

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification of the Constitution by the States

MARYLAND

Supplemental Documents

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162 A–B. Samuel Chase: Broadside, pre-6 October 1788 (in-text facsimiles, pp. 103–4)

Introduction

The supplemental documents are intended to provide a fuller documentation and understanding of the debate over the ratification of the Constitution in Maryland 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:

- Aristides: Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government, 31 January 1788—Advertisements and Reviews
- Newspaper Reports of Convention Election Results, 10–18 April 1788
- Alternative Versions of Pennsylvania Packet, 15 April 1788, Letter Extract
- Peter Fayssoux in the South Carolina Convention, 20–26 May 1788

Facsimiles

There are two pages of facsimiles for Document 162 on pages 103–4.

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 Maryland.

Symbols

Manuscripts

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

Manuscript Depositories

DLC	Library of Congress
DNA	National Archives
Md-Ar	Maryland State Archives
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Short Titles

Evans	Charles Evans, <i>American Bibliography</i> (12 vols., Chicago, 1903–1934).
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Cross-references to Volumes of

The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution

CC	References to <i>Commentaries on the Constitution</i> are cited as “CC” followed by the number of the document. For example: “CC:25.”
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:Md. 25.” “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 <i>Ratification of the Constitution by the States</i> are cited as “RCS” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the page number. For example: “RCS:Md., 62.”

Documents

1. John H. Purviance to Horatio Gates Baltimore, 3 February 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . We look anxiously forward to the wholesome measures which it is hoped the approaching Convention will adopt, & which in all probability will be in some degree decisive—If all the States make appointments as respectable as that from your State [i.e., Virginia], every thing good may be expected from their deliberations. . . .

1. RC, Gates Papers, New York Public Library.

2. William Tilghman to Tench Coxe Chestertown, Md., 4 February 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . Our Senate & house of Delegates differed about an Emission of paper, & broke up in ill blood—They have appealed to the people—No appointment of persons to meet in May at Philada—no supply bill passed—They will meet again in March, when I suppose both these things will be attended to—The object of the leaders of the House of Delegates seems to be to throw every thing into Confusion in order to force the paper Bill upon the Senate—There is no saying what turn things will take—At all events no body talks at present of making paper money a legal tender for debts—You must be intimately informed of every thing relating to the Bank—I shall thank you to acquaint us, if any thing material on that subject should occur

I have the pleasure of telling you that I have heard your publication spoken of here, much to your reputation—I make no doubt but you will feel lasting good effects from it—

I should tell you that before our Assembly rose, they gave the most ample & liberal relief to the whole body of Nonjurors—Upon taking an unexceptionable Oath of allegiance, they are entitled to all privileges of citizenship—The legal barriers being now removed, I imagine, I might without much difficulty take a part in public affairs—But as I was not active in the revolution, I am fully determined never to be forward in pushing myself into the legislature. . . .

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHI.

3. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 27 February 1787¹

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in one of the southern States, to his friend in this town, dated Jan. 31, 1787.

“The times here are gloomy, and our Government wants energy, and though we have been making leagues of peace, amity and friendship with the Indians, yet I by no means think, their revengeful disposition is turned into Christian charity and forbearance. I wish they may not strike a blow when we think we have nothing to fear.—The state of commerce is on a very precarious footing,

and to add to our numerous calamities, we have nothing but Paper Money in circulation. Strange that Congress cannot be enabled to fall upon some general plan of finance—some system to give stability to property, and thereby revive the falling credit of the whole confederation.”

1. Reprinted fourteen times by 6 April: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), N.Y. (2), Pa. (4).

4. *New York Daily Advertiser*, 28 February 1787

The House of Delegates of the state of Maryland, have adjourned to the 20th of March, after having set upwards of eight weeks, and leaving the most material business of the session unfinished. The cause of this extraordinary procedure, it is said, was owing to a difference in opinion between the Senate and House of Delegates, relative to a paper emission of money: A bill for which purpose having been sent up to the Senate for concurrence, and unanimously rejected.

In an address to the House of Delegates on their determination to adjourn, the Senate regret that no measures have been taken to comply with the requisition of Congress for raising a troop of horse; that the assessment bill to bring money into the continental treasury, which they had been officially informed was empty, had not passed; that no deputies were appointed to meet in convention in May next at Philadelphia, for federal and commercial purposes, though first urged and proposed by themselves: and declare that they cannot account for postponing the consideration of these great and interesting subjects, unless it be to appeal to the people at large upon the bill for an emission of paper money; which appeal can only tend to weaken the powers of government, and to disseminate division and discord among the citizens, at a crisis when the energy of the one, and the union of the other, are more than ever necessary, &c.

The House of Delegates in reply, declare, “The length of your message, and the communication of it within a few hours only of the proposed time for closing the session, prevents us from making full observations on it. We shall only say, in reply, that we have paid every possible attention to the public affairs of the union, and the interest and happiness of our people. You have thought proper to overrule every material system proposed by us for these purposes, and have brought forward nothing effectual in their stead. The people must decide upon our conduct and yours, as to the utility, policy and rectitude of the systems respectively proposed; and we trust we can meet our God and our country with consciences as quiet and undisturbed as your own.

We repeat our request to close the session this evening.

By order,

W. HARWOOD, Clerk,”

5. *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 8 March 1787¹

By a late letter from Annapolis, we are informed of several solemn conferences, between both Houses of the Legislature of that state; deputies have been nominated to the Grand Convention, to be held in Philadelphia in May next, from whose united deliberations and wisdom, so much dignity and benefit to the confederation is expected, by every well-wisher to liberty and independence. The following clause is descriptive of the power with which they are invested. “It is agreed, that the deputies from this state, or any three or more of them, be

authorised, on behalf of this state, to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorised by the other states, to assemble in convention at Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the federal system, and to join with them in considering such alterations, and farther provisions as may be necessary to render the federal constitution adequate to the exigences of the union, and in reporting such an act, for the purpose, to the United States in Congress, as when agreed to by them, and duly confirmed by the several states, will effectually provide for the same.

“It was also agreed, that five commissioners for this state be appointed, and that they, or any three or more of them, be authorised to meet commissioners from the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, jointly or separately, and to communicate the regulations of commerce, and duties proposed by each state, and to confer on such subjects as may concern the commercial interests of the said states, and within the power of the respective states. And that the meeting of the commissioners be in the third week of September next, and at such places as they shall agree on. And that their proceedings be reported to the Legislature of this state.”

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 March (1st paragraph only); Rhode Island *Newport Herald*, 22 March. A summary of this item appeared in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 27 March.

6. Maryland Journal, 15 May 1787

The Honourable THOMAS STONE, Esq; hath declined accepting his Appointment, by the Legislature, as one of the Deputies to represent this State in Convention, for the Revision and Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

The Legislature have elected the Hon. DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER, and GABRIEL DUVALL, Esquires, Deputies to represent this State in the Convention at Philadelphia, in Addition to the Gentlemen heretofore chosen.

The Honourable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, has resigned his Appointment as one of the Deputies to represent this State in Convention at Philadelphia.

The MARYLAND DEPUTATION to the CONVENTION at Philadelphia,
now stands as follows:

Hon. ROBERT HANSON HARRISON,
JAMES MCHENRY,
THOMAS SIM LEE,
DANIEL of St. THOMAS JENIFER,
GABRIEL DUVALL.

7. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 22 May 1787¹

By a letter from Philadelphia, it appears, that a sufficient number of Commissioners from the States, were not then arrived in that city, to form the GRAND CONVENTION; but some recent advices make it daily expected, that the representation will soon be compleat. This *august meeting*, will certainly be of the highest importance to the political existence and welfare of the United States. To revise the confederation, and to fall upon a system of commercial regulations, which upon the whole may tend to the revival and establishment of our credit, and the encouragement of our trade and manufactures, are objects of such magnitude, as require the united wisdom of the continent—and from

the respectable names of the gentlemen, deputed to this arduous business, we have reason to be assured, the greatest exertions will be made, and the best measures adopted, to render the constitution of the federal Government, adequate to the exigencies of the union.—Should this be happily compleated, we, of this day, may yet felicitate ourselves in the enjoyment of a glorious independence.

The articles of the confederation were made for the temporary purposes of a war; they were as wisely drawn as the then situation of the country would permit: For pressed by danger on every side, our immediate defence was uppermost in our minds, and our attention was naturally absorbed, by objects of magnitude that surrounded us, while only time and reflection, could make us acquainted with more important ones at a distance. In this situation, we voluntarily gave the force of law to recommendations, which we now treat like common advice.

Thus the confederation, that appeared so perfect in its original state, is become a loose, incomplete agreement, totally inconsistent with its own principles. By this political compact, the United States in Congress, have *exclusive right and power* for the following purposes without being able to *execute* one of them.

They may “make and conclude treaties;” but can only *recommend* the observance of them.

They may appoint Ambassadors; but cannot defray even the expences of their tables.

They may borrow money in their own name, on the faith of the union; but cannot pay a dollar.

They may coin money; but cannot purchase an ounce of bullion.

They may make war, and determine what number of troops are necessary; but cannot raise a single soldier. In short, they may DECLARE every thing, but can DO nothing.

If any thing can be added to this description of the impotence of our federal Government, it must be a total want of authority over its own members.

A recent instance of this was experienced in the loss of a late question, the consequence of which is, that any member may leave Congress, whenever he pleases, without their leave, or that of the State he represents. The most important question may therefore be lost by the wilful absence of one Delegate—Since this is a true picture of our present system of *Sovereignty*, what true friend to this country can object to the giving more *power* and *efficacy to the laws and ordinances* of the once highly respected and honourable Congress of America?

1. Reprinted in whole eight times by 7 July: N.H. (1), R.I. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (2), Ga. (1). Ten newspapers reprinted excerpts by 28 June: Mass. (2), Conn. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (3), Va. (2), Ga. (1).

8. William Tilghman to Tench Coxe Chestertown, Md., 9 June 1787 (excerpt)¹

I am extremely obliged by your last with your pamphts—I gave one to Dr. Smith, & forwarded another to Mr. Hemsley—I think your publication will do you credit, & those of intelligence that I have conversed with, are of the same opinion—There are many good hints, & some solid general principles which I should suppose the convention would adopt—The confining the carrying from Port to Port within ourselves, to our own vessels is strikingly politic; & if this

measure is not adopted, our ship building will be annihilated—I wish with all my heart that your Idea of keeping no communication with the States who emit paper, would go down—But too many persons are interested in supporting this kind of dishonesty—I apprehend the greatest evils will spring from that Source—Our situation is truly critical, & calls for every exertion of abilities & integrity—In the latter, I fear we are too deficient—If a change of manners does not take place, & that shortly, a Convulsion is inevitable A Republic was never yet supported by a debauched, luxurious people—& it is a joke to look for Miracles in our favor—As you are in the Centre of the best intelligence, I wish you would now & then while the Convention sits, communicate any thing of moment that is transacted, & if you have leisure, your own reflections on them. . . .

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHi.

9. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 12 June 1787¹

Doctor Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, in a series of political letters, addressed to Mr. Neckar, enters into an inquiry respecting the benefits which might accrue to America from its independence, and seems to entertain a contemptible opinion of them, expressing himself much to our disadvantage in the subsequent terms:

“As to the future grandeur of America, says he, and its being a rising Empire, under one head, whether republican, or monarchical, it is one of the idlest, and most visionary notions, that ever was conceived, even by writers of romance. For there is nothing in the genius of the people, the situation of their country, or the nature of their different climates, which tends to countenance such a supposition. On the contrary, every prognostic that can be formed from a contemplation of their mutual antipathies, and clashing interests, their difference of Governments, habitudes and manners,—plainly indicates, that the Americans will have no centre of union among them, and no common interest to pursue, when the power and Government of England are finally removed. Moreover, when the intersections and divisions of their country by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains;—and above all, when those immense inland regions, beyond the back settlements, which are still unexplored, are taken into the account, they form the highest probability that the Americans never can be united into one compact empire, under any species of Government whatever. Their fate seems to be,—a disunited people, till the end of time. In short, the only probable supposition, that can be formed of them at present is this;—that being so very jealous in their tempers, so suspicious, and distrustful of each other, they will be divided, and subdivided into little Commonwealths, or Principalities, according to the abovementioned natural divisions, or boundaries of their country; and that all of them in general, will be more intent on prosecuting their own internal disputes and quarrels, than desirous to engage in external wars, and distant conquests. They will have neither leisure, nor inclination, nor abilities for such undertakings.”

It is much to be wished that our present *Grand Convention* at Philadelphia, may prove this ecclesiastical politician a false prophet. It is true, they have a great work and many difficulties before them. To form a generous plan of power for thirteen States, certainly requires the most consummate wisdom; and from the unanimity and spirit which have heretofore pervaded the Continent, we may have reason to expect that we shall keep the chain of friendship bright, and

unite as citizens of one respectable and mighty empire.—The same hands that laid the foundations of the Temple of Liberty, are again employed in this arduous task; may they be enabled to finish the fabrick, and bring forth the head stone with triumphant shoutings.

1. Reprinted in whole or in part eleven times by 26 July: Mass. (4), R.I. (1), N.Y. (2), Pa. (4).

10. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 13 July 1787¹

A writer in the New-York Daily Advertiser, speaking of the present political situation of this country observes, “The history of Rome is a bright mirror, in which the defects of the most popular governments may be discerned. While virtue, and a love of their country, influenced their actions, the Romans were a happy people; but, alas! prosperity no sooner shone in among them than they became vicious, luxurious, and enervated; the bold front of virtuous freedom was dashed by the glittering splendor of merciless tyranny, reared on the wings of departed liberty. The present state of American politics, will form the most important æra that ever engaged the pen of the historian.—That it may prove auspicious, every good man should exert himself in establishing such principles and maxims as would, if adhered to, consolidate and settle our federal constitution on the most permanent basis. Let the alarm be sounded, that a sense of our danger may awaken us. Heroes and patriots! exert yourselves; avert the storm that threatens your deluded country; instil into the tender minds of the rising generation, just notions of republican liberty. We have to chuse good, or evil; either the eligible happy state of freedom, or the infernal state of anarchy; and with it, the galling chains of slavery. A head, we must have; to that end, many of the most respectable characters among us have been delegated to form an assembly, which, if their salutary measures be not frustrated by the caprice of the States, will complete the foundation on which our political happiness is to be erected. Let us, then, divest ourselves of every frivolous objection to the wholesome amendments, which the event will prove they intend to make to our continental form of government.”

1. The quoted material is from “The Regulator” No. IX, *New York Daily Advertiser*, 4 July. The *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 July, and Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 20 July, reprinted the *Maryland Gazette* item.

11. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 28 August 1787¹

At the commencement of the arduous contest for our liberty and independence, we were excessive busy in framing resolutions for the establishing and promoting manufactures; the spinning wheels were in motion, and the newspapers rung with the exploits of our females—Long before the termination of the war, these resolutions vanished like the morning dew; and forgetful of ourselves and our native abilities, we profusely squandered away our money and neglected our internal domestic labour and improvement. Reduced to poverty, the consequences of folly stare us in the face, and we are now once more forming associations for the encouragement of manufactures.

Great things are expected from the Federal Convention, to whom we would willingly consign the task of lessening our burdens, curing our vices, removing our grievances, and making us a happy people. There can be no doubt of the ardour of their exertions; but we must not impose the whole work upon them.—They may, and we are persuaded will inform us of the real situation of the

American States, will point out to us the true road to national felicity; how we may extricate ourselves from our present difficulties, and conduct our governments in future, on the most œconomical republican principles. But it remains with us to be virtuous—*This* must be the exertion of every individual.—Resolves on paper, or the best draughted schemes of legislation will be altogether ineffectual, unless we ourselves put our hands to the plough, and resolutely determine to practice the homely but necessary virtues of industry and frugality. We must work out our political salvation with fear and trembling.

The quantity of raw materials, in this country, necessary for manufactures, is acknowledged to be various and great: It was the exportation of these which formerly rendered the American colonies so valuable to the parent State; it employed their people, and the profits on their labour produced wealth and strength.—The common proportion between the value of raw materials and wrought manufactures, is estimated as one to three; but there are instances which greatly exceed this, and some articles of manufacture will amount by labour to six times their original cost: Hence it is we may see a small diminutive territory, by the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants, become more valuable and important than wide extended kingdoms. Many countries in Europe, will shew us the happy effects that manufactures produce on the prosperity, industry and well-being of mankind—To illustrate this truth, we shall mention an instance from a late ingenious writer—“The manufactures (says he) of the single city of Norwich, in England, amount to near as much as the whole linen exports of Ireland, but very far is that from being the whole exported produce of a province. It is not that of a single county, for *Norfolk*, besides feeding *that city*, Yarmouth and Lynn, two of the greatest ports in England, and a variety of other towns, *exports*, I believe, more than any other county in the kingdom; and whoever is acquainted with the supply of the London markets, knows that there are thousands of black cattle fattened every year on Norfolk turnips, and sent to Smithfield—What a spectacle is this! The agriculture in the world the most productive of wealth by exportation around one of the greatest manufactures in Europe. It is thus that manufactures become the best friends to agriculture; that they animate the farmer’s industry by giving him ready markets, until he is able, not only to supply them fully, but pushes his exertions with such effect, that he finds a surplus in his hands to convert into gold in the national balance, by rendering foreigners tributary for their bread. Examine all the other fabrics in the kingdom, you see them prodigious markets for the surrounding lands; you see those lands doubling, trebling, quadrupling their rents, while the farmers of them increase daily in wealth.—Thus you see manufactures rearing up agriculture, and agriculture supporting manufactures; you see a *re-action* which gives a reciprocal animation to human industry; great national prosperity is the effect; wealth pours in from the fabrics, which spreading like a fertile stream over all the surrounding lands, renders them, comparatively speaking, so many gardens, the most pleasing spectacles of human industry.”

(Our Ambassador, Mr. *Adams*, having made it necessary to be *well born*, in order to be qualified for the higher offices of government, it has brought the subject, under the consideration of several writers, whose ideas seem to be very different from this artful and profound politician’s. The witty Earle of Chesterfield, long ago, gave his sentiments on the matter as follows, “*Great and illustrious birth* is ascertained and authenticated by a pedigree carefully preserved in the family, which takes at least an hour’s time to unrol, and when unroled, discloses twenty

intermarriages of valiant and puissant Geoffreys and Hildebrands, with as many chaste and pious Blaunches and Mauds, before the conquest, not without here and there a dash of the Plantagenets—But if unfortunately the insolent worms should have devoured the pedigree as well as the persons of the illustrious family, that defect may be supplied at the Herald's office, that inestimable repository of good sense, and useful knowledge.

[“] *Noble Birth*, implies only a peerage in the family; ancestors are by no means necessary for this kind of birth; the parent is the midwife of it, and the very first descent is noble. The family arms, however modern, are dignified by the coronet and mantle; but the *Family Livery* is sometimes, for very good reasons, laid aside.

[“] *Birth*, singly, and without an epithet, extends, I cannot possibly say how far, but negatively it stops where useful arts and industry begin. *Merchants, tradesmen, yeoman, farmers and ploughmen are not born*, or at least in so mean a way as not to deserve that name; and it is perhaps for that reason that their mothers are said to *be delivered*, rather than *brought to bed* of them. But Baronets, Knights and Esquires, have the honour of being *born*.

[“] I must confess that before I got the key to this fashionable language, I was a good deal puzzled myself with the distinction of *Birth* and *no Birth*; and having no other guide than my own weak reason, I mistook the matter most grossly.— I foolishly imagined that *well born*, meant born with a sound mind, in a sound body; a healthy strong constitution, joined to a good heart and a good understanding. But I never suspected that it could possibly mean the shrivelled, tasteless fruit of an old genealogical tree.”

“*What can ennoble slaves and sots and cowards,
“Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.”*”

1. The Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* for 28 August is not extant. The item was transcribed from the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 1 September, which reprinted it under a “BALTIMORE, August 28,” dateline. The *Massachusetts Gazette*, 14 September, also reprinted the entire item. The Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 27 September, reprinted the first two paragraphs, while the New Brunswick, N.J., *Brunswick Gazette*, 11 September, and the *Massachusetts Worcester Magazine*, 13 September, reprinted only the second paragraph. In addition to the *Massachusetts Gazette*, five other newspapers reprinted the text in angle brackets by 18 September: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (2).

12. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 4 September 1787¹

“It has been a great source of error,” says a sensible Bostonian, “among our politicians, to have the republics of Greece and Rome, floating in their dazzled view, as models for America, when there is scarce a point of parity between them and us. One of the Spartan virtues, was adroit thieving; and the great object of Roman patriotism, was the conquest of their neighbours. These republics made peace, but with a view of going to war again, and where they saw a prospect of plunder, they never wanted a motive. In failure of a common enemy, they used to fight with each other, and Athens and Lacedemon, have been seen in alternate prosperity and distress by their mutual depredations. The genius of America, on the contrary, is peace; arts, agriculture and commerce, are her great sources of wealth and happiness: these can never flourish but in a free, yet energetic government; and this is all that is wanting to complete our public felicity.”²

A correspondent observes, that when we consider the magnitude of the business which now employs the attention of the Grand Federal Convention, we

cannot expect they will hastily finish and send forth the result of their important discussions, which must be greatly interesting to the welfare of thirteen States, some of whom are more extensive than many Kingdoms in Europe. Rousseau seems to have an idea of this arduous task, when he says, "To investigate those conditions of society which m[a]y *best answer the purposes of nations*, would require the abilities of some *superior intelligence*, who should be witness to all the passions of men, but be subject itself to none, who should have no connections with human nature, but should have a perfect knowledge of it: A being, in short, whose happiness should be independent of us, and who would nevertheless employ itself about us. It is the province of Gods to make laws for men."

Man is a changeable being, his reason is imperfect and subject to error and delusion; his opinions of religion, government and life, are frequently shifting, and thus in different periods of his existence, he hardly appears to be influenced by the same principles of action. Various have been the sentiments of men, relative to the British constitution; some have pointed out its imperfections, while others have extolled it as a master-piece of human wisdom. Among those who have ventured to write against it, we may reckon Burgh and the Author of Common Sense, who in that performance, ridicules *the balance*, to which some of our modern politicians begin to be remarkably attached—he tells us, that the "prejudice of Englishmen in favour of King, Lords, and Commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason"—and that the British constitution "is incapable to produce what it seems to promise."

Among the writers for the superior excellence of this constitution, we may reckon Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Hume: But though these celebrated geniuses have expressed many handsome encomiums on this subject, yet our countryman and Ambassador, Mr. Adams, far exceeds them all. This will be manifest from numberless passages which might be extracted from his late work, entitled "A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America:" We shall give a few of them as follows:—"According to Cicero, (Frag. de Repub.) a simple monarchy, if it could in reality be what it pretends to be—a government of laws, might be justly denominated a republic."—A limited monarchy, therefore, especially when limited by two independent branches, an aristocratical and a democratical power in the constitution, may with strict propriety be called by that name.

[“]If Cicero and Tacitus could revisit the earth, and learn that the *English nation* had reduced the *great idea* to practice, and brought it *nearly to perfection*, by giving each division a power to defend itself by a negative; had found it the most solid and durable government, as well as the *most free*, had obtained by means of it a prosperity among civilized nations, in an enlightened age, like that of the Romans among barbarians; and that the *Americans*, after having enjoyed the *benefits of such a constitution* a century and a half, were advised by some of the greatest philosophers and politicians of the age to renounce it, and set up the governments of *ancient Goths* and *modern Indians*:—what would they say?—The Americans would be more reprehensible than the Cappadocians, if they should listen to such advice.”—Again, “What is the ingredient which in England has preserved the democratical authority? The *balance* and that *only*. The English have in reality blended together the feudal institutions with those of the Greeks and Romans; and out of all have made that *noble composition*, which avoids the inconveniences, and retains the advantages of both.—The institutions now made in America will never wear wholly out for thousands of years; it is of the

last importance then that they should begin right; if they set out wrong, they will never be able to return, unless it be by accident to the right path. After having known the history of Europe, and of England in particular, it would be the height of folly to go back to the *institutions of Woden and of Thor*, as they are advised to do: If they had been counselled to adopt a *simple monarchy at once*, it would have been less mysterious."

From these quotations we may perceive the great admiration and attachment which this writer entertains for the principles of the British Government. He seems to wish that we would universally adopt *the balance*, and relinquish our present established systems, founded on the institutions of Woden and Thor and therefore altogether improper for this illuminated age of the world.—A *strong* Executive is his favourite maxim, but as he is for a distinct equilibrium of power, we do not see the propriety of distinguishing the Executive with the epithet *strong*; for if the Executive is to be *strong*, the other branches of Government must be the same to preserve the *balance*.—This subtil and learned man would also have us judge of the excellence of ancient constitutions from their duration—this perhaps might not always be just, as many causes that had no relation to their political system, and which do not exist with us, might tend to destroy and overturn their Governments.—If we consider the progress of the Empires that have hitherto subsisted in the world, we shall find the short duration of their most glorious periods, owing to causes which will not operate against that of North-America—Those Empires were formed by conquest; a great many nations, different in character, language and ideas were by force jumbled into one heterogeneous power; it is most surprising that such dissonant parts should hold together so long. But when the band of union, *force*, was weakened, they returned to their original and natural separation.—Language and national character formed many sovereignties out of the former connected varieties. America hath an advantage *decisive of its duration*. This great continent was chiefly peopled by British subjects whose language and national character were the same.—The foreigners who emigrated here, or were imported by us, were confounded by the general population and the whole people, physically speaking became *one*—so that those seeds of decay sown in the very formation of the ancient Empires will have no existence here.)

Republicanism a few years ago, was all the vogue of politicians. "A government of laws and not of men." But now the aristocrats and monarchy-men on the one hand, and the insurgent party on the other, are with different views contending for a "government of men, and not of laws." The weakness of republics is become the everlasting theme of speculative politicians. While a man of less enthusiasm, on remarking the extravagancies of parties, is ready to say,

For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administer'd is best. *Pope.*

But even this is not strictly true. A government may be deficient in its form; and afford no principles on which the Executive power shall proceed. We may therefore define a good government thus. It is that which contains a good system of laws, with provision suitable and sufficient for the putting them into execution. By whatever name such a government be called, it is a good one. The goodness of forms of government is, however, almost wholly relative. Some agree with one nation, with respect to their temper and circumstances, some with another. Habit and actual experience alone, can absolutely determine that which is fit for any individual State.

1. The *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 September, reprinted the text in angle brackets.
2. This paragraph was also reprinted in the *New York Morning Post*, 10 September, and *Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette*, 3 October.

13. Maryland Journal, 14 September 1787¹

To the VOTERS of BALTIMORE-TOWN:

GENTLEMEN, Having established my permanent residence in this Town, I have consented, at the request of many of my friends, to offer myself as one of the Candidates at the approaching election; and I take the liberty to inform you of this intention, and to request you to consider this address as a personal application to each of you for your vote and interest.

To be the representative of a free people, I have ever considered as the most honourable character a citizen can sustain. Ambitious to serve my country, I sought her confidence at a very early period of life; and have been a delegate for the City of Annapolis and Ann-Arundel County, for upwards of twenty years.—The repeated choice of the people of that City and County, at more than fifteen elections, during that time, I presume will be admitted as clear evidence, that I faithfully discharged the trust reposed in me, and that my countrymen entertained honourable sentiments of my zeal, ability and integrity.—I have also had the honour of sustaining, during that period, repeated *legislative* appointments to the highest stations and offices in this government. While I gratefully feel these distinguishing marks of partiality and approbation of my country, I hope my fellow-citizens of this Town will consider them as justifying, in some degree, my pretensions to their confidence.

It becomes not me to say, that by devoting my labours, for my whole life, to the Public, I have rendered any services to the State; but I can boldly defy envy, malice, or party, to maintain, that I ever promoted, or attempted to promote, my *private* interest, in any public character I ever sustained. In a long life of political warfare, I necessarily made some enemies. During a civil war, and revolution, and in times of great public adversity and distress, it was impossible for any one, deeply engaged in public councils and measures, not to create opposition and enemies; but I have great pleasure in the remembrance, that when my enemies appeared, my friends arose, and every opposition to me ended in the defeat and disgrace of my adversaries.—My *public*, or *political*, character has often been attacked by great and powerful foes, and every art and stratagem practised against me; but regulating my political conduct by disinterested and public motives I stood the test, and confounded my accusers on every examination and inquiry.—My *private* reputation, no man, in public, has ever dared to impeach. I have been involved in *political* controversy with *political* adversaries, but I have, hitherto, avoided all *private* disputes; and I flatter myself, that I have not one enemy in the world from any act in my *professional* or *private* character. On *political* questions, men may honestly differ in opinion, and oppose each other with warmth and passion. If any one has any thing to allege against my *public* principles or conduct, unless he arraigns my integrity or honour, I can only answer, that the people I represented were fully satisfied that I pursued their interests, and spoke their sentiments, as my duty required. If any one shall censure my *political* principles, or impute my *public* conduct to base or unworthy motives, I request you to afford me, as justice demands, an opportunity of justifying, or explaining the reasons for my political opinions or conduct.—To

condemn me unheard, and to refuse me your confidence, from the representation of interested or designing men, would be an act of injustice to yourselves, and to me.—If my public conduct, as the representative of Annapolis, or Ann-Arundel County, has, in any instance, met with your disapprobation, be pleased to remember, that I was *their* delegate, not *yours*; and that I was bound to speak and act *their* opinions, not *yours*.—If you honour me with your confidence, and elect me as one of your representatives, I shall hold myself bound to regulate my public conduct in such manner as you please to direct; and where your *will* is not expressed, I shall endeavour to promote your welfare and happiness, by such measures as my own judgment shall dictate. If any thing is *whispered* against my *private* character, be so just as to form no opinion injurious of my integrity or honour; but request the person to make his charges against me in *public*; and with confidence I assert, that I will prove him a *tale-bearer*, or a *slanderver*. The *public* good, and *your welfare*, will be used as the *masque* to cover *private* views, and to gratify *private* resentment. No man is *worthy of your credit*, who will circulate in *private* what he will not declare in *public*.

I ask not the votes or interest of any party, or religious sect in this Town; but I solicit the approbation of *all parties*, and of *all religious sects*, professing myself a friend to *all*, and an enemy to *none*; and that I most sincerely wish, that the only contest among you may be, who shall most promote the real interest of the Town. Divided among yourselves, you are very weak, and of little consequence in the State;—united, as prudence and interest require, you would possess, from your numbers and wealth, great influence in this government.—Your importance depends, in great measure, on your representatives. I offer you my services, and any abilities and experience I possess, are at your command, if you please to accept them. You may elect a gentleman with more abilities to devise, and greater powers to execute measures conducive to your prosperity and importance; but you cannot choose any one, who feels a greater inclination to serve you.—I have no interest inconsistent with yours, and all my *future* prospects in life are connected with YOU.—In this Town I passed my youth, and in this Town I expect to close the last scene of life.

I am, Gentlemen, With great respect and esteem, Your obedient Servant,
SAMUEL CHASE.

Baltimore, September 13, 1787.

1. Chase's announcement also appeared in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* on 14 September.

14. Thousands

Maryland Journal, 28 September 1787¹

To ARISTIDES.

The important controversy about the people's right to bind the legislature by instructions from the majority, is now closed, and it has terminated entirely in your favour.

When the House of Delegates addressed their constituents last winter, they said unto them, "we hold both branches of your legislature bound by your instructions, whenever you please to give them; on a diversity in sentiment between us and the Senate, you alone are to decide, and to you alone can there be any appeal." The perusal of this dangerous assertion, filled many with inexpressible

anxiety, because they feared it might gain credit, as proceeding from so high an authority, and they instantly anticipated a multitude of evils, that would be occasioned by its adoption.

That the people may interpose to reform the old government, and establish a new one, was not doubted nor denied, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual; but to say that the people may interpose, whenever they please, and order particular laws to be enacted, or repealed, or determine respecting a difference of opinion between the Senate and House of Delegates, is to introduce damnable doctrines, productive of universal insecurity and final ruin.

That the people have, and should have, a right to participate in the legislature, as the best security of liberty, and the foundation of all free government, is incontestibly plain. This necessary and salutary participation is clearly defined and ascertained—It is to be sought for and found in the freedom and frequency of elections, and in the right of suffrage, which every person enjoys, who has property in, a common interest with, and attachment to the community—But to affirm, that it moreover includes the authority of commanding or controlling the legislature, in the ordinary course of legislation, is propagating a political heresy of the first magnitude.

The people may likewise address the legislature in remonstrances, memorials or petitions, expressing their desire, request or advice, which should be highly regarded, and never refused without powerful reasons. If they proceed further, and suspend or supersede the deliberations of the General Assembly at will, by their sovereign order, they dissolve the whole system of government at once, and lay it prostrate by a single stroke.

These great truths are now clearly understood, and firmly believed by a vast majority of the citizens, who have read your just explanation and conclusive defence of genuine liberty. By bringing the question to a fair impartial trial—by exhibiting it in every possible view, and examining it on all sides—by patiently attending to all that its deluded advocates could urge in its support, a decision has been obtained perfectly agreeable to the wishes of all wise and good men. Stability of government is preserved without countenancing the approach of arbitrary power, or infringing the smallest privilege of the meanest citizen. In a series of masterly publications, it has been unanswerably shewn, that the right contended for, is utterly unknown to the constitution of government in Maryland, which is, certainly, the only proper place of its residence, if it has a being—that it does not appear to be sanctioned by the resolve, act or proceeding of any legislature, or the custom of any nation on earth—that the exercise of it is not recorded by any one historian, or the existence of it asserted by any one author, good, bad or indifferent, whom its friends could produce through the whole course of the interesting debate.

Admitting the right to have theoretic existence, for the sake of argument, in-somuch that a refusal to obey the instructions of a majority of the people, would be a breach of the constitution, and any law enacted contrary to them, a mere nullity in itself, it turned out, upon inquiry, impracticable in execution—none would venture to determine or direct, after what manner the business was to be conducted, though every one might foresee the dreadful evils it would soon produce.

Superior as you were in the justness of your cause, you have uniformly maintained a corresponding superiority over all your antagonists, in distinctness of arrangement, in conclusiveness of argument, and in a correct, manly, nervous

style.—The time was peculiarly critical—the occasion demanded the patriotic exertions of an able writer—the public mind was unsettled by pathetic lamentations over our inefficient confederation, and the measures proposed to abolish or reform it—an aversion from constitutional and legal restraints was increased by the laying of heavy, though necessary, taxes—the infancy of our government naturally rendered it feeble and unsteady, unable to bear those agitations, which older institutions can endure, without hazarding a dissolution. There seemed, likewise, something flattering to the people’s vanity, and conducive to their interest, in positions which asserted their right to interfere, as absolute dictators, upon every occasion they chose, and prescribe to legislators their indisputable duty. Under all these circumstances, you, Sir, stood forth, at the probable risk of popular resentment, and certainly exposed to the keenest rancour of enraged demagogues.—You elucidated the real nature of our free government in this part, ascertaining, with precision, the rights of the legislature, and the rights of the citizens; the separate and distinct preservation of which, must be essential to our welfare. These were meritor[i]ous services, in return for which, you receive, what your enlightened liberal mind will esteem a great reward. For what you have done, you enjoy the sincere thanks of a very great majority of your countrymen, who ardently pray that you may be continued long with them, the vigilant, able and upright guardian of their inestimable privileges.—At the same time, they reckon it a singular felicity, that they have, in so high a judicial department, a gentleman of such excellent capacity, and independent spirit, who adheres, with inflexible firmness, his enemies themselves being judges, to the eminent virtue, which distinguished the illustrious Ancient, under the signature of whose name, he has expounded and established true constitutional freedom.
Baltimore, September 24, 1787.

1. The 25 September issue of the *Maryland Journal* noted that “An Address of ‘THOUSANDS,’ to ARISTIDES, will be inserted in our next.”

15. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 28 September 1787¹

☞ Dr. JAMES McHENRY, and Mr. PHILIP ROGERS, well-known friends to the new Federal Constitution, have consented to serve this town, as Representatives, if elected, notwithstanding reports assiduously propagated to the contrary.

