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Speech in the virginia convention summary

1. The main purpose of Patrick Henry's speech at the Virginia Conference was to convince delegates to withdraw from the United Kingdom; to fight back against them. He opposes Britain by adding to all the difficulties they encountered. The audience of Patrick Henry's speech at the Virginia convention were delegates from Virginia, and Patrick Henry speaks mainly with respect for being more persuasive. Henry, at first holistically explaining the seriousness of the current situation, then breaks down into details that effectively underscore his main argument. 3. Patrick Henry makes dozens of rhetorical questions that mentally agitate the audience with stronger impact. His relay of questions in the 11th paragraph, But when should we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are completely disarmed, and when a British guard is stationed in every house? Should we gather strength through irresolution and inaction? Should we acquire funds for the effective resistance, by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusional phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have tied us hand and foot? sums up his exasperated aspects towards Britain. Rhetorical questions do not necessarily expect answers from the audience, these questions are made just to highlight important points. 4. Patrick Henry makes many mythical and biblical references, and supports them by using strong diction. The greatest metaphorical allusion made in his speech was probably Judas' kiss. He says that Judas' positive but beguiling kiss to Jesus and the colonists' positive reception of Britain is similar to an assumption that the British will betray the colonies for their greed just like what Judas did to Jesus. The appointment of the officers of the Ratifying Convention; Edmund Pendleton elected president. The appointment of the Committee on Privileges and Choices. The rules of the House of Representatives are adopted as rules of the Ratifying Convention. The Constitution, at the request of George Mason and the consent of James Madison, will be read and fully discussed clause by clause in a committee of the whole. Benjamin Harrison reported from the Committee of Privileges and Choices. Patrick Henry expresses his concern that the Philadelphia delegates exceeded their mandate. Pendleton ruled Henry out of action. Preamble and Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Mr. Nicholas provided a lengthy defense covering 13 pages of Elliot's Debates. Henry was extremely concerned about the proposed government changes. He fears that such a drastic change from a confederation to a consolidated order puts the freedom of states at risk. Henry discusses the preamble and asks where did the delegates get the right to use we the people instead of the We States. Governor Randolph explains why he didn't sign the Constitution in Philadelphia, but that a vote against the adoption of the Constitution, especially since 8 other states have adopted the Constitution, is a vote for disunion. He prefers adoption with modifications. He disagrees with Henry and defends the right of delegates to take action to preserve the Union, the anchor of our political salvation. George Mason notes that the legislative power to tax clearly shows... that it is a national government, and no longer a confederation. He says that the number of representatives will be too few to represent the interests of the people and it is impossible that a general national government can exist in such a large country. He is calling for changes to secure the people's dearest rights. James Madison suggested that a discussion of congressional power to tax be postponed until later because this power is in Article I, Section 8, and the issue dealt with taxation and representation. He also denied that the Constitution favored consolidation and defended the size of the House of Representatives. Preamble and Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Contra Henry, Pendleton. We defend the people, expressions, and argue that the former affidavit was wholly inadequate, that the spirit of America is better served by the proposed plan and defends the power of Congress to directly tax as well as the number of representatives proposed to the House. Henry, in a speech covering over twenty pages of Elliot's debates, asks where is the danger? Why are we terrified of adopting this new form of government? Henry lays out his concerns: 1) the preamble is ordained by we the people, and not We states, 2) the Constitution deviates too far from the articles of the Confederacy, 3) representation in the Chamber is inadequate, 4) the people's rights are not properly protected by a bill of rights from commands tyrants and disciplined armies, 5) the amendment process in Article V is flawed because it requires more than a majority to change , 6) Article I, Section 8 supports a standing army and unlimited taxation, 7) the delegates in Philadelphia exceeded their authority, 8) the people of Virginia can not change their form of government, 9) there is probability of the president's enslaving America, and 10) there is no real responsibility in the Constitution, especially since Congress will probably determine the election. [Convention Recorder expresses his frustration: Mr. HENRY strongly expatiated on the likelihood of the president's enslaving America, and the terrible consequences that must lead to.] Randolph: If we move forward in this irregular way, contrary to our resolution, instead of three or six weeks, it will take us six months to settle this issue. Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Randolph, contra and Mason, in a speech covering over twenty pages of Elliot's Debates, emerge that as a child of the revolution, he will vote for the adoption of the Constitution. Why? Since 1) it secures the principles of the revolution, 2) the dangers to individual freedom are not false, 3) it will strengthen trade, 4) The Union will be lost by our rejection, 5) a national government is absolutely indispensable, 6) the articles of the Confederation are insufficient to make us happy or respectable, and beyond correction, 7) Virginia also will be more safe and secure, 8) I want my country not to be despisable in the eyes of foreign nations, 9) Republican government is practically possible in a vast territory, and 10) if the Union is now lost, I fear it will be so for ever. Madison, in a speech that addresses nearly twenty pages of Elliot's Debates, also tries to disprove Henry. He urged delegates to focus on the merits of the Constitution and avoid general claims of danger, without scrutiny. Madison argued that 1) majority faction is the deadly disease of republican government, 2) Henry is wrong: the people do not now live in perfect calm and security, 3) Henry is inconsistent in lamenting that it takes as little as 3/4 of the states to ratify the Constitution and as many as 3/4 of the states to change it, 4) Henry is wrong about several clauses including the exclusive legislative clause, the militia and army clause, and he is wrong about 5) the positive effect of Virginia not joining the Union. 6) Madison, repeating arguments federalist 39, declares the Constitution is not fully consolidated, nor is it entirely federal. Henry is wrong again: the Constitution is of a mixed nature. 7) And Henry is wrong to satirical ... the powers given to the public sector. 8) The power of direct taxation is necessary for the preservation of the Union. 9) Henry is also wrong that the public sector will absorb the state governments. Finally, 10) representation in the House is good. Nicholas concludes today's debate by saying that he will also depart from the resolution to go regularly through the system, clause by clause, and also disprove the principle elements of the argument made by Henry. Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Mr. Corbin weighs in on Patrick Henry; his remarks cover ten pages of Elliot's Debates and repeat what has been said before. He adds a twist to Madison's assertion that the government is neither federal nor consolidated; it is, said Corbin, a representative federal republic. Henry urges Randolph to continue his criticism of Henry's argument. Randolph responds to both Henry and Mason. He focuses on the powers needed to be given to the public sector in the next fifteen pages of Elliot's debates. Money is the nerve-life and soul of a government, and so congressional power to impose direct taxes, as an alternative to requisitions, is necessary and proper for the new government to survive and succeed. And the number of representatives is many enough to be familiar with the interests of the people. Madison stated in a wide-ranging speech that the part of the Constitution that empowers the public sector to lay and collect taxes [is] indispensable, and crucial to the existence of an effective or well-organized system of government. Observe the record, consult with experience, and listen to the big name that proclaimed that the Confederacy's articles were insufficient to secure freedom and happiness. [On three separate occasions, the Convention Recorder summarized Madison's argument placing it in square brackets.] Henry now had the floor for the remainder of the day; his speech includes 14 pages of Elliot's Debates. We are asked to adopt, he said, maxims that tend to prostration of republicanism. He continues to challenge the arguments put forward by Randolph with the chorus, where is the danger? If there are any, then they are located in the implied powers bestowed on the public sector and not in the imaginary dangers feigned by the proponents of the Constitution. He declared a bill of rights indispensable. Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Henry resume sits against ratification now, one covering about twenty-five pages of Elliot's debates. He rejects the absurd and crazy compromise proposal that we adopt first and then amend. He reiterates his distinction between the real dangers of adopting the Constitution with its implied powers—so new, that is, and—the imaginary dangers invented by Randolph et al about life under the Articles of the Confederacy. In fact, the system of laws under which we have lived has been tried and found to fit our genius. Henry continues: Randolph is inconsistent. He refused to sign this Constitution because it supports a power to rule America with a strong hand, and now supports this very Constitution. In addition to proposing a government over such extensive territory, the government's plan contains only ideal balances. Until I am convinced that there are actual effective controls, I will not give my ass to its establishment. [Towards the end of his speech, the Convention Recorder notes that Mr. Henry then, in a highly animated manner, expatiated at the evil and damaging tendency to keep the common government procedures secret.] Henry takes random shots at other parts of Article I of the Constitution, including the curious anatomical description that it is national in this part, and federal in that part. Actually Henry, the Constitution, unequivocally, is a major consolidation of government. Mr. Lee {of Westmoreland}, in a speech covering ten pages of Elliot's debates, criticizes Henry for throwing the agreed coverage of the Constitution in a systematic way. He responds to the bolts that he has so strangely a sleight