

**SECRET JOURNAL**  
OF THE  
**HARTFORD CONVENTION.**

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HARTFORD, THURSDAY, DEC. 15, 1814.

This being the day appointed for the meeting of the Convention of Delegates from the New England States, assembled for the purpose of conferring on such subjects as may come before them, the following persons, from those States, met in the Council Chamber of the State House, in Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, viz. :—

*From the State of Massachusetts,* GEORGE CABOT, WILLIAM PRESCOTT, HARRISON GRAY OTIS, TIMOTHY BIGELOW, NATHAN DANE, GEORGE BLISS, JOSHUA THOMAS, HODIJAH BAYLIES, DANIEL WALDO, JOSEPH LYMAN, SAMUEL S. WILDE, and STEPHEN LONGFELLOW.

*From the State of Rhode Island,* Messrs. DANIEL LYMAN, BENJAMIN HAZARD, and EDWARD MANTON.

*From the State of Connecticut,* Messrs. CHAUNCEY GOODRICH, JAMES HILLHOUSE, JOHN TREADWELL, ZEPHENIAH SWIFT, NATHANIEL SMITH, CALVIN GODDARD, and ROGER M. SHERMAN.

*From the State of New Hampshire,* Messrs. BENJAMIN WEST, and MILES OLCUTT.

Upon being called to order by Mr. Cabot, the persons present proceeded to choose, by ballot, a President—

Messrs. Bigelow and Goodrich were appointed to receive and count the votes given in for that purpose, who reported that Mr. GEORGE CABOT, a member from Massachusetts, was unanimously chosen.

On motion, voted, that the Convention proceed to the choice of a person to be their Secretary, who is not a member of the Convention; and the votes having been received and counted, THEODORE DWIGHT, of Hartford, was declared to be chosen unanimously.

Messrs. Otis, Hillhouse, and Lyman, were appointed a committee to examine the credentials of the members returned to serve in the Convention, and report the names of such as they should find duly qualified; who, having attended to the subject of their said appointment, made the following report:—

The Committee appointed to examine the credentials of the members returned to serve in the Convention now assembled at Hartford, have attended to that service, and find the following persons to have been elected members thereof by the respective Legislatures of the following States;—From *Massachusetts*, George Cabot, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Stephen Longfellow, Daniel Waldo, George Bliss, Nathan Dane, Hodijah Baylies, Joshua Thomas, Joseph Lyman, and Samuel S. Wilde. From *Rhode Island*, Daniel Lyman, Samuel Ward, Benjamin Hazard, and Edward Manton. From *Connecticut*, Chauncey Goodrich, James Hillhouse, John Treadwell, Zepheniah Swift, Calvin Goddard, Nathaniel Smith, and Roger Minot Sherman.

The Committee also report, that at a conventional meeting of twenty towns in the County of Cheshire, in the State of New Hampshire, Hon. Benjamin West was elected to meet in this Convention; and at a conventional meeting of delegates from most of the towns in the County of Grafton, and from the town of Lancaster, in the County of Coos, Miles Olcutt, Esq. was elected to meet in this Convention; and the Committee are of opinion, that the above named persons are entitled to take their seats as members of this Convention.

On motion, voted, that said report be accepted and approved.



On motion of Mr. Otis, voted, that the Convention be opened with prayer, and that the delegation from the State of Connecticut be requested to invite a clergyman belonging to the town of Hartford, to perform that service.

On motion, voted, that Messrs. Goddard, Bigelow, and Lyman, be a committee to prepare rules of proceeding for this Convention.

The Convention was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Strong, of Hartford.

On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M. of this day, then to meet at this place.

THURSDAY, DEC. 15, 3 o'clock, P. M.

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare rules of proceeding, proper to be observed by this Convention, &c. made the following report.

The Committee appointed to prepare rules and orders, proper to be observed by this Convention, during its continuance, ask leave to report the following; which are respectfully submitted,

CALVIN GODDARD, *Per Order.*

1. The meetings of this Convention shall be opened each morning, by prayer, which it is requested may be performed, alternately, by the Chaplains of the Legislature of Connecticut, residing in the city of Hartford.

