

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE  
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

*Ratification of the Constitution by the States*

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

*Supplemental Documents*



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## Contents

Introduction .....	x
Symbols .....	xi

### Documents

1. New Hampshire Gazette, 29 September 1787 .....	1
2. Ezra Stiles Diary, Boscawen, N.H., 2 October 1787 .....	1
3. John Sullivan to Jeremy Belknap, Durham, N.H., 4 October 1787 .....	1
4. New Hampshire Spy, 9 October 1787 .....	2
5. Massachusetts Worcester Magazine, 11 October 1787 .....	3
6. Lansingburgh, N.Y., Northern Centinel, 15 October 1787 .....	3
7. Pennsylvania Packet, 16 October 1787 .....	3
8. Nicholas Gilman to President John Sullivan, New York 31 October 1787 .....	4
9. Maryland Journal, 2 November 1787 .....	5
10. New Hampshire Spy, 3 November 1787 .....	5
11. New Hampshire Spy, 6 November 1787 .....	5
12. Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan, New York, 7 November 1787 .....	6
13. New Hampshire Gazette, 9 November 1787 .....	7
14. New Hampshire Spy, 9 November 1787 .....	7
15. Massachusetts Centinel, 10 November 1787 .....	7
16. William Heath Diary, Roxbury, Mass., 11 November 1787 .....	7
17. Nicholas Gilman to William Irvine, New York, 20 November 1787 .....	7
18. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, New York, 21 November 1787 .....	8
19. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet 21 November 1787 .....	8
20. New Hampshire Mercury, 23 November 1787 .....	8
21. New Hampshire Mercury, 11 December 1787 .....	9
22. New Hampshire Spy, 11 December 1787 .....	9
23. New Hampshire Spy, 11 December 1787 .....	9
24. New Hampshire Gazette, 12 December 1787 .....	9
25. Autobiography of William Plumer, Epping, N.H., 14 December 1787 .....	10
26. New Hampshire Spy, 15 December 1787 .....	11
27. Providence, R.I., Gazette, 15 December 1787 .....	11
28. New Hampshire Mercury, 18 December 1787 .....	11
29. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 18 December 1787 .....	11
30. Massachusetts Centinel, 22 December 1787 .....	12
31. John Langdon to Nicholas Gilman, Portsmouth, N.H. 23 December 1787 .....	12
32. Samuel Lane Diary, Stratham, N.H., 1788 .....	12
33. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, New York, 6 January 1788 .....	13
34. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 11 January 1788 .....	13
35. New Hampshire Spy, 25 January 1788 .....	13

36. New Hampshire Spy, 25 January 1788 .....	15
37. Walter Rutherford to John Stevens, Sr., New York, 9 February 1788 ....	15
38. John Sullivan to Joseph Gilman, Portsmouth, N.H., 9 February 1788 .....	15
39. Thomas Russell to John Langdon, 13 February 1788 .....	15
40. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 15 February 1788 .....	16
41. New Hampshire Spy, 15 February 1788 .....	17
42. New Hampshire Spy, 15 February 1788 .....	17
43. New York Journal, 16 February 1788 .....	17
44. Willing, Morris, & Swanwick to John Langdon, Philadelphia 18 February 1788 .....	17
45. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 20 February 1788 .....	17
46. Coxe & Frazier to James Clark, Philadelphia, 22 February 1788 .....	17
47. Boston Gazette, 25 February 1788 .....	18
48. Samuel Phillips Savage Diary, Weston, Mass., 26 February 1788 .....	18
49. John Sullivan to Jeremy Belknap, Durham, N.H., 26 February 1788 ....	18
50. New Hampshire Recorder, 26 February 1788 .....	19
51. Massachusetts Gazette, 26 February 1788 .....	19
52. Ezra Stiles Diary, New Haven, Conn., 28 February 1788 .....	19
53. Portland, Maine, Cumberland Gazette, 28 February 1788 .....	19
54. Massachusetts Worcester Magazine, 28 February 1788 .....	19
55. Providence, R.I., United States Chronicle, 28 February 1788 .....	20
56. New York Journal, 28 February 1788 .....	20
57. Thaddeus Leavitt Diary, Suffield, Conn., 29 February 1788 .....	20
58. William Plumer Autobiography, February 1788 .....	20
59. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap, New York, 1 March 1788 .....	21
60. Peter S. Curtenius to George Clinton, New York, 2 March 1788 .....	21
61. James Madison to Edmund Pendleton, New York, 3 March 1788 .....	21
62. New York Journal, 3 March 1788 .....	21
63. Ezra Stiles Diary, New Haven, Conn., 4 March 1788 .....	23
64. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 4 March 1788 .....	23
65. James Cogswell Diary, Scotland, Conn., 5 March 1788 .....	23
66. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 6 March 1788 .....	24
67. New York Journal, 6 March 1788 .....	24
68. Virginia Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 12 March 1788 .....	24
69. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 19 March 1788 .....	24
70. New Hampshire Spy, 21 March 1788 .....	24
71. New Hampshire Gazette, 2 April 1788 .....	25
72. William Robinson, Jr., to John Langdon, Philadelphia, 9 April 1788 ....	25
73. New Hampshire Spy, 11 April 1788 .....	26
74. Rufus King to John Sullivan, New York, 16 April 1788 .....	26
75. William Short to Fulwar Skipwith, Paris, 20 April 1788 .....	26
76. Abraham Baldwin to Enos Hitchcock, New York, 23 April 1788 .....	27
77. Abraham Baldwin to Seaborn Jones, New York, 26 April 1788 .....	27
78. New Hampshire Spy, 29 April 1788 .....	27
79. Draft Newspaper Letter Extract, 12 May 1788 .....	27
80. Massachusetts Centinel, 24 May 1788 .....	28

81. William Bingham to Tench Coxe, New York, 25 May 1788 .....	28
82. John Avery, Jr., to Nathan Dane, Boston, 27 May 1788 .....	28
83. William Bingham to Tench Coxe, New York, 30 May 1788 .....	28
84. Pierse Long to Paine Wingate, Portsmouth, N.H., 3 June 1788 .....	28
85. Pennsylvania Packet, 4 June 1788 .....	29
86. Massachusetts Spy, 5 June 1788 .....	29
87. James Bryson to John Langdon, Philadelphia, 11 June 1788 .....	29
88. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 11 June 1788 .....	29
89. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Henry Knox, Hartford, Conn., 15 June 1788 ...	29
90. Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons, New York, 16 June 1788 .....	29
91. New York Daily Advertiser, 17 June 1788 .....	30
92. Levi Hollingsworth to Richard Dobbs Spaight, Philadelphia 18 June 1788 .....	30
93. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet 18 June 1788 .....	30
94. Boston American Herald, 19 June 1788 .....	30
95. William Pynchon Diary, Salem, Mass., 20 June 1788 .....	30
96. Maryland Journal, 20 June 1788 .....	30
97. William Heath Diary, Roxbury, Mass., 22 June 1788 .....	31
98. Henry Jackson to Henry Knox, Boston, 22 June 1788 .....	31
99. Henry Jackson to Henry Knox, Boston, 22 June 1788 .....	31
100. Lewis Cass Recalls Exeter Celebration of New Hampshire Ratification, 23 June 1788 .....	31
101. Thomas English to Thomas Burrow, Boston, 24 June 1788 .....	32
102. New York Daily Advertiser, 24 June 1788 .....	32
103. New York Packet, 24 June 1788 .....	32
104. John Brown to Archibald Stuart, New York, 25 June 1788 .....	32
105. Walter Livingston to Tench Coxe, New York, 25 June 1788 .....	33
106. Noah Webster Diary, New York, 25 June 1788 .....	33
107. Northampton, Mass., Hampshire Gazette, 25 June 1788 .....	33
108. James Caldwell to Silas Talbot, Albany, N.Y., 26 June 1788 .....	33
109. Elizabeth Farmer to Hugh H. Farmer, Kensington, N.H. 26 June 1788 .....	33
110. Jedidiah Morse to Jeremy Belknap, Boston, 26 June 1788 .....	34
111. Samuel Morris Diary, 26 June 1788 .....	34
112. Samuel Phillips Savage Diary, Weston, Mass., 26 June 1788 .....	34
113. Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane, New York, 26 June 1788 .....	34
114. Massachusetts Spy, 26 June 1788 .....	35
115. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 26 June 1788 .....	36
116. Pennsylvania Packet, 26 June 1788 .....	36
117. Samuel Magaw to Robert Magaw, Philadelphia, 27 June 1788 .....	36
118. New York Packet, 27 June 1788 .....	36
119. Pennsylvania Packet, 27 June 1788 .....	36
120. Pennsylvania Packet, 27 June 1788 .....	36
121. Thomas Russell to John Langdon, Boston, 30 June 1788 .....	37
122. Vermont Journal, 30 June 1788 .....	37

123. New York American Magazine, June 1788 .....	37
124. Philadelphia American Museum, June 1788 .....	37
125. Samuel Hodgdon to Rebecca White Pickering, Philadelphia 1 July 1788 .....	37
126. New Jersey Journal, 2 July 1788 .....	38
127. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 2 July 1788 .....	38
128. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 2 July 1788 .....	39
129. New Hampshire Gazette, 3 July 1788 .....	39
130. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 4 July 1788 .....	39
131. Providence, R.I., Gazette, 5 July 1788 .....	42
132. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 July 1788 .....	42
133. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 9 July 1788 .....	43
134. Virginia Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 9 July 1788 .....	43
135. Virginia Centinel, 9 July 1788 .....	43
136. Alfredus, Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 11 July 1788 .....	43
137. New Hampshire Recorder, 15 July 1788 .....	44
138. Nova Scotia Gazette, 15 July 1788 .....	45
139. Winthrop Sargent to Henry Knox, Muskingum, Northwest Territory 16 July 1788 .....	45
140. Georgia State Gazette, 19 July 1788 .....	45
141. Paine Wingate to John Langdon, New York, 26 July 1788 .....	45
142. John Trumbull to Thomas Jefferson, London, 29 July 1788 .....	46
143. Thomas Jefferson to C. W. F. Dumas, Paris, 30 July 1788 .....	46
144. Thomas Jefferson to André Limozin, Paris, 30 July 1788 .....	46
145. Thomas Jefferson to Comte de Montmorin, Paris, 30 July 1788 .....	46
146. New Hampshire Gazette, 31 July 1788 .....	46
147. John Brown Cutting to William Short, London, 2 August 1788 .....	47
148. New Hampshire Recorder, 5 August 1788 .....	47
149. Nicholas and Jacob van Staphorst to William Duer, Amsterdam 7 August 1788 .....	47
150. Thomas Jefferson to John Rutledge, Jr., Paris, 12 August 1788 .....	48
151. New Hampshire Spy, 12 August 1788 .....	48
152. John Brown Cutting to Thomas Lee Shippen, London 24 August 1788 .....	48
153. John Weeks to John Langdon, Lancaster, N.H., 5 September 1788 ....	49
154. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 6 September 1788 .....	49
155. New Hampshire Recorder, 9 September 1788 .....	50
156. John Langdon: Thanksgiving Proclamation, Portsmouth 10 October 1788 .....	51
157. Payment of Convention Expenses, 6–7 November 1788 .....	52
157-A. New Hampshire House of Representatives Proceedings Thursday, 6 November .....	52
157-B. New Hampshire Senate Proceedings, Friday, 7 November .....	53
158. Friend to Amendments, Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle 8 November 1788 .....	53
159. John Pickering to Joseph Pearson, 9 December 1788 .....	54



CONTENTS

ix

160. Aaron Hall to New Hampshire Treasurer, Keene, N.H. 20 December 1788 .....	54
161. Draft Resolution for Paying Convention Delegates, 22 January 1790 ....	54
162. Bow, N.H., Town Meeting, 29 March 1790 .....	55
163. William Plumer: Autobiography, 1826 .....	55
Appendix: Items printed or reprinted in New Hampshire contained in <i>Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private, 1787–1788</i> .....	57
Index .....	89

## **Introduction**

The supplemental documents are intended to provide a fuller documentation and understanding of the debate over the ratification of the Constitution in New Hampshire than was possible in the printed volume. This supplement contains official documents, letters, and newspaper items consisting of literal transcripts of the originals. The documents are arranged chronologically.

## **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 New Hampshire.

## Symbols

### Manuscripts

FC	File Copy
MS	Manuscript
RC	Recipient's Copy

### Manuscript Depositories

DLC	Library of Congress
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society
Nh	New Hampshire State Library
Nh-Ar	New Hampshire State Archives
NhHi	New Hampshire Historical Society
NHi	New-York Historical Society
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania

### Short Titles

<i>Belknap Correspondence</i>	"The Belknap Papers," <i>Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i> , 5th series, Vols. II–III (Boston, 1877).
Boyd, <i>Jefferson</i>	Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Thomas Jefferson</i> (Princeton, N.J., 1950–).
Evans	Charles Evans, <i>American Bibliography</i> (12 vols., Chicago, 1903–1934).
Smith, <i>Letters</i>	Paul H. Smith, ed., <i>Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789</i> (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976–2000).

### 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:587."
Mfm	References to the supplements to the "RCS" volumes are cited as "Mfm" followed by the abbreviation of the state and the number of the document. For example: "Mfm:N.H. 21." "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:N.H., 137."



## Documents

### 1. New Hampshire Gazette, 29 September 1787

The Grand Federal Convention completed their important business on Monday the 17th inst. when the whole of their proceedings were immediately laid before Congress, the copy of which we obtained too late for this day's paper, owing to its great length, but shall gratify our readers with it in our next.

This day Published,  
And ready for Sale,  
*At Melcher's Printing-Office,*  
In Market-Street,  
The Constitution of the  
United States,  
As recommended to Congress the 17th inst.  
by the  
*Grand Federal Convention.*

### 2. Ezra Stiles Diary

**Boscawen, N.H., 2 October 1787<sup>1</sup>**

At Boscawen met the News of the New foederal Constitution pub by the Conventn at Philada

1. MS, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

### 3. John Sullivan to Jeremy Belknap

**Durham, N.H., 4 October 1787<sup>1</sup>**

*My Dear Sir*

Your very acceptable favor of the 4th of September reached me at Charlestown from whence no opportunity offered for returning an answer. You could not have begun a Correspondence upon a more agreeable subject since it has for years been among my first, if not my very first favorite Subjects. I am always a friend to true merit but am sorry to say that national or what we call patriotic or public merit receives no greater Countenance among the Americans than Religious merit does among the Senecas. every mans Eye seems to be turned inward & almost every man may see an O—— B——k——r by turning to the glass—Ancient History particularly that of the grecian states if believed would convince us that the more one strives to serve a Republic the more he is enored [i.e., ignored] or at Least disregarded—we Christians having of Course a great stock of Charity hope that we are somewhat better than the Ancients but often find by sad experience that we are much worse. it is difficult to Account for this evil so well described by the great Apostle and so Justly painted by him in its own proper Colours—It is difficult to Determine to what this Ingratitude owes its origin;

some say to envy; some declare that it is owing to Insensibility while others affirm that it flows from natural Depravity. But I must Differ totally with the two former Classes and agree only in part with the Latter—men of merit may be rewarded in absolute Governments for those Labours which tend to improve the mind because the monarch may be virtuous or may see some advantage resulting from it, but in a Republic every man feels for the whole & when the Republic is in Distress each Individual feels in a degree what the monarch feels in a more absolute Government at a similar period and when any person Rises up and affords it relief conceives the Debt too great to be cancelled & to avoid the Burden of standing Indebted and perhaps too much filled with pride to remain in Such a situation siezes the first possible opportunity to Cancell the Debt by Declaring an open war with the generous Creditor. This being the natural Disposition of mankind when Left to themselves (and it will not be denied that they are nearly so in a Republic) it must follow that the more a man does to serve Such a people the Less will be the reward, consequently my worthy friend will not be astonished that the first man who Endeavored by his masterly pen to raise the name of new Hampshire from the Ashes of Insignificance has met with no better reward. I am however not without hope that at January Session something may be done. At Charlestown many of your good friends being Absent & among them Mr Pickering who would have been your zealous advocate in the House, I thought best to postpone it to January Session at portsmouth where the attendance of a much greater number of the members from the old Towns is expected and you may depend on its being made a point with me to have something done which may encourage a publication of the second volumn—Should your business permit your taking a ride to portsmouth in January perhaps it might be of great service. The Court will meet the second wednesday, perhaps the second week of the Court would be best for you to be on the spot. You may rely on every Exertion of Dear Sir your very sincere friend and obedient servant

P: S my best respects wait on your Lady and family

1. Printed: Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan Continental Army*, New Hampshire Historical Society *Collections*, XIII–XV (Concord, N.H., 1930–1939), III, 545–46.

#### 4. New Hampshire Spy, 9 October 1787

Extracts from an ODE inscribed to General *Washington*, by Col. *Humphreys*, entitled, MOUNT VERNON.

Angels might see, with joy, the sage,  
 Who taught the battle where to rage,  
     Or quench'd its spreading flame;  
 On works of peace employ that band,  
 Which wav'd the blade of high command,  
     And hew'd the path to fame.  
 Thy happy seat inspires my song:  
     With gay perennial blooms,  
 With fruitage fair, and cool retreats,

Whose bow'ry wilderness of sweets  
 The ambient air perfumes—  
 Here lap'd in philosophic ease,  
 Within thy walks, beneath thy trees,  
 Amidst thine ample farms;  
 No vulgar converse heroes hold,  
 But past or future scenes unfold,  
 Or dwell on nature's charms.  
 O God, the source of light supreme,  
 Shed on our dusky morn a gleam,  
 To guide our doubtful way:  
 Restrain dread power! our land from crimes,  
 What seeks tho' blest beyond all times,  
 So querulous an age!  
 What means to freedom such disgust?  
 Of change, of anarchy the lust!  
 The fickleness and rage!  
 So spake his country's friend with sighs,  
 To find that country still despise  
 The LEGACY he gave;<sup>(a)</sup>  
 And half be fear'd his toils were vain,  
 And much that man would court a chain;  
 And live through vice, a slave.

(a) An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head. His farewell letter to the states. [See CC:4.]

#### 5. Massachusetts Worcester Magazine, 11 October 1787

On Saturday, last week [6 October], the Hon. Mr. Langdon, delegate to the late Federal Convention, and Member of Congress for the State of New Hampshire, passed through this town, on his return to Portsmouth, from New York.

#### 6. Lansingburgh, N.Y., Northern Centinel, 15 October 1787

Our last papers from New-Hampshire inform, that the people in that state highly approve of the new federal government.

#### 7. Pennsylvania Packet, 16 October 1787<sup>1</sup>

An inhabitant of the state of New-Hampshire, by way of ridiculing the rage for paper money which prevails among his countrymen, observes, that a scheme is on foot for introducing an emission of rope-money, to be dealt out by the inch, foot, fathom, &c. which will answer a more valuable purpose than paper; as a shilling will be sufficient to give a man a good whipping, if he attempts to depreciate it; and a larger quantity be sufficient to hang him, if he is detected in any treasonable practices.

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Journal*, 25 October.

**8. Nicholas Gilman to President John Sullivan  
New York, 31 October 1787<sup>1</sup>**

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 22d of september, which unfortunately did not come to hand untill last evening by post;—but the letter, alluded, in reply to mine of the 18th of august I have not had the pleasure to receive; What devious paths they may have taken or into what unkind hands have fallen I know not—but consider it very unfortunate that I did not receive them in time, as it has occasioned some delay on my part, and has probably deprived me of such further communications as would have been very satisfactory & useful.—

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

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

In the course of conversation with the delegates of Virginia I find they are interrogated by those who have the management of the finances of that State; on the subject of Speculations in public securities—and it is recommended by a number of their most respectable Characters to lay all taxes in hard money and empower an Agent to purchase their Quota—they are not in possession of their quota of the old emission money and have asked me how we would pay with ours—I have informed them that probably they might buy it but have



evaded all questions respecting a price—Now sir—if the Virginians are disposed to give a tolerable price for this money would it not be well for us to sell it and purchase the final settlement Notes on the best terms we can?

The sale of the Western lands is going on very well; what is already sold and applied for will amount to about Seven Million dollars—and if North Carolina & Georgia should make such Cessions as might be expected, it is supposed there will be public lands enough to absorb the most, or perhaps the whole of the domestic debt—It will however appreciate as the sum in circulation diminishes—therefore if our State could adopt the policy of Virginia in buying up a few thousand pounds with hard money I should think it would prove very advantageous; particularly to the poorer class of people who often become victims to the avarice of the Harpies that are sometimes employed in collecting taxes.—

Pennsylvania & New York have bought up their quotas of the public securities and Massachusetts has bought in a considerable sum.

We have no dispatches by the last packet—but the newspaper account of the commotions in Europe is so correspondent to the last official advices that I am inclined to consider it as a tolerable State of facts and enclose it for your Excellency's perusal.—as, in the course of writing I may insert things of a nature improper for public discussion I must request your Excellency will please to communicate such parts, only, of my letters, as the public good may require.—

Your letter to Messrs. P. & H— will go on by the morning post.—

1. RC, State Papers Related to the Revolution, 1785–89, Nh-Ar.

### 9. Maryland Journal, 2 November 1787<sup>1</sup>

Late New-Hampshire and New-Jersey News-Papers advise, that the Report of the Federal Convention meets with the greatest Approbation in those States.

1. Reprinted: *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 1 December.

### 10. New Hampshire Spy, 3 November 1787<sup>1</sup>

We hear that his Excellency, President Sullivan, has proposed to this Council, to convene the General Assembly of this state at an earlier period than that to which they stand adjourned, in order to take into consideration the expediency of appointing a state convention to deliberate upon the new Constitution, as reported by the federal convention.

1. Reprinted: Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 14 November; New York *Daily Advertiser*, 17 November; *Albany Gazette*, 22 November; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 23 November; *Maryland Journal*, 27 November.

### 11. New Hampshire Spy, 6 November 1787<sup>1</sup>

Thursday the 29th inst. is appointed by authority to be observed as a day of public Thanksgiving and Praise throughout this state.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal*, 24 November.

**12. Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan**  
**New York, 7 November 1787<sup>1</sup>**

For the satisfaction of my own mind on the subject, I have procured a statement of the National debt (as far as it can be at present ascertained) in one view;—and it being, perhaps, more particular than any one heretofore made out, I take the liberty to enclose it, with the papers of the day; and beg leave to observe (as I omitted it in my last) that there is an error in the printed Schedule of the french and Dutch loans—viz: Septr 3d 1787—900,000 Live. carried out 666,666.60 dollars.—

The most important news we have here is from Georgia; where they are under the greatest apprehensions of an open war with the Creek Nation, which, according to the account of the Georgia delegates, consists of Seven or Eight thousand fighting men;—but, be that as it may, they have had several skirmishes, and the Indians preperation for war is so alarming to the State, that they have thought proper to order all the Slaves upwards of sixteen years of age, within sixteen miles of Savanna, to be employed in fortifying that town;—How these things will end time must reveal—but if we are to be much longer unblessed with an efficient National Government—destitute of funds and without public Credit, either at home or abroad, I fear we shall become contemptable even in the Eyes of Savages themselves.—I understand that the Legislature of Virginia has recommended a convention, to take into consideration the new plan of Government; but not to assemble untill may next, and then to adopt it as it is or make alterations, as they may think proper.—an alteration respecting the power of regulating Commerce & the construction of the Senate, is their great object.—

How they will conduct the business of the new Constitution here is difficult to foresee:—One thing, however, is observeable—that they are remarkably attentive to military discipline—they have an experienced officer with an handsome salary, constantly employed in training their Militia—and within this City I am informed there is between seven & Eight hundred men enrolled (in what they call independent Companies[])—they are in compleat uniform and well disciplined, being commanded, almost entirely, by Old Continental Officers—these men go up, on sundays, to the Solemn Temples consecrated to the GOD of peace, with bold presumptuous steps—Martial music—swords and guns as though they were determined to take Heaven by force & arms.—I form no opinion of the meaning of these things but submit it to those who are more skilled in the science of war, to determine.—

With the most perfect Respect

1. RC, Dreer Collection, Letters of Members of the Federal Convention, PHI. A copy of this letter is in New Hampshire Miscellany, Peter Force Transcripts, Council Correspondence, 1782–88, at the Library of Congress.

