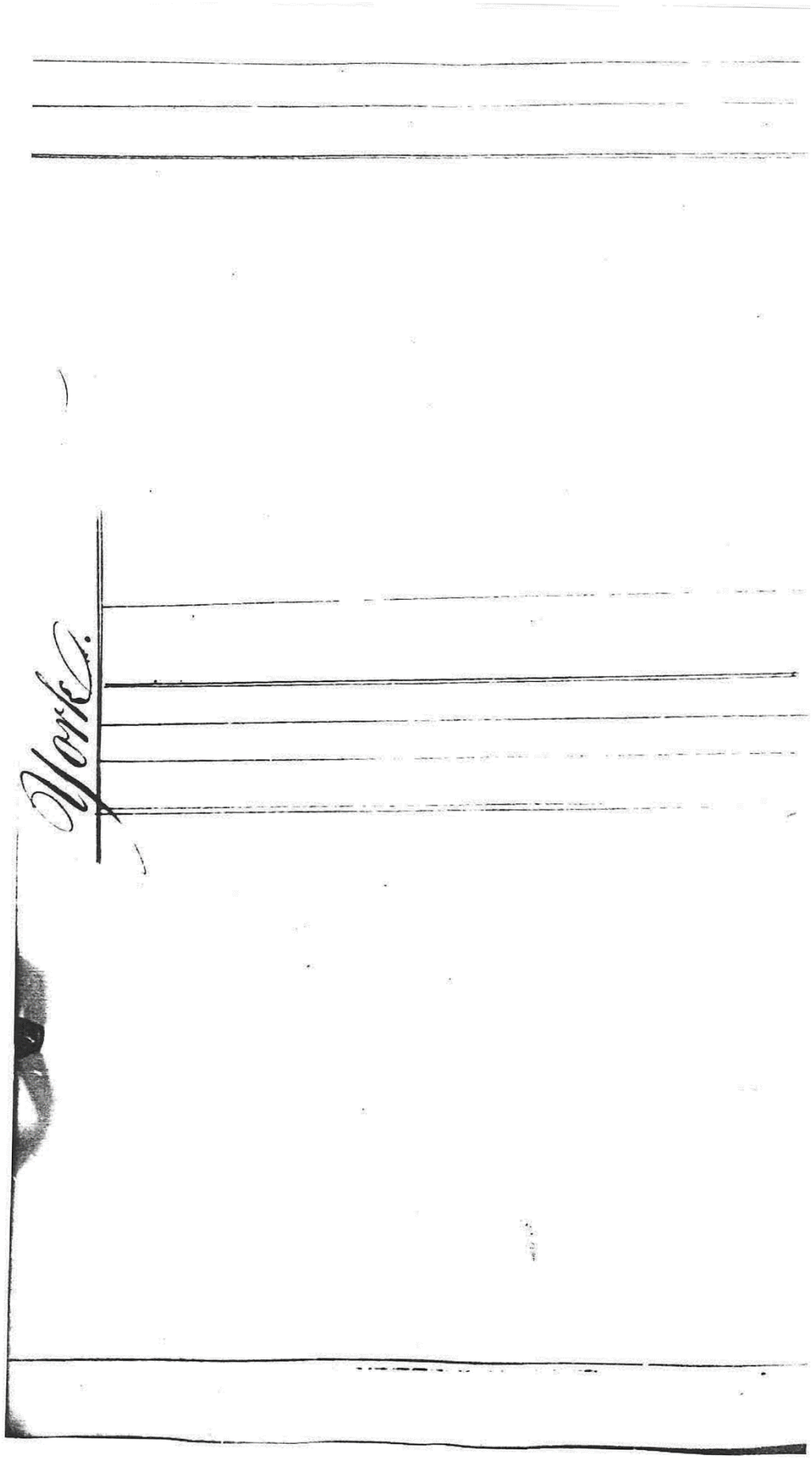
4 days attendance from 23. to 27th ..... 2. 0. 0.

1788 Richd Carey

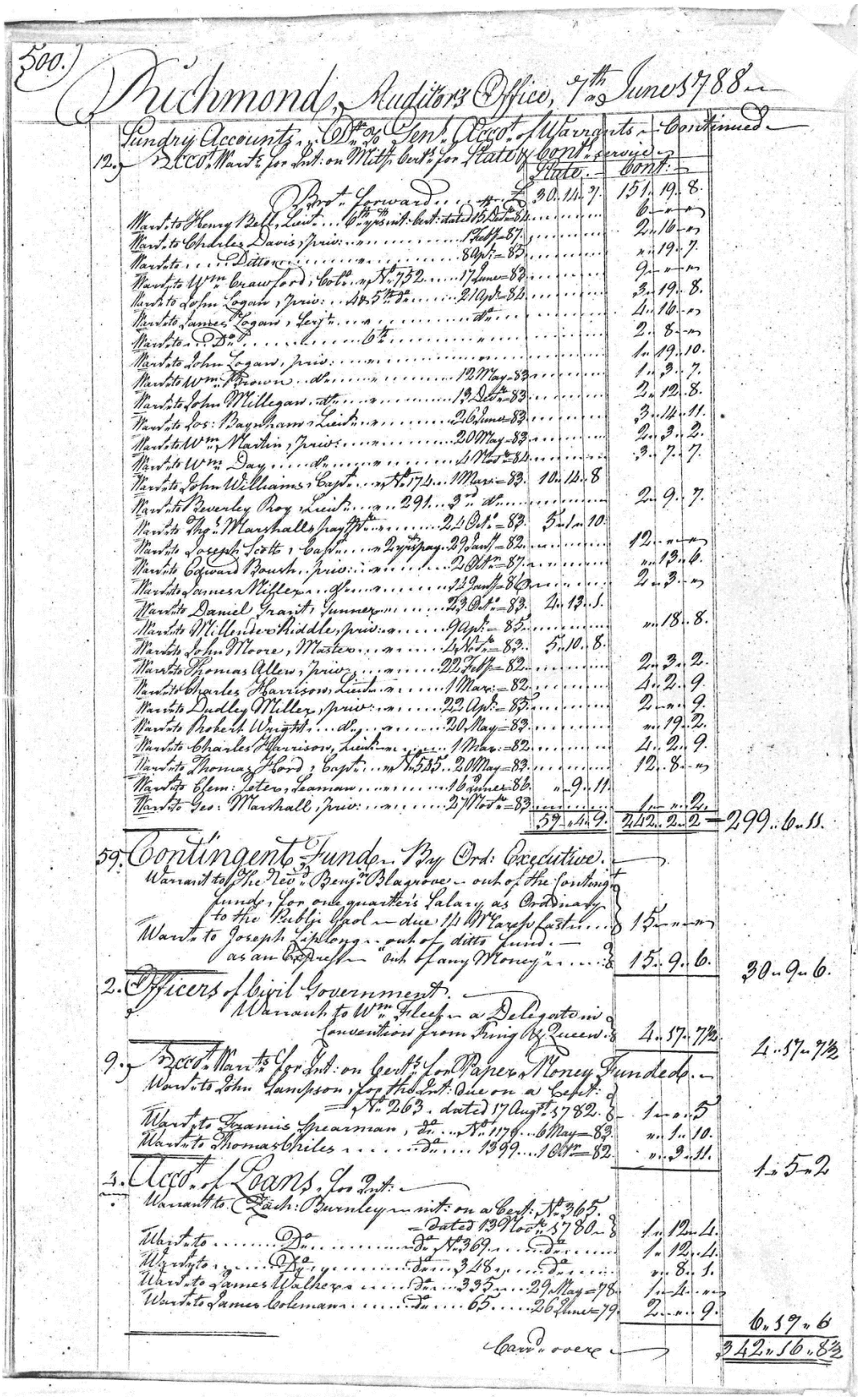
June 27 Attendance 26 Days ..... £ 13.
Travelling 80 Miles 320 M Tol° ..... 3. 4.
Ferriage at Ferries 3. 9
£ 16. 7. 9

VA206. Virginia Convention Attendance Book, 2–27 June 1788

1788. Samuel Edmiston
Jun. 20. Attendance for 2 days - 16 days
Travelling 285 miles coming & returning 570 miles at 2d. ... 9. 10. 6.
Ferriages - - -


York.

207. Auditor's Journal, 8 May–30 August 1788 (excerpts).[1]



Richmond, Auditor's Office, 7th June 1788

Sundry Accounts, Dr. to Genl. Accot. of Warrants — Continued

		State	Cont.
12.	Accot. Warrts. for Int. on Mattx. Certs. for State & Cont. Service		
	Brot. Forward	30. 11. 7.	151. 19. 8.
	Warrt. to Henry Bell, Lieut. ... 6 Virginia Int. Certs. dated 15 Decr. 82		6. — . —
	Warrt. to Charles Davis, Privt. ... 1 Staff 87		2. 16. —
	Warrt. to ... Dated ... 84 Apr. 83		— 19. 7.
	Warrt. to Wm. Crawford, Colo. ... No. 752 ... 17 June 83		9. — . —
	Warrt. to John Logan, Privt. ... No. 5 ... 21 Apr. 82		3. 19. 8.
	Warrt. to James Logan, Serjt. ... do		4. 16. —
	Warrt. to ... Do. ... 6 ... do		2. 8. —
	Warrt. to John Logan, Privt. ... do		1. 19. 10.
	Warrt. to Wm. Brown ... do ... 12 May 83		1. 3. 7.
	Warrt. to John Millegan ... do ... 19 Decr. 83		2. 12. 8.
	Warrt. to Jos. Baynham, Lieut. ... 26 June 83		3. 11. 11.
	Warrt. to Wm. Martin, Privt. ... 20 May 83		2. 3. 2.
	Warrt. to Wm. Day ... do ... 6 Novr. 82		3. 7. 7.
	Warrt. to John Williams, Capt. ... No. 172 ... 1 Mar. 83	10. 14. 8	
	Warrt. to Beverley Roy, Lieut. ... 291 ... 3 ... do		2. 9. 7.
	Warrt. to Thos. Marshall, Surgeon ... 24 Oct. 83	5. 1. 10	
	Warrt. to Joseph Lotte, Capt. ... 2 Virginia 29 Augt. 82		12. — . —
	Warrt. to Edward Booth, Privt. ... 2 Dft. 87		— 13. 6.
	Warrt. to James Miller, Sergt. ... 139 Augt. 82		2. 3. —
	Warrt. to Daniel Grant, Gunner ... 23 Oct. 83	4. 13. 1.	
	Warrt. to Willm. Ridler Riddle, Privt. ... 9 Apr. 85		— 18. 8.
	Warrt. to John Moore, Master ... 4 Novr. 83	5. 10. 8.	
	Warrt. to Thomas Allen, Privt. ... 22 Feby. 82		2. 3. 2.
	Warrt. to Charles Harrison, Lieut. ... 1 Mar. 82		4. 2. 9.
	Warrt. to Dudley Miller, Privt. ... 22 Apr. 83		2. — . 9.
	Warrt. to Robert Wright ... do ... 20 May 83		— 19. 2.
	Warrt. to Charles Harrison, Lieut. ... 1 Mar. 82		4. 2. 9.
	Warrt. to Thomas Ford, Capt. ... No. 535 ... 20 May 83		12. 8. —
	Warrt. to Elem. Slater, Seaman ... 16 June 82	— 9. 11.	
	Warrt. to Geo. Marshall, Privt. ... 27 Novr. 83		1. — . 9.
		59. 4. 9.	242. 2. 2. = 299. 6. 11.
59.	Contingent Fund. By Ord: Executive.		
	Warrant to the Revd. Benjn. Blagrove — out of the Contingt. Fund, for one quarter's Salary as Ordinary to the Public Gaol — due 11 March last		15. — . —
	Warrt. to Joseph Lapsley — out of date Fund — as an Expence "out of any Money"		15. 9. 6. = 30. 9. 6.
2.	Officers of Civil Government.		
	Warrant to Wm. Fleet — a Delegate in Convention from King & Queen		4. 17. 7½ = 4. 17. 7½
9.	Accot. Warrts. for Int. on Certs. for Paper Money Funded.		
	Warrt. to John Sampson, for the Int. due on a Cert. No. 263. dated 17 Augt. 1782		1. — . 5
	Warrt. to Francis Spearman, do ... No. 1176 ... 6 May 83		— 1. 10.
	Warrt. to Thomas Briles ... do ... 1399 ... 10 Apr. 82		— 3. 11. = 1. 5. 2
3.	Accot. of Loans, for Int.		
	Warrant to Zach: Burnley — Int. on a Cert. No. 365. dated 13 Novr. 1780		1. 12. 4.
	Warrt. to ... Do ... do ... No. 369 ... do		1. 12. 4.
	Warrt. to ... Do ... do ... 348 ... do		— 8. 1.
	Warrt. to James Walker ... do ... 335 ... 29 May 78		1. 1. —
	Warrt. to James Coleman ... do ... 65 ... 26 June 79		2. — . 9. = 6. 17. 6
	Carr. over		342. 16. 8½

1. MS, Account Book, Item 22-D, Accession No. 106, Virginia State Library.

Richmond Auditor's Office, 11th June 1788.

Sundry Pay[e]e's ... Dr to Sink[g] Acco[t] of Warr[ts] ... Continued ... £ 136..19..7.

5. 200 Acres of Land for Interest.
Warr[t] to Mrs Celey Chamberlayne mid[d]. and Lev[d] No. 1750.
Warr[t] to Zach[y] Burnley ... dated 22 July 87 ... 1.. 8.. 5.
Warr[t] to John Johnston ... 295 ... 19 Mar[h] 1780 ... 1.. 16.. —
Warr[t] to Charles Cogrey ... 183 ... 8 Mar[h] ... —.. 5.. 6.
Warr[t] to John Greenwood ... 2½ same ... 84 ... 15.. 2.. 2.
Warr[t] to Maximilian Calvert ... 100 ... 26 Feb[y] 80 ... 7.. 1.. 7.
Warr[t] to ... Ditto ... 136 ... 27 Apr[l] 78 ... 1.. 3.. —
Warr[t] to ... Ditto ... 108 ... 3[d] ... 1.. 1.. —
Warr[t] to Joanna Tucker ... 100 ... 28 Feb[y] 79 ... 2.. 8.. 1.
Warr[t] to ... Ditto ... 131 ... 5 Mar[h] 79 ... 2.. 3.. 5. ... 32..11..4

72. Surplus Fund.
Warrant to Humphrey McAusland for so much paid into the Publick Treasury on Aug[t] 31st duty on Tobacco exported after 1st May 86 and the actual Coll[n] of duty after 10th Jan[y] 87 which had been inspected prior to those periods from Fredericksburg & other Warehouses ... 25.. 7.. — ... 25.. 7.. —

59. Contingent Fund. By Order of the Executive.
Warrant to the Hon[ble] Wm Heth out of the Contingent Fund for the balance of his Acco[t] as Commissioner for adjusting the Illinois Account Book of any Money ... 109..16.. — ... 109..16..—

2. Officers of Civil Government.
Warr[t] to John Dawson Esq[r] Delegate in Convention for Fluvanna District ... 7..16.. —
Warr[t] to Wilson Wallace Searcher one Quarter's Salary due 1st Instant ... 10.. —.. — ... 57..16..—

115. Foreign Att[ys] Fund.
Warrant to Rena Rappeault out of the Foreign Fund under the Appropriation of 1787 "Receivable for Patent Lands" Order of the Executive ... 40.. —.. — ... 40.. —..—

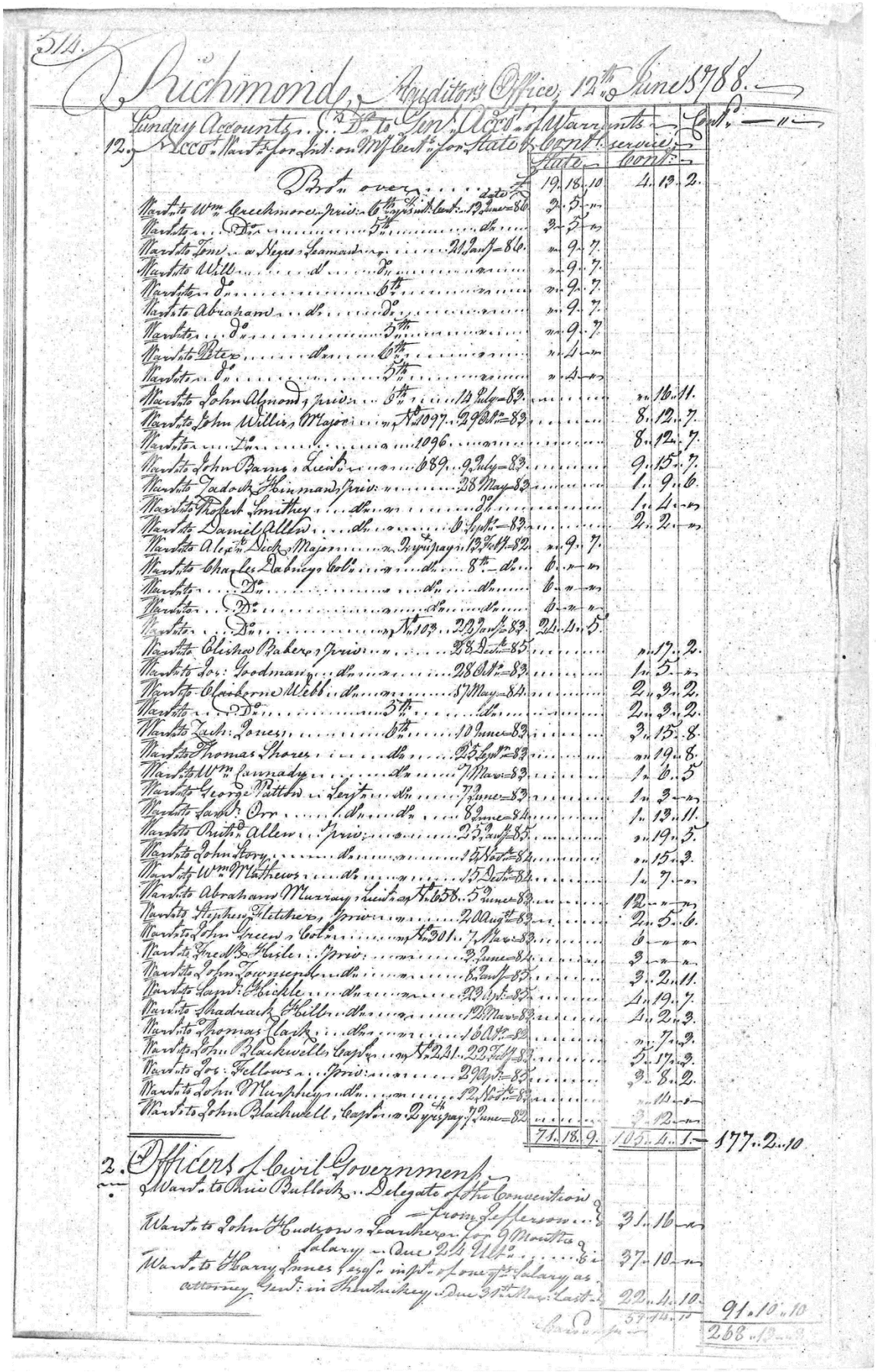
112. Tobacco Burnt at Byrd's.
23. Warr[t] to Mess[rs] Boyd & White in part of their Claim ... 2..14..10. ... 2..14..10.

665..7..9.

87. William Nelson Esq[r] Sh[ff] of Caroline ... D[r] to Federal Fund.
61. For Tax on Law Fees Merch[ts] Attorneys fees & Cl[ks] Fees of Office to 8th Apr[l] 1788 ... 54..2..2.
107. To Fund appropriated to the Judges Salaries for the Tax on Deeds &c to 1st April 1788 ... 35..10.. — ... 99..12..2

97. William Churchill Esq[r] Sh[ff] of Middlesex ... D[r] to Federal Fund.
For the Tax on Attorneys Fees from Sept[r] 1787 to 15th May 1788 ... 4..16.. —

48. Wm Lovings Esq[r] Sh[ff] of Amherst ... D[r] to ... Ditto.
61. For the Tax on Attorneys Fees from Jan[y] 87 to May 1788 ... 63..6..9. ... 68..2..9



514.

Richmond Auditors Office 12th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts Dr. to Genl Accts of Warrants Cont.

12. Accots Warrts for Litt: on Mr Ferrs for State & Cont. service

		State			Cont.			
	Brot over	£	19.	18. 10		4.	13. 2.	
	Warr to Wm Greenhow Jnr. 6th Regt Mid. Dist. 12 June 86		2.	5. —				
	Warr to do do 5th do do		2.	5. —				
	Warr to Jone a Negro Seaman 21 Jany 86		—	9. 7.				
	Warr to Will do do		—	9. 7.				
	Warr to do do 6th do		—	9. 7.				
	Warr to Abraham do do do		—	9. 7.				
	Warr to do do 5th do		—	9. 7.				
	Warr to Peter do 6th do		—	1. —				
	Warr to do do 5th do		—	1. —				
	Warr to John Aylmond Jnr. 5th 12 July 83					—	16. 11.	
	Warr to John Willis Major £ 1097. 29 Dec. 83					8.	12. 7.	
	Warr to do do 1096.					8.	12. 7.	
	Warr to John Barns Lieut 689. 9 July 83					9.	15. 7.	
	Warr to Jacob Shinman Jnr. 28 May 83					1.	9. 6.	
	Warr to Robert Smithey do do					1.	4. —	
	Warr to Daniel Allen do 6 Sept. 83					2.	2. —	
	Warr to Alexr Dick Major Dyer's Regt 12 Feb. 82		—	9. 7.				
	Warr to Chas Lee Dabney Coll. 8th do		6.	— —				
	Warr to do do do		6.	— —				
	Warr to do do do		6.	— —				
	Warr to do do No 103. 22 Jan. 83		21.	4. 5.				
	Warr to Elisha Baker Jnr. 28 Dec. 85					—	17. 2.	
	Warr to Jos. Goodman do 28 Oct. 83					1.	5. —	
	Warr to Claiborne Webb do 8 May 84					2.	3. 2.	
	Warr to do do 3th do					2.	3. 2.	
	Warr to Zach. Jones 6th 10 June 83					3.	15. 8.	
	Warr to Thomas Shores do 25 Sept. 83					—	19. 8.	
	Warr to Wm Cannady do 7 May 83					1.	6. 5.	
	Warr to George Patton Serjt do 7 June 83					1.	3. —	
	Warr to Sarh Orr do do 8 June 84					1.	13. 11.	
	Warr to Ruth Allen Jnr. 25 Jany 85					—	19. 5.	
	Warr to John Story do 15 Oct. 84					—	15. 3.	
	Warr to Wm Mathews do 15 Dec. 84					1.	7. —	
	Warr to Abraham Murray Lieut Regt £ 658. 5 June 83					12.	— —	
	Warr to Stephen Fletcher Jnr. 20 Augt 83					2.	5. 6.	
	Warr to John Green Colo £ 301. 7 May 83					6.	— —	
	Warr to Fredk B. Hiele Jnr. 3 June 84					3.	— —	
	Warr to John Townsend do 8 Jany 85					3.	2. 11.	
	Warr to Layd. Beckle do 22 Oct. 85					1.	19. 7.	
	Warr to Shadrach Wells do 12 March 83					1.	2. 3.	
	Warr to Thomas Clark do 6 Oct. 82					—	7. 3.	
	Warr to John Blackwell Capt £ 221. 23 July 83					5.	17. 3.	
	Warr to Jos. Fellows Jnr. 22 Oct. 83					3.	8. 2.	
	Warr to John Murphey do £ 86. 8 Oct. 83					—	11. —	
	Warr to John Blackwell Capt Dyer's Regt 7 June 82					3.	12. —	
			71.	18. 9.		105.	4. 1.	177. 2. 10

2. Officers of Civil Government

Warr to Chris Ballock Delegate of the Convention from Jefferson 31. 16. —

Warr to John Hudgson Gaoler for Monroe Salary Due 24 Inst. 37. 10. —

Warr to Harry Innes Esqr in Part of one Yrs Salary as Attorney Genl in Kentucky Due 31st May Last 22. 4. 10.

91. 10. 10

57. 14. 5

268. 12. 3

519.

Richmond Auditors Office, 13th June 1788.

2. Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to General Acco. of Warrants.
Officers of Civil Government.

Warr. to John Lanier for a Delegate in Convention from Lincoln			29.	12.	6.
Warr. to Henry Pawley ... Do. ... do.			29.	12.	6.
Warr. to John Miller ... Do. ... Madison			29.	12.	6.
Warr. to Alexander Robertson ... Do. ... Mercer			30.	8.	6.
					119. 6.

3. Acco. Warrs. for Int. on Milt. certs. for Rate & Cont. service.

	date	State	Cont.		
Warr. to Joseph Blackwell, Capt. 6th regt. Cert. No. 302	11 Sept. 85			13.	
Warr. to Robt. English ... Serjt.	11 Nov. 85			19.	8.
Warr. to John Blackwell, Capt. ... No. 240	23 Feb. 83		6.		
Warr. to ... Ditto ... 239	do.		6.		
Warr. to ... Ditto ... twenty fifth pay	7 June 82		6.		
Warr. to ... Ditto ...	do.		6.		
Warr. to ... Ditto ...	do.		6.		
Warr. to Jno. Cunningham, Serjt.	1 Sept. 86		1.	10.	6.
Warr. to Joseph Blackwell, Lieut. ... No. 280	28 Feb. 83		2.	7.	7.
Warr. to Thomas Obanan, Serjt.	28 June 86		2.	18.	9.
Warr. to Edward Bailey, Serjt.	25 July 83		6.		
Warr. to Wm. Coatney ... Serjt.	20 Aug. 82			12.	5.
Warr. to ... Do. ... 5th ... do.				12.	5.
Warr. to ... Do. ...	25 Feb. 83		1.	8.	9
Warr. to ... Do. ... 6th ... do.			1.	8.	9.
Warr. to Rodham Langsford, Serjt.	30 Oct. 83		2.		
Warr. to Anthony Bailey ... do.	21 Jan. 86		1.	12.	3.
Warr. to Wm. Blair ... do.	29 Aug. 86		3.	16.	8.
Warr. to Danl. Sprawl ... do.	2 Aug. 83			19.	7.
Warr. to Aaron George ... do.	25 May 83		1.	3.	4.
Warr. to John Hadris ... drummr.	1 May 84		6.	3.	9.
Warr. to Thomas Blackmore, Serjt.	2 Apr. 85			12.	1.
Warr. to Thomas Helvin, Lieut. ... No. 1389	25 Oct. 83		3.	8.	9.
Warr. to Clewerius Duken, Serjt.	10 July 83		1.	2.	8.
Warr. to Adam Darnalson ... do.	22 Oct. 83		1.	3.	3.
Warr. to Wm. Bailey ... do.	4 June 84		3.	7.	1.
Warr. to Stephen Chapman ... do.	18 Apr. 83			10.	9.
Warr. to John Riley ... do.	26 June 83		1.	3.	3.
Warr. to James Bailey ... do.	11 Nov. 84		3.	4.	6.
Warr. to John Richeson ... do.	22 May 83		3.		7.
Warr. to James Beckham ... do.	18 Sept. 84		3.	14.	10.
Warr. to Spencer Morgan, Ensn. ... No. 1091	18 Feb. 83		8.	4.	8.
Warr. to James Dadgherty, dcsd. ... 678	12 Apr. 86	9.	1.		
Warr. to Duke George, Serjt.	25 Aug. 86	3.	19.	2.	
Warr. to Spencer Morgan, Serjt.	14 July 83		3.	17.	9.
Warr. to Joseph Davenport ... do.	16 Oct. 82		18.		
Warr. to Samuel Roundtree ... do.	5 June 83		10.		
Warr. to John Stephens ... do.	19 Apr. 84		2.	10.	10.
Warr. to John Mallory ... do.	1 Aug. 83		1.		1.
Warr. to John Stephens ... do. ... 5th ...	19 Apr. 84		5.	1.	8.
Warr. to John Mallory ... do. ... 5th ...	1 Aug. 83		2.		2.
Warr. to Dolphin Davis ... do. ... 6th ...	18 Oct. 83		1.		1.
Warr. to Wm. Christian, Lieut.	21 June 86	5.	7.	3.	
Warr. to Alex. Moore, Midshipn.	20 Feb. 83	3.			
Warr. to Danl. Ellis ... Serjt.	20 Aug. 85			8.	
Warr. to George Moore ... do.	10 May 83		2.	18.	3.
Warr. to Martin Palmer ... do.	16 May 82		1.	16.	
Carr. over		22. 8. 10.	120.	16.	8. 119. 6. 0.

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Richmond Auditor's Office, 14th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts Dr. to General Acct. of Warrants Cr. £ 6..4..10

12. Acct. Warrts for Int. on Military Certs for State & Cont. service

	State.	Cont.	
Bro. over	£ 7..18..3.	28..2..5.	
Warr.t to James Harris, Privt. 6th Va. Regt. Dated 23d July 83		2..6..7.	
Warr.t to Thomas Satterfield, Do.	18th June 84	1..3..5.	
Warr.t to James McElhany, Do.	6th Sept.r 84	3..7..7.	
Warr.t to Alex.r Fowler, Sergt.	25th Jan.y 85	1..19..4.	
Warr.t to Wm. Scantland, Privt.	21st Aug.t 86	..18..8.	
Warr.t to Do.	Do.	..18..8.	
Warr.t to Julius White, Corp.l	5th May 87	7..4..	
Warr.t to Do.	Do.	7..4..	
Warr.t to Jab.h Humphries, Seaman	23d Oct.r 87	..19..5.	
Warr.t to Curtis Crendall, Capt.n	2d qu.r pay 28th July 83	6.. ..	
Warr.t to Do.	Do.	6.. ..	
Warr.t to Do.	Do.	6.. ..	
Warr.t to Do.	Do.	6.. ..	
	8..5..8.	76..18..8	= 85..16..4

7. Criminal Prosecutions

Warr.t to Robert Taylor, for Apprehending Ed.d Johnson, who was Convicted of Horse-stealing £ 30.. ..

Warr.t to Do. a Witness vs Johnson 3..4..8.

Warr.t to Harry Fleet, Serjeant vs Tate Jones .. 15.. ..

Warr.t to Wm. Boyce, Sheriff vs Henry Johnson 3..18..

Warr.t to Henry Murphey, Witness do. 5..14..

Warr.t to Willis Everitt, do. do. .. 15..

Warr.t to Wm. Cocke & Brothers, Venire men &c. do. 35..19..4.

Warr.t to Wm. Richardson & others do. vs Mitchell 25..15.. = 102..1..

2. Officers of Civil Government

Warr.t to John Fowler, Serg.t a Delegate in Convention from Fayette £ 30..12..6.

Warr.t to Fren.d Strother, do. Culpeper 10..2..

Warr.t to Humphrey Marshall, do. Fayette 29..6..6.

date 16th June — Warr.t to Tho.s Bradbridge, do. Jefferson 33..8..6.

Warr.t to John Prunty, do. Harrison 20..8..

123..17..6

2 Warr.ts to Walter Graham, Searcher, for Six Months Salary due 30 Apr.l 1788. £225..8 £20.. £ 15.. .. = 168..17..6

72. Surplus Fund

29. Warr.t to Gavin Lawson, to reimburse him for so much paid into the Publick Treasury on Acct. of Duty on Tob.o exported after 1st May 86. & the 2d Duty after 10th June 87. from Dixon's which had been inspected prior to those Periods £ 7..12..

Warr.t to Ditto do. from Falmouth 24..3..

31..16..

394..15..8

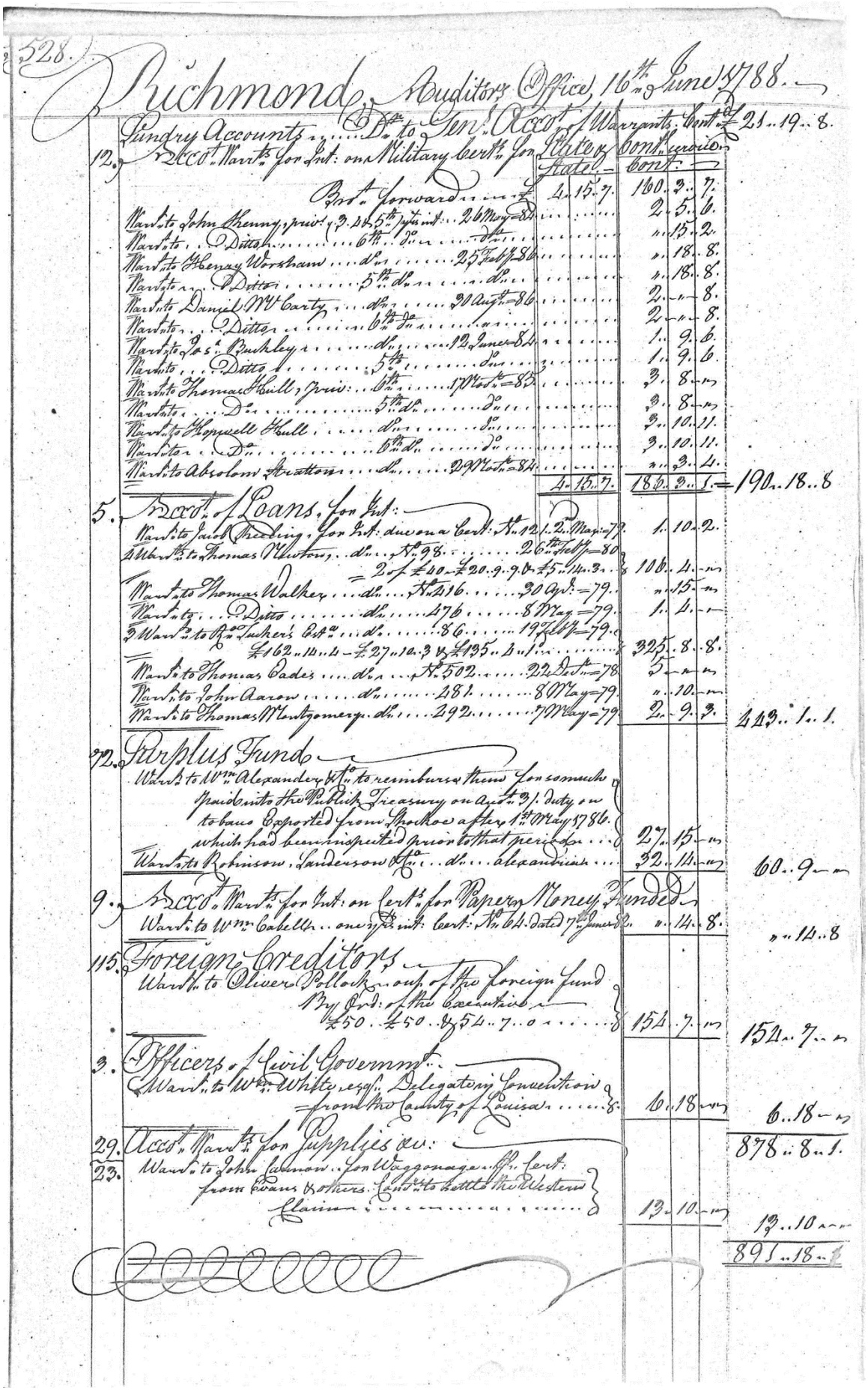
57. Sen.l Fund Dr. to David Crawford, late Sher.f Amherst

81. For Insolvents in the Rev.e Taxes of 1786 Comm.n deducted £ 62..11..4.

10. Acct. Taxes for Redemption of Certs Dr.

82. To Wm. Horsley, late Sher.f Amherst

For Insolvents in the Certificate taxes of 1786. Comm.n ded.d £ 60..2..8.



528.

Richmond Auditors Office 16th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts ..... Dr. to Genl. Acct. of Warrants Contra £ 21..19..8.

12. Acct. Warrts. for Int. on Military certs. for

	State	Cont.
Brot. forward	4..15..7.	160..2..7.
Warr.t to John Thenny, pris. 9.24.5ths pr. int. 26 May 84		2..5..6.
Warr.t to ... Ditch ... 6ths ... do ... do		..15..2.
Warr.t to Ebenezer Worsham ... do ... 25 Feb.y 86		..18..8.
Warr.t to ... Ditto ... 5ths ... do ... do		..18..8.
Warr.t to Daniel M.Carty ... do ... 30 Aug.t 86		2..8.
Warr.t to ... Ditto ... 6ths ... do ...		2..8.
Warr.t to Jos.a Buckley ... do ... 12 June 84		1..9..6.
Warr.t to ... Ditto ... 5ths ... do ...		1..9..6.
Warr.t to Thomas Hull, pris. ... 6th ... 17 Nov.r 85		3..8..
Warr.t to ... Do ... 5ths ... do ...		3..8..
Warr.t to Hopewell Hull ... do ... do ...		3..10..11.
Warr.t to ... Do ... 6ths ... do ...		3..10..11.
Warr.t to Absolom Stratton ... do ... 29 Nov.r 84		..3..4.
	4..15..7.	186..2..1. = 190..18..8

5. Acct. of Loans for Int.

Warr.t to Jacob Breeding, for Int. due on a Cert. N.o 12	1..2..May 79.	1..10..2.
2 Warr.ts to Thomas Winston ... do ... N.o 98 ... 26th Feb.y 80 = 2 of £40..£20..9..0..£5..14..3		106..4..
Warr.t to Thomas Walker ... do ... N.o 216 ... 30 Oct.r 79.		..15..
Warr.t to ... Ditto ... do ... 476 ... 8 May 79.		1..4..
2 Warr.ts to Rich.d Tucker's Est.e ... do ... 86 ... 19 Feb.y 79.		
£162..10..4 - £27..10..3 & £135..4..1		325..8..8.
Warr.t to Thomas Bates ... do ... N.o 502 ... 22 Dec.r 78		5..
Warr.t to John Aaron ... do ... 281 ... 8 May 79.		..10..
Warr.t to Thomas Montgomery ... do ... 292 ... 7 May 79		2..9..3. 443..1..1.

22. Surplus Fund

Warr.ts to Wm. Alexander & Co. to reimburse them for so much paid into the Publick Treasury on Acct. of 3/. Duty on Tobacco Exported from Hobbs Hole after 1st May 1786 which had been disputed prior to that period ... 27..15..

Warr.ts to Robinson, Sanderson & Co. ... do ... Alexandria ... 32..14.. 60..9..

9. Acct. Warrts. for Int. on Certs. for Paper Money Funded

Warr.t to Wm. Cabell ... one 5th pr. int. Cert. N.o 64. dated 7th June 82. ..14..8. ..14..8

115. Foreign Creditors

Warr.t to Oliver Pollock ... out of the Foreign Fund By Ord. of the Executive

£50..£50..£54..7..0 ... 154..7.. 154..7..

3. Officers of Civil Government

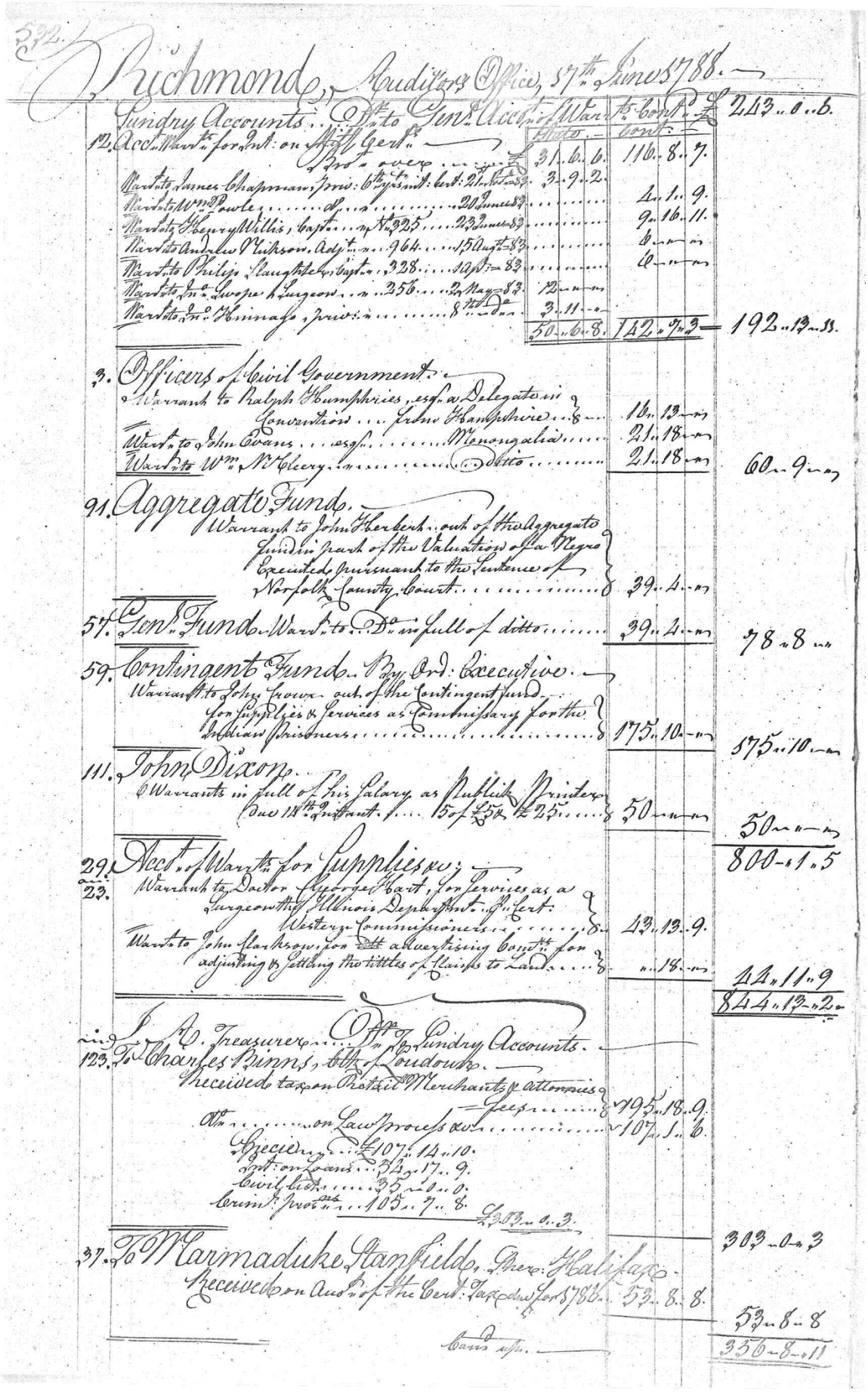
Warr.t to Wm. White esq.r Delegate in Convention from the County of Louisa ... 6..18.. 6..18..

878..8..1.

29. Acct. Warrts. for Supplies &c.

23. Warr.t to John Lehman ... for Waggonage &c. Cert. from Evans & others. Ord.d to settle the Western claim ... 13..10.. 13..10..

891..18..



332.

Richmond, Auditor's Office, 27th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Gen.l Acct. of Warr.ts ... To Contl. ... £ 243..6..6.

		Dollars		Cont.l	
12.	Acct. Warr.ts for Subst. on Staff Genl.				
	Pro. ... over ...	31..6..6.		110..8..7.	
	Warr.t to James Chapman, Privt. 6th Regt. 2nd Genl. 21..6..83	3..9..2.			
	Warr.t to Wm. Pawle ... 20 June 83			4..1..9.	
	Warr.t to Henry Willis, Capt. ... No. 225 ... 23 June 83			9..16..11.	
	Warr.t to Andrew Rickson, Adjt. ... 964 ... 15 Augt. 83			6..—..—	
	Warr.t to Philip Slaughter, Capt. ... 328 ... 19 Augt. 83			6..—..—	
	Warr.t to Dr. George Surgeon ... 356 ... 2 May 83	12..—..—			
	Warr.t to Dr. Hennage, Privt. ... 8th Do.	3..11..—			
		50..6..8.		142..7..3.	192..13..11.
3.	Officers of Civil Government.				
	Warrant to Ralph Humphries, esqr. a Delegate in Convention ... from Hampshire ...			16..13..—	
	Warr.t to John Evans ... esqr. ... Monongalia ...			21..18..—	
	Warr.t to Wm. M'Clery ... Ditto ...			21..18..—	60..9..—
91.	Aggregate Fund.				
	Warrant to John Herbert ... out of the Aggregate Fund in part of the Valuation of a Negro Executed pursuant to the Sentence of Norfolk County Court ...			39..4..—	
57.	Gen.l Fund. Warr.t to Do. in full of ditto ...			39..4..—	78..8..—
59.	Contingent Fund. By Ord: Executive.				
	Warrant to John Brown out of the Contingent fund for Supplies & Services as Commissary for the Indian Prisoners ...			175..10..—	175..10..—
111.	John Dixon.				
	Warrants in full of his Salary as Publick Printer Dec.r 14th 82 to Augt. 15th 83 ... 1 Year & 8 Months @ £25 ...			50..—..—	50..—..—
					800..1..5
29.	Acct. Warr.ts for Supplies &c.				
23.	Warrant to Doctor George Hart, for Services as a Surgeon in the Illinois Department ... Genl. Western Commissioners ...			43..13..9.	
	Warr.t to John Clarkson, for Do. advertising Compt. for adjusting & settling the Titles of Claims to Land ...			..18..—	44..11..9
					844..12..2
	A. Treasurer ... Dr. by Sundry Accounts.				
123.	To Charles Binns, Sheriff of Loudoun.				
	Received tax on Chattel Merchants & attorneys Fees ...			195..18..9.	
	Do. ... on Law Process &c. ...			107..1..6.	
	Specie ... £107..14..10.				
	Int.t on Loans ... 52..17..9.				
	Civil list ... 35..0..0.				
	Contl. Prot.s ... 105..7..8.				
		£300..0..3.			303..0..3
37.	To Marmaduke Stanfield, Sheriff Halifax.				
	Received on Acct. of the Cert.d Tax due for 1786.			53..8..8.	
					53..8..8
					356..8..11

Errors excepted.

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Richmond Auditor's Office, 18th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Genl. Accot. of Warrants.

3. Officers of civil Government.

Warrt. to Wm. McKee, esqr. ... a Delegate in Convention from the County of Rockbridge ... 14.10.—

Warrt. to Thomas Carter ... Russell ... 23.16.6.

Warrt. to Henry Dickenson ... do ... 22.12.6.

60.19.—

2 Warrts. to George Savage, for One quarter's Salary as Vadal Officer ... 1 due 20th Apl. 1788 ... 8 ... 12.10.— 73.9.—

61. Federal Fund.

Warrant to James Thompson & James Hemmanow, for their Services as Commissioners of the Land tax in the County of Washington for 1786 ... 8 ... 20.—.— 20.—.—

5. Accot. of Loans for Interest.

Warrt. to Mary Cooper ... int. ... Cert. No. = dated 3 Dect. = 79 ... 3.—.—

Warrt. to Charles Lewis ... do ... 479 ... 8 May = 79 ... 1.4.—

Warrt. to D. Ditto ... do ... 370 ... 11 July = 78 ... 1.4.—

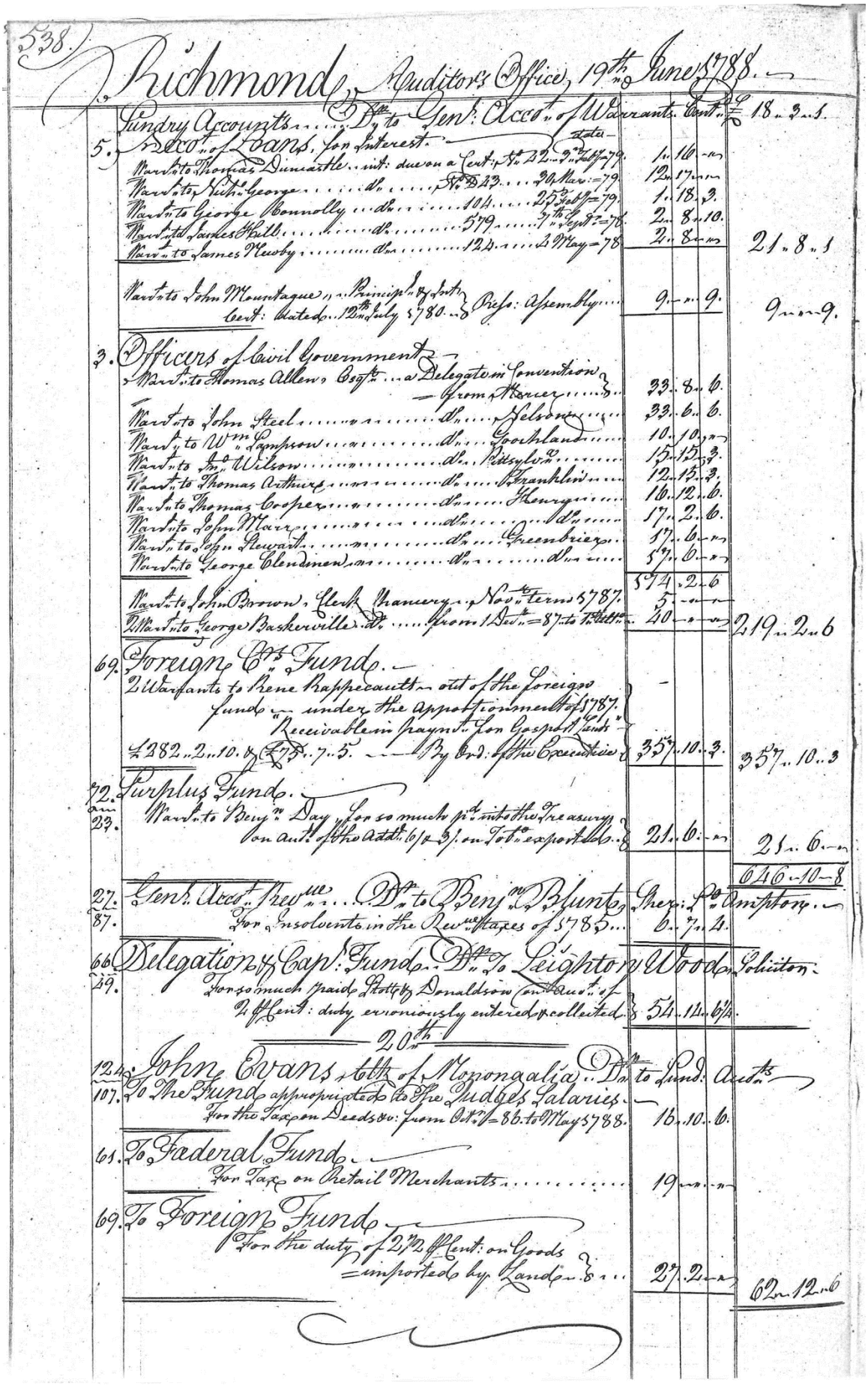
Warrt. to D. Ditto ... do ... 250 ... 20 May = 79 ... 2.11.6.

