

# **THE MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA**

**The U.S. Constitution**

**What it is**

**Why it is**

**Why it matters**

# George Washington to Marquis de Lafayette

## February 7, 1788

“It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle, that the Delegates from so many different States (which States you know are also different from each other), in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national Government, so little liable to well founded objections.”

# Alexis de Tocqueville, 1834

## “Democracy in America”

Scarcely have you descended on the soil of America when you find yourself in the midst of a sort of tumult; a confused clamor is raised on all sides; a thousand voices come to your ear at the same time, each of them expressing some social needs. Around you everything moves: here, the people of one neighborhood have gathered to learn if a church ought to be built; there, they are working on the choice of a representative; farther on, the deputies of a district are going to town in all haste in order to decide about some local improvements; in another place, the farmers of a village abandon their furrows to discuss the plan of a road or a school.

Citizens assemble with the sole goal of declaring that they disapprove of the course of government.... To meddle in the government of society and to speak about it is the greatest business and, so to speak, the only pleasure that an American knows.... An American does not know how to converse, but he discusses; he does not discourse, but he holds forth. He always speaks to you as to an assembly.

# Chief Justice John Marshall

## *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 1819

... [A Constitution's] nature... requires that only its great outlines should be marked, its important objects designated, and the minor ingredients which compose those objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves.

We must never forget that it is a constitution we are expounding... intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs.



# A Few Thoughts on History

History is, in my view, best told through stories, and stories are best gleaned from the words and deeds of the individuals who were there. But there are dangers in this approach, if the stories become viewed as gospel.

We are ‘People of the Book’ – ” one of the few democratic governments established on a single writing. The words matter; to understand the meaning of the words we need to have some idea of their historical and philosophical context.

Jill LePore *These Truths*: “The telling of history is, by its very nature, controversial, contentious, and contested; it advances by debate. This doesn’t make history squishy, vague, and irrelevant. It makes it picky, demanding, and vital. American history, though, is beset by this paradox: historical analysis is unstable because like all scholarship, it must be forever subject to interpretation and revision and, especially, to new evidence, new vantage points, and new avenues of investigation, but history plays a civic role too, and a nation born in revolution looks for stability, tranquility, and permanence, even in its own past. And, because of the nature of the Constitution, the founding bears a particular burden: it is a story about what binds Americans together – ‘We the people, do ordain’ – but it also serves as the final source of political authority, the ultimate arbiter of every argument, the last court of appeal. No history can easily or always bear that weight.”

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# Our Quixotic, Confusing Legal Structure

- Federalism: dual sovereignty
- US legislature: a sausage factory
- Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches confusing overlapping authority: Compromise, separation of powers, checks and balances, protection of minority interests.
  - Executive veto; legislative override
  - Impeachment; advise and consent
  - Supreme Court Justices: political appointments with lifetime terms and with the power to determine constitutionality of legislative and executive acts
  - No branch has exclusive authority over any of the three primary governmental powers: executive, legislative, judicial



# What Were They Thinking: The Enlightenment

- The Enlightenment (also known as the Age of Reason) was an intellectual and philosophical movement that dominated the world of ideas in Europe during the 18th century.
- The Enlightenment included a range of ideas centered on reason as the primary source of authority and legitimacy and came to advance ideals like liberty, progress, tolerance, constitutional government and separation of church and state. The Enlightenment was marked by an emphasis on the scientific method, along with increased questioning of religious orthodoxy.
- Francois Voltaire, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Isaac Newton, Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, Thomas Hobbes, David Hume, Charles-Louis Montesquieu

# What Were They Thinking: The English Constitution

- Magna Carta
- Parliamentary statutes
- Common Law/Legal Precedent
- Custom
- Shared values

# MAGNA CARTA, 1215

- One of the cornerstones of political liberty in England
- Essentially a treaty to avoid a violent overthrow of the King (King John, successor to Richard Lionheart and Prince John of Robin Hood legend)
- Announced the rule of law to which even the King was subject
- Chapter 39: “No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgement of his peers or by the law of the land.”