1. A similar item appeared in the *Maryland Journal* on 28 September.

16. Maryland Journal, 5 October 1787

On Wednesday last the Polls for this Town were closed, 830 Votes were taken, and the Numbers stood as follow:

Mr. Chase.	Mr. McMechen.	Mr. McHenry.	Mr. Rogers.
612	593	206	168

From the virulent Publications in the *News Papers* and *Hand-Bills*, the Public were led to think, that a *general* Opposition would be made to the Election of Mr. Chase. He was not, indeed, without Enemies and Opponents; nor did they fail to exert all their Powers against him. Every Artifice was used, every Stratagem

practised, every Falsehood circulated that the most fertile Imagination could suggest, to prejudice his Fellow-Citizens, and to destroy their Confidence in him. But his Slanderers, like *muffled Ruffians*, disguised and concealed themselves; nor could any Invitation, or Provocation, bring them from their SKULKING-HOLES. With a manly Firmness, and conscious Rectitude, Mr. Chase presented himself *before the People*, and challenged his *Accusers* to come forth and meet him in the OPEN DAY; but none was so daring as personally to avow the Calumnies he had propagated.

Among the Opposers of Mr. Chase, there were others who conducted their Opposition with Decency, but some of them not less warmly and decidedly. These Gentlemen were extremely mistaken in their supposed Weight and Consequence with the People; they had the Mortification to find, on Trial, that their Influence was much more limited than they thought, and their Respectability of Character not so commanding as they expected.—To the Honour of the MECHANICS and TRADESMEN, they voted FREELY and INDEPENDENTLY: They were determined to have the MEN OF THEIR OWN APPROBATION AND CHOICE.

Never did Mr. Chase carry an Election with more Honour, or obtain a completer Victory over his Enemies. He not only had almost the *whole Body of Mechanics and Tradesmen*, but a MAJORITY of the Gentlemen of the first Fortunes and Respectability of Character.—From the Attempts which have been made, at different Periods, to destroy Mr. Chase's Popularity, and from his *never* failing to vanquish his Adversaries, one is almost led to think, that Providence suffers Enemies occasionally to rise up against him, that his repeated Triumphs and Victories may convince and assure Mankind, that the ENLIGHTENED PATRIOT IS THE PECULIAR CARE OF HEAVEN.

Baltimore, October 4, 1787.

**17. John Pierce to Henry Knox
Richmond, Va., 21 October 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Sam Chase in Maryland will oppose it. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC 02437.03678, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

18. Lansingburgh, N.Y., Northern Centinel, 22 October 1787

Extract of a letter from George town, Maryland.

"From the information I have received, the impression in favor of the new constitution is general in this state."

**19. Henry Hollingsworth to Levi Hollingsworth
Elkton, Md., 30 October 1787 (excerpts)¹**

Dear Brother

. . . hope the Federal Government will take place and give Credit to our affairs, as I suffer much from holding a number of Certifycates and paying a prodigious tax at the Same time. . . .

1. RC, Hollingsworth Family Papers, PHi.

**20. John Brown Cutting to William Short
London, 3 November 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . In my own mind I reckon upon the ratification of nine States as a certain measure. Concerning Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Rhode-Island I confess I entertain doubts and fears. Col. Forest thinks Maryland will cheerfully comply. . . .

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC.

**21. George Washington to James Madison
Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Va., 5 November 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . So far as the sentiments of Maryland, with respect to the proposed Constitution, have come to my knowledge, they are strongly in favor of it; but as this is the day on which the Assembly of that State *ought* to meet, I will say nothing in anticipation of the opinion of it. Mr. Carroll of Caŕolton, and Mr. Thos. Johnson, are declared friends to it.—

1. RC, Emmet Collection, New York Public Library. For the full letter, see RCS:Va., 145–47n.

**22. Samuel Powel to George Washington
Philadelphia, 13 November 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . In Maryland there is a secret Opposition from a Member of the Assembly; but it is believed that his Politics will not succeed. . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. For a longer excerpt, see CC:255.

**23. Governor William Smallwood to the Maryland General Assembly
Annapolis, 24 November 1787¹**

I have the Honor of transmitting the inclosed Act of the late Convention at Philadelphia, forwarded to the Executive here by our Deputies in Convention to be laid before the Legislature of this State which happend to be omitted when the other Communications were sent—

1. RC, State Papers, Md-Ar.

**24. Mark Pringle to Christopher Champlin
Baltimore, 27 November 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . The Public attention is at present taken up by the new Federal Constitution, and tho' it meets with opposition, I flatter myself it will be adopted, at least, the necessity of affairs require it. . . .

1. RC, Wetmore Papers, MHi.

**25. Philanthropos
Maryland Journal, 30 November 1787¹**

To the LEGISLATURE *of* MARYLAND:

GENTLEMEN, You are now convened for the purposes of legislation, and it is to be presumed, a number of important matters will fall under your consideration, which will require a full exertion and application of all your legal knowledge.

The new plan of government will lie before you, and call either for your negative or affirmative, or else for some amendments and alterations, to all which we doubt not, but the collected wisdom of Maryland will be fully competent.

It is asserted, with great probability, that a petition will also be handed to you, praying that a law may pass, prohibiting individuals from the laudable practice of setting their slaves at liberty. It is said, severe penalties are to fall upon the violators of it, if the prayer of the petition should be granted. It seems not easy, or rather it is very difficult, to find out the causes of this extraordinary step. Is it because the benevolent Quakers, for a series of years, have enjoined the emancipation of slaves upon all their adherents? Is it because the sober, religious Methodists have, of late, adopted the same pious practice? Is it because that slavery is already grown into disrepute? Or, is it because those who are in possession of these unhappy and barbarously-handled people, through inquietude of conscience, and a fear of labour, begin to think that the time of their deliverance is just at hand, and therefore, like so many desperadoes, they will, once for all, unite their strength to promote an unrighteous cause? Some, or all of these, there is no doubt, gave birth to this uncommon petition. But the ostensible reason is, that slaves, who are emancipated, prove indolent, and for a support, become thieves and robbers. Among the variety of characters set at liberty, it is probable there may be some whose conduct is highly criminal; and is this at all to be wondered at, since they, as well as others of the human race, are degenerate and corrupted in principle? But will this circumstance legitimate the passing a law to prevent and entirely to suppress a practice, which Reason and Revelation, with their united voices, pronounce to be laudable, and not only laudable, but what is more, an incumbent duty? Certainly no.—As well might the legislature of Maryland pass a law for enslaving all the Whites, and their posterity with them, who are indolent and knavish.

Surely, Gentlemen, the voice of our miserable, wretched brethren, the Africans, has too long rung in our ears unheard. I must add, that the cries of the oppressed, who, without wages, have reaped down our harvests, plead in Heaven for a redress of their grievances—for an adequate punishment upon their oppressors. If all these things are so, would it be unjust or improper to infer, that your wisdom will incline you, instead of granting the prayer of this petition, to pass a law, either for the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery? Suffer me to bring to your remembrance, and to recommend to your imitation, the noble examples of several of our Sister-States, upon this point. Disdaining sordid avarice and illegal gain, and fired with an ardent love for liberty, which cost them so much blood and treasure, they gloriously bid those unfortunate sons of Africa breathe the air of freedom, and know again the pleasures of domestic life. Do you ask how your farms shall be cultivated? How your sons and daughters shall be genteelly educated, if universal freedom should take place? I answer the former may be done by hiring and justly rewarding the laborious poor, or your sons and daughters may do much in this way; and there is not a doubt but, so exercising themselves, they would answer the design of their creation much better than they do under the present circumstances. With respect to the latter, namely,

a genteel education, I can say, that multitudes are often mistaken about it:—Some suppose it consists in a polished outside, than which nothing can be more absurd. The external appearance may be elegant and fair, where intellectual improvements may have been almost, if not altogether, neglected. This is only the appearance of an education, without the reality. Many of this complexion there are in Maryland, who can scarcely tell whether God or the Devil made them; and, as is most probable this their ignorance originates, in a great degree, from the indolent manner in which they have been trained up. Another class of mankind conceive, that a polite or genteel education, consists, especially when applied to the males, in knowing how to deal out, some times plain and other times minced oaths, to drink to drunkenness, to attend upon horse-races, cock-fights, to gamble and spend their substance in bagnios and stews—and such an education as this cannot be procured for your sons without confining multitudes of your fellow-creatures in a state of slavery. May Heaven compassionate both them and you! Is this to train up children in the way that they should go? I ardently wish that the eyes of such blind parents, and such destroyed, undone children, may be opened in time, lest they may be made unspeakably miserable, through their own folly. Would it not be preferable, or rather, would it not be superlatively better for such youth to be confined to manual labour? And might not their education be promoted, even with that encumbrance, in a more profitable manner than under the circumstances above specified?—You ask again, what shall we do with these unhappy sufferers, suppose they were set at liberty? I answer, they should be either sent, at the expence of the State, to that country which the God of Nature gave them, when he appointed the bounds of the habitations of man, and from which their progenitors were feloniously captured, or they should be colonized in America. To do one or both of these, would not be either hard or expensive; and suppose it would involve both difficulties and expences, these would be but very light, compared with the heavy judgments of God, which, we have reason to believe, are hanging over, and just ready to fall upon us, for our base conduct towards this part of the human species.—Upon the whole, Gentlemen, I hope you will see good reason to reject the prayer of the petition alluded to, as it evidently involves in it a daring insult upon the prerogatives of men, and if granted, will add one more iniquity, of a public nature too, to the crimson roll, which, for many years, as a nation, and as individuals, we have been multiplying.

November 20, 1787.

1. On 27 November the *Maryland Journal* announced that “PHILANTHROPOS’s Address to the LEGISLATURE of MARYLAND, will be inserted in our next.”

26. Governor William Smallwood to the Maryland General Assembly Annapolis, 10 December 1787¹

I have the Honor of transmitting the inclosed Journals of Congress with a letter from the Secretary pointing out the necessity at this particular crisis of the States being represented in Congress, as our State is one of the number unrepresented you will please Judge of the expediency of Appointing and requesting the Attendance of the Members as early as possible.—

1. RC, Red Books, XXXI, 24, Md-Ar.

**27. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Rufus King
Hartford, Conn., 16 December 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I know Mercer well and am glad he is inelligible—for more reasons than one. . . .

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

28. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 18 December 1787¹

*Now in the Press, and will with all possible expedition
be published in one Volume, Octavo,*

Debates of the Convention

Of the STATE of PENNSYLVANIA,

On the Constitution proposed for the Government of the
United States of America, accurately taken in Short Hand,

BY THOMAS LLOYD.

The price of this work cannot be accurately ascertained, because the quantity will depend altogether upon the arguments used by the Honourable Members of that body—but it is intended to be at the rate of one dollar per 100 pages. Subscriptions are received by the Printer hereof.

** Several of the editor's friends having supposed a pamphlet printed by Thomas Bradford, entitled, "The Substance of a Speech delivered by James Wilson, Esq. &c." was written by him, he conceives himself under the necessity of counteracting any impression such an opinion may have made upon the public, by assuring them he was not the writer, but pledges himself to give that address in the forementioned volume, without mutilation or misrepresentation.

Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1787.

1. This advertisement was first printed in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 3 December 1787 (Mfm:Pa. 252). It was reprinted in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York until early February 1788.

29. Massachusetts Centinel, 22 December 1787

The Legislature of Maryland, on the 17th ult. passed a law, repealing all acts in force in that State, which are repugnant to the treaty of peace between the United States and Great-Britain.—As all the States have now complied with the recommendation of Congress, in passing laws similar to the above, the English government must invent some new EXCUSE for refusing to deliver up OUR WESTERN POSTS—or we may well complain of *punica fides Britannia*.

30. Boston Gazette, 31 December 1787¹

The Maryland convention, to be delegated, are authorised to convene on the 21st of April, for the purpose of enquiring into the propriety of its adoption, and, if they judge proper and expedient, to adopt it.

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 January 1788.

31. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 11 January 1788

☞ When subjects of the greatest magnitude are before the public, the strictest impartiality becomes the duty of every printer in conducting his press.—To preserve that most invaluable privilege, its liberty, it becomes necessary to admit the pieces of writers on both sides of a question, when they are intended to inform the public mind, and not to be the vehicle of personal reflections and slander—Impressed with these sentiments, the Editor of the *Maryland Gazette*, &c. would always wish to oblige his friends and correspondence—as much of his paper as can possibly be spared, will always be at their service, and he will endeavour to insert their pieces correctly and in the best manner—While it is thus his endeavour to please, he flatters himself that every candid and enlightened mind, will pardon any involuntary error, and kindly afford him encouragement and support in this his arduous business.—Original compositions will at all times be particularly acceptable.

** The NEW ROOF, will have a place in our next.¹

1. The *Gazette* reprinted “The New Roof” (CC:395) on 15 January. See RCS:Md., 184n.

32. James Wilson to Samuel Wallis Philadelphia, 22 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Appearances with Regard to the new federal Constitution are very favourable on every Side. Its Friends increase in Virginia. In Maryland, Opposition has ceased almost everywhere. . . .

1. RC, Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.

33. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 25 January 1788

The Correspondent who has favoured the Editor with a few lines, respecting the impartiality of his press, may be assured that he will at all times be ready to insert well written original pieces on both sides any political question that may be interesting to the community: and he has hitherto made it the rule of his conduct, to give fair play on the important subject now before the public, by inserting every piece that has yet been sent to him: but he must observe, that when he takes paragraphs from other prints, for the Baltimore head, it is generally for want of being supplied by our own writers.

The adoption of the new federal constitution, says a correspondent, in a Philadelphia paper, by so great a majority of the Connecticut Convention must afford comfort and satisfaction both to *the firm* and to *the doubting* friends of the new government: for if there are in the American union any genuine Commonwealth’s-men—any body of men really and truly republican, it is the free and equal citizens of that frugal, industrious, enlightened and warlike State. Our correspondent adds, that he hopes our late writers will now refrain from the inconsiderate accusations of conspiracy, which in their less reflecting moments they have given into.

34 A–E. Aristides: Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government, 31 January 1788—Advertisements and Reviews

34-A. Advertisement, Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 10 January

In the Press, and soon will be Published, and Sold at the Printing-Office,
 A Pamphlet, entitled,
 REMARKS
 ON THE
 PROPOSED PLAN
 OF A
 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,
 BY ARISTIDES.

34-B. Advertisement, Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 31 January

JUST PUBLISHED, and to be SOLD at the PRINTING-OFFICE, and at Mr.
 STEPHEN CLARK'S Book-store,

A Pamphlet, entitled,
 REMARKS
 ON THE
 PROPOSED PLAN
 OF A
 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,
 BY ARISTIDES.

Price two shillings and nine-pence, or three-eighths of a dollar, for a single copy, and proportionably much less for 100, 50, or 25 copies.

The author begs leave to assure the public, that he would be happy, could he, conveniently, distribute gratis, as heretofore, the production of his labour. But this cannot be done, without incurring a considerable expence, or imposing on a few generous subscribers. From a circumstance not necessary to be mentioned, the cost of the impression exceeds his and the Printer's first expectation. The price therefore of a copy is higher than he wished to fix. It is no part of his plan to make money from the sale; and the most pressing demand will produce little more than an indemnification.

34-C. Review of Aristides

New York American Magazine, May

Remarks on the proposed Plan of a Federal Government, addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America, and particularly to the people of Maryland. By Aristides. Annapolis, printed by F. Green.

These remarks are not all original, but they are very judicious, calculated to remove objections to the proposed plan of government, and written with spirit and elegance.

34-D. *Review of Aristides*

London Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal, June

Remarks on the proposed Plan of a federal Government, addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America, and particularly to the People of Maryland. By *Aristides*. 8vo. pp. 48. Printed at Annapolis. 1788.

It is not to be supposed, that while matters of such great national importance, as the establishing a new constitution of government, are in agitation, there should not, in a free state, be a considerable diversity of opinions among the people, and that these should be maintained with a warmth and ardour sometimes bordering on enthusiasm. The Author of the present pamphlet is a warm and very intelligent supporter of the plan of government lately digested by the convention of delegates, and now under the consideration of the several states, of which he might say with the poet,

It has no faults, or I no faults can spy,
It is all beauty, or all blindness I.

But let him speak for himself;—“It was the parting declaration,” says he, “of the American Nestor to his exalted fellow-labourers, that ‘he would subscribe, because he thought it good, and because he did not know but it was the best that could be contrived.’ My own declaration, which would be the same were I standing on the verge of eternity, is, that if the whole matter were left to my discretion, I would not change a single part.” Probably he would do very right to adhere to this resolution. But those who are best acquainted with the difficulty of guarding against unforeseen evils in government, will be the most slow at either unreserved approbation or unlimited censure. The only time to be zealous in praise of a constitution is, *after it has been tried*; and we rather agree with the American Nestor in thinking that, like every other human work, it has its defects and weaknesses, than with Aristides in deeming it perfect. It must, however, be owned that the members of the convention have done more for establishing a good system of government, than *in their situation* was reasonably to be expected—they have checked many of the prevailing prejudices of their countrymen, though they dared not directly oppose them. From this pamphlet, it is easy to perceive that the chief objections to the plan of government proposed, arise in America from these laudable, as we would say, deviations from the prejudices of the times^(a). They have done much, but perfection is not nearly attained: we cordially wish them success in this arduous undertaking.

(a) It was certainly a new situation for a number of detached communities, occupying a large continent, to have the *opportunity* of deliberating on what form of government they should erect for the whole! In such a situation, they certainly act wisely in endeavouring to form a bond of political connexion under *one* sovereign authority for their individual and united strength: But the novelty of the occasion, instead of inspiring unbounded confidence, ought, we think, to dictate caution and diffidence.

34E. *Review of Aristides*

The Analytical Review (London), November

Remarks on the proposed Plan of a Federal Government, addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America, and particularly to the People of Maryland. By Aristides. Annapolis, printed by Frederick Green, Printer to the State. Small 8 vo. 42 p. 1788.

While the different American states were engaged in war with Great Britain, and their political independence hung on the chain of doubtful events, they were united in their councils by the dread of a common enemy, and an ardent zeal for the attainment of one grand object. This band of union being removed, for a time at least, by the peace of 1783, which recognized that independent sovereignty which they had assumed and exercised for years, it became necessary to provide for its permanent security by the establishment of a permanent government. A kind of federal government, under the designation of Congress, had already grown out of the circumstances of the times, but the authority which it had necessarily assumed, was not, in every instance, formally and solemnly recognized by each of the states of which that assembly was composed; and new cases had arisen, and might be expected to arise in future. A convention of the individual states was, in these circumstances, held for the purpose of consulting on the subject of what additional powers were necessary to be vested in Congress. To the constitution framed out of that of Congress and other new regulations by the convention, the greater part of the individual American states were gradually induced to give their assent. But a natural jealousy of the supreme power, and a reluctance to consign new privileges into the hands of Congress, were general throughout America, though in some of the states, of which *Maryland* was one, more violent and obstinate than in others. In this important crisis, Aristides addresses his countrymen, particularly the citizens of Maryland, on the great subject of legislation and government. He recommends the constitution proposed by the convention, viz. an elective president, a senate, and an house of representatives, by very sensible arguments, and a species of eloquence that flows from sincerity of intention.

To consolidate the whole thirteen states into a single organization, was out of the convention's contemplation, for two unanswerable reasons. In the first place, they were satisfied, that not one of the states would renounce its sovereignty. In the next place, they considered, that, in a single government, with a great extent of territory, the advantages are most unequally diffused. As the extreme parts are scarcely sensible of its protection, so are they scarcely under its domination. It is generally agreed, that a great extended nation can long continue under no *single* form of government, except a despotism, into which, either a republic, or a limited monarchy, will be certain to degenerate. And hence, if I understand the man who styles himself a *Centinel*, he insinuates, that if these states will persist in remaining under one head, they must soon fall under the dominion of a despot. But, my fellow-citizens, in a confederate republic, consisting of distinct states, completely organized within themselves, and each of no greater extent than is proper for a republican form, almost all the blessings of government are equally diffused. Its protection extends to the remotest corner, and there every man is under restraint of laws.

A true federal republic is always capable of accession by the peaceable and friendly admission of new single states. *Its true size is neither greater nor less than*

that which may comprehend all the states which, by their contiguity, may become enemies, unless united under one common head, capable of reconciling all their differences. Such a government as this, excels any single government, extending over the same territory, as a band of brothers is superior to a band of slaves, or as thirteen common men, for the purposes of agriculture, would be superior to a giant, enjoying strength of body equal to them all.

The idea of a balance has long influenced the politics of Europe. But how much superior to this almost impracticable balance would be a general league, constituting a kind of federal republic, consisting of all the independent powers in Europe, for preventing the impositions and encroachments of one upon another! A true and perfect confederate government, however, in her situation, is not to be attained; although the great soul of HENRY THE FOURTH is said to have conceived the idea.

Shall America then form one grand federal republic? Or shall she, after experiencing the benefits of even an imperfect union, and when a union the most perfect is requisite for her permanent safety;—shall she, in this situation, divide into thirteen contemptible single governments, exposed to every insult and wrong from abroad, and watching each other's motions, with all the captiousness of jealous rivals? Or shall she divide into two or more federal republics, actuated by the same malignant dispositions? In either of these cases, after struggling through infinite toils, difficulty, and danger, should the thirteen single states be, at last, delivered from foreign foes, they will fall upon each other; and no man can predict, what forms of government, or division of territory, shall finally obtain.—Two or three federal republics might possibly retain their independence. But they would be in the same situation, with respect to each other, as France, England, and Spain, scarcely ever free from war; practising the arts of dissimulation and intrigue; in vain striving to impose, by endless negotiation; and, after all, relying only on the immense naval and land forces, which they continually maintain.

This treatise is written in a careless and somewhat slovenly manner, with regard to style and composition; but it contains a great deal of sound political observation.

As the subject of the remarks is in the highest degree interesting, we shall take occasion here to add to the observations of our ingenious author one of our own, which we submit to the consideration of American politicians. After the independence of the United States of the Netherlands was recognized by the Spaniards in the twelve years truce 1609, the individual states began to pay very little regard to the decrees of the states-general; and even particular towns and lordships seemed desirous of maintaining entire independence on the states of the provinces within which they were situated. The Dutch government, which had greatly relaxed, and was even threatened with revolution, recovered its tone through the dangers with which the United Provinces were threatened by the war of thirty years in Germany, which was terminated by the peace of Westphalia. After this, dissensions prevailed uniformly among the Dutch, or were composed, according as they dreaded or were secure against their ambitious neighbours. But the American states have no neighbours by whom they can ever be in danger of being made a conquest. The point of similitude and dissimilitude between the American and Dutch provinces furnish a curious subject of reflection and conjecture.

H. H.

**35. From Otho Holland Williams
post-31 January 1788 (excerpts)¹**

“. . . *Aristides remarks on the proposed plan of a Federal Government . . .*” He agrees to distribute copies of these remarks and comments on the wisdom, or lack of it, in declaring an opinion on the plan. “. . . *In the name of the Omniscient can it be expected that every man . . . can decide with propriety on a subject that has divided the opinions of the wisest and best men of every Country and in every age? . . .*”

1. Printed: *The Collector*, LXXVII, Nos. 4–6 (1964), p. 5, item 133.

**36. Caveto
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 5 February 1788**

Power is a plant that from a small seed will grow to a prodigious height, it will draw to its own roots all the nourishment, and it will so spread itself as to overshadow whatever is around about it; it is not difficult to interrupt its beginnings; but when it has attained to its full strength it is hardly to be shaken. We should contemplate *Prima Dominandi Spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus adesse Studia and Ministros*. Before a Prince has fully established his dominion, common interest may unite his neighbours in a common danger; but if he be suffered to fix himself strongly, fear, interest, and flattery will intervene: Nations will crowd in, and beg they may be admitted to his yoke; some will want his protection; some will request his aid, in order to oppress others; some States will perhaps submit, as being careless who has the dominion so they may have the trade and riches; and there is no sort of corruption that will not enter into the hearts of commonwealths. Princes and their people, when once the virtuous thoughts of defending public liberty are extinguished: So that a King, who by the cowardice or folly of some of his neighbours, is suffered to become an overmatch for the rest, will in no long course of time have the whole world slaves either to his fortune or to his power; and if some sparks of virtue and courage remain in any single nation, so as that it should hold out for a while and desire to preserve natural freedom, it will be left to stand alone, or rather mankind will become so depraved as that all the rest will give their helping hands, and join in its destruction.

January 21, 1788.

**37. Walter Rutherford to John Stevens
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, Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N.J.

38. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 15 February 1788

☞ The Editor hereof, cannot but express his gratitude to his literary friends, for the numerous instances of their patronage—The many original pieces which

he constantly receives from every part of the State, sufficiently evinces their approbation of his conduct, in the publication of his paper, which he has now the happiness to find extensively established. He must assure them of his determined resolution to support the dignity and liberty of the press, by an impartial admission of pieces, on both sides of those great political questions, that are intimately connected with the public welfare.

As there is generally, at this season of the year, a scarcity of interesting European intelligence, he flatters himself the original sentiments of our own fellow-citizens will be a useful and entertaining substitute for the deficiency—however, he will always exert himself to obtain the best, and most early foreign news, and to oblige his correspondents, by inserting their performances, in prose and verse, in as accurate a manner as time and circumstances will permit.—He returns his thanks to the public for their liberal encouragement, and hopes that gentlemen in the mercantile line, and others, will find it their advantage to advertise in his widely circulating Gazette.

39. Caveto

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 26 February 1788¹

ELOQUENCE that can shew the people how they are injured, and persuade them to seek redress; piercing judgment which can look into the faults of government, and expose corrupt ministers, good sense and the virtue which good sense produces—books, science, and wisdom, are so many obstacles to the settlement of *unbounded power*; and therefore Princes who have aimed at it (expect now and then some one excellent man, such as was *Augustus*) have been far from encouraging letters and knowledge; on the contrary, they have endeavoured, as much as in them lay, to extinguish all the lights of nature.

They who would put their country under such a form of government, and think thereby to render its condition more safe and easy, must suppose that none but good Princes shall be upon the throne, which did not happen to the *Romans*, when they had the choosing of their own masters—They were often mistaken in their choice; some had good inclinations, but were corrupted by those about them. In others, the seeds of vice and cruelty lay undiscovered as in *Tiberius*; others nature had formed well enough, but so much power turned their heads, and made them worse—*Solusque Vespasianus Omnium ante se Principum in melius mutatus est*. Nor was it better in those great empires that went by succession, for all the royal races that we read of, degenerated in a few years, except that of *Ottoman*, which kept up to its first vigour for ten generations.

A certain Spanish author (who wrote in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the 5th, and whose historiographer he was) would infer, that under the *Romans* mankind enjoyed rest, because there were not then such frequent wars between nation and nation as now-a-days. It is true they were restrained by one overruling power, at whose pleasure only they were to make war or peace. But the maintenance of such a riotous and expensive court, the payment of such large armies, fleets and numerous garrisons, the oppression by Governors and Lieutenants of the remote provinces, and the heavy taxes imposed upon such as lay nearer hand, were a greater weight upon the world, than now and then a

war could be: And at this time any country that will patiently endure all this, may be at rest from war.

February 11, 1788.

1. The editor of the *Gazette* on 19 February announced "The piece with the signature of CAVETO, will be in our next." On the 22nd the editor informed his readers that "*Caveto* is unavoidably left out of this paper, but will be in our next."

40. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 11 March 1788

☞ As we are ever inclined to reward merit, so we always feel a sensible gratification in patronizing every commendable attempt sent us for insertion; and when we receive a piece too incorrect for the public eye, we have ever been cautious not to offend the feelings of the author.

Actuated by these principles, we requested a friendly interview with G. T. but from the *Card* which appeared in the last *Maryland Journal*, &c. we have reason to apprehend that the motives of our conduct have been misconstrued.—*Personality, plagiarism* and *incorrectness*, will surely justify our omission of any performance: however, if G. T. is not satisfied, and will make himself known to the Editor, we will insert, with alacrity, his piece in the most conspicuous part of our next paper.

41. Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher New York, 29 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . It is much if I am able to inform you any news in my *next*; except that Howard writes there is no reason to doubt the question in Maryland, I have not a word to communicate in *this*. . . .

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library.

42. Abraham Baldwin to Joseph Clay New York, 31 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . We have had a congress this winter but a small part of the time; the old simile of money being the sinews, must convince you that we must be in a very paralytic state at present. Maryland convention is to meet the 21st of April. South Carolina & Maryland are counted upon as sure, where to find the ninth, is matter of anxious enquiry. The prospects from the other five are unpromising. . . .

1. RC, Dreer Collection, PHI.

43. Alexander Hamilton to James Brown Piscataway, Prince George's County, Md., 5 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . In expectation of writing you soon again I have only to advise you against being engaged in any wholesale parcels to this Country at present we are in such a situation by the want of a Coercive Government that it is dangerous in trusting any body and there is not any ready pay to be got. . . .

1. FC John Glassferd and Company and Successors, DLC. Hamilton along with Robert Ferguson operated two stores on the Piscataway River near or at Port Tobacco, Md.

**44. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 5 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . We shall soon begin to hear more about the new Constitution, as the Convention of Maryland will meet this Month: So. Car[olin]a will meet in May: I think it probable that both will adopt it; & Acco[un]ts from *Virginia* are favorable. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.

**45. Coxe & Frazier to Julines Herring
Philadelphia, 7 April, 7 May 1788 (excerpts)¹**

. . . The connexion you have with this Country will make men our politics interesting to you. The federal Constitution is to be binding if 9 States adopt it. We doubt not in the least that ten or twelve will do so as fast as their conventions meet—six have already & we are satisfied all will finally come in. Your friends are uneverally in favor of it. . . .

[P.S.] May 7th, 1788 A seventh State Maryland has just adopted the federal Constitution by a great Majority—

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

**46. Brown & Benson to George and John Tillinghast
Providence, R.I., 10 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . We hope your State will adopt the new Constitution which will operate to facilitate & promote our Trade to your Quarter. . . .

1. FC, Brown Papers, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

**47 A–F. Newspaper Reports of Convention Election Results
10–18 April 1788**

47-A. Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 10 April

Jeremiah T. Chase, Samuel Chase, John F. Mercer and Benjamin Harrison, Esquires, are elected delegates to represent Anne Arundel county in convention; no other returns have yet come to hand, but we are informed the following gentlemen are elected, viz.

For St. Mary's county, George Plater, Richard Barnes, Charles Shelton and Nicholas L. Sewell, Esquires.

For Kent county, William Tilghman, Donaldson Yates, Isaac Perkins and William Granger, Esquires.

For Calvert county, Joseph Wilkinson, Charles Grahame, Walter Smith and John Chesley, Esquires.

For Charles county, Zephaniah Turner, Gustavus R. Brown, Michael J. Stone, and William Craik, Esquires.

For Somerset county, George Gale, John Stewart, John Gale and Henry Wag-gaman, Esquires.

For Talbot county, Robert Goldsborough, Edward Lloyd, John Stevens and Jeremiah Banning, Esquires.

For Dorchester county, Robert Goldsborough, Nicholas Hammond, James Shaw and Daniel Sulivane, Esquires.

For Baltimore county, Charles Ridgely, Charles Ridgely, of William, Edward Cockey and Nathan Cromwell, Esquires.

For Cæcil county, Henry Hollingsworth, James G. Heron, Joseph Gilpin and William Evans, Esquires.

For Prince-George's county, Fielder Bowie, George Digges, Osborn Sprigg, and Benjamin Hall, Esquires.

For Queen-Anne's county, James Tilghman, 3d. James Hollyday, William Hemsley and John Seney, Esquires.

For Worcester county, John Done, Peter Chaille, William Morris and James Martin, Esquires.

For Frederick county, Thomas Johnson, Thomas S. Lee, Richard Potts and Abraham Faw, Esquires.

For Harford county, Luther Martin, William Paca, William Pinkney and John Love, Esquires.

For Caroline county, William Richardson, Joseph Richardson, Matthew Driver and Peter Edmondson, Esquires.

For Baltimore-town, James M'Henry and John Coulter, Esquires.

For Washington county, John Stull, Moses Rawlings, Thomas Sprigg and Henry Shryock, Esquires.

For Montgomery county, Benjamin Edwards, Richard Thomas, Thomas Cramphin and William Deakins, jun. Esquires.

Nicholas Carroll and Alexander Contee Hanson, Esquires, are elected delegates to represent this city in the ensuing convention.¹

47-B. Maryland Journal, 11 April

We hear from Annapolis, that the Honourable Judge HANSON, and NICHOLAS CARROLL, Esq; are elected Delegates from that City to the ensuing State Convention.

Captain CHARLES RIDGELY, CHARLES RIDGELY, (Son of William) EDWARD COCKEY, and NATHAN CROMWELL, Esquires, are elected Delegates to represent Baltimore County in the State Convention.

The Hon. WILLIAM PACA, and LUTHER MARTIN, Esqrs, JOHN LOVE, and WILLIAM PINCKNEY, Esqrs, are elected Delegates to the State Convention, from Harford County.

☞ Returns of Elections from other Counties will be inserted in our next.

47-C. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 15 April²

We hear that the following Gentlemen are elected to serve in the Convention of this State, to be held at Annapolis the 21st instant.

Anne-Arundel-County.

Jeremiah Townly Chase, Samuel Chase, John Francis Mercer, and Benjamin Harrison, Esquires.

Montgomery-County.

Colonel William Deakins, Benjamin Edwards, Thomas Cramphin, and Richard Thomas, Esquires.

Prince-George's-County.

George Diggs, Osborne Sprigg, Benjamin Hall, and Fielder Bowie, Esquires.

Washington-County.

Col. Thomas Sprigg, Col. John Stull, Col. Moses Rawlings, and Col. Henry Shryock, Esquires.

Harford-County.

William Paca, John Love, William Pinckney, and Luther Martin, Esquires.

Cecil-County.

Joseph Gilpin, Henry Hollingsworth, Henry Ward Pierce, and James G. Heron, Esquires.

Kent-County.

William Tilghman, Donaldson Yates, Isaac Perkins, and William Granger, Esquires.

Queen-Ann's-County.

James Tilghman, John Seney, James Holliday, and William Helmsly, Esquires.

Talbot-County.

Col. Jeremiah Banning, Col. Edward Lloyd, Hon. Robert Goldsborough, jun. and John Stevens, Esquires.

Caroline-County.

Col. William Richardson, Major Joseph Richardson, Matthew Driver, and Peter Edmondson, Esquires.

Somerset-County.

Hon. George Gale, Major John Gale, Col. John Stewart, and Henry Waggaman, Esquires.

Dorchester-County.

Robert Goldsborough, sen. Nicholas Hammond, Doctor Daniel Sullivan, and James Shaw, Esquires.

Worcester-County.

Peter Chaillie, John Done, William Morris, and James Martin, Esquires.

The above returns are all, at present, we have been able to obtain. The remainder will be inserted as they come to hand.

47-D. *Maryland Journal*, 15 April³

DELEGATES chosen to serve in the CONVENTION of this STATE,
which is to meet at Annapolis on the 21st Instant.

For *Prince George's County*, George Digges, Osborne Sprigg, Benjamin Hall, and F. Bowie, Esquires.

For *Anne-Arundel County*, Samuel Chase, Jeremiah T. Chase, Benjamin Harrison, and J. F. Mercer, Esquires.

For *Cecil County*, Joseph Gilpin, Henry Hollingsworth, Henry Ward Pierce, and James Gordon Heron, Esquires.

For Kent County, William Tilghman, Donaldson Yates, Isaac Perkins, and William Granger, Esquires.

For Queen Anne's County, James Tilghman, 3d. John Seney, James Holliday, and William Helmsly, Esquires.

For Talbot County, Jeremiah Banning, Col. Edward Lloyd, Hon. Robert Goldsborough, jun. Esq; and John Stevens, Esq.

For Caroline County, Col. William Richardson, Major Joseph Richardson, Matthew Driver, and Peter Edmondson, Esquires.