**13. New Hampshire Gazette, 9 November 1787<sup>1</sup>**

The Honorable General Court, is to meet at the State House in this town, on Wednesday the 5th day of December next, by proclamation from His Excellency the President, for the purpose of appointing a State Convention agreeably to the proposed new Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 19 November; Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 20 November; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 23 November; and Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette* and *New Jersey Journal*, 28 November.

**14. New Hampshire Spy, 9 November 1787**

We hear, that the General Assembly of this state is to convene in this town the first Wednesday of December next, his Excellency President Sullivan having issued a Proclamation for that purpose.

**15. Massachusetts Centinel, 10 November 1787<sup>1</sup>**

## FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

President SULLIVAN, by his Proclamation of the 1st. inst. has required the attendance of the General Court of New-Hampshire, on the 5th of next month, at Portsmouth—to consider on business of the highest importance—the appointment of a Convention.

1. Reprinted in the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 20 November, and in nine other newspapers by 15 December: Mass. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (3), Pa. (1), S.C. (1), Ga. (1).

**16. William Heath Diary  
Roxbury, Mass., 11 November 1787 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . President Sullivan of New Hampshire has called the General Assembly of that State for the purpose of recommending to the People the Choosing a Convention to Consider the New System of Government. . . .

1. MS, Heath Diaries, MHi.

**17. Nicholas Gilman to William Irvine  
New York, 20 November 1787<sup>1</sup>**

I am honored with your obliging favor of the 9th instant and am very happy to hear there is so great a probability of the adoption of the new Constitution in your State—The Legislature of New Hampshire are called together on the occasion and I believe there is no reason to doubt of its being adopted in that State—it will go a little harder in Massachusetts but will finally succeed—I have seen a list of the members chosen for the Convention in Connecticut and there appears to be a very large majority who are known to be in favor of the new [plan?].

Of Congress there is present—Massachusetts—New Jersey—Virginia and South Carolina and from New Hampre. your humble servant—from North Caro-

lina Mr. [James] White and from Georgia Mr. [Abraham] Baldwin—I expect a Colleague in a few days—Dr [William Samuel] Johnson informs me that delegates of Connecticut will attend so that if Pennsylvania comes on we may have a Congress at once.—I am very happy to hear you are in the delegation and promise myself the pleasure of seeing you soon in New York in the mean time and at all times I am with great Respect and Esteem

1. RC, Irvine Papers, PHi.

**18. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon  
New York, 21 November 1787 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . I am really sorry you are not on your way hither—especially as there is a prospect of our making a Congress soon—There are four States (Massachusetts—New Jersey—Virginia—& South Carolina) present—and one member from Georgia North Carolina and Pennsylvania—Genl. Irvine writes me that he shall soon be here and Doctor Johnson informs me that the Delegates of Connecticut were ready to set off when he left the State:—so that as soon as your humble servant has a Colleague there may be a Congress.—I hope our State will soon be represented for several reasons, but especially as the delegates of other States complain of the delinquency of New Hampshire in this particular.—

It is reported about Town that your honor is to be the president—and are you determined Sir, to disappoint the whole City? and, what is infinitely more, your dear Betsey into the bargain—for the sake of making additions to an estate swelled already so far beyond what necessity and comfort require. I hope not, and flatter my self with the expectation of seeing you here the beginning of next month:—but should you at last (in repugnance to the wishes of your friends) determine not to come on your self—I must beg you to urge Mr Wingate to set off without loss of time—and that you will be good enough to urge the Legislature to make some sort of provision for our support. . . .

1. RC, Langdon/Elwyn Family Papers, NhHi. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXIV, 562.

**19. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet  
21 November 1787<sup>1</sup>**

In consequence of a Proclamation issued by his Excellency President *Sullivan*, the General Court of the State of New-Hampshire is to meet at Portsmouth the first Wednesday in December next, for the purpose of appointing a state Convention to take into consideration the federal Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 4 December; *New York Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 6 December; and *Pennsylvania Mercury* and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 December.

**20. New Hampshire Mercury, 23 November 1787**

The Postmaster-general has published his intention to alter the transportation of the mails from conveyance in the several stages to that on horseback—from Portland, state of Massachusetts, to the city of Philadelphia, to commence the first day of January next.

**21. New Hampshire Mercury, 11 December 1787<sup>1</sup>**

The sentiments of his Excellency President Sullivan, we are informed, are perfectly federal. He is said to have expressed himself on that subject in nearly the following terms: "That tho' he did not doubt New-Hampshire, singly considered, might have framed a better constitution for themselves; yet when the whole of the thirteen states were considered; that it was to unite their jarring interests, politics, and prejudices; he was bold to say, it was one of the best systems of government that ever was devised, and that all the objections which have been raised against it, are no more than what might be brought against any form of government whatever.

1. For similar items, see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 December (RCS:N.H., 137), and Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 18 December (Mfm:N.H. 29).

**22. New Hampshire Spy, 11 December 1787**

Every circumstance conspires to prove this great truth, that the consequence of the people's rejecting the Federal Constitution will be anarchy in the extreme—If then, only the possibility of a transfer of some of our franchises, will be the effect of adopting it—can the enlightened citizens of America hesitate one moment what course to pursue?—Can they wish an introduction of that baneful progeny of hell, anarchy and misrule

From whose swell'd eyes there runs a briny flood;  
Whose crimson faces gleam with clotted blood;  
Around whose head serpentine elf locks play;  
Whose tatter'd raiments rotten skins betray—  
And brandish'd flames their trembling hands obey?

**23. New Hampshire Spy, 11 December 1787**

This day the General Court of this state assembled in this town, and there being a quorum, proceeded to business. An account of their proceedings shall appear in our next.

**24. New Hampshire Gazette, 12 December 1787<sup>1</sup>**

Yesterday the honorable General Court convened together in the State House in this town, there being a quorum they proceeded to business,—the first matter submitted to their deliberations was the proceedings of the Grand Federal Convention, when they voted unanimously for a convention,—time and place not appointed when this paper was put to press.

1. Reprinted in whole or in part in eleven newspapers by 4 January: Mass. (7), Conn. (2), Pa. (1), Md. (1). The Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 27 December, replaced the last clause with: "to be held in Exeter on the 2d Wednesday of February next.—Nine States have now called Conventions to ratify and adopt the Federal Constitution." Several other newspapers printed brief reports that the New Hampshire legislature had called a state convention. The Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet*, 19 December, and *Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 December, printed different summaries of this item. The *Centinel's* summary was reprinted in the Providence, R.I., *United States Chronicle*, 27 December.

**25. Autobiography of William Plumer  
Epping, N.H., 14 December 1787<sup>1</sup>**

This year will long be memorable in the history of our country. The articles of confederation, proposed by congress & ratified by the state legislatures some years since, contained the principles & authority of the government of the United States. The powers that the several states by that instrument delegated to congress, were few & limited with great caution. On many important subjects congress had only the authority to *recommend*, but no power to force their recommendations. That system was established during the revolution, a period in which the fear of *abuse of power* was predominant, & prevented the people from granting to their representatives requisite authority. But during that time, the idea of *common danger*, in a great measure, supplied the defect, & imparted to the recommendations of congress the force of law. A state of peace & security annihilated that pledge of obedience, & proved the system was feeble & inefficient. The nation now felt the necessity of a government of greater energy. To effect this important purpose the states appointed a convention to investigate the subject, & report the changes necessary to be made. On the 17th of September the convention reported a constitution for the United States.

I examined the proposed constitution with great attention, & carefully considered the arguments for & against it, & tho I thot the executive was not vested with sufficient authority on some points, & that the powers delegated to congress were too much restricted, I was convinced it was as perfect as we could then make it. The provision it made for correcting its defects by future amendments, obviated my objections. Believing the interest of the nation required its adoption, I used every mean in my power to effect that object.

On this subject the people were very much divided. They arranged themselves into two parties; the one was for adopting the constitution, & the other against it. The first was denominated *federalists*, & the other *anti-federalists*; hence the origin of those two great political parties, which for many years has divided & agitated our country. The antifederalists after assumed a more imposing name; that of *republicans*. There were then & ever since have been, many distinguished men & real patriots in both parties. I was a federalist, & rejoiced in the prospect we then had of ratifying the constitution.

On the 14th of December the legislature of New Hampshire passed a resolve requiring the several towns to elect delegates to meet in convent[ion] at Exeter in February to decide whether this state would ratify the constitution. I visited & conversed with most of the freeholders of Epping, but found a majority of them opposed to the constitution. Previous to the town meeting the principal federalists unanimously agreed to support me, but the town to my regret elected an antifederalist.

1. MS, Plumer Papers, Autobiography, 1787–1791, pp. 34–34, DLC. This entry was written by Plumer on “(October 14. 1826).”

**26. New Hampshire Spy, 15 December 1787**

Portsmouth, *December 14*

☞ *Unavoidable casualties have so operated against the Editor of this paper, as to oblige him, (much against his wishes) to procrastinate its publication to this late period.*

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*Proceedings of the General Court of this State.*

*In the House of Representatives, Dec. 11, 1787.*

*Voted*, That the proceedings of the federal Convention, transmitted to the General Court by Congress, be submitted to a Convention to be chosen by the people, for their consideration and decision.

*Voted*, That four hundred copies of the Constitution proposed by the federal Convention, for the government of the United States, be forthwith printed, and sent to the several town[s] in this state, as soon as may be.

*Voted*, That Mr. *N. Peabody*, Mr. *Pickering*, Mr. *Wingate*, Mr. *Badger*, Mr. *Gove*, Mr. *Emerson*, Mr. *Copland*, Mr. *Whitcomb*, Mr. *Simpson*, and Mr. *Baker*, with such of the honourable Senate as they shall join, be a committee to consider what number the proposed Convention shall consist of, the mode of election, and time and place of meeting; and report thereon.

1. Reprinted in the *Freeman's Oracle*, 22 December, and the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 January 1788, and in nine other newspapers by 14 January: Vt. (1), Mass. (3), N.Y. (2), Pa. (3).

**27. Providence, R.I., Gazette, 15 December 1787**

We find that several states have complied with the Recommendation of the late Federal Convention.—The General Assembly of the State of New-Hampshire were to meet on this important Business on the 5th Instant.

**28. New Hampshire Mercury, 18 December 1787<sup>1</sup>**

The General Court of this state, after having ordered a convention to meet at Exeter on the second Wednesday of February next to consider of the expediency of adopting the Constitution recommended by the late Federal Convention, concluded their session, and adjourned to the third Wednesday of next January, then to meet in this town.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 December; Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 3 January 1788.

**29. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 18 December 1787<sup>1</sup>**

President Sullivan, a tried patriot, has been heard to express himself in nearly the following terms: "That altho' he did not doubt Newhampshire, singly considered, might have framed a better constitution for herself—yet, when the whole of the 13 states were considered—that it was to unite them, jarring in interests, in politicks and prejudices—he was bold to say, the proposed consti-

tution was one of the best systems of government ever devised—and that all the objections which have been raised against it are no more than what might be brought against any form of government whatever.”

1. For similar items, see the *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 December (RCS:N.H., 137), and *New Hampshire Mercury*, 11 December (Mfm:N.H. 21).

### 30. Massachusetts Centinel, 22 December 1787<sup>1</sup>

The General Assembly of New-Hampshire, the 12th inst. appointed the second Wednesday of February next, for the meeting of the Convention of that State, at Exeter. *Nine States have now called Conventions to ratify and adopt the federal Constitution.*

1. Reprinted eleven times by 9 February 1788: Mass. (2), R.I. (2), Conn. (5), N.J. (1), S.C. (1).

### 31. John Langdon to Nicholas Gilman Portsmouth, N.H., 23 December 1787<sup>1</sup>

I am honoured with your friendly & polite letter of 21st Ult. and have to ask your pardon for not answering it ere this. There being nothing to Communicate worthy attention was the principal reason. No doubt before this comes to hand you'll be informed that our state have called a Convention for adopting the Constitution to meet at Exeter the second Wednesday in February. The General Court are adjourned to meet again the latter part of next month in this town.— It is out of my power at present to attend my duty in Congress. Mr Wingate will go on (I suppose) in case money can be had, whether this can be, or not is out of my power to determine Your brother the Treasurer will be able to give you full information on this head.

Inclosed are letters of some importance to our Minister at the Court of France which you'll be good enough to forward by the next Packet that sails for that Kingdom.

I shall always thank you for any Communications you are pleased to make. What are the prospects in Georgia & the Carolinas for adopting the Constitution? I have received a letter from *General Washington* relative to Virginia.

What are the prospects of War &c?

Believe me with great Esteem & Respect.

1. RC, Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection, 1542–1806, No. 1806, New York Public Library.

### 32. Samuel Lane Diary Stratham, N.H., 1788<sup>1</sup>

. . . Money remains verry Scarce, & Business Dull—The New Constitution is this year Adopted; and Many people are hoping for Relief from their Difficulties thereby. . . .

1. Printed: Charles L. Hanson, ed., *A Journal for the Years 1739–1803 by Samuel Lane of Stratham, New Hampshire* (Concord, N.H., 1937), 92.



**33. Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon  
New York, 6 January 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Your letters of the 23d & 24th Ultimo came duly to hand—Mr Livingston's letter I gave to Barnes who engaged to deliver it.—The others I shall forward by the first opportunity or give them to Mr Hazard as requested; There is no conveyance at present to any part of France; the Packet will probably be the first & will sail about the 5th instant.—We have no very particular accounts from the States South of Virginia respecting the great political question—The latest and best advice from Georgia comes from a gentleman in Philadelphia to Mr. Madison, informing him of the arrival of a Vessel by which he learns that the new Constitution is so well received in that State as to give reason to believe it will not only be adopted but that their Convention will be unanimous in the act.—There seems to be no late accounts from the Carolinas by which one would be more likely to form a just opinion of their dispositions respecting the great question than might be done in the closet by reflecting on the nature of the new Constitution—the present situation of affairs and the genius & disposition of the people of those states

The intemperance of the few Philadelphians in attempting to drive the plan through their Legislature and in hissing the minority in Convention has considerably injured the good cause—yet I see no reason to alter my opinion on the Subject, or to disbelieve that the good sense of the people will finally prevail and the Constitution be adopted.—

There are no late accounts from Europe but the general opinion here is against a war at present between France and England.—

Please to accept the papers herewith enclosed and believe me to be with great Respect

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

**34. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 11 January 1788**

The Hon. John T. Gilman, Esq. is chosen to represent this town, in the approaching Convention.

Major General Cilley, is chosen for that purpose, for the town of Nottingham.<sup>1</sup> The Reverend Dr. Langdon, for Hampton-Falls. The Rev. Benjamin Thurston, for North-Hampton, and Jeremiah Fogg, Esq. for Kensington.

1. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 January, correctly stated that Thomas Bartlett was elected.

**35. New Hampshire Spy, 25 January 1788**

The following is as complete a list as we have been able to collate, of the several towns who have complied with the recommendation of the Legislature of this State, in choosing Delegates to represent them in the ensuing State-Convention, together with the gentlemen chosen for that purpose. Several of the towns, not mentioned in the above list, were to have had their meetings this week—as soon as we obtain an account of their elections, we shall announce them to our readers.

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Portsmouth, Hon. John Langdon, John Pickering\*, and Peirse Long\*, Esquires.

Exeter, John T. Gilman, Esq.  
 Londonderry, Archibald M'Murphy, Esq. Col. Daniel Runnels\*.  
 Chester, Mr. Joseph Blanchard\*.  
 Greenland, Doctor Weeks.  
 Northampton, Rev. Mr. Thurston.  
 Hamptonfalls and Seabrook, Rev. Dr. Langdon.  
 Kensington, Major Fogg.  
 South-hampton and East-Kingstown, Mr. Clough.  
 Kingstown, Hon. Judge Bartlett.  
 Newmarket, Col. Nathaniel Rogers\*.  
 Nottingham, General Bartlett\*.  
 Deerfield, Doctor E. Chadwick.  
 Concord, Capt. B. Emery.  
 Pembroke, Samuel Daniels, Esq.  
 Raymond and Poplin, Mr. Thomas Chase.  
 Hampstead, John Calfe, Esq.  
 Dover, Doctor Green.  
 Durham, His Excellency President Sullivan.  
 Somersworth, Doctor Moses Carr.  
 Gilmantown, General Badger\*.  
 Merrideth and New-Hampton, Col. Smith\*.  
 Dunstable, Doctor Hunt.  
 Merrimac, T. Taylor\*, Esq.  
 Goffstown, Mr. William Page.  
 Amherst, Mr. Atherton.  
 Wilton, Mr. William Abbott\*.  
 New-Boston, Doctor Jonathan Gove\*.  
 Weare, Mr. Jonathan Dow\*.  
 Hopkinton, Mr. Joshua Morse.  
 Boscawen, Capt. Joseph Gerrish.  
 Alstead, Capt. Oliver Shepherd.  
 Keene, Rev. Mr. Hall.  
 Swanzey, Major Elisha Whitcomb.\*  
 Richmond, Mr. Jonathan Gaskill.\*  
 Jaffrey, Mr. Abel Parker\*.  
 Walpole, General Bellows.  
 Acworth, Lemster, and Marlow, Daniel Grout, Esq.  
 Surry and Grisom, Col. Jona. Smith.  
 Marlborough, Mr. Jedediah Tainter\*.  
 Fitzwilliam, Lt. Caleb Winch\*.  
 New-Chester, Alexandria and Cockermouth, Mr. Crawford\*.  
 Lyme and Orford, Col. William Simpson\*.

Those gentlemen with this (\*) mark affixed to their names, are of the legislature.

**36. New Hampshire Spy, 25 January 1788**

Portsmouth, (Saturday,) Jan. 26.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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

**37. Walter Rutherford to John Stevens, Sr.  
New York, 9 February 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . 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. John Sullivan to Joseph Gilman  
Portsmouth, N.H., 9 February 1788<sup>1</sup>**

You are not unacquainted with my being appointed to attend the Convention, on wednesday next and I am fearful that the Court will not then be over and if so we can do nothing unless you are on the spot to take the Chair; we are also in great want of your assistance every Day. I therefore most Cordially wish that you could make it convenient to be there on monday—

1. Printed: Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan Continental Army*, New Hampshire Historical Society *Collections*, XIII–XV (Concord, N.H., 1930–39), III, 563.

**39. Thomas Russell to John Langdon  
13 February 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . [P.S.] Give me leave to Congratulate you thus far on the Federal Government, am glad to see by your Letter the same is, like to be adopted with you

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

#### 40. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 15 February 1788<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday last agreeable to appointment, the Hon. Convention of this State assembled at the Court House in this town. The following is a journal of their proceedings,

In CONVENTION, *February 13, 1788.*

About fifty members being assembled, they proceeded to chuse a Chairman and the Hon. JOSIAH BARTLETT, Esq. was chosen.

On motion, Ordered, That the Hon. Samuel Livermore, the Hon. John Taylor Gilman, and Benjamin West, Esq's. be a Committee to receive and examine the returns of the members elected.—Likewise to prepare and lay before the Convention, such rules as they shall judge necessary for regulating the proceedings of the Convention.

*Adjourned to Thursday morning 10 o'clock.*

THURSDAY, February 14, 1788.

*Met according to Adjournment.*

There being an addition of forty members more than yesterday, motion was made for the choice of a Secretary by Ballots, and the votes being taken, it appeared that the Hon. JOHN CALFE, Esq. was chosen for that purpose.

Motion was then made for the choice of a President, by ballots, and the votes being taken, His Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. was chosen President.

*Adjourned to 3 o'clock, P.M.—then to meet in the Meeting-House.*

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THURSDAY, 3 o'clock, P. M.

The Convention met according to adjournment.—When a motion was made and seconded, that the Constitution of the United States of America, as reported by the Federal Convention held at Philadelphia, in May last, together with the resolutions of the General Court of this State, for calling a Convention, agreeably to the recommendation of Congress, be read: and that the great subject submitted to their determination be discussed and considered with moderation, candor, and deliberation, by paragraphs, until every member shall have equal opportunity to express his sentiments in the same,—after which the Convention to consider and debate at large the question, whether this Convention will adopt and ratify the proposed Constitution.

The Constitution, with the resolutions of the General Court, being read, and the first paragraph taken into consideration, after some debates on the mode of election, &c. a motion was made and seconded for adjournment.

*Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.*

1. Reprinted: *New-Hampshire Mercury*, 20 February.

**41. New Hampshire Spy, 15 February 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Proceedings of the New-Hampshire State Convention.*

A Majority of the members elect assembled at the Court-House in Exeter on Wednesday afternoon last, and having made the necessary arrangements, and settled the contested elections (there being but two) adjourned.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 February, and *New Hampshire Recorder*, 4 March, and in twelve other newspapers by 19 March: Vt. (1), Mass. (6), Conn. (1), R.I. (1), Pa. (2), Va. (1).

**42. New Hampshire Spy, 15 February 1788**

On the 27th ultimo, the venerable Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, entered on his 83d year!—Whom Heaven preserve!

On Monday the 11th instant, the illustrious GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq. entered on his 57th year!

*Great as he is, O may he ever be,  
And death the lot of any Chief but He!*

**43. New York Journal, 16 February 1788**

The state convention of New-Hampshire, was to meet at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of this inst. February, viz. last Wednesday, the 13th, and it is probable, by the next eastern post, intelligence will be received respecting them.

**44. Willing, Morris, & Swanwick to John Langdon  
Philadelphia, 18 February 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . We are happy to hear the Convention of Massachusetts have Ratified the new Constitution we hope you will also & so the same be soon placed in a train of Execution—which we think will contribute much to the Glory & happiness of this Country—

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

**45. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 20 February 1788**

Last week the Convention of the State of New-Hampshire, met at Exeter, for the purpose of erecting another PILLAR, to support the great Federal Super-structure; by ratifying the proposed Constitution.

**46. Coxe & Frazier to James Clark  
Philadelphia, 22 February 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The new government has been adopted by six States 95/100 of the property in Pennsa. and Massachusetts where the opposition was the greatest, are in favor of it, and a much greater part of the people in both than would seem to persons at a distance judging from the comparison of the majorities & minorities of the

Convention. New Hampshire will adopt it in a few days, and there is *no doubt* but the month of may will give us ten States. I am sincerely of opinion the Year 1788 will give us the whole 13 & that 12 will be in before the first of August—

We are Sir Your respectful friends & Servants

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

#### 47. Boston Gazette, 25 February 1788<sup>1</sup>

The New-Hampshire State CONVENTION met at the Court-House in Exeter, on Wednesday 20th instant.—The next day they made choice of his Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esquire, for President. And the Hon. Judge CALEF [i.e., Calfe], for their Secretary.