2. The most inviolable secrecy shall be observed by each member of this Convention, including the Secretary, as to all propositions, debates, and proceedings thereof, until this injunction shall be suspended, or altered.

3. The Secretary of this Convention is authorized to employ some suitable person to serve as a door-keeper and messenger, together with a suitable assistant, if necessary, neither of whom are, at any time, to be made acquainted with any of the debates or proceedings of the board.

4. That the President of this Convention be authorized to regulate and direct the debates and proceedings thereof, in such manner as may seem to him discreet and proper, and to name all their committees.

On motion, voted, that said report be accepted and approved.

On motion, voted, that a committee of five be appointed to inquire what subjects will be proper to be considered by this Convention, and report such propositions for that purpose, as they may think expedient, to the Convention, to-morrow morning.

The following persons were appointed on that committee. Messrs. Goodrich, Otis, Lyman, of R. I. Swift, and Dane.

On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning; then to meet at this place.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1814.

The Convention met, agreeably to adjournment.

The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Strong.

Mr. Ward, a member from the State of R. I. attended, and took his seat in the Convention.

The Committee appointed to inquire what subjects will be proper to be considered by the Convention, and to report such propositions for that purpose, as they may think expedient, respectfully Report:

"That your Committee deem the following to be proper subjects for the consideration of the Convention:—The powers claimed by the executive of the United States, to determine, conclusively, in respect to calling out the militia of the States into the service of the United States; and the dividing the United States into military districts, with an officer of the army in each thereof, with discretionary authority from the executive of the United States, to call for the militia to be under the command of such officer.—The refusal of the executive of the United States to supply, or pay the militia of certain States, called out for their defence, on the grounds of their not having been called out under the authority of the United States, or not having been, by the executive of the State, put under the command of the commander over the military district.—The failure of the Government of the United States to supply and pay the militia of the States, by them admitted to have been in the United States' service.—The Report of the Secretary of War to Congress,



on filling the ranks of the army, together with a bill, or act, on that subject.—A bill before Congress, providing for classing and drafting the militia.—The expenditure of the revenue of the nation in offensive operations on the neighbouring provinces of the enemy.—The failure of the Government of the United States to provide for the common defence; and the consequent obligations, necessity and burdens, devolved on the separate States, to defend themselves; together with the mode, and the ways and means, in their power for accomplishing the object.”

On motion, voted, that said Report be accepted and approved. On motion, voted, that a committee of three be appointed to obtain such documents and information as may be necessary for the use and consideration of the Convention, and may be connected with their proceedings. Mr. Hillhouse, Mr. Bliss, and Mr. Hazard, were appointed on that committee. On motion, voted, that the Rev. Dr. Perkins be invited to attend in turn with the other gentlemen already invited, as chaplains. On motion, voted, that the injunction of secrecy, as to the proceedings of yesterday, be removed. On motion, voted, that the Convention be adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M. of this day, then to meet in this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met agreeably to adjournment. After spending the afternoon in various discussions of important subjects, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow, 10 o'clock, A. M. then to meet at this place.

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1814.

The Convention met, agreeably to adjournment.

The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Strong. After spending the forenoon in discussing the first section of the Report of the Committee made on Friday, on motion, voted, that when this Convention adjourn, it be adjourned till Monday next. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till Monday next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. then to meet at this place.

#### MONDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1814.

The Convention met, agreeably to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chase.

On motion, voted, that a committee of five be appointed to prepare and report a general project of such measures as it may be proper for this Convention to adopt.

Messrs. Smith, Otis, Goddard, West, and Hazard, were appointed to be of that committee.

On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till 3 o'clock, this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met agreeably to adjournment. On motion, voted, that the Rev. Mr. Cushman be invited to attend in turn with the other gentlemen already invited, as chaplains.

After spending the afternoon in discussing the Report of the Committee, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock, then to be held at this place.

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1814.