For Dorchester County, Hon. Robert Goldsborough, sen. Esq; Nicholas Hammond, Daniel Sullivan, and James Shaw, Esqrs.

For Somerset County, Hon. George Gale, Esq; Col. John Stewart, Henry Waggon, Esq; and Major John Gale.

For Worcester County, Peter Chaille, John Done, William Morris, and James Martin, Esquires.

47-E. *Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 18 April*

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected delegates to serve in the State Convention, for Frederick-County, viz. Hon. Thomas Johnston, Thomas Sim Lee, Richard Potts, and Abraham Faw, Esquires.—The above gentlemen are for the new system of Government.

47-F. *Maryland Journal, 18 April*⁴

The following Gentlemen are chosen DELEGATES to serve in the CONVENTION of this STATE, which is to meet at Annapolis on Monday next.

For St. Mary's County, Hon. George Plater, Esq; Col. Richard Barnes, Nicholas Lewis Sewall, and Charles Chelton, Esqrs.

For Charles County, Gustavus P. Brown, John Parnham, Zephaniah Turner, and Michael Stone, Esquires.

For Calvert County, Joseph Wilconson, Walter Smith, Charles Graham, and ———, Esquires.

For Frederick County, Hon. Thomas Johnson, Hon. Thomas Sim Lee, Hon. Richard Potts, Esqrs, and Abraham Faw, Esq.

1. This paragraph was reprinted in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 April, and *New York Journal*, 23 April.

2. Reprinted: Pennsylvania *Carlisle Gazette*, 23 April (minus the last paragraph and with vote totals for Montgomery County); *Virginia Centinel*, 30 April (with results from Baltimore Town and County and St. Mary's, Charles, and Calvert Counties added).

3. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 April; *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 23 April.

4. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 24 April.

48. *Maryland Journal, 15 April 1788*¹

Mr. GODDARD,

SIR, I have taken the earliest Opportunity of informing you, that the Election in our County ended this Afternoon, and the Polls stood as follow:—THOMAS

CRAMPHIN, Esq; 896—RICHARD THOMAS, Esq; 895—WILLIAM DEAKINS, jun. Esq; 894—and BENJAMIN EDWARDS, Esq; 891—(These Four Gentlemen are federal)—EDWARD BURGESS, Esq; 313—LAWRENCE O'NEALL, Esq; 312—WILLIAM HOLMES, Esq; 312—and HENRY GRIFFITH, Esq; 311—(Antifederal)—Total, 1209—Majority, 583.

By publishing the above Election, you will much oblige, Sir, your humble Servant,

A FREEHOLDER.

Montgomery County, April 10, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 22 April; *New York Packet*, 29 April. The *Journal's* totals also appeared in the *Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette*, 23 April. See RCS:Md., 599, for an alternative version of the vote totals.

49. New York Hudson Weekly Gazette, 15 April 1788

Mr. Greenleaf's paper says, that a Majority of the people of Maryland, are opposed to the New Constitution; but the Massachusetts Gazette tell us, that the Majority of the people of that state are in favor of its Adoption. As their Convention will soon be in session, a few weeks will give us the TRUTH from that quarter.

50 A–B. Alternative Versions of Pennsylvania Packet 15 April 1788, Letter Extract¹

50-A. *Philadelphia Federal Gazette, 15 April*

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, dated April 10.

“Our election for members of the state convention commenced on Tuesday last; the federalists were likely to be taken by surprize; but Dr. M'Henry and Dr. Coulter have carried by a great majority for the town, both federal. Luther Martin for Hartford county, though it is supposed he is not eligible. Judge Hanson and Nicholas Carrol for Annapolis, federal. The hon. Joseph Gilpin, Col. Hollingsworth, Col. Samuel Evans and James G. Heron, esq; for Cecil county, all federal. So far as returns have come to my knowledge there will be a large majority of this state convention federal.”

50-B. *Pennsylvania Mercury, 15 April*

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, April 10, 1788.

“Our election for State Convention came on, on Tuesday. The contest was warm between the parties. Dr. M'Henry and Dr. Coulter, both federal, carried by a large majority in the town; but, I am not so certain as to the county, where Mr. Charles Ridgley's interest prevails.—In Annapolis judge Hanson & Nicholas Carrall, Esqrs. are carried, both good men and federalists.—In Hartford county, where Mr. L. Martin's fort lays, he with other antifederalists, will be chosen. I expect the other counties of the state are nearly all federal; but a few days will furnish the returns, when the tree will be known by its fruit.”

1. For the *Pennsylvania Packet* version and a discussion of the reprints, see RCS:Md., 611.

51. Massachusetts Centinel, 16 April 1788

The Convention of Maryland convene the 23d inst. It yet remains for America to establish, by her example, the truth of the position, that Republicks can be energetick, wise and upright.—Hitherto our governments have wounded our best feelings, by their alternate want of efficiency, honesty and wisdom. Mark well then, the patriot members of the State Conventions, the present condition of things, and consider, before you throw away the opportunities of this your day, the prospects of your country.

1. Reprinted: Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 23 April 1788.

**52. Edmund Randolph to James Madison
Richmond, Va., 17 April 1788 (excerpts)¹**

My dear friend

. . . Two objections have always struck me, as deserving consideration on the subject of previous amendments; one, that under this cover, a higher game might be played, the other, that the hope of obtaining them might be frustrated by the assent of too many states. The former I fear more and more, daily; not knowing how far the schemes of those who *externally* patronize them, may internally *extend*, believing that personal irritation has roused some to enlarge their original views of opposition, and having myself no disposition to enjoy the credit of establishing my own opinion at the expence of public safety. I mention these things in confidence; especially as my final determination will not be taken, until I hear something from Maryland at least. The accts. brought hither yesterday by Mr. Jones, who had them from Colo. Hooe of Alexa. are, that Chase, Paca, Mercer and L: Martin are elected in Annapolis, to the exclusion of all the Carrols, and that Chase had caused a clerk of his to be elected in a county, which he could not represent. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

**53. William Bingham to Nicholas Low
Philadelphia, 18 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Our Advices from Maryland & Virginia are very favorable with respect to the Adoption of the foederal Government. In the Convention of the former, five sixths of the Members will concur, & in the latter a [scant?] Majority is already attained & will be encreased by the Influence which the Ratification of Maryland will naturally be attended with. . . .

1. RC (facsimile), Thomas Wilson Collection, Broome County Historical Society, Robertson Center for the Arts and Sciences, Binghamton, N.Y.

**54. Charles Thomson to James McHenry
New York, 19 April 1788 (excerpts)¹**

I am sorry I have not been able sooner to answer your letter of the 19 of last month. I happened to be in Philadelphia when it reached New York. It was transmitted to me and when I received it I was in hopes I should have finished

my business & returned in a few days. Therefore I immediately sent back the letter which was enclosed therein to be forwarded by the packet and deferred writing to you until I returned. My stay was longer than I expected, and after my return here I recd. your second letter of the 12 of this Month and at the same time an account of your election. I hope, notwithstanding the choice made by the counties of Anne Arundel Baltimore and Harford, that the elections [— —] [— —] are such as will ensure the adoption of the new Constitution; for unless that takes place I confess to you my fears for the safety, tranquility and happiness of my country are greater than at any period of the late war. The present federal government is at the point of expiring. It cannot I think survive the present year and if it could experience must have convinced every man of reflection that it is altogether inadequate to the end designed. What remedy then have we prepared for the train of disastrous events which must necessarily ensue from a dissolution of the Union or what security for our independence peace & happiness as a nation? . . .

Enclosed I send you the first volume of the federalist the second volume is in the press & will, it is expected be out in the course of a week or two. As soon as it is published I will forward it to you.

With sincere esteem & regard

1. RC, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

55. John Vaughan to John Dickinson
Philadelphia, c. 19 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I have reason to be confirmed in my opinion that Maryland will decide favorably. . . .

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

56. Middletown, Conn., Middlesex Gazette, 21 April 1788

The Convention of Maryland meet this day.

57. Pennsylvania Mercury, 22 April 1788¹

Written impromptu.

“Did not the Devil appear to Martin
Luther in Germany, for certain?”
And can’t the Devil if he please,
Come o’er to Maryland with ease?
This being admitted—then ’tis certain,
He has got in to L——r M——n.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 May.

**58. 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 ground. 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, Hitchcock Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society.

**59. George Thatcher to Pierse Long
Biddeford, Maine, 23 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . “Will all the southern States agree to the proposed Constitution?”

The Convention in Maryland meets this day for the purpose of considering the new plan of Government. When I came from new-York, which will be four week to morrow morning, it was the general opinion there that the Constitution would be adopted in maryland by a large majority of the Convention—There being three fourths at least of the people warmly in favour of it—And that this was matter of fact. I have no doubt, since both parties, antifederal as well as federal joined in this general opinion. . . .

1. FC, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library.

60. New Jersey Journal, 23 April 1788

A few revolving suns will determine the fate of the new constitution in Maryland.—The delegates chosen to decide this momentous affair, were to meet the 20th instant.

61. Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 24 April 1788

On Monday last the convention appointed by the people of this state, under the recommendation of the general assembly, for the purpose of considering the new plan of government for the United states, met in this city, and unanimously made choice of the honourable George Plater, Esquire, for their president. There is a very large majority of this respectable body in favour of the proposed constitution.

1. Reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 April, and in thirteen other papers by 22 May: N.H. (2), Mass. (5), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (1). A paraphrased version of this item appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on 29 April (Mfm:Md. 72).

62. Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 24 April 1788¹

IN CONVENTION, April 23, 1788.

The proposed plan of federal government, for the United States, was read the first time, and thereupon,

RESOLVED, That this convention will not enter into any resolution upon any particular part of the proposed plan of federal government for the United States, but that the whole thereof shall be read through a second time, after which the subject may be fully debated and considered, and then the president shall put the question, That this convention do assent to, and ratify, the same constitution; on which question the yeas and nays shall be taken.

By order,

W. HARWOOD, clk.

1. Reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 April, and in twenty-one other newspapers by 22 May: N.H. (2), Mass. (7), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1), Pa. (4).

63. Providence, R.I., United States Chronicle, 24 April 1788

The Convention of the State of Maryland, for ratifying or rejecting the new Federal Constitution, are now in Session—Monday last being the Day appointed for their Meeting.—Accounts from that Quarter are favourable to the Constitution.

64. Solon

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 25 April 1788¹

To CASCA.

— *Ton impudence,*

Téméraire viellard, aura sa récompense.

BOILEAU.

Your letter of last Friday affords a melancholy instance of human depravity. It displays that prostitution of our rational nature—the indiscriminate support of right and wrong—which at once debases the understanding and corrupts the heart. With all the positive peevishness of old age, unimproved by experience, you hazard the assertions, that I am hurried away by youthful passion, and an intemperate zeal for party; that in my natural disposition I am violent and rash; and that I am ignorant, and uninformed, and abusive; and all this you assert with as much confidence, as if the dictatorial tone of *Casca* were of itself sufficient to fascinate the senses of the public, and make them believe the grossest absurdities, whether suggested by surmise or upheld by the feeble aid of sophistry. I shall leave you in your suspicions.

If you be a man of understanding and reflection, if years have matured your judgment, as you would fain make us think, why in the name of wisdom! did not you produce some less equivocal proof of these endowments than a wild incoherent rhapsody which, until mankind like the constitution be modelled anew, can never pass on the world for sound argument or conclusive reasoning? Instead of impressing our minds with the dignity and respect due to old age, you exhibit your grey hairs to derision by your petulance and morose presumption. You seat yourself on the throne of despotism, and look down with sapient disdain upon the rest of mankind. You!—*You* grant this—*you* deny that—*you* must dogmatize as you please, uncontrouled and unmolested.

As who should say: I am *Sir Oracle*

And when I ope my lips, let no dog bark.

SHAKESP.

Such supercilious pedantic airs may answer the purposes of tub-oratory among a gaping multitude of enthusiasts; but in a philosophic age and country, they can only provoke laughter, or perhaps excite the fastidious sneer of scorn. It is even painful to correct such folly.

To comment on the style of your writing, which sets all rules at defiance, would be still a more irksome undertaking and would certainly degrade the dignity of criticism. But as your chaste organs were hurt by bombast and fustian, suffer me to ask you a question better suited to the delicacy of your taste: What induced you to repeat the name of *Solon* more than sixty times in two columns of the *Gazette*? Are we to impute it to a wounded spirit not accustomed to reproach? or to the garrulity of old age, that loves to hear itself talk? or had you a mind to puzzle Mr. Hayes by exhausting his fund of italic types?

Your logic is in perfect unison with the style of your composition. What quibbles, and quiddities, and sophistry! Ah! Sir, who can wade through the chaos of a pettifogging attorney's reveries? The attempt would almost deter the hair-splitting *Hudibras*. I am sure, I am not in a humour to venture. However, since the appeal is made to reason and common sense, let us consider how far these distinguishing ornaments of human nature are concerned.

But permit me, Sir, on the very onset, to remind you of the ungallant and unmanly advantage, of which you attempt to avail yourself against me. You make a feint of granting with me, that the General Assembly had nothing to do with the election of Delegates for the State Convention; and in the same breath you insiduously contrive to twist out of my hands the only firm hold that remained to support me:—the authority of Mr. Chase,—whom by the bye, you treat very cavalierly. You strip him of all his merit in discovering the absurdity of partial restraints on the late election. You even cut down his ingenuity with the same hatchet that mangles mine. If, in great forbearance, he indulges you in such freedom, I, at least, shall not be the dupe of your artifice, nor so tamely give up the prop of his authority.

And so, Sir, you condescend to inform me that our legislature is the creature of our constitution. Now, if for further information I was to ask my *authority*:—Pray, Mr. Chase, whence is the constitution itself? He would tell me without hesitation, it is from the people: it is indubitably the creature of the people.—And what is all this bustle about a new constitution? Have not the people one already? “Yes, replies my *authority*, but not finding it sufficiently coercive for all the purposes of society, they are about to adopt the noblest system of government ever framed by a wise and virtuous people.—Is the old constitution of Maryland done away? No—the new constitution when ratified, may in part affect, but cannot supercede it.”—Fie! upon the quibbling sophist, who wilfully confounds the constitution of one individual State, with the general constitution which is about to take place; and denies that the people with regard to the new constitution, are in a state of nature, because we are blessed with civil laws and courts of justice! “At what school, *Casca*, did you study logic?”

You admit, in the fullest extent, that the General Assembly had nothing to do with the late election but to *recommend* it. Was the right of recommending the election inherent in themselves? If it was, their resolution respecting the mode of election, was binding both on the candidates and electors of Maryland: which neither you, nor I are fond of admitting. If the right of recommending the election be a delegated power, whence did the Assembly derive it? Certainly from

the people of Maryland and of the other States of America, who spoke at Philadelphia last September. And yet building upon the sandy foundation of a quibble, you ask: Is the opinion of the Philadelphia Convention *binding* on the people of Maryland? Your ethics seem to have been studied at your own dialectic school. Otherwise you might have known that some are *bound* by honor, some by compact, some by agreement, as effectually as others are bound to labour, when chained to a wheel-barrow. The people of Maryland as well as the people of the other United States were of opinion, that the Delegates to the State Convention should be *chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature*. So far, therefore, as the Marylanders gave their consent to that opinion, they are certainly bound by it.

You acknowledge that there is, that there can be, no positive political rule to confine people in their choice; and exulting at the non-existence of such a rule, you appeal to the supreme court of reason and common sense. But here again we only meet with the reason and common sense of infirmity and old age, which seldom extends its ideas beyond the contracted limits of personal interest. *Your* reason leaves the people of Ann-Arundel county free to vote for whom they please, but restrains the people of Baltimore-town from exercising the same privilege. Now *my* reason, which is not of a Turk-like nature, would cheerfully admit a brother near its throne. But as you are a mere logician, bred at your own school, and as I am a downright positive sort of man, suffer me to put a few questions, by way of elucidation, to my *authority*, who in this case is an evidence beyond all exception.—P[r]ay, Sir, does reason forbid a man to vote in a county where he has an interest? Does common sense forbid a citizen of London to vote for a member for Middlesex or Westminster? or an inhabitant of Baltimore-town to vote for a member for Baltimore-county? or does the citizen of either place do an injury to his neighbouring electors? or is there any absurdity in being thus doubly represented?

Mr. Chase, who is not apt to wax wrathful, reddened with indignation at hearing these queries. But take notice, *Casca*, it was a virtuous sort of indignation which suffused his cheek and sparkled in his eye. Had *Sterne*, or any other of the sentimental brotherhood, been witness to his agitation, I think, some symptoms of blended passions might be traced in his indignant countenance. For the mention of *Westminster* brought a dear friend *there* to his recollection; and * * * * *
* * * * * ————— But as I never caught the knack of this species of writing, I shall not pretend to paint the look, the *very* look of my *authority*. Be it my humble office to record his great agitation and his greater decisions.

With a voice that would command an audience in a Polish diet, and an authoritative look that, however undescribed, would strike terror into the heart of a Bashaw, he thundered out: “By — the wretched scribbler who would not answer No,—to all your questions, should be interdicted the use of pen, ink and paper all the days of his life. What does the fellow mean? Upon what principles can my own election be maintained, unless the *resistless* force of your reasons be fully admitted?” But good your Honor, this same *Casca* earnestly solicits me to throw off my mask, though he says, that concealment is my only refuge from the scorn and contempt of every honest man. He even threatens me with some people he calls my *superiors*, whom he says I have *descended* to abuse. “Away with the blundering sophist! His language and ideas, his ethics and dialectic are all of a piece. What a contrast between his motto and his production, which may

be truly described the pitiful abortion of dotage and imbecility!"—Do, Casca, pay Mr. Chase a fee, and thank him for all this sound, honest and lawyer-like advice.

21st April, 1788.

1. On 22 April the *Gazette* indicated that "SOLON is received, but before it can be inserted, the Printer earnestly requests an interview with the Author, or an opportunity of conveying to him a few lines."

65. Hambden

Maryland Journal, 25 April 1788

*Semper ego auditor tantum, nunquamne reponam;
Vexatus toties rauci Theseide.*—CIVIS JUV.

No, thou vain, starv'd, scribbling sinner,
For thee I'll cook another dinner.

MR. CIVIS,

SIR, Through the extensive field of thy boundless genius and consummate erudition, couldst thou possibly invent, feign, or devise, no other conspicuous method of blazoning thy *vanity* to the public, but by the presumptive, wanton, and insupportable assertion of my being so devoid of all true taste and discernment, as to commence a COOK-SHOP on the old, musty, frigid fragments of thy insipid entertainment. Perhaps, like an illmannered *hostess*, you wished to apologize for the scantiness or ill-arrangement of thy collation, by censuring the cook. I would rather, however, suppose that your aim hath been to court the too silent encomiums of your guests, by maintaining, however impertinently, that their senses were regaled by thy own delicious, exquisite seasonings alone.—Yes, my friend, thy own exclusive powers in the arts of modern refinement, and that elegant taste you have so profusely displayed in the composition of *liquids* and *solids*, have taught thee to despise and renounce the disgustful cookery of the *Ancients*:—But though this avowal of the truth be due to thy superior sagacity, why, in the name of common sense, are you so enraged at one who still retains some veneration for the sauce and seasoning of *antiquity*? You surely must have read of the *muria* of HORACE, his composition of *piper*,¹ *sal*, *fax*, *alec*, &c. and you cannot but agree with him, that

*Est oper a pretium duplilis pernoscere juris
Naturam.*—

Should you, therefore, or any of your guests, discover a loathsome aversion to my antiquated composition of CALF'S BRAINS, with Greek and Roman pickles, I am sorry for it. I did not presume that it would prove savoury to all—I had learned the old proverb that "one man's meat is another's poison;["] but I never dreamt that a gentleman of your sense, candour and profound *literature*, would have mistaken the *solid* contents of *such a curious dish* for his own.—Since it is universally allowed, he must be no bad cook, who, even from proper ingredients, prepares a good dish; consequently, the writer, who, from scanty and bad materials, "with uncommon sagacity, and also some dexterity," composes a good discourse, deserves no small share of merit. However that be, I am very willing to confess that it was the enthusiasm of the times, or perhaps that epidemical *cacoethes scribendi*, which, at this important crisis, seems to have infected so many

writers of various qualifications, that influenced me to the presumption of offering my trivial remarks to a discerning public; and here let me add, that in whatever I have so advanced, in the style of direction or advice, I meant only to offer, not obtrude; to submit, and not dictate.—That these were my only motives, in the most censurable point of view, I make no doubt, will be readily allowed by every person of candour or impartiality; notwithstanding you, Mr. CIVIS, have had the effrontery to assert in this Paper of the 4th instant, that I, having found your address to the independent Electors of Maryland, had at *last become cold*, have (*in order to perpetuate its immortal memory*) again served it up as a fresh morsel to the people of Maryland. I should be proud of my genius indeed, if, from such a rhapsody and jargon of nonsense, I could extract one thought, idea, or sentiment, for the illustration of the subject I was endeavouring to elucidate. Though I am very far, indeed, from making any extraordinary pretensions to profound erudition, yet am under no concern in having the small specimen of composition, which I have submitted to the public, contrasted with yours; and though it may justly be reckoned hypercritical to animadvert on any grammatical inaccuracies committed in the hurry of a periodical publication, you are pleased to affirm, that I “have neither ideas, sentiments, or language of my own, excepting a small jumble of indigested reading.” (Mark the elegance and accuracy of Mr. CIVIS’s style—He excepts the idea of a small jumble of reading, the sentiment of a small jumble of reading—the language of a small jumble of reading.)—Thus I am under the disagreeable necessity of convincing an impartial public that you, who so severely censure others, are neither infallible, not yet exempt from such blunders as a school-boy would be ashamed of: Indeed, the grammatical errors of your boasted PRODUCTION, would disgrace the most puerile performance; of which let the following specimen suffice:—“All legislation and sovereignty originally *exists*,”—and in the same sentence—“the experience of the best regulated governments *point out*”—As a still further specimen of the ambiguity, obscurity, and flatness of your language and composition, I will refer our readers to the third paragraph of your first *essay*—Should any one analyze that sentence, so as to make sense, or convey any adequate meaning, I will not hesitate in acknowledging that man possessed of a degree of penetration even superior to a CIVIS.

The charges of plagiarism and a servile imitation of your address to the Electors of Maryland, I maintain to be a vain, impudent and gross imposition on the public; and I hereby call upon you to point out the analogy, and detect the supposed “theft,” or shew one thought, idea, or sentiment corresponding with, or tantamount to, a sentence or expression in the Address to the People of Maryland. So far was I from building on your flimsy model, that I solemnly declare, at the time I wrote, I scarce had an idea of such a thing being in existence. Though I had, its coldness, as you yourself suspect, would rather have damped than enlivened my imagination.—However, since your short, sarcastic advertisement of the 4th of April, I have given it a more attentive perusal, and have also been at some pains to discover any analogy or sameness; but am, as yet, unsuccessful, further than having the misfortune, as the event has proved, of agreeing with you in pointing out to the people’s aversion the advocates for paper money, the adherents of the truck-bill, and the authors of the insolvent-act. All the discredit I can receive from such plagiarism, I submit to a candid and ingenuous

public.—In short, Sir, the true motives of your groundless charge, arise from a consciousness of the *coldness* of that which was never *warm*; and, therefore, you eagerly embraced the opportunity *A Real Federalist* had honoured your self-important imagination with, of ranking your elaborate production with that of an *Aristides*, and again soliciting the attention of your supposed admirers, to that which only for this happy incident, had been buried in *eternal oblivion*.

An uncommon degree of vanity, self-sufficiency, pedantry, and affectation of profound learning and political knowledge, characterize and mark every word and expression in your last contemptible *innuendo*. You not only believe I preferred your PRODUCTION to all others on the subject, but are vain enough to swallow the awkwardly-concealed irony of *A Real Federalist*.—Without this flattering idea, you would have been under the very disagreeable necessity of denying yourself the pleasure of inserting that “the exalted encomiums which he has bestowed on *Aristides* and yourself, whether real or ironical, does not remain with you to determine; and you believe it is a matter of indifference to *both*.” No where doth your *vanity* appear more conspicuous than in presuming to rank yourself with a man who has made the science of government, and the interests of civil society his particular study. Well may an *Aristides* express his indignation at being classed with such *scribblers* as you and me, in the words of the Mantuan Bard—*Qui Bavium non odit,² amet tua carmina Marvi*.—I hope the public will excuse the pedantry of a few quotations, on considering that I address a gentleman of classical taste and extensive erudition.

I shall now take my final leave of you, Sir, by observing that, notwithstanding your lofty pretensions to superior knowledge and learning, I shall, for the future, leave you to bask in the *sunshine* of your own sublime *lucubrations*, nor deem them worthy a reply; and, at present, dismiss you with the most *sovereign contempt*, for your ungentleman-like treatment, in the language of the Poet—*odi profanum vulgus & arceo*.

April 12, 1788.

Query—Is this a THEFT from your last?

1. Changed to “*piper*” from “*pipos*” in an errata in the 16 May issue of the *Maryland Journal*.

2. Changed to “*odit*” from “*odi*” in an errata in the 16 May issue of the *Maryland Journal*.

66. Abraham Baldwin to Seaborn Jones

New York, 26 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Maryland convention is sitting, every body says they are very federal. . . .

1. RC, Henry Ford Museum Bicentennial Collection, Edison Institute, Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan.

67. Henry Knox to Marquis de Lafayette

New York, 26 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Maryland is now in session and will adopt it by a great Majority. . . .

1. FC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03860, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

**68. William Shippen, Jr., to Thomas Lee Shippen
Philadelphia, 26 April 1788 (excerpts)¹**

My dr. Son,

. . . The Maryland Convention are now sitting—there will be a great majority in favor of the new Constitution. . . .

1. RC, Shippen Papers, DLC.

**69. Olney Winsor to Hope Winsor
Alexandria, Va., 28 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . In good health.—Saturday Evening we recd. the agreeable intelligence that the Convention of Maryland adopted the Constitution the day before, by a majority of near six to one, that is 65 pro—11 con. . . .

1. RC, Olney Winsor Letters, Virginia State Library. The letter was begun on Saturday evening, 26 April, and completed on Tuesday afternoon, 29 April. The portion of the letter printed here was written on Monday morning, 28 April.

**70. John May Journal
Baltimore, 29 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

I tarried in town till half past eleven AM, and then stood for the wilderness, in the western world. I was much urg'd to tarry till Thursday to celebrate the adoption of the new Federal Constitution, for the state of Maryland. this was agreed to by the Delegates at Annapolis; on Saturday last. . . .

1. Printed: Dwight L. Smith, ed., *The Western Journals of John May: Ohio Company Agent and Business Adventurer* (Cincinnati, 1961), 30.

**71. A Feeling Man
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 29 April 1788¹**

GOOD TIMES—*No* PROVERB.

Mr. HAYES, In your entertaining paper of the 28th ultimo, you treated us with a petit morceau, entitled "*Bad Times; a Proverb*"—By a *Contented Man*.—This performance, it seems, was imported from *New-Hampshire*; by way of contrast to the State of *Maryland*, I now send you a few observations on *Good Times*, which you will be pleased to give a place in your next, and oblige one of your constant readers.—

When several hundreds of our fellow-citizens, within the last twelve months, among whom are many honest, respectable and industrious men, both *merchants*, *planters*, and *mechanics*, have been obliged to parade at *Annapolis*, and have taken the benefit of an insolvent act.—*I would presume to ask, are these good times?*

From a retrospective view of what has passed among ourselves, since the commencement of the late contest, until the fall of 1785, we may observe, that the town of Baltimore, rapidly improved in trade, buildings and population; employment was plenty, while architects and mechanics, of every kind, with carters and labourers, were enjoying the blessings of prosperity in an eminent degree—But what a melancholy change do they now experience? Money is not only scarce but employment also, and many are labouring under such difficulties, that they are at a loss how to maintain themselves and families—these are not imaginary evils.—A few days ago, I observed no less than *four constables*, at

one time, selling the very beds of wretched women and children, who perhaps had not a penny to buy bread, or a friend to invite them to a shelter—Scarce a day indeed passes, but you may see one or more of these humane sales.—*Surely these are good times?*

When many houses and lots in this town, and even farms in the country (where property has not so much depreciated) if sold by the sheriffs, or collectors, *for cash*, would scarce bring sufficient to pay the arrearages of the owners taxes, for the four or five years last past—And when real property, by any kind of sale, if *for cash*, will not average more than one third or one fourth of its value; or probably one seventh, or one eighth of what it cost the owner, a few years ago, many instances of which could be produced.—*Are not these good times?*

When hundreds, who purchased property a few years ago, and were then worth thousands, by the depreciation of that property, exclusive of any other cause, are now not worth a *farthing*.—When our merchants and planters owe immense sums in Europe, and our citizens both *male and female, dress without one single article of American manufacture*, that the balance of trade is so much against us, that we have no kind of produce with which we can make remittance, without loosing from 10 to 20 per cent:—When few bills can be procured and these at a great advance, and cash is so scarce as not to be had on loan for 25 per cent. on good security; and when persons of family and property are pawning their plate and other articles, for market money, or to save their goods from execution—*Who can deny but these are good times?*

The *Contented Man* says, “provisions are plenty,” which is true, and yet many are suffering for want, having no money to buy. To walk in a plentiful market with an empty pocket, is the plague of plagues; it will suggest many disagreeable ideas and cause a man emphatically to feel the bitterness of want—and to exclaim—*Are these good times?*

Our farmers are now obliged to sell their flour at 27 shillings per barrel, which last year would have brought them 37s. and 6d; and I know many who, in order to raise cash to pay taxes and other necessary expences, have scarcely been able to save a barrel to support their families, till harvest.—*Are these good times?*

The *Contented Man* says, “he heard a gentleman declare, that in the course of a few months, he had eat his share of seventy-two turkeys”—“One swallow doth not make a summer”—but probably, he was one of those overgrown monsters, for such there are, who are now making immense fortunes, on the ruin of thousands of their fellow citizens. “Every dog has his day.”—*For such, I confess, these are good times?*

He next boasts of the mildness of our government, and the toleration of every kind of religion—these are certainly blessings in themselves;—but they will neither fill a hungry belly, clothe a naked back, or keep a dun from the door;—but says he, “the lawyers and doctors are out of employ.”—I am sorry to inform him, that with respect to the former, it is quite the reverse in Maryland; but as to the latter, thanks be to the beneficent Author of our being, they have but little to do.

The distresses of the present times might be instanced in many particulars, and are daily seen by every person of sense, and observation, and by the greater part of the community they are very sensibly felt.

But who can deny the goodness of the times, since we have a new plan of government, proposed, in order to amend them, and remove our distresses; when instead of considering it with candor, moderation, and good temper, we suffer ourselves to be carried away with violence and party rage, so that the

opposition it is like to meet with, threatens us with intestine war, anarchy, and destruction.—Think then of our situation, if some government is not adopted. Where have we grounds to expect better times, or from what quarter can we look for relief, if not in a union?

Should this constitution be adopted without a general and peaceable acquiescence, a separation of these States, and a loss of our dear-bought liberty, will inevitably ensue. United we rise to dignity, to credit and national honor. Divided, we fall, the mock and derision of those that hate us—and then ask the *Contented Man* and every American, *will these be good times?*

But notwithstanding all this, I am persuaded there will be *better times* yet in America; and can say a hearty AMEN to the blessings pronounced by the *Contented Man*.

Baltimore, April 19, 1788.

1. On 18 April the *Gazette* announced that “A feeling Man, shall soon appear.”

72. Pennsylvania Packet, 29 April 1788¹

The last accounts from Maryland mention the meeting of the Convention of that state at Annapolis.—The honorable George Plater, esquire, is chosen President. It is said there is a large majority of that body in favour of the proposed government.

1. See Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 24 April (Mfm:Md. 62), for an alternative version of this report.

73. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap New York, 30 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

... From the Accots. recd. from Maryland, we suppose their Convention adopted the new Constitution last Saturday:—we do not understand that there are above 8 or 10 Antifeds. in that Body. A Motion was made to debate the new Con. by Paragraphs, which was rejected by 54 (it is said) against 5: we are told it had a first reading on Wednesday, a second on Thursday, & that the Question was to be put on the whole on Saturday. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.

74. John White to Mr. Wright Annapolis, 30 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

... You will have heard before this I presume that Maryland after sitting in Convention Six days adopted the Government 63 for it 11 against, We have Celebrated it here and tomorrow a procession will take place in Baltimore equal to that of Boston it is thought, The Negatives were S Chace, J. T. Chace, Mercer, Ben Harrison, Wm. Pinkney old Charles Ridgely, Charles (of William) Ridgely Mr. Cockey Luther Martin Mr. Cromwell & J. Love, The rest I will tell you on my arrival, and if the debates can be had will send them Lloyd took them in shorthand. . . .

1. RC, State Papers, Md-Ar.

75. Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 April 1788¹

The accounts from Maryland and South-Carolina, says a correspondent, are so favorable to the adoption of the proposed federal constitution, that the question now only is, which member of the old confederacy will put the key-stone to the arch of the new. There seems little or no reason to apprehend a rejection by any state, Rhode-Island excepted; for every day adds more solid reasons in favor of the measure. A curious instance now exists in Georgia. They have a paper money *a legal tender*, though at four or five for one; and yet the shame, that would attend the wicked conduct of cancelling a debt on such terms, prevents any tenders from being made. How happy would it be, where government is so remiss as not to repeal a law tempting the people to fraud, if the existence of the new constitution had been early enough to prevent the emission. We learn, however, that paper money has deeply injured their commerce, both foreign and internal.

1. Reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 6 May, and in seven other newspapers by 14 May: Mass. (2), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (2). The Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 14 May, reprinted only the first two sentences.

76. Pennsylvania Gazette, 30 April 1788 (excerpts)¹

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, dated April 24, 1788. . . .

“The Convention met on Monday, chose Col. Plater, a warm foederalist, their President, appointed several committees, and carried the question, that the foederal constitution should be taken up as one question, and not by sections and paragraphs, by a majority of 58 to 5; and also that no member should speak more than twice upon any one subject, and then only half an hour at any one time, in order to avoid the endless garulity of Martin, and the inflammatory eloquence of Chase and Paca, neither of whom took their seats until to-day, being disheartened at the weakness of their party. The final question is expected to be put to-day or to-morrow.[”]

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 9 May, and Providence, R.I., *United States Chronicle*, 15 May.

77. Winchester Virginia Gazette, 30 April 1788

It is computed, that, from the returns made of the members chosen to represent the State of Maryland in Convention, in June next, four-fifths of the Delegates are *federal*.

**78. Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth
New York, 1 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Maryland have I believe adopted the Constitution. It is said this event took place last saturday—& that it was to be signed on Monday That a committee of 13 were raised for the purpose of framing amendments—That the Majority were

61. or 63 Minority 11—Otho Wms whose in Town is of opinion all this is true—
The letter is to Mr Seton and from Doctor McHenry's brother. . . .

1. RC, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

79. Massachusetts Spy, 1 May 1788¹

Accounts from the southward assure, that there is the greatest probability of Maryland and Virginia adopting the Federal Constitution. Virginia it is supposed will recommend in the ratification similar amendments to those adopted by this Commonwealth.

The Convention of Maryland is now sitting, and a few days will determine the fate of the Federal Constitution in that State.

1. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 May, reprinted the first paragraph.

80. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 1 May 1788¹

We have this moment heard that Maryland has adopted the constitution.

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Courant*, 5 May; Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 5 May; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 May; and *Connecticut Norwich Packet*, 8 May.

81. New York Daily Advertiser, 1 May 1788¹

Extract of a letter received last evening, from a gentleman at Baltimore, to his correspondent in this city, dated Sunday, April 27, 1788.

"This morning I was informed that the Convention had decided on the grand question; 63 members were for the Government, and 11 against it. A Committee of thirteen were appointed to prepare amendments; which, if approved of, will be submitted to the people for their assent. The Constitution is to be signed on Monday."

The information on which the above letter was written, may be relied on as authentic.