The Convention of the State of New-Hampshire, adjourn'd the last Week, from Exeter, to the third Wednesday in June next; then to meet at Concord in said State.

1. Reprinted: Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 26 February (without last paragraph); *Newport Herald*, 28 February; *Connecticut Gazette*, 29 February; *Newport Mercury*, 3 March; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 March (last paragraph only).

#### 48. Samuel Phillips Savage Diary Weston, Mass., 26 February 1788<sup>1</sup>

faint W[in]d at S. pleast: *heard this Day that NH, had adjourn'd the meeting of Convn. to June as they found they had but 44 of a hundred in its favour—*

1. MS, Savage Diary, MHi.

#### 49. John Sullivan to Jeremy Belknap Durham, N.H., 26 February 1788<sup>1</sup>

My Dear sir,

I hope you will not suppose me unmindful of what I promised concerning your Books—I considered that if it was brought on before the [General] Court and rejected it would almost preclude every prospect in future I therefore concluded that it was best privately to feel the pulses of members but to my very great mortification I found it impossible to attempt it with the most Distant probability of Success. The Complaint at Charlestown was the derangement of our finances at Decemr & Jany sessions The hurry of business was assigned as an additional Reason for delay I do not however despair of success although I Lament the Injury which you must Suffer by having the matter postponed. The most material objection is in great measure removed The Credit of the state which has been sunk to the Lowest mark has now arisen to a heighth almost beyond Conception *our Deranged finances are restored to order; & orders upon our treasury now pass equal with silver & gold* This Sir was owing to *some Acts which I procured to be passed* but not without great opposition the good Effects of which are *now Sensibly felt & begin to be universally Acknowledged* This Change in the

face of our public affairs will open the way for a display of Generosity or at Least will prevent our shuddering at the Idea of expending a small sum to procure great & lasting benefit to the state—You may rest assured sir that I will Spare no Efforts to have it fixed at the next session. I am with the most exalted sentiments of Esteem and respect sir your most obedt servt  
private

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi.

**50. New Hampshire Recorder, 26 February 1788**

Friday last [22 February] the Convention of this State adjourned to the third Wednesday in June next—In our next we expect to give our readers a more particular account.

**51. Massachusetts Gazette, 26 February 1788**

By a gentleman from Exeter, New-Hampshire state, we learn, that the Convention of that state, on Friday last, adjourned, by a majority of nine, to meet again on the third Tuesday of June next.

**52. Ezra Stiles Diary**

**New Haven, Conn., 28 February 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

... This Eveng I learn that N Hampshire Convention have rejected the new Constitution by a Majority of three—but adjourned to 3d Week in June by a majority of one.

1. MS, Bienecke Library, Yale University.

**53. Portland, Maine, Cumberland Gazette, 28 February 1788**

By a person lately from New-Hampshire we are informed that the Convention of that State has adjourned to the month of June next. The Convention consisted of 110 members, 62 of whom, by their instructions, were against, and 48 for the proposed Constitution.—After a few days' discussion of the subject, many who had been directed to oppose, expressed a willingness to adopt the Constitution; and were desirous of returning to their constituents for counter-orders: An adjournment, therefore, took place.

**54. Massachusetts Worcester Magazine, 28 February 1788**

As soon as we can obtain a more particular account of the proceedings of the New-hampshire State Convention than that published in this Magazine, under the Boston head, we shall lay it before our readers. Their Convention appear to be pretty equally divided as to numbers; but as they have adjourned to a distant day it is probable they may then be better united.

**55. Providence, R.I., United States Chronicle, 28 February 1788**

By a Gentleman of respectable Character from Exeter (New-Hampshire) who attended the Convention of that State the Three last Days of their Session, we are informed—That after the proposed Federal Constitution had been discussed by Paragraphs, which ended on Thursday Evening last, the next Morning, viz. on Friday, Judge Livermore [i.e., Langdon] made a Motion for an Adjournment to some future Day, that the Sentiments of their Constituents might be taken, before the Decision of the grand Question of Ratification or Rejection—which was seconded, and finally carried by a Majority of 6—there being 56 for the Motion, and 50 against it.—The Convention is to meet at Concord, on the *third* Tuesday in *June* next.

**56. New York Journal, 28 February 1788<sup>1</sup>**

By the last evening's eastern mail we are informed, that the convention of New-Hampshire met at Exeter on the 12th; on the 13th there was a house, when the necessary arrangements were made; and on the fourteenth His Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. was chosen president, and the Hon. Judge CALFE, secretary, when they proceeded to consider the constitution by paragraphs. Debates ensued upon BIENNIAL ELECTIONS, no farther than which did they proceed that day. The accounts of debates received, are very imperfect. There were between 90 and 100 members present.

1. Reprinted: Albany *Federal Herald*, and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 March; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and *Pennsylvania Journal*, 5 March.

**57. Thaddeus Leavitt Diary  
Suffield, Conn., 29 February 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . We hear from the State of N. Hampshire that they have rejected the Foederal Constitution by a Majority of 3 Voyces—Time will Instruct them better and I believe they will adopt it before many months

1. Typescript, Thaddeus Leavitt's Book, Kent Memorial Library, Suffield, Conn.

**58. William Plumer Autobiography, February 1788<sup>1</sup>**

The convention that met in February did not decide the question whether they would ratify the constitution of the United States. The federalists were apprehensive if the question had then been taken, a majority would have been against it; they therefore adjourned to June. At the adjournment, after much debate, there was a majority of eleven in favor of accepting it. That vote established the constitution: for New Hampshire was the *ninth state* who ratified it.

1. MS, Plumer Papers, Autobiography, 1787–1791, p. 34, DLC. Written in "(October 14. 1826)."



**59. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap**  
**New York, 1 March 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The New Hampshire Delegates seem to be pretty clear that the new Constitution will be adopted there, though there will be opposition to it. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, II, 21.

**60. Peter S. Curtenius to George Clinton**  
**New York, 2 March 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I have the pleasure to Inform your Excellency that the Convention of New Hampshire have adjourned to meet again the latter end of June next—The question in fact was carried against adopting the new constitution by 54 against 51—the Minority then proposed that it should be reconsidered and proposed an adjournment, this was agreed to by the Majority and they stand adjourned to the time above mentioned. . . .

1. Copy, Bancroft Transcripts, Clinton Papers, New York Public Library.

**61. James Madison to Edmund Pendleton**  
**New York, 3 March 1788<sup>1</sup>**

The Convention of N. Hampshire have disappointed much the general expectation. Instead of adopting the Constitution they have adjourned without any final decision until June, this expedient being found necessary to prevent a rejection. It seems that a majority of 3 or 4 members would have voted in the negative, but in this majority were a number who had been proselyted by the discussions, but were bound by positive instructions. These concurred with the federalists in the adjournment and carried it by a majority of 57 agst. 47. It is not much doubted that in the event N. Hampshire will be among the adopting States. But the influence of this check will be very considerable in this State (N. York) and in several others. I have enquired whether June was preferred for the 2d. meeting, from any reference to Virga. or N. York, and am informed that it was merely an accomodation to the intermediate annual elections & Courts.

I am just setting out for Virga. and shall not write again from this place. I wish you every happiness & am Dr Sir Yr affe friend

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

**62. New York Journal, 3 March 1788**

In our paper of Thursday and Friday last, as full an account as could be obtained (through the medium of PRIVATE conveyances) was given of the very interesting proceedings of the CONVENTION of the state of NEW-HAMPSHIRE; since which (by the STAGE) we are favoured with the following AUTHENTIC INTELLIGENCE, viz.

The convention at Exeter, in New-Hampshire, has adjourned to June. The adjournment was moved by the constitutional party, the anti-constitutionalists being 70 to 40. This measure, alone, prevented a rejection of the system; and

there is no great probability, that, in June, it will have a greater number of friends than it now has. The aristocratical federalists, here, are quite stunn'd at this event, and are now convinced the plan never can take place without an amendment of it.<sup>1</sup>

The following accounts were also received by the stage, viz.

"The convention of the state of New-Hampshire, on Friday, the 22d ult. brought on the decisive question respecting the new constitution; yeas 51, nays 54. This question being reconsidered, it was then moved for an adjournment, and was carried, yeas 53, nays 51, to meet on the third Tuesday of June next."<sup>2</sup>

A correspondent observes, that the manœuvre of the New-Hampshire convention, of first adopting and then reconsidering, appears to be an original one; for the motives of which we are left in the dark. Some say, that the MAJORITY were POSITIVELY INSTRUCTED, and that this originated the desire of a further adjournment; peradventure, the INSTRUCTIONS might, in the interim, be COUNTERMANDED. Others say, that the MAJORITY, observing the great vexation of the MINORITY, indulged them, merely to pacify and give more universal satisfaction. Mayhap, per the next conveyances, our accounts will afford some illuminations of these apparent mysteries.<sup>3</sup>

Extract of a letter, February 22d, 1788.

"The convention of New-Hampshire adjourned themselves to the third Wednesday in June, it was motioned by the Federalists and carried by a majority of four."<sup>4</sup>

Extract of a letter, Feb. 22, 1788.

"We find that there is a majority of about five, in the New-Hampshire convention, who are opposed [to] the constitution, but it will be a hard case if those, and many others, cannot be brought over."<sup>5</sup>

Extract from a letter, dated Exeter, New-Hampshire, Feb. 22, 1788.

"After the repeated assurances I have given you of the favorable reception of the new constitution, and the fair prospect of its adoption, by a large majority of our convention, you will be greatly surprised when I inform you, that they have this day adjourned without taking the final question.—Unbounded confidence of success in any undertaking, as it rejects the necessary precaution and slackens exertion, always endangers the object. So confident were we of the prevailing voice in favor of the constitution, that no pains were taken to counteract the intrigues of a few notoriously vile characters, who were too successful in the dark and dirty business of seducing a great number of the interior towns, by false representation; to fetter their delegates with positive instructions to vote in all events against the constitution. After discussing the subject seven of eight days, and finding many of the members, who were instructed to the contrary convinced of the expediency and necessity of adopting the plan, and desirous to consult their constituents, the convention agreed to adjourn to June next, when I have no doubt the ratification will take place."<sup>6</sup>

1. The first two paragraphs were reprinted in the Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 11 March; *Maryland Journal*, 11 March; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 March; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March.

2. This paragraph first appeared in the Boston *American Herald*, 25 February (RCS:N.H., 238–39n).

3. This paragraph was reprinted in the Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal* and *Maryland Journal*, 11 March; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 March; Richmond *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 20 March; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March.

4. This extract was reprinted in the *Maryland Journal*, 11 March; and Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 March.

5. This extract was reprinted in the Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal* and *Maryland Journal*, 11 March; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 17 March; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 26 March.

6. This extract was reprinted eighteen times by 19 April: Conn. (3), N.Y. (3), Pa. (7), Md. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1), Ga. (2).

### 63. Ezra Stiles Diary

#### New Haven, Conn., 4 March 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . The Convent[io]n of N Hampshire adjourned to 3d Wednesday in June—  
On Quest[io]n for adjourng 56. against 51. No Vote on the Constitution—but  
probably a Majority against adopting it. . . .

1. MS, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

### 64. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 4 March 1788<sup>1</sup>

Great opposition was made, in the Convention, to that clause which excludes any religious test being required of the officers of the United States; which drew some very liberal and catholick observations from the Rev. Dr. LANGDON. He considered religion as an obligation between God and his creatures; and that the civil authority could not interfere, without infringing upon the rights of conscience: That the connecting the civil power with the ecclesiastical was the cause of all the religious persecutions which have taken place: That to call on the civil arm for its support, would be arguing that its Great Author was insufficient. He was fully sensible of the importance of having religious men for our rulers—honest men—men *hating covetousness*: But where should the line be drawn? Religion did not consist in outward appearances—A man might make fair pretensions, and yet be a hypocrite at heart—A test would never be binding on an atheist, a man of no religion. The Doctor considered the paragraph as one of the greatest ornaments of the Constitution.

1. Reprinted in eleven other newspapers by 12 April: Vt. (1), Conn. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (5), Md. (1), Va. (1).

### 65. James Cogswell Diary

#### Scotland, Conn., 5 March 1788<sup>1</sup>

read the H[artford] paper in the Evening. Coll Williams has put a very good piece in the paper The N: Hampshire Convention is adjourned to the 3d. Wednesday in June. &c. The weather holds very cold yet.

1. MS, Connecticut Historical Society.

**66. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 6 March 1788**

A report was very industriously circulated last week through the New-England states, that the convention of New-Hampshire had rejected the constitution by a majority of three. The report was unfounded, and the public may depend on the authenticity of the intelligence on the subject in the opposite page.

**67. New York Journal, 6 March 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Since our last Weekly Journal the state convention of New Hampshire, has adjourned from Exeter, to Concord, about 100 miles inland, there to meet on the third Wednesday in June next. Previous to this adjournment, for eight days, very warm debates were had upon the propriety of adopting the constitution.

By the accounts, received last evening, we find, that, the adjournment of the convention of New-Hampshire, was carried as follows, 56, 51.

1. Reprinted in whole or in part in seven newspapers by 27 March: N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1), Ga. (1). This item was also reprinted in the March issues of the Philadelphia *American Museum* and Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine*.

**68. Virginia Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 12 March 1788<sup>1</sup>**

The State of New Hampshire have adjourned their Convention *sine die*, without coming to any determination; waiting, we suppose, the issue of the Southern States on the grand Federal system.

1. Reprinted: *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 27 March.

**69. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 19 March 1788<sup>1</sup>**

By accounts from New-York, of the 3d instant, received by last Saturday's mail, we are informed that the convention of New-Hampshire have disappointed the general expectation. They have not rejected the constitution, but they have adjourned without adopting it. It was found that on a final question there would be a majority of 3 or 4 in the negative, but in this number were included some who with instructions from their towns against the constitution had been proselyted by the discussions: These concurring with the foederlists in the adjournment, carried it by 57 against 47. The second meeting is not to be till the last week in June. The reason of recommending so late a day was supposed to refer to the times fixed by New-York and Virginia, but by information from gentlemen from that quarter, it was governed by the intermediate annual elections and courts.

1. Taken from a letter written from New York City by James Madison to Edmund Randolph, 3 March (CC:587).

**70. New Hampshire Spy, 21 March 1788**

We hear from *Amherst*, (county of Hillsborough) that on Sunday morning last, about two o'clock, the County Court House in that town was discovered to be on fire, and was entirely consumed, notwithstanding the exertions of the inhab-

itants to extinguish the flames; it is supposed to have been set on fire thro' design. The inhabitants of the county of Hillsborough are much divided with respect to the place of holding their county courts—petitions have been preferred to the legislature on the subject of a removal of them from Amherst—and it has been objected by those who are for having them held at Amherst, that they had been at the expence of building a new Court-House, &c.—But this expedient has entirely obliterated this objection, all that now remains of that building being a heap of rubbish.—*An effectual way truly.*

## 71. New Hampshire Gazette, 2 April 1788

### UNCONTROLLED POWER.

Of all miseries that ever affected kingdoms, an uncontrolled power among the great is certainly most afflictive. The tyranny of a single monarch only falls upon the narrow circle round him; the arbitrary will of a number of delegates falls most heavily upon the lower ranks of people, who have no redress.

## 72. William Robinson, Jr., to John Langdon Philadelphia, 9 April 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>

My dear friend

... I was somewhat mortified on hearing the Proceedings of your Convention—where I placed the greatest Reliance, I have been most disappointed—The Press daily groans with the Labors of producings some deformed Embrio & the Papers teem with wanton & scurrilous Attacks upon the most virtuous & eminent private Characters, whose fault is their Attachment to the standing Welfare of their Country—From hence as from their fountain flow Sedition, misrepresentations and false Alarms & reach the Extremities of the Continent—Ideal Terrors are infused in the Minds of the uninformed—The Authors as far as they have been discovered, are Men of desperate fortunes who may hope for something but can lose nothing by Confusion & Anarchy, or Strangers from arbitrary Governments, whose Bosoms swell with Patriotism upon the first Admission of American Air—O my Country! are these thy Saviors? Is it not extraordinary that good plain Common-Sence shall be misled & the Views of such Adventurers in troubled Waters remain undiscovered, when every Days Experience most forcibly proves the Evils which must result from unrestrained Licentiousness, ever verging to the Arms of Despotism?—I am surpris'd the Practices of such Persons should produce any considerable Opposition to a Plan of Government which with every Imperfection that can be discovered in it, is still more perfect than the most sanguine Man could reasonably have expected to result from the great Variety of Interests supposed to exist & the Dissimilarity of Manners actually prevailing throughout this extensive Continent—It is an idle Chimera to imagine the People of so extensive a Territory can be enslaved by any form of Government untill their Minds shall have been previously fitted to Despotism by Luxury & effeminate Dissipations.—Where is the Instance recorded? Roman Souls were first softened by Asiatic Wealth & Luxuries before a Tyrant could exist, & when so softened had a thousand Cæsars bled others would have

risen, for Despotism only then suited their Dispositions—Before their Manners were vitiated the Tarpœan Rock finished the Attempts of Tyrany—Despotism is to this Country an Exotic & only be raised in a Hot-Bed & Centuries must first elapse before Vice & Luxury can make the Strides to produce it. . . .

I will close this long Epistle . . . assuring you that I am dear Sir, your sincere friend

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

### 73. New Hampshire Spy, 11 April 1788

Received by this day's mail *one Philadelphia paper! When will miracles cease?*

### 74. Rufus King to John Sullivan New York, 16 April 1788<sup>1</sup>

I take the liberty to inclose for your disposal an address to the people of this State lately published in this City; I am ignorant of the Author but think the performance has merit—perhaps in your Judgment it may be worth republication in your State with such alterations as its locality and other circumstances may render proper—Georgia has shown her good will to the new Constitution by a cession of her Western Territory on condition that nine or more States agree to the Constitution; this Territory lying between the 31st. & 33d. deg. of Lat. & between the Rivers Mississippi & Apalachicola contains upwards of 30 Mils. of Acres of the richest Lands within the united States—South Carolina will adopt the constitution—North Carolina will be governed by Virginia, and the struggle in the last mentioned State will be between Parties nearly equal, and both respectable—the probability seems to be that Virginia will accede to the System—Maryland is federal; but the Result in this State is uncertain;—

We were much disappointed in the adjournment of your Convention, but still have hopes that you will succeed—

With the greatest consideration & Respect

1. RC, King Family Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society.

### 75. William Short to Fulwar Skipwith Paris, 20 April 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . N. Hampshire have assembled in Convention many of its members having been instructed by their constituents to reject the constitution; other members [– – –] having the propriety of accepting it, asked for an adjournment in order that they might obtain from their constituents new instructions. Thus the convention adjourned without doing any thing effective—they are to meet again in June. . . .

1. FC, Short Papers, DLC.

**76. Abraham Baldwin to Enos Hitchcock  
New York, 23 April 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . The Maryland delegates have no doubt of the success of the new constitution in their state. Many gentlemen from Virginia express almost the same confidence respecting their state, but not upon so good grounds. South Carolina is to meet the 12 of May, there will be some opposition, but not formidable, I count that to make the eighth, where we are to get the ninth is the difficult question. N. Hampshire, R Island New York, Virginia, and North Carolina are the unpromising materials from which it is to be wrought: My compliments to Mrs. Hitchcock and believe me sincerely Your friend

1. RC, Hitchcock Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society.

**77. Abraham Baldwin to Seaborn Jones  
New York, 26 April 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Rhode Island has rejected; New Hampshire almost as bad, they have adjourned till June. . . .

1. RC, Henry Ford Museum Bicentennial Collection, Edison Institute, Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 79–80.

**78. New Hampshire Spy, 29 April 1788**

LONDON, (*England*) . . .

Feb. 7. Since the separation of this country from our lately revolted colonies, its population commerce, revenues, wealth, and credit, have increased in a very rapid and extraordinary degree: nay, we seem to be the only nation, of all that were involved in the American war, who have not only preserved our character and our credit, but added to the sum of our manufactures and trade.—The thirteen states themselves have exchanged the substance for the shadow, and now are good for nothing, but to serve as a beacon to warn other colonies, from rebelling against the lawful government of the parent state. And, as to the French, they are not only drained of their money, by having aided the colonies, but have lost their credit, have been forced to give up the influence they have, for almost a century, laboured to acquire in the low countries, and now see themselves threatened with the horrors of an inveterate domestic war.

**79. Draft Newspaper Letter Extract, 12 May 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Virginia to his Friend in Portsmouth; dated 12 May 1788

We have been very much occupied in conversations with political topics. The proposed Constitution has [– – –] [been so?] ably discussed. Though nothing among such fallible and short-sighted mortals as we are, had any pretension to perfection, and though the System in question is the result of mutual concession and accomodation in such sort as not to come fully up to the views of any one, still I cannot but consider it as one of the greatest aggregate exertions of human

reason, and admirably calculated to promote and secure the felicity of mankind in a State of civil society. We were much disappointed that it was not adopted in the first instance, by the Convention of New Hampshire; but I hope yet that their Pillar will arise. From the best information I can obtain, there is scarcely a doubt but it will be accepted in the Convention of this State by a Majority of from twenty to fifty Voices.—

1. MS, Remember When Auctions, Inc., Catalog No. 44 (July 1998), p. 81, Item 280.

**80. Massachusetts Centinel, 24 May 1788**

A Portsmouth paper, of the 10th inst. informs, that from the best information, little doubt is had, that the Constitution of the United States, will be ratified by their Convention in June—and that too by a considerable majority. *Amen, and amen.*

**81. William Bingham to Tench Coxe  
New York, 25 May 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Accounts from New Hampshire leave little room to doubt a very Speedy Decision in favor of the new Government. . . .

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

**82. John Avery, Jr., to Nathan Dane  
Boston, 27 May 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . [P.S.] There is no doubt from the Information I have received but that N Hampshire will adopt the New System—

1. RC, Hall Park McCullough Collection, University of Vermont.

**83. William Bingham to Tench Coxe  
New York, 30 May 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . New Hampshire may be depended upon. . . .

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

**84. Pierse Long to Paine Wingate  
Portsmouth, N.H., 3 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

In my last were enclosed discharges from the several persons you were so kind as to settle accounts with Coll Walker for—I now send you Mrs. Staceys—as also Mr Mahanys certificate and have only time to add that the general Court of this state are to meet to morrow at Concord—and that I shall sett of[f] in about an hour for that place—and that the Convention stands adjourned to the 18th. at which time I fully expect the Constitution will be agreed to—please to present my respectful compliments to Mr Gilman—

1. RC, Gratz Collection, PHi.



**85. Pennsylvania Packet, 4 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York to  
his friend in this city, dated May 30.*

“New Hampshire is well disposed, and will have her convention but a few days in session before she ratifies.”

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 7 June; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 7 June; *Maryland Journal*, 13 June; *Richmond Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 19 June; and *Charleston City Gazette*, 1 July.

**86. Massachusetts Spy, 5 June 1788**

Accounts from Newhampshire assure us, that the Federal Constitution will be adopted by the Convention of that State, when they again meet, which will be on the 17th inst.