Warrt. to Buchner & Ritt ... do ... 207 ... 8 Apl. = 79 ... 3.15.—

Warrt. to Jno. Apperson ... do ... 258 ... 23 May = 79 ... .15.9. 18.10.2

2 Accot. Warrts. for Int. on Nott. Cert. for Rate & Cont. services.

	State.	Cont.
Warrt. to Wm. McClure, Serjt. ... 6th Virginia Regt. dated 22 May 83		1.11.3.
Warrt. to Enos Brownrigg, Privt. ... do ... 1 Dect. = 87		1.16.6.
Warrt. to Wm. McClure, Serjt. ... 5th do ... 26 May 83		1.11.3.
Warrt. to John Russell, Lieut. ... 6th do ... No. 278 ... 12 May = 83	8.2.—	
Warrt. to Anthony Mullens, Privt. ... do ... 21 Augt. = 83		7.11.4.
Warrt. to Capt. Wm. Markham, Lieut. ... 2 Leyes pay ... 21 Feby. = 82		3.—.—
Warrt. to Willis Wilson ... do ... 29 May = 82		3.—.—
Warrt. to James Hamilton ... do ... 7 June = 82		1.13.7.
Warrt. to John Clarke ... Privt. ... 2 Dect. = 83		3.8.9.
Warrt. to David Moore ... do ... 2 Augt. = 82		4.16.11.
Warrt. to Charles Archer ... do ... 8 Apl. = 82	2.18.9.	
Warrt. to Robt. Crawford ... do ... 24 May = 83		5.18.8.
Warrt. to Wm. Whiting ... Corpl. ... 10 Novr. = 83		4.5.—
Warrt. to Ephraim Owens ... do ... 10 May = 83		4.18.7.
Warrt. to The Revd. A. Belmain ... 29 Apl. = 82		4.4.—
Warrt. to James Hamilton, Lieut. ... 2 Leyes pay ... 7 June = 82		3.—.—
Warrt. to ... Ditto ... do		3.—.—
Warrt. to ... Ditto ... do		6.—.—
Warrt. to ... Ditto ... No. 395 ... 10 Apl. = 83		6.—.—
Warrt. to ... Ditto ... 397 ... do		1.—.7.
Warrt. to ... Ditto ... 396 ... do		1.—.4.
Warrt. to Reuben Lane ... Privt. ... 19 June = 83		3.8.10.
Warrt. to David Miller, Lieut. ... 2 Leyes pay ... 12 May = 82		3.—.—
Warrt. to John Nicholas ... do ... No. 459 ... 22 Augt. = 83		5.19.5.
Warrt. to Wm. Gray ... 5th Virga. Serjt. ... 22 Dect. = 83		3.—.2.
Warrt. to Zebulon Williams ... Privt. ... 12 May = 83		3.11.2.
Warrt. to Wm. Reasons ... do ... 17 Dect. = 83		2.16.8.
Warrt. to Charles Duncan ... do ... 1 Apl. = 83		2.3.2.
Warrt. to John Trichle ... do ... 29 May = 83		4.—.—
Warrt. to Henry Howard ... do ... 2 Augt. = 83		1.—.—
Warrt. to Wm. Ballard, Lieut. ... No. 453 ... 12 July = 82	1.6.5.	
Warrt. to Wm. Jennings, Capt. ... 623 ... 13 Augt. = 81	7.3.7.	
Warrt. to Zilly McShinnie, Privt. ... 22 June = 83		1.16.3.
Warrt. to Maximillion Reeton ... do ... 3 Oct. = 83		4.5.5.
Warrt. to Elijah Taylor ... do ...		6.2.7.
Warrt. to John Breck ... do ... 21 Apl. = 81		3.8.—
Carr. over	19.10.9.	112.7.5. 111.19.9.



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Richmond Auditor's Office, 19th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts ..... Dr. to Gen.l Acco.t of Warrants. Cent.s £ 18..2..5.

5. Acco.t of Loans, for Interest. — stated —
Warr.t to Thomas Dimsdale ... int.t due on a Cert.t p.d 22..3.d July 79. 1..16..—
Warr.t to Lieut.t George ..... do ..... No. 223 ..... 30 Mar.h 79. 12..17..—
Warr.t to George Connolly ..... do ..... 104 ..... 25th Feb.y 79. 1..18..3.
Warr.t to Charles Hall ..... do ..... 579 ..... 7th Sept.r 78. 2..8..10.
Warr.t to James Mosby ..... do ..... 124 ..... 5 May 78. 2..8..— 21..8..1

Warr.t to John Mountague, Princip.l & Int.t Cert.t dated 12th July 1780. } Pres.t Assembly ..... 9..—..9. 9..—..9.

7. Officers of Civil Government.
Warr.t to Thomas Allen, Esq.r ... a Delegate in Convention from Mercer ..... 33..8..6.
Warr.t to John Steel ..... do ..... Nelson ..... 33..6..6.
Warr.t to Wm. Lampton ..... do ..... Southland ..... 10..10..—
Warr.t to Jno. Wilson ..... do ..... Pittsylv.a ..... 15..15..3.
Warr.t to Thomas Arthur ..... do ..... Franklin ..... 12..15..3.
Warr.t to Thomas Cooper ..... do ..... Henry ..... 16..12..6.
Warr.t to John Marr ..... do ..... do ..... 17..2..6.
Warr.t to Sejn. Stewart ..... do ..... Greenbrier ..... 17..6..—
Warr.t to George Clendinen ..... do ..... do ..... 17..6..—
574..2..6
Warr.t to John Brown, Clerk Chancery, Nov.r Term 1787. 5..—..—
Warr.t to George Baskerville ... do ..... from 1 Dec.r 87. to 1 Oct.r 88. 40..—..— 219..2..6

69. Foreign Cr. Fund.
2 Warrants to Rene Rapicault out of the Foreign Fund under the appropriation of 1787. Receivable in payt. for Escheated Lands
£ 282..2..10. & £ 75..7..5. — By Ord.s of the Executive ..... 357..10..3. 357..10..3

72. Surplus Fund.
Jan.y 29. Warr.t to Benj.n Day for so much p.d into the Treasury on Acc.t of the Addl. 6/ p. 3/. on Tob.o exported ..... 21..6..— 21..6..—
646..10..8

27. Gen.l Acco.t Rev.e ..... Dr. to Benj.n Blunt, Sher.f Pr.ce Edw.d Hampton.
87. For Insolvents in the Rev.e Taxes of 1785 ..... 6..7..4.

66. Delegation & Cap.l Fund. Dr. to Leighton Wood & Solicitor.
59. For so much paid Prott & Donaldson on Acc.t of 2 ½ Cent.: duty erroniously entered & collected. 54..12..6½.

20th

124. John Evans late of Monongalia Dr. to Fund. Acc.ts
107. To the Fund appropriated to the Judges Salaries For the Saxon Deeds &c. from 1 Oct.r 86. to May 1788. 16..10..6.

61. To Federal Fund.
For Tax on Retail Merchants ..... 19..—..—

69. To Foreign Fund
For the duty of 2½ Cent.: on Goods imported by Lands ..... 27..2..— 62..12..6

Richmond, Auditor's Office, 20th June 1788.

5th J. M. Treasurer ... Dr. To Sundry Accounts ...

19. To the Land Office ...
Rec'd of Jas. Burks & others ... Cert's ... £2..13..4.
of Henry Enders ... Cert. 2 D. & 1 Sp. ... £2..13..4.
of John Gibson ... Cert. ... £..13..4. £6....

42. To George Carrington, Clk. of Halifax ...
Rec'd on Acct. of the Taxes on Deeds ... £4..3..6.
Do. on Acct. of Att'y. fees & Mentle. Lines ... £1..4..5.
Specie ... £4..3..6
Int. on Loans ... 1..4..5.
£54..7..11

120. To Matthew Simms, Sher. of Halifax ...
Rec'd on Acct. of the Rev'e. Taxes of 1787 ... £12..12..10.
Interest on Loans ...
£12..12..10.

69. To Foreign Att'y. Fund ...
Rec'd of Forrest Dougall & Richd. Nestor on Acct. of ab. Exon. for Gosport Lands ... £22..17..4.
Specie ...
£22..17..6.

110. To Christopher Hudson, Sher. of Amelia ...
Rec'd on Acct. of the Rev'e. Taxes of 1785 ... £220....
Indents ...
£240....

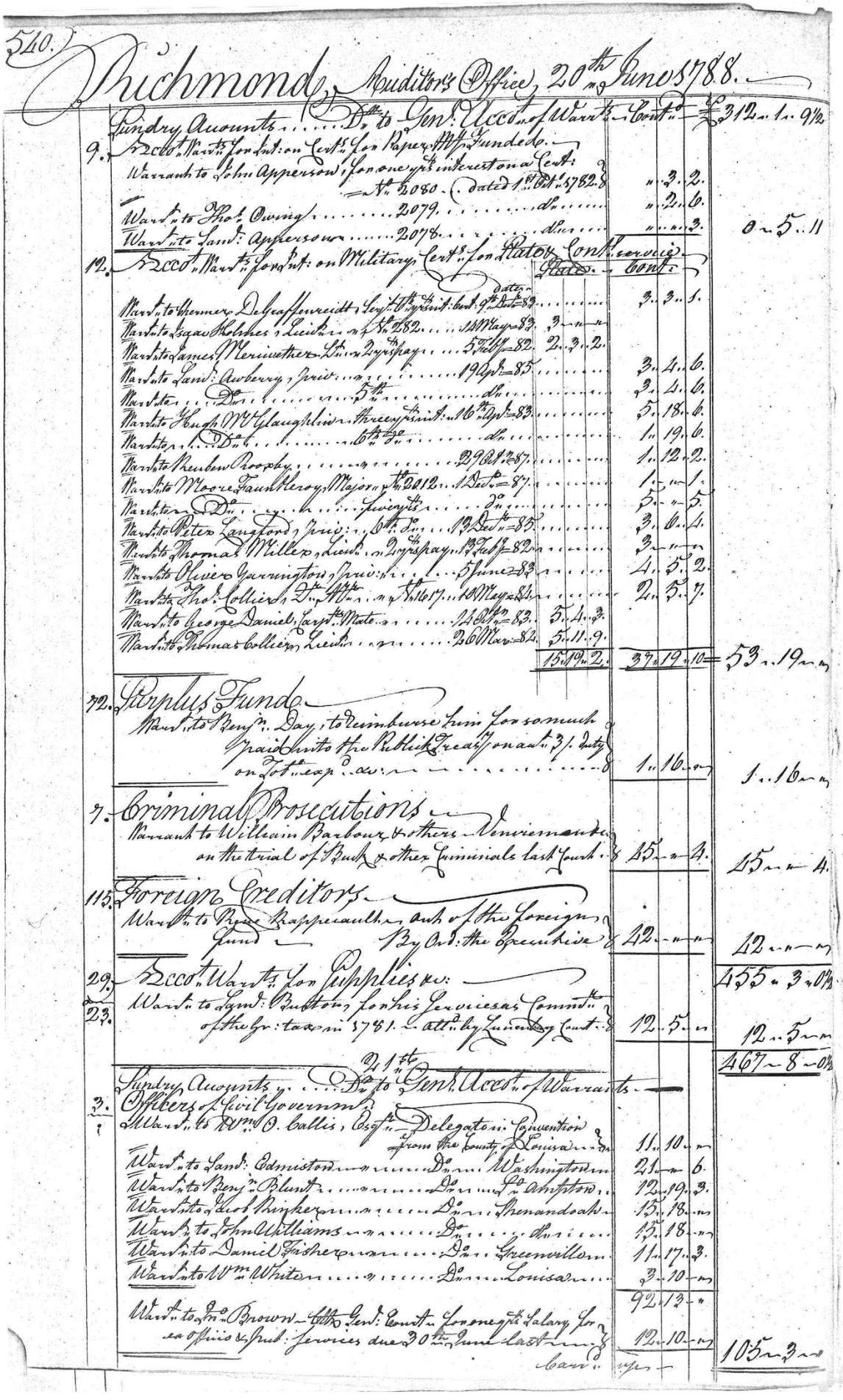
Cash ... £67..2..4
Indents ... 240....
Warr'ts ... 22..17..3.
Cert's ... 3..18..8. £333..18..3.
£335..18..3

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. To Gen'l. Acct. of Warrants ...

91. Aggregate Fund ...
18 Warr'ts to Arthur Lee ... out of the Aggregate Fund for his Claim against the Commercial Department By Ord: Ex: ... £115..0..2½.
£25 .. £20..11..0 .. £20..3 .. £20 .. £4..9..0 & £15..0..2½.
Warr't to Matthew Arnold ... out of the Aggregate Fund for expenses incurred in effecting the Cure of a wound he received at the Battle of Guilford Pr. Res'n. of 2 June 1782 ... in Lieu of the Warr'ts 21st Oct'r. 1783 Ord: Ex: ... £10....
£125..0..2½

59. Contingent Fund ... By Order of the Executive ...
Warr't to The Rev'd. Mr. Blagrove ... out of the Contingent Fund for one Quarter's Salary as Ordinary to the Public Jail ... due 15th instant ... £15....
£15....

3. Officers of Civil Government ...
Warr'ts to Henry Lee, Esq'r. Delegate in Convention from the Co'y. of Bourbon ... £35..4..6.
Warr't to John Wilson ... Do. ... Randolph ... £20..1....
Warr't to Rob't. Williams ... Do. ... Pittsylvania ... £15..14..4.
Warr't to John C. Littlepage ... Do. ... Hanover ... £9..18....
Warr't to Wm. Marrow ... Do. ... Greenville ... £11..19..3.
Warr't to Thomas Matthews ... Do. ... Norfolk Boro'. ... £15..10..9.
Warr't to Green Clay ... Do. ... Madison ... £33..12..6.
Warr't to Wm. Fleet ... Do. ... King & Queen ... £6..16..9.
Warr't to Thomas Roane ... Do. ... Do. ... £11..12....
Warr't to Burdett Ashton ... Do. ... King George ... £12..12..6.
£172..1..9
Carr'd. over ... £312..1..9½



540.

Richmond Auditor's Office 20th June 1788.

Sundry Amounts ..... Dr. to Genl. Accot. of Warrants Cont. £ 312 .. 1 .. 9½

9. Accot. Warrants for Intt. on Certs. for Paper Mony Funded.

Warrant to John Apperson for one yrs. interest on a Cert: for £ 2080. dated 1st Oct. 1782. 3 .. 2 .. 2.

Warrt. to Thos. Owing ..... 2079. ..... do ..... 3 .. 2 .. 6.

Warrt. to Sands. Appersons ..... 2078. ..... do ..... 2 .. 2 .. 3. 8 .. 5 .. 11

12. Accot. Warrants for Intt. on Military Certs. for Depreciation.

	Date	State	Cont.	
Warrt. to Shemer Delcaffanreidt Serjt. 1st Virginia Regt.	9th Dec. 82		3 .. 2 .. 1.	
Warrt. to Isaac Holshes Lieut.	1st May 83.	3 .. — .. —		
Warrt. to James Meriwether Lieut. 2d pay	5th Feb. 82.	2 .. 3 .. 2.		
Warrt. to Sands. Awberry Privt.	19th Apl. 85		3 .. 4 .. 6.	
Warrt. to ..... Do	5th ..... do		3 .. 4 .. 6.	
Warrt. to Hugh M'Claughlin Privt.	16th Apl. 83		5 .. 18 .. 6.	
Warrt. to ..... Do	6th ..... do		1 .. 19 .. 6.	
Warrt. to Reuben Roopley	29th Jany. 87		1 .. 12 .. 2.	
Warrt. to Moore Faulkerson Major	1st Dec. 87		1 .. — .. 1.	
Warrt. to ..... Do	2d		5 .. — .. 5.	
Warrt. to Peter Langford Privt.	6th Dec. 85		3 .. 6 .. 4.	
Warrt. to Thomas Miller Lieut. 2d pay	13th Feb. 82		3 .. — .. —	
Warrt. to Revis Garrington Privt.	5th June 83		4 .. 5 .. 2.	
Warrt. to Thos. Collier Dr.	10th May 83		2 .. 5 .. 7.	
Warrt. to George Daniel Serjt. Mate	26th Oct. 83.	5 .. 4 .. 3.		
Warrt. to Thomas Collier Lieut.	26th Mar. 82.	5 .. 11 .. 9.		
		15 .. 19 .. 2.	37 .. 19 .. 10	= 53 .. 19 .. —

22. Surplus Fund.

Warrt. to Benj. Day, to reimburse him for so much paid into the Publick Treasury on acct. 3/. Duty on Soft Soap ..... 8 | 1 .. 16 .. — | 1 .. 16 .. —

7. Criminal Prosecutions.

Warrant to William Barbour & others Venire men attending on the trial of Burk & other Criminals last Court ..... 15 | 15 .. — .. 4. | 15 .. — .. 4.

115. Foreign Creditors.

Warrt. to Peyre Dupreeaulx Auditor of the Foreign Fund By Ord. the Governor ..... 42 | 42 .. — .. — | 42 .. — .. —

29. Accot. Warrants for Supplies &c:

23. Warrt. to Sym. Button for his Services as Commr. of the Gr: tax in 1781. Certified by Lunenburg Court ..... 12 | 12 .. 5 .. — | 12 .. 5 .. —

21st | 467 .. 8 .. 0½

Sundry Amounts ..... Dr. to Genl. Accot. of Warrants.

3. Officers of Civil Government.

Warrt. to Wm. O. Callis, Esqr. Delegate in Convention from the County of Louisa ..... 11 .. 10 .. —

Warrt. to Sands. Edmiston ..... Do ..... Washington ..... 21 .. — .. 6.

Warrt. to Benj. Blunt ..... Do ..... Do Amhurst ..... 12 .. 19 .. 3.

Warrt. to Jacob Kinker ..... Do ..... Shenandoah ..... 15 .. 18 .. —

Warrt. to John Williams ..... Do ..... do ..... 15 .. 18 .. —

Warrt. to Daniel Fisher ..... Do ..... Greenbrier ..... 11 .. 17 .. 3.

Warrt. to Wm. Whiten ..... Do ..... Louisa ..... 3 .. 10 .. —

92 .. 13 .. —

Warrt. to Jno. Brown Clk. Genl. Court for one qrs. Salary for ex Officio & Incid. Services due 30th June last ..... 12 .. 10 .. — | 105 .. 3 .. —

Carr. upes

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Richmond, Auditors Office 21st June 1788.

53. To A. Treasurer ... Dr. To Sundry Accounts
88. To Michael Coresap, Rec. of Hampshire.
Received on Acct. of the Last Tax of 1786. 21..15..7. 21..15..7.

19. To the Land Office.
Rec'd of Nath'l Lewis for Monies appropriated Lands ... £ 6..5..— 6..5..—

85. To Thomas Johnson, Rec. of Louisa.
Received on Account of the Revenue Taxes due for 1786. £ 153..5..3.
1/ for 20 Money Print ... £72..8..0
Indents ... 23..0..0
Aggregater ... 25..—..—
Int. on Loans ... 1..17..3
Rec'd on Account of Taxes due for 1787 ... 232..2..6.
56.762 Tob. Tot. ... at 28/ ... £79..13..4.
11.658 ... d. ... 30/ ... 17..17..1.
950 ... d. ... 26/ ... 12..7..—
4968 Transf'd ... 30/ ... 7..10..4.
6102 ... d. ... 28/ ... 85..8..6.
£ 1141..16..6 Land.

Gen'l Fund ... £ 51..7..6.
Contingent ... 10..—..—
Civil List ... 6..11..9
Int. on Loans ... 7..10..3.
Contd. Pros. ... 14..16..6. 90..6..0 Specie

Dr.
Rec'd Tob. 69.370.
Transf'd 11.170.

Indents ... £ 33..—..—
1/ for 20 Mon'd ... 73..8..—
Warrts ... 137..3..3.
Certs ... 28..0..7.
Am't Tob'd ... 1141..16..6 £ 1413..8..4.

1385..7..9.
1413..8..4.

37. John Brown, 10th Gen'l Coy. ... Dr. To Sundry Accounts.
107. To the Fund appropriated to the Judges Salaries.
For the Tax on Deeds &c. from November 1787. to May 1788 ... 248..19..10.

61. To Federal Fund.
For the Tax on Attornies Fees from Sept'r 1787. to March 1788 ... 86..9..—

335..8..10

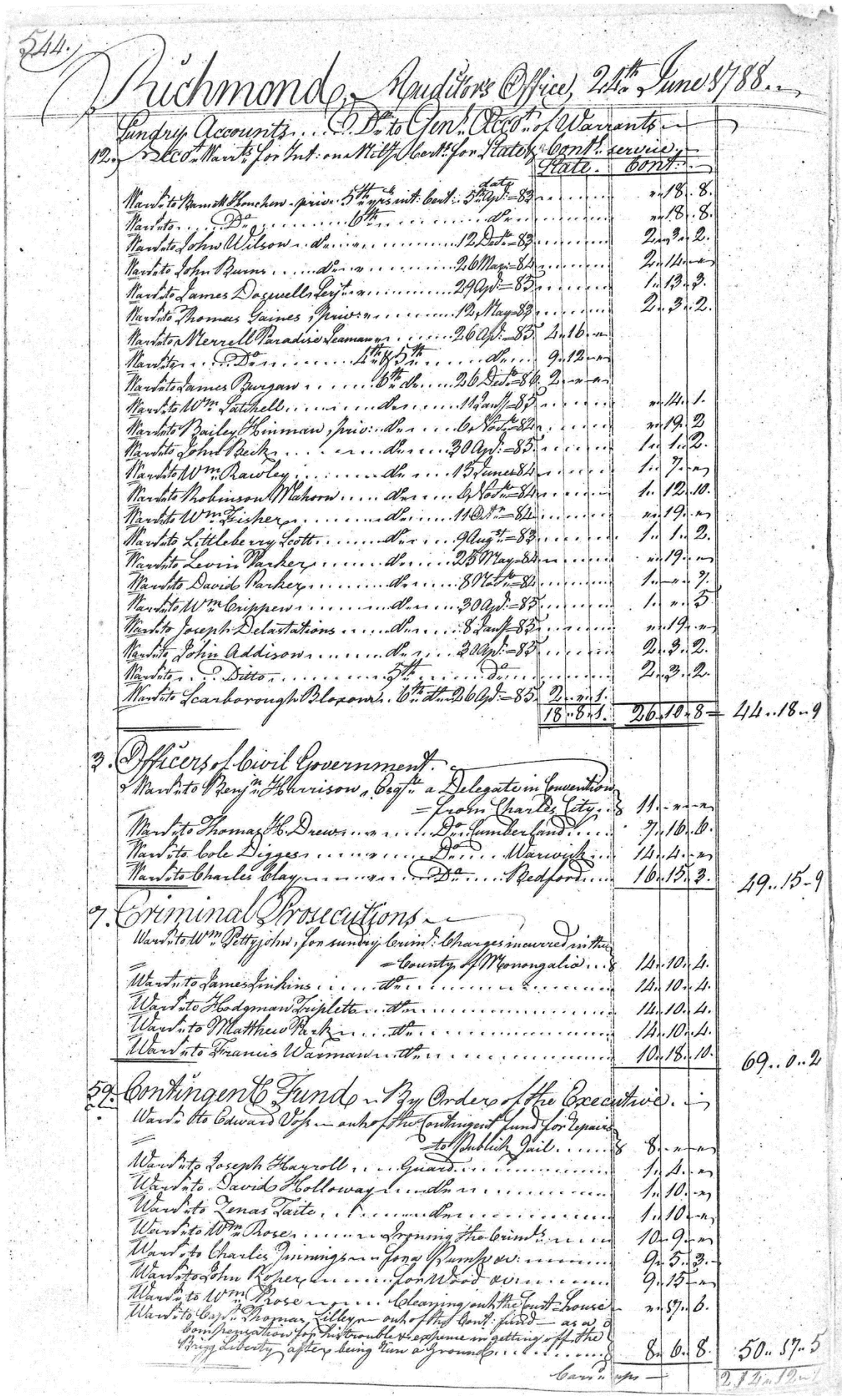
22 Jy 6

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Gen'l Acco't of Warrants

12. Rec'd Warrants for Int. on Military Certs. State Cont.
Warr't to Tho's M. Cuselle, Capt. 6th Regt. = £ 1375. Dated 9 July = 83 ... £ 57..17..11
Warr't to Land. Haile, Pris. ... 2222 ... 85 ... 2..3..2.
Warr't to Robt. Whitehead ... Do. ... 2968 ... 83 ... 2..17..8
Warr't to Robt. Watt ... Do. ... 3004 ... 85 ... 1..6..10
Warr't to Edw'd Bell ... Do. ... 13 May ... 84 ... 1..—..4.
£ 22..2..5 3..3..6 = 25..5..11.

3. Officers of Civil Government.
Warr't to Solomon Shepherd, exp'd Delegate in Convention
Warr't to Willis Riddick, " " from Nansemond ... 11..—..—
Warr't to Willis Riddick ... Do. ... 11..—..— 22..—..—

Carried up



544.

Richmond Auditors Office 24th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts ... D.o to Gen.l Acco.t of Warrants

12. Acco.t Warrts for Int. on Milt. Certs for State's cont.l service

		Rate.	cont.l	
Warr.t to Hamilt.n Houchens - pris.r 5th pays int. Cert. 5th dat. Sept.r 83			18. 8.	
Warr.t to ... Do ... 6th ... do			18. 8.	
Warr.t to John Wilson ... do ... 12 Dec.r 83			2. 3. 2.	
Warr.t to John Burns ... do ... 26 May 84			2. 11.	
Warr.t to James Dagwell Serj.t ... 29 Sept.r 83			1. 13. 3.	
Warr.t to Thomas Gaines, pris.r ... 12 May 83			2. 3. 2.	
Warr.t to Merrell Paradise Seaman ... 26 Sept.r 83	2. 16.			
Warr.t to ... Do ... 4th & 5th ... do	9. 12.			
Warr.t to James Burgan ... 6th ... do ... 26 Dec.r 84	2.			
Warr.t to Wm. Satchell ... do ... 11 Jan.y 85			14. 1.	
Warr.t to Bailey Hinman, pris.r ... do ... 6 Nov.r 83			19. 2.	
Warr.t to John Beck ... do ... 30 Sept.r 83			1. 1. 2.	
Warr.t to Wm. Rawley ... do ... 15 June 84			1. 7.	
Warr.t to Robinson Mahorn ... do ... 6 Nov.r 84			1. 12. 10.	
Warr.t to Wm. Fisher ... do ... 11 Dec.r 84			19.	
Warr.t to Littleberry Scott ... do ... 9 Aug.t 83			1. 1. 2.	
Warr.t to Levin Parker ... do ... 25 May 84			19.	
Warr.t to David Parker ... do ... 8 Nov.r 84			1. 7.	
Warr.t to Wm. Crippen ... do ... 30 Sept.r 83			1. 5.	
Warr.t to Joseph Delastations ... do ... 8 Jan.y 83			19.	
Warr.t to John Addison ... do ... 29 Sept.r 83			2. 3. 2.	
Warr.t to ... Ditto ... 5th ... do			2. 3. 2.	
Warr.t to Scarborough Blossom ... 6th ... do ... 26 Sept.r 85	2.		1.	
	18. 8. 1.		26. 10. 8 =	44. 18. 9

3. Officers of Civil Government.

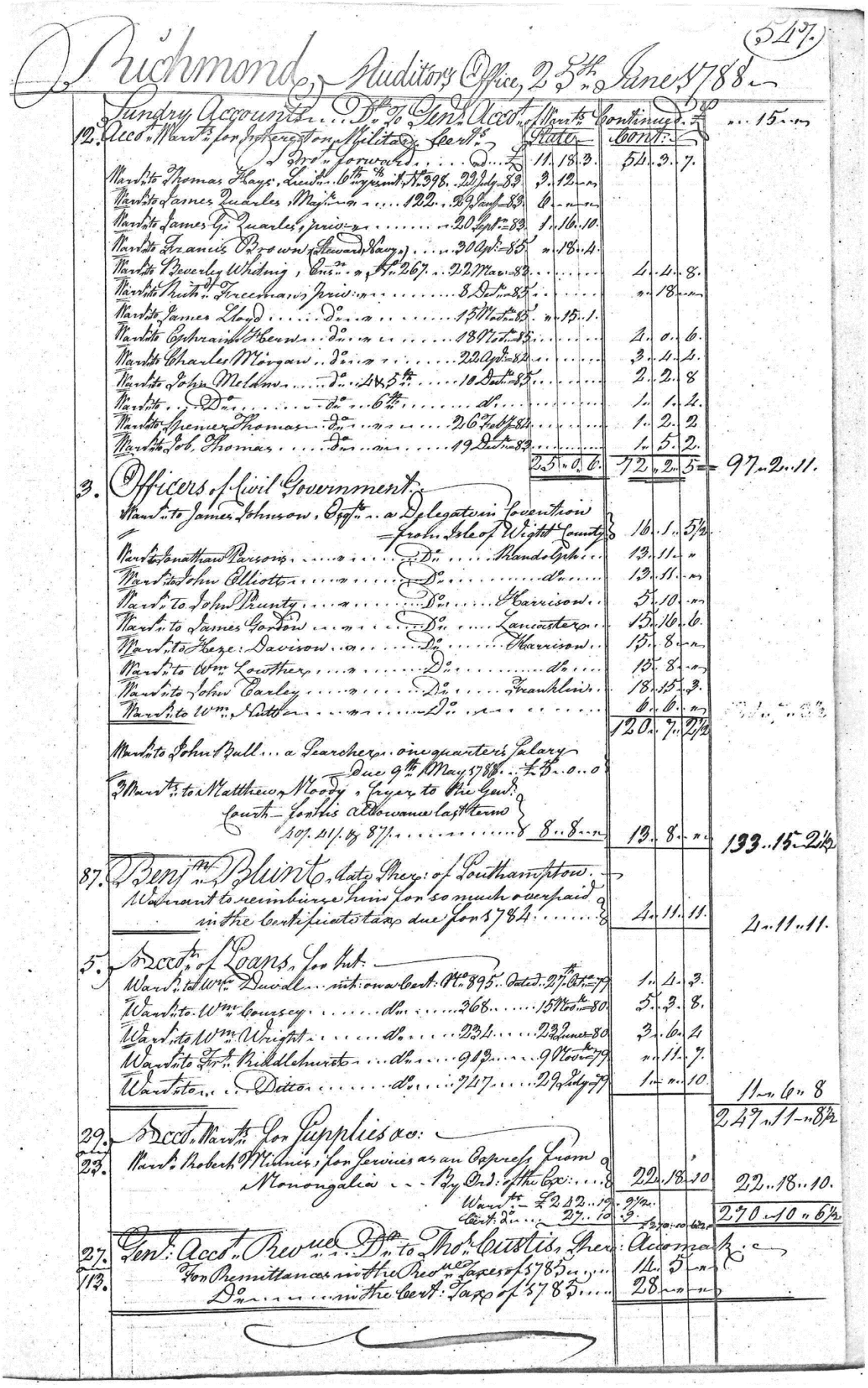
Warr.t to Benj.n Harrison, Esq.r a Delegate in Convention from Charles City	11.		
Warr.t to Thomas H. Drew ... Do ... Cumberland	7. 16. 6.		
Warr.t to Cole Digges ... Do ... Warwick	14. 4.		
Warr.t to Charles Clay ... Do ... Bedford	16. 15. 3.		49. 15. 9

7. Criminal Prosecutions

Warr.t to Wm. Petty Johns, for sundry Crim.l Charges incurred in the County of Monongalia	14. 10. 4.	
Warr.t to James Jinkins ... do	14. 10. 4.	
Warr.t to Hodgman Triplette ... do	14. 10. 4.	
Warr.t to Matthew Rush ... do	14. 10. 4.	
Warr.t to Francis Warman ... do	10. 18. 10.	69. 0. 2

52. Contingent Fund — By Orders of the Executive.

Warr.t to Edward Jos — out of the Contingent fund for Repairs to Publick Jail	8.	
Warr.t to Joseph Harroll ... Guard	1. 4.	
Warr.t to David Holloway ... do	1. 10.	
Warr.t to Zenas Taite ... do	1. 10.	
Warr.t to Wm. Rose ... Opening the Crim.ls	10. 9.	
Warr.t to Charles Jennings — for a Rumple &c	9. 5. 3.	
Warr.t to John Roper ... for Wood &c	9. 15.	
Warr.t to Wm. Rose — Cleaning out the Court House	87. 6.	
Warr.t to Capt.n Thomas Lilley — out of the Cont.l fund — as a Com.n pensation for his trouble & expence in getting off the Brig Liberty a Prize being Run a Ground	8. 6. 8.	50. 87. 5
Carr.d ups		2. 12. 10.



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Richmond, Auditor's Office, 25th June 1788.

	Sundry Accounts	Dr to Gen'l Accot	Warrants		State			Contingt		
12.	Accot Warrants for Invalid & Military Services									15
	Brot forward				£ 11	18	3	54	3	7
	Warr to Thomas Hays, Lieut 6th regt	398	22 July	83	3	12				
	Warr to James Quarles, Major	122	28 Jany	83	6					
	Warr to James G. Quarles, Privt	20	8 Sept	83	1	16	10			
	Warr to Francis Brown (Steward Navy)	30	4 Sept	85		18	4			
	Warr to Beverley Whiting, Ens	267	22 Mar	83				4	4	8
	Warr to Ruth Freeman, Privt	8	8 Sept	85					18	
	Warr to James Lloyd Do	150	8 Sept	85		15	1			
	Warr to Ephraim Ebens Do	189	8 Sept	85				4	0	6
	Warr to Charles Morgan Do	22	4 Sept	82				3	4	4
	Warr to John Meldrum Do	445	10 Dec	85				2	2	8
	Warr to Do Do	6	do					1	1	4
	Warr to Spencer Thomas Do	267	8 Feb	84				1	2	2
	Warr to Job Thomas Do	19	8 Dec	83				1	5	2
					25	0	6	72	2	5 = 97 2 11
3.	Officers of Civil Government									
	Warr to James Johnson, Dept a Delegate in Convention from Isle of Wight County							16	1	5½
	Warr to Jonathan Parsons Do				Shandoah			13	11	
	Warr to John Elliott Do				do			13	11	
	Warr to John Prunty Do				Harrison			5	10	
	Warr to James Gordon Do				Lancaster			15	16	6
	Warr to Reze: Davison Do				Harrison			15	8	
	Warr to Wm Lowther Do				do			15	8	
	Warr to John Earley Do				Franklin			18	15	3
	Warr to Wm Nutt Do							8	6	
								120	7	2½
	Warr to John Ball a Searcher one quarters Salary Due 9th May 1788				£ 5	0	0			
	2 Warrs to Matthew Moody, Sayer to the Genl Court — for his allowance last Term Oct 21 & 87				8	8		13	8	193 15 2½
87.	Benj Blunt late Sher of Southampton									
	Warrant to reimburse him for so much overpaid in the Certificate tax due for 1784							4	11	11 4 11 11
5.	Accot of Loans, for Int									
	Warr to Wm Duvall with own bond No 895 Dated 27th Oct 77							1	4	3
	Warr to Wm Cowsey do	368	15 Nov	80				5	3	8
	Warr to Wm Wright do	234	23 June	80				3	6	4
	Warr to Fr Riddlehuster do	913	9 Nov	79					11	7
	Warr to Do Do do	747	29 July	77				1		10 11 6 8
										247 11 8½
29.	Accot Warrants for Supplies &c:									
23.	Warr to Robert Wilmer, for Services as an Express from Monongalia By Ord: of the Ex:							22	18	10 22 18 10
	Warrs £ 22 12 10									
	Cent 2½ 27 10									270 10 6½
27.	Genl Accot Revue Dr to Thos Curtis Sher Accomack									
113.	For Remittances in the Revue Taxes of 1785							14	5	
	Do in the Cent Tax of 1785							28		

548.

Richmond Auditor's Office, 25th June 1788.

5th 19th To The Treasurer ... Dr to Sundry Accounts

To The Land Office

Rec'd of Wm Brown & Wm Lafferty ... Cert's ... £ 2.. 6.. 8.
Do: of Vincent Glass & others ... Do ... £ 10.. 6.. 8.
Do: of David Parish ... Do ... £ 1.. 6.. 8. 14.. 0..

81. To Robert Woods late Sher: of Franklin

Received on Acct of the Certificate tax of 1786. £ 59.. 0.. 11.
Do ... on Acct of the Rev'e Taxes of 1786. £ 79.. 10.. 7.

Indents ... £ 57.. 12.. 0.
Aggregate fund ... 30.. 0.. 0
Int on Loans ... 4.. 8.. 9
Int on Army debts ... 3.. 12.. 10
£ 55.. 12.. 7. Land.

Dr
1959 lb Crop Tob° ... at 2/6 ... £ 12.. 15.. 3
Specie ... 10.. 7.. 9
£ 24.. 3.. 0 Slaves. 138.. 17.. 6

125. To Hugh Innes late Sher: of Franklin

Received on Acct of the Taxes of 1787.

2357 lb Crop Tob° ... at 2/9 ... £ 34.. 3.. 6.
Do ... on account of ditto Taxes ... £ 39.. 16.. 3.
2295 lb Crop Tob° at 30/ £ 34.. 8.. 6.
Mitg Int Warr's ... 5.. 7.. 9.
£ 39.. 16.. 3 73.. 19.. 9

11. To Henry Bell late Sher: of Buckingham

Rec'd on Acct of the Rev'e Taxes of 1786 ... £ 29.. 14.. 8.

Indents ... £ 11.. 2.. 0.
Contr: Pros'ts ... 4.. 18.. 4.
£ 16.. 0.. 4 Land.
Dr
980 lb Crop Tob° ... 28/ ... £ 13.. 14.. 4 Slaves. 29.. 14.. 8

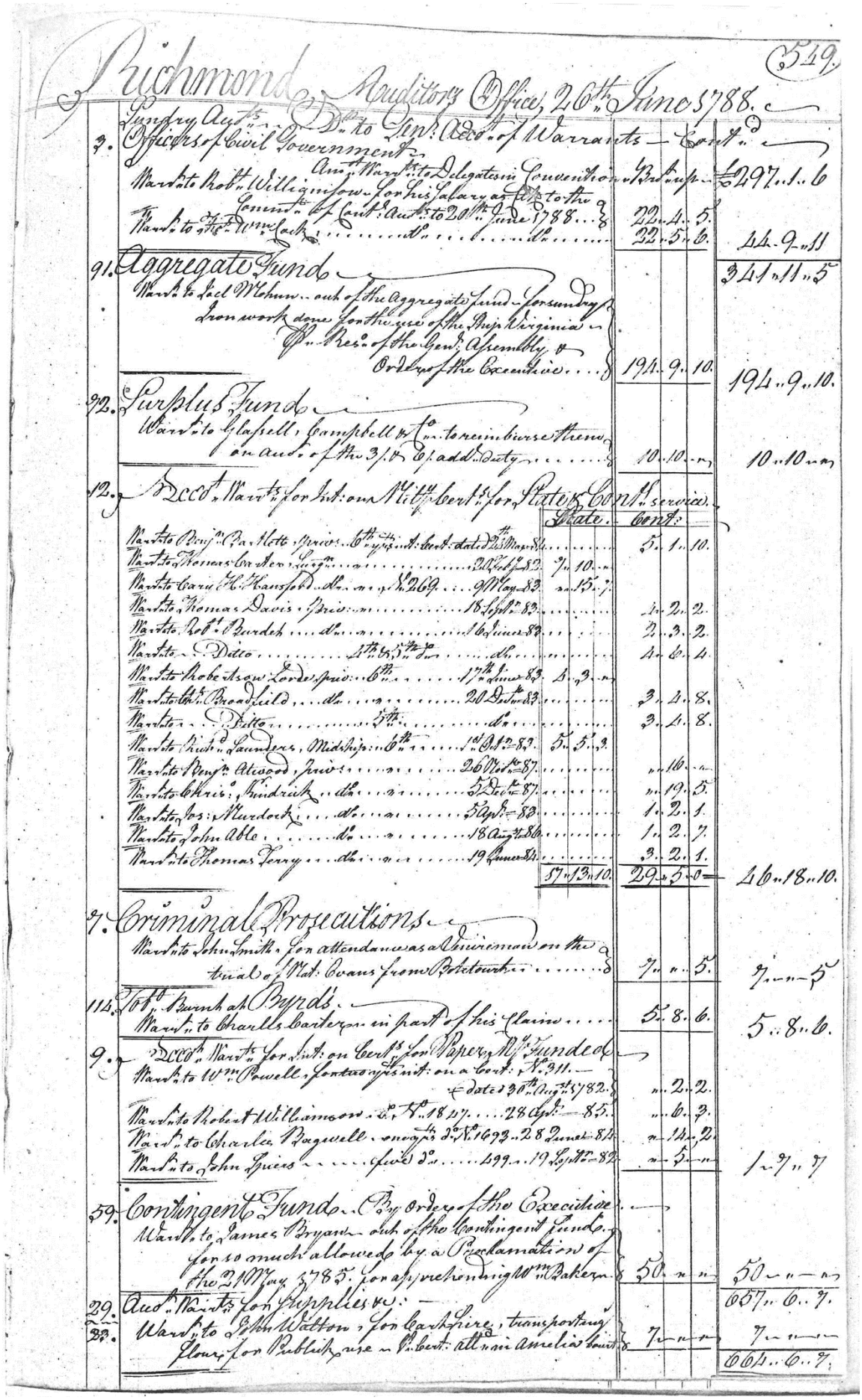
Crop Tob° 4691 lb

Cash £ 10.. 7.. 9.
Indents 28.. 14..
Warr's 28.. 7.. 8
Cert's 79.. 11..
Amt Tob° 1096.. 1.. 7 £ 256.. 11.. 11. £ 256.. 11.. 11

26th Do Sundry Accounts ... Dr to Gen'l Acc't of Warrants

Officers of Civil Government

Warr't to Edmund Bookers Esq'r Delegate in Convention from Amelia		14.. 7.. 3.
Warr't to Matthew Walton ... Do ... Nelson		38.. 6.. 11.
Warr't to Ebenezer Zane ... Do ... Ohio		26.. 13.. 1.
Warr't to Arch'd Woods ... Do ...		26.. 13.. —
Warr't to Wm Watkins ... Do ... Dinwiddie		13.. 13.. 9.
Warr't to John Dawson ... Do ... Spotsylv'a		6.. 10.. —
Warr't to Edm'd Minister ... Do ...		16.. 2.. —
Warr't to Joel Earley ... Do ... Culpeper		16.. 10.. —
Warr't to John Jones ... Do ... Brunswick		14.. 6.. 6.
Warr't to Wm Jones ... Do ... Do ...		14.. 15.. 3.
Warr't to Anthony Walker ... Do ... Prince Ann		18.. 8.. —
Warr't to Chris'r Robertson ... Do ... Lunenburg		16.. 4.. 6.
Warr't to John Wilson ... Do ... Randolph		2.. —.. —
Warr't to Stephen Thompson Mason ... Do ... Loudoun		18.. 12.. —
Warr't to Benj'n Wilson ... Do ... Randolph		25.. 1.. —
Warr't to George Jackson ... Do ... Glocester		26.. 18.. —
Carried up		297.. 1.. 6.



Richmond Auditors Office, 26th June 1788. 519

Sundry Acts Dr to Sundr Accts of Warrants Cont.d

3. Officers of Civil Government

Warrt to Robt Williamson for his Salary as Aud.r to the Genl Court Aug.st to 20th June 1788 — 22..4..5.

Warrt to Wm Lack ..... do ..... do ..... 22..5..6. — 44..9..11

91. Aggregate Fund

Warrt to Lael Mehun — Auds of the Aggregate Fund for sundry Iron work done for the use of the Ship Virginia — By Res.s of the Genl Assembly & Orders of the Executive — 194..9..10. — 194..9..10.

92. Surplus Fund

Warrt to Glassell, Campbell & Co.s to reimburse them on Acct of the 3/ & 6/ add.l Duty — 10..10..— — 10..10..—

12. Accot Warrts for Int.st on Milit.y Certs for State & Cont.l service.

	State	Cont.l	
Warrt to Benj.a Barlett, Surv.r 6th Regt Int.st Cert dated 25th May 84		5..1..10.	
Warrt to Thomas Carter, Surg.n ..... 24 Feb.y 83	7..10..—		
Warrt to Caru H. Hansford ..... do ..... No 269 ..... 9 May 83	..15..7		
Warrt to Thomas Davis, Surv.r ..... 18 Sept.r 83		1..2..2.	
Warrt to Rob.t Burdett ..... do ..... 16 June 83		2..3..2.	
Warrt to — Dalco ..... 1st 2d 3d 5th Do ..... do		4..6..4.	
Warrt to Robert Shaw, Lieut Surv.r 6th ..... 17th June 83	5..3..—		
Warrt to Thos Broadfield ..... do ..... 20 Dec.r 83		3..4..8.	
Warrt to — Ditto ..... 5th ..... do		3..4..8.	
Warrt to Richd Saunders, Midship.n 6th ..... 1st Oct.r 83	5..5..3		
Warrt to Benj.a Atwood, Surv.r ..... 26 Nov.r 87		..16..—	
Warrt to Chris.r Fendrick ..... do ..... 5 Dec.r 87		..19..5.	
Warrt to Jos.h Murdock ..... do ..... 5 Apr.l 88		1..2..1.	
Warrt to John Able ..... do ..... 18 Aug.st 86		1..2..7.	
Warrt to Thomas Perry ..... do ..... 19 June 84		3..2..1.	
	17..13..10.	29..5..0	46..18..10.

7. Criminal Prosecutions

Warrt to John Smith for attendance as a Witness on the trial of Wat. Evans from Petersburg — 7..—..5. — 7..—..5

112. Tob.o Burnt at Byrds

Warrt to Charles Carter on in part of his Claim — 5..8..6. — 5..8..6.

9. Accot Warrts for Int.st on Certs for Paper Money Funded

Warrt to Wm Powell, Sentinel on Int.st on a Cert. No 311 — & date 30th Aug.st 1782 — ..2..2.

Warrt to Robert Williamson on Cert No 1827 ..... 28 Apr.l 85 — ..6..3.

Warrt to Charles Bagwell on ditto No 1693 ..... 28 June 84 — ..14..2.

Warrt to John Spiers ..... do ..... 499 ..... 19 Sept.r 82 — ..5..— — 1..7..7

59. Contingent Fund By order of the Executive

Warrt to James Bryan out of the Contingent Fund for so much allowed by a Proclamation of the 21st May 1785 for apprehending Wm Baker — 50..—..— — 50..—..—

29. Acco.t Warrts for Supplies &c.

33. Warrt to John Watson for Cart hire, transporting Flour for Public use — Vide Cert. all in Amelia County — 7..—..— — 7..—..—

657..6..7.

664..6..7.

(555)

Richmond Auditors Office 27th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts Dr. to General Receipt of Wagrs. Cont.d

12. £2000 Part for Ind. on 10 per Cent for State & Cont.l service

	State.			Cont.l			
Brot up				25.	9.	10.	
Warrt to Peter Massie Privt 6th Regt Cont.l Dated 2 Nov.r 82					18.	9.	
Warrt to Lodowick Clarke do 9 Augt 83	2.	19.	8				
Warrt to Wm Dunn do 19 Sept.r 85				1.	3.	7.	
Warrt to Wm Tillery do 8 June 84				2.	6.	2.	
Warrt to Thomas Thompson do 5th 7 Dec.r 85				1.	16.	9.	
Warrt to Ditto 6th do				1.	16.	9.	
Warrt to Wm Lancaster do 20 Apl.r 85				1.	2.		
Warrt to Jesse Davies do 3d do					18.	8.	
Warrt to James Omichundro do					18.	8	
Warrt to Charles Edwards do 18th do		6.	8.				
Warrt to Abel Blanchenchip do 29 March 83	2.	9.	7.				
Warrt to John Eaves do 11 June 83				1.	1.	9.	
Warrt to Wm Jordon Corpl 1 Sept.r 86				2.		8.	
Warrt to James Thomas Seaman 30 Apl.r 85		16.	8.				
Warrt to John Fonehand Privt 3 May 84				5.	4.		
Warrt to James Thompkins do 17 March 85					19.	2.	
Warrt to James Marshall Midshipn 29 June 84	2.	16.					
Warrt to Wm Ballard Pilot 3 1683 83	5.	1.	10.				
Warrt to James Marshall Lieut 1655 20 Feb.y 84	6.	10.	8.				
Warrt to Sam.l Tinsley Cornett 5 Augt 83	1.	11.	11.				
Warrt to Gedeon Flournoy Cont 1682 21 June 84				2.	5.	2.	
Warrt to Wm Johnson Surgeons M 25 May 82				15.	11.	10	
Warrt to Thomas Stephens Privt 19 July 83				6.	12.	8	
Warrt to Francis Thompson do 13 Sept.r 84					18.	9.	
Warrt to Peter Smith do 13 Jan.y 86					9.		
Warrt to Sam.l Williams do 29 July 86				1.	8.	1.	
Warrt to Andrew Lewis Lieut 599 29 May 83				6.			
Warrt to Ditto 598 do				6.			
Warrt to Thomas Hall Privt 13 Dec.r 83				3.	6.	11	
Warrt to Ditto 5th do				3.	6.	11.	
Warrt to Adin Bailes do 13 Dec.r 86				1.	16.	8.	
Warrt to do 6th do				1.	16.	8.	
Warrt to And.w Lewis Lieut 600 29 May 83				8			
Warrt to Charles Lodes Privt 18 June 87	1.		7.				
	25.	7.	7.	107.	10.	3.	132. 18.

Officers of Civil Government

Warrt to John Howell Briggs Esq.r for attendance as a Delegate in Convention from Lunenburg 15. 1. 3.

Warrt to Henry Lee Esq.r do Westmoreland 15. 19.