## PETITION OF RIGHT, 1628

- Drafted by the English Parliament and presented to Charles I
- Reaffirmed many of the rights implied or expressed in Magna Carta:
  - Supremacy of law over personal wishes of the king
  - Rejection of the ‘divine right of kings’
  - Specific protections:
    - No taxation without parliamentary consent
    - Prisoners to be freed on bail prior to trial
    - Prohibition of quartering of troops in private homes
    - Civilians not to be tried under martial law

## DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, 1689 (THE ENGLISH BILL OF RIGHTS)

Set forth 13 basic rights as “true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the [English] people”, including:

- Religious freedoms
- Independence of judges
- Liberty of press under protection of juries
- Prohibition of slave trade

# DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

June 11, 1776, Committee appointed to draft a declaration of independence, should it be needed: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman.

“We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness---That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

\* \* \* \* \*

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.”

# ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION (1777; Ratified March 1781)

- Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union really a peace treaty among 13 independent states, a “League of friendship”:
  - Denied central government taxing power;
  - Central government could not regulate commerce among the States;
  - Central government had no executive; merely a legislative whose members took instruction from States

# Some Important Dates

- **First and Second Continental Congresses** (1775, 1776)
- **Declaration of Independence** (1776)
- **Articles of Confederation** (1781)
- **Treaty of Paris** (1783), ending US War of Independence
- **Shays' Rebellion** (1786): an armed uprising in Massachusetts. Daniel Shays, a Revolutionary War veteran led about four thousand rebels against perceived economic injustices (including failure of the government to pay to veterans the Post War stipends they had been promised) and suspension of civil rights (including multiple eviction and foreclosure notices) by Massachusetts. Although Shays' Rebellion met with defeat militarily, it prompted numerous national leaders (including George Washington, who came out of retirement to deal with issues raised by Shays' Rebellion, among other disputes) to call for a stronger national government to suppress future disputes among the states, permit imposition of taxation, assure international respect as a nation, defend against external threats.
- **Constitutional Convention** (1787)
- **First US Congress** (1789-1791)

# John Adams, 1776

## Letter to James Warren

“We may please ourselves with the prospect of free and popular governments. But there is great danger that those governments will not make us happy. God grant they may. But I fear that in every assembly, members will obtain an influence by noise not sense. By meanness, not greatness. By ignorance, not learning. By contracted hearts, not large souls.

There is one thing, my dear sir, that must be attempted and most sacredly observed or we are all undone. There must be decency and respect, and veneration introduced for persons of authority of every rank, or we are undone. In a popular government, this is our only way.”



# **The Foederal Convention, May - September 1787 Philadelphia**

# Delegates to the Constitutional Convention

(Signers of the Constitution Indicated by \*; Signers of the Declaration of Independence Underscored)

## New Hampshire

John Langdon \*  
Nicolas Gilman\*

## Massachusetts

Elbridge Gerry  
Nathaniel Gorham \*  
Rufus King \*  
Caleb Strong

## Connecticut

William Samuel Johnson \*  
Roger Sherman \*  
Oliver Ellsworth

## New York

Robert Yates  
Alexander Hamilton \*  
John Lansing, Jr

## Delaware

George Read \*  
Gunning Bedford Jr \*  
John Dickinson \*  
Richard Bassett \*  
Jacob Broom \*

## New Jersey

David Brearley  
William Churchhill Houston  
William Patterson \*  
William Livingston \*  
Jonathan Dayton \*

## Pennsylvania

Thomas Mifflin \*  
Robert Morris \*  
George Clymer \*  
Jared Ingersoll \*  
Thomas Fitzsimmons \*  
James Wilson \*  
Gouverneur Morris \*  
Benjamin Franklin \*

## Maryland

James McHenry \*  
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer \*  
Daniel Carroll \*  
John Francis Mercer  
Luther Martin

## Virginia

George Washington \*  
Edmund Randolph  
John Blair \*  
James Madison Jr \*  
George Mason  
George Wythe  
James McClurg

## Georgia

William Few \*  
Abraham Baldwin \*  
William Pierce  
William Houston

## North Carolina

Alexander Martin  
William Richardson Davie  
Richard Dobbs Spaight \*  
William Blount \*  
Hugh Williamson \*

## South Carolina

John Rutledge \*  
Charles Pinckney \*  
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney \*  
Pierce Butler \*

# Delegates to the Convention, Snap Shot

12 states (not Rhode Island) appointed 74 delegates; 55 attended; 38 signed.