of hand at discharge and declares that under the Constitution, the freedoms of the people are safe. Randolph ends the day with a speech covering eight pages of Elliot's debates. He responds to Henry's aspersions and his insinuations of personal inconsistency. [Convention Recorder shows that Randolph read his public letter in which he tells his constituents that he has objections but will support ratification, and demanded, and received, a concession from Henry. If he hadn't done it, Randolph says, he would have got some men's hair to stand on end, by revealing certain facts.] Randolph's point is that he still has reservations about the Constitution, but the issue now, given the adoption of eight states, was union or disunion. He favored the union. Randolph continues to attack Henry's lapses in history and theory, especially the premise that maxims alone can save nations; that our maxims are our bill of rights. Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Randolph resumes their discussion and promises soon to go on as usual and not forever wander from the point. He imitates Henry's digressions and his errant comment covers fourteen pages of Elliot's debates. For example, he examines the powers given to Congress and declares the freedoms of the people to be safe. Even the sweeping clause, also known as the necessary and correct clause, is not to be feared. His point is that the issue is that a vote against the Constitution is a vote for disunion. And, he says, Jefferson would agree with him that while there are flaws in the Constitution, for example in the judiciary, the object that guides me is the Union. James Monroe expresses his anguish at the adoption of the public sector. His discourse covers sixteen pages of Elliot's debates and includes reflections on the history of Confederates in general and America in particular. [Convention Recorder tells us that Monroe read several sections of Polybius.] He finds the articles of the covenant to be defective in both form and power. Nevertheless, the Constitution goes too far. State governments will not be able to protect themselves; it is unwise to give Congress direct taxation powers, it is unworkable to have a law that can be uniform throughout the United States, and there are no real controls and balances in the public sector or real limits to that government's powers. Thus, we need a bill of rights, polar star and great friend of American freedom to protect our rights against such a dangerous government. John Marshall argues for the adoption of the Constitution: Contra Henry and Monroe, friends of liberty and a regulated democracy can embrace maxims underlying this Constitution. In particular, it is necessary to give Congress the power of direct taxation and that power is adequately guarded. His comments cover fourteen pages of Elliot's debates. Harrison urged the rejection of the Constitution because it would jeopardize the rights and freedoms of the people. Nicholas, in a speech covering ten pages of Elliot's debates, concludes today's discussion. He lamented: Although we have sat eight days, so little has been done, that we have barely begun to discuss the issue regularly. The rule that the house should proceed clause by clause has been violated. He then attacks Henry's various arguments, including his defense of requisitions over direct taxation, his criticism of the sweeping clause, and the call for a bill of rights. He is also concerned that Henry wants a trade union on his own terms, otherwise he will return to partial confectionery. He will try to amendments. If he can't get them, then he will go opt for a partial Confederacy. Article I, Sections 1 and 2 Madison, in a speech covering fifteen pages of Elliot's Debates, attempt to stop digression. Get to the point, he says, and discuss the Constitution clause clause clause, rather than very irregularly as Henry has done. And to the point, he demands congressional power of direct taxation. Madison recalls her argument in Federalist 44 and 45, saying: public sector powers apply to external objects, and are only few. But the powers of the States refer to the great objects that immediately affect the prosperity of the people. So what's Henry arguing about? [Convention Recorder says that a desultory conversation arose about the state of the discussion.] Madison again insisted on a regular progressive discussion, other than by the incoherent, irregular approach they had so far pursued. Mason, in a speech covering ten pages of Elliot's debates, says it's impossible, in the nature of things, to avoid arguing more broadly than is common. Therefore, he goes beyond the specific clauses under consideration and expresses his concern about the supremacy clause in Article VI, and the vicious and nefarious import of slaves clause in Article I, Section 9. Surprisingly, however, he says there should be a clause in the Constitution to secure us this property! As far as Randolph's phantoms and exorcisms are concerned, I know he once saw as much danger in it as I do. What has happened since to his opinion? If anything, I don't know it. What we need are amendments which clearly state that the powers not granted to the public sector are reserved to the States. [At three points during Mason's speech, the Convention Recorder made italicized summaries.] Mr. Lee (in Westmorland) urged that the committee continue regularly. He made jocular observations and satirical allusions with respect to comments from the opposition to the adoption of the Constitution. 