Warrt to Wm Peachey do Richmond 16. 10. 6.

Warrt to Holt Richeson do King William 14. 17.

Warrt to Isaac Vanmeter do Hardy 20. 11.

Warrt to Abel Leymore do do 20. 11.

Warrt to Joseph Jones do Dinwiddie 14. 1. 3.

Warrt to Ralph Humphries do Hampshire 5.

Warrt to Burdit Ashton do King George 3. 10.

Warrt to Patrick Henry do Prince Edward 15. 15. 3.

Warrt to Andrew Woodrow do Hampshire 4. 10.

Warrt to Wm Darke do Berkeley 19. 19.

Warrt to Paul Carrington do Charlotte 17. 10. 5.

Warrt to Thomas Reader do do 17. 2. 6.

Warrt to Isaac Coles do Halifax 17. 13. 6.

				218.	17.	8.	132. 18.

Can.o agree

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Richmond Auditors Office 27th June 1788

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Genl. Acct. of Warrts. continued ... £ 132..18..

Officers of Civil Government

			£	s.	d.
Amot. of Warrts. to Membrs. of Convention Sent. over			£218	57	8
Warrt. to George Carrington, Cert. for attendance as Delegate in Convention from Halifax			8	17	10 6
Warrt. to Martin Pickett	Ditto	Fauquier		17	9 3
Warrt. to Lewd. Richardson	Ditto	Shenandoah		15	12
Warrt. to Joseph Holden	Ditto	do		11	18
Warrt. to George Nicholas	Ditto	Albemarle		16	2
Warrt. to Andrew Moore	Ditto	Rockbridge		19	
Warrt. to James Taylor	Ditto	Caroline		15	4
Warrt. to Jacob Kinsey	Ditto	Shenandoah		3	10
Warrt. to John Williams	Ditto	do		3	10
Warrt. to Wm. Fleet	Ditto	King & Queen		3	10
Warrt. to Coles Diggs	Ditto	Warwick		2	
Warrt. to Natl. Harwell	Ditto	James City		15	13 5
Warrt. to Wilson Nicholas	Ditto	Albemarle		16	2
Warrt. to Thomas Edmunds	Ditto	Lufsea		15	1 3
Warrt. to Worlich Westwood	Ditto	Eliz. City		16	17
Warrt. to Wm. Clayton	Ditto	New Kent		14	2
Warrt. to Henry Towles	Ditto	Lancaster		17	6 6
Warrt. to John H. Cocke	Ditto	Prince Geo.		15	13
Warrt. to Thomas Hopkins	Ditto	Northumberland		18	9 6
Warrt. to James Taylor	Ditto	Norfolk		18	8
Warrt. to Samuel Shells	Ditto	Southampton		16	5
Warrt. to John Trigg	Ditto	Bedford		17	19 3
Warrt. to John Prunty	Ditto	Harrison		1	
Warrt. to Robert Andrews	Ditto	James City		15	8
Warrt. to Benj. Blunt	Ditto	Southampton		5	
Warrt. to Burwell Bassett	Ditto	New Kent		13	13 4
Warrt. to Levin Powell	Ditto	Loudoun		18	5 3
Warrt. to Henry Banks	Assembly	Greenbrier		13	12
Warrt. to B. Washington	Convention	Westmoreland		14	19
Warrt. to Wm. Lampson	Ditto	Goochland		4	10
Warrt. to James Johnson	Ditto	Isle of Wight		1	
Warrt. to Robert Lawson	Ditto	Prince Edward		15	11
Warrt. to Davis Booker	Assembly	Amelia		4	7 3
Warrt. to Walker Tomlin	Convention	Richmond		16	2
Warrt. to John Beckley	for his Attendance as Secretary			40	
Warrt. to Samuel Cabell	Deleg. Convention	Amherst		17	7
Warrt. to Edmund Ruffin	Ditto			14	2
Warrt. to John Tyler	Ditto	Charles City		14	4
Warrt. to Thomas Turpin	Ditto	Buckingham		14	2 10
Warrt. to John Blair	Ditto	York		15	8
Warrt. to Richd. Brennon	Ditto	Mecklenburg		17	11 10
Warrt. to Benj. Temple	Ditto	King Wm.		14	6 6
Warrt. to David Patteson	Ditto	Chesterfield		13	5 3
Warrt. to George Parker	Ditto	Accomack		22	13 8
Warrt. to Robert Williams	Ditto	Pittsylvania		4	
Warrt. to Richd. Lacy	Ditto	Warwick		16	7 9
Warrt. to David Stewart	Ditto	Fairfax		18	10 9
Warrt. to Charles Simms	Ditto	do		18	6
Warrt. to Joseph Michaux	Ditto	Cumberland		16	1 4
Warrt. to John Evans	Ditto	Monongalia		5	
Warrt. to Wm. McCleery	Ditto	do		5	
Warrt. to Adam Stephen	Ditto	Berkley		20	5
Carr. over			98	1	132..18

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Richmond Audt.s Office 27th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts D.r to Gen.l Acco.t of Warr.ts

		Cont.l	d.s	£	
3.	Officers of Civil Government.				
	And.w Marr.t to Mem.rs of Convention &c. Brit.h Forces.	9	9	6	1.
	Warr.t to Samuel Hopkins, Esq.r for Attendance as a Delegate in Convention from Mecklenburg		17	5	
	Warr.t to Jonathan Patteson ..... Ditto ..... Lunenburg		16	5	3.
	Warr.t to John Wilcox ..... Ditto ..... Pittsylvania		4		
	Warr.t to John Miller ..... Ditto ..... Madison		7	10	
	Warr.t to John Marr ..... Ditto ..... Henry		4		
	Warr.t to James Montgomery ..... Ditto ..... Washington		26	1	
	Warr.t to Thomas Walker ..... Ditto ..... Prince Anne		19		
	Warr.t to Rice Bullock ..... Ditto ..... Jefferson		8	6	
	Warr.t to Thomas Smith ..... Ditto ..... Gloucester		17	6	
	Warr.t to Sam.l Edmiston ..... Ditto ..... Washington		4		
	Warr.t to Thomas Carter ..... Ditto ..... Russell		4	10	
	Warr.t to Henry Dickenson ..... Ditto ..... do.		4	10	
	Warr.t to Col.o Shepherd ..... Ditto ..... Nansemond		6	6	
	Warr.t to Willis Reddick ..... Ditto ..... do.		6	6	
	Warr.t to Alexander Robertson ..... Ditto ..... Mercer		7	10	
	Warr.t to Robt. Alexander ..... Ditto ..... Campbell		16	7	3.
	Warr.t to The Reverend Abner Waugh. for his Wages as Chaplain to the Convention	8	32		
	Warr.t to Edm.d Pendleton, j.r for his Wages as Clerk to the Committee of Privileges	8	20		
	Warr.t to Abraham Trigg resp.g Deleg: Convention from Montgomery		21	17	3.
	Warr.t to John Logan ..... Ditto ..... Lincoln		7	10	
	Warr.t to Hardy Pawlings ..... Ditto ..... do.		7	10	
	Warr.t to Patrick Henry ..... Ditto ..... Prince Edw.d			10	1,194. 9. 10.
5.	Acco.t of Loans. for Cont.				
	Warr.t to Nicholas Cabell ..... int.t on a Cert.t N.o 380. Dated 8.th May 1779			5	7.
	Warr.t to John Cramsay ..... do. ..... N.o 262 ..... 11.th Sept.r 80		2	10	8.
	Warr.t to Israel Slaterford ..... do. ..... 567 ..... 22 May 79.			6	
	Warr.t to Chas. Trent ..... do. ..... 457 ..... 5 May 79.			5	9.
	Warr.t to Rachel Bruer ..... do. ..... 966 ..... 6 Nov.r 79.		1	6	6.
	Warr.t to John Carter ..... do. ..... 407 ..... 2 July 78.		4	16	
	Warr.t to John Finch ..... do. ..... 243 ..... 10 May 79.		1	4	8.
	Warr.t to Wm. Seydnor ..... do. ..... 617 ..... 7 June 79.		1	12	6.
	Warr.t to John Harrisons ..... do. ..... 8 ..... 12 Aug.t 80.			10	
	Warr.t to Edward Harris ..... do. ..... 6 ..... do.			5	7.
	Warr.t to Ditto ..... do. ..... 323 ..... 12 Apr.l 79.		2	5	
	Warr.t to Ditto ..... do. ..... 696 ..... 12 July 79.			18	2. 16. 5. 8.
92.	Surplus Fund.				
	Warr.t to Wm. Simmons to reimburse him for so much paid into the Publick Treasury on acc.t 3/ duty on Tob.o exported		3	9	
	Warr.t to Charles Shoemaker on acc.t 6/ addt.l duty		6	6	9. 15.
9.	Acco.t Warr.ts Gen.l Ind.t on Cert.s for Papr. Money Funded.				
	Warr.t to Robt. Taylor for five per cent. on a Cert.t N.o 380. dated 1.st Oct.r 1782.			12	11.
	Warr.t to James Dunham ..... N.o 728 ..... Ditto			15	10. 1. 8. 9
111.	Tob.o burnt at Byrd's.				
	Warr.t to Bryce & Thompson in part of their Claim		1	16	10. 1. 16. 10
	Carr.d over				1957. 6. 1.

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Richmond Auditor's Office 28th June 1788.

	Sundry Accounts ..... D^o to Genl Acc^t of Warrants	Continued			£	200 .. 3 .. 4.
3.	Officers of Civil Government					
	Warr^t to John J. Wadcock, Esqr ... Delegate in Convention from Frederick	19	12	6.		
	Warr^t to Warner Lewis ..... d^o ..... Gloucester	16	12	9.		
	Warr^t to The Honble Edmund Pendleton ... as President of the General Convention	53	12	—		
	Warr^t to Andrew Buchanan, Esqr Delegate from Stafford	14	6	—		
	Warr^t to Wm Fleming ..... d^o ..... Botetourt	19	17	3.		
	Warr^t to Wm Cabell ..... d^o ..... Amherst	17	7	—		
	Warr^t to Thomas Roane ..... d^o ..... King & Queen	3	10	—		
	Warr^t to John Guerrant ..... d^o ..... Goochland	14	2	4.		
	Warr^t to Cuthbert Bullitt ..... d^o ..... Prince Wm	17	4	—		
	Warr^t to James Upshaw ..... d^o ..... Essex	15	5	—		
	Warr^t to Thomas Arthurs ..... d^o ..... Franklin	4	—	—		
	Warr^t to John Earley ..... d^o ..... d^o	1	10	—		
	Warr^t to Park Goodall ..... d^o ..... Hanover	13	14	3.		
	Warr^t to John Coalter Littlepage ..... d^o ..... d^o	4	—	—		
	Warr^t to Alex^r Witter ..... d^o ..... Fredericks	19	17	3.		
	Warr^t to James Gordon ..... d^o ..... Lancaster	1	10	—		
	Warr^t to Matthew Wootton ..... d^o ..... Nelson	—	10	—		
	Warr^t to John Steele ..... d^o ..... d^o	5	—	—		
	Warr^t to Walter Jones ..... d^o ..... Northumberland	15	10	3		
	Warr^t to William Pierce, Serjeant to the Convention	24	—	—		
	Warr^t to Charles Patteson, Esqr Delegate bond^n from Buckingham	15	7	4.		
	Warr^t to David Bell ..... d^o ..... d^o	15	14	6.		
	Warr^t to Humphrey Marshall ..... d^o ..... Fayette	7	—	—		
	Warr^t to Henry Lee ..... d^o ..... Bourbon	4	—	—		
	Warr^t to John Fowler ..... d^o ..... Fayette	6	10	—		
	Warr^t to Littleton Eyre ..... d^o ..... Northampton	20	4	—		
	Warr^t to Walter Crockett ..... d^o ..... Montgomery	23	2	3.		
	Warr^t to Robt Lawson ..... d^o ..... Prince Edward	—	10	—		
	Warr^t to John Allen ..... d^o ..... Surry	15	5	—		
	Warr^t to Arch^d Woods ..... d^o ..... Ohio	1	—	—		
	Warr^t to Ebenezer Jane ..... d^o ..... d^o	—	10	—		
	Warr^t to Wm White ..... d^o ..... Louisa	3	—	—		
	Warr^t to John Pride ..... d^o ..... Amelia	14	14	6.		
	Warr^t to Martin M^cferran ..... d^o ..... Botetourt	19	17	3.		
	Warr^t to Wm Thornton ..... d^o ..... King George	15	8	—		
	Warr^t to French Strother ..... d^o ..... Culpeper	6	10	—		
	Warr^t to Daniel Fisher ..... d^o ..... Greensville	4	3	9.		
	Warr^t to Wm Mason ..... d^o ..... d^o	1	10	—		
	Warr^t to Levin Powell ..... d^o ..... Loudoun	—	10	—		
	Warr^t to George Wythe ..... d^o ..... York	15	8	—		
	Warr^t to The Honble James Madison ..... d^o ..... Orange	14	—	—		
	Warr^t to Arch^d Stewart ..... d^o ..... Augusta	17	16	—		
	Warr^t to James Monroe ..... d^o ..... Spotsylv^a	15	16	—		
	Warr^t to Green Clay ..... d^o ..... Madison	3	10	—	521	.. 19 .. 4.
91.	Aggregate Fund					
	Warrant to The Estates of Joseph Baker a/c of the aggregate Fund in part of the Valuation of a Negro Executed pursuant to a Sentence of Mont^y County Court	102	18	4.		
57.	Genl Fund ... Warr^t to ... Ditto in full ..... d^o	102	18	4.	205	.. 16 .. 8
		Carr^d over			927	.. 19 .. 4

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Richmond, Auditors Office, 30th June 1788

Sundry Accounts ..... Dr. to Genl. Accot. of Warrts. Continued

12. Decr. Warrts. for Int. on Notes for Certs. for State & Contl. service

	State	Cont.	
Bro. up	£ 15..12..9.	61..15..7.	
Warrt. to Martin Davenport, 6 per cent. Int. Cert. dated 30 July 83		3..4..9.	
Warrt. to Edwd. Murdaw, Seaman ..... 26 Decr. 85	" 19..1.		
Warrt. to Roger Wallace ..... do.	" 19..1.		
	£ 17..10..11.	65..0..4 =	112..11..3.

Officers of Civil Government

Warrt. to Creed Taylor	Esqr.	Delegate from Cumberland	5..16..
Warrt. to John Stringer	do.	Northampton	20..4..
Warrt. to Cuthbert Bullett	do.	Prince Wm.	1..10..
Warrt. to Thomas Landley	do.	Montgomery	57..18..
Warrt. to John Stewart	do.	Greenbrier	5.. ..
Warrt. to George Clendenew	do.	do.	5.. ..
Warrt. to [illegible] Dade	do.	do.	1..10..
Warrt. to Willis Reddick	do.	Nansemond	1.. ..
Warrt. to John Thompson	do.	Fluvanna	4..2..
Warrt. to Wm. Payne	do.	do.	6..8..
Warrt. to Burwell Bassett	do.	New Kent	5..13..7.
Warrt. to Richard Johnson	do.	Lunenburg	7..5..3.
Warrt. to John Coleman	Senator	Charlotte	9.. .. 6.
Warrt. to John B. Scott	Delegate	Charlotte	8..7..
Warrt. to John Shoan	do.	King Wm.	2..16..6.
Warrt. to Spencer Roane	Senator	Ks. Queen	6..2..6.
Warrt. to Wm. W. Tree	Delegate	Rockbridge	2..10..
Warrt. to Richd. Isabell	Senator	Amherst	8..3..9.
Warrt. to Miles King	Delegate	Eliza. City	1..10..
Warrt. to Do.	do.	do.	16..16..9.
Warrt. to George Mason	do.	Stafford	17..19..
Warrt. to John P. Duvall	Senator	Monongalia	18..7..
Warrt. to Thomas H. Drew	Delegate	Cumberland	7..10..
Warrt. to James Webb	do.	Norfolk	18..13..6.
Warrt. to Wm. Grayson	do.	P. Wm.	16..18..
Warrt. to James Wilkerson	do.	Southampton	7..14..6.
Warrt. to Saml. Jordon Isabell	do.	Amherst	4..10..
Warrt. to Charles Clay	do.	Bedford	1..10..
Warrt. to Stephen Parkey	do.	Chesterfield	12..16..10.
Warrt. to Wm. A. Callis	do.	Louisa	3..10..
Warrt. to Do.	do.	do.	1..10..
Warrt. to Thomas Gordon	do.	Orange	16..16..
Warrt. to Edmd. Custis	do.	Accomack	26..18..
Warrt. to Danl. Fitzhugh	do.	K. George	7..8..
Warrt. to Richd. Morris	do.	Louisa	5..12..
Warrt. to Benj. Harrison	do.	Charles City	4.. ..
Warrt. to John Cazley	do.	Franklin	1..10..
Warrt. to John Gordon	Senator	Southampton	8..8..
Warrt. to Robert Rutherford	do.	Fred.	10..18..6.
Warrt. to Wm. Drinkard, doorkeeper to the Convention			15.. ..
Warrt. to Danl. Hart	do.		15.. ..
Warrt. to Wm. Drinkard, Jr.	do.		15.. ..
Carr. over:		373..3..2.	112..11..3.

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Richmond Auditor's Office, 30th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts ... Dr to Gen.l Acct of Warrants Cont.d £ 112..11..3.

Officers of Civil Government

Amt. Warrants to Members of Convention and the Gen.l Assembly brought over £375..3..2

			8.. 1.. —
Warrt. to Joseph Cabell, Esq.r	Delegate from	Buckingham	16.. 2.. —
Warrt. to Theod.k Bland	do.	P. George	16.. 2.. —
Warrt. to Thomas Anderson	do.	Richmond	7.. 9.. —
Warrt. to B. Peterson	do.	Greensville	7.. 13.. —
Warrt. to Henry Southall	do.	Charles City	5.. 15.. —
Warrt. to James Upshaw	do.	Elizr.	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Edm.d Curtis	do.	Accomack	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Rogers Alsh	do.	Fairfax	9.. 4.. —
Warrt. to Arch.d Woods	do.	Ohio	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Wm. Cabell	do.	Amherst	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Wm. Stewart	do.	Fauquier	8.. — .. —
Warrt. to Wm. Nutt	do.	[illegible]	2.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Jael Early	do.	Culpeper	— .. 10.. —
Warrt. to ... Ditto	do.	do.	2.. — .. —
Warrt. to George Lee Turberville	do.	Richmond	7.. 7.. —
Warrt. to John Tate	do.	Augusta	9.. 4.. —
Warrt. to John Clarke	do.	Campbell	8.. 17.. 3.
Warrt. to Robert Shield	do.	York	7.. 4.. 10.
Warrt. to John Dawson	do.	Pittsylvania	3.. — .. —
Warrt. to George Pegram	do.	Dinwiddie	5.. 14.. 7½
Warrt. to John Elliott	do.	Randolph	2.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Jon.a Parsons	do.	do.	2.. 10.. —
Warrt. to John Hunter	do.	Campbell	8.. 3.. —
Warrt. to Andrew Cowen	do.	Russell	16.. 16.. 6.
Warrt. to Thomas Carter	do.	do.	— .. 10.. —
Warrt. to John Dandridge	do.	New Kent	5.. 8.. —
Warrt. to Wm. M.c Ghee	do.	Rockbridge	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Natt.l Hunt	do.	Halifax	9.. 2.. 6.
Warrt. to John Langhorne	do.	Warwick	7.. 8.. —
Warrt. to Charles Campbell	do.	Rockbridge	9.. 12.. —
Warrt. to James W. Waller	do.	Lancaster	8.. 10.. 6.
Warrt. to Thomas Mest	do.	Warwick	7.. 8.. —
Warrt. to Rob.t Brackenridge	do.	Jefferson	8.. — .. —
Warrt. to Francis Preston	do.	Montgomery	12.. 16.. —
Warrt. to Edward Stevens	Senator	Culpeper &c.a	7.. — .. —
Warrt. to John Jones	Speaker	Senate	8.. — .. —
Warrt. to Levin Joynes	Senator	Accomack &c.a	13.. 8.. —
Warrt. to Thurwell Bassett	do.	New Kent &c.a	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to Thomas Lee	do.	—	5.. 4.. —
Warrt. to Wm. Russell	do.	Ohio &c.a	12.. 6.. 6.
Warrt. to Paul Loyall	do.	Norfolk &c.a	8.. 3.. 7.
Warrt. to Hugh Nelson	do.	York &c.a	6.. 17.. 8.
Warrt. to John Pride	do.	Amelia &c.a	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to John Page	do.	Gloucester &c.a	5.. 12.. 6.
Warrt. to Stephen Thompson Mason	do.	Loudoun &c.a	1.. 10.. —
Warrt. to John L. Wills	do.	Isle of Wight &c.a	7.. 12.. —
Warrt. to Turner Southall	do.	Henrico	2.. — .. —
Warrt. to Meriwether Smith	do.	Essex	13.. 2.. 6.
Warrt. to ... Dales	do.	...	1.. 10.. —
		Carr.d over	689.. 8.. 5½ 112.. 11.. 3

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Richmond, Auditor's Office, 30th June 1788.

Sundry Accounts Presented to Genl Assembly of Warrants for Officers of Civil Government.

Amount Warrants to Members of Convention & their Genl Assembly			cont	689	8 5½
Warrant to George Booker, Esqr	Delegate	from Elizabeth City		7	16 9½
Warrant to Allen Roberts	do	Mercer		1	10 —
Warrant to James Barnett	do	—		12	1 3
Warrant to Humphrey Brooke	do	Fauquier		15	5 3
Warrant to John Garland	do	Hanover		2	6 5
Warrant to French Strother	do	Culpeper		1	10 —
Warrant to Freeman Oppes	Serjeant at Arms	Delegates		8	10 —
Warrant to Humphrey Brooke	Clerk	to the Senate		10	— —
Warrant to Thomas Matthews, Esqr	Speaker	House Delegates		12	— —
Warrant to Ditto	Delegate	Lower Norfolk		1	10 —
Warrant to Saml Dewe	do	Gloucester		12	10 6
Warrant to Thomas Smith	do	Gloucester		1	10 —
Warrant to Philip Pendleton	do	Berkley		9	16 6
Warrant to Benjn Langford	do	Pittsylvania		10	3 —
Warrant to George Baxter	do	Rockingham		9	19 4
Warrant to Francis Thrittle	do	do		8	16 —
Warrant to Thomas Watkins	do	Halifax		9	10 6
Warrant to John Lowry	do	Washington		16	2 6
Warrant to John Carleton	do	do		1	10 —
Warrant to Peter Randolph	do	Amelia		6	4 —
Warrant to Matt. Chatham	do	Chesterfield		2	8 11
Warrant to Thomas Bedford	do	Charlotte		8	2 6
Warrant to John H. Briggs	do	Lunenburg		1	10 —
Warrant to Abraham Beatham	do	Cumberland		7	17 —
Warrant to Wm Norvill	do	James City		6	— —
Warrant to French Strother	do	Culpeper		1	10 —
Warrant to Binns Jones	do	Brunswick		1	10 —
Warrant to Ditto	do	do		—	10 —
Warrant to Thomas Edmunds	do	Lunenburg		1	— —
Warrant to Richd Shannon	do	Mecklenburgh		1	10 —
Warrant to Richd Brent	do	Stafford		7	8 8
Warrant to John Trigg	do	Bedford		1	10 —
Warrant to Ditto	do	do		—	10 —
Warrant to Thomas Jefferies	do	Bedford		9	9 3
Warrant to Constant Perkins	do	Pittsylvania		10	18 6
Warrant to Abraham Penn	do	Henry		9	16 6
Warrant to Joshua Prentis	do	Franklin		12	1 3
Warrant to Anthony Lewis	do	Carolina		5	15 3
Warrant to Thomas Cooper	do	Henry		1	10 —
Warrant to Richd B. Lee	do	do		8	18 6
Warrant to John Stringer	do	Accomack		1	10 —
Warrant to Thomas Cooper	do	Henry		2	10 —
Warrant to John Guerrant	do	Goochland		1	10 —
Warrant to Francis Corbin	do	Middlesex		16	1 —
Warrant to Thomas Paul Doorkeeper		Senate		2	— —
Warrant to Wm Hicks	do	Delegates		2	— —
Warrant to Wm Drinkard	do	do		4	— —
Warrant to Wm Drinkard, jr	do	do		2	— —
Warrant to Daniel Hiss	do	Senate		2	— —
Carried over				997	7 8	112 11 3

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Richmond, Auditor's Office, 30th June 1788

Sundry Accounts D.o to Gen.l Acc.t for Warr.ts drawn £ 112..11..3.

2. Officers of Civil Government

Warr.t to Mem.bers of Convention & the Gen.l Assembly — Pro.t Forward ... 997..7..8

Warr.t to Edmund Pendleton, Jun.r as Clk to the Committee of Privileges ... 8..—..—

Warr.t to Lemuel Cocke, Esq.r — Delegate from Surry ... 6..—..—

Warr.t to John Pope ... Senator ... Fairfax ... 8..—..8

Warr.t to Edmund Harrison — Delegate ... Prince George ... 4..18..6.

Warr.t to Robert Bolling ... do ... Dinwiddie ... 5..2..6.

Warr.t to Law.r Battaile ... do ... Carr.n ... 6..2..6.

Warr.t to Green Clay ... do ... Madison ... 1..10..—

Warr.t to Walker Tomlin ... do ... Richmond ... 1..10..—

Warr.t to Wm Dark ... do ... Berkley ... —..10..—

Warr.t to Joseph Swearingen ... do ... do ... 10..16..1.

Warr.t to Tarlton Woodson ... do ... Prince Edward ... 7..5..4

Warr.t to Willis Wilson ... do ... Norfolk ... 8..4..—

Warr.t to Wm Heath ... do ... Hardy ... 12..8..—

Warr.t to Andrew Meade ... do ... Brunswick ... 4..16..8.

Warr.t to John Pierce ... do ... James City ... 6..—..—

Warr.t to Wm Lowther ... do ... Harrison ... 2..10..—

Warr.t to Wm Nelson ... do ... York ... 6..7..9.

Warr.t to Miles Selden ... do ... Henrico ... 4..—..—

Warr.t to Rich.d Lee ... do ... Westmoreland ... 8..8..5.

Warr.t to Lewis Burwell ... do ... Mecklenburg ... 7..16..—

Warr.t to Larkin Smith ... do ... King & Queen ... 3..10..—

Warr.t to Francis Walker ... do ... Albemarle ... 3..—..—

Warr.t to James Gordon ... do ... Orange ... 7..10..—

Warr.t to The Hon.ble Edm.d Pendleton for 1 Wrgts 1,132..0..5.

— Salary as a Chancellor due this day 175..0..0.

Warr.t to The Hon.ble Richard Cary, for one qrs

Salary as a Judge of the Adm.y due this day 75..0..0.

Warr.t to Wm Rose — Jailer, 9 qrs Salary @ £25..—..— 175..—..— 1,307..0..5.

72. Surplus Fund

Warr.t to Wm Alexander & Co.y and others to reimburse them for so much p.d on Acc.t 3 p.r Ct. add.l duty on Tob.o Exported ... 95..8..— 95..8..—

127. Expences of Scouts and Rangers

Warr.t to John Davison for services as a Scout in Harrison County — P. Act Ass.y of Oct.r 1787 ... 20..5..—

Warr.t to Thomas Barber ... ditto ... 20..5..—

Warr.t to Jesse Hughes ... ditto ... 19..10..—

Warr.t to Samel Tanner ... ditto ... 19..10..—

Warr.t to Jon.a Cotton — for Rations furn.d Rangers ... 2..7..6.

Warr.t to Benj.n Robinson ... ditto ... 6..1..6.

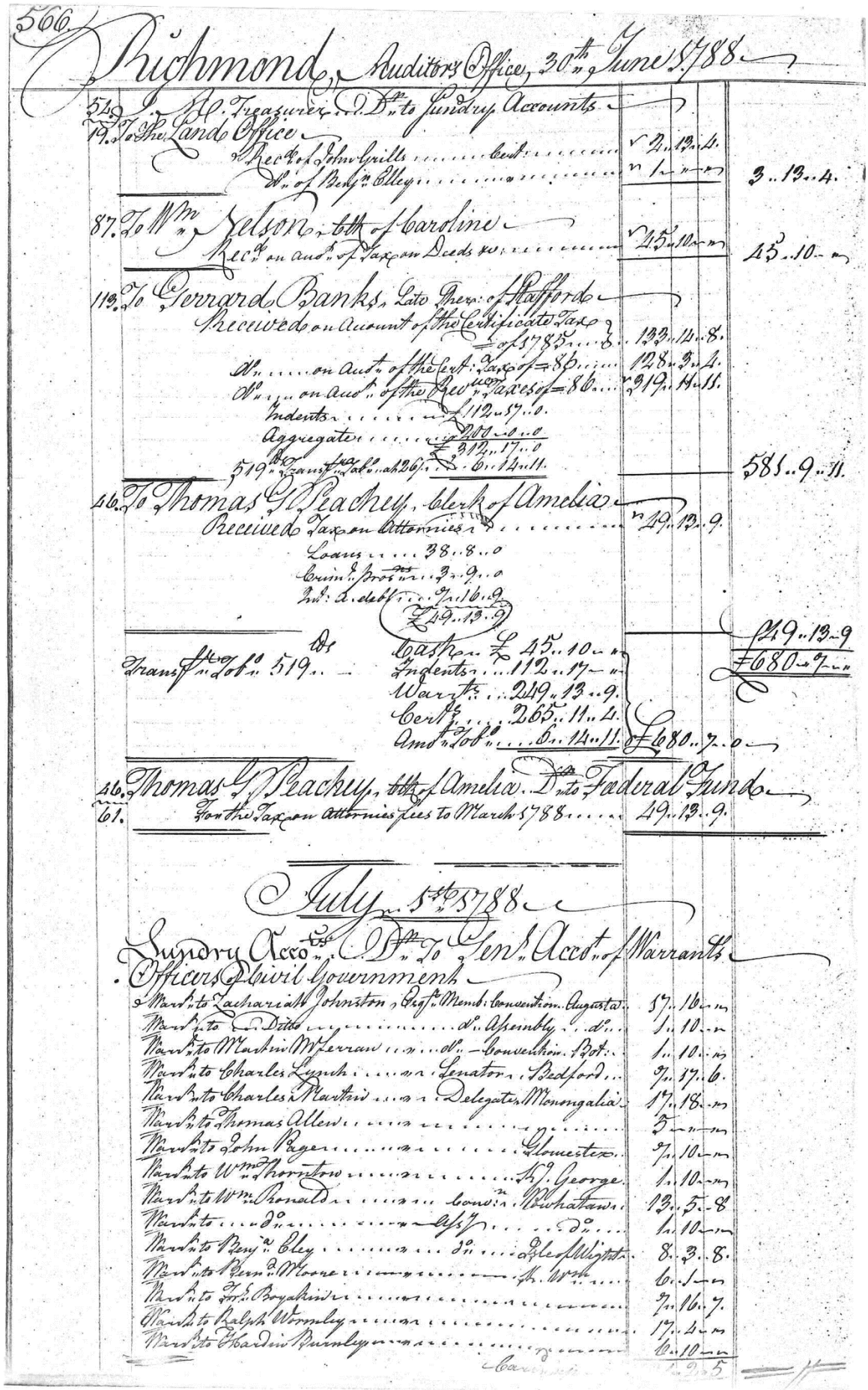
Warr.t to Josiah Davison for services as a Scout in d.o Co.ty ... 13..5..—

Warr.t to Jos. Wilkinson ... ditto ... 12..15..—

Warr.t to Peter Cornelius ... ditto ... 12..15..—

Warr.t to Jacob Richards ... ditto ... 12..15..— 139..9..—

Carr.d up — £ 1,654..8..8



566

Richmond, Auditor's Office, 30th June 1788

512 19. The Treasurer D.r to Sundry Accounts

To the Land Office

Rec.d of John Grills ..... Cert ..... £ 2..12..4.

Do. of Benj.a Eley ..... " 1..--..-- 3..12..4.

87. To Wm Nelson, Clk of Caroline

Rec.d on Aud.s Warr.t for Tax on Deeds &c ..... £ 15..10..-- 15..10..--

113. To Gerrard Banks, late Rec.r of Stafford

Received on Account of the Certificate Tax of 1785 ..... £ 133..11..8.

Do. ..... on Aud.s Warr.t for Cert.s Tax of 86 ..... 128..3..4.

Do. ..... on Aud.s Warr.t for Rec.d Taxes of 86 ..... 319..14..11.

Indents ..... £ 112..17..0.

Aggregate ..... £ 200..--..0

£ 312..17..0

519 Do. Transf.d fr.m Ledg.r A. fol.o 126 ..... £ 6..12..11. 581..9..11.

46. To Thomas G. Peachey, Clerk of Amelia

Received Tax on Attorneys ..... £ 49..13..9.

Loans ..... 38..8..0

Crim.l Prosec.ns ..... 3..9..0

2nd: a. debt ..... 7..16..9

£ 49..13..9 £ 49..13..9

Do. Transf.d fr.m Ledg.r A. fol.o 519 .. — Cash ..... £ 45..10..--

Indents ..... 112..17..--

Warr.ts ..... 219..13..9.

Cert.s ..... 265..11..4.

Amo.s fr.m Ledg.r A. fol.o 508 ..... 6..12..11. £ 680..7..0 £ 680..7..--

46. To Thomas G. Peachey, Clk of Amelia D.o to Federal Fund

61. For the Tax on Attorneys fees to March 1788 ..... 49..13..9.

July 1st 1788

Sundry Accounts D.r To Gen.l Acco.t of Warrants

Officers of Civil Government

Warr.t to Zachariah Johnston, Dep.s Memb.s Convention Augusta ..... 57..16..--

Warr.t to ... Do. ... do. ... Assembly ... do. ..... 5..10..--

Warr.t to Martin M.Kerran ... do. ... Convention Bot.t ..... 1..10..--

Warr.t to Charles Lynch ... Senator ... Bedford ..... 9..17..6.

Warr.t to Charles Martin ... Delegate ... Monongalia ..... 17..18..--

Warr.t to Thomas Allen ..... 3..--..--

Warr.t to John Page ... Gloucester ..... 9..10..--

Warr.t to Wm Thornton ... K.g George ..... 1..10..--

Warr.t to Wm Ronald ... Com.s ... Kentuckey ..... 13..5..8

Warr.t to ... Do. ... do. ... do. ..... 1..10..--

Warr.t to Benj.a Eley ... Do. ... Clerk Elizab.th City ..... 8..3..8.

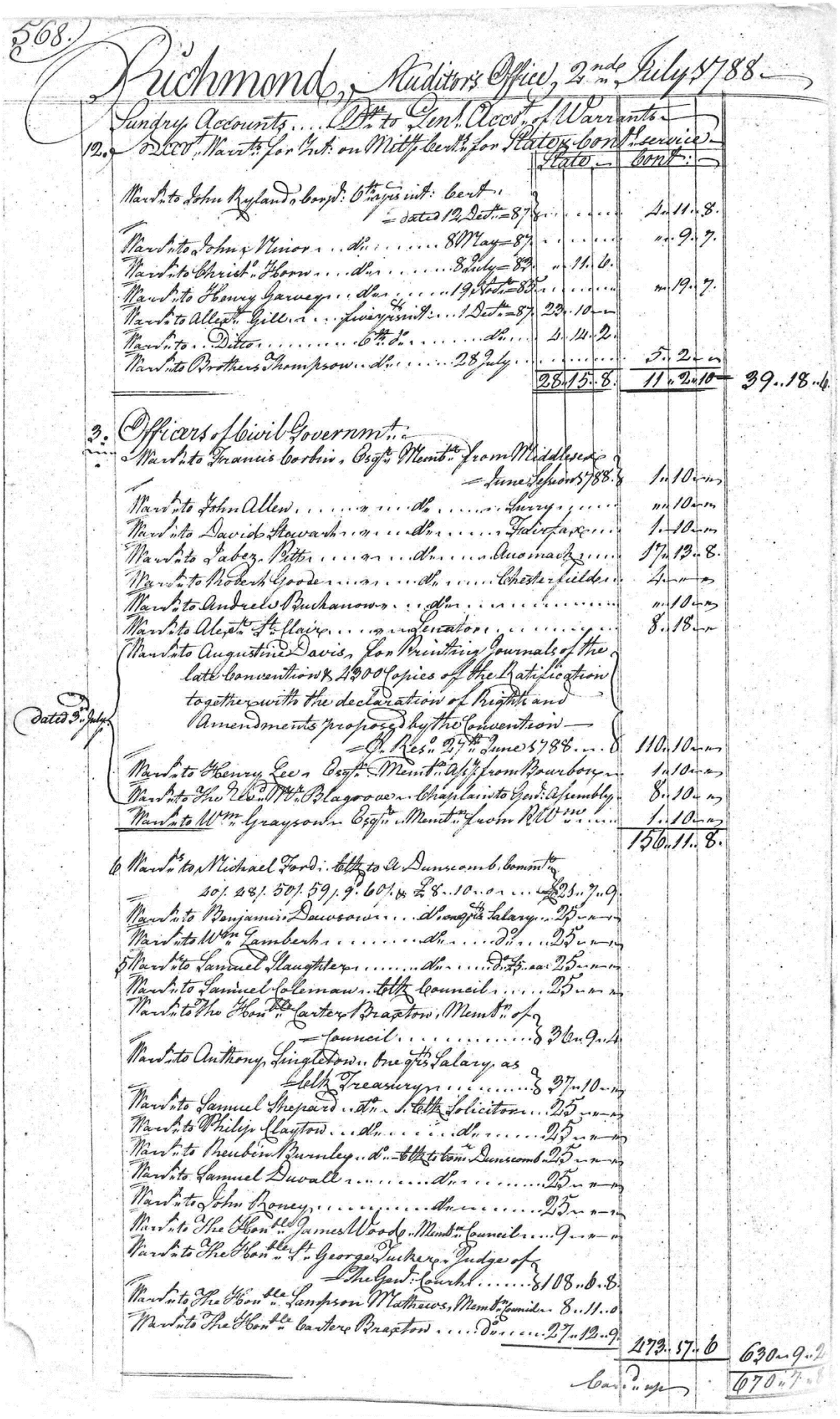
Warr.t to Benj.a Moore ... St. Worth ..... 6..5..--

Warr.t to W.m E. Boyakin ..... 9..16..7.

Warr.t to Ralph Wormley ..... 17..4..--

Warr.t to Hardin Burnley ..... 6..10..--

Carried ... 2..9..5



568.

Richmond, Auditor's Office, 2nd July 1788

Sundry Accounts .... Dr. to Gen. Accot. of Warrants

12. Accot. Warrts. for Cash on Mutl. Certfs. for State & Cont. service

	State	Cont.	
Warrt. to John Ryland & Compy. 6 mos. int. Cert. dated 12 Decr. 87		2..11..8.	
Warrt. to John Minor ... do. ... 8 May 87		..9..7.	
Warrt. to Christr. Horn ... do. ... 8 July 87		11..6.	
Warrt. to Henry Garvey ... do. ... 19 Octr. 87		..19..7.	
Warrt. to Alexr. Gillespie ... Surveyg. 1 Decr. 87	23..10..		
Warrt. to ... Ditto ... 6th Do. ... do.	2..14..2.		
Warrt. to Brothers Thompson ... do. ... 28 July		5..2..	
	28..15..8.	11..2..10	39..18..6

3. Officers of Civil Government

Warrt. to Francis Corbin, Esqr. Membr. from Middlesex, June Sessions 1788	1..10..	
Warrt. to John Allen ... do. ... Surry	..10..	
Warrt. to David Stewart ... do. ... Fairfax	1..10..	
Warrt. to Jabez Pitts ... do. ... Amelia	17..13..8.	
Warrt. to Roderk. Goode ... do. ... Chesterfield	4..	
Warrt. to Andrew Buchanon ... do. ...	..10..	
Warrt. to Alexr. St. Clair ... Sergeant	8..18..	
Warrt. to Augustine Davis, for Printing Journals of the late Convention & 4300 Copies of the Ratification together with the declaration of Rights & Amendments proposed by the Convention — H. Res. 27th June 1788 (dated 3 July)	110..10..	
Warrt. to Henry Lee Esqr. Membr. Alt. from Bourbon	1..10..	
Warrt. to Revd. Wm. Blagrove ... Chaplain to Genl. Assembly	8..10..	
Warrt. to Wm. Grayson Esqr. Membr. from Prince William	1..10..	
	156..11..8.	

6 Warrt. to Michael Ford ... 6th to A. Duncomb. Comms. 50/. 28/. 50/. 59/. 9/. 60/. & 28..10.. ... 225..7..9.

Warrt. to Benjamin Dawson ... 1 Qrs. Salary ... 25..

Warrt. to Wm. Lamberth ... do. ... do. ... 25..

5 Warrt. to Samuel Slaughter ... do. ... do. ... 25..

Warrt. to Samuel Coleman ... 6th Council ... 25..

Warrt. to The Hon. Carter Braxton, Membr. of Council ... 36..9..4

Warrt. to Anthony Singleton ... one Qrs. Salary, as 6th Treasury ... 37..10..

Warrt. to Samuel Shepard ... do. ... 6th Solicitor ... 25..

Warrt. to Philip Clayton ... do. ... do. ... 25..

Warrt. to Reuben Burnley ... do. ... 6th to Com. Duncomb ... 25..

Warrt. to Samuel Duvall ... do. ... 25..

Warrt. to John Roney ... do. ... 25..

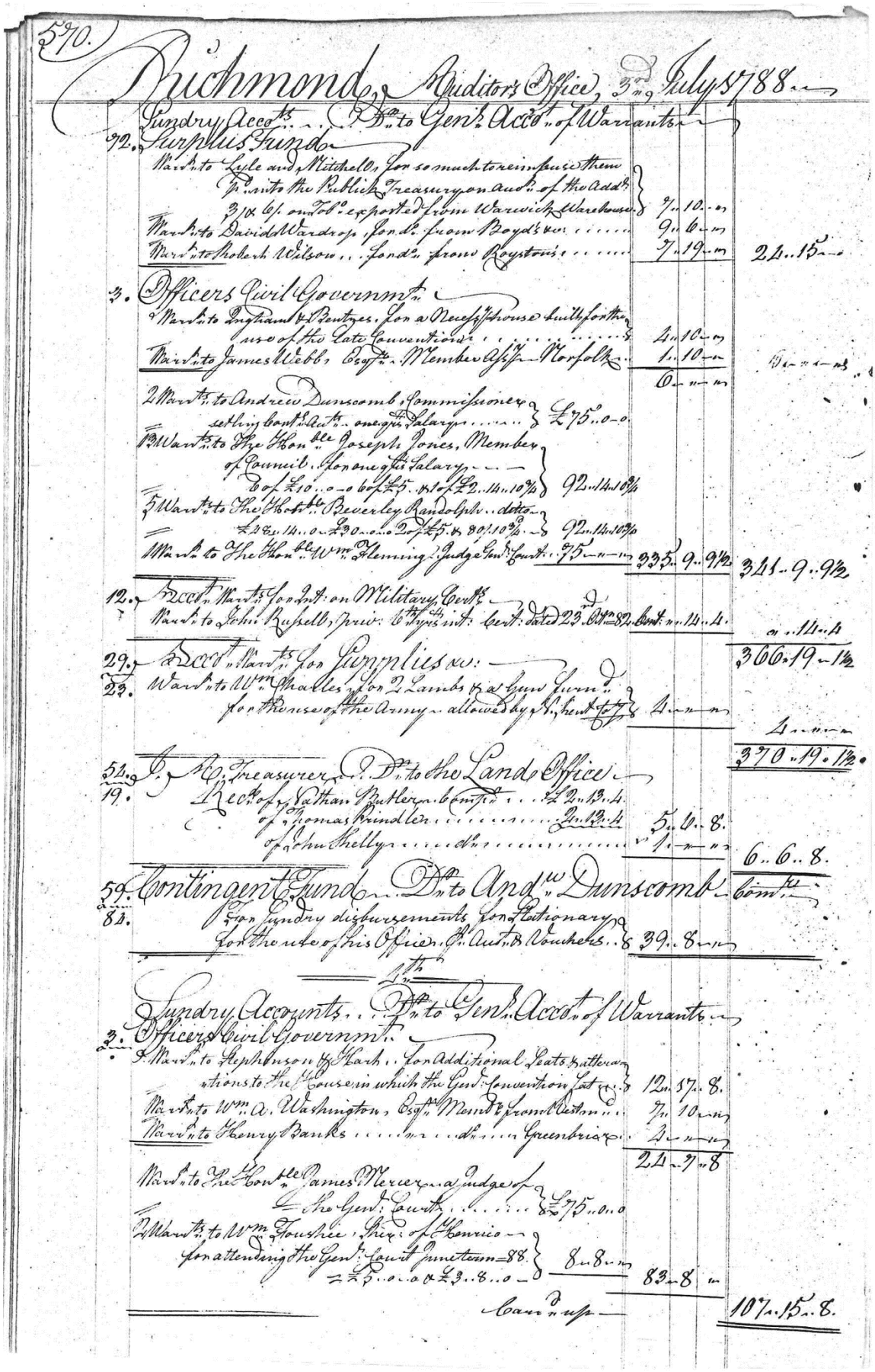
Warrt. to The Hon. James Wood ... Membr. Council ... 9..

Warrt. to The Hon. St. George Tucker ... Judge of the Genl. Court ... 108..6..8.

Warrt. to The Hon. Sampson Matthews, Membr. Council ... 8..11..0

Warrt. to The Hon. Carter Braxton ... Do. ... 27..12..9.

	473..17..6	630..9..2
Carr. up		670..7..8



570.

Richmond Auditor's Office 3rd July 1788

Sundry Accots ... Dr to Genl Accot of Warrants

72. Surplus Fund

Warr to Lyle and Mitchell for so much to reimburse them paid into the Publick Treasury on acct of the Add 3/ & 6/ on Tob exported from Warwick Warehouse } 7..10..

Warr to David Wardrop for do from Boyds ... } 9..6..

Warr to Robert Wilson ... for do from Roystons ... } 7..19.. 24..15..

3. Officers Civil Government

Warr to Ingram & Pentyres for a Necessary house built for the use of the late Convention ... } 4..10..

Warr to James Webb Esqr Member elect Norfolk ... } 1..10.. 6..

2 Warrs to Andrew Dunscomb Commissioner settling Court Accts one qrs Salary ... } £75..0..0

13 Warrs to The Hon Joseph Jones, Member of Council for one qrs Salary ... 6 of £10..0..0 6 of £5..16..10 1 of £2..14..10 } 92..14..10 3/4

5 Warrs to The Hon Beverley Randolph ditto £20 £14..0 £30..0..0 2 of £5..16..10 3/4 } 92..14..10 3/4

Warr to The Hon Wm Fleming Judge Genl Court } 75.. 335..9..9 1/2 341..9..9 1/2

12. Accot Warrs for Int on Military Certs

Warr to John Russell for 6 Mths int Cert dated 23 Oct 87 } 11..4.. 11..4..

366..19..1 1/2

29. Accot Warrs for Supplies &c

23. Warr to Wm Charles for 2 Lambs & a Gun ... for the use of the Army allowed by Cert } 4.. 4..

370..19..1 1/2

52. Treasurer D. D. to the Land Office

19. Rec of Nathan Butler 6 Comp ... £2..13..4

of Thomas Brindley ... 2..13..4 } 5..6..8.

of John Kelly ... 1.. 6..6..8.

Contingent Fund Dr to Andw Dunscomb 6 Comp

59. 83. For sundry disbursements for Stationary for the use of his Office & Auditors Vouchers } 39..8..

Sundry Accounts ... Dr to Genl Accot of Warrants

2. Officers Civil Government

Warr to Stephenson & Clark for Additional Seats & alterations to the House in which the Genl Convention sat } 12..17..8.

Warr to Wm A. Washington Esqr Member from Weston ... 7..10..

Warr to Henry Banks ... do ... Greenbrier ... 2.. 24..7..8

Warr to The Hon James Mercer a Judge of the Genl Court ... } £75..0..0

2 Warrs to Wm Tousey Sheriff of Henrico for attending the Genl Court June term 88. } 8..8.. 83..8..

£75..0..0 & £3..8..0

Carr up 107..15..8.

(573)

Richmond Auditor's Office 7th July 1788

54. The Treasurer Dr. to John Slaughter late Sheriff Culpeper
96. Received on Acct. of the Certificate tax of 1783 ..... 104..13..—

41. Robert Davis late Sheriff Rockingham Dr. to Sundry Accounts
For the Taxes due for 1786 — Previous / Certificate

61. Federal Fund
For Amount of the Land & Equal books .....
For the Moiety Tax on 609 Slaves at 10/ ..... 152..5..—

65. Military Int. Fund
For the other Moiety of the Slave tax 152..5..— 153..—..—

57. Genl. Fund 1101 Whites at 10/ £550..10..0 ..... 550..10..—
9105 Cattle ... 3 ... 113..16..3 ..... 113..16..3
403½ Horses ... 2/ ... 403..8..— ..... 403..8..—
22 Studs ... 10..16..— 1078..10..3/ 2..4..—
10. To Amo. Cert. Tax.