The attendees were young. Average age was 43. The youngest was 27 year old Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey (a war veteran who served at Valley Forge and was promoted to Captain at age 19). The oldest was Benjamin Franklin, 81 years old (printer, scientist, diplomat, author).

At least 25 were lawyers, 10 were merchants or businessmen, 3 physicians, 7 farmers or planters, a couple of surveyors, a couple of teachers, a couple of scientists.

Many were Revolutionary War veterans. Some were slave holders; some were abolitionists.

Pierce Butler: 43, a major in His Majesty's 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment; was posted to Boston during the colonial unrest in 1768; met and married a SC girl and became a planter; served in SC militia during the War; Charles Pinckney (South Carolina) was 29; Alexander Hamilton (New York) was 30, a lawyer and former Aide de Camp of Washington; James Madison (Virginia) was 36, no bigger "than half a piece of soap". (He asked for books from Jefferson – who sent him 137 and Madison read them all); George Washington (Virginia) was 55, planter and retired general.

Rhode Island sent no delegates. Referred to as "Rogue Island by a Boston newspaper which then suggested that she "be dropped out of the Union or apportioned to the different States which surround her." Jefferson called RI, "little vaut-rien").

The Convention was scheduled to start May 14 – only Franklin (who had laid in porter and remodeled his dining room to seat 24), the rest of the Pennsylvania delegation, Washington and part of the Virginia delegation were in attendance.

A quorum of 7 states was finally reached by the 25<sup>th</sup>. The weather had been awful – rain for several weeks, so many of the delegates were unable to reach Philadelphia until well past the planned start date. Roads were dirt, turned to mud by the rain, and many had a long distance to travel.

# Thomas Jefferson

Born 1743; Died 1826

Attended College of William and  
Mary

Politician/Lawyer/Planter/Slave  
holder

Signer and Chief Draftsman of  
Declaration of Independence

Delegate to Second Continental  
Congress 1775-1776

Governor of Virginia 1779-1781

Foreign Minister to France 1785-  
1789

First US Secretary of State 1790-  
1793

Second US Vice President 1797-  
1801

Third US President 1801-1809

Did not attend Constitutional  
Convention



# John Adams

1735-1826

Attended Harvard College

Politician/Lawyer

Delegate to First and Second  
Continental Congresses

Signer and Draftsman of  
Declaration of Independence

Foreign Minister/Envoy to Court  
of St. James, Netherlands, France  
1778-1788

First US Vice President 1789-  
1797

Second US President 1797-1801

Did not attend Constitutional  
Convention



# George Washington

President of the Convention; Delegate from Virginia

Born 1732; Died 1799

Surveyor; Officer in VA militia during the French and Indian War

Commander in Chief of Continental Army 1775-1783

Delegate to First and Second Continental Congresses; member of the VA House of Burgesses