**87. James Bryson to John Langdon  
Philadelphia, 11 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

The enclosed was handed me by the author of “a Pennsylvanian” (between you & I Mr. T[ench] Cox[e] of this City) which he wished me to forward to a friend in your State—and knowing your good will to oblige not only a friend; but your Country—I have taken the pleasure of forwarding to you for perusal, or publication. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

**88. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 11 June 1788**

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

**89. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Henry Knox  
Hartford, Conn., 15 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

I thank you for your favor informing of the progress of the Virginia Convention. I am just now informed by a friend who has been into New Hampshire that their is little doubt but that state will adopt it—do you come this way soon I intend to be at Congress on the 12th of July—

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03896, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

**90. Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons  
New York, 16 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . New Hampshire will certainly adopt the System. . . .

1. RC, Gratz Collection, Old Congress, PHi. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 174.

**91. New York Daily Advertiser, 17 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Accounts from Boston, brought by the last mail, assert, in positive terms, that New-Hampshire will adopt the New Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 18 June; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 21 June; *Virginia Centinel*, 2 July.

**92. Levi Hollingsworth to Richard Dobbs Spaight  
Philadelphia, 18 June 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . the only article wanting except the Musquito net is one of the sets of the Political Work called the Federalist. they are published at N York I obtained one set of a Friend but cannot find a second the Museum contains many publications on this Subject which hope will answer the wished for purpose in satisfying the opposition in your state which we are told is very formidable I hope otherwise our last advices from New Hampshire are very flattering and there is no doubt remaining here but that state will adopt the proposed Constitution we have our fears for N York but Should Virginia accede to it the struggle will be over. . . . [P.S.] be so good as to write me your Governors name the address of your Legislature and the most influential characters in your assembly

1. FC, Levi Hollingsworth Letterbook, 1786–1791, PHi.

**93. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal & New-Hampshire Packet, 18 June 1788**

The Conventions of New York and New Hampshire were to meet yesterday—As the Federal Constitution has been amply discussed by the latter, at their former session, we hope in our next to announce to the public their final determination on the subject.

**94. Boston American Herald, 19 June 1788**

Tuesday, the Convention of New-Hampshire, met at Concord. The Convention of New-York also met the same day.

**95. William Pynchon Diary  
Salem, Mass., 20 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

we hear of N. Hampsh[ire] adopt[in]g the federal Constitution

1. MS, Pynchon Papers, MHi.

**96. Maryland Journal, 20 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

On Tuesday last, the New-Hampshire State Convention were to meet at Concord, in that State.

It is confidently asserted in various late Letters from New-England, that the Convention of New-Hampshire will certainly adopt the new Constitution.

1. Reprinted: Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 July.

**97. William Heath Diary**  
**Roxbury, Mass., 22 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Lords Day. Wind Southwest, fair and warm, yesterday afternoon the Convention of New Hampshire ratified the federal Constitution 103 members were present 57 voted in favor of the Constitution and 46 against it—amendments are proposed nearly Similar to those of Massachusetts.

1. MS, Heath Diaries, MHi.

**98. Henry Jackson to Henry Knox**  
**Boston, 22 June 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Henry

. . . The New Hampshire convention are sitting, nothing from them by the post last Eveng. tomorrow or by the Tuesdays Post we shall hear from them and I please myself with the agreeable news of its Ratification. . . .

my love to Lucy & your family—I am as ever your Friend affectionate

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03909, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

**99. Henry Jackson to Henry Knox**  
**Boston, 22 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

My dear Harry

Sunday Eveng.

What I have written you in my other Letter of this date respecting New Hampshire you will please erase with your pen and substitute the following in its Room—

a few hours since an express arrived from the Town of *Concord* in the State of New Hampshire which the Convention of that State meet for the consideration of the proposed General Government & brings the most important information that yesterday Noon they ratified the Constitution by a majority of 11—that is to say—57. yeas— & 46 nays— I am this moment from his Excellency the Govr. who shew me this Letter he recd.—from General Sullivan on that subject they have proposed nearly the same amendments we have in this state

Your affectionate

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03910, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

**100. Lewis Cass Recalls Exeter Celebration of New Hampshire Ratification**  
**23 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

In the stormy spring of 1861, when the foundations of the republic trembled under the tread of assembling armies, I made a pilgrimage to the home of the venerable Lewis Cass, who had just laid down his great office as chief of the State Department, and for an hour I was a reverent listener to his words of wisdom. And in that conversation he gave me the thought which I wish to record.

He said: "You remember, young man, that the Constitution did not take effect until nine States had ratified it. My native State was the ninth. It hung a long time in doubtful scale whether nine would agree; but when, at last, New Hampshire ratified the Constitution, it was a day of great rejoicing. My mother held me, a little boy of six years, in her arms at a window, and pointed me to the bonfires that were blazing in the streets of Exeter, and told me that the people were celebrating the adoption of the Constitution. So," said the aged statesman, "I saw the Constitution born, and I fear I may see it die."

1. Printed: Burke A. Hinsdale, ed., *The Works of James Abram Garfield* (2 vols., Boston, 1882–1883), II, 774.

**101. Thomas English to Thomas Burrow  
Boston, 24 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Things here now begin to wear a more pleasing aspect, the ninth State has accepted the new Constitution which makes the number to confirm it & of coarse at the next sitting of Congress, the new mode of Government will take place, & for you[r] perusal have sent it you Pr  
Capt Barnes. this I have no doubt will enable me the more effectually to carry my plan of leaving this Country next Spring into Execution, which be assured I most sincerely wish, as I find it is the wish of my best Friends at your side the Water. . . .

1. FC, English Letterbook, MHi.

**102. New York Daily Advertiser, 24 June 1788**

The last mail from the Eastward brings the intelligence, that there remains not a single doubt but that the Convention of New-Hampshire will ratify the New Constitution, by a majority of two-thirds.

**103. New York Packet, 24 June 1788**

On the 17th inst. the Convention of New-Hampshire met at Concord. We shortly expect to give good tidings from that quarter.

**104. John Brown to Archibald Stuart  
New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . PS. We this moment are informd that N Hampshire has adopted the N. Constitution

*Good News.*

1. RC, Stuart Collection, Virginia Historical Society.

**105. Walter Livingston to Tench Coxe  
New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . [P. S.] We have this Moment received the agreeable intelligence that New Hampshire has adopted the Constitution 57 to 46. the Post is this moment agoing—

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

**106. Noah Webster Diary  
New York, 25 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Hear that New Hampshire has ratified the Constitution—great joy at the Ninth.

1. MS, Webster Diary, New York Public Library.

**107. Northampton, Mass., Hampshire Gazette, 25 June 1788**

By a Gentleman who arrived in this town on Monday evening from Concord in the State of New-Hampshire, we have received the important and agreeable intelligence, that the Convention of that State, which met at that place on the 17th instant, did on Saturday last, assent to, and ratify the federal constitution, by a majority of eleven votes; the whole number of votes was 103, of which 57 were in favour of the Constitution.

**108. James Caldwell to Silas Talbot  
Albany, N.Y., 26 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Inclos'd you have a Letter from Mr. Morris there is now in my hands for you £150.9.4 as his Letter will inform you, which you will Please order With the first conveyance you may think safe,

I sincerely congratulate you on the State of New Hampshire's having adopted the N: Constitution by a Magority of 11 say 57 for 46 against this you may depend on, also favourable accounts from Virginia

P. S it was adopted the 21st. Inst.—

P. S will you please make a Little inquiry of information And let me know of a few Good Lotts to be sold next Sale, if you are not in that way your self—

1. RC, Silas Talbot Collection (Coll. 18), G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., Mystic, Conn.

**109. Elizabeth Farmer to Hugh H. Farmer  
Kensington, N.H., 26 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . we this day had an express arrived with an Account that the new Hampshire State has joint in the Confœderation which makes the ninth State and that is the Number required for the Authority but it is thought that the other States woud likewise adopt it. . . .

1. FC, Elizabeth Farmer Letterbook, PHi. At the end of the letter, appears the statement: "Sent by Mr. Clark."

**110. Jedidiah Morse to Jeremy Belknap  
Boston, 26 June 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . [P. S.] ☞ Suffer me Sir to congratulate you on the Adoption of the Constitution in New Hampshire

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Papers*, III, 413–14. The letter is in part written on the back of a 23 June handbill soliciting answers to nine geographical questions.

**111. Samuel Morris Diary  
26 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

5th: day cool for the Season. A considerable Degree of Satisfaction derived to many People seems apparent, on Accot: of News this day at Noon arriving from New Hampshire that the Convention of that Government has ratified the new federal Constitution, making the ninth State which has agreed to adopt it; that Number being required to make it valid. The Accounts from Virginia are now anxiously waited for, there being some Reason to doubt whether a Majority of their Convention (now sitting) will agree to receive it. New York is also doubtful; it is supposed North Carolina will follow Virginia. Rhode Island has not agreed to a Convention.

1. MS, Morris Diary, Hagley Library, Wilmington, Del.

**112. Samuel Phillips Savage Diary  
Weston, Mass., 26 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

W. fair, I fear there has been a frost. ☞ I *this* moment had the pleasure of hearing that the 9th. Pillar of the federal Constitution was on 21 Inst. reared by NH.—

1. MS, Savage Diary, MHi.

**113. Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane  
New York, 26 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

By your favor of June 9th. I recived the first intelligence from the General Court of New Hampshire after their meeting, and am much obliged to you for the trouble you took in giving me that early information. My wife informs me that you took particular pains to convey to me the letter; I am very much gratified by knowing how the elections have issued. I have since seen a New Hampshire paper in which there was a list of the court &c. I now Sir with particular satisfaction, congratulate upon the adoption of the new constitution in your State, and which has ensured its taking place—The latest news we have from Virginia is dated the 18 Instant. By a letter from Govr. Randolph we are told that then there had no question been taken to decide the sense of the Convention, but his calculation was that there were 82 for, 76 against & 10 doubtful. Another letter which is from an antifederalist of, the same date says, that there are reckoned 80 on each side as certain & 8 as doubtful. The event therefore is yet very dubious. It is supposed that they wont come to a determination on Saturday or

Wednesday last. Of New-York convention you will have as good an account as I am able to give you by the newspaper which I enclose. I hope that the spirit of lying & controversy upon this important subject will soon be done away, & that harmony and prosperity will attend the united States. We have no later intelligence from Europe than what has been in the papers. By them we have accounts of very distressing wars & other calamities. It is not unlikely that other nations may be involved. The disturbances in France between the King & his Parliament & other powerful subjects is very considerable. Perhaps it may be a fortunate time for them to regain some of their ancient liberties. The spirit of American liberty which he cherished at a distance seems to have crossed the Atlantic & is not a little troublesome to him. It may perhaps be tho't wrong to suggest any thing to the reproach of our magnanimous & most christian ally, but I suppose the truth of the case is that he is a very weak & sottish prince. The latter infirmity, if he had not the former, you know will disqualify very soon a man from being active & enterprising.—The Dutch are in a much worse condition than when they began their struggle & thousands of them have been obliged to fly their country & are ruined. It is very probable that those confusions in Europe may be the means of sending emigrants to America. Whether this will conduce to the real comfort & happiness of its present inhabitants I cannot say, but it will hasten on our population & make us a great if not a happy people. The western country which is yet to people is immense & I do believe it is a country in the inhabitants can subsist themselves as easy as in any part of the world but they have many disadvantages. They are now settled in that country some of them a thousand miles from the sea. The Spaniards are on their West & South & tribes of savages in the midst of them & they will I believe have wars with both of them sooner or later.—Congress have agreed to sell large tracts of that country & others are applying. I hope that it will yield some emoluments [i.e., emoluments] to the united States.—The Congress will I suppose pretty soon take up the new System & prepare to put in motion. I hope that by the latter end of August we shall be able, to adjourn. For my own part I am not for tarrying here any longer than is indispensable. I have my health & find my situation more agreeable than I expected.—We have agreed that Kentucky should be independent in a mode conformable to the Confederation, but it cannot take place in the present situation of affairs. I can add no more at this time but best wishes to attend you & yours and am your obliged friend & humble Servant.

1. RC, Wingate Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

#### 114. Massachusetts Spy, 26 June 1788

##### *Federal Constitution adopted by the Ninth State.*

On Sunday last an express arrived in this town, on his way to the westward, with the very interesting intelligence of the Federal Constitution's being adopted on the day preceding, by the Convention of the state of Newhampshire, when assembled agreeably to adjournment, at Concord. The Yeas were 57, Nays 46—Majority 11. The minority, we are told, declared that they had had fair play, and therefore cheerfully acquiesced with the determination of the majority. The amendments proposed are greatly similar to those recommended by this state.

**115. Connecticut New Haven Gazette, 26 June 1788**

Yesterday the Convention of New Hampshire, met at Concord. On Saturday we expect to give good tidings from that quarter. The convention of New-York also met yesterday.—Gov. *Clinton* we are well informed, says, that the Constitution will be ratified there. *Amen.*

**116. Pennsylvania Packet, 26 June 1788**

The last mail from the eastward brings the intelligence, that there remains not a single doubt, but that the convention of New-Hampshire will ratify the new constitution, by a majority of two-thirds.

**117. Samuel Magaw to Robert Magaw  
Philadelphia, 27 June 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

This forenoon, certain intelligence is received, that New Hampshire, the 9th State in the Confederation, hath, by a large Majority adopted the General Constitution. . . .

. . . With the highest affection Dear Sir. . . .

1. RC, Robert Magaw Papers, James Hamilton Collection, PHI.

**118. New York Packet, 27 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

It is believed, that the intelligence of the accession of New-Hampshire to the Constitution, will occasion a considerable majority on the federal side.

1. Reprinted: New York *Independent Journal*, 28 June; *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 July.

**119. Pennsylvania Packet, 27 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from New-York, June 25.*

“A gentleman has this moment arrived in town with the pleasing intelligence of New-Hampshire having adopted the Constitution.—A Mr. Kelsey is the person who brings the news from Poughkeepsie, where an express had arrived from New-Hampshire, across the country.”

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal*, *Pennsylvania Mercury*, and *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 28 June; and *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, 2 July.

**120. Pennsylvania Packet, 27 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract from a Paper in the hands of Col. Henly, who yesterday passed through this city, express to Mr. Maddison of Virginia, from the President of Congress.*

“The Constitution was adopted on Saturday last, the 21st instant, by the State of New-Hampshire, 57 to 46.”

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Journal* and *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 June; *Maryland Journal* and *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, 1 July; *Lancaster Zeitung*, 2 July; and the June issue of the *Philadelphia Columbian Magazine*.



**121. Thomas Russell to John Langdon  
Boston, 30 June 1788<sup>1</sup>**

My Dear Sir

I am to Acknowledge the Receipt of your favour of 25 Instant by Mr. Lowell, with two hundred dollars, which is placed to your credit in Account for which you have my thanks—I Rejoice with you on the Adoption of the New Constitution in your State, this compleats the federal Government, it will I hope turn out that the question was taken with you, previous to Virginia, or New York, for the honour of your State. My Sister & Mrs. Hay, while at Newbury fully expected to pay Mrs. Langdon a Visit being unexpectedly sent for to go to Dunstable prevented.—the ladies unite with me in Affectionate Regards to Mrs. Langdon, Miss Betsey & yourself—

I remain with great sincerity yours Affectionately

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

**122. Vermont Journal, 30 June 1788**

Ninth Pillar raised.

We can assure the public from good authority, that the Convention of New-hampshire have ratified the Federal Constitution, by a majority of eleven.

**123. New York American Magazine, June 1788**

On the 17th instant, the Convention of New-Hampshire met according to adjournment, and on Saturday the 21st ratified the New Constitution. Yeas 57, nays 46, majority 11. On the arrival of this important intelligence, *the ratification by the NINTH-STATE*, the citizens of New-York testified their joy by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon.

**124. Philadelphia American Museum, June 1788**

28 June. The 21st instant the federal constitution was agreed to by the convention of New Hampshire The votes were—Yeas 57—Nays 46.

**125. Samuel Hodgdon to Rebecca White Pickering  
Philadelphia, 1 July 1788<sup>1</sup>**

By Letters received this Morning from Mr Horton and Betsey I am made acquainted with your distress'd situation—at such a time I have to lament that I am not my Own Man—for with wing'd swiftness would I, if that was the case, come to your relief—The Marching a Company of Men from this City to the Ohio lays entirely on me, and I am directed to accomplish it by the 12th instant at farthest—after which, if I am not informed of Mr Pickering's return, you may expect to see me—I have just seen Council on this business—they have done every thing that was possible to vindicate the honour of Government, and procure Mr Pickering's release—and the authors of this violation of the peace of

the County, will repent their rashness and intemperance—the thing they aimed at, (if they had any thing particular in view) will not be accomplished—if I judge right it will strengthen their leaders chain—your friends are all exceeding apprehensive for your health under these reiterated distresses—your known firmness I depend on to preserve you, though I know your frame is delicate—bear up I beseech you—better times await you—I am very happy that Mr. Ellicot and Horton were present, from their sage advice you will derive peace and information—I hope they will not leave you until, Mr Pickering returns, or I come to your releif—your friends here are all well, and enjoying the great News just arrived of the adoption of the New Constitution of New Hampshire and Virginia—ten states have now acceded, and friday is to behold this great event celebrated in the most sumptuous and costly manner, Oh, that in peace you were present to partake of the general joy and gladen the hearts of your particular friends—I again conjure you not to despair, but gallantly to bear up and oppose this adverse course of affairs—you will yet be happy—keep up your spirits, they are essential to your health—adieu—

Written in great haste by your determined friend—

1. RC, Pickering Papers, New-York Historical Society. The letter is to his wife.

#### 126. *New Jersey Journal*, 2 July 1788

New-Hampshire ratified the Constitution the 21st ultimo, Majority eleven.

Tenth Prop to the New Edifice.

Yesterday passed through this town, on his way to the eastward, Col. Henley, who communicated the agreeable and important intelligence of the adoption of the New Constitution by the State of Virginia. Majority eleven.—The genial beams of union play around and pervade the continent, and seem to animate the mass of the people. Avaunt localities and disunited states Respectability shall blossom, and honours, in quick succession, incircle their consolidated empire. Now we meet our rivals in commerce, armed at all points to repel their illiberality, too long already exercised!

#### 127. *Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette*, 2 July 1788

The following information was received on Monday last, by the Printers hereof.

##### NINTH PILLAR.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Holmes, jun. Merchant of Baltimore, dated June 27, 1788, to Mr. Joseph Thornburgh, Merchant, of this Borough.

“An Express is just arrived here from New-Hampshire, that brings the agreeable news of that State’s Adoption of the New Form of Government, by a majority of 11.”

**128. Virginia Independent Chronicle, 2 July 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Extract of a letter, dated Concord (New-Hampshire) June 21, 1788.

“I have the great pleasure of informing you that this state, has this day adopted the Federal Constitution. This important question was carried by a majority of eleven.—Yeas 57, Nays 46.”

1. Reprinted: Richmond *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 3 July; and the North Carolina *Wilmington Centinel*, 16 July.

**129. New Hampshire Gazette, 3 July 1788<sup>1</sup>**

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman at New-York, dated June 26, 1788.*

“Congress will proceed to put the new Government in operation about the first of August, or at furthest the 10th.”

1. This extract first appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July. It was reprinted in the *New Hampshire Spy*, 5 July, and fifteen other newspapers by 18 July: Mass. (6), R.I. (2), Conn. (4), Pa. (2), Md. (1).

**130. Exeter, N.H., Freeman’s Oracle, 4 July 1788**

Mess’rs. Printers, Nothing but the last paragraph, in the piece under the signature of Alfredus, in the Freeman’s Oracle of Friday 13th inst. should have induced me to pay any further attention to his writing; for he appears to have laid aside all that truth, candor, and fair reasoning a gentleman ought to be possess of. Let us turn our thoughts for a moment to his observations on the jury—he says, “*suppose for instance, in an action of trespass, eleven of the jurors should without hesitation pronounce the defendant guilty, the twelfth says he is not, and obstinately persists in it, against every argument of his brethren; the Law says they must agree to a man, and as he will not agree to a man; as he will not agree with the rest in pronouncing him guilty they must agree with him in acquiting him, for the law requires it*”—In answer, I say the law requires no such thing, for in that case, it would be a jury of *one man*, and not of twelve as the law requires; and if they do agree to acquit him, contrary to law and evidence, they forswear themselves. I wish the Gentleman would attend to the rules and customs of courts: In cases when a jury cannot agree, it is often agreed upon by the parties to take the verdict of eleven, ten, or nine, and judgment recorded accordingly—But in cases where the jury cannot agree, nor the parties, to take a less number than twelve, that jury is set aside, and a new one called, and the cause goes over again, or is continued, till the next term; for it would be an absurdity always to make the jury agree contrary to their own sentiments and solemn oaths.

I will now pass on to his last paragraph, not being contented with throwing out many hard things, because I objected to the new constitution without amendments, this gentleman (if he deserves the name) has taken a large stride, and virulently attacked my character, as a soldier through the late war. I confess, it is the first time I ever heard a hint of the kind, although I served in the army almost nine years—No man then disputed my courage, and no man has attempted to do it since, and if any gentleman disputes it at this late hour, let him call and try it.

But Mr. Alfredus's writings appear to be all of a piece, not founded upon that truth and candor they ought to be—And, as there has been much said by gentlemen, in favor of the New-Constitution, against those who are opposed to it, in a way of reflection calling them antifederalists, shayites, tories, enemies to all order and good government, involved in debt, for paper money, tender acts, Justifery acts &c. &c. and as I have taken an active part against the Constitution, it induces me to take up my political and military character, from the commencement of the war down to the present day—when the power of Great Britain resolved they had a right to tax us in all cases whatsoever, I opposed that power, for I considered representation and taxation to be inseperable companions—War ensued, and on the memorable 19th of April 1775, I girded on my sword, and marched for Lexington Battle, in defence of my country and never laid it aside till the 15th of January 1784,—eight years and nine months, in which time I shared the dangers and fatigues of a soldier, and retired, with as good credentials of my service, as a reasonable man could wish for, (which I shall endeavour to evince presently)—As to being in debt, I owe no man any thing, but what I have got property enough and a disposition to pay him—as to the late proposal for paper money, I opposed it with all my might, for I considered it if made, only to serve as a key to lock up all the silver, and gold, and a door open to cheat the unwary—as to the tender act, I bore that down, with all my might, for I considered it as a stretch of power in the legislature, that they ought not to have taken, it was interfering with private contracts, which ought to be held sacred—as to the justifery act, I opposed that with the same zeal, for I considered it, as an inlet for many little tyrants, and agreeing with the Hon. Justice Blackstone, who justly observes, *“that every new tribunal, erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury, whether composed of justices of the peace; commissioners of the revenue, judges of a court of conscience; or any other standing magistrates, is a step towards establishing aristocracy, the most oppressive of absolute government”*—As to shayites, I believe every honest man condemned his proceedings, and he has lived to see and acknowledge his own folly—and as to tories, I think it is high time for that epithet to be laid aside—there is of that class of Gentlemen on both sides the question for and against the Constitution for my own part, when I first read it, I had no idea of its being received without amendments, and I verily believe that to be the case, with many of the gentlemen, who were in convention at Philadelphia.—Let us attend to what his Excellency General Washington says: *“I am not blind to its faults, it is the best we could obtain in the Convention; it is now open for the revision of each state”*—What says that aged and venerable polition Dr. Franklin; *“I do not like the Constitution, it has its faults, if they may be considered as such, and will end in monarchical government.”*—What says Gov. Hancock, *“If the proposed amendments take place then the constitution will be complete.”*—In short I have not conversed with any person, not even the most sanguine, but what wish for an alteration; but they say, let us adopt and then propose amendments; but, are we sure amendments will take place in this way? No, by no means; for the views, interests, and designs will be the same in Congress, as they were in the convention, and power once given is hard to recall—In fine, I opposed the constitution upon *fair and honest principles*; for I considered, that the *Liberties* of the people were not sufficiently secured without some amendations.