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Pendleton, in a speech covering twelve pages of Elliot's debates, says: As far as government is concerned, the worthy member (Mr. Henry) and I differ on the doorstep. I believe that the government is necessary to protect freedom. He assumes that the American spirit is sufficient for the purpose. Pendleton is also concerned that the opposition is questioning the principle that the Constitution is a friend of equal freedom for all men. Finally, Pendleton turns to the great object of direct taxation, more immediately under consideration. The clause should be adopted. Finally, he suggests that Jefferson's correspondence from France indicates that he is in favour of ratifying the Constitution and seeking amendments. [Convention Recorder notes: Pendleton added several other observations, but spoke too low to be heard.] Madison responds to Grayson's assertion that by giving up the power of taxation, we should give up everything, in a speech covering eight pages of Elliot's debates. 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He refers to Jefferson's letter quoted earlier: he wanted nine states to adopt and four states to reject to justify the need for amendments and a bill of rights. If we follow Jefferson, we amuse ourselves with the shadow, while the subject is given away. We

Amendments proposal from their actual place at the end of Elliot's debates on June 27 and moved them at this point in the procedure because this is the day when both proposals were read and discussed. I have also italicized both suggestions.) PROPOSED Bill of Rights That there is an explanation or bill of rights assert, and secure from the intrusion, the essential and inalienable rights of the people, in any such way as the following:- 1st. That there are certain natural rights, which men, when they form a social compact, cannot deprive or dispose of their posterity; among which is the enjoyment of life and freedom, by means of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and security. 2d. That all power is naturally invested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that judges are therefore their trustees and agents, at all times receptive to them. 3d. This government should be established for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, and that the doctrine of non-resistance to arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavic and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind. 4th That no man or set of men is entitled to separate or exclusive public emoluments or privileges from the community, but consideration of public service that is not descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrates, legislators, or judges, or any other public office, to be hereditary. 5th. That the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the government should be separate and distinct; and that the members of the first two may be withheld from oppression by knowing and participating in the public burdens, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return to the mass of the people, and the vacancies are provided by some and elections, in which all or any part of the former Members to be electable or ineligible, such as the rules of the government constitution, and the laws, shall govern. 6th. That the elections of representatives of the legislative assembly should be free and frequent, and all men who have sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment in, society, should have the right to vote; and no aid, fee, tax or fee, can be determined, classified, or levied, on the people without their own consent, or that of their representatives, so elected; nor can they be bound by any law that they have not, in the same way, consented to, for the common good. 7th. That no power to repeal laws, or enforcement of laws, by any authority, without the consent of the representatives of the people of the legislature, is detrimental to their rights, and should not be exercised. 8. That, in all criminal and capital prosecutions, a man has the right to demand the cause and nature of his indictment, to be confronted with accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence, and to be allowed advice in his favor, and to a fair and timely trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he can not be found guilty , (except in the government of the country and naval forces;) nor can he be forced to testify against himself. 9th. That no freeman should be taken, imprisoned, or dispossessed by his freehold, liberty, privilege, or concession, or prohibited, or exiled, or in any way destroyed, or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land. 10. That any freeman who is restrained in his freedom has the right to a remedy, to examine its legality and to remove the same, if it is unlawful, and that remedy should not be denied or delayed. 11. That in controversies respect property, and in suits between man and man, the old trial by jury is one of the largest securities to the rights of the people, and to remain sacred and inviolable. 12. That every freeman should find a particular remedy, by resorting to the laws, for any damage and error he may have in his person, property, or character. He should be given right and justice freely, without sale, completely and without denial, quickly and without delay; and that any establishment or regulation contrary to these rights is oppressive and unjust. 13th. Excessive bail should not be required, nor excessive punishment imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 14. That every freeman has the right to be safe from any unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his papers, and property; all warrants, therefore, to seek suspicious locations, or seize any freeman, his papers, or property, without information on oath (or confirmation of a person religiously careful to take an oath) of legal and cause, are difficult and oppressive; and all general warrants to search suspicious locations, or to apprehend any suspect, without specifically naming or describing the location or person, are dangerous, and should not be granted. 