First US President 1789-1797



# Benjamin Franklin

Delegate from Pennsylvania

Born 1706; Died 1790

Newspaper Editor, Printer, Writer,  
Scientist, Inventor, Diplomat

Speaker of PA Assembly 1764

Delegate to First and Second  
Continental Congresses

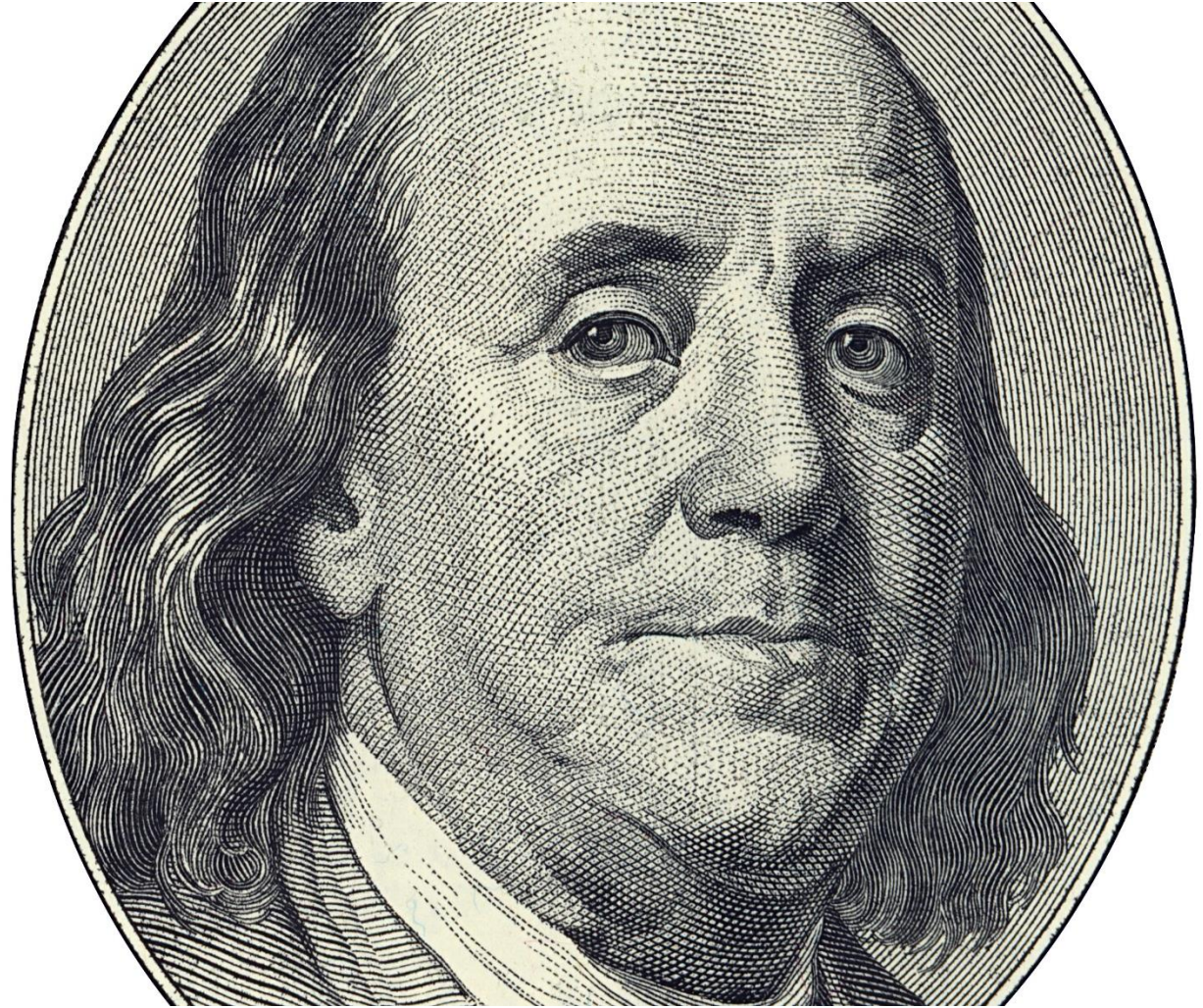
US Postmaster General 1775-  
1776

Signer of Declaration of  
Independence

US Minister to Sweden, and to  
France 1778-1785

President of PA 1785-1788

Founder and First President of the  
Academy and College of  
Philadelphia (University of PA)



# ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Delegate from New York; Sole New York Signatory to Constitution

Born 1755; Died 1804

Born in Charlestown, Nevis, British West Indies; immigrated to America as a youth

