# The Alexander Hamilton Collection

HIGHLY IMPORTANT ORIGINAL LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, & IMPRINTS

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Alexander Hamilton, John Trumbull after Giuseppe Ceracci, 1806 National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

### **THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON COLLECTION**

### HIGHLY IMPORTANT ORIGINAL LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, & IMPRINTS

We are pleased to offer this unique collection of original letters, documents, and artifacts that tell the story of the orphan immigrant who fought for independence, founded our financial system, and fostered a government capable of surviving internal factions and foreign foes.

### Alexander Hamilton in the American Revolution and Post-War

- a letter he wrote on Washington's behalf about intelligence on Hessian troop movements (p.10)
- one of his most revealing love letters, calling Eliza "a little sorceress" who bewitched and rendered him "restless and unsatisfied with all about me" (p.13)



• a portion of Hamilton's letter to Robert Morris on biases that affect New York taxes (p.16)

#### The Founding, Cabinet Battles, and Federalist Era

p. 22

p. 5

- George Washington's "Justice & the Public Good" Letter (p.26)
- George Washington's signed letter transmitting the Act establishing the Treasury Department (p.29)
- Hamilton signed letter on his 11th day as Treasury Secretary ordering Customs Collectors to accept Bank of North America and Bank of New York notes as the equivalent of gold or silver (p.30)
- contemporary printings of Congressional Acts implementing Hamilton's Assumption Plan, his 1790 Report on Public Credit, and the charters for the Bank of the United States and the Society for Useful Manufactures (p.49)
- Act of Congress signed by Jefferson as Secretary of State *for raising a farther sum of Money for the Protection of the Frontiers* (Hamilton's back-door approach to enacting his Report on Manufactures' tariffs) (p.60)
- More Acts of Congress signed by Jefferson as Secretary of State, including *An Act Concerning the Duties on Spirits Distilled within the United States* (unsuccessfully intended to ease the hated Whiskey tax) (p.62)
- Frederick Jay (brother of Chief Justice John Jay) land donation to establish an African Free School in New York (Hamilton was one of the founders) (p.76)
- Hamilton document remitting a Whiskey tax fine two-days before leaving office (p.81)
- a near-riot over Jay's Treaty, and challenges to Hamilton at Federal Hall (p.82)
- Hamilton's letter on compensation for his successfully arguing first Supreme Court judicial review case (p.86)

- Hamilton's draft letter rallying to defeat Jefferson after Washington declined a third term (Hamilton changed his tune four years later, when he considered Burr a greater danger) (p.92)
- the only known document in Hamilton's hand on a legal case involving James Reynolds (p.95)
- a first edition of the "Reynolds Pamphlet," in which he admits to infidelity but vigorously denies financial crimes; and a second edition, reprinted by his enemies (p.98)
- a document signed by Hamilton and Eliza and Angelica and a dozen other Schuyler sisters, brothers, cousins, in-laws, and even father General Philip Schuyler (p.107)
- Hamilton Defends Freedom of the Press Against Jefferson's Libel Attacks in Landmark Freedom of the Press Case (p.109), and more

Rare Acts of Congress Signed by Jefferson' Successor as Secretary of State p. 118 Edmund Randolph Signed Acts related to finance, trade, the Whiskey Rebellion, defense, etc.

#### **Correspondence and Documents Including Hamilton Family Papers** p. 137

• Thomas Jefferson letter about the confidentiality of personal correspondence relating to politics and religion (p.164)

#### **Aaron Burr**

#### Gazette of the United States newspapers

Capturing the Founding, and Congressional and public debate over Hamilton's financial plans, as well as the Bill of Rights and other pressing issues.

#### **Original Newspaper Runs Capturing Unfolding Stories** p. 288

Highlights include reports on the Hamilton-Burr duel in his own newspaper, and Jefferson's First Inaugural and first four State of the Union addresses. Plus, French Revolution and Haiti slave uprising reports, Acts of Congress, landmark legal cases such as Marbury v. Madison, and more politics, personalities, events, and issues.

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#### p. 185

p. 172

## Alexander Hamilton in the American Revolution and Post-War



Hamilton's Love Letter to Eliza

#### Hamilton's Origin Story – 1772 Storm Slams Antigua Hours Before Devastating St. Croix – in the Week of Hurricanes that Led to Hamilton Being Sent to America

"The 31<sup>st</sup> of last month we had the most violent Hurricane ever known; very few Estates, if any, but what have felt the affects of it, many of them quite destroyed, several white people killd & a number of Negroes. The King's ships in English Harbor dismasted, & many Vessels lost. We are in sad distress for want of Negro provision, what little Corn we have sells at 15s a bushel. S<sup>t</sup> Christophers has suffer'd as much if not more, & the other Islands, very considerably."

#### "The strength of the Winds is incredible, they seemed to contend & battle together."

Within one horrible week from the end of August to the beginning of September, three or four hurricanes were active simultaneously in the Caribbean. Hurricane San Augustin, Aug. 27-Sept. 4, hit Antigua, St. Croix, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Puerto Rico (Aug. 28-29, leaving severe damage), Hispaniola (Aug. 30), and Jamaica before entering the Gulf of Mexico, hitting Pensacola, Florida, and making landfall near Mobile, Alabama, severely flooding the city and sinking a ship. Killing at least 280 people, this hurricane was the first of three to hit Saint Kitts and Nevis within a month. Though often referred to as the "Hamilton hurricane," its timing and path is inconsistent with Hamilton's storm.

Both Hamilton's and this account likely refer to Hurricane San Ramón, which hit Barbados and Antigua on Aug. 29-30; Saint Kitts and Nevis, flattening many houses, on the morning of Aug. 31; Saint Croix that evening; northeast Puerto Rico from Aug. 31 to Sept. 1; and on to the coast of Cuba.

Two hundred miles to the west of Antigua, Hamilton described "one of the most dreadful Hurricanes that memory or any records whatever can trace." Hamilton reported that the storm arrived in St. Croix on the night of Aug. 31, beginning "about dusk," which "raged very violently till ten o'clock."

A local editor and Presbyterian minister, Hugh Knox, saw and forwarded Hamilton's letter to a Christiansted, Saint Croix paper, which published it on Oct. 3. Impressed with his writing abilities, local donors raised money and sent Hamilton to New York for education.

De la Court Walsh (ca. 1716-1784) was commissioned as an ensign in 1739 in the  $38^{th}$  Regiment of Foot of the

Antiquar 10# Sept. 1772 Dear Si The 31th of last month we had the most instead ever known ; very few lateter , if any , but what have lets the abouts of it many of then quite Quetry a white prople hit & a number of referes . The King English propries hill & a number of referred . The Kings chips in English Harber Riemaster, & many Provide look. He see a ser Hoberto for areas of segre provider , what like low see have where a 15fe bushel . Christophing her suffer as mark if all more , & the other Islands, very constructedly. We less part of our doubling house, on Reform, house blown bondy URA of Sugar Destroyed housen as shall receive part of it which much be manufactured a new. no have boute Some & the South site of the Caring houses Boiling house stop Sich house & Signas They Boon Trash house , Sich house , brack house & Subles down a laye new One house quite your 9 m Sove house with of saches the house in Town which was compleated with glaft saches new painted & a headen some wall, very much shated & the wall Down - little or no fumber to be had . Provision estimes Sear & lide of that Our land whip's is shows & a great has of them broke short off; we have not suffer much that way , & I hope if we have good weather , & make a tolesteller ussy well & and of griat source. We less only one hope . W. Otto had fine hill upon the sport

British Army. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1741 and to Captain in 1755. He also served as Deputy-Secretary of Antigua.

This first-hand report of the devastation of Antigua is the closest we have seen of the storm that launched Hamilton's career. In a year, he completed all three-years of study at the Elizabethtown Academy, and then applied to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). His plan for accelerated study was rejected, so he instead went to King's College in Lower Manhattan (now Columbia University), and became acquainted with the Sons of Liberty.

DE LA COURT WALSH, Autograph Letter Signed, to James Scott, September 18, 1772, Antigua. 2 pp. #27351

#### **Provoking Hamilton's First Political Shot**

"Can we expect to force a submission to our peevish and petulant humours... We ought to know the temper and spirit, the power and strength of the nation better. A single campaign ... would ruin us effectually ... Will you be instrumental in bringing the most abject slavery on yourselves?"

Samuel Seabury, the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, was a loyalist from the outset of the American Revolution. Seabury and his allies began issuing public criticisms of the Continental Congress in 1774 and sparred with patriot writers along the way. Seabury's most important pamphlets were signed "A Westchester Farmer."

[SAMUEL SEABURY]. Pamphlet. Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia Sept 5, 1774. Wherein their errors are exhibited, their reasonings confuted, and the fatal tendency of their non-importation, nonexportation, and non-consumption measures, are laid open to the plainest understandings; and the only means pointed out for preserving and securing our present happy constitution..... Signed "A.W. Farmer" (A Westchester Farmer). [New York: James Rivington], 1774. #24315

On December 15, 1774, Hamilton responded to Seabury's pamphlet by publishing a scathing critique, a *Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress*, which fueled patriot sentiments and sparked a pamphlet war. Seabury issued three more publications, and Hamilton responded again.



### John Jay's *Thoughts on the Necessity of War*, 1776 Constitution of Virginia, and Maryland's 1776 Declaration of Rights and Constitution

### "A bankrupt faithless republic would...appear among reputable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons.... (450)

It has been already observed, that in order to prevent the further natural depreciation of our bills, we have resolved to stop the press.... Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent than she became insolvent." (478)

Hamilton does not appear in the issue, but this perfectly captures the financial issues that soon peaked his concern. With America's currency becoming "not worth a Continental," John Jay addresses inflation, payment of wartime debt, and redemption of war bonds. Part one, in a previous issue, discusses the problem of depreciation. Here, Jay tackles the willingness of Americans to pay for debt and bond redemption.

THEN United States Magazine. REPOSITORY OF Hiftory, Politics, and Literature. FOR NOVEMBER, 1779. PARTICULARS. FARTICULARS. Circular Letter from the Con-gress of the United States of America to their Conflitm-ents, 443 The Conflictation or Form of Government agreed to and refolved upon by the Dele-gates and Reprefentatives of the Freeman of the feveral Convention and the feveral Convention and the feveral Convention and the feveral Convention and the feveral Convention held at Willi-amsburgh, on the 6th of May, and continued by ad-journment to the 5th of Jy, 1776. 451 The Seat of Pleafure. A Can-tata, 475 ly, 1776. 451 tata, 475 A Declaration of Rights, and Elegy. To a young Lady, 476 the Conditution and Form Continuation of the Circular of Government, agreed to Letter, &c. 477 PHILADELPHIA: Printed and Sold by FRANCIS BAILEY, in Market-Street.

Additional content includes "The Constitution or Form of Government...of Virginia. In a general Convention held at Williamsburgh on the 6th of May & continued by Adjournment to the 5th of July, 1776," drafted by George Mason and James Madison. A vital Revolutionary document, printed in full. (451-455)

"A Declaration of Rights & the Constitution & Form of Government agreed to by the Delegates of Maryland in Free & Full Convention Assembled, enacted in November 1776" is also here. (455-472)

From January through December 1779, the *United States Magazine* was the only magazine printed in America. Its articles foreshadow the revolution and themes that would reach fruition a decade later in the federal Constitution and Bill of Rights.

[JOHN JAY]. "Circular Letter from the Congress," in The United States Magazine, November 1779. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey. 32 pp. (447-478). #23580

#### Powerful Anti-Slavery Argument Likely by Hamilton's Friend John Laurens

"Many Slaves...share in the dangers and glory of the efforts made by US, the freeborn members of the United States, to enjoy, undisturbed, the common rights of human nature; and THEY remain SLAVES!... The enlightened equity of a free people, cannot suffer them to be ungrateful."

The author was intimately familiar with day-to-day troubles of the Revolutionary army and militias. Historian Robert G. Parkinson notes that it was written while John Laurens was first attempting to convince his father, President of Congress Henry Laurens, of the necessity of creating a battalion of slaves. He hoped to prove that slaves merited freedom and citizenship while helping to rebuild the Continental army. In 1779, Congress approved Laurens' plan to recruit a brigade of 3,000 South Carolina slaves by promising them freedom after the war, but he failed due to opposition in the state.

As aides-de-camp to Washington, he, Hamilton and Lafayette became close friends. Laurens (1754-1782) gained a reputation for reckless courage at the Battle of Brandywine. At Germantown, he was shot while making a daring attack on a British stronghold.



At the Battle of Monmouth, on a reconnaissance for Baron von Steuben, Laurens' horse was shot out from under him. In December, 1778, defending Washington's honor, Laurens was shot by General Charles Lee in a duel that was then ended by their seconds, Alexander Hamilton and Evan Edwards. In May 1780, he was taken prisoner after the fall of Charleston. Upon his release from parole, Congress appointed Laurens as a special minister to France. He originally refused, recommending Hamilton for the post, but was ultimately persuaded.

In March 1781, he and Thomas Paine arrived in Paris to assist Benjamin Franklin, the American minister since 1777. Laurens reportedly convinced Louis XIV that without French aid, the Americans would lose, and then could be forced by the British to fight a future war against France. Laurens and Paine returned to America in August 1781 with 2.5 million livres in silver, the first part of a French gift of 6 million and loan of 10 million. He had also helped procure a loan and supplies from the Dutch. (His father, Henry Laurens, America's ambassador to the Netherlands, was captured by the British; he was exchanged for General Cornwallis in late 1781.)

John Laurens returned from France in time to see the French fleet defeat the British fleet outside of Yorktown, Virginia, cutting off the British army from supplies and reinforcements. He was appointed to lead a light infantry battalion whose commander was killed. Under the command of Alexander Hamilton, Laurens led the battalion in the storming of Redoubt No. 10. Washington appointed Laurens as the American commissioner for drafting formal terms of the British surrender, signed by General Cornwallis on October 19, 1781.

Laurens then returned to South Carolina. As General Nathanael Greene's head of intelligence, he created and operated a network of spies, and was responsible for guarding communications with British-occupied Charleston. On August 27, 1782, during one of the last skirmishes of the War, at the age of 27, Laurens was shot from his saddle and killed.

ANTIBIASTES (likely John Laurens), "Observations on the slaves and the Indentured Servants inlisted in the Army..." Front page printing, in the Boston Gazette and Country Journal, October 13, 1777. Boston: Benjamin Edes. #24438

#### On Washington's Behalf, Hamilton Confirms Receipt of Intelligence on Hessian Troop Movements

"His Excellency desires me to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of yesterday, and thanks you for the intelligence contained in it. He hopes you will soon be able to send him a confirmation with more certain particulars. I am  $D^r$  Sir /  $Y^r$  most Obed<sup>t</sup> / A Hamilton."

Two days before this letter, Colonel Charles Stewart wrote to inform Washington that Hessian troops had crossed the Delaware River a day earlier. Stewart estimated that 3,000 to 4,000 Hessians were planning to attack Fort Mercer. He wrote again, later on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, to pass on intelligence received from a guide to 2,500 mostly Hessian enemy troops. Stewart assured Washington that the fort, on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River just south of Philadelphia, was well supplied to withstand an attack.

Later that day, the Hessians attacked Fort Mercer. They were repulsed by the much smaller American force, delaying British plans to consolidate their hold of Philadelphia and relieving pressure on Washington's army north of the city.



However, a month later, the British captured Fort Mercer.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter Signed, on behalf of General George Washington, to Colonel Charles Stewart, October 24, 1777, [Whitpain Township, PA], with note, "*Let the Bearer pass. Tim. Pickering Adjt. Genl.*" #24375

#### A Map of New York City's Revolutionary War Defenses



This almanac includes a map of New York as a full-page woodcut on the title page showing the defenses of the city (including ships blockading the harbor) and the surrounding countryside as far as Newark. The almanac also features a list of all the major roads between Boston and other principal North American cities, notice of Harvard College's vacations for the year, Oliver Cromwell's prayer on the eve of his death, a list of eclipses, and pages for each month of the year listing religious holidays, cycles of the moon, and weather forecasts.

NEW YORK. *The North American's Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1777.* Worcester, Mass.: Stearns & Bigelow, 1776. Second issue. #23412

### Tea Box with Presentation Plaque to Alexander Hamilton for His Role in Defending White Plains in 1776



A more recent copy of a lost original provenance note states, "This Tea box was a gift from the people of White Plains N.Y. to Capt. Hamilton [who] was cited in 1776 for helping to preserve the town, business & population. The box was awarded in 1791 by Rufus King and accuied [sic] in 1806 from Elizabeth [Hamilton] his widow by N.R. Allen."

The Battle of White Plains was fought on October 28, 1776. As the Continental Army was chased north from New York, British General William Howe hoped to cut off its escape route. Washington established a defensive position on a hill near the village of White Plains.

After British and Hessian forces were twice pushed back, Howe's troops eventually drove the Americans from the hill, forcing Washington's continuing retreat north. Heavy rains over the next two days prevented the British from reengaging, and Washington escaped Howe's grasp.

John Church Hamilton's three biographies (1834, 1840-1841, and particularly 1857-1864) exaggerated his father's role in White Plains. Though Alexander Hamilton commanded a twogun battery on the hill, to the best of our knowledge it was not near the center of the action.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON.] Mahogany Tea Box with brass plate engraved "*Cap*<sup>t</sup> *Hamilton*," brass handle on the top and locking mechanism with keyhole on the front, with three interior lidded mahogany boxes for storing different types of tea. 13 x 7 x 7 in. #27089



#### One of Alexander's Most Revealing Love Letters to Eliza

"you have made me disrelish everything that used to please me, and have rendered me as restless and unsatisfied with all about me, as if I was the inhabitant of another world. ... I would go on, but the General summons me to ride...."

While stationed in Morristown, New Jersey, from December 1779 to March 1780, Hamilton met Elizabeth Schuyler. In the middle of their whirlwind courtship, he complains that she is distracting him from important military duties and pleads with her to distract him more. Few of Hamilton's letters to Eliza survive from this period. In the midst of authoring a detailed plan to attack the British in New York, Hamilton puts his pen down when he is summoned by General Washington.

#### **Complete Transcript**

Immediately after dinner, I stole from a crowd of company to a solitary walk to be at leisure to think of you, and I have just returned to tell you by an express this moment going off that I have been doing so. You are certainly a little sorceress and have bewitched me, for you have made me disrelish every thing that used to please me, and have rendered me as restless and unsatisfied with all about me, as if I was the inhabitant of another world, and had nothing in common with this. I must in spite of myself become an inconstant to detach myself from you, for as it now stands I love you more than I ought—more than is consistent with my peace. A new mistress is supposed to be the best cure for an excessive attachment to an old- if I was convinced of the success of the scheme, I would be tempted to try it—for though it is the pride  $\langle 2 \rangle$ of my heart to love you it is the torment of it to love you so much, separated as we now are. But I am afraid, I should only go in quest of disquiet, that would make me return to you with redoubled tenderness. You gain by every comparison I make and the more I contrast you with others the more amiable you appear. But why do you not write to me oftener? It is again an age since I have heard from you. I write you at least three letters for your one, though I am immersed in public business and you have nothing to do but to think of me. When I come to Albany, I shall find means to take satisfaction for your neglect. You recollect the mode I threatened to punish you in for all your delinquen[c]ies.

I wrote you a long letter by your father. I suppose you will wait his return before you write. If <3> you do I shall chide you severely and if you do not write me a very long and fond one by him, I shall not forgive you at all. I have written you a short letter since that.

We are now at Dobbes ferry.

*I would go on but the General* [Washington] *summons me to ride. Adieu My Dear lovely amiable girl. Heaven preserve you and shower its choicest blessings upon you. Love me I conjure you. / A Hamilton* 



<4> [Docketing:] *Aug 8<sup>th</sup> / Dobbs Ferry* [Partial Address:] *Schuyler / Albany* 

As both a student and a soldier, Hamilton had taken full advantage of his remarkable intellect to rise up. He also had demonstrable talent for ingratiating himself with influential families with marriageable daughters. Elizabeth Schuyler was heir to two of the wealthiest and most powerful families in New York. Her father was General Philip Schuyler, and her mother Catherine van Rensselaer, making Eliza one of the most sought-after young women in the state. She had inherited a deep intelligence, and developed an unconventional athleticism and sense



of adventure. Her natural energy, sense of humor, and easy warmth made her exceptionally compatible with the equally passionate Hamilton.

Alexander and Eliza met in early 1780, while she was staying with family near the army's encampment in Morristown, New Jersey. Hamilton was immediately smitten, "a gone man" according to friend and fellow aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman. Hamilton, whose faultless memory was previously celebrated, was so distracted that he even forgot the password to return to camp one night. Little more than a month after their second meeting, they were engaged.

In a letter he wrote on August 1, he had urged Eliza to consider that their social situation will be "a perfect lottery," and to "examine well [her] heart" to determine whether she is likely to be happy in humble circumstances. By the time Hamilton composed this letter a week later, he seems to have been reassured of her affections and redoubled his flirtatiousness.

A few months later, Hamilton elaborated on his infatuation in a coy letter to her sister, Angelica: "It is essential to the safety of the state and to the tranquility of the army- that one of two things take place, either that [Eliza] be immediately removed from our neighborhood, or that some other nymph qualified to maintain an equal sway come into it.... I solicit your aid." Hamilton developed the subject again in an October letter to Eliza: "I love you too much.... You engross my thoughts too entirely to allow me to think of anything else" (*Gilder Lehrman Collection, #*GLC00773).

Hamilton also relished military life, despite his frustration in being denied a command post. The Americans had faced high expectations and hard losses that year. The British had effectively occupied Georgia, and Charleston surrendered in May. In the North, American positions close to Morristown were put under siege in June, in an unsuccessful attempt to draw Washington's army out of its stronghold. In July, the arrival of the Comte de Rochambeau's squadron at Newport inspired confidence that the balance of power would shift in the Americans' favor. Through July and August, Washington's spy network intercepted critical British intelligence, which helped save both Rochambeau's squadron and American troops on the Hudson.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter Signed "*A. Hamilton,*" to Elizabeth Schuyler, August 8, 1780, [Dobbs Ferry, NY]. **3** pp. **#24329** 

Alexander and Eliza married on December 14, 1780, at the Schuyler Mansion in Albany, New York.

#### Hamilton Reports on Benedict Arnold's Treachery

*The Pennsylvania Packet* publishes Hamilton's letter to John Laurens detailing the immediate reaction to the capture of John André and the discovery of Benedict Arnold's treasonous plan to deliver West Point to the British.

"the project seems to have originated with Arnold himself and to have been long premeditated... that the ingratitude, he had experienced from his country... had intirely changed his principles: that he now only sought to restore himself to the favour of his prince.... he solicited the command of West-Point.... The sacrifice of this important post was the atonement he intended to make."

"Arnold...insisted on André's exchanging his uniform for a disguise... He [André] had reached Tarry town, when he was taken up by three militia men, who rushed out of the woods and seized his horse. At this critical period, his presence of mind forsook him... he asked the militia men if they were of the upper or lower party.... The militia men replied, they were of the lower party; upon which he assured them he was a British officer and pressed them not to detain him, as he was upon urgent business. This confession removed all doubt.... He was instantly forced off



to a place of greater security, where he was carefully searched, and in his stocking-feet were found several papers of importance delivered to him by Arnold.—Among them were a plan of the fortifications of West-Point, a memorial from the engineer on the attack and defence of the place, returns of the garrison, cannon and stores, copy of the minutes of a council of war, held by general Washington a few weeks before."

Hamilton was having breakfast with Arnold when André was captured. Arnold fled into British lines. His wife Margaret ("Peggy") feigned hysteria, and convinced Washington and Hamilton that she had no inkling of her husband's betrayal. As more evidence of her role came to light, she was banished to British-occupied New York.

This newspaper also prints a letter of David Salisbury Franks, former president of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Montreal, who had been jailed for a short time for supporting the right to criticize the King. When the Canadian Expedition reached Montreal, Franks joined, and became paymaster of the American army at Quebec. He returned with the expedition to America, and was made an aide-de-camp to Arnold. When Arnold's treason was discovered, Franks was suspected, but was quickly cleared and called back by General Washington. Franks publicly requested a thorough investigation, and was exonerated, promoted, and soon entrusted to carry secret documents to Benjamin Franklin in Paris and John Jay in Madrid. Despite his innocence and valuable service, Jeffersonian Republicans continued vicious attacks on Franks for his association with Arnold. In 1786, Franks served as an envoy in treaty negotiations with Morocco but was dismissed from the diplomatic corps and returned to America. Having often spent his own money to pay American troops during the war, he received a grant of land and a position in the Bank of the United States, but he died in poverty.

[BENEDICT ARNOLD] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, October 14, 1780. Printing the first half of Alexander Hamilton's October 11 letter to John Laurens. (The balance was published in the issue of October 17, 1780). **#24807** 

#### Hamilton Drafts Letter to Superintendent of Finance and Declaration Signer Robert Morris on Biases Affecting New York Taxes

A previously unrecorded partial draft in which Hamilton discusses the "*situation and temper*" of New York, and its tax plan, which was intended to be based on a fair assessment of her citizens' circumstances and abilities to pay.

"The ostensible reason for adopting this vague basis was a desire of equality: It was pretended, that this could not be obtained so well by any fixed tariff of taxable property, as by leaving it to the discretion of persons chosen by the people themselves, to determine the ability of each citizen. But perhaps the true reason was a desire to discriminate between the whigs and tories. This chimerical attempt at perfect equality has resulted in total inequality; or rather this narrow disposition to overburthen a particular class of citizens living under the protection of the government has been resorted upon the contrivers or their friends wherever that class has been numerous enough to preponderate in the election of the officers who were to execute the law. The exterior figure a man makes, the decency or meaness of his manner of living, the personal friendships or dislikes of the assessors have much more share in determing what individuals shall pay than the proportion of property."

"From Massachusettes and other parts of New England we purchase to the amount of about  $\pounds$ 50.000, principally in Tea & salt.... The immense land transportation of which the chief part is carried on by the subjects of other states is a vast incumbrance upon our trade.... These calculations cannot absolutely be relied on because the data are necessarily uncertain, but they are the result of the best information I can obtain; and if near the truth, prove that the general ballance of trade is against us; a plain symptom of which is an <u>extreme</u> and <u>universal</u> scarcity of money."

Robert Morris immigrated from Liverpool to Maryland at age 13. After studying in Philadelphia, he became a partner in a banking and shipping firm in 1757. In the Second Continental Congress, he opposed the motion for independence but abstained in the final vote and then signed the Declaration. He signed the Articles of Confederation in 1778, served as Superintendent of Finance from 1781-1784, and personally put up the necessary funds to ensure the loans that funded the American army during the Revolutionary War. He signed the Constitution in 1787 and

find landy of property farmer the descriction of perfons chosen by the p live to defirimmate between the will of a mani maker the decency or meane for of the firstition of property.

served as a Senator from Pennsylvania from 1789 to 1795. Deeply engaged in land speculation, he bought millions of acres in western New York in 1791, leading to his bankruptcy and imprisonment for debt.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Draft Autograph Letter fragment, to Robert Morris, ca. August 1, 1782, heavily damaged with text loss, two pages on one leaf. The final draft, dated August 13, 1782, is in the Hamilton papers at the Library of Congress. #24619

### Washington's Speech Quelling the Newburgh Conspiracy

Washington's March 15 speech that famously averted a coup by disgruntled Continental Army officers fills most of the second page.

"to suspect the man, who shall recommend moderation and longer forbearance, I spurn it... The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.... While I give you these assurances and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour. let me entreat you...not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained... And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the sacred rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood.'



By the winter of 1782-1783, many in the Continental

Army had not been paid in several years and were deeply in debt. They feared Congress would disband the Army without the promised back pay and pensions. The Nationalist group in the Confederation Congress who supported a stronger central government, including Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris, and Gouverneur Morris, hope to use the discontent to force Congress to raise money by an impost duty. On February 13, 1783, Hamilton wrote to General Washington, "The claims of the army urged with moderation, but with firmness, may operate on those weak minds which are influenced by their apprehensions more than their judgments; so as to produce a concurrence in the measures which the exigencies of affairs demand. They may add weight to the applications of Congress to the several states. So far an useful turn may be given to them. But the difficulty will be to keep a *complaining* and *suffering army* within the bounds of moderation. This Your Excellency's influence must effect. In order to it, it will be adviseable not to discountenance their endeavours to procure redress, but rather by the intervention of confidential and prudent persons, *to take the direction of them.*"

Unconvinced by Hamilton's suggestion, Washington called a meeting of his officers on March 15, 1783. While the meeting chaired by General Horatio Gates was underway, Washington unexpectedly entered and delivered this speech. When he finished, he took a letter from a member of Congress from his pocket and unfolded it. Washington gazed at the paper, then slowly took from his pocket a pair of reading glasses which few of the men had seen him wear, and said: "Gentlemen, you will permit me to put on my spectacles, for I have not only grown gray but almost blind in the service of my country." Many of the officers were moved to tears, and support for the conspiracy collapsed.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. *The Freeman's Journal: or, The North-American Intelligencer,* April 2, 1783. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey. 4 pp. #21045.99

#### Madison, Hamilton, and Ellsworth Plan to Pay Off War Debts

"Critical exigencies...have made it the duty of Congress to review and provide for the debts which the war has left upon the United States, and to look forward to the means of obviating dangers...."

In this landmark address at the end of the Revolutionary War, Hamilton, Madison, and Ellsworth recommend a uniform consumption tax on imports throughout the states. They sought to empower federal, rather than state, officials in making valuations for tax purposes. Accompanying documents estimate the national debt and anticipated revenue, and rebut objections to the uniform tax.

This volume also reprints Benjamin Franklin's negotiated loans with France (1777) and John Adams' negotiated loans with the Netherlands (1781) that had funded the war; early resolutions of the Continental Congress; and George Washington's "Newburgh Address" (1783) to the unpaid officers of the Continental Army, which succeeded in quelling an imminent rebellion and in assuring them "that a country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude." Printed in first in Philadelphia, other editions of this pamphlet appeared



during the year in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, and England. *Connecticut Courant* publishers and printers Barzillai Hudson and George Goodwin published this edition in Hartford in July 1783.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JAMES MADISON, OLIVER ELLSWORTH]. *Address and Recommendations to the States, by the United States in Congress Assembled.* [Philadelphia: 1783; Re-printed, Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1783]. First Hartford edition. #24322

#### Hamilton's First Mature Political Publication: A Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York, on the Politics of the Times, in Consequence of the Peace

In this pamphlet, Hamilton articulates an early incarnation of the Federalist creed, including compliance with the 1783 peace treaty with Britain, an end to attacks on Tories and Tory property, and the submission of the states to the central authority of the United States. This was Hamilton's third political tract, and the first of his mature writings on policy.

Samuel Loudon of New York first published this pamphlet in January 1784, and it soon appeared in editions published in Boston, Newport, and Philadelphia. An edition by Robert Bell in Philadelphia appeared by January 24. Hamilton followed this pamphlet with *A Second Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York. Containing Remarks on Mentor's Reply*, published in April 1784.

"Nothing is more common than for a free people, in times of heat and violence, to gratify momentary passions, by letting into the government, principles and precedents which afterwards prove fatal to themselves.... The dangerous consequences of this power are manifest."

"Make it the interest of those citizens, who, during the revolution, were opposed to us to be friends to the new government, by affording them not only protection, but a participation in its privileges, and they will undoubtedly become its friends."

"Were the people of America, with one voice, to ask, What shall we do to perpetuate our liberties and secure our happiness? The answer would be, 'govern well' and you have nothing to fear either from internal disaffection or external hostility. Abuse not the power you possess, and you need never apprehend its diminution or loss."



[ALEXANDER HAMILTON], *A Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York, on the Politics of the Times, in Consequence of the Peace.* Pamphlet. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1784. Modern green half morocco and cloth, spine gilt. Following Hamilton's letter, this impression also contains *Letters on the stage* (pp13-15), and a list of books (p16), added by Robert Bell, which may indicate this copy is a Bell second edition. #24313

### Hamilton Asserts Tax Rights Under the Articles of Confederation, in *American Museum* Magazine that also reprints Paine's *Common Sense*

Hamilton's speech in the New York Assembly on February 15, 1787, "On an Act Granting to Congress Certain Imposts and Duties" demonstrates his rhetorical and negotiation skills. At first voicing sympathy with the delegates' concerns about consequences of giving Congress the power to enact an impost law, he then asserts that Congress already has authority to tax without needing approval from the states, and concludes that the structure of the Congress prevents tyranny. More importantly, this shows the degree to which Hamilton was already planning for a stronger government.

The June issue publishes approximately the latter two thirds of Hamilton's speech on pp. 514-526. The first third "went to obviate an objection raised against granting the impost to congress, viz. that the measure was inconsistent with the constitution of the state. The printer is sorry he cannot entertain his readers with this party, as it has not been published." (p514)

"[I] return to the examination of the question, how far the power, proposed to be conferred upon congress, would be dangerous to the liberty of the people? And here I ask, "Whence can this danger arise? The members of Congress are annually chosen by the several legislatures. They are removable at any moment at the pleasure of those Colonel Hamilton's Speech in the affembly of New York, on the 18th of February, 1787, when the Inpost was under Consideration.

The beginning of this fpeech went to obviate an objection raifed against granting the impost to congress, viz. that the measure was inconfistent with the constitution of the state. The printer is forry he cannot entertain his readers with this part, as it has not been published. After a long and eloquent discussion of that point, col. H. proceeded as follows:]

**FLATTERING** myfelf it will appear to the committee that the confiitution at leaft offers us no impediment, I fhall proceed to other topics of objection. The next that prefents itfelf, is a fuppofed danger to liberty, from grant-

legislatures. They come together with different habits, prejudices, and interests. They are, in fact, continually changing. How is it possible for a body so composed, to be formidable to the liberties of states, several of which are large empires in themselves?" (p515-516)

The New York Assembly rejected the impost tax by a vote of 36 to 21. An observer remarked that it "*was strangled by a band of mutes (alluding to the Turkish messengers of fate)*" as those opposed "*made no attempt to justify their votes by arguments, or to invalidate the cogent ones alleged in favour of the measure by col. Hamilton.*"

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* is printed in full, in three installments, in January, February and March.

The May issue contains George Washington's June 18, 1783 Circular Letter to the States at the end of the Revolutionary War, "The Constitution of the Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons," and the "Constitution of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, Unlawfully Held in Bondage..." There is also much by or about Benjamin Franklin.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. *The American Museum, or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, Prose and Poetical*. Magazine, January to June, 1787, Philadelphia: Mathew Carey. With ownership signature of Joseph Bloomfield, the fourth Governor of New Jersey, on the title pages of the February, March, and April issues. First editions. **#24410** 

#### Hamilton Discusses the Estate of Declaration-Signer Philip Livingston

"In permitting ourselves to be included in this troublesome and unprofitable business both Brockholst and myself have yielded to the solicitations of our colleagues. A suit has lately been brought against us for the executor of the trust by some of the Creditors and it is our intention to bring matters forward as soon as possible to have the direction of the Chancery for our guide and sanction.

"Having stated this much My Dear Sir, I am only to assure you that it is my fixed resolution to <u>prevent</u> all unnecessary delay and to get rid of the burthen of the trust in the most expeditious manner consistent with our safety. I am persuaded that the interested Gentlemen associated with us are in the same disposition. They see clearly that this is the only course to be pursued and that to take a different would be to <u>sport reputation</u> and <u>invite censure</u> to no purpose."

When Philip Livingston died in 1778, his estate had insufficient capital to meet his debts, and the New York legislature passed an act naming new trustees after the original executors renounced the position. After the death of his son and heir, the remaining trustees appointed

Hamilton, Henry Brockholst Livingston, and two of Philip Livingston's sons-in-law as administrators. In March 1792, the New York legislature removed Hamilton, by then U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, from responsibility for administering Philip Livingston's estate. It would take years to complete the settlement of the estate.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Autograph Letter Signed, to [William Livingston], December 15, 1788, New York, New York. 3 pp. #27212

prefent fuch frat a general view of the fulgert as well answer the pulp as they cannot experite and as achenes attending the fand by adviseable . I have thought i I have thought it property myfelf to make the flatement to you that you may know what is to be depended when and may the better judge of the utility of a furt on your parts. Theman with great withis Mattachmen Itu, M. New York Dec. 15. 1788 Adamillo

## The Founding, Cabinet Battles, and Federalist Era



#### Alexander Hamilton, Jr.'s Copy of The Federalist Papers

"it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country to decide, by their conduct and example, the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force."

The *Federalist* essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay to garner support for the ratification of the Constitution were initially published individually in New York newspapers under the collective pseudonym "Publius." The first thirty-six essays of the *Federalist* were re-published in book form in March 1788. The remaining forty-nine essays, together with the text of the Constitution, came out that May. Upon its publication, George Washington noted to Hamilton that the essays would "merit the Notice of Posterity.... in it are candidly and ably discussed the principles of freedom and the topics of government, which will always be interesting to mankind" (Washington, August 28, 1788). Thomas Jefferson, a constant critic of Federalism, called *The Federalist* "the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written."

#### Excerpts:

"A dangerous ambition more often lurks behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people than under the forbidden appearance of zeal for the firmness and efficiency of government. History will teach us that the former has been found a much more certain road to the introduction of despotism than the latter, and that of those men who have overturned the liberties of republics, the greatest number have begun their career by paying an obsequious court to the people; commencing demagogues, and ending tyrants." (Hamilton, Federalist No. 1)

"This intelligent people perceived and regretted these defects. Still continuing no less attached to union than enamored of liberty, they observed the danger which immediately threatened the former and more remotely the latter; and being pursuaded that ample security for both could only be found in a national government more wisely framed...." (Jay, Federalist No. 2)

"Safety from external danger is the most powerful director of national conduct. Even the ardent love of liberty will, after a time, give way to its dictates. The violent destruction of life and property incident to war...will compel nations the most attached to liberty to resort for repose and security to institutions which have a tendency to destroy their civil and political rights. To be more safe, they at length become willing to run the risk of being less free." (Hamilton, Federalist No. 8)

"If the federal government should overpass the just bounds of its authority and make a tyrannical use of its powers, the people, whose creature it is, must appeal to the standard they have formed, and take such measures to redress the injury done to the Constitution as the exigency may suggest and prudence justify." (Hamilton, Federalist No. 33)

"With so effectual a weapon in their hands as the exclusive power of regulating elections ... a combination of a few such men, in a few of the most considerable States, where the temptation will always be the strongest, might accomplish the destruction of the Union, by seizing the opportunity of some casual dissatisfaction among the people." (Hamilton, Federalist No. 59)

"The ingredients which constitute energy in the Executive are, first, unity; secondly, duration; thirdly, an adequate provision for its support; fourthly, competent powers. The ingredients which constitute safety in the republican sense are, first, a due dependence on the people, secondly, a due responsibility." (Hamilton, Federalist No. 70)

"The deliberations of all collective bodies must necessarily be a compound, as well of the errors and prejudices, as of the good sense and wisdom, of the individuals of whom they are composed.... How can perfection spring from such materials?" (Hamilton, Federalist No. 85)

Alexander Hamilton Jr. heavily annotated this copy of the Federalist, adding comments like *"True as the gospel."* Guarding his father's memory, the son Hamilton takes exception to the attribution of more than a dozen of the essays to James Madison rather than to his father.

Mex: Hamilton for FEDERALIST, THE NEW CONSTITUTION, WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1788 11 11 1101 MR. HAMILTON, MR. MADISON, AND MR. JAY : WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THE LETTERS OF PACIFICUS AND HELVIDIUS ON THE in nor ro. all PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY OF 1793; ALSO, DESINAL ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, AND THE bendag Nov: 30" 1839. Delat in Crist. Court - Home J. Thompson CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE AMENDMENTS MADE THERETO. A NEW EDITION. THE BY MR. MADINON CORRECTED BY HIMSEL lare cree 8

When New York's ratification convention met in June, 1788, Hamilton and 19 other Federalist delegates faced 47 Anti-Federalist delegates. Without New York, the new government would fail, perhaps splitting into separate confederacies. Hamilton painstakingly presented the convention with his case for ratification over the next month, hammering away at anti-Federalist arguments. Virginia's ratification provided a crucial boost on June 25. Ultimately, Hamilton was persuasive, and the Constitution was ratified in New York on July 26.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JAMES MADISON, AND JOHN JAY. *The Federalist, on the New Constitution, Written in the Year 1788, by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay: With an Appendix...* Hallowell, Maine: Glazier, Masters & Smith, 1837. *#*25174



George Washington, Gilbert Stuart, 1796 National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

# George Washington's *"Justice & the Public Good"* Letter. A Month Before His Inauguration, he Sets the Standard for All Future Presidents. Newly discovered, and one of the best in private hands, from the very beginning of the nation.

The still unofficial president-elect George Washington writes about his determination to go into the presidency ready to judge purely the qualifications of every appointment. Washington referred to the standard of *"justice & the public good"* only a few times in his writings. The present letter is the only example we know of that has ever reached the market containing this crucial sentiment that infused every aspect of his presidency.

### "I will go into Office totally free from pre-engagements of every nature whatsoever, and in recommendations to appointments will make justice & the public good, my sole objects."

On February 4, 1789, sixty-nine electors cast ballots for the president and vice president. The state legislatures counted their votes and sent the tallies to the new federal Congress, expected to convene at Federal Hall in New York on March 4, 1789. Although both houses met

on that date, they did not achieve a quorum in the House of Representatives until April 1, nor in the Senate until April 6. On the latter day, the Senate, in the presence of the House, counted the electoral votes. Each of the electors gave one vote to George Washington, making his election to the presidency unanimous. John Adams received thirty-four votes, making him vice president. The Senate appointed Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson to notify Washington.

Well before the official counting, Washington had received reports making it clear that his election was certain and had begun making preparations. Charles Thomson arrived at Mount Vernon on April 14 with official notice of Washington's election. Two days later, Washington left for New York City, the temporary capital of the fledgling nation. He arrived amid great fanfare on April 23 and was sworn in as president on April 30 at Federal Hall.



Mount Vernon Mar 15th 1789

#### **Complete Transcript Showing Washington's Edits**

Sir,

Yesterdays Post brought me your favor of the 7th — In answer to it, I will briefly observe that if the Administration of the New Government should inevitably fall upon me — that I will go into Office totally free from pre-engagements of every nature whatsoever, and shall in recommendations to appointments ^will^ make justice & the public good, my sole objects. Resolving to pursue this rule, invariably — I shall add nothing more on the subject of your application untill the time shall arrive when the merits ^and justice^ of every claimt. shall be most emphatically attended to so far as the matter depends upon *`appear`—when, so far as the matter depends upon me, the principles above mentioned shall to the best of my judgment have their full operation.* 

I am Sir, Your Most Obedt and most Hble Ser. Go: Washington

#### [Note on verso in Washington's hand:] *To Doctr Fred: Phile / 15th Mar. 1789*

Background

Dr. Frederick Phile had written to Washington on March 7, 1789. "I therefore presume to solicit your Excellency to be pleased to nominate me as Naval Officer for the Port of Philadelphia, which Office I have filled (I flatter myself with reputation) either as a Deputy, or Principal, upwards of thirty-five Years." He continued with the details of his service and his current duties and closed with a request for Washington's forgiveness for "my troubling you with so long a letter on this Subject."

In Philadelphia, Phile was rumored to be unfit because of habitual drunkenness, but many prominent supporters refuted the charge. Rev. Henry Helmuth wrote, "Doctor Phile is almost my nearest Neighbour and I can with a good Conscience testifie that I never have found him in the least given to strong Licquor and am afraid this injurious Report has lately been raised by some people through selfish Views — He has formerly practised Physick but by being placed in the Office he now wishes to retain, he has entirely lost his former Practise, He has a large Family and at the same time the Misfortune of having a Daughter who is entirely deprived of her sight, which would heighten the Misery of a much esteemed and beloved family if he should lose his office."

Richard Henry Lee wrote that he had been informed by several correspondents that the charge was "a gross falsehood" and "an infamous slander." Lee believed that Washington was "much too well acquainted with human nature" not to understand that "the right discharge of a man's duty where it produces hurt to wrong-doers, seldom fails to excite rancorous and violent opposition to the person who does his duty."

Frederick Phile (ca. 1736–1793) was a physician and deputy naval officer for the port of Philadelphia. In 1760, he married Elizabeth Parrish; they had ten children. He served as surgeon of the 5th Pennsylvania Regiment from 1776 to 1777. When the British occupied Philadelphia (Sept. 1777–June 1778), he and his family fled to Lancaster. Phile was naval officer for the port of Philadelphia from 1777 to 1789 under the state government.

In August 1789, President Washington did appoint Phile as the naval officer for Philadelphia under the federal government, a position he honorably held until his death in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Autograph Letter Signed, to Frederick Phile, March 15, 1789, Mount Vernon, Virginia. Washington's retained draft, written on the blank leaf of Phile's letter to him, as evidenced by the partial address on verso: "[George] Washington / [Moun]t Vernon." 1 p., 8 x 6<sup>1</sup>/4 in. #27734

### Washington's First Inaugural Address, in The Herald of Freedom

The first page contains news of the Inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States, and prints his full inaugural address.

#### **Excerpt from editorial introduction:**

"His Excellency was escorted from his house, by a troop of Light Dragoons, and the Legion under the command of Col. Lewis, attended by a Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to Federal Hall...when the oat prescribed by the constitution was administered to him by the Chancellor of this States, who then said - 'Long live GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States,' which was answered by an immense concourse of citizens..."

#### Excerpt from Washington's Speech (actually written by James Madison)

"By the article establishing the executive department it is made the duty of the President 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given.... **I behold the surest pledges** that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no

separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world."

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity...since **the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.**"



*The Herald of Freedom and the Federal Advertiser*, May 8, 1789. Boston: Edmund Freeman and Loring Andrews. 4 pp. #27517

### President Washington Transmits Act Founding the Treasury Department – on the Day he Nominates and the Senate Confirms Hamilton as Secretary

"I do myself the honor to transmit to your Excellency the duplicates of two Acts – one for establishing the Treasury department – and one for registering and clearing vessels, regulating the coasting trade, and for other purposes."

To ensure the legal unity of the new nation, Congress made certain that each state had copies of any acts that it passed. On September 15, 1789, Congress made it the duty of the Secretary of State to send two copies of each act of Congress to the executive authority of each state. Prior to that Act, President George Washington himself sent these copies to the governors of each state.

On September 2, 1789, the First Congress of the United States passed "*An Act to establish the Treasury Department*."

On the date of this transmittal letter, September 11, President Washington, applying his "justice and public good" criteria. also submitted his first cabinet nominations of Alexander Hamilton as the first Secretary of the Treasury and Henry Knox as the first Secretary of War-and the Senate approved Hamilton's nomination—and Hamilton took the oath of office-and Congress passed an act that set Hamilton's annual salary at \$3,500. A busy Friday!

The second Act mentioned here, "for Registering and Clearing Vessels, Regulating the Coasting Trade, and for other purposes," was passed on September 1. It established procedures for granting licenses to trade among the states, and collecting fines and forfeitures for offenses against trade regulations. This process would fall under Hamilton's purview.

United States Top die have the honor to be With que conde our Ecellen His Ecoller

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Letter Signed, to Governor Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, September 11, 1789, New York, NY. #24853.99

### On 11<sup>th</sup> Day as Secretary of Treasury, Hamilton Takes Initial Steps to Create a National Banking System!

*(circular)* 

Hamilton orders Customs Collectors to accept Bank of North America and Bank of New York notes as the equivalent of gold or silver, and hints at forthcoming procedures to guard against counterfeit currency.