The Convention met, agreeably to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Strong. The Committee appointed to prepare and report a general project of such measures as it may be proper for this Convention to adopt, made a report, which was laid in and read. After discussing several articles of the said Report, the further consideration of it was postponed until the afternoon. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till 3 o'clock, this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, which was postponed in the forenoon; and after discussion through the afternoon, the same was postponed until the morning. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned until to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock, A. M. then to meet at this place.

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chase. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report postponed yesterday. After spending the time of the forenoon in discussion of the Report of the Committee, the further consideration was postponed to



the afternoon. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to 3 o'clock, this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, which was postponed in the forenoon. On motion, voted, that a committee of seven be raised to prepare a Report illustrative of the principles and reasons which have induced the Convention to adopt the results to which they have agreed.—Mr. Otis, Mr. Smith, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Dane, Mr. Prescott, Mr. West, and Mr. Hazard, are appointed on that committee. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Perkins. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, postponed last evening.—After spending the forenoon in discussing said Report, the further consideration was postponed till this afternoon.—On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till 3 o'clock, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met, agreeably to adjournment. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, which was postponed in the forenoon. After spending the afternoon in discussing said Report, the further consideration thereof was postponed. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock, then to meet at this place.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chase. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, which was postponed yesterday. After spending the forenoon in discussing the Report of the Committee, the further consideration thereof was postponed until to-morrow. On motion, voted, that

this Convention be adjourned until to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock, then to meet at this place.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Perkins. The President communicated an address from a number of citizens belonging to the County of Washington, in the State of New York, which was read. On motion, voted, that the said address be referred to the Committee appointed on the 21st inst.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, which was postponed yesterday. On motion, voted, that another member be added to the Committee appointed on the 21st inst. Mr. Sherman being necessarily absent. Mr. Swift was appointed on said Committee.

The Report of the Committee which was laid in on the 20th instant, having been under discussion at the several meetings of the Convention, and having been amended, was adopted, and referred to the committee appointed on the 21st. to report; which Report is as follows, viz.

The Committee appointed to prepare and report a general project of such measures as it may be proper for this Convention to adopt, respectfully report :

1. That it will be expedient for this Convention to prepare a general statement of the unconstitutional attempts of the Executive Government of the United States to infringe upon the rights of the individual States, in regard to the militia, and of the still more alarming claims to infringe the rights of the States, manifested in the letter of the Secretary of War, and in the bills pending before Congress, or acts passed by them, and also to recommend to the Legislatures of the States, the adoption of the most effectual and decisive measures, to protect the Militia and the States from the usurpations contained in these proceedings.

2. That it will be expedient, also, to prepare a statement, exhibiting the necessity which the improvidence and inability of the General Government have imposed upon the several States, of providing for their own defence, and the impossibility of their discharging this duty, and at the same time fulfilling the requisitions of the Ge-



neral Government; and also, to recommend to the Legislatures of the several States, to make provision for mutual defence, and to make an earnest application to the Government of the United States, with a view to some arrangement, whereby the States may be enable to retain a portion of the taxes levied by Congress, for the purposes of self defence, and for the reimbursement of expenses already incurred, on account of the United States.

3. That it is expedient to recommend to the several State Legislatures, certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States, hereafter enumerated, to be by them adopted and proposed. (The remainder of this article in the Report was postponed.

1. That the power to declare or make war, by the Congress of the United States be restricted.

2. That it is expedient to attempt to make provision for restraining Congress in the exercise of an unlimited power, to make new States, and admit them into this Union.