8th

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Genl. Accot. of Warrants

3. Officers civil Government
Warr. to The Hon. Edmd. Paul Carrington a Quarter's Salary as Judge of the Genl. Court the Due 30 Ult. 75..—..—
Warr. to The Hon. Peter Lyons ... Ditto ..... 75..—..—
Warr. to Leighton Wood, Esqr. Solicitor ... Ditto ..... 75..—..—
Warr. to James Innes, Esqr. Attorney General ..... 50..—..—
275..—..—

Warr. to James Innes, Esqr. Delegate in Convention from Williamsburgh 13..—..— 288..—..—

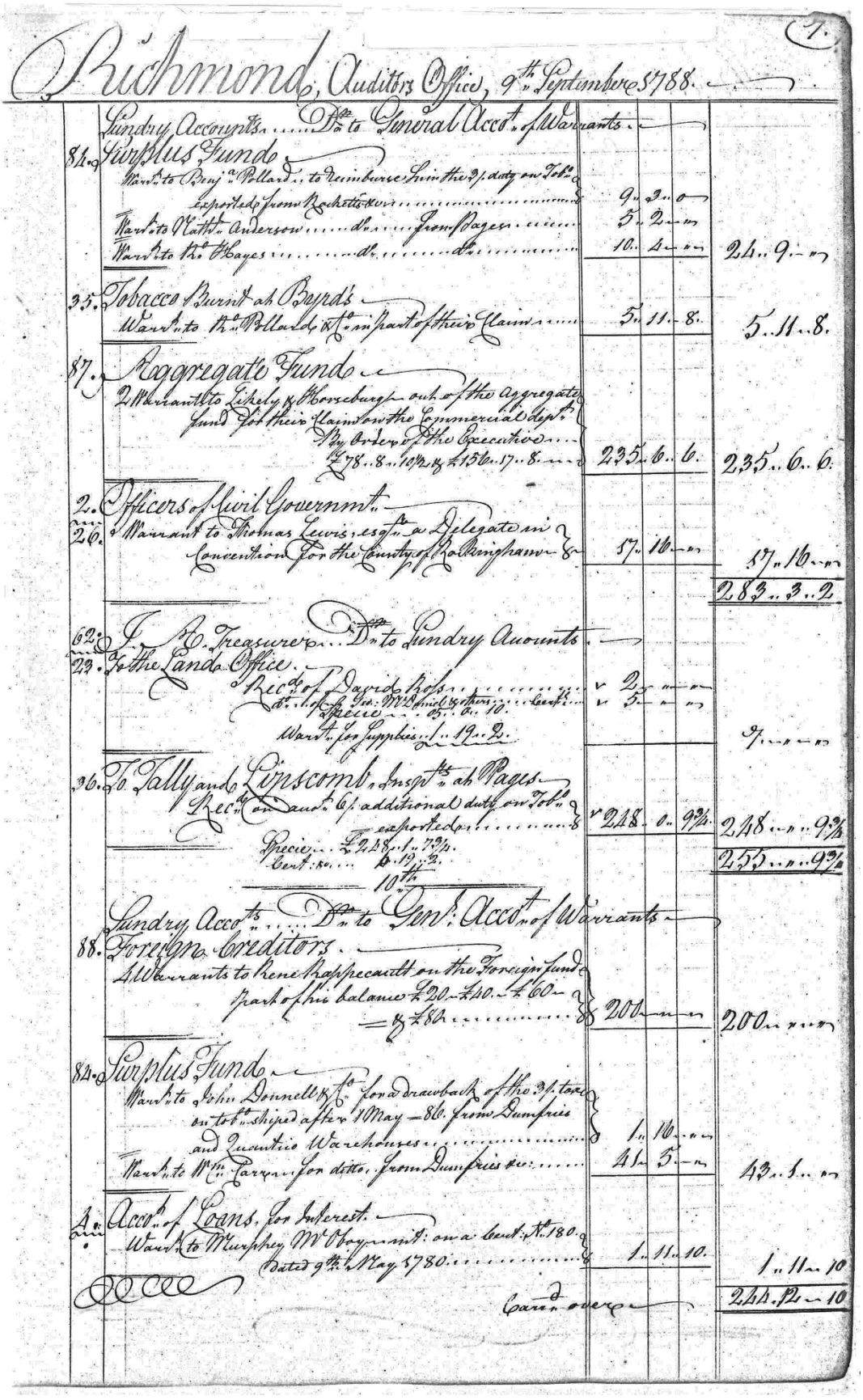
5. Accot. Loans for Int.
Warr. to Dabid Jamieson in. on a Cert. for £106 dated 22 Feb. 87 = 80 ... 13..1.
Warr. to Ditto ... dr. ... 391 ... 22 July = 78 ... 7..4..—
Warr. to Ditto ... dr. ... 729 ... 5 July = 79 ... 10..8..7.
Warr. to Ditto ... dr. ... 500 ... 7 May = 79 ... 3..6..—
Warr. to Ditto ... dr. ... 551 ... 2 Sept. = 78 ... 13..4..—
Warr. to Fielding Lewis ... dr. ... 412 ... 29 July = 78 ... 6..—..— 40..15..8

12. Accot. Warrs. for Int. on Military Certs.
Cont.
Warr. to John Robertson, Pris. Sup. Int. Cert. dated 26 Sept. = 82 ... 1..11..2.
Warr. to Seth Williams ... dr. ... 24 Dec. = 81 ... 1..3..10.
Warr. to John Wright ... dr. ... 14 June = 82 ... 2..9..2. 4..1..2

59. Contingent Fund By Ord. of the Executive
23. Warrant to Wm. Rose out of the Contingent Fund for Supplies furnished the Criminals in the Public Jail to the 3d. instant Out of any Money ..... 72..6..— 72..6..—

405..2..10

208. Auditor's Journal, 1 September 1788–19 March 1789 (excerpts).[1]



Richmond, Auditor's Office, 9th September 1788.

Sundry Accounts ..... Dr to General Acct of Warrants

84. Surplus Fund
Ward to Benj. Pollard to Reimburse Him the 3 p. duty on Tob. exported from Rochetts 9.3.0
Ward to Nath. Anderson ..... do ..... from Sayers ..... 5.2.—
Ward to Th. Sayers ..... do ..... do ..... 10.4.— 24.9.—

35. Tobacco Burnt at Byrd's
Ward to Th. Pollard & Co. in part of their Claim ..... 5.11.8. 5.11.8.

87. Aggregate Fund
2 Warrants to Lisely & Horseburgh out of the Aggregate Fund for their Claim on the Commercial dept. By Order of the Executive ..... £78.8.10½ & £156.17.8 ..... 235.6.6. 235.6.6.

2. Officers of Civil Government
26. Warrant to Thomas Lewis, esq. a Delegate in Convention for the County of Rockingham ..... 17.16.— 17.16.—
283.3.2

62. J. C. Treasurer ..... Dr to Sundry Accounts
23. To the Land Office.
Rec'd of David Rose ..... v 2.—.—
Rec'd of Geo. Winston & others ..... Cert's v 5.—.—
Specie 05.0.10
Ward for Supplies ..... 19.2. 97.—.—

36. To Tally and Lipscomb, Insp.rs ab Pages
Rec'd on Acc.t 6 p. additional duty on Tob.o exported ..... v 248.0.9¾ 248.0.9¾
Specie £248.1.7¾
Cert.s 0.19.2
10th 255.0.9¾

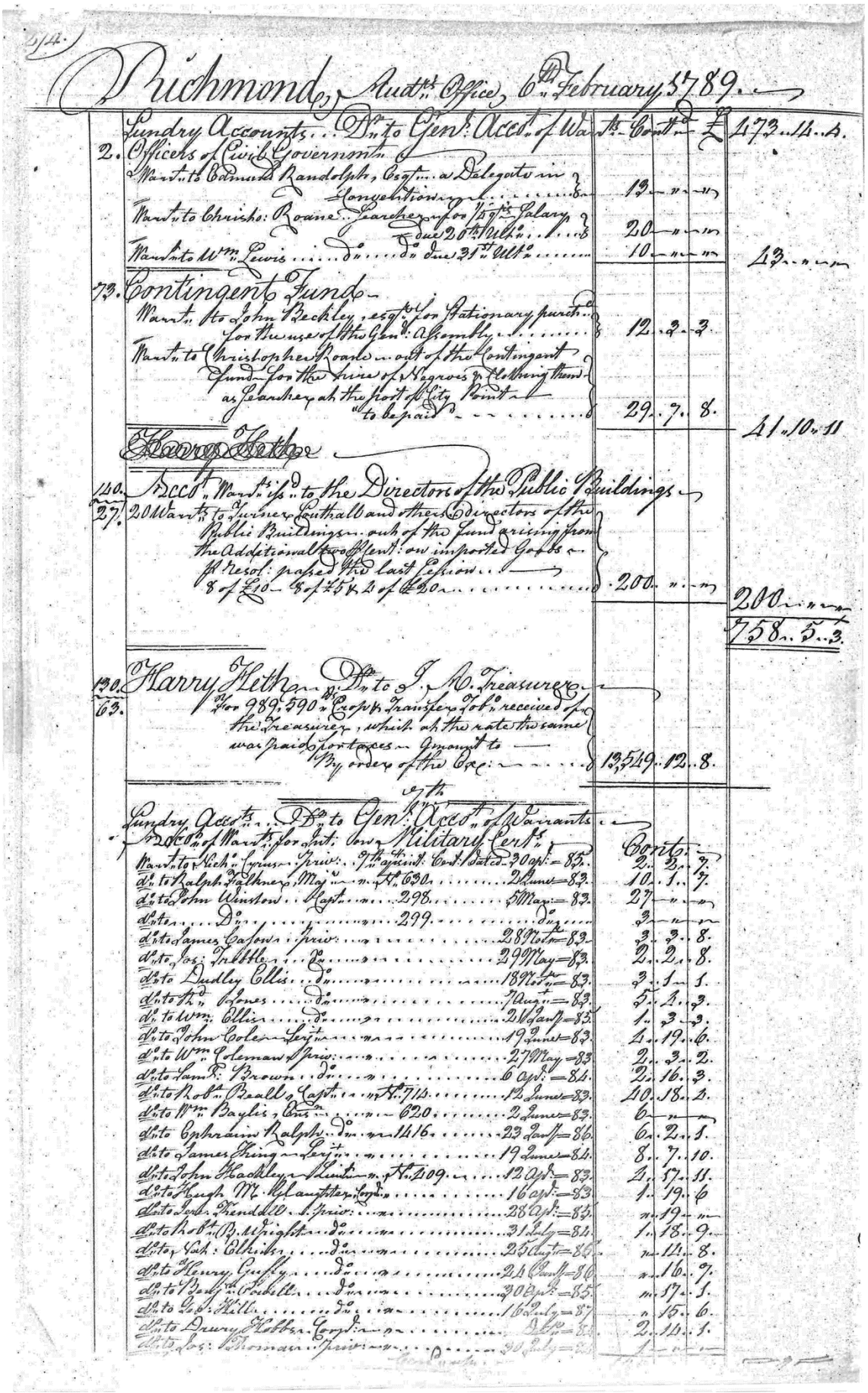
Sundry Accounts ..... Dr to Gen.l Acct of Warrants

88. Foreign Creditors.
4 Warrants to Rene Happrecandt on the Foreign fund part of his balance £20.—.— £40.—.— £60.—.— = £180 ..... 200.—.— 200.—.—

84. Surplus Fund
Ward to John Donnell & Co. for Drawback of the 3 p. tax on Tob.o shipd after 10 May 86. from Dumfries and Quantico Warehouses ..... 1.10.—
Ward to Wm. Farrar for ditto. from Dumfries &c. ..... 41.5.— 43.1.—

A. Acct of Loans for Interest.
Ward to Murphey M'Boyman & Co. on a Cert. No. 180. dated 9th May 1780 ..... 1.11.10. 1.11.10
Carried over 244.5.10

1. MS, Account Book, Item 22-D, Accession No. 106, Virginia State Library.



Richmond, Aud.ts Office, 6th February 1789.

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Gen.l Acco.t of Warrants ... Cont.d ... £ 473..14..8.

2. Officers of Civil Government

Warr.t to Edmund Randolph, Cont.l ... a Delegate in Convention ... 8 ... 13 ... " ... "

Warr.t to Christo.r Roane ... Teacher ... for ½ a Qr.s Salary due 20th Feb.y ... 8 ... 20 ... " ... "

Warr.t to Wm. Lewis ... do ... do ... due 25th Feb.y ... 10 ... " ... " ... 43 ... " ... "

73. Contingent Fund

Warr.t to John Beckley, esq.r for Stationary purch.d for the use of the Gen.l Assembly ... 12 ... 2 ... 3

Warr.t to Christopher Roane ... out of the Contingent Fund for the hire of Negroes & Clothing them as Teachers at the Port of City Point ... to be paid ... 29 ... 7 ... 8 ... 41 ... 10 ... 11

Harry Heth

120. Acco.t Warr.ts iss.d to the Directors of the Public Buildings

27. 200 Warr.t to Jas. Turner, Cuthall and other Directors of the Public Buildings ... out of the Fund arising from the Additional Tax of 1 Cent: on imported Goods &c. pr Resol: passed the last Session ... 8 of £20 ... 8 of 75 & 2 of 120 ... 200 ... " ... " ... 200 ... " ... "

758 ... 5 ... 3.

130. Harry Heth ... Dr. to J. R. Treasurer

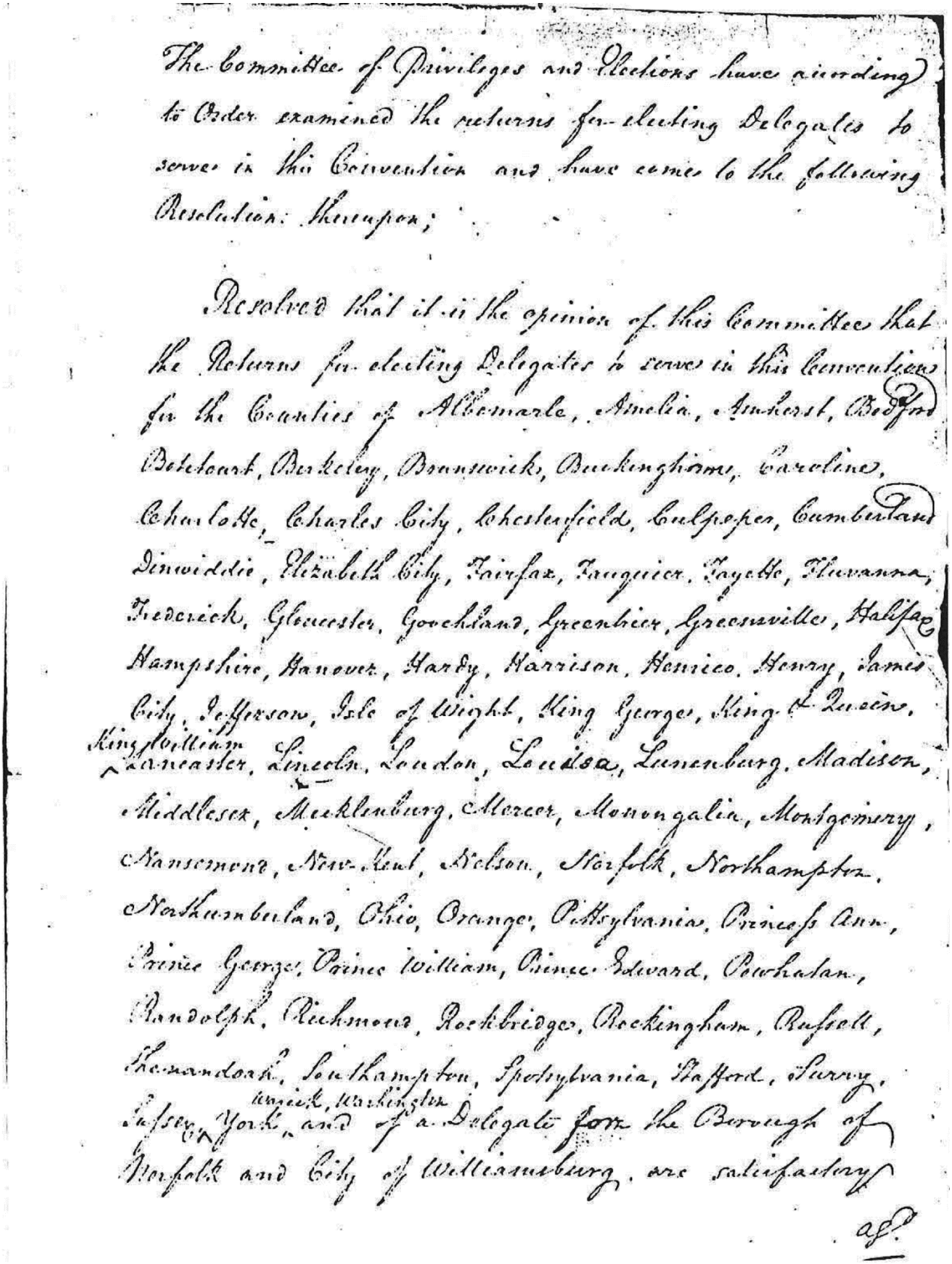
63. Ans.r for 989.590 Copy Transfers &c. received of the Treasurer, which at the rates the same was paid for Taxes ... Amount to ... By order of the Exc: ... 13,549 ... 12 ... 8.

Sundry Accounts ... Dr. to Gen.l Acco.t of Warrants ... Cont.d

2060 Warr.ts for Ant.t Cons.l Military Certs.

Warr.t to Nich.s Lynch ... Surv.r ... 9th Regt. Cont.l Dated 30 Apr.l		85.	2	2	7
d.o to Ralph Falkner, Maj.r ... 630	2 June	83.	10	1	7
d.o to John Winston ... Capt. ... 298	5 May	83.	27	"	"
d.o to ... do ... 299	do		3	"	"
d.o to James Cajow ... Surv.r ... 289	10 Nov.r	83.	3	3	8
d.o to Jos.h Tuttle ... do ... 299	29 May	83.	2	2	8
d.o to Dudley Ellis ... do ... 189	10 Nov.r	83.	3	1	1
d.o to Jn.o Jones ... do ... 70	7 Aug.t	83.	5	1	3
d.o to Wm. Ellis ... do ... 266	26 Jan.y	85.	1	3	3
d.o to John Coles ... Serj.t ... 19	2 June	83.	2	19	6
d.o to Wm. Coleman ... Surv.r ... 27	29 May	83.	2	3	2
d.o to Sam.l Brown ... do ... 6	6 Apl.	84.	2	16	3
d.o to Robt. Beall, Capt. ... 714	12 June	83.	20	18	2
d.o to Wm. Baylis, Ens.n ... 620	2 June	83.	6	"	"
d.o to Ephraim Ralph ... do ... 1416	23 Jan.y	86.	6	2	1
d.o to James Thing ... Serj.t ... 19	2 June	84.	8	7	10
d.o to John Hackley, Lieut. ... 709	12 Apl.	83.	2	17	11
d.o to Hugh M.c Clanahan, Lieut. ... 16	6 Apl.	83.	1	19	6
d.o to Jos.h Trendell ... Surv.r ... 28	6 Apl.	85.	"	19	"
d.o to Robt. B. Wright ... do ... 31	2 July	84.	1	18	9
d.o to Jos.h Elkins ... do ... 25	1 Aug.t	86.	"	14	8
d.o to Henry Guy ... do ... 24	1 Jan.y	86.	"	16	9
d.o to Peter Isabell ... do ... 302	6 Apl.	85.	"	17	1
d.o to Jos.h Hill ... do ... 162	2 July	87.	"	15	6
d.o to Drury Hobbs, Corp.l ... do ...	do	85.	2	16	1
d.o to Jos.h Thomas ... Surv.r ... 20	2 July	83.	1	"	"

209-A. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report, 4 June 1788.[1]

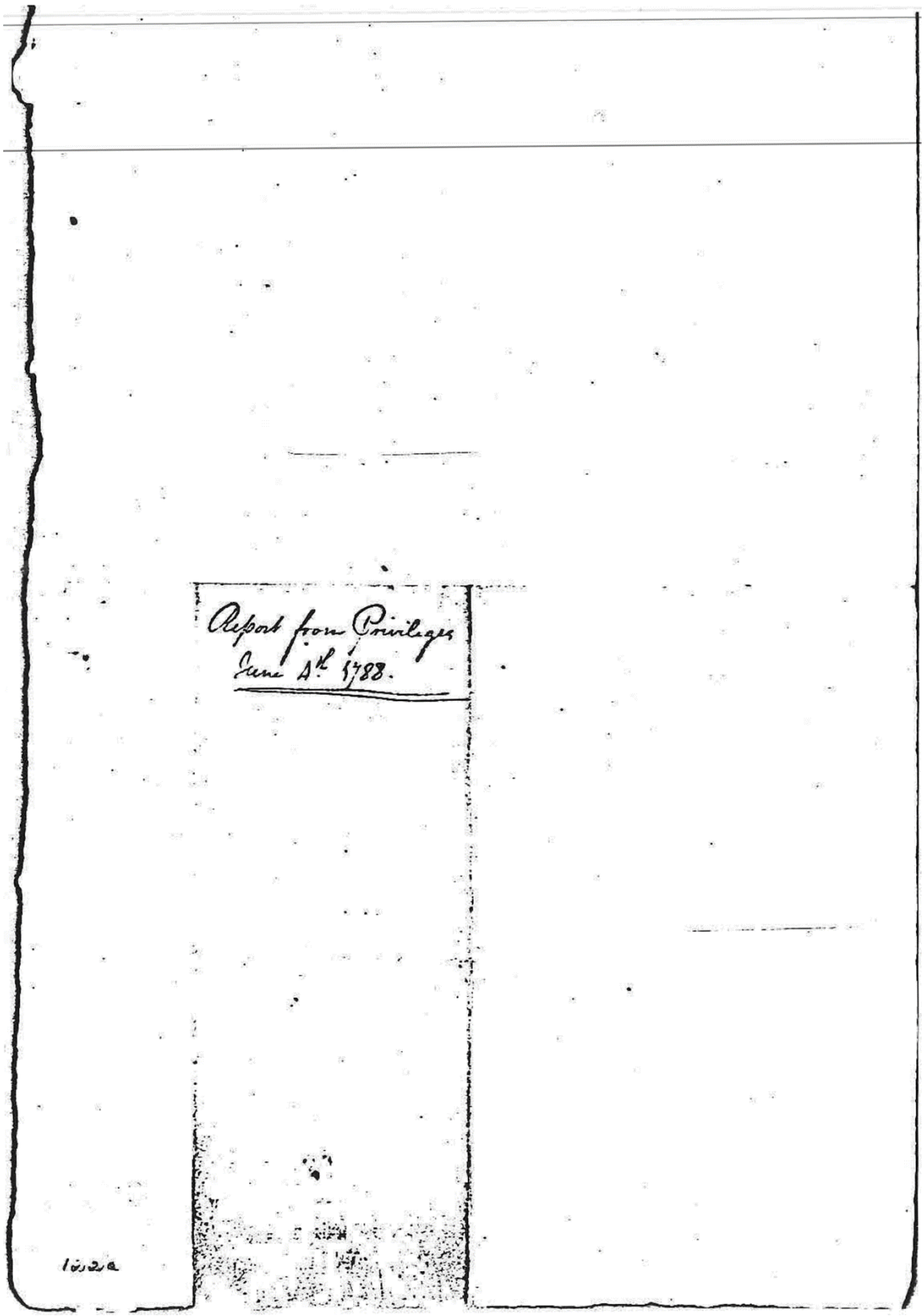


The Committee of Privileges and Elections have according to Order examined the returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention and have come to the following Resolution thereupon;

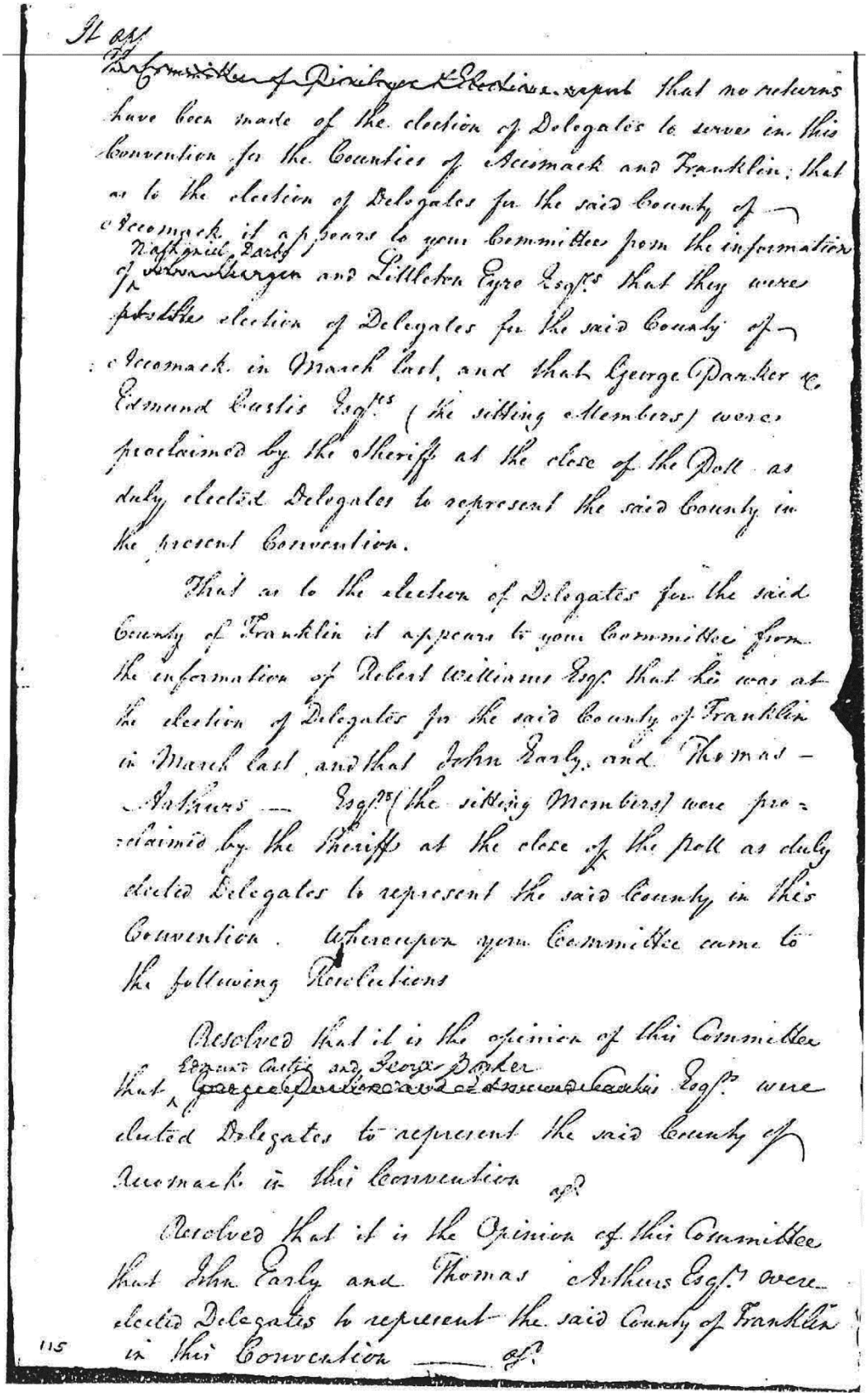
Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Returns for electing Delegates to serve in this Convention for the Counties of Albemarle, Amelia, Amherst, Bedford Botetourt, Berkeley, Brunswick, Buckingham, Caroline, Charlotte, Charles City, Chesterfield, Culpeper, Cumberland Dinwiddie, Elizabeth City, Fairfax, Fauquier, Fayette, Fluvanna, Frederick, Gloucester, Goochland, Greenbrier, Greensville, Halifax Hampshire, Hanover, Hardy, Harrison, Henrico, Henry, James City, Jefferson, Isle of Wight, King George, King & Queen, King William, Lancaster, Lincoln, Loudon, Louisa, Lunenburg, Madison, Middlesex, Mecklenburg, Mercer, Monongalia, Montgomery, Nansemond, New-Kent, Nelson, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Ohio, Orange, Pittsylvania, Princess Ann, Prince George, Prince William, Prince Edward, Powhatan, Randolph, Richmond, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Russell, Shenandoah, Southampton, Spotsylvania, Stafford, Surry, Sussex, Warwick, Washington, York, and of a Delegate for the Borough of Norfolk and City of Williamsburg, are satisfactory

a[illegible]

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.


Report from Privileges
June 4th 1788.
10 2a

209-B. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Accomack and Franklin Counties Returns, 4 June 1788.[1]



It appears to the Committee of Privileges & Elections expedient that no returns have been made of the election of Delegates to serve in this Convention for the Counties of Accomack and Franklin: that as to the election of Delegates for the said County of Accomack it appears to your Committee from the information of Nathaniel Parks Jr Esq. and Littleton Eyre Esq.rs that they were present at the election of Delegates for the said County of Accomack in March last, and that George Parker & Edmund Curtis Esq.rs (the sitting Members) were proclaimed by the Sheriff at the close of the Poll as duly elected Delegates to represent the said County in the present Convention.

That as to the election of Delegates for the said County of Franklin it appears to your Committee from the information of Robert Williams Esq. that he was at the election of Delegates for the said County of Franklin in March last and that John Early and Thomas Arthurs Esq.rs (the sitting Members) were proclaimed by the Sheriff at the close of the poll as duly elected Delegates to represent the said County in this Convention. Whereupon your Committee came to the following Resolutions

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that Edmund Curtis and George Parker Esq.rs were elected Delegates to represent the said County of Accomack in this Convention

Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that John Early and Thomas Arthurs Esq.rs were elected Delegates to represent the said County of Franklin in this Convention

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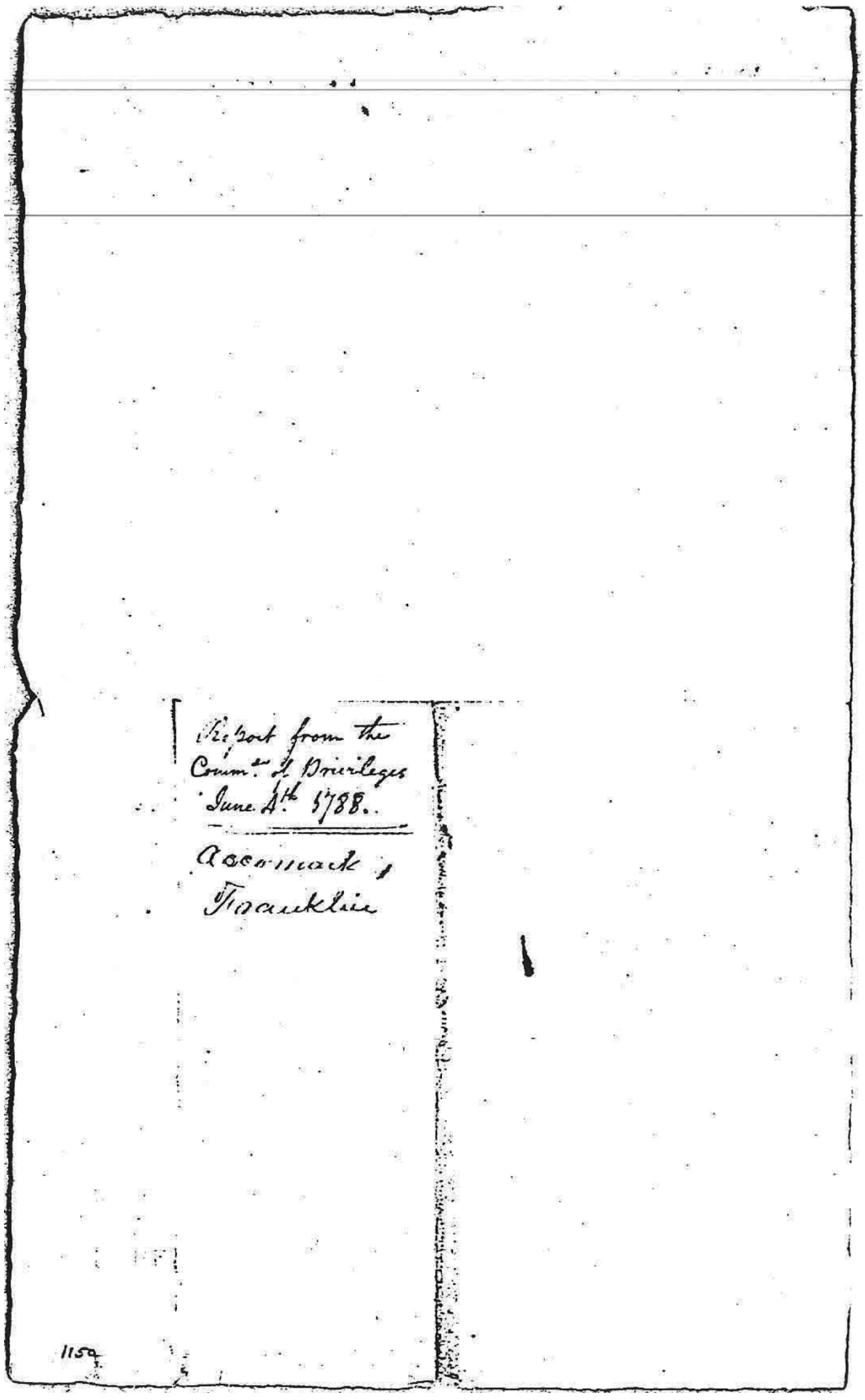
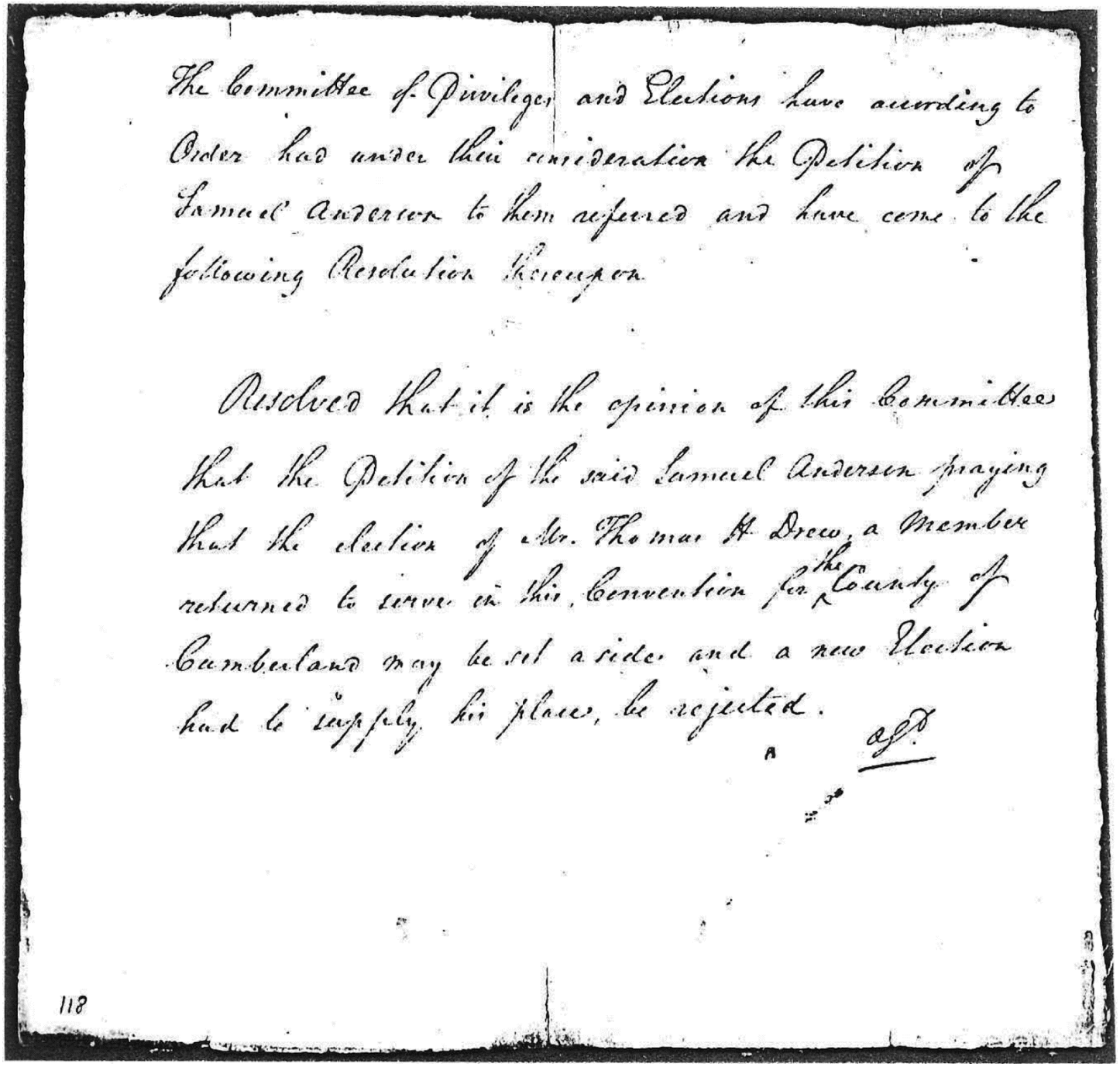
1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.


Report from the
Comm.ee of Privileges
June 4th 1788.

Accomack
Franklin

1150

209-C. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Petition of Samuel Anderson, 5 June 1788.[1]



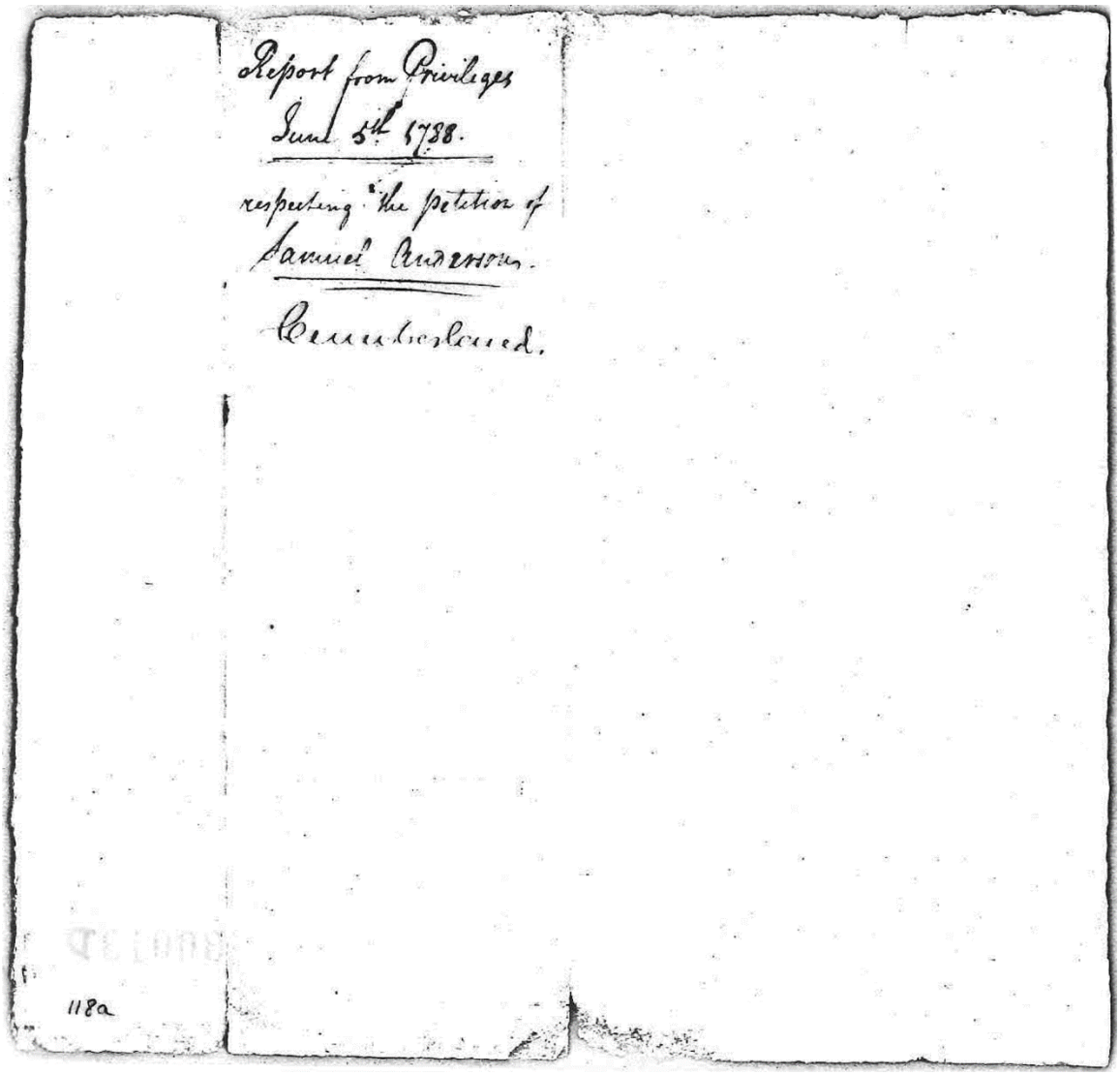
The Committee of Privileges and Elections have according to Order had under their consideration the Petition of Samuel Anderson to them referred and have come to the following Resolution thereupon

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Petition of the said Samuel Anderson praying that the election of Mr. Thomas M. Drew, a Member returned to serve in this Convention for the County of Cumberland may be set aside and a new Election had to supply his place, be rejected.

a.g.d.

118

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.



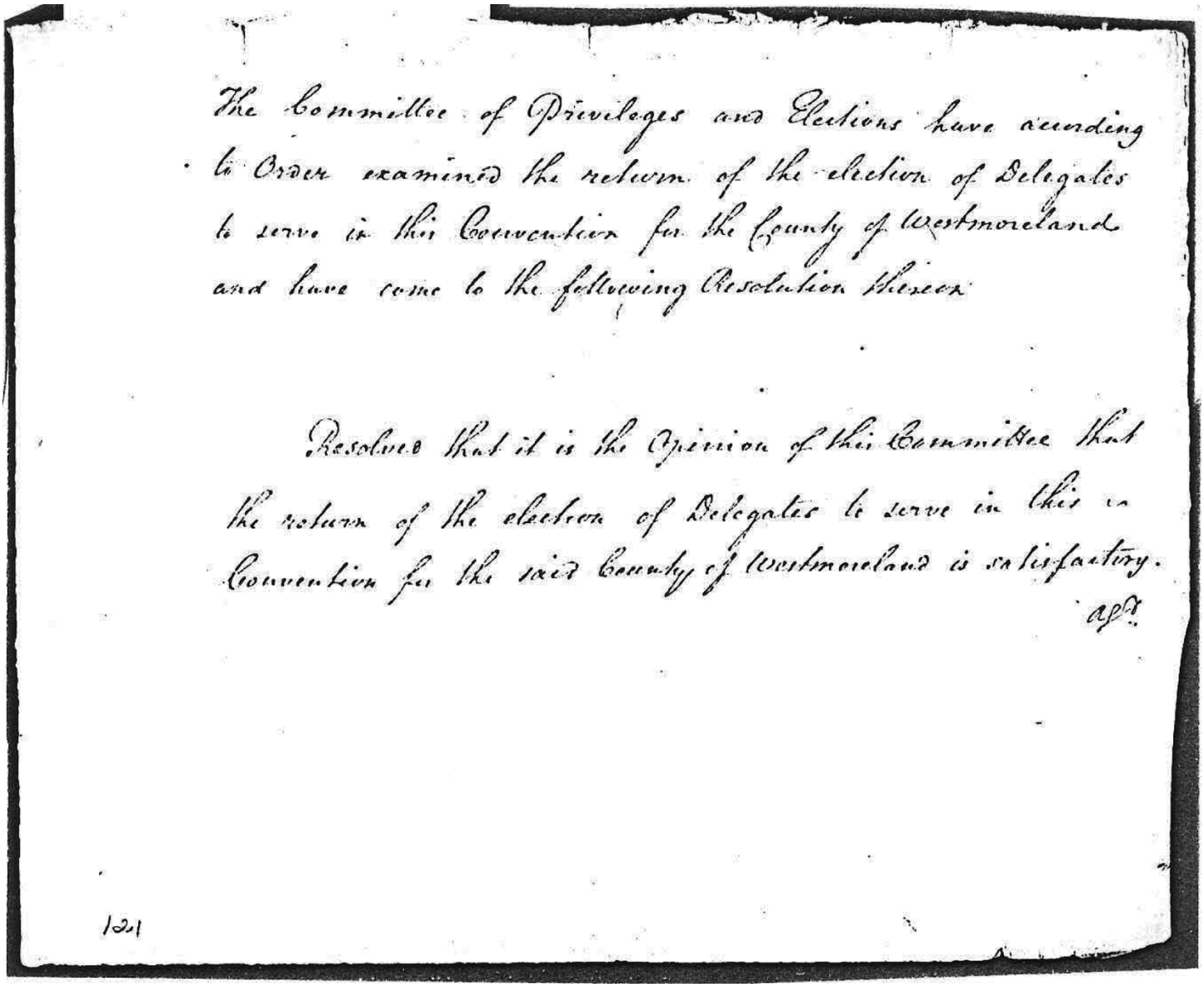
Report from Privileges
June 5th 1788.

respecting the petition of
Samuel Anderson.

Committed.

118a

209-D. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Westmoreland County Returns, 5 June 1788.[1]



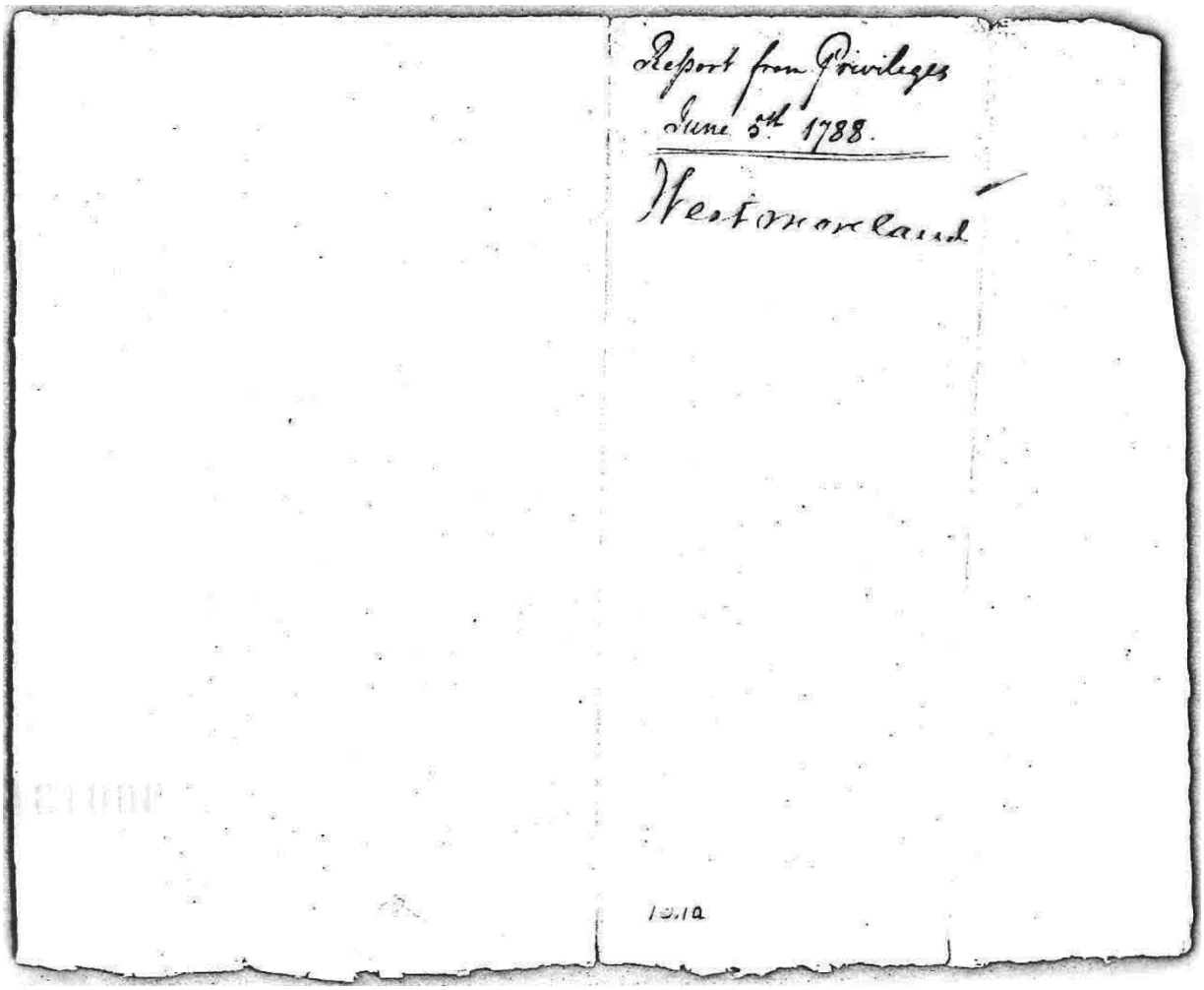
The Committee of Privileges and Elections have according to Order examined the return of the election of Delegates to serve in this Convention for the County of Westmoreland and have come to the following Resolution thereon

Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the return of the election of Delegates to serve in this Convention for the said County of Westmoreland is satisfactory.

agd.

121

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.


Report from Privileges
June 5th 1788.
Westmoreland
12.12

209-E. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Petition of Thomas Stith, 6 June 1788.[1]

The Committee of Privileges and Elections have according to Order had under their consideration the Petition of Thomas Stith complaineng of an undue election and return of Mr. Binns Jones as a Delegate to this Convention for the County of Brunswick and have come to the following Resolutions thereupon:

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the usual rule prescribing a time for the delivery of Lists of persons to be objected to, be dispensed with on this occasion, the Petitioner having waived his right to require the same from the sitting Member, and having agreed to deliver a List of persons to whom he objects on or before 12 o'Clock tomorrow. agt.