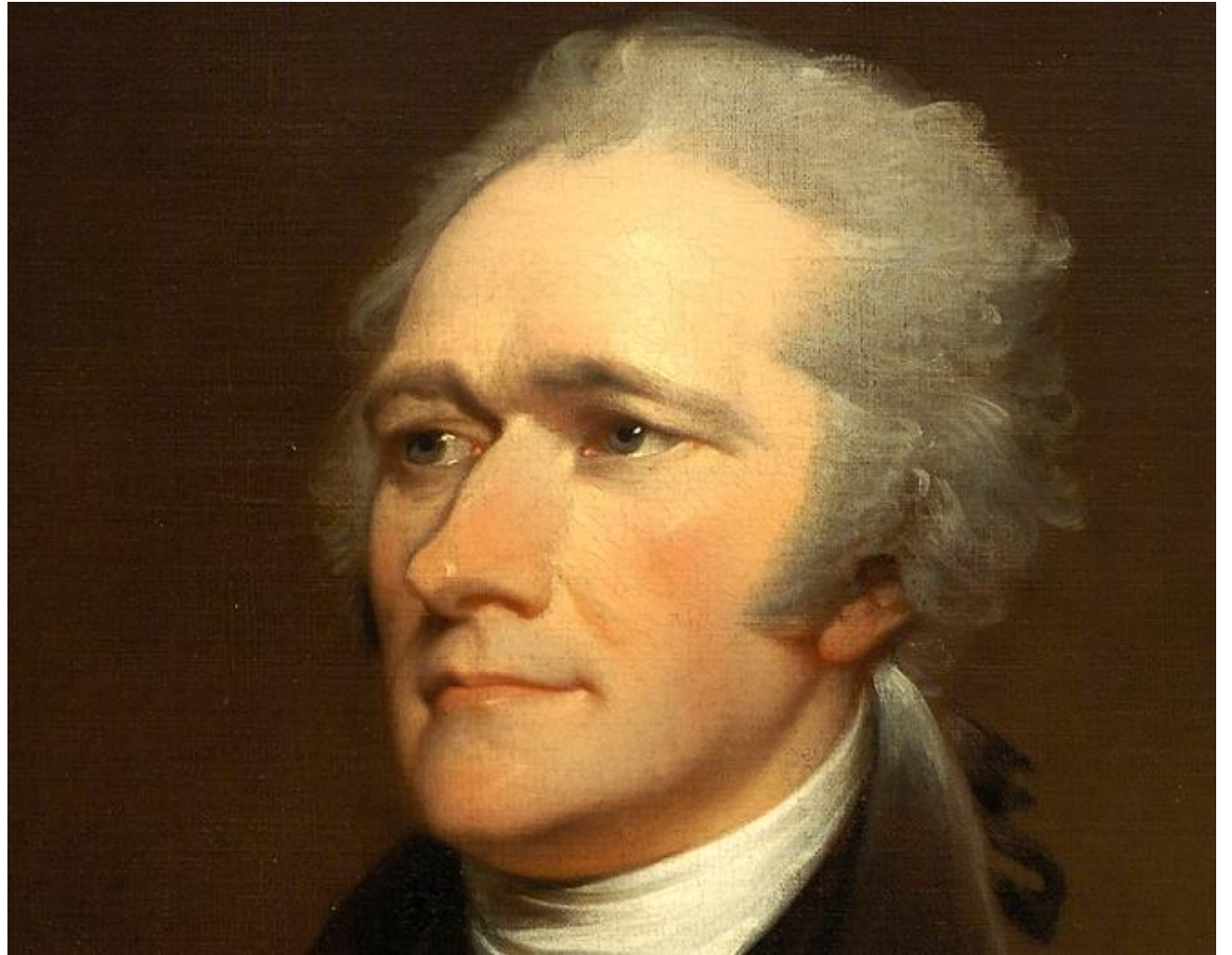
Attended King's College (Columbia)

Aide de Camp of George Washington during Revolutionary War

Primary author of the Federalist Papers

Delegate to the Congress of the Confederation

First US Secretary of the Treasury





# JAMES MADISON

Delegate from Virginia; Recorder of  
the Constitutional Convention

Born 1751; Died 1836

Author of the Definitive Record of  
the Debates of the Constitutional  
Convention

Primary draftsman of the Bill of  
Rights

Author of Federalist Papers

Jefferson's Secretary of State

Fourth US President



# **James Madison**, Preface to Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787

I chose a seat in front of the presiding member, with the other members on my right and left hand. In this favorable position for hearing all that passed, I noted in terms legible and in abbreviations and marks intelligible to myself what was read from the Chair or spoken by the members, and losing not a moment unnecessarily between the adjournment and reassembling of the Convention I was enabled to write out my daily notes during the session or within a few finishing days after its close in the extent and form preserved in my own hand on my files... I was not absent a single day, nor more than a casual fraction of an hour in any day, so that I could not have lost a single speech, unless a very short one.