As to my military character I shall now state that as short and brief as possible, and my documents, shall be open to the view of any person for perusal—And I shall leave the whole to the publick, to justify or condemn me as they see fit, and to determine whether I deserve the opprobrious epithet of a coward given me by Alfredus, or no; and whether I have eat the bread of the United States without earning it, or venturing my life in their defence.

On the 19th of April, as above mentioned, I marched for Lexington to oppose the progress of the enemy, but living at the distance of 30 miles, the enemy had retired before we could reach the ground; that was not my fault; I did my duty—I immediately took orders, and with the assistance of my officers raised a company of 75 men, and marched them into the field; and on the day of the battle of Bunker-Hill, I was an officer on the main guard under the command of a Col. Moulton—And whoever knows any thing of an army, must also know, that the main guard is a fixed body, and not to be moved without the whole army is frustrated; I remained in that position till near the close of the next day finding the guard was not likely to be relieved, and expecting the enemy to make an attack upon our troops at Prospect Hill, I requested leave of the commanding officer of the guard to let me go with that part of my company which was then off duty, and lay on the lines; he granted it, and I went.

The next scene was the proposal of an attack upon Boston by boats, and it was said that where a field officer went from a regiment, he was to chose two captains from the same; Col. Weston, a brave officer, was determined to go, if the proposed operations took place, and asked me if I would go with him. I readily agreed to the proposal; but the operations did not take place; that was not my fault—and when the new army was to be raised, I offered my service, and went to New-York, persevered in my duty, as an officer, in all the different movements of the army till Gen. How[e] appeared with his forces, at Pell's Neck, at or near New Rochell; several regiments were placed to check his progress, and the enemy on their march within a quarter of a mile; Gen. Glover ordered 100 men of the regiment I belonged to, to take post on the right of a regiment under the command of Col. Sheppard, a brave and good officer, to secure his flank, and asked, who would take the command of them? I immediately offered my service and took the command; was in the action, did my duty, and received his particular thanks—I continued through ever operation of that part of the army I was with, till the campaign was closed.

The next year I joined the army at Saratoga, about the time that Gen. Gates took his command, and went through the whole scene of taking Gen. Burgoyne—from thence I marched to the southward, and was at White marsh Heights when Gen. How[e] was out with all his forces from Philadelphia; and, after compleating a fatiguing tower [i.e., tour] of duty, and but just joined the regiment, Gen. Greene called upon Col. Sheppard, who then commanded the brigade, in the presence of both officers and soldiers (for the whole army was then under arms)—I say, he called upon him for a brave and active officer of my rank, to take the command of a body of infantry, and join Col. Morgan, to harrass the flank of the British army;—Col. Sheppard was pleased to recommend myself, and I took command accordingly. I was with the army in the *Battle of Monmouth*, and shared in the honours of the day—from thence I went to Rhode Island and joined the army under the command of Gen. Sullivan—was on the

picquet guard with Col [— — —], a brave and good officer; when the picquet was attacked by the enemy, and did my duty on horseback through the whole skirmish, and received the thanks of the commanding officer, and the applause of every officer and soldier in the detachment.—I closed with the retreat from the Island—a retreat that has reflected as much honour upon the commanding officer of the troops as any victory gained in America—I was on various other commands of out posts, too numerous to mention; and, I will venture to affirm, no officer in the United States did more duty in the same time than I did—and I defy malice itself to point out any time that I wished to screen myself from danger or eat the bread of my country without earning it.

However, it is very disagreeable to speak of these things, in my own praise, or commendation; but the falsehood, the malice, and virulence of the attack, which has been made upon my conduct and character while in the army, has obliged me to take this method, I hope therefore the public will pardon the impropriety—and, as to my leaving the line of the army in the year 1780; I had my reasons for it, and if Mr. Alfredus had made use of a little candor, he would not have published his censure quite so hastily: for when I left the *line* the war was drawing to a close, and but very few skirmishes happened after that period, and the only, or at least the principal reason of my leaving it, was my rank—a gentleman became competitor with me for the office of Lieutenant-Colonel—the contention was long and tedious—we both applied to the authority of Massachusetts, and it terminated in my favour—he applied for a rehearing, it was granted, and it terminated a second time in my favour—When we arrived at camp, the contest was renewed, and to my surprize, I found a gentleman of rank, and part of his family against me—I shall forbear to mention his name; for I always considered he was in the wrong—and have not had cause to alter my sentiments.—Under these circumstances I chose to retire from the line of the army.

### 131. Providence, R.I., Gazette, 5 July 1788<sup>1</sup>

Intelligence of the State of New-Hampshire having adopted the Federal Constitution was received at Poughkeepsie on the 24th ult. by Express from his Excellency John Langdon, Esq; President of New-Hampshire. It arrived at New-York in ten Hours from Poughkeepsie, and after having been read in Congress, Col. Henley sat out, Express, for Virginia.

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 14 July.

### 132. Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 5 July 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, to his friend in this city, dated 30th June.

“I must own that I was a little surprized to find New-Hampshire had adopted the constitution, as I received a letter of the 14th June, from a gentleman who was one of the principal leaders in the opposition in that Convention—At that time he supposed there was, as he expressed it, a fair majority against its adoption.—But at the same time he says, that the Presses in their state had been entirely devoted to the federalists, who had spared no pains to bring over some of the Members to their party.

Our mutual friend—who left Poughkeepsie last Saturday evening, says that the account of New-Hampshire having ratified the constitution, has not made the least impression on the patriots in our convention, who remain as fixed and firm as ever—And as they were suspicious that it was the intention of their opponents to spin out the time till the harvest would constrain many of the members to return home, a motion was made and carried on Saturday last, that they would in future, meet twice a day, which will frustrate the designs of the federalists to force them to an adjournment.”

**133. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 9 July 1788**

In consequence of the Constitution's being adopted by the State of New-Hampshire, a Grand Federal Procession was formed on Thursday, the 26th ultimo, at Portsmouth, in which were persons skilled in almost all the curious and useful arts of life—every profession was distinguished by some insignia or badge peculiar to it. The procession moved through all the principal streets of the town, a band of musick playing and singing a Federal Song.—After dinner nine federal toasts were drank.—In the evening, the state house was beautifully illuminated, with nine candles in each window, while a large company of Ladies and Gentlemen forming a semi-circle, were entertained by the Band from the balcony.

**134. Virginia Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 9 July 1788**

*Important Intelligence.*

By letters received we learn, that the State of New Hampshire has adopted the Fœderal Constitution, by a majority of eleven.

**135. Virginia Centinel, 9 July 1788**

The state of New-Hampshire has ratified the Federal Constitution, by a majority of eleven.

**136. Alfredus**

**Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 11 July 1788**

*Mess'rs. Printers,* In your last Oracle I find Col. Cogswell calling on me as a *gentleman and man of honour* to [testify?] to the public my disapprobation of the report that he, thro' cowardice, had left the late American army with a sword unstained with the blood of his country's foes. As I dare challenge the world to produce an instance, in which I ever [wantonly?] and maliciously sported with the character of my fellow creatures, I hope I shall never feel the least reluctance at doing justice to any person, whose reputation I may injure by *hastily* and *inconsiderately* propagating a false and scandalous report, fabricated by another. Gentlemen acquainted with military life know perfectly well how to estimate such testimonials of [merit?] as the Colonel has produced; and need not be informed that they are, in general, mere compliments, altogether as empty and unmeaning

as those which a gentleman of gallantry pays a young lady on some particular personal charm or accomplishment, upon which he knows she values herself. However, as in addition to those, he asserts that he was, several times, in action and received thanks for his good conduct, and besides, invites any gentleman who disputes his courage to *call on him and try it*. I freely ask his pardon for publishing an insinuation that he was a coward; and wish that his reputation for valor may stand with your readers just where it did before my last publication.

That the Colonel's general character as a military man was a very indifferent one I can assert upon my own knowledge; for the competition he mentions to have taken place between him and another gentleman occasioned a pretty free discussion of the merits of the competitors. I shall therefore make no apology for asserting that he omitted a profession for which he was not qualified, for an employment much less honorable, to which his talents and education rendered him adequate—That he was too great a coward ever to have risked his life in the field of action I received from others—They were not, however, any of those little ill-natured beings who wish to [raise?] themselves on the ruin of their neighbour's reputation; for they have no occasion for it. On the contrary I much question whether any of them would exchange reputations with his worship, though they might have his place on the [seat?] of justice into the bargain: nor do I in the least doubt their believing the character they gave him.

When I took up my pen in defence of the constitution against the attack of the FARMER, I had no idea that the *worshipful Justice Cogswell* was my antagonist. Consequently whatever severities his apparent want of candor and honesty drew from me, my answer contained nothing *personal*. When he saw fit to rejoin, his *mean, vulgar and despicable* soul permitted him to inform the public, by repeatedly ordering me to my *cell*, that I was a *poor, obscure* fellow. That I cannot measure fortunes with him I readily confess, for I had not the honor of being a BULL DRIVER in the late American army. As to my obscurity, I have nothing to say but that had I been so fortunate as to have seasonably formed proper *family connections*, I might possibly have held as conspicuous a station as that in which he [shines?]. At least my ignorance would not have prevented it.

Foolishness is sometimes bound up in the heart of a man as well as of a child, and the rod of correction equally expels it from both. With this view I applied it to his worship's breech: And if it still tingles with the wholesome discipline, he may thank himself for the folly that brought it upon him. I have now done with him. Henceforth he may, if he pleases,

“Write on unheeded and this maxim know,  
He that despises disappoints his foe.”

### 137. New Hampshire Recorder, 15 July 1788

On Thursday the 26th ult. the adoption of the Federal Constitution by this State, was celebrated at Portsmouth with great rejoicing—the particulars must be deferred 'till next week.



**138. Nova Scotia Gazette, 15 July 1788**

The State of New Hampshire has acceded to the New Constitution. This is the ninth State that has adopted the plan.—The intelligence was received at Philadelphia with every demonstration of joy; and celebrated as an epoch from whence to date the prosperity, happiness and real independence of the American states.

**139. Winthrop Sargent to Henry Knox  
Muskingum, Northwest Territory, 16 July 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

I thank you my Dear Genl for your kind Favour of the 3d inst: which came to Hand last Eveg—The Adoption of the Constitution by Virginia & New Hamshire is a Circumstance of very high Gratification to all your Friends in this Western World. . . .

1. RC, Knox Papers, GLC02437.03937, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

**140. Georgia State Gazette, 19 July 1788**

*Extracts of letters from gentlemen in Alexandria, Virginia, dated June 29.*

“This day our town is all alive with joy and madness, on account of our States’s adoption of the new government, as also New-Hampshire.”

“I have nothing more to add, but that ten states have now adopted the Federal Government.”

**141. Paine Wingate to John Langdon  
New York, 26 July 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . Congress have omitted making the necessary arrangements for putting the new government into effect, out of delicacy to the situation of New York, whose decision upon the proposed Constitution has been expected daily for some time. I have now the pleasure of congratulating your Excellency upon their adoption, which we have just received the news of. The particulars are not yet come to hand, only that there was a majority of five in favor of an unconditional ratification. The new Congress cannot meet so early as most expected, and many wished for, owing to the situation of some of the Southern states. I hope however that there will be no necessity of Congress meeting under the present Confederation after November next. We have now all the states represented in Congress and considerable business which requires the attention of that body, but expect that, as soon as the principal matters are dispatched, the delegates will many of them return home. Among that number I shall be glad to be one, provided that nothing special should require my continuance here and my return shall have your Excellency’s consent.

1. Printed: Charles E. L. Wingate, *Life and Letters of Paine Wingate: One of the Fathers of the Nation* (2 vols., Winchester, Mass., 1930), I, 236–38.

**142. John Trumbull to Thomas Jefferson  
London, 29 July 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . You have been inform'd of the accession of New Hampshire, the ninth State to the new Constitution. We hope every day to learn that Virginia has also. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 434.

**143. Thomas Jefferson to C. W. F. Dumas  
Paris, 30 July 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

Your favor of the 24th has just come to hand, and that of the 20th. of June had never been acknowledged. I congratulate you on the news just received of the accession of New Hampshire to the new Constitution which suffices to establish it. I have the honor to inclose you details on that subject. . . .

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 436–37n.

**144. Thomas Jefferson to André Limozin  
Paris, 30 July 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . P. S. The new constitution of America is now confirmed by 9 states, New Hampshire having agreed to it on the 24th. of June.

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 437–38.

**145. Thomas Jefferson to Comte de Montmorin  
Paris, 30 July 1788<sup>1</sup>**

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the new Constitution proposed for the United states is finally established by the vote of nine states. New Hampshire acceded to it certainly on the 24th. of June, and I have great reason to conclude that Virginia had done it some days before, in which case the vote of New-Hampshire would be the tenth.

I have the honour to be with sentiments of the most perfect esteem & respect

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC.

**146. New Hampshire Gazette, 31 July 1788**

TO BE GIVEN AWAY,

Several important and high stations, in the new government. No persons need offer themselves as candidates for them, unless they can be well recommended, for tried abilities, strict honour and integrity, and *unshaken federalism*. Inquire of "THE PEOPLE."

☞ Information having been given that *some persons* have *offered* some of these stations as being in *their* gift, the world are assured that such persons were in no wise empowered to make the offer.

WANTED,

*A Reasonable Pretext for ratifying the Constitution.* Apply to No. 46, Poughkeepsie.

## LOST.

By a flaming patriot in Virginia, all his *Pretensions to Consistency*—They were dropt at Richmond, wrapped up in an “*Address of the Minority.*”

## WANTED TO PURCHASE,

*Blank Recantations of antifederal sentiments*—Those of a good form will receive any price. Inquire of two would-be candidates for seats in the Federal Government, in two adjacent counties.

## WANTED,

By the Federalists—*the ratification of North Carolina and New-York.*

By the antis—*eye sight.*

By the R. I. majority—*anarchy.*

By the minority—*a separation.*

And by America in general—*the speedy operation of the new government. July 22.*

**147. John Brown Cutting to William Short  
London, 2 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . With a genuine joy I gratulate You upon the ratification of nine States; for You know New Hampshire, which adopted the national System the 21st of June completed this number. Also once Congress became notified of this event it was their duty conformably to the direction of the general convention to issue precepts to the adopting States for organizing the new government. We expect to hear every day that Virginia has acceded. The moment such an important event is known here—I shall with pleasure communicate it. . . .

Adieu, and believe me ever your affectionate friend & ser[van]t

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC.

**148. New Hampshire Recorder, 5 August 1788**

FEDERAL HAT & BONNET FRAMES. Left at the Printing Office for sale. A number of Ladies newest fashioned HAT & BONNET FRAMES, by the dozen or single.

**149. Nicholas and Jacob van Staphorst to William Duer  
Amsterdam, 7 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . It was with much Satisfaction We learned some days ago, the Realization of your Sentiments; that the State of New-Hampshire would adopt the New Federal Constitution: This being the Ninth establishes that system of Government, from the Operation of which, every thing honorable & advantageous to the United States may be expected and will We doubt not be executed.

We are sorry to learn Virginia has postponed deciding upon the subject: Her Example we fear will be followed by North Carolina, and thus influence the Opposition that is so formidable in New-York, to greater Resistance than it might otherwise make. However We trust these three States will not hold out long, and that Means may be adopted to counteract the evil Effects of the apparently de-

terminated schism of Rhode-Island. Upon the whole We frankly acknowledge. We judge the Appearances of your Country, such as afford a most rational prospect of future Prosperity, and that an extensive beneficial commercial Intercourse will take place between the United States and these Provinces. Our desire to cultivate which, has induced us to do more in this Business the present Year, than We have ventured for a long time ago. This Extension has already brought us to the full Amount of the Advance We limited ourselves to, and which it is our invariable principle to confine within our perfect Conveniency. . . .

1. RC, Duer Papers, NHi.

**150. Thomas Jefferson to John Rutledge, Jr.  
Paris, 12 August 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . by news from Virginia of the 12th. of June when their convention had been 11. days in session there was no doubt but that she, soon after that date, would give the 9th. vote in favor of the new constitution. N. Hampshire acceded to it on the 24th. of June. of North Carolina no doubt is entertained. . . .

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 506.

**151. New Hampshire Spy, 12 August 1788**

It has often been said exultingly in Great Britain (says a correspondent) that the British nation sustained no loss by the independence of the United States, and no wonder; for by the plentiful emissions of paper money, and the want of a general power to encourage American manufactures, and to restrain the importation of British luxuries, more goods were bought of Great Britain than before the war.—But let her beware of the effects of our new government. This will soon teach her the folly of shedding innocent blood, and the injury she has sustained by dismembering the empire. In the articles of iron, cotton, paper, and malt liquors alone, she will lose in course of the present year not less than half a million sterling, and in the course of three years, we hope, four times that sum.

**152. John Brown Cutting to Thomas Lee Shippen  
London, 24 August 1788 (excerpts)<sup>1</sup>**

. . . New Hampshire adopted the new Constitution on the 21st of June 57 for—46 against—majority 11. This happen'd June 21st. Virginia ratified June 25th—89 for 79 against—majority 10: These two events have caused the most unbounded joy throughout the union—and made the 4th of July quite a Jubilee. Philadelphia ordered a procession in which her citizens to the number of twenty two thousand created the grandest day that was ever seen in America. The particulars in my next. . . .

I have the pleasure to remain with the truest attachment.

P. S. New York it is thought will refuse the New Constitution—and reject the union—like Rhode Island. Her Convention has been hotly debating since the

17th of June. North Carolina is expected to make the eleventh state in the New Union. Congress have issued their precepts for organizing. If New York refuses to come in—the general Congress will certainly sit in Philadelphia. What manner of lawyers, statesmen & gentlemen ought we then to be?

1. MS, John Rutledge Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

**153. John Weeks to John Langdon  
Lancaster, N.H., 5 September 1788 (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>**

May it please your Excellency

After congratulating your Excellency on the approbation of the people in this part of the State on the adoption of the Federal constitution, I Heartily congratulate your Excellency on your Election by the freemen of this State to the chief Seat in Government, and rejoice in the prospect of having a Gentleman of your Excellent Abilities and Patriotism at the helm of Government for many years to come in opposition to the small number of your Excellencies enemies who have carried their point two years past by propagating the most absurd falsities. . . .

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenæum.

**154. Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 6 September 1788**

A FEDERAL SONG.

No more shall anarchy bear sway,  
Nor petty States pursue their way,  
But all united firm as one,  
Shall seek the gen'ral good alone.

*Great WASHINGTON shall rule the land,  
While FRANKLIN'S counsel aid his hand.*

The gilded toys of Europe's shore,  
Shall rob us of our wealth no more,  
Imports their dang'rous progress stop,  
And premiums bear industry up.

*Great Washington, &c.*

The arts of peace shall flourish here,  
Nor slavish nations interfere;  
At home as *Thirteen States* we're known,  
While foreign Courts shall feel us ONE.

*Great Washington, &c.*

Thus halcyon days shall bless our life,  
And party rage forget its strife;  
Like children of one parent still,  
Beneath our vines and figtrees dwell.

*Great Washington, &c.*

### 155. New Hampshire Recorder, 9 September 1788

*As this day's paper commences the second Volume of the New-Hampshire Recorder, a few observations respecting the future merit of this Paper, is humbly submitted to its generous Patrons;—particularly to those respectable characters who have this day become subscribers for the same.*

TO THE PATRONS OF THE *NEW-HAMPSHIRE RECORDER*.

Encouraged by the kind reception which the first Volume of the *New-Hampshire Recorder* has met with, (notwithstanding the many inconveniencies that attended the same) the Editor has undertaken to continue the Publication, hoping for, and depending upon, the continued patronage and support of those whom he has now the honor to address.

In the prosecution of this undertaking—*Justice*, the god of civilization, shall walk upright—*Literature* and the *Sciences* shall be patronized—*Agriculture*—our *home manufactures*—and *Commerce*—the three great *PILLARS* of our *FEDERAL CONSTITUTION*, shall constantly be held to view—*Christianity*—*Patriotism*—and every moral and political virtue shall be inculcated. The earliest Foreign and Domestic Intelligence shall be communicated—select Poetical and Historical Pieces, as well as entertaining Anecdotes, shall be occasionally inserted. No pecuniary emolument shall ever deter the Editor from sounding the alarm in times of public danger, or threats prevent him from exposing the iniquity of those who may be found dangerous in public office.

*Tyrants* and *Oppressors* he will ever oppose, while he has a type to use:

“Nor will he spare those *vipers* to the State,  
Who smooth their looks and flatter while they hate.”

A sacred regard shall ever be paid to private characters; nor shall any anonymous scurrility find a place in this Paper. The Editor conceives it to be his duty, always to distinguish between the *sacred Freedom of the PRESS*, and the *vile Licentiousness of it*—and flatters himself, that by a firm adherence to those principles, he shall ensure the encomiums of the *JUST*.

*A few cursory thoughts respecting the utility of a NEWS-PAPER.*

Through the channel of a News-Paper, the affairs of foreign nations, as well as the transactions of our own country, are conveyed to the most retired recesses of ignorance. A considerable part of mankind, who live remote from the Press, are excluded from this source of knowledge and information, to which those who live in its vicinity have free access; and yet those retired Farmers, who are the most honest and necessary part of the community, are equally interested with others in the politicks of their country—And for only a *few shillings* they may furnish themselves with information of the state of commerce and war; of remarkable occurrences in every quarter of the globe, and of every thing curious and important; it also serves for the edification of children (containing so great a variety) more than any book (except the Bible) which can be purchased for them.

Besides these advantages, our own domestic business renders a News-Paper as necessary as any article that is purchased. The affairs of government are conveyed to the Public through this channel; the merchants may inform thousands at once what article they have for sale, and what they wish to purchase; the farmer advertises his farms and cattle; the mechanick his manufactures; the cuckold his

wife, and exposes his shame to save his money; rogues are published; stolen goods found; fools are laughed at; vice scourged; and counterfeit money detected. In short, every thing that deserves the attention of the public, may be conveyed to them through this channel, with more ease and expedition than by any other method hitherto invented; and it is generally allowed to be one of the greatest securities of the liberties of mankind, and the best guard against the encroachments of tyranny.

At this particular crisis of the affairs of our young American Empire, and as the Federal Government (from the operation of which so many fears have been excited) will soon be put in motion, News[-]Papers will become more beneficial to the community than they ever have been. From the political essays contained therein, the people may derive much benefit; they may discover their errors, or find new arguments to support their opinions.

The Editor solicits a continuance of favors from his Advertising Friends, and flatters himself, that the extensive circulation which this paper commands, will prevail upon those gentlemen who have occasion to advertise, to favor him with their commands.