1. Reprinted in whole or in part eight times by 26 May: Vt. (2), Mass. (2), R.I. (1), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1). The *New York Independent Journal*, 3 May, printed a version of this item as well, adding a brief description of preparations for a celebration in Baltimore.

82. New York Journal, 1 May 1788

The convention of Maryland commenced their session on Monday, the 21st ultimo. From this respectable body we have yet no direct information; reports are various; one of which says: On motion, That the constitution, proposed by the late general convention, be read and considered, paragraph by paragraph, the house divided, and there appeared for the motion, five, against it, fifty-seven. That a resolution had passed for the reading of the constitution; and that the question be put that the same be adopted. That the constitution had been twice read, and that it was expected to be adopted on Saturday. That the people of that state had generally attended the polls at the election of their delegates; and

that the friends of the new constitution were to its enemies, as 64 to 12, according to the most accurate accounts of those who had the best means of information.—Those who have been privy to the circumstances of the election in that state, will please to judge of the probability of this account. If this be true, even the friends to the proposed government will be greatly disappointed.

☞ After this paper was ready for press, it was reported—That the Convention of Maryland had adopted the new Constitution, SIXTY-THREE ayes, ELEVEN nays—and that a committee was appointed to draw up *amendments* to the system, to be introduced in the same manner as they were by the Convention of Massachusetts.

**83. George Gale to William Tilghman
Talbot, Md., 2 May 1788¹**

My Dear Sir, I enclose a Line for Mr. [Thomas] Loydd who took down the Debates in Convention in shorthand—I do not know his Christian name and shall be Obligated to you to fill up the Blank left for it.—The Object of it is to procure an Attested Copy of the few Observations I made upon the floor during the Debates that I may be enabled to proceed with more certainty in the public Discussion in which we shall soon be probably Engaged. I must request of You the favour to enclose the Line for Loydd to some Gentleman of your Acquaintance in Philadelphia on whom you can Rely for having the Certificate well Authenticated and speedily transmitted—If I have not already imposed too much trouble on you I could wish that Loyd's Certificate were inclosed to you and that you would be governed by the Sitting of the Gen. Assembly in transmitting it to me at Annapolis or Talbot

I shall be Obligated to you for a Line if any thing has transpired with you. With most respectful Complits to your fathers & Mr. Nicols's families

I am Dear Sir, yours Affectio[nate]ly,

1. RC, Tilghman Collection, PHi.

**84. Mary Grundy to Mrs. Grosdale
Baltimore, 2 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . this Vessel will undoubtedly take you the first accts of our grand procession yesterday in consequence of the New government. Mr. G. will send the newspapers. . . .

1. FC, Grundy-Gibson Papers, MdHi.

85. Maryland Journal, 2 May 1788

On Account of the Federal Procession, the Sale of NATHAN SMITH'S Goods is postponed until Tuesday the 6th Day of *May*, when Attendance will be given, on the Premises, by

JAMES COOPER, Trustee.

Hunting Ridge, May 1, 1788.

86. Pennsylvania Packet, 2 May 1788¹

The Convention of Maryland *ratified* and *signed* the New Constitution for the United States on Monday the 28th ult.

No amendments were recommended by the Convention, who adjourned on Tuesday, *sine die*.

1. Reprinted eleven times by 19 May: Mass. (2), R.I. (2), Conn. (2), N.Y. (3), Pa. (2). The Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 21 May, reprinted only the second paragraph.

**87. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 3 May 1788 (excerpts)¹**

. . . The enclosed paper announces the ratification by a large Majority of the Convention of Maryland; which is confirmed by authentic letters from a number of Gentlemen. . . .

P.S. All the bells in this City are now ringing to Celebrate the news from Maryland.

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

**88. Noah Webster Diary
New York, 3 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . rejoice that Maryland has acceded to the Constitution

1. MS, New York Public Library.

89. Massachusetts Centinel, 3 May 1788¹

Extract of a letter, dated Georgetown (Maryland) April 13, 1788.

“Our elections for delegates to serve in Convention closed on Thursday last, and I can with pleasure assure you, that not more than three counties in the State have elected anti members. On the 20th inst. we meet in Convention, and I hope my next will inform you, that we have ratified the government. There can be no doubt of it, as we shall have so very large a majority of federal members—say 64 to 12.—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 in the Providence, R.I., *United States Chronicle*, 8 May.

**90. Rinaldo Johnson to Stephen Collins
Aquasco, Prince George’s County, Md., 4 May 1788¹**

The time for the payment of my Bond draws near, and when I flattered myself should have [been] able to take it up, but the unexpected failure of my friends de drusina Ridder & Clark in London on whom I relied in a great Measure for Bills to discharge the Debt due your friends has extremely deranged my affairs, on that head, as I must now find new resources & funds to aid this disappointment.

I have not been able to get the Money deposited in the Treasury nor shall I without a Suit from the present appearances, My hope, therefore, depends on your lenity and friendly disposition, which I solicit may be extended to a further period upon the payment of the Interest on my Bond when it may become due,—Money is very scarce and with difficulty can be procured, proceeding from the want of a Government in which Monied men, would be safe in Lending out their Cash, this I hope will be the Case in a few Months, as we have a flattering prospect of the federal Government taking place, which God grant—

Your friends, I am informed are happily situated, above the reach of want, and if they had this Money, could find no other use for it, but lending it out, on Interest; and that on such terms as might be secure to themselves:—this being the Case I flatter myself, that it is as safe in my hands, as most peoples, and to make it so, I am willing to give any Reasonable Security that you may ask. The Idea of a Suit, being commenced agt. me which is done in almost every Case where money is due by Marylanders to Philadelphian's shocks me, the having a Mans Name Recorded in so public a place injures not only his feelings but Reputation in Life. Tho in this Case it ought not, still as it would not be known how it originated, it would have that tendancy should you be unfriendly enough to commence an Action There should be no necessity, was it in my power to discharge it. if it was on the Day that it becomes payable I would see you in Philadelphia with the needfull.

From a favourable impression of the goodness of your Heart, I have taken up more time, and said more in this letter than I would do, almost to any other man upon a like Occasion; conceiving generally that Creditors seldom pay any attention to arguments, that have [– – –] colour to procrastinate the payment of [– – –] but not viewing you in that light, have [– – –] on your time and patience thus far and [I hope?] not unsuccessfully—

as Bills are precarious, pray say what the Exchange is, that I may forward the amount of my interest Debt in Cash. & to whom I shall pay it in Baltimore which shall be done in a few Days—I long to see you, and still I dare not—you are mighty and ought to be mercifull—

I am with esteem and real regard Your very humble Servt.

1. RC, The Papers of Stephen Collins & Son, DLC.

91. Phineas Bond to Lord Carmarthen Philadelphia, 5 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Since I had the honor of addressing your Ldp. last, the State of Maryland has by a very large majority adopted the new form of Government recommended by the Federal Convention, so that now seven States have acceded both measure, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsyla Delaware, Maryland and Georgia, and it is presumed the number prescribed by the constitution to give it efficacy will shortly take place. . . .

1. Printed: J. Franklin Jameson, ed., "Letters of Phineas Bond, British Consul At Philadelphia, To the Foreign Office of Great Britain, 1787, 1788, 1789," *American Historical Association Annual Report . . . 1896* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1897), I, 566.

92. John Carroll to Pierre Gibault
Baltimore, 5 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I wait for the adoption of the new system of government formed at Philadelphia last summer, in order to direct the prayer to substitute for the *God Save the King etc.*, and the exact wording for the United States. . . .

1. FC, John Carroll Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

93. Cyrus Griffin to James Madison
New York, 5 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

I have the pleasure to enclose you a letter from Petersburg—and the newspaper of today—theo very uninteresting.

Maryland has acceded to the proposed Constitution by a great majority. Chase, Paca, Martin, and Mercer opposed it with their utmost vigor and abilities, but with decency. South Carolina will adopt the system very soon. the opposition in Virginia is much to be lamented and in N. York also—however from the present appearance of things I rather incline to believe that in the course of 12 months we shall have the Government in operation—yet I am not so sanguine as Hamilton or gen. Knox. . . .

[P.S.] with respect to mr Paca I had my Information from the hon'ble Colo Howard at Baltimore, but I am told this moment that Paca advocated the system upon the general question tho he did not consider it as the best that could be devised.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

94. Paine Wingate to John Wendell
New York, 5 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I Shall also enclose a newspaper by which you will See the determination of Maryland, and the [prosp]ect from Virginia, respecting the new [Con]stitution. This intelligence is confirmed by various letters. . . .

1. Printed: *The Collector*, LXIII (December 1950), 257.

95. 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.*

96. Coxé & Frazier to Stephen Blakett
Philadelphia, 6 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

We are happy in assuring you that our Prospects of the new genl. Government are daily encreasing, the State of Maryland (making 7 out of 9) has very lately adopted it by a very large Majority. . . .

1. FC, Coxé Papers, Series I, Volumes and Printed Material, American Letterbook of Coxé and Frazier, PHI.

**97. George and John Tillinghast to Brown & Benson
Baltimore, 6 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . we enclose you a price Curr[en]t and a News paper containing the ratification of the Constitution by this State We beg leave to congratulate you on this happy Event

1. RC, Brown Papers, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

**98. William Wetmore: Notes in Almanac
Boston, 6 May 1788¹**

About noon intelligence that Maryland has adopted the Constitution, Yeas 63—nays 11—arrives in town—bells set to ringing &c &c

1. Typescript, William Wetmore Notes in Almanack, transcribed by Dawes Markewell, p. 29, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.

**99. From Robert Lemmord
Baltimore, 7 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . E'er This reaches you, I expect You will have heard our State has adopted the New Federal Constitution, by a Majority of almost Six to one without Amendments. The prospect of an efficient Government's taking place, seems now to be very good. Messrs Chase, Martin (the Atty. Genl.) & Paca, were the Leaders of the Minority which consisted of 11, the Majority 63. The last of the above Gentlemen signed with the Majority, but Argued on the other Side.

1. RC, Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.

**100. Samuel Phillips Savage Diary
Weston, Mass., 7 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . By the stage the last Early eve had the pleasure of hearing that the State Maryland has adopted the New Constitt. . . .

1. MS, MHi.

**101. William Tilghman to Tench Coxe
Chestertown, Md., 7 May 1788¹**

Be so good as to give the inclosed to Lloyd—The object of it is to procure for one of my acquaintance, a copy of what was said by him in Convention—he wants it certified by Lloyd, & I will beg you to inclose it to me, that I may forward it to Annapolis—The Gentleman who wants it is a member of the Senate, & as the General Assembly soon meets, he thinks it possible he may be engaged in some Altercation—

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Series II, Correspondence and General Papers, PHI.

102. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 7 May 1788

By the latest accounts from Baltimore, we learn that the Federal Constitution was adopted by the state of Maryland, at Annapolis, on Saturday the 26th of April, and ratified on the Monday following, by 63 in favour and 11 against; and that the citizens of that place were preparing to form a grand procession to testify their joy of its adoption.

**103. Joseph Barrell to John Langdon
Boston, 8 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . [P.S.] I congratulate you on the Adoption of the Constitution at Maryland

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

**104. William Heath Diary
Roxbury, Mass., 8 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . The State of Maryland on the 26th. ulto. ratified the federal Constitution Sixty three in favor of, and Eleven against it. . . .

1. MS, MHi.

105. Connecticut Norwich Packet, 8 May 1788

It is reported, with confidence, that the Convention of the State of Maryland, have added the seventh PILLAR to the new Constitution.

106. Providence, R.I., United States Chronicle, 8 May 1788

By a Packet from New-York we learn, That the Convention of Maryland have adopted the Federal Constitution by a Majority of near 6 to 1.

**107. Casca
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 9 May 1788**

To SOLON.

For he that has but *impudence*,
To all things has a fair pretence;
And put among his *wants* but SHAME,
To all the world he may lay claim.—HUD.

You obtruded yourself, *Solon*, on the notice of the public, and attempted to inform their judgment on a late event in this town. Some ignorant hot-headed men, without knowledge or experience, gave their opinion, “that the inhabitants of Baltimore-town, who had a *right* to vote for delegates to represent the *town* in the *State Convention*, and who did *not* vote at the *town* election, had a *right* to vote for delegates to represent the *county* in the *State Convention*”; and in consequence of their advice an election was held for Baltimore-*county*, at a Coffee-house, by a *Coroner*, and two Justices of the county.—This election you, *Solon*,

attempted to justify, and you assigned *four* reasons to the public, in support of your opinion. 1st. "That *some* gentlemen had been elected in counties, in which they did NOT reside.["] 2d. "That the General Assembly had nothing to say to the election of delegates to the *State Convention*, but only to *recommend* an election; and the legislature could not prescribe the *qualifications* of the *electors*." 3d. "That the people of Maryland, *with regard to the new Constitution*, were *absolutely* in a *state of nature*.["] 4th. "That the Convention, at Philadelphia, gave their *opinion*, that the delegates to the State Conventions should be chosen by THE PEOPLE of each State."—These were ALL the reasons, *Solon*, you adduced in support of your doctrine. To expose their futility and to afford you an opportunity of maintaining your opinions, I took the freedom, *Solon*, of addressing you, and I endeavoured to hold you up to the public as a vain, ignorant, impertinent, and conceited scribbler, governed by youthful passions, and party rage. How far I was justified, the impartial public, and not you, *Solon*, or your little contemptible party, in this town, will decide. In your address to me, *Solon*, you are pleased to assert, "that my letter affords a melancholy instance of human depravity, and the indiscriminate support of right and wrong, and you call my remarks *quibbles*, *quiddities*, and *sophistry*, and a *chaos* of a pettyfogging attorney reveries," and as if *personally* acquainted with me you speak "of the positive peevishness of my old age; of my exposing my *gray hairs* to derision by petulance and morose presumption; and of my supercilious *pedantic* airs; and you call me a blundering *sophist*, whose language, ideas, ethics and dialectic are all of a piece; and you style my production the pitiful abortion of dotage and imbecility."—Are you in your sober senses, *Solon*? What opinion do you entertain of the understanding of your readers; or what judgment do you expect they would form of you, if you would condescend to appear before them in proper person? Your laboured attempt to produce this morsel of composition may attract the notice of the mob or lower class of readers, with whom bombastic language and verbosity of style, may pass for elegant writing, good sense, and solid reasoning; but with men of understanding, *Solon*, assertion will not be received without proof, and conclusions at random will only be the object of derision. White will retain it's colour although you, *Solon*, should swear it is black, the honest man will keep his integrity, and the sensible one his understanding, although you, *Solon*, should wickedly call him a rogue, or impudently style him a fool.—Whether the inhabitants of Baltimore-town had a *right* to vote for delegates to represent the county in the late State Convention, is a question of a *public* nature, as it affects the *rights* of the inhabitants of the county; and they may remember the folly and insolence of the attempt by your party, *Solon*, when you and they may wish it to be forgotten. You allege that the inhabitants of Baltimore-town are entitled to exercise a certain *right*, and you ought to prove it. The burthen lies on you, *Solon*, for if you only prove that *Casca* is a pigmy it would not add one inch to your stature, or that he is a *fool* it would not increase your knowledge one grain, or that his reasons *against* the right are, "a wild incoherent rhapsody of nonsense," it would not convince the public that your reasons, *Solon*, in support of the right, were satisfactory and solid.

To evince the propriety of your *first* reason, "that *some* gentlemen had been elected in counties in which they did *not* reside," you observe, that if by *reason*

and common sense the people of Ann-Arundel-county had a right to vote *for whom they pleased to represent them*, the same reason and common sense would permit the people of Baltimore town to exercise the *same privilege*. I grant you, *Solon*, that the electors in *both* places might appoint *any* person they pleased to represent them; but I deny your conclusion, *Solon*, that therefore the inhabitants of Baltimore-town had a right to vote at the election of representatives for the county; for this reason, because the people of the town were represented by the two delegates *chosen by the town*, and they were not entitled to be represented also by the four delegates *chosen by the county*. But you, *Solon*, cannot discover any impropriety in double representation, or that it would violate, or infringe the rights of others; yet, *Solon*, you are a master of *dialectic!*—If the inhabitants of Baltimore-town who did not vote at the town election had a right to vote at the county election, would it not follow, *Solon*, that the inhabitants of Baltimore (or any other) county, who did not vote at their county election would have had the same privilege to vote in the town election? You say you are a downright positive sort of man, and therefore you put questions. You ask, “does reason and common sense forbid an inhabitant of Baltimore-town to vote for a member for Baltimore-county; or does he thereby do any injury to electors in the county?” Is not this, *Solon*, the very question in dispute? Suppose, *Solon*, I was to assert, that you were a slanderer, a fool, a V——, &c. &c. would you admit, that I maintained my allegation by asking you the question, whether you was the base character I supposed? But you are a scholar, *Solon* and master of dialectic! The wise son of David observed that, “Bray a fool in a mortar, with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.”—

To support your *second* and *fourth* reason, “*that* the General Assembly could only *recommend* an election, &c. and that the Convention at Philadelphia, gave their *opinion*, &c. &c. &c. [”] You ask, *Solon*, this ridiculous question, “was the *right of recommending* the election *inherent* in the Assembly?” and you answer, “if this right was inseperable from that body, their resolution, respecting the mode of election, was binding on the election and candidates.” Why, *Solon*, do you ask a question which you deny; and why draw a conclusion which every one will admit? Is this question, or answer, any thing to the purpose? At what school, *Solon*, did you learn *dialectic*? You again ask, “if the right of *recommending* the election be a *delegated* power, whence did the Assembly derive it?” And you answer, “certainly from the people of Maryland, and of the other States, who spoke at Philadelphia, last September.” I ask you, *Solon*, a plain question, had the Convention at Philadelphia, any *right to delegate* any power to the legislature of Maryland? If you have one grain of sense you must answer NO.—I admit, *Solon*, what you assert, that the legislature of this State had no right to *prescribe* the *qualifications* of the *electors*; but I pray you, *Solon*, to inform us by what rule of *dialectic* you draw your conclusion, that *therefore* every person, *qualified* to vote in Baltimore-town, had a right to vote in Baltimore-county? If the legislature could not direct the qualifications of electors, I ask you, *Solon*, were *any* qualifications necessary, and if any, what, and where do you draw the line? If no qualifications are necessary, I would ask you, *Solon*, whether all persons, males and females, of all ages, were not equally entitled to vote; and why you confine the right of voting, by inhabitants of the town, at the county election, to *such* of them only as were *qualified* to vote

in the town?—If the people of Maryland were bound by *compact*, or *honor*, as you intimate, to observe the *opinion* of the Convention at Philadelphia, “That the delegates to the State Convention should be chosen by the PEOPLE of the State.” I would ask you, *Solon*, whether agreeably to this opinion, every person without any regard to property, age, sex, or residence, except in the State, would not have a right to vote? What absurdities do you fall into, *Solon*, from your ignorance? What disorder and confusion would flow from the adoption of your principles?

To maintain your *third* reason, “that the people of Maryland, *with regard to the NEW Constitution are absolutely in a state of nature*,” you observe, *Solon*, that the *new* Constitution for the United States, when ratified, may in *part* affect, but cannot supersede the *old* Constitution of Maryland. At what school, *Solon*, did you study *dialectic*? Your argument, if it can be called one, is this, that if any *part* of a form of government is *proposed* to be changed, the people as to *such part* are in a state of nature; but not as to any thing else. Can you produce, *Solon*, any authority for this distinction? Were the people of England in a state of nature when James the 2d, abdicated the government, and the nation deliberated on the event, and decided to set aside the hereditary succession, and to place his daughter and son-in-law on the throne? Were the people of Maryland in a state of nature when they changed their form of government from a limited monarchy to the present mixed form of government?—Remember, *Solon*, the words of Solomon, “A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a *rod for a fool’s back*.”—It is vexatious and troublesome to answer nonsense, and confute absurdities. Retire, *Solon*, into submissive silence, and blush for your unparalleled insolence and ignorance.—

You, *Solon*, attempted to alarm the public, “with some deep-laid *scheme*, planned by a modern MACHIAVEL, and *providentially* discovered by the citizens of Baltimore; and you spoke of a PLOT, rankling for months in the bosom of treachery and deception; and of a *conspiracy* against the liberties of our country.” I took the liberty, *Solon*, to call on you to speak out, and to tell your countrymen what *scheme*, what *plot*[,] what *conspiracy* you meant. In your answer, *Solon*, you are intirely silent. The inference is plain, that you have no foundation for these assertions, and that you[r] attempt to alarm your fellow-citizens with apprehensions you do not feel.—Do not forget, *Solon*, in your next publication to give us the grounds of your suspicions, or discard all pretentions to the character of a man of honour and veracity; and submit to be considered as a vile INCENDIARY.

You, *Solon*, spoke “of characters (whom you were pleased to call the CECILS of the day) who solicited the suffrages of a *deluded* people in *distant* counties. You told the public, *Solon*, of *exotic* candidates, preying and ravaging the country;” and you branded *particular* characters with the appellation “of a *desperate junto and birds of passage*, who ceasing to hope for success at home, *obtruded* themselves on electors not fully aware of their intentions.”—I requested you, *Solon*, to throw off your mask, and to inform the public what persons you meant by these descriptions. I asserted that only *three* gentlemen had been chosen out of the county of their residence, and thence I inferred, that you, *Solon*, could only allude to those characters. I considered these *direct* insinuations against them as a wanton, illiberal and base calumny; and therefore, *Solon*, I accused you of having traduced the reputation of your *superiors*; and observed that concealment was your only

refuge from the scorn and contempt of every honest man. In your reply, *Solon*, you do not attempt to excuse your infamous conduct in thus attacking and sporting with the characters of these gentlemen, without any provocation; and though an insolent *aggressor*, you pretend that *you* are injured and insulted.

You, *Solon*, have introduced into your publications the name of a gentleman, contrary to every rule of decency, politeness, and good breeding; and you have insolently desired me to pay him a fee for his advice. If you continue this conduct, *Solon*, you and your party, must take the consequence. Repeated provocations and unmerited insults will justify retaliation.—Your motto, *Solon*, was properly applied by *Junius* to the pensioned WESTON, who defended the pardon of a murderer, who was not an object of mercy, but exemplary punishment. What similarity of character do you discover, *Solon*, between *Casca* and a hireling writer of the British ministry?

Your *public* opinions, *Solon*, I have treated with freedom, and your character, as a political author, I have considered as dishonorable, because you wantonly and maliciously attacked and traduced the reputation of gentlemen, whom I esteem. Corrected and reproached for your personal reflections on these public characters, you, *Solon*, insensible to all the soft impressions of humanity, now endeavour to blast the fair fame of innocence, upon the most groundless and improbable conjectures. Impelled by the natural malignity of your soul, and sheltered by the impenetrable secrecy of the press, you shoot your poisoned arrows in the dark; and exert all your little powers to destroy not only the peace and happiness of an individual, but of a whole family; the venom of your slanderous tongue, *Solon*, if credited, would prove more fatal than the deadly poison of the asp. An abandoned wretch invents a slanderous tale, and you, *Solon*, skulking like a cowardly, base assassin, stab in the dark, and wish to propagate the calumny.—Private characters and private conduct are beneath the dignity of the press, and wholly improper for investigation there; unless notorious private vices are united with the power of doing some signal mischief to the community. Private defamation can only please the lowest of the human species, for slander cannot raise the attention, or feed the curiosity of the good and virtuous. The indulgence of private malice and personal slander ought not to be permitted, and the man who attempts to disturb domestic felicity ought to be considered as the pest of society, and driven from the world to associate with his fellow brutes. These remarks, *Solon*, are not made to preclude you from gratifying your secret malice and personal resentment; you have liberty to publish, without descending to the mean, low, artifice of indirect and ambiguous insinuations “*to wink a reputation down;*” any circumstance you please, respecting the private character of the gentleman you allude to, or any of his family; on this *condition* only, that you leave your name with the printer.

May 1, 1788.

108. Providence, R.I., Gazette, 10 May 1788

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in New-York, dated May 3.

“Maryland has adopted the new Constitution, 63 in Favour of it—11 against it.—Our Bells are now ringing upon this joyful Occasion.—It is said they intend to recommend some Amendments.”

**109. William Pynchon Diary
Salem, Mass., 13 May 1788¹**

13. *Tuesday*. A fine morning. Good news of Maryland's accepting the Federal Constitution.

1. Printed: Fitch Edward Oliver, ed., *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem . . .* (Boston, 1890), 307.

110. Maryland Senate Proceedings, Thursday, 15 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

John Kilty, Esquire, from the council, delivers to the president . . . a letter from the governor of Virginia, enclosing two copies of an act, entitled, An act concerning the convention to be held in June next; a letter from the governor of New-Jersey, informing his excellency the governor of the unanimous ratification of the federal government; a letter from the governor of Massachusetts, transmitting a copy of the ratification of the federal government, and proceedings of their convention; a letter from the governor of Georgia, transmitting the unanimous ratification of the federal government, and proceedings of the convention of said state; a letter from the honourable George Plater, Esquire, president of the convention of this state, enclosing a resolve, and the ratification of the federal government; a letter from the secretary of congress, informing his excellency the governor of the representation of congress, and the appointment of Cyrus Griffin president . . . which were severally read, and referred to the consideration of the house of delegates. . . .

1. *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland. May Session, 1788* (Annapolis, 1788) (Evans 21227), 31–32.

**111. St. John Crevecoeur to William Short
New York, 16 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Mr. Barlow will deliver you this Packet the contents of which I beg you'd be carefully put into the Penny Post—I have receid nothing from Virginia for you— & as usual depend on my Care & attention: I hope those I have forwarded you Lately are safely come to your hands. Maryland has accepted the new Constitution Toto—and we have since hope the same happy Event will take place in South Carolina—tho' it's said that the Members from the Interior parts are greatly set agt. the N: Constitution, We shall cross the Rubicon by the midle of July—north Carolina being the state the convention of which will set the Latest, that is about the 4th. of July. . . .

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC.

**112. John Jay to Thomas Jefferson
Office for Foreign Affairs, New York, 16 May 1788¹**

Since the Date of my last, Vizt. 24th Ult: no Letters from you have arrived, nor any Event of Importance occurred except the Accession of Maryland to the Number of the States which have adopted the proposed Constitution. Until that Business is concluded I apprehend that our national Affairs will continue much at a Stand.—

Mr. Barlow will take Charge of this and of a Packet of Newspapers for you.—
With great and sincere Esteem and Regard, I am &c:

1. FC, RG 59, Foreign Letters of the Continental Congress and the Department of State, 1785–1790, DNA.

113. Civis

Maryland Journal, 16 May 1788

Vanity of Vanities, saith the Preacher, Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity.

—SOLOMON.

MR. PRINTER, In your Paper of the 25th ult. I observe, that *Hambden* has at last made his appearance in great wrath indeed.

His earnest address to me, and his feeling appeal to the public, with the *low* scurrilous abuse which pervades the whole, are such convincing proofs of a consciousness of the truth contained in the *Real Federalist's* allegation, that nothing further need be observed on that subject.

Could *Hambden* only spare as much time from *bearing* HORACE and JUVENAL read, as to peruse a few papers of the SPECTATOR, if not too modern for his antiquated taste, he would there see, that no species of vanity can possibly be exhibited by a fictitious writer:—And were I now to congratulate you, Mr. Printer, on the happy effects of my former address, and to ascribe the almost unanimous ratification of the *New Constitution* in this state to our joint labours, it would only be in the true style of the otherwise modest and diffident ADDISON, when writing under the mask of either of the letters composing the name of the goddess *Clio*.

In fine, fictitious writing is a kind of masquerade, in which the plainest citizen has an undoubted right to rank himself with the greatest monarch, when also in that disguise; and their superiority, can alone be determined by the public opinion.

That *Hambden* as such, should discover the real character and qualities of any individual, through the mask of ARISTIDES, leaves no room to doubt of his *uncommon sagacity*:—But when he submissively descends, to acknowledge himself a *Scribbler*, before any fictitious writer whatever, he displays such a contemptible servility of spirit, as would induce him on his knees to lick the soles of a great man's feet for a dinner.—In my private character, I bow before the superior abilities of the gentleman supposed to write ARISTIDES; and when he and *Hambden* may please to draw off their masks, I will very naturally venerate the one, and despise the other.

My former address being wrote as a winter evening's amusement, with little more attention than I commonly bestow on my letters of business, which God knows is generally too little; and being transcribed in a hurry, in order to catch a POST, it is not surprising, that any petty critick, or carping small grammarian, should after long scrutiny, discover a letter too much which now stands to the right of the word *exist*. This, however, being only a slip of the pen, can be no evidence to men of candour or sense, that I am ignorant of the plainest article in grammar.

The other parts of *Hambden's* critical remarks, are rather more unfortunate for him, and loudly proclaim, that however acute he may be in distinguishing one from two, he is nevertheless totally ignorant of that concise perspicuity,

established in practical writing, in order to produce a musical harmony of expression.—This is evident, from his exception to “*the experience of the best regulated governments points out;*” for did his knowledge of language extend but a little farther, he would then be sensible, that the word *point*, in the situation I have used it, may be considered either singular or plural; and in order to remove that hissing and jingle, which frequently occur in the English language, I have expressed it in the latter.—His criticism however on part of a sentence in my last short epistle to you, is certainly laughable; for all ideas, sentiments and language, being either natural, or acquired by reading and conversation, are sometimes digested and sometimes not:—Therefore when I observed, that *Hambden* had *neither ideas, sentiment, or language of his own, excepting a small jumble of indigested reading*, it plainly implied, that he was not an original composer, but only a servile imitator of others.

If the third paragraph of my address, is beyond the narrow pedantick comprehension of *Hambden*, it is certainly intelligible to every one else.

That an editor of your judgment, learning and taste, should give so much preference, to such an “ungrammatical,” “flat,” “cold,” “flimsy,” “ambiguous,” “ill-arranged,” “rhapsody jargon of nonsense,” as *Hambden* has asserted my address to be, is a clear proof to me, Mr. Printer, that you are a man of nothing more than *common sagacity*. I hope, however, that my exposition of *Hambden*’s ignorance of elegance and modern refinement, will have no manner of influence with any *particular gentleman*, respecting his erudition in the *Latin tongue*, after the many specimens he has given.

For my own part, I would not hesitate to match him with any pedagogue in America, for his *profound knowledge* in grammatical criticism; at least so far as it extends to the singular and plural numbers.

As I presume he will still continue to imitate my writings, should the superfluous letters, which he had discovered, be disagreeable to him where it now stands, he has my hearty permission to move it to any *point* he pleases; or he may reserve it, in order to embellish some of his future PRODUCTIONS:—Neither will the *Real Federalist* or myself, tax him with plagiarism, or theft, on that account.—Indeed, had his address to me, been “a theft from my last,” it would have done him much more honour:—Witness the difference betwixt his first and it.

Had not *Hambden*, towards the conclusion of his last, informed us that he was a *gentleman*, I am confident it never could have been discovered otherwise; especially from his language and deportment.

Maryland, May 10, 1788.

114. A Republican Maryland Journal, 16 May 1788¹

A Writer, under the signature of *Federalism*, has given the Citizens of Maryland some observations, in the last Journal, upon the adoption of the new constitution by this state, and upon the line of conduct which he thinks they ought to pursue hereafter, lest they should lose the blessing of that inestimable, and, in his opinion, all-perfect system of government.

It is not difficult to discover, that the great object he has in view, is to prepare the way against the next general election, to prevent the re-election of the delegates for this town, and to introduce into the Assembly his *favourite* characters.

Attempts of this nature have been successively made for several years, but have failed; I suppose the author flatters himself that the present is a more favourable occasion.

That *Federalism* is highly “gratified by the act of the convention ratifying the new plan of government without amendments,” and that he has no wish amendments should *ever* take place, except of such a nature as to *increase* and *enlarge* the *powers* of the government, I can easily believe; but I have great doubts whether one or the other can be justly said of one man in ten of those who are “well informed,” and have no other object in view but the happiness and welfare of their country.

This excellent plan he tells us was circulated extensively last fall, for the consideration of the people, who were not surprised into steps concerning it, but permitted coolly and maturely to examine it.—It is true, that on the first day of last *December*, the Assembly directed two thousand copies, a little more than a hundred for each county, of the proposed constitution to be printed, to be distributed for the information of the citizens;—of these, *some* in the course of the winter, were actually distributed through the counties.—But the number was much too small to go into the hands of the people generally; few of the common class of people had an opportunity of reading them at all, and much fewer of considering them with that attention necessary, to enable them to form an estimate of the benefits, or evils, which might probably flow from the government, if adopted.

“But the News-Papers laid before the people impartially the arguments urged by various authors on either side.”

The Annapolis Paper every body knows has a very confined circulation, and I believe not more than one or two *original* publications appeared in that Paper, and those in favour of the government; and it contained no republications on the subject.—The two Baltimore Papers do not circulate on the Eastern-Shore, and scarce a Paper of those Printers are seen there at *any* time; but the peculiar severity of the last winter precluded almost entirely all communication of sentiment or information.—Those Papers though they circulate through the different counties of the Western Shore, yet are read by, comparatively, few of the common class of the people.—Even in the city of Annapolis, so far are they from being *generally* seen, that it is difficult to obtain their perusal.—But had there been the freest communication of all the pieces written on both sides of the question, and had they been in the hands of every individual, it would have been of but little consequence, if we may believe the members of the late convention, who so wisely adopted the system, since *with them* it was a *favourite maxim*, that the people at large were incompetent to decide or form a judgment on the subject; that they were, and always must be, in these things, *directed* by a *few*, who had *more knowledge*; and that the people at large were totally incapable of determining whether a *government* was *perfect* or *imperfect*, *good* or *bad*, until they *felt* its *consequences*, and gained the information by perceiving its *effects*.

Federalism thinks it “almost surprising” to find the plain common sense of our citizens inclining them so generally to the right side of so important a question.

But, perhaps, his surprise would, in some measure, cease were he to reflect that, in this state, there are about *twenty-five* thousand persons who were entitled to vote for the members of the convention; that the *whole* number who actually did vote, were but about *six* thousand, and that in Baltimore-Town, and seven counties, the voters were four thousand in number or thereabouts; so that the

delegates of ten counties had not, on an average, two hundred votes; nor did one *sixth* part of the inhabitants of the state, who were entitled to vote, interfere in the election: Let him also consider, that the number of *rich* and *wealthy* men, who promise themselves peculiar advantages from *this* government, which they never could obtain in a government *truly republican*, and also the *mercantile* part of the community, who flatter themselves with deriving benefits from this system, at least with the means of *speedily collecting their debts*, exerted themselves in every county in favour of the constitution, using every argument to induce the people to consider it as the *only means* of relieving them from the *distresses under which they suffer*, and terrifying them with the prospect of *anarchy* and *confusion* if it was rejected.—To this I might add, that no opposition was made in scarce any of the counties, till a *few days* before the election, and that in those counties where the people had had the *best means* of information, the opposition succeeded—In some other counties, many of the inhabitants, disapproving the system, would not attend the election, because no candidates offered in opposition to it, and others returned home without voting, on the same principle.

But I now proceed to that part of *Federalism's* publication which I apprehend he has *most at heart*, and to which the former observations are intended as an introduction.—He tell us “more must be done to establish the *favourite government*; and to put a finishing hand to the *noble work*, our house of delegates must be *federal*, for of the senate he has no doubt; otherwise they may defeat the plan by open refusal to perform their parts—or by artful delays—or contriving absurd and impracticable regulations in things subject to their control—from these considerations the people should elect representatives, whose interest and desire it is firmly to establish the new government;”—in other words, that the people ought not to trust any man who was opposed to its adoption by this state.

Here the author justifies the remark I have before made, that his object is the *next* election, and that he wishes the inhabitants of this town to withdraw their confidence from their *present* representatives, to repose it in others, under the *pretence* that, otherwise, their “*favourite government—the wisest and best ever devised by human ingenuity,*” should be in danger.