15. That the people have the right to gather for the 16th, that the people have the right to freedom of expression, and to write and publish their feelings; that freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of freedom, and should not be violated. 17th. That the people have the right to hold and bear arms; that a well-regulated militia, consisting of the body of the people trained as a weapon, is a good, natural and safe defence of a free state, that standing armies, in peacetime, are dangerous for freedom, and should therefore be avoided, as far as the circumstances and protection of society will recognise; and that in all cases the military should be subject to strict subordination to, and governed by, civilian power. 18th That no soldier in time of peace should be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner and in time of war in such a manner only as the law directs. 19. That any person religiously careful to bear arms should be excluded, when paying a corresponding to hire another to carry a weapon in his place. 20th. That religion, or the duty that we owe our Creator, and the way to discharge it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men have an equal, natural and inalienable right to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society should be favoured or established, by law, instead of others. PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION. 1st. That each State of the Union shall or retain any power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the federal government. 2d. That there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, according to the enumeration or census mentioned in the Constitution, until the total number of representatives is two hundred; after which, this number shall be continued or increased, to which Congress shall address, the principles enforced in the Constitution, by allocating the representatives of each state to slightly larger numbers of people, from time to time, as the population increases. 3d. When Congress is to lay direct taxes or excise duties, they shall immediately inform the executive of each State, if the ratio of such state, according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to thereby increase; and if the legislature of any State is to adopt a law that shall be effective in raising such quota at the time required by Congress, taxes and congress shall not be collected in such a state. 4th that the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding, any civil office under the authority of the United States, meanwhile before they will respectively be elected. 5th. that the journals of the proceedings of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall be published at least once a year; except those parts thereof, relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, which, in their judgment, require confidentiality. 6th. that a regular statement and statement of receipts and expenditure on public funds shall be published at least once a year; 7th. That no trade treaty should be ratified without two-thirds of the entire number of members of the Senate being unanimous; and no treaty waives, contracting, rescinding, or suspending, the territorial rights or claims of the United States, or any of them, or their, or any of their rights or claims to fish in the U.S. seas, or navigating the U.S. rivers, shall be made, but in cases of the most urgent and extreme necessity; nor shall such a Treaty be ratified without three quarters of the total number of members of both houses being unanimous. 8th. That no navigation law, or law regulating trade, shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present, in both houses. 9. that no standing army, or regular troops, shall be raised, or kept up, in peacetime, without the consent of two thirds of the members present, in both houses; 10. That no soldier shall be recruited for any longer than four years, except in wartime, and then for no longer term that to continue the war. 11. That each State shall respectively have the power to ensure the organization, armament and discipline of its own militia, whenever Congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militias shall not be subject to a state of emergency, except when in actual service, in wartime, invasion, or rebellion; and when not in the actual service of the United States, shall only be subject to such fines, penalties and penalties, to be directed or inflicted by the laws of their own State. 12th That exclusive power of legislation given to Congress over the federal town and its adjacent district and other places, bought or purchased by Congress by any of the states, will extend to such regulations as respect the police and good government in that. 13. That no person shall be able to be President of the United States for more than eight years for any period of sixteen years. 