In fine, I consider the money that is expended for a NEWS-PAPER, to be laid out to the best advantage—as promoting not only my own interest, but that of my country.

*The Publick's devoted Servant,*  
JAMES D. GRIFFITH

**156. John Langdon: Thanksgiving Proclamation**  
**Portsmouth, N.H., 10 October 1788<sup>1</sup>**

BY HIS EXCELLENCY  
JOHN LANGDON, Esquire,  
CAPTAIN-GENERAL *and* COMMANDER *in* CHIEF *in and over the* STATE *of*  
NEW-HAMPSHIRE.  
A PROCLAMATION  
*for a general thanksgiving.*

Societies, as well as Individuals, being dependent upon, and protected by Divine Providence, and deriving all their blessings from the same source, it is both their indispensable duty, and high privilege, at stated seasons, to make their grateful, and public acknowledgements to their Supreme Benefactor therefore: And, as the God of all our mercies has, in the course of the last year, loaded us with his benefits, we ought with devout hearts, and elevated strains of praise and thanksgiving, to magnify his great and glorious name.

I have therefore thought fit, by and with advice of Council, agreeably to a vote of the General Court, to appoint THURSDAY the *Twenty-seventh Day of November* next, to be observed as a Day of Public THANKSGIVING throughout this State; earnestly recommending to Ministers and People, of every denomination, to assemble on that day, to adore and praise the GOD of our lives:—devoutly to offer up their sincere thanks for the continuance of His mercies—while our ungrateful returns for the same have justly merited His indignation: To thank Him for the general health, and remarkable plenty of the fruits of the earth,

the present year;—for His smiles on our commerce, and the rising prospect of its encrease and extension;—for His blessing, on the administration of Government—that so much peace, order, and harmony, have prevailed among the People; and that the inestimable privilege of civil and religious liberty, is continued, and enjoyed;—for the signal display of His goodness, inclining the citizens of so many States, to adopt the Constitution of Federal Government, happily calculated to secure and perpetuate to them, all the blessings of PEACE and INDEPENDENCE—humbly imploring the Fountain of all Wisdom, to diffuse a spirit of harmony and union, among the People of the United States, and to prevent every occasion of alienation;—above all, to bless, and glorify His venerable Name, for the unspeakable gift of His Son, to save a ruined world;—for the means of grace, and the hope of eternal glory—with hearts penetrated with a sense of divine benefits, and glowing in the recollection of His manifold acts of kindness, to supplicate the GOD of all Grace, to rain down righteousness upon us;—to grant us the influences of His spirit;—to inspire us with virtue, and restrain us from vice;—that He would be pleased to protect, strengthen, and establish, this new, rising Empire;—that the choice of Federal Rulers may be under the auspices of Heaven, and be endowed with wisdom, integrity, and patriotism, adequate to the important design of their appointment: Particularly, that GOD would bless this State, prosper its civil Government, encourage the means of Literature, succeed a preached gospel, and spread the glories of His name, and the triumphs of His grace, from the rising to the setting sun.

And it is hereby recommended to the People of said State, that they abstain from all servile labour and recreation on said day.

*Given at the Council Chamber at Portsmouth, the Tenth Day of October, Anno Domini, One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Eighty eight, and of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States of America the Thirteenth.*

JOHN LANGDON.

*By His Excellency's Command,*

JOSEPH PEARSON, Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE STATE.

1. Printed: Broadside (Evans 45308).

### 157 A–B. Payment of Convention Expenses, 6–7 November 1788

*157-A. New Hampshire House of Representatives Proceedings  
Thursday, 6 November (excerpt)*<sup>1</sup>

... Voted, That the account of *Samuel Penhallow*, jun'r. amounting to thirty shillings, be allowed, and paid out of the Treasury by order of the President: It being for engrossing on parchment, two copies of the ratification of the Federal Constitution with the proposed amendments. . . .



157-B. *New Hampshire Senate Proceedings*

Friday, 7 November (excerpt)<sup>1</sup>

. . . A Vote, to pay Caleb Buswell, one pound, as doorkeeper to Convention, was brought up, read and concurred. . . .

1. Printed: *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Representatives of the State of New-Hampshire* (Portsmouth, 1788) (Evans 21286), 61. The Senate concurred later that day (*A Journal of the Proceedings of the Honorable Senate, of the State of New-Hampshire . . .* [Portsmouth, 1788] [Evans 21290], 7).

2. *Senate Journal*, 7. The House voted to pay Buswell twenty shillings earlier in the day (*House Journal*, 62).

158. **Friend to Amendments**

**Exeter, N.H., Freeman's Oracle, 8 November 1788 (excerpts)**

. . . The only objection to his excellency's having a seat in the senate is his having assisted in making the constitution, and his declaring in convention as well as the chief justice that *it was already complete*.

. . . I must here speak freely, Messieurs Printers, tho' perhaps I may give offense—I opposed the constitution in my own mind from my first reading it, without knowing whether others of better judgment liked it or not—As I am but a plain man with no other education than what I pick'd up by my own industry, I thought I would keep my thoughts to myself and wait to see how it was relished by others—In this state I soon found out who and who were of a side—and what I knew of the characters of all the leaders of the opposition served to make me shut my mouth the closer, for really I did not like the company I must have kept had I publicly acknowledged my dislike to the constitution—I have also endeavoured to inform myself of the characters of the two parties in the neighbouring states with pretty good success—By this enquiry I have discover'd that almost every man of abilities and establish'd reputation is in favor of the constitution—and that its opposers consist principally of *honest uninformed yeomanry* like myself, headed by men of shatter'd fortunes, blasted reputations or inveterate tories—or in other words *men who had something to gain by living under a bad government, or something to loose by the establishment of a good one*—If there is in some of the neighbouring states here and there a man of good abilities, a fair reputation, and a clear estate in the opposition, I believe it will be found that he is more fam'd for his obstinacy than candour—In short it must be confessed that in N. England we have but a very small number of men who would not equally disgrace the states and the antifederal party were they sent to congress—If then *the friend to the People* would exclude all those who are friendly to this constitution as it is, or enemies to any good one at all, from a seat in congress, I fear we shall be poorly represented at best, for as to such men as he describes, *men whose acquaintance and extensive knowledge may be serviceable in bringing about amendments*, it is a lamentable truth that they are not to be found among that part of us who wish for a good government—If there are any such for God's

sake let them discover themselves and rid us of the disgrace we now lie under— In a word, my honest brethren in the opposition, as the federalists have got all the men of character and abilities among them, and as we have none in our number who would not disgrace us by their want of knowledge or principle. (I mean not even except myself) I don't see but we must for our own honor and that of our state, join with the other party in giving our voices for federal members and leave the rest to Providence. They shall certainly have the influence of one honest and unfeigned FRIEND TO AMENDMENTS.

**159. John Pickering to Joseph Pearson  
9 December 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Please to pay or discount with Geo. Gains Esqr. whatever sums of money may be due to me for travel as a Representative or member of Convention for Portsmouth and his receipt shall be a full discharge from Your very h[um]ble Servant.

1. RC, Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, Nh-Ar.

**160. Aaron Hall to New Hampshire Treasurer  
Keene, N.H., 20 December 1788<sup>1</sup>**

Please to give the bearer of this an order upon the Treasurer for my traveling fees to Convention to Exeter and Concord, and you will much oblige one who has the honour to be your most Obedient Humble Servant

1. RC, Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, Nh-Ar.

**161. Draft Resolution for Paying Convention Delegates, 22 January 1790<sup>1</sup>**

State of New Hampshire

In the House of Representatives Janry 22nd 1790.

Whereas no provision has been made for the Members of the late Convention for investigating the Federal Constitution to recover pay for attendance thereon

Therefore Resolved upon the respective Members or any of them making oath that they have not receiv'd pay from the several towns they represented, nor made any previous agreement with their Constituents and producing a certificate from the Secretary of the said Convention certifying the number of days they attended—That the Treasurer be and hereby is directed to charge each members attendance at Six Shillings per day in the next precepts for taxes each town their proportion in the several districts they respectively represented and that it be assessed and paid in the same manner that Representatives to the General Court have heretofore been paid

Provided nevertheless that no Member of said Convention who attended as a member of the General Court at Concord in June 1788 and received his travil money as such shall be entitled to any benefit by virtue of this Resolve

1. MS, Documents, Series of 1901, 1690–1796, Nh-Ar. There is no record of action on this resolve in the *House Journal* for 22 January 1788 (Evans 22699).

**162. Bow, N.H., Town Meeting, 29 March 1790<sup>1</sup>**

Met according to warrant the 29th of March Chose Jeremiah Page Esqr Moderator of Sd meeting voted not to Send a Representative to the general Co[u]rt voted to allow Capt Jacob Green three Pounds for attendance at Convention at Exeter in the year 1788.

True Copy from the Minuts.

Jacob Green Town Clerk.

1. Copy, Town Records, Vol. 1, Nh.

**163. William Plumer: Autobiography, 1826<sup>1</sup>**

This year will long be memorable in the history of our country. The articles of confederation, proposed by congress & ratified by the state legislatures some years since, contained the principles & authority of the government of the United States. The powers that the several states by that instrument delegated to congress, were few & limited with great caution. On many important subjects congress had only the authority to *recommend*, but no power to force their recommendations. That system was established during the revolution, a period in which the fear of *abuse of power* was predominant, & prevented the people from granting to their representatives requisite authority. But during that time, the idea of *common danger*, in a great measure, supplied the defect, & imparted to the recommendations of congress the force of law. A state of peace & security annihilated that pledge of obedience, & proved the system was feeble & inefficient. The nation now felt the necessity of a government of greater energy. To effect this important purpose the states appointed a convention to investigate the subject, & report the changes necessary to be made. On the 17th of September the convention reported a constitution for the United States.

I examined the proposed constitution with great attention, & carefully considered the arguments for & against it, & tho I thot the executive was not vested with sufficient authority on some points, & that the powers delegated to congress were too much restricted, I was convinced it was as perfect as we could then make it. The provision it made for correcting its defects by future amendments, obviated my objections. Believing the interest of the nation required its adoption, I used every mean in my power to effect that object.

On this subject the people were very much divided. They arranged themselves into two parties; the one was for adopting the constitution, & the other against it. The first was denominated *federalists*, & the other *anti-federalists*; hence the origin of those two great political parties, which for many years has divided & agitated our country. The antifederalists after assumed a more imposing name, that of *republicans*. There were then & ever since have been, many distinguished men & real patriots in both parties. I was a federalist, & rejoiced in the prospect we then had of ratifying the constitution.

On the 14th of December the legislature of New Hampshire passed a resolve requiring the several towns to elect delegates to meet in convention at Exeter in February to decide whether this state would ratify the constitution. I visited & conversed with most of the freeholders of Epping, but found a majority of them

opposed to the constitution. Previous to the town meeting the principal federalists unanimously agreed to support me, but the town to my regret elected an antifederalist.

1. MS, Plumer Papers, Autobiography, 1787–91, pp. 33–34, DLC. Written on “(October 14. 1826).”

## Appendix

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

### New Hampshire Newspapers, 1787–1788

*Freeman's Oracle*, Exeter  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, Portsmouth  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, Portsmouth  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, Keene  
*New Hampshire Spy*, Portsmouth

### Massachusetts newspaper that circulated widely in New Hampshire, 1787–1788

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

CC:No.	Item/New Hampshire Reprints
CC:1	Resolution of Congress, 21 February 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 March (summary) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 7 March <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 14 March
CC:3-C	Lycurgus <i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 2 April 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 25 April (excerpt)
CC:5-B	Extract of a letter from Halifax, via St. Johns dated Feb. 3, 1787 <i>New York Journal</i> , 15 March 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 28 March <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 March <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 4 April
CC:8	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 3 April 1787 No New Hampshire reprints
CC:10	George Washington's Election to the Convention <i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 9 April 1787 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 19 May
CC:11	<i>Virginia Independent Chronicle</i> , 11 April 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 5 May (summary) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 May (summary)
CC:14	Benjamin Franklin's Election to the Convention <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 14 April 1787 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 18 April



- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:25                   Connecticut Legislature Debates the Appointment of  
Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 12 May 1787  
*Connecticut Courant*, 21 May 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 29 May (excerpt)
- CC:26                   Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 22 May 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 June
- CC:27                   *New York Journal*, 24 May 1787  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 31 May  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 2 June
- CC:29                   Harrington: To the Freemen of the United States  
*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 May 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 12, 16 June (excerpts)  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 June (excerpt), 23 June  
(complete)
- CC:30-A                Reports of Constitutional Convention Proceedings  
*Pennsylvania Herald*, 30 May 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 9 June (omits first sentence)  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 14 June (omits first sentence)  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 June (omits first sentence)
- CC:30-B                *Pennsylvania Herald*, 2 June 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 12 June  
*Essex Journal*, 13 June  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 14 June  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 June
- CC:30-C                *Pennsylvania Herald*, 13 June 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 23 June  
*Essex Journal*, 27 June
- CC:30-E                Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 June 1787  
*Essex Journal*, 4 July (excerpt)  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 7 July
- CC:30-F                *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 July 1787  
*Essex Journal*, 1 August
- CC:30-J                *Pennsylvania Herald*, 8 August 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 18 August  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 18 August  
*Essex Journal*, 22 August
- CC:30-K                *Pennsylvania Herald*, 15 August 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 25 August  
*Essex Journal*, 29 August  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 August
- CC:30-L                *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 September 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 18 September  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 22 September





- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:46-A               The United States, Spain, and the Navigation of the  
Mississippi River  
*Maryland Journal*, 3 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 14, 21 July (excerpt of  
4 December letter; 6 December letter complete)  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 17 July (both letters complete)  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 23 July (excerpt of 4 December  
letter)
- CC:46-B               *Maryland Journal*, 3 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 17 July  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 21 July
- CC:46-C               *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 June 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 24 July
- CC:46-D               *New York Journal*, 12 July 1787  
*Essex Journal*, 1 August
- CC:48                 *Norwich Packet*, 5 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 28 July
- CC:49                 Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 5 July 1787  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 4 August  
*Essex Journal*, 8 August (excerpt)
- CC:50                 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 21 July
- CC:51-B               Monarchical Tendencies in America  
Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 2 August 1787  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 August  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 11 August  
*Essex Journal*, 15 August  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 21 August
- CC:51-C               *Pennsylvania Herald*, 18 August 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 28 August  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 August  
*Essex Journal*, 5 September
- CC:53                 Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 25 August  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 28 August  
*Essex Journal*, 29 August
- CC:54                 Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 27 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 18 August  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 1 September
- CC:56                 *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 July 1787  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 21 August  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October



<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
	<i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 December <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 15 December <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 18 December
CC:77-B	Benjamin Franklin's Final Remarks <i>Newport Herald</i> , 20 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 28 December 1787
CC:87	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 21 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 October
CC:88	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 22 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 October
CC:96-A	Destiny and George Washington <i>Delaware Gazette</i> , 26 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 11 October <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 13 October <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 13 October <i>Essex Journal</i> , 17 October <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 20 October <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 23 October
CC:96-B	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 10 October 1787 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 20 October <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 October <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 20 November
CC:98	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 26 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 October <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 13 October <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 16 October
CC:99	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 26 September 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 10 October (excerpt) <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 11 October
CC:100-A	An American Citizen I: On the Federal Government Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 26 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 27 October
CC:101	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 26 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 October (paragraphs 3, 6) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 9 October (paragraph 1 excerpt) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 10 October (paragraphs 1–3, 6–7) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 13 October (complete) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 16 October (paragraphs 5–6) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 30 October (paragraph 3)
CC:102	<i>Virginia Independent Chronicle</i> , 26 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 16 October
CC:104-A	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 27 September 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 3 October <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 3 November

- CC:No.**            **Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- New Hampshire Spy*, 3 November  
                          *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 November
- CC:108            *Maryland Journal*, 28 September 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October (omits postscript)  
                          *New Hampshire Spy*, 13 October  
                          *Essex Journal*, 17 October  
                          *New Hampshire Spy*, 3 November (postscript only)  
                          *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 November (postscript only)
- CC:109            An American Citizen II: On the Federal Government  
                          Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 September 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Gazette*, 3 November
- CC:110-A        *Massachusetts Centinel*, 29 September 1787  
                          *Essex Journal*, 3 October
- CC:110-B        A True American  
                          *Massachusetts Centinel*, 29 September 1787  
                          *Essex Journal*, 10 October
- CC:111            Curtius I  
                          New York *Daily Advertiser*, 29 September 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Recorder*, 16 October  
                          (last three paragraphs)  
                          *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 November (excerpt)  
                          *Freeman's Oracle*, 13 June 1788  
                          (last three paragraphs)  
                          *Essex Journal*, 21 November (excerpt)
- CC:123            *New Hampshire Spy*, 2 October 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October
- CC:124            Foreign Spectator  
                          Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 2 October 1787  
                          *Essex Journal*, 31 October (excerpt)  
                          *New Hampshire Recorder*, 6 November (excerpt)
- CC:125-A        The Address of the Seceding Pennsylvania Assemblymen  
                          Broadside, 2 October 1787  
                          *Essex Journal*, 24 October (excerpt)
- CC:128            Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 3 October 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Spy*, 16 October  
                          *New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 October  
                          *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October
- CC:129            Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 3 October 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Spy*, 16 October
- CC:130            Social Compact  
                          Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 4 October 1787  
                          *New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 October (paragraph 2)  
                          *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October (paragraph 2)

- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:131-G               Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 24 October 1787  
                               *Essex Journal*, 14 November
- CC:134                 James Wilson: Speech at a Public Meeting in Philadelphia  
                               *Pennsylvania Herald*, 9 October 1787 (extra)  
                               *Essex Journal*, 31 October, 7 November  
                               *New Hampshire Gazette*, 9, 16 November
- CC:135                 The Grand Constitution  
                               *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Mercury*, 11 October  
                               *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October  
                               *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October
- CC:136                 Blessings of the New Government  
                               Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 6 October 1787  
                               *Essex Journal*, 7 November (excerpt)  
                               *New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 and 10 November
- CC:143                 A Federal Centinel  
                               South Carolina *Weekly Chronicle*, 9 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 November
- CC:148                 “A”  
                               *Essex Journal*, 10 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 October
- CC:150                 Foederal Constitution  
                               *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787  
                               *Essex Journal*, 24 October, 7 November (excerpts)  
                               *New Hampshire Spy*, 27 October, 6 November (excerpts)
- CC:151-B               *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Spy*, 16 November
- CC:156-A               Meeting of Philadelphia Association of Baptist Churches  
                               *New York Packet*, 12 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Spy*, 27 October (excerpt)  
                               *Essex Journal*, 7 November (excerpt)
- CC:161                 *Boston Gazette*, 15 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Spy*, 16 October  
                               *New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 October  
                               *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 October
- CC:162                 Marcus  
                               New York *Daily Advertiser*, 15 October 1787  
                               *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 December
- CC:171-A               The Attack on the Non-signers of the Constitution  
                               *Pennsylvania Journal*, 17 October 1787  
                               *Freeman's Oracle*, 27 October (paragraph 2)

- CC:No.**                    **Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- New Hampshire Gazette*, 27 October (paragraph 2)  
                                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 27 October  
                                   *Essex Journal*, 31 October (paragraph 2)
- CC:171-B                    *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 30 October
- CC:177                      Governor John Hancock: Speech to the Massachusetts  
                                   General Court  
                                   *Massachusetts Gazette*, 19 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 October  
                                   *Essex Journal*, 24 October
- CC:189                      A Political Dialogue  
                                   *Massachusetts Centinel*, 24 October 1787  
                                   *Essex Journal*, 31 October
- CC:192                      The Report of Connecticut's Delegates to the Constitutional  
                                   Convention  
                                   Connecticut *New Haven Gazette*, 25 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 November  
                                   *Essex Journal*, 14 November
- CC:194                      Ezekiel  
                                   Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 25 October 1787  
                                   *Essex Journal*, 7 November
- CC:197-A                    A Slave  
                                   *New York Journal*, 25 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 November  
                                   *Essex Journal*, 7 November (excerpt)  
                                   *New Hampshire Gazette*, 9, 10 November (excerpt)
- CC:197-B                    A Son of Liberty  
                                   *New York Journal*, 8 November  
                                   *New Hampshire Recorder*, 1 January 1788
- CC:198                      *Newport Herald*, 25 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 30 October  
                                   *New Hampshire Recorder*, 20 November (paragraph 1)
- CC:201                      The Federalist 1  
                                   New York *Independent Journal*, 27 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 November (excerpt)  
                                   *New Hampshire Recorder*, 27 November (excerpt)
- CC:211                      *Boston Gazette*, 29 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Recorder*, 13 November (paragraphs 2–3)
- CC:214                      Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 30 October 1787  
                                   *New Hampshire Mercury*, 1 November (summary)  
                                   *New Hampshire Gazette*, 3 November (summary)

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:218	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 31 October 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 16 November (paragraph 3)
CC:220	<i>Albany Gazette</i> , 1 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 November <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 5 December (excerpt) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 18 December (excerpt)
CC:227-A	Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts General Court <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 3 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 November <i>Essex Journal</i> , 7 November
CC:233-A	George Washington and the Constitutional Convention <i>New Jersey Journal</i> , 7 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 November <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 1 December <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 5 December <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 13 December (excerpt)
CC:233-B	Anecdote <i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 7 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 November
CC:233-C	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 20 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 November <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 1 December
CC:235	Mathew Carey: The Prayer of an American Citizen <i>Philadelphia American Museum</i> , 7 November 1787 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 12 March
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 22 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 October <i>Essex Journal</i> , 10 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 25 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 9 October <i>Essex Journal</i> , 10 October <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 13 October <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 16 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 25 September 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 6 October <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 16 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Connecticut <i>New Haven Gazette</i> , 4 October 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 13 October <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 16 October
CC:Volume 1 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 10 October 1787 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 3 November

- CC:No.**                    **Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:Volume 1            *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 October 1787  
 Appendix I              Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 20 October (paragraphs 1, 4–6)  
                                  *New Hampshire Spy*, 23 October (paragraphs 1, 4–6)  
                                  *New Hampshire Gazette*, 27 October (paragraph 3)  
                                  *Essex Journal*, 31 October (paragraph 5, excerpt)  
                                  *New Hampshire Recorder*, 20 November (paragraphs 1, 4)
- CC:Volume 1            Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 12 October 1787  
 Appendix I              Exeter *Freeman's Oracle*, 27 October  
                                  *New Hampshire Gazette*, 27 October
- CC:Volume 1            *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October  
 Appendix I              *New Hampshire Spy*, 30 October  
                                  *New Hampshire Mercury*, 1 November  
                                  *New Hampshire Recorder*, 13 November
- CC:Volume 1            Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Northern Centinel*, 29 October 1787  
 Appendix I              *New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 November
- CC:Volume 1            *Newport Herald*, 1 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 November  
                                  *Essex Journal*, 7 November
- CC:Volume 1            *New York Journal*, 1 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *Essex Journal*, 28 November
- CC:Volume 1            Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 1 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *Essex Journal*, 21 November (excerpt)  
                                  *New Hampshire Gazette*, 21 November  
                                  *Freeman's Oracle*, 8 December
- CC:Volume 1            *Pennsylvania Herald*, 3 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 November  
                                  *New Hampshire Mercury*, 16 November  
                                  *Essex Journal*, 21 November
- CC:Volume 1            *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *Essex Journal*, 21 November  
                                  *New Hampshire Mercury*, 23 November  
                                  *Freeman's Oracle*, 24 November
- CC:Volume 1            *Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 February 1788  
                                  *Essex Journal*, 14 November
- CC:Volume 1            *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 November 1787  
 Appendix I              *New Hampshire Spy*, 20 November  
                                  *New Hampshire Mercury*, 23 November  
                                  *Essex Journal*, 28 November  
                                  *Freeman's Oracle*, 1 December
- CC:238                    *Albany Gazette*, 8 November 1787  
                                  *New Hampshire Recorder*, 18 December  
                                  *New Hampshire Spy*, 1 January 1788