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Depositions of the Witnesses as well on behalf of the Petitioner as the sitting Member be taken before Thomas Edmonds, Benjamin Blick, Sterling Edmonds, Andrew Meade, John F. Edmonds, John Powell

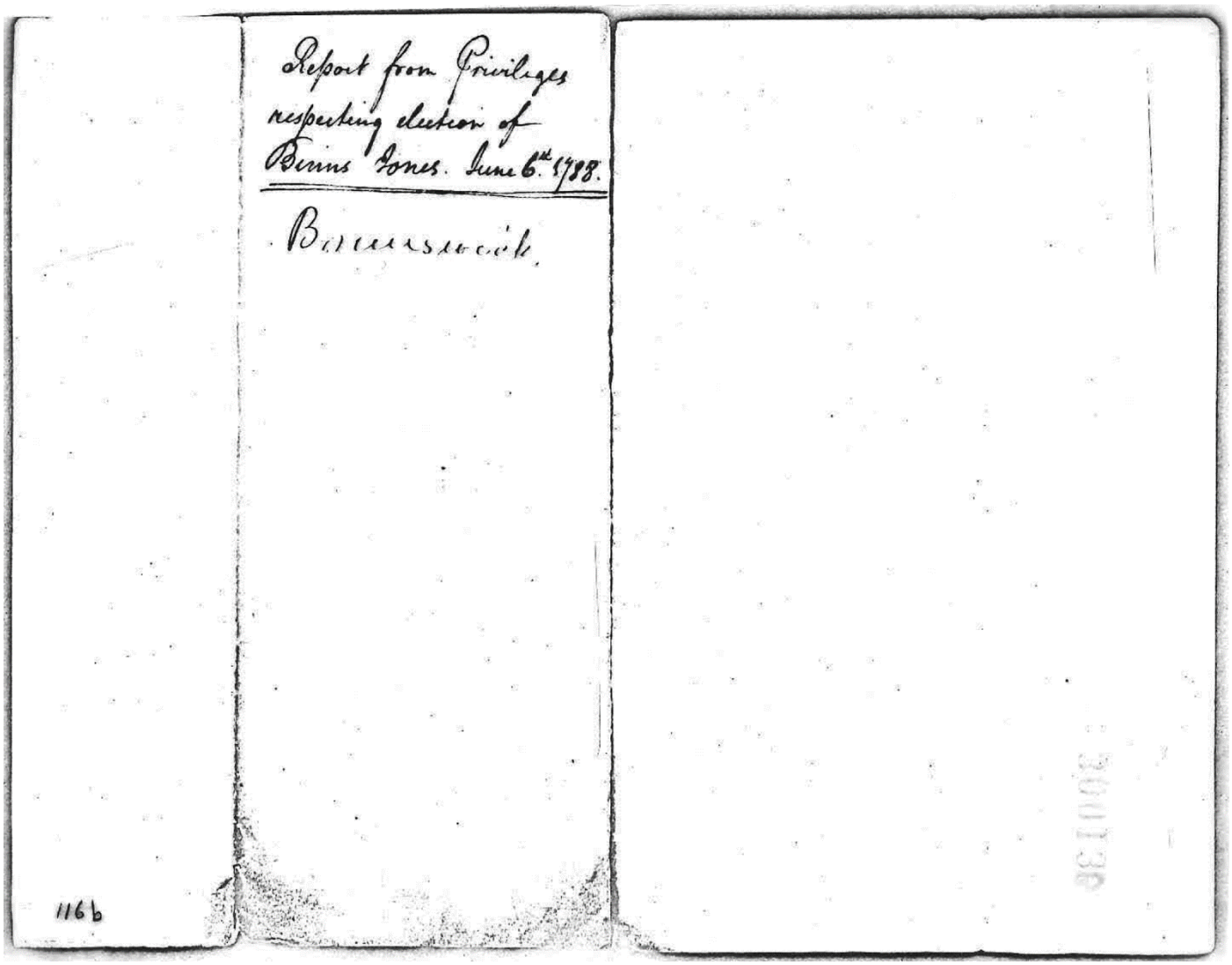
116 and

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.

and James Fletcher Gent or any four of them &c.

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the farther consideration of the said Petition be deferred until Wednesday the eighteenth of this instant June.

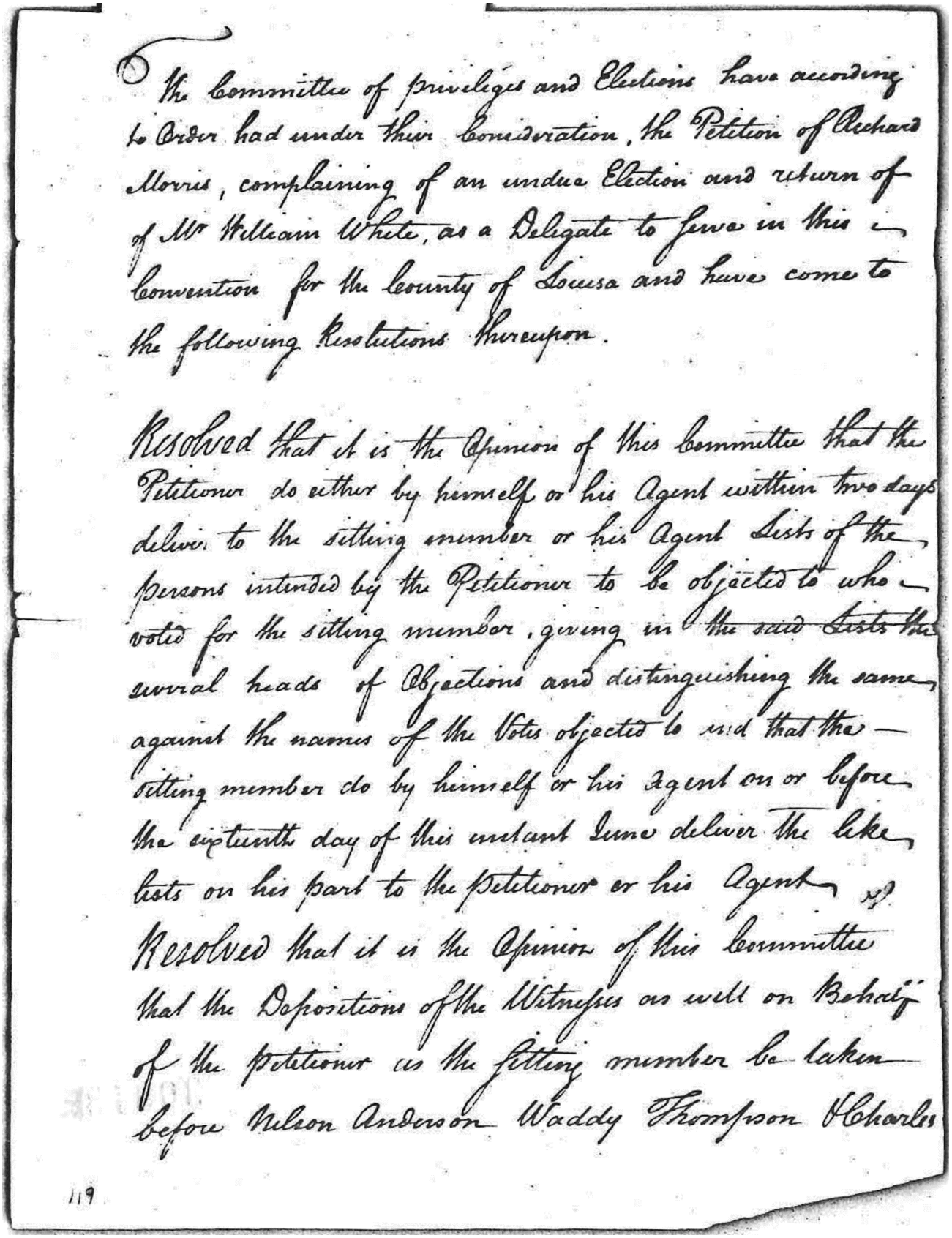
116a


Report from Privileges respecting election of Burwell Jones. June 6th 1788.

Brunswick.

1161b

209-F. Committee of Privileges and Elections: Report on Petition of Richard Morris, 7 June 1788.[1]



The Committee of privileges and Elections have according to Order had under their Consideration, the Petition of Richard Morris, complaining of an undue Election and return of of Mr William White, as a Deligate to serve in this Convention for the County of Louisa and have come to the following Resolutions thereupon.

Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the Petitioner do either by himself or his Agent within two days deliver to the sitting member or his Agent Lists of the persons intended by the Petitioner to be objected to who voted for the sitting member, giving in ~~the said Lists the~~ several heads of Objections and distinguishing the same against the names of the Votes objected to and that the sitting member do by himself or his Agent on or before the eighteenth day of this instant June deliver the like lists on his part to the Petitioner or his Agent

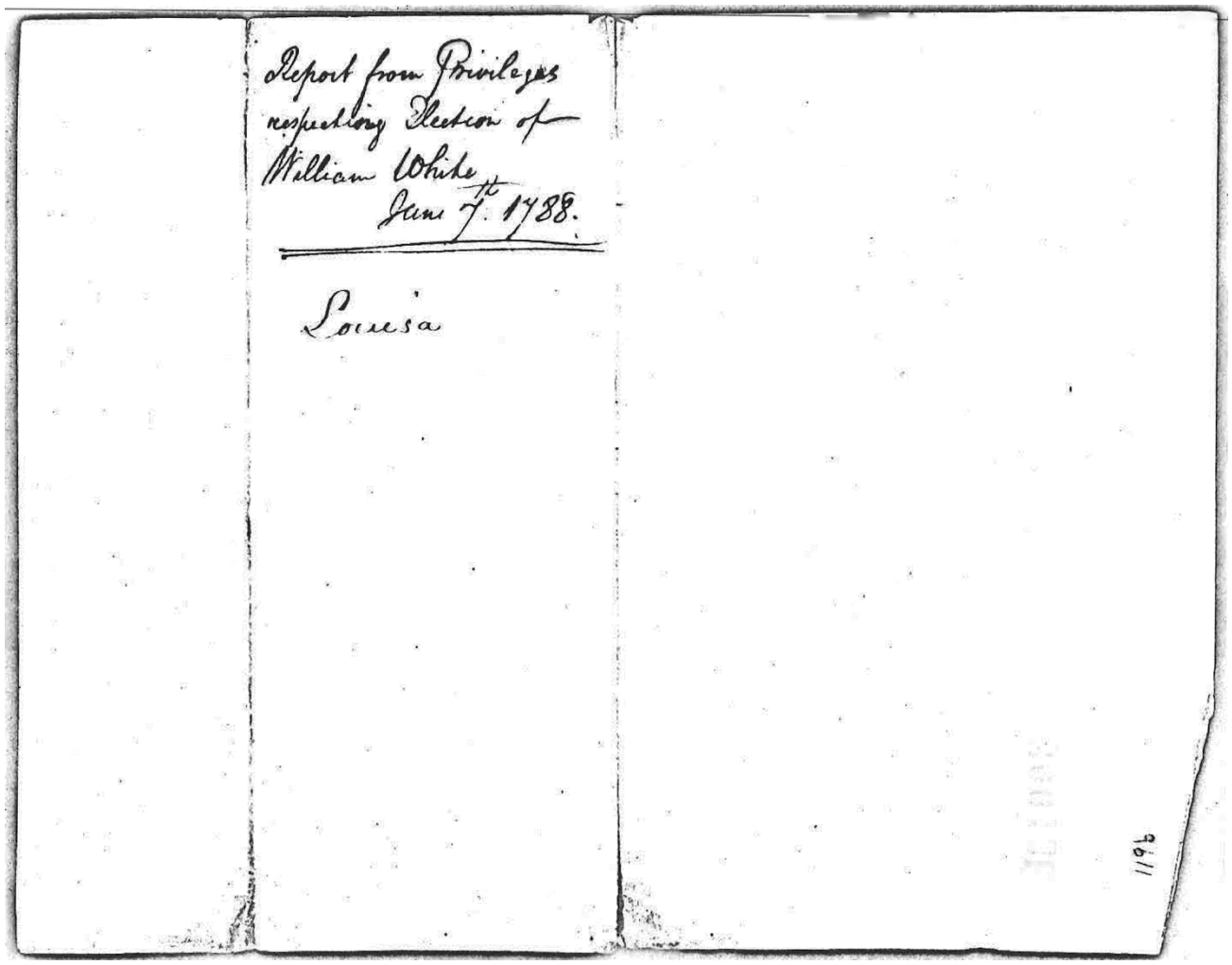
Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the Depositions of the Witnesses as well on Behalf of the Petitioner as the sitting member be taken before Nelson Anderson Waddy Thompson & Charles

119

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.

Ganey Gentleman & Thomas Johnson the Sheriff of the said County of Louisa or any three of them. agd.

Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the further Consideration of the said Petition be deferred until Wednesday the 18th of this instant June. agd.

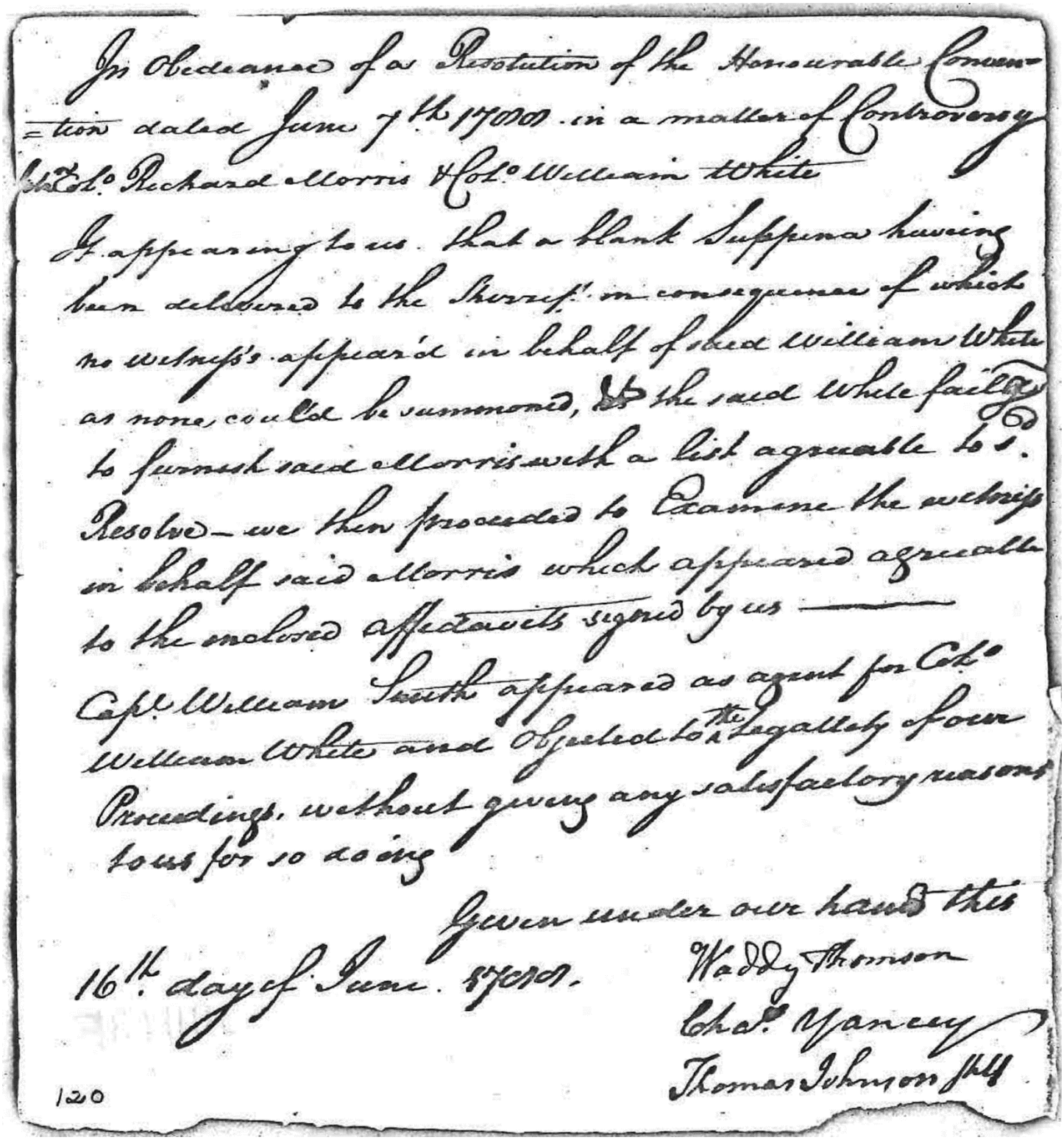


Report from Privileges respecting Election of William White. June 7th 1788.

Louisa

1196

209-G. Report of Commissioners Waddy Thomson, Charles Yancey, and Thomas Johnson, 16 June 1788.[1]



In Obedience of a Resolution of the Honourable Convention dated June 7th 1788. in a matter of Controversy Wherein Col. Richard Morris & Col. William White

It appearing to us. that a blank Subpena having been delivered to the Sheriff. in consequence of which no Witness's appeared in behalf of said William White as none, could be summoned, & the said White failing to furnish said Morris with a list agreeable to. Resolved — we then proceeded to Examine the Witnesses in behalf said Morris which appeared agreeable to the enclosed Affidavits signed by us ——

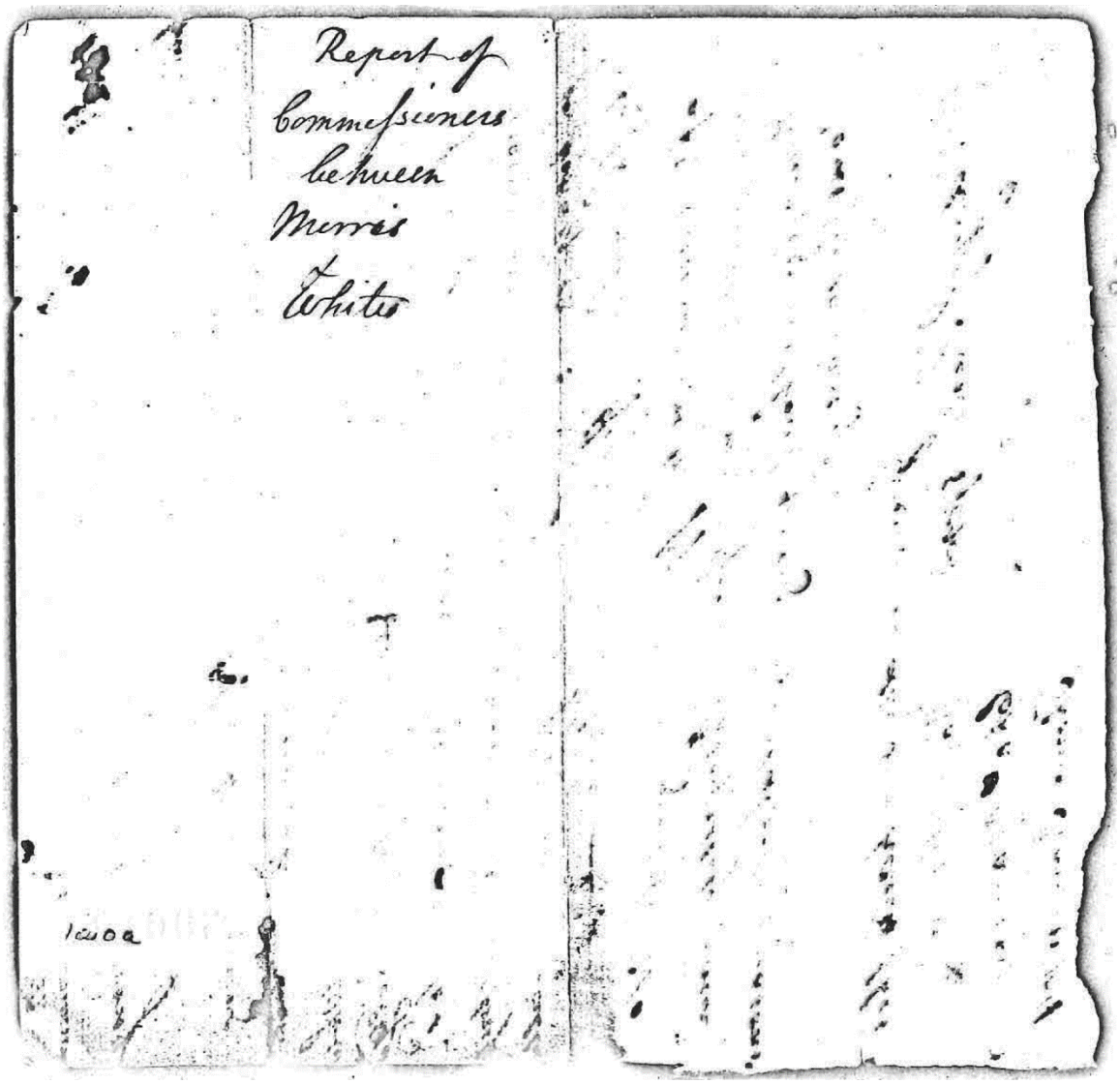
Capt. William South appeared as agent for Col. William White and Objected to the Legality of our Proceedings. without giving any satisfactory reasons to us for so doing

Given under our hands this 16th. day of June. 1788.

Waddy Thomson
Chas. Yancey
Thomas Johnson Jun.

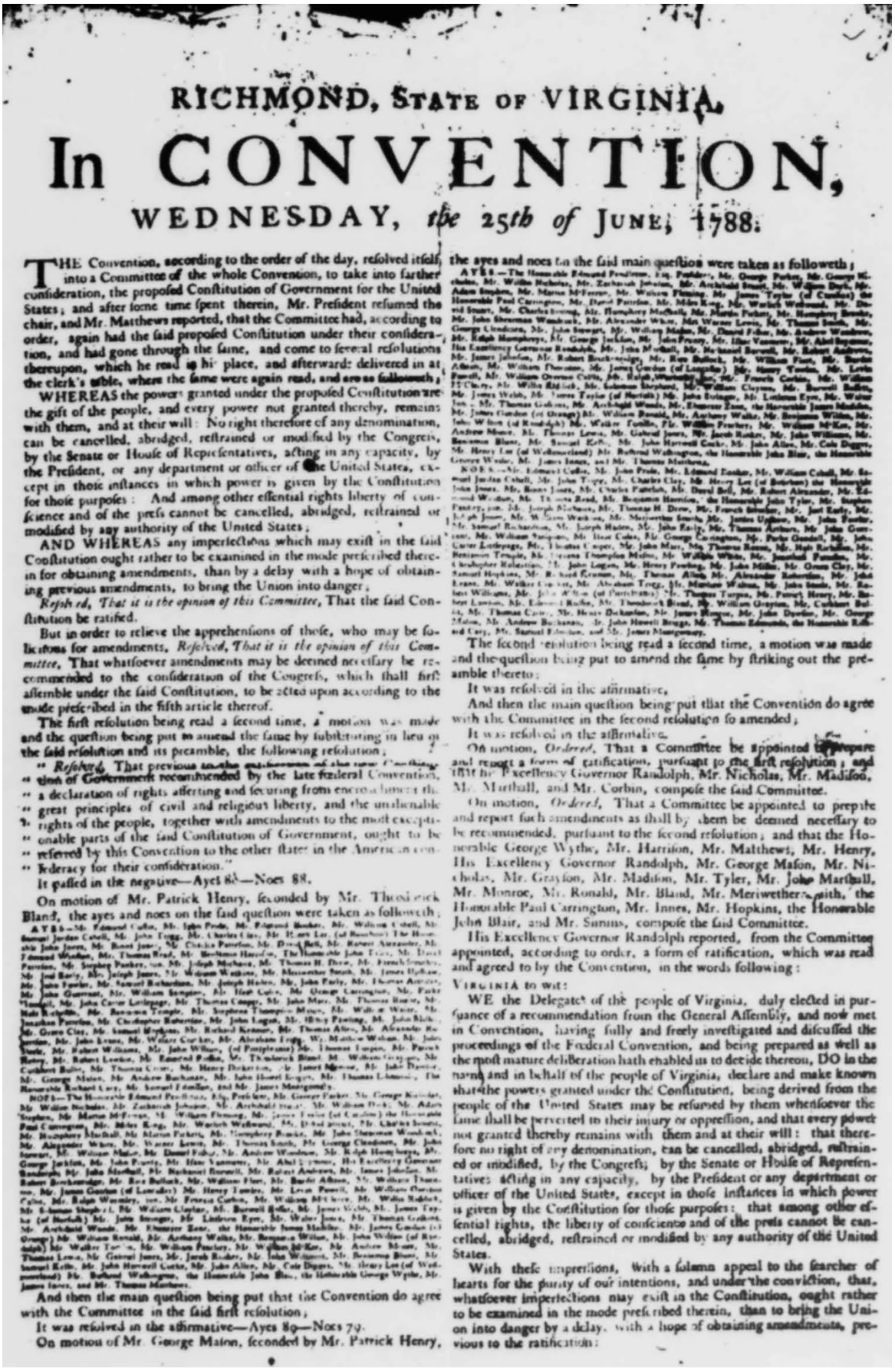
120

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.


Report of
Commissioners
between
Morris
& White

1800

210-A. Extracts from the Journal, 25 June 1788 (Three-page broadside, Evans 21522).



RICHMOND, STATE OF VIRGINIA.

In CONVENTION,

WEDNESDAY, *the 25th of* JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration, the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Matthews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had gone through the same, and come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as followeth;

WHEREAS the powers granted under the proposed Constitution are the gift of the people, and every power not granted thereby, remains with them, and at their will: No right therefore of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: And among other essential rights liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States;

AND WHEREAS any imperfections which may exist in the said Constitution ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein for obtaining amendments, than by a delay with a hope of obtaining previous amendments, to bring the Union into danger;

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the said Constitution be ratified.

But in order to relieve the apprehensions of those, who may be solicitous for amendments, *Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee*, That whatsoever amendments may be deemed necessary be recommended to the consideration of the Congress, which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof.

The first resolution being read a second time, a motion was made and the question being put to amend the same by substituting in lieu of the said resolution and its preamble, the following resolution;

"*Resolved*, That previous to the ratification of the new Constitution "lately recommended by the late federal Convention, "a declaration of rights asserting and securing from encroachment the "great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable "rights of the people, together with amendments to the most exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of Government, ought to be "referred by this Convention to the other states in the American confederacy for their consideration."

It passed in the negative—Ayes 88—Noes 88.

On motion of Mr. Patrick Henry, seconded by Mr. Theodorick Bland, the ayes and noes on the said question were taken as followeth;

AYES—Mr. Edmund Cobbs, Mr. John Prude, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) The Honorable John Jones, Mr. Benjamin Jones, Mr. Charles Patterson, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winston, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, The Honorable John Tyler, Mr. Stephen Pendry, jun. Mr. Joseph Mayhurst, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joseph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Mannerton Smith, Mr. James Upshaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Joseph Hudson, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Andrews, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampson, Mr. Hore Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Porter Gambell, Mr. John Carter Lodwyck, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Rowe, Mr. Hugh Rothwell, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stephens Thompson Mosby, Mr. Wilks White, Mr. Jonathan Pamplin, Mr. Christopher Robertson, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Blair, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertson, Mr. John Jordan, Mr. John Lewis, Mr. Wilson Cocke, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Wilson, Mr. John Poole, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson, (of Pittsylvania) Mr. Thomas Logan, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawson, Mr. Edmund Pendleton, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickerson, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmonds, The Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, and Mr. James Montgomery.

NOES—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esq. President, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Willis Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnston, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin McFerran, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Warick Wellsford, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Stewart, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin Parker, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Sherman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Gibbons, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. William Mayo, Mr. David Fisher, Mr. Andrew Woodson, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prosey, Mr. Isaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnston, Mr. Robert Brooke, Mr. Roe Bullock, Mr. William Hunt, Mr. Burdet Ashton, Mr. William Thomas, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaster) Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Lewis Powell, Mr. William Overton Cobbs, Mr. Ralph Wormley, jun. Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William McClurg, Mr. Willis Riddick, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Claiborne, Mr. Burwell Bassett, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Wilson Jones, Mr. Thomas Graham, Mr. Archibald Woods, Mr. Ebenezer Zane, the Honorable James Madison, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Russell, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Benjamin Wilkins, Mr. John Wilcox (of Randolph) Mr. Walter Tomlin, Mr. William Prentice, Mr. William McKee, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rader, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blues, Mr. Samuel Kelly, Mr. John Harwell Cocke, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Henry Lee (of Westmoreland) Mr. Burhead Washington, the Honorable John Blair, the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Matthews.

And then the main question being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the said first resolution;

It was resolved in the affirmative—Ayes 89—Noes 79.

On motion of Mr. George Mason, seconded by Mr. Patrick Henry, the ayes and noes on the said main question were taken as followeth;

AYES—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esq. President, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Willis Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnston, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin McFerran, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Warick Wellsford, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Stewart, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin Parker, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Sherman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Gibbons, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. William Mayo, Mr. David Fisher, Mr. Andrew Woodson, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prosey, Mr. Isaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnston, Mr. Robert Brooke, Mr. Roe Bullock, Mr. William Hunt, Mr. Burdet Ashton, Mr. William Thomas, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaster) Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Lewis Powell, Mr. William Overton Cobbs, Mr. Ralph Wormley, jun. Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William McClurg, Mr. Willis Riddick, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Claiborne, Mr. Burwell Bassett, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Wilson Jones, Mr. Thomas Graham, Mr. Archibald Woods, Mr. Ebenezer Zane, the Honorable James Madison, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Russell, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Benjamin Wilkins, Mr. John Wilcox (of Randolph) Mr. Walter Tomlin, Mr. William Prentice, Mr. William McKee, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rader, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blues, Mr. Samuel Kelly, Mr. John Harwell Cocke, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Henry Lee (of Westmoreland) Mr. Burhead Washington, the Honorable John Blair, the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Matthews.

NOES—Mr. Edmund Cobbs, Mr. John Prude, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) the Honorable John Jones, Mr. Benjamin Jones, Mr. Charles Patterson, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winston, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, the Honorable John Tyler, Mr. Stephen Pendry, jun. Mr. Joseph Mayhurst, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joseph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Mannerton Smith, Mr. James Upshaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Joseph Hudson, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Andrews, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampson, Mr. Hore Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Porter Gambell, Mr. John Carter Lodwyck, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Rowe, Mr. Hugh Rothwell, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stephens Thompson Mosby, Mr. Wilks White, Mr. Jonathan Pamplin, Mr. Christopher Robertson, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Blair, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertson, Mr. John Jordan, Mr. John Lewis, Mr. Wilson Cocke, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Wilson, Mr. John Poole, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson, (of Pittsylvania) Mr. Thomas Logan, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawson, Mr. Edmund Pendleton, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickerson, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmonds, The Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, and Mr. James Montgomery.

His Excellency Governor Randolph reported, from the Committee appointed, according to order, a form of ratification, which was read and agreed to by the Convention, in the words following:

The second resolution being read a second time, a motion was made and the question being put to amend the same by striking out the preamble thereto;

It was resolved in the affirmative,

And then the main question being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the second resolution so amended;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a form of ratification, pursuant to the first resolution; and that his Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Madison, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Corbin, compose the said Committee.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report such amendments as shall by them be deemed necessary to be recommended, pursuant to the second resolution; and that the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Henry, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Grayson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Tyler, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Ronald, Mr. Bland, Mr. Meriwether Smith, the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Innes, Mr. Hopkins, the Honorable John Blair, and Mr. Summs, compose the said Committee.

VIRGINIA to wit:

WE the Delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us to decide thereon, DO in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified, by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any capacity, by the President or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: that among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States.

With these impressions, with a solemn appeal to the searcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction, that, whatsoever imperfections may exist in the Constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the Union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments, previous to the ratification:

We the said Delegates, in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, do by these presents assent to, and ratify the said Constitution recommended on the seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, by the Federal Convention for the Government of the United States; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said Constitution is binding upon the said People, according to an authentic copy hereto annexed, in the words following:

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure 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.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 choose 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 choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. 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 choose 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.

SECT. IV. 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.

SECT. V. 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.

SECT. VI. 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.

SECT. VII. 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 journals, and proceed to reconsider it. 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.

SECT. VIII. 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 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.

SECT. IX. 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.

SECT. X. 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 its inspection laws, and the nett 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 control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty on 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.

SECT. I. 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 choose 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 choose the President. But in choosing 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 choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing 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 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 encreased 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."

SECT. II. 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.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. IV. 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.

SECT. I. 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.

SECT. II. 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 a 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.

SECT. III. 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 shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE

SECT. I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts 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.

SECT. II. 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 labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. IV. 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 its 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.

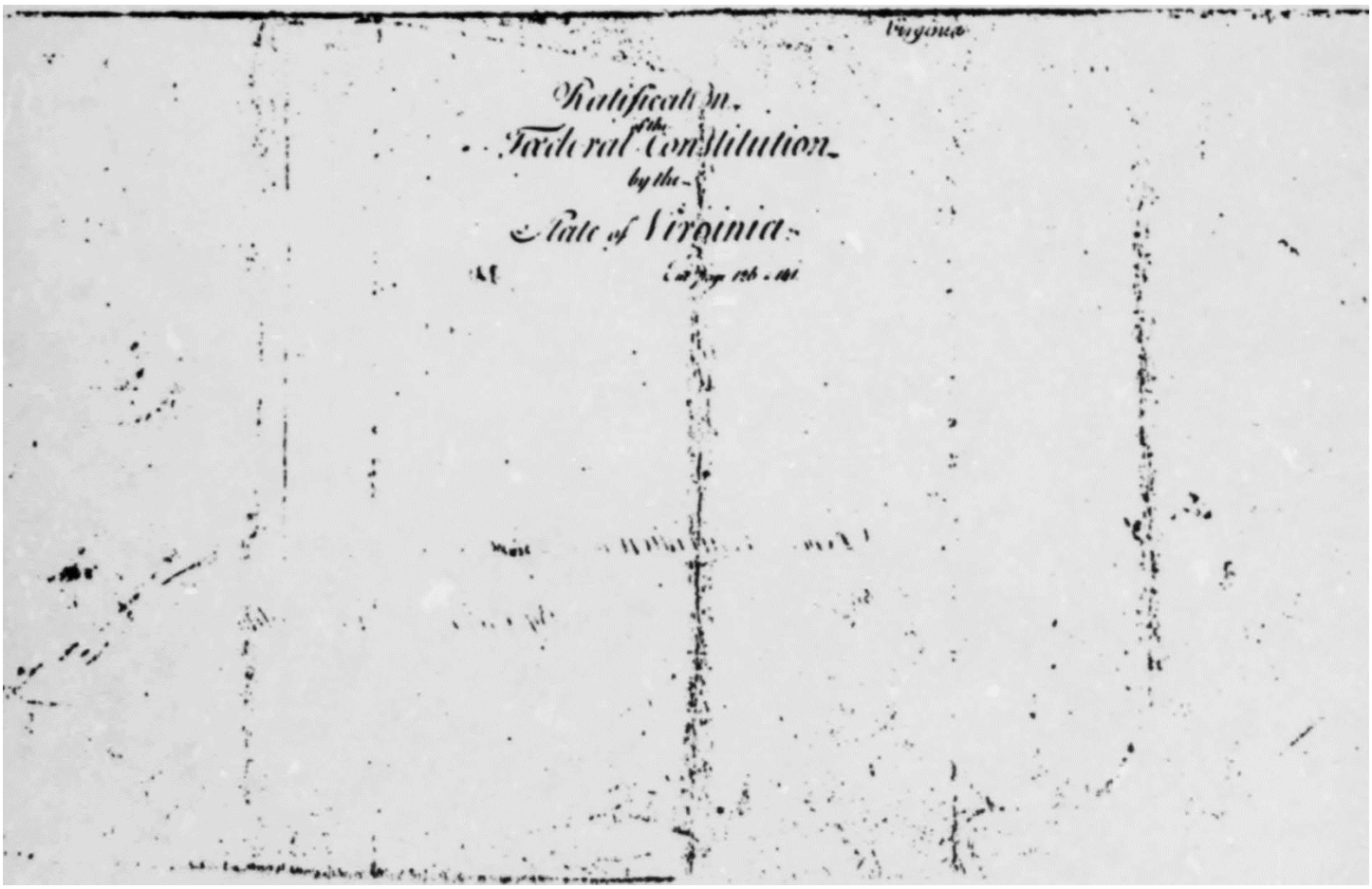
The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Secretary of this Convention cause to be engrossed, forthwith, two fair copies of the form of ratification, and of the proposed Constitution of Government, as recommended by the Federal Convention on the seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven.

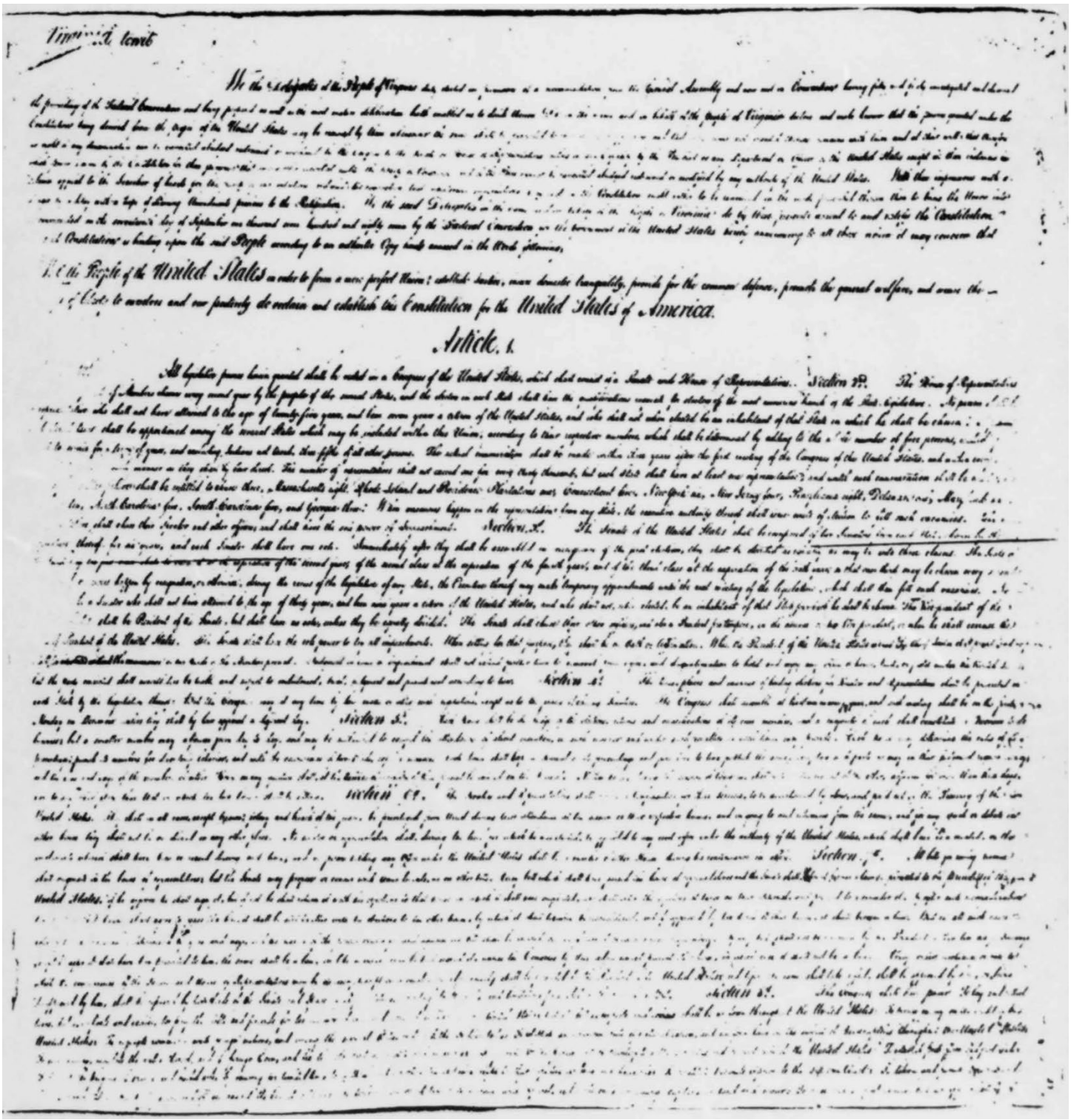
And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, twelve o'clock.

RICHMOND: *Printed by* AUGUSTINE DAVIS, *Printer to the* Honorable CONVENTION.

210-B. Form of Ratification Sent to Congress, 26 June 1788.[1]



1. Engrossed MS, RG 11, Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights . . . , 1787–1792, National Archives.



Virginia to wit

We the Delegates of the People of Virginia duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly and now met in Convention having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention and being prepared to make a full and mature discussion hereby declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the People of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will that no right of any denomination can be cancelled abridged restrained or modified by the Congress by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any capacity by the President or any department or officer of the United States except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for the purposes and that among other essential rights the liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled abridged restrained or modified by any authority of the United States. With these impressions and declarations we the said Delegates in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia do by these presents assent to and ratify the Constitution recommended on the seventeenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven by the Federal Convention for the government of the United States hereto annexed in full confidence that until a Convention shall previously provide for the same amendments which may be deemed necessary will be laid before the Congress and the Legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth Article of the said Constitution and that all those powers which are not given by the said Constitution to the Government thereby created ought to remain for ever separate and distinct from the powers of the Legislative Executive and Judiciary departments of the same. Done in Convention this twenty sixth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight and of the Commonwealth the twelfth. Edmund Pendleton President

Attest Geo. Wythe Chancellor

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. 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 2d. The House of Representatives 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 3d. 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. The executive power 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 4th. 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 5th. 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 but no person shall be expelled by the first House for any offence committed before the commencement of this Constitution. 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 6th. 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 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 increased 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 7th. 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 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 both Houses 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 three fourths of both Houses according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a bill. Section 8th. 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 9th. 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 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 hereinbefore 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. 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 without the consent of the Congress shall lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its 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 without the consent of Congress shall 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 any foreign power or engage in war unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. Section 10th. The Congress shall have power To lay and collect

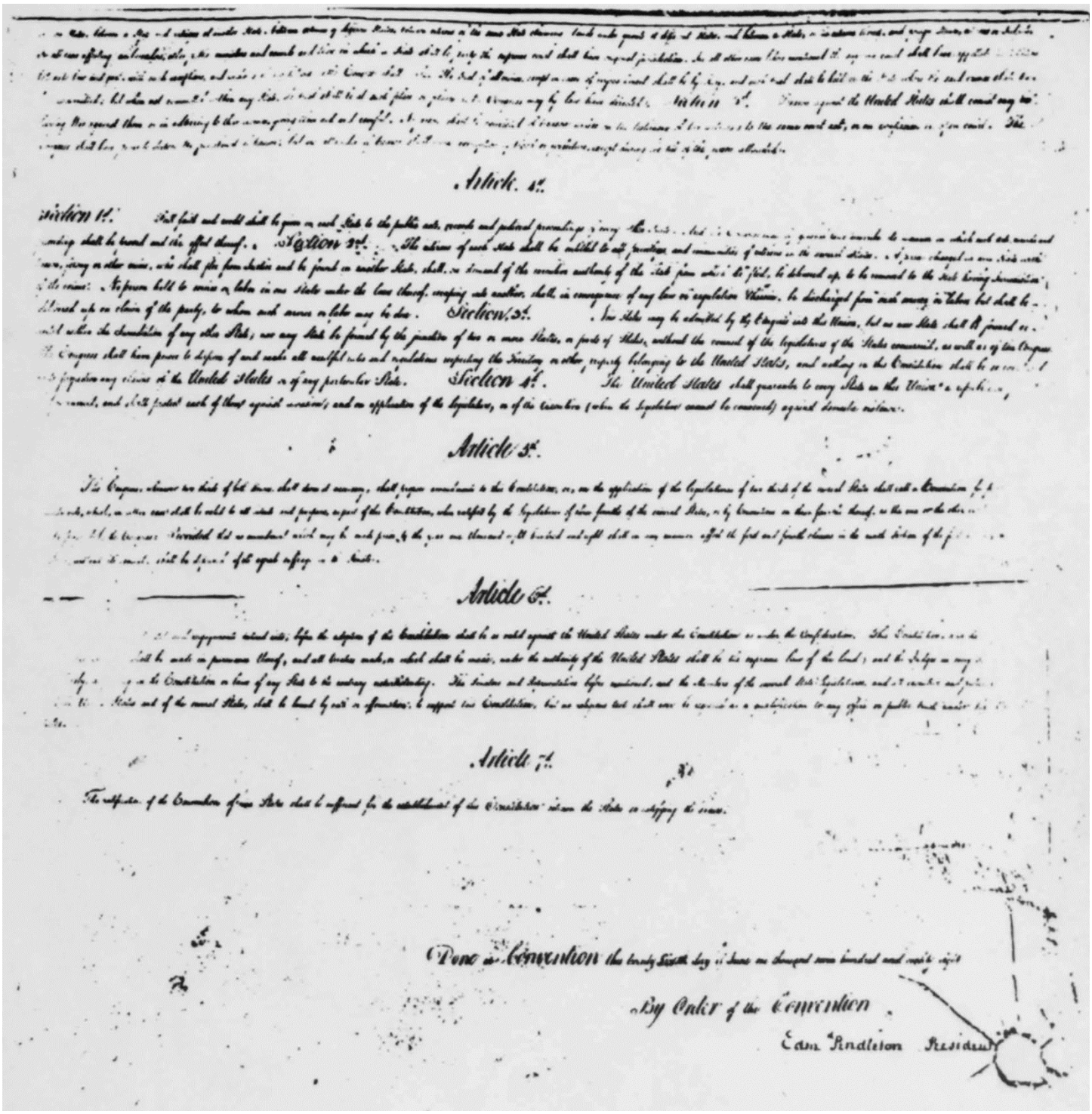
Article 2.

Section 1st. 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 on the day fixed for the commencement of the present Congress, and give their votes 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 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 choosing 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 the 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 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 encreased 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 2d. 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 3d. 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 convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with regard 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 4th. 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 3d.

Section 1st. 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.

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.



Article. 4th.

Section 1st. ... Section 2nd. ... Section 3d. ... Section 4th. ...

Article 5th.

Article 6th.

Article 7th.

The ratifications of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention the twenty Sixth day of June ... seventeen hundred and eighty eight

By Order of the Convention

Edm. Pendleton President

210-C. Form of Ratification Retained by Virginia, 27 June 1788.[1]

Virginia Convention
1788

[Ordinance of] Ratification: U.S. Constitution

1. MS, Virginia Convention to Ratify U.S. Constitution, 1788, Virginia State Library.

Virginia towit:

We the Delegates of the People of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us to decide thereon, Do in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia declare and make known that the Powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the People of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any Capacity, by the President or any department or Officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: and that among other essential rights, the liberty of Conscience and of the Press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any Authority of the United States;

With these impressions, with a solemn Appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the Conviction, that whatsoever imperfections may exist in the

Constitutions, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the Union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining Amendments previous to the Ratifications:

We the said Delegates, in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, do by these presents assent to and ratify the Constitution recommended on the seventeenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven by the Federal Convention for the government of the United States; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said Constitution is binding upon the said People, according to an authentic Copy hereto annexed in the words following;—

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 1st

Section 1st. 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 2d. 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

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, Massachusets eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pensylvania 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.

Section 3d. 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 fill such Vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and have been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the 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

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 4th. 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 5th. 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 6th. 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

holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7th. 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

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 8th. 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

securing 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

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, Dockyards, 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 9th. 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 State over those of another;

nor

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 10th. 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 imports or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its 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

be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duties 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 2nd.

Section 1st. 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

certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of 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

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 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

"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 2nd. 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

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 3d. 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 4th. 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 3d.

Section 1st. The Judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such

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 2nd. 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.

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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 3d. 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 4th.

Section 1st. 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 2nd. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A person

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 labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3d. 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 the claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4th. 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

application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article 5th.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress: Provided, that no Amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article 6th.

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

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.

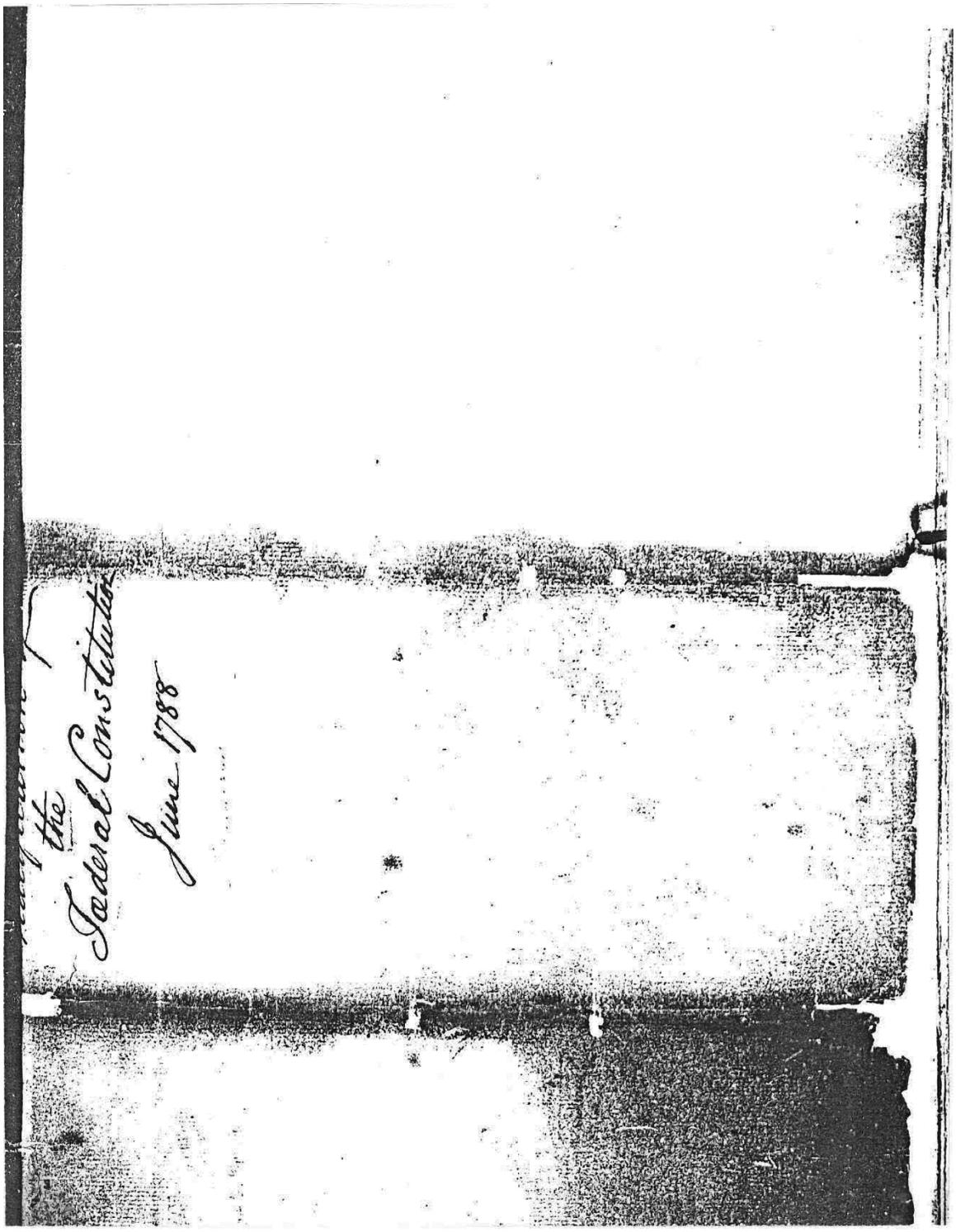
Article 7th.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention the [illegible] day of June, one thousand seven and Eighty Eight.