#### **Complete transcript**

Treasury Department New York 22<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1789

In consequence of arrangements lately taken with the Bank of North America, and the Bank of New York for the accommodation of the Government, I am to inform you that it is my desire that the Notes of those Banks payable either on demand, or at no longer period than Thirty days after their respective dates should be received in payment of the duties, as equivalent to Gold and Silver, and that they will be received from you as such by the Treasurer of the United States. This measure besides the immediate accommodation to which it has reference, will facilitate remittances from the several States, without drawing away their Specie; an advantage in every view important. I shall cause you shortly to be furnished with such indications of the genuine Notes, as will <2> serve to guard you against Counterfeits, and shall direct the manner of remitting them. In the mean time, and untill further orders, you will please to receive them; transmitting to me a weekly amount of your receipts and payments.

The Treasurer of the United States will probably have occasion to draw upon you for part of the compensation of the Members of Congress from your State. These drafts you will also receive in payment of the duties, or in Exchange for any Specie arising from them, which shall have come to your hands.

I am Sir / Your Obedt Servt Alex<sup><u>r</u></sup> Hamilton

Stephen Smith, Esq<sup>r</sup> / Collector of the Customs for Machias /Massachusetts

Mun York 22: Sept 1:5789. consiguence of an angements lately takes with the Bank of Morth america, and the Bank of York for the accommodation of the Government, I an to inform you that it is my desire that the notes of these Banks payable wither on demand, or at no longer period than Thirty days after their respective dates should be received in payment of the duties, as eque walint to Gold and Silver, and that they will be received from you as such by the Treasurer of the United States . This measure busides the immediate accommodation to which it has references, will facilitate territtances from the several States, without drawing away their Specie, an advantage in every view impor land . - I shall cause you shorty to be furnished with such indications of the genuine Rotes, as will

Hamilton had written to Thomas Willing, the president of the Bank of North America, on September 13, 1789, just two days after his appointment by Washington, asking for a \$50,000 loan to meet "the present exigency." The Bank of New York had already advanced the nation \$20,000 "for another purpose," and agreed to lend \$30,000.

The following day, Hamilton began sending a flurry of circular letters to the Collectors of Customs, seeking information and issuing instructions. Three weeks after sending this circular letter, on Oct. 14, Hamilton sent the promised follow-up letter with details for guarding against counterfeits and the procedures for remitting them to Samuel Meredith, Treasurer of the United States.

The Bank of North America served as the country's first de facto central bank. Chartered by the

Congress of the Confederation on May 26, 1781, based upon a plan proposed by Hamilton and presented by US Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris. It opened in Philadelphia on January 7, 1782 Although it was necessary to serve the general war effort, the Pennsylvania government objected to its privileges and reincorporated it under state law, making it unsuitable as a national bank under the federal Constitution. At Hamilton's urging, Congress chartered a new First Bank of the United States, in 1791.

The Bank of New York was founded by Hamilton in 1784, and re-chartered under the Federal government in 1791. Later loans contributed to the construction of the Erie Canal and the New York City subway system. It is still in business, mainly overseeing commercial banking and

trust and investment services for other banks, corporations, institutions, and high-net-worth individuals. In 2006, it swapped its retail and middle-market banking business for JPMorgan Chase's corporate trust business, and acquired the Mellon Financial Corporation of Pittsburgh.

Stephen Smith (1739-1806) became a privateer and militia leader in Machias, Massachusetts (now Maine) in the early 1770s. In 1776, the **Provincial Congress appointed** Smith as truck master to the Native Americans to ensure their support. In August 1777, Smith led local militia and Native American allies in preventing the British from capturing the town. In August 1789, before the Treasury Department was fully established, President George Washington appointed Smith as the Collector of Customs at Machias.

serve to guard you against Counterfects, and shall direct the manner of temetting them In the mean time, and untill further Orders, you will please to receive them transmitting to me a weekly amount of your receipts and payments . The Treasurer of the United States will probably have occaseon to draw upon you for part of the compensation of the Members of Congress from These drafts you will also recei hayment of the duties, or in Exchange for any Specie arising from them, which have come to y hands am Sir Hephen Smith 639 Collector of the Customs Massachusetts

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Circular Letter Signed as Secretary of the Treasury, "*Alexr Hamilton/Secy of the Treasury*," to Stephen Smith, Collector of the Customs for the Port of Machias, Massachusetts [Maine], September 22, 1789, New York, NY. 2 pp. #26524

#### Hamilton's First Report to Congress as Secretary of the Treasury

Only six days after Hamilton's appointment as Treasury Secretary, Congress requested a report on the nation's finances. Hamilton's response, dated September 19, is published here with the first part of "Schedule No. 1" from his 1789 Report.

"Schedule No. 1, contains an estimate of the total expenditure of the civil list, for the present year, amounting to two hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars....

"That the schedule No. 2, contains an estimate of the total expenditure for the department of war, for the present year, amounting to one hundred, sixty-three thousand and seventy eight dollars...

"That the schedule No. 3, contains a statement of the amount of warrants issued by the late board of treasury, which remain unsatisfied, being 189,906 dollars, and 38 cents...

"All which is humbly submitted, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury." (p3/c3)

Congress responded to this initial 1789 report, Hamilton's first as Treasury Secretary, by requesting a more complete report. in January 1790, Hamilton issued his *First Report on Public Credit*.

Also includes Benjamin Franklin's Letter to John Alleyne on marriage: "I shall but make small use of the old man's privilege, that of giving advice to younger friends.— Treat your wife always with respect; it will procure respect to you, not from her only, but from all that observe it.... Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy!" (p1);

Summary of the "New Constitution of France" (p2-3). Continuations of *The Right Constitution of a Commonwealth Examined*, and *An Essay on Free Trade and Finances*. And reprint of an article from Thomas Greenleaf's Weekly Register of Sept. 24, containing a disavowed resolution of Representative Burke accusing the publishers or editors of the *Daily Advertiser*, *Gazette of the United States* and *Congressional Register* of intentionally misrepresented the Congressional debates. Fenno answers the charges.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ET AL.] *Gazette of the United States*, October 10, 1789. New York: John Fenno. Includes Hamilton's *Report on the Estimate of the Expenditure for the Civil List and the War Department to the End of the Present Year*. #22871

This collection includes many Hamilton and Washington related issues of *The Gazette of the United States*—often considered the most significant political newspaper of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. John Fenno established *The Gazette* in New York City in 1789as a pro-Federalist voice and followed the government to its temporary capital in Philadelphia in 1790. This newspaper often first printed early Acts of Congress and Presidential pronouncements.

Gazette of the United

#### Hamilton Streamlines Customs Collectors Reports

On October 2, Hamilton observed, "As in the first establishment of Revenue systems, imperfections and inconveniencies will naturally present themselves in practice, which could not have been foreseen in their formation; it is of the greatest moment, that the best information should be collected for the use of the Government as to the operation of those, which may have been adopted."

This letter perfectly illustrates Hamilton's process of offering clarifications and revisions as soon as he had had an opportunity to view the procedures in action. Here, only 18 days later, he streamlined the form of the monthly returns from the Collectors called for on Oct. 2, and addressed some sloppiness in their preparation of ships' manifests. He was particularly concerned that an unscrupulous ship's master might alter the manifest after it was approved at the customs house. He also addressed for the benefit of all of the collectors some questions that collectors had sent him.

"On reflection I have concluded to Substitute the form herewith transmitted for the monthly returns required in mine of the 2<sup>d</sup> October Instant, as less troublesome than the one there proposed: But I still mean that the quarterly returns should be conformable to the model already furnished. I shall expect as soon as may be a return of all the past, according to that model up to the last of September inclusively; and thenceforth in every subsequent month for the preceeding month, that is to say in November for October &<sup>ca</sup>"

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Manuscript Letter Signed, Circular Letter to Stephen Smith, Collector of the Customs for the Port of Machias, Massachusetts [Maine], October 20, 1789, New York, New York. 4 pp. #26469

legislative relief can be obtained the officers of the buston must govern thempelves accordingly -I am fir your obt Servet o & Sanulles July of the realur To Stephen Fmith Esgr Collector of the Customs for the Port of Machias

## First Printing of the Acts of the First Session of the U.S. Senate – Launching the United States of America, and Creating the Bill of Rights.

### Constitution Signer, Senator and Massachusetts Governor Caleb Strong's Copy

From March 4 through Sept. 29, 1789, the first Federal Congress met at Federal Hall in New York. The start of the session finds the official tally of electoral votes in the first presidential election, and pages 22-25 narrate the events surrounding Washington's inauguration and transcribes the text of his address, before going on to full printings of the crucial acts of the first session of the first Federal Congress, including the Judiciary Bill, the Treasury Bill, and many Acts relating to finance and taxation.

- June 1: An act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths
- July 4: An Act for laying a Duty on Goods, Wares, and Merchandises
- July 20: An Act imposing Duties on Tonnage
- July 27: Department of State established, originally named Dept. of Foreign Affairs
- July 31: Regulation of the Collection of Duties on Tonnage and Merchandise
- Aug. 5: An Act for settling the Accounts between the United States and individual States
- Aug. 7: Department of War was established
- Aug 7: An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory North-west of the river Ohio
- Aug 7: An Act for the establishment and support of Lighthouses, Beacons, Buoys...
- Aug 20: An Act providing for the Expenses which may attend Negotiations or Treaties with the Indian Tribes, and the appointment of Commissioners for managing the same.
- Sept. 1: An Act for Registering and Clearing Vessels, Regulating the Coasting Trade...
- Sept. 2: United States Department of the Treasury established
- Sept. 24: Judiciary Act of 1789



Of particular interest are two versions of what would become the Bill of Rights. James Madison, who represented Virginia in the House during the First Congress, proposed a series of amendments on June 8, 1789. After a long summer of debate, the House approved seventeen proposed amendments which it sent to the Senate for consideration (pp. 103-107).

The Senate winnowed those down, combining articles III and IV, which covered the freedom of religion, speech and press, into one article (today's First Amendment) while removing the original fifth article's conscientious objector clause concerning the right to bear arms (today's Second Amendment). On September 25, the Senate passed twelve proposed amendments.

On September 26, both houses approved the final text of twelve proposed amendments, printed at the conclusion of the Journal (pp. 163-164). It was submitted to state legislatures on September 28, 1789.

The first two articles were not ratified by three-quarters of the states, so the third article guaranteeing freedom of religion, speech, and press became the First Amendment; the fourth article guaranteeing the right to bear arms appears as the Second Amendment; and so on.

**Caleb Strong** was an active Revolutionary War patriot, assisted in drafting Massachusetts' 1779 Constitution, was a state senator and on the Governor's Council, signer of the U.S. Constitution, United States Senator (where he played a leading role in the passage of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which established the federal court system, and the 11th Amendment), and governor of Massachusetts from 1800 - 1807 and 1812-1816.

He moderated harsh political conflicts between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans in Massachusetts, though pushed the state in a more Federalist direction as the rest of the country became more Republican. He retired after losing the 1807 governor's race but was again elected governor as an opponent of the War of 1812. He refused to place his state militia under the command of the U.S. army command and in 1814 sought to engage the governor of Nova Scotia in peace talks. The state and federal governments' weak defense of Massachusetts' northern frontier contributed to the move for Maine to separate; it became a separate state in 1820.

Like Hamilton in New York, in Massachusetts Strong was a leading Federalist in the debates over ratification. In the first United States Senate, he, William Paterson of New Jersey, and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut were responsible for the drafting of the bill that became the Judiciary Act.

[FIRST FEDERAL CONGRESS. BILL OF RIGHTS]. Journal of the First Session of the Senate of the United States of America, Begun and Held at the City of New-York, March 4th 1789. New York: Printed by Thomas Greenleaf, 1789. Folio (342 x 215, uncut. Original blue boards, front board signed by Caleb Strong and titled in his hand "Journal of the Senate | of the U.S. | at its first session | March 1789." #27342.99

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES distion of the Duties impoled by Law on the Tonnage of Velleis, and on Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes, importse United States." ILD, That this Bill be commuted to Mr. Read, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Dalton. con reading of the Bill, entit-nd an A&, entitled, an A& for ulating the Coalting Trade, and this Bill be committed to Mr. Read, Ms. Morry, and The Senate proceeded to confider the Refolve of the Houle of prefentatives, of the 25th inflant, to wit : " In the Houfe of Reprefentatives of the United Sta MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1789. The SENATE allembled, Prefent as on Saturday, id, be the Committee on the part Like Senate (Rana and That the Secretary do carry a Mellage to the House (Rana ran, That the Secretary do carry a Mellage to the House Ranavran, That Mr. Johafon, and Mr. Jard, be a Committee an up be appointed the part of the Houle of Reprintative, to van on the Profi-ted and the secretary of the Comparison from the Comparison of the Houle of Reprintative, to van on the Profi-ted and the secretary of the Comparison from the Comparison of the Houle of Reprintative, to van on the Profit Committee as may be appointe refentatives, to wait on the Pref acquaint him that Congrefs hav inflant. the House of Reperformance, we want on our con-nied Saires, and sequents, that that Congrefs have receils on the uph milant. That the Secrementy do carry a Mellage to the Houfe we, and reput concurrence. Proceedid to confider the Refolve of the Houfe of of the path inflant, to wit : " In the HOUSE of REFEISEWATIVE, "Thurfiday the agth September, " RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Reprefenatives " United States of America in Congrefit alienbled, That the Pref in further enabled. That fo much of an AG, entitle regulate the Collection of the Duries imposed by La age of Ships or Vellels, and on Goods, Wares and M aported into the United States," as hath rated

#### The Washingtons, Hamiltons and Friends Party in New York Like It's 1790

This engraving depicts a reception at the second presidential mansion in New York, the Alexander Macomb House. On January 1, 1790, "the principal gentlemen of the metropolis" waited upon the President at noon. That evening, Mrs. Washington held her reception, "but on no previous occasion had one been graced with so much respectability and elegance." It was "not the custom for visitors of the President to sit," but on this occasion, after the guests were seated, servants brought tea and coffee and plum and plain cake. When the clock struck 9 p.m., Mrs. Washington said to the visitors, "The General always retires at nine, and I usually precede him," at which point the guests arose, "made their parting salutations," and left.

The president held formal levees, usually for an hour each Tuesday afternoon, with official dinners on Thursdays. On Friday evenings, Martha Washington hosted informal receptions that "respectable" ladies and gentlemen could attend without invitation, to enjoy tea, coffee, lemonade, cake, and ice cream. The First Ladies receptions drew a more diverse group, including political adversaries and individuals from different parts of the government.

Alexander Hamilton is shown fifth from the left, and Eliza Hamilton is second from the left– along with George and Martha Washington, John and Abigail Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, John Jay, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, and other notables.

Lady Washington's Reception. / From the original Picture in the possession of A. T. Stewart, *Esq.* Engraving by Alexander Hay Ritchie, after an 1861 painting by Daniel Huntington looking back on America's founding. New York: Emil Seitz, 1865. Framed to 50 x 40 in. #27943


Key to Lady Washington's Reception



- 1 Mrs. John Adams.
- 2 Mrs. Alexander Hamilton
- 3 John Jay
- 4 John Adams
- 5 Alexander Hamilton
- 6 Henry Laurens7 John Dickinson
- 8 Mrs. Rufus King
- 9 Mrs. Van Rensselaer10 [unidentified]
- 11 Mrs. Genet
- 12 Mrs. Washington
- 13 Nelly Custis



# Hamilton's Report on Public Credit

#### "the debt of the United States...was the price of liberty."

Congress responded to Hamilton's initial September 19, 1789, *Report* with a request for more extensive strategy, including "a proper plan for the support of the public credit." On January 9, 1790, Hamilton responded by delivering his seminal *Report on Public Credit*. It was his first <u>major</u> report as the first Secretary of the Treasury, and one of the greatest American state papers, laying the groundwork to achieve seven key goals: restoring public credit; establishing a sound system of taxation; a national bank; a sound currency; promoting commerce; establishing a liberal immigration policy; and encouraging manufactures.

One of his primary recommendations was the Assumption Plan, counterintuitively calling for the federal assumption of all states' Revolutionary War debts. Foreign powers were owed nearly \$11 million. Americans who had sold food, horses, and supplies to the Army were owed \$43 million. And state governments had accumulated \$25 million in war debts. Hamilton's ambitious plan aimed to draw these creditors and debtors closer to the new federal government by honoring debts in full. Hamilton accordingly urged Congress to assume all war debts and pay off the resulting national debt through a combination of federal taxes and land sales.

This issue of the *Connecticut Courant* is devoted *solely* to printing the *entire* text of Hamilton's public credit report (without tables), effectively making it a broadsheet printing.

"While the observance of that good faith which is the basis of public credit is recommended by the strongest inducements of political expediency, it is enforced by considerations of still greater authority. There are arguments for it, which rest on the immutable principles of moral obligation. And in proportion as the mind is disposed to contemplate, in the order of Providence, an intimate connection between public virtue and public happiness, will be its repugnancy to a violation of those principles." (p1/c1)

"This reflection derives additional strength from the nature of the debt of the United States. It was the price of liberty." (p1/c1)

"To justify and preserve their confidence; to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; to restore landed property to its due value; to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the states; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy. These are the great and invaluable ends to be secured by a proper and adequate provision, at the present period, for the support of public credit." (p1/c2)

"It is agreed on all hands, that that part of the debt which has been contracted abroad, and is denominated the foreign debt, ought to be provided for, according to the precise terms of the contracts relating to it. The discussions which can arise, therefore, will have reference essentially to the domestic part of it, or to that which has been contracted at home. It is to be regretted that there is not the same unanimity of sentiment on this part as on the other."  $(p_1/c_3)$ 

"The Secretary, after mature reflection on this point, entertains a full conviction, that an assumption of the debts of the particular states by the union, and a like provision for them, as for those of the union, will be a measure of sound policy and substantial justice." (p2/c1)

"Persuaded as the Secretary is that the proper funding of the present debt will render it a national blessing, yet he is so far from acceding to the position, in the latitude in which it is sometimes laid down, that 'public debts are public benefits,' a position inviting to prodigality and liable to dangerous abuse, that he ardently wishes to see it incorporated as a

fundamental maxim in the system of public credit of the United States, that the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment. This he reaards as the true secret for rendering public credit immortal. And he presumes that it is difficult to conceive a situation in which there may not be an adherence to the maxim. At least he feels an unfeigned solicitude that this may be attempted by the United States, and that they *may commence their measures* for the establishment of credit with the observance of it."  $(p_4/c_2)$ 

Many Southerners opposed the Assumption Plan, believing that it unfairly penalized the states which had already paid off their debts (such as Virginia), and centralize financial power in the North. Another complaint was that Hamilton's plan was to pay the debts off at par, though speculators had been buying the debt at pennies on the dollar.

Ultimately, in a deal brokered by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, southern legislators agreed to support the Plan in return for locating the permanent national capital on the banks of the Potomac River.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON, First Report on Public Credit, complete text (without the appendix tables) printed in *The Connecticut Courant, and Weekly Intelligencer*, February 4, 1790. Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin. 4 pp. #27102.99

### "Statement of Accounts between the United States and Individual States"

The "Statement of Accounts between the United States and Individual States" illustrates a critical element of Hamilton's financial plan for the United States. The *First Report on Public Cred*it, of which the "Statement" is a part, emphasizes not only the comparative strength of an economic union, but the challenges facing states which might seek to act as independent economic entities. Here, Hamilton's calculations draw particular attention to the benefits that northern states, which still bore a heavy share of the confederation's war debt, stood to gain from assumption.

The other side, page 21 of the *Report,* includes Hamilton closing statements on the need for an energetic central economy. Signed "*Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury*" in type.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON]. Page, removed from *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury… Relative to a provision for the support of the public credit…* New York: Childs and Swaine, 1790. #24022.047

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#### A New York Declaration Signer Writes About a South Carolina Congressman Calling Hamilton a Liar During Assumption Plan Debate

"I have met with a judge Burk from your State, he seems a very inconsistent being the other day in an argument in which he was endeavouring to persuade the Congress to adopt M<sup>r</sup> Hamiltons plan of assuming the State debts, he all of sudden burst forth in a vast heat of Passion and said that M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton when he delivered an oration last year to the Cincinnatis, had reflected on the Militia of S. Carolina, and that he Lyed, that he was a Liar, and repeated it over and over, and wished he was in the gallery to hear him, it is thought he must be out of his head that is the most favourable excuse that can be made for him."

State. the State debte he all I Jaid that M Man Unted on the Militia of S. Car the ally went home the day before yesters in our Vincenelos Kil the Boys a

Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration from New York, writes to his son and namesake Lewis V. Morris IV from New York City. The father was then a member of New York state's Senate, then meeting in New York City while the First Federal Congress was also meeting there.

He tells of an incongruous assault by **Congressman Aedanus Burke of South** Carolina, who in a speech on March 31, 1790, while supporting Alexander Hamilton's Assumption and Funding plan, repeatedly called Hamilton "a liar" for remarks Hamilton made in a speech to the Society of the Cincinnati. Burke considered the remarks offensive to the South Carolina militia, alleging that Hamilton had called the militia the "mere mimickry of soldiery." Burke claimed that Hamilton's comment was "universally understood" to refer to the southern militia. After reviewing the valor of southern soldiers. Several Congressmen made a call of order, and Burke sat down. A

few minutes later, he rose again and said to the audience in the gallery, where he thought Hamilton might be, "I throw the lie in Colonel Hamilton's face."

To avert a duel and to find an "honorable ground of accommodation," Hamilton and Burke appointed six intermediaries (two Senators and four Congressmen) to examine the speeches and letters of Hamilton and Burke on the issue. On April 6, they declared that they were "of Opinion that nothing more is necessary to an accommodation between them, than a right understanding of each other." They recommended that Hamilton send Burke a letter explicitly disavowing any intention of casting a reflection upon militia in general or the militia of South Carolina in particular. Similarly, they recommended that Burke send Hamilton a letter apologizing for "whatever on his part has taken place on the subject offensive to Mr. Hamilton." When they did so, the controversy quietly died away.

LEWIS MORRIS Autograph Letter Signed, to his son, Lewis V. Morris, March 26-April 5, 1790, New York, N. Y. 3 pp. #26235

## Hamilton Signs Ship's Registration for Schooner Robert of Baltimore

"And the said subscribing owner having consented and agreed to the above description and measurement, and having caused sufficient security to be given as is required by the said act, the said Schooner Robert has been duly registered at the port of Baltimore in the State of Maryland."

On September 1, 1789, Congress passed "An Act for Registering and Clearing Vessels, Regulating the Coasting Trade, and for other purposes." Designed to protect American shipyards, domestic shipping, and American merchant sailors, the act limited American domestic maritime trade to American-owned ships under the command of an American master. The act also specified the language of this certificate and the oath that the owner(s) had to make, declaring that he or they were American citizens, and that "no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any part or interest in the said ship or vessel."

According to the provisions of the act, Hamilton signed blank certificates in New York and sent them to the collectors of the various ports of the new nation, where the local collector of the port filled them out and signed them. If a ship met the necessary requirements, it would "be deemed and taken to be, and denominated, a ship or vessel of the United States," with all the benefits of any U.S. laws. Baltimore collector Otho H. Williams filled out and signed

N purfuance of an act of the Congress of the United States of America. entitled, " An act for registering and clearing veffels, regulating the coafting trade, and for other purposes," Within Sallerson, of Baltimore Jonn, having taken and fubfcribed the outh required by the faid act, and having snoon that he is \_ 4 gramelli fole owner of the fhip or veffel, called the Robert Galtimone whereof John Higgins is at prefent mafter, and is a citizen of the United States, and that the faid ship or veffel was built in the State of Sirginia 2in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty Isix Altilliams abort Ballard Surveyor of this diffrict having certified to us that Collector ~ the faid thip or vefici has one deck and mo malt S that her length is Fifty one fiel \_\_\_\_\_ her breadth sixteen feet six Incho her depth Twee feet nine Inches and that the measures Forty one tons; that the is sharp built, square storinga has negallery?\_\_\_\_\_ and 10 And the faid fubfcribing owner having confented and agreed to the above defcription and measurement, and having caused fufficient fecurity to be given as is required by the faid act, the faid Schooner Robert \_\_\_\_ has been duly registered at the port of Baltomore on the States of Atary land GIVEN under our Hands and Seals of Office, at the Port of Baltinu this with day of Aprila \_\_\_\_\_ in the year on thouland feven hundred and minely

this form for the Schooner Robert, owned by Baltimore merchant William Patterson.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Partially Printed Document Signed, Registration of Schooner *Robert*, April 10, 1790, Baltimore, Maryland. Form printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine in New York. 1 p. #27521

We are not aware of any other Hamilton-signed registration forms having come on the market.

# Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress Suspending 1789 "Collections Law"

Jefferson signs and certifies (*"true copy / Th: Jefferson Secy of state"*) the suspension of a controversial section in a July 1789 Revenue Act passed by Congress prior to Hamilton's appointment as Treasury Secretary. This section, also called the "Collections Law," discouraged trade along the Potomac River. Virginia merchants requested its repeal. Hamilton, as Treasury Secretary and an advocate of uniform federal regulations, supported the suspension and the law's ultimate repeal.

The "Collection Law," comprising part of the July 1789 Revenue Act, required all vessels bound for the Potomac River to deposit a cargo manifest. Merchants and citizens of Alexandria and Dumfries, Virginia, petitioned the House to repeal the provision.

As Charles Lee, collector for the port of Alexandria, Va., explained to Alexander Hamilton in a letter of November 21, 1789, it was widely believed that the Collections Law "Was conceived to have a most injurious effect in diverting foreign commerce.... It was moreover thought partial as a similar regulation was not made as to other parts of America."

On May 3, 1790, Alexandria merchants petitioned for a full repeal of the Collections Law. Its repeal was signed into law by George Washington on August 4, 1790.

## Acts of Congress signed by Jefferson as Secretary of State

After September 15, 1789, the Secretary of State was required by Congress to sign two copies of each Act for distribution to each state. (Smaller format unsigned copies were sent to U.S. Senators and Representatives.) These Acts are all "signed in type" by President George Washington, as Speaker of the House Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, and John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate.

Though Rhode Island would not ratify the Constitution and become the 13<sup>th</sup> state until May 29, 1790, Jefferson appears to have forwarded copies of Acts to them as well, making it likely that he signed only 26 copies of this Act. Our extensive search of institutional and market records did not locate any other Jefferson-signed copies of this Act.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act further to suspend Part of an Act, entitled, An Act to regulate the Collection of the Duties imposed by Law on the Tonnage of Ships or Vessels, and on Goods, Wares and* 



*Merchandizes imported into the United States, and to amend the said Act, April 15, 1790.* [New York: Childs and Swaine]. #23979

# The Residence Act: Jefferson's Quid pro Quo for Accepting Hamilton's Plan

"A district of territory...to be located as hereafter directed on the river Potomac...is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the government of the United States...."

While his *First Report* was debated in Congress, Hamilton became more determined to place the new nation on firm financial ground. Jefferson, Hamilton's greatest ideological rival in Washington's cabinet, resolutely disputed Hamilton's proposals. Jefferson feared that the Assumption Plan would make the federal government too powerful, would dangerously cement the centralization of financial power in the Northeast, and penalize Virginia and other Southern states that had already paid most of their war debts.

On or around June 20, 1790, Jefferson invited Hamilton and Congressman James Madison to a private dinner. In "the room where it happened," they broke the deadlock with the Compromise of 1790. In return for enough southern votes to pass Hamilton's financial plan, he would get enough northern votes to move the national capital south to a site on the banks of the Potomac River, and to reduce Virginia's net payments to the government to zero. The Residence Act passed first, on July 16, 1790. Congress resumed consideration of the Assumption Plan, passing the Funding Act, the first part, on August 2. President Washington signed it on the 4th.

The Residence Act provided that Congress would temporarily move from New York to Philadelphia in December 1790, then to the permanent capital in 1800.

The issue of the *Gazette* offered here also includes: A lengthy Committee of the Whole "Sketch of the Debate on the Residence Bill"; A report noting that President Washington had informed Congress of his consent to the bill; An announcement that "*The Resolution for assuming the State debts was agreed to in the Senate by a majority of two*"; House debates over the "Post Office Bill" and postage on newspapers; a lengthy report from Marseilles: "*Citizens...attacked the citadel of that place*" (Fort St. Jean) on May 2, demanding its surrender. The soldiers responded with cannon shot, and the citizens mounted another attack; 417 people were reported killed, including the fort's commander.



*Gazette of the United States.* July 17, 1790. New York: John Fenno. Includes complete early printing of "An Act for Establishing the Temporary and Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States," passed on July 16, 1790. #30022.31

## Hamilton's Assumption Plan, Passed in Four Acts of Congress

"Justice and the support of the public credit require, that provision should be made for fulfilling the engagements of the United States, in respect to their foreign debt, and for funding their domestic debt upon equitable and satisfactory terms."

On July 26, 1790, Congress accepted the plan laid out in Hamilton's 1790 *First Report on Public Credit.* The *Gazette of the United States*, the semi-official newspaper of the federal government, published the acts of Congress that codified Hamilton's Assumption Plan in four parts: "An Act Making Provision for the Debt of the United States" (August 4); "An Act to Provide more Effectually for the Settlement of the Accounts between the United States and the Individual States" (August 5); "An Act Making Further Provision for the Payment of the Debts of the United States" (August 10); "An Act making Provision for the Reduction of the Public Debt" (August 12). Also, see below for the "Act Founding the Bank of the United States," often considered a fifth part (#23392),

The Assumption Plan, the bedrock of Hamilton's financial strategy, laid out the specific amounts of state debt to be absorbed by the federal government, along with the fiscal scheme making it possible. Most of the debt had originally been held by ordinary citizens. Since the end of the Revolution, however, speculators had bought paper notes for pennies on the dollar and taken on the majority of the federal debt notes. The confederation government had not kept records of the original holders of debt, and there was no way of verifying—after 1787—that the desperate veterans and citizens who had sold their claims to speculators had been the original holders. Hamilton, who knew that paper notes would need to be paid in full to their current holders if the nation were to establish its credit-worthiness, was accused of "rewarding" speculators. This had several consequences for the new government. It publicized that the U.S. financial system would honor its bills, reward risk, and give the holders of the now-federal debt a stake in the new government's success. It also, however, fueled tensions between those rising in wealth and power under the new federal government and those who felt left behind by the new economic reality, a group that included many disillusioned Revolutionary War veterans.

Additional content: August 7: House "Debate on the Amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts," noting that "*A message was received from the* 

President of the United States, informing the House that the act to provide more effectually for settling the accounts between the United States and the individual states had received his consent"; August 14: President Washington's Proclamation "of a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States of America and the Creek Nation of Indians," signed by Washington on August 13, 1790; August 21: House "Debates on the amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts"; August 28: House "Debates on the amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts" continued.

*Gazette of the United States*, August 7, 14, 21, and 28, 1790. New York: John Fenno. Printing the four parts of Hamilton's Assumption Plan as passed by Congress. 4 pp. each. #30022.27-.30



#### Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress Providing Pension for Hamilton's Dear Friend John Laurens Killed in One of Last Battles of Revolutionary War

This Act of Congress aided wounded Revolutionary War soldiers and provided pensions to the widow of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, and to the orphaned daughter of John Laurens.

"The register of the treasury shall, and is hereby required to grant unto Sarah, the widow of the late major-general Earl of Stirling, who died in the service of the United States, a certificate, to entitle her to a sum equal to an annuity for seven years half pay of a majorgeneral ... And be it further enacted, That the said register shall grant unto Frances Eleanor Laurens, the orphan daughter of the late lieutenant colonel John Laurens, who was killed whilst in the service of the United States, a certificate to entitle her to a sum equal to an annuity for seven years half pay of a lieutenant-colonel, to commence as from the twenty-fifth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.... And be it further enacted, That the widow or orphan of each officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier who was killed or died whilst in the service of the United States...entitled to a pension...shall receive a certificate therefor in like manner...."

John Laurens (1754-1782) was born in South Carolina and was educated in Europe. While his father Henry Laurens was in the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, John joined the Continental Army in 1777. Laurens and Hamilton became close friends while serving together

as aides-de-camp to George Washington. After controversial General Charles Lee impugned Washington's character, Hamilton served as Laurens' second in a duel in December 1778. Laurens wounded Lee.

He proposed using enslaved African Americans as soldiers and was sent south to recruit a regiment in 1779. When the British captured Charleston, Laurens became a prisoner. Sent to Philadelphia on parole, Laurens was freed by a prisoner exchange, and Congress appointed him as a special minister to France, where he obtained a gift and loan for the United States. Laurens returned home to rejoin the army at the siege of Yorktown. He was killed at the Battle of Combahee River in South Carolina.



Lord Stirling tried—unsuccessfully—to get Hamilton on his staff as aide-de-camp in 1776, and had administered the oath of allegiance to a young Hamilton at Valley Forge in 1778. William Alexander, Lord Stirling, married Sarah Livingston, the daughter of Philip Livingston and the sister of Governor William Livingston. A major general after 1777, Stirling fought in the Battles of Brandywine and Monmouth. He died in Albany in January 1783.

Rhode Island had ratified the Constitution and become the 13th state in May of 1790. Thus, Jefferson signed 26 copies. This is the only Jefferson-signed copy known in private hands, with only one known institutional copy at Yale University (Franklin Collection 121 1790).

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Document Signed. *An Act for the Relief of the Persons Therein Mentioned or described*. August 11, 1790. [New York: Childs and Swaine] Signed in type by George Washington as President, Frederick Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House, and John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate. #23639

#### President Washington's Addresses to Congress and the Public, Including His Famous *"to bigotry no sanction"* Letter

A remarkable collection of Washington's presidential speeches and letters, including his inaugural address, all of his annual messages to Congress (State of the Union addresses), and his farewell to his Revolutionary War armies.

"It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection, should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support...." (from Washington's "to Bigotry No Sanction" response)

This volume includes addresses from and responses to more than fifty representatives or groups, including state governors and legislators, mayors and town councils, colleges, Masonic Lodges, tradesmen, colleges (the University of Pennsylvania, Washington College, Dartmouth, Harvard), and others. It contains 13 addresses from religious denominations, together with Washington's responses, including that of the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, R.I.; the German Reformed Congregations (*"I shall earnestly desire the continuation of an interest in your intercessions at the Throne of Grace."*); the German Lutheran Congregation of Philadelphia; the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Quakers



("Government being among other purposes instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers not only to abstain from it themselves, but according to their stations to prevent it in others."); the First Presbytery of the Eastward ("And here, I am persuaded, you will permit me to observe, that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction. To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulation respecting religion from the Magna Charta of our country."), the Reformed Dutch Church in North America, ("I readily join with you, that 'while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support."); the Roman Catholics; the Universal Church ("It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find, that, in our nation, however different are the sentiments of the citizens on religious doctrines, they generally concur in one thing: for their political professions and practices are almost universally friendly to the order and happiness of our civil institutions.") Together, these provide a remarkable view of the relationship of diverse groups of Americans to their first president. Finally, it includes Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the Several States (June 18, 1783) and his Farewell Orders to the Armies of the United States, at the end of the Revolutionary War (Nov. 2, 1783).

On August 1, 1796, Boston bookseller Solomon Cotton, Jr. sent a copy of this volume to President Washington, inscribed: "... you are now addressed by a young man, with all that

respect and veneration, due to your revered character; who intreats your acceptance of the Volume accompanying this letter."

Ten years after publishing this book, Cotton was found dead in the harbor at Baltimore with a handkerchief tied tightly around his neck and another tied to it containing a large stone.

[GEORGE WASHINGTON.] A Collection of the Speeches of the President of the United States to Both Houses of Congress, At the Opening of every Session, with Their Answers. Also, the Addresses to the President, with His Answers, From the Time of His Election: With An Appendix, Containing The Circular Letter of General Washington to the Governors of the several States, and his Farewell Orders, to the Armies of America, and the Answer. First edition, Boston: Manning and Loring, 1796. 282 pp + terminal bookseller's ad. 8vo.,  $4^{1}/4 \ge 7$  in. #26441.99

#### 228 ADDRESSES TO THE PRESIDENT. AND THE ANSWERS. 220 in the day of battle; and we rejoice to think, that the fame Spirit who refled in the bofom of the greatly beloved Daniel, enabling him to prefide over the provinces of the Babylonifh empire, refls, and ever will refl, upon you, en-The Anfwer. To the HEBREW CONGREGATION in NEWFORT, abling you to difcharge the arduous dutics of Chief Magif. trate in these States. abing you to dircharge the arduous dutics of Chief Magif-trate in thefe States. Deprived as we heretofore have been of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now (with a deep fenfe of grati-tude to the Almighty Difforer of all events) behold a gov-ernment erected by the Majefty of the People-a govern-ment, which to bigotry gives no fanction-to perfectuion no affiltance : but generoully affording to all, liberty of conficience, and immunities of citizenflip : deeming every one, of whatever nation, tongue or language, equal parts of the great governmental machine. This for ample and ex-tensive Federal Union, whole bafe is philanthropy, mutual confidence, and public virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God, who ruleth in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, doing whatfoever feemeth to him good. For all the blefings of civil and religions liberty, which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration, we defire to fend up our thanks to the Ancient of Days, the Great Preferver of men, befeeching him that the Angelwho conducted our forefathers through the wildernefs into the promifed land, may gracioufly conduct you through all the difficulties and dancers of this mortal life. And when like RHODE ISLAND. GENTLEMEN, WHILE I receive with much fatisfaction your Ad. WHILE I receive with much faitsfaction your Ad-drefs, replete with expreditions of affection and effective, regiote in the opportunity of affuring you, that I thall al-ways retain a grateful remembrance of the cotdial welcome I experienced in my vifit to Newport, from all claffes of citizens. The reflection on the days of difficulty and dan-ger which are path, is rendered the more fweet from a con-cloudnefs that they are faceceded by days of uncommon vortices. profperity and fecurity. If we have wifdom to make the beft ufe of the advantages with which we are now favoured, we cannot fail, under he just administration of a good government, to become a great and a happy people. The citizens of the United States of America, have a The citizens of the United States of America, have a right to applaud themfelves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy wor-thy of imitation. All pofiefs a like liberty of conficience, and immunities of citizenthip. It is now no more that tol-eration is floken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one clafs of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no fandtion, to perfecution no affiltance, requires only that they who live under its protection flould demean themfelves as good citi-zens, in eivine it on all occasions their cfectual fupmort. ordificulties and dangers of this mortal life. And when like Jofhua, full of days and full of honours, you are gathered to your fathers, may you be admitted into the heavenly para-dife, to partake of the water of life, and the tree of immortality. Done and Signed by order of the Hebrew Con-gregation, in Newport, (Rhode Ifland.) zens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support. It would be inconfistent with the frankness of my char-MOSES SEIXAS, Warden. after, not to avow that I am pleafed with your favourable opinion of my administration and fervent withes for my filicity. May the children of the flock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants—while every one fhall fit in fafety under his own vine and fig-tree, and there fhall be none to make him select Newport, August 17, 1790. none to make him afraid. May

#### Acts of the Second Session of the First Federal Congress, Including Hamilton's Assumption Plan and the Residency Act, State Ratifications of the Bill of Rights, and the First State of the Union Address – Former President of Congress and Future U.S. Mint Director Elias Boudinot's Copy

This compilation of the Acts of Congress was owned and signed by Elias Boudinot, a Congressman from New Jersey who previously served as president of the Articles of Confederation Congress (signing the Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War) and later was appointed by George Washington as the third director of the U.S. Mint.

This volume includes laws regarding the first census; naturalization; the creation of the seat of government ultimately in Washington, D.C.; the Funding Act that assumed state debts from the Revolutionary War (a key part of Alexander Hamilton's fiscal plan for the new federal government); copyright; commerce with Native Americans; and a tariff, among other topics.

By January 7, both houses met their required quorum at Federal Hall in New York. On January 8, President George Washington presented his first Annual Message to Congress (now known as the State of the Union address).

Among the important pieces of legislation passed in this session were the following (with dates of enactment, all in 1790; \* to right of date indicates that it is considered part of Hamilton's Assumption Plan):

- March 1. Provisions for the first Census, to be conducted on August 2 and every 10 years. (the first census found the population of the United States to be 3,929,214);
- March 26. Naturalization Act, establishing rules for making U.S. citizenship available to *"free White person(s)...of good character"* after two years of residence (9);
- April 10. Patent Act, protecting useful improvements for up to 14 years;
- April 30. Crimes Act, defining federal crimes and criminal procedures;
- May 26, Organizing the "Territory South of the River Ohio" from land ceded by North Carolina. This became the State of Tennessee in 1796. To its north was Virginia's District of Kentucky, which became a state in 1792.
- May 31, Copyright Act, for the "encouragement of learning" by protecting "maps, charts, and books" for up to 28 years;
- July 16. Residence Act, transferring the federal government from New York to



Philadelphia for 10 years until a new capital, the District of Columbia, could be built as the permanent seat of government

- July 22. Indian Intercourse Act, regulating commerce with Native Americans;
- Aug. 4. Collection of Duties Act, establishing the Revenue-Marine, which became the U.S. Coast Guard
- Aug. 4. \* *An Act Making Provision for the Debt of the United States* (the Funding Act) authorizing the "full assumption" of state debts by the federal government, a key part of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's plan to stabilize the nation's finances;
- Aug. 5. \* An Act to Provide more Effectually for the Settlement of the Accounts between the United States and the Individual States;
- Aug. 10. \* An Act Making Further Provision for the Payment of the Debts of the United States (the Tariff of 1790, increasing the rates from 1789 Tariff to provide for the operating expenses for the U.S. government (without an income tax).
- Aug. 12. \* An Act making Provision for the Reduction of the Public Debt

Rhode Island ratified the U.S. Constitution on May 29 and thereby became the thirteenth state entitled to representation in Congress.

Although there were no political parties in this Congress, those who supported the Washington administration (later Federalists) outnumbered those who opposed the administration (later Anti-federalists) by a ratio of seventeen to seven in the Senate and thirty-four to twenty-five in the House.

10.6 FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUH DRGE WASHINGTON, Prefident of the United State CHAPTER XXXIX. CT making further Provision for the PAYMENT of the DEL of the UNITED STATES. WHEREAS, by an aft, intituled, "Ar

Elias Boudinot was born in Philadelphia as the son of a merchant and silversmith. His father was a neighbor and friend of Benjamin Franklin. He was a legal apprentice in Princeton, New Jersey, to Richard Stockton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Boudinot was admitted to the bar in 1760 and began a practice in Elizabeth, New Jersev. In 1762, he married his mentor's younger sister Hannah Stockton. Boudinot invested and speculated in land, and served in the New Jersey provincial assembly. From 1777 to 1778, he was commissary general for prisoners for the Continental Army. He represented New Jersey in the Continental Congress in 1778 and in the Congress of the Confederation from 1781 to 1783, serving as president from November 1782 to November 1783, and signing the Preliminary Articles of Peace in April 1783. He represented New Jersev in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1795. President George Washington appointed Boudinot as Director of the United States Mint in 1795; he served until he retired in 1805.

[CONGRESS.] Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Congress of the United States of America, Begun and Held at the City of New York, on Monday, the Fourth of January in the Year M,DCC,XC. First Ed. New York: Francis Childs & John Swaine, 1790. Evans 22952. #26593.99

# Hamilton's Plan for a National Bank

"a National bank is an institution of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the Finances, and would be of the greatest utility ... with the support of the Public Credit...."

Hamilton's 24-point plan for a national bank was submitted to Congress on December 13, 1790, and printed in this Dec. 25 issue. The bank, based in Philadelphia with branches in other cities, would be chartered for 20 years, and could issue paper money. The federal government would have a minority interest, but the board of directors would be private individuals. The Bank would be able to lend the government money and hold its deposits, give Americans a uniform currency, and promote business and industry by extending credit.

Gazette of the United States, Philadelphia: John Fenno. December 25, 1790. #27433.

Jan. 1 issue including the first portion of Hamilton's "Second Report on the Further Provision Necessary for Establishing Public Credit." The Senate passed Hamilton's bank plan on January 20, 1791. Despite southern opposition from James Madison and others, the House followed suit in early February. When the bill arrived on Washington's desk, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Attorney General Edmund Randolph urged him to veto it. Washington asked Hamilton to answer their objections. He responded with a nearly 15,000-word convincing opinion that it was necessary and consistent with the Constitution, which must confer implied powers to put into effect expressly granted powers such as collecting taxes, regulating trade, and creating a military.

Gazette of the United States, Philadelphia: John Fenno. January 1, 1791. 4 pp. #26551.03

# "An Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States"

"The establishment of a bank for the United States...upon the principles which afford adequate security for an upright and prudent administration."

Convinced by Hamilton's arguments, Washington signed the bill into law on Feb. 25. This foundational act is printed in full on the front page under an engraving of an early version of the Great Seal of the United States.

Additional Content: Report on Senate's reception of President Washington's notice that he had signed the Bank Act, and note that "The bill supplemental to the act, making provision for the



reduction of the public debt," was engrossed and passed. (pp. 766-67); a report from Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton on the creation of a mint is continued from a previous issue (and continued in a later issue); An Act regulating the number of Representatives for Kentucky and Vermont; a celebration of Washington's birthday (*"The Anniversary of the Birth Day of the President of the United States has been celebrated in all parts of the union, from which accounts have been received, with the highest testimonials of veneration and affection...."); and an advertisement proposing the printing of a collection of state papers, which Jefferson endorsed.* 

*Gazette of the United States*, March 2, 1791. Philadelphia: John Fenno. Includes full text of February 25 Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States. #23392

#### Journal of the Third Session of the Senate, Including the Founding of the Bank of the United States, changes to the Whiskey Tax, and the Admission of Vermont and Kentucky to the Union

This session was the first held by the United States Congress in the temporary capital of Philadelphia.

- Dec 8, 1790. George Washington's address to Congress (pp6-8)
- Dec 8. Report to Congress of the Commissioners "*making provision for the reduction of the public debt*," noting that \$278,687.30 of debt has been purchased, for which \$250,239.24 has been paid in specie. Signed in type by John Adams (16-17)
- Feb 9, 1791. George Washington forwards to Congress documents from Vermont noting that New York consents to Vermont's becoming a state. (49-60)
- Feb 10. Third reading, printing in full "An Act repealing, after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead, and also upon spirits distilled within the United States..." (60-84). Many proposed amendments to the bill follow (88-94, 110-116, etc.) before passage is reported on Feb 26, and Washington signs it into law on Mar 3.
- Feb 11. Approval of "An Act making appropriations for the support of Government during the year One thousand seven hundred and Ninety-one..." (189)
- Feb 12. First reading, printing in full the text of "An Act for raising and adding another regiment to the Military Establishment of the United States, and for making further provision for the Protection of the Frontiers." (95-97).
- Feb 16. "An Act to establish Offices for the purpose of granting Lands within the territories of the United States" (101-104)
- Feb 17. An Act to amend 'An Act for establishing the temporary and permanent Seat of the Government of the United States'" (105-106)
- Feb 18. Notice that "the President has this day approved and signed 'The Act for the admission of the State of Vermont into this union." (106-107)
- Feb. 25. The full text of "An Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States" (124-131)
- Feb 25. "An Act declaring the consent of Congress, that a New State be formed within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and admitted into this Union by the name of the State of Kentucky." (131-132)
- Feb 25. Alexander Hamilton reports to Congress "*on the terms of the loan of three millions of florins*" from Holland. (132-133)
- Mar 2. "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a Mint shall be established, under such regulations as shall be directed by law." (164)
- Mar 2. "An Act making further provision for the collection of the Duties by law imposed on Teas, and to prolong the term for the payment of the Duties on Wines." (165-167)

[CONGRESS.] Acts Passed at the Third Session of the Senate of the United States of America, Begun and Held at the City of Philadelphia, December 6, 1790... Philadelphia: John Fenno, 1791. #26632.92

# Hamilton Forwards Letter to Agent of His Funding and Assumption Plan

"Mr Lear informs me that the letter herewith relates to your purchases of debt for the Trustees of the Sinking Fund & at his request I forward it. I remain Dr Sir / Yr Obedt Svt/ A Hamilton"

Hamilton wrote this brief cover note for a letter that he forwarded from George Washington's secretary Tobias Lear, likely to William Seton, cashier of the Bank of New York.