<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:251	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 10 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 27 November (excerpt)
CC:258	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 14 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 November
CC:259	A Receipt for an Antifederalist Essay <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 14 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 November
CC:263	The News-Mongers' Song for the Winter of 1788 <i>Albany Gazette</i> , 15 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 November <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 8 December
CC:270-A	<i>Pittsburgh Gazette</i> , 17 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 28 December (summary) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788
CC:272	A Landholder III <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 19 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 18 December <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 15 January 1788
CC:276-A	George Mason: Objections to the Constitution <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 21 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 27 November <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 28 November <i>Essex Journal</i> , 12 December
CC:276-D	Extract of a Letter from New York, dated 7 December 1787 <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 19 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 21 December
CC:283-A	The Circulation of Antifederalist Material in Connecticut <i>Connecticut New Haven Gazette</i> , 22 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 4 December (excerpt) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 5 December
CC:283-B	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 4 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 9 January 1788 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 18 January
CC:283-C	<i>Connecticut New Haven Gazette</i> , 13 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 28 December
CC:289	James Wilson: Speech of 24 November 1787 in the Pennsylvania Convention Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 28 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 December <i>Essex Journal</i> , 19 December <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 19, 26 December

- CC:No.**                    **Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- Newspaper summary from *Pennsylvania Packet*,  
27 November 1787  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 11 December  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 11 December
- CC:290-B                John Jay to John Vaughan, 1 December 1787  
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 7 December  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 25 December  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 December
- CC:323                    “Z”  
Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 6 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 December
- CC:325                    Richard Henry Lee to Governor Edmund Randolph  
Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 6 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 29 January 1788
- CC:329                    *Massachusetts Gazette*, 7 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 11 December  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 13 December  
*Freeman’s Oracle*, 15 December
- CC:335                    A Landholder VI  
*Connecticut Courant*, 10 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 25 December  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 26 December  
*Essex Journal*, 2 January 1788 (excerpt)
- CC:339-A                President John Sullivan on the Constitution  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 11 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 December  
*Freeman’s Oracle*, 15 December  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 January 1788
- CC:339-B                John Sullivan: Speech to the New Hampshire General Court  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 19 February
- CC:Volume 2            *Newport Herald*, 15 November  
Appendix I                *New Hampshire Mercury*, 23 November  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 28 November
- CC:Volume 2            Benjamin Franklin Signing the Constitution  
Appendix I                *Massachusetts Gazette*, 20 November 1787  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 23 November  
*Freeman’s Oracle*, 1 December
- CC:Volume 2            Benjamin Franklin Signing the Constitution  
Appendix I                *Massachusetts Centinel*, 21 November 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 28 November

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	List of Members Who Withdrew <i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 20 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 November
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Lansingburgh, N.Y., <i>Northern Centinel</i> , 20 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 11 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 21 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 4 December (paragraph 2) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 4, 7 December <i>Essex Journal</i> , 5 December (paragraph 2, excerpt) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 8 December (paragraph 2) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 December (paragraphs 1, 3) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 13 December (paragraphs 2–3)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 21 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 18 December (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 30 November 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 19 December <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 19 December <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 22 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Charleston <i>Columbian Herald</i> , 3 December 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 16 January 1788 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 18 January <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 29 January
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>New Jersey Journal</i> , 5 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 December <i>Essex Journal</i> , 26 December
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	<i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 10 December 1787 Exeter <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 28 December <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 9 January 1788 (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 14 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 1 January 1788 (excerpt)
CC:Volume 2 Appendix III	Plain Truth Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 7 November 1787 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 5 February 1788 (excerpt)
CC:357	Benjamin Rush's Speech of 12 December 1787 in the Pennsylvania Convention (Lloyd's Newspaper Version) <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , and Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 19 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 4 January 1788
CC:362	<i>New York Journal</i> , 20 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 1 January 1788 (excerpt)
CC:371	A Landholder VIII <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 24 December 1787 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 4 January 1788

- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:372                   New England  
*Connecticut Courant*, 24 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 2 January 1788
- CC:377                   One of the People: Antifederal Arguments  
*Maryland Journal*, 25 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 30 January 1788
- CC:383                   *Pennsylvania Herald*, 26 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 23 January 1788
- CC:386-A               George Washington to Charles Carter  
*Maryland Journal*, 1 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 30 January  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 1 February  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 February  
*Essex Journal*, 6 February
- CC:388                   Samuel Adams and the Constitution  
*Massachusetts Gazette*, 28 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 2 January 1788
- CC:392-A               An American: To Richard Henry Lee  
*Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 28 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 15, 22 April 1788
- CC:395                   The New Roof  
*Pennsylvania Packet*, 29 December 1787  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 25 January 1788
- CC:402                   *New Hampshire Spy*, 1 January 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 14 May
- CC:407                   An Old Man  
*Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette*, 2 January 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 6 February (omits toasts)  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 6 February (omits toasts)  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 8 February (omits toasts)
- CC:409                   Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 2 January 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 16 January (excerpt)
- CC:413                   Oliver Ellsworth: Speech in the Connecticut Convention,  
4 January 1788  
*Connecticut Courant*, 7 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 23 January
- CC:428                   Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Sr., and Richard Law  
Speeches in the Connecticut Convention, 9 January 1788  
*Connecticut Courant*, 14 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 February (excerpt)
- CC:442                   The Federalist 38  
*New York Packet*, 12 January 1788  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 15 February (excerpt)

- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:447                   The Report of New York's Delegates to the Constitutional Convention  
*New York Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 1 February (excerpt)  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 1 February (summary)
- CC:448                   *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 4 March (summary)
- CC:454                   Philanthropos  
Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* and *Pennsylvania Gazette*,  
16 January 1788  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 22 February
- CC:457                   Curtiopolis  
*New York Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 1 February
- CC:Volume 3           *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 December 1787  
Appendix I           *New Hampshire Spy*, 1 January 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 2 January
- CC:Volume 3           *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 December 1787  
Appendix I           *New Hampshire Spy*, 25 January 1788
- CC:Volume 3           Newspaper Reports of Calling of State Conventions  
Appendix I           Massachusetts *Worcester Magazine*, 20 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 January 1788  
*Pennsylvania Packet*, 20 December 1787  
*Essex Journal*, 9 January (excerpt)  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 January 1788  
Massachusetts *Centinel*, 26 December 1787  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 2 January 1788
- CC:Volume 3           *Pennsylvania Packet*, 21 December 1787  
Appendix I           *New Hampshire Spy*, 8 January 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 9 January  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 11 January  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 22 January
- CC:Volume 3           *Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 December 1787  
Appendix I           *New Hampshire Spy*, 18 January 1788 (summary)  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 22 January
- CC:Volume 3           *Connecticut Journal*, 26 December 1787  
Appendix I           *New Hampshire Spy*, 4 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 January  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 9 January  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 18 January
- CC:Volume 3           *New Jersey Journal*, 26 December 1787  
Appendix I           *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 January 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 January  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 18 January

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 29 December 1787 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 16 January (paragraph 1) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 18 January 1788 (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 January (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 29 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Essex Journal</i> , 2 January 1788 No New Hampshire reprints
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 16 January (excerpt)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Political Society of Richmond, Virginia <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 2 January 1788 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 1 February <i>Essex Journal</i> , 6 February <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 19 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	John Hancock and the Constitution Massachusetts <i>Worcester Magazine</i> , 3 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 29 January <i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 11 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 16 January <i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 4 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 20 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 22 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Pillars of the American Republic <i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 15 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 January (paragraph 2) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 23 January (excerpt) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 25 January (paragraph 2 minus last sentence) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 29 January (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Massachusetts <i>Worcester Magazine</i> , 10 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 15 January <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 18 January <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 22 January
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 15 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 January (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 19 January 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 23 January <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 25 January <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 5 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 23 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 25 January <i>Essex Journal</i> , 30 January <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 30 January

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Litchfield, Conn., <i>Weekly Monitor</i> , 28 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 8 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 15 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 30 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 1 February <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 6 February (summary)
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 30 January 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February
CC:Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 January 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 15 February (paragraph 1) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 20 February (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 4 March (paragraph 2)
CC:504	"A.B.": The Raising <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 6 February 1788 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 14 March <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 26 March
CC:508	Massachusetts Convention: Amendments to the Constitution Hancock's Original Proposal <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 2 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 6 February Final Version <i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 8 February <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 19 February <i>Essex Journal</i> , 20 February
CC:523	Charleston <i>City Gazette</i> , 11 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 October (excerpt)
CC:526	A Citizen of the United States <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 13 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 March
CC:529-A	Connecticut <i>New Haven Gazette</i> , 14 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 27 February <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February, 28 May <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February
CC:534	Spurious Centinel XV <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 16 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 26 March <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 28 March
CC:552	A Yankee <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 21 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 March <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 21 March
CC:553	The New Litany <i>Virginia Herald</i> , 21 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 23 April

- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:557                   John Adams on the Constitution  
*New York Journal*, 23 February 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 12 March (excerpt)  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 18 March (excerpt)
- CC:566-A               Governor John Hancock: Speech to the General Court  
*Boston Independent Chronicle*, 28 February 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 29 February (excerpt)  
*Essex Journal*, 5 March  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 14 March
- CC:588                   The Landholder X  
*Connecticut Courant*, 3 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 12 March  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 14 March  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 14 March  
*Essex Journal*, 19 March (excerpts)  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 8 April
- CC:594                   *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 April
- CC:595                   “A.B.C.”  
*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 25 March
- CC:611                   The Landholder XI  
*Connecticut Courant*, 10 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 21 March  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 March  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 4 April
- CC:622                   The Landholder XII  
*Connecticut Courant*, 17 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 28 March  
*Essex Journal*, 2 April (excerpt)  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 11 April
- CC:624                   Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 18 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 April (excerpt)
- CC:627                   *Massachusetts Centinel*, 19 March 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 26 March  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 March
- CC:629                   *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 19 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 11 April (paragraphs 1–3)  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 April (paragraphs 1–3)  
*Essex Journal*, 16 April (paragraphs 1, 3)  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 April (paragraphs 1–2, 4)  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 18 April (paragraphs 1–3)



- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:638-A               George Washington to Caleb Gibbs  
*Massachusetts Centinel*, 22 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 25 March  
*Essex Journal*, 26 March  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 28 March  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 April (letter extract only)
- CC:641                 The Landholder XIII  
*Connecticut Courant*, 24 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 4 April  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 9 April  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 18 April
- CC:643                 Massachusetts *Salem Mercury*, 25 March 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 2 April (excerpt)  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 4 April (excerpt),  
18 April (complete)  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 8 April (excerpt)
- CC:649                 James Iredell: Address to the Freemen of Edenton, N.C.,  
c. 28–29 March 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 20 May (excerpts)
- CC:Volume 4           False Reports of North Carolina Ratification  
Appendix I             *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 February 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 8 February  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 February  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 15 February  
*Newport Herald*, 14 February 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 20 February  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 20 February  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 22 February  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 26 February  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 27 February  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 7 March  
*New Hampshire Mercury*, 20 February 1788  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 22 February
- CC:Volume 4           New York *Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1788  
Appendix I             *Essex Journal*, 27 February  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 20 February  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 4 March
- CC:Volume 4           *New York Journal*, 5 February 1788  
Appendix I             *New Hampshire Mercury*, 27 February
- CC:Volume 4           *Essex Journal*, 6 February 1788  
Appendix I             *New Hampshire Spy*, 8 February
- CC:Volume 4           Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 7 February 1788  
Appendix I             *Essex Journal*, 13 February  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 February  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 15 February

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 7 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 20 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 22 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 7 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 9 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Connecticut Courant</i> , 11 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 19 February <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 20 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 22 February <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February (excerpt)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Springfield, Mass., <i>Hampshire Chronicle</i> , 13 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 13 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 15 February <i>Essex Journal</i> , 20 February (excerpt)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 13 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Connecticut <i>New Haven Gazette</i> , 14 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 22 February <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 27 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 14 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 26 February <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 27 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Packet</i> , 15 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 26 February (paragraph 1) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 27 February (summary) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Accounts from England <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 18 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 March <i>Essex Journal</i> , 12 March (alternate version) <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 12 March Philadelphia <i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 8 April <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 1 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 5 March

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 26 February <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 27 February (paragraphs 2–3) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 29 February (paragraph 2) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 7 March (paragraphs 2–3)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 20 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 7 March (paragraph 6) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 12 March (paragraphs 1, 5) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 March (paragraphs 1, 5–6) <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 12 March (paragraphs 1, 5) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 21 March (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 25 March (paragraphs 5–6)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Reports of South Carolina's Call of a Convention <i>Newport Herald</i> , 21 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 27 February (excerpt) <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 27 February <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 23 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 26 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Middletown, Conn., <i>Middlesex Gazette</i> , 25 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 March <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 12 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 26 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 19 March (excerpt)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Massachusetts <i>Salem Mercury</i> , 26 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 26 February <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 27 February <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 27 February <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 29 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 27 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 April (excerpt)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Letter from Wilmington <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 27 February 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 19 March (excerpt) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 25 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>New York Packet</i> , 29 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 14 March <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 26 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 4 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 21 March <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 26 March <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 4 April

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Providence, R.I., <i>United States Chronicle</i> , 6 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 March <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 12 March <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 25 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 7 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 21 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 8 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 March (paragraphs 1, 3–4) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 12 March (paragraphs 1, 3–4) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 March (paragraph 3) <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 12 March <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 8 April (paragraph 3)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	Poughkeepsie, N.Y., <i>Country Journal</i> , 11 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 1 April <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 4 April <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 9 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 12 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 March
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 12 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 25 March (paragraph 1) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 26 March (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 2 April (paragraphs 1, 4) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 15 April (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	New York <i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 25 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 16 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 26 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 April (paragraph 1) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 16 April (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 16 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 19 February <i>New Hampshire Mercury</i> , 20 February
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 29 February 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 25 March (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 26 March (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Eleazer Oswald's Statement Philadelphia <i>Independent Gazetteer</i> , 12 March 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 11 April
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 18 March 1788 No New Hampshire reprints
CC:Volume 4 Appendix II	Philadelphia Newspaper Printers Petition <i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 31 March 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 30 April <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 30 April



- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:699                   Fabius V  
*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 22 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 3 June  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 19 June
- CC:705                   Fabius VI  
*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 24 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 7 June
- CC:710                   Fabius VII  
*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 26 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 10 June
- CC:716-A                Amendments Proposed by William Paca in the Maryland  
Convention  
*Maryland Journal*, 29 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 13 May  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 16 May  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 3 June
- CC:717                   Fabius VIII  
*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 29 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 17 June
- CC:718                   Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 30 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 3 June
- CC:722                   Fabius IX  
*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1 May 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 21 June
- CC:730                   A Steady and Open Republican 1788  
*State Gazette of South Carolina*, 5 May  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June
- CC:Volume 5  
Appendix I               *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 11 April  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 April
- CC:Volume 5  
Appendix I               *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 April 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 30 April (paragraph 1)
- CC:Volume 5  
Appendix I               *Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 April 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 16 April  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 25 April
- CC:Volume 5  
Appendix I               Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 12 April 1788  
*Essex Journal*, 7 May (excerpt)
- CC:Volume 5  
Appendix I               *New Hampshire Spy*, 15, 22 April 1788  
*Exeter Freeman's Oracle*, 25 April  
(Federal Hat, 15 April)

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Massachusetts <i>Salem Mercury</i> , 15 April 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 22 April <i>Essex Journal</i> , 23 April <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 23 April
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Philadelphia <i>Federal Gazette</i> , 17 April 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 2 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 17 April 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 2 May <i>Essex Journal</i> , 7 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 23 April 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 14 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>New York Morning Post</i> , 28 April 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 7 May <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 15 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	Charleston <i>City Gazette</i> , 29 April 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 24 May (paragraph 1 and summary)
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 April 1788 Exeter <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 9 May (paragraph 2) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 14 May (paragraph 2) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 15 May (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 1 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 13 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 1 May 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 14 May <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 16 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 2 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 15 May <i>Essex Journal</i> , 21 May (excerpt) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 May
CC:Volume 5 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 7 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 3 June (paragraph 2) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 3 June (paragraph 3)
CC:740	A Patriotic Citizen <i>Pennsylvania Mercury</i> , 10 May 1788 <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 6 June
CC:747	<i>Maryland Journal</i> , 16 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 June <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 13 June <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 14 June <i>Essex Journal</i> , 18 June <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 24 June

- CC:No.                   Item/New Hampshire Reprints**
- CC:753                   South Carolina Convention Amendments, 23 May 1788  
 Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 May 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 10 June  
*Essex Journal*, 11 June  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 12 June  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 13 June
- Editors' Note       Curtius  
 Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 5 June 1788  
 (last three paragraphs)  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 13 June
- CC:785                   New Hampshire Convention Amendments, 21 June 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 24 June 1788  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 27 June  
*Essex Journal*, 2 July (excerpt)  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 15 July
- CC:793                   *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 28 June 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 August
- CC:799-A               Jonathan Mitchell Sewall Oration, Portsmouth, N.H.,  
 4 July 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 26 July (advertisement for pamphlet)
- CC:799-E               James Wilson Oration, Philadelphia, 4 July 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 2, 6 September
- CC:799-F               Francis Hopkinson: An Ode, Philadelphia, 4 July 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 22 July
- CC:800                   Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 9 July 1788  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 12 August (paragraph 2)
- CC:805                   Benjamin Rush: Observations on the Fourth of July  
 Procession in Philadelphia  
*Pennsylvania Mercury*, 15 July 1788  
*Freeman's Oracle*, 9 August
- CC:818-A               New York Declaration of Rights and Form of Ratification  
 Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 29 July 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 5, 9 August  
*New Hampshire Recorder*, 12 August
- CC:818-C               New York Convention Circular Letter, 26 July 1788  
 Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 5 August  
*Essex Journal*, 20 August  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 23 August
- CC:821                   North Carolina Convention Amendments, 2 August 1788  
*New Hampshire Spy*, 16 September  
*New Hampshire Gazette*, 18 September



<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:845	The Confederation Congress Calls the First Federal Elections Broadside, New York, 13 September 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 24 September <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 25 September <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 30 September <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 4 October
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 10 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 15 May <i>Essex Journal</i> , 21 May (excerpt) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 13 May 1788 Exeter <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 16 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New Jersey Journal</i> , 14 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 3 June <i>Essex Journal</i> , 4 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 14 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 24 May (paragraph 2) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 28 May (paragraph 3) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 31 May (paragraph 3)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Boston <i>Independent Chronicle</i> , 15 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 17 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 15 May 1788 Exeter <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 May
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Providence, R.I., <i>United States Chronicle</i> , 22 May 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 4 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 24 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 24 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 26 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 3 June <i>Essex Journal</i> , 4 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 28 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 31 May <i>Essex Journal</i> , 4 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Providence, R.I., <i>United States Chronicle</i> , 29 May 1788 Exeter <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 6 June
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New York Journal</i> , 29 May 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 17 June (paragraph 1) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 27 June (paragraph 1) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 15 July (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Providence, R.I., <i>United States Chronicle</i> , 5 June 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 12 June <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 24 June



<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 3 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 8 July (paragraphs 1–2) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 11 July (paragraphs 1–2)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 3 July 1788 <i>Exeter Freeman's Oracle</i> , 25 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 4 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 17 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Gazette</i> , 8 July 1788 <i>Exeter Freeman's Oracle</i> , 18 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Spy</i> , 10 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 15 July (paragraph 2) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 16 July (paragraph 2) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 18 July (paragraph 2)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 12 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 15 July <i>Essex Journal</i> , 16 July (paragraphs 2–3, 5) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 17 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , 14 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 26 July
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 23 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 24 July <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 26 July (paragraph 1) <i>Essex Journal</i> , 30 July (paragraph 2) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 2 August (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 23 July 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 6 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Petersburg <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 24 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 16 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Middletown, Conn., <i>Middlesex Gazette</i> , 28 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 5 August <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 14 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 30 July 1788 <i>Exeter Freeman's Oracle</i> , 16 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 31 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 5 August, 9 September <i>Essex Journal</i> , 6 August (paragraph 2) <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 7 August (paragraph 2) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 9 August (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Petersburg <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 31 July 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 19 August <i>Essex Journal</i> , 20 August <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 August

<b>CC:No.</b>	<b>Item/New Hampshire Reprints</b>
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 5 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 21 August <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 August <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 August <i>Essex Journal</i> , 3 September
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	On Monday last <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 6 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 19 August (excerpts)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Should Virginia give <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 6 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 19 August <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 August
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Vermont Journal</i> , 11 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 20 September <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 23 September (excerpt)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 13 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 21 August (paragraph 2) <i>Freeman's Oracle</i> , 23 August (paragraph 2) <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 August (paragraph 1)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 20 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 21 August (paragraphs 1–2) <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 9 September (paragraph 3)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Spy</i> , 21 August 1788 <i>Exeter Freeman's Oracle</i> , 30 August <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 23 August (alternate version)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Lansingburgh, N.Y., <i>Federal Herald</i> , 25 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 9 September <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 16 September
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 27 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Gazette</i> , 28 August <i>New Hampshire Spy</i> , 30 August (paragraphs 2–3)
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	Winchester <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 27 August 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 23 September <i>Essex Journal</i> , 24 September
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Newport Herald</i> , 28 August 1788 <i>Exeter Freeman's Oracle</i> , 6 September
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , 3 September 1788 <i>Essex Journal</i> , 17 September
CC:Volume 6 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 3 September 1788 <i>New Hampshire Recorder</i> , 23 September (excerpt)