By order of the Convention

Edmd Pendleton President


the
Federal Constitution
June 1788

210-D. Extracts from the Journal, 25, 27 June 1788 (Four-page broadside, Evans 21553).[1]

RICHMOND, *State of* VIRGINIA.

IN CONVENTION,

WEDNESDAY, *the 25th of* JUNE, 1788.

THE Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, to take into farther consideration, the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Mathews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had gone through the same, and come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as followeth;

WHEREAS the powers granted under the proposed Constitution are the gift of the people, and every power not granted thereby, remains with them, and at their will: No right therefore of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: And among other essential rights liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States;

AND WHEREAS any imperfections which may exist in the said Constitution ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein for obtaining amendments, than by a delay with a hope of obtaining previous amendments, to bring the Union into danger;

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the said Constitution be ratified.

But in order to relieve the apprehensions of those, who may be solicitous for amendments, *Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee*, That whatsoever amendments may be deemed necessary be recommended to the consideration of the Congress, which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof.

The first resolution being read a second time, a motion was made, and the question being put to amend the same by substituting in lieu of the said resolution and its preamble, the following resolution;

"*Resolved*, That previous to the ratification of the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late Federal Convention, a declaration of rights asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of Government, ought to be referred by this Convention to the other states in the American confederacy for their consideration;"

It passed in the negative—Ayes 80—Noes 88.

On motion of Mr. Patrick Henry, seconded by Mr. Theodorick Bland, the ayes and noes on the said question were taken as followeth;

AYES—Mr. Edmund Custis, Mr. John Pride, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. Henry Lee, (of Bourbon) The Honorable John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteson, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winston, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, The Honorable John Tyler, Mr. David Patteson, Mr. Stephen Pankey, jun. Mr. Joseph Michaux, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joseph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Meriwether Smith, Mr. James Upshaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Joseph Haden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampson, Mr. Isaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeson, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stephens Thomson Mason, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Patteson, Mr. Christopher Robertson, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pewlings, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard [illegible], Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson, (of Pittsylvania) Mr. Thomas Tupin, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson, (of Pittsylvania) Mr. Thomas Tupin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawson, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullit, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenson, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howel Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmunds, The Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmison, and Mr. James Montgomery.

NOES—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esq; President, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilson Nicholas, Mr. Zechariah Johnson, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin M'Ferran, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Worlich Westwood, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Clendinen, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. William Mason, Mr. Daniel Fisher, Mr. Andrew Woodrow, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prunty, Mr. Isaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnson, Mr. Robert Breckenridge, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. William Fleet, Mr. Burdit Ashton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaster) Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley, jun. Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William M'Clerry, Mr. Willis Riddick, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Bassett, Mr. James Webb, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr Thomas Gaskins, Mr. Archibald Woods, Mr. Ebenezer Zane, the Honorable James Madison, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Thomas Walke, Mr. Benjamin Wilson, Mr. John Wilson (of Randolph) Mr. Walker Tomlin, Mr. William Peachey, Mr. William M'Kee, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rinker, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blunt, Mr. Samuel Kello, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Henry Lee (of Westmoreland) Mr. Bushrod Washington, the Honorable John Blair, the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Mathews.

And then the main question being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the said first resolution;

It was resolved in the affirmative—Ayes 89—Noes 79.

On motion of Mr. George Mason, seconded by Mr. Patrick Henry, the ayes and noes on the said main question were taken as followeth;

AYES.—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esq. President, Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilson Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnson, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin M'Ferran, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. David Patteson, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Worlich Westwood, Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Shearman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. George Clendinen, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. William Mason, Mr. Daniel Fisher, Mr. Andrew Woodrow, Mr. Ralph Humphreys, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prunty, Mr. Isaac Vanmeter, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnson, Mr. Robert Breckenridge, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. William Fleet, Mr. Burdet Ashton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaster) Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley, jun. Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William M'Clerry, Mr. Willis Riddick, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Bassett, Mr. James Webb, Mr. James Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Thomas Gaskins, Mr. Archibald Woods, Mr. Ebenezer Zane, the Honorable James Madison, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Thomas Walke, Mr. Benjamin Wilson, Mr. John Wilson (of Randolph) Mr. Walker Tomlin, Mr. William Peachey, Mr. William M'Kee, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rinker, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blunt, Mr. Samuel Kello, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Henry Lee (of Westmoreland) Mr. Bushrod Washington, the Honorable John Blair, the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Mathews.

NOES.—Mr. Edmund Custis, Mr. John Pride, Mr. Edmund Booker, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) the Honorable John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteson,

1. See RCS:Va, 1558–59, note 1, for information on this four-page broadside.

Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winſton, Mr. Thomas Read, Mr. Benjamin Harriſon, the Honorable John Tyler, Mr. Stephen Jankey, jun. Mr. Joſeph Michaux, Mr. Thomas H. Drew, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joel Early, Mr. Joſeph Jones, Mr. William Watkins, Mr. Meriwether Smith, Mr. James Upſhaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardſon, Mr. Joſeph Haden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampſon, Mr. Iſaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. John Marr, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeſon, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. Stephens Thomſon Maſon, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Parteſon, Mr. Chriſtopher Robertſon, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertſon, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Walker Crocket, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilſon (of Pittſylvania) Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Robert Lawſon, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayſon, Mr. Cuthbert Bullit, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenſon, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawſon, Mr. George Maſon, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmunds, the Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmiſon, and Mr. James Montgomery.

The ſecond reſolution being then read a ſecond time, a motion was made and the queſtion being put to amend the ſame by ſtriking out the preamble thereto;

It was reſolved in the affirmative,

And then the main queſtion being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the ſecond reſolution ſo amended;

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a form of ratification, purſuant to the firſt reſolution; and that his Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Marſhall, and Mr. Corbin, compoſe the ſaid Committee.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report ſuch amendments as ſhall by them be deemed neceſſary to be recommended, purſuant to the ſecond reſolution; and that the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Henry, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. George Maſon, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Grayſon, Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Tyler, Mr. John Marſhall, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Ronald, Mr. Bland, Mr. Meriwether Smith, the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Innes, Mr. Hopkins, the Honorable John Blair, and Mr. Simms, compoſe the ſaid Committee.

His Excellency Governor Randolph reported, from the Committee appointed, according to order, a form of ratification, which was read and agreed to by the Convention, in the words following:

VIRGINIA, TO WIT:

WE the Delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in purſuance of a recommendation from the General Aſſembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely inveſtigated and diſcuſſed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the moſt mature deliberation hath enabled us, to decide thereon, DO in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the Conſtitution, being derived from the people of the United States may be reſumed by them whenſoever the ſame ſhall be perverted to their injury or oppreſſion, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified, by the Congreſs, by the Senate or Houſe of Repreſentatives acting in any capacity, by the Preſident or any department or officer of the United States, except in thoſe inſtances in which power is given by the Conſtitution for thoſe purpoſes: and that among other eſſential rights, the liberty of conſcience and of the preſs cannot becancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified by any authority of the United States.

With theſe impreſſions, with a ſolemn appeal to the ſearcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction, that, whatſoever imperfections may exiſt in the Conſtitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode preſcribed therein, than to bring the Union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments previous to the ratification:

We the ſaid Delegates, in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, do by theſe preſents aſſent to, and ratify the Conſtitution recommended on the ſeventeenth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty ſeven, by the Fœderal Convention for the Government of the United States; hereby announcing to all thoſe whom it may concern, that the ſaid Conſtitution is binding upon the ſaid People, according to an authentic copy hereto annexed, in the words following:

[*Here follows the Conſtitution at large, which it omitted, having been ſo often printed.*]

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Secretary of this Convention cauſe to be engroſſed, forthwith, two fair copies of the form of ratification, and of the propoſed Conſtitution of Government, as recommended by the Fœderal Convention on the ſeventeenth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty ſeven.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, twelve o'clock.

IN CONVENTION.

FRIDAY, the 27th of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Wythe reported, from the Committee appointed, ſuch amendments to the propoſed Conſtitution of Government for the United States, as were by them deemed neceſſary to be recommended to the conſideration of the Congreſs which ſhall firſt aſſemble under the ſaid Conſtitution, to be acted upon according to the mode preſcribed in the fifth article thereof; and he read the ſame in his place, and afterwards delivered them in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again read, and are as followeth:

That there be a Declaration or Bill of Rights aſſerting and ſecuring from encroachment the eſſential and unalienable rights of the people in ſome ſuch mannner as the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14th. That every freeman has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches, and seizures of his person, his papers, and property; all warrants therefore to search suspected places, or seize any freeman, his papers or property, without information upon oath (or affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous of taking an oath) of legal and sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive, and all general warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

1st. That each state in the union shall respectively retain every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the Federal Government.

2d. That there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, according to the enumeration or census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which that number shall be continued or encreased as Congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the Constitution, by apportioning the representatives of each state to some greater number of people from time to time as population encreases.

3d. When Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state, of the quota of such state according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised; and if the legislature of any state shall pass a law which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by Congress, the taxes and excises laid by Congress, shall not be collected in such state.

4th. That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected.

5th. That the journals of the proceedings of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy.

6th. That a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published at least once in every year.

7th. That no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two thirds of the whole number of the members of the Senate; and no treaty, ceding, contracting, or restraining or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the United States, or any of them, or their, or any of their rights or claims to fishing in the American seas, or navigating the American rivers, shall be made, but in case of the most urgent and extreme necessity, nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurence of three fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively.

8th. That no navigation law or law regulating commerce shall be passed without the consent of two thirds of the members present, in both houses.

9th. That no standing army or regular troops shall be raised, or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two thirds of the members present, in both houses.

10th. That no soldier shall be inlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

11th. That each state respectively shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining its own militia, whensoever Congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service in time of war, invasion or rebellion, and when not in the actual service of the United States, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties and punishments as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state.

12th. That the exclusive power of legislation given to Congress over the Federal Town and its adjacent district, and other places, purchased or to be purchased by Congress of any of the states, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

13th. That no person shall be capable of being President of the United States for more than eight years in any term of sixteen years.

14th. That the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such Courts of Admiralty as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish in any of the different states: The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different States. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction; in all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, as to matters of

law only: except in cases of equity, and of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in which the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make: But the judicial power of the United States shall extend to no case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this Constitution; except in disputes between States about their territory; disputes between persons claiming lands under the grants of different States, and suits for debts due to the United States.

15th. That in criminal prosecutions, no man shall be restrained in the exercise of the usual and accustomed right of challenging or excepting to the jury.

16th. That Congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, or either of them, except when the Legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the same.

17th. That those clauses which declare that Congress shall not exercise certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever, to extend the powers of Congress; but that they be construed either as making exceptions to the specified powers where this shall be the case, or otherwise, as inserted merely for greater caution.

18th. That the laws ascertaining the compensation of Senators and representatives for their services, be postponed in their operation, until after the election of representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof; that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

19th. That some tribunal other than the Senate be provided for trying impeachments of Senators.

20th. That the salary of a Judge shall not be encreased or diminished during his continuance in office otherwise than by general regulations of salary, which may take place on a revision of the subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such salaries shall be first ascertained by Congress.

AND the Convention do, in the name and behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, enjoin it upon their representatives in Congress to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a RATIFICATION of the foregoing alterations and provisions in the manner provided by the fifth article of the said Constitution; and in all Congressional laws to be passed in the meantime, to conform to the spirit of these amendments as far as the said Constitution will admit.

And so much of the said amendments as is contained in the first twenty articles, constituting the Bill of Rights, being again read;

Resolved, That this Convention doth concur therein.

The other amendments to the said proposed Constitution, contained in twenty-one articles, being then again read, a motion was made, and the question being put, to amend the same by striking out the third article, containing these words:

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

It passed in the negative,—Ayes 65—Noes 85.

On motion of Mr. George Nicholas, seconded by Mr. Benjamin Harrison, the ayes and noes on the said question were taken as followeth;

AYES—Mr. George Parker, Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. Wilson Nicholas, Mr. Zachariah Johnson, Mr. Archibald Stuart, Mr. William Dark, Mr. Adam Stephen, Mr. Martin M'Ferran, Mr. James Taylor (of Caroline) Mr. David Stuart, Mr. Charles Simms, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, Mr. Martin Pickett, Mr. Humphrey Brooke, Mr. John Sherman Woodcock, Mr. Alexander White, Mr. Warner Lewis, Mr. Thomas Smith, Mr. John Stuart, Mr. Daniel Fisher, Mr. Alexander Woodrow, Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Prunty, Mr. Abel Seymour, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. James Johnson, Mr. Rice Bullock, Mr. Burdit Ashton, Mr. William Thornton, Mr. Henry Towles, Mr. Levin Powell, Mr. William Overton Callis, Mr. Ralph Wormeley, Mr. Francis Corbin, Mr. William M'Clerry, Mr. James Webb, Mr. Jesse Taylor (of Norfolk) Mr. John Stringer, Mr. Littleton Eyre, Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Thomas Gaskins, Mr. Archibald Woods, the Honorable James Madison, Mr. James Gordon (of Orange) Mr. William Ronald, Mr. Thomas Walke, Mr. Anthony Walke, Mr. Benjamin Wilson, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. William Peachey, Mr. Andrew Moore, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Mr. Jacob Rinker, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Benjamin Blunt, Mr. Samuel Kello, Mr. John Allen, Mr. Cole Digges, Mr. Bushrod Washington, the Honorable George Wythe, and Mr. Thomas Mathews.

NOES—The Honorable Edmund Pendleton, Esq; President, Mr. Edmund Custis, Mr. John Pride, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Samuel Jordan Cabell, Mr. John Trigg, Mr. Charles Clay, Mr. William Fleming, Mr. Henry Lee (of Bourbon) Mr. John Jones, Mr. Binns Jones, Mr. Charles Patteson, Mr. David Bell, Mr. Robert Alexander, Mr. Edmund Winston, Mr. Thomas Read, the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, the Honorable John Tyler, Mr. David Patteson, Mr. Stephen Pankey, jun. Mr. Joseph Michaux, Mr. French Strother, Mr. Joseph Jones, Mr. Miles King, Mr. Worlich Westwood, Mr. Meriwether Smith, Mr. James Upshaw, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Joseph Haden, Mr. John Early, Mr. Thomas Arthurs, Mr. John Guerrant, Mr. William Sampson, Mr. Isaac Coles, Mr. George Carrington, Mr. Parke Goodall, Mr. John Carter Littlepage, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. William Fleet, Mr. Thomas Roane, Mr. Holt Richeson, Mr. Benjamin Temple, Mr. James Gordon (of Lancaster) Mr. Stephens Thomson Mason, Mr. William White, Mr. Jonathan Patteson, Mr. John Logan, Mr. Henry Pawling, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Green Clay, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Richard Kennon, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. Alexander Robertson, Mr. Walter Crocket, Mr. Abraham Trigg, Mr. Solomon Shepherd, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. Burwell Basset, Mr. Matthew Walton, Mr. John Steele, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Thomas Turpin, Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. Edmund Ruffin, Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. William Grayson, Mr. Cuthbert Bullit, Mr. Walter Tomlin, Mr. William M'Kee, Mr. Thomas Carter, Mr. Henry Dickenson, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Andrew Buchanan, Mr. John Hartwell Cocke, Mr. John Howell Briggs, Mr. Thomas Edmonds, the Honorable Richard Cary, Mr. Samuel Edmison, and Mr. James Montgomery.

And then, the main question being put that this Convention doth concur with the Committee in the said amendments;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

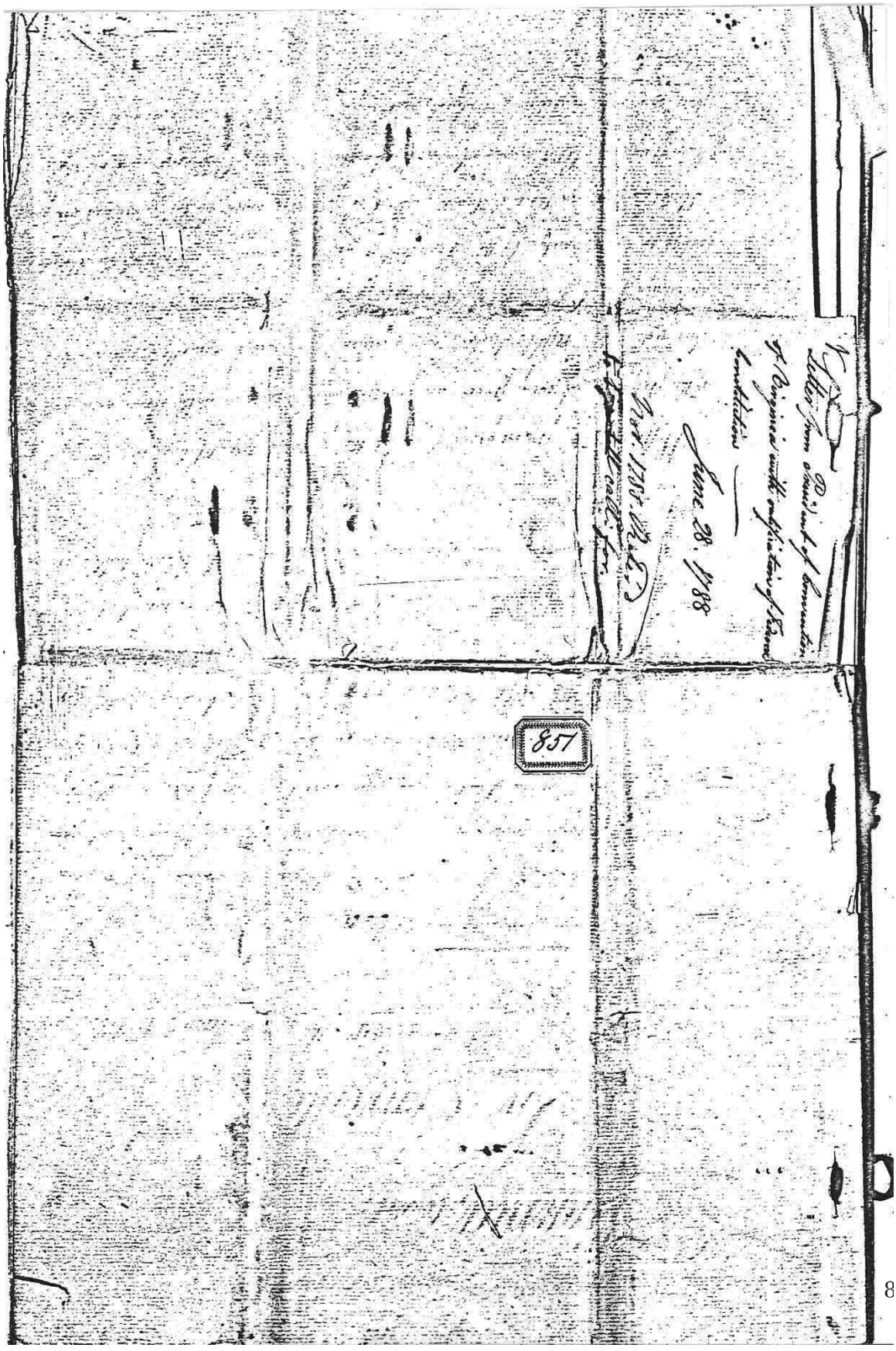
On motion, *Ordered*, That the foregoing amendments be fairly engrossed upon parchment, signed by the President of this Convention, and by him transmitted, together with the ratification of the Federal Constitution, to the United States in Congress assembled.

Extract from the Journal.

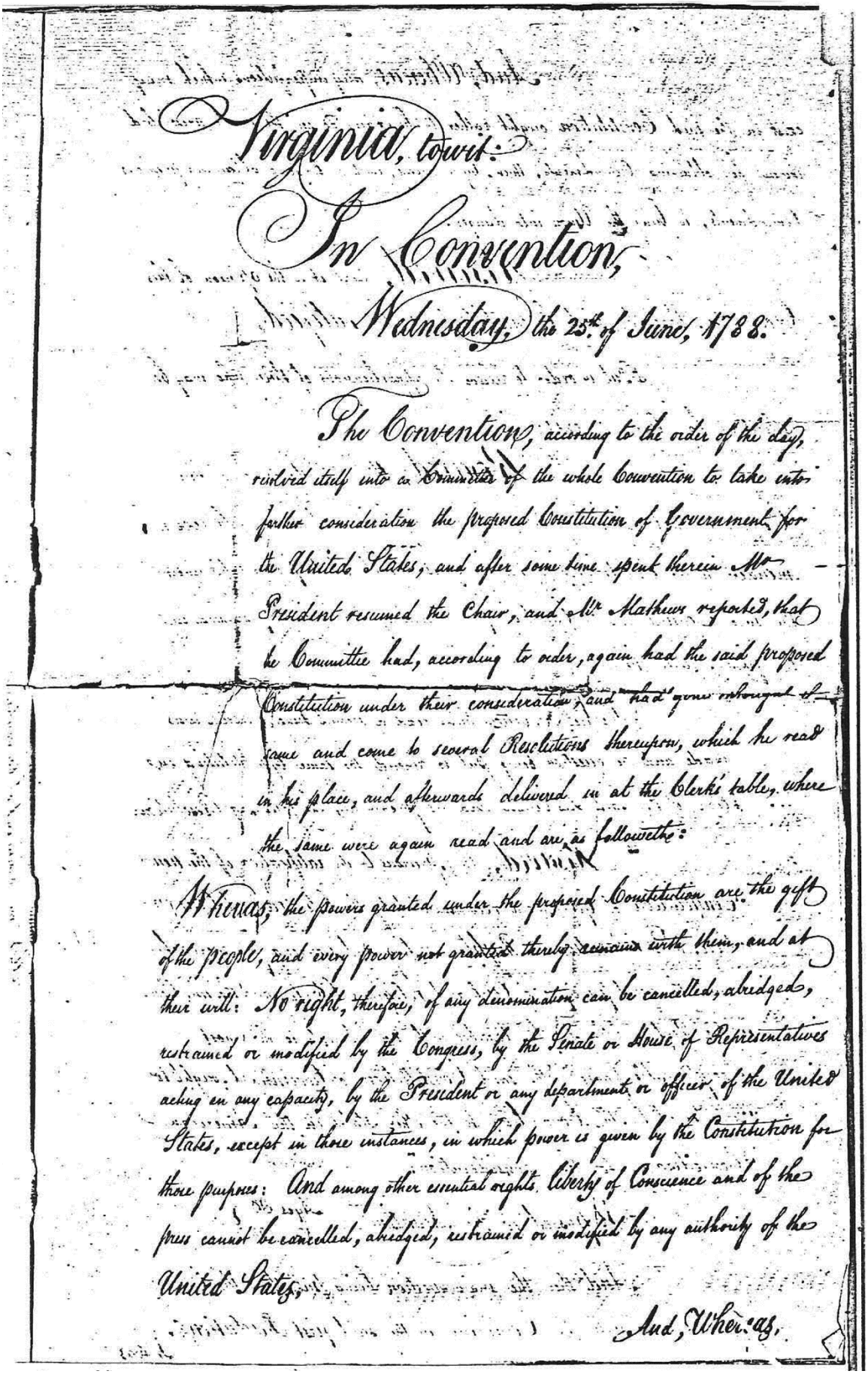
JOHN BECKLEY, SECRETARY
to the CONVENTION.

RICHMOND: Printed by AUG. DAVIS, *Printer to the Honorable Convention.* 86

210-E. Extracts from the Journal Sent to the Governor of Massachusetts, 28 June 1788.[1]



1. MS, Document 851, Miscellaneous Legislative Papers, Senate Files, Massachusetts Archives.



Virginia, towit:

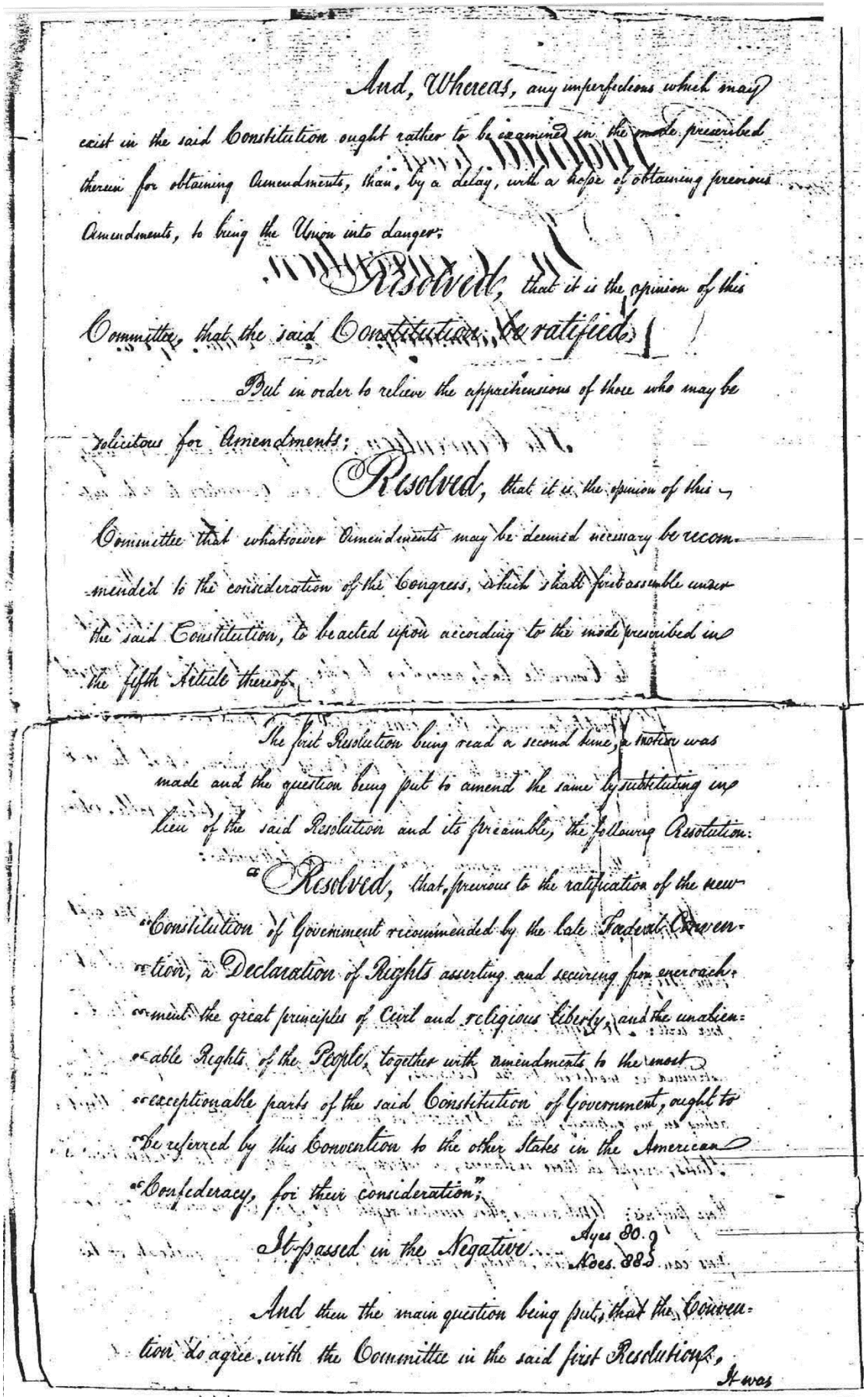
In Convention,

Wednesday, the 25th of June, 1788.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention to take into further consideration the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, and after some time spent therein Mr President resumed the Chair, and Mr Mathews reported, that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said proposed Constitution under their consideration, and had gone through the same and come to several Resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again read and are as followeth:

Whereas, the powers granted under the proposed Constitution are the gift of the people, and every power not granted thereby remains with them, and at their will: No right, therefore, of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any capacity, by the President or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances, in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: And among other essential rights, Liberty of Conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States,

And, Whereas,



And, Whereas, any imperfections which may exist in the said Constitution ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein for obtaining Amendments, than, by a delay, with a hope of obtaining previous Amendments, to bring the Union into danger:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the said Constitution be ratified.

But in order to relieve the apprehensions of those who may be solicitous for Amendments;

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that whatsoever Amendments may be deemed necessary be recommended to the consideration of the Congress, which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth Article thereof.

The first Resolution being read a second time, a motion was made and the question being put to amend the same by substituting in lieu of the said Resolution and its preamble, the following Resolution:

"Resolved, that previous to the ratification of the new "Constitution of Government recommended by the late Federal Convention, a Declaration of Rights asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of Civil and religious Liberty, and the unalienable Rights of the People, together with amendments to the most exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of Government, ought to "be referred by this Convention to the other States in the American "Confederacy, for their consideration;"

It passed in the Negative. Ayes 80. Noes. 88.

And then the main question being put, that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the said first Resolution,

It was

It was resolved in the Affirmative. Ayes 89. Noes 79.

The second Resolution being then read a second time, a motion was made, and the question put to amend the same by striking out the Preamble thereto;

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

And then the main question being put that the Convention do agree with the Committee in the second Resolution so amended;

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

On motion, Ordered, that a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a form of Ratification, pursuant to the first Resolution; and that His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Madison, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Cabell compose the said Committee.

On motion, Ordered, that a Committee be appointed to prepare and report such Amendments, as shall by them be deemed necessary to be recommended pursuant to the second Resolution; and that the Honorable George Wythe, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Henry, His Excellency Governor Randolph, Mr. George Mason, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Grayson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Tyler, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Ronald, Mr. Blandy, Mr. Meriwether Smith, the Honorable Paul Carrington, Mr. Innes, Mr. Hopkins, the Honorable John Blair, and Mr. Simms, compose the said Committee.

His Excellency Governor Randolph reported, from the Committee appointed, according to order, a form of Ratification, which was read and agreed to by the Convention, in the words following:

Virginia, to wit.

We the Delegates of the People of Virginia duly

duly elected in pursuance of a Recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared, as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us, to decide thereon. DO, in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the People may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified, by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any capacity, by the President or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes. And that among other essential rights, the liberty of Conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified, by any authority of the United States.

With these impressions, with a solemn Appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction that whatsoever imperfections may exist in the Constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed thereinto than

than to bring the Union into danger by a delay with a hope of obtaining Amendments previous to the Ratification;

We the said Delegates, in the name and in behalf of the People of Virginia, do by these presents assent to, and ratify the Constitution recommended on the seventeenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, by the Federal Convention for the Government of the United States; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said Constitution is binding upon the said People, according to an authentic copy hereto annexed.

(Here follows the Constitution.)

In Convention

Friday, the 27th of June 1788.

Mr. Wythe reported from the Committee appointed such amendments to the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, as were by them deemed necessary to be recommended to the consideration of the Congress which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth Article thereof; and he read the same in his place, and afterwards delivered them in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again read and are, as followeth:

That

That there be a Declaration or Bill of Rights asserting and securing from encroachment the essential and unalienable rights of the People, in some such manner as the following:

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

Second, That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their Trustees and Agents, and at all times amenable to them.

Third, That Government ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the People; and that the doctrine of nonresistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.

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

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

Constitution

Constitution of Government and the laws shall direct.

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

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

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

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

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

Eleventh, That in controversies respecting property and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by Jury is one of the greatest

greatest securities to the rights of the People, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

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

Thirteenth, That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Fourteenth, That every freeman has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his papers, and property; all warrants, therefore, to search suspected places, or seize any freeman, his papers or property, without information upon oath, (or affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous of taking an Oath) of legal and sufficient cause are grievous and oppressive, and all general Warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected persons, without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

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

Sixteenth, That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing, and publishing their Sentiments; that the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty and ought not to be violated.

Seventeenth, That the people have a right to keep and bear arms

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

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

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

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

Amendments to the Constitution

First, That each State shall respectively retain every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the Foederal Government.

Second, That there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, according to the enumeration or census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of Representatives amounts to two.

two hundred; after which that number shall be continued or encreased as Congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the Constitution, by apportioning the Representatives of each State to some greater number of people from time to time as population encreases.

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

Fourth, That the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected.

Fifth, That the Journals of the Proceedings of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy.

Sixth, That a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money be published at least once in every year.

Seventh, That no commercial treaty be ratified without the concurrence of two thirds of the whole number of the members of the Senate; and no treaty, ceding, contracting, restraining or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the United States or any of them, or their or any of their rights or claims to fishing in the American Seas or navigating the American Rivers, shall be made but in cases of

of the most urgent and extreme necessity, nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three fourths of the whole number of the members of both Houses respectively.

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

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

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

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

Twelfth, That the exclusive power of legislation given to Congress over the Federal Town and its adjacent district, and other places purchased or to be purchased by Congress of any of the States, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

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

Fourteenth

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

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

Sixteenthly, That Congress shall not alter, modify or interfere

interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for Senators or Representatives, or either of them, except when the Legislature of any State shall neglect, refuse or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the same.

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

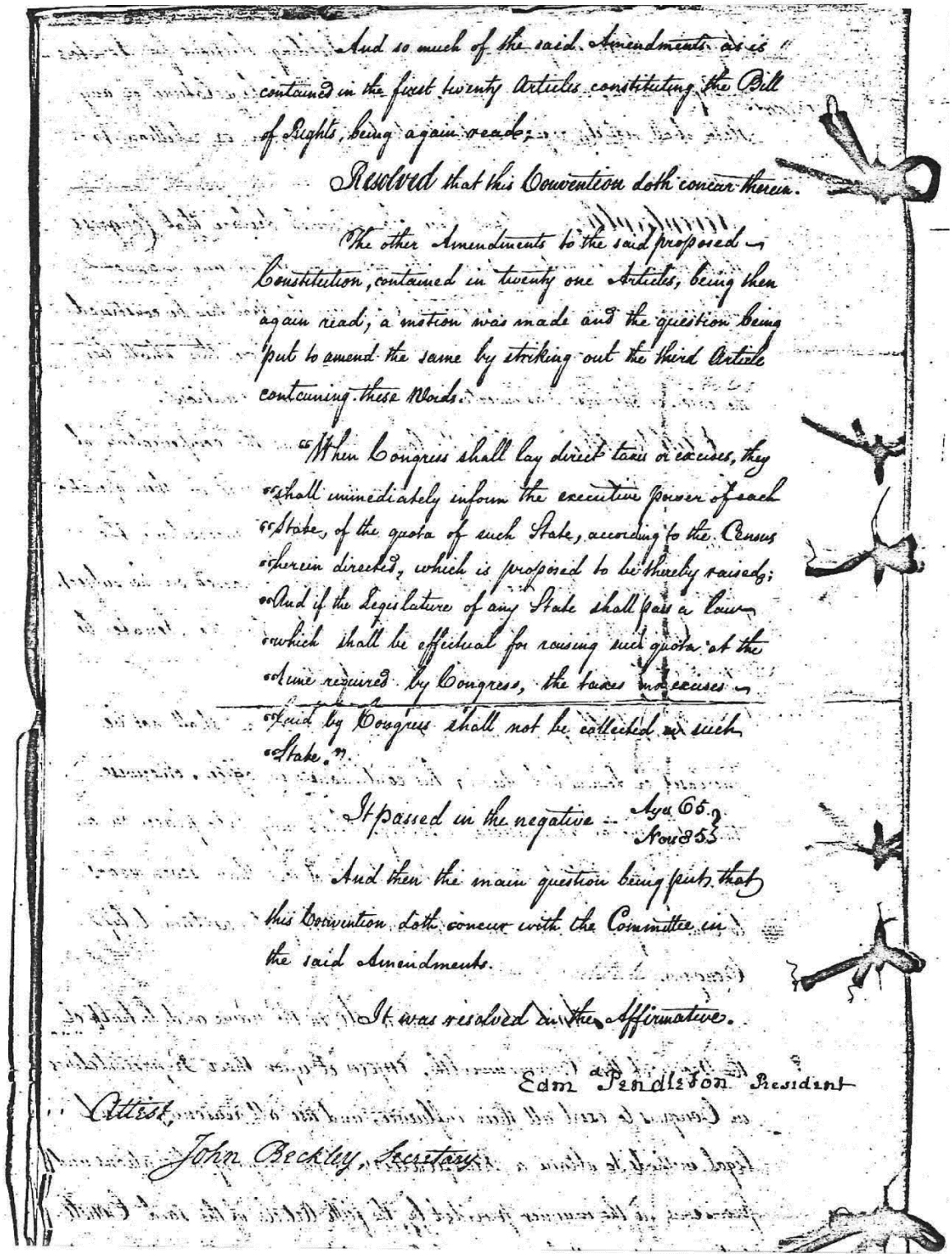
Eighteenth, That the laws ascertaining the compensation of Senators and Representatives for their services, be postponed in their operation until after the election of Representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof; that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

Nineteenth, That some tribunal other than the Senate be provided for trying impeachments of Senators.

Twentieth, That the Salary of a Judge shall not be encreased or diminished during his continuance in office, otherwise than by general regulations of salary, which may take place on a revision of the Subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such Salaries shall be first ascertained by Congress.

And the Convention do, in the name and behalf of the People of this Commonwealth, enjoin it upon their Representatives in Congress to exert all their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a Ratification of the foregoing alterations and provisions in the manner provided by the fifth Article of the said Constitution; And in all Congressional laws to be passed in the mean time to conform to the spirit of these Amendments as far as the said Constitution will admit.

Aug



And so much of the said Amendments as is contained in the first twenty Articles constituting the Bill of Rights, being again read;

Resolved that this Convention doth concur therein.

The other Amendments to the said proposed Constitution, contained in twenty one Articles, being then again read, a motion was made and the question being put to amend the same by striking out the third Article containing these Words.

"When Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they "shall immediately inform the executive power of each "State, of the quota of such State, according to the Census "therein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised; "And if the Legislature of any State shall pass a Law "which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the "time required by Congress, the taxes or excises "laid by Congress shall not be collected in such "State."

It passed in the negative — Ayes 65. Noes 85

And then the main question being put, that this Convention doth concur with the Committee in the said Amendments.

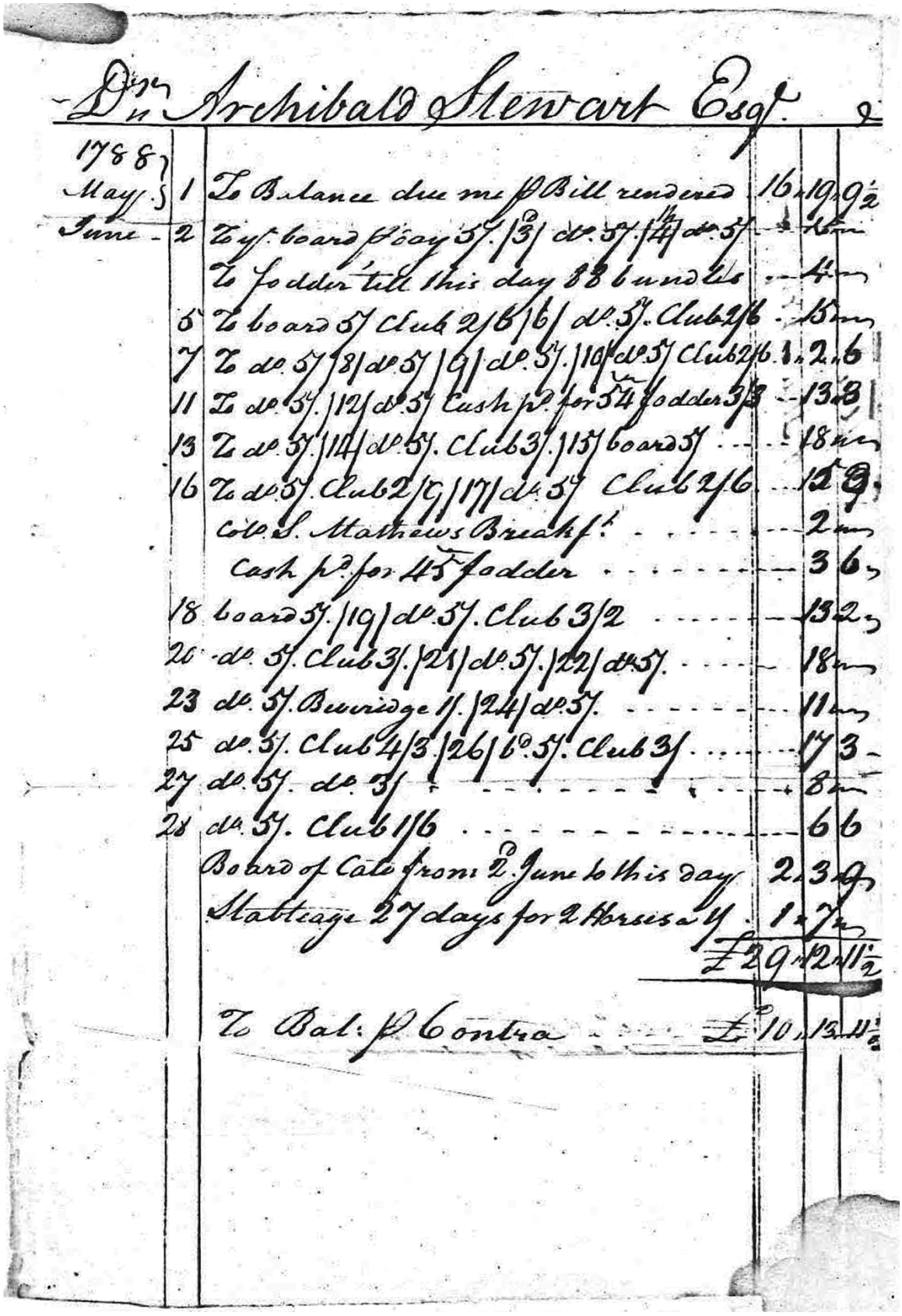
It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Edm Pendleton President

Attest

John Beckley, Secretary

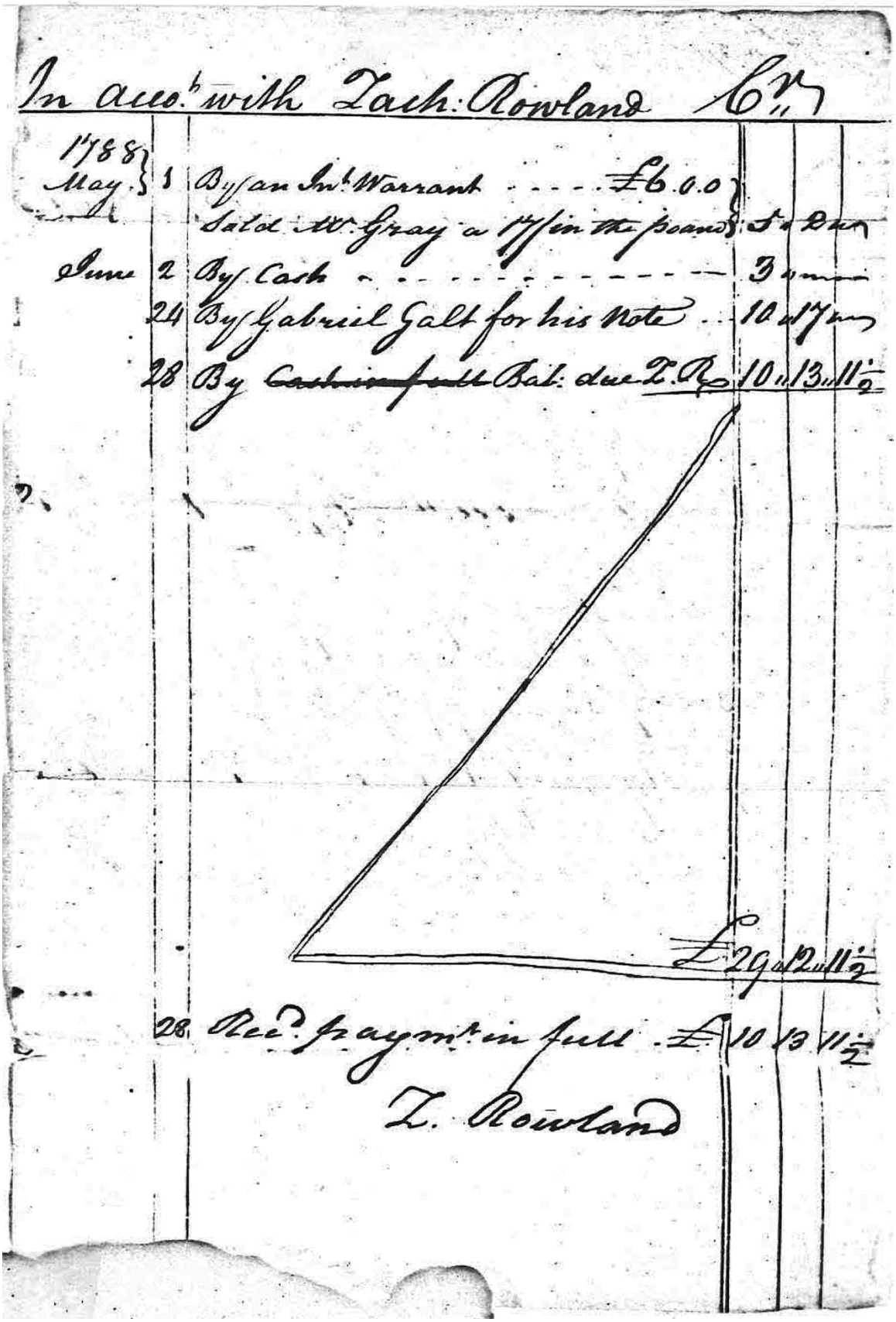
212. Delegate Archibald Stuart: Living Expenses During the Virginia Convention, Richmond, 2–28 June 1788.[1]



Dr. Archibald Stewart Esqr.

1788					
May	5	1	To Balance due me p Bill rendered	16	19 9½
June		2	To 5 board p day 5 3 do 5 4 do 5		15
			To Fodder till this day 88 bundles		4
		6	To board 5 Club 2/6 6 do 5 Club 2/6		15
		7	To do 5 8 do 5 9 do 5 10 do 5 Club 2/6	1	2 6
		11	To do 5 12 do 5 Cash p. for 54 Fodder 3/3		13 8
		13	To do 5 14 do 5 Club 3 15 board 5		18
		16	To do 5 Club 2/6 17 do 5 Club 2/6		15 9
			Colo. S. Mathews Breakf.		2
			Cash p. for 45 Fodder		3 6
		18	board 5 19 do 5 Club 3/2		13 2
		20	do 5 Club 3 21 do 5 22 do 5		18
		23	do 5 Burridge 1 24 do 5		11
		25	do 5 Club 4/3 26 do 5 Club 3		17 3
		27	do 5 do 3		8
		28	do 5 Club 1/6		6 6
			Board of Cate from 2 June to this day	2	3 9
			Stabling 27 days for 2 Horses a 4	1	7
				£ 29	12 11½
			To Bal. p Contra	£ 10	13 11½

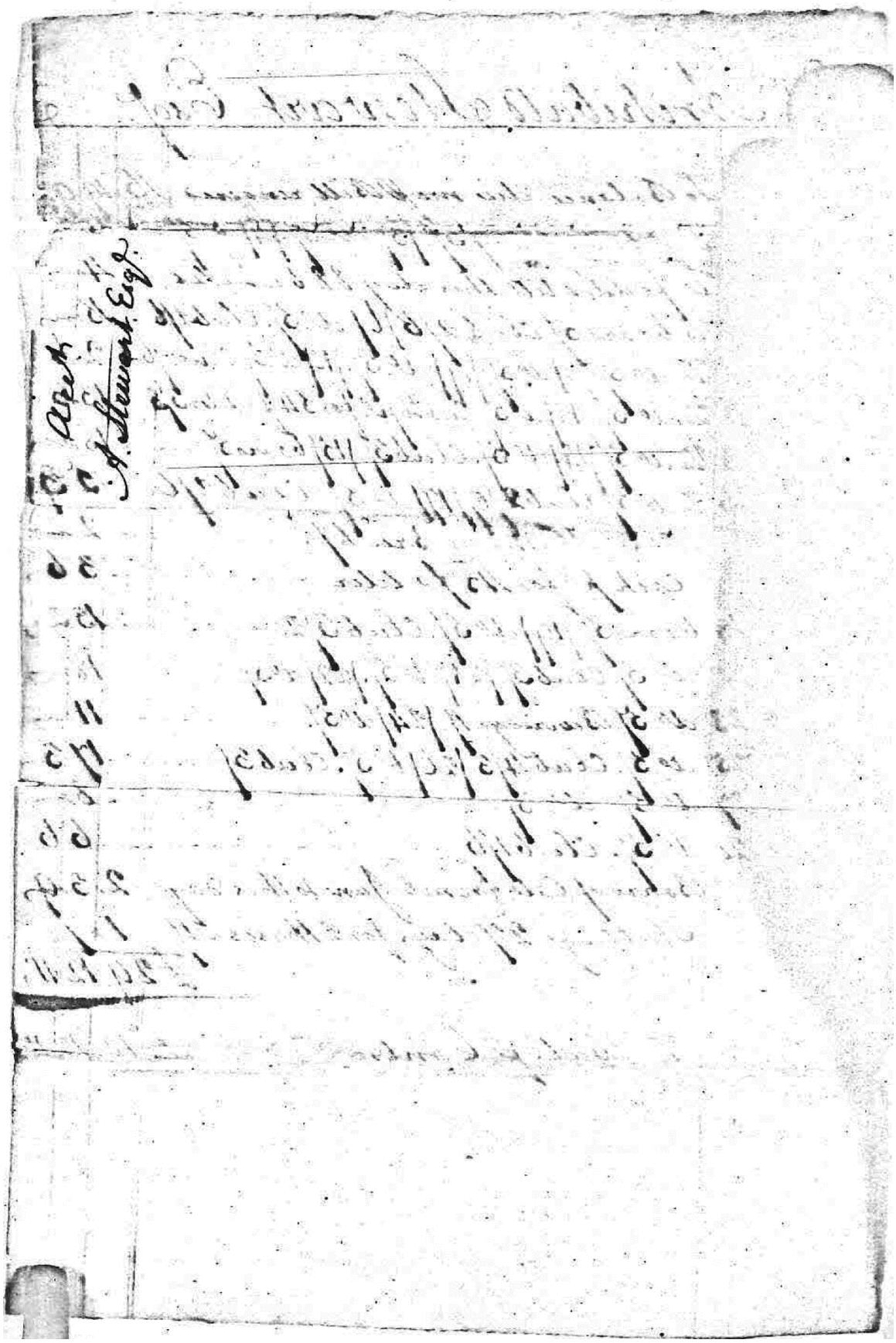
1. MS, Stuart Papers, Virginia Historical Society.