It may, perhaps, here be worth while to examine what is the part our legislature is to act? As our *form of state government* and our *declaration of rights* cannot be *altered* but *only* in the mode directed, and the ratification of the national government *most essentially changes* our *form of government* and *bill of rights*, it is necessary for a law authorizing these alterations to pass the General Assembly at least three months before the next general election in October, and that another law of confirmation should pass in the first session after the next election.—And for this purpose it is universally believed that our Assembly is to meet on Monday next.—It is to be presumed that, if the people of this state are so universally in favour of the new government as *Federalism* asserts, the same having been ratified in the convention, no opposition will be made in the Assembly to the *forms* necessary to carry it into execution.—The conduct of the Members of the House of Delegates, a majority of whom, if I am truly informed, were *last session* averse from the proposed constitution, will justify this remark—And if no opposition should be made at the ensuing session to the law for altering our constitution and bill of rights, so as to render them consistent with the new government, it is not reasonable to expect that at next November session there will be any opposition to the confirmation of such law.

After the constitution shall be ratified by nine states, the present congress is to fix a day on which electors shall be appointed to choose the President and Vice-President, and also the day on which the electors are to assemble and to ballot for those officers.—*Our legislature* are to direct the *manner* of choosing the electors of the President and Vice-President;—the number is to be equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in this state, that is to say, eight; but no senator, or representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, can be an elector.—The qualifications of the President are ascertained; in the Vice-President no qualifications are required.—*Our Legislature* are to determine what persons shall be entitled to vote for electors—whether *viva voce*, or by ballot, and whether the voters at large shall give their suffrage for the whole eight electors, or whether the state shall be divided into districts, for the voters in each to choose one elector, which last mode appears most eligible, in which case the Western-Shore would be entitled to choose *five*, and the Eastern-Shore *three*—and I think it probable that every person qualified to vote for Representatives, will be allowed a vote for electors of the President and Vice-President. The *next* object of our *Legislature* will be to direct the time, place and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives—(the number is ascertained—two Senators, and six Representatives)—*Our Legislature* are to choose the two Senators, and their qualifications are ascertained.—No diversity of sentiment will probably arise as to the *manner* of choosing the two Senators, unless whether our Senate shall have an *equal* vote in the choice with the House of Delegates, or whether it shall be by *joint ballot* of the two houses, as prescribed by our constitution in the choice of our governor.—The six Representatives whose qualifications are also ascertained, are to be chosen by the people entitled to vote for members of our House of Delegates. *Our Assembly* are to direct the time and place, and manner of election.—There can be no difference of sentiment presumed as to the time;—as to place, the only question most probably, will be whether the voters at large shall give their suffrage for the whole six Representatives, or whether the state shall be divided into districts, for each to choose one Representative.—The manner, whether *viva voce*, or by ballot, can scarcely be a subject of difficulty, the *first* is preferred by our constitution.

But *Federalism* observes, if persons who opposed the adoption of the new government, should be elected members of the House of Delegates, they would “defeat it.[.]”—He must certainly have a very extraordinary opinion of the opponents of the constitution.—When once a government is agreed to by those who are to be affected thereby, it becomes the duty of every one to carry it into execution, and to procure it to be administered in a manner the most to the ease and advantage of the people—Nor would any man of honour accept of a trust, and openly or privately oppose the sentiments of his constituents, or counteract the measures which he knew they confided in him to carry into execution.

Those, therefore, who approve of the adoption of the new government, need not fear now, that it is ratified, to choose, as Members of the Assembly, men who were opposed to it, because they thought that in its present form, unamended, it was dangerous to, and inconsistent with, the rights of the people; on the contrary, *these* are the *most proper* persons to be chosen, since they will *exert* themselves on the same principles to *obtain amendments* in a constitutional manner,

and I am sure it is *generally* admitted, that *amendments* are *essentially necessary*.— Let me then ask the Citizens of Maryland, and the inhabitants of this town in particular, whether the violent advocates of the system, as it now stands—whether those who declare that they think the government ought to have even *greater power* than is given by the new constitution; or those, who *professed* they would be for amendments *after* it was ratified, but *now*, having obtained the ratification, throw off the masque, and declare it wants *no* amendments, whether, I say, such characters will endeavour to procure the alterations which the most of you earnestly desire, and in the hope of obtaining which, *only*, you consented to adopt the government.—It would be well to consider, that *leaders* of parties have frequently *very different* views from the main body—of this the people will soon be convinced.—The *principal* characters in this state, and in the others, who advocate the new government, are for its adoption without *any* amendment *at any time*;—amendments would be inconsistent with the objects they have in view.—As to the people at large, of this state, I am confident ninety-nine out of a hundred, who have had opportunity of obtaining any information on the subject, are anxious to obtain amendments as soon as possible, in the mode prescribed. The people of this state, therefore, who wish that amendments should be obtained, if they act wisely, will not hesitate a moment in preferring such men, who from a strong sense and conviction of their necessity, were desirous to make amendments a previous condition of the adoption, to those characters who are opposed to all amendments, and who think the system all-wise and all-perfect.

Baltimore-Town, May 11, 1788.

1. On 13 May the *Maryland Journal* indicated that “‘A REPUBLICAN’ will appear in our next.”

115. Middletown, Conn., Middlesex Gazette, 19 May 1788

On account of the ratification of the Constitution by the State of Maryland, a procession of about 3000 people was formed at Baltimore, on the first inst. for the purpose of rejoicing, *the particulars of which came to hand too late for this day’s publication, but will be inserted in our next.*

The convention of Maryland finally adjourned without agreeing to any proposed amendments.

116. Charleston, S.C., Columbian Herald, 19 May 1788

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, dated April 28, 1788.

“The day before yesterday (being Saturday) the grand question for the adoption of the new government in our state convention was put, and appeared as follows: For it, 63. Against it, 11; from which you may judge of our great superiority; in consequence of which, the celebration for the same is to take place on Thursday next, on similar principles to that of Boston, a grand procession, with a large Federal Ship, drawn by horses, and the several craft of the town dispos’d of with the emblems of their separate branches, to the amount, it is thought, of 1500 persons, when there will be a cold collation prepared on a fine eminence adjoining the town, for that number, and a display of artillery, with fire works, illumination with candles, &c. in the evening.”

117. Comus

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 20 May 1788

To SOLON and PUBLIUS.

Par Nobile fratrum.

A Noble pair of Worthies!

Your labours have succeeded and you merit the warmest approbation and thanks of the FEDERALISTS in this town. As your *united* efforts gained the victory, you should be exalted together in the same triumphal car. You have immortalized your characters, and trod upon the Greek and Roman name.—*Solon*, oh *Solon*, more beloved by the Baltimoreans, for your federal zeal and constitutional knowledge, than the lawgiver of Athens by the people of Greece!—*Publius*, oh *Publius*, more wise and venerable in your councils and predictions, than all the AUGURS of ancient Rome! The cause of virtue and of *federalism*, could not have been so ably supported by any other pens. Armed with truth and *notorious* damning facts you *commenced* the attack on the CHIEF of the ANTIFEDERALISTS, and laid him prostrate at your feet, deprecating your vengeance, and supplicating your mercy. Why do you conceal yourselves from the knowledge of your admiring countrymen? Unhappy MODESTY that prevents you from receiving those *marks* of esteem and affection a grateful people are anxious to bestow! Sole depository of your own precious secret, you can only feel the pleasing satisfaction of having rendered most important services to your country, from the most disinterested and purest motives. You can only congratulate each other for having, with manly spirit and fortitude, without the least spark of *personal* malevolence, detected and exposed the *false patriot* to the contempt and indignation of his deluded citizens. I beg leave to present you, noble *Solon*, and you, as noble *Publius*, with my sincere congratulations on the defeat of your antagonist. I wish to offer you my *personal* tribute of applause, and sincerely lament that I am deprived of the opportunity from an ignorance of your *real* names and characters.—You have prudently eluded all the schemes of your opponent to discover you, not from fear of his resentment, which you must despise, but from a resolution not to gratify impertinent curiosity.—The wild and mistaken conjectures of your adversary induce some people to wish, that you had condescended to leave, your names with the printer. Every good citizen was hurt by the ungenerous insinuation, that you, *Publius*, was a *worthy divine*, of this town, a gentleman, “of manners gentle, of affections mild,” and as meek and humble in his deportment as any of the first disciples of his heavenly master; and whose *uniform* and *general* character of having *studiously* avoided all *political* controversy, afforded indubitable proof of error in the conjecture. If ever *precept* of universal love and charity were united with *example*, it is in the gentleman whom your opponent so *falsely*, with indecency and anger, described, “as a busy, factious, meddling priest, a quaint, smooth son of Calvin”. The general opinion acquitted the *divine*, and no solemn denial was necessary from him to satisfy his flock, who cannot possibly bestow their contributions on a more worthy man, or better christian. Equally false and injurious is the insinuation of your enemies, *Publius*, that detected and exposed in *that* character, you have assumed *another*, and now pursue the same *political* object under the signature of FEDERALISM. From my profound veneration for your character, *Publius*, which ought to be *sacred*, I approve of your impenetrable concealment, because although some of your enemies may be brave and generous, there may be others who would assassinate. Your generous allow-

ance, *Publius*, “for the peevishness, weakness, and illiberality into which your antagonists have been betrayed, in their feeble attempts to support an expiring opposition;” your reflections, “that disappointment sours the spirits, and hurries men into an intemperance of passion;” your observation, “that to defeat, leagued with envy, superiour merit (like yours) will ever furnish plentiful and painful employment;” and your resolution, “to pass by your adversary as an object of *pity*, and to overcome indecency and anger by *urbanity* and temper;” prove that you possess the exalted spirit of the *gentleman* and the *christian*; and must cover your enemies with disgrace and shame.

The delicate feelings of your friends, *Solon*, have also been deeply wounded by the scurrilous treatment you have received. I have not the least ground to claim any knowledge of your *real* character, and can only esteem and admire you under your *assumed* one. I am pleased and diverted to hear the many and very different conjectures of this town about you, one man declares that you are a *military traveller*, another that you are an *itinerant preacher*, a third that you are a *doctor*, and a fourth confidently asserts that you, *Solon*, must be a *lawyer*! Every profession, *Solon*, claims you for her own! It is whispered, that you are a young HIBERNIAN, of late importation, with all your native modesty, encreased by the practice of the law. Some few pretend to be acquainted with your birth, parentage, and education; they describe you with a perpetual and insidious smile upon your cheek, that betrays the rancorous malice of your heart. They say that you can smile upon the man you slander, and meanly solicit the friendship of the man you wish to destroy.—Such, *Solon*, is the malice and envy of your enemies. The friends of *federalism* rejoice, *Solon*, that no unmerited provocation can force you to reveal yourself, and I highly approve your resolution.—Your enemies are as powerful as they are wicked.

Whenever another opportunity offers I hope you, *Solon*, and you, *Publius*, will unite in your information and labours for the public, and with confidence you may expect, with the support of your *independant* fellow citizens, to drive the *old* and *new* candidates from their stations, and to fill them with characters, *like yourselves*, attached to no party, and influenced only by the public good. If either of you will be pleased to nominate the successors of the present representatives, for this town, be assured that your choice will be *ratified* by the general approbation of your fellow citizens.

118. Maryland Journal, 20 May 1788

THOUGHTS on a Plan to defeat the end of the ratification of the Federal Constitution for the United States of America, as proposed in the last Friday's paper.

These are the courses that we took,
To carry things by hook or crook.—BUTLER.

That we may gain a more perfect comprehension of the object of this plan, it may be necessary to recur to the various attempts of the opposition against the federal government, from its first appearance down to the present day. This review will also shew us, that the opposition have always had at heart, the total destruction of the federal constitution.

The first essay of the opposition was, to inspire their fellow citizens with an abhorrence of the framers of the constitution; for which purpose they confidently asserted that they were vile conspirators against their country, and that our assem-

bly would incur part of their guilt, should they dare to recommend it to the consideration and decision of the people. This they did to damn it without a hearing.

Finding this abuse to run counter to the popular sentiment, they were obliged to dissemble for a while, and give assurances, that if elected to the assembly, they would use their endeavours to have it referred to a convention of the people. This they did to have an opportunity to poison the minds of the representatives of the people against its adoption.

Their next step was, to contrive a form of recommendation different from that proposed by the general convention held at Philadelphia. This they did, that the state convention might consider themselves authorised to treat the constitution as they pleased.

They next laboured to persuade a free and enlightened people, to leave them at liberty in the convention with respect to amendments or adjournment. This might be friendship, but it was unhappily expressed.

In the convention, they first directed their reasoning to an absolute rejection of the constitution. They then moderated down to the expediency of an adjournment. They were next willing to take the constitution with thirty or forty amendments tacked to it, as a condition of ratification. And when these could not be obtained as a condition, they were disposed that they should be received as a recommendation; refusing, however, to sign the ratification themselves in case they should thus be received; or to withdraw their opposition till the whole of them should become a part of the constitution.^(a) This last proposition, seemingly too the mildest, was to damn the constitution, in as much as several of the amendments went to the total destruction of its most essential provisions.

We now come to their plan for defeating the end of the ratification, not only that of Maryland, but of the other states: for it seems, their enmity is of an inextinguishable nature, persevering without hope, and reviving after every defeat, under a new form. But let us hear it in their own words. "As our form of government, and declaration of rights, (say they) cannot be *altered*, but *only in the mode directed*; and the ratification of the national government most essentially changes our form of government, and bill of rights, it is *necessary for a law authorising these alterations*, to pass the general assembly at least three months before the next general election in October; and that another law should pass in the first session after the next election."

It may be necessary to examine what the people have done in this business:— They have agreed to and ratified the federal constitution; in which it is expressly declared, that "this constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, *shall be the supreme law of the land*, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, *any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding*." Will any candid person say, that this clause does not repeal all provisions in any of the state governments, which clash with the powers and authorities transferred to the federal government? Can any unprejudiced person believe, after reading this clause, that the ratification by the convention, requires a supplementary act to be passed by two successive legislatures, to give it force and validity? To suppose such a confirmation necessary to the exercise of its powers, is to deny that the people have a right to alter their form of government *when* they please, and in what *mode* they please.

But let us pass from the absurdity of this plan to its consequences, if carried into practice.

There are at least, *five* states besides Maryland, whose constitutions prescribe the mode in which they shall be changed or altered.^(b) Whatever, therefore, applies to one of these, applies to the whole. If, for example, it is incumbent on Maryland to change her constitution in the mode it prescribes, in order to give effect to the ratification, it is equally incumbent on the other five to change their constitutions in the mode they respectively prescribe, in order to give effect to the ratification. Admitting this proceeding to be proper, it is natural to inquire how long time must elapse before these changes can be made in the several constitutions so as to permit the federal government to be put in motion. To ascertain this point, we must refer to the constitutions themselves.

It is declared in the Massachusetts constitution, art. vi. s. x. "In order the more effectually to adhere to the principles of the constitution, and to correct those violations which by any means may be made therein, as well as to form *such alterations as from experience shall be found necessary*, the general court (the title of the legislature) which shall be in the year of our Lord 1795, shall issue precepts to the selectmen of the several towns, and to the assessors of the unincorporated plantations, directing them to convene the qualified voters of their respective towns and plantations, for the purpose of collecting their sentiments on the necessity or expediency of revising the constitution, *in order to amendments*. And if it shall appear by the returns made, that *two thirds* of the qualified voters throughout the state who shall assemble and vote in consequence of the said precepts, *are in favour of such revision or amendment*, the general court shall issue precepts, or direct them to be issued from the secretary's office, to the several towns, to elect delegates to meet in convention for the purpose aforesaid."

The constitution of Pennsylvania declares, Sect. 47. "That the council of censors (which cannot convene before the year 1792) shall also have the power to call a convention to meet within two years after their sitting, (1795) *if there appear to them an absolute necessity of amending any article of the constitution which may be defective*, explaining such as may be thought not clearly expressed, and of adding such as are necessary for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people: But the articles to be amended, and the amendments proposed, and such articles as are proposed to be added or abolished, shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject.

The constitution of Delaware declares, Sect. 30. "No article of the declaration of rights and fundamental rules of this state, agreed to by this convention, nor the 1, 2, 5, (except that part thereof that relates to the right of suffrage) 26 and 29 articles of this constitution, ought ever to be violated on any pretence whatever. No other part of this constitution shall be altered, changed or diminished without the consent of five parts of seven of the assembly, and seven members of the legislative council."

The constitution of South-Carolina, Sect. 44, declares, "That no part of this constitution shall be altered without a notice of ninety days being previously given; nor shall any part of the same be changed without the consent of a majority of the members of the senate and house of representatives."

The constitution of Georgia, declares, Sect. 63. “No alteration shall be made in this constitution, without petitions from a majority of the counties, and the petitions from each county be signed by a majority of voters in each county within this state. At which time the assembly shall order a convention to be called for that purpose, specifying the alterations to be made, according to the petitions preferred to the assembly by the majority of the counties, as aforesaid.”

Thus we see that if the opposition could establish the point, that a state government can *only* be altered in the mode therein prescribed, they need be in no hurry to obtain their thirty amendments. In Massachusetts, the general court or assembly, could not set about the preparatory steps to obtain an alteration in their constitution, or bill of rights, before the year 1795; nor could any thing be done in Pennsylvania before the same year, and not even then, should the council of censors be indisposed to alterations. Upon the most moderate computation therefore, Maryland could not expect to see the federal government in motion in less than ten years; after which, we do not find that the opposition offer any security to the public, that they will not propose some other plan to suspend its operations for ten years longer. And yet this very opposition, whose modesty is only equalled by their strict adherence to facts, has declared, “that, for this purpose it is universally believed, that our assembly is to meet on Monday next.”

(a) See the address of the minority to the people, from which the chief of these facts are adduced.

(b) Not having the constitution of New-Hampshire, I cannot affirm any thing respecting it: I think, however, that it also prescribes a mode in which it may be altered.

119 A–D. Peter Fayssoux in the South Carolina Convention 20–26 May 1788

*119-A. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 20 May*¹

Yesterday in the convention, Dr. Fayssoux said, that he was at first opposed to the constitution, but considering what Maryland had done, he viewed it as the system of government under which his country must live, and that it would be criminal in him longer to oppose it.

119-B. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 23 May

The printers have received the two following notes from Dr. Fayssoux, the first on Tuesday last:

“SIR, Having mistated my sentiments delivered in the convention yesterday, when I declared my intention of declining any opposition—as this referred only to the mode of opposition which I had adopted, and this was done from an apprehension of injuring the peace and tranquility of my country, particularly when I heard a member declare that a number of people were determined to oppose it by force of arms, that and other considerations of consequence, influenced me in my declaration, in which I declared expressly, ‘from reading and reflection I was principled against the new constitution.’

PETER FAYSSOUX.”

“Dr. Fayssoux asserts and declares, the paragraph inserted in the Morning Post of Tuesday last, was a false and infamous lye”.

The above is inserted at Dr. Fayssoux’s request, the liberality of the writer, and the authenticity of the reporter, rest on this, if any gentleman within hearing of the latter part of the doctor’s speech are with him in opinion, then the reporter is to blame.

119-C. Charleston, S.C., City Gazette, 24 May²

“SIR, In the course of some observations which I made on Monday last in the convention, I delivered the following sentiments, which you have mistated to the public, and which I desire you to correct accordingly.

“Mr. President, At the commencement of this convention, I assumed a line of conduct with a determination to exert my utmost powers for the rejection of this constitution, but circumstances have much altered; Maryland has adopted the constitution, her voice is decisive; and although from reading and reflection I am principled in my objections to this constitution, I will sacrifice my own feelings to the peace and tranquility of my country; and as I consider it as the constitution under which we must live, I will desist from a line of conduct in opposition, which as it would only tend to irritate and inflame men’s minds, would be criminal.

P. FAYSSOUX.”

The following paragraph will appear to every candid and dispassionate person tantamount to what is published above; yet has notwithstanding drawn from Dr. Fayssoux epithets ungenerous and undeserved, and will prove how difficult it is for some men to keep up in their conduct—consistency.

Tuesday, May 20, 1788.

Yesterday in the convention, Dr. Fayssoux said, that he was at first opposed to the constitution, but considering what Maryland had done, he viewed it as the system of government under which his country must live, and that it would be criminal in him longer to oppose it.

119-D. State Gazette of South Carolina, 26 May

Mrs. TIMOTHY, As the publishers of the Morning Post have represented some sentiments which I delivered in the Convention in a very partial and false manner, I herewith send you the exact words I used on that occasion, which I request you to have published in your Gazette.

Mr. President, On the commencement of this convention, I assumed a line of conduct, with a determination to exert all my abilities, to prevent the adoption of this constitution, but affairs have since changed, Maryland has adopted the constitution, her voice is decisive; and although by reading and reflection, I am principled in my objections to this constitution, I will cheerfully sacrifice my feelings to the peace and tranquility of my country, and consider this as the constitution under which we must live, I shall desist from a line of conduct in opposition, which as it will tend only to irritate and inflame mens minds, would in my opinion be criminal.

P. FAYSSOUX.

1. Reprinted: *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 22 May; *New York Daily Advertiser*, 31 May; Rhode Island *Newport Herald*, 5 June; Rhode Island *Providence Gazette*, 7 June; and Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 10 June.

2. Reprinted in the *Maryland Journal*, 6 June, and in twelve other newspapers by 26 June: N.H. (2), Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Conn. (3), N.Y. (2), Pa. (1), Va. (2). None of the reprintings included the last two paragraphs. The three reprintings in Maryland and Virginia did not include the first paragraph, but was introduced accordingly: "The following Sentiments were delivered by Dr. P. FAYSSOUX, in the Convention of South-Carolina, addressed to the President of that Body."

**120. William McKenzie to John Gray Blount
Skuwahket, Martin County, N.C., 21 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . PS I congratulate you on the Adoption of the new Constitution by the State of Maryland a Piece of news which has just reached us but I suppose it is not new to you

1. RC, John Gray Blount Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

121. Massachusetts Centinel, 21 May 1788¹

The *fluff* proposed to the Maryland Convention, under the style of *Amendments*, was not thought worthy consideration, and was therefore thrown by, without any question being taken on it.

1. Reprinted: Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 29 May 1788.

122. Providence, R.I., United States Chronicle, 22 May 1788

In our last we published an Account of some *Amendments*, proposed by a Member of the Maryland Convention, to accompany the Ratification of the Federal Constitution by that State,—since which we have received a Baltimore Paper, of the 6th Instant, by which it appears that *they* were *rejected* by the Convention on Saturday, the 26th Ult. on which Day the Vote for *assenting to* and *ratifying* the Constitution was carried by 63 to 11.—On the same Day a Committee of 13 were chosen to consider of and make Report on *such Amendments* as might be laid before them.—On the Monday following the Committee were called upon for their Report—but the Chairman informed the House, that the Majority of the Committee had agreed not to report *any Amendments*. A Motion was then made, "That the Convention adjourn without Day."—which was carried by a Majority of 20—47 voting for the Motion, and 27 against it—So the Convention dissolved.

**123. Lambert Cadwalader to William Gough
Trenton, N.J., 27 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I congratulate with you on the Adoption of the new Constitution by Maryland—the Business was wisely managed—tell Col Yeates the Prudence & good sense manifested on the Occasion does them infinite Honor—we hourly expect to hear that S Carolina has acceded—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.

124. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 27 May 1788

The Convention of Maryland adopted the New Constitution, absolutely and unconditionally, without even the recommendation of amendments.

**125. George Washington to Comte de Rochambeau
Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Va., 28 May 1788¹**

My dear Count,

I take the liberty of introducing to your acquaintance Mr Barlow, the person who will have the honor of handing this letter to you.—He is a Gentleman of liberal education, respectable character, great abilities, & high reputation for literary accomplishments.—He is peculiarly & honorably known in the Republic of Letters both here and in Europe, for being the Author of an admirable Poem, in which he has worthily celebrated the glory of your Nation in general & of yourself in particular.—Attended, as he is, with so many interesting circumstances & under so many unusual advantages, I need add no more than just a recommendation to your attention & civilities.—

Since I had the pleasure of writing to you by the last Packet, nothing worthy of notice has happened in America, except the adoption of the Constitution in Maryland by a very great Majority.—I embrace you, My dear Count, with all my heart; and have the honor to be with the highest sentiments of friendship and esteem

1. RC, Rochambeau Papers, DLC.

**126. Charles Emory to Stephen Collins & Son
Choptonsk Bridge, Caroline County, Md., 31 May 1788¹**

My Kind and Worthy Friends,

In the time of the General Court I endeavoured as much as possible to be informed how the matter would be between Thomas Leatherbury and myself, but the Election for the Chosing the Convention, happened at the time of said Court, which flustrated them in such a manner, that I could not get the least Satisfaction,—after which I went to Chester Town, in Order to see Mr. Tilghman who just before I got there set off to Annapolis, nor could I be informed how matters would be till now, I have recd. a few lines from him, that informs me, the proceedings have been such I shall be obliged to take the Land at the appraised Value which is trully a hardship; Mr. Tilghman's Letter to me, for your better Satisfaction I send You inclosed in this, and wish to see or hear from You as soon as possible—I have Business just now Mr Bassett which will call to [Dover?] next Monday, after which as soon as possible, I mean to go down to the [Sheff.?] of Queen Ann's, and have the Land Conveyed to me, and will endeavour to rent it for the Interest, till perhaps an opportunity will offer, for my disposing of it at not too great disadvantage, all of which proceedings I wish intirely to be directed by you as all the money arising therefrom is yours, and perhaps in time given on the sale thereof, may be a means of geting more for it, all of which lies at Your Breast.—

The above Misfortune, and the dulness of the Business, almost disheartens me, I think sometimes, if my Creditors were Satisfied I should be more Content, if I should not have any thing left, as I have owed them so long, and if I could

now turn what I have in money, or get my Debts in, You Should Have it Among You Immediately, but neither of these things I can possibly do, and must still continue to lie at your Mercy, and knows not how soon my other Creditors may fall on me, not having heard from them a Considerable time—

The Bank-Rupt Law is now repealed, but before this was done I have lossd. considerably by it, as all who have applied will still have the Benefit of it,

NB. some time ago I wrote a few lines to you with a Proved Acct. against Mr Saml. Magaw, would thank you to know whether they came to hand, and if they did, what he means to do

Would thank you, if you see any of my Creditors, you would inform them, You have heard from me, and do what you can for me. That will not injure yourself—

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

**127. Matthew Ridley to John Jay
Baltimore, 3 June 1788 (excerpts)¹**

. . . I received your kind Letter of the 4th. January. It had been a circuit some way other; for it was long out of course.—The public Papers will have informed you the proceedings of this state on the New Constituiton—Much yet remains to be done; and without some Amendments, and previously holding up to the People a prospect of them, I sometimes fear all will not end calmly. . . .

This is a Strange Bustling World Full of Strange Beings; strange Manners; and Strange politics. The Dutch Business is a proof of it—I pity the Patriots of that County—The Turks and Russeans are now upon the stage—This is realey noble-Acting—but the Audience pay very dear for the Spectacle—Perhaps this lopping off two or three hundred thousand souls. now & then in spots & Corners of the World may be necessary, in order to preserve the Equilibrium of our great Machine, which from a too great opposite weight might be thrown of[f] its Poise or jerk'd from it's Axis. . . .

We were much alarmed with Accounts of you in the late Riot. You have had a most fortunate Escape & have the sincere congratulations of me & mine upon it. . . .

Yr. Affect. hbl. servt.

1. RC, Ridley Papers, MHi.

128. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 3 June 1788¹

It must give real pleasure to every federalist that the important State of South-Carolina has ratified the Constitution for the United States, especially too, to find it carried by a majority of more than two to one. On the grand question the votes stood: For the ratification 149. Against it 73. This news which arrived on Saturday, by the sloop George, Capt. Chace, was celebrated by a discharge of cannon from *Federal-Hill*, at 5 o'clock in the evening, when a number of gentlemen convened at Mr. Grant's, to a slight repast, and added another proof to the general joy occasioned by this happy event.—The following toasts were drank on the occasion:

1. The State of South-Carolina.
2. The South-Carolina Convention.

3. Our sister Virginia.—May she soon complete the Arch of the grand Federal Building.

4. May the noble spirit of the Minorities of the Conventions of Massachusetts and South-Carolina, be imitated by the Opposers of the Federal Constitution.

5. The illustrious George Washington.

6. The Federal Writers.

7. The Learning, Agriculture, Trade, and Manufactures of America.

8. May the Flag of the United States soon become a Favorite of the Ocean, and ever guard from invasion the Liberties of America.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 June; Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald*, 3 July.

129. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 3 June 1788¹

On Sunday the 1st inst. Capt. *Barney* sailed for *Mount Vernon*, in the ship *Federalist*, (the ship used in the late procession) which we understand the Merchants have sent as a present to our late illustrious Commander in Chief, in memorial of their sense of his past services, and their high respect for his exalted virtues and *federalism*.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 June; *New Jersey Journal*, 11 June.

130. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 3 June 1788

CHARLESTON, May 23, 1788.

Yesterday the Convention determined that a committee should be appointed to consider if any and what amendments ought to be made in the new Constitution, previous to putting the grand question.

The members of the committee were Mr. E. Rutledge, Mr. Bee, Mr. Pringle, Judge Pendleton, Rev. Mr. Cummings, Mr. Hunter, Col. Huger, Col. Hill, and Mr. William Wilson.

The committee reported in nearly the following words:

As the obtaining the following amendments would tend to remove the apprehensions of some of the good people of this State, and confirm the blessings intended by the said Constitution, We do declare, that as the right to regulate elections to the federal Legislature, and to direct the manner, times, and places of holding the same is, and ought to remain to all posterity a fundamental right.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the general government of the United States ought not to interfere therein, but in cases where the Legislatures shall refuse or neglect to execute that branch of their duty to the Constitution.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the 3d section of article 6th should be amended, by inserting the word "other" between the words *no* and *religious*. *Resolved*, That the general government of the United States ought never to impose direct taxes, but where the monies arising from the duties, imposts and excise are insufficient for the public exigencies; nor then until Congress shall have made a requisition upon the States to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisitions, and in case such 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, after the rate of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment prescribed by such requisitions.

Resolved, That the States respectively, do retain every power not expressly delegated by this Constitution to the general government of the union.

Resolved, That it be a standing instruction to such delegates as may hereafter be elected, to represent this State in the general government, to use every possible and necessary exertion to obtain an alteration of the Constitution, conformably to the foregoing resolutions.¹

A correspondent observes, that there is a very striking contrast between these amendments and the amendments proposed by the opposition in the Maryland Convention.²

Could we suppose it possible, says he, that a sufficient number of States could be found to agree to the amendments of the Maryland opposition, so as to have them made a part of the Constitution, they would so far *revert* in the State Legislatures, the powers the people have taken from them and *transferred* to Congress, as to render our situation very little different from what it is at present.

With respect to those of South-Carolina. The 1st, 2d and 4th, he considers as merely of an explanatory nature, the admission of which would make no alteration whatever in the power of the Constitution. As to the 3d the probability is, that Congress will never lay a *land tax* till the other sources of revenue are exhausted. This opinion rests on the presumption that the *landed interest* must and will predominate in both branches of Congress, which interest he supposes, will not be induced to tax the land without an evident and urgent necessity. As to calling upon the States in the old way by requisition, and allowing them a reasonable time to furnish the money, the Constitution, he remarks, clearly authorises Congress to proceed after this mode whenever they may judge it expedient. This he thinks is limitation sufficient, considering who are to exercise the power. He thinks also, that to oblige Congress to make requisitions in every instance under the restrictions proposed might be attended with the most fatal consequences. It will occur, says he, on a little reflexion, that although this amendment, leaves it with Congress to raise the money in cases of delinquency, yet cases may happen, when, such a restriction would be deprecated by every lover of his country. Let us suppose imposts, duties and excises to be exhausted and the United States engaged in a dangerous war. In this situation Congress makes a requisition on the States. Twelve months at least must be allowed them to lay and collect the tax, before the United States could proceed to enforce the requisition; after which we must allow nearly another year for Congress to execute their own act and collect the money; by which time the country may be ruined by the enemy, or opportunities lost to obtain the most decided advantages. This alone shews the danger of such a restriction, while, as has been before observed, the superior influence of the landed interest renders it at all times unnecessary. Indeed it would appear that this as well as the other amendments (as they are called) were by no means looked upon as essential, and only proposed, as the preamble states, in order "*to remove the apprehensions of some of the good people*" who were opposed to the Constitution.

South-Carolina, being a rich and powerful State, may be considered as a valuable acquisition to the proposed union, and must afford a happy presage of its further success.

Recent advices from New-Hampshire plainly indicate that prejudices are daily diminishing, and there is not the least fear of any more adjournments.

New-York now talks in a different tone, and entertains not the least *idea* of making an opposition; the most violent among them are content to talk *only* of amendments. As to Virginia, the ancient dominion is so conscious of her dignity, and of the importance of the measure, that her disposition for the ratification becomes hourly more conspicuous, and we have no doubt a few days will inform us of the ninth pillar being added to the new federal temple.

North-Carolina will doubtless follow the example.

When this takes place, possibly it may have some influence on our little forward sister, Rhode-Island—Let her receive grace, and return at the eleventh hour—there will be joy over one sinner that repenteth.

A late political Writer in his enquiry into the present grievances of America, makes the following remarks: “If we ever mean to be truly independent, as individuals and as a nation, like the silkworm we must spin the web from our own bowels; and, leaving the manufactures, the fashions and vices of Europe to themselves, pursue our true interest. To illustrate this, look round among yourselves and see who are in general the most independent men in this state. The Quaker—the man who is not engaged in idle speculations—who owns no slaves—who brings up his children to trades and industry, to become serviceable members to the community—who clothes his family in homespun. This man is a more honorable member in the community, and a better subject to the government, than the speculating merchant, who, after having drained the country of cash, becomes a bankrupt himself; or the Carolinian nabob, who, though tyrannizing over a thousand negroes, is continually in debt, and possessing neither honor nor honesty, pays his creditor with a pine barren act.”

1. The text above the centered hairline was reprinted from the Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette*, 23 May.

2. The *Maryland Journal*, 3 June, printed a different opinion on the similarity between the Maryland and South Carolina amendments: “A Correspondent observes, on the amendments reported to the South-Carolina Convention, that there is only one of them and part of another, which correspond with the amendments offered by the Maryland opposition.” The *Maryland Journal*'s piece was reprinted ten times by 20 June: N.Y. (4), Pa. (4), Va. (2).

131. Halifax Nova-Scotia Gazette, 3 June 1788

Maryland, we find has added herself to the number of States who have agreed to support the new Constitution. This is the seventh acceding State, and nine only are requisite to form a majority competent to its general and final ratification, which is now thought to be almost inevitable.

132. Ludlow

Annapolis Maryland Gazette, 5 June 1788

To an AMERICAN in EUROPE, 1788.

Since thou for pleasure, knowledge, or for gain,

First plough'd the stormy, raging wat'ry main,
 And left thy native, unprotected land,
 Held but in union by a rope of sand;
 To union, liberty, to love and peace
 Inscrib'd, 'till all tarraqueous things shall cease,
 A temple's ground-work, is begun and laid,
 Not made with hands, but all divinely made.—
 Seven pillars finish'd, six more follow quick,
 To include the whole, o' the body politic,
 So well cemented, that no hostile foe
 Shall e'er the sacred edifice o'erthrow.

For this your country bravely fought and bled
 When tyranny first shew'd its baneful head;
 For this they conquer'd, and the prize have gain'd,
 Fair liberty—by blood and wealth obtain'd.

Return then, joyful, when affairs admit,
 Or your convenience soon or late may sit.—
 Fear not the noisy, venal, worthless crew,
 Who would this fabric, if they could, undo.
 Fix'd on a rock, it must for ever stand,
 And from its foes, respect, at last command.
 Our wisest sages, form'd this glorious plan,
 Which is rever'd by every honest man.
 'Twill be supported, by good men and true,
 Altho' oppos'd by meddling folks—a few;
 Who critic-like, find fault with and condemn
 Each work not plann'd, and set on foot by them.—

Return in health, to peace, good government,
 To better prospects, than from which you went,
 While “*anarchy, no government, confusion,*”
 Shall ne'er among us, henceforth gain intrusion.