The sinking fund was included in Hamilton's 1790 plan for the federal government to assume the debts the states had incurred during the Revolutionary War. Five commissioners - the President of the Senate (John Adams), the Chief Justice (John Jay), the Secretary of State (Thomas Jefferson), the Secretary of the Treasury (Alexander Hamilton), and the Attorney General (Edmund Randolph) – were appointed by Congress as commissioners to manage the sinking fund, which was designed to purchase government securities with any profits from the sale of western lands or specific allocations by Congress. Although the allocations were small, these government purchases had the effect of stabilizing or increasing the price of government securities, an important barometer of public credit for Hamilton.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Autograph Letter Signed, to [William Seton?], June 4, [ca. 1791]. 1 p. In PSA authentication slab. #27357

rula

# Hamilton Solicits Information for His 1791 Report on Manufactures

"Having been directed by the House of Representatives to report a plan for promoting manufactures ... I am desirous of obtaining as accurate information as possible ... I request therefore that you will give me as accurate information as it shall be in your power to obtain of the manufactures of every kind carried on within the limits of your district, whether incidentally, in the domestic way, or as regular trades—of the respective times of their first establishment,—of the degree of maturity they have obtained—of the quantities periodically made—of the prices at which they are sold—of their respective Qualities—of the impediments, if any, under which they labour—of the encouragements, if any, which they enjoy under the laws of the State...."

It would also be assupplated to and to had could be done with a 6 Bland

Hamilton's 1791 *Report on Manufacturers* foresaw the U.S. as a manufacturing nation, one that would be independent of foreign powers for essential manufactured goods, "especially military supplies."

Able to provide for its own defense, the country Hamilton envisioned would have a mutually beneficial relationship with England. This vision created deep divisions between urban capitalists and rural farmers, and split supporters of France and Anglophiles, which hastened the creation of the first political parties.

Congress had requested a Report on Manufactures in January 1790. On January 25, Hamilton sent a circular letter to federal tariff collectors and prominent businessmen, requesting information on manufacturing in the various states. On May 11, Assistant Treasury Secretary Tench Coxe sent a follow-up letter

to the same officials, and he began to draft the report in the early months of 1791.

With this letter in June 1791, Hamilton sought information on manufacturing from a second group of federal officials—revenue supervisors created by the excise tax on whiskey—before presenting the *Report* to Congress on December 5, 1791.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Manuscript Circular Letter Signed Secretarially for Hamilton as Treasury Secretary, with address to John Singer Dexter of Rhode Island added by Hamilton. (Similar letters were sent to the revenue supervisors of each state.) June 22, 1791. #22457

# Prospectus for Hamilton's Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures

"It is an almost self-evident proposition, that communities which can most completely supply their own wants, are in a state of the highest political perfection. And both Theory and Experience conspire to prove that a nation (unless from a very peculiar coincidence of circumstances) cannot possess much active wealth but as the result of extensive manufactures.

"While also it is manifest, that the interest of the community is deeply concerned in the progress of this species of industry, there is as little room to doubt that the interest of individuals may equally be promoted by the pursuit of it."

Unlike Hamilton's *Report on Public Credit*, Congress tabled his *Report on Manufactures* without debate. However, Hamilton and Tench Coxe put their recommendations into practice with The Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, the nation's first public-private partnership. S.U.M. promoted an industrialization via a planned manufacturing town powered by the Passaic River's Great Falls, 17 miles from New York City. Chartered by New Jersey Governor William Paterson in 1791, the site took his name to become Paterson, N.J.,



which was exempt from property taxes for a decade. The visionary architect Pierre L'Enfant created grand designs for sluiceways and races to harness the waterpower. The notoriously difficult L'Enfant was soon replaced by the more pragmatic Peter Colt. Over time, virtually all that L'Enfant envisioned was built.

The financial crash of March 1792, caused in large part by the speculations of William Duer, who happened to be the Society's governor, led to the bankruptcy of a number of the directors and cast doubt on the viability of Hamilton's program. After a shaky start, however, cotton manufacturing took off in the late 1790s, followed by steel manufacturing in the midnineteenth century. The Society's eventual successes encouraged additional public-private partnerships.

By the 1880s, Paterson was the center of American silk production. Paterson remained a preeminent manufacturing city for more than a century. In 1862, one of the many locomotives manufactured there was stolen and used in the Great Locomotive Chase, an attempt by Union spies to cripple the Confederate rail network. The city also played a role in the manufacture of the second American submarine. During World War II, more than 1,000 aircraft engines were produced there, especially for the B-17 Flying Fortress bombers, the most notable of which was the *Enola Gay*.

*Gazette of the United States,* September 10, 1791. Philadelphia: John Fenno. Including the Prospectus for the Society of Useful Manufactures in full, and a report on Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk Indian Chief. #30019

# American Museum Includes First Public Printing of Hamilton's Report on Manufactures

This January 1792 issue of *The American Museum* magazine includes Appendix II, containing important Public Papers. The highlight is the earliest complete public printing of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's *Report on the Subject of Manufactures*.

"The expediency of encouraging manufactures in the united states, which was, not long since, deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted. The embarrassments, which have obstructed the progress of our external trade, have led to serious reflexions on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce: the restrictive regulations, which in foreign markets abridge the vent of the increasing surplus of our agricultural produce, serve to beget an earnest desire, that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home. And the complete success, which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise, in some valuable branches, conspiring with the promising symptoms, which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope, that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry, are less formidable than they were apprehended to be; and that it is not difficult to find, in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages, which are, or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources favourable to national independence and safety." (p1)

Contents of Appendix II. Public Papers:

Hamilton's Report on the Subject of Manufactures, signed in type at the end. (1-51)

*"Speech of Corn plant, Half Town and Big Tree, to the president of the united states,"* with George Washington's response co-signed in type by Thomas Jefferson (52-61)

Alexander Hamilton's *"Report of the Secretary of the treasury on the excise laws,"* March 5, 1792, signed in type by Hamilton. (62-78)

St. Claire's Expedition. *"Report of a committee of congress respecting the failure of the expedition under gen St. Claire"*. Includes several letters of Washington and Jefferson. (79-90) (sic- p 90 says 60)

*"Constitution of the Chester-Town Society, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes, and others, unlawfully held in bondage."* Starting with a quote from Jeremiah, xxii. 13, and the Declaration of Independence. (90-92)

Bibliographer Wright Howes referred to Hamilton's *Report* as "the Magna Carta of industrial America" and "one of the great American state papers." Although it was the only one of Hamilton's four major reports that failed to gain a favorable reception from the House of Representatives, he managed to get many of its programs implemented in an Act raising money for the defense of the frontiers. The report has been widely reprinted ever since and formed the basis for the American System program of Senator Henry Clay.

*The American Museum, Or, Universal Magazine, For January, 1792.* 40 pp. Plus Appendix II. 92 pp. Philadelphia: Mathew Carey. #27670

#### Philip Peter Livingston Keeps Hamilton Informed on Intervention That Soon Succeeded in Countering the Panic of 1792

"This will be a lesson to them & all violent speculators in future, & if we can parry the present evil, for 15 days, we shall do well, that is not turn out Bankrupts, but smart handsomely, by differences."

"I now set down to inform you of the state of things.... Some time after our Director met in the afternoon yesterday Mr Babcock called me out, & shewed me a Letter...acquainting him that Mr Meredith, purchased that Eveng. on account of Government, & that after purchasing about 13,000 Drs the Stocks rose above his limited prices and closed at with 21/9d Cash for six per Cents, and that our Cashier sat out with the money yesterday morning. In the Evening I went to the Coffee House. & from a state of distraction in the morning, every thing was Joy & Gladness. such a change in countenances, in so short a time I never saw. Poor Macomb & Delafield, at the Directors meeting, in the morning, exhibited <2> such marks of distress & anxiety that I pitied them with all my heart, and my friend Walter L. has been nearly as much alarmed. This will be a lesson to them & all violent speculators in future, & if we can parry the present evil, for 15 days, we shall do well, that is not turn out Bankrupts, but smart handsomely, by differences. The Citizens of the U.S. will be as rich as ever, for Foreigners coud not purchase any sums, as Bills for Cash were so low, and the money will return from Boston, to purchase the debt whilst low, which will of course rise until it finds it level. New York will have lost, & Boston gained, by a speculation she made with her sister state.

"I am in hopes that the news of last night, will keep up stocks at our sales to day, to Parr for 6 pr Cts from the spirit Meredith created at Philadelphia, but I am afraid, when the news arrives this day with you of our great distress here, that your People, at the sales this Evening will get alarmed & offer Meredith more stock than he has money to spare in which case a Pannick may seize them, if so it will vibrate back here again in some degree.

"I shall do every thing in my power the moment our <3> officers can be collected together to set our Bank agoing. I have just sent to Walter L. & Macomb, to know what was done, last night by the Petitioners for a new bank but they were both in bed & I cannot Learn. "Adieu. Yours, Ph: Livingston."

U.S. debt securities began to crash in March 1792, and investors withdrew their money from the Bank of the United States. The Sinking Fund Commission, composed of Vice President John Adams, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Attorney General Edmund Randolph, Chief Justice John Jay, and Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton was deadlocked, with Jay absent. Jefferson remained opposed to intervention, but a few days later, Randolph sided with Adams

Officers can be collected to gette to set our Bank agoing-Thave just sent to Watter L. & Macomb, to know what was done, last night by the Petitionen for a new bank but they course bott in bed & I cannot deen s Reliev yours, The Livingston.

and Hamilton to allow the government to purchase securities on the open market. This, together with support from the Bank of New York and the Bank of Maryland, encouraged by promises from Hamilton, soon stabilized the securities market and ended the Panic of 1792.

PHILIP PETER LIVINGSTON (1740-1810), Autograph Letter Signed as president of the New York branch of the Bank of the United States and director of the Bank of New York, to Alexander Hamilton, March 21, 1792. 2 pp. #24645.08

## **Establishing a Mint**

"That a mint for the purpose of a national coinage...be situate and carried on at a seat of the government of The United States, for the time being...there shall be the following officers...a director, an assayer, a chief coiner, an engraver, a treasurer...."

In a rare instance of like-minded thinking, Hamilton's 1791 *Report on the Establishment of a Mint* was "in substantial agreement" with Jefferson's earlier essay "Notes on the Establishment of a Money Unit, and of a Coinage for the United States," 1784.

The Mint Act, passed on April 2, 1792, made the silver dollar legal tender and created a decimal system for U.S. currency. While the first draft of the Act stipulated that all coins would employ a portrait of the president, Washington felt this to be too monarchical. This final version of the Act called for an image emblematic of Liberty. The Act also authorized construction of a Mint building in Philadelphia. Mint director David Rittenhouse laid the cornerstone on July 31, making it the first federal building constructed.

Under Sec. 14 of the Act, any person could bring gold or silver bullion and have it coined free of charge. Later, for a small fee, people were able to exchange bullion for an equivalent value in coin. For quality control, three coins were set aside from each separate mass of gold or silver used. On the last Monday in July of each year, the Chief Justice, the Secretary and Comptroller of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General were to watch as the coins were assayed. If the coins did not meet the required standards, the officers were disqualified.

Section 19 of the Act established a penalty of death for officers of the Mint who either debased the gold or silver coins authorized, or embezzled the metals. This little-known section of the Act is still in force today and could theoretically still be applied. All other sections of the Act have been superseded.

This *Centinel* issue also reports that the Mint "has occupied the attention of the citizens...and the majority dislike the figure of Liberty being struck...in preference to the Head of the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES" (p2/c4). This issue also contains a superb editorial by "IRONICUS" (attributed to Benjamin Russell) (p4).

Columbian for Centinel.						
LAUTER IN INITED STATES, The Analysis of the States of th	ways and able according to their rel	The pointy weight and half a policy and the of points weight. That upon the faid course rejectivity there finils have the following devices and face that the full owner for the point of the fail of the following and upon the coverflow and the word. Library, and the point of the course g i and upon the coverflow and the word. Library, and the point of the course g is and upon the coverflow and the face or correlations of an ex- ception of the cover of the cover- tion of the second and the point of the word of the cover course of the the denomination of the point could be the denomination of the point could be the denomination of the point could be the denomination of the point could be the the denomination of the point of more the the denomination of the point of the point of the point the denomination of the point of the point of the point of the point of the cover of the cover of the cover of the the the denomination of the point of the p	Indi unit. from there to time whenever the literoit the Traciary with shift the con- det, with fuch times at most be receiling with fuch times at most be receiling traplaced as plendly at may be traced the builton for which the memory in case of the builton for which the memory of such the constant which fuel have been made of the builton for which the dimension of the builton for which the dimension of the conditions a load to work the dimension conditions a load to work of the conditions at load to work of the temperature of the load of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the temperature of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of the dimension of th			

*Columbian Centinel*, April 21, 1792. Boston: Benjamin Russell. Complete printing of the foundational Mint Act of April 2, 1792. #30027.38



Detail, *Thomas Jefferson*, Rembrandt Peale, 1800 White House Historical Association

#### Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress with Back-Door Implementation of Hamilton's **Report on Manufactures Tariff Proposals**

"Wines, namely: Madeira, of the quality of London particular, per gallon, fifty-six cents ... Sherry, per gallon, thirty-three cents ... Spirits, distilled wholly or chiefly from grain: of the first class of proof, per gallon, twenty-eight cents ... All other distilled spirits ... twenty-five cents ... Beer, ale and porter, per gallon, eight cents; steel, per hundred weight, one hundred cents; nails, per pound, two cents; cocoa, per pound, two cents; chocolate, per pound, three cents; playing cards per pack, twenty-five cents; shoes and slippers of silk, twenty cents...."

While Hamilton's Report on Manufactures is now acknowledged as one of the greatest of American economic papers, Congress promptly tabled it upon delivery in December 1791. Having won the hard-fought battle for his Assumption Plan, he did not push for its adoption. But in March 1792, Congress requested ideas to raise additional revenues needed to defend the nation's western frontiers from British Forces and their Indian allies. Hamilton was able to answer the call for funding with the present act's import tariffs, which boosted American manufactures.

# SECOND CONGRESS

UNITED STATES: Ar the Fird, Seffice, begun and held at the City of Parnamenessia, in the flateral Paundyleania, on Monday the twenty-fourth of Ocheber bee thousand fever housing and innery-one.

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This act for raising *"a farther sum of Money*" appropriated an additional \$673,500 for the military to combat incursions by both the British and Indian tribes. (The Second Congress had already passed an act allowing the President to raise three additional frontier regiments.) Barely transparent, the funds were to be raised by new taxes on a variety of products that not only included imported manufactured goods but also spirits and beverages. Attempts to collect the whiskey tax eventually led to the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794, which was the first real test for the new federal government. George Washington personally led an army of 11,000 troops into Pennsylvania to put down the revolt. It was the first and only time a sitting President led troops in the field, affirmed federal supremacy over the states, and ensured that future change in the United States would come through the ballot box.

In the Journal of Economic History, economic historian Douglas Irwin pointed out in 2004 that a series of scholars had underestimated the *Report*'s effect on policy: "It is true that Congress never considered the

report as a package, and that Hamilton's proposals for bounties and other subsidies were not seriously debated. But Hamilton worked to ensure that Congress enacted virtually every tariff recommendation in the report within five months of its delivery. After pushing the report's tariff proposals through Congress, Hamilton yielded to the political opposition to further government support for manufacturing and did not pursue the matter further."

Kentucky was not admitted as the 15th state until June 1, 1792, so Jefferson very likely signed only 28 copies of this Act. Of those, this is the only Jefferson-signed copy known in private hands, with the Huntington Library holding the only located institutional copy.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Document Signed as Secretary of State. An Act for raising a farther sum of Money for the Protection of the *Frontiers, and for other* **Purposes therein** mentioned. May 2, 1792, [Philadelphia]. Signed in type by George Washington as President, Jonathan Trumbull as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard Henry Lee as President pro tempore of the Senate. 4 pp. #24196.99



# Jefferson-Signed Act Concerning the Duties on Spirits Distilled within the United States: Congress attempts to Ease Protests against the Whiskey Tax

"Be it enacted ... That from and after the last day of June next, the present duties upon spirits, distilled within the United States, and on stills shall cease, and that in lieu thereof, upon all spirits which after the said day shall be distilled within the United States wholly or in part from molasses, sugar or other foreign materials, there shall be paid the duties following..."

Article I, Section 8. of the Constitution gave Congress the power to "collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States." Needing to raise revenue without the possibility of an income tax, in 1790, Hamilton proposed that Congress increase the existing tax on <u>imported</u> spirits, and add a tax on <u>domestically</u> produced distilled liquor. This would help pay off the debt, and he argued would be in the public's interest: "The consumption of ardent spirits particularly ... is carried to an extreme, which is truly to be regretted, as well in regard to the health and the morals, as to the economy of the community. Should the increase of duties tend to a decrease of the consumption of those articles, the effect would be, in every respect, desirable."

SECOND CONGRESS

UNITED STATES,

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The 1791 Whiskey Tax immediately stoked anger, especially on the frontier: whiskey was the most efficient way for western farmers to process harvests into an easily transportable commodity. It was even used as a currency, and the tax hit small producers hardest. Small producers and farmers in the backcountry of western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, a region colloquially known as "Pennsyltucky," were particularly resistant to the tax. Revenue collectors became as hated and reviled as the British had been in Boston on the eve of the Revolution. A cartoon of the time, "Excise Man," minces no words: "Just where he hung the people meet; To see him swing was music sweet; A Barrel of whiskey at his feet."

After public outcry, Hamilton suggested and Congress passed this May 8, 1792, revision which reduced but did not eliminate—the duties and eased some regulations. The 1792 modifications did little to mollify the farmers; instead, it confirmed their suspicions that the law favored large producers (who could pass the tax down to consumers) and northern commercial interests. Repeating England's mistake in responding to Stamp Act protests, the new stringent enforcement scheme caused even more and increasingly militaristic opposition. On September 15, 1792, President Washington issued a proclamation condemning those who obstructed the law. Yet another revision, passed on June 5, 1794, was similarly ineffective in quelling the unrest, leading to the Whiskey Rebellion of 1795. Jefferson's signature on this measure, and documents like this one, are particularly interesting, because he was sometimes duty-bound to sign acts that he personally despised.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Printed Document Signed, as Secretary of State., May 8, 1792. [Philadelphia, PA: Francis Childs and John Swaine]. Signed in print by George Washington as president, Jonathan Trumbull as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard Henry Lee as president pro tem of the Senate. 4 pp. #25195

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Speaker of the House RICHARD HENRY LEE, Profident pro tempor APPROVED, May eighth, 1792. Go: WASHINGTON, Profident of the United States stor matter, "The is find to in the effection of the S DEFOSITED among the Rolls in the office of the Secretary of State ar he mysks freferger to be client by, or h Free, and if the fail only or wells' hall river Thefferten Scoretary of State. And is it doubles inaded. This indust of a styles of users of an boost mainterreports, so as prior of the inner double part dollard by an in, only

# New Hampshire Acts Organizing the Second Presidential Election

"Be it enacted...That the inhabitants ... qualified to vote in the choice of Senators for the State Legislature, shall assemble in their respective towns, parishes, plantations and places on the last Monday of August next, to vote for six suitable persons, inhabitants of this State, who shall not be Senators or Representatives in Congress, or persons holding offices of profit or trust under the United States, to be Electors of a President and Vice-President of the United States.... And in case it shall happen by reason of an equality of votes ... the names of the candidates not elected, who shall have an equal, and the highest number of votes, shall be put into a box, and the Secretary, not being one of the said candidates, shall in the presence of the Supreme Executive Magistrate, draw out the number wanted, and the person or persons whose name or names shall be so drawn out, shall be appointed, and declared an Elector or Electors ... And be it further enacted that the several Clerks aforesaid shall respectively transmit certificates of all votes taken, sealed up and directed as aforesaid, to the Sheriffs of the respective counties to which they belong, within five days after said meetings....and the several Sheriffs, shall, within ten days after said meetings transmit to the Secretary's Office, all votes that shall be in manner aforesaid transmitted or delivered to them."

Though Washington wanted to retire after his first presidential term, it was widely feared that without him at the helm, the newly forged union could break apart in partisan and sectional bitterness. Though they agreed on little else, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and John Adams all considered Washington's reelection necessary. Both parties nominated him for President. For the Vice Presidency, The Federalists nominated incumbent John Adams, while the Democratic-Republicans nominated New York Governor George Clinton.

The United States Constitution left to each state the method of organizing state and federal elections. Of the fifteen states, New Hampshire was one of six that chose presidential electors by popular vote. In the election arranged by the Acts printed here, Josiah Bartlett, John Pickering, Benjamin Bellows, Ebenezer Thompson, Jonathan Freeman, and John T. Gilman were selected.

After the election, Governor Bartlett certified the results, the electors met at Exeter on December 5, 1792, and cast six votes for George Washington and six votes for John Adams.

On February 13, 1793, Congress officially tabulated the votes of the 1792 election. To the surprise of no one, Washington had been unanimously re-elected. Upon taking his second oath of office, this time in the Senate Chamber of Philadelphia's Federal Hall, his inaugural



address—at only 135 words—was the shortest in history. For Vice President, John Adams received 77 electoral votes, George Clinton 50, Thomas Jefferson 4, and Aaron Burr 1.

[NEW HAMPSHIRE.] Broadside, "An ACT directing the mode of ballotting for, and appointing the Electors of this state for the election of a President and Vice-President of the United States. ALSO— An ACT directing the mode of choosing Representatives to the Congress of the United States." Organizing elections in the state, signed in print by Governor Josiah Bartlett, June 1792. 1 p. #24603

#### Hamilton Accuses Jefferson of Subverting Washington's Administration

"It is my most anxious wish, as far as may depend on me, to smooth the path of your administration, and to render it prosperous & happy.... If your endeavours should prove unsuccessful, I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion the period is not remote when the public good will require substitutes for the differing members of your administration. The continuance of a division there must destroy the energy of Government....

"I know, from the most authentic sources, that I have been the frequent subject of the most unkind whispers & insinuations.... I have long seen a formed party in the Legislature, under his [Jefferson's] auspices, bent upon my subversion – I cannot doubt, from the evidence I possess, that the National Gazette was instituted by him for political purposes....

"As long as I saw no danger to the Government, from the machinations which were going on, I resolved to be a silent sufferer of the injuries which were done me.... I determined to avoid giving occasion to any thing which could manifest to the world dissentions among the principal characters of the government; a thing which can never happen without weakening its hands, and in some degree throwing a stigma upon it.

"But when I no longer doubted, that there was a formal party deliberately bent upon the subversion of measures, which in its consequences would subvert the Government ... I considered it as a duty, to endeavor to resist the torrent and as an essential mean[s] to this end to draw aside the veil from the principal Actors. To this strong impulse, to this decided conviction, I have yielded — And I think events will prove that I have judged rightly....

"Nevertheless I pledge my honor to you, Sir, that if you shall hereafter form a plan to reunite the members of your administration, upon some steady principle of cooperation, I will faithfully concur in executing it during my continuance in office. And I will not directly or indirectly say or do a thing, that shall endanger a feud...."

The letter offered here is a beautiful and painstaking 1829 fair copy, penned by Hamilton's son,

of his father's 1792 letter to Washington. This reproduction was likely undertaken at Mount Vernon, where the majority of Washington's papers remained until Congress voted to acquire them.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Manuscript Document Signed Secretarially. The only known family fair copy of Hamilton's historic September 9, 1792, letter to George Washington, the copy written and signed "*A Hamilton*," in the hand of his son, James Alexander Hamilton (1788-1878). Docketed on verso as "*A true copy compared with the original Decr. 22d 1829 JAH*." #24337

the with great pleasure be carefully attended to \_ with the most faithful and affectionate attachment I have the honor to remain P.d. I had witten your most blod & you two letters on public humble pervent bujuep, one of which will Attaciellon go with the ; but the other will be withheld, in consequence of a flight indisposition of the Altoney General, to be jost by experif formatione in The course of tomorrow -The Prefident of the U States

# Thomas Jefferson Signed Act Regarding Admiralty Proceedings, Which Hamilton had Advocated in the *Federalist*

As part of his duties as Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson signed this act of the Second Congress, passed on March 1, 1793. The act regulated the fees that could be collected by clerks, marshals, and attorneys in admiralty cases in the federal district courts. It also allowed prevailing parties in other federal cases to obtain compensation for travel and attorney's fees according to the schedules of fees set in the various state courts.

In The Federalist, Alexander Hamilton advocated for the importance of federal admiralty

jurisdiction in defense of Article III, Section 2 of the proposed Constitution, which declared that "The judicial Power shall extend...to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction...."

"That from, and after the first day of May next; there shall not be taxed or adjudged to any officer or other person, any greater or other fee or reward, for, or in respect to any service to be done or performed, in any of the district courts of the United States, in cases of admiralty or maritime jurisdiction, than such as is herein after specified; that is to say:

"Fees of the Counsellor or Attorney in the district court, in admiralty and maritime proceedings.

"That there be allowed and taxed in the supreme, circuit and district courts of the United States, in favor of the parties obtaining judgments therein, such compensation for their travel and attendance, and for attornies and counsellors fees, except in the district courts in cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, as are allowed in the supreme or superior courts of the respective states."



In 1792, more than sixty "respectable merchants" of Charleston, South Carolina, petitioned Congress about the "enormous fees to which they are subjected." On November 27, 1792, Congressman William Loughton Smith (1758-1812) of South Carolina introduced a bill to limit the fees in admiralty proceedings in the federal district courts, and the House of Representatives passed the bill on December 31, 1792. On that same day, Richard Peters, the federal district judge in Pennsylvania and a specialist in maritime law, wrote to Congressman James Madison of Virginia, "As to the fees as they first stood, they are in many Instances 50 PCent lower than those customary here; and I am convinced, from more than 20 Years Experience on this Subject, that they are at least 25 P Cent too low.... I wish not that any exorbitant Fees may be taken, but I do not see why Congress should depretiate their Offices so that none but the meanest Talents & the most incapable Citizens will appear in them. The Proceedings in the Admiralty are necessarily higher in Expence than those in the common Law Courts."

In *Federalist No. 80*, Hamilton maintained that even the most adamant opponents of a strong central government had acknowledged that the federal judiciary should take cognizance of admiralty cases: "It seems scarcely to admit of controversy, that the judiciary authority of the Union ought to extend to these several descriptions of cases...5th, to all those which originate on the high seas, and are of admiralty or maritime jurisdiction...." In *Federalist No. 83*, Hamilton also asserted that federal courts ought to have exclusive jurisdiction in admiralty cases to provide uniform practices for jury trials, which varied widely in existing state courts.

Before the Revolutionary War, virtually all of the colonies attempted to regulate attorney fees by statute, and the prevailing party in most cases could recover fees from the losing party. However, attorneys often obtained additional fees from their clients. This practice led to what became known as the "American rule," that prevailing parties paid more in attorney's fees than they recovered in costs from the defeated party.

According to the provisions of the 1789 "Act to provide for the safe keeping of the Acts, Records, and Seal of the United States, and for other purposes," the Secretary of State was responsible for receiving signed bills, orders, and resolutions from the President and "carefully

preserve the originals." This act also directed the Secretary of State to ensure that all such acts were published in at least three public newspapers and to deliver two printed copies "duly authenticated" to the governors of each state. This copy is one of those authenticated by Secretary of State Jefferson and sent to a governor. Kentucky was admitted as the 15<sup>th</sup> state on June 1, 1792, so Jefferson likely signed only thirty copies of this Act. The Secretary of State also distributed one unsigned, printed copy on smaller paper to each senator and representative in Congress.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Printed Document Signed, "An Act to ascertain the fees in Admiralty proceedings in the District Courts of the United States, and for other purposes," March 1, 1793, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Signed in print by Jonathan Trumbull, Speaker of the House of Representatives; John Adams, Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate; and George Washington, President of the United States. 2 pp., 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 15 in. #27519



#### Hamilton Tells the Bank of New York That Port Collectors Will No Longer Receive Its Notes in Exchange for Gold & Silver

Hamilton informs President Gulian Verplanck and the directors of the Bank of New York, an institution he helped to found in 1784, that collectors of three New York and New Jersey ports would no longer receive their bank's notes in exchange for specie. Those port collectors were John Lamb of New York City; Henry Packer Dering of Sag Harbor, on Long Island, New York; and John Halstead of Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

When Hamilton became Secretary of the Treasury in September 1789, he obtained short-term loans to conduct the federal government from two of the nation's largest banks—the Bank of New York and the Bank of North America. In part to service these loans and to control the amount of gold and silver coin (specie) available for use by the government, Hamilton occasionally ordered the collectors of duties at the nation's ports to accept as payment the notes issued by these and other state banks. The Treasury then took the collectors' notes to the same banks and received specie in exchange.

After helping to bring the financial crisis of 1792 under control, Secretary Hamilton informed the collectors to stop accepting notes from the Bank of New York as of June 1, 1793. This allowed the new Bank of the United States to play a larger role in the national economy and provide an increasingly stable national currency.

Congress had authorized the first Bank of the United States in February 1791. It began operating later that year in Philadelphia and soon in other states.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Manuscript Letter Signed, to President Gulian Verplanck and Directors of the Bank of New York, April 15, 1793, [Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]. 1 p. #27438

Treasury Department April 15 " 193 Gentlemen The follectors of New York, Sag Harbour and Porth Amboy having been inftructed to discontinue after the 1 tof June nort, to receive, and exchange for fpecie the cash notes and Post notes of the Bank of New york, I have thought it proper to communicate this arra for your information With respectful confideration I have the honor to be Gentlemen your obest dergt Alegande Hamilton The Prefident Directors & & Sewyork

## Jefferson Pays Hamiltonian Import Duty on Cask of Macaroni

Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson swears that the entry listing the goods he has imported is *"just and true.*" Philadelphia Collector Sharp Delany and Inspector of the Revenue William Macpherson witnessed Jefferson's certification. On December 17, 1793, Jefferson noted in his memorandum books, "Pd. Delany duties on Macaroni .7."<sup>1</sup>

On July 4, 1789, President Washington signed "An Act for laying a Duty on Goods, Wares and Merchandise Imported into the United States." Just the second law passed by the First Federal Congress, it imposed various duties, with the highest rate of 15 percent on luxury goods such as carriages. A month later, Congress divided the United States into collection districts and provided for officers at ports. Congress designated Pennsylvania as a single district, and authorized the appointment of a naval officer, collector, and surveyor for Philadelphia, the state's "sole port both of entry and delivery."

Jefferson became a fan of macaroni, a term used for any shape of pasta, when he was representing America in Europe. He made notes on the production of macaroni by machine in Italy.<sup>2</sup> He believed that "the best maccaroni in Italy is made from a particular flour called Semola in Naples."<sup>3</sup> Here, at least, it evokes the famous tune, *Yankee Doodle Dandy*.

foecified, a true to me configned in the faid And that the lavoice produced the original Invoice and contain, the f, and that if I fhall hereafter Difcover or Know of any other Goods, Wares and g to me or to me configued, I will forthwith make known the fame to the Collec-Pennfylvania, in order to the due Entry thereof, and the Payment, or fecuring the original Invoice

The brig *Salome* sailed from Havre de Grace, France, on June 2, 1793. A British privateer intercepted and captured the ship and began sailing it toward Liverpool, but a French ship intervened and sent the *Salome* back on its way, arriving in Philadelphia on September 6.4

We don't recall ever seeing on the market a similar import duty document signed by a Founding Father. Merchants rather than individuals were responsible for most imports and would have paid the duty. Jefferson likely placed the macaroni order directly with someone in Europe, who shipped it to him in Philadelphia, where he was then serving as Secretary of State.

The docketing on the verso bears the date of September 7, 1793, the day after *Salome* reached Philadelphia. Why did Jefferson wait until December 17 to pay Delany? Like Washington, Hamilton, and many others, Jefferson fled Philadelphia because of the yellow fever raging there

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson, Memorandum Books, 1793.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thomas Jefferson, Memoranda to William Short, ca. September 1788, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jefferson's Notes on Macaroni, after February 11, 1789, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> National Gazette (Philadelphia, PA), September 14, 1793, 1:2-4.

in the fall of 1793. It seems from his correspondence that Jefferson was in Philadelphia as late as September 14, then in Schuylkill from September 15-17, before arriving at Monticello before October 7. He remained there most of the month. He was in Germantown on November 17 and perhaps did not return to Philadelphia until early December, so he may not have signed this document until December 17, when he paid Delany.

Though Jefferson was not the first to introduce macaroni to the United States, he did serve it in the Executive Mansion in 1802.

#### Another "macaroni"

While in Italy on their mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Grand Tours of Europe, some young British gentlemen discovered a taste not only for macaroni, but also for all things Catholic, Continental, and ostentatiously fashionable. By the 1770s, the term "macaronies" came to refer to men who dressed extravagantly, spoke affectedly, gambled recklessly, and behaved in a risqué manner (including charges of homosexuality).

When British soldiers sang 'Yankee Doodle,' before it ironically became an American favorite, they used it to disparage Americans. Michael Walters explains, "the British were mocking what they perceived as the Americans' lack of class. The first verse is satirical because a doodle—a simpleton—thinks that he can be macaroni—fashionable—simply by sticking a feather in his cap. In other words, he is out of touch with high society."<sup>5</sup> It's even more insulting because British soldiers despised anyone who aspired to being a macaroni.

#### The co-signers

In August 1789, Washington appointed Irish immigrant **Sharp Delany** (1739-1799) as the collector of customs at Philadelphia, a position he had held since 1784 under the state government, and retained until 1798. Washington nominated **William Macpherson** (1756-1813) of Philadelphia as surveyor of the customs on September 11, 1789. Alexander Hamilton was nominated to be Secretary of the Treasury, and confirmed by the Senate on the same day. Macpherson was confirmed on September 18. In 1792, Washington appointed Macpherson as inspector of the revenue and in December 1793 as naval officer of the port of Philadelphia.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Printed Document Signed, Fragment of Account of Imported Goods, [ca. December 17, 1793], [Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]. 1 p. (partial). Docketed, "*7 Sept*<sup>r</sup> 1793 / *Brig Salome* / [Captain] *Wasson* / *Th*<sup>§</sup> *Jefferson* / *paid*." #27530

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> <u>Michael Waters, "The Macaroni in 'Yankee Doodle' Is Not What You Think,"</u> Atlas Obscura, August 24, 2016.

## Hamilton Addresses Overdue Pensions for Invalid Veterans in Massachusetts

Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton informs the Commissioner of Loans for Massachusetts that he has directed Treasurer Samuel Meredith to send him the funds to pay the 1790 pensions. This applied to Revolutionary War veterans whose wounds rendered them unable to procure a subsistence by manual labor. Those who could perform some labor received partial pensions based on the extent of their disability.

In June 1788, the Confederation Congress appointed three commissioners, including Alexander Hamilton, to consider the support of wounded and disabled veterans. Their report condemned the disorganized condition of the program. Although the payment of all such pensions were authorized if the states transmitted their rolls to the secretary of war, only six states had submitted their pension lists, and only two had included the necessary financial details.

On September 29, 1789, the first Federal Congress passed "An Act Providing for the Payments

Treasury Department Seburary 8th 1794 Shave directed the Treasurer of the United States to Junish you with a draught on the Office of Discount and Deposit at Boston for Aix hundred and firty eights dollars and thirty three Cents to inable you to discharge the pensions due to sundry Invalids of the United States in the Gear 1790 and which, were not paid by Benjamin Lincoln the late Agent Sam with consideration Si you about firmant Mathaniel . Appleton Esque Commissioner of Loans

of the Invalid Pensioners of the United States," which took over from the states the payment of military pensions. Congress turned to Secretary of War Henry Knox to standardize the management of pensions. In 1791, Knox's report recommended that decisions on eligibility should be made locally by physicians, who would report to district judges, who would then inform the secretary of war. However, the Senate in 1792 removed references to physicians, leaving the determination of the extent of disability to the courts. The following year, Congress replaced the prior Act with one that adopted all of Knox's suggestions.

Collector Benjamin Lincoln apparently had not paid all of the pensioners in Massachusetts for 1790. In February 1791, Hamilton informed Nathaniel Appleton that President George Washington had selected him, as Commissioner of Loans, to pay "Pensions to Invalids for the space of one year."

On January 15, 1794, Hamilton again wrote to Appleton regarding the payments "under such regulations as shall have been prescribed by the Secretary of War." The present letter notified Appleton that the funds had been transferred for him to pay the "sundry invalids" in Massachusetts who had been overlooked in 1790.

One of those affected was Captain Moses McFarland of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, who was wounded at the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775 and transferred to the Invalid Regiment in March 1779. His wound deprived him of the use of one arm, and he was granted one-third of a pension based on his injury.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Manuscript Letter Signed, to Nathaniel Appleton, February 8, 1794, [Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]. Includes unsigned free frank by Hamilton: *"Free Secy of Treasy."* 1 p. *#*27442

#### Preparing to Fight the Whiskey Rebellion: Congress Approves and Funds a Federal Military Force, and Authorizes the President to Call up to 80,000 Militia Men from Four States

"The President of the United States...is hereby authorized to require of the executives of the several States, to take effectual measures, as soon as may be, to organize, arm and equip, according to law, and hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning...."

Confronted by the equivalent of an armed insurrection in western Pennsylvania, President George Washington proceeded cautiously. With this act, Congress called on the governors of the fifteen states to organize and equip their militias to "*march at a moment's warning*."

After a federal marshal was attacked in July 1794, Supreme Court Justice James Wilson fulfilled the requirements of the Militia Act of 1792 on August 4 by certifying that the insurrection in western Pennsylvania was beyond the ability of local law enforcement authorities to suppress. Three days later, Washington announced that he would call out the militia to suppress the rebellion. He personally led a force of nearly 13,000 militia from New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania into western Pennsylvania and Maryland, the only time a sitting president has led troops in the field. Hamilton accompanied the army as a civilian adviser.

As the federal army approached, the insurrection collapsed, and some of its leaders fled westward. Although several were convicted for assault and riot, only two were convicted of treason and sentenced to



in the office of the Secretary of State.

Secretary of State.

death. President Washington pardoned them. The incident demonstrated that the new national government had the will and ability to suppress violent resistance to the laws.

As with Jefferson before him, Randolph was obliged as Secretary of State to sign Acts of Congress whether he liked them or not. In fact, he was skeptical of the punitive measures the Whiskey Acts represented, recognizing that they would incite unrest in frontier areas. In new Cabinet battles, Randolph opposed Hamilton's push to put the taxes into effect.

EDMUND RANDOLPH, Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act directing a Detachment from the Militia of the United States*, May 9, 1794. Philadelphia. 2 pp. #24428.02
## Hamilton's Conduct of the Treasury Department Investigated by Congress

In 1791, Jefferson and Madison accused Hamilton of misusing foreign loans, and attempted to remove him from office. The election of 1792 saw the Federalist Party, supporting President Washington, retain control of the Senate while the anti-administration Democratic-Republican Party won a majority in the House of Representatives. To silence the allegations, on December 16, 1793, Hamilton officially requested that the House conduct an investigation into his tenure. On February 24, 1794, the House appointed a select committee to do so. With sweeping powers, the mostly Republican committee met three times a week for three months.

Hamilton, recently recovered from yellow fever, testified at about half of the sessions. He disclosed his private accounts with the Bank of the United States and the Bank of New York. Republicans hoped to prove that Hamilton had exploited his authority to extort personal credit from the two banks. They also accused Hamilton of diverting to the Bank of the United States funds appropriated for repayment of the debt to France. However, Hamilton insisted that everything was "conformable with the laws" and that the foreign loans particularly had been authorized by Washington. The committee report provides detailed information about the organization, rules, and operations of the Treasury Department, and cleared Hamilton of all allegations.



"The committee... have examined the original books.... In the progress

of the examination, the committee have also, from time to time, received verbal explanations relating thereto, from the officers of the treasury, and, as the result of their examination, make the following report." (p3)

[Hamilton to the Select Committee:] "A compleat responsibility for the due and faithful execution of those laws, is admitted to rest on the head of the treasury department. He claims no protection from any instruction or authority of the President, for any thing, which may have been irregular or wrong: But he respectfully conceives, that the competency of his authority from the President, to do, what being done is conformable with the laws, is not, under the circumstances of the case, a proper object of legislative inquiry." (p43)

"At the request of the Secretary of the Treasury the Committee Report: "That it appears from the affidavits of the Cashier and several Officers of the Bank of the United States, and of several of the Directors, the Cashier and other Officers of the Bank of New York, that the Secretary of the Treasury never has, either directly or indirectly, for himself or any other person, procured any discount or credit from either of the said Banks, upon the basis of any public monies... And the Committee are satisfied that no monies of the United States ... have ever been directly or indirectly used for, or applied to any purposes, but those of the Government: except, so far as all monies deposited in a bank are concerned in the general operations thereof." (p82)

On December 2, 1794, Hamilton announced to Congress his intention to resign on January 31, 1795. He communicated this decision "in order that an opportunity may be given... to institute any further proceedings which may be contemplated ... in consequence of the inquiry during the last session, into the state of the Treasury Department." As it had done with the committee's report, the House tabled Hamilton's letter and took no further action.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON.] Report of the Committee Appointed to Examine Into the State of the Treasury Department Made to the House of Representatives of the United States on the 22d Day of May, 1794, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Philadelphia: Francis Childs & John Swaine, 1794. 86 pp. #27494

# Pennsylvania Militia Vows to Fight for Their Liberty...Against the Whiskey Rebels

"In conformity to your letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> 26 including *drummer* & *fifer of my company* of Light Infantry, at 4 oclock yesterday Morning paraded completely acquiped & with the Genuine ardour of Freemen agreed unanimously to march at a moments warning. in Defence of their Rights, Liberty & Property. ... There are also about 35 more, who signed the original association. that have never acquiped themselves ... should you concur in opinion with the Gen<sup>1</sup> & Colon<sup>1</sup> Forster, that they cannot be considered as belonging to any other company until discharged, & that I have not the power of discharging them, whilst they reside within the bounds of my company; measures must be taken to compel them to acquip themselves. Would it not be proper to make a Draft from

find Holon & Farther that they con not be considered as belonging to any other lampany until discharged, Ithat Thave not the place of discharging them, whilst they wide with in The baccuss of my lompony; measures must be token to compet them to acquip them selves leaved that be proper to make a graft from them in ada to complex the company: as this with with you I have no doub Dher you will know such Tipts as will have fromote the card. Jan his Hour Inor? af the Glowinger by ?? 16. J. C. In. 7-14-49

them in order to compleat the company: as this rests with you I have no doubt but you will persue such stepts as will best promote the end..."

Violent opposition erupted in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in July 1794. U.S. marshals attempting to serve court papers were met by armed citizens and local militia members. Protests included tarring and feathering tax collectors, the destruction of government offices, the destruction of the houses of tax collectors, and the mustering of insurgent forces. After the federalized militia, led by Washington and Hamilton, entered the insurgent counties and arrested several local men as examples (most of the leaders of the rebellion had fled west before the militia arrived), the opposition quickly fizzled. Suppressing the rebellion represented the first real test against internal threats for the newly created Constitutional government.

Militia companies west of the Alleghenies had provided training and an organization structure for the leaders of the rebellion, and federal officials initially feared that Pennsylvania's militia would sympathize with the rebellion and refuse to fight. But many militia members from eastern and central Pennsylvania proved eager to suppress the rebellion, believing the scale of the disorder threatened their own liberty and security. George Fisher was a captain of a company of light infantry in the Dauphin County, Pa. militia. John Gloninger was brigade inspector.

GEORGE FISHER, Autograph Letter Signed, to John Gloninger, Esq., July 5, 1794, Harrisburg, [Pennsylvania]. #23629.01

## Marching to Join Washington's Army to Put Down the Whiskey Rebellion

"After a Comfortable March of four days from Lancaster we Arrived at this place all in Good health and in Great Spirits, but unfortunately we arrived about One our [hour] two Late to see our troops March from this Place, tomorrow we set off for Shippensburg where we Expect to join the main boddy of the Army and where we Expect to hold our election, we are not Certain how far we Shall March before we Shall Return, but we Expect we Shall not Stop Short of Bedford, as the **President is Determined to Listen** to no Proposals, till he Marches his Army into the midst of there Country...."

While marching through southern Pennsylvania, trying to catch up with Washington's main army, William Harris (1757-1812) writes his wife. Harris was only a step behind Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton had written to his own wife, Eliza, from

Camp at Parlile 11 October 1704 My Sear after a comfortable March of four Days from Lanestar we know at this place all in Good neath and in Great Pharty but Unfortunately we derived about One Our two Late to See Our tooks March hom this Place to morrow we set for Miphinsburgh bushere we Capart To Join the main boddy of the Army and where we lakent To Hold Our Platton, we are not fertain how the Mall March before we Phall tetur, but we Expect we Phall wat Play Prost of Ledford, as the President is Jotermined To Listen to no Reparls, till he Marker his horney into It the midth it of these Country my year after you have got the new land Sowed and fenced and the Pummer Grain Collected, Peace to keep the men at the Purplike, I heard from you by M. Purhard at Lowerton which was the Lealist account, when you have an Expertus = nity Please to Let me hear you I Shall write to you if An Oppertunity Pares from Due Next Station Remember me To All Inquiring fiendo I am yours To Mary Hanis

Carlisle on October 10 to inform her that "Tomorrow we leave this for Fort Cumberland" and assuring her that "We are very strong & the Insurgents are all submissive so that you may be perfectly tranquil."

On September 30, the president and Alexander Hamilton left Philadelphia to rendezvous with a federalized force of 12,950 men at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. They arrived four days later and marched with the militia to Bedford. After reviewing the troops and preparing his officers to advance when ordered, Washington returned to Philadelphia to meet with Congress. Shortly thereafter, General "Light-Horse Harry" Lee led troops into western Pennsylvania and arrested the core of the rebel army. The uprising quickly collapsed.

[WHISKEY REBELLION.] William Harris, Autograph Letter Signed, to his wife Mary, October 11, 1794. #23629.02

## John Jay's Brother Deeds Land for First African Free School in America

Alexander Hamilton became a member of "The New-York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting Such of Them as Have Been, or May be Liberated," more commonly known as the New-York Manumission Society, at its second meeting. Founded in January 1785, the Society selected John Jay served as its first president. Hamilton proposed a resolution that anyone who joined had to manumit their slaves first, but the Society rejected the proposal.

Recognizing the importance of education within the free black community, the Society voted to establish the African Free School on November 2, 1787 "for the humane and charitable purpose of Educating negro Children to the end that they may become good and useful Citizens of the State." By this 1794 deed, Frederick Jay—John Jay's brother—conveyed a tract of land on Hester Street in lower Manhattan for the school.