In acco.t with Zach: Rowland

1788					
May.	1	By an Int.l Warrant £6.0.0			
		Sold M.r Gray a ½ in the board			
June	2	By Cash		3	
	24	By Gabriel Galt for his Note ...		10	17
	28	By ~~Cash in full~~ Bal: due Z. R.		10	13 11½
			£	29	12 11½
	28	Rec.d Pay.mt in full ... £		10	13 11½

Z. Rowland



218-A. Drafts of Declaration of Rights and Amendments.[1]

[1788] [Mason, George] Resolves, in Virginia Convention, adopting a Declaration of Rights.

C

-18-

That there shall be a Declaration of Rights, asserting and securing from Encroachment the essential and unalienable Rights of the People, in some such Manner as the following.—

Here the Declaration of Rights to be inserted.—

and that there be also the following Amendments to the Constitution

That each State in the Union shall retain its Sovereignty, Freedom and Independence, and every Power Jurisdiction and Right, which is not by this Constitution expressly delegated to the Congress of the United States.—

That there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand persons, according to the Enumeration or Census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole Number of the Representatives amounts to two hundred.—

That Congress shall not exercise the Powers, respecting the Regulation of Elections, vested in them by the fourth Section of the first Article of the Constitution, but in Cases when a State neglects or refuses 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 agreeably to the Constitution, or shall be prevented from making Elections by Invasion or Rebellion; and in any of these Cases, such Powers shall be exercised by Congress only until the Cause be removed.—

That Congress do not lay direct Taxes, but when the Monies arising from the ~~Imposts~~ Duties on Imports are insufficient for the publick Exigencies; nor then, until Congress shall have first made a Requisition upon the States, to assess, levy and pay their respective Proportions of such Requisitions, according to the Enumeration or Censuses fixed in the Constitution, in such Way and Manner as the Legislature of the State shall judge best; and ~~in such Case~~ if any State shall neglect or refuse to pay its Proportion, pursuant to such Requisition, then Congress may assess and levy such State's Proportion, together with Interest thereon, at the Rate of six cent. per Annum, from the time of Payment prescribed in such Requisition.—

That the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any Office under the Authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected.—

That there shall be a constitutional responsible Council, to assist in the ~~Executive~~ administration

1. MS, Mason Papers, Library of Congress.

out of their own Body a
Administration of Government, with the Power of chusing ~~Their own~~ President; who in
Case of the Death Resignation or Disability of the President of the United States, shall
act so long as, as Vice President, instead of a Vice President elected in the Manner
prescribed by the Constitution; and that the Power of making Treaties, appoint-
ing Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme
Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not
otherwise provided for by the Constitution, and which shall be established by Law,
be vested in the President of the United States, with the Advice and Consent of the Council so to be appointed.
But all Treaties so made or entered into shall be subject to the Revision of the
Senate and House of Representatives, for their Ratification. And no commercial
Treaty shall be ratified without the Consent of two Thirds of the Members present in both Houses; nor shall any
Treaty ceding conveying restraining or suspending the territorial
Rights or Claims of the United States, or any of them, or their
Rights or Claims to fishing in the American Seas, or navigating the
American Rivers shall be ratified, without the Consent of three fourths of
the whole Number of the Members of both Houses.
No Navigation Law, or Law for regulating Commerce shall be passed without
the Consent of two thirds of the Members present in both Houses.
No standing Army or regular Troops shall be raised or kept up in time of Peace
without the Consent of two thirds of the Members of both Houses.
The President, nor Vice President of the United States, nor any Member of the
Council shall command the Army or Navy of the United States in Person
without the Consent of two thirds of the Members of both Houses.
No Soldier shall be enlisted for a longer Term than four Years, except in time
of War; and then for no longer Term than the Continuance of the War.
No Mutiny Act shall be passed for any longer Term than two Years.
The President of the United States, or any other Officer acting under the Authority
of the United States shall, upon Impeachment, be suspended from the Exercise
of his Office, during his Trial.
The Judges of the federal Court shall be incapable of holding any other
Office, or of receiving the Profits of any other Office, or Emolument under the
United States or any of them.

- 19 -

Amendments proposed to the new Constitution of Government.

That there be a Declaration or Bill of Rights, asserting, and securing from encroachment the essential and unalienable Rights of the People, in some such Manner as the following.

1. That all Freemen have certain essential inherent Rights, of which they can not, by any Contract, deprive or divest their Posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring, and possessing, and protecting Property, and pursueing and obtaining Happiness and Safety.

2. That all Power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from the People; that Magistrates are their Trustees and Agents, and at all Times amenable to them.

3. That Government ought to be instituted for the common Benefit, Protection and Security of the People; and that whenever any Government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these Purposes, a Majority of the Community hath an indubitable unalienable, and indefeasible Right to reform, alter, and establish another, or abolish it, in such Manner as shall be judged most conducive to the Public Weal. And that the Doctrine of non resistance against arbitrary Powers and Oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and Happiness of Mankind.

4. That no Man, or set of Men, are entitled to exclusive or separate public Emoluments or Privileges from the Community, but in Consideration of public Services; which not being descendible, neither ought the Offices of Magistrate Legislator, or Judge, or any other public Office to be hereditary.

5. That the legislative executive and judiciary Powers of Government should be separate & distinct, and that the Members of the two first may be restrained from Oppression, by feeling and participating the public Burthens, they should at fixed Periods be reduced to a private Station, return into the Mass of the People, and the Vacancies be supplied by certain & frequent Elections, in which all or any Part of the former Members to be eligible, or ineligible, as the Rules of the Constitution of Government, & the Law shall direct.

6. That the Right of the People to participation in the Legislature is the best Security of Liberty, and the Foundation of all free Government; for this Purpose Elections ought to be free & frequent; and all Men having sufficient Evidence of permanent common Interest with, and Attachment to the Community, ought to have the Right of Suffrage and that no Aid, Charge, Tax, or Fee can be set or levied on the People without the Consent of their Representatives so elected, nor can they be bound by any Law to which they have not in like Manner assented for the public Good.

53

to which they have not, in time manner, assented, for the public good.

7. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any Authority, without the Consent of the Representatives of the People in the Legislature, is injurious to their rights and ought not to be exercised.

8. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the Accusers and Witnesses, to call for Evidence, & to be admitted Counsel in his favour, and to a fair & speedy trial by an impartial Jury of his Vicinage; without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty, (except in the Government of the Land and naval Forces or in time of actual War, Invasion, or Rebellion) nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself

9. That no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, Liberties, privileges or franchises, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, or deprived of his life, Liberty, or Property, but by the Law of the Land.

10. That every freeman restrained of his Liberty, is entitled to a remedy, to enquire into the Lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same if unlawful, and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

13. That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

14. That every free ~~Citizen~~ man has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his papers, and his property; all warrants therefore to search suspected places, or to seize any freeman, his papers, or property, not supported by information upon Oath [or Affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous of taking an Oath] of legal and sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive; and all general Warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person, without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous, and ought not to be granted.

17. That in Controversies respecting property, and in Suits between Man and Man, the ancient Trial by Jury of Facts, where they arise, is one of the greatest Securities to the rights of a free People, and ought to ~~be held sacred~~ remain sacred and inviolable.

16. That the people have a right to Freedom of Speech, and of writing and publishing their Sentiments; that the Freedom of the Press is one of the great Bulwarks of Liberty, and ought not to be violated.

15. That the People have a right peaceably to assemble together to consult for their common good, or to instruct their Representatives, and ~~apply to the Legislature~~ for right every freeman has a right to petition, or apply to the Legislature for redress of grievances.

-20-

~~for redress of Grievances, by Address, Petition, or Remonstrance~~

~~19.~~ 12. That every Freeman ought to find a certain Remedy, by Recourse to the Laws, for all Injurys or Wrongs he may receive in his Person, Property, or Character. He ought to obtain Right and Justice freely, without Sale, completely & without Denial, promptly and without Delay; and that all Establishments or Regulations contravening these Rights are oppressive and unjust.

~~17.~~ ~~That a well regulated Militia, composed of the~~

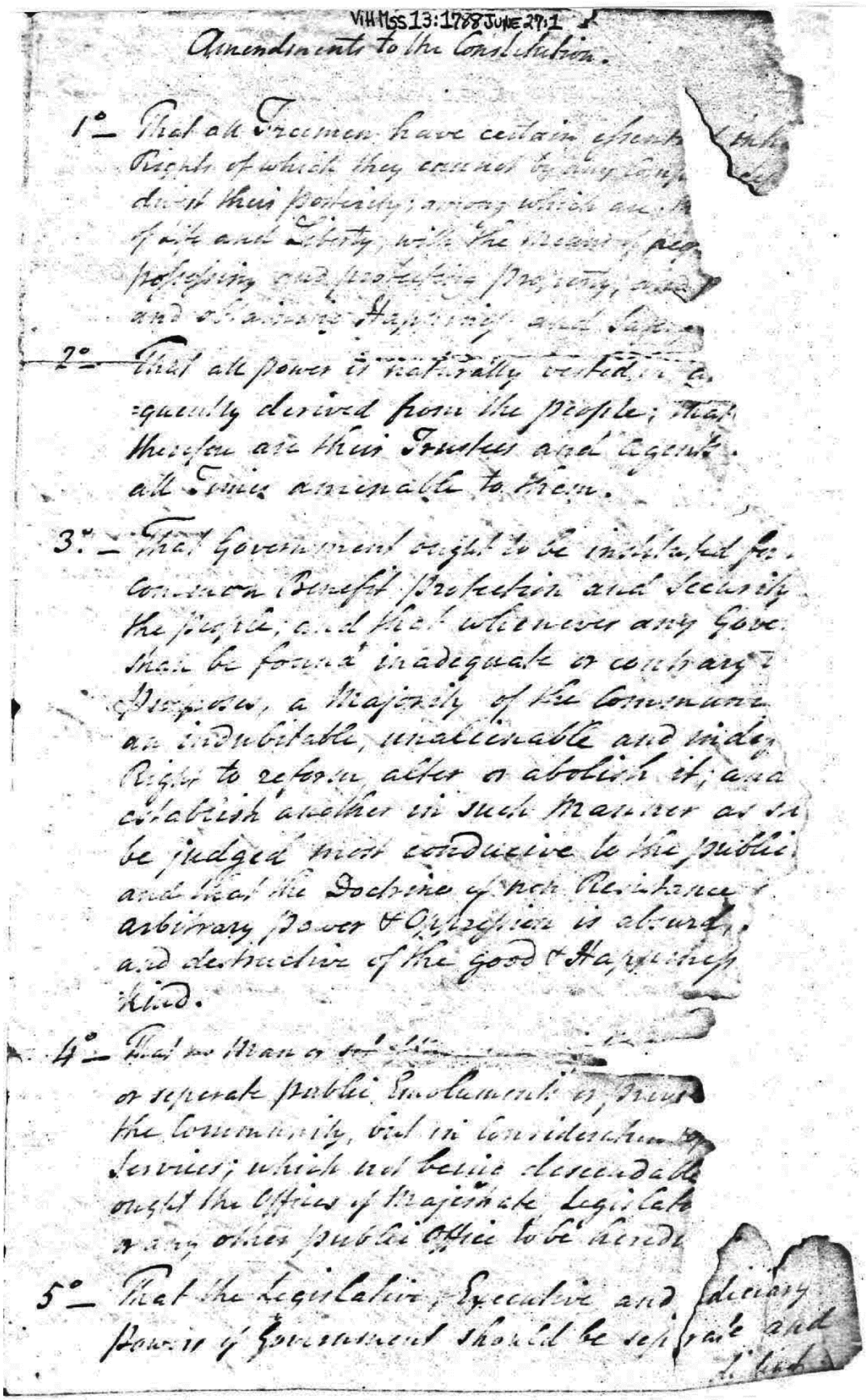
That the People have a Right to bear Arms; ~~and~~ that a well regulated Militia, composed of the Body of the People, trained to Arms, is the proper natural and safe Defence of a free State; That standing Armys in time of Peace are dangerous to Liberty, and therefore ought to be avoided, as far as the circumstances and Protection of the Community will admit; and that in all Cases, the Military should be under strict Subordination to and governed by the Civil Power.

~~18~~ 13. That no Soldier in time of Peace ought to be quartered in any House without the Consent of the owner; and in time of War, only by the Civil Magistrate in such Manner as the Laws direct.

~~19~~ 19. That ~~all~~ any Persons religiously scrupulous ~~of the lawfulness~~ of bearing Arms ~~should~~ ought to be exempted ~~upon~~, upon payment of ~~an~~ adequate equivalent, to employ another to ~~bear~~ bear Arms in ~~his~~ his Stead

~~20~~ 20. That Religion, or the Duty which we owe to our Creator, and the Manner of discharging it, can be directed only by Reason and Conviction, not by Force or Violence, and therefore all Men are ~~equally entitled~~ have an natural and unalienable right to the free Exercise of Religion, according to the Dictates of Conscience, and that no particular religious ~~Sect~~ Society of Christians ought to be ~~established~~ favoured or established by Law, in Preference to others.

218-B. Amendments to the New Constitution of Government.[1]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Amendments to the Constitution.

1st That all Freemen have certain inherent Rights of which they cannot by any Compact deprive their Posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the means of acquiring, possessing and protecting Property, and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety.

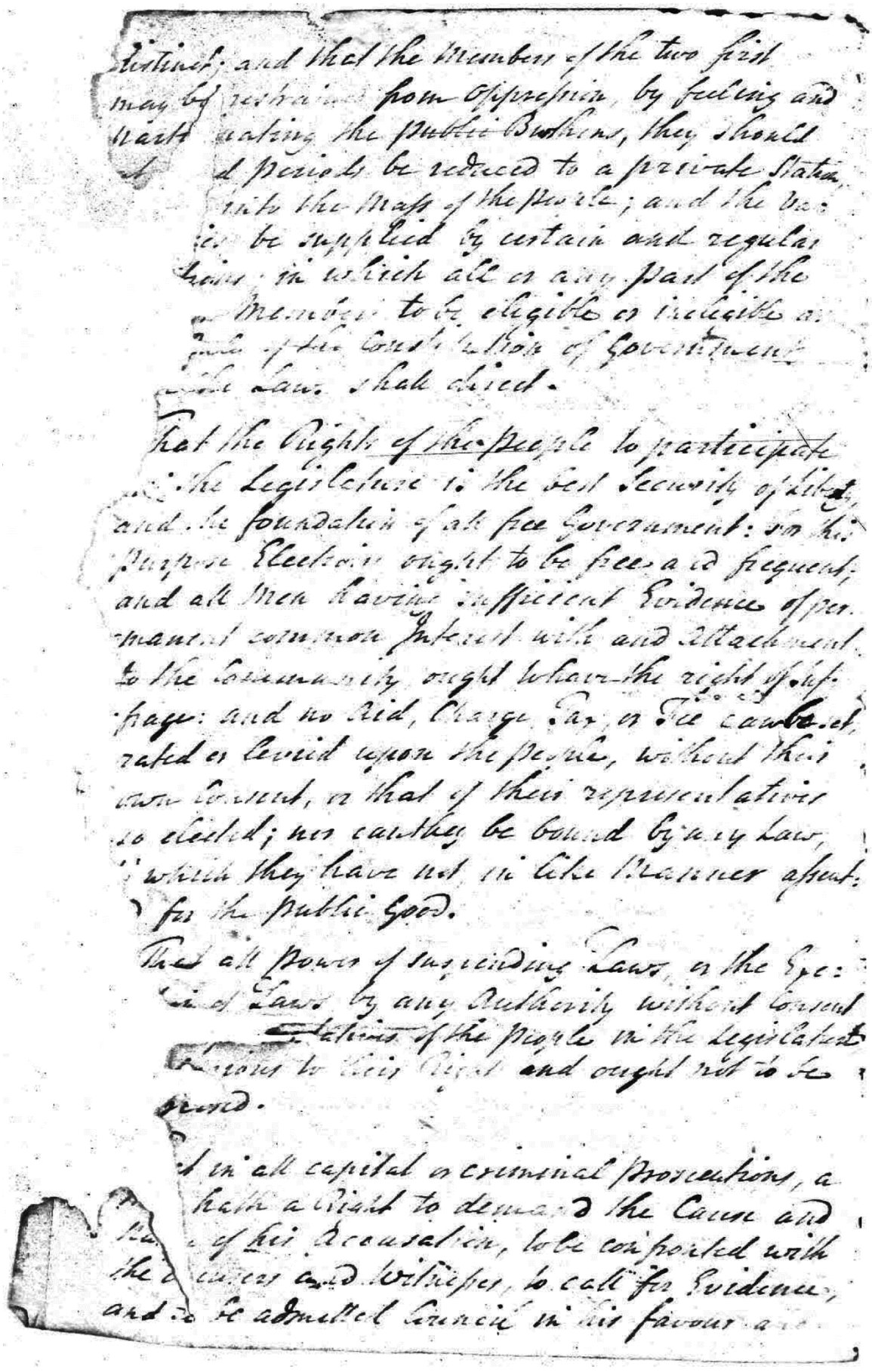
2d That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from the People; that Magistrates are their Trustees and Agents, and at all times amenable to them.

3d That Government ought to be instituted for the common Benefit, Protection and Security of the People, and that whenever any Government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these Purposes, a Majority of the Community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible Right to reform, alter or abolish it, and to establish another in such Manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public Weal: and that the Doctrine of non Resistance against arbitrary Power & Oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good & Happiness of Mankind.

4th That no Man or set of Men are entitled to exclusive or separate public Emoluments or Privileges from the Community, but in Consideration of public Services; which not being descendable, neither ought the Offices of Magistrate, Legislator or any other public Office to be hereditary.

5th That the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary Powers of Government should be separate and distinct,

1. MS, Mss13:1788 June 27:1, Virginia Historical Society. This document is in the handwriting of Meriwether Smith.

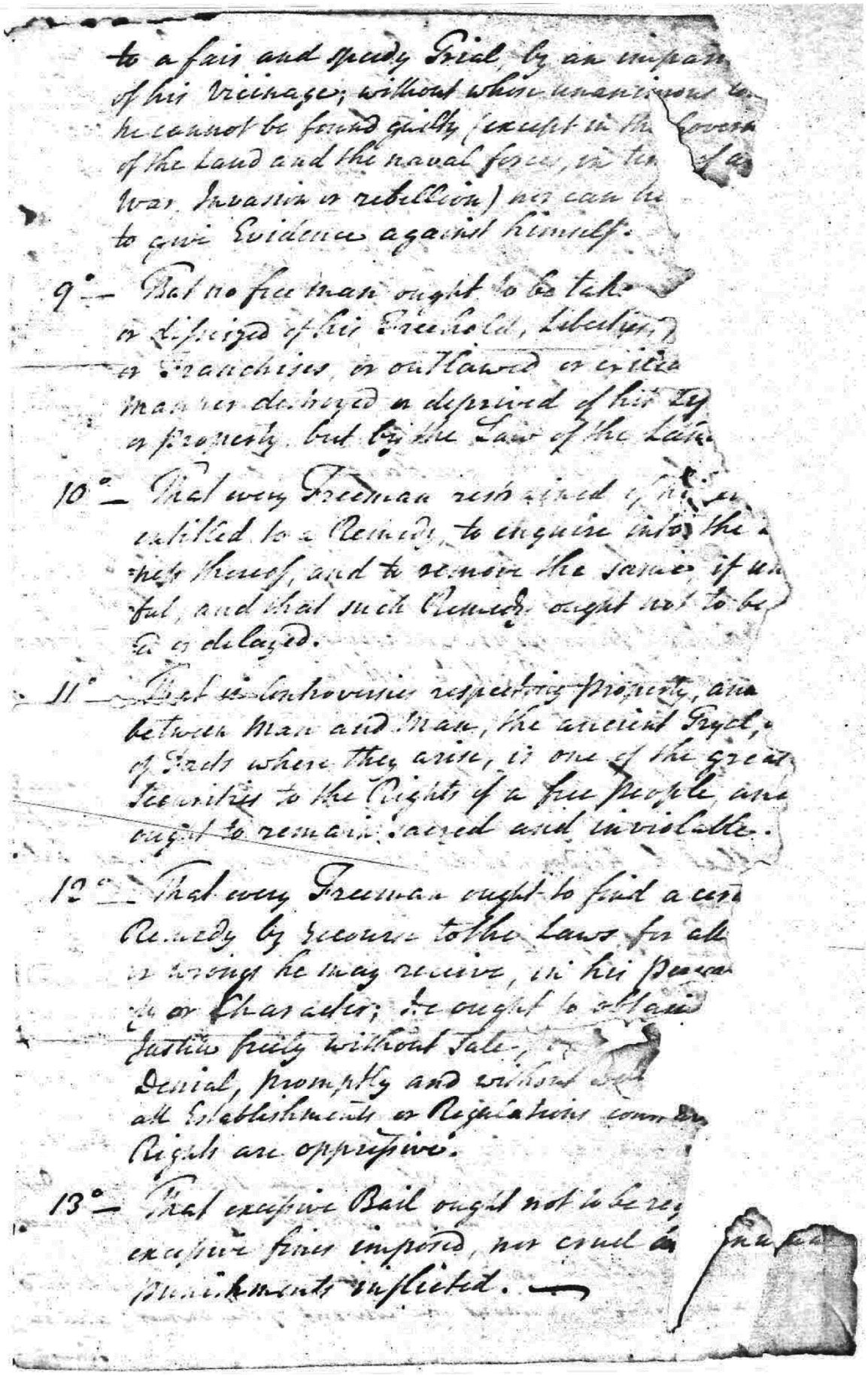


Retirement; and that the Members of the two first may be restrained from Oppression, by feeling and partaking the Public Burthens, they should at d Periods be reduced to a private Station, mix the Mass of the People; and the Va: ies be supplied by certain and regular Elections, in which all or any part of the Members to be eligible or ineligible as Rules of the Constitution of Government the Law shall direct.

That the Right of the People to participate in the Legislature is the best Security of Liberty, and the foundation of all free Government: for this Purpose Elections ought to be free and frequent; and all Men having sufficient Evidence of permanent common Interest with and Attachment to the Community ought to have the right of Suffrage: and no Aid, Charge, Tax, or Fee can be set, rated or levied upon the People, without their own Consent, or that of their representatives so elected; nor can they be bound by any Law, to which they have not in like Manner assented for the public Good.

That all Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws by any Authority without Consent of the Representatives of the People in the Legislature is injurious to their Rights and ought not to be exercised.

That in all capital or criminal Prosecutions, a Man hath a Right to demand the Cause and Nature of his Accusation, to be confronted with the Accusers and Witnesses, to call for Evidence, and to be admitted Council in his favour and



to a fair and speedy Trial, by an impar
of his Vicinage; without whose unanimous co
he cannot be found guilty, (except in the Govern
of the Land and the naval forces, or in the Mi
War, Invasion or rebellion) nor can he
to give Evidence against himself.

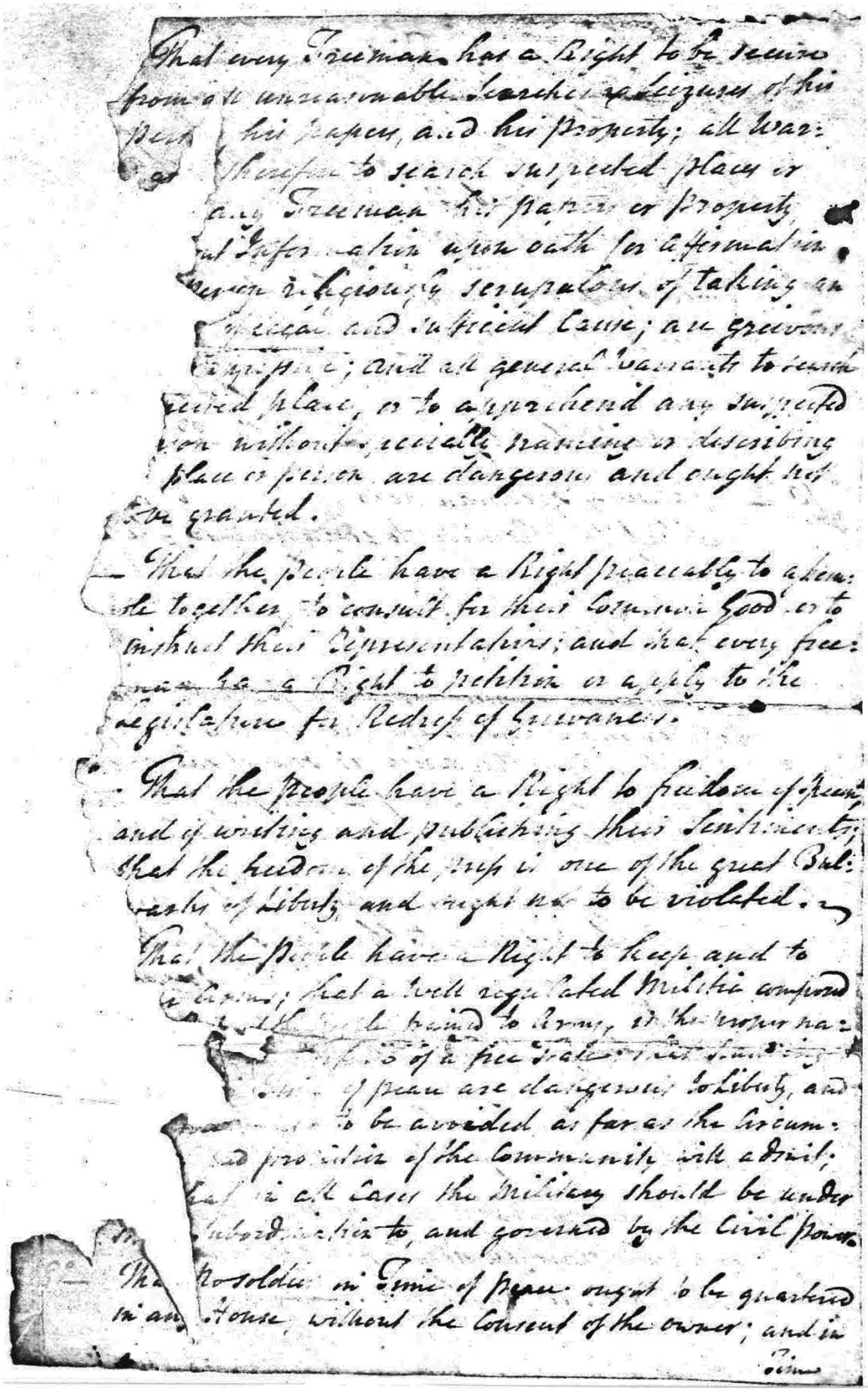
9° — That no freeman ought to be tak
or dispeized of his Freehold, Liberties
or Franchises, or outlawed or exiled
manner destroyed or deprived of his Life
or Property, but by the Law of the Land.

10° — That every Freeman restrained of his
entitled to a Remedy, to enquire into the
ness thereof, and to remove the same if un
ful, and that such Remedy ought not to be
or delayed.

11° — That in controversies respecting Property, and
between Man and Man, the ancient Mode
of Trial where they arise, is one of the great
Securities to the Rights of a free People, and
ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

12° — That every Freeman ought to find a certain
Remedy by Recourse to the Laws for all
or Wrongs he may receive, in his Person
or Character; he ought to obtain
Justice freely without Sale,
Denial, promptly and without
all Establishments or Regulations contrary
Rights are oppressive.

13° — That excessive Bail ought not to be req
excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and
Punishments inflicted. —



That every Freeman has a Right to be secure from all unreasonable Searches & Seizures of his Person his Papers, and his Property; all Warrants therefore to search suspected Places or any Freeman his Papers or Property, not supported by Oath or Affirmation & without evidence of a sufficient Cause; all grievous Compliants; and all general Warrants to search suspected Places, or to apprehend any Suspected Person without specially naming or describing Place or Person are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

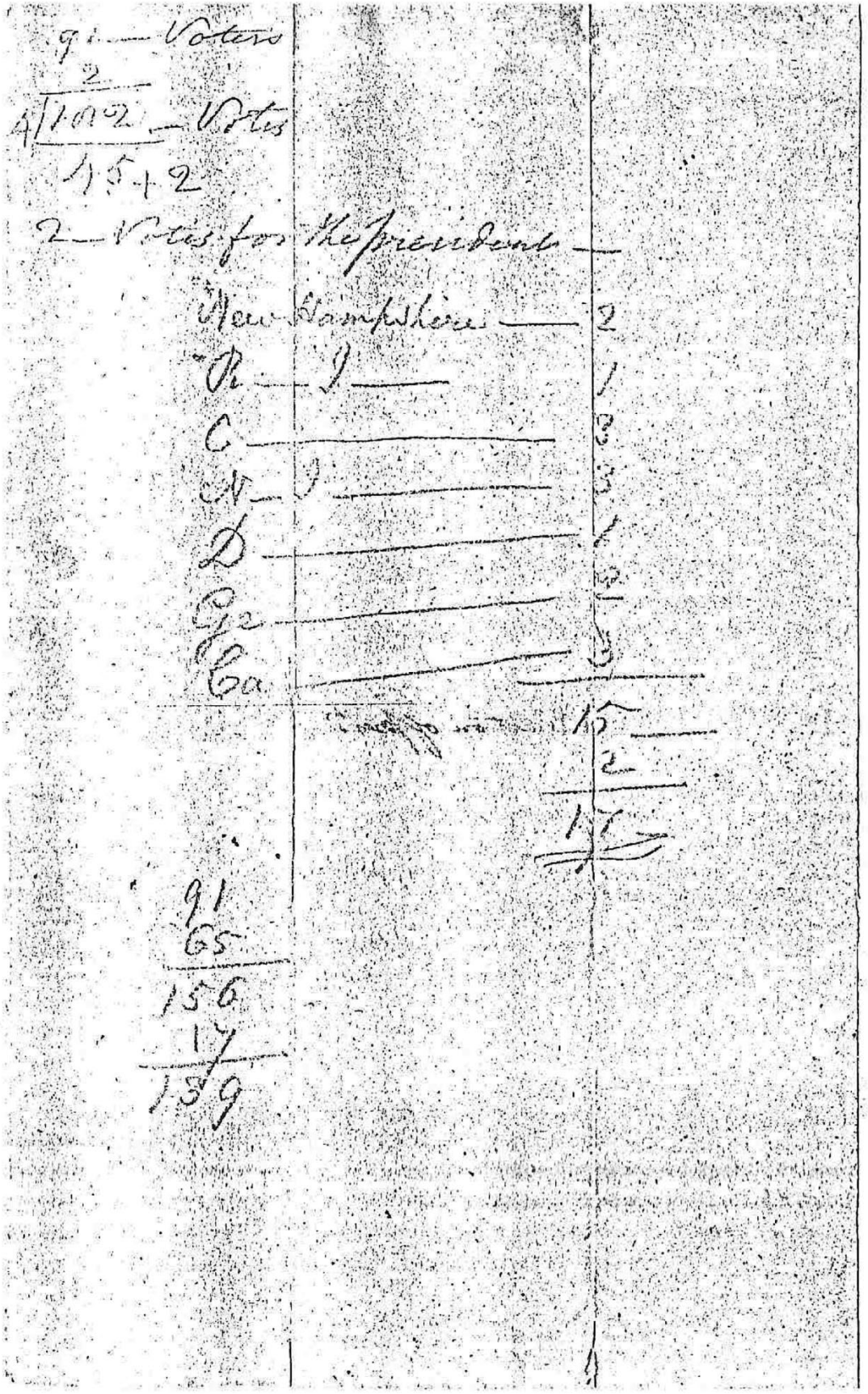
That the People have a Right peaceably to assemble together to consult for their common Good & to instruct their Representatives; and that every Freeman has a Right to petition or apply to the Legislature for Redress of Grievances.

That the People have a Right to Freedom of Speech and of writing and publishing their Sentiments; that the Freedom of the Press is one of the great Bulwarks of Liberty, and ought not to be violated.

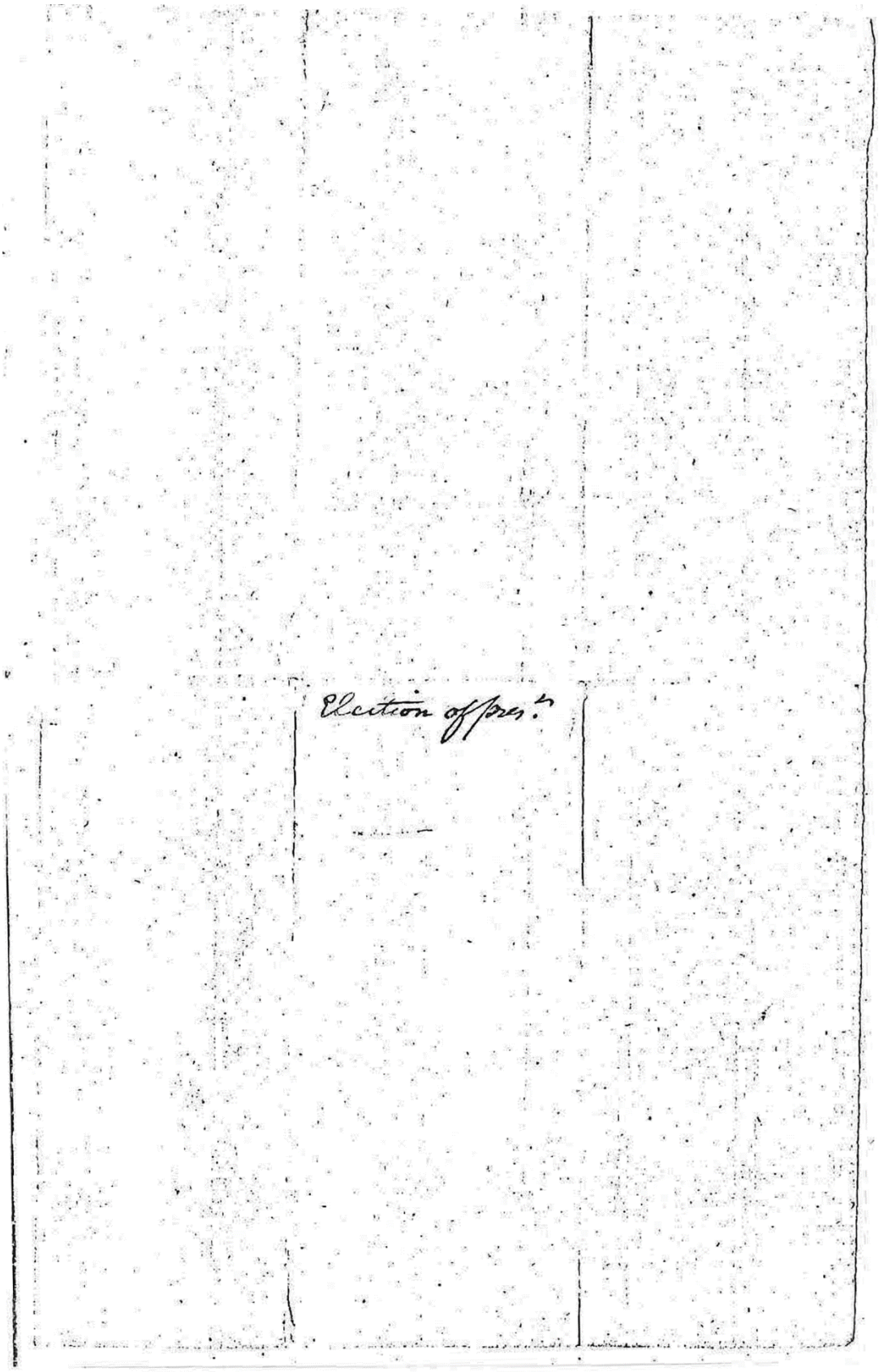
That the People have a Right to keep and to bear Arms; that a well regulated Militia composed of the Body of the People trained to Arms, is the proper natural & safe Defence of a free State; that standing Armies in time of Peace are dangerous to Liberty, and ought to be avoided as far as the circumstances and protection of the Community will admit; and that in all Cases the Military should be under strict Subordination to, and governed by the Civil Power.

That no Soldier in time of Peace ought to be quartered in any House, without the Consent of the Owner; and in time

240. William Grayson's Calculations of Presidential Electors, 18 June 1788.[1]



1. MS, Bryan Family Papers, Virginia State Library.


Election of Pres.t

255. Versions of a Legislative Resolution in George Mason Papers, c. 24 June 1788.[1]

Resolved that the following Declaration of Rights and Amendments be referred to the Committee of the whole Convention upon the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention.

or

Resolved that the following Declaration of Rights and Amendments to the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention ought to be communicated and referred to the other States in the American Union for their Consideration previous to it's final Ratification.

or

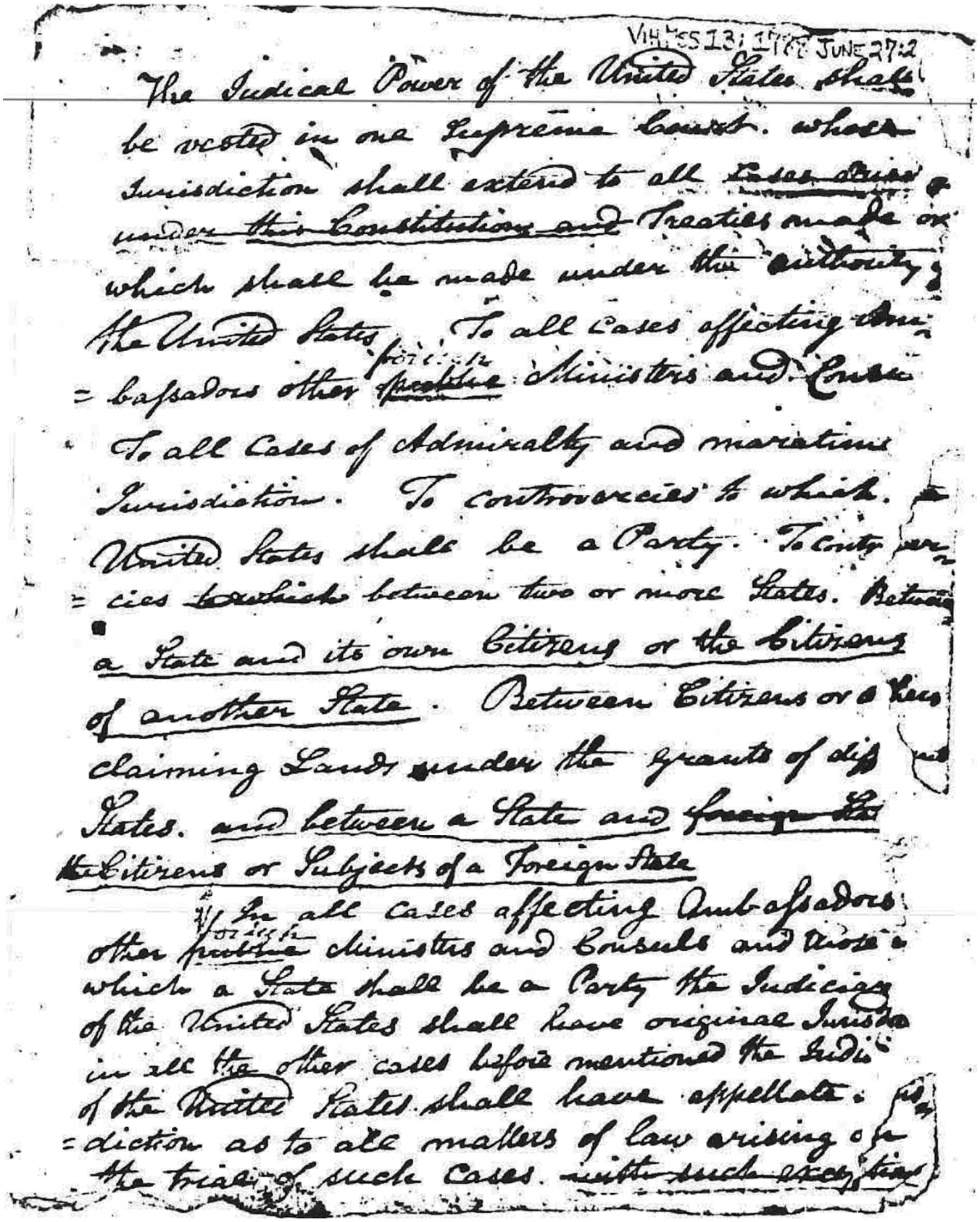
Resolved that the following Amendments ought to be made to the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention previous to the Ratification thereof; and that the said Amendments be by this Convention communicated and referred to the other States in the American Union for their Consideration.

or

Resolved that the new Constitution of Government recommended by the late federal Convention ought to be ratified when the following Declaration of Rights and Amendments shall be adopted, and that the said Declaration of Rights and Amendments be by this Convention communicated and referred to the other States in the

1. Draft MS, Mason Papers, Library of Congress.

263. Draft of Virginia's 14th Structural Amendment on Judicial Power, c. 27 June 1788.[1]



VIHi Mss 13: 1788 JUNE 27:2

The Judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court. whose Jurisdiction shall extend to all Cases arising under this Constitution and Treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States. 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 its own Citizens or the Citizens of another State. Between Citizens or a Citizen claiming Lands under the grants of different States. and between a State and Citizens or Subjects of a Foreign State

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors other public Ministers and Consuls and those in which a State shall be a Party the Judiciary of the United States shall have original Jurisdiction in all the other cases before mentioned the Judiciary of the United States shall have appellate Jurisdiction as to all matters of law arising on the trial of such Cases. with such exceptions

1. Draft, Mss 13: 1788 June 27:2 Virginia Historical Society. The last paragraph is in a different handwriting.

and under such Regulations as the Congress shall direct the

But the judicial Power of the United States shall extend to no Case where the Cause of action shall have originated before the Ratification of this Constitution.

Of this provision is too general, & will preclude in every Instance, the following Cases in which the federal Court ought to have Jurisdiction. Disputes between States about their Territory, & Disputes between Individuals claiming Lands under the Grants of different States

284. Broadside Announcing Virginia Ratification, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 2 July 1788 (Evans 45393).

POGHKEEPSIE,

July 2d, 1788.

JUST ARRIVED

BY EXPRESS,

The Ratification of the New Conſtitution by the Convention of the State of Virginia, on Wedneſday the 25th June, by a majority of 10; 88 agreeing, and 78 diſſenting to its adoption.

"WE the Delegates of the People of Virginia, duly elected in Purſuance of a Recommendation of the General Aſſembly; and now met in Convention, having fully and fairly inveſtigated and diſcuſſed the Proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the moſt mature Deliberation will enable us to decide thereon, DO, in the Name and on Behalf of the People of Virginia, declare and make known, that the Powers granted under the Conſtitution being derived from the People of the United States, may be reſumed by them whenſoever the ſame ſhall be perverted to their Injury or Oppreſſion, and that every Power not granted thereby remains with them and at their Will: That therefore no Right, of any Denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified by the Congreſs, by the Senate, or Houſe of Repreſentatives, acting in any Capacity, by the Preſident, or any Department or Officer of the United States, except in thoſe inſtances where Power is given by the Conſtitution for thoſe Purpoſes: That among other eſſential Rights, the Liberty of Conſcience, and of the Preſs, cannot be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified by any Authority of the United States.

With theſe Impreſſions, with a ſolemn Appeal to the Searcher of Hearts for the Purity of our Intentions, and under the Conviction, that whatſoever Imperfections may exiſt in the Conſtitution, ought rather to be examined in the Mode preſcribed therein, than to bring the Union into Danger by Delay, with a Hope of obtaining Amendments previous to the Ratification:

We the ſaid Delegates, in the Name and in Behalf of the People of Virginia, do by theſe preſents aſſent to and ratify the Conſtitution, recommended on the 17th day of September, 1787, by the Federal Convention for the Government of the United States; hereby announcing to all thoſe whom it may concern, that the ſaid Conſtitution is binding upon the ſaid People, according to an authentic copy hereunto annexed, in the Words following:"—

[Here comes in the Conſtitution.]

A Letter from Richmond adviſes, that a Motion for previous Amendments was rejected by a Majority of Eight; but that ſome days would be paſſed in conſidering ſubſequent Amendments, and theſe, it appeared, from the temper of the Convention, would be recommended.

286. New York *Independent Journal*, 2 July 1788 (supplement).

SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
Independent Journal,
New-York, July 2, 1788.

In our Independent Journal of this Morning, we announced the Ratification of the New Conſtitution by the Convention of Virginia: For the gratification of our Readers, we publiſh the following particulars, received by this day's poſt:—

Ratification of the New Conſtitution, by the Convention of Virginia, on Wedneſday laſt, by a Majority of 10:—88 for it, 78 againſt it.

WE the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected, in purſuance of a recommendation of the General Aſſembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and fairly inveſtigated and diſcuſſed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the moſt mature deliberation will enable us to decide thereon, DO, in the name and on behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the Conſtitution being derived from the people of the United States, may be reſumed by them whenſoever the ſame ſhall be perverted to their injury or oppreſſion, and that every power not granted thereby, remains with them, and at their will: That therefore no right, of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified by the Congreſs, by the Senate, or Houſe of Repreſentatives, acting in any capacity, by the Preſident, or any department or officer of the United States, except in thoſe inſtances where power is given by the Conſtitution for thoſe purpoſes: That among other eſſential rights, the liberty of conſcience, and of the preſs, cannot be cancelled, abridged, reſtrained or modified by any authority of the United States.

With theſe impreſſions, with a ſolemn appeal to the ſearcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction, that whatſoever imperfections may exiſt in the Conſtitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode preſcribed therein, than to bring the UNION into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments previous to the ratification:

We the ſaid delegates, in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, do by theſe preſents aſſent to and ratify the Conſtitution, recommended on the 17th day of September, 1787, by the Federal Convention, for the government of the United States; hereby announcing to all thoſe whom it may concern, that the ſaid Conſtitution is binding upon the ſaid people, according to an authentic copy hereto annexed, in the words following:—

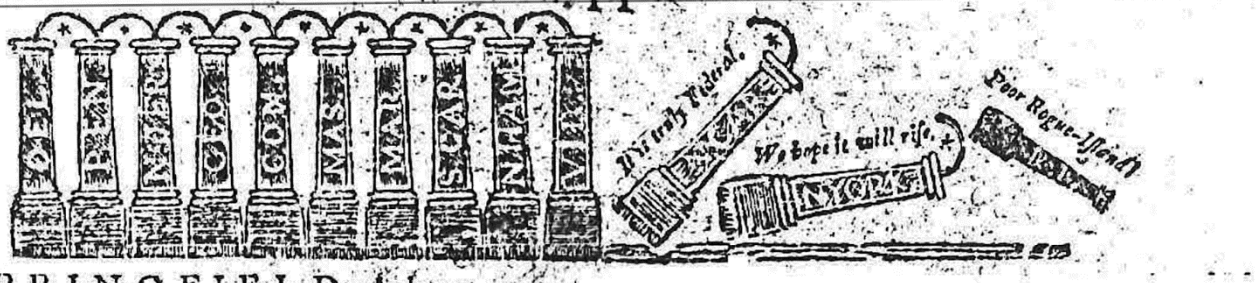
[*Here followed a copy of the Conſtitution.*]

A letter from Richmond adviſes, "that a motion for previous amendments was rejected by a majority of EIGHT; but that ſome days would be paſſed in conſidering ſubſequent amendments, and theſe, it appeared, from the temper of the Convention, would be RECOMMENDED."

NEW-YORK: Printed by J. and A. M'LEAN, FRANKLIN'S HEAD, No. 41, Hanover-Square.

313. Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 9 July 1788.

TEN PILLARS raiſed to ſupport the GRAND EDIFICE.



SPRINGFIELD, July 9.

Laſt Thurſday evening arrived in town, expreſs from New-York, Capt. Levi Peaſe, with the *pleaſing* and *intereſting* intelligence of the *ratification* of the Federal Conſtitution, by the extenſive State of Virginia. It is ſaid their Convention conſiſted of 166 members—and that there was a majority of 10 for its adoption; there being 88 for and 78 againſt it.

329. John O'Connor's Fourth of July Speech, *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 16 July 1788.[1]

Substance of a SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

Mr. John O'Connor,

On the Anniverſary of American Independence, and the celebration of the Union of America, by Ten Siſter States adopting the New Government.

Spoken by particular Requeſt.

Mr. Preſident, and
Gentlemen of the Committee,

THOUGH my emotions on the cauſe of our meeting on this memorable day are, like yours, the reſult of joy and gratulation, the part aſſigned to me for action far exceeds the compaſs of my powers, though it is a duty I muſt endeavour to diſcharge, from a conſciouſneſs that the office was conferred from motives honourable as well as complimentary to my feelings. This preſcience of inſufficiency, Sir, is aggravated, not only through the magnitude of the ſubject, but the notice itſelf which precluded preparation to deliver any thing ſyſtematically adequate to the virtuous exultation of my audience—But in your generous ſentiments of candour I confide, that my imperfections will find ſome palliation, eſpecially as I have long departed from the habit of public ſpeaking, as well as the Academic ſcenes, where the luxuriance of youthful fancy required no retrenchment, for the fire of imagination created ſuch a multitude of enchanting images, which ſhe dreſſed in ſo many various ſhapes of beauty, that the Critic's art could not point at, or demoliſh a ſpeck, which would not produce a demolition of the whole aſſemblage.