May 20, 1788.

133. William Short to Fulwar Skipwith
Paris, 8 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . By Mr. Paradise who arrived here a week ago with his lady from N. York, we learn that the constitution wd. probably be accepted in Virginia—the convention is probably now deliberating on it.—Maryland & So. Carolina have also determined this great point, but the result not yet known to us here. . . .

1. FC, Short Papers, DLC.

134. Federalism

Maryland Journal, 10 June 1788¹

The new Plan for a Federal Government rises victorious over its enemies, and shines with brighter lustre after every attempt to obscure its glory. "The more it has been tortured, the more excellent it has appeared—it has stood the *experimentum crucis*, and from the adoption of it, the era of American prosperity and greatness will commence." One State more will complete its triumph, in the first instance, and that one will soon be added by the wisdom of *Virginia*. A very great and respectable majority of the people in the adopting States, declare in its favour, and their declaration must be highly agreeable, because it proceeds not from hasty impulse, but is the result of cool deliberate thought. The News-Papers of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria, conveyed the new Constitution into every corner of this State, a considerable time before the circulation of the fugitive copies, tardily ordered out by the General Assembly, for the information of their constituents. The Pennsylvania minority, and their fellow-labourers in the same work here, used the most commendable pains, to disseminate widely, what they esteemed the most popular and best written dissertations against it. I own its friends were not equally zealous in its defence—perhaps they concluded little more was necessary, than that the people should be left to the impartial exercise of their own good sense, and enjoy the opportunity of thinking for themselves. The event shews they were right—our Citizens were nearly unanimous, for an unconditional unqualified ratification. They now reasonably anticipate a speedy deliverance from the many heavy burdens that oppress them—With rapture they behold public honour recovered—the earnings and savings of honest industry secured—order and regularity restored, under a wise, just, and stable policy. Their expectations will not be disappointed, provided they abide awhile longer in the course they have lately pursued; but, without this, worse than nothing has been done, and they have laid in a double portion of distraction and misery for themselves.

When the sentiments of the people were tolerably known before the choice of Delegates to serve in Convention, it was by many supposed, that the opposition would acquiesce without contest—nevertheless it chose to shew its diminutive and meagre form, and embraced ways and means as unexpected as they were unprecedented, to execute a hopeful scheme, laid in much wisdom, and kept with profound secrecy. The same designs may still be in agitation, and next Election may be contemplated, as the last scene of trial, on which antifederal hopes ultimately depend. If we, who are *federal*, and who wish to see the Federal Union of the States well cemented, our former duty, there is nothing to fear. *We have considered and decided—it remains, that we take the best and safest steps for carrying that decision into full effect.* Consistency, interest, the love of our country, every public and private consideration urge us to hold on, till we have finished completely, what has been conducted so far, with extraordinary success.

Silly politicians imagined, the last meeting of our Assembly had been appointed on purpose to prepare for having alterations made in the Constitution of Maryland, as pre-requisite to the admission of the Federal Government.—They knew no better, therefore we forgive them. Such Delegates, as conceived the absurd and crude idea, were probably delivered of it privately, by conversing with their wiser brethren during the session, for certain it is, that no proposition of the kind was brought forward in the house. But it is altogether clear, that the

next General Assembly will have a great deal in *their* power towards *introducing* and *preserving*, or *excluding* and *ruining* the inestimable plan, though proposed changes in our State government cannot constitute any part of their employment, and the contrary could have been supposed by extreme weakness alone. Seeing therefore, much will depend on them, much care should be used in the choice of representatives, who ought at all events, to be gentlemen of *real* understanding, and *real* federalism. The high importance of the trust we are to repose in them, appears sufficiently, from examining the principal powers State legislatures have, according to the new federal system, which may be confidently pronounced, the most perfect effect of political sagacity, that ever was recorded.

The legislature in each State shall choose two Senators for five years—now the Senate, besides being a legislative branch, has the sole power to try all impeachments—without the advice and consent of two thirds of the members present, no treaties can be made—without the advice and consent of the Senate, there cannot be appointed an Ambassador, other Public Ministers, Consul, Judge of the Supreme Court, &c.

The legislature in each State, shall prescribe the times, places and manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives; and also, for choosing the Electors of the President, who is to hold the executive power for four years.

The bare recital of these prodigious powers, discovers at one view, how easily a legislature can *destroy*, or *carry into* operation, what an adopting Convention has done. The *federal* citizens must see, that to have *their* affairs properly managed, and *their* anxious wishes realized, no *antifederal* candidates should receive their countenance at the next Election, nor any, who may give no more than a cold unwilling assent, forced from them merely because their constituents so willed, while they are themselves violently opposed to it. The federal citizens must be persuaded that, no late converts, no doubtful, suspected, hesitating or quibbling characters can merit their suffrages, at the awful crisis. They will and should confide in those worthy and deserving men alone, who are firmly attached to the new Government, who have shewn themselves its steady decided advocates from the beginning; whose inward convictions engage them to afford it, cheerfully, every support they possibly can. By acting after this manner, we shall, in spite of every secret and open attempt, at last completely establish the great cause of

June 6, 1788.

FEDERALISM.

1. Reprinted: Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald*, 3 July 1788. An abridged version of this item appeared in the Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 29 July.

135. Pennsylvania Mercury, 10 June 1788¹

An instance of Anti-federal ignorance and credulity.

A farmer in Cæcil county, Maryland, being asked whether he was federal or antifederal—replied, “I was federal ’till I read the 15th number of the Centinel; that performance opened my eyes; I do not wonder that the author of it calls the people by so many hard names; their stupidity was enough to make him angry.” The number of the Centinel to which he alluded, was the *mock* Centinel, which diverted the public so exceedingly, and finally silenced the author of the wicked and scurrilous papers, under that signature.

1. Reprinted: Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June 1788.

**136. Thomas Jefferson to John Rutledge, Jr.
Paris, 19 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

... we have no accounts yet of the decision of Maryland, S. Carolina, or Virginia, on the subject of the new confederation. yet it seems probable they will accept it in the manner Massachusetts has done: and I see nothing improbable in the supposition that our new government may be in motion by the beginning of November. . . .

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC.

**137. Federalicus
Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 20 June 1788**

I think *Federalism* is too confined in his advice to the people of Maryland, in only recommending the exclusion of *antifederal* characters from the House of Delegates. I consider every man who is not *truly federal*, in our sense of the word, (that is, for adopting and supporting the *new* Constitution, without any alteration, *before* or *after* the ratification) as inimical to this country, it's happiness, prosperity, and freedom; and unworthy to be trusted in any department, or in any office of profit, or trust, great or small, under our national, or State government.—It is time to speak plain, that the *friends* of FEDERALISM and its *opponents* may know what they have to expect.—We all remember that we distinguished the *friends* of the late *revolution* by the honorable and glorious title of WHIGS, and that we branded all the adversaries by the approbrious appellation of TORRIES; and I wish we had applied the same distinctions to the *advocates* and *opponents* of the new federal Constitution.—The man who is *truly federal* is the friend of good government, vested with ample power to preserve the national credit, dignity, and safety; and to protect the sacred rights of property, and the blessings of freedom. A *federalist* must be a man of private and public virtue, a real patriot. The man who is *antifederal* is influenced only by interested and unworthy motives, and prefers confusion, anarchy and civil war, to peace, order and a free government. If no distinction is made between *federals* and *antifederals*, and the *latter* are entrusted, in any manner, by the new government, and continued in, or elected to office in our State government, you destroy the most powerful motives to human actions, the hope of *power*, the expectation of *profitable offices*, and the exclusion and disgrace of those we dislike. The man who could not obtain an office of power, or profit, under the late government, has a right to expect promotion under the *new* government, as a reward for his services, which will be set forth as the reason to grant his application. Our great and leading *federalists* will fill the various offices of the revenue, of State Financier, Treasurer, Collector-General, and Naval-Officers; our second-rate characters will be Judges, and Clerks of the confederal, civil, and Admiralty Courts; our *marine federalists* will be appointed to the command of ships of the line in our American navy; and our *military federalists* will command battalions in the army, to be immediately raised to defend us from foreign invasion, *and to execute the laws of Congress*. These congressional promotions will naturally take place in a few months; and I am acquainted with characters who have named to their friends the *offices* and *appointments*, they expect to receive. Several of my acquaintance in this town, will be greatly disappointed if their important and notorious services

should be overlooked. One gentleman expects to be chosen a Senator, and by his talents for intrigue and accommodating address, he expects to obtain the office of Secretary to one of our Ministers to the Court of Great-Britain, France, or Spain. Another gentleman, conscious of his important services and conspicuous merit, will place himself by the side of *the President*, and never leave him until he gives him the command of the first ship of the line, but may be put into commission. A third gentleman cannot fail of being appointed Clerk to the confederal court, to be erected in this State; not only from his decided and vociferous attachment to *federalism*, but from his connexion with leading *federalists* in a neighbouring State.—I am only grieved that *all the expectants* cannot be gratified; because from their numbers, not one in fifty can be rewarded with a place.—It is only proposed by *Federalism* that the members to the House of Delegates should be known and approved federalists. A gentleman of address and management will so conduct himself with his brother delegates, and his friends in the senate, as to be elected a senator to the national Congress.—A seat in our State legislature may be considered as the *step-ladder* to a seat in our great national council; and a voice there will attract the notice, and may gain the friendship of *the president*; and power and emolument must be the consequence: As by this mode of preferment only *eight* of the principal and *leading* federalists in this State can be provided for, I would urge the propriety and necessity of extending the doctrine of our friend FEDERALISM; and that *no antifederalist* be eligible to any office of trust, or place of profit.—It may be difficult to exclude the ANTIS by an act of the national or State legislature, but the principle being politic and wise, the practice may effect our wishes. Our desires can have but little influence on the conduct of the president and senate of the United States, but we can have no suspicion, that they will trust any but *true federalists*, to execute the offices, and laws of the national government. It is our *duty* and *interest* to be very attentive to every choice in our State government. We all agree, that no person, let him possess every requisite but *federalism*, ought to be elected a member of the next House of Delegates. As our Constitution excludes our present Governor from being reelected in the fall, we need not enquire into his political creed, but let us *federalists*, unite in chusing a *federal* House of Delegates, (as we know *all the senate* are genuine federalists) and then we may expect that both houses will join in electing a *federal* character to succeed in the administration; and that they will also dismiss the members of the present council, whose principles, in favour of the political sin of *antifederalism*, are justly suspected. A *federal council* will appoint none but federalists to the various statical offices; and in a few months we may see our Judges, our Justices, our Attorney-General, our Naval-Officers, our Surveyors, and our Militia Officers, *all* FEDERAL-ALS.

“Then all our factions, all our woes shall cease,
And FED’RALS *rule* this happy land in peace.”

138. George Washington to David Stuart
Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Va., 23 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

Upon the receipt of your favor of the 13th inst. I caused enquiry to be made into the foundation for the report which you said was industriously circulated in Richmond, respecting the notice taken of the proposed Constitution by the

Assembly of Maryland; and am told that it is a time serving falsehood; as you will be particularly informed by an enclosure from Colo. Fitzgerald.—

The hopes & fears of each party are by this, I presume, realised.—Important will be the decision.—I wish it may be auspicious of the happiness of this Country. . . .

1. RC (photocopy), Washington Papers, DLC.

139. A New Convert

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 24 June 1788

Mr. HAYES, Federalicus having by no means exhausted his subject, I shall endeavour to pursue the path he has opened with so much skill and forethought. It is very pleasing to observe, that ever since our ratification of the new constitution, one or more of its enemies have been daily declaring themselves in its favor. This change of sentiment, which some silly people might look upon as having reference to the next election for delegates, I consider in a very different light; not at all, as a cloak for secret designs, but as proceeding from a thorough conviction of past errors. Nay, such is the wonderful efficacy of the new constitution, that it is whispered about that one of its bitterest enemies has prepared a narrative of his conversion from antifederalism, which he intends to lay before the public soon after its adoption by Virginia. What a happy circumstance this, that its bitterest persecutor, without any pains, having been taken to convert him, should have thus arrived at the truth, by the simple force of his own suggestions. This conversion is besides yet more flattering to federalism, as every body who will reflect but a moment, must be satisfied, that this person, can have no interested motive whatever for this change of opinion; and that he only delays to publish his recantation till the constitution is out of danger, as it will then come with a much better grace, than at present. We may place it also to sheer love of the constitution, that the converts to it, generally speaking, entertain no wish or desire for federal posts, it being well known that they are neither hungry or needy dependants on acts of Assembly, but men who go through the drudgery of electioneering, merely to serve the public, without the least respect to themselves. This makes the triumph of federalism more complete, while at the same time it promises the utmost harmony between the real federalists and the *new converts* at the ensuing election. I know it to be the opinion of some politicians, that the *new converts* ought to be preferred, to put the government in motion, to the *real federalists*. The real federalists, say these politicians, would be for hurrying things, and setting it a going at once, before we are ripe for it; whereas, it ought to have no operation in Maryland, till ratified by two different legislatures, in the mode prescribed by our State constitution. I can, however, assure the public, that the *new converts* harbour no such doctrine, there being not above *twelve* men in all Maryland which would give it the least countenance.^(a) Upon the whole, I think the *new converts*, if elected to the Assembly, will exercise their utmost skill and influence to get such an *election law* passed (under which the people of this State are to elect *six* representatives to Congress) as will best answer the general interest, and have such men mentioned in it, to act for judges of the said elections, as will conduct them in the most impartial and approved manner. And whereas the General Assembly are vested with the right to chuse our *two Senators to Congress*, we may be convinced the *new converts* will be careful not to use their influ-

ence for improper characters, or men not perfectly trust-worthy. And it being likewise the Assembly which are to chuse the *eight electors* who are to elect the President of the United States of America, we may also rest assured the *new converts* will not give their votes for men who have abused and vilified George Washington.

Thus the real federalists and the *new converts*, having precisely the same objects in view, we may rely upon it that our affairs will be well conducted by the ensuing Assembly, whether composed of wolves or lambs, new converts or *real federalists*.
June 21, 1788.

(a) It is supposed the twelve here alluded to are the protesting members of convention.

140. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 24 June 1788

Number of inhabitants in the States which have yet to decide upon the Constitution.

<i>Virginia,</i>	420,000
<i>North-Carolina,</i>	200,000
<i>New-York,</i>	238,000
<i>Rhode-Island,</i>	58,000
<i>New-Hampshire,</i>	<u>102,000</u>
	1,018,000

Thus we see that the eight States which have adopted the Constitution, contain 537,000 inhabitants more than the five which have yet to decide, a very large and a very important majority.

141. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 27 June 1788

☞ From a desire to protect the reputation or good name of our fellow-citizens, we have frequently taken the liberty when any pieces have been too acrimonious and personal, to obliterate or soften the exceptionable passages, and in so doing, have sometimes gained the approbation of the writers themselves: for men, in the ardor of contention, are apt to be unguarded, and to use expressions which in their cooler moments they would disapprove.—The insertion of pieces, relative to private characters, are of all others the most disagreeable to a publisher, and being generally uninteresting to the public, it becomes necessary to require a pecuniary emolument for such performances.—The Editor, therefore, wishing to preserve and promote the harmony of the community, and also to give a check to the progress of defamation, gives notice, that all pieces of a private personal nature, must be paid for previous to their admission, and the name of the writer left with him.

142. Philadelphia American Museum, June 1788

The merchants of Baltimore, to express their veneration for his excellency general Washington, have presented him with the little ship *Federalist*, the same used in the late procession. Captain Barney has sailed in her to Mount Vernon.

**143. Joshua Johnson to Wallace & Muir
London, 2 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . The adoption of the new Constitution by the state of Maryland has given much satisfaction here I hope every good may arise from it. . . .

1. FC, Johnson Letterbook, 1785–1788, DLC.

144. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 8 July 1788

** CELSUS is received through the *Lyon's Mouth*, but for want of the *sine qua non*, and the responsible signature, cannot be admitted.—From these repeated notices, surely gentlemen will comprehend the mode of commanding our printing apparatus in future—Private foibles, or peculiarities, cannot be a pleasing spectacle to a liberal and enlightened community—Permit the Editor, therefore, to persevere in his endeavours to conserve the dignity of the press, and the decorum due to every individual—Public vices are lawful game; but involuntary imperfections, and the thousand imbecilities that flesh is heir to, demand protection, and with our approbation shall never be the subject of ridicule.

145. Maryland Journal, 8 July 1788¹

On hearing the Guns fired at ALEXANDRIA, and GEORGE-TOWN, on Friday evening the 28th inst. congratulatory of the Adoption of the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

HARK! how the echoing peals proclaim afar,
Our FEDERAL CONSTITUTION's trophy'd car.
O'er fair VIRGINIA's plains its banners fly,
It's glory gleams o'er all the Western sky.
From vast POTOWMACK's waves the mighty sound
To HAMPSHIRE, and to GEORGIA shall rebound.
BELHAVEN's sons in one triumphant croud,
To Heav'n now raise their gratulations loud.
GEORGETOWN's responsive echo back returns,
That every patriot breast with ardour burns,
To celebrate the DAY with glad delight
That all our POWERS shall, more and more, unite.
MOUNT VERNON hears, with patriotic pride,
The glorious news adown the thund'ring tide.
Bless'd tide! on whose fair form-reflecting breast,
Our HERO's seat, and scenes Elysian rest.
Here, may thy surface, lucid, smooth, and slow,
As conscious of his fame, forever flow.
But now, in one swift ebb's effusive space,
Thy course out o'er the vast Atlantic trace.
And, widely spread, as its circumfluous wave,
To all the EASTERN WORLD our glory lave.
Let list'ning nations join thy loud acclaim,
And raise on high our great PALLADIUM's fame.

Bid every patriot breast with transport glow,
 To hail the swains, where thy proud waters flow.
 Bid tyrant-force start from his despot-throne,
 And dread the blast, by FREEDOM's trumpet blown.
 Bid shackl'd minions drop their clanking chains,
 And share the joys of bless'd COLUMBIA's plains.
 Bid LIBERTY, with unlicentious sway,
 Bless the wide world, till time's remotest day.

Bladensburg, July 1, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 12 July. On 4 July the *Maryland Journal* announced that this piece "will be inserted in our next."

**146. Comte de la Luzerne to St. John de Crevecoeur
 New York, 9 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I read with great interest your observations on the difficulties encountered by the ratification of the new Constitution in several states. The accession of Maryland now gives Federalists a majority and it is hoped that its example will carry the other six states that have so far not joined. The diversity of interests in each state can occasion this resistance, but there is now reason to believe that when members of their Governments have calculated the advantages that must result from this new constitution, they will be the first to attempt all possible means to insure its adoption. I hope you will continue to transmit later details that you surmise merit my attention. . . .

1. FC (Tr), Affaires Étrangères, Sous Series B III, Carton 439, Etats-Unis, 1785–1793, Minutes des Lettres, ff. 204 verso, Archives Nationales, Paris, France.

**147. Doctor Brooke to David Stuart
 Fredericksburgh, Va., 10 July 1788¹**

Extract of a letter from Doctor Brooke at Fredericksburgh, to Doct Stuart dated July 10th 1788—

Since then, I was informed by the Honourable James Mercer, that his Brother Coll. John Mercer, who was at that time in this town, was furnished with documents to prove, that Genl. Washington had wrote a letter upon the present Constitution, to Governor Johnson of Maryland, and that Governor Johnson was so much displeas'd with the officiousness of Genl: Washington, as to induce him to take an active part in bringing about the amendments proposed by a Committee of the Convention of Maryland—

1. MS, Washington Papers, DLC.

**148. William Short to John Rutledge, Jr.
 Paris, 11 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Maryland has also accepted the constitution 63. to 11. The leading members of the minority followed the example of those in Massachusetts, & declared

with a great deal of coolness & prudence that they wd. support the constitution in future in the same manner as if they had been in favor of it.

1. FC, Short Papers, DLC. On the previous day Short wrote Fulwar Skipwith giving him the news in the first sentence of this excerpt (Short Papers, DLC).

149. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 11 July 1788

A FEDERAL SENTIMENT.

The *new Government*, like a Musical Instrument, well tuned, and skillfully struck, by men of *distinguished abilities, known integrity, and firm attachment*, will produce *perfect harmony*—But played on by men *confessedly unskilled, unprincipled, and inimical to it*, will produce *harsh discord, perpetual jars, and dire confusion*—which heaven forbid!

150. William Carmichael to Thomas Jefferson Madrid, 24 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . My last Letters from America (not official) dated the 26th of May confirm what you have been so good to mention in yours—Since the date of which you have seen the accession of Maryland by a great Majority to the Constitution. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC.

151. Henry Hollingsworth to Levi Hollingsworth Elkton, Md., 28 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother

your kind favrs are Reced I observe by your prosession that you not only out did us but everybody else but your Selves, I must acknowledge I am much pleased to Se every Rank and degree of People so Satisfyed with the Constitution but must sopose that a great part of the Joy and pleasure that the prospect of it gives the people is the Novelty, which is generally acceptable to people at first Sight, if the Government should [- - -] [- - -] [- - -] sanguine wish of the popelous I dread the Consequence, but at any rate something must be done we had got the full Length of our Teather as the saying is I hope and flatter myselfe tis for the best, indeed if tis well Executed there can be no dangure. . . .

1. RC, Hollingsworth Family Papers, PHi.

152. Leonidas Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 1 August 1788

The following extract, from a London paper of April 1st, entitled, "The Times," will shew, that the anti-federals (so called) are not singular in their predictions of what will be the probable consequence of the new government, unless amended previous to adoption.

LIBERTAS.

NEW GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA.

In the *new constitution* for the future government of the *thirteen United States of America*, the *President* and *Senate* have all the executive and two-thirds of the *legislative power*.

This is a material deviation from those principles of the *English constitution* for which they fought with us, and in all good governments, it should be a fundamental maxim, that, to give a proper balance to the political system, the different branches of the legislature should be *unconnected*, and the legislative and executive powers should be *separate*. By the *new constitution of America* this *union* of the executive and legislative bodies operates in the most weighty matters of the State:—They jointly make all treaties—they jointly appoint all officers civil and military; and, they jointly try all impeachments, either of their own members, or of the officers appointed by themselves.

In this formidable combination of power, there is no *responsibility*;—and where there is power without *responsibility*, how can there be *liberty*.

The president of the senate is elected for four years, and each of the thirteen States has one vote at his election; which vote is not of the people, but of electors two degrees from the people.

The senate is a body of *six years* duration; and as in the choice of *presidents*, the largest State has but one vote, so it is in the choice of *senators*. Now this shews that *responsibility* is at little to be apprehended from amenability to constituents, as from the terror of impeachment: for to the members of the senate it is clear, that trial by impeachment is nothing but parade.

From such an *union* in governments, it requires no great depth of political knowledge to prophecy, that *monarchy* or *aristocracy*, must be generated, and perhaps of the most grievous kind. The only check in favor of the *democratic* principle is, the house of representatives; but this smallness of number, and great comparative disparity of power, render that house of little effect to promote *good* or restrain *bad* government.

The power given to this ill-constructed *senate* is, to judge of what may be for the *general welfare*; and such engagements, when made the acts of Congress, become the *supreme laws of the land*.

This is a power co-extensive with every possible object of human legislation: yet there is no restraint, no charter of rights, no residuum of human privileges, *not* intended to be given up to society. The rights of conscience,—the freedom of the press,—and trial by jury, are at the *mercy* of this *senate*. *Trial by jury*, has been already materially injured:—The trial in criminal cases is not by twelve men of the *vicinage*, or of the *county*, but of the *State*; and the *States* are from fifty to seven hundred miles in extent! In criminal cases this *new system* says, the trial shall be by jury:—On civil cases it is silent; then it is fair to infer, that as in criminal cases it has been materially impaired, in civil cases it may be altogether omitted. But it is in truth strongly discountenanced in civil cases; for this new system gives the supreme court in matters of appeal, jurisdiction both of *law* and *fact*.

This being the beginning of *American freedom*, it is very clear the ending will be *slavery*, for it cannot be denied, that this constitution is, in its *first principles*, highly and dangerously oligarchic; and it is every where agreed, that a government administered by a few, is, of all governments, the *worst*.

153. Caution

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 5 August 1788

Mr. HAYES, From a principle of curiosity I attended two of the late *electioneering* meetings—I went prepared to hear harangues of *eloquence* and *wisdom!* But how disappointed! My ears were first offended with the theatrical affectation, and hypocritical cant of a dwarf-like Apothecary—This was followed by the ridiculous gasconades, and harsh garrulity of a turbulent Veteran—And, as if the stuff of these two was not enough for human nature, we must have the *flat nonsense* of a *proud Intermeddler*. Oh, says one, *I, and my family*, pay the tradesmen.—I pay them too, says another, and don't keep them standing at the door with their hats off—And a third *slyly insinuates* that without his *mighty aid* the whole Federal Government will be clogged in its operations.—God help the little man, for he would do wonders! But where has the good sense of my fellow-citizens fled to? Is there not spirit and independence enough among us to reject this nonsense, and condemn both Candidates and their adherents, with the whole race of sycophants, office-hunters, tools and intermeddlers? Away with them—Their *over-zeal* betrays a selfish principle—They feel not the noble flame of *patriotism*—The aggrandisement of *self* is the object of all their pursuits.—Is there not to be found among us a man of wisdom, virtue and firmness, who will accept the honor of our appointment? Call to your recollection a venerable character who daily appears in your streets—His superior understanding is known to all America—His attachment to civil liberty is evidenced by his writings—and his benevolence and charity are equalled by none. He is of no party—Let not then a party spirit govern you in your judgment of him—Let not that *prudence* for which he was distinguished in the late war with Britain, be urged as a crime. He possesses every quality that enters into the character of a great legislator, and *will do you justice*. Another too may be found not inferior to those who would entrap you with their nonsense and bawling. They are fit only for the society of old women, where gossiping and scandal are the favorite topics. Consider this advice my friends, and fellow-citizens—assert your privileges with firmness, and you never again will be teased with impertinence.

August 4, 1788.

154. A Young German

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 5 August 1788¹

To the MANUFACTURERS and MECHANICS of BALTIMORE.

Without saying any thing about myself, or my fitness to write, I will in a few plain words, give you some advice on a matter of great concern to us all, and which has brought the town into a great deal of confusion already, and may produce more, unless you at once convince the antifederal people, that you will have nothing to do with them, nor their friends, who were so near throwing us into uproar and destroying the country by their foolish and wicked opposition to the new government, which General Washington and all the wise men in America so much approve of—After trying their wits and arts to murder it, and being completely defeated by the true whigs, they have now the impudence to come forward, and ask you to put them into the next assembly, where they may pursue the old game, and accomplish by some means or another, what they could

not in the Convention. They are wolves, ravenous wolves in sheeps' cloathing, and you may know them by the antifederal fruits they have borne in plenty. If they had any shame, not one of them would venture to shew his face in public, or say a word about elections and delegates and federal conduct, or any such matters, but shame and their faces are entire strangers to each other. Actions speak louder than words, as the proverb says, let therefore the actions of these antifederal folks be minded by you, and not their words, however fine or smooth they may be; they will pretend a mighty regard for the new government now, because there is no other way of gaining their end, merely to get an opportunity to ruin it, notwithstanding what we have done to preserve it, but do not listen to them, or you'll repent it with tears of sorrow. Trust the good men you did trust, when you wanted the federal government adopted in Convention, and not any one that opposed you on the spot, or any one that run away from the town in a mean clandestine way, to be chosen in another place, and grew as red as scarlet by his hatred of it. Promise and resolve that you will not vote for any such people, especially if they have not sense enough to manage their own private business. A pretty affair indeed, that they should offer to take care of you and yours, and direct public concerns properly when they have so small brains, that they cannot take care of themselves—They will boast a great deal about themselves and their exploits, because they have no other trumpeter, and not a soul to speak for them, or espouse their cause in a public manner. Strange! how ridiculously they behave by forgetting, what I hope you will remember, that self-praise is no commendation, and only flows from the mouth of a fool—You will also do well to remember the following lines, which I have read in some books, no matter what.—

Say well and do well, end both in one letter,
Say well is good, but do well is better.

Look to their private management, and how they behaved themselves in public trusts, if they ever were trusted, and you will see whether they have *done well* in their list of performances—if not, remember again that

A man of words and not of deeds
Is like a garden full of weeds—

Good for nothing, though it makes a fine show at a distance, and may impose on the careless, who do not examine and judge for themselves. Open your own eyes, my federal friends, exercise your own understandings, and do not permit antifederal deceivers to betray you, or get hold of influence, till the new government is securely fixed, beyond the reach of their malice. Look for good federal men and true, who can think as well as speak, who can think sensibly and speak to the purpose, whenever it is necessary, though not always ringing; who behave discreetly in private life, and have not forsaken or deceived you, when you needed their help. Ay, ay, these are the men you may rely on, whose modest worth declares its own value, and which the worthiest observers can venture to praise without feeling a blush of confusion on their cheeks. But away with your self-sufficient, conceited, self-praising, noisy, impudent, superficial, ill-informed, antifederal pretenders to favor, who deserve to be spurned with the highest degree of federal indignation.

July 30, 1788.

1. On 1 August the *Gazette* announced that “‘A YOUNG GERMAN’ is received, and will be attended to.”

155. Itnaton

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 12 August 1788

ELECTIONEERING.

A Candidate of *Anti* fame of late,
 A duel fought in form of a debate;
 With clash of argument, and jar of words,
 Worse than the mortal brunt of rival swords;
 Deciding questions with their tedious length,
 To try if he could weaken *Fed'ral* strength;
 But *Fed'ral* hearts ne'er prov'd more firm or true,
 For when he call'd for—aye—they all said—no—
 Yet sanguine, bold, and prodigal of breach,
 He doom'd both *Fed* and *Antifed* to death.
 And said, no man of sense again should mention,
 On pain of his displeasure such distinction;
 An extract of his former deeds once more,
 He straightway published, as oft before;
 His boasting theme dilated and at large,
 Prov'd after all a windgun's empty charge.
 A cry was heard all round, *old tales, old tales*,
 Give us the fidgets, and our patience fails;
 Let young Sir *Federal* now take his station,
 And give us all a just and true relation.

Sir Federal rose, he could not help but please,
 And press'd his point with modesty and ease.
 A story in which truth and reason reigns,
 Is always useful, always entertains:
 But *Federal* theme enlisted on his side,
 Itself illustrated when 'twas applied,
 Here he was copious, as old Greece or Rome,
 His happy eloquence was there at home:
 Ambitious not to shine or to excel,
 But to treat justly what he lov'd so well.

The opposing *Anti* now quite hoarse and dry,
 Embellish'd with, *he said*, and *so said I*.
 Often detected, still his plea the same,
 Till repetition made attention lame.
 "Oh thwart me not Sir Fed'ral at each turn,
 Nor carp at every flaw you may discern;
 Though syllogisms hang thick upon my tongue,
 I am not surely always in the wrong,
 'Tis hard if all is false that I advance,
 A fool must now and then be right by chance."
 From bad to worse, he often changes ground,
 Rove where he will, 'tis *Federal* all around.

Baltimore, August 9, 1788.

156. A Citizen

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 22 August 1788

The subject of the new Government has now been fully discussed—and, I think, it cannot but be obvious to persons the least observant, that it owes the approbation it has hitherto met with to the industry, and influence, of *a few interested designing men*:—To support the truth of this assertion, nothing more will be necessary, than just to take a view of the friends and advocates of this absurd system—consider who they are, and be attentive to the motives that govern their conduct.

Some *few* Mechanics who have acquired wealth, and who are able to carry on business extensively, wish the Government to take place; they sound aloud its praise wherever they go; cry out that manufactories must be encouraged—home manufactories will be the salvation of our country—the importation of foreign luxuries must be restrained—duties—heavy duties must be imposed; and trade put under proper regulation—and this cannot be done without a general Government; all forsooth that they may get it in their power to make fortunes to themselves, at the expence of their fellow-citizens, by charging exorbitant prices for their flimsey work—this is very well—I foresee their wicked designs; and I doubt not, if they get them effected, we shall soon have to pay 20s. for a pair of indifferent shoes, and double price for every other article we have occasion for; or else go naked, which ever we please—but I hope in God their designs will be counteracted.—Let every tub stand on its own bottom—let the Mechanics procure a vent for their wares, by their cheapness and goodness:—Strange it is that men should be duped by this low—this barefaced artifice!—But the alarm is spread, the beacon is fired, and Mechanics are excited to arm for the defence and support of their respective crafts, as if a combination were formed to destroy them—Strange absurdity!—One would think a fear prevailed, that houses would be imported ready built, and dinners ready cooked (for the cook in this instance considers himself a Mechanic)—Does not every one know that the more general and extensive our importations are, the cheaper we shall be able to furnish ourselves with necessaries; and the better it will be for every body, except those men who wish to make fortunes at the public expence? But shall we destroy a whole country to gratify their inordinate love of gain?

The next class (and they are but few) who are favourers of this destructive system, are the Merchants.—These are a learned set of gentlemen—they extend their ideas a little farther from home—they speak much of commercial treaties—of procuring markets for our produce—respect to our flag—admission for our vessels and produce into foreign ports—employment for our seamen—and, if you believe them, even bread for our tradesmen and labourers—and a great deal of such stuff; of which they have no distinct ideas, nor do they convey any to others; and all this cannot be effected without the new Government—truly, this is very pretty!—And these gentlemen have no other motive (say they) than the *general good* of the country—I warrant you they have their *own* interest at the bottom—do you not see it? It is too obvious to be unnoticed by any.

These two classes, namely, the wealthy Mechanics and Merchants, have lugged in many of the Farmers, Planters, Porters and labouring People, to be of their party; generally the poor and the ignorant have fallen a prey to their designs—a market for produce—a market for produce.—The anti-federals (unless we exert ourselves) will forever prevent us from procuring a market for our produce,

and employment for the poor—This has done a great deal for them, and I fear will bring many to a very pretty market, if their schemes are accomplished—But let us not despair, all is not lost that is in danger.—This Government tho' adopted, is not organized, and if it should be organized, it will not then be like the laws of the Medes and Persians—it may still be altered.

Now, do you not see the intention of this Government, how it is to make the fortunes of a few, at the expence of the multitude—for the Merchants and wealthy Mechanics, some Labourers and some Farmers, &c. are, altogether but a few; and many of these are on our side—But how, say you, shall an unskilful person know in what manner to act, amidst so much contradictory advice—I will tell you how you ought to act—find out the opinions of men of sense, on the subject, and follow them—inquire, is the Governor for this Government?—I say he is not—are his Council (who are men of sense) for it?—The better half of them are against it—are the officers of justice for it?—Generally they are not—are the men appointed to offices of profit, for it?—No, they are not—nor scarce any of the officers of Government, even to a Constable.

If these things be as I have said (and I give you my word they are) let us stick together—Let us cleave to those men of understanding and integrity, and I trust in God we shall yet defeat the designs of those who wish to enslave us, and our posterity, by returning such men to the Assemblies, as will procure those alterations in the Government that are necessary to make it tolerable—It is yet like wax, ready to receive the impression of those who shall administer it—and this impression is in our power, we may give it a mild and gentle aspect—or, we may arm it with terror, not only to ourselves, but generations yet unborn—We may alter it so as to produce plenty, moderation and convenience; or, leave it to scourge us for our supineness—by poverty, dearth and oppression—Let us see to it then, every man for himself, that we elect men capable of procuring us the benefits, and delivering us from the evils here mentioned, by A CITIZEN.

Maryland, August 20, 1788.

157. Camillus

Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 23 September 1788

To ROBERT SMITH, Esquire.

I Address you as the *author* of the publication, in the *Maryland Journal*, of Friday last, under the signature of *Federalism*. I shall confine myself to such parts of this, and your future publications, as relate to Mr. Chase, and censure his conduct, and represent him as an improper character to represent this town in the legislature; and I shall notice your *misrepresentation* of the principles and conduct of the friends and advocates of his election.