14th. That the judicial power of the United States shall accrue to a Supreme Court, and in such courts of admiralty that Congress may from time to time prescribe and establish in any of the States. Judicial power shall cover all cases of law and justice arising under treaties made, or to be done, under the direction of the United States; to all cases involving ambassadors, other foreign ministers, and consuls, to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, to controversies to which the United States is to be a party, to controversies between two or more states, and between parties claiming land under the acompanyof different states. In all cases involving ambassadors, other foreign ministers, and consuls, and those of which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction; in all other cases mentioned before, the Supreme Court shall have the right of review, with regard to matters of law only, except in cases of justice, and of admiralty, and maritime jurisdiction, where the Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction both in terms of law and substance, with such exceptions and under such provisions as Congress shall do: but the judicial power of the United States shall extend to any case where the cause of the action shall originate before ratification of the Constitution , except in disputes between states over their territory, disputes between persons who claim to land under, contributions of different states, and are suitable for debts due to the United States. 15th. That, in criminal prosecution, no man will be restrained in the practice of the usual and accustomed right of challenging or exempt to the jury. 16th. That Congress shall not change, amend, or interfere in times, places, or ways of holding elections for senators and representatives, or any of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled, by invasion or rebellion, to prescribe the same. 17th. That the clauses declaring that Congress shall not exercise certain powers, are not interpreted, in any way whatsoever, to extend the powers of Congress; but they are either interpreted as derogating from the specified powers where this is to be the case, or otherwise, as they have been inserted only for greater caution. 18th That the laws added to find out the remuneration of senators and representatives for their services are postponed, in their operation, until after the selection of representatives immediately To succeed the passing of in that; except to be passed on to the substance first. 19th That any court other than the Senate is given for trying impeachments by senators. 20. The fact that the salary of a judge shall not be increased or reduced in his fast condition, other than by means of general rules on remuneration, which may take place during a review of the substance at specified periods of at least seven years, shall begin from the time that such salaries are first to be determined by Congress. Henry concludes by reminding delegates that the citizens of Virginia want is to be able to sit down in peace and security under their own fig trees. Randolph says that nothing but the fear of inevitable destruction would lead me to vote for the Constitution despite objections to it. He suggests that Henry advocate that Virginia withdraw if the Constitution is passed without prior amendments. [Convention Recorder notes: Henry ... denied having said any of the breakout, but that he said, he would have no hand in later amendments; that he would stay and vote, and afterwards he would have nothing to do here.] Randolph: isn't it a breakaway from the principles of Republican government, and good citizenship when a minority refuses to submit to the decision of the majority? And he asks: where in Wythe's propositions, do you find that the people of Virginia are stubborn of three rights only? Randolph then turns to Henry's assertion that under the Constitution, Congress can abolish the existing state of slavery. Where does Henry find this? The general welfare clause does not contain a general, indefinite power to do what it wants. Randolph turned to some of the amendments proposed by the honorable gentleman. He is particularly concerned about the 7th Amendment: I appeal to my colleagues at the Federal Convention, if this was not the Union's sine qua non. Of all the amendments, this is the most destructive. But he is more interested in what the doctrine of past changes means. Is Virginia about making this the condition for us to get into this government? Mason: trade and navigation clause was never ... a sinus qua non in the Union. There was an agreement at the Convention: the southern states gave up their affiliation to a 2/3 vote requirement with regard to trade and navigation in exchange for temporary importation of slaves. Dawson, who describes himself as a young politician, and in a speech covering eight pages of Elliot's debates, believes the new Constitution will jeopardize the Union: the freedoms in America in general, the property of Virginia in particular, would be compromised. He then says my big objection: there is no real separation of powers. He opposes the treaty clause, and declare war clause, etc. I will give my vote in favour of previous amendments. Mr Grayson claims that gentlemen have misrepresented what I said on the issue of treaties. Most importantly, the Union of Virginia needs more than Virginia needs the Union, and thus we Virginians can command past changes. Were it not for a great character in America, so many men would not be for this government. Madison: nothing has excited more admiration in the world than the way in which free governments have in America; for it was the first instance, from the creation of the world to the American Revolution, that free residents have been seen deliberating on a form of government, and choosing one of their citizens who possessed their trust, to decide on and give effect to it. Shortcomings in the general system exist because mutual respect and remission were absolutely necessary, but the shortcomings will be removed when experience will show that it is necessary. It is imprudent for Virginia, and contrary to the good fortune of America, to insist on past changes They are pregnant with terrible dangers and will throw the entire ratification process into chaos. He then criticises Henry's