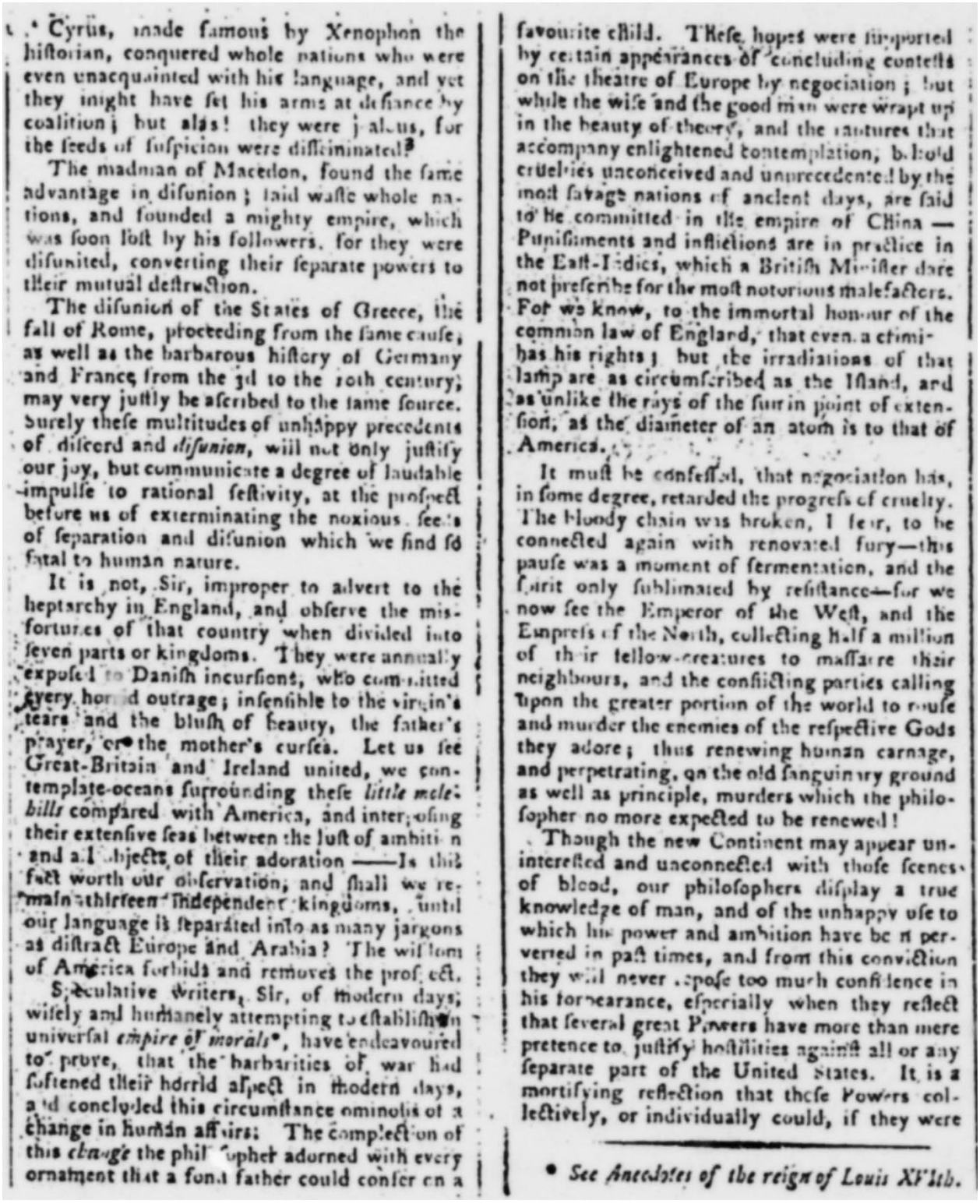
But before Sir, we partake of the viands prepared for this day of joy, or ſend round the fervid or jocund aſpiration, ſuffer me to glance at ſome affecting features in the hiſtory of man, which will rather augment than diminiſh the juſtice of thoſe conceptions we *now* entertain of our future proſpects ſince Virginia has acceded to the conſolidation.

In order to meaſure theſe expectations juſtly, hiſtory muſt be the foundation of compariſon, and the unerring rule to eſtimate, with ſuitable wiſdom, our preſent condition; and her pages for five thouſand years paſt are ſo truly hideous and deformed, on inſpection, as to furniſh leſſons of precaution and wiſdom to all nations who have means to collect, virtue to evalefce, and ſpirit to erect barriers againſt the violence of ambition—ever aſpiring to invade the property of the weak and defenceleſs, in violation of juſtice and defined rights, in every age and country of the world, whoſe mighty Monarchies and Empires we find eſtabliſhed by the Tyrant's ſword; not the *ultima ratio*, but the firſt means of rapine, and the total deſtruction of mankind in many circles of the globe, while their own elevation (if depopulating nations merit the epithet) and decline are traced to ſimilar cauſes and principles. Every ſection therefore in the great volume of human tranſactions, loudly and emphatically called on the United States to draw cloſer the feeble cords of connection.[2]

Events, Sir, removed from human eye, and conſequently from our paſſions and ſenſibilities, either by the obſcure and unexplored curtain of time, or even the remoteneſs of place and action, ſlightly affect the heart, inconſiderate enough, to conclude that accidents and reverſes of war and fortune to which whole empires have been expoſed, may never revert again and diſturb the ſhepherd in his paſture or vines. Theſe primæval antedeluvian concluſions are at this period of human knowledge ridiculous and fantaſtic. Power, wiſdom and precaution, the offspring of union and the gifts of heaven, to thoſe who will accept their aid, are the means to which we muſt confide all our ſecurity againſt a Tyrant, who, not without precedent, might build us, living, in brick and lime, as ſo many images to ornament his encloſures, or to inſtruct his painters to tranſmit the true picture of agony, while the monſter feaſted his eyes with the variety of groans which, from the ſtrength or imbecility of ſuch a crowd of ſufferers, formed a ſpecies of deathleſs concert too ſhocking for the heart even of the callous to reflect on.——Fifty thouſand men, priſoners of war, in cold blood were led out and beheaded, to a man, in the preſence of the ruthleſs bloody conqueror.

1. In 1789, writing as "A Citizen of America," John O'Conner included this speech in a pamphlet entitled *Political Opinions, Particularly respecting the Seat of Federal Empire* . . . ([Georgetown], 1789) (Evans 22072). Significant differences between the pamphlet and newspaper versions are indicated in the notes below and in the notes to the printed excerpt (RCS:Va., 1740).

2. The pamphlet continues with an additional sentence: "This is a conclusion no man conversant in history will dispute" (p. 47).



Cyrus, made famous by Xenophon the hiſtorian, conquered whole nations who were even unacquainted with his language, and yet they might have ſet his arms at defiance by coalition; but alas! they were jealous, for the ſeeds of ſuſpicion were diſſeminated[3].

The madman of Macedon, found the ſame advantage in diſunion; laid waſte whole nations, and founded a mighty empire, which was ſoon loſt by his followers, for they were diſunited, converting their ſeparate powers to their mutual deſtruction.

The diſunion of the States of Greece, the fall of Rome, proceeding from the ſame cauſe, as well as the barbarous hiſtory of Germany and France from the 3d to the 10th century, may very juſtly be aſcribed to the ſame ſource. Surely theſe multitudes of unhappy precedents of diſcord and *diſunion*, will not only juſtify our joy, but communicate a degree of laudable impulſe to rational feſtivity, at the proſpect before us of exterminating the noxious ſeeds of ſeparation and diſunion which we find ſo fatal to human nature.

It is not, Sir, improper to advert to the heptarchy in England, and obſerve the misfortunes of that country when divided into ſeven parts or kingdoms. They were annually expoſed to Daniſh incurſions, who committed every horrid outrage; inſenſible to the virgin's tears and the bluſh of beauty, the father's prayer, or the mother's curſes. Let us ſee Great-Britain and Ireland united, we contemplate oceans ſurrounding theſe *little molehills* compared with America, and interpoſing their extenſive ſeas between the luſt of ambition and all objects of their adoration ——Is this fact worth our obſervation, and ſhall we remain thirteen independent kingdoms, until our language is ſeparated into as many jargons as diſtract Europe and Arabia? The wiſdom of America forbids and removes the proſpect.

Speculative writers, Sir, of modern days, wiſely and humanely attempting to eſtabliſh an univerſal *empire of morals**, have endeavoured to prove, that the barbarities of war had ſoftened their horrid aſpect in modern days, and concluded this circumſtance ominous of a change in human affairs: The complection of this *change* the philoſopher adorned with every ornament that a fond father could confer on a favourite child. Theſe hopes were ſupported by certain appearances of concluding conteſts on the theatre of Europe by negociation; but while the wiſe and the good man were wrapt up in the beauty of theory, and the raptures that accompany enlightened contemplation, behold cruelties unconceived and unprecedented by the moſt ſavage nations of ancient days, are ſaid to be committed in the empire of China — Puniſhments and inflictions are in practice in the Eaſt-Indies, which a Britiſh Miniſter dare not preſcribe for the moſt notorious malefactors. For we know, to the immortal honour of the common law of England, that even a criminal has his rights; but the irradiations of that lamp are as circumſcribed as the Iſland, and as unlike the rays of the ſun in point of extenſion, as the diameter of an atom is to that of America.

It muſt be confeſſed, that negociation has, in ſome degree, retarded the progreſs of cruelty. The bloody chain was broken, I fear, to be connected again with renovated fury—this pauſe was a moment of fermentation, and the ſpirit only ſublimated by reſiſtance—for we now ſee the Emperor of the Weſt, and the Empreſs of the North, collecting half a million of their fellow-creatures to maſſacre their neighbours, and the conflicting parties calling upon the greater portion of the world to rouſe and murder the enemies of the reſpective Gods they adore; thus renewing human carnage, and perpetrating, on the old ſanguinary ground as well as principle, murders which the philoſopher no more expected to be renewed!

Though the new Continent may appear unintereſted and unconnected with thoſe ſcenes of blood, our philoſophers diſplay a true knowledge of man, and of the unhappy uſe to which his power and ambition have been perverted in paſt times, and from this conviction they will never expoſe too much confidence in his forbearance, eſpecially when they reflect that ſeveral great Powers have more than mere pretence to juſtify hoſtilities againſt all or any ſeparate part of the United States. It is a mortifying reflection that theſe Powers collectively, or individually could, if they were

* *See Anecdotes of the reign of Louis XVIth.*

3. The pamphlet continues: "and jealousy separated and scattered that power, which, co-centered, might prove invincible" (p. 49).

agreed and reconciled to their respective portion of the spoils, seize on your towns and your commerce, and declare in the face of the world that their vengeance was provoked by ingratitude and injustice, for that the sons of America, so far from complying with the faith of treaties, sat down at ease, every man under his vine, forgetful of every solemn obligation, even of the interference of magnanimous Powers, who co-operated with their former illustrious exertions to preserve them from the *lion's paws*.

The politicians of America are too well versed in British history, policy and character, as well as humanity in the exercise of power, to advise her fellow-citizens to sit careless by the brook, tending flocks and herds, until they hear the voice of the invader exclaim, "in these climes, these herds, and these pastures, are no longer yours." The Mexicans might have been better prepared to defend their country by the repulsion of the Spaniards; if acquainted with the power and true condition of their enemy: They considered them as beings of superior order, and irresistible, but soon found their power more extensive than their mercy; they soon discovered them men not only by their frailty but their avarice, their cruelties and injustice, suffocating the fountains of compassion, which they never suffered to flow for those whom they had once injured.—The citizens of America want, thank God, this apology for their supineness, and they will profit from experience. The history of man since the creation, or at least sufficient of it to chill their blood with horror, is open to alarm their feelings to animate to precaution, and to convince them, that unity of empire and resources is the rock to repose on with any confidence or prospect of safety. It will never be forgotten that disunion protracted the contest with Great Britain; unanimity, with perseverance, would have defeated the views of her deluded Ministry; but those who separated from their country heightened their deception, in hope, no doubt, if dominion and revenue could be established, it might fall to their *glorious* lot to wreak the denunciations of offended Majesty on their neighbours and their friends.

This well founded apprehension served to stimulate the adherents to freedom. They were politically in a state of nature, and with arms in their hands, they formed a plan of confederation. It was a measure of great prudence, and considering all circumstances; abounded with such numerous principles of Republican wisdom, as commanded the praise of every free and dispassionate mind. It was however defective; but this inadequacy was supplied by the talents and character of one man, who possessed the address to collect, cement and impel with electric power, while in station, all the virtue and energy in America. His admonition and example were engraved on the soul, and his countrymen enthusiastically obeyed without suspicion. But when his resignation convinced all Europe, how incompetent impurity is to decide on a perfect character, then, and not before, we view the confederation operating. Minds long practised in the affairs of men, and perfectly conversant in laws and jurisprudence, contemplating in the calm hour of peace, the several parts of the system, found it beautiful in theory, but inadequate to supply the necessary energy of government: These apprehensions and defects were pointed out in vain; until experience justified their rectitude. The decline of agriculture soon followed the decay, or rather annihilation of commerce. Every expedient was tried; foreign Powers were resorted to; this application produced no remedy; the source of calamity was explored, and it was found rooted in narrowness of policy; and a reluctance through jealousy or envy, to delegate a larger portion of scattered authority to enable our rulers, to support justice, enforce law, and defend us from foreign invasions, as well as intestine broils.—This crisis was delicate and awful. The wisdom of America submitted her case to the College of State Physicians. The great and good were called from all parts to this august assembly, and Virginia distinguished herself particularly, by compelling, in some degree, her Son, whom the recording page may call the Father of his Country, into this great council. In this instance she impressed the Union with gratitude, for confidence would result, as a necessary consequence, from any system receiving his sanction. Difference of opinion produced different codes; but one only could be selected on the true Republican principles, to submit to the people as a government to be adopted, or rejected, *by themselves for themselves*, by a majority.

The adoption, Sir, of this government by Ten States, but particularly by Virginia, is one of the causes which called this numerous meeting together to day to rejoice and be happy. A day which, we trust, posterity will recollect and celebrate for ever in several latitudes and regions of America, where the prowling wolf, the angry panther, or unsubdued savage, are at present the pest of it.—A day on which we perceive a prospect of collecting all our resources in one focus to secure us against ravages similar to, and infinitely

more numerous, than those which I have recited. Even the opposers of this Code, among whom were many great and good men distinguished for learning and integrity, will rejoice in the appearance of harmony and order.—— They wanted amendments to the system, and no doubt they will be constitutionally indulged. A certain degree of political jealousy is a very powerful security to the reign of liberty and reason, in exclusion of the Tyrant's fist whose bloody sword was never sheathed but in the human breast, until the monster was tied and decollated. The virtue which prompted the exertions of the opposers, will induce them to support and guard, as a sacred deposit, this system, flowing from the science and skill of men so elevated in character as to distinguish them very particularly and this æra and country from those unhappy periods and climes; where massacre and desolation superceded every principle of religion, reason and justice.

Let us; Sir, embrace this and every future opportunity to [illegible] around the venerable brow of the framers of this government, which; if well administered, can only be depreciated by comparing it with the dreams of Plato or Lycurgus. It possesses the benefits and is destitute of the oppression of British governments; where six millions of subjects are unrepresented or disfranchised, probably for adhering to the mode they conceive, in their conscience, the purest and the best to discharge their humble homage, as in duty bound; to the Creator of the Universe!

Let us, Sir, embrace this, the brightest prospect of erecting an empire of justice and morality, which has ever been exhibited on the political theatre of the world——in receiving the fairest of human fabrics; pregnant with principles to expand as well as perpetuate liberty. Let us embrace this Code; pouring forth effusions of gratitude, in humble adoration, to unerring wisdom and inexhaustible mercy, who inspired so much of his purity and intelligence as produced this scheme of rules for the promotion of human happiness! Such language and conclusion is very suitable to the infirmity of man; his slow progress in legislation, or conceiving means to substitute law for arms; and liberal arts for the brutal artifice to rob and massacre his species!

This new government has one striking recommendation, paramount to all others;—it has emerged from the fiery ordeal of discussion by the Legislatures of Ten States, with additional purity and lustre; and if it contained radically and intrinsically, materials and principles of general reprobation, it must have been rejected in this State, where it was inspected and scrutinized by the penetrating, intuitive eye of a H——. When I bear honourable testimony to his eloquence, I only unite with Virginia, whose gratitude for his long services has been and ever will be discharged as a public duty. While the public admired the variety of his genius and creative fancy, the sons of Virginia were visibly affected by the pure streams of energetic elocution flowing with propriety, grace and attitude, from a R——, vindicating an honest heart, the consistency of his whole life, and the most cautious conduct from suspicion and misrepresentation. Strangers viewing this scene thro' different mediums; united with natives in revisiting every encumbent on a M——, a M——, a N——, nor were a L——, or G——, D——, M——, or M——, forgotten, all rising hopes of Virginia.

But what future hope may not be conceived from the avidity with which the youth pressed foremost to imbibe the periods of the rapid, lucid, nervous eloquence of an [illegible]. Education and art found in him the statue nearly compleated by a superior hand; and genius, for the courts expansion, found a soil congenial to her nature. The melody of his voice is calculated to produce elevated impressions. What but conviction of the rectitude and excellence of this Constitution, could be expected from such talents, vindicating the rights of man in the sweetest tones that ever conveyed the suggestions of the human mind, and the first character of ancient and modern days from the innuendo of unfounded suspicion!—— Demosthenes was eminently great in his and our days, but L——s has no obligation to pebbles to correct defect, or to extend his voice by contention with the ocean, in order to habituate himself to the tumult of popular assemblies.

Future generations [illegible] exhibit the names of the framers of [illegible], will rehearse the eulogium of the [illegible] descriptive pen who may have genius [illegible] his page, rendering justice to their eminence, while future poets, whose inspiration, the immediate gift of Heaven, enriching our language, will diffuse their fame, accompanied by their heroes, round the world, singing of arms and of arts, and eloquence on this great Continent.

I have trespassed too long Sir, on your attention, and the patience of this numerous and respectable audience, and I beg leave to assure you that I am as highly sensible of the honour you have conferred, as the candour with which you have received, the eulogium of a Stranger. If I were in Europe, the subject would merit my praise, and the air of America will ever continue friendly to the panegyrics of her visitants.

343. Depositions in Disputed Louisa County Elections, *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 4 September 1788.

Mr. NICOLSON.

SIR,

From ſome aſperſions which were thrown out in the late Hon. Convention, by a letter from Captain William Smith Ballard, to Col. William White, we think it neceſſary in order to ſatisfy the public of the rectitude of our conduct, to publiſh the following documents.

We are, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servants,

WADDY THOMPSON, } Com's
CHARLES YANCEY, } who
THOMAS JOHNSON, Shff } acted

IN CONVENTION,

SATURDAY, the 7th of JUNE, 1788.

MR. Wyche reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that the committee had, according to order, had under their conſideration, the petition of Richard Morris, complaining of an undue election and return of Mr William White, as a delegate to ſerve in this Convention for the county of Louiſa, and had come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the ſame were again ſeverally twice read, and agreed to by the Houſe, as followeth:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee That the petitioner do either by himſelf, or his agent, within two days deliver to the ſitting member, or his agent, liſts of the perſons intended by the petitioner to be objected to, who voted for the ſitting member, giving in the ſaid liſts the ſeveral heads of objections and diſtinguiſhing the ſame againſt the names of the votes objected to; and that the ſitting member do by himſelf or his agent, on or before the 16th day of this inſtant, (June) deliver the like liſts, on his part, to the petitioner, or his agent.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the depoſitions of the witneſſes, as well on behalf of the petitioner as the ſitting member, be taken before Nelſon Anderſon, Waddy Thompſon, and Charles Yancey, gentlemen, and Thomas Johnſon the ſheriff of the ſaid county of Louiſa, or any three of them.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the further conſideration of the ſaid petition be deferred until Wedneſday the 18th of this inſtant, (June.)

In obedience of a reſolution of the Honourable Convention dated June 7th, in a matter of controverſy between Colonel Richard Morris and Colonel William White.

IT appearing to us, that a blank ſubpœna having been delivered to the ſheriff, in conſequence of which no witneſſes appeared in behalf of ſaid William White, as none could be ſummoned, and the ſaid White failing to furniſh ſaid Morris with a liſt agreeable to a ſaid reſolves, we then proceeded to examine the witneſſes in behalf of ſaid Morris, which appeared agreeable to the enclоſed affidavits, ſigned by us

Capt. William Smith appeared as agent for Colonel William White, and objected to the legality of our proceedings without giving any ſatisfactory reaſons to us for ſo doing.

Given under our hands this 16th day of June 1788

WADDY THOMPSON.
CHARLES YANCEY.
THOMAS JOHNSON, ſheriff

Louiſa, June 16, 1788.

Dear Sir,

I ATTENDED at Capt. Charles Yancey's this day, having heard that the Commiſſioners were to attend there to determine the right of election between you and Colonel Morris in the cauſe of the preſent Convention, Mr. Poindexter (your other agent) not being in the county, has a good deal embarraſſed me, as I was at a loſs how to conduct the matter; however I attended in order to do you that juſtice that might be in my power. We waited until late in the afternoon, when Colonel Morris wrote to Colonel Minor to proceed to take the depoſitions in his abſence, without appointing any agent on his ſide. I objected that as Col. Morris did not appear by himſelf or agent that the buſineſs ſhould not go on; in conſequence of which a good deal of altercation inſued, but at length it was agreed to refer it to a majority of the Commiſſioners whether they ſhould proceed or not, on which they were divided. Colonel Nelſon Anderſon withdrew himſelf, who was of opinion that they ought not to proceed on the buſi-

neſs, after which it was agreed that Colonel Garret Minor ſhould act for Colonel Morris, and the other three Commiſſioners ſhould proceed to do the buſineſs I then moved that my objections ſhould be entered and tranſmitted to the Convention, which was refuſed, and think I can ſay with propriety, that every ſtep I undertook on your behalf, was rejected juſtly; as I have no weight with the gentlemen, all I can do is to be an idle ſpectator to what I think the moſt partial piece of buſineſs I ever ſaw conducted; Colonel Anderſon is alſo an idle ſpectator to the buſineſs. Was I to go on to endeavour to give you a right idea of the buſineſs I fear I ſhould tire your patience, and perhaps all a good deal ſhort in my account. I think you are treated very unjuſtly, ungenerouſly and ungenteelly all I have to add, is, that I ſhould be happy had it been in my power to give you juſtice. I refer you to thoſe perſons preſent for the confirmation of what I aſſert, as alſo for further information, and remain

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant.
WILLIAM SMITH, Junior.

We whoſe names are ſigned look on it that the facts abovementioned are juſtly ſtated.

NELSON ANDERSON.
RICHARD PAULETT.

After writing the within, I have again applied to the Commiſſioners to enter my objection, which they ſay they will do after going through the buſineſs which effectually ſtops my taking any further ſteps, as I do not know in what manner they will enter my objections.

WM SMITH, Junior

P. S. Since writing the above, I have waited on the Commiſſioners as a witneſs in your behalf, being qualified to ſwear that ſeveral perſons who voted for Col. Morris, had no legal vote, which I have been informed of by the perſons themſelves, alſo to eſtabliſh Richard Paulet's vote as good, who voted for you, and was refuſed, and not ſet down at the election. They refuſed depoſitions on your ſide until they had heard every matter in favour of Col. Morris, ſaying that I had better wait than others; accordingly about or little before ſun-ſet, they did agree to hear witneſs on your ſide. When I proceeded to write depoſitions in your favour, after proceeding a conſiderable length, Col. Minor, in favour of Col. Morris, objected to the depoſitions on your ſide, ſaying that Col. Morris nor his agent were not preſent (mark this) upon which I was, I may ſay, amazed. The objection made by Col Minor was allowed, and entered accordingly, upon which I went from their preſence in confuſion Mr Thomas Johnſon, ſheriff, followed me, when I was about to get on my horſe, and mentioned ſomething about meeting back. But believe me ſir, I never wiſh to tranſact buſineſs with gentlemen of their turn I will ſay no more only I wiſh you to underſtand that all the gentlemen did not appear to act on the ſame principle.

I am, Your's
WM. SMITH, Junior.

I do hereby certify that the above poſtcript contains facts.

RICHARD PAULETT.

Col. WILLIAM WHITE,
Richmond.

City of Richmond, to wit:

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of a letter and poſtcripts, read in Convention this day.

Louiſa county, Sc.

THE depoſition of Col. Charles Barrett, and Captain Aaron Fontaine, in a certain diſpute or controverſy between Waddy Thomſon, Charles Yancey, and Thomas Johnſon, gentlemen Commiſſioners (appointed by the late Hon. Convention) and William Smith B. Nelſon Anderſon and Richard Paulett. Theſe deponents after being ſolemnly ſworn do depoſe and ſay, that in conſequence of our having ſeen a letter of Capt William Smith's, to Col William White, and atteſted or certified by Nelſon Anderſon and Richard Paulett, accuſing Capt. Waddy Thomſon, Charles Yancey and Thomas Johnſon, ſheriff, late Commiſſioners, in a matter of controverſy between Col. Richard Morris and Col. William White, reſpecting the election of members to Convention, of partiality in the execution of their office, We do therefore certify that we were preſent on the 16th of June laſt, at the houſe of Capt. Charles Yancey, where the ſaid Commiſſioners met agreeable to a reſolve of the Hon. Convention, and that we did not obſerve any thing in the conduct of either of the gentlemen Commiſſioners, which favoured the leaſt of partiality to either of the parties, and it appeared to us from the behaviour of Mr Smith, who was agent for Col. White, that he meant to procraſtinate the buſineſs as much as poſſible.

CHARLES BARRETT.
AARON FONTAINE.

LOUISA, to wit:

Sworn to before me Henry Garrett, a Juſtice of the Peace for ſaid county in due form, this 13th day of Auguſt.

H. GARRITT.

Louiſa County, to wit:

THE affidavit of Thomas Meriwether of lawful age, in a matter of controverſy between Waddy Thomſon, Charles Yancey and Thomas Johnſon jun gentlemen, Commiſſioners appointed by the late Convention, to take the depoſitions of ſundry perſons touching the legality of their votes in a diſputed election between Col. Richard Morris and Col. William White and William Smith Ballard. Nelſon Anderſon and Richard Paulett This deponent after being duly ſworn, depoſeth and ſaith, that he was at the houſe of Charles Yancey on the 16th of June, the day appointed for the meeting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, the ſaid William Smith appeared as agent for Col. White, (who was abſent) the Commiſſioners proceeded to take the depoſitions of the witneſſes that appeared, and while they were engaged in doing the buſineſs, Mr. Smith deſired them to enter his objections to their proceedings; they told him that they were then very much engaged in taking the depoſitions of ſundry perſons that were anxious to return to their ſeveral homes (it being late in the evening) but when they were ready to make up their report, would enter any objections he would offer; he appeared to be very much offended, and proceeded to write a letter I ſuppoſe, to Col White, after ſome conſiderable time was taken up in writing he and Col. Nelſon Anderſon walked aſide, and after being in private a while Mr. Anderſon came to the Commiſſioners and aſked them if they refuſed to enter Mr. Smith's objections, they replied in the negative; and after they had nearly taken all the depoſitions, Mr. Smith told them, that he wiſhed to give his depoſition reſpecting ſeveral perſons right to vote; they deſired

Col Morris) objected to his giving his deposition but the objection was over ruled by the Commissioners. Immediately Mr. Smith taking offence tore up the paper he was writing on, and went to his horse. One of the Commissioners followed him, and desired him to come back and give his deposition, but he refused to do it. Since the letter from Mr. Smith was read in Convention I happened to be in company with Col. Nelson Anderson (who attested the letter,) and a conversation arising respecting the letter, he said that he did not sign

the letter as containing facts, but to prove that Mr. Smith wrote the said letter, this deponent further saith that the Commissioners appeared to act fairly and impartially on the occasion.

THOMAS MERIWITHER.

Sworn to before me this 21st day of July 1788.

GARRITT MINOR.

The deposition of Garritt Minor, of lawful age, taken and sworn to before me John Poindexter, a magistrate for the county of Louisa, this 20th day of August 1788.

DEPOSETH that being at the house of Charles Yancey gentleman, on the 16th of June past, this deponent received a letter from Col. Richard Morris, requesting that he would apply to certain gentlemen Commissioners to take depositions in a dispute between the said Morris and Col. William White, respecting the legality of certain votes at a late election for the county of Louisa, to represent the county in Convention; with this letter this deponent received also a list of voters objected to by the said Morris, and a copy of the resolves of a committee of the Hon. Convention, which this deponent laid before the gentlemen Commissioners therein appointed, and requested, on behalf of the said Morris that they would proceed to take the depositions of such persons as were then present. This was objected to by Capt. William Smith, who appeared as agent to Col. White. But on this deponent shewing that Col. Morris had done every thing that lay in him to do, agreeable to the resolution of the Hon. Committee, Three of the gentlemen appointed in the resolve, to wit: Waddy Thomson, Charles Yancey, and Thomas Johnson, proceeded to take the depositions that were offered, on the occasion which this deponent thinks and believes they did fairly and impartially.

The other gentleman Commissioner, to wit: Col. Nelson Anderson refused to assist in the business, on the suggestion of Capt. Smith, that Col. Morris was absent

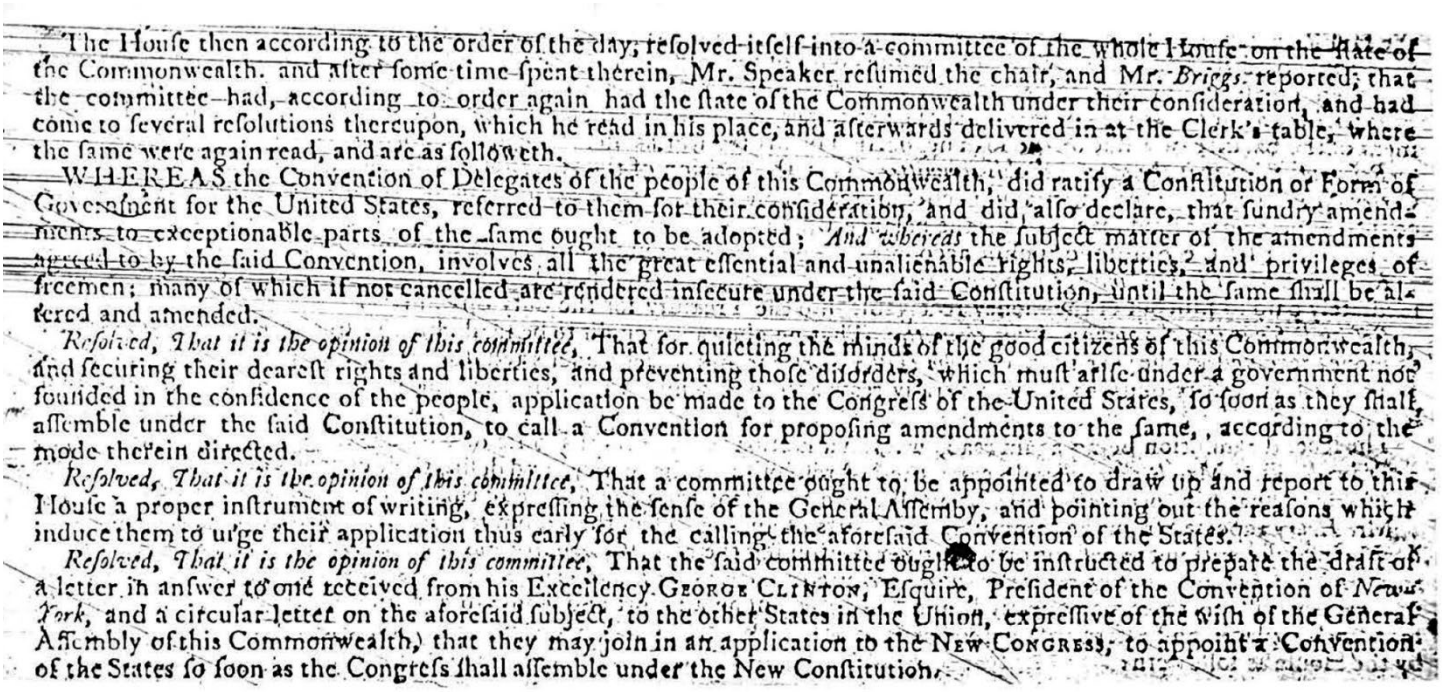
and could not give him notice of the votes that he meant to object to on behalf of Col. White. Although this deponent shewed him plainly that Col Morris had done every thing requisite on his part agreeable to the resolve of the Honourable Committee.

This deponent thinks and believes, that Capt. Smith only wished to procrastinate the day's business, as this would have answered every purpose for which he was appointed. When Capt. Smith proposed giving in his own deposition, this deponent objected to the legality of it, observing that it could not go to the Hon. Committee as legal evidence until Col. Morris had been first served, by Col White or his agent, with a copy of the objectionable voters. The gentlemen Commissioners over ruled this objection, and said they would take his deposition but the said Smith went off seemingly much offended, reflecting in a very indecent and improper manner, on the gentlemen commissioners.

Sworn to before me

JOHN POINDEXTER.

351. Virginia House of Delegates Proceedings on a Resolutions on a Second Constitutional Convention, 30 October 1788.[1]



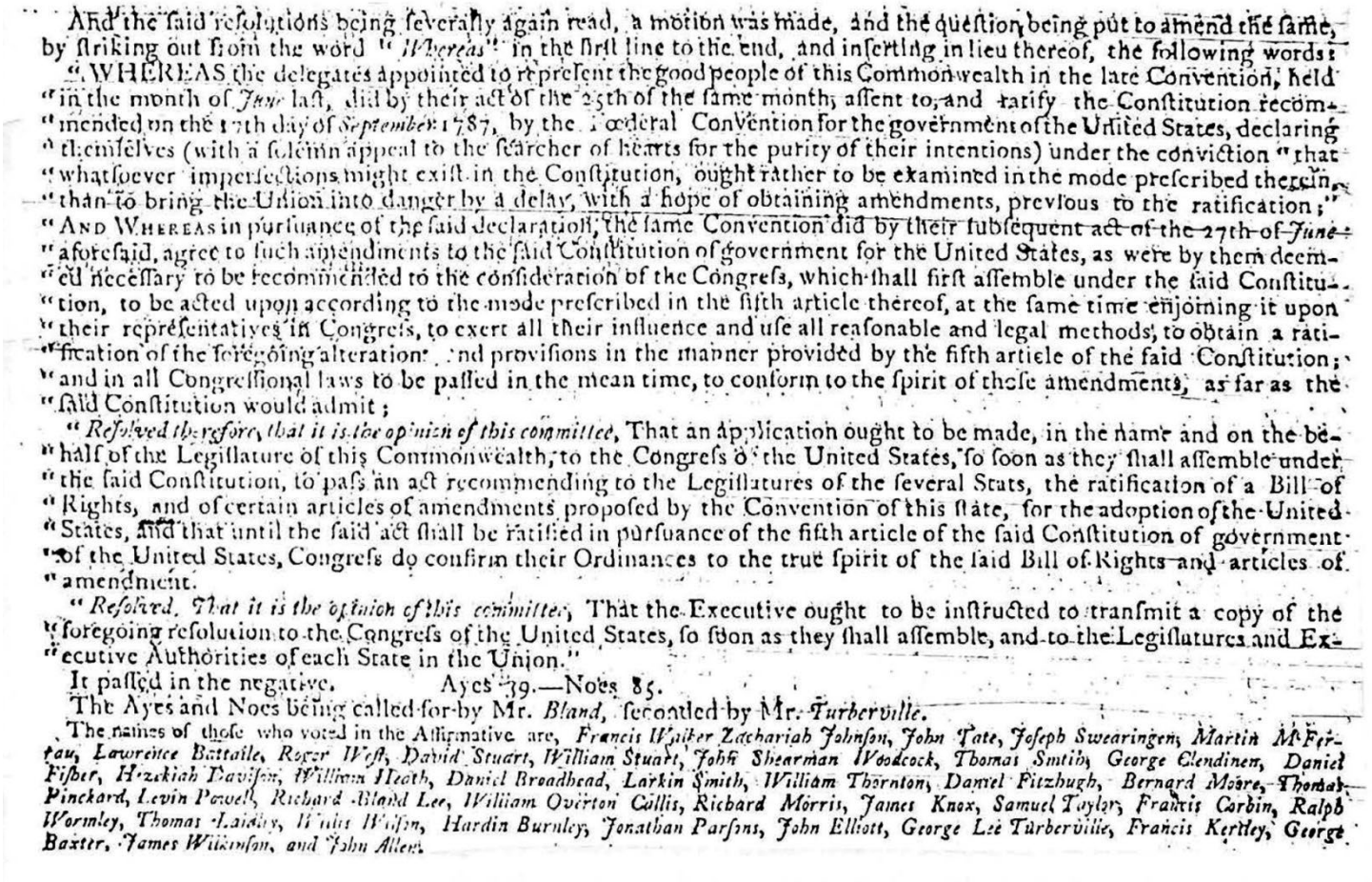
The House then according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the state of the Commonwealth. and after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. *Briggs* reported, that the committee had, according to order again had the state of the Commonwealth under their consideration, and had come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as followeth.

WHEREAS the Convention of Delegates of the people of this Commonwealth, did ratify a Constitution or Form of Government for the United States, referred to them for their consideration, and did, also declare, that sundry amendments to exceptionable parts of the same ought to be adopted; *And whereas* the subject matter of the amendments agreed to by the said Convention, involves all the great essential and unalienable rights, liberties, and privileges of freemen; many of which if not cancelled are rendered insecure under the said Constitution, until the same shall be altered and amended.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That for quieting the minds of the good citizens of this Commonwealth, and securing their dearest rights and liberties, and preventing those disorders, which must arise under a government not founded in the confidence of the people, application be made to the Congress of the United States, so soon as they shall assemble under the said Constitution, to call a Convention for proposing amendments to the same, according to the mode therein directed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That a committee ought to be appointed to draw up and report to this House a proper instrument of writing, expressing the sense of the General Assembly, and pointing out the reasons which induce them to urge their application thus early for the calling the aforesaid Convention of the States.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That the said committee ought to be instructed to prepare the draft of a letter in answer to one received from his Excellency GEORGE CLINTON, Esquire, President of the Convention of *New-York*, and a circular letter on the aforesaid subject, to the other States in the Union, expressive of the wish of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, that they may join in an application to the NEW CONGRESS, to appoint a Convention of the States so soon as the Congress shall assemble under the New Constitution.



And the said resolutions being severally again read, a motion was made, and the question being put to amend the same, by striking out from the word "*Whereas*" in the first line to the end, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following words:

"WHEREAS the delegates appointed to represent the good people of this Commonwealth in the late Convention, held "in the month of *June* last, did by their act of the 25th of the same month, assent to, and ratify the Constitution recommended on the 17th day of *September* 1787, by the Federal Convention for the government of the United States, declaring "themselves (with a solemn appeal to the searcher of hearts for the purity of their intentions) under the conviction "that "whatsoever imperfections might exist in the Constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, "than to bring the Union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments, previous to the ratification;"

"AND WHEREAS in pursuance of the said declaration, the same Convention did by their subsequent act of the 27th of *June* "aforesaid, agree to such amendments to the said Constitution of government for the United States, as were by them deemed necessary to be recommended to the consideration of the Congress, which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof, at the same time enjoining it upon "their representatives in Congress, to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods, to obtain a ratification of the foregoing alterations and provisions in the manner provided by the fifth article of the said Constitution; "and in all Congressional laws to be passed in the mean time, to conform to the spirit of those amendments, as far as the "said Constitution would admit;

"*Resolved therefore, that it is the opinion of this committee*, That an application ought to be made, in the name and on the behalf of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, to the Congress of the United States, so soon as they shall assemble under "the said Constitution, to pass an act recommending to the Legislatures of the several States, the ratification of a Bill of "Rights, and of certain articles of amendments proposed by the Convention of this state, for the adoption of the United "States, and that until the said act shall be ratified in pursuance of the fifth article of the said Constitution of government "of the United States, Congress do confirm their Ordinances to the true spirit of the said Bill of Rights and articles of "amendment.

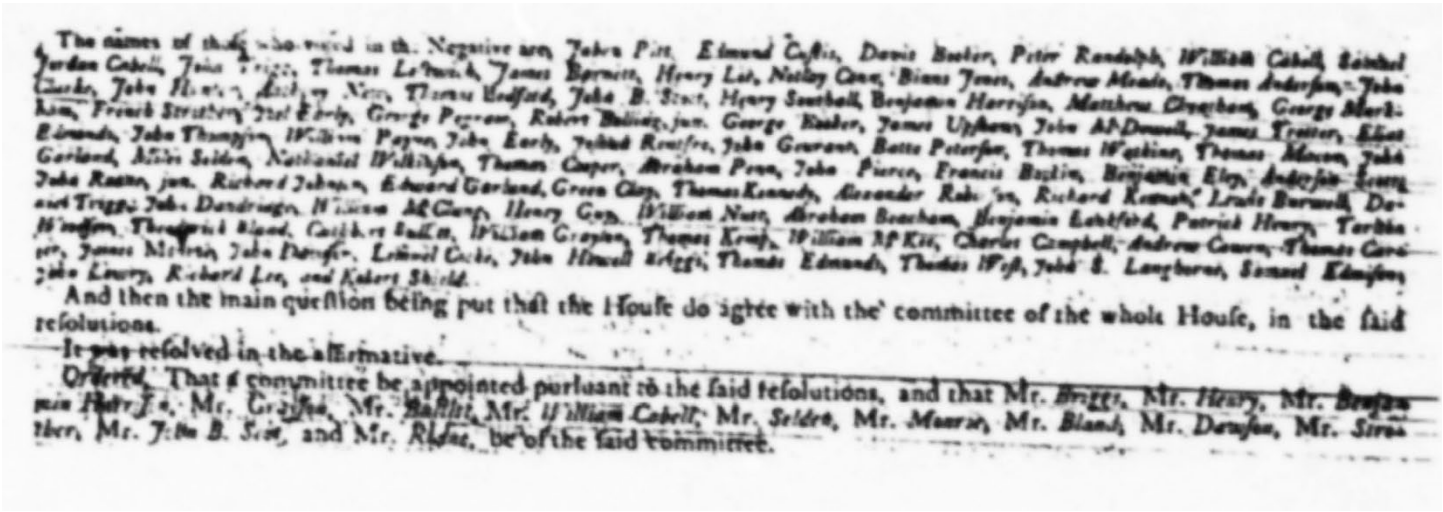
"*Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee*, That the Executive ought to be instructed to transmit a copy of the "foregoing resolution to the Congress of the United States, so soon as they shall assemble, and to the Legislatures and Executive Authorities of each State in the Union."

It passed in the negative. Ayes 39.—Noes 85.

The Ayes and Noes being called for by Mr. *Bland*, seconded by Mr. *Turberville*.

The names of those who voted in the Affirmative are, *Francis Walker Zachariah Johnson, John Tate, Joseph Swearingen, Martin M'Fertau, Lawrence Battaile, Roger West, David Stuart, William Stuart, John Shearman Woodcock, Thomas Smith, George Clendinen, Daniel Fisher, Hezekiah Davison, William Heath, Daniel Broadhead, Larkin Smith, William Thornton, Daniel Fitzhugh, Bernard Moore, Thomas Pinckard, Levin Powell, Richard Bland Lee, William Overton Callis, Richard Morris, James Knox, Samuel Taylor, Francis Corbin, Ralph Wormley, Thomas Laidley, Willis Wilson, Hardin Burnley, Jonathan Parsons, John Elliott, George Lee Turberville, Francis Kerfley, George Baxter, James Wilkinson, and John Allen.*

1. *Journal of the House of Delegates* [20 October–30 December 1788] (Richmond, 1789), 12–13 (Evans 22226).



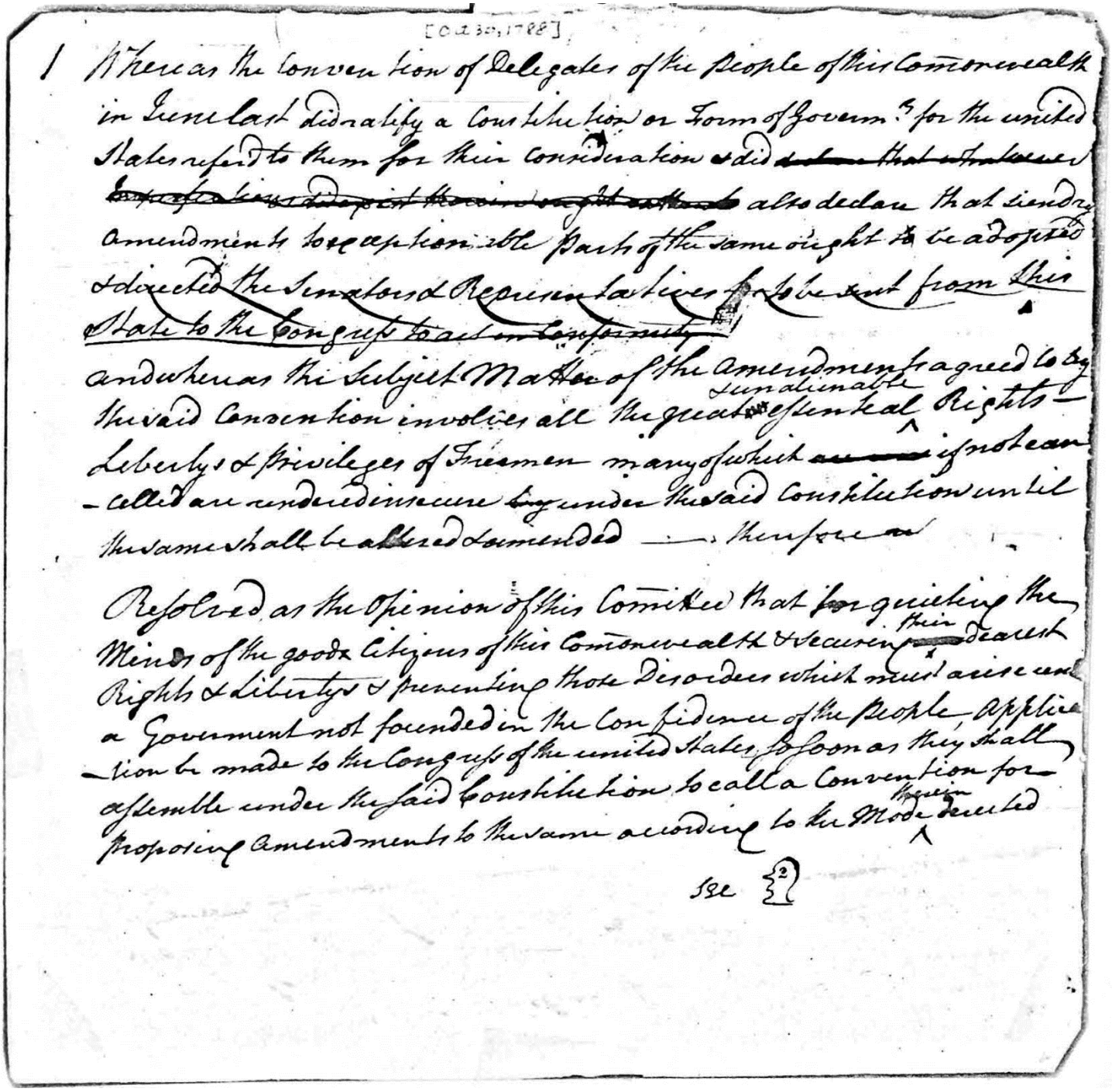
The names of those who voted in the Negative are, John Pitt, Edmund Custis, Davis Butler, Peter Randolph, William Cabell, Archibald Jordan Cabell, John [illegible], Thomas Lewis, James Barrett, Henry Lee, Nicholas Cary, Burr Jones, Andrew Meade, Thomas Anderson, John Clarke, John Hopkins, Richard Neal, Thomas Bedford, John B. Scott, Henry Southall, Benjamin Harrison, Matthew Clayborne, George Marshall, French Strother, Joel Early, George Pearson, Robert Ballard, jun. George Baker, James Upshaw, John M'Donald, James Trotter, Elias Edmunds, John Thompson, William Payne, John Early, Peyton Randolph, John Greenup, Betts Peterson, Thomas Watkins, Thomas Mason, John Garland, Miles Selden, Nathaniel Williams, Thomas Cooper, Abraham Penn, John Pierce, Francis Baylis, Benjamin Eley, Anderson Scruggs, John Rutter, jun. Richard Johnson, Edward Garland, Green Clay, Thomas Kennedy, Alexander Robertson, Richard Kennon, Lewis Burwell, Daniel Trigg, John Dandridge, William M'Clung, Henry Gay, William Nutt, Abraham Beacham, Benjamin Lankford, Patrick Henry, Tarlton Woodson, Theoderick Bland, Carthers Ballard, William Grayson, Thomas Kemp, William M'Kee, Charles Campbell, Andrew Cowan, Thomas Carrington, James Mercer, John Dangerfield, Littleton Cocke, John Howell Briggs, Thomas Edmunds, Theodorick Fitzhugh, John B. Langhorne, Samuel Edmiston, John Lowry, Richard Lee, and Robert Shield.

And then the main question being put that the House do agree with the committee of the whole House, in the said resolutions.

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, That a committee be appointed pursuant to the said resolutions, and that Mr. Briggs, Mr. Henry, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, Mr. Griffin, Mr. Ballard, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Selden, Mr. Mercer, Mr. Bland, Mr. Donelson, Mr. Strother, Mr. John B. Scott, and Mr. Rhea, be of the said committee.

352. Draft of Virginia House of Delegates Resolutions on a Second Constitutional Convention, 30 October 1788.[1]



[Oct 30, 1788]

Whereas the Convention of Delegates of the People of this Commonwealth in June last did ratify a Constitution or Form of Govern.t for the united States reported to them for their consideration & did ~~declare that they conceived~~ ~~certain Powers ought not to be resumed by the~~ ~~People of the United States~~ also declare that sundry amendments to exceptionable Parts of the same ought to be adopted & directed the Senators & Representatives to be sent from this State to the Congress to act in Conformity

and whereas the Subject Matter of the Amendments agreed to by the said Convention involves all the great essential Rights unalienable Liberty's & Privileges of Freemen many of which are not clearly & precisely ascertained & defined and are rendered insecure by the said Constitution until the same shall be altered & amended — Therefore be

Resolved as the Opinion of this Comittee that for quieting the Minds of the good Citizens of this Commonwealth & securing their dearest Rights & Liberty's & preventing those Disorders which must arise under a Government not founded in the Confidence of the People, Application be made to the Congress of the united States, so soon as they shall assemble under the said Constitution to call a Convention for proposing Amendments to the same according to the Mode directed

See [2]

1. MS, Papers of the House of Delegates, Resolutions Calling Convention for Amendments to Constitution, Virginia State Library.

Mr. Briggs
Mr. Henry
Mr. B. Harrison
Mr. Grayson.
Mr. Bullitt
Mr. Wilson Cabell
Mr. Selden
Mr. Mr Dowd
Mr. Gibbs.
Mr. Dawson.
Mr. Strother
Mr. Scot
Mr. Rogers.