Before I observe on your publication I would premise, that *your* assertion of any fact, reflecting on Mr. Chase, or his friends, cannot be admitted for proof, because you want sincerity, veracity, and honor. I shall consider your positions and observations *separately*, that they may have all the weight they deserve. You wish the public to believe that you are a man of understanding, and a gentleman of delicacy and politeness, you have but little claim to the *one*, and not the least pretensions to the *other*. The mediocrity of your understanding is the best security against the malignity of your soul. In the rage of party you have discovered the weakness of your head, and the vulgarity of your manners.—You write for

the information of your fellow-citizens, and your object is to induce them to be of your opinion; but you can never convince your readers, if you use *terms* without any certain or precise meaning. You say, "that Mr. Chase, and the friends of his election, are ANTIFEDERAL, and that his opponents, and this town, are FEDERAL." What do you mean by the expressions *federal* and *antifederal*? Lay aside your natural duplicity, and be explicit and candid, that you may be understood. I will explain the sense in which I comprehend these terms *federal* and *antifederal*.—When the government proposed for the United States was published, many persons were for ratifying it as it stood, without *any alteration*; and others were against adopting it without *previous* amendments; this difference in sentiment introduced the terms *federal* and *antifederal*, to distinguish the persons who maintained these opposite opinions. If you annex a different meaning to these words, be so condescending as to oblige the town with your explanation, because, if you do not, you may write volumes, and, confused yourself, you will only perplex your readers. Since the ratification of the government by ten States *without any amendments*, the reason of using these terms has ceased, and it is now an abuse of words, and a base perversion of their original meaning, to *continue* the application of them to *men*, or their *opinions*. You, and your party, have endeavoured to make the word *antifederal* a term of *reproach* and *contempt*; and some of your party have impudently and wickedly asserted, that those *they call antifederal* are *tories*, or *enemies* to their country. The intention of this low art and dirty cunning is to inflame the passions of the populace, and to catch them by *words* and *sounds*. You call *federalism* a *virtue*, and set up the *hue and cry*, of *anti*,—*anti*,—*anti*,—as if *dishonorable* and disgraceful. Ar'n't you ashamed of such low tricks?

It is well known that Mr. Chase opposed the ratification of the new government, without certain *previous* amendments, but you are not *now* to be informed, that he never disclosed his opinion respecting the new government before the resolution (which he moved) was passed to call the convention; after which, and not before, he delivered his sentiments to the house of delegates.

"But the friends of Mr. Chase's election are *antifederal*." Many of the citizens, of this town, were for amending the new government *before* it was ratified; but they, as well as Mr. Chase, consider themselves bound by the opinion of the *majority* of the State; and as the government is now ratified by ten States, that it is their duty, as peaceable and good citizens, to carry it into execution with vigour and expedition. Many of the advocates for Mr. Chase were for adopting the government, *without any alteration*, with the hope and expectation of obtaining amendments *afterwards*.

"This town is *federal*." It is admitted, "that a majority were for accepting the government without making amendments a *previous* condition of adoption." But it was, and is, the sense of ninety-nine out of one hundred, that *after* the ratification every exertion should be made to obtain amendments in the mode prescribed by the constitution. All amendments you *disapprove* you call *antifederal*; and those you approve you call *federal*.

"The *OPONENTS* of Mr. Chase are *federal*." That many of them were in favour of the new government without any *previous* amendments may be admitted. That some of the *principals* of them (and also the two Doctors) are really against *all* amendments, although they now pretend otherwise, I believe. I want no other proof than the fifth toast given at the public dinner, on the first day of May last. "A speedy ratification by the remaining six *without amendments*."

You assert, "that Mr. Chase has *ever* been *opposed to any reform in our government*." The direct contrary is the truth, and if capable of shame you ought to blush for such unblushing impudence. Mention the time, and the circumstance, thou graceless youth; and be convicted of an impudent falsehood.

You say, "that Mr. Chase refused to accept the appointment to the convention at Philadelphia." It is true. Was it improper, dishonorable, or disgraceful to decline the appointment? Mr. T. Stone, Mr. W. Paca, Mr. T. S. Lee, and Mr. C. Carroll, of Carrollton, were all appointed to the same trust and refused to serve. What inference do you draw from the fact?—Your partial and jaundiced soul condemns that conduct in Mr. Chase, which you dare not censure in others. The desire of both branches of our legislature, that Mr. Chase should be delegated to the convention evinces their confidence in his probity and abilities.

You assert, "that Mr. Chase violated the *constitution* of this State, by being elected a representative for Anne-Arundel-county to the late State convention." Your ignorance, vain boy! is only exceeded by your pride, arrogance, and self-conceit.—Are you not ashamed to publish this position in the face of day?—Point out the part of the *constitution* that is violated, in *letter*, or *spirit*, by Mr. Chase's being elected a delegate to the *convention*, for Anne-Arundel county, of which he was not a resident.—You speak of some *professional quirk*, and you talk of *legal* residence? Ar'n't you ashamed of such nonsense? you have committed yourself in a rash hour to the world, and you shall not escape. Your folly and passions have led you to *chatter* about our constitution, and your ignorance shall be exposed to ridicule and contempt.

You alledge, "that Mr. Chase advocated *particular* amendments brought forward by Mr. Paca, which the *convention rejected with disdain*, as productive of civil discord among us, &c." Will you ever pretend to candour or veracity after publishing so bareface a falsehood? Did Mr. Chase advocate in *convention* any one amendment proposed by Mr. Paca? Did the *convention* ever *consider*, much less *reject* with disdain, any amendments proposed by Mr. Paca? What will the world, what can your friends say for you when it is known that there is not the least ground in truth for this allegation.

You ask, "what kind of amendments did Mr. Chase advocate; what did the collected wisdom and virtue of this State *in the late convention*, think of Mr. Chase's amendments, and what did they do; did they not receive them with contempt; did they not reject them with scorn." By these questions you mean to imply the *affirmative*, or your inquiries are puerile and silly. You are so agitated by passion, and swelled with pride and self-importance, that common reason and discretion have forsaken you. Do, gentle youth, come forth, and shew what amendments Mr. Chase *advocated* in the convention, or committee of convention, and declared he would be satisfied with if they were obtained. Did the *convention*, at any time, declare their sense on *any* of the amendments proposed, in the *committee*, by the minority, of which Mr. Chase was one? You are totally void of information, truth, and decency in your assertion.

Your general assertions, "that Mr. Chase had not *spirit* or *honor* to act an *open* part, or offered the world one specimen of his *abilities*, as an argument against the constitution, yet he was continually acting the secret, the base and the unmanly character of a private calumniator; and that he would violate the laws of God and man to suit the purpose of the day," are only remarkable, for that they are entirely destitute of truth, and flow from the malice and depravity of your heart, and betray a total want of the decency, manners and breeding of a gentleman.

But you declare, “that Mr. Chase said, that if during the war he had thought our affairs would have come to this, and that such a government, as the present federal government would be established, he would have been the *greatest tory in all America*.—This declaration you made at the town-meeting and it was solemnly contradicted by Mr. Chase.—If such expressions escaped that gentleman, at any time, they must have proceeded from warmth and passion; and can never injure his character, or draw into suspicion his political principles.

You alledge, “that Mr. Chase (and his particular associates) have levelled *odious abuse* against the government and its supporters from the beginning.” For six months after the publication of the government Mr. Chase never opened his mouth, or wrote a line to any one in America, concerning the government. It is very probable that he suspects your motives, and those of many others who are so very violent in favour of the new government; but the assertion as made by you is not true.

You assert, “that the friends of Mr. Chase deceive the people under the colour of amendments to the constitution, and this *indefinite pretext* is the *only cover*, under which they could conceal their *dark designs* against the government.” The friends of Mr. Chase are as respectable in every point of view, as the friends of his opponents, and they never attempt to deceive the people. But they have *dark designs* against the government, illiberal and false. As you have assumed the character of a *statesman*, and pretend to understand the constitution of the United States, be so obliging as to inform your fellow-citizens what our legislature have to do with amendments to the general government; and condescend to answer one plain question; have our general assembly any power to propose, or to express any opinion respecting any amendments to the constitution of the United States? If our assembly can *only apply* to Congress to call a convention and such convention only can propose amendments to the legislatures of the States, of what consequence are the sentiments of Mr. Chase or Doctor M’Henry about amendments? You raise a clamour about amendments, when if you understood the constitution you would know that in a *representative* capacity no delegate for this town can have any thing to say to the subject.

“To prove that a dark scheme was laid by Mr. Chase’s friends by which they had premeditated vengeance against the new government, you mention, (among other things) the *arbitrary* appointment of the criminal court, of whom *four* out of *five* are known enemies to the new constitution.” You are certainly *tarantulated* with *federalism*. The governor and council appointed the justices of the criminal court. You say the appointment was *arbitrary*, if you were a priest the verbum sacerdotis would not be received as evidence of this insolent assertion. Is this reflection on the executive of the State an instance of your modesty and good breeding? The application to the governor and council for the appointment of Col. Howard, Col. Rogers, Mr. Thoroughgood Smith, and Mr. James Calhoun, instead of Mr. S. Chase, Mr. T. Russell, Mr. John Moale, and Doctor Goodwin, is sufficient proof of the principles that actuated the *advisers* of the application, and of their regard to the welfare of this town. All the gentlemen are on an equality in their *private* characters, but for knowledge, capacity, and experience there is no comparison between them. But the gentlemen *recommended* were *federals* and the gentlemen *appointed* were *anties*. The distinction, at all times, is illiberal, but in the appointment of *judges* it is infamous!

Under the *pretext* of *federalism*, and cover of affection to the national government, you, and your party, are endeavouring to *deceive* the voters of this town,

that you may elect two of your KIDNEY, for the *present*, hereafter to make room for yourself, and some other of your family, or connexions. You know that Dr. M'Henry, if he should be chosen, only intends to serve this year, as he expects in that time to provide for himself and some of his trusty friends. Dr. Coulter is only the instrument used to assist Dr. M'Henry's election with his interest on the Point, and if *perchance* he should be elected, he only means to remain a delegate for one year.

You will again declare, with an appeal to Heaven for the truth, that you have *no ambition* to gratify, that you desire *no trust* in government, and that in your support of the two Doctors against the two Lawyers, you are only influenced by your affection to your favorite federal government, and not from attachment to the Doctors, or prejudice against the Lawyers. If you do not possess a *great* share of ambition those who observe you are greatly mistaken—that you were nominated in the senate, and ballotted for by that body, is well known; and your competitor it is said, was only elected by a majority of one vote.—What are the motives for your conduct, the town may judge from the following declaration, which you made since the canvass for the election began, "*I do not care who the devil is elected so that Chase is turned out.*" You will not venture to contradict this evidence of your public virtue, of your *federalism*, of your personal hatred to Mr. Chase, and your attachment to the gentlemen, whose election you so violently espouse.

September 22, 1788.

158. Federalism

Maryland Journal, 26 September 1788 (Extra) (excerpts)

MR. GODDARD, . . . *That Mr. Chase* was an enemy to the constitution, from the beginning, needs no proof—It would be an insult to the understanding of the people, were I to offer further testimony on a self-evident fact.—*That he* was against any reform in our government, is clear from his not accepting the appointment in the General Convention, which was his duty to fulfil; others in the appointment not accepting, was no excuse; one wrong can never justify the commission of another—*That he* violated an act of Assembly, founded on and referring to the constitution, and by this shameful abuse of all order, he abandoned this town, and was elected in *Ann-Arundel County*, even the enthusiasm of his passions cannot deny—*That he* advocated Mr. *Paca's* amendments when in the Committee, formed out of the Convention, I am ready to prove by the publication of the minority in this town, as well as by a member in that Committee; and further, his name was published at the same time annexed to those amendments—*That the Convention did reject, with disdain, is true*; because, it is a fact, admitted by the minority, in the same paper, that those amendments were brought into Convention; and it is also a fact, that no amendments accompanied the adoption of the constitution; consequently the Convention thought them unworthy of their notice, dangerous to be admitted, and therefore rejected in silent disdain—*That he* and his political friends have acted the base dishonourable part of private calumniators of the constitution, is recorded in the minds of every person who knows either of them. . . .

Baltimore, September 24, 1788.

(To be continued.)

159. Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 30 September 1788

In consequence of the approaching election, "The MARYLAND GAZETTE," &c. has, for some time past, been engaged with political performances, pro and con, for the several candidates. The editor would have felt much easier and more agreeable in his mind, if as usual, his paper had been filled with European intelligence and other domestic occurrences; but the solicitations of gentlemen, widely different in sentiment, have rendered it impossible to keep clear of electioneering altercation. To give full satisfaction to every individual, in a community, was never the lot of any person; but this the editor must confidently assert, that he has constantly aimed at *impartiality*, in the admission of all pieces into his paper for which the writers would be accountable.—Conscious of this truth, he hears, with a degree of concern, some unfavorable whispers and suggestions to his disadvantage. It has been more than hinted, that he was unfriendly to the new constitution, and had even refused to insert pieces in its favour, or in the favour of its friends. This being really false, he defies all those who have been so misinformed as to propagate such a report, to produce *a single instance of such conduct*. Probably it owed its origin to a quarrel of a professional and private nature, which was aimed at an eminent physician of this town, whose reputation, having ever stood fair, since his first residence here, he thought it his duty to protect, against the violent personal attacks of a stranger, just appeared among us, and whose stay, it was expected, would be short; and, therefore, he rejected the piece, though attended with a pecuniary consideration.—He has constantly complied with the request of *his* friends and customers on both sides, and, when in his power, has been happy to shelter the characters of his fellow-citizens—But that no means might be left untried to injure the innocent, there have been several reports and insinuations that his press was under the influence of a party—equally erroneous as the above, the editor can only consider this as the meditated and secret attack of an enemy, whose groundless calumny may hereafter recoil on his own head—However, he will continue his utmost exertions faithfully to serve a candid and generous public, for whose past and present favours he shall ever testify his gratitude.

160. Robert Smith Speech to the Voters of Baltimore Town Maryland Journal, 30 September 1788

MR. GODDARD, The following is the Speech of ROBERT SMITH, Esq; to the Voters of Baltimore-Town, at the late town-meeting. It has, unexpectedly, become necessary to publish it, to obviate the little misrepresentations of party.

Sept. 25, 1788.

Q. S.

GENTLEMEN, Our suffrages, at the ensuing election for representatives in the General Assembly, have been industriously solicited by the several candidates, Doctor M'Henry and Doctor Coulter—Mr. Chase and Mr. M'Mechen. It must be obvious to us all that the affairs of America are arrived at a crisis, that calls for the serious attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the good government, the tranquility, and the prosperity of his country. Under this impression it is, that I shall disclose to your view the ground upon which my objections to Mr. Chase and Mr. M'Mechen are founded. It shall be done with candour and with temper.

This town, gentlemen, is unhappily divided in the choice of representatives: and perhaps an unbecoming warmth of temper—or unbecoming intemperance of deportment has discovered itself upon both sides. Doctor M'Henry and Doctor Coulter have their friends—Mr. Chase and Mr. M'Mechen have theirs. Permit me then to call your attention, not to the *private*, but to the political characters of the persons that support the several candidates.

Who are the persons that have nominated and support Doctor M'Henry and Doctor Coulter?—Those who have been, from the first, uniformly and decidedly the friends of the proposed federal government.—Who are the persons that have nominated Mr. Chase and Mr. Mechen?—A certain Trio, who have been from the first uniformly and decidedly the most inveterate enemies of the proposed government.—A certain Trio that have for years past assumed to themselves the exclusive privilege of dictating to this town *who shall* and *who shall not* be our representatives:—And by whom are they now supported? By men of three different descriptions—by declared inveterate antifederalists—by doubtful equivocal characters, and by well-meaning true federalists. It is to the well-meaning true federalists that I wish to appeal. For among them are men that I hold in the highest esteem—men that in private life ever act from the purest motives, and in public life ever act with a view to the public good: And it is not to their passions, but to their judgments, and to their judgments only, that I wish to address myself.

Mr. Chase has been pleased to remark, and to enforce his observation with great acrimony of language, that the distinction of federal and antifederal is nothing more than a mere electioneering trick. But, gentlemen, suffer not yourselves to be thus imposed upon. Suffer not yourselves to be thus misled by the violent assertions of a vehement speechifier. Permit me to assure you, that the distinction is not made particularly in this town. It is made in every county where it was made at the last election of members to the convention. It does not originate in a little narrow party spirit. It originates from the same great principle of federalism, that influenced and distinguished the last election.

In a few words I will endeavour to explain, to your satisfaction, the necessity of making the same distinction, at the ensuing, that was made at the last election. In the first place, it is my purpose to shew in what manner the enemies of the proposed government *may* yet destroy it. I then will submit it to your prudence, whether, upon a consideration of all circumstances, the antifederalists ought to be admitted into our public councils until the government is effectually established.

1st. The President, who will be the first executive-officer under the new government, is to be chosen by certain electors.—These electors *may* be chosen by the legislatures of the several states. Now should the legislatures of the several states be antifederal, they will choose antifederal electors, who, of course, will choose an antifederal President. And should the first executive-officer be an inveterate enemy to the government, he, doubtless, may refuse to do any one act until the constitution be altered and frittered away to his will and pleasure. The government will be at his mercy. It will be with him to say whether it shall move or not.

2d. The legislatures of the several states are to choose the Senators of the new government. If, therefore, the people of America should choose antifederal representatives, an antifederal senate will of course be appointed; and such a senate may, beyond a doubt, in their legislative capacity, reject every bill until all those

antifederal alterations are made, which the enemies of the government have been contending for from the first.

3d. The legislatures of the several states are to direct the manner of choosing their respective representatives in Congress. Should, therefore, antifederal representatives be elected by the people of America into their state-legislatures, they may effectually oppose any mode of election that may be proposed by the friends of the government.—And thus may they destroy the constitution by preventing the appointment of a house of representatives.

(These were his three positions, which he placed in various points of view, so as to satisfy every mind that the proposed federal government may yet be destroyed, notwithstanding its adoption by the conventions of more than nine states. He then proceeded.)

As it must thus be obvious to every understanding, that the proposed federal government may yet be destroyed, the only question that occurs is this—Will it be prudent—will it be wise to admit into our public councils the inveterate enemies of the government, until it be completely and effectually established?—To determine upon this question we have only to consider the declared opinions, and the well-known conduct of the opposition.

(He here called the attention of the people to the rage with which the opposition was commenced, over all America, by the antifederalists, and to the virulence with which it has been conducted. He then proceeded.)

In Maryland how did the minority in the Convention conduct themselves? Did they not, few as they were, try every expedient to prejudice us against the proceedings of the Convention? Did they not, by inflammatory publications, endeavour to excite a popular clamour and discontent? Did they not descend to the most pitiful artifices to create an opinion, in the other states, that the people of Maryland were, in general, disgusted with the government?

But what was the conduct of Mr. Chase himself upon this subject?—When it was an acknowledged truth over all America, that the old articles of confederation were, in every respect, insufficient—when every description of people felt the necessity of a change—the idea was suggested by our wisest statesmen, that a General Convention ought to be called, to revise and reform our general government. The proposition was highly acceptable to the people of America; and in this state it was reprobated by none but Mr. Chase, and a few of his immediate adherents. Hence it is concluded, that his opposition is not merely to the proposed constitution; but that it would have been equally violent, that it would have been equally turbulent, against any general *efficient* government.

And what was his conduct when the government first appeared among us? For a considerable time he pretended that he had not formed his opinion—But it was remarkable that whenever he happened to express his sentiments of it, they were always to its prejudice, and that he never was, and, indeed, never yet has been heard to speak one word in its favour.

Is it not well known, that he entertains the same sentiments of the constitution that have been expressed by all the declared enemies of the government. In my hearing, and to my amazement has he said,^(a) that every person who should be instrumental in introducing the new federal government would be guilty of *high-treason*, and that the time might come when he should so find it.—At another time have I heard him say, that he regreted that the revolution had ever taken

place—that he lamented our separation from Great-Britain—and that had he foreseen the consequences of the revolution, he would have been the greatest Tory in all North-America.

But to remove all our objections to him on the score of federalism, he tells us, upon his *word* and *honour*, that he regards our interests and our wishes; and then, with his usual *modesty*, he assures us, that his word ought to be considered by us as sacred.—Nay—that we ought to receive it as an additional article of our creed. Again and again has he confidently informed us, that he is the most amiable private character in the world—that he possesses, in the highest degree, all the mild gentle virtues of the heart, and all the great intellectual attainments of the head; and strange—passing strange does it appear to *him*, that we do not bow down to him and reverence him!

Was it not notorious to Mr. Chase, that it was almost the universal wish of this town to have the proposed federal government promoted and established? Was it not notorious to him, that it was our fixed opinion, that it would greatly advance our interest and our happiness?—What evidence then did he give us of his regard to our wishes and to our interest? He at first attempted, by inflammatory harangues, to divert you from what you then and yet conceive to be your greatest good. Finding that he could not excite, as he expected, a clamorous indignation against the government, he then artfully affected an acquiescence in the wishes of the town. He had recourse to his professional ingenuity in order to impose upon your credulity—and he succeeded. The great body of voters gave him their suffrages at the last October-election, because they were persuaded, that he had unequivocally declared himself to be truly federal. Let us then take a review of his and his colleague's conduct.

(He here called the attention of the people to the antifederal conduct of Mr. Chase and Mr. M'Mechen, after their election; but particularly to their total disregard of our petition to the General Assembly, praying the calling of a Convention, to agree to and ratify the federal government. This petition was signed by 800 persons. It was handed to Mr. M'Mechen, when in the House of Delegates, by Captain William Campbell, on the 22d of November, 1787; and it was not delivered to the General Assembly until the 1st of December following. To establish these facts, he produced the certificates of the President of the Senate—of the Speaker of the House of Delegates, and of Captain William Campbell.—He further shewed, that every resolution respecting the federal government was passed by our General Assembly between the 22d of November and the 1st of December; and, moreover, that the resolution which fixed the time for the meeting of the Convention, was carried by a majority of but one vote. From such conduct, he contended, that he had reason to apprehend, that Mr. Chase and Mr. M'Mechen would not ever obey the instructions of their constituents, unless they themselves approved of them; and further, that they would, at any time, attempt the destruction of the federal government, in direct opposition and contempt of the petition of their constituents. He spoke, with some warmth, upon the consequences of representatives holding the instructions of their constituents in contempt—and then he proceeded.)

Is there a man, who does not well remember the general discontent that prevailed, when the artifices of Mr. Chase and Mr. M'Mechen were seen through? Is there a man, who does not well remember the indignation that

discovered itself in every countenance, at the deception that was practised upon you?—No, gentlemen, there is no such men among you; and I have a confidence, that you will not suffer yourselves again to be duped by the plausible professions of such designing men.

(He here reminded the people of Mr. Chase's turning his back upon them and their opinions, by going to Ann-Arundel County, and getting himself elected a member of the convention—of his vehement exertions in convention to prevent the ratification of the new government, contrary to the wishes and interest of this town. Upon this instance of his prejudices against the government he spoke much—He then proceeded.)

But we are told, that Mr. Chase's whose nature is totally changed—that from the impurest antifederalist, he has now become the purest federalist.—That man must be credulous in the extreme—his understanding must be weak indeed, who can be misled by such a device. He knows but little of the human character, who expects such sudden revolutions in the mind of man.—Is there a man of reflection, who will take a review of the conduct and sentiments of the opposition to the federal government—who will duly consider Mr. Chase's strong prepossessions, his inveterate prejudices against it, and its framers, and who, at the same time, will consider that it is the character of the man pertinaciously to adhere to opinions which he has once espoused—I say—is there a man, after these considerations, credulous enough to believe that Mr. Chase will heartily and sincerely endeavour to put the proposed government in motion to the best advantage?—If there is, it is only because “there are men who are apt to run on headlong in the open channel of the first conceived opinions.”

(*To be continued.*)

(a) As Mr. Chase has found it *expedient* to deny this, it may be necessary to refer *some* readers to the following certificate:—

I do hereby certify, that I was in company with Mr. Samuel Chase, and Mr. Robert Smith, some short time *after* the election of members to the late convention appointed to ratify the new federal government, and that I *distinctly* heard Mr. Chase say, “That every man who should be instrumental in introducing the proposed federal government, would be guilty of *high-treason*, and that the time may come when he should so find it.—[”]

WILLIAM CALHOUN.

September 25, 1788.

161. Memnon

Maryland Journal, 3 October 1788

To the INHABITANTS of the Precincts of BALTIMORE-TOWN.

The election for county-members comes on this day week at the Burnt-House Tavern, and nine candidates offer their services, Messrs. *Deye*, the two *Ridgelys*, *Gough*, *Cockey*, *Cradock*, *Gittings*, *Cromwell*, and *Job Hunt*.—The contest will probably be warm, and it is yet uncertain between whom it will rest—Doctor *J. Cradock* has not rode about, solicited votes, or connected himself with any man, yet his friends expect a more pointed opposition to him from Captain *Ridgely* and his friends, than even against Messrs. *Deye* and *Gough*, from the circumstance of his nearest neighbour's being started against him, and because *he is the only man of classical education who stands*, which is thought, throughout the state, to be an

invincible objection to any candidate in the opinion of a majority of the voters of Baltimore-County.

You are collectively, deemed so subservient to two Magistrates of the Criminal Court, who generally move with Captain *Ridgely* in county politics, through their influence with constables, street-commissioners, other local officers and expectants of office, that betts have been laid in the country, Doctor *Cradock* will not get *ten* votes out of the precincts, merely because a man of classical education, and hitherto uniformly opposed by Captain *Ridgely*; but I hope *he* will no longer strike against a man, whose abilities, integrity, and blunt candour are admitted by his bitterest opponents; and certainly it will be prudent in you (though collectively friends to Captain *Ridgely*, for his exertions to keep you clear of the town-taxes) to shew the world, you are not prejudiced against men of education, and compelled to vote altogether as directed by a few popular individuals.

Doctor *Cradock* experienced the most pointed opposition, last year, from a great portion of *local official influence*, even from one or two individuals he had previously and erroneously deemed friendly to him, both personally and politically—The warm part taken, last fall, against him by some among you, related to a candidate for the sheriffalty (whose family has always been on an intimate footing with the *Cradocks*) has abated the exertions of some men in his favour, and if repeated (*which I can venture to say will not be again the case*) would infallibly alienate from him many who are now his friends, though I confess such conduct would be ungenerous.—Admitting you to support the two *Ridgelys*, yet, you may surely also vote for a man who has served you with reputation either in Convention, Assembly, Committee, and as a Magistrate and officer in the army for more than fifteen years, even if opposed, much less recommended or supported, by official influence.

You have been told, that the Convention-election at De-Witt's occasioned the removal of the county elections from town; but I heard a leading member in the House of Delegates declare, last October, if he found the report to be true, that you were altogether governed by official influence, and *town-constables* made a practice of soliciting votes, and heading parties at the county elections, he should be for removing it to some place out of their reach, where the poorer people should not be overawed by the dread of warrants, or induced to swear too precipitately, through the phrenzy of party; he has said since, the county election for Convention-men convinced him of the precincts being too much governed by local official influence, and of the propriety of fixing our elections in a more impartial and unbiassed neighbourhood.

A member for Dorset-County repeatedly declared at Annapolis, that he was solicited, in October 1786, to vote as a precinct-man, and on his refusal, saw seven Eastern-Shoremen vote under that description, and a Delegate for Caroline, in debate respecting the spot, where that county election should be fixed, observed, if done at some particular place proposed, it would enable the neighbouring inhabitants of the state of Delaware to govern *their* elections, as those of this county now are by Eastern-Shoremen.—A person, formerly a town-constable, has been heard to boast, that he powdered the hats, coats and hair of a number of townsmen, at the last election, and passed them, without suspicion, as precinct-millers.

These irregularities occasioned the removal of our election from Baltimore-town, and unless they are guarded against and prevented for the future, will

probably prevent its being brought back during the existence of the present Senate.—It is incumbent therefore on you to shew yourselves independent in your sentiments, not implicitly governed by official influence, or a few individuals, and avoid attempting to *vote*, at the town election; but above all, when you are at the Burnt-House Tavern, do not go up to the polls in company with any townsmen (more especially a constable) and then we may have some chance of getting the county election back to town.—It is to be wished that no man could vote, unless he pays taxes, even if a single penny, (as in Pennsylvania) and then by recurring to the assessors books, false oaths and illegal votes might be prevented.

Baltimore, Sept. 29, 1788.

162. Samuel Chase: Broadside
Pre-6 October 1788

TO THE VOTERS OF BALTIMORE-TOWN.

GENTLEMEN,
WE take the liberty to lay before you copies of the following letters that have passed between James M'Henry and John Coulter, Esquires, and us, respecting the adoption of some mode and rules for the conduct of the ensuing election; and we hope the steps we have taken will meet your approbation. We are satisfied that many of you will be prevented of the opportunity you may desire of voting for the Sheriff. If any bad consequences should happen from rejecting the substance of our propositions (for we consider the delay of an answer for *three days a rejection*). We are confident that the impartial and peaceable citizens will not lay the blame on us.

*We are Gentlemen,
With the highest respect and esteem,
Your obedient servants,*

**SAMUEL CHASE,
DAVID M'MECHAN.**
Baltimore, Friday, 3d October, 1788.

Baltimore-town, September 26, 1788.

GENTLEMEN,
WE wish to give the citizens of this town an opportunity of voting for delegates for the town, and also for the Sheriff of the county, if they please; and we earnestly desire to preserve peace, decency, and order, at the town election. We have consulted our friends, and to obtain their valuable proposals, we make you the following propositions.

1st. That, for the purpose of voting for delegates, for the first three days, the town be considered as if laid off into *three wards, or districts*, and that the voters in each district vote on *different days*; the candidates and their friends to agree, or determine by lot, which district shall vote first; and that the voters on the *fourth day* may vote as they come to the polls. That pilots, matters of weight, and matters obliged to leave the town, vote at any time.

2d. That all the voters on the east side of Jones's falls be considered in one district;—between Jones's falls and the West side of Middle-lane, and St. Paul's-lane, in another district;—and on the West side of those lanes in the third district.

3d. That the judges of the election be *required to open the polls*, for the three first days, precisely at 8 o'Clock, every morning, and to continue until 3 o'Clock in the afternoon, and no longer; and to open precisely at 3 o'Clock in the afternoon, and to continue until 6 o'Clock, and no longer.—That two justices of the peace be required constantly to attend the polls, for the preservation of the peace.

4th. That no person shall come to the place of election, or appear in the streets, with any arms, weapons, or stick, or whip, of any kind; and every citizen is requested to see that this article be *faithfully and strictly observed*.

5th. That no colours, drums, or fires be used by either party.

6th. That those friends of each of the candidates (as in all) and no more, be admitted to the *loggia*, any *three* of whom, or any candidate with any two of them, and no other person, shall object to any vote; and their friends shall engage their honour not to permit any person to vote, who they do not believe qualified; and that they will not object to any person, unless they think he is not qualified.

7th. That a list be formed, by an equal number of each party, for the voters to come to vote, without any preference or distinction, in the order as they come; and no voter shall stay at the meeting, after he has voted, or been refused by the judges.

8th. That all matters and matters to be *required to keep their servants and slaves at home*, during the time of taking the votes; and after the hour of every day of the election.

9th. That the captains of all vessels be *required to prevent* fathers or mariners, *not citizens*, from coming on board, on the days or nights of the election.

10th. That every citizen be *required to assist* in preserving peace, order and decency.

If you, gentlemen, or your friends, disapprove of the substance of any of these propositions, you will be pleased to inform us. If the *majority* is approved, and any objection to the mode of expression, we will agree to correct it. If you will make any other propositions, we will be glad to hear of them. If you will make any other propositions, in view, the peace and quiet of the town, and an opportunity for our citizens to vote in town, and in the county, we will most readi-

ly and cheerfully agree to them. If you believe a number of friends could, in a conference, better adjust the mode of conducting the election, we shall have no objection. If no system can be agreed on, we think the certain consequence will be, that many of the citizens will be deprived of their suffrages for the Sheriff; and we fear great confusion and disorder, if not violence, riots, and breaches of the peace, will inevitably happen.

*We are, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servants,
SAMUEL CHASE,
DAVID M'MECHAN.*

*James M'Henry and John Coulter, Esqrs.
Baltimore, 29th September, 1788.*

Gentlemen,
WE have received your letter of the 26th instant. It is our sincere desire that peace and order be preserved during the time of the election; and we have no reason to apprehend its interruption by any riotous or disorderly proceedings on the part of our friends. We have referred your propositions to them, and shall be governed by their opinion with respect to any arrangements differing from former practice.

*We are Gentlemen,
Your obedient servants,
JAMES M'HENRY,
JOHN COULTER.*

**SAMUEL CHASE,
DAVID M'MECHAN, Esquires.**
Baltimore-Town, 30th September, 1788.

Gentlemen,
WE have the *remembrance* and the *peace* of the town so much at heart, that we again take the liberty to request you to procure the sentiments of your friends on the propositions we made you last Friday; and to communicate to us the result of their deliberations, as soon as possible. We hope our solicitude for the adopting of some mode to preserve peace at the election, and to afford the citizens an opportunity of voting for Delegates for the town, and for the Sheriff of the county, will not be imputed to any *other* motives. We have not the least reason to believe that our friends, or the advocates of our election, will be guilty of any misbehaviour, or disorder, much less riot, or breaches of the peace; yet we still think it proper to adopt some regulations to preserve order, and to prevent any occasion of dispute or quarrel.

*Your humble servants,
SAMUEL CHASE,
DAVID M'MECHAN.*

**JAMES M'HENRY,
JOHN COULTER, Esquires.**
Baltimore, 30th September, 1788.

Gentlemen,
WE informed you in our letter of the 29th, that we had referred your propositions to our friends, and that we should be governed by their opinion with respect to any arrangements differing from former practice. Should they agree to adopt them we shall take the earliest opportunity to notice you of it. Your expectations of the line of conduct meant to be observed by your friends, corresponding with the dispositions and intention of ours, cannot but afford us the most flattering prospect of a peaceable and orderly election.

*We are Gentlemen,
Your obedient servants,
JAMES M'HENRY,
JOHN COULTER,*

**SAMUEL CHASE,
DAVID M'MECHAN, Esquires.**



James M'Henry

To the VOTERS of BALTIMORE-TOWN.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING several times asserted, in the presence of many of you, that Doctor James M'Henry opposed, in convention, ANY amendments to the new constitution for the United States, I will lay before you the conduct of Dr. M'Henry in the convention, and in the committee of convention; from whence I formed this opinion. If I should be mistaken in any of the facts, you will not impute my mistake to any intention of misrepresenting Doctor M'Henry's conduct; and if I draw improper conclusions he will correct them.

1st. Fact. On Friday, the 29th of April, Doctor Coulter rose from his seat, and read to the convention a paper, by which he declared for himself and his colleague Doctor M'Henry, "That they were elected and instructed by the people they represented to ratify the proposed constitution, and that as speedily as possible, and to do no other act; that after the ratification their power ceased, and they did not consider themselves as authorized by their constituents to consider any amendments."

This fact was stated in a publication, signed by myself and eleven more, and was never contradicted in public.

If Doctor M'Henry considered himself speaking the sense of Baltimore-town in this declaration, it is evident that he could not, in his conventional capacity, consider, much less propose any amendments to the constitution, before or AFTER the ratification of it by the convention. If you elected and instructed him only to ratify and to do no other act, it necessarily follows, that when he had discharged that trust his power, as your representative ceased, and from that moment he changed his public delegated character to that of a private citizen; and it afterwards he proposed, we joined in proposing any amendments; it could only be as a private citizen, and not in his conventional capacity. I never heard of any instructions, of any kind, from this town to Doctor M'Henry and Doctor Coulter. If in writing they can be produced; if lost, or verbally, their substance can be established.—It was universally believed, that all of you were for amendments after ratification. The committee who waited on Mr. M'Meichen and Mr. Sterett informed them, "that it was the sense of a numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens, that after the ratification of the constitution, amendments should be recommended, and every exertion

made to obtain them, in the constitutional manner prescribed by the Federal government"—Mr. M'Meichen and Mr. Sterett were consulted to the convention, and this declaration was certainly made to express the opinion of the meeting what was expected from them if elected. It could have no possible relation to their private conduct.