## Index

- "ALFREDUS" (Samuel Tenney): criticism of, 39–40; quoted, 39; text of, 43–44
- AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION: are not guaranteed, 40; provision for reduces objections to Constitution, 10; public plea for, 53–54. *See also* Constitution, U.S.
- AMERICAN REVOLUTION: fear of abuse of power during, 10; solidarity of Confederation during, 10
- AMHERST, N.H.: courthouse burned down in, 24
- ANARCHY: Antifederalists accused of fomenting, 25; R.I. in danger of, 47; will be the consequence of no Constitution, 9
- ANTIFEDERALISTS: favor paper money, 40; favor tender acts, 40; strong in Mass., 17; strongest among the people, 10; strong in Pa., 17; defense of, 39–40; majority in first session of N.H. Convention, 18, 19, 20, 21; in N.Y. will eventually support Constitution, 4; origins of, 10; undeterred by N.H. ratification, 42—described as: enemies to all order and good government, 40; involved in debt, 40; men of blasted reputations, 53; men of desperate fortunes, 25; men of shattered fortunes, 53; men with something to gain by living under a bad government, 53; Shaysites, 40; Tories, 40, 53
- ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: limited power of Congress under, 10; scarcity of money under, 12; created during war, 10. *See also* Confederation Congress
- AVERY, JOHN, JR. (Boston)  
—letter from, 28
- BADGER, JOSEPH, JR. (Gilmanton, N.H.), 11
- BAKER, MOSES (Campton, Holderness, Thornton, N.H.), 11
- BALDWIN, ABRAHAM (Augusta, Wilkes Co., Ga.), 7  
—letter from, 27
- BARNES, JOSEPH (Litchfield, N.H.), 13, 32
- BARTLETT, JOSIAH (Kingston, N.H.), 16
- BARTLETT, THOMAS (Nottingham, N.H.), 13n
- BELKNAP, JEREMY (Boston)  
—letters to, 1–2, 34, 17–18, 21
- BINGHAM, WILLIAM (Philadelphia)  
—letter from, 28
- BLACKSTONE, SIR WILLIAM (England):  
quoted, 40
- BROADSIDES, PAMPHLETS, AND BOOKS: The Federalist (Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay), 30. *See also* Newspapers
- BROWN, JOHN (Mercer Co., Ky.)  
—letter from, 32
- BRYSON, JAMES (Philadelphia)  
—letter from, 29
- BURROW, THOMAS (England)  
—letter to, 32
- BUSWELL, CALEB (Portsmouth, N.H.): pay as doorkeeper, 53, 53n
- CALDWELL, JAMES (Albany, N.Y.)  
—letter from, 33
- CALFE, JOHN (Hampstead, N.H.), 16, 18, 20
- CASS, LEWIS (Exeter, N.H.): recalls celebration of ratification of Constitution in Exeter, 31–32
- CELEBRATIONS: of Ga. ratification of Constitution, 45; of N.H. ratification of Constitution, 31–32, 45, 48; of Va. ratification of Constitution, 48
- CILLEY, JOSEPH (Nottingham, N.H.), 13
- CLARK, JAMES  
—letter to, 17–18
- CLINTON, GEORGE (New York City/Ulster Co., N.Y.), 36  
—letters to, 21
- COGSWELL, JAMES, SR. (Scotland, Conn.), 43  
—diary of, 23
- COMMERCE: Great Britain dominates, 48; Va. resists regulation of, 4, 6. *See also* Economic conditions under the Confederation
- CONCORD, N.H.: as site of second session of N.H. Convention, 18, 20, 24, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 54

- CONFEDERATION CONGRESS: limited power of, 10. *See also* Articles of Confederation
- CONGRESS, U.S.: delays in assembling new government, 45
- CONSTITUTION, U.S.: Benjamin Franklin's critique of, 40; expense for engrossing, 52; George Washington's critique of, 40; James Madison is underappreciated for writing, 2; N.H. legislature orders copies dispersed to towns, 11; printed in *New Hampshire Gazette*, 1
- described as metaphor: deformed embryo, 25; greatest aggregate exertion of human reason, 27; great federal superstructure, 17; one of the best systems ever devised, 9, 11; as perfect as we could make it, 10
- See also* Amendments to Constitution; Ratification, prospects for
- CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, SECOND: N.H.'s poor attendance in, 8
- COPLAND, JACOB (Stoddard/Washington, N.H.), 11
- CORRUPTION: is part of human nature, 1–2; in republics is more dangerous than in monarchies, 25
- COXE AND FRAZIER (Philadelphia)
- letter from, 17–18
- COXE, TENCH (Philadelphia)
- letters to, 28, 33
- CURTENIUS, PETER S. (New York City)
- letter from, 21
- CUTTING, JOHN BROWN (Boston/London)
- letters from, 47, 48–49
- DANE, NATHAN (Beverly, Mass.)
- letter to, 28
- DEBT, U.S.: to France and Dutch bankers, 6; sale of western lands to pay, 5
- DUER, WILLIAM (New York City)
- letter to, 47–48
- DUMAS, CHARLES WILLIAM FRÉDÉRIC (The Netherlands)
- letter to, 46
- DUNBARTON AND BOW, N.H.: town meeting in, 55
- ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER THE CONFEDERATION: commerce dominated by Great Britain, 48; N.H. public credit eventually improves, 18. *See also* Commerce; Debt, U.S.
- ELLICOT, MR., 38
- EMERSON, DANIEL (Hollis, N.H.), 11
- ENGLISH, THOMAS (Boston)
- letter from, 32
- EPPING, N.H.: Antifederalists strong in, 10
- EUROPE: U.S. debt to, 6; possibility of war in, 13, 35. *See also* France; Governments, ancient and modern; Great Britain
- EXETER, N.H.: celebrates N.H. ratification, 31–32; as site of first session of N.H. Convention, 9n, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 54
- FARMER, ELIZABETH (Kensington, N.H.)
- letter from, 33
- FARMER, HUGH H. (Kensington, N.H.)
- letter to, 33
- “FARMER” (Thomas Cogswell), 44; text of, 39–42
- FEDERALISTS: concerned Constitution will not be ratified without amendments, 22; favored by the press, 42–43; origins of, 10; President Sullivan as perfectly federal, 9
- described as: men of abilities and established reputations, 53
- FITZSIMONS, THOMAS (Philadelphia)
- letter to, 29
- FOGG, JEREMIAH (Kensington, N.H.), 13
- FRANCE: credit diminished from American Revolution, 27; Louis XVI faces call for liberty in, 35; U.S. debt to, 6. *See also* Europe; Governments, ancient and modern
- FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN (Philadelphia), 17, 49; quoted, 40
- “FRIEND TO AMENDMENTS”: text of, 53–54
- GAINS, GEORGE (Portsmouth, N.H.), 54
- GEORGIA: favors ratification of Constitution, 13, 15; proposed cession of western lands by, 5, 26; ratifies Constitution, 45; at war with Creek Indians, 6
- GILMAN, JOHN TAYLOR (Exeter, N.H.), 13, 16
- GILMAN, NICHOLAS (Exeter, N.H.), 28
- letters from, 4–5, 6, 7–8, 8, 13
- letters to, 12, 15
- GOD: N.H. Thanksgiving proclamation to, 51–52. *See also* Religion
- GOVE, JONATHAN (New Boston, N.H.), 11
- GOVERNMENT, DEBATE OVER NATURE OF: Articles of Confederation created during time of fear of power, 10; corrupt

- republics are more dangerous than corrupt monarchies, 25; a decadent citizenry (not republicanism) sparks despotism, 25–26; justice is the god of civilization, 50; hard to regain power once given away, 40. *See also* Republican form of government; Tyranny
- GOVERNMENTS, ANCIENT AND MODERN: decadence (not republicanism) leads to Roman despotism, 25–26; morality has not evolved since the ancients, 1–2. *See also* Europe; France; Great Britain
- GREAT BRITAIN: commerce strengthened after American Revolution, 27; U.S. Constitution will greatly injure commerce of, 48. *See also* Europe; Governments, ancient and modern
- GREEN, JACOB (Bow, N.H.), 55
- GRIFFIN, CYRUS (Lancaster Co., Va.)  
—letter from, 29
- GRIFFITH, JAMES D. (Keene, N.H.): statement of editorial policy for *New Hampshire Recorder*, 50–51
- HALL, AARON (Keene, N.H.)  
—letter from, 54
- HANCOCK, JOHN (Boston): quoted, 40
- HAPPINESS: immigration will increase the people's, 35
- HAZARD, EBENEZER (New York City), 13  
—letter from, 21
- HEATH, WILLIAM (Roxbury, Mass.)  
—diary of, 7, 31
- HENLEY, DAVID (Fairfax Co., Va.), 36, 38
- HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, N.H.: courthouse burned, 24
- HITCHCOCK, ENOS (Providence, R.I.)  
—letter to, 27
- HODGDON, SAMUEL (Philadelphia)  
—letter from, 37–38
- HOLLINGSWORTH, LEVI (Philadelphia)  
—letter from, 30
- HOLMES, JOHN, JR. (Baltimore, Md.), 38
- HORTON, MR., 37, 38
- HUMAN NATURE: has not evolved since the ancients, 1–2; power once given is hard to regain, 40; public service is offset by increased envy, 1–2
- HUMPHREYS, DAVID (Derby, Conn.), 2
- IMMIGRATION: makes U.S. a great and happy people, 35; will increase due to European unrest, 35
- INDIANS: at war with Ga., 6
- INTEREST GROUPS: jarring interests combine in Constitution, 9, 11. *See also* Political parties
- IRVINE, WILLIAM (Carlisle, Pa.)  
—letter to, 7–8
- JACKSON, HENRY (Boston)  
—letter from, 31
- JEFFERSON, THOMAS (Albemarle Co., Va./France)  
—letters from, 46, 48  
—letter to, 46
- JOHNSON, WILLIAM SAMUEL (Stratford, Conn./New York City), 8
- JONES, SEABORN (Richmond Co., Ga.)  
—letter to, 27
- JURY TRIAL: and hung juries, 39; prevents absolute government and aristocracy, 40. *See also* Amendments to Constitution
- JUSTICE: is the god of civilization, 50
- KELSEY, JONAS (Dutchess Co., N.Y.), 36
- KENTUCKY: to be independent, 35
- KING, RUFUS (Newburyport, Mass./New York City)  
—letter from, 26
- KNOX, HENRY (Boston/New York City)  
—letter to, 29, 31, 45
- LANE, SAMUEL (Stratham, N.H.)  
—diary of, 12  
—letter to, 34–35
- LANGDON, JOHN (Portsmouth, N.H.), 3, 20, 42, 51  
—letter from, 12  
—letters to, 8, 13, 15, 17, 25–26, 29, 37, 45, 49  
—thanksgiving proclamation (1788), 51–52
- LANGDON, SAMUEL (Hampton Falls/Seabrook, N.H.), 13, 23
- LEAVITT, THADDEUS (Suffield, Conn.)  
—diary of, 20
- LIBERTY: is not secure without amendments to Constitution, 40. *See also* The People
- LIMOZIN, ANDRÉ (France)  
—letter to, 46
- LIVERMORE, SAMUEL (Campton/Holderness/Thornton, N.H.), 13, 16
- LIVINGSTON, WALTER (New York City)  
—letter from, 33
- LONG, PIERSE (Portsmouth, N.H.)  
—letter from, 28

- LOWELL, JOHN (Boston), 37
- LOYALISTS: consist of both Federalists and Antifederalists, 40
- MADISON, JAMES (Orange Co., Va.), 13, 24n, 36  
—letter from, 21; cited, 24n
- MAGAW, ROBERT  
—letter to, 36
- MAGAW, SAMUEL (Philadelphia)  
—letter from, 36
- MAGAZINES  
—*American Museum* (Philadelphia) (Mathew Carey): reports N.H. ratification of Constitution, 37  
*See also* Broad­sides, pamphlets, and books; Newspapers; Press, freedom of the
- MARYLAND: will ratify Constitution, 26, 27
- MASSACHUSETTS: Antifederalists strong in, 17; ratifies Constitution, 17
- MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION: lengthy debates in, 15
- MILITIA: growing in Va., 6
- MONEY: scarcity of, 12. *See also* Economic conditions under the Confederation; Paper money
- MONTMORIN, COMTE DE (France)  
—letter to, 46
- MORRIS, SAMUEL  
—diary of, 34
- MORSE, JEDIDIAH (New Haven, Conn.)  
—letter from, 34
- MUSIC: A Federal Song, 49
- NEW HAMPSHIRE: favors ratification of Constitution, 7, 28, 29; Hillsborough Co. courthouse burned down, 24; majority of people are Antifederalists, 19; majority of people are Federalists, 3; news of completion of Constitution reported in, 1; President Langdon's Thanksgiving proclamation, 51–52; ratifies Constitution, 30–39, 42–46, 48, 49; will ratify Constitution, 29, 30
- NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION: delays calling convention to ratify Constitution, 2; pay for, 52–53, 54  
—First Session (Exeter): adjourns without ratification, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27; Antifederalists majority in, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; calling of, 9, 9n, 11, 12; concern over adjournment's consequences, 18, 21, 22; Constitution read in, 16; debate regarding biennial elections, 20; debates exclusion of religious test from Constitution, 23; delay in calling of, 2; election of delegates to, 10, 13–14; Federalist delegates instructed by Antifederalist constituents, 19, 26; N.H. legislature called to appoint, 5, 7, 8; officers selected, 16, 18, 20; proceedings of, 16–18; reports of rejection of Constitution by, 19, 20, 24  
—Second Session (Concord): convenes, 29; likely to ratify Constitution, 29, 30; ratifies Constitution, 31–39, 42–46, 48, 49
- NEW HAMPSHIRE COUNCIL: advises John Langdon on Thanksgiving proclamation, 51; John Sullivan proposes Convention for ratifying Constitution to, 5
- NEW HAMPSHIRE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: orders Constitution printed, 53; and payment of Convention expenses, 52, 54; proceedings of, 11, 52
- NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE: called to appoint Convention, 5, 7, 8; calls for elections of Convention delegates, 10, 13–14; calls Convention, 9, 9n, 11, 12; orders 400 copies of Constitution dispersed to towns, 11
- NEW HAMPSHIRE PRESIDENT: Thanksgiving proclamation of, 51–52
- NEW HAMPSHIRE SENATE: payment of Convention expenses, 53; proceedings of, 53
- NEW HAMPSHIRE TREASURER: letter to, 54
- NEW YORK: Antifederalists active in, 4  
—ratification prospects in: doubtful, 33, 45; likely, 4, 36; questionable, 30, 45  
*See also* Antifederalists; Federalists
- NEW YORK CONVENTION: convenes, 30
- NEWSPAPERS: favor Federalists, 42–43; guard against tyranny, 51; importance of, 50–51
- CONNECTICUT NEWSPAPERS  
—*New Haven Gazette*: printed, 24, 36
- GEORGIA NEWSPAPERS  
—*Georgia State Gazette*: printed, 45
- MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS  
—*Maryland Journal*: printed, 5, 30
- MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE NEWSPAPERS  
—*American Herald* (Boston/Worcester): printed, 30  
—*Boston Gazette*: printed, 18  
—*Cumberland Gazette*: printed, 19; quoted, 9n  
—*Essex Journal*: printed, 8, 30



- Hampshire Chronicle*: printed, 17, 43
  - Massachusetts Centinel*: printed, 7, 12, 28; quoted, 39
  - Massachusetts Gazette*: printed, 19, 33
  - Massachusetts Spy*: printed, 35
  - Salem Gazette/Mercury*: printed, 11–12, 23
  - Worcester Magazine*: reports on adjournment of N.H. Convention, 19; reports on John Langdon passing through Worcester, 3
- NEW HAMPSHIRE NEWSPAPERS
- Freeman's Oracle*: printed, 13, 16, 39–42, 43–44, 49, 53–54; quoted, 43, 44
  - New Hampshire Gazette*: printed, 1, 7, 9, 25, 39, 46–47
  - New Hampshire Mercury*: printed, 8, 9, 11
  - New Hampshire Recorder*: printed, 19, 44, 47, 50–51
  - New Hampshire Spy*: printed, 2–3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13–14, 15, 17, 24–25, 26, 27, 29, 48
- NEW JERSEY NEWSPAPERS
- New Jersey Journal*: printed, 38
- NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS
- Daily Advertiser*: printed, 30, 32
  - New York Journal*: printed, 17, 20, 21–23n, 24
  - New York Packet*: printed, 32, 36
  - Northern Centinel*: printed, 3
- PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPERS
- Carlisle Gazette*: printed, 38
  - Independent Gazetteer*: printed, 42–43
  - Pennsylvania Packet*: printed, 3, 29, 36
- RHODE ISLAND NEWSPAPERS
- Providence Gazette*: printed, 11, 42
  - United States Chronicle*: printed, 20
- VERMONT NEWSPAPERS
- Vermont Journal*: printed, 37
- VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY NEWSPAPERS
- Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*: printed, 24, 43
  - Virginia Centinel*: printed, 43
  - Virginia Independent Chronicle*: printed, 24, 39
- FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS
- Nova Scotia Gazette* (Canada): printed, 45
- See also Broad­sides, pamphlets, and books; Magazines; Press, freedom of the
- NORTH CAROLINA: favors Constitution, 15, 48; predicted to follow Va. in ratifying Constitution, 34, 47; proposed cession of western lands by, 5
- OFFICEHOLDERS: in a republic lose favor over time, 1–2
- PAGE, JEREMIAH (Bow, N.H.), 55
- PAPER MONEY: Antifederalists accused of advocating, 40; dangers of, 40; proponents of criticized, 3; proposed N.H. redemption of, 4–5. See also Economic conditions under the Confederation; Money
- PATRIOTISM: has been replaced by selfishness, 1
- PEABODY, NATHANIEL (Atkinson, N.H.), 11
- PEARSON, JOSEPH (Portsmouth, N.H.), 52  
—letter to, 54
- PENDLETON, EDMUND (Caroline Co., Va.)  
—letter to, 21
- PENHALLOW, SAMUEL, JR. (Portsmouth, N.H.), 52
- PENNSYLVANIA: Antifederalists strong in, 17; favors ratification of Constitution, 4, 13  
“A PENNSYLVANIAN” (Tench Coxe), 29
- THE PEOPLE: are divided on the Constitution, 10; are too virtuous to succumb to despotism, 25–26; denied power to Confederation Congress during Revolution, 10; will be made great and happy by immigration, 35
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.: celebrates N.H. ratification, 45
- PICKERING, JOHN (Portsmouth, N.H.), 11  
—letter from, 54
- PICKERING, REBECCA WHITE (Mrs. Timothy) (Luzerne Co., Pa./Salem, Mass.)  
—letter to, 37–38
- PICKERING, TIMOTHY (Luzerne Co., Pa./Salem, Mass.), 37, 38
- PLUMER, WILLIAM (Epping, N.H.)  
—autobiography of, 10, 20, 55–56
- POETRY: A Federal Song, 49; Mount Vernon, 2–3
- POLITICAL PARTIES: origins of in U.S., 10
- POST OFFICE: announces mail transport by horseback, 8
- PRESS, FREEDOM OF THE: must be balanced with credibility and decency, 50–51. See also Amendments to Constitution; Magazines; Newspapers
- PSEUDONYMS: Alfredus (Samuel Tenney), 39–40, 43–44; Farmer (Thomas Cogswell), 39–42, 44; Friend to Amend-

- ments, 53–54; A Pennsylvanian (Tench Coxe), 29; Publius, *The Federalist* (Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay), 30
- PYNCHON, WILLIAM (Springfield, Mass.)  
—diary of, 30
- RANDOLPH, EDMUND (Henrico Co., Va.), 34  
—letter to cited, 24n
- RATIFICATION, PROSPECTS FOR: Ga. favors, 13, 15; N.C. hopeful, 47, 48; N.C. favors, 49; N.H. delayed, 2; N.H. favors, 3, 4, 5, 7, 15, 17, 21, 29; N.H. uncertain, 26; N.H. will ratify, 36; N.J. favors, 5; N.Y. doubtful, 34, 48–49; N.Y. probable, 4, 36; N.Y. unknown, 47; Pa. favors, 13; S.C. favors, 15, 26, 27; Va. favors, 26, 27; Va. hopeful, 47
- RELIGION: Christians are as fallible as the ancients, 1–2; civil authority should not interfere with, 23; debate over no religious test in Constitution, 23. *See also* God
- RELIGION, FREEDOM OF: Constitution projects, 23
- RELIGIOUS TESTS: Constitution praised for prohibition of, 23
- REPRESENTATION: Va. opposes equal state representation in Senate, 4. *See also* Republican form of government
- REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT: all members of share joy and sufferings, 1–2; merit and service are underappreciated in, 1–2. *See also* Government, debate over nature of
- RHODE ISLAND: effects of rejection of Constitution by, 47–48; rejects Constitution, 27
- ROBINSON, WILLIAM, JR. (Philadelphia Co., Pa.)  
—letter from, 25–26
- RUSSELL, THOMAS (Boston)  
—letters from, 15, 37
- RUTHERFORD, WALTER (New York City/Hunterdon Co., N.J.)  
—letter from, 15
- RUTLEDGE, JOHN, JR. (Charleston, S.C.)  
—letter to, 48
- SARGENT, WINTHROP (Boston/Northwest Terr.)  
—letter from, 45
- SAVAGE, SAMUEL PHILLIPS (Weston, Mass.)  
—diary of, 18, 34
- SHIPPEN, THOMAS LEE (Philadelphia/Europe)  
—letter to, 48–49
- SHORT, WILLIAM (Surrey Co., Va./France)  
—letter from, 26  
—letter to, 47
- SIMPSON, WILLIAM (Lyme/Orford, N.H.), 11
- SKIPWITH, FULWAR (Henrico Co., Va.)  
—letter to, 26
- SOUTH CAROLINA: favors Constitution, 15, 26, 27
- SPAIGHT, RICHARD DOBBS (Craven Co., N.C.)  
—letter to, 30
- STEVENS, JOHN, SR. (Hunterdon Co., N.J.)  
—letter to, 15
- STILES, EZRA (New Haven, Conn.)  
—diary of, 1, 19, 23
- STUART, ARCHIBALD (Augusta Co., Va.)  
—letter to, 32
- SULLIVAN, JOHN (Durham, N.H.), 5, 7, 9, 11, 16, 18, 20, 311, 41  
—letters from, 1–2, 15, 18–19  
—letters to, 4–5, 26
- TALBOT, SILAS (Montgomery Co., N.Y.)  
—letter to, 33
- TENDER LAWS: Antifederalists said to support, 20, 40; interferes with private contracts, 40
- THORNBURGH, JOSEPH (Carlisle, Pa.), 38
- THURSTON, BENJAMIN (North Hampton, N.H.), 13
- TRUMBULL, JOHN (Conn./London)  
—letter from, 46
- TYRANNY: of a monarch is less dangerous than in a republic, 25; requires a people desirous of luxurious living, 25–26
- VAN STAPHORST, NICHOLAS AND JACOB (The Netherlands)  
—letter from, 47–48
- VIRGINIA: celebrates ratification, 48; growing militia of, 6; opposes commerce regulations, 4, 6; opposes equal state representation in Senate, 4, 6; paper money in, 4–5; ratification of Constitution likely, 4; ratification of Constitution questionable, 34; ratifies Constitution, 38, 46, 48
- VIRGINIA CONVENTION: called, 6
- WADSWORTH, JEREMIAH (Hartford, Conn.)  
—letter from, 29

- WASHINGTON, GEORGE (Fairfax Co., Va.),  
2, 12, 17, 49; quoted, 40
- WEBSTER, NOAH (Philadelphia/New York  
City)  
—diary of, 33
- WEEKS, JOHN (Lancaster/Northumber-  
land/Stratford/Dartmouth/Piercy/  
Cockburn/Coleburn, N.H.)  
—letter from, 49
- WEST, BENJAMIN (Charlestown, N.H.),  
16
- WESTERN LANDS: challenges for settlers in,  
35; being sold by Congress to pay public  
debt, 5
- WHITCOMB, ELISHA (Swanzey, N.H.), 11
- WHITE, JAMES (Hawkins Co., N.C.), 7
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM (Lebanon, Conn.),  
23
- WILLING, MORRIS AND SWANWICK (Phila-  
delphia): letter from, 17
- WINGATE, PAINE (Stratham, N.H.), 8, 11, 12  
—letters from, 34–35, 45