amendments, especially those that challenged the doctrine of majority rule: This policy of protecting against political inconvenience, by allowing a small part of society to oppose the government, and subject the majority to a small minority, is misleading. Henry reiterated his fear of inappropriate use of congressional implied powers during his response to comments made by Randolph and Madison. We have it in our power to secure the happiness of half the human race. Its adoption may spell the misery of the second hemisphere. [According to the Convention Recorder: Here arose a violent storm, which put the house in such disarray, that Mr. Henry had to stop.] Nicholas argued that the language of the proposed ratification would secure everything that gentlemen wanted, as it explained that all the powers of the Constitution came from the people, and can be resumed by them whenever they should be perverse to their harm and oppression; and that any power that was not granted thus remained according to its will. Madison envisioned that what flaws might be in the Constitution can be removed by the change mode itself. With regard to a solemn declaration of our essential rights, he considered it unnecessary and dangerous — unnecessary, because it was obvious that the public sector had no power but what was given to it, and that the delegation alone justified the exercise of power; dangerous, because an enumeration that is not complete is not safe He explained that such amendments as in his judgment seemed to be without danger, he would easily admit, and that he would be the last to oppose any such amendment that would give satisfaction to any gentleman, if it were not dangerous. Nicholas proposes ratification with subsequent amendments for Congress to consider. The clerk then read both the Wythe resolution and the amendments and bill of rights proposed by Henry. Harrison reminds delegates that there are seven states that want changes. Madison believes that previous amendments will send a confused message to those states that have already ratified and unnecessary delays. Changes should be made through the process defined in the Constitution. Monroe and Tyler felt it was wiser to secure earlier (and binding) amendments than subsequent (and recommendatory) amendments. Innes, Stephen and Zachariah Taylor are calling on the Convention to support later amendments. Henry: The claim of subsequent changes is just to lull our fears. Mr Randolph has the last parting word: he still has objections, but the accession of eight states reduced our deliberations to the only issue of the Union or no Union. The Constitution for the Preservation of the Union Clerk then read the review of Wythe's previous resolution that a committee had drafted: While the powers granted under the proposed Constitution are the gift of the people, and any power not granted thereby remains with them, and at their will—no right, therefore, of any denomination, can be annulled, abbreviated, held back, or amended, by Congress, by the Senate or the House of Representatives , acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in cases where power is conferable by the Constitution for these purposes; and, among other important rights, the freedom of conscience and the press cannot be interrupted, shortened, restrained, or amended, by any authority in the United States. And while any shortcomings, which may exist in the said Constitution, should be examined in the situation provided for therein in order to obtain amendments, rather than by delay, with the hope of bringing previous amendments, in order to put the Union at risk, loosely, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the said Constitution is ratified. However, in order to allay the concerns of those who may be anxious about amendments,— Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that any amendments can be considered necessary, it is recommended that the consideration of Congress should first be convened under the said Constitution, to be acted according to the position prescribed in the 5th Article thereof. The 1st resolution is read a second time, a proposal was made, and the question being asked, to amend the same by replacing, instead of said resolution and its preamble, the following resolution,— Resolved, That, before the ratification of the new Constitution by the government recommended by the late Federal Convention, a declaration of rights, assert, and secure from intrusion , the great principles of civil and religious freedom , and the inalienable rights of the people, along with amendments to the most exceptional parts of the said Constitution by the government, should be referred by this Convention to the other states of the U.S. Confederacy for their consideration. It passed in the negative: ayes, noes, 88 Among the delegates favoring previous changes were Harrison, Tyler, Henry, Monroe, Grayson and Mason. Among the delegates who opposed previous amendments were Pendleton, Nicholas, Marshall, Blair, Wythe, Randolph and Madison. The delegates then turned to the main question: should the Convention agree to the first resolution in favour of ratification and the recommendation for subsequent amendments? It passed in affirmative, ayes, 89; noes, 79. A committee, chaired by Wythe, was elected to draft a bill of rights and a subsequent draft amendment. An engulved form of ratification was presented and read. Wythe presents 20 Bill of Rights Proposals and 20 Amendment proposals agreed and, along with ratification, transferred to the first Congress for consideration as subsequent amendments. (See 24 June Summary above for the text of these 2 Suggestions.) Suggestions.)

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