2d. Fact. That a committee of the convention agreed to 13 amendments;* Doctor M'Henry voting (I believe) for the whole. The committee differed only as to THREE other amendments.† Doctor M'Henry (with others of the committee) insisted as an EXPRESS condition, that NONE of the propositions rejected, or any others should be laid before the convention for their consideration, except only those the committee had agreed to; and Dr. M'Henry also voted, in the committee, not to report to the convention any amendments whatever, not even those they had agreed to.

This fact also was stated in a publication signed by myself, and eleven more, and was never contradicted in public.

By this unprecedented conduct Doctor M'Henry, with the majority of the committee, precluded, as far as they could, the convention from considering ANY amendments to the constitution.

3d. Fact. Doctor M'Henry in the convention voted "that the convention adjourn without day."

This vote was published.

Doctor M'Henry by this vote, with the majority, prevented the convention from even considering any amendments.

I shall not trespass upon your time with any further remarks.

I am, gentlemen,

With great respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL CHASE.

* Of the thirteen amendments *resolv'd* were proposed by the minority of the committee.

† 1. That the militia, unless selected by lot or voluntarily enlisted, shall not be marched beyond the limits of an adjoining state, without the consent of their legislature or executive.

2. That congress shall have no power to alter or change the time, place or manner, of holding elections for senators or representatives, unless a state shall neglect to make regulations, or to execute its regulations, or shall be prevented by invasion or rebellion; in which cases only congress may interfere, until the cause be removed.

3. That, in every law of congress imposing direct taxes, the collection thereof shall be suspended for a certain reasonable time therein limited, and on payment of the sum by any state, by the time appointed, such taxes shall not be collected.



163. Henry Hollyday to James Hollyday
Ratcliffe Manor, Talbot County, Md., 6 October 1788 (excerpts)¹

My dear Jimmy,

No Man, perhaps, wishes more ardently, than I do, to see the liberties & property of the Subject effectually secured by the establishment of an efficient & permanent Government: And being firmly persuaded that the new Federal

Constitution is in the main well calculated to answer those great Ends, & that your Sentiments on the Subject are similar to my own; I approve of your being a Candidate in your County for a seat in the next H[ouse] of Delegates, & wish you success in the undertaking. . . .

I am my Dr. Jimmy Yr. tenderly affecte. Father

1. RC, Hollyday Papers, MdHi.

164. *Honestus*

Maryland Journal, 21 October 1788¹

To the CITIZENS of MARYLAND.

Although the conduct of your Delegates in Convention was not such as to merit your indignant reproaches, it was precisely what an intelligent antifederalist might have wished. A majority of the members determined, out of doors, not to waste time by arguments in favour of a system which, by every sacred obligation, they were bound to adopt; and yet they agreed, in the House, to hear patiently all that might be urged against it, on the general question. Here was the first error.—Had they done, on the first day, that which took place on the fourth; had a member of each delegation declared the powers under which they acted, and the duties to which they considered themselves confined, the business would have been completed in less than a third of the time, and sophistry would have had no opportunity of making its baneful impressions on capricious wavering minds.

The appointment of the committee was a second error, resulting almost inevitably from the former. But, had the majority of the committee answered fully that inflammatory address of the dissenting twelve, every pernicious consequence from either of these mistakes might have been prevented. This salutary measure, I understand, was declined partly from an idea, that it would tend to keep alive an opposition, which was driven to its last expiring effort, and partly from the difficulty of convening and keeping together gentlemen who, at that time, were too closely occupied by business more interesting to their feelings.

It is certain, that the committee was appointed on a principle of conciliation; and that the Convention never deemed amendments necessary for perfecting the constitution. Perceiving, in the end, that the scheme of proposing amendments to the consideration of the people might produce much mischief, without effecting any real good, they dismissed it, on a conviction, that, in every point of view, it was improper.

It is, perhaps, a matter of little moment to ascertain, from what source is derived the general vague idea respecting the necessity of an early revision of the new constitution. I believe it, in this state, to have originated from the conduct of the Convention, and the silence of the committee. From the beginning, indeed, I was apprehensive that these things would give countenance to a position that, although the Convention proposed no amendments, a very great majority of its members were convinced, that it was essential to obtain an alteration as early as possible.

There is nothing more hazardous to the interests of America, than the propagation of such a sentiment. It is repugnant to all we have yet done; and I much fear, unless it be diligently guarded against, that the constitution, embraced by eleven states, as the means of their political salvation, will ultimately be defeated.

As the contrivance and institution of men, it is unreasonable to suppose the system absolutely perfect. But, for other men, without a trial of its effects, to

point out, with certainty, where the error lies, supposes infallibility in those, whom we know to be actuated by narrow views, interested motives, and inveterate prejudices.—Is it conceivable, that men like these will not only be *able*, but *willing*, to correct the mistakes of the most select assembly, which America ever contained?—of an assembly, composed, in a great measure, of its heroes, sages, and patriots, and possessed of almost all the means of thorough information?

From Americans, far be the base grovelling principles of implicit faith! Were the defects of the constitution plain to common sense; were they such as evidently to endanger your welfare, there is no respect to persons would induce me to defend them. But when, after the most deliberate attention, I think it more than probable, that those things, which sometimes appear wrong, are, in truth, the most excellent; when I perceive there is not a majority of rational men, who can agree on any one amendment; when I am satisfied, that nothing will prevent us from obtaining those alterations, which experience shall dictate; when, above all, I see men still obstinately bent on the ruin of the system, I am clear and decided, that every good citizen should, for the present, lay aside the idea of amendment, and consider only the means of securing and giving motion to the government, such as it is. Were it loaded with faults, more than the vilest of all demagogues is loaded with offences against candour, truth and justice, an early premature revision, projected by either its enemies, or its friends, would render it far more erroneous and defective.

This baneful plan of revision is suggested by its most bitter and dangerous enemies. The adoption of eleven states has impelled them to change their ground; and, under the specious pretext of amendment, they securely meditate its defeat.—Be assured, my fellow-citizens, that, from one end of the continent to the other, they will practise every art, use every engine, strain every nerve, to crown this their last grand attempt with success.—The indolence and supineness of Americans must be without parallel, should they permit this invidious plan to succeed. As full of resources, as they are, the antifederal tribe can have no hope without obtaining your confidence; and, to gain this, has been universally their aim. Is it possible you can be weak and tame enough to trust them? Can you be persuaded, by mere empty professions, that men who have acted as they have done, and whose last dependence is in the destruction of a system, will have in view no alterations, except those which will improve it. Be assured, there is no possible change will content them, short of taking all energy from the general government, and permitting them to avail themselves still of the distraction, weakness and mutability of the state-councils.

I wish not, after all, to be understood, that I view every enemy to the new constitution as destitute of the spirit of patriotism, and guided only by interest or ambition. There are a few well-meaning men who believe they cannot render their country more signal service, than by averting the ruin impending on its liberties. I pity their delusion, and lament, that, at this critical moment, their exertions are so shockingly misapplied.—Between those *influenced* by the love of public good, and those *impelled* by dishonourable motives, it is by no means difficult to distinguish. An attention to their *circumstances*, *connexions*, and *pursuits*, will enable you to determine with ease.

But I call upon them all, to demonstrate those evils, in the new constitution, which threaten destruction to our freedom. It is certain, that of one hundred men, who clamour for amendments, there are not ten, who can say with preci-

sion, what it is they desire. Perhaps I might go further, and assert, that, of these hundred men, not three have studied coolly the constitution; not twenty have perused it twice; and not fifty have read it at all. I call upon the ablest of them all to appear in the public prints, and demonstrate, that liberty of conscience is in danger; that the establishment of a national church is either within the power of the legislature, or likely to take place if it were practicable at all; that there is danger of oppression from the modes of taxation to be adopted; and that America ought to exhibit to the rest of the world this solecism in politics, a free government precluded for ever, let the exigence be what it may, from some of the best and most obvious resources of government. In short, I call upon its enemies to establish, by fair argument, the charges they have *thundered* in electioneering harrangues. Instead of dealing out their positions to small circles of ignorant and credulous men, let them instruct you all by means of the press. Let them convince you, if they can, that it is not proper to give this constitution a trial; that America can be safe, and the union preserved, without an efficient general government; that it is the perfection of political science to entrust government with no powers, which, by any possibility, may be misused; that liberty cannot exist, where government controls the "*free-born will*;" and that it is possible and consistent with society, for every *free-born will* to be gratified.

I have intimated, that the constitution has not been sufficiently perused and understood. I request every man to reflect, which class of its readers, before-mentioned, he belongs to; if he feels any compunction for his negligence, let him make the proper atonement, by considering carefully its provisions, and investigating its principles. Let him not decline the task of instructing others, at least, whenever a fair occasion shall present itself unsought. One would imagine, in a country like America, it would be impossible to disseminate falsehoods of a constitution, comprised in a single sheet of paper, and published over and over again, for the perusal of all. But he that has never been accustomed to hear confident assertions in public, can have no adequate notion of their effect. On their foundation alone, is erected the fame and power of "*many a*" mighty demagogue. It is notorious, that a number of barefaced falsehoods have lately been propagated with success, to influence the elections in more than one county. A gentleman, some time ago, presented me a list of such as he had collected. It was his intention to stigmatize the inventors, by publishing affidavits, which should fix each calumny on its proper founder. Why he has not done it I cannot say. Here is his list with the title.

⟨A list of the political lies, circulated by the myrmidons and yelpers of the antifederal party in ——— county; by means whereof they carried the election.

"No. 1. That the Roman Catholic religion, if the new government be adopted, is to be established in America, with every power which it possesses in any part of the world.—This lie was told to the Methodists.

"No. 2. That the Presbyterians would be mounted on the high horse of ecclesiastic rule. This lie was appropriated for the Quakers, who were reminded, that once in Massachusetts—the Presbyterians made '*no bones*' of hanging them on the first convenient tree; if found in the state, after the time limited for their stay.

"No. 3. That, after the adoption, every man who leaves the state, will be obliged to pay Ten Dollars for each of his family; and this was a scheme of the rich men, to prevent the poor from quitting the state, in order, that their lands might not want tenants, at the rents they please to demand.

"No. 4. That no person must dare to use a pound of soap, a dozen of candles, or a cag of cider, although of his own make, without sending for the exciseman, or making him a return, under the most grievous penalties; that this rascal of an exciseman might enter the house of any man, at the dead hour of midnight, and search any place with impunity, yea! even the pockets and petticoats of his wife, or daughters.

"No. 5. That the government was to remit ten thousand of the militia to the Grand Monarque, to pay off part of the debt due to him, at so much a head.

"No. 6. That every poor man's son, at the age of fourteen, is to be enrolled as a soldier, and for the most trifling fault will be drawn up to the halberd; and have nearly his guts lashed out by perhaps a Negro drummer.

"No. 7. That the most sensible of the federalists were obliged to confess the trial by jury, in civil cases, was abolished.

"No. 8. That the federal government was adopted for the purpose of paving the way for Prince William-Henry, the third son of George, the English King, to be made King of all America.

"These are (says my informer) but a part of the lies told in our part of the county. Every one of these I can fix on the party," &c.)

To excite apprehension and terror in a weak mind, and by that method to procure a vote, which on a just representation and understanding of the subject, would have been very differently conferred, is in my conception, a crime of no trifling magnitude. It is perhaps the vilest of all cheats. It is much to be regreted, that some proper legal punishment has never been devised. The common usage in canvassing for votes is a plea unworthy of a man; and affords but little extenuation of the crime. The nature of right and wrong being immutable; however the universality of a practice may lessen the disgrace, it cannot, in the slightest degree, diminish the depravity. There arises indeed a too fair presumption, that the man, who shelters himself under example, feels little or nothing of the restraints arising from moral sentiment.

The remarks, I have just made, are intended, my fellow-citizens, for no particular character. Here is no designation of person, and if any man has reason for applying them to himself, the sensations they will excite are but a small part of the punishment he deserves. They are not intended for a single candidate at the recent elections. I have no just cause for insinuating, that any of them has been guilty of such base nefarious conduct. God forbid, that our public councils should be disgraced by the fellowship of such a character!

That partizans have propagated the lies contained in the list, I have not the most distant doubt. My object is to incite an inquiry in the country; and, if possible, to deter men from such flagitious practices. The man, who will detect and hold up to public view, the railer who has either invented, or propagated, any of those calumnies on the constitution, will render, I am certain, an acceptable service to the community. It will be a poor apology for him, who can read, to say, that he relied on the information of another, with respect to the positive provisions in the constitution; although, with regard to the direct consequences, expected to result from its adoption, it may be easy for an artful eloquent man, to impose on the understandings of many, who have actually perused it with attention, and the offence of him, who has relied on the opinion of another, may, in some measure, be excused.

It is some consolation to the lover of his country to reflect, that however guilt may escape the vengeance of the law, the exercise of a free Press permits every

man to inflict a punishment by no means slight to the man whose heart, although depraved, is not yet totally callous.

Elk-Ridge, October 15, 1788.

1. The text in angle brackets was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 26 December; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 8 January 1789 (omitting the last two paragraphs); and Providence, R.I., *United States Chronicle*, 8 January.

165. Luther Martin to Governor John Eager Howard
13 May 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . At the time, Sir, when I attended the Continental Convention the Treasurer of this Shore for want of funds could not furnish us money—I was obliged to sell Bills of Credit at a loss of thirty per Cent to pay my Expences at Philadelphia.—With the Sum due to me for my attendance in Convention and for fees on State Business, actually finished, but where Indulgence was afterwards given to the Debtors by the Legislature; the State owed me about one thousand pounds; I believe more than that Sum—While this Debt was due to me, Mr Bird called on me on this Shore, and as Mr Dickerson had just proceeded on a Voyage on acct. of his Health, he requested me to receive the first payment he was to make under the Law of Nov Session 1787 Cap: 29, I receivd from him three hundred Eighty nine pounds nineteen shillings and six pence, of which more than two hundred pounds were paid me in *Certificates*

Such were my Exigencies from having neglected my private Business while at Convention and from the Disappointment to me [occasioned?] by the States Indulgence to its Debtors [— —] making a payment of the fees one of the Terms of the Indulgence, that altho so great a part of the Sum was in Certificates I thought it eligible to apply it to my own use and hold myself chargeable to the amount in Specie to be paid to the State.—At the last Session of Assembly six hundred and Seventy pounds remained unpaid to me of that Debt which was due to me when Bird made the payment, the Justice of which the Legislature upon the fullest Consideration recognised, and by a resolve (not having money to spare from their own Demands) directed Certificates, discountable in Taxes, to be issued to me to the amount.—with these Certificates I meant to have made pay[ment] to the Treasurer of the Eastern Shore to the amount of what I had receivd from Him but was prevented by a Doubt, which [might?] have been easily obviated at the time of the resolve if it had occurred I mean, Whether they could be receivd unless Oath was made that they had been paid in to the Collector for Taxes.—I have diminished the Sum the State granted me in Certificates only twenty pounds, and am offering them at ten per Cent discount to raise this money for the State, and shall pay it as soon as I can dispose of a sufficient number with All these Circumstances Mr Dickerson acquainted and knows that I hold [one missing line of text] [amount?] I receivd from Bird with Interest till paid—For the Balance still due from Bird after deducting the payment made to me Process is ordered against him & Securities

Thus Sir, when I receivd the money from Bird the State owed me a much larger Sum, as justly due as the Debt from Bird to the State, and for want of which I had suffered & was suffering and I am now offering the Certificates, the State gave me instead of Cash, at a considerable Discount to replace it—in this Transaction I feel the utmost Confidence nothing will be found to blame. . . .

1. RC, Maryland Hall of Records, XXXIX, 72–1, 72–2.

Addendum

To the Voters of Baltimore-Town Baltimore Maryland Gazette, 8 April 1788

The unsatisfactory answers, given yesterday by Mr. M'MECHEN and Mr. STERETT, to certain questions proposed to them, in order to ascertain, their federal principles, occasioned a numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens of this town, at Mr. *Starck's* tavern, at 7 o'clock in the evening, when it was determined to appoint a committee to wait on, and propose to those gentlemen, the following question:

Are you determined to support and adopt the federal government, as proposed by the General Convention, at Philadelphia, without alteration, or making amendments a previous condition of adoption?

At the same time it will be expressly declared, by the gentlemen appointed to urge the above question, that it was the general sense of the said meeting, that after the ratification of the constitution by our Convention, amendments should be recommended, and every exertion made to obtain them in the constitutional manner prescribed by the federal government. If a satisfactory answer is not received to the above question, it was resolved to offer to your choice for representing you in the approaching Convention, Doctor M'HENRY and Doctor COULTER.—It is therefore requested, that you will not engage your votes to any gentlemen until the result is known.

Baltimore, April 8, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Maryland Journal*, 19 September 1788.

Appendix

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

Maryland Newspapers, 1787–1788

Maryland Chronicle, Fredericktown
Maryland Gazette, Annapolis
Maryland Gazette, Baltimore
Maryland Journal, Baltimore
Palladium of Freedom, Baltimore

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:1	Resolution of Congress, 21 February 1787 <i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 24 February <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 6 March <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 15 March <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 21 March
CC:3-A	The Idea of Separate Confederacies Boston <i>Independent Chronicle</i> , 15 February 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 6 March <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 6 March
CC:3-B	Reason <i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 24 March 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 3 April
CC:3-C	Lycurgus <i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 2 April 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 22 May
CC:7	Providence, R.I., <i>United States Chronicle</i> , 29 March 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 May <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 1 May
CC:11	<i>Virginia Independent Chronicle</i> , 11 April 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 27 April <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 27 April <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 9 May
CC:12	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 11 April 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 May <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 1 May
CC:13	Rhode Island <i>Newport Herald</i> , 12 April 1787 <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 16 May

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:20-C	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 25 July 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 31 July <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 31 July
CC:22	Richard Price: On the American Government <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 16 May 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 22 May
CC:24	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 19 May 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 25 May <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 May
CC:26	Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 22 May 1787 No Maryland reprints
CC:29	Harrington: To the Freemen of the United States <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 May 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 5 June Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 8 June (excerpts)
CC:30-A	Reports of Constitutional Convention Proceedings <i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 30 May 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 5 June
CC:30-D	Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, 15 June 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 19 June 1787 No Maryland reprints
CC:30-E	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 16 June 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 22 June <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 4 July
CC:30-F	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 18 July 1787 <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 1 August
CC:30-H	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 28 July 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 3 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 3 August
CC:30-I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 28 July 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 10 August
CC:30-J	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 8 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 14 August
CC:30-K	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 15 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 21 August <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 29 August
CC:30-L	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 5 September 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 11 September Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 September

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:46-B	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 3 July 1787 No Maryland reprints
CC:48	Connecticut <i>Norwich Packet</i> , 5 July 1787 Baltimore <i>Palladium of Freedom</i> , 8 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 17 August
CC:51-B	Monarchical Tendencies in America Connecticut <i>New Haven Gazette</i> , 2 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Palladium of Freedom</i> , 8 August Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 17 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 17 August
CC:51-C	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 18 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 24 August Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 30 August
CC:52	Petersburg <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 26 July 1787 Baltimore <i>Palladium of Freedom</i> , 8 August
CC:53	Charleston, S.C., <i>Columbian Herald</i> , 26 July 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 August
CC:57	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 1 August 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 17 August <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 22 August
CC:58	Americanus New York <i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 1 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 24 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 24 August
CC:59	An American <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 4 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 August <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 29 August
CC:60	Boston <i>American Herald</i> , 6 August 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 24 August
CC:61	Massachusetts <i>Salem Mercury</i> , 7 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 August
CC:62	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 7 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 24 August
CC:63	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 15 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 24 August
CC:66	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 22 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 31 August
CC:67	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 22 August 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 31 August
CC:70	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 29 August 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 4 September <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 12 September

- CC:No. Item/Maryland Reprints**
- CC:71 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 August 1787
 Maryland Chronicle, 12 September (both paragraphs),
 3 October (paragraph 2)
- CC:72 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787
 Maryland Journal, 11 September
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 14 September
- CC:77-A Benjamin Franklin: Speech in Convention,
 17 September 1787
 Virginia Independent Chronicle, 5 December
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 18 December
- CC:79 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 September 1787
 Maryland Journal, 25 September
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 25 September
- CC:87 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 21 September 1787
 Maryland Chronicle, 31 October
- CC:96-B *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787
 Maryland Journal, 16 October
- CC:99 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
 Maryland Journal, 5 October
- CC:100-A An American Citizen I
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 September 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 5 October
- CC:101 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 September 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 2 October (paragraph 6)
 Maryland Journal, 2 October (complete)
 Maryland Chronicle, 10 October (paragraphs 1–6)
- CC:108 *Maryland Journal*, 28 September 1787
 No Maryland reprints
- CC:109 An American Citizen II
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 September 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 9 October
- CC:110-A *Massachusetts Centinel*, 29 September 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 16 October
 Maryland Journal, 16 October
- CC:111 Curtius
 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 29 September 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 26 October (excerpt)
 Maryland Journal, 27 June 1788 (excerpt)
- CC:112 An American Citizen III
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 29 September 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 12 October

- CC:No. Item/Maryland Reprints**
- CC:161 *Boston Gazette*, 15 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 30 October
 Maryland Chronicle, 7 November
- CC:166 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 17 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 23 October
 Maryland Chronicle, 31 October
 Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 1 November
- CC:167 A Democratic Federalist
 Pennsylvania Herald, 17 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 26 October
- CC:168 One of the People
 Massachusetts Centinel, 17 October 1787
 Maryland Journal, 13 November (excerpt)
- CC:170 An Old Whig II
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 2 November
- CC:171-A The Attack on the Non-signers of the Constitution
 Pennsylvania Journal, 17 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 23 October (paragraph 1)
- CC:171-B *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 23 October
 Maryland Chronicle, 31 October
- CC:177 Governor John Hancock's Speech to the Massachusetts
 General Court, Boston, 18 October 1787
 Maryland Journal, 2 November (excerpt)
- CC:183-A An American Citizen IV
 Broadside, Philadelphia, 21 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 2 November
- CC:190 Centinel II
 Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 24 October 1787
 Maryland Journal, 2 November
- CC:198 Rhode Island *Newport Herald*, 25 October 1787
 Maryland Journal, 20 November (paragraph 2)
- CC:202 An Old Whig IV
 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 6 November (excerpt)
- CC:214 Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 30 October 1787
 Maryland Journal, 23 November
- CC:218 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 6 November (paragraph 3)
- CC:219 Ship News
 Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 1 November 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 20 November

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:227-A	Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts General Court <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 3 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 20 November <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 5 December <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 23 November, 4 January 1788
CC:233-A	George Washington and the Constitutional Convention <i>New Jersey Journal</i> , 7 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 20 November <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 20 November
CC:233-B	Anecdote <i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 7 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 16 November <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 28 December
CC:236	Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 7 November 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 13 November
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 19 September 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 25 September
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 25 September 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 2 October <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 2 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 25 September 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 2 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 27 September 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 9 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 6 October 1787 <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 24 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 10 October 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 19 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 10 October 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 16 October (paragraphs 1, 5, 6) <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 16 October (paragraphs 1–2)
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 17 October 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 23 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Lansingburgh, N.Y., <i>Northern Centinel</i> , 29 October 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 December
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Rhode Island <i>Newport Herald</i> , 1 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 27 November <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 5 December
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 1 November 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 13 November Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 16 November

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:310	The Federalist 14 <i>New York Packet</i> , 30 November 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 1 January 1788 (excerpt)
CC:316	A Landholder V <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 3 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 8 January 1788
CC:325	Richard Henry Lee to Governor Edmund Randolph Petersburg <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 6 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 21 December
CC:329	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 7 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 25 December <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 December
CC:335	Landholder VI <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 10 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 1 January 1788
CC:339-A	President John Sullivan on the Constitution <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 4 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 4 January
CC:339-B	President John Sullivan's Speech to the Legislature <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 30 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 February (excerpt)
CC:351	A Landholder VII <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 17 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 January 1788
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 15 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 27 November
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Reports of Benjamin Franklin signing the Constitution <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 21 November 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 12 September 1788
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 20 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 11 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 21 November 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 27 November <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 27 November (paragraphs 1–2) <i>Maryland Chronicle</i> , 12 December (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 21 November 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 27 November (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 30 November 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 7 December Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 13 December

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Charleston, S.C., <i>Columbian Herald</i> , 3 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 11 January 1788
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>New Jersey Journal</i> , 5 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 10 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 25 December (excerpt) Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 3 January 1788
CC:371	The Landholder VIII <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 24 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 12 January 1788
CC:377	One of the People: Antifederal Arguments <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 December 1787 No Maryland reprints
CC:383	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 26 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 January 1788
CC:385	Edmund Randolph's 10 October 1787 Letter Pamphlet, Richmond, c. 27 December 1787 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 January 1788
CC:386-A	George Washington to Charles Carter <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 1 January 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:389	Luther Martin: Genuine Information I Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 28 December 1787 No Maryland reprints
CC:392-A	An American: To Richard Henry Lee Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 28 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 8, 12 February 1788
CC:395	The New Roof <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 29 December 1787 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 15 January 1788
CC:401	Luther Martin: Genuine Information II Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 January 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:407	An Old Man Pennsylvania <i>Carlisle Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 8 January
CC:408	An Address to the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention Pennsylvania <i>Carlisle Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 11 January
CC:413	Oliver Ellsworth's Speech in the Connecticut Convention, 4 January 1788 <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 7 January <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 January

- CC:No. Item/Maryland Reprints**
- William Samuel Johnson's Speech in the Connecticut Convention, 4 January
Connecticut Courant, 14 January
Maryland Journal, 1 February
- CC:414 Luther Martin: Genuine Information III
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 4 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:420 James Wadsworth's and Oliver Wadsworth's Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 7 January 1788
Connecticut Courant, 14 January
Maryland Journal, 1, 5 February
- CC:424-D Report of the Boston Tradesmen Meeting
Massachusetts Centinel, 9 January 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 January (paragraph 1)
Maryland Journal, 29 January
- CC:425 Luther Martin: Genuine Information IV
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:428 Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 9 January 1788
Connecticut Courant, 14 January
Maryland Journal, 1, 8 February
- CC:439 Governor George Clinton's Speech to the N.Y. Legislature
New York *Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788
Maryland Journal, 22 January (excerpt)
- CC:441 Luther Martin: Genuine Information V
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:447 The Report of N.Y.'s Delegates to the Constitutional Convention
New York *Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788
Maryland Journal, 22 January
- CC:448 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 January 1788
Maryland Journal, 25 January
- CC:451 Luther Martin: Genuine Information VI
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:459 Luther Martin: Genuine Information VII
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 18 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:460 Luther Martin to the Printer
Maryland Journal, 18 January 1788
No Maryland reprints

- CC:No. Item/Maryland Reprints**
- CC:467 Luther Martin: Genuine Information VIII
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:484 Luther Martin: Genuine Information IX
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:490-A Aristides: *Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government*
Pamphlet, Annapolis, 31 January 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:Volume 3 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 December 1787
Appendix I Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 25 December
 Maryland Journal, 25 December
- CC:Volume 3 Newspaper Reports of the Calling of State Conventions
Appendix I *Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 December 1787
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 25 December
- CC:Volume 3 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 21 December 1787
Appendix I Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 28 December
- CC:Volume 3 Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 25 December 1787
Appendix I Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 January 1788
 Maryland Journal, 15 January
- CC:Volume 3 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 29 December 1787
Appendix I *Maryland Journal*, 4 January 1788
- CC:Volume 3 Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 2 January 1788
Appendix I *Maryland Journal*, 25 January
- CC:Volume 3 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 January 1788
Appendix I *Maryland Journal*, 8 January
 Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 10 January
- CC:Volume 3 Richmond, Va., Political Society
Appendix I Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 5 January 1788
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 January
- CC:Volume 3 John Hancock and the Constitution,
Appendix I 3 January–4 February 1788
 Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 3 January
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 January
 Maryland Journal, 29 January
 Massachusetts Gazette, 11 January
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 1 February
 Maryland Journal, 1 February
 Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 7 February
 Connecticut Courant, 4 February
 Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 19 February

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 7 January 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 18 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	The Pillars of the American Republic, 9–16 January 1788 <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 9 January <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 29 January <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 January <i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 15 January <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 5 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 9 January 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 15 January <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Massachusetts <i>Worcester Magazine</i> , 10 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 15 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 5 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Lansingburgh, N.Y., <i>Northern Centinel</i> , 15 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 5 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 19 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 19 February (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 19 January 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 25 January <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	The Minority of the Connecticut Convention Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 21 January 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 29 January <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 23 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 January (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Litchfield, Conn., <i>Weekly Monitor</i> , 28 January 1788 Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 February <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 4 March
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 January 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 5 February
CC:493	Luther Martin: Genuine Information X <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 February 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:498	Civis: To the Citizens of South Carolina Charleston, S.C., <i>Columbian Herald</i> , 4 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 April (pamphlet version)
CC:502	Luther Martin: Genuine Information XI <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 5 February 1788 No Maryland reprints

- CC:No. Item/Maryland Reprints**
- CC:504 “A.B.”: The Raising
Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 February 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 19 February
- CC:507 Philadelphiensis IX
Philadelphia *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 12 February (excerpt)
- CC:508 Massachusetts Convention: Amendments to the Constitution
Hancock’s Original Proposal
Massachusetts Centinel, 2 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 19 February
Final Version
Massachusetts Gazette, 8 February
Maryland Journal, 22 February
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 February
Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 28 February
- CC:516 Luther Martin: Genuine Information XII
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 February 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:523 Charleston, S.C., *City Gazette*, 11 February 1788
Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 27 March
- CC:526 A Citizen of the United States
Pennsylvania Gazette, 13 February 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 21 March
- CC:529-A Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 14 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 6 May
- CC:534 Spurious Centinel XV
Pennsylvania Mercury, 16 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 29 February (extra)
- CC:552 A Yankee
Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 26 February
- CC:554-B *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 February 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 14 March
- CC:557 John Adams on the Constitution
New York Journal, 23 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 11 April
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 April
- CC:559 John Williams on the Constitution
Albany, N.Y., *Federal Herald*, 25 February 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 March
- CC:566-A Governor John Hancock’s Speech to the Legislature
Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February 1788
Maryland Journal, 14, 18 March (excerpts)

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:566-C	<i>New York Journal</i> , 24 March 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 13 May Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 15 May
CC:580	The Landholder No. X (Spurious) <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 February 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:602	Arthur Lee's Report on Virginia Antifederalism Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 7 March 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 March <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 14 March
CC:604	Luther Martin: Reply to Maryland Landholder No. X <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 7 March 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:624	Poughkeepsie <i>Country Journal</i> , 18 March 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 4 April (excerpt) <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 4 April (excerpt)
CC:626	Luther Martin: Address No. I <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 March 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:627	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 19 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 8 April
CC:636	Luther Martin: Address No. II <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 21 March 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:638-A	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 22 March 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 8 April
CC:650	Luther Martin: Address No. III <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 28 March 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Packet</i> , 1 February 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 8 February <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 12 February (excerpt) Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 2 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 12 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 5 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Packet</i> , 5 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 February Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Rhode Island <i>Newport Herald</i> , 7 February 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 18 March (excerpt) <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 28 March (excerpt)

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 7 February 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 19 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 7 February 1788 <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 7 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 11 February 1788 <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 21 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 13 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 19 February <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 26 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Independent Journal</i> , 16 February 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 26 February <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 March, extra (paragraph 4)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 18 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 26 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 26 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 1 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Charleston, S.C., <i>City Gazette</i> , 22 March 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 29 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 7 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 26 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 26 February (paragraphs 1, 3–6) <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 26 February (paragraphs 1, 4–6)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Reports of South Carolina's Call of a Convention <i>Boston Gazette</i> , 25 February 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Massachusetts <i>Salem Mercury</i> , 26 February 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 27 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 4 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Packet</i> , 29 February 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 7 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Providence Gazette</i> , 1 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 21 March

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Morning Post</i> , 3 March 1788 <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 13 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 3 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 11 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 3 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 4 March 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 7 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 8 March 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 25 March (paragraphs 1, 3) <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25 March (paragraph 4) <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 27 March (paragraphs 1–2)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 12 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 March (extra) (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 15 March 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 19 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 25, 28 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Federalist <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 26 March 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 April <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 15 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 16 February 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 14 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 February 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 11 March 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Manco <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 March 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 18 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Petition of the Philadelphia Newspaper Printers to the Pennsylvania Assembly, 20–29 March 1788 <i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 2 April <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 8 April <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 8 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Ebenezer Hazard's Defense <i>New York Journal</i> , 21 March 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 April

- CC:No.** **Item/Maryland Reprints**
- CC:Volume 4 The Circulation of the Massachusetts Legislature's Answer to
Appendix II Governor John Hancock's Speech, 15–28 April 1788
A Correspondent
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 15 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 April
- CC:658 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 April
- CC:662 Luther Martin: Address No. IV
Maryland Journal, 4 April 1788
No Maryland reprints
- CC:668 “K”
Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 8 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 April
- CC:677 Fabius I
Pennsylvania Mercury, 12 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 April
- CC:680 Benjamin Rush to David Ramsay
Charleston, S.C., *Columbian Herald*, 14 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 20 May
- CC:684 Fabius II
Pennsylvania Mercury, 15 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 2 May
- CC:685 Peter Prejudice: The New Breeches
Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 15 April 1788
Maryland Journal, 13 June
- CC:690 Fabius III
Pennsylvania Mercury, 17 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 9 May
- CC:693 Fabius IV
Pennsylvania Mercury, 19 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 20 May
- CC:699 Fabius V
Pennsylvania Mercury, 22 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 23 May
- CC:705 Fabius VI
Pennsylvania Mercury, 24 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 6 June
- CC:710 Fabius VII
Pennsylvania Mercury, 26 April 1788
Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 13 June
- CC:716-A Amendments Proposed by William Paca in the Maryland
Convention
Maryland Journal, 29 April 1788
No Maryland reprints

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:716-B	Address of the Minority of the Maryland Convention <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 1 May 1788 No Maryland reprints
CC:717	Fabius VIII <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 29 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 20 June
CC:719	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 13 May
CC:722	Fabius IX <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 1 May 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 24 June
CC:737	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 9 May 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 16 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 3 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 8 April <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 8 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 9 April 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 22 April (first sentence of paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 10 April 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 15 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>New York Morning Post</i> , 11 April 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 18 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 12 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 29 April <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Philadelphia Freeman's Journal</i> , 16 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 22 April <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 22 April <i>Annapolis Maryland Gazette</i> , 24 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 23 April 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Charleston, S.C., <i>City Gazette</i> , 29 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 27 May <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 27 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 April 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 6 May (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 1 May 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 13 May <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 16 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 7 May 1788 <i>Baltimore Maryland Gazette</i> , 13 May <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 13 May (paragraphs 1–2)

CC:No.	Item/Maryland Reprints
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Delaware Gazette</i> , 7 May 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 20 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 9 May 1788 No Maryland reprints
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CC:753	South Carolina Convention Amendments, 23 May 1788 Charleston, S.C., <i>Columbian Herald</i> , 26 May 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 13 June <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 13 June
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CC:813	A Friend of Society and Liberty <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 23 July 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 12 August
CC:816	William Pitt Smith: Ode on the Adoption of the Constitution <i>New York Journal</i> , 24 July 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 1 August
CC:818-A	N.Y. Declaration of Rights and Form of Ratification Poughkeepsie <i>Country Journal</i> , 29 July 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 8 August <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 8 August Annapolis <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 14 August
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CC:822	A Federal Song New York <i>Albany Journal</i> , 4 August 1788 <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 22 August Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 5 September
CC:845	The Confederation Congress Calls the First Federal Elections, 13 September 1788 Broadside, New York <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 19 September
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CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 13 May 1788 Baltimore <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 30 May <i>Maryland Journal</i> , 30 May
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