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#### Excerpt

"Whereas many respectable and benevolent Persons in the City of New York have associated under the denomination of 'the Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves and protecting such of them as have been or may be Liberated,' and have Instituted a School in said City, called the African free School for the humane and charitable purpose of Educating negro Children to the end that they may become good and useful Citizens of the State. And

Whereas the said Frederick Jay one of the Members of the said Society formed for the purpose aforesaid, being desirous of aiding and promoting the said Charitable Institution by granting a Lot of Land in the said City for the use and benefit of said Institution to Trustees appointed for that purpose. Now this Indenture Witnesseth That the said Frederick Jay for and in Consideration of the Sum of ten Shillings lawful Money of New York to him in hand paid by the said Matthew Clarkson, William Dunlap, Elihu Smith, and William Johnson at or before the Sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof he doth hereby acknowledge and himself therewith fully satisfied and paid, Hath granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released and confirmed, and by these presents Doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, release and confirm unto the said Party of the second part in their actual possession now being by virtue of these Presents and by force of the Statute made for transferring uses into Possession, All that Lot of Land number six hundred and thirtu five situate luing and being in the seventh Ward late the out Ward of the City of New York.... In Trust nevertheless that the same shall be and remain to the sole use of the said Society for the purpose of erecting a School House on the said described and herby granted Premises, or to be disposed of and conveyed for the benefit of the said African free School in such other manner as the said Society shall hereafter direct and appoint, and for no other use, trust, intent or purpose whatsoever...."

The African Free School was one of the first nondenominational charity schools in the United States and began operations in 1794. By the time it merged into the public school system in 1835, the African Free School had been responsible for the education of thousands of black students.



A schoolroom with children of recently freed slaves and white teachers, 1866 Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Library of Congress

The Society lobbied for a state law to provide for the gradual abolition of slavery. The state legislature voted for a form of gradual emancipation in 1785, but could not agree on civil rights for former slaves. Organizing boycotts against merchants and newspapers involved in the slave trade, the Society was instrumental in the passage of a law that prohibited the sale of slaves imported into the state and made it easier for owners to manumit slaves. In 1799, Governor John Jay signed an *Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*, which would free all children

born to slave parents after July 4, 1799, after a period of apprenticeship. Subsequent legislation hastened abolition, and in 1827 the last slaves in New York were freed. The Society also provided financial and legal assistance to free and enslaved members of the community.

After nearly a decade of teaching at the First African School, Cornelius Davis resigned in 1796. The following year, the trustees hired bookseller William Pirsson as schoolmaster and retained Abigail Nichols as the teacher of the female classes. They also hired African American John Teasman (ca. 1754-1815) as an assistant teacher or usher. To supplement their incomes, Pirsson and Teasman began an African Evening School for adults. Teasman succeeded Pirsson as principal of the school in 1799 and served until 1809. A white English immigrant, Charles C. Andrews (1783-1835), replaced Teasman as principal.

The Society likely sold this lot to help fund a different site for the school on Cliff Street. The school was destroyed by fire in January 1814 and was replaced by another on William Street, which opened in January 1815. The second schoolhouse operated by the Society, African Free School No. 2, opened in May 1820 on Mulberry Street. Beginning as a one-room school with about forty students, it grew to seven buildings in different neighborhoods with more than 1,400 students. In 1835, the African Free Schools were integrated into the public school system.

[AFRICAN AMERICAN.] Manuscript Document Signed, Deed of Frederick Jay to Matthew Clarkson, William Dunlap, Elihu Smith, and William Johnson, July 22, 1794. 1 p. #27319

#### George Washington's Second Thanksgiving Proclamation, Sent to American Consuls, With Edmund Randolph's Signed Cover Letter as Secretary of State

Randolph's circular letter on page one notes that he is attaching a reprint of Thomas Jefferson's August 26, 1790 letter to our Consuls, and an extract of Jefferson's May 31, 1792. letter calling attention to a part of the Act of Congress governing the security that consuls have to give to insure they can meet obligations they take on for the United States. A day before it was publicly issued, he then attaches the full text of Washington's Second Presidential Thanksgiving Proclamation as "a better comment upon the general prosperity of our affairs than any which I can make."

Excerpt from Washington's Proclamation, publicly issued on January 1, 1795 "When we review the calamities which afflict so many other nations, the present condition of the United States affords much matter of consolation and satisfaction...the great degree of internal tranquillity we have enjoyed—the recent confirmation of that tranquillity, by the suppression of an insurrection which so wantonly threatened it—the happy course of our public affairs in general—the unexampled prosperity of all classes of our citizens, are circumstances which peculiarly mark our situation with indications of the Divine Beneficence towards us...."

Thomas Jefferson, as the first U.S. Secretary of State, from 1790 to 1793, had sent a circular to all U.S. consuls and vice-consuls around the world at the end of each session of Congress to apprise them of any new laws or other matters relating to their duties.

Jefferson's August 26, 1790 circular to the consuls, reprinted here, requests "information of all military preparations, and all other indications of war which may take place in your ports..." It ends with the admonition "not to fatigue the government in which you reside, or those in authority under it, with applications in unimportant cases... and let all representations to them be couched in the most temperate and friendly terms; never indulging in any case whatever, a single expression which may irritate."

Randolph, as Jefferson's successor, faced many of the same challenges that his predecessor had attempted to address. He managed the settlement of the Citizen Genêt Affair. He prompted a resumption of talks with Spain and assisted in the negotiations of the 1795 Treaty of San Lorenzo, which opened the Mississippi River to U.S. navigation and fixed the boundaries between Spanish possessions and the U. S. Randolph continued the effort to maintain close relations with France and minimize Alexander Hamilton's influence over President Washington. Randolph strongly objected when Washington endorsed Jay's Treaty, securing commercial ties with Great Britain at the expense of neutral trade, particularly U.S. shipping to France.

As president, Washington proclaimed only two days of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer. The first was on October 3, 1789, just over five months after he became president. Washington celebrated the fact that the United States had emerged victorious from a long war with the world's greatest military power, and that the nation had "Peaceably" established a new government designed to balance necessary powers with strong protections of individual rights. The danger of disunion was real, but had been avoided during the heated debate over the Constitution's ratification, and compromise was reached with the promise of a Bill of Rights. On the same day that it had passed the first twelve amendments to the Constitution to be sent to the states for ratification, Congress requested that the president issue a Thanksgiving Proclamation.

His second proclamation, printed here, is addressed to "to all religious societies and denominations, and to all persons whomsoever." He calls for thanks to "The Great Ruler of Nations" and "the Kind Author" of national blessings. As with his first proclamation, he does not reference Jesus Christ. While some Christian ministers criticized the omission, others believed that Washington wished to be viewed "merely as the political Head of the Union," and not "the Dictator of its religious opinions and worship."

#### America and the World

Washington gives thanks for "Our exemption hitherto from foreign war [and] —an increasing prospect of the continuance of that exemption." When war broke out between France and Britain in 1793, America was extremely vulnerable. Britain recognized America as an ally of France, and both Britain and France attacked American ships. In the French Caribbean alone, American merchants lost over 250 ships to British capture. America's "perpetual" attachment to France, our first and most important Revolutionary War ally, had waned since the onset of

the bloody. The Federalists' preferred strategy of military buildup and negotiations, however, proved inadequate. In March of 1794, Congress passed the Embargo Act, temporarily halting American shipping in order to relieve pressure on American sailors and merchants without provoking Britain.

In the short term, the Embargo protected the lives of sailors and allowed Washington's administration time to strengthen the nation's military and to pursue negotiations. However, like embargos before and after, it proved financially damaging to American merchants, particularly in the northeastern states, and it failed to resolve the underlying problems.

Anti-Federalists still favored France. Meanwhile, the Embargo divided Federalists who believed that asserting American sovereignty abroad depended first on enforcement of sovereign principles against all encroachers, and Anglophile Federalists who believed that unfettered access to British manufacturing technology and expanding American mercantile power would give America greater leverage. The arrival of Jay's Treaty in America in the middle of 1795, exacerbated the political breach. Washington's Farewell Address, issued the next year, provided a less rosy outlook than his 1795 Thanksgiving Proclamation.

(CIRCULAR.) I have the honor to be With great re Edn: Raido Nathaniel atting Ergr Consul of the Worker Have

EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed, as Secretary of State, to Nathaniel Cutting, American Consul at Havre de Grace, France, December 31, 1794, 3 pp on one leaf. 15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. #24141

## Hamilton Remits a Whiskey Tax Fine Just After the Rebellion, and Two Days Before Leaving the Treasury

"To all whom these presents shall come, I Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury of the United States send Greeting

"Whereas a Statement of facts with the Petition of John F. Fitch of the Town of East Windsor in the State of Connecticut and Owner of Two Distilleries hereto annexed touching a certain Forfeiture incurred under the Statutes of the United States...

"and 'An Act concerning the duties on Spirits distilled within the United States' was on the Twenty-sixth day of June *last past transmitted to me the said Secretary of* the Treasury by direction of the Judge of the United States for the District of *New York pursuant to the* Statute of the United States intitled "An Act to provide for mitigating or remitting the Penalties and Forfeitures accruing under the Revenue Laws in certain cases therein mentioned" as by the said Statement of facts and Petition remaining in the Treasury Department...

[I] have decided to remit to the said John F. Fitch all the right claim and demand of the United States and of all others whomsoever to the said Forfeiture he the said John F. Fitch first paying

me given by the said last mentioned Matule how decided to remit to the said John F. Fitch all the right claim and demand of the United States and of all others whomsoever to the stand Topelune he the said , The Filek first paying all reasonable bosts and thorges attending the proceeding in the Premipes to be aprefed by the Judge of the District aforesaid C Given under my hand o feal of Africe in the billy of Philadel phice in the Hate of Pennsylvania This Twenty Month day of Innuary in the year of Our Loro Seconteen Reindred and Ninety five and in the Minetunthe year of the Independence of the Unite Atates 5 Eleanor Hamilton Les ofthe Tral

all reasonable costs and charges attending the proceeding in the Premises to be assessed by the Judge of the District aforesaid....

Alexander Hamilton / Secy of Treasy"

John Field Fitch (1766-1819) was born in Windsor, Connecticut. In 1788, he married Lucy Mather, and they had at least seven children. He was the nephew of steamboat inventor John Fitch.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Manuscript Document Signed, remitting a fine on John F. Fitch, "owner of two Distilleries," January 29, 1795, with Treasury Department seal. #25083

#### Nearly Launching Several Duels at Federal Hall, Edward Livingston Slammed Hamilton: "Beware of Him or He Will Ruin You." Docketed by Hamilton on verso.

On Saturday, July 18, 1795, a gathering at New York's City Hall nearly turned into a riot. News of the recently completed Jay's Treaty had arrived. Tensions were high, and Republicans, carrying American and French flags, shouted down the former Treasury Secretary as he attempted to defend the Treaty, which was thought to favor Great Britain. According to the *New-York Gazette*, "three stones were thrown at Mr. Hamilton, the second of which glanced his forehead but without material injury; one of the others struck another gentleman...."

"The subjoined is to the best of my recollection the precise words used by M<sup>r</sup> Edward Livingston at the publick meeting last Saturday, command my services with great regard your very humble servant / James Farquhar

"New York, 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1795... "I certify that M<sup>r</sup> Edward Livingston did declare to a number of people in front of Federal Hall last Saturday, point to Alexander Hamilton, beware of him or he will ruin you. James Farquhar"

#### [Docketing by Hamilton, struck out later:] "Intimates that Edw<sup>d</sup> Livingston said of H pointing at him 'Beware of him or he will ruin you"

James Farquhar (1742-1831) came to New York from Scotland. He was a master of ships until 1774. He married Elizabeth Curson, and became a wine merchant and a vestryman at Trinity Church. In 1786, he served as a second in a duel. In 1800, he was appointed Warden of the Port of New York. He also led New York's assembly dances (forerunner of debutante balls).

My dear dir The subjoined is to the best of my recollection the precise words with ty Mongowood Licing ton of the public meeting last saturday, command my service night greetregard your very humble server Swolork. 2. July. 1795 Dectify that Mar Swand Livingston hont of Fibrac Hall last saturday rainting to Alexander Hamilton, heavere a hind or he will ruin your

The Livingston cousins were all prominent New Yorkers. Edward (1764-1836) graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton), was a Congressman (1795-1801) and leader of the opposition to Jay's Treaty, U.S. Attorney for New York, and mayor of New York City (1801-1803), U.S. Congressman (1823-1829), U.S. Senator from Louisiana (1829-1831), and Secretary of State (1831-1833). James (1747-1832), a colonel in the Revolutionary War, represented Saratoga in the state legislature (1783-1794). Henry Brockholst Livingston (1757-1823) graduated from the College of New Jersey, was a lieutenant colonel in the Revolution, private secretary to John Jay (1779-1782), judge of the State Supreme Court (1802-1807), and associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1807-1823). Maturin (1769-1847) graduated from Princeton, and was a delegate to the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1801.

Commodore James Nicholson (1737-1804) joined the Continental Navy as a captain in 1776, and aided Washington at the Battle of Trenton. He falsely accused Hamilton of profiting from Jay's Treaty with an investment of £100,000 in British securities. On July 18, when Hamilton tried to intervene in an argument between Nicholson and Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Nicholson accused Hamilton of having previously declined a duel. Hamilton challenged Nicholson who accepted, and the two were to negotiate details. In the meantime, the crowd continued to goad the Federalists, and Hamilton offered to fight "the whole detestable faction," one by one. Maturin Livingston accepted, but Hamilton parried by noting he had just accepted Nicholson's duel, so he deferred this second challenge until after the first was settled. Over the next few days, Hamilton and Nicholson corresponded while Hamilton put his financial affairs in order. Together with their seconds, Nicholas Fish and DeWitt Clinton, they managed to calm passions enough to both preserve their honor without dueling.

JAMES FARQUHAR. Autograph Document Signed, with ALEXANDER HAMILTON Autograph Note on verso (though struck out), July 21, 1795. #24643



#### A Declaration Signer's Son Witnesses Hamilton's Challenging Commodore Nicholson to a Duel During the Near-Riot over Jay's Treaty

A fine letter to his brother Lewis Morris, a former aide-de-camp to Nathanael Greene. Staats served as an artillery officer from 1791 to 1800. Here, he describes a recent leave from West Point; he visited New York and witnessed Alexander Hamilton's attempt to rally a hostile crowd in support of John Jay's deeply unpopular Treaty with Britain. After failing to convince the crowd of his argument, Hamilton challenged two prominent men to a duel.

#### Transcript:

My dear Brother ... I am just returned from West Point, where I believe I have told you before, I am stationed. I was sent on some public business, & shall stay but a day or two in Town... I found the people of this City up in arms against the Treaty. They have burned it & treated M<sup>r</sup> Jay with every mark of indignation.

Col. Hamilton who stepped forward to argue upon the merits, & advocate it, was hissed, pelted with stones, & personally insulted by old [Commodore James] Nicolson, & a host of Livingstons. He [Alexander Hamilton] has challenged the former, & means to fight his way through.

However far we may disapprove the proceedings of a lawless faction, we can not altogether approve the treaty in its present shape. I think it a half finished work, & had the affairs of G Britain been ever so prosperous, I do not think she could have made a better bargain, but not withstanding if it should become a law of the land I shall support it. I have received a Box of <2> segars [cigars] unaccompanied by a letter, which appears to have been directed by a fair hand. To whom I am indebted for this favor, I am ignorant, but be it fine, or super fine, I am grateful, & they are the more acceptable, as my old stock was nearly exhausted.

I have also received a letter dated some time back from you... In this I anticipated you... The hints & cautions you have given me relative to my <u>charge</u>, I know arise from a sincere solicitude for my welfare. She is out of the way, & I have not seen her for near a month, but however I am bound to extend every assistance she may stand in need of, as the agent of her husband but at the same time depend on Col<sup>1</sup>, I shall <u>keep a</u> <u>good look out...</u>

My situation at West point is an agreeable one, but one that exposes me to considerable [ex]pence, having the pleasure of seeing all my acquaintances, who go up or come down River, & to whom I must give something to eat a glass of wine &c to wash it down.... Give my sincerest <4> love to my dearest sister & sweet little folks & my best respects to the rest of your charge & believe me with truth / your aff<sup>t</sup> Brother / Staats

P.S. enclosed is a letter to  $M^r$  Ewing with whom you deal in Trad  $S^t$  They are all well at Morrisania & busily employed harvesting.

- Shar

**Staats Morris** (1765-1827), the son of Declaration of Independence signer Lewis Morris, was a captain of Artillerists and Engineers during the Revolutionary War and as an aide-de-camp to General Anthony Wayne during the following Indian wars. He commanded artillery in Baltimore harbor from 1798 and occupied the newly completed Fort McHenry in 1802.

STAATS MORRIS. Autograph Letter Signed, to his older brother, Lewis Morris Jr., July 23, 1795, New York. #24138

# Hamilton Defends Jay's Treaty During Near Riot at Federal Hall on July 18, 1795



News of the recently completed Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Great Britain granted significant latitude to Britain. Hamilton defended the Treaty, but Republicans, carrying American and French flags, shouted down the former Secretary of the Treasury.

"The intelligence of the Town Meeting at Boston, which had entered into certain resolutions, disapproving of the Treaty lately negotiated with Great-Britain, had no sooner reached this city, than a buz began to prevail that a similar meeting would speedily be had here.... "At the time and place appointed, a very numerous body of citizens assembled, among these were the principal part of the Merchants, and many very respectable citizens of all descriptions....

"There were many voices for and against the proposal; but a part of the meeting was so clamorous, that no reply could be made to the objections to it—and no decision could be obtained.

"While this question was agitated, a proposal was made, that those who disapproved the Treaty, should draw off to the Right—those who approved of it, to the Left. A considerable part of the meeting

drew off to the Right, but the greater part remained where they at first stood.... "The Meeting became every moment more and more tumultuous and noisu....

"The persons who took a lead in the business of the Meeting on the side of those who advocated an immediate condemnation of the Treaty, were Mr. Brockholst Livingston, Mr. Peter Livingston, and Mr. Maturin Livingston; on the other side appeared Mr. Hamilton; and it is understood that Mr. King, and other Gentlemen stood ready to cooperation in a discussion if it could have been brought about.

"In the course of the affair three stones were thrown at Mr. Hamilton, the second of which glanced his forehead, without material injury; one of the other struck another gentleman standing by him.

"From the beginning, standards were displayed, bearing the colours of the United States and France." (2/c4-3/c1)

Columbian Centinel, July 25, 1795. Boston, Mass.: Benjamin Russell. 4 pp. #30051.039

# Hamilton Seeks Payment for Arguing Constitutionality of His Carraige Tax - the Supreme Court's First Judicial Review Case

"the sum which shall be allowed for my compensation in attending the argument on behalf of the U States, respecting the constitutionality of the Tax on Carriages."

Daniel Hylton refused to pay the carriage tax, which he claimed was contrary to the Constitution's provision that no capitation (poll tax) "or other direct tax" be imposed except in proportion to the population of the states. The government prevailed in the federal circuit court of Virginia. (By Hylton's reasoning, in two states of equal population, with one state having twice as many carriages as the other, a person in the low carriage state would have to pay an effective tax rate twice as high as a person in the high carriage state.)

Federal jurisdiction required a dispute of at least \$2,000. If Hylton lost, he would only have had to pay \$16. He was allowed to counterfactually stipulate that he owned 125 carriages subject to the tax.

On February 23-25, 1796, *Hylton v. United States* was heard by Justices Samuel Chase, William Paterson, and James Iredell. Hamilton was brought back to represent the government's case. He argued successfully that this was not an unconstitutional direct tax, but one that met the requirement that "all duties, imposts and excises "be levied uniformly."

Two days later, Justice Iredell wrote that "Mr. Hamilton spoke in our Court, attended by the most crowded audience I ever saw there, both Houses of Congress being almost deserted on the occasion. Though he was in very ill health, he spoke with astonishing ability, and in a most pleasing manner, and was listened to with the profoundest attention."

On March 8, 1796, they issued seriatim opinions, unanimously affirming the constitutionality of the tax. (The court did not begin issuing joint decisions until 1801).

Justice Chase, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and strong Federalist, noted that "The great object of the Constitution was to give Congress a power to lay taxes adequate to the exigencies of government."

Justice Iredell wrote, "I am clearly of opinion this is not a direct tax in the sense of the Constitution, and therefore that the judgment ought to be affirmed." He argued that it would be unfair and impossible to administer such a tax by population.

Justice William Paterson, a signer of the Constitution, wrote, "All taxes on expenses or consumption are indirect taxes. A tax on carriages is of this kind, and of course is not a

Nouyork March 5 male " request and anothor you to receive, and remet to me in Bonch ap Now, the fun which that he allows for my compensation in a Andis the argument on behalf of the UNI ates, The argument in the conclusion ality of the reflectore the conflict which ality of the Tag on Carriages - with often grigato Jam you obso for of Hamilton

direct tax.... I am, therefore, of opinion, that the judgment rendered in the Circuit Court of Virginia ought to be affirmed." He explained why the rule of apportionment applied only to poll taxes (capitation) and land taxes.

Justice James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration and Constitution, had heard the facts and arguments in Virginia. He concluded "that my sentiments, in favor of the constitutionality of the tax in question, have not been changed."

# **Complete Transcript**

New York March 5 1796 D<sup>r</sup> Sir I request and authorize you to receive, and remit to me in Bank Post Notes, the sum which shall be allowed for my compensation in attending the argument on behalf of the U States, respecting the constitutionality of the Tax on Carriages. With esteem & regard I am Your obed Srv / A Hamilton

Five days later, Hamilton's cashbook records the payment of 500 dollars—a large sum at the time.

Hamilton's *Hylton* interpretation held for 99 years. It was overturned in 1895, when the Supreme Court decided in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.* that all taxes on personal property were prohibited. 18 years later, however, it was effectively reinstated with the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment, allowing taxes on income from real estate and personal property.

In 2012, Chief Justice John Roberts cited the *Hylton* precedent in his decision accepting the constitutionality of the Obamacare mandate for individuals to buy health insurance or face a tax penalty.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter Signed, March 5, 1796. New York City. #24954

# Hamilton's Carriage Tax Act

In addition to the Whiskey tax and import duties, in 1794 Hamilton proposed and Congress passed "An Act to Lay Duties upon Carriages for the Conveyance of Persons." This act became the first to withstand judicial review by the Supreme Court.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Printed document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act laying duties upon Carriages for the conveyance of persons...,* June 5, 1794. A scarce copy of the Act that became the focus of important Supreme Court deliberation, described below. #24428.13



## Hamilton Advises Holland Land Company on a New Law Prohibiting Foreign Land Owners

"It is manifestly the interest of the parties concerned to avail themselves of this act. They are now intirely at the discretion of the Government...."

New York adhered to the common-law prohibition against foreigners owning land. If a citizen purchased property in his own name but the money came from a foreigner, the purchaser was considered a trustee, and the State could seize the property. But Dutch investors, second only to France in their aid to America during the Revolution, invested heavily in American stocks, bonds, and western lands, working largely through their agent Théophile Cazenove.

The Holland Land Company involved many luminaries of the day, including Aaron Burr (who paid \$5,000 in bribes on behalf of the company), and other prominent buyers, sellers, and investors. In 1792 and 1793, Robert Morris sold 3.25 million acres in western New York to trustees of Amsterdam's Six Houses. In December 1792 and February 1794, Declaration and Constitution Signer James Wilson sold 1.4 million acres (more than he could deliver) in western Pennsylvania to the trustees. Morris and Wilson both spent time in debtor's prison, in part for this land speculations. Though Morris was out of government at the time, Wilson incredibly served short stints in debtor's prison while he was a sitting Supreme Court Justice.



"Answers to the Questions Stated in a letter of M<sup>r</sup> Cazenove's dated April 16, 1796

"I The security of the persons for whom the lands are held in trust will not be as good as if the lands stood in their own names (with a capacity in them to hold) in this particular, that <u>conveyances by the Trustees without</u> or against <u>their authority or permission to persons</u> <u>who may purchase bona fide</u>, <u>without knowledge of their violating their duty will be valid</u> <u>and effectual</u>. It is not recollected that the security will be worse in any other respect. Heirs wives and creditors of the Trustees cannot affect the lands by their claims. But there will be no difference whatever, after acceding to the act of the Legislature....

"II The persons for whom the lands are held in trust will be in the same situation at the end of the seven years, if they accept the provision of the Act... it has been long since known that LeRoy and Bayard were Trustees for purchases of this kind, & they might at any time have been compelled by a bill in Chancery to disclose all the particulars of their trust; so as to have enforced the forfeiture for the alienism of those for whom they held. A transfer by the present to other trustees at the end of the seven years will make no difference....

"It is manifestly the interest of the parties concerned to avail themselves of this act. They are now intirely at the discretion of the Government...."

In February, 1796, the Six Houses combined to form the Holland Land Company. Indian claims and the lack of surveys or roads dashed their hopes to sell quickly. On April 11, the New York legislature passed a bill allowing those persons who had taken title as trustees to hold them for seven years, giving Dutch owners time to become citizens or to sell the property to citizens. Five days later, Cazenove wrote to New York Supreme Court Justice Egbert Benson asking questions regarding the security of the Company's lands held by trustees, according to the provisions of the new law. This document is Hamilton's retained draft of his May 19 response to Cazenove's queries to Benson. The last of the company's lands was not sold until 1840.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Manuscript Draft, to Théophile Cazenove, ca. May 19, 1796. #24625

#### Five Acts of Congress, Including Two Sides of the Whiskey Rebellion: Providing Relief to Owners of Stills Beset by Failure of Grain, and Increasing Compensation to Jurors and Witnesses for Attending Trials *"For the Late Insurrection"*

Printing of five Acts passed during the final days of the session, between May 28 and June 1, 1796, and signed in print by President George Washington. The Secretary of State no longer had to sign two copies for every state, so Acts of Congress signed by Pickering are very rare.

## "An Act to regulate the compensation of clerks."

"An Act for the relief of persons imprisoned for debt." [Poor Debtors' Oath]: "You solemnly swear (or affirm) that you have not estate, real or personal, nor is any to your knowledge holden in trust for you to the amount or value of thirty dollars (necessary wearing apparel excepted), nor sufficient to pay the debt for which you are imprisoned.' Which oath or affirmation being administered, the judge shall certify the same under his hand, to the prison keeper, and shall fix a reasonable allowance for the debtor's support, not exceeding one dollar per week; and if the creditor shall thereafter any week fail to furnish the debtor with such weekly support, by paying or advancing the money to him, or to the prison keeper, for his use, the debtor shall be discharged from his imprisonment on such judgment, and shall not be liable to be imprisoned again for the said debt; but the judgment shall remain good and sufficient in law, and may be satisfied out of any estate which may then or at any time afterwards belong to the debtor...."

"An Act providing relief to the owners of stills within the United States, for a limited time, in *certain cases*," allowed distillers to forego paying the 54-cent per gallon annual duty (for still capacity of less than 400 gallons) and instead pay only a 10-cent monthly duty for the time he employed his still because of "the failure of fruit and grain" within his district. I.e., the act could thus reduce the duty for a ten-gallon still used for only two months from \$5.40 to \$2.

"An Act making an appropriation to satisfy certain demands attending the late insurrection; and to increase the compensation to jurors and witnesses in the courts of the United States," setting compensation at 50 cents per day for both for attending federal court.

"An Act to indemnify the estate of the late Major General Nathaniel Greene, for a certain bond entered by him, during the late war." In 1782, the War Department authorized Greene, commander of the Continental Army in the southern theater, to obtain clothing for his troops. He thus became responsible for more than £32,000 in debt. After his death in 1786, his estate faced ruin. Hamilton advocated on behalf of Greene's widow Catherine in a report of December 26, 1791, which Congress acted on four months later. In May 1795, the banking house involved in purchases for the troops won a new lawsuit against Greene's estate. Edward Rutledge, the youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence and executor of the estate, again asked Hamilton for help. Eventually, Congress responded, here indemnifying his estate for £11,297.



TIMOTHY PICKERING, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State. June 1, 1796. 4 pp. #25081

#### Washington's Farewell Address (Drafted by Hamilton)

Though Washington had initially solicited Madison's aide in crafting his remarks, he asked

Hamilton for help on a second draft, and Washington mostly used Hamilton's work. The Address, delivered to Congress in writing, warns against the dangers of sectionalism, and criticizes *"the insidious wiles of foreign influence,"* referring to the pro-French sentiments of Jeffersonian Republicans. Washington's policy during the wars between Great Britain and France in the early 1790s had been one of strict neutrality, and in the closing paragraphs of his Address he argues for continued American isolationism. America heeded his advice against joining a permanent alliance for more than a century and a half.

"The period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant...it appears to me proper... that I shall now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered.... I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.... Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence: that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments: which are the result of much reflection...."

"The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it

President's Relignation. We were favoured yefterday afternoon with a New-York Paper, of Wednejday la?, by a gentle-man from thence, containing the following Highly Interefting Communication :---To the People of the U. States. FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS. HE period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far diftant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts mult be employed in defignating the perfon, who is to be cloathed with that important truft, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more diffinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprite you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being confidered among the number of thole, out of whom a choice is to be made

I beg you, at the fame time, to do me the juftice to be affored, that this refolution has not been taken, without a first regard to all the confiderations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dusiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of fersice which filence in my fitution might imply. I am influenced by no diamation of zeal for your future intereft; no deliciency of grateful refpect for your paft kindnets; but am fupported by a full conviction that the flep is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and contingance hitherto in the office to which your fuffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform facrifice of inclina tion to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your defire. I conftantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, conflictently with motives, which I was not at liberty to difregard, to retuin to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The ftrength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even fed to the preparation of an addrefs to de elare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical poflure of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of perfons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the flate of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the purfuit of inclination incompatible with the fentiment of duty, or propriety : and am perfuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my fervice, that in the prefent circumitances of our country, you will not difapprove of my determination to retire.

The imprefitions with which I first undertook the arduous truth, were explained on the proper occasion. In the difcharge of this truth, I will only fay, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and adminiftration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconfcious, in the out-fet, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps fill more in the eyes of others, has is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety...and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance...when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

"Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it...."

*Columbian Centinel,* Boston, Mass., September 24, 1796. 4 pp., page 2 headline: "*President's Resignation*." Printing in full the address, "*To the People of the U. States*." #27263

## **Textile Honoring Washington and Quoting His Farewell Address**

*"Though, in reviewing the* incidents of my administration. I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I ferventlu beseech the Almiahtu to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion...."



Glazed cotton textile, ca. 1806. 1 p. #24700

#### Hamilton Supports Anyone but Jefferson to Succeed President Washington

When Washington declined to serve a third term, the stage was set for the first contested presidential election in American history. Federalists like Hamilton opposed the election of Jefferson more than they supported the election of any of their number to succeed Washington. They chose a ticket of John Adams of Massachusetts for president and the recently returned minister to Great Britain Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for vice president. Democratic-Republicans chose Thomas Jefferson of Virginia as their candidate for president and Aaron Burr of New York as vice president.

Because presidential electors cast undifferentiated votes, the candidate with the most votes became president, while the runner-up became vice president. Hamilton saw in this flawed system an opportunity to deny the presidency not only to his long-time enemy Thomas Jefferson, but also to John Adams, an acrimonious rival within the Federalist party. Hamilton urged southern electors to vote for Pinckney and cast their second vote, not for Adams, but for another Federalist like Oliver Ellsworth, John Jay, Samuel Johnston, or James Iredell. When Hamilton's plan was exposed, New England electors retaliated by not voting for Pinckney. Thirteen men received electoral college votes: Adams won with 71. Democratic-Republican Jefferson came in second, and became Vice President, with 68. Pinckney received 59, and Burr was a distant fourth with 30.

#### **Complete Transcript**

My Dear Sir,

Our excellent President as you have seen has declined a reelection. Tis all important to our Country that his successor shall be a safe man. But **tis far less important, who of many men that may be named shall be the person, than that it shall** <u>not</u> be <u>Jefferson</u>. We have every thing to fear if this man comes in; and from what I believe to be an

accurate view of our political map I conclude that he has too good a chance of success, and that good calculation prudence and exertion were never more necessary to the foederal cause than at this very critical juncture. All personal and partial considerations must be discarded, and every thing must give way to the great object of excluding Jefferson.

It appears to be a common opinion (& I think it a judicious one), that  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Adams &  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Pinckney (late Minister in England) are to be supported on our side for President and Vice President. New York will be unanimous for <u>both</u>. I hope New England will be so too. Yet I have some apprehensions on this point, lest the fear that he may outrun  $M^{\underline{r}}$ Adams should withhold votes from him. Should this happen, it will be in my opinion, a most unfortunate policy. It will be to take <u>one</u> only instead of <u>two</u>



chances against  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Jefferson & well weighed, there can be no doubt that the exclusion of  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Jefferson is far more important than any difference between  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Adams &  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Pinckney. <2>

[seven lines of text are struck, likely by Hamilton, but possibly by his son and biographer. The next two paragraphs, offering a glowing endorsement of Thomas Pinckney, were suppressed in John C. Hamilton's edition of his father's papers]

But on the other hand M<sup>r</sup> Pinckney is a tried Patriot, a man of irreproachable private character—a man of real <u>good sense</u>, not deficient in information, of <u>consummate discretion</u>, of conciliatory manners & temper, less en[?] but than any other man that can be brought forward to the violence of party passions—a firm friend to the Government, correct to our foreign relations, and of distinguished firmness of character.

However ardently we may wish for Mr. Adam's success, can we extremely regret if the choice should happen to fall on <u>Mr. Pinckney</u>? Can it be a doubt than even at this risk it will be wise to take a double chance against Jefferson?

At foot is my calculation of chances as between M<sup>I</sup> Adams & M<sup>I</sup> Jefferson. Tis too precarious. Pinckney has the chance of some votes Southward & Westward which M<sup>I</sup> Adams has not. This will render our prospect in the main point, the exclusion of Jefferson, far better.

Relying on the strength of your mind I have not scrupled to let you see the state of mine. I never was more firm in an opinion than in the one I now express, yet in acting upon it, there must be much caution & reserve.

Hamilton's "double chance" strategy miscarried and made Jefferson vice president.

It has been thought that the present draft was for a letter sent to Jeremiah Wadsworth, a Hartford, Connecticut, merchant who served in the Continental Congress and then the U.S. House of Representatives. On November 8, 1796, Hamilton wrote to Wadsworth, "A few days since I wrote you my opinion concerning the good policy of supporting faithfully Pinckney as well as Adams." Though this might be the earlier letter referred to, we think this is likely closer in date to Washington's farewell speech, and earlier in the election process.

Four years later, Hamilton was even more frustrated with the choices. No supporter of incumbent President John Adams, Hamilton found more to fear from Burr than from Jefferson: "In a choice of Evils let them take the least – Jefferson is in every view less dangerous than Burr.... Mr. Jefferson, though too revolutionary in his notions, is yet a lover of liberty and will be desirous of something like orderly Government. Mr. Burr loves nothing but himself, thinks of nothing but his own aggrandizement, and will be content with nothing short of permanent power in his own hands." (Hamilton to Harrison Gray Otis, December 23, 1800, Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History).

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Draft Autograph Letter, ca. October 1796. Heavily marked and edited draft. Possibly to Jeremiah Wadsworth. Framed to 24 x 20 in. #24639

But the far left unportant, who of many men that But the far left unportant, who of many that the may be named thall be. The perfor, that that the may be named thall be the have overy theng to fear that not be fefferfor. We have overy theng to fear that not be fefferfor . We have over the hat we have if the man comes in ; and from what while he have if the man comes in ; and from what while he have

# The General and Mrs. Washington at their Beloved Mount Vernon

A superb folk-art piece showing the Washingtons at Mount Vernon. Likely undertaken by an itinerant painter in the early to mid-nineteenth century, satisfying the growing demand for Washington-related iconography in the decades following his death in 1799.

[GEORGE and MARTHA WASHINGTON]. Oil on canvas, ca. 1840. Framed to 29 x 24 in. #23860



## The Only Known Hamilton Document on a Legal Case Involving James Reynolds

"There was also a <u>prior</u> Judgment against David Reynolds & his son James...but did not return the Execution nor sell till Wednesday the  $2^{\underline{d}}$  of November, when <u>James</u> Reynolds about 6 Months ago came forward to claim these lands in virtue of a deed from his father prior to Sands mortgage.... James was absent from the Country but shortly afterwards returned & built a house in the neighborhood but never claimed the property nor was his deed ever heard of till lately...."

Here, after Hamilton's affair was known to James Monroe and very few others, Hamilton was involved in a legal case having to do with James Reynolds just months before news of the scandal exploded. Hamilton seems to have come into this case representing one or more of four Cunningham brothers of Monroe County, N.Y., who had become involved in tangled land titles following lawsuits after David Reynolds defaulted on debts.

"James Reunolds about 6 Months ago came forward to claim these lands in virtue of a deed from his father prior to Sands mortgage. The deed expresses a consideration of 15 or 1600 pounds & it is expected proof will be made that 800 pounds were actually paid at the time of executing the deed. [James it is believed was then of Age]. The father... retained the possession & disposition, till the sale to Townshend, who ever since the sale to him has been & still is in possession. At the time of the same James was absent from the Country but shortly afterwards returned & built a house in the neighborhood but never claimed the property nor was his deed ever heard of till lately. Joseph Reynolds, Brother of James is one witness, & Richard Lanadon who shot himself the other. John Barbor says he will swear to payment of 800..."

1440 & alleger that he have arther of the almondus approach her and for the the property of the california even to be make here as her proved the here are seen to be able to prove a month to an approach by the adverte to be and the to an the approach of the top her allow more to be to an approach of the top her allow more to be to an approach of the top her allow more to be top approach of the top her allow more to be top approach of the top her allow more to be top approach to be top her a state to be the approach of the top her a top her and to be approach of the top her a state to be the approach of the top her a state to be the approach of the top her a state to be the approach of the top her a state to be the approach of the top her a state to be the approach of the top her and to be top and the top her all the top her and to be the approach to be top her and to be the approach to be top her and to be the approach to be top her and to be the approach to be top her and the top her the approach to be top her and to be the approach to be top her and the the and an about the top the make of the and the her alphanes to be and the prove the approach to be and the top the make of the approach to be and the top the top the the approach to be and the top the top the the approach to be and the top the top the top the approach to be and the top the top the top the approach to be and the top the top the top the approach to be and the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approach to the top the top the top the top the approa

David Reynolds (d. bef. 1796), born in Dutchess County, New York, served as a commissary of

purchases under Jeremiah Wadsworth. He and his son James procured supplies for the army from Orange County, N.Y., from 1777 to 1780, when his credit failed due to private speculation. By April 1783, he was in prison for public debts. John Currie sued, and won a judgement, but some of the underlying land was apparently sold or mortgaged by Reynolds rather than by the sheriff to execute the judgment.

Hamilton likely made these notes to aid his own understanding of the claims. Very little documentation from this case survives, and before the discovery of this manuscript, nothing was known of this particular connection between Hamilton and Reynolds. We're sure he would have preferred to keep it that way. Ironically, in May 1793, when Maria filed for divorce from James on the grounds of adultery, her attorney was Aaron Burr. The court granted the divorce in 1795. Maria then married Jacob Clingman, the man who happened to have been Congressman Muhlenberg's clerk (of the infamous committee), James Reynolds's partner in crime and prison buddy, and one of Hamilton's principal accusers. James Reynolds seems to have vanished.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Manuscript, ca. November 1796, notes on *Margaret Currie, administratrix of David Currie v. James Reynolds* (scire facias). #24624

## Jefferson Supports Attacks on Hamilton by Pamphleteer

In 1791, Hamilton was called upon by 23-year-old Maria Reynolds. She claimed to have been abused and abandoned by her husband, and she beseeched Hamilton for funds to allow her to return to New York with her small daughter. Hamilton, who had been raised by a single mother before being orphaned, agreed. When he called on her at home, Mrs. Reynolds reportedly desired more than his money. They began an affair that lasted more than a year.

On December 15, an urgent note from Maria informed Hamilton that her husband had returned. James Reynolds next wrote threatening to expose the affair to Eliza Hamilton unless Hamilton paid him. Over the next year, Hamilton paid the career swindler Reynolds more than \$1,100. In November of 1792, James was caught in a scheme to defraud Revolutionary War soldiers of back-pay and pension funds. Imprisoned for forgery, he sought Hamilton's help, but was refused. Reynolds then falsely told investigators that Hamilton was involved in the scheme, and had used government funds as hush money.

Having inevitably heard rumors, Senator James Monroe and Congressmen Frederick Muhlenberg and Abraham Venable formed an ad hoc committee in 1792 to investigate charges of financial malfeasance against Alexander Hamilton. They interviewed the accusers, James Reynolds, and Frederick Muhlenberg's clerk Jacob Clingman. Then they interviewed Hamilton, who privately admitted to the affair but insisted that he had used his own personal funds to pay Reynolds. He turned over the letters from Maria as proof. Satisfied that Hamilton was guilty of adultery and bad judgment but not corruption, the committee agreed to keep the affair private, but they kept a copy of the correspondence for good measure. Surprisingly, the secret held for five years.

James Thomson Callender (1758-1803) a refugee from Scotland, was described by Jefferson biographer Dumas Malone as "the most unscrupulous of the Republican pamphleteers and the most notorious scandalmonger of the era." Secretly supported by Jefferson, he made a splash with his sharp attacks against Hamilton and John Adams. This *Register* was published on January 19, 1797, and though critical of Hamilton does not include any references to the "Reynolds Affair."



"Fauchet fays above that the Hamiltonian system of finance is designed to int[r]oduce monarchy; and so have thousands said before him. Mr. Adams has been supported as a candidate for the presidency by that party of which Mr. Hamilton is the prime mover. Mr. Adams has wrote a defence of monarchy, for that is the real object of his book. This combination of opinions proves that the Aristocrats want to make Mr. Adams King." (p173)

"Mr. Alexander Hamilton, late secretary to the treasury, resigned his office from the scantiness of his salary. He resumed his profession as a practising lawyer, from the necessity of earning an income adequate to the expences of his family. He has written thirty-nine long letters, signed Camillus, in defence of Mr. Jay's treaty.... It will be hard to guess what party in America would advance that sum for these letters ; and no man gives up a large salary, that he may work without receiving any.... When the reader has attentively reflected on these particulars, he will begin to conjecture who paid for the writing of these letters." (p264-265)

JAMES T. CALLENDER. *The American Annual Register, or, Historical Memoirs of the United States for 1796*. Philadelphia: Bioren & Madan, 1797. Contemporary half calf and marbled boards. #24654

# Accusing Hamilton of Financial Crimes-and First Airing of the Reynolds Affair

## "In the secretary's bucket of chastity, a drop more or less was not to be perceived." (p222)

The infamous pamphleteer James Callender is generally recognized as the author of this controversial book that publicly accused Alexander Hamilton of suspicious financial dealings while he was Secretary of the Treasury, i.e., possible blackmail payments to James Reynolds to cover-up Hamilton's affair with Reynolds' wife, Maria.

After publishing his *American Annual Register* in January, Callender set to work on a series of pamphlets that were collected into his *The History of the United States for 1796*, which seems to have appeared in late July 1797. Callender used this publication to air James Reynolds's accusations, charging that Hamilton had been involved in the scheme for which Reynolds was imprisoned.

Hamilton blamed the committee and demanded an apology. Monroe replied that he had nothing to do with the publication but refused to fully disavow Clingman's charges. After a heated meeting and exchange of letters, Monroe and Hamilton very nearly dueled. (It is now thought likely that the committee's clerk, John Beckley of Virginia, leaked the documents.) Ironically, Aaron Burr defused the situation.

Chapter VI includes a section of "*Memoirs of Alexander Hamilton, late Secretary of the Treasury. – His singular mode of correspondence with certain persons. – Remarks on his connection with Reynolds.*" (pv-vi)

"Attacks on Mr. Munroe have been frequently repeated from the stock-holding presses.... They are ungrateful, because he displayed, on an occasion that will be mentioned immediately, the greatest lenity to Mr. Alexander Hamilton, the prime mover of the federal party.... The unfounded reproaches heaped on Mr. Munroe, form the immediate motive to the publication of these papers.... we shall presently see this great master of morality, though himself the father of a family, confessing that he had an illicit correspondence with another man's wife. If any thing can be yet less reputable, it is, that the gentlemen to whom he made the acknowledgement held it as an impostion, and found various reasons for believing that Mrs. Reynolds was, in reality, guiltless." (p204-205)

"So much correspondence could not refer exclusively to wenching. No man of common sense will believe that it did. Hence it must have implicated some connection still more dishonourable in Mr. Hamilton's eyes, than that of incontinency. Reynolds and his wife affirm that it respected certificate speculations." (p220)

When Callender himself was arrested for seditious libel in 1800, he appealed to his patron Jefferson, the sitting president, for aid. When Jefferson refused, Callender became a Federalist and, in 1802, published the first rumors about Jefferson's relationship with his slave mistress, Sally Hemings. Callender's life ended in a drunken stupor, drowning in three feet of water in the James River.

ANONYMOUS [JAMES T. CALLENDER]. *The History of the United States for 1796; Including a Variety of Interesting Particulars Relative to the Federal Government Previous to That Period*. Philadelphia: Snowden & McCorkle, 1797. viii, 312 pp. #28117

# Hamilton Exposes His Adultery: The Infamous Reynolds Pamphlet

"The charge against me is a connection with one James Reynolds for purposes of improper pecuniary speculation. My real crime is an amorous connection with his wife, for a considerable time with his privity and connivance, if not originally brought on by a combination of the husband and wife with the design to extort money from me. This confession is not made without a blush.... I can never cease to condemn myself for the pang, which it may inflict in a bosom eminently intitled to all my gratitude, fidelity and love.... The public too will I trust excuse the confession. The necessity of it to my defence against a more heinous charge could alone have extorted from me so painful an indecorum." (p9-10)

When Reynolds' accusations were published by James Callender in July 1797, Hamilton responded in this pamphlet, published on August 25, 1797, by admitting the affair, publishing his entire correspondence with Reynolds, and denying all charges of financial misconduct. While successful in its main purpose of saving his public character, it destroyed any hope of a further political career on the national stage, provided salacious ammunition for his enemies, and caused a serious breach with his wife and family. Eliza reportedly purchased and destroyed as many copies as she could, making this one a rare survival.

"I dare appeal to my immediate fellow citizens of whatever political party for the truth of the assertion, that no man ever carried into public life a more unblemished pecuniary reputation, than that with which I undertook the office of Secretary of the Treasury; a character marked by a indifference to the acquisition of property rather than by an avidity for it.... Without the slightest foundation, I have been repeatedly held up to the suspicions of the world as a man directed in his administration by the most sordid views; who did not scruple to sacrifice the public to his private interest, his duty and honor to the sinister accumulation of wealth." (p5)

"Merely because I retained an opinion once common to me and the most influencial of those who opposed me, That the public debt ought to be provided for on the basis of the contract upon which it was created, I have been wickedly accused with wantonly increasing the public burthen many millions, in order to promote a stock-jobbing interest of myself and friends." (p5-6)



"The officers and books of the treasury were examined. The transactions between the several banks and the treasury were scrutinized. Even my private accounts with those institutions were laid open to the committee; and every possible facility given to the inquiry. The result was a complete demonstration that the suspicions which had been entertained were groundless." (p6)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Observations on Certain Documents Contained in "The History of the United States for the Year 1796," in Which the Charge of Speculation Against Alexander Hamilton, Late Secretary of the Treasury, is Fully Refuted. Written by Himself. Philadelphia: Printed for John Fenno, by John Bioren, 1797. Gathered signatures, string-tied as issued. Early ink ownership signature of George M. Thompson on title page. #24839

## Mayor DeWitt Clinton's Copy of Scandalous Attack on Hamilton and Adams

"...The object in [Hamilton's] publishing this correspondence is to prove that the connection between Reynolds and the ex-secretary did not refer to the purchase of certificates, but to the charms of Mrs. Reynolds. Yet Mr. Hamilton and his friends have always enlarged on his poverty. The scale of expence in this affair disagrees with that supposition. In eighteen months Maria, must have cost him at least about eighteen hundred dollars. The expence is extravagant in proportion to its end. It revolts against his well known character for economy. He says that he was afraid of having the matter known to Mrs. Hamilton. Yet in her absence, he had frequent interviews with Mrs. Reynolds at his own house. This betrays but small regard for the secret...." [p. 93, on Hamilton's affair with Maria Reynolds]

"So much bustle about a president's speech, evidently shews that we are ambitious of posting towards monarchy. Speaking of the late birth day of general Washington, a federal newspaper has these words. "Two public companies, and many private parties, observed this POLITICAL CHRISTMAS, and HALLOWED it'! It is believed that no English print was ever polluted with such abject profanation. Mr. Adams was not contented with scolding at France.