3. That the powers of Congress be restrained in laying embargoes, and restrictions on commerce.

4. That a President shall not be elected from the same State two terms successively.

5. That the same person shall not be elected President a second time.

6. That an amendment be proposed, respecting slave representation, and slave taxation.

On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to Monday afternoon, three o'clock, then to meet at this place.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, of Hadley, Massachusetts. The Committee not being prepared to lay in their Report, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning, ten o'clock, then to meet at this place.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Perkins. The Committee not being prepared to lay in their

Report, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till this afternoon, three o'clock, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met pursuant to adjournment. The Committee not being prepared to lay in their Report, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to to-morrow morning, ten o'clock, then to meet at this place.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chase. A certificate of the proceedings of a Convention in the County of Windham, in the State of Vermont, appointing the Hon. William Hall, jr. to represent the people of that County in this Convention, was read. On motion, voted, that the Hon. William Hall, jr. is entitled to a seat in this Convention; and that the Hon. Mr. Olcott, of New Hampshire, be requested to introduce Mr. Hall, for the purpose of taking his seat.

Mr. Hall, a member from the County of Windham, in the State of Vermont, attended, and took his seat in the Convention. The Report of the Committee not being prepared, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to three o'clock, this afternoon; then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met pursuant to adjournment. The Report of the Committee not being prepared, upon motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1814.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Strong. On motion, voted, that the following proposition be referred to the Committee appointed on the 21st instant.

“That the capacity of naturalized citizens, to hold offices of trust, honour, or profit, ought to be restrained; and that it is expedient to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in relation to that subject.”

The Report of the Committee not being prepared, on motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned to three o'clock, this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Report of the Committee not being prepared, on motion, voted, that this Convention be ad-



the same. On motion, voted, that the same Committee report such documents and articles as they may think proper, to compose an Appendix to the Report.

On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till Monday morning, ten o'clock, then to meet at this place.

#### MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1815.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chase. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee which was postponed from Saturday. After spending the forenoon in discussing the Report, the further consideration thereof was postponed. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till half past two o'clock, this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Half past two o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee which was postponed in the forenoon. After spending the afternoon in discussing the Report of the Committee, the further consideration thereof was postponed. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning, nine o'clock, then to meet at this place.

#### TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1815.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Perkins. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee which was postponed yesterday. After spending the forenoon in discussing the Report of the Committee, the same was postponed till the afternoon. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till three o'clock, this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.*—The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, which was postponed in the forenoon. After discussing and amending the Report of the Committee, voted, that the same be accepted and approved. On motion, resolved, that the injunction of secrecy, in regard to all the debates and proceedings of this Convention, except in so far as relates to the Report

finally adopted, be, and hereby is, continued. On motion, voted, that a Committee of three persons be appointed to consider and report what measures it will be expedient to recommend to the States, for their mutual defence. Mr. Prescott, Mr. Wilde, and Mr. Manton, were appointed on the Committee.

On motion, voted, that Mr. Sherman be added to the Committee for superintending the printing of the Report. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning, ten o'clock, then to meet at this place.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1815.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. The Convention was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chase. On motion, voted, that certain documents before the Convention, be published, with the following title, "*Statements prepared and published, by order of the Convention of Delegates, held at Hartford, Dec. 15, 1814, and printed by their order.*"

On motion, voted, that Mr. Goodrich be discharged from any further services on the Committee to superintend the printing of the Report, &c. On motion, voted, that another member be added to that Committee. Mr. Otis was appointed to that place. The Committee appointed to report what measures it will be expedient to recommend to the States, for their mutual defence, presented a Report, which was read. On motion, voted, that the said Report be accepted and approved. On motion, voted, that this Convention be adjourned till three o'clock this afternoon, then to meet at this place.

*Three o'clock, P. M.* The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment. On motion, voted, that two copies of the Report of the Convention, subscribed by all the members, who shall be disposed to sign the same, be forwarded to each of the Governors of the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont; one of which to be for the private use of the said Governors, and with a request that the other, at some proper time, may be laid before the Legislatures of the States aforesaid.

Mr. Goodrich submitted the following Resolution to the Convention. Resolved, That the thanks of the Conven-



votes, and proceedings, of that Convention.—And I do further certify, that this journal has been constantly in my exclusive custody, from the time of the adjournment of the Convention, to the delivery of it into the office of the Secretary of this Commonwealth.

GEORGE CABOT.

*Boston, Nov. 16th, 1819.*