# EDMUND RANDOLPH

Delegate from Virginia

Born 1753; Died 1813

Lawyer; Graduate of  
College of William and  
Mary

Drafted and Introduced  
the Virginia Plan to the  
Convention

1<sup>st</sup> US Attorney General

Governor of VA



# Constitutional Convention - Signing

Painting by Howard Chandler  
Christy, now hanging in east  
stairway in House wing of US  
capitol



# The Overriding Paradox Faced by the Founders

A big diverse territory with expansion opportunities surrounded by actual and potential adversaries called for a strong central government

**BUT**

The colonies had just thrown off a a strong distant government controlling a far-flung population; after the War, each state's sense of its sovereignty, and distinct differences among the states argued for a more loosely organized federal government.

# The Great Debates

- “Federal” vs national government?
- Will ‘national’ government have the power to override decisions of the states? How strong should the central government be?
- Who will elect the Executive: state legislatures? Congress? the “people”? Should the executive have a veto over Congressional acts? Should he receive a salary?
- Who should elect the congress? How will votes be allocated in congress: by state? By population?
- What role should the judiciary play?
- What about slavery?
- Should there be a Bill of Rights?

# FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Signer of the Declaration of Independence from New Jersey; Designer of the Flag of the United States of America



## Letter to Thomas Jefferson, 1787

“From all the states except Rhode Island, delegates are now sitting in this city. George Washington president. Their business is to revise the Confederation, and propose amendments. It will be very difficult to frame such a system of Union and government for America as shall suit all opinions and reconcile clashing interests. Their deliberations are kept inviolably secret, so that they set without censure or remark, but no sooner will the chicken be hatched but everyone will be for plucking a feather.”

# Benjamin Franklin

to the Convention, Monday, September 17, 1787

“I confess that there are several parts of this constitution which I do not at present approve...

“But I am not sure I shall never approve them... For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men indeed as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them it is so far error... But though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who in a dispute with her sister said, ‘I don’t know how it happens, Sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that’s always in the right.’” (Il n’y a que moi qui a toujours raison.)

In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such.

And I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded... and that our states are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another’s throats.”



# Signers of the Constitution

## **New Hampshire**

John Langdon  
Nicolas Gilman

## **Massachusetts**

Nathaniel Gorham  
Rufus King

## **Connecticut**

William Samuel Johnson  
Roger Sherman

## **New York**

Alexander Hamilton

## **Delaware**

George Read  
Gunning Bedford Jr  
John Dickinson  
Jacob Broom

## **New Jersey**

David Brearley

William Patterson  
William Livingston  
Jonathan Dayton

## **Pennsylvania**

Thomas Mifflin  
Robert Morris  
George Clymer  
Jared Ingersoll  
Thomas Fitzsimmons  
James Wilson  
Gouverneur Morris  
Benjamin Franklin

## **Maryland**

James McHenry  
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer  
Daniel Carroll

## **Virginia**

George Washington  
John Blair  
James Madison Jr

## **Georgia**

William Few  
Abraham Baldwin

## **North Carolina**

Richard Dobbs Spaight  
William Blount  
Hugh Williamson

## **South Carolina**

John Rutledge  
Charles Pinckney  
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney  
Pierce Butler

# **RATIFICATION**

**Each of the original thirteen states in the United States was invited to ratify the Constitution drafted and approved in Philadelphia. Article VII of the Constitution provides:**

**The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.**

**Some states ratified quickly, others had to hold several conventions to accept the Constitution — though all eventually did.**

# The Federalist Papers

- Authored by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay
- No. 10 (Madison) – The danger and control of “factions”
- No. 78 (Hamilton) – The importance of an independent judiciary
- No. 51 (Madison) – Separation of powers; checks and balances
- No. 84 (Hamilton) – Bill of Rights Controversy

# John Jay

Born 1745Died 1829

Homeschooled; graduated from King's College (Columbia); read the law and became a Lawyer

Delegate to First and Second Continental Congresses

President of Second Continental Congress

US Minister to Spain (1779-1782)

US Secretary of Foreign Affairs ((1784-1789)

Author of five of the Federalist Papers

Acting Secretary of State (1789-1790)

First Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court (1789-1795)

Governor of New York (1795-1801)



# Federalist 10 (Madison)

## The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection

- Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction.
- The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere... according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points...; tending for pre-eminence and power... have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good.
- The inference to which we are brought is that the *causes* of faction cannot be removed and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its *effects*.
- Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength and to act in unison with each other. Besides other impediments, it may be remarked that, where there is a consciousness of unjust or dishonorable purposes, communication is always checked by distrust in proportion to the number whose concurrence is necessary.