*He hath since been inveighing against those who disapprove his conduct....*" [p. 258, on Adams]

This book continues the assaults on Alexander Hamilton and President Adams and effusively praises Jefferson. Two years later, Callender would be convicted of seditious libel under Adams' notorious Sedition Act. Jefferson refused aid, and Callender turned on his earlier patron.

DeWitt Clinton (1769-1828) graduated from Columbia University. In 1798, Clinton aided journalists and other writers convicted of seditious libel. He helped pay the fine levied against Vermont Congressman Matthew Lyon for libel and assisted in his release from prison. Clinton was a major promoter of the study of natural history and a founder of the New-York Historical Society. He served in the U.S. Senate from 1802-1803, and for three terms as Mayor of New York. Clinton ran for president against James Madison in 1812, but was defeated in a close race. Clinton served as Governor of New York from 1817-1822 and 1825-1828. He was the foremost advocate of the Erie Canal (called "Clinton's Ditch" by opponents), completed in 1825.



DEWITT CLINTON. Signed Book. James T. Callender. *Sketches of the History of America*. Philadelphia: Snowden & M'Corkle, 1798. First edition, period calf backed marbled boards, morocco title label. Signed by Clinton on title page. #21414

# Alexander Hamilton as Major General re Quasi War with France

"I enclose to you a letter which you will please deliver to Lieutenant Boote. Should M<sup>r</sup> Boote be willing to repair to this place you will give him permission to do so. In that case you will annex his party of infantry to the other company of infantry which forms part of your detachment."

In 1793 after the execution of King Louis XVI ended the monarchy and France became a republic, Congress stopped repayment of French loans from the Revolutionary War. In November of the following year, the United States signed the Jay Treaty with Great Britain. In response, France retaliated by seizing American ships that were trading with Great Britain, and in October 1796, French privateers began attacking all merchant ships in American waters on the East Coast as well as in the Caribbean.

In March 1798, Congress reconstituted the U.S. Navy and in May established a three-year "Provisional Army" of 10,000 men—twelve regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry—to exist simultaneously with the United States

few york August 24, 4499 ·L'I enclore to you a letter which you will please deliver to Seen tenacht Bosto Those a clin the oto the brilling to repair to the heaver you will give him permigrios to 20 20 The such care you will annes his party ofinger by to the others company openfanting which forms part of your detachment. with heat consideration Jam, hi 4. of gamilles

Army. In July, Congress authorized force against France to end the depredations at sea. The resulting undeclared Quasi-War with France was fought almost entirely at sea, primarily in the western hemisphere. By 1799, merchant ships from both the United States and Great Britain were permitted to join each other's convoys, protected by the Royal Navy and the renascent U.S. Navy.

President John Adams nominated George Washington as commanding officer of the Provisional Army; Washington accepted on the condition that he remain in retirement at Mount Vernon until he was actually needed in the field. With Washington's strong endorsement, Adams reluctantly appointed Hamilton as the senior major general of the army. In March 1799, Congress created an "Eventual Army" of 30,000 men, which was to include the Provisional Army and three regiments of cavalry.

This letter to Major John Adlum (1758-1836) of Pennsylvania was part of Major General Alexander Hamilton's efforts as the ranking general below Washington to prepare forces for the brewing hostilities with France. Adlum was a surveyor, a Revolutionary War veteran, a viticulturist, an associate judge in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania (1795–1798), and a major in the United States Army (1799–1800). As the threat of war diminished, neither army was fully recruited or mobilized. Congress dissolved the Provisional Army in June 1800, and the Convention of 1800, signed in September, ended the quasi-war.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Autograph Letter Signed, to John Adlum, August 24, 1799, New York. 1 p. #26539

## Hamilton Attacks John Adams Right Before the Election of 1800

In this notorious letter, which Hamilton had only intended to circulate privately, he aggravated an existing rift within the Federalist Party just ahead of the 1800 election.

"Few go as far in their objections as I do. Not denying to Mr. Adams patriotism and integrity, and even talents of a certain kind, I should be deficient in candor, were I to conceal the conviction, that he does not possess the talents adapted to the Administration of Government, and that there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate." (p4)

Despite Adams' "moral qualifications," Hamiltonhimself jealous of the public affection bestowed upon others-argues that Adams has "a vanity without bounds, and a jealousy capable of discoloring every object." (p7) He reviews Adams' career, including his diplomatic service, vice presidency, and presidency. Hamilton concludes the missive by supporting Federalist Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina in the upcoming campaign.

"The considerations which had reconciled me to the success of Mr. Pinckney, were of a nature exclusively public. They resulted from the disgusting



egotism, the distempered jealousy, and the ungovernable indiscretion of Mr. Adams's temper, joined to some doubts of the correctness of his maxims of Administration." (p12)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. *Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq. President of the United States.* New York: George F. Hopkins for John Lang, 1800. Re-printed Pro Bono Publico, Philadelphia. #24424

## The Reynolds Pamphlet re-published by his Enemies During Election of 1800

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Pamphlet. Observations on Certain Documents Contained in "The History of the United States for the Year 1796," in Which the Charge of Speculation Against Alexander Hamilton, Late Secretary of the Treasury, is Fully Refuted. Written by Himself. Philadelphia: [William Duane], "Pro Bono Publico," 1800. #24260



## After a Riot at West Point, Hamilton Looks to Defend Soldiers Accused of Theft

"Your express has been unavoidably detained in order to obtain from the court a Habeas Corpus. It is now just to the Sheriff. But it is desirable if practicable to have here some witness who knows most of the circumstances and can best repel the allegation of these felonious taking of articles. This with regard to the private men may be of some importance. / Yrs with regard / A. Hamilton / N.Y. July 22 1800."

Your aggringle here been retained in order to obtain now first to the Sheriff it is defination it fire have how forme lichap who know a most of the areas is of the feloneous taking The with us Stelle )

At the boundary of the military post at West Point, New York, Thomas North operated a tavern in the 1790s. On November 18, 1798, Captain George Ingersoll, the commanding officer at West Point, issued an order that prohibited any noncommissioned officer or private from entering or being in North's tavern without a written pass signed by an officer. Anyone who violated the order would be confined in the guard house for disobeying orders. In April 1799, Captain Stille issued a similar order and directed patrols to visit the area of North's tavern to see if any soldiers were there.

On July 4, 1800, there was a riot at North's house between some persons who had gathered there to celebrate the day and some soldiers stationed at West Point. Both Captain James Stille and Thomas North wrote accounts of the event, which were published in newspapers in Poughkeepsie and Philadelphia. The

two accounts differed markedly, with Stille blaming troublemakers in the crowd gathered at North's tavern and North insisting that the soldiers had attacked the "respectable citizens" gathered at his house and broke several windows and other items.

On July 4, Captain Stille wrote to Major General Alexander Hamilton in his capacity as Inspector General of the United States Army during the undeclared war with France, though that position had ended on June 15, 1800. On July 7, Hamilton explained to Stille that his "military functions" had ceased but advised Stille to release the citizens and send their names with specific charges to Richard Harison, the United States attorney for the District of New York. Hamilton also wrote to Secretary of War Samuel Dexter, sending a copy of Stille's letter and reporting that he had sent a major to West Point to address the situation.

A local magistrate had Stille and some of his soldiers arrested upon the complaint of North, but U.S. attorney Harison had the Supreme Court issue a writ of habeas corpus to secure their release on bail. The outcome of the prosecutions remains obscure, but Stille petitioned Congress in 1802 and again in 1803 for compensation for the expenses he incurred in the case against him.

James Stille (1773-1820) was a captain in the 2nd Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers from June 1798 and served as the commandant of the garrison at West Point, New York, in 1799 and 1800.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Letter Signed, to James Stille, New York, NY, July 22, 1800. 1 p. #27907

## Alexander Hamilton Writes a Female Friend in Puerto Rico, Sympathizing with the Perilous Condition of Haiti as the French are Losing Control

Non

"The events of S<sup>t</sup> Domingo chagrine us... [T]he disappointment to your views in that quarter contributes to render us extremely sensible to the disasters of that Colony. When will this disagreeable business end? But when would our interrogations finish, if we should attempt to unravel the very intricate and extraordinary plots in which the affairs of the whole world are embroiled at the present inexplicable conjuncture? We have nothing for it but patience and resignation, and to make the best of what we have without being over solicitous to ameliorate our conditions. This is now completely my philosophy."

Inspired by the French Revolution, the Haitian Revolution began in 1791, when the slaves of the French colony of Saint Domingue (modern Haiti) revolted, killed 4,000 whites, and destroyed more than a thousand plantations. By 1792, they controlled a third of the island, and many whites, including the Caradeux, fled.

Despite interventions by British, Spanish, and French armies, St. Domingue achieved independence and was renamed Haiti by 1804. The Haitian Revolution was marked by brutal warfare, savage reprisals, the death of

tens of thousands of European soldiers from yellow fever, and an array of shifting alliances. Most French planters who were not massacred fled the island and their way of life.

In this letter to Marie Jeanne Ledoux Caradeux de la Caye (b. 1756), a French refugee in Puerto Rico from the violence in Haiti, Hamilton counsels patience and making the best of the difficult situation. After the Haitian Revolution of 1802-1803, the Caradeux settled permanently in Puerto Rico.

Note: Numerous reports from Haiti can be found in the newspaper addendum.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter Signed with Initials, to Marie Jeanne Ledoux Caradeux de la Caye, Countess of Caradeux, November 1802, New York, NY. #24647

# Alexander Hamilton as Surety for a Loan to Nathaniel Pendleton, Who Was Soon to be Second in His Duel with Burr. With Related Elizabeth Hamilton Document

This compound legal document features the June 1802 signature of Alexander Hamilton, becoming one of two sureties for a bond that Nathaniel Pendleton gave to John E. LeConte to ensure the repayment of a \$6,000 loan. Pendleton conveyed 4,000 acres of land in Ohio and

Clinton County, New York, to Hamilton and the other surety to secure their support. Pendleton made regular payments of interest and principal, completing the repayment by June 1806. In 1807, Elizabeth Hamilton and sons James A. and John C. added their signatures and the executors of his will.

with lawful annual interest for the same on the fifth day of Jane in each year unti the same shall be paid and together with the lawful interest which may be due up the said run at the time the same shall be faid, then this obligation shall be vois otherwise shall remain in full force and virtue Nath Budleton 2 odelwered sence the ales the love mentioned John Bark

[Bond:] Nathaniel Pendleton, ALEXANDER HAMILTON and John Bard, Manuscript Document Signed, June 5, 1802, 2 pp., witnessed by Thomas L. Ogden and William LeConte.

[Deed:] NATHANIEL PENDELTON, Manuscript Document Signed, April 30, 1803, 2 pp., witnessed by William Duer and William Ogden.

[Six Receipts for payment:] Endorsements, June 6, 1803–June 7, 1806, signed by John LeConte or William LeConte for John Eatton LeConte; last acknowledges cancellation of bond.

[Release of Deed:] JOHN B. CHURCH and NICHOLAS FISH, Manuscript Document Signed, March 24, 180[7], 1 p., witnessed by James A. Hamilton.

[Relinquishment of Dower:] ELIZABETH HAMILTON. Manuscript Document Signed, March 24, 1807, 1 p., witnessed by James A. Hamilton and John C. Hamilton.

Together, 6 pp. #27210

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## "Letters to Alexander Hamilton, King of the Feds"

This anti-Hamilton pamphlet consists of a series of six letters under the pseudonym "Tom Callender" to Hamilton. Sometimes, James T. Callender has mistakenly been identified as the author, but he had left the Republican party by this time and was writing in favor of the Federalists. In contrast, this work attacks Callender, Hamilton, and other Federalists.

"I will make no apology to the public for writing these letters to you Sir, whom I have always considered as the greatest Machiavel in America, although I never thought you were the greatest man." (p18)

"I say Sir, I mean not to ape your lofty stile, nor mimic the low cant of Coleman and Callender—one of whom, (the new ally of the Hamiltonian-dominion,) is my name-sake, although he is no blood-relation...." (p18)

#### ANONYMOUS ["TOM

CALLENDER"]. Letters to Alexander Hamilton, King of the Feds. Ci-Devant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America, Inspector-General of the Standing Armies Thereof, Counsellor at Law, &c. &c. &c. Being Intended as a Reply to a Scandalous Pamphlet Lately Published Under the Sanction, as it is Presumed, of Mr. Hamilton, and Signed with the Signature of Junius Philaenus. New York: Richard Reynolds, 1802. 64 pp. #24261



## Alexander & Eliza Hamilton, Angelica & John Church, Philip Schuyler, and More

This deed is signed by Revolutionary War Major General Philip Schuyler and his six surviving children: sons Philip Jeremiah Schuyler and Rensselaer Schuyler, and daughters Angelica Church, Elizabeth Hamilton, Cornelia Morton, and Catherine Malcom—along with their husbands John B. Church, Alexander Hamilton, Washington Morton, and Samuel B. Malcom. The Schuylers' two children who lived to adulthood but died by this time, Margarita "Peggy" Schuyler Van Rensselaer and John Bradstreet Schuyler, were each represented by their only children, Stephen Van Rensselaer Jr. and Philip Schuyler Jr. Two of Catherine Van Rensselaer Schuyler's brothers and several descendants of her other two brothers also signed. This type of document is the only kind to have these family signatures in one place.

This transaction's history starts with Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a diamond and pearl merchant from Amsterdam who became a founder and director of the Dutch West India Company, and the only patroon successful in establishing American settlements. (Patroonships were large grants of land with manorial rights granted to encourage Dutch colonization and settlement in New Netherland.) After the English assumed control and New Netherland became New York in the seventeenth century, Rensselaerswyck became an English manor containing all of the land around and south of Albany, New York, along both sides of the Hudson River. The lands descended in the Van Rensselaer family.

In October 1802, Hamilton met with representatives of tenants of Van Rensselaer lands. The tenants claimed parcels of land around Hillsdale, New York, which the Van Rensselaer heirs also claimed as part of their estate. In 1803, the New York legislature passed a law to appoint commissioners to settle the

E Hamilton

disputes. The commissioners viewed the land in question and received evidence and testimony. The commissioners issued their final opinion on March 17, 1804, valuing the parcels individually. An attorney for the Hamilton heirs drew up deeds for individual parcels that totaled approximately 13,000 acres, ranging in size from less than an acre to almost three hundred acres. This deed conveyed nearly 75 acres to David Spencer in Hillsdale for \$5.50 per acre, or \$412.02.

As heirs to the Van Rensselaer land, twenty-six individuals had to sign each deed. The paperwork involved in these transfers continued into 1805 and perhaps beyond, but only the earliest deeds have the signatures of Alexander Hamilton and Philip Schuyler, both of whom died in 1804. The only other known surviving deed is also dated May 23, 1804, and is at Columbia University. Alexander and Eliza Hamilton signed this deed in New York City on May 25, 1804, fewer than seven weeks before Alexander Hamilton's death.

PHILIP SCHUYLER, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, ELIZABETH HAMILTON, & Others, Document Signed, to David Spencer, May 23, 1804. #24947

This Indenture, MADE the day of . May in the year of our lord one thouland of Rhinebeck, in the county of Dischels, and Real-BETWEEN Prog. Schoyler of the city of Albary, Elspire, bulland of Cabarine Schoyler accessed, Philip I. Schoyler, a gendenne, Jake B. Charth in the city of New York, Elspire, and Angelin his way, Alexander Hamilton of the city in the encourt - lana situate or s the Sthenne ath ha e degrees thirty minutes to low chains no ns letter links Sim the to Sec e stande marked to ins ten linkate upon the faid from from at the forend part ford In We Washington devotas the Johnglor Innen h. i dela husch Alhunch 6 Vin B Males John Elame HERE WAY WAY AT AT AT

One of the last surviving Hamilton signed documents, also signed by Eliza and her five surviving siblings, her father General Phillip Schuyler, her sister's husbands, and more
#### Hamilton Defends Freedom of the Press Against Jefferson's Libel Attacks in Landmark Freedom of the Press Case

"The Liberty of the Press consists, in my idea, in publishing the truth, from good motives and for justifiable ends, though it reflect on government, on magistrates, or individuals."

This pamphlet contains the arguments in the appeal of *The People of the State of New York v. Harry Croswell*. Hamilton was one of the attorneys defending Croswell before the Supreme Court. Others were William P. Van Ness, who seventeen months later served as Aaron Burr's second in his duel with Hamilton, and Hamilton's friend and former Auditor of the Treasury Richard Harrison. New York Attorney General Ambrose Spencer and fellow Jeffersonian George Caines represented the state.

The court divided evenly. Justices James Kent and Smith Thompson accepted Hamilton's reasoning. Chief Justice Morgan Lewis and Justice Brockholst Livingston insisted that the same



English authorities that Kent cited required that they affirm the conviction. The tie meant that the conviction stood, but Croswell was never sentenced. He was eventually granted a new trial, which never occurred.

#### Excerpts from Hamilton's argument:

"In speaking thus for the Freedom of the Press, I do not say there ought to be unbridled licence; or that the characters of men who are good, will naturally tend eternally to support themselves. I do not stand here to say that no shackles are to be laid on this license." (p63-64)

"I affirm that in the general course of things, the disclosure of truth is right and prudent, when liable to the checks I have been willing it should receive as an object of animadversion. It cannot be dangerous to government, though it may work partial difficulties. If it be not allowed, they will stand liable to encroachments on their rights. It is evident that if you cannot apply this mitigated doctrine for which I speak, to the cases of libels here, you must for ever remain ignorant of what your rulers do. I never can think this ought to be; I never did think the truth was a crime; I am glad the day is come in which it is to be decided; for my soul has ever abhorred the thought, that a free man dared not speak the truth...." (p71-72)

"It is only by the abuse of the forms of justice that we can be enslaved. An army never can do it. For ages it can never be attempted. The spirit of the country with arms in their hands, and disciplined as a militia, would render it impossible.... It is not thus that the liberty of this country is to be destroyed. It is to be subverted only by a pretence of adhering to all the forms of law, and yet by breaking down the substance of our liberties." (p77)

"For surely it is not an immaterial thing that a high official character should be capable of saying anything against the father of this country. It is important to have it known to the men of our country, to us all, whether it be true or false; it is important to the reputation of him against whom the charge is made, that it should be examined. It will be a glorious triumph for truth... an opportunity in case of another course of things, to say, that the truth stands a chance of being the criterion of justice." (p78)

[ALEXANDER. HAMILTON]. The Speeches at Full Length of Mr. Van Ness, Mr. Caines, The Attorney-General, Mr. Harrison, and General Hamilton, In the Great Cause of the People, Against Harry Croswell, on an Indictment for a Libel on Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States. New York: G. & R. Waite, 1804. 78 pp. #28121

## Alexander Hamilton's Hair-a Family Relic

The hair is lightly affixed by a wax seal, which also attaches to a signature of Alexander Hamilton, clipped from an Autograph letter. A couple of Hamilton's words are tantalizingly present: "[every]*thing that is dear.*"

The above in the Hair and aut graft of my Father Alexander He witten farmer Attacuellas July 24' 1868.

The personal note from Alexander's son, James A. Hamilton, provides wonderful provenance:

"The above is the Hair and autograph of my Father Alexander Hamilton. James A Hamilton, July 24<sup>t</sup> 1868."

ALEXANDER HAMILTON – Lock of hair, and signature, affixed to a page with James A. Hamilton Autograph Note Signed. #24864

## A Superb Alexander Hamilton Carved Ivory Miniature

Very few period objects honoring Hamilton are known, and the precise origins of this beautiful ivory miniature are speculative. It is of the highest quality, and due to the use of rose gold for the "Alexander Hamilton" inscription, it is presumably a one-of-a-kind creation. With no memorial or mourning flavor, this could possibly date from the late 18th century. Housed under slightly convex glass in original case

covered with shagreen, a stingray or shark skin



abraded to make a smoother surface. Shagreen was used in Asia since the Han Dynasty. It came into vogue in Europe in the mid-18th century, achieving the height of its popularity in France, where it was favored by many, including Louis XV's mistress Madame de Pompadour. #24792



## **Pair of French Jardinieres**

Each planter features a hexagonal body with gilt foliate decoration against a light blue background. The undersides of the saucers bear the mark of "Ed. Honore Paris."

A jardiniere, from the feminine form of the word for "gardener," is a decorative flower box or planter. A cachepot, derived from the French verb for "to hide," is also a vase-like decorative container for a plant and its growing pot. A jardiniere is usually larger and designed to sit on the floor, either indoors or outdoors. A cachepot is designed to be displayed on a tabletop, mantel, or shelf indoors. Typically, the cachepot does not have a hole in the bottom for draining water, while a jardiniere does.

By family tradition, these were given to Alexander Hamilton by Thomas Jefferson.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON.] Pair of French jardinieres, late  $18^{th}$  century, Paris, France.  $7^{3/4}$  in. high. #27088

With a frame containing images of Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804), Philip Hamilton (1802-1884), and Alan McLane Hamilton (1848-1919) and a separate frame with an image of May Copeland Hamilton (1870-1924), Alan McLane Hamilton's wife, through whom the jardinieres descended.



## The Hamilton–Burr Duel and Aftermath Fills a Hartford Newspaper

This Connecticut newspaper offers extensive coverage of the Hamilton-Burr duel, including the correspondence between Burr, Hamilton, and their seconds that led to their "interview," the events at the duel, and Hamilton's funeral in New York City. Observers agreed that the sight of Hamilton's four sons, all eighteen years or younger, crying on the stage as Gouverneur Morris eulogized their father, was the most affecting scene of the funeral. The coverage fills most of the columns of all four pages, leaving only a few columns for advertisements or other news items.

A portion of Hamilton's statement on the duel, prepared in advance, reads: "To those, who with me, abhorring the practice of Duelling may think that I ought on no account to have added to the number of bad examples, I answer that my relative situation, as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honor, imposed on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call. The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs, which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular."

The immediate provocation for the duel was Burr's attempt, while still a sitting vice president, to win election as governor of New York in 1804. Even though Burr had broken from his own party and was supported by many New York Federalists, Hamilton used his influence against Burr, which was a factor in the eventual victory of Republican Morgan Lewis.

[HAMILTON–BURR DUEL]. *The Connecticut Courant*, July 25, 1804. Hartford: Barzillai Hudson and George Goodwin. 4 pp. #27104



#### Hamilton's Last Will and Testament, and An Oration Commemorative of the Late Major-General Alexander Hamilton Delivered Before the Society of Cincinnati

"His ideas of a government which should elevate the character, preserve the unity, and perpetuate the liberties of America, went beyond the provisions of [the Constitution].... He knew...a government stable and vigorous; adequate to all the forms of national exigency; and furnished with the principles of self-preservation...would crown peace at home with respectability abroad; but would never infringe the liberty of an honest man."

This "eloquent, impressive, and instructive" political biography of Hamilton went through several editions in the U.S. and Britain. In it, Jonathan Mason delivers a stirring tribute to Hamilton as a personal friend and a national visionary.

This first edition contains an Appendix, excluded from later reissues, with Hamilton's Last Will and Testament, Hamilton's reasons for meeting Burr in the duel, and Bishop Moore's and Dr. Mason's accounts of Hamilton's death.

JONATHAN MITCHELL MASON. An Oration Commemorative of the Late Major-General Alexander Hamilton; Pronounced Before the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati on Tuesday, the 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1804. New York: Hopkins and Seymour, 1804. First edition. #24324

## The Editor of Hamilton's New-York Evening Post Reports on His Life and Death

"At this moment we forget every mischief but the present; we think not of him [Burr] as a chief among the original authors of our political ruin, but we start with horror from those hands now reeking with the blood of Hamilton.... This last sin has swallowed up every other.... It is a spot which nothing can wash out.... Col. Burr may, if he pleases, enjoy the glory of this transgression.... Col. Burr will be remembered and have celebrity, it will now be, because 'Damned to everlasting fame.' It is impossible it should be otherwise."

Coleman was the editor of Hamilton's newspaper, the *New-York Evening Post*, as well as Hamilton's personal friend. He compiled this *Collection* at the specific request of Eliza Hamilton, shortly after her husband's death. This volume contains the complete correspondence of Burr and Hamilton leading to their duel; Hamilton's final letter, putting his affairs in order; an eyewitness account of Hamilton's final hours and death; Hamilton's last will and



testament; obituaries and funeral rites; tributes, poems, and memorials from "*several daily newspapers*" and societies around the nation; invectives against Burr; reprinted letters of Washington and others recommending Hamilton's character; and lengthy biographical articles.

"In the following pages will be found a satisfactory account of the shocking catastrophe which has deprived America of her most valuable citizen, and our age of the greatest man; together with some brief remarks.... Perhaps the most satisfactory manner of introducing the reader to his subject, will be to begin with the Correspondence which led to the fatal interview." Burr's June 18, 1804, letter to Hamilton leads off.

WILLIAM COLEMAN. Book of five pamphlets, issued serially in 1804, bound together. New York: Hopkins and Seymour, 1804. Vol. I, with full title: *A Collection of the Facts and Documents Relative to the Death of Major General Alexander Hamilton; With Comments: Together With the Various Orations, Sermons, and Eulogies That Have Been Published or Written on His Life and Character.* [September 1804.] Vol. II, [September 1804.] Vol. III, September 1804. Vol. IV, October 1804. Vol. V, October 1804. Complete, and four with their original publisher wrappers. #24131



## Criticism of Jefferson, and of Virginia and Slavery, and a Sermon on Hamilton's Death, Refuting "Foul Calumny" Published Against Hamilton

The September 11, 1804, issue of the *Balance, and Columbian Repository*, a prominent Federalist newspaper, offered here includes an "Extract from the Rev. E. Nott's Sermon, on the death of GENERAL HAMILTON": "*If he* [Burr] *be capable of feeling, he suffers already all that humanity can suffer. Suffers, and wherever he may fly will suffer, with the poignant recollection, of having taken the life of one who was too magnanimous in return to attempt his own.... Stained with blood as he is, if he be penitent, I forgive him.*" (pp. 292)

Also prints an "Extract of a letter from General Washington, to the President of the United States" [John Adams], September 25, 1798, stating: "I have no hesitation in declaring, that if the public is to be deprived of the service of Col. Hamilton in the military line, that the post he was destined to fill will not easily be supplied.... his opportunities, as the principal and most confidential aid of the Commander in Chief afforded him the means of viewing every thing on a larger scale.... HIS LOSS WILL BE IRREPARABLE." (pp. 292-3)

Front page editorial on President Thomas Jefferson's lack of action against the British impressment of American sailors: "*I* presume not to say what our government ought to do with regard to the late aggressions on our commerce. I am of the minority. I rank with the opposition: And in these days of liberty, those who differ from the powers that be are told, by authority, that they must not hazard opinions.... I will however, say, that something ought to be done...will it not be unpardonable for our government to slumber over these accumulated wrongs?" (p. 289)

#### Additional content-on Slavery

"According to a late act of the state of Virginia, a slave receives twenty lashes for being found in a house devoted to the worship of Almighty God!!"

"Now this is liberty, and it is equality, too— and, above all, it is genuine republicanism, and it is religion, and it must be right, because Virginia does nothing wrong. This must be very consoling to the friend of freedom and religion, and to the philanthropist.... There, it is not enough to deprive human beings of their liberty—it is not enough to compel them to drag out a miserable existence, on the plantations, under the torturing lash of the overseer: As a refinement in barbarity, those wretched slaves, must be debarred from the comforts and consolations of the gospel—they must be robbed of the last and dearest hope of man—they must not be permitted to hear the promise of liberty and happiness beyond the grave." (p. 291)

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON. AARON BURR.] *The Balance, and Columbian Repository*, September 11, 1804. Hudson, N.Y. Issue 37. #23765.03



## Charging Aaron Burr with Hamilton's Murder

"A bill has been found in New-Jersey, against Mr. BURR, for the murder of Gen. HAMILTON.— Nevertheless he will take his seat in Congress."

This brief mention of the Burr-Hamilton duel is among a number of announcements in this early national newspaper.

This issue also includes:

- A piece on the efficacy of the small pox vaccine and the obstinacy of those who refuse to see its benefits;
- A 1787 letter from Thomas Jefferson, then minister to France, arguing that the presidential term should have been limited in the Constitution to a single term (Jefferson was running for re-election);
- President Jefferson's guarantee to the Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans that their property would be protected under the U.S. Constitution following the Louisiana Purchase;
- A notice that the "*Louisiana Remonstrants*" had arrived in New York on their way to Washington to protest the territorial government under William C. C. Claiborne and the Congressional organization of the recently-acquired territory; and
- A variety of notices and advertisements.

*Columbian Centinel*, November 7, 1804. Boston, Massachusetts: Benjamin Russell. 4 pp. #30000.55

the Selectmen were on that fide of the queftion." A bill has been found in New-Jersey, against Mr. BURR, for the murder of Gen. HAMILTON .- Neverthelefs he will take his feat in Congress. A letter from Capt. ROGERS, to the Secretary of

### **Clippings and Letters about Hamilton-Burr Duel**

Old collection of photos and newspaper clippings describing and tracking the history of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr's duel. Includes original letters from the early 1900s explaining the history of the pistols used in the duel with what the writer claims to be pictures of the actual guns. Also includes numerous old, original newspaper clippings about Hamilton and Burr from the 1800s.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. AARON BURR. Scrapbook regarding duel. #24653.02



## Unique Tribute to Hamilton by Union College Student Marcus Reynolds

This colorful memorial features a center column with a female figure, perhaps a representation of Hamilton's widow Eliza, holding a curtain up between two taller columns. Reynolds pens a brief overview of Hamilton's revolutionary war service, his family, his political writings, and his services to his country. Drawn and signed by Marcus T. Reynolds while a student at Union College (founded in 1795 in Schenectady, N.Y., the first non-denominational institution of higher education in America).

Marcus T. Reynolds (1788-1864) was born in Florida, New York. He started at Union College in 1805. and graduated second in his class in 1808. Over four decades, he appeared in as many cases before the New York Supreme Court and the Court for the Correction of Errors as any other lawyer in the state. He married Elizabeth Anne Dexter (1797-1840) in 1823. Reynolds' tribute to Hamilton is similar in form to a funerary stele, an upright stone slab decorated with figures or inscriptions, often used in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

Partial Transcript (original spelling) "Alexander Hamilton was born in the island of S<sup>t</sup> Croix, in the year 1756 his family was respectable, but not of the first rank in society, he was for some years clerk to a merchant in the Island. He came to New-york in 1771, and entered Columbia College whence he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in



1775, and likewise the first honor of his Class. After this he entered upon the study of Law untill he joined the army as Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Artillery. In this station he soon attracted the notice of Gen<sup>l</sup> <u>Washington</u>, who appointed him his aid-de-camp.... In the memorable cession of Congress 1787 he acted a conspicuous part. In conjunction with John Jay & Madison he wrote the celebrated letters of Publius under the title of the Federalist. In 1787 he was elected Secretary of the treasury.... The cares of a rising family induced him to resign the office of Secretary in 1795.... In 1798 he was appointed Inspector General, and lieutenant Commander in chief. On the deth of Washington he was appointed Commander in chief. This was the last public station in which he appeared. he was shot in a duel by Aaron Burr on the 11th died on the 12 of July 1804, in the 47 year of his age."

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON]. MARCUS T. REYNOLDS, Autograph Document Signed, Decorative Memorial to Alexander Hamilton. ca. 1805-1808. 1 p. #25069

## Rare Acts of Congress Signed by Jefferson's Successor as Secretary of State

## **Introducing Edmund Randolph**

Edmund Randolph (1753-1813) was born into a prominent family in Williamsburg, Virginia. He graduated from the College of William and Mary. At the start of the American Revolution, his lovalist father returned to Britain, but Randolph joined the Continental Army as an aide-de-camp to General George Washington. From 1779 to 1782, he served as a Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress. Maintaining his legal practice, he handled several issues for George Washington. He also trained John Marshall; when voters elected Randolph governor of Virginia in 1786, Marshall took over his law practice. Randolph was an influential Delegate to the Annapolis Convention of 1786 and the Constitutional Convention of 1787, where he introduced the Virginia Plan and was a member of the Committee on Detail charged with framing the first draft of the Constitution. President Washington appointed Randolph as the first U.S. Attorney General in September 1789, and he provided a useful neutral voice in disputes between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.



When Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State at the end of 1793, President Washington appointed Randolph to succeed Jefferson. The major diplomatic initiative of Randolph's term was the 1794 Jay's Treaty with Britain; although Randolph had to sign it, he opposed the treaty. As a corrective, he pushed negotiations for what became Pinckney's Treaty. Political intrigue against Randolph ended his term as Secretary of State. Hoping to neutralize Randolph's opposition to the favorable Jay Treaty, the British government provided his opponents in Washington's Cabinet with documents written by French Minister Jean Antoine Joseph Fauchet that had been intercepted by the British Navy. The documents were innocuous, yet Federalists in the Cabinet claimed they proved that Randolph had disclosed confidential information and solicited a bribe. Washington affirmed his support for Jay's Treaty, and with the entire cabinet gathered, demanded that Randolph explain the letters. Randolph was innocent, but his standing with Washington was permanently weakened. Randolph resigned in 1795, and returned to Virginia to practice law. In 1807, in John Marshall's court and to Jefferson's great chagrin, Randolph successfully defended Vice President Aaron Burr against charges of treason.



This archive of fifty-nine documents contains eighty-six Acts and Resolutions of Congress from 1794-1795. Edmund Randolph, Jefferson's successor as Secretary of State, personally signed each document and sent them to Connecticut Governor Samuel Huntington. This group is likely the largest outside of the Library of Congress. Philadelphia printers Francis Childs and John Swaine printed each of them, and most are signed in type by George Washington as President, John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Some are signed in type by either Ralph Izard or Henry Tazewell, President of the Senate, pro tempore, in place of Adams.

All the Randolph-signed Acts offered here were acquired from descendants of Connecticut Governor and Declaration Signer Samuel Huntington (1731-1796). While Huntington served as President of the Continental Congress, it ratified the Articles of Confederation and dissolved and re-formed as the United States in Congress Assembled (Confederation Congress). Huntington became the first President of the Confederation Congress in 1781. He served as Governor of Connecticut from 1786 until his death.

#### **Congress Establishes Arsenals & National Armories, Encourages Import of Arms**

Prior to 1794, all arms furnished to U.S. troops were delivered to magazines in Philadelphia; West Point, New York; New London, Virginia; Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and Springfield, Massachusetts. Dissatisfied with the quality of domestically supplied arms and concerned that war in Europe might cut off imported arms, Washington declared in his 1793 annual message to Congress, "The utility of establishing proper Arsenals unfolds itself more and more every day.... A War, at any time, would evince the impropriety of such a neglect."

"That for the safe keeping of the military stores, there shall be established under the direction of the President of the United States, three or four arsenals with magazines, as he shall judge most expedient, in such places as will best accommodate the different parts of the United States. Either or both of the arsenals heretofore used at Springfield and Carlisle, to be continued as part of the said number, at his discretion...."

"That there shall be established, at each of the aforesaid arsenals, a national armoury, in which shall be employed one superintendant, and one master-armourer (who shall be appointed by the President of the United States) and as many workmen, as the Secretary for the department of War shall, from time to time, deem necessary...."

Instead of establishing three or four arsenals and armories in different sections, Washington chose to add an armory at the existing Springfield arsenal and establish a new arsenal and armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

A second law prohibited for a year the export of any arms, ammunition, and cannon, and removed duties on importation, due to concern about ongoing tensions with Europe, and the limited capacity for arms manufacturing in the United States. Right after the Act's passage, Hamilton urged all customs inspectors to observe strict compliance. Even his close oversight could not overturn centuries of arms smuggling, though. In August of 1794, Hamilton had to issue a warning letter to Robert Purviance, Collector of the Port of Baltimore, over lax enforcement and ongoing export of arms and ammunition.



- 1. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to provide for the Erecting and Repairing of Arsenals and Magazines, and for other purposes*, April 2, 1794, 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24390
- 2. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act Prohibiting for a limited time Exportation of Arms and Ammunition, and encouraging the Importation of the same,* May 22, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.03

## Fighting for Neutrality, Congress Attempts to Assert American Sovereignty with an Embargo Rather than War

When war broke out between Revolutionary France and Britain in 1793, the British Navy began targeting enemy vessels across the Atlantic. America was vulnerable in this conflict, as Britain recognized America as a perpetual ally of France (by the treaty of 1778). American merchants eventually lost over 250 ships in the French Caribbean to British capture.

Federalists, whose attachment to France had waned since the onset of the French Revolution, had declared neutrality in the British-French conflict and were reluctant to intervene. The Federalists' preferred long-term strategy of military buildup and negotiations, however, proved inadequate in the face of immediate British hostilities. On March 26, 1794, Congress passed this *Embargo Act*, a thirty-day halt of American shipping, intended to relieve pressure on American sailors and merchants without provoking Britain.

In April, a House Resolution extended the prohibition for another month. A further Act of June 4, 1794, empowered Washington to renew the Embargo every month at his own discretion The Embargo was to protect the lives of sailors while Washington's administration built-up the nation's military strength and pursued negotiations. However, the 1794 Embargo Act—like embargos before and after it—proved financially damaging to American merchants, particularly in the northeastern states.

- 3. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, Congressional Resolution "that the present Embargo be continued...until the 25th day of May next." April 18, 1794. 1 p. #24429.01
- 4. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, Congressional Resolution "That the President of the United States be authorized to direct clearances to be granted to any ship or vessels owned by citizens of the United States...bound for any port beyond the Cape of Good Hope." May 7, 1794. 1 p. #24429.02
- 5. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to authorize the President of the United States to Lay, Regulate and Revoke Embargoes,* printed above *An Act to authorize the settlement of the account of Lewis Dubois, for his services in the late army of the United States,* both dated June 4, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.09



Updating the First Crimes Act to Prevent American Citizens from Providing any Military Support for War, or Engaging in any Military Action, against any Nation at Peace with the U.S.

"Be it enacted...That if any citizen of the United States shall within the territory or jurisdiction of the same accept and exercise a commission to serve a foreign prince or state in war by land or sea the person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor and shall be fined not more than two thousand dollars and shall be imprisoned not exceeding three years."

"Sec. 8. And be it further enacted and declared, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States or such other person as he shall have empowered for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States or of the militia thereof, as shall be necessary to compel any foreign ship, or vessel, to depart the United States, in all cases in which by the laws of nations or the treaties of the United States they ought not to remain within the United States."

"Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That nothing in the foregoing act shall be construed to prevent the prosecution or punishment of treason, or any piracy defined by a treaty or other law of the United States."

6. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act in addition to the act for the Punishment of certain Crimes against the United States*, June 5, 1794. 3 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24429.39



### **Congress Clarifies Policies for Redeeming Bonds**

Hamilton directly advised the House in creating this law to lay out parameters for reimbursing holders of government-issued bonds. In late December 1793, he received a letter from House committee member Richard Bland Lee, seeking more information about the practicality of redeeming different types of certificates including loan records, soldier pay securities, and bonds issued to civilians by the army in exchange for goods and services during the war. Hamilton responded, advising Congress to "confine the provision to Loan Office Certificates... [and] Register's Certificates...The reason of a distinction in their favour is that the Public books are in respect to them the Evidences of the Debt." In contrast, bonds issued to soldiers and civilians, which had changed hands many times since the war, were the "only memorandums of what they contain," and the government had no means of verifying ownership without presentation of the original certificate. Though without reliable records, it is not clear what other course the Treasury might have taken, Hamilton's position was highly controversial. Amid a string of tax rebellions and rumors (some true) that government officials had passed inside information to speculating friends (who then bought bonds wholesale from rural and impoverished veterans), this Act reinforced a perception that, while the government was committed to establishing critical credit strength and international legitimacy, it was indifferent to rural concerns.

 7. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act limiting the time for presenting claims for destroyed Certificates of certain descriptions, April 21, 1794.
1 p. #24428.01

## Taxing Wines and Spirituous Liquors and Confiscating Unlicensed Stills

These related acts, passed on the same day, were the final straws, as long-simmering resentment flared into open rebellion among the "Whiskey Rebels" attacked a federal marshal and burned the home of a local inspector. Negotiations with the insurgents proved unsuccessful. Invoking the 1792 Militia Act, on August 7, 1794, Washington issued a proclamation ordering the rebels to return peaceably to their homes. He sent peace commissioners to negotiate and simultaneously began raising troops to suppress the insurrection.

- 8. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act laying duties on Licenses for selling Wines and Foreign Distilled Spirituous Liquors by Retail*, June 5, 1794. 3 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.10
- 9. EDUMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act making further provision for securing and collecting the Duties on foreign and domestic distilled Spirits, Stills, Wines and Teas*, June 5, 1794. 4 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.11

THIRD CONGRESS UNITED STATES BE

## Hamilton's Backup Plan: Taxing Sugar and Snuff and Other Imports

"there be levied, collected and paid...for every pound of snuff, eight cents...[and] upon all sugar...a duty of two cents per pound...the duties aforesaid shall be levied, collected and accounted for, by the same officers as are provided by [The Excise Act of 1791]."

As the excise taxes on liquor grew increasingly difficult to enforce, and the possibility of civil war loomed on the western side of the Alleghenies, Hamilton realized that alternate funding sources from the East might be needed to stabilize government finances. This first tax, which placed excises on mills and factories that produced snuff and sugar, proved just as unpopular in the cities as the Whiskey Tax was among small distillers. Congress amended the act in 1795 and suspended it in 1797. The second tax laid duties on luxury goods, including coffee, cocoa, and cheese; boots, shoes, and slippers; hats, gloves, and stockings; coal; millinery; iron; carpets; leather; powders and cosmetics; gold, silver, clocks, and watches; marble, slate, and stone; carriages; manufactured cotton cloth; and items manufactured of wood. It also raised the ad valorem duty for all other items from 7.5 to 10 percent.

- 10. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act laying certain duties upon Snuff and Refined Sugar*, June 5, 1794. Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine. 6 pp. In original blue wrappers. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.12
- 11. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act laying additional Duties on Goods, Wares and Merchandize imported into the United States,* June 7, 1794. 2 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.15

[EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act laying duties upon Carriages for the conveyance of Persons,* June 5, 1794. 3 pp. (in main collection)

## Preparing to Fight the Whiskey Rebellion

Confronted by the equivalent of an armed insurrection in western Pennsylvania, President George Washington proceeded cautiously. With this act, Congress called on the governors of the fifteen states to organize and equip their militias to "march at a moment's warning."

After a federal marshal was attacked in July 1794, Supreme Court Justice James Wilson fulfilled the requirements of the Militia Act of 1792 on August 4 by certifying that the insurrection in western Pennsylvania was beyond the ability

THIRD CONGRESS UNITED STATES: ATTREFACT SEASON, d held at the city of PHLASALEMENT, one theofand for a Monday, the fecond of December, one theofand for Sec. 1. BE it enalted I

of local law enforcement authorities to suppress. Three days later, Washington announced that he would call out the militia to suppress the rebellion. He personally led a force of nearly 13,000 militia from New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania into western Pennsylvania and Maryland, the only time a sitting president has led troops in the field. Hamilton accompanied the army as a civilian adviser.

[EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act directing a Detachment from the Militia of the United States*, May 9, 1794. 2 pp. (in main collection)]

## Securing the Government's Financial Stability Following the Whiskey Rebellion

"the President of the United States be empowered to borrow, on behalf of the United States, any sum not exceeding two million of dollars, at an interest not exceeding five per cent per annum, reimbursable at the pleasure of the United States, to be applied to such public purposes, as are authorized by law, and to be repaid out of the duties on impost and tonnage...."

Seeking to stabilize the government's finances, Hamilton wrote to the directors of the Bank of the United States, urging them to disburse the entire loan immediately, as "the expence of suppressing the late insurrection has created a necessity for larger anticipations than usual and for a longer term of reimbursement." The directors granted the request, and Hamilton used the opportunity to solidify the strength of the nation's credit. Repayment, in \$200,000 installments, began immediately.

12. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to authorize the officers of the Treasury to audit and pass the account of the late Edward Blanchard, deceased*, printed above *An Act authorizing a loan of two million dollars*, both dated December 18, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.20

### **Paying the Piper**

"for the pay, subsistence, forage and other expenses attending the militia in their late expedition to the western counties of Pennsylvania, a sum not exceeding one million, one hundred and twenty-two thousand, five hundred and sixty-nine dollars and one cent...."

Washington issued a general pardon for all participants in the Whiskey Rebellion except the few still under indictment. The federal court found only two men guilty of treason and sentenced them to death by hanging. In July 1795, Washington pardoned both convicted men, as well as most of those who had yet to stand trial. In the end, the president was able to uphold federal authority with minimal bloodshed and with overall public approval. Congress repealed the hated "Whiskey Tax" in 1797.

13. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act making appropriations for the support of the military establishment of the United States, for the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety five*, December 31, 1794. 1 p. #24428.21

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14. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to provide* some present relief to the officers of government and other citizens who have suffered in their property by the insurgents in the western counties of Pennsylvania, printed above *An Act for the relief of Angus M'Lean*, both dated February 27, 1795. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.34

### The Bank Breaks for Increased Military Spending

The rebellions that broke out after the Revolutionary War convinced Congress of the importance of paying soldiers and officers fairly as well as of the urgent need for a military establishment strong enough to maintain domestic order. Congress accordingly approved two large military loans for 1795, to be drawn on the Bank of the United States, both innovations in military funding. In previous years, the federal government had budgeted each year's military expenses from existing funds. These loan requests immediately followed an emergency loan for two million dollars, which the Bank of the United States had issued to the Treasury in December 1794. The Bank's Directors grew increasingly cautious about making large loans available to the federal government for military centralization.

When Congress approved the military budget on March 3, the Treasury received unambiguous opposition from the Bank of the United States in the form of less-favorable loan terms. On March 20, Oliver Walcott (Hamilton's successor as Treasury Secretary) communicated the difficulty of the situation to the president: "*Notwithstanding the terms proposed by the Bank are less favorable than have been obtained on former occasions; yet they are...such as ought to be accepted, considering the embarrassments of the present moment, and the great proportion of the Bank capital which has been already applied to the use of the Government."* 

To provide a foreseeable endpoint to loans and thereby give security to the Bank, the Senate attempted to include the condition that the debt must be retired within two decades. However, the House did not agree, and the Act passed with no set date for funding and retiring the debt.

15. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act making further provision for the support of public credit, and for the redemption of the public debt*, March 3, 1795. 6 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.37

The appropriations act, passed the same day, allocated \$304,548 to fund the Legion of the United States, and an additional \$361,719 for the subsistence of the Legion, with \$130,000 for the defensive protection of the frontiers, and \$50,000 for the completion of fortifications, with other smaller

	Sec. 20. And be it further enacled, That fo much of the act laying du-
l	ties upon carriages for the conveyance of perfons; and of the act laying du-
1	ties on licences for felling wines and foreign diftilled fpirituous liquors by
	retail; and of the act laying certain duties upon fnuff and refined fugar,
E	and of the act laying duties on property fold at auction, as limits the duration
×.	of the faid feveral acts, be, and the fame is hereby repealed ; and that all the
2	faid feveral acts be, and the fame are hereby continued in force until the first
	day of March, one thousand eight hundred and one.
1	FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
	Speaker of the Houfe of Reprefentatives.
	HENRY TAZEWELL, Prefident of the Senate,
	pro tempore.
	APPROVED, March the third, 1795.
	G°: WASHINGTON, Prefident of the United States.
	G. WASHINGTON, Trejaent of the Onice States.
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expenses. Despite fears of a standing army, in 1793 Congress had authorized a new Legion of the United States. It was to consist of more than 5,000 soldiers and officers, but only 2,600 ultimately joined. Among those who served in the Legion were future president William Henry Harrison and explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

It also appropriates \$100,682 for the pay and subsistence of the militia under the command of Major General Daniel Morgan, which was the remnant of the army that suppressed the Whiskey Rebellion, some 1,200 militiamen who remained in western Pennsylvania into 1795.

16. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act making further appropriations for the military and naval establishments, and for the support of government*, March 3, 1795. 2 pp. #24428.38

## Laws for Citizenship-Second Naturalization Act

"any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, or any of them, on the following conditions, and not otherwise...."

The Constitution gave Congress the right to determine the process by which foreign-born residents could obtain citizenship, and a 1790 act of the First Congress laid out the process. This 1795 revision required all persons who wished to become naturalized citizens to go to a court to declare their intention at least three years prior to formal application. They would have to take an oath of allegiance, be a person of good moral character, agree to support the Constitution, and renounce any former sovereign and hereditary titles.

By limiting naturalization to "free white" persons, the early acts effectively prevented any people of color or indentured servants from gaining citizenship. Over the next century and a half, Congress at first reinforced (for instance in the notorious Naturalization Act of 1798, part of the Alien and Sedition Acts, which extended the required residency period to fourteen years), but then eventually eliminated these restrictions by subsequent revisions of the naturalization laws.

"The court admitting such alien shall be satisfied that he has resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States five years; and it shall further appear to their satisfaction, that during that time, he has behaved as a man of a good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

"SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, that the children of persons duly naturalized, dwelling within the United States, and being under the age of twenty-one years, at the time of such naturalization, and the children of citizens of the United States, born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States; shall be considered as citizens of the United States: Provided, That the right of citizenship shall not descend to persons, whose fathers



have never been resident of the United States: Provided also, That no person heretofore proscribed by any state, or who has been legally convicted of having joined the army of Great Britain during the late war, shall be admitted a citizen as foresaid, without the consent of the legislature of the state, in which such person was proscribed."

17. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to establish an uniform rule of naturalization; and to repeal the act heretofore passed on that subject.* January 29, 1795. 2 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.26

#### **Relieving Persons in Debtors' Prison**

In May 1792, Congress passed an act establishing regulations and restrictions for persons jailed for property debt, tax evasion, and tax resistance in federal courts. It provided poor debtors an opportunity to take an oath affirming that they could not pay the debt, after which the creditor was responsible for the support of the debtor in prison. The first act here continued the earlier act in force for an additional two years. Additional acts passed in 1796, 1798, and 1800 continued the provisions.

Debtors' prisons were common in America by the eighteenth century. Debtors were often held in the same prison as criminals, though in a different section. Although some imprisoned debtors were incarcerated for very small debts, the wealthy and prominent, like financier Robert Morris, banker Blair McClenachan, and U.S Supreme Court Justice James Wilson, also went to debtors' prisons. In 1839, Congress abolished federal imprisonment for debt.

THIRD CONGRESS the thirdeth 1794. WASHINGTON, Preident of the

18. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as

Secretary of State, *An Act to continue in force the act for the relief of Persons imprisoned for Debt*, and *An Act to alter the time for the next annual meeting of Congress*, both dated May 30, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.04

#### **Improving the Collection of Customs**

By 1795, having amended, suspended, repealed, and rewritten two complete acts on duties and imposts, Congress and the State and Treasury departments were still flooded with complaints from merchants and customs officials who urged reforms. Though this supplementary act did not address all of the 1793 Act's weaknesses, it did consolidate the U.S. Customs Service. All evaders—both citizens and foreigners—would now be subject to uniform rules and punishments. This amendment represented a clear end to salutary neglect, a holdover practice from the colonial period which had been popular when customs enforcement was uniformly neglected in the colonies, but unpopular when only some ports benefitted from light enforcement.

The February 14 act established the salaries of the collectors in the various districts at from .3 percent of the duties in New York and Pennsylvania to 2 percent in less busy districts. For some smaller districts, the annual salary was a set amount, ranging from \$100 to \$200.

- 19. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act relative to the compensations of certain officers employed in the collection of the duties of impost and tonnage, February 14, 1795. 2 pp. #24428.29
- 20. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act* supplementary to the act, intituled "An act to provide more effectually for the collection of the duties on goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States, and on the tonnage of ships or vessels," February 26, 1795. 4 pp. #24428.33

### **Protecting Shipping and Encouraging Commerce**

In August 1789, Congress passed *An Act for the Establishment and Support of Light-Houses, Beacons, Buoys and Public Piers*, which authorized Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to provide the necessary funds to support lighthouses. Those lighthouses ceded to the United States would be maintained at the expense of the federal government. The act also called for the construction of a lighthouse near the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay. At the time, there were twelve lighthouses in the nation, all operated by the states.

The Cape Henry Lighthouse in Virginia Beach, Virginia, was the first built by the federal government. Hamilton selected architect John McComb Jr., who later built Hamilton's home The Grange (1802), for the project, and it was completed in November 1792. By 1800, there were twenty-four lighthouses along the Atlantic coast of the new nation under the supervision of Hamilton's successor as Secretary of the Treasury. The Collectors of Customs were responsible for the design, construction, staffing, and management of lighthouses in their districts. The idea was that these lighthouses encouraged commerce and could be paid for by the customs acquired from that commerce.

- 21. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to erect a Lighthouse on the Head-land of Cape Hatteras; and a Lighted Beacon on Shell Castle Island in the Harbor of Occacock in the State of North-Carolina*, May 13, 1794. 1 p. #24430.02
- 22. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act for erecting a Lighthouse on the island of Seguin in the district of Maine, and for erecting a Beacon and placing three Buoys at the entrance of Saint Mary's river, in the state of Georgia, and An Act further to authorize the Adjournment of Circuit Courts,* both dated May 19, 1794. 1 p. #24430.03
- 23. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to continue in force for a limited time, the act supplementary to the act for the establishment and support of light houses, beacons, buoys and public piers, June 7, 1794, and An Act*



declaring the consent of Congress to an act of the state of Maryland, passed the twentyeighth of December one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, for the appointment of a Health-Officer, June 9, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24430.04

24. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act for the relief of William Seymour, and Act relative to cessions of jurisdiction in places, where light houses, beacons, buoys and public piers have been, or may hereafter be erected and fixed, both dated March 2, 1795. 1 p. #24430.07

The second act permitted states to execute civil and criminal processes on property ceded to the United States, "*as if no such cession had been made*." Lighthouses and similar properties would not provide haven against legal actions by the states.

#### **Governing the Nation**

- 25. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act to authorize Ephraim Kimmberly to locate the Land-Warrant issued to him for Services in the late American Army, and An Act for the Relief of Leffert Lefferts and others, both dated April 18,1 794. 1 p. #24429.33
- 26. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act Allowing Lieutenant-Colonel Tousard an equivalent for his pension for life, April 30, 1794. 1 p. #24429.35
- 27. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act for the Remission of the Duties on Eleven Hogsheads of Coffee which have been destroyed by Fire, and An Act supplementary to "An Act to provide for the Defence of certain Ports and Harbors in the United States," both dated May 9, 1794. 1 p. #24430.01 The second act provided for the fortification of the port and harbor of Annapolis, Maryland.
- 28. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act providing Payment of Certain Expenses Incurred by Fulwar Skipwith*, and *An Act for Relief of Reuben Smith and Nathan Strong*, both dated May 19, 1794. 1 p. #24429.03

Fulwar Skipwith, the American consul in Martinique, provided an ongoing account of "arbitrary and unauthorized" British attacks on neutral American merchant ships in the French Caribbean. In February 1794, as Skipwith was en route to Philadelphia, British privateer *Experimenter* captured the vessel in which he was traveling and carried it 150 miles to Montserrat. Against established laws of war, the British judge seized Skipwith's papers, along with many of his belongings. Skipwith consequently sent a first-hand account of British depredations to Edmund Randolph, along with evidence that many refugees—sailors and civilians—from American ships were stranded in the British and Dutch Caribbean without money or recourse after privateers seized their belongings. The first act here reimbursed Skipwith for his personal losses and his expenses in

*"relieving the wants, and facilitating the return"* of American sailors.

29. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act further extending the time for receiving on Loan the Domestic Debt of the United States*, May 30, 1794, and *An Act to compensate Arthur St. Clair*, May 31, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.05

Arthur St. Clair was born in Scotland. He was apprentice to a physician before purchasing a lieutenancy in the British Army during the Seven Years War. He then settled in western Pennsylvania, eventually becoming the region's largest landowner. St. Clair served in the Continental Army throughout the Revolutionary War, rising to the rank of major general. He was elected to the final Continental Congress in 1787, then served as the military governor of the new Northwest Territory, before being appointed (civilian) governor. He was forced to



resign his military commission after the disastrous Battle of the Wabash in 1791, in which Native American chief Little Turtle's forces outmaneuvered his troops, resulting in over 600 American soldier and civilian casualties. President Jefferson removed St. Clair, a devoted Federalist, as territorial governor in 1802. The second act here was one of the few times the government reimbursed St. Clair for his extensive expenditures on the public's behalf in the West. Uncompensated government expenses combined with St. Clair's penchant for acquiring land and lending large sums to private western investments eventually led him to poverty.

- 30. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act making Provision for the Payment of the Interest on the Balances due to certain States, upon a final Settlement of the Accounts between the United States and the Individual States,* May 31, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.06
  - This act refines the June 1790 *Act to provide more effectually for the Settlement of the Accounts between the United States, and the individual States,* a key portion of Hamilton's Assumption plan. This act allowed interest on the balances due to certain states from December 31, 1789, to December 31, 1794, at the rate of 4 percent, and 3 percent thereafter, which would be credited to the states.
- 31. EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act for extending the benefit of a Drawback and terms of Credit, in certain cases, and for other purposes,* June 4, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.07
- 32. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act providing for the Payment of the Second Instalment due on a Loan made of the Bank of the United States,* June 4, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24429.09
- 33. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An act to extend the term of credit for Teas imported in the ship Argonaut; and to permit the export of goods saved out of the wreck of the snow Freelove, and An Act for the relief of John Robbe, both dated June 4, 1794. 1 p. #24429.36

- 34. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act authorizing a settlement of certain expenses of the Commissioners of Loans, June 5, 1794, and An Act allowing an additional compensation to the principal Clerks in the Department of State, and the Treasury and War Departments for the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, June 7, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.14
- 35. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to authorize the President of the United States during the recess of the present Congress, to cause to be purchased or built a number of vessels to be equipped as Gallies, or otherwise in the service of the United States, June 5, 1794, and An act to make provision for the Widow and Orphan Children of Robert Forsyth, June 7, 1794. 1 p. Docketed "duplicate"* by Samuel Huntington. #24429.05

In March 1794, Congress authorized President Washington to build six frigates to protect American



commercial shipping against Algerine corsairs in the Mediterranean Sea. They were the reconstituted U.S. Navy's first ships of war, but construction at six different shipyards on the Atlantic coast would end if the threat ceased. This first act, passed a few months later, authorized Washington to purchase or build up to ten galleys "*for the protection of the United States*" and appropriated \$80,000 for the purpose. When a peace accord was announced in March 1796, supporters of the Navy sacrificed the ten galleys in an April 1796 act to complete three of the original frigates furthest along toward completion. The first three frigates, including the USS *Constitution*, were launched by October 1797, and the final three were launched by April 1800.

36. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act concerning Invalids*, and *An Act for Relief of Nicholas Rieb*, both dated June 7, 1794. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.16

The second act directed the settlement of the account of Peter Rieb, the minor son of Nicholas Rieb, both soldiers in the Revolutionary War; Peter was taken prisoner and never heard from again.

- 37. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, Congressional Resolutions "That the Secretary of the Department of War, be, and he is hereby directed to make out an exact list, of the names of each person, returned to him, as invalid pensioners...." and "That it shall be the duty of the respective Clerks of the several district courts in the United States, to return true copies of the tables of fees payable in the supreme or superior courts of the states...." both dated June 9, 1794. 1 p. #24429.37
- 38. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act supplementary to the act intituled "Act to promote the progress of Useful Arts,"* June 7, 1794, and *An Act making certain alterations in the act for establishing the Judicial Courts, and altering the Time and Place of holding certain Courts*, June 9, 1794. 2 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.18

The first act allowed either plaintiffs or defendants to resume within one year any ongoing lawsuits "*set aside, suspended, or abated*" because of the February 1793 repeal of the April 1790 *Act to Promote the Progress of Useful Arts.* The 1793 patent act replaced the previous act to make the examination process more streamlined and efficient; It also dispensed with the requirement that patents be "sufficiently useful and important" to merit a patent. An unintended consequence of the repeal, addressed here, was to interrupt any cases related to patents granted under the 1790 act.

39. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to amend the act intituled "An act to enable the officers and soldiers of the Virginia line on Continental establishment, to obtain titles to certain Lands lying north west of the river Ohio, between the Little Miami and Sciota," and <i>An Act making Appropriations for Certain Purposes therein expressed*, both dated June 9, 1794. 2 pp. #24428.19

The first act allowed officers and soldiers of the Virginia line to claim bounty lands in the Northwest Territory in an area ceded by Virginia to the United States (in modern southwestern Ohio). The second act appropriated \$688,888 for naval armament; \$30,000 for the erection of fortifications to protect ports and harbors; \$200,000 for the defense of the southwestern frontier; \$200,000 for "*directing a detachment of the militia of the United States*" [to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion]; \$80,000 to equip galleys and other vessels; and a variety of other sums for other purposes.

40. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An act to amend and explain the 22nd section of the "Act establishing the Judicial Courts of the United States,*" December 12, 1794. 1 p. #24429.41

This clarifies a portion of the Judiciary Act of 1789 by explaining that the appellant should provide security for "such an amount, as...shall be sufficient to answer all such Costs as...may be adjudged or decreed to the respondent in error."

- 41. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act for the relief of Peter Covenhoven*, January 1, 1795, and *An Act authorizing the transfer of the stock standing to the credit of certain States*, January 2, 1795. 1 p. #24428.22 Congress awarded Peter Covenhoven \$408.26 for costs "*attending the cure of a wound*" he received in an action near Fort Schuyler during the Revolutionary War.
- 42. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to regulate the pay of the non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates of the militia of the United States, when called into actual service, and for other purposes, January 2, 1795. 2 pp. #24428.23*

This established the pay for a variety of ranks, from \$6.66 per month for gunners, bombardiers, and privates to \$9 per month for sergeant-majors and quartermaster sergeants. It also offered an additional \$1 per month to those currently in the service or who enlisted and an additional bounty of \$8 (for a total of \$16) for those who reenlisted.

43. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act providing* for the payment of certain instalments of foreign debts; and of the third instalment due on a loan made of the bank of the United States, January 8, 1795. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.24

44. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act for the remission of the tonnage duties on certain French vessels, and An Act for the relief of Epaphras Jones and others, both dated January 28, 1795. Docketed by Huntington,

"duplicate of 2 Acts of Congress the relief of Epaphras Jones &c & the remission of Certain Tonnage duties/ 1795." 1 p. #24429.06

The first act remitted duties on several ships that had transported French citizens from Nova Scotia to Boston. During the French Revolutionary Wars, a British force landed on Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, a French territory off Newfoundland and Labrador, and sent the French colonists there to Nova Scotia as prisoners.

- 45. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An act for reviving certain suits and process which have been discontinued in the District Court of Pennsylvania*, January 28, 1795. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24429.43
- 46. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act making further provision in cases of drawbacks*, January 29, 1795. 3 pp. #24428.27

47. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act in addition to the act entitled "An act to regulate the pay of noncommissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the militia of the United States, when called into actual service, and for other purposes,"* January 29, 1795. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24429.38

This extended the augmented bounty to those who enlisted "*after the first day of January next*."

48. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to authorize the allowance of drawback on part of the cargo of the ship Enterprize*, and *An Act to amend the act, intituled "An act making alterations in the Treasury and War Departments*," both dated February 13, 1795. 1 p. #24428.28

The second act authorized the President to appoint a person for up to six months to act as Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, or Secretary of War in case of a vacancy.

49. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act for the reimbursement of a loan authorized by an act of the last session of Congress*, February 21, 1795. 1 p. #24428.30

Note: #49 and #50 are printed on the same folded leaf.

50. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act* supplementary to the act concerning invalids, and *An act authorizing the erection of a* lighthouse near the entrance of George-Town harbour, in the state of South-Carolina, both dated February 21, 1795. 1 p. #24428.31

The second act authorized the building of a lighthouse at the harbor of Georgetown, South Carolina, and the placement of buoys on the shoals of the Cape Fear River near Wilmington, North Carolina.

- 51. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to establish the office of Purveyor of Public Supplies*, February 23, 1795. 1 p. #24428.32
- 52. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act to continue in force the act "for ascertaining the fees in admiralty proceedings in the District Courts," and An Act enabling George Gibbs to obtain a drawback of duties on certain exported wines, both dated February 25, 1795. 1 p. #24429.45
- 53. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act relative to the passing of coasting vessels between Long Island and Rhode Island, and An Act for the relief of Spencer Man and Frantz Jacob Foltz, March 2, 1795. 1 p. #24429.22

On September 1, 1789, Congress passed "An Act for Registering and Clearing Vessels, Regulating the Coasting Trade, and for other purposes." Designed to protect American shipyards, domestic shipping, and American merchant sailors, the act limited American domestic maritime trade to American-owned ships under the command of an American master. The law forced ships along the coast to port and register at each state with which it did not share a border. The first act here allowed coasting vessels between Long Island in New York and Rhode Island to proceed as though the states were adjacent.

54. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act to continue in force for a limited time the acts therein mentioned, and An Act for the relief of Robert Barton and others, both dated March 2, 1795. 1 p. #24430.06

The first extends earlier acts relating to the establishment and support of light houses, mitigating certain revenue law penalties, and providing for pensions for invalids.

- 55. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, An Act to alter and amend the act, intituled "An act laying certain duties upon snuff and refined sugar," March 3, 1795. 4 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.36
- 56. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act for the more effectual recovery of debts due from individuals to the United States,* and *An Act authorizing the exportation of arms, cannon and military stores in certain cases,* both dated March 3, 1795. 2 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.39

"That in cases connected with the security of the commercial interest of the United States, and for public purposes only the President of the United States, be, and hereby is authorized to permit the exportation of arms, cannon and military stores, the law prohibiting the exportation of the same to the contrary notwithstanding."

57. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to authorize a grant of lands to the French inhabitants of Galliopolis, and for other purposes therein mentioned*, March 3, 1795. 2 pp. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.40 A group of approximately 500 French aristocrats, merchants, and artisans settled in the village of Galliopolis along the Ohio River in 1790. They were fleeing the violence of the French Revolution and had paid the Scioto Company for land along the Ohio River. When they arrived, they learned that their deeds were worthless, as the Ohio Company had an option for developing the land. They built cabins close together in Galliopolis, which was the second city founded in the newly organized Northwest Territory, in modern Gallia County, Ohio. Through this act, the federal government granted the French settlers land in the French Grant in modern Scioto County (about 35 miles away by land, or 70 miles down the Ohio River), and those who chose to remain in Galliopolis had to pay again for their plots, this time to the Ohio Company.

- 58. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act to regulate the compensation of Clerks*, March 3, 1795. 1 p. Docketed by Huntington. #24428.41
- 59. EDMUND RANDOLPH, Printed Document Signed as Secretary of State, *An Act for the more general promulgation of the laws of the United States*, and *An Act making provision for the purpose of trade with the Indians*, both dated March 3, 1795. 1 p. #24429.48

The distribution of Acts of Congress was important to the process of nation-building. This first act directed Secretary of State Randolph to have the laws of the United States then in force compiled and to print 4,500 copies for the fifteen states and the Northwest and Southwest territories.

The second act appropriated \$50,000 for the federal government to establish factories, or government-owned trading posts, on the St. Mary's River with the Creeks in southeastern Georgia and



with the Cherokees in eastern Tennessee. The next year, Congress appropriated \$150,000, fully establishing the factory system. Government factors provided tools, clothing, tobacco, utensils, and sometimes weapons and ammunition in exchange for animal skins and furs. The federal government established more than two dozen trading posts before abolishing the factory system in 1822.

# Correspondence and Documents Including Hamilton Family Papers



#### Marquis de Fleury Writes to Hamilton From Newport Mentioning Entertaining an Indian Delegation

"[I beg] you would tell D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>ennery, that I shall writte to [him in a] few days. I keep for him a gratitude for his [friendly] services equal to my esteem & friendship. My respects to all the gentlemen of your family; We have here one deputation of our yellow brothers, we treat them like kings—they are drunk all day long."

On July 11, 1780, 5,500 French soldiers of the Expédition Particulière landed in Newport, Rhode Island, under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau. Six weeks later, Colonel François Louis Teisseydre, marquis de Fleury (1749-1799), wrote to Hamilton renewing their correspondence.

A few days before the Marquis wrote this letter, Philip Schuyler, Hamilton's fatherin-law, sent a deputation of 19 Native Americans from different nations to Newport to meet the French troops and tour their fleet. The purpose of the visit was

would tell o'r Menney, that y hall write to wray, & help for him a gratition for his ficerly Uto my esteeme & fiere high to have the one repotetor of our tread then like hirgs they are Srinh all Day Se vou piere faire papir lete litre and the hagen your we man for i ye youwais Lever, ing plutiens performen gerains Ormailes mais filmer Report & Ron ? we dartes ale new Dra romante y de piede vous communiquer marlitre, dre petere atre and 2 feal lagon's letter, & forward it to lor

to demonstrate the unity of the French and Americans in opposition to the English. In a statement to the Indians, Rochambeau wrote, "The King of France your father has not forgot his children.... he learned with concern that many nations, deceived by the English, who are his enemies, had attacked and Lifted up the hatchet against his good and faithfull allyes...he hath desired me to tell you that he is a firm and faithfull friends to all the friends of America, and sworn enemy to all its foes. he hopes that his children whom he loves sincerely, will take part with their father, in this war against the English."

Marquis de Fleury, Autograph Fragment, to Alexander Hamilton, Newport, R.I., [August 29-30, 1780], 2 pp. #24645.23

#### With the Treaty of Paris in Process, an Unknown Correspondent Writes to Hamilton on the Groundwork for What Became Jay's Treaty a Decade Later

"A favorable Disposition towards the United States, & an anxious Desire of establishing a close & intimate commercial Connection with their Inhabitants, at present pervade the whole Community, especially, the most important Part of it, the Body of London Merchants. "I know it is the opinion of many, that the trade of the United States will regulate itself, & that a Treaty is not necessary for the Purpose; But, such Sentiments lead to the most palpable Delusion....

"The French & Dutch have hampered our Peace with similar Restrictions; which makes it more pointedly necessary, that a Treaty should be immediately formed with G Britain, on Terms of liberal Intercourse, & a free, reciprocal, unrestrained Participation of each others Trade; I think the Disposition of the Commercial Interests of this Country are clearly in favor of this System, & with a little Management, may be made subservient to such Views."

"To facilitate the Accomplishment of these, & other essential Points, it is absolutely necessary that a discreet, active, & intelligent Person, whose Talents denote his Designation, should be appointed here to watch over the Interests of the United States, & take advantage of the many favorable opportunities that may offer, of improving them."

Two weeks before the Treaty of Paris was signed by representatives of King George III and those of the United States of America in Paris, thus ending the American Revolutionary War, this author asserts the need to reestablish commercial ties on liberal terms.

In 1794, President George Washington sent Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court John Jay to Great Britain with instructions from Alexander Hamilton to negotiate a treaty. The resulting Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, signed on November 19, 1794, in London, resolved some issues left in doubt by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, and established ten years of peaceful trade between the United States and Britain. Great Britain abandoned forts in the Northwest Territories, paid for damages to American shipping, and opened the British West Indies to limited American trade. Most other issues, including borders with Canada, were left to arbitration. "Jay's Treaty" and its chief negotiator were immediately unpopular in the United States, but the Senate gave its approval in June 1795.

[UNKNOWN], Autograph Letter Fragment, to Alexander Hamilton, August 20, 1783, 4 pp. #24645.02

## Hamilton's Opinion on the Power of the Legislature to Confiscate Land from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1784

"That a regard to honor, justice, and humanity, must alone be sufficient to restrain the Legislature from wresting those estates out of the hands of a Charitable Society, who have committed no offence to incur a forfeiture... If the Articles had been silent on the subject of Confiscation the rights of the Society, within this State, would in our opinion have nevertheless been secure under a general treaty of peace; it being an established maxim of the Law of nations, which is also part of the Law of the land, that every such Treaty virtually implies an amnesty... But, "We are of Opinion that those rights are protected by the Articles of the Treaty, in their plain and obvious sense. For if stipulations are made for the restoration of Estates actually confiscated during the war; and it is provided that there shall be no future Confiscation or Prosecution, even with respect to those who had taken an active part against the united States in the Course of the war; it must follow, with much stronger reason, that no confiscation of the estates of this society, who cou'd not have had an agency in the war, can now take place consistently with those articles."

"Upon these principles we ground our opinion that an act or grant of any legislature to alienate the estates of the Society, or appropriate them contrary to their will, operating as a Violation of the Treaty, must be adjudged illegal & void. On a different construction the Confederation, instead of cementing an honorable Union, would with respect to foreign Powers be a perfidious snare...."

In October 1779, the New York General Assembly overrode a veto to pass "An Act for the Forfeiture and Sale of the Estates of Persons who have adhered to the Enemies of this State, and for declaring the Sovereignty of the People of this State, in respect to all Property within the same," commonly called the Forfeiture Act. Hamilton believed that loyalists and their capital were critical for building the United States; he often represented former loyalists in lawsuits trying to reclaim seized property.

The Treaty of Paris called for the states to restore all rights and estates confiscated from British subjects upon terms equitable to Americans who had purchased the properties. Several states

able to Americans who had purchased the properties. Several states objected. In March 1783, New York had passed the Trespass Act, which allowed prosecution of loyalists for occupying property claimed by Americans. In January 1784, the General Assembly passed a bill that would disfranchise not only loyalists but all who had remained in areas under British control, though the Council of Revision vetoed it. Another resolution asked the governors of other states to coordinate lists of banished persons, and another declared that the state would not comply with the fifth article of the Treaty of Paris. The alienation bill would have expelled all remaining loyalists from the state; it failed, leading to mass protests.

Because the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts held a royal charter, an act was proposed to confiscate its estates. In this brief, Hamilton strenuously opposes the idea as a violation of the fifth and sixth articles of the Treaty of Paris. The actions of the New York legislature and the inhabitants of New York City led Hamilton to publish two letters as pamphlets under the pseudonym "Phocion" between January and April 1784.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON.] Manuscript fragment of a document offering his legal opinion on the incompatibility of New York's Confiscation Act with the Treaty of Peace of 1783, n.p., n.d. [but probably after January 14, 1784], 2 pp. #24621

### Philip Schuyler Discusses Family Estate with Peggy Schuyler's Husband

"General Renselaer is come up to divide the personal estate of his Father. M<sup>™</sup> Schuyler insists upon my being present I suppose to afford some protection against the Old Lady."

Alexander Hamilton's father-in-law General Philip Schuyler (1733-1804) writes to his son-inlaw Stephen Van Rensselaer III, regarding a meeting to discuss the estate of Schuyler's wife's father, Johannes Van Rensselaer (1708-1783), with her brother General Robert Van Rensselaer (1740-1802). The "Old Lady" may have been Gertrude van Cortlandt (b. 1715), the deceased's second wife and probable widow.

PHILIP SCHUYLER. Autograph Letter Signed, to Stephen Van Rensselaer III, ca. 1783-1790. 1 p. #24388

Deur Sir General henselain is come 14 to divide the personal Islate 17 bis Fatton hor Someyer in sists when my being present Improve to afford has partection. against the Ad Laby the hast orthest that Stephen to agaid to some with en. It is portable cue There not be back to dinnon trang time and and dime with him \_ fit The Juy to me comy Muss ay me please to dive with your Love to Anargoret we will call on her this avairing Jouri affection whely dimeter John Johney ary Jahmbay Stephen Non hemdeer Sign

## Baltimore Port Collector Receives and Responds to Hamilton's Circular Letter on the Cape Henry Lighthouse

"I have rec<sup>d</sup> your Letter (Circular) of the 22<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> and am to inform you that from Cape Henry to the extreme branches of the Susquehanna all inclusive there is not, that I ever heard of, one single Light House, Buoy, Beacon or other artificial object for navigators to be governed by, consequently there is no Superintendant and no Expence The pilots of the Chesapeake for this State are Licenced and regulated by certain port wardens who are Commission'd by an Act of the Legislature of Maryland, and reside in Baltimore. By Laws, called compact Laws, passed mutually by Virginia and Maryland, considerable sums have been Levied, by a tax upon tonnage of Vessels, for the purpose of building Light Houses & & & and I expect the subject will be taken into serious consideration at the ensuing Sessions."

Two months before, Congress passed the Lighthouse Act, the first public works law under the new Constitution. Among other things, the Act transferred control of the nation's 12 lighthouses from the states to the Federal Government.

Williams penned this draft on a blank page of his received copy of Hamilton's Sept. 22 circular, similar to Smith's copy described on the prior page. Here, Williams confused the date in referencing Hamilton's Sept. 22 letter, as the content actually responds to Hamilton's Oct. 2 circular. (Williams's final answer is printed in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*). In January

1790, Hamilton compiled the data received from the Collectors of the Customs, given in letters like the above, into a detailed report submitted to President Washington concerning the location of existing structures, annual expenses for maintenance, proposed superintendents, etc.

The Cape Henry Lighthouse at Virginia Beach, Virginia, was built in response to Hamilton's report, and quite possibly spurred by this letter from Williams. The lighthouse completed in 1792 was the first federally funded public works project of the new government, and Hamilton's first major infrastructure project as Secretary of the Treasury.

Otho Williams (1749-1794) of Maryland was captured by the British at Fort Washington, paroled in New York City, imprisoned by the British as a spy, and later exchanged with

B Alt. Off. Gotober 1789 Thave ree & rown Letter Carulas 1 of the 22 Lott to inform you that from seme branches of the Susquehanna there that Jover heard to a Light House, Bur ther artificial object for three to sequently there is no Superen Bilds and I and her and act o ytheling & Marsland, and Lawy called compact haws, ad considerable son 300 Manuel Won tonnage of Vipels loung hight Houses & & Dand I. In a into

seriously impaired health. After service in the Battle of Monmouth, he joined the army in the South, where he participated in several battles. He founded the town of Williamsport, Maryland, in 1787. The governor of Maryland and then President George Washington appointed him as commissioner of the port of Baltimore.

OTHO H. WILLIAMS, draft Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, October 8, 1789. 1 p. #26553.01

### Light Horse Harry Lee Asks Hamilton for a Favor

"I pray your attention as my friend to that part of my le<sup>r</sup> which concerns the paper I mean to send to Leroy & Bayard the moment you receive my l<sup>r</sup> & to favor me with your answer by return of post; On the political subject at your leisure I presume to hear your sentiments."

Herman Le Roy and William Bayard were New York merchants with a branch in Philadelphia. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee (1756-1818) had "a large sum in funded paper," and at the recommendation of Théophile Cazenove, he intended to transfer it to Le Roy and Bayard to "turn into cash." Because Lee did not know Le Roy, he asked Hamilton to intervene personally to complete the transaction soon because "the money being soon wanted & the price allowed by me very high, disappointment in the agency will be injurious & distressing."

Lee was at this time a member of the Virginia Assembly but was elected governor later in 1791. Although he objected to some features of Hamilton's economic policies, he remained an enthusiastic Federalist throughout his life.

HENRY LEE, Autograph Letter Signed "*HL*", to Alexander Hamilton, August 12, 1791, Alexandria, Virginia. 1 p, with integral unsigned free frank address leaf, with docketing by Hamilton. #24645.06

my dear for I wrote to gon this morning - I know your attention aring friend to that hapen I mean to fend to Long & Bagin the moment you receive my h & to the bot with your answer by ateron of host On the princial public at your leisure & presume to hear you Jen hunents aupart. h. h. alere . Henry Lee

#### N.Y. Merchant Supports Excise Taxes and Gives Hamilton Information for Report on Manufactures

"I well know that a Person in your situation, even if at perfect Leisure, should neither correspond, nor converse with any but a few influential Characters, or confidential Intimates upon such subjects."

"I also called your attention in an obscure way, to a Publication in the [American] Museum, upon Excise in September last. I might in as few words, have assigned my sole reason for it, which was, that it contained <u>my</u> Theory or System, & of Course was a proper <u>Preface</u> to my <u>Detail</u>, which I proposed communicating to you & was a <u>Part</u> of the whole. Speaking from the Impulse of the Moment, is my constitutional sin & love To inform. to



advise, to censure, or to commend, require the Warrant of Intimacy. The possible suspicion of a possible vanity which station alone could inspire, has I hope on this occasion operated both as a Knife & a Caustic upon me, & wrought a radical Cure."

"I have seated myself quietly in the Lap of Inland Commerce, & domestic Manufactures for Life. It is time, I have comparatively, as to Rank & Wealth, been whirled by the surge of Fortune's Wheel; from the Zenith, well on towards her Nadir. Still however, steel snuff & Porter, are worth more to me than a Marshallship, or Post-Mastership.... I love Beauty & Order in the moral, as well as the natural World. I love to see Talents & Virtue, by Dint of Perseverance, hew their own way out to Eminence. I scarcely even knew them fail. I have been Twenty five Years in the busy World, not an unobservant spectator.... Since my Letter by Matlack, a Channell has opened itself to me, that will afford me Facility, & make me at Ease & Home, in any Communications, I may conceive to be profitly useful."

In March 1791, New York merchant Nathaniel Hazard (1748-1798) wrote to Hamilton regarding excise taxes and asked White Matlack to deliver it when he traveled to Philadelphia. Based on his professional experience, Hazard thought the United States could raise revenue in excess of \$80,000 annually through an excise tax on snuff, ale, and American steel. This letter was one of a series that Hamilton received throughout 1791, as he prepared his "Report on the Subject of Manufactures," which he presented to Congress in December of that year.

Hamilton agreed that an excise tax could raise needed funds for the new federal government and had proposed in January 1790 an excise tax on domestically produced distilled spirits. Congress passed it on March 3, 1791. The "whiskey tax" was politically unpopular and led directly to the Whiskey Rebellion, which continued until the Washington administration suppressed it in 1794.

Hazard resumed his correspondence with Hamilton in the fall of 1791, with letters that offered gossip on New York and Connecticut politics and local attitudes toward John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Aaron Burr.

NATHANIEL HAZARD, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, May 17, 1791, 2 pp. #24645.05
## George Washington Signs Important Act for Foreign Diplomatic Relations

As the first President of the United States, George Washington was concerned with his fledgling nation's role in the world.

In February 1788, France and the United States concluded a Treaty of Amity and Commerce in Paris. Article 31 of the treaty provided for the appointment of consuls, vice consuls, agents, and commissaries in the ports of the other nation. In November 1788, France and the United States signed a Consular Convention, which provided consuls with broad civil and criminal authority for a period of twelve years.

On November 14, 1791, the U.S. Senate began considering an act "*for carrying into full effect*" the Consular Convention by "*defining and establishing the functions and privileges of their respective Consuls and Vice Consuls.*" The Senate passed the act on November 29, and the House of Representatives passed it with amendments on April 10, 1792. After the Senate agreed to the House amendments, the bill was sent to President George Washington for approval. He signed it on April 14.

This act gave U.S. district judges authority over the wrecks of French vessels in their district, when the French consuls or vice consuls were further away. It also gave French consuls the assistance of U.S. marshals and the use of U.S. jails for executing their decisions in disputes between French citizens.

As for U.S. consuls in France, the act stipulated "That they shall have right in the ports or places to which they are or may be severally appointed of receiving the protests or declarations, which such captains, masters, crews, passengers and merchants, as are citizens of the United States may respectively choose to make there...and the copies of the said acts duly authenticated by the said consuls or vice consuls...shall receive faith in law, equally as their originals would in all courts in the United States."

American consuls in France were also responsible for attempting to receive the personal estate of any American citizen who died within their consulate and serve as the local administrator of the deceased's estate, to take charge of the ships and cargoes of American vessels stranded on the coasts of their region in the absence of the captain or owners, and to provide for shipwrecked, sick, or captive American mariners and seamen within their consul "at the expense of the United States." <text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Printed Document Signed in Print, "An Act, Concerning Consuls and Vice Consuls," April 14, 1792, Philadelphia, PA. 3 pp. #25722

## Washington Approves Massachusetts Revenue Supervisor's Trip to Philadelphia

"The President sees no objection to complying with the wish of the Supervisor of Massachusetts to come to Philadelphia on his private business, if there is no probability of the public service being injured by his absence from his district."

This letter from Tobias Lear (1762-1816), President George Washington's personal secretary, to Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton informs him that the President has no objection to Nathaniel Gorham's visiting the capital of Philadelphia on private business. Gorham was the supervisor of revenue for Massachusetts from 1791 to 1796.

Late in February 1791, the U.S. Congress passed "An act repealing, after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead; and also upon spirits distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same," which President George Washington signed into law on March 3.

The act divided the country into fourteen revenue districts (one for each state) and authorized the President to appoint supervisors of the revenue for each district. Washington appointed merchant, former member of the Continental Congress, and Constitution signer Nathaniel Gorham as the supervisor of Massachusetts with an annual salary of \$800 and a commission of 0.5 percent. The supervisor was responsible for the collection of the excise and making returns to the Treasury Department. The president also divided larger districts into surveys (Massachusetts had three) and appointed an inspector of the revenue to oversee collection in each survey. Excise collectors did the actual work of levying and collecting the taxes.

On December 12, 1792, Tench Coxe wrote to Hamilton, "I have the honor to inclose to you a

letter from the Supervisor of Massachusetts for the purpose of obtaining the pleasure of the President upon the request contained in its conclusion." On December 15, Hamilton wrote to Tobias Lear, "The Supervisor of Massachusetts is desirous of permission to come to Philadelphia on urgent private business. I believe the permission may be given him without injury to the service. Will you mention the matter to the President and inform me by a line whether permission may be notified to him or not." Three days later, Coxe wrote to Gorham, telling him that the President had approved "your absence from the District for the purpose mentioned in your last letter, provided no injury is likely to arise to the public service."

TOBIAS LEAR, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, [December 15-18, 1792], Philadelphia. 1 p. Two words added by Hamilton. #26552

Dear Sii, The President fees no objection plying with the wish of the Supervisa of Mapachiesetts to come to Philadelphico on his private business, if there is no proba bility of the function fervice being injured his absence from his district with the questo Respect of new attaction n bea yis Mour most Obet. Lor lear tuday - 2 oclock - Thave this moment come Your letter which is the cause of its not

## Nathaniel Pendelton Seeks Hamilton's Advice on Yazoo Land Case Jurisdiction

"How would it vary the case, if being in Chancery, the three defendants, citizens of the State where the suit is brought, were not concerned in Interest, but were arbitrarily made defendants?"

Attorney and former federal judge Nathaniel Pendleton (1756-1821) seeks Hamilton's legal advice regarding a case arising from land speculations in Georgia.

Seven and a half years later, Pendleton would serve as Hamilton's second in his duel with Aaron Burr.

NATHANIEL PENDELTON, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, January 31, 1797, 1 p. with Hamilton's docketing on verso. #24645.10

Newyork January 31 1997 on the following Questions, for which Iproforme he will cond you a fea - Jam, Respectfully Mir your died for North Benaliton A suit is brought in a State fourt by a fitigen of that State against sie persons, Three of whom are litigens of another State, and three atigens of the same state. All the dependants join in a petition to the State fourt to remove the cause into The Circuit bound of the United States and refuse prist is this care within the provision of the 12th potion of the art establishing prois - cial Comto ? Second . If so how are the dependants to other roleif Third . How would it vary the case if being in Chancery, the three dependants, literens of the State where the fuit is brought, were not concerned in faterent, but were arbitrarily made dependants ?

Mr. Pindlohn Sup for Ohumer

#### The Financier of the American Revolution Trying to Stay Out of Debtors' Prison

"I have the pleasure of sending by Col. Laurance, the Deed from  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Morris & his wife to  $M^{\underline{r}}$ Church, which has been duly recorded in Luzerne County. Inclosed is a receipt for the fees of recording paid by  $M^{\underline{r}}$  Cox, which I shall settle with him. As to my own fee, if it was business in which you were personally interested, I would by no means consent to accept any thing. As it is, supposing it may be more agreeable to you that I should charge something, I will take  $10^{xx}/_{100}$  doll<sup>§</sup>..."

Alexander Hamilton handled several financial transactions for his brother-in-law John B. Church (1748-1818), who had been in England and served as a member of Parliament from 1790 to 1796. Church had loaned more than \$80,000 to Robert Morris (1734-1806), a primary financier of the American Revolutionary War. After trying unsuccessfully various methods to remit his debt to Church, Morris wrote to Church in January 1797, when he could not pay the first interest payment, "I...acknowledge the justice of your Claim. If it were as easy to pay as to acknowledge you would have a Remittance in this Letter."

Maryland attorney and plantation owner William Tilghman (1756-1827) sent Hamilton a deed from Robert Morris and his wife for 20,290 acres of land in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, according to Morris, "to Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton…on behalf of said Church subject to his acceptance or

refusal." After Church returned to the United States in mid-May, 1797, he filed suit against Morris to foreclose his lands to pay the debt. In November, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston ordered the sale of all of Morris' lands in New York. After Morris paid nearly \$11,000 in interest in early 1798, Church dismissed the suit against him.

Other debts led Morris to debtors' prison in Philadelphia from February 1798 to August 1801. In 1799, Church again sued to foreclose a mortgage on 100,000 acres of Morris' lands in western New York. The court ordered the sale of the land, and Church's son bought the land and transferred it back to his father.

WILLIAM TILGHMAN, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, March 4, 1797, 2 pp. #24645.11

whole to dole including the few 91 will please to pay at to (or ha I shall have

## An Answer to Hamilton's Question on Naturalization and Immigrant Rights

"I have carefully reexamined the laws of Maryland, since the receipt of your favor of the  $15^{\text{th}}$  inst. & cannot find that <u>a single Justice of the Peace</u>, ever had authority since the revolution, to naturalize & grant a certificate of it."

"both these supplementary laws contain a proviso, 'that the said foreigners before they shall receive any benefit from the said Acts, <u>shall naturalize themselves in the mode prescribed by</u> <u>the original Act</u>, by a certain day.

"From all these circumstances, corroborating my general recollection of the law of Maryland, I am as confident as one ever will be of a negative, that a single Justice of the Peace never had authority to naturalize in that State.

"I beg you will not apologize for any questions you may find it serviceable to ask me. Instead of trouble I shall consider them as pleasure."

as further to be Arrived, that both them supplies low contrar a proviso that the rand foreigness before they " much any barefit from the raw lick shall maturate the where a the most founded by the argunal but, by dog - from all there are constances, con queril resolution of the law of Mary land as me were note by a system, that a right further of the in that with mity to naturalize in 19. march 1797. Al Hamalter hos

Hamilton represented the defendants in the insurance cases of *Daniel Ludlow and Gulian Ludlow v. John B. Coles* and *Daniel Ludlow and Gulian Ludlow v. Archibald Gracie* in the New York Supreme Court. The cases concerned policies on the vessel and cargo of the schooner *Theresa*. During the prelude to America's "Quasi-War," a French privateer seized the *Theresa* in the spring of 1795 and took it to St. Martin, where French authorities condemned it, ruling that the owners, Baltimore merchants John Royer Champayne and John Deyme Jr., were French émigrés.

To prepare for his defense, Hamilton wrote to William Tilghman who had practiced law in Maryland before moving to Philadelphia in 1793. In April 1797, the New York Supreme Court ruled for the defendants and ordered the plaintiffs to pay court costs. On appeal of the condemnation by

French authorities to the Tribunal of Commerce at Basse-Terre in March 1801, that court reversed the decision and ordered full restitution to the owners.

WILLIAM TILGHMAN. Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, March 19, 1797. Includes file note in Hamilton's hand. 2 pp. #24645.12

Alt\_ T. I.Leg. Per Silghman W- 19. Margy naturalization - laws of Alexander Hamitton Eg Men Monk.

## Trying to Soothe a Proud General While Preparing for War with France

"It is very gratefull to me to discover in each succeeding occurrence a new mark of your friendship towards me. Time will evince that it makes the impression it ought on my mind.

"The effect which the course of the late military appointments has produced on General Knox though not very unexpected is very painfull to me. I have a respectful sense of his pretentions as an officer, and I have a warm personal regard for him. My embarrassment is not inconsiderable between these sentiments, and what I owe to a reasonable conduct on my own part, both in respect to myself and to the publick....

"Yet, My Dear Sir, I can never consent to see you piously co[m]promitted or embarrassed I shall Chearfully place myself in your disposal, and facilitate any arrangement you may think for the general good. It does not however seem necessary to precipitate any thing. It may be well to see first what part General Pinckney will act when he arrives.

"The Secretary of War has sent me a copy of General Knox's letter to him on the subject of his appointment. It does not absolutely decline, but implies the intention to do it, unless a Rule of the late Army giving in cases of promotions on the same day priority according to former relative Rank is understood to govern."

On July 19, 1798, President John Adams appointed Hamilton as inspector general of the army with the rank of major general, and Pinckney and Knox also as major generals, listing them in that order but without any intention of settling priority of rank among the three. Adams preferred the order to be Knox, Pinckney, and Hamilton, based on previous rank during the Revolutionary War, but he hoped that they might settle the matter among themselves.

On August 9, 1798, George Washington wrote to Hamilton regarding preparations of the army for the Quasi-War with France. He lamented that Secretary of War James McHenry was incompetent for his position and expressed frustration that he knew nothing of the military preparations he hoped were being made. He expressed his concern over the desire of General and former Secretary of War Henry Knox to be senior to General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and sent to Hamilton a copy of Knox's latest letter for his review. Washington urged Hamilton to "devote a good deal of

- And General Ko

your time to the business of recruiting *good* men—and the choice of *good* Officers.... The stake we play for, is too great to be trifled with." This is a draft of Hamilton's response.

Late in September, Washington wrote to Adams declaring his preference for the order as Hamilton, Pinckney, and Knox. Ultimately, Knox insisted that "no Officer can consent to his own degradation" and declined the appointment rather than being outranked by Hamilton.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON] to George Washington, Manuscript Letter, August 9, 1798, 3 pp. Sent copy dated August 20. Docketing in Hamilton's hand, "*I believe to Gen W*." #24645.25

#### Young Englishman Wants an Army Commission in the Quasi-War with France

"Since the preparation for arming this country, a particular friend of mine  $M^r W^m$  Pulteney Dana who came from England about two years ago, has expressed to me his wish to procure some military appointment in the Army of the United States.  $M^r$  Dana has resided near me in the Genesee Country almost constantly since his arrival, and I can mention him to you as a young gentleman who would do honor to the profession in any service, and whose education and connections both in this Country and England are equally respectable.  $M^r$  Dana has no intention but to make the United States the scene of his future exertions but fears that his short residence may be some bar to receiving a military commission. If you think there would be no impropriety in making application in his favour to the President, his conections in this Country particularly Judge Dana of Boston his uncle might be of considerable use."

As the nation prepared for possible war with France, Congress in July 1798 authorized the expansion of the American army by twelve regiments of infantry and six troops of light dragoons. At the request of Secretary of War James McHenry, the senior generals of the United States Army—George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney— met from mid-November to mid-December 1798 in Philadelphia to develop a list of officers to recommend to President John Adams.

some bas to receiving a military commission \_ If you think there would be no impropriety in making application in his favour to the Resident his concelious in this country particular Judge Jana of Boston his uncle night be of considerable use \_ should there be any new appointments, and a fortleman schales as my friend the Dana be eligible - your interest Shave the Honor to be you huntle lat Cher Williamson Jeneva Portario Communta. 8 Oct: 1798 Gon: Hamilton

Prior to his meeting with Washington and Pinckney, Hamilton received numerous suggestions for military commissions to officer the new regiments, including this one from British land manager Charles Williamson (1757-1808), who recommended English-born William Pulteney Dana (1776-1861), a nephew of Massachusetts chief justice Francis Dana (1743-1811). There is no indication that Dana received an appointment in the United States army.

CHARLES WILLIAMSON, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, October 8, 1798, 4 pp. Docketed by Hamilton with appearance of partial signature. #24645.13

## Staffing the Army in the Quasi-War with France

"I will only take the liberty of observing that Capt<sup>n</sup> Blackburn has committed some indiscretions and incountered some heavy misfortunes. But I sincerely believe the days of his indiscretions are past: his talents are considerable, his education polite, his courage undoubted, and in a breast like yours the misfortunes of such a man can never plead against him."

"P.S. Mr B. is well connected among others of great respectability, he boasts Judge [Bushrod] Washington as his brother in law."

At the request of Secretary of War James McHenry, the senior generals of the United States Army—George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney—met from mid-November to mid-December 1798 in Philadelphia to develop a list of officers to recommend to President John Adams. These officers would lead a newly expanded

July Decements. the Contin yester day recieved on my uturn home ofter a month's abgence. De pliched to accept m for the very polite otten hen you have have my usuert. Ihave communication to contra Orlack in gever opinion on the publict. But Apeen goven they at the feat of good will be too part to admit gony additional communication Juice only toke the liberty of offening that Contractaching her committee fime in describion and incounter fome heavy misforling. But Hincerely believe the days of his indiscretions oupart : his colents ore an inderette, his education polite his courage undoubted - and in a heart like sours the misfertunes given a mon con rever blue against him. let aly high uspect derterm & umain y most off Let P.S. M.B. is will conneted Ranard Mond Lee more other of great will etobility - he bootto funde workingter

army to meet the French threat in the Quasi-War with France.

On October 20, 1798, Virginia planter and former Congressman Richard Bland Lee (1761-1827) wrote to Alexander Hamilton, recommending that Captain Richard Scott Blackburn (1760-1804) of the Artillery be made a Major of Infantry in the new regiments then forming. Although he had long been a captain, Lee wrote, Blackburn "is desirous of changing his situation from the Artillery to the Infantry first because he does not think himself sufficiently informed as an Engineer to fulfil to his own satisfaction the duties of his present employment; and secondly because he wishes to be engaged in more active service, and in that line in which [he] thinks he might be more useful; and to which he feels himself more adequate."

Hamilton responded on October 31 that he could not foresee what obstacles might arise, but he promised "friendly attention" to Blackburn's case. He also suggested that Blackburn obtain the recommendation of "some distinguished Military character" who was acquainted with his service. This letter is Lee's response.

Blackburn remained a captain in the Artillery and continued to command at Fort Norfolk. Major Mahlon Ford, who arrived to take command in April 1800, wrote that he never saw "such a picture of destruction" because of Blackburn's incompetence. Ford reported to Hamilton that while trying to remedy the situation he offended Blackburn, "who knows nothing about Military Matters and never will, as he says himself." Ford placed Blackburn under arrest, and in June, Blackburn was the subject of a court martial but was acquitted.

RICHARD BLAND LEE, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, December 8, 1798, 2 pp. #24645.14

#### Scheming Widow (and Mother of General John Skey Eustace, with whom Hamilton Almost Dueled More than Once) Seeks a Loan and Tells Hamilton She Claimed Him as Her Trustee

"the Security I offer of the [Tavern?], is surely good, as it is a valuable spot from its situation so publick, so centrical, its vicinitude to so many increasing towns, three mill seats, the land not worn out by cultivation renders it an object to any person capable of making those natural advantages *tell*, I have many persons now in train to make terms, I think Sir & I am sure you will think that I ought not to make too great a sacrifice to relieve the wants of of the moment, yet to feelings like mine they are not long to be Borne & Existance preservd, therefore worthy sir I think I had best take up the Hundred pounds at once, it gives my mind relief, and gives me time, to think which of all the offers made will be most advantagious, when once fixt, the loan can be soon returnd, and as I think it will be soon the trouble of morgage &c &c may be spaired, as you sir will hold the deeds, and can have them executed at pleasure, for <u>in</u> truth I want not a House in the present situation of things, without wholy to my mind, I took the libberty to tell the person, that made proposals to day that I was wholy regulated by the advice of General Hamilton, and that he was my trustee. forgive me sir I should never make an ill use of your name But from the humanity and sympathy you have shewen for me you

Scellency, in the line that will be then 1. Hur Munro, I have Made arequest 10 him already Dro a Subject I have at floar and I have alittle that tells me I bught not to lay myself Under loo Many Oblig alion the Secensus I Offer of the haven is Surly Good, it is a valuable Shot from its Soluction To publick, So Centrical, its Dicinitade 1 Many increasing Towns Three Mill Seals, the Land Hol worn Out by Callio ation, venders it an Object to any person Making those Matural Advan I have Many person those in Ivain to Make Terms, I think Sir Bensun Ought not to Make los assace if to relieve the Wants of of the Momen 1, Got to feelings like Ming they are Hot long to be Borne & Secutang fireserved, Therefore worthy Sir 9 thinks had best take Ip the Mundred pounds at Gives My tind velief, and gives lich of all the

will not be offended if I use it as a <u>shield</u> to those that would take advantage of my ignorance and situation...."

Both Margaret Eustace (1733-1809) and her son John Skey Eustace (1760-1805) were selfaggrandizing and ingratiating schemers who liked to curry the favor of the rich and powerful. Alexander Hamilton had represented Margaret Eustace's brother Colonel Donald Campbell, deputy quartermaster general of the New York Department from 1775 to 1784, in a case in 1796, a circumstance that her son had tried to use to ingratiate himself to Hamilton. In this letter, she seems to be requesting a £100 loan without the "trouble" of a mortgage to secure it.

MARGARET EUSTACE, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, July 28, 1799, 4 pp. #24645.15

## A Frustrated Former Revolutionary War Officer Pushes Hamilton Too Far

"This Letter also tells me That it 'was not for the want of Friendship in General Washington nor yourself that I had not my appointment in the Army but from <u>other causes</u>['] which you could not with propriety explain. This to me is a most extraordinary proceeding that a man who has professed such friendship for another as you have for me for so long a period, and after so recently seing each other face to face ... (knowing my business to Philadelphia and telling me that my most sanguine wishes should be accomplished) should once lend an listing ear to any thing to check my expectation.... I have an undoubted right to call on you to know what those <u>other causes</u> are. I therefore do claim and request of you an explanation of them, upon every principle of honor, as a friend Soldier and Gentleman."

In December 1798, during the Ouasi-War with France, Washington and Hamilton recommended Caleb Gibbs (1748-1818) to Secretary of War James McHenry to command a Massachusetts regiment. However, Senator Benjamin Goodhue and Congressmen Harrison Gray Otis, Samuel Sewall, Dwight Foster, and Isaac Parker, all objected. McHenry summarized, Gibbs "I think would have made a good officer but it is a fact, that his character is very low in Boston, that he is looked upon as a triffler, and has no weight whatever in that quarter of the union." In March, Washington angrily protested that the five weeks of work that he, Hamilton, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had undertaken to identify proper officers could be "set at naught" by "any Member of Congress who had a friend to serve, or a prejudice to endulge." Washington called attention to the "striking" instance of Gibbs, who "served through the whole Revolutionary war, from the Assembling of the first Troops at Cambridge, to the closing of the Military Drama at the conclusion of Peace without reproach; and in the last Act of it, If I mistake not, was a Major in the selected Corps of light Infantry. He was strongly recommended by Generals Lincoln, Knox, Brooks & Jackson; all on the same theatre with himself and who ought to be perfectly acquainted with his respectability & pretensions: yet the Veto of a Member of Congress (I presume) was more respected; & sufficient to set him aside." In fact, Gibbs had served as the head of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, the head of security at the

headquarters of the Continental Army. But he had apparently made too many enemies in Boston after the Revolution. McHenry responded that Secretary of State Timothy Pickering and Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott also opposed Gibbs' commission, and Washington reluctantly refused to push the matter further.

Between January and June 1799, Gibbs wrote to Hamilton three times. Hamilton responded to <u>this</u> fourth letter on October 24, "I have received your very improper letter...This is not the first instance of my life in which good offices on my part have met with an ill return.... Tis therefore as curious as it is unbecoming to interrogate me in a preemptory and even censorious manner about



the causes which may have <u>induced the President</u> to reject the nomination. It is true that collaterally and after the thing was determined upon, I heard what they were, but it was in a manner which did not leave me at liberty to explain to you. This I before hinted, and you must on reflection see the impropriety of your having addressed me on the subject as you have done.... If any one has wickedly endeavoured to make you believe that there has been any thing uncandid or unfriendly in my conduct, you ought to dispise the author.... If you have inferred it from the reserve in my mode of writing to you on the subject, you formed as false an estimate of what the delicacy of my situation required, as you did of my true character."

CALEB GIBBS. Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, September 30, 1799. 3 pp. #24645.16

#### Scottish Cousin and Linguist Alexander Hamilton Sends Reflections on Yellow Fever in America and War with France

"I tremble whenever I open a newspaper at the dreadful accounts they contain of the ravages which the yellow fever still continues to make in the devoted cities of New York & Philadelphia. Surely you do not hazard a life so valuable to your adopted country by remaining in the midst of such desolation, nor risqué those of your family by continuing to reside at New York. I entertain some hopes that the accounts we receive from thence are highly exaggerated, but still there is sufficient reason to apprehend that the local circumstances of those cities are unfortunately too favorable to the generation, or nutriment, of that fatal distemper."

"The aspect of our political affairs has undergone of late a very unpleasant alteration. The French nearly expelled from Italy, & driven near their own frontiers in Switzerland appeared to approach to the time, when their armies reduced within their own dominions must derive a scanty support from their internal resources. The event has unfortunately corresponded ill with our flattering anticipations; the Duke of York experienced the total apathy of the Dutch, in his short but unsuccessful campaign in North Holland; & Massena has in some measure retrieved the affairs of his countrymen in Switzerland. It were idle to conjecture what must be the termination of the war in the midst of this incessant fluctuation."

Alexander Hamilton's first cousin and name fellow Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824), a Scottish linguist, wrote several letters to Hamilton between 1797 and 1800. He expresses concern over the yellow fever ravaging Philadelphia and New York. During the yellow fever epidemic in 1793, approximately 5,000 people died in Philadelphia, a city of 50,000, making it one of the most severe in American history. Five years later, a yellow fever outbreak recurred, killing more than 3,500 people in Philadelphia and more than 2,000 people in New York City. Not until the 1880s did physicians begin to understand that the yellow fever virus was spread by mosquitos, and only in the twentieth century was yellow fever successfully eradicated from the United States and other areas of the world.

Hamilton also writes of the frustration of allied efforts against France in Europe. Prince Frederick, the Duke of York (1763-1827), son of King George III, led an Anglo-Russian invasion of Holland in August 1799. Hoping to spur an uprising among the Dutch, the invasion had some initial success, before lack of supplies, sickness, and desertion reduced the Duke of York's army and forced him to retreat to the coast. The French had overrun Switzerland in their war with Austria and established the Helvetic Republic in April 1798. In 1799, Switzerland became a battleground, and French general André Masséna regained control of Zurich from the Russians in September.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1762-1864), Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, October 31, 1799, 4 pp. #24645.17

Aff amilton

### Former French Consul Writes Hamilton Regarding a Brewing Controversy

"implicated in the consequences of a certain paper, the publicity of which may have produced some one consequence more than you foresaw or could now wish."

**Complete Transcript** 

Philadelphia the 27<sup>th</sup> february 1800.

<u>№ 63</u>

south third street.

Dear sir,

Before you Cast your eyes on the inclosed note, permit me to assure you in the most positive terms on the veracity of a gentleman, that there is not the most remote intercourse between me & the writer thereof, nor any interference whatever from any third caracter.

Nor should I make so bold as to intrude upon your attention, on so delicate an occasion was I not

21915.24 Philid of plan the 27. Johnay 180 Miles fouth thand threat 7 the avites thereof meany inter former what ens Morchard I make as badd as to intrade upon of a certain gragers, the publicity of which.

in some shape implicated in the consequences of a certain paper, the publicity of which may have produced some one consequence more than you foresaw or could now wish.

Whether your Circumstances or present situation will permit a generous & prudent interference through a third person, what propriety would suggest to yourself in order to do away with the evil effect of the mode you adopted in order to regret the most wanton calumny & an odious attempt upon your reputation, cannot be questions with me. I shall not presume to urge one single reflexion, being convinced from the knowledge I have of your principles & of the goodness of your heart that every thing will be done which honour would prescribe or delicacy permit. I shall <2> not even request to be favored with an answer, if you judge it prudent to be silent: I will only add that I am preparing to return to France as soon as I possibly can, where I incline to believe you will not have a warmer friend, than myself, Nor a more sincerely devoted servant.

Holker

Gen<sup>1</sup> Alexander Hamilton; N. York.

This cryptic letter from former French consul general John Holker to Hamilton, then the senior officer in the American army, seems to concern a potential offense against Hamilton. They had first met in 1779. After the war, they encountered each other when Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, and privately as Hamilton managed his brother-in-law John Church's American legal and financial affairs, from 1790 to 1796, when Church had returned to England. Holker's land speculations led him to mortgage some New York land to Church.

We don't know what delicate papers Holker is referring to. He was involved in interesting negotiations to settle debts with Robert Morris, but could have been involved in numerous other French and American political and financial intrigues at the time.

JOHN HOLKER. Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, February 27, 1800. 2 pp. #24645.24

## Future Editor of Hamilton's New-York Post Begs for Help Getting Court Clerk Job

"I rec<sup>d</sup> yesterday a message from the Gov<sup>r</sup> that he wished to speak with me. He told me I had met with opposition on a ground which perhaps was unexpected & he had sent for me that I might candidly inform him of the exact truth; he had been told that day that <u>my</u> <u>circumstances were so much embarrassed</u> that the public would never bear with the appointment. I told him frankly that I was involved in some serious pecuniary difficulties & proceeded to inform him that I had some three or four years ago been drawn into the vortex of speculation & had made three large contracts for Virginia lands.... He heard me thro' & said he was grieved extremely, that he had made up his mind to give me the preference in his nomination but that here was a dreadful obstacle, which he saw no way to avoid or to overcome. That he rather believed the maxim to be a sound one that no man should be appointed to <u>any</u> office in the State who was subject to the pleasure of creditors...."

In response to this letter, Hamilton wrote to Governor John Jay on March 4, 1800: "We are all here very anxious for the success of Mr Coleman. We know his abilities and we believe in his integrity. Your good disposition towards him is well understood-Yet it is feared that his pecuniary situation may prove an obstacle. It is undoubtedly a good rule to avoid embarrassed men in appointments-yet this like every other general rule may admit of exceptions...." On May 13, Coleman was appointed clerk of the circuit court of the city and county of New York and for the sittings of the New York Supreme Court there. In a letter to Hamilton that day, Jay explained that a candidate he had nominated first was unsuccessful, allowing him to nominate Coleman.

One of Jay's principal expectations was that Coleman would edit a selection of cases from the Supreme Court: "I hope Mr. Coleman will be attentive to the Reports. Much Expectation has

Allow Flags unon The my proper remarking in which of first myself at this I shall the day the estimation of all my late flatting hope the ater mostert will reader Tobalitaring the letter which your pirodif distated to Judge works be having it at very qual hoge to faffer the he appointment is the jurges, I though after a concertation or with myself & gat the Bill enoughed in the Jonoran & Course & the day life with day the Gome . South in the sourcement & reader from me of their own loves the fe is every fait for 201. to 121. To flat there which here finifent formal spherica to some mention of both the re all you tog if not make. Being to four night the Bill was not fast to the Bread of white y states I from count be completed and a so the time. The of the council had been fund by more of the more of the believe of the one had been find that of allow it when I all getullor a might from the for that he within to fiel with me. It has no I has not with oblightion on a which builds we wand hat I he has fat for a that I night see

been excited; and Disappointmt. wd. produce Disgust. It is I think essential to him that the Work be prosecuted with Diligence, but not with Haste; and that they be such as they ought to be." Coleman published *Cases of Practice Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the State of New-York* in 1801.<sup>6</sup>

**William Coleman** (1766-1829) was born in Boston and became an attorney in Greenfield, Massachusetts. After major losses from speculating in Yazoo lands, he moved to New York City to practice law, for a time working with Aaron Burr. He also became Hamilton's friend. In November 1801, Coleman became the editor of Hamilton's newspaper, the *New-York Evening Post*. In January 1804, six months before his former law partner Aaron Burr killed Hamilton, Coleman killed New York harbormaster Jeremiah Thompson in a duel.

WILLIAM COLEMAN, Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, February 28, 1800, 5 pp., plus address leaf. #24645.18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> <u>Alexander Hamilton to John Jay</u>, March 4, 1800, <u>John Jay to Alexander Hamilton</u>, March 13, 1800, *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 24, *November 1799–June 1800*, 283, 324-25; William Coleman, <u>Cases of Practice Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the State of New-York</u> (New York: Isaac Collins, 1801).

## Alexander Writes to Eliza about the Deteriorating Health of Her Sister Peggy

"Your sister Peggy has gradually grown worse & it is now in a situation that her dissolution in the opinion of the Doctor is not likely to be long delayed. The L<sup>t</sup> Governor sends the bearer to bring home his Child. I have not time to add more"

Margarita "Peggy" Schuyler Van Rensselaer (1758-1801) was the third daughter of Philip Schuyler and the younger sister of Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton. In 1783, at age 25, she eloped with and married Stephen Van Rensselaer III (1764-1839), aged 19. He was the oldest child of Stephen Van Rensselaer II, the ninth patroon of Rensselaerswyck. When he turned 21, he became the tenth patroon of the family estate. He served as lieutenant governor of New York from 1795 to 1801 under Governor John Jay, and Hamilton here refers to him as "Lt Governor."

Peggy became ill in 1799 and her condition worsened during the winter of 1800-1801. Doctors gave her oxygen for a time, which helped revive her.

Hamilton was then in Albany on legal business, and visited Peggy often at the Van Rensselaer manor house in Watervliet, reporting to Eliza who was in New York City. When Hamilton finished his court work, his sister-in-law and her parents asked him to stay for a few more days, and he remained in Albany until her death on March 14.

Moun Seller Peggy has gradu & is now in a Schucher that diffalution in the opinion of the D to be long delayert. Mh undo the beaver to bury have not home to hu Adren mine Ins &

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Autograph Letter Signed "AH," to Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton (addressed as "Mrs H"), February 25, 1801, Albany, NY. 1 p. #27110

#### **Congress Considers Forgiving Debtor States-Again-After Initial Settlement**

This report, submitted to the House of Representatives on March 5, 1802, by a five-member committee again proposes that Congress extinguish the debt owed by the six debtor states— New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—to the federal government. Congress postponed consideration until November, and the issue continued to surface until Congress ultimately forgave the debtor states the amounts they owed.

The Office of the Commissioners of Accounts in Alexander Hamilton's Treasury Department completed its review in December 1793 and issued its final report. Designed to equalize the per capita burden of the war expenditures among the states, this process involved crediting each state with the sums it spent for the war and debiting it for sums it received from the national government. The Commissioners found that seven states had contributed more than their quota, and six states had contributed less, leaving a total of \$3.5 million due from those states. Several debtor states unsuccessfully requested information on how the Board of Commissioners made their calculations and therefore refused to pay their assigned quotas. In 1794, the federal government issued this amount plus interest in securities to the seven creditor states, but this settlement failed to complete the equalization of the debt because the debtor states refused to pay their deficiencies.

#### Excerpt

"That as none of these states has evinced a disposition to pay any part of those balances, except New-York...but as it would be unequal to ask a further payment from that state exclusively, and as it does not appear that any measures of coercion can ever be resorted to, a further continuance of the demands against those states, the justice and equity of which they do not admit, will, in the opinion of the committee, answer no useful purpose; but on the contrary, is calculated to occasion perpetual irritation and disquiet, as well to the creditor as to the debtor states.

"The committee are therefore of opinion, that it is expedient to extinguish the claims of the United States for those balances, and for that purpose report a bill, which is herewith submitted." (p3-4)

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON.] Printed Document, "Report of the Committee, Appointed on the 12t ultimo, to inquire into the expediency of extinguishing the claims of the United States, for certain balances, which, by the Commissioners appointed to settle the accounts between the United States and the individual States, were reported to be due from several of the States of the United States," March 5, 1802, [Washington, DC]. 4 pp. With ownership signature of committee member Samuel W. Dana. #28137

# John Adams' Former Secretary and Hamilton's New Brother-in-Law (Catherine's Husband) Tries to Explain Himself

"To the civility of a friend (with whom you had conferred) I was some considerable time past indebted for acquainting me with the substance of certain acrimonious expressions that had been represented to you as having escaped me, but as by a fatality not very unusual I had been destined to suffer reproach without cause, and to be traduced without foundation. I endeavored to compose myself (even at the risk of your displeasure) under the consciousness of Innocence and patiently await for a substantial acquittal in the eventual exposition that inevitably attends base passions employed in baser ends. As however 'different persons on various occasions' have thought proper to reiterate the animadversions imputed to me, it has become necessary for me in elucidation of this subject to communicate certain particulars of my life and conduct which you are ignorant of."

"Shortly after the decease of my Father it was my fortune in very early life to receive the patronage and friendship of M<sup>r</sup> Adams. Taught by numberless offices of civility to entertain an ardent esteem for him and from many years of intimacy a reverence for his Virtues I do not hesitate to admit that at a period now remote I may have indulged in certain remarks which at that time were suggested by the appearance of a public paper addressed to my first and most useful Benefactor. The length of time that has elapsed since they may have been made, and the occasional influence under which they may have been supposed to have been delivered have annihilated [my?] recollection of my then youthful indiscretion in relation to you, and permit me to add that I could with difficulty have believed that by my then companions these charges would have been remem[bered?] for condemnation now."

As private secretary to John Adams at the beginning of his Presidency, Samuel B. Malcom (1776-1815) was undoubtedly protective of his patron's reputation. It was common knowledge that although Hamilton strongly opposed Jefferson's bid for the Presidency in 1796, he favored fellow Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney over John Adams.

In September 1797, in the midst of the Reynolds scandal that called Hamilton's character into question, Malcom wrote to Adams, referring to Hamilton's Reynolds pamphlet, "I have read them, & heard his Confessions with disgust, nothing to admire, but Every thing to Censure." Adams responded, "Your observations upon this miserable Business do honour to your head and Heart. Can Talents atone for such Turpitude? Can Wisdom reside with such Gullibility?"

When the pamphlet, *Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq. President of the United States* appeared in 1800, and doomed Adams' chances of reelection, Malcom was undoubtedly furious at reading Hamilton's characterization of Adams. Less than three years later, Malcom found himself in the awkward position of having become Hamilton's newest brother-in-law, and a few months after his wedding, he tried to explain comments Hamilton may have heard.

[SAMUEL MALCOM], Autograph Letter Fragment, to Alexander Hamilton, October 17, 1803, Albany, NY. 2 pp. #24645.20

## Eliza's Cousin Writes Hamilton about Van Rensselaer Properties

Elizabeth Hamilton's first cousin, attorney Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, writes to Hamilton seeking his advice on the distribution of some of their grandfather's land to settlers around Hillsdale, New York. Less than a month earlier, on March 17, 1804, state-appointed commissioners had described and valued properties to be deeded by the Van Rensselaer family heirs (including Alexander and Elizabeth Hamilton) to the residents. Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer (1767-1835) took the responsibility of preparing more than one hundred deeds, each of which had to be signed by the heirs, to complete the transfers.

#### Excerpts

"I will avail myself of the first opportunity to forward for your examination copies of the several Deeds bonds & mortgages which are now progressing as fast as circumstances will permit. the immense quantity of snow has till lately entirely prevented and still much retards the progress of the Surveyor, in a few days however he will be able to proceed without further difficulty, should it be thought adviseable to afford an opportunity for inspecting them after they are all completed, I will immediately upon receiving an intimation from you either send or take them to Newyork."

"It appears that in a few cases on the part of the Defendants objections will be made to the validity of the award to bind the rights of the parties claiming an interest in the lands directed to be conveyed In one instance a widow in possession having several children some of age others Infants became a party to the submission probably with the privity if not the actual consent of all the children these object now to her power to affect their rights. in one other case the oldest son who by the will of his Father was directed to take possession of the property and support the family with its proceeds, became a party. the ultimate disposition of the property I have not been able to learn. what is to be done in those cases. Will it be best to tender the deeds or give notice of their being prepared, or will it be best, to come to an explanation with the parties and procure from them a release of their claim under the award."

[Extract from will:] "I do hereby give and grant to my Executors herein after named and to the Survivors and survivor of them full power and legal authority to sell and dispose of all or any part of my real estate wheresoever situate, lying or being and on such sale or disposition to make execute and deliver to the Purchaser or Purchasers good ample and sufficient deed or deeds, conveyance or conveyances for the fully granting to him or them his and their Heirs and assigns a good full ample and sufficient title or estate, of and in the premises to be granted, and that at such time or times and in such parcel or parcels quantity or quantities as they in their discretion shall think proper

"And whereas part of my estate is at present held by persons claiming adverse to my title and whereas it may conduce to the interest of my estate that my Executors should be vested with

full power and authority to compound, settle and compromise with the occupants, by arbitration or otherwise, I do therefore will, give and grant unto my Executors, full power and authority to compound, settle & compromise by sale, arbitration or otherwise all questions as well of title as value in any wise effecting or relating to the same."

[Endorsement by Hamilton:] "private / AH"

11 april 1004 J. R. Van Renschee J: Van Par felan Cl-1 private

The Claverack lands in what is now Columbia County, New York, were part of the Van Rensselaer family holdings, based on purchases from American Indians and Dutch West India Company grants to the first patroon, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer (1586-1643), in 1630. In 1704, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer (1663-1719), grandson of the first patroon, divided Rensselaerswyck with his younger brother Hendrick (Henry) Van Rensselaer (1667-1740), who received the Lower Manor (Claverack) plus 1,500 acres east of Albany (Greenbush) in fee tail (a form of lifetime use with descent to a specific successor). This estate passed to Hendrick's son Johannes (John) Van Rensselaer (1708-1783) in 1740. In 1763, Johannes Van Rensselaer eliminated the entail, so that he could distribute the land as he saw fit. After challenges to his property rights, Van Rensselaer obtained a confirmatory patent from the Governor and Council of New York to 128,000 acres of the Claverack tract in 1773. In his 1782 will, he attempted to entail a portion of Claverack for his grandson, the only surviving child of his deceased oldest son Jeremiah Van Rensselaer (1738-1810). However, New York abolished entail shortly after the execution of the will, so Johannes Van Rensselaer's heirs received their shares in fee simple.

Title to the land was complicated both by a border dispute between Massachusetts and New York and by a tradition of anti-rent riots. From 1753 to 1766, settlers on the Van Rensselaer and Livingston estates refused to pay the usual one tenth of their produce as a rent, with resistance leading to violence on several occasions. The settlers were encouraged by Massachusetts, which gave some of the tenants land grants. The lords of the estates resisted these claims through forcible evictions and even the destruction of farms. British soldiers arrived to maintain order in 1766, and convictions sent several rioters to prison.

In 1773, commissioners from New York and Massachusetts agreed to a border twenty miles east of the Hudson River, but interrupted by the war, the line was not surveyed until 1783. In 1784, John Van Rensselaer's heirs began actions of ejectment against occupants of farms in Hillsdale and Claverack, but these cases languished, and were dismissed in 1793.<sup>7</sup>

In October 1802, a deputation of occupants arrived in Albany and met with Alexander Hamilton, who represented Van Rensselaer's heirs. On April 2, 1803, the New York legislature passed "An Act for settling the Disputes and Controversies between the Representatives of John Van Rensselaer the elder, deceased, and the Possessors of Lands in the Town of Hillsdale, in the County of Columbia." The act appointed commissioners to determine whether John Van Rensselaer owned the land, and if so, the value of each parcel and issued their final opinion on March 17, 1804. They valued the land at from \$1.37 to \$11.87 per acre. The schedule accompanying the award described 111 properties; another 60 had to be surveyed before deeds could be drawn up.<sup>8</sup>

The heirs of Johannes Van Rensselaer ultimately conveyed 171 parcels, containing a total of approximately 13,000 acres, ranging in size from less than an acre to almost three hundred acres. Catherine Van Rensselaer Schuyler's heirs received \$17,777.67.

JACOB RUTSEN VAN RENSSELAER. Autograph Letter Signed, to Alexander Hamilton, April 11, 1804. Original docketing by Hamilton "*J Van Rensselaer*," with later family docketing 3 pp., #24645.21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Julius Goebel Jr. and Joseph H. Smith, eds., *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton: Documents and Commentary*, 5 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964-1981), 3:335-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Arbitration Award, March 17, 1804, Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton, 3:428-29.

#### Two Former Members of John Adams' Cabinet Excoriate His Slander of Hamilton

"His virulence against Hamilton is unexampled: but the integrity & talents of Hamilton are above the reach of his veteran slander. Yet [Adams] ought to be scourged with scorpions."

After John Adams' election as President in 1796, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering and Secretary of War James McHenry continued to seek Hamilton's advice. But Hamilton and Adams soon clashed over who should serve as second in command to Washington during the Quasi War, as well as Adams' decision to send peace commissioners to France. After Washington died, Adams refused to appoint Hamilton head of the military forces, dismissed Pickering, and forced McHenry's resignation.

In the presidential contest of 1800, Hamilton published a scorching "*Letter… concerning the public conduct and character of John Adams, Esq…*" Adams did not publicly respond until 1809, in a series of eighteen letters published in the *Boston Patriot*, offering a point-by-point rebuttal. Adams wrote that Hamilton's *Letter* was "from his mere imagination, from confused rumors, or downright false information," blasted Hamilton as ignorant of foreign affairs, and claimed he wanted to take over the government in order to further his own interests. Adams' letters provoked several prominent defenders of Hamilton, including Pickering, then a U.S. Senator (whom the Senate had just censured for violations of the Logan Act). Here, Pickering asks McHenry to read the letters.

"A question I asked him [Adams' Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert] led him to say, that he had long since read M<sup>±</sup> Adams's first eighteen letters published in the Boston

Patriot - and in consequence had written to  $M^{\underline{r}}$ Adams a long letter, stating his errors or misrepresentations - that he had rec<sup>d</sup> a short, but polite answer - and that he would furnish me with copies of both. He said explicitly that he had no knowledge of the cause of my dismission. I informed him of the corrupt motive....

"I cannot imagine that M<sup>±</sup> Dana can have taken offence - because I believe you incapable of intending one, and that he is too sensible & too candid to admit an interpretation of an ill aspect where he must believe that a candid & friendly face alone was intended to be presented.—

*"If you have not read M<sup>r</sup> Adams' first 18 letters... I pray you to read them. His virulence against Hamilton is unexampled: but the integrity & talents of Hamilton are above the reach of his veteran slander. Yet he ought to be scourged with scorpions."* 

Pickering's venomous closing indicates that he was still seething over his "dismission" by Adams. James McHenry replied that he had Adams' letters and concluded that he was guilty of "coarse and unmanly abuse of a deceased statesman." Pickering responded to McHenry on February 27, flaying Adams as an "open apostate" and a "malignant slanderer" whose "atrocious conduct calls for a severe scourging which he shall receive."

TIMOTHY PICKERING. Autograph Letter Signed, to James McHenry. February 11, 1811. Washington, D.C. 2 pp. #24955

## Jefferson Forestalls "bigots" in Religion, Politics, or Medicine

Long retired to private life, Jefferson declines the request of Dr. James Mease (1771-1846) for copies of his correspondence with Dr. Benjamin Rush (1746-1813). Mease had hoped to include them in a volume of Rush's letter, and specifically requested letters pertaining to Rush's views on religion and politics. Jefferson explains his view on differences between personal and official

correspondence, and public versus private expression.

"I have duly received your favor of the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. requesting me to communicate to you such letters from the late D<sup>r</sup> Rush to muself as I possess. on political, religious, and miscellaneous subjects, with a view to their publication. I possess but few such; but these were of extraordinary confidence; insomuch that, on his death, I requested from his family a return of my letters to him on subjects of this character; which they kindly and honorably did return. had I died first, I think it probable he would have made the same request from my family, & with the same view, that of preventing the publication of his letters, or their getting into hands which might expose him. living, or his character when dead, to obloguy from bigots in religion, in politics, or in medicine.

ur favor of the 7th init. to you such letters from the late I. Rush to myself as I go his death I requested from his family a retu I underable he would have made the same request -selves entry as in confabrilation with another self, we are off over guard, have her guard, is, if we ere no harm is done; it is to a friend we have sue who will not betray us; but will keep to himself shal, but for this a we should reconsider which correct northans read on the no and dictates of our mason. To faster a man down no, and to mublish him to the world in that as his rampies on his judgement and character. I do not mean an inference that here , any thing of this character in Incher Rush', letters to me: but only that, having been witten without intention or meneration for millication I do not think that this is Blon the form in which an author chuses to have his ideas made , dence of intention as direct expression, but on the me Theferton

"When we are pouring our inmost thoughts into the bosom of a friend, we lose sight of the world, we see ourselves only in confabulation with another self; we are off our guard; write hastily; hazard thoughts of the first impression; yield to momentary excitement; because, if we err, no harm is done; it is to a friend we have committed ourselves, who knows us, who will not betray us; but will keep to himself what, but for this confidence, we should reconsider, weigh, correct, perhaps reject, on the more mature reflections and dictates of our reason. to fasten a man down to all his unreflected expressions, and to publish him to the world in that as his serious & settled form, is a surprise on his judgment and character. I do not mean an inference that there is anything of this character in Doctor Rush's letters to me: but only that, having been written without intention or preparation for publication, I do not think it within the office of a friend to give them a publicity which he probably did not contemplate."

Jefferson considered supernatural aspects of religion as incompatible with reason and deeply distrusted the interference of religious leaders in civic matters. As he wrote to Rush on September 23, 1800, "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Jefferson embraced the moral teachings ascribed to Christ while rejecting much of Christian doctrine. In another letter to Rush, on April 21, 1803, Jefferson stated simply, "I am a Christian, in the only sense in which [Jesus] wished any one to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other." Jefferson's famous 1802 letter to the Danbury Baptist Association praised the First Amendment's Establishment Clause for "building a wall of separation between church and State."

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Autograph Letter Signed, to James Mease. 1 p. with conjoined franked address leaf in Jefferson's hand. August 17, 1816. Monticello, [Charlottesville, Va.] #23233

## **Documents from Hamilton's Legal Files**

## Plea of John Woodward by Alexander Hamilton his Attorney

*Robert Gilbert Livingston v. John Woodward*, Manuscript Document, ca. August 1784, New York Supreme Court. Great crown watermark. 1 p.

Woodward, having put "in his place Alexander Hamilton his attorney at the suit of Robert Gilbert Livingston," here admits owing Livingston £6,400. Written and signed " $Alex^{r}$  Hamilton,  $Att^{u}$  for defendant" in unknown hand.

## Hamilton Defends a Loyalist

Manuscript Document, Demurrer in *Edward Meeks v. Jeronimus Van Alstyne*, ca. June 1785, New York Mayor's Court. Docketed on verso in unknown hand "*For Alex Hamilton Esqr*." 1 p.

In *Meeks v Van Alstyne*, Hamilton defended a Loyalist who had collected rent from tenants during the British occupation of New York. However, patriot Edward Meeks owned the building that Van Alstyne had occupied and on which he collected rent. After the war, Meeks sought to collect the money that Van Alstyne had charged tenants, on the grounds that Van Alstyne's seizure and occupancy of Meeks' property was illegal. On June 24, 1785, Hamilton entered Van Alstyne's "not guilty" plea, and Meeks' attorney entered this demurrer to the plea.

"And the said Edward Meeks says that he by any thing by the said Jeronimus Van Alstyne above by Pleading alledges ought not to be barred from having his said Action against the said Jeronimus Van Alstyne because he says that the said Plea by the said Jeronimus Van Alstyne in manner and form above Pleaded and the matter therein Contained are not Sufficient in Law to barr the said Edward Meeks from having his said Action... "Wherefore for Default of a sufficient Plea in this behalf he the said Edward Meeks prays Judgement and that his Damages by reason of the Trespass aforesaid may be adjudged to him &ca"

## Hamilton Opposes Brockholst Livingston

Manuscript Document, Plea in *Gulian Ver Plank v. Thomas Duncan*, July 21, 1785, New York Supreme Court. 1 p.

#### Penned in unknown hand: "Hamilton Atty for Def." and "B: Livingston for Plaintiff."

"And the said Thomas Duncan by Alexander Hamilton his attorney comes & defends the force & injury, when &c—and says that he ought not to be charged with the said debt by means of the said writing obligatory, because he says the said writing obligatory is not his deed...." Also bears the name

# A Woman Accuses Three Men who "evilly treated her"

Manuscript Document, Narratio, *Jemima Widger v. Aaron Gilbert et al.*, ca. July 1786, New York Mayor's Court. 1 p.

*"Jemima Widger Complains of Aaron Gilbert John Johnson and James King together with Robert Townsend..* .on the twenty seventh Day of June in the year of our Lord



one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Six at the City of New York...with force and Arms to wit Swords Staves and Fists made an Assault upon the Said Jemima Widger and the said Jemima then and there beat wounded and Evilly treated so that her Life was greatly despaired of... And to the Damage of the said Jemima Widger two hundred pounds And thereof she brings this suit." From docketing, Hamilton may have represented one of the defendants.

#### 1786 Plea of Lewis Mary by Alexander Hamilton his Attorney

Manuscript Document, Plea, Henry Nash v. Lewis Mary, March 11, 1786, New York Supreme Court. 1 p.

Lewis Mary, having put "in his place Alexander Hamilton his attorney at the suit of Henry Nash," "comes and defends the force and injury, when &c and says, that he did not undertake and promise in manner and form as the said Henry Nash above complains against him; and of this he puts himself upon the Country And the said Henry Nash doth the like." This case appears in Hamilton's January 1786 account book.

## **Former Soldiers Exchange Land**

Manuscript Document, Copy of Bill, Sebastian Bauman v. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, September 21, 1796, New York Court of Chancery. 13 pp. Major Sebastian Bauman exchanged bounty land with fellow Revolutionary War veteran Oliver Logier. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer also claimed the same land, leading Bauman to sue. Note on last page: "I do hereby certify the aforegoing to be a just & true copy of the original Bill....Isaac L. Kip."

## **Charging Trespass**

Manuscript Document, Narratio, Ebenezer Turell v. Richard Miller Woodhull, survivor of Aaron Hall, 1796, New York Supreme Court. 9 pp.

Turell and Woodhull had been partners in a business. Notation on verso of ninth page in unidentified hand: "City and County of New York Ebenezer Turell puts in his place Alexander Hamilton his Attorney against Richard M. Woodhull and Aaron Hall in a plea of Trespass on the case."

## **Case Involving the Bank of New York**

Manuscript Document, Copy of Answer, Bank of

Inchancery. Jothe honor able Roberth Lug ton Englive Chancellos of the State of Var york Humbly complaining Theweth unto your Honor your brater Sebastian Bauman of the City of Sico Yet Gonthe man that your said Orater having received a grant for certain Lotte of Land in the State of the york as a beanty for his Securces as a Major in the line of the said State during the late to ar between Great Britain & the Under Starty that finding that one of the said Lotts was situate at a quat distance from the others he sole the same for the sum of one hundred dollars & for the Same sum of one hundred Dollars he purchased from a cutain Cliver Logice a Let containing the same Quantity of Acus more conveniently situated with respect to his other Lands and your Guter Shewy that the said Clusi Loxier became entitled to the said Lett of Land by his Military Sources as a Solice in the Line of this State & that Letters patent having been granted to him the said Oliver Loquer he did make acertain Intentine deonveyance to your Orators for the said Land in unsideration of the Sum & my konserver Software fate

*New York v. Sharp and Sharp*, October 21, 1800, New York Court of Chancery. 5 pp.

Hamilton founded the Bank of New York in 1784. Robert Sharp and John Sharp obtained a judgment against Joseph Eden in the New York Supreme Court of Judicature for \$7,014 on October 1, 1800. They insisted that their claims be satisfied from the assets of Eden before the claims of other creditors, including the Bank of New York.

#### Suit to Recover Value of Mahogany Logs

Manuscript Document, Trial Transcript, *Chrisitan Heyl v. Samuel Burling*, June 1802, New York Supreme Court of Judicature. 9 pp.

The case was a suit in trover for the recovery of the value of two mahogany logs that Heyl purchased in April 1801. Penned on docket, in unknown hand: "*A. Hamilton Esq.*"

#### Hamilton Refuses a Plea

Manuscript Document, Plea, ca. January 1797, New York Supreme Court. 1 p.

"And the said Isaac Riley, who is impleaded together with Seth Wetmore, by William Johnson his attorney comes and defends the wrong and injury when &c. And says that they the said Isaac and Seth did not undertake and promise in manner and form as the said Stephen [Fales] and George [Athearn] have above thereof complained against them...."

Isaac Riley was a partner with Boston merchant Seth Wetmore in a trading firm based in Boston. Hamilton served as counsel for various creditors of the partnership. Below the docketing, Hamilton's clerk William M. Lewis wrote, "*Mr. Hamilton told Mr. Johnson he would not accept this plea,*" indicating that Hamilton represented Fales and Athearn.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON.] Legal documents, 1784-1802. #24338

reme Court ent this ple W.m. Sew

#### Alexander Hamilton's Son Seeks Payment for Publication of His Father's Papers Through New York Congressman Hamilton Fish

In this letter to Congressman Hamilton Fish, Alexander Hamilton Jr. encloses a letter from his mother, Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton, seeking payment for the publication and donation to the nation of his father's/ her husband's papers. Congressman Fish's father had served as second-in-command to Alexander Hamilton at the Battle of Yorktown and named his first son "Hamilton."

"The enclosed letter, with a little explanation, will make you fully acquainted with my mother's wishes, in relation to the aid she desires to obtain from Congress to ensure the publication of my father's papers in a manner suitable to their importance; at the same [time] hoping that whatever sum may be appropriated will afford to her some slight consideration beyond the mere value of the subscription. I believe you are apprised of the

a marger for ale to hand to alma a - Hard a committee to the hard a manager NewBerk Dr.S. 18824 Hun Hamilton Firt. - Draiber .... E to ge and a He enclosed letter with a little expeanation will make your fully acquain with my mother's wishes, in relation to the and she disines to obtain from Congress, to cusere the publication of my father's pape in a manner sailable to their impertance; at the same hoping that whative su be appropriated, will afford to her son slight consideration, beyond the mere va of the subscription. I believe you are apprisand, the the fact, that the printing of the first ho ampt negmather in orbit, and consequently, that it hecame necessary to discontinue further effects, unlip she was perfaced to sus my inconvonient logs . Unon these a she has been advised to make an application to longerps, as the publication of the papers are interesting to ancuican statesmen, as being intimatily connected with the most momen and the most embanapsing partiens of our history, the war of Inorfendance, and the againsate of the government union the poral constitution I have then ght that the best course to be pressured, would be to offer a resolution,

fact, that the printing of the first volume brought my mother in debt, and, consequently, that it became necessary to discontinue any further efforts, unless she was prepared to sustain a very inconvenient loss. Under these circumstances, she has been advised to make an application to Congress, as the publication of the papers are interesting to American statesmen, as being intimately connected with the most momentous and the most embarrassing portions of our history, the War of Independence, and the organization of the government, under the federal constitution."

"As the sons of Old Federalists, we are equally interested in the publication of these papers; they will throw more light on the early history of federalism, than any exhibition that has been heretofore presented, while they will prove to the country, that any other system of measures than those of federalism, could not have been adopted with success, and had other counsels prevailed, the American character would have been stamped, with infidelity and ingratitude."

**Alexander Hamilton Jr.** (1786-1875) was born in New York, the third child of Alexander and Elizabeth (Schuyler) Hamilton. He graduated from Columbia College in August 1804, just weeks after his father's death. He studied law in Boston. In 1811 or 1812, he sailed to Spain and gained military experience in the British forces fighting against Napoleon's army in Portugal. During the War of 1812, he was a captain in the 41<sup>st</sup> U.S. Infantry and then aide-de-camp to General Morgan Lewis. He resumed the practice of law, and served in the New York legislature in 1818-1819. In 1822, President James Monroe appointed him as U.S. attorney for East Florida, where he also acted as a land commissioner. He returned to New York and became successful in land speculation. In the mid-1830s, he represented Eliza Jumel in her divorce proceedings against Aaron Burr, which were finalized on the day of Burr's death in 1836.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON JR., Autograph Letter Signed, to Hamilton Fish, December 1, 1844, New York, NY. 3 pp., 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. #27717

#### **Eliza Petitions Congress to Publish Hamilton's Papers**

Elizabeth Hamilton spent over forty years meticulously organizing Hamilton's papers. With the help of her son John Church Hamilton, she selected the most important parts of Hamilton's writings to be published in five expansive volumes. On April 20, 1846, the Library Committee of the Senate reported its decision to authorize an allowance for Eliza Hamilton to print one thousand copies of his collected writings for the public benefit. The Senate approved.

[ELIZABETH SCHUYLER HAMILTON]. CONGRESS. Printed Document. *Report of the Committee on the Library, to which was referred the petition of Elizabeth Hamilton, the widow of Alexander Hamilton, asking for the assistance of Congress in the publication of the works and writings of that distinguished statesman.* Washington: Ritchie and Heiss, 1846. #24401

In August 1848, Congress allocated \$20,000 to purchase Alexander Hamilton's papers and deposit them at the



Department of State. Congress also committed an additional \$6,000 to publish them under the authority of the Joint Committee on the Library. John Church Hamilton oversaw the publication of *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* in seven volumes in 1850 and 1851.<sup>9</sup> In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt had the original manuscripts transferred to the Library of Congress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> John C. Hamilton, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton; Comprising His Correspondence and His Political and Official Writings, Exclusive of The Federalist, Civil and Military. Published from the Original Manuscripts Deposited in the Department of State, by Order of the Joint Library Committee of Congress, 7* vols. (New York: John F. Trow, 1850-1851).