# Federalist 51 (Madison)

## The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments

- To what expedient, then, shall we finally resort, for maintaining in practice the necessary partition of power among the several departments as laid down in the Constitution? The only answer that can be given is that as all these exterior provisions are found to be inadequate, the defect must be supplied, by so contriving the interior structure of government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations be the means of keeping each other in their proper places.
- [Y]ou must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control of the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

# Federalist 78 (Hamilton)

## The Judiciary Department

- [E]very act of a delegated authority contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the Constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves...
- It is far more rational to suppose that the courts were designed to be an intermediate body between the people and the legislature in order, among other things, to keep the latter within the limits assigned to their authority. The interpretation of the laws is the proper and peculiar province of the courts. A constitution is, in fact, and must be regarded by the judges as, a fundamental law. It therefore belongs to them to ascertain its meaning as well as the meaning of any particular act proceeding from the legislative body.
- The inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the Constitution, and of individuals, which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by a temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence.
- To avoid an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before them...

# Federalist 84 (Hamilton)

## Certain General and Miscellaneous Objections to the Constitution Considered and Answered (Bill of Rights)

- The most considerable of these remaining objections is that the plan of the convention contains no bill of rights.
- I answer that the Constitution proposed by the convention contains... a number of such provisions [enumerated by Hamilton]...
- It has been several times truly remarked that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgments of prerogative in favor of privilege, reservations of rights not surrendered to the prince. Such was MAGNA CARTA, obtained by the barons, sword in hand, from King John.... Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing; and as they retain everything they have no need of particular reservations. “We, the People of the United States...do ordain and establish...”
- I go further and affirm that bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted; and, on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretense for claiming that power. They might urge, with semblance of reason that the Constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given.



# RATIFICATION

## September 17, 1787: The Constitutional Convention adjourns.

- September 17, 1787: The Constitutional Convention adjourns.
- September 28, 1787: The Congress agrees to send the Constitution to the states for debate and ratification.
- December 7, 1787: [Delaware](#) ratifies. Vote: 30 for, 0 against.
- December 12, 1787: [Pennsylvania](#) ratifies. Vote: 46 for, 23 against.
- December 18, 1787: [New Jersey](#) ratifies. Vote: 38 for, 0 against.
- January 2, 1788: [Georgia](#) ratifies. Vote: 26 for, 0 against.
- January 9, 1788: [Connecticut](#) ratifies. Vote: 128 for, 40 against.
- February 6, 1788: [Massachusetts](#) ratifies. Vote: 187 for, 168 against.
- March 24, 1788: Rhode Island popular referendum rejects. Vote: 237 for, 2708 against.
- April 26, 1788: [Maryland](#) ratifies. Vote: 63 for; 11 against.

## September 28, 1787: The Congress agrees to send the Constitution to the states for debate and ratification.

- May 23, 1788: [South Carolina](#) ratifies. Vote: 149 for, 73 against.
- June 21, 1788: [New Hampshire](#) ratifies. Vote: 57 for, 47 against.
- **Minimum requirement for ratification met.**
- June 25, 1788: [Virginia](#) ratifies. Vote: 89 for, 79 against.
- July 26, 1788: [New York](#) ratifies. Vote: 30 for, 27 against.
- August 2, 1788: North Carolina convention adjourns without ratifying by a vote of 185 in favor of adjournment, 84 opposed.
- November 21, 1789: [North Carolina](#) ratifies. Vote: 194 for, 77 against.
- May 29, 1790: [Rhode Island](#) ratifies. Vote: 34 for, 32 against.