## Pair of Sheffield Plate Warmers Used by Alexander Hamilton

When entertaining, Alexander and Eliza Hamilton served elaborate meals with multiple courses, with each course having several dishes. This pair of round warming trays have gadrooned rims and tin bottoms and have a diameter of 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. Servants would have placed hot water in the warming tray, which kept the plate and food on it warm when transported from the kitchen to the dining room.

In 1742 Thomas Boulsover of Sheffield invented the process of Sheffield plating. The process fused copper with silver and rolled or hammered it into sheets that could be formed into objects. Though the resulting objects were much less expensive than those made from pure silver, they looked the same.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON]. Pair of Sheffield Plate Warmers descended in Hamilton family. #27087



Plate Harmers . used by Alexander Hamilton Mar Allan Mc Lane Hamilton Great Barrington, Mass

### Silver From Louis McLane Hamilton

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON FAMILY.] Eight silver items, including a Joseph Richardson Jr. coin silver cream jug engraved "LM" (Louis McLane, 1786-1857) within an oval frame; a Samuel Kirk coin silver beaker with repousse floral decoration, the bottom engraved "LMcH" (Louis McLane Hamilton, 1844-1868); a silver-plated cup engraved "Hamilton"; a J.F. Robinson coin silver dessert fork engraved "LMcH" (Louis McClane Hamilton); two English silver salt spoons engraved "BH"; and a set of silver salt and pepper shakers engraved "AMH" (Allan McLane Hamilton, 1848-1919). #27087.01



# Aaron Burr



Aaron Burr, John Vanderlyn, 1802, New-York Historical Society

**Aaron Burr** (1756-1836) was the third Vice President of the United States, serving during Jefferson's first term, through March 4, 1805. He graduated from Princeton University in 1772, at age 16. His first public service was as a Continental Army officer, where he distinguished himself at the Battles of Quebec, New York, and Monmouth.

After the war, Burr earned large fees from his law practice, but spent lavishly. Between 1799 and 1802, he borrowed \$61,440 from the Manhattan Company. (In December 1800, Hamilton wrote that Burr, then the Vice President-elect, "is bankrupt beyond redemption except by the plunder of his country.")

While Vice President, on July 11, 1804, Burr fatally wounded Alexander Hamilton in a duel.

With his political fortunes in decline, Burr is reputed to have formed a conspiracy to establish a private army and set up an empire from portions of Mexico (then belonging to Spain) and/or Louisiana (a U.S. territory). Burr was brought to trial on August 3, 1807, with Chief Justice John Marshall presiding, and acquitted on a technicality on September 1. Following the trial, he lived in Europe in self-imposed exile for four years, then returned to New York to practice law.

Burr was rejected by his and Jefferson's own party, the Democratic-Republicans, for opposing their intended presidential candidate, Jefferson, in the 1800 election runoff in the House.

In 1833, Burr married wealthy widow Eliza Jumel; his mismanagement of her assets led them to separate after only four months. Their divorce was finalized on the day he died.

## Aaron Burr Receives Letter on Behalf of his Imprisoned Future Brother-in-Law

"I wish for no other security than his prudence and your Honour but as it is official, am obliged to prescribe to him the inclosed Parole...."

Peter DeVisme, a British officer, was captured at sea by American forces early in the war. DeVisme's half-sister, Mrs. Theodosia Prevost (herself a patriot and a friend of George Washington and Aaron Burr), was married to Major General Augustine Prevost of the British Army. Earlier in 1779, Mrs. Prevost had written to Washington on behalf of DeVisme. Washington replied on May 19, 1779, declining Prevost's request to intervene in her brother's case: "Madam: It is much to be regretted, that the pleasure of obeying the first emotions in favor of misfortune, is not always in our power...however great the satisfaction I should feel in obliging."

In this letter, Commissary General of Prisoners John Beatty (1749-1826) writes to Aaron Burr regarding DeVisme. After her husband's death during the Revolutionary War in the West Indies, Theodosia Provost married Aaron Burr in 1782.

"Thank you for the good opinion you are

Commit 7. Prips " Office " Middle Brook 23 May Dear fir 179 Sam this moment favored with yours of yesterday . The duplicate of which you ablude to in your Costscript has not yet reached Intern Sthank you for the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of my dispertion to heat Pris mers under my care, with every indel gent Civitity in my power, and a st incompatible with the line of my office . Thave been made acquainted with M? Devisine Character, as also every Circum: fance attending his Capture , and Sam happy in having it in my power to indulge him at your request in remaining for the present inthe his Friends at Paramus \_\_\_\_ Swish for no other Security than madence and Your Honoir but as it is

pleased to entertain of my disposition to heal prisoners under my care, with every indulgent civility in my power and not incompatible with the line of my office. I have been made acquainted with Mr. Devisme Character, as also every circumstance attending his capture, and I am happy in having it in my power to indulge him at your request in remaining for the present with his friends at Paramus. I wish for no other security than his prudence and your Honour but as it is official, am obliged to prescribe to him the inclosed Parole, which you will be pleased to have signed and transmitted to me by the first conveyance. It does not lie with me to give him permission to go to N. York for any space of time and indeed I would advise him not to urge a matter of that kind at this time as it would appear unreasonable and I am confident it would be denied him."

JOHN BEATTY. Autograph Letter, to Aaron Burr regarding Peter DeVisme, May 23, 1779, Middle Brook, New Jersey. 2 pp. #24394

## Aaron Burr Manages his New York City Law Office from Albany

Daniel Pardon hun " hegg G ! Bock theet adventises "Letters and descentions to Bushe" - If they are twitten by Payne, Priestley: Towers or Loft - buy and send them to me Buy also of Same Compilet Why theman for Hackintonk's defen "I the perich levolution against the accustions of M' Burke" Jampurpurges that I have no with from Mapun by the It gives our the quotest pleance to find that the simp glu office begins at leight to be reduced to order. So atter of the ground Tails attend & -Wfue JA Mp Kargulans gardiniers Leases y not forwarder Lagors the hereit of this may be find by Park - Sheline a Bake lowery and will be best for the prints - miles your find a break of fire offer () for land you side find among the momorandroms or surse probably among the Referse of Ref Linngston hind a Backett a note of all Indyments and thertyages against charles A Soll and Timon Toll - soud it to cannot find it get of the Lipsen a Dock off all had? and find me a mening the Executions which have been ipour in any two fuits ag ! the Solly forward the content to the part if no perpert go predy off by back

*Eye Water, one small, the other larger.*"

In July 1791, Burr was serving as New York State commissioner of Revolutionary claims and as freshman U.S. Senator, while also practicing law. Here, the future presidential candidate instructs the clerk keeping his New York office on everything from entering pleas, to sending case paperwork, to ordering vials of an eye moisturizer and books analyzing the French Revolution, to correspondence.

#### Partial Transcript:

"I have just received your letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> In the suits in which M<sup>r</sup> Cozine has sent you Declarations, I am Counsel and think JB Prevost is att<sup>y</sup>. if so give him the narr's [narratios], if not, you must either get Cozines leave to delay the pleas till my Return or if he declines that Indulgence, plead the Gen<sup>1</sup> Issue and plene administravit—but I shall wish to alter the Pleas on my return. Ask M<sup>r</sup> Prevost to draw and deliver these pleas. I do not wish you to be interrupted."

"You will find among the Gravesend papers, copies of several Patents for Gravesend and of one or two for New Utrect, send them to me."

"Tell Brooks to send me two Phials of M<sup>rs</sup> Lambs

"Beg Brooks also to enquire for a Piece of Linnen which was sent by Judge Yates to Doctor Browne to be bleached, if it is done and he can find it, let him send it to the Judge by sloop. "If he cannot find it and an opportunity offers desire him to write to Doctor Browne on the subject."

"Daniel Vardon, Jun<sup>r</sup> N<sup>0</sup> 39 G<sup>r</sup> Dock Street advertises '<u>Letters and observations to Burke</u>.' If they are neither by Payne [Paine?], Priestly, Towers or Loft, buy and send them to me. Buy also of Sam<sup>l</sup> Campbell N<sup>0</sup> 44 Hannover Sq and send me '<u>Mackintosh's defense of the french</u> revolution against the accusations of M<sup>r</sup> Burke."

"I am surprised that I have no Letter from M<sup>rs</sup> Burr by the last two posts."

"It gives me the greatest pleasure to find that the business of the office begins at length to be reduced to order. Do either of the young Lads attend?" "y<sup>r</sup> friend & Hs / Aaron Burr"

AARON BURR. Autograph Letter Signed, to William Ireson. Albany, N.Y., July 20, 1791. 3 pp., folio, with integral address leaf to Ireson "*at A Burr's*." #21480.04

#### Senator Burr's "Impartial" Opinion on the 1792 NY Gubernatorial Election

In the 1791 U.S. Senate election, Philip Schuyler had run for reelection as the Federalist candidate. Aaron Burr, then Attorney General of New York, was the moderate Democratic-Republican candidate. Simmering intra-party rivalries, Federalist opposition to Schuyler personally, as well as opposition to his son-in-law Hamilton's policies, led to Burr's victory.

Next, in New York's 1792 race for governor, Democratic-Republican incumbent George Clinton was opposed by the Federalist Chief Justice John Jay, who won the popular vote. New York state law, however, required that the sheriff of each county deliver all cast ballots to the Secretary of State for the votes to be certified. Earlier in the year, the term of Otsego County's sheriff had expired, and no successor had been appointed. Clintonians argued that because the sheriff's office was vacant, Otsego's votes could not be counted.

The question was arbitrated by New York's U.S. Senators, Rufus King and Aaron Burr. Burr owed his political success to the Clinton



faction in New York politics, supported Clinton's position. The election canvassers agreed. With the votes of Otsego and two other counties disqualified, Clinton won a razor-thin victory.

This pamphlet prints the opinions of Aaron Burr and Rufus King, the Certificate of the Canvassers, the outraged protests of a minority [Messrs. Jones, Roosevelt, and Ganesvoort], and the opinions of a number of lawyers, including Attorney General Edmund Randolph.

AARON BURR. An Impartial Statement of the Controversy, Respecting the Decision of the Late Committee of Canvassers. Containing, the Opinions of Edmund Randolph, Esq. Attorney General of the United States, and Several Other Eminent Law Characters. New York: Thomas Greenleaf, 1792. 46 pp. #23406

## Aaron Burr Signs Bail Bond for Mulatto Cook and Confectioner

Confectioner and cook William Husbands and banker Aaron Burr signed a bail bond for \$1,200 to New York Sheriff James Morris to ensure Husbands' appearance at trial.

"We William Husbands and Aaron Burr of the City of New-York, are held and firmly bound unto JAMES MORRIS, Esquire, Sheriff of the City and County of New-York, in the sum of twelve hundred dollars.... NOW THE CONDITION of the above OBLIGATION is such, That if the said William Husbands shall remain a true and faithful prisoner, and shall not at any time or in any wise escape...then the above Obligation to be void...."

William Husbands lived in New York City and married Jane Ryals in January 1783. In a 1797 city directory, he is listed as a cook and confectioner at 166 William Street. The 1800 federal census listed Husbands as a mulatto, with other five other non-white members of his household. Husbands was a small stockholder in the Bank of New York, when it was incorporated in 1791.

Inow all filen by these Presents, That We William Starbands and Garon Buen of the City of New-York, are held and firmly bound unto JAMES MORRIS, Esquire, Sheriff of the City and County of New-York, in the sum of twelve hundred dollars current Money of the United States, to be paid to the said Fames Morris, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns : To which Payment well and truly to be made, We bind ourselves, our and each of our Heirs, Executors and Administrators, jointly and severally, firmly by these Presents. Scaled with our Scals. Dated the Eleventhe Day of fiely in the Year of our Lord One Thousand egglit - Hundred WHEREAS the above bounden William Ausband is now in custody of the above-named James Morris, as Sheriff of the city and county of New-York, on civil process only, and is permitted by the said Sheriff to go at large within the liberties of the jail of the city of New-York, as the same liberties and limits thereof are designated by the Court of Common Pleas, called the Mayor's Court of the City of New-York, according to the directions of the Act in such case made and provided. NOW THE CONDITION of the above OBLIGATION is such, That shall remain a true and if the said William Flusbands faithful prisoner, and shall not at any time or in any wise escape, or go without the limits of the said liberties, until discharged by due course of law, and shall, at the request of the said James Morris, surrender himself to the said prison ; then the above Obligation to be void, or else to be and remain in full force and virtue. SEALED AND DELIVERED } Whulls Lignature of Hourbard

AARON BURR, Partially Printed Document Signed, July 11, 1800, Deed to David Gelston for twenty lots in New York City. #24653.01

#### U. S. House of Representatives Debates the Sedition Act and Elects Jefferson over Burr as President

The lame-duck, Federalist-controlled House debated the Sedition Act of 1798, a major issue in the Election. They also had to choose between Democratic-Republican candidates Thomas Jefferson (who had been running for president) and Aaron Burr (who had been running for vice president). This was before the constitution was amended to have separate votes for the President and Vice President.

#### **Presidential Balloting**

"After stating that 28 ballots had been taken without effect—goes on to say, No other business is to be done until a President is made—Parties are warm, and both in hopes of gaining their end....A letter from Washington, dated Friday 2 o'clock, P.M. says the House met that day at the hour appointed on Thursday, and balloted twice, as before; when it adjourned to meet on Saturday at 11 o'clock." (p3/c1)

*"JEFFERSON ELECTED. / FROM A SUPPLEMENT TO THE PHILADELPHIA TRUE AMERICAN, OF YESTERDAY MORNING.*" (p3/c3)



"We learn, that on Saturday last Congress met agreeably to suspension, and balloted twice, the result of which was the same as before. A motion was made to postpone the ballot until the 3d of March, but was unanimously rejected by the States. The House then adjourned till Monday; on which day they again met and produced the same result, and repeated the balloting on Tuesday, which terminated the contest in favor of Mr. Jefferson, in consequence, it is said, of some of the Federal members absenting themselves." (p3/c3)

In the election of 1800, Democratic-Republican candidates Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr easily defeated incumbent President John Adams and his running mate Charles Cotesworth Pinckney with more than 61 percent of the popular vote and a 73-65 margin in the Electoral College. The problem was that each member of the Electoral College cast two votes. When all 73 Democratic-Republican electors cast their votes for both Jefferson and Burr, the result was a tie, even though the Democratic-Republicans had nominated Jefferson for the presidency.

This left the House of Representatives, balloting as states, to determine who would be president and who vice-president. Some Federalists supported Burr, hoping to deny Jefferson the victory. Between February 11 and 17, the House voted repeatedly, with the same results. Jefferson easily gained the votes of 8 of the 16 states from the first ballot. Federalists gave 6 states to Burr. The representatives of two states—Maryland and Vermont—were evenly divided, thus giving the state's vote to neither candidate. Alexander Hamilton conducted a letter-writing campaign to convince Federalists to buck their own party and support his old rival Thomas Jefferson, whom he deemed far less dangerous than Burr. On the 36<sup>th</sup> ballot, ten Federalists abstained and the House finally selected Jefferson as the third President.

#### Additional Content - Excerpts on Alien and Sedition Act Debates

To guard against the perceived threat of anarchy, the Federalist majority in the Fifth U.S. Congress passed the Sedition Act of 1798 that made making false statements about the federal government a criminal act. Democratic-Republican critics argued that the Sedition Act was an unconstitutional infringement of the freedom of speech and of the press, both protected by the First Amendment. The Sedition Act and related Alien Acts provoked strong protests.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison secretly authored the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions denouncing them and threatening "interposition," nullification, and outright secession and rebellion in response to the federal acts. Democratic-Republicans made the Alien and Sedition Acts a major issue in the election of 1800, in which Thomas Jefferson defeated incumbent John Adams, and Democratic-Republicans gained a commanding majority in the U.S. House of Representatives and substantially eroded the Federalist majority in the U.S. Senate.

Federalist John Dennis of Maryland: "To candid minds it would seem sufficient to shew, that the publication of false, scandalous and malicious matter, against the government, in its immediate consequences, tends to produce insurrection, and a total disrespect for its authority; and that without the powers of preventing these no government can exist." (p2/c2)

"believing it to have grown into a maxim with many gentlemen of this committee, that the state of Virginia can do no wrong, and that the seal of infallibility is stamped upon her legislative acts, I shall bring into view a clause in her declaration of rights on the subject of the press, and certain legislative acts, and then compare both with the 3d amendment of the constitution of the United States, and the law now under consideration...." (p2/c2)

"these acts of Virginia prove, as far as any legislative interpretation can prove, that by the term liberty of the press, is not to be understood an entire exemption from all responsibility for slanderous and libelious publications." (p2/c3)

"Whilst every other man, however exalted his rank or status may be, is amenable to the law, shall the printers and authors of false and malicious publications alone be irresponsible? These characters are the authors of insurrections: the president may call out the militia to suppress them and the deluded victims are to be bro't to punishment whilst the authors of slanderous publications who have caused the mischief, rest in perfect security, surrounded by the inviolability of the press." (p2/c5)

[THOMAS JEFFERSON; SEDITION ACT.] *The Spectator*, February 21, 1801. Newspaper. NY: E. Belden & Co. 4 pp.,  $13^{3/4} \times 21^{3/4}$  in. #30051.048

The Sedition Act expired on March 3, 1801, the end of Adams' term as president, and the new Congress did not renew it. When he became president, Jefferson pardoned those still serving sentences under the Sedition Act, and Congress repaid their fines.

### Burr Sues Editor of the New York American Citizen for Libel

"The Vice President of the United States has commenced an action against the editor of the New-York 'Citizen' for a libel." (p2/c4)

Despite publishing the American Citizen, a rival of Hamilton's New-York Evening Post, James Cheetham bitterly opposed Aaron Burr.

In 1802, Cheetham published A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr, Esq., Vice-president of the United States, a 120page pamphlet that attacked Burr's character, and A Narrative of the Suppression by Col. Burr, of the History of the Administration of John Adams, Late President of the United States, Written by John Wood, a 72-page pamphlet accusing Burr of burying an anti-Federalist attack on John Adams.

In this brief notice, the editors of the *New-England Palladium* announce that Vice President Aaron Burr has sued Cheetham for libel.

The case continued for several years, long after Burr killed Hamilton.

[AARON BURR]. *New-England Palladium*, February 21, 1804. Boston: Young and Minns. 4 pp. #30005.001


## Aaron Burr Archive with Hamilton Associations and Dirty Real Estate Deals!

The documents in this small archive highlight Vice President Aaron Burr's desperate financial position. Drawing repeatedly on friends for money, he apparently conveyed 20 lots that he owned in today's Greenwich Village, New York, to at least two or three friends or used them to secure loans. Timothy Green, Robert Swartwout, and David Gelston—all personal friends and political and financial supporters of Burr—each claimed ownership of the lots.

In 1807, Burr had planned to develop new streets of houses on the Richmond Hill property that he had acquired in 1794. To finance the project, he mortgaged the equivalent of 240 lots for \$38,000 to the Bank of the Manhattan Company, which Burr had founded in 1799 ostensibly to provide clean drinking water but primarily to raise funds for a bank to compete with Hamilton's Bank of New York.

Timothy Green (1765-1813) graduated from Rhode Island College (Brown University) in 1786 and practiced law in Worcester, Massachusetts, briefly before moving to New York City in the early 1790s. While continuing the practice of law, Green engaged in commerce and land speculation with his brothers and other relatives in Columbia, South Carolina. While traveling by sea from Georgetown, South Carolina, to New York City in January 1813, Green and Burr's daughter Theodosia Burr Alston were lost at sea aboard the *Patriot*.

This archive includes several documents from two related court cases—*Green v. Swartwout and Dunham*, and *Gelston v. Green*. Together, they provide Timothy Green's defense of his right to 20 lots. Some contain a series of questions to be posed to another Burr friend, American painter John Vanderlyn, then in Paris, to support Green's claim. Others deal with Green's financial interactions with some of his other debtors, including Asa Danforth Jr. and Jacob Van Ness.

[AARON BURR]. Archive of Correspondence and Legal Documents relating to Timothy Green, 1797-1810. 10 documents, 80 pp. #27306

## One Federalist Congressman to Another on Impeachment of Judge Pickering, the Race Between Aaron Burr & Lewis Morris, the Marine Corps, and New Orleans

Federalist Congressman Killian K. Van Rensselaer of New York writes to fellow New York Federalist Congressman George Tibbits over the news from Congress and in New York during Aaron Burr's run for New York governor and the organization of a government for the Louisiana Purchase.

"The Senate are on Pickerings impeachment. The question now agitated is, shall counsel be heard to shew cause why he did not attend his summons,-two days have been taken up already, when the Senate will finish the trial I know not. Burr vs. Lewis is now the cause that is preparing for our State trial. The former has many advocates here, and what his friends are doing at home <2> you know better than I can advise. [New York Federalist Joshua] Sands is off for N. York. We shall rise about the 15 or 20 Inst."

This letter, rich in content, mentions the ongoing impeachment of Judge John Pickering who presided over the District of New Hampshire from 1795 to 1804. President Thomas Jefferson sent evidence of unlawful rulings and

March 5 . 1804 1/15 The denate as on Impeachment The question now agitated is shall counte he heard to shew cause they he did not attend this dummany - too day been taken up aheady when The Senate will finish the Fial & how with - Power the Lavis is now the cause the is preparing for our trake tral .- the former has many advacates him and what his frinds not doing at hour

drunkenness while on the bench. Federalists argued that Democratic-Republicans were violating the Constitution by attempting to remove a judge who had committed neither high crimes nor misdemeanors. Still, the Senate trial of Pickering began on January 4, 1804, and concluded on March 12 with a 19-7 vote, making Pickering the first federal judge removed through impeachment.

The letter also references "the state trial," the election of New York's governor. Morgan Lewis, supported by Alexander Hamilton, defeated Aaron Burr to win the election with 58 percent of the vote a month after the date of this letter. Lewis took office on July 1, 1804. Ten days later, Burr mortally wounded Hamilton in their duel that arose in part from allegations made during the campaign.

Van Rensselaer also comments on the recently completed Louisiana Purchase, where U.S. Marines were required to keep order among the population of 50,000 territorial citizens. ("*Our Marine Corps is ordered to N. Orleans, where our New Brethren require more Bayonets, then representative Government.*") A Senate committee introduced a bill dividing the territory into a vast northern portion called the Louisiana District and a smaller southern part called the Territory of Orleans (the present state of Louisiana), the bill called for the President to appoint a governor and council to govern Orleans. The Senate started debate on January 16, and reported a bill to the House on February 28. The following day, the House rejected part of the proposal by a vote of 80 to 15. After the Senate rejected the change, and the House refused to back down, the chambers appointed a committee to work out a compromise. On March 23, the House agreed to the plan but limited it to one year. A year later, Congress passed a new law giving Orleans Territory the same governmental structure as Mississippi.

KILLIAN K. VAN RENSSELAER, Autograph Letter Signed, to George Tibbits, March 5, 1804. 3 pp. #24705

## Detailed Reporting of Grand Jury Stage of Aaron Burr's Treason Trial

General James Wilkinson, a longtime friend of Burr, informed President Jefferson that his Vice President intended to entice the western states to leave the Union and join with him as he colonized new lands which an independent military adventure would seize, with the support of England, from Spain in Louisiana and Mexico (specifically, Texas). Jefferson then alerted Congress about Burr's plan, and ordered his arrest.

This issue contains more than two full pages of the debate over evidence to be submitted to the grand jury considering Burr's indictment, on May 25 to 28, 1807.

#### Excerpts

[U.S. Attorney George Hay:] "I now move you, sir, that Aaron Burr, at present before the court, stand committed on the charge of high treason against the U.S. on the evidence to be exhibited before you. This evidence is partly the same with that which was exhibited at a former examination of the prisoner; but a considerable part of it is new and has not been laid before you." (p1/c1)

[Defense attorney William Wirt:] "The attorney for the United States believing himself possessed of sufficient evidence to justify the commitment of A. Burr, for high treason, has moved the court to that effect. In making this motion he has merely done his duty; it would be unpardonable in him to omit it. Yet the counsel in the defence complain of the motion and of the want of notice." (p1/c5)

"we propose that the whole evidence exculpatory as well as accusative shall come before you—instead of exciting, this is the true mode of correcting prejudices; the world which it is said has been misled and inflamed by falsehood, will now hear the truth; let the case come out—let us know how much of what we have heard is false, how much of it true—how much of what we fell is prejudice; how much of it is justified by fact; whoever before heard of such an apprehension as that which is professed on the other side? Prejudice excited by evidence! Evidence, sir, is the great corrector of prejudice. When then does Aaron Burr shrink from it? It is strange to me that a man who complains so much of being without cause illegally seized and transported by a military officer, should be afraid to confront this evidence." (p2/c1)

[Chief Justice John Marshall:] "*The Court is of opinion that the paper purporting to be an affidavit of Dumbaugh, cannot be read, because it does not appear to be an oath.*" (p3/c1)

[Hay:] "It is extremely uncertain how long this examination will continue; whether it may occupy ten hours or ten days; And if gentlemen continue to make the same captious objections which they have already done at every stage of the enquiry, it is impossible to foresee any termination to it." (p<sub>3</sub>/c<sub>1</sub>)

Presiding over the trial, Chief Justice John Marshall made the unprecedented move of issuing a subpoena to President Jefferson to deliver documents that Burr had requested to prepare his defense. Jefferson only supplied parts of the letters and never acknowledged the subpoena.

[AARON BURR]. *National Intelligencer, and Washington Advertiser* (DC), June 5, 1807. 4 pp. #24695

## The Burr Conspiracy, Reported on in The Connecticut Courant

This lot presents the chronological steps of this mysterious adventure starting with President Jefferson's congressional message charging Vice President Burr with conspiracy, to the trial that started on Aug. 3 and ended with Burr's acquittal on Sept. 1, 1807.

President Jefferson marshalled all of his resources to gain Burr's conviction, but Federalist Chief Justice John Marshall insisted that the Constitution requires an overt act of war against the nation, with the charges supported by the testimony of two witnesses, to convict someone of treason. Burr was saved by testimony that showed he was 100 miles away from the one place where the government claimed an overt act of war had occurred. Marshall and the Supreme Court had already narrowed the definition of treason in a related case, *Ex parte Bollman*. Now, Marshall told the jury that it had to confine its analysis to testimony that an act of war against the United States had been conducted on Blennerhassett's Island in the Ohio River.

According to Marshall, "No testimony relative to the conduct or declarations of the prisoner elsewhere... can be admitted; because such testimony, being in its nature merely corroborative and incompetent to prove the overt act in itself, is irrelevant until there be proof of the overt act by two witnesses... This opinion does not comprehend the proof by two witnesses that the meeting on Blennerhassett's Island was procured by the prisoner." Based on those instructions, the jury quickly found Burr not guilty of treason.

Marshall's handling of the trial reaffirmed the separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary against a president and Congress bent on revenge.

- February 4, inside 2-1/2 column report Special Message to Congress on the Burr Conspiracy, "Message from the President" signed in type by Th. Jefferson. In part, "Some time in the latter part of September, I received intimations that designs were in agitation in the western country, unlawful and unfriendly to the peace of the Union; and that the prime mover in these was Aaron Burr, heretofore distinguished by the favor of his country. ... Mr. Burr, disseminated through his emissaries, of the armies and navies he was to assemble there. ..."
- March 25, full column report "Col. Burr," order by the Mississippi Supreme Court and Territorial Governor for the apprehension of Burr.
- April 1, brief report "Burr Taken!"
- April 15, 2-/12 columns "Examination" of Burr by Chief Justice John Marshall in Richmond.
- May 20, three letters between Burr and Governor Williams.
- June 10, front page running 3 columns, "Trial of Col. Aaron Burr" opens in Richmond.
- June 17, "Burr's Trial,' runs 3 columns.
- June 24, two reports, "Trial of Col. Burr," and Gen. Wilkinson."
- August 19, 2-1/2 columns "Col. Burr's Trial."
- September 2, front page "Trial of Aaron Burr,' names the jurors.
- September 9, "Trial of Col. Burr," full column.
- September 16, "Trial of Col. Burr, 1-1/4 column, includes "We the jury, find that Aaron Burr is not proved guilty under this indictment by any evidence submitted to us. We therefore find him not guilty."

*The Connecticut Courant*, 32 consecutive newspapers, February 4 to September 16, 1807, Hartford, each 4pp., issued weekly, filled with local and national news reports. #22704

# The Gazette of the United States

The most detailed coverage of the initial years of the Federal Government, from the first Capital cities (New York and then Philadelphia)

## Gazette of the United States:

# Important Content on Hamilton Plans and Essays, Acts of Congress, the Drafting of the Bill of Rights, Washington Speeches and Much More

*The Gazette of the United States* (1789-1793), often considered the most significant political newspaper of the late-18<sup>th</sup> century. was a semiweekly Federalist newspaper first published in New York City by John Fenno on April 15, 1789. It functioned as a quasi-official journal of the Washington administration and the Federalist Party throughout its existence. In 1790, it followed the government from New York to the new temporary capital in Philadelphia.

Early Acts of Congress and Presidential pronouncements were often first printed in this newspaper, and it circulated to major cities where other Federalist newspapers copied freely from it. Among its pseudonymous contributors were Alexander Hamilton and John Adams. It continued under a variety of titles as a daily newspaper in Philadelphia from 1793 to 1818. After John Fenno's death in the 1798 yellow fever epidemic, his son John Ward Fenno continued the newspaper until 1800, when he sold it.

All Acts of Congress are printed with signatures in block type by George Washington as President, usually John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House of Representatives. While the content is available in the Journals of Congress, the *Gazette* also contains the most detailed commentary and notes from debates in Congress, giving the clearest picture possible of how the early laws were written and adopted.

We started this collection focusing on Alexander Hamilton, but then realized how every issue we came across had some important content relating to the founding and early years of the federal government.

The collection contains more than 150 individual issues, from April 22, 1789 (eight days before Washington's inauguration) to May 19, 1792. 20 recent acquisitions are included in that number and in the collection, and are scheduled to be added to this catalog. This contains an additional 131 issues from June 2, 1792 to September 14, 1793 in a bound run.

Before we get to the individual cataloging, here is a summary or historic background on some of the Hamilton and other series contained in the collection.

## Series of Essays by Hamilton

This collection is especially notable for letters and essays printed across several issues, including:

Alexander Hamilton as T.L., letters I-III (Jul 25, 28, Aug 11, 1792)

Alexander Hamilton as An American, letters I-III (Aug 4, 11, 18, 1792)

**Alexander Hamilton as** *Pacificus*, debate against James Madison as *Helvidius* on the scope of executive and legislative powers in foreign policy. As France and Great Britain became embroiled in war, Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation on April 22, 1793. Hamilton

and other Federalists supported the proclamation as an attempt to keep the United States out of the war. Hamilton seven *Pacificus* letters, supporting the Proclamation: Jun 29, Jul 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 27, 1793. At the urging of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison responded with five *Helvidius* letters: Aug 24, 28, Sep 3, 7, 11, 14, [28-lacking here], 1793.

Alexander Hamilton as *Catullus*, Letters I-VI to *Aristides* (Edmund Randolph) (Sep 15, 19, 29, Oct 17, Nov 24, Dec 22, 1792)

## Alexander Hamilton as Metellus (Oct 24, 1792)

Responding to a six-part essay entitled *Vindication of Mr. Jefferson*, attributed to James Madison and James Monroe, first published in *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*. (Sep 26, 29; Oct 13, 24; Nov 3, 10, Dec 8, 1792)

## **Other Series of Essays**

**John Adams**, *Discourses on Davila* began as a translation of Enrico Caterina Davila's *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia* (p1631) but morphed into a commentary on Davila and a defense of mixed government. Adams generally believed that men's passions, unrestrained by government, led to violence. He explored whether the French Revolution was particular to that nation and to what extent it was foreshadowed by their sixteenth-century religious wars. The essays appeared in 32 installments between April 28, 1790, and April 27, 1791. The essays were reprinted, without the final one, in an 1805 compilation.

**John Adams**, *The Right Government of a Commonwealth Examined*. The first three-quarters of this work appeared serially in the *Gazette* between May 23 and November 4, 1789. Adams particularly criticized the republican theories of Marchamont Nedham, a pamphleteer during the English Civil War. Adams published the entire series in three volumes as A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America (1787-1788).

**An Essay on Free Trade and Finances** by Pelatiah Webster appeared serially in the *Gazette* between June 3 and October 21, 1789. The author was an ordained Congregationalist minister and Philadelphia merchant. The essay was first published in Philadelphia in 1783 in a newspaper and as a pamphlet.

*A Sketch of the Political State of America*, by Sylvanus Bourne as "Americanus," appeared in the *Gazette* in 23 installments between April 22 and August 12, 1789. In the first five essays, Bourne traced the political history of the U. S. from 1776 to 1787. In the next three, he analyzed the constitution proposed by the Philadelphia Convention. In the remaining essays, he set forth an agenda for the new federal government.

**The Tablet** appeared in every issue of the *Gazette* from April 15, 1789, until August 1790, and then periodically until April 9, 1791. The purpose was "to touch upon such subjects as are calculated to afford amusement or instruction, without disturbing society with calumny and petulance." Anonymous contributors included publisher John Fenno and lexicographer Noah Webster, who shared a common political nationalism.

## **Individual Issues in the Collection**

### Note on transcriptions / excerpts:

The printing of the "long s" that despite looking like an "f" but really was an "s," is transcribed in the modern style to make it easier to read.

Excerpts (quotes) from the document in the collection are always transcribed below in italic, while references or quotes from other sources are not.

Numbers in parentheses are a finding aid for the page and column numbers.

## April 18-22, 1789 #30000.006 *"HUMANITY."*

"It may be observed, that all circumstances considered, their [emancipated Africans'] conduct is as irreproachable, as could reasonably be expected.... It is however granted, that many having obtained their freedom, become idle, vicious, and poor, and so a burthen to society; but all this is to be accounted for, from their former situation in life.

"It is a general opinion among those who keep Slaves, that ignorance is the best security for obedience hence these children of misfortune, are brought up in an alienation from all instruction and knowledge....

"The least attention to the conduct of white persons, who labour under the disadvantages of ignorance, will shew, that vice, indolence, and wretchedness, are not confined to the colour of the skin." (p9/c1-2)

Letter by John Adams to "*a Society of gentlemen in Amsterdam*" (p9/c1-p10/c1)

"THIS day, at 10 o'clock, His Excellency JOHN ADAMS, Esq., Vice-President of the United States, sat out from his seat at Braintree, to take the chair at New-York, as President of the Most Hon. Senate." (p10/c3) Gazette ofthe United States.

Adams' Address to the Senate on April 21. (p11/c1)

The Tablet, No. III

# "Debate and Dissention not only flow from civil liberty, but contribute to preserve it."

"The entire toleration of religion has given a large range to persons prone to controversy. Each sect naturally wishes to extend its influence. The forms of government and religion will be better ascertained, and men will have determined what side to take, in both. When this happens, the evil you complain of, will in part be removed. But while the spirit of liberty exists, controversy is unavoidable." (p12/c1)

## **Introduction By John Fenno**

## "To the PUBLICK.

"At this important Crisis, the ideas that fill the mind, are pregnant with Events of the greatest magnitude-to strengthen and complete the UNION of the States-to extend and protect their COMMERCE under equal Treaties yet to be formed-to explore and arrange the NATIONAL CREDIT-and ALL under the auspices of an untried System of Government, will require the ENERGIES of the Patriots and Sages of our Country-Hence the propriety of increasing the Mediums of Knowledge and Information.

"AMERICA, from this period, begins an new Era in her national existence—"The World Is All Before Her"—the wisdom and folly—the misery and prosperity of the EMPIRES, STATES, and KINGDOMS which have had their day upon the great Theatre of Time, and are now no more, suggest the most important Mementos—These, with the rapid series of Events, in which our own Country has been so deeply interested, have taught the enlightened Citizens of the United States that FREEDOM and GOVERNMENT-LIBERTY and LAWS, are inseparable.

"This Conviction has led to the adoption of the New Constitution; for however VARIOUS the Sentiments, respecting the MERITS of this System, all GOOD MEN are agreed in the necessity that exists, of an EFFICIENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

"A paper, therefore, established upon NATIONAL, INDEPENDENT, and IMPARTIAL PRINCIPLES-which shall take up the premised Articles, upon a COMPETENT PLAN, it is presumed, will be highly interesting, and meet with publick approbation and patronage. The Editor of this Publication is determined to leave no avenue of Information unexplored:-he solicits the assistance of Persons of leisure and abilities-which, united with his own assiduity, he flatters himself will render the Gazette of the United States not unworthy general encouragement-and is, with due respect, the publick's humble servant, / JOHN FENNO" (p12/c2)

"An elegant Barge is now building in New-York, to waft the great WASHINGTON across the Hudson, to be rowed by ten SEA-CAPTAINS, and one to ack as cockswain....

## "The illustrious PRESIDENT of the United States will arrive in this city tomorrow.

"The Eagle in front of the Federal State House is now displayed; the general appearance of this front is truly august.

"The Federal Barge was launched yesterday." (p11/c3)

## April 22-25, 1789 (Vol I, Issue III) #30000.006

A Sketch of the Political State of America by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne) (p13/c1)

## May 2-6, 1789 #30027.25

"E.C." [Edward Church], "On Slavery." Extract From "American Essays"

"Every man in the United States, who is tolerably acquainted with the history of the late war, cannot be ignorant that many of the citizens of the Southern States, whose property principally consist in Slaves, have greatly and gloriously distinguished themselves during the war, in every act, quality, and principle, that constitutes a true Patriot....

"In defence of Slavery, it has incontrovertibly the sanction of numerous precedents, as it clearly appears from sacred and profane history, to have been authorized, and practiced from the earliest ages, and by the greatest nations...." (p25/c2)

"Mr. Madison gave notice, that on the fourth Monday of the present month he should introduce to subject of amendments to the Constitution agreeably to the fifth article of the Constitution: He thought it necessary thus early to mention the business, as it was weighty and important, and upon motion, the time proposed by the gentleman was assigned." (p26/c3)

#### Advertisement regarding "The President's Household."

*"WHEREAS, all Servants and others, employed to procure Provisions, or supplies for the Household of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, will be furnished with monies for those purposes, Notice is therefore given, That no Accounts, for the payment of which the Public might be considered as responsible, are to be opened with any of them. / SAMUEL FRAUNCES, Steward of the Household./ May 4th, 1789" (p27/c2)* 

"We are happy to inform our readers, in addition to the preceding Notification, that we understand The President is determined to pursue that system of regularity and economy in his household, which has always marked his public and private life." (p27/c2)

"American Manufacture": Description of Washington's inaugural outfit (p27/c3)

#### May 9-13, 1789 #30050.02

## President Washington Responds to New York City's Welcome Messages

On May 9, Mayor James Duane welcomed newly inaugurated President George Washington to New York City. He replied to the welcome with characteristic humility.

"Unelated by your too favorable appreciation of my past services, I can only pour forth the effusions of a grateful heart to Heaven, if I have been made in any degree an instrument of good to my country.... From the accommodating spirit which has been displayed in respect to the constitution, I anticipate that the government will, in its operation, be productive of the most extensive utility, by rendering the Union as respectable in peace as it was triumphant in war." (p35/c3)

Voters elected a President under the new U. S. Constitution in balloting from Dec. 15, 1788 to Jan. 10, 1789. Federalist electors won more than 90 percent of the nearly 44,000 votes cast in the six states that allowed popular votes. In the other four states, the legislature selected presidential electors. Neither North Carolina nor Rhode Island participated because those states had not yet ratified the Constitution, and New York's legislature deadlocked on selecting electors and thus also did not participate. The 69 electors from the other ten states voted in early February and unanimously selected George Washington as President. They spread their votes for Vice President among ten candidates, with John Adams receiving a plurality of 34. A joint session of Congress counted the electoral votes on April 6, 1789, and declared Washington and Adams elected. Washington received notice of his election on April 14 and proceeded from Mount Vernon to New York to take office, receiving triumphal welcomes in many cities in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey along the way.

**1789 Commencement of Columbia College**, attended by Washington, Adams, and other federal officials (p35/c2)

Proceedings of Congress. **Extensive discussion of import duties, the proper title for the President**, and a request from Jedidiah Morse to protect his *American Geography* with a copyright (p34/c2-p35/c2)

## May 20-23, 1789 #30020.22

### **Proceedings in the House of Representatives**

"After the committee had proceeded so far as to adopt the idea of three departments, agreeably to the resolution introduced by Mr. MADISON, the last clause in the preamble of which. subjected the head of each department to removal at the pleasure of THE PRESIDENT. this occasioned a debate. It was urged in objection to the clause, that it was unconstitutional, for it subjected an officer to lose his appointment without forfeiting it, or having any reason assigned: That giving the power to THE PRESIDENT without



control, rendered nugatory the article providing for impeachments: That it would delegate a dangerous authority to the supreme magistrate, and make him absolute: That it ought to be the same power that displaces from, which appoints to, an office:... Many other observations were made by several gentlemen who spake on this side of the question." (p46/c1)

"In answer, it was said, that the mode of impeachment for crimes, by the Senate, had special reference to certain officers of government, the Judges: That to suppose it extended to all, indiscriminately, was absurd: this would oblige the Senate to be always sitting...." (p46/c1)

"The question, whether this officer should be removable by The President, passed in the affirmative." (p46/c2)

## **Responses to Washington's Inaugural Address**

Boston: "The conduct of the President, says a correspondent, places in so interesting a point of view his truly illustrious character as must endear him more than ever to his grateful and admiring countrymen—his disinterested refusal of all pecuniary emoluments—his mild, conciliating language—his strongly implied opinion in favour of such alterations as shall improve, and not injure the constitution—his truly republican address to the Senate and House of Representatives—all prove him, beyond controversy, the same amiable, honest, and GREAT MAN, the same real and unaffected friend to the PEOPLE, he always has been. In being elevated to the first place in the Union, he does not forget that he is still a citizen…." (p48/c3)

Philadelphia: "The Speech of THE PRESIDENT, upon his accession to the government of the United States, deserves to be engraved in letters of gold. Antiquity has handed down to us nothing equal to it.... Our illustrious PRESIDENT, has taught us, from his present elevated station, that to reference the DEITY, and to practice the duties of Morality, are the highest policy, as well as wisdom of a nation. To render the present arduous station of our President

#### SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

## In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1789

Hon, NICLASE J. STORE member from Mary-Inda peared in the Houfe, and took the oath.
Mr. GOORUE introduced a petition from Nicholas Pirk of Newbury-Port, Malacha-fista-the prayer of which was, that Congrefs would pair a law, to fecure to him his property in a work which he had publified with great la-bor and expende, entiled A COMPLEAT SYS-TEM OF ARITHMETIC-this was referred to the committee appointed to bring in abilit to fe-cure to authors the benefit of their publications. Upon motion it was voted, that the feveral pe-titions from Tradefacen and Manufactureta, include transfitted to the Senate.
Mr. Mariso's, agreeably to not Manufactureta, include transfitted to the Senate.
Mr. Mariso's, agreeably to notion, to take into confideration the fubject of amendments a-greeably to the the fubject of amendments a-greeably to the greatefit importance and of im-metidate confideration the support of the whole, while matters of the greatefit importance and of im-metidate confideration the anendments propoled to confideration the revenue appeared to him to the even al States.
Wr. Rescould a maritee of the whole, while matters of the greatefit importance of its good of whole, a felect committee of the whole, while matters of amendments to the Conflictution, the feveral States.
Wr. Rescould a meret yet put to faca-field, to take into confideration the amendments propoled by whole, a felect committee for alterations...-He do not know how themay feer-what for of a helm the carries-we can not determine with any precision, whether the fails upon an even wheld help carries we can not determine with any precision, whether the fails upon an even wheld help carries-State importance the map prove full the fact and scatter to require the inified mecarries-State into for alterations...-Very important and urgent buffied not requires the do not know how themay feer-what for of a helm the carries-we can not determine with any precision, whether the fails upon an even in it

tended to. Mr. AbsTsox obferved, that the fubjech had, been poliponed from time to time—that the mem-bers might have opportunity more fully to make alapied fince the first alligned period, and if the motion for a further diffant period, and if the dopted, it would be constructed into a defign, to take the properties on the the first alligned period, and if the the properties of the the most respectable, it for amendments to the conflictuation came from va-riod quarters, and those the most respectable, it for amendments to the conflictuation came from va-riod quarters, and those the most respectable, it for a quarters, and those the most respectable, it for a quarters, and those the most respectable, it for a quarters, and those the most respectable, it for a quarters, that Congress thould as foon a polible, attend to the winkes of their conflic-tuation of the propose that a full investigation hould immediately be gone into—but to quart the ppredefions of a great many perfons, respecting the focuring certain rights, which it was fup-poled were not fulficiently quarded, he thought in quiptre a reasonable hope and expectation, that und place therefore renewed his motion fue the Houle to go into a committee of the whole is the Houle to go into a committee of the whole is the motion of the butthesis mights a lean commence. Mr. MADISON obferved, that the fubiect had Mr. SHERMAN fuppoled, that taking up the fub

easy to him, it is the duty of every citizen, to promote peace and order in our country. To be the enemy of the Federal Government now, is to be the enemy of the great and good General WASHINGTON." (p48/c3)

#### John Adams, "The Right Government of a Commonwealth Examined"

"The English nation, for their improvements in the theory of government, has, at least, more merit with the human race than any other among the moderns. The late most beautiful and liberal speculations of many writers, in various parts of *Europe, are manifestly derived from English sources.* Americans, too, ought for ever to acknowledge their obligations to English writers, or rather have as good a right to indulge a pride in the recollection of them as the inhabitants of the three kingdoms. The original plantation of our country was occasioned, her continual growth has been promoted, and her present liberties have been established by these generous *theories....*" (p48/c1-2)

The Tablet, No. XII. "For when once a man is inured to the service of faction, he will expect to be paid as well for acting for, as for acting against the dictates of his conscience." (p45/c1)

National Monitor, No V. "Temporary expedients do but prolong the publick distress." (p48/c2)

## May 23-27, 1789 #22870

**Proceedings of Congress** 

"This being the day assigned to take up the subject of Amendments—Mr. Madison observed, the various reasons induced him to propose a distant day...and as some of the reasons still existed, he would propose that the consideration of Amendments, agreeably to the fifth article of the Constitution, be entered upon this day fortnight." (p51/c1)

#### June 10, 1789 #24987

"Pacificus" / Jesuit priest John Carrol, Letter promoting religious tolerance against discrimination by Protestants (p65/c1-3) [Hamilton later wrote as *Pacificus*]

James Madison lays out his plan and arguments for amendments. [Bill of Rights] "June 8, 1789...Mr. Madison, agreeably to notice, moved that the House now form itself into a committee of the whole, upon the state of the Union, to take into consideration the subject of amendments agreeably to the 5th article of the Constitution." (p66/c3)

"Mr. Madison observed, that the subject had been postponed from time to time—that the members might have opportunity more fully to make up their judgments upon it—a fortnight has elapsed since the first assigned period, and if the motion for a further distant period should be adopted, it would be construed into a design, to take no serious notice of the business...." (p66/c3)

A Sketch of the Political State of America (cont.), by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne) (p65/c3-66/c1) June 17, 1789 #30020.23

Massachusetts Governor John Hancock's Message urging support for education

"we ought to support and encourage the means of learning, and all institutions for the education of the rising generation; an equal distribution of intelligence being as necessary to a free government, as laws for an equal distribution of property."  $(p_{73}/c_3)$ 

"A TALK lately sent by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department to the Creeks correspondent."

*"WE last year appointed a time and a place for* holding a treaty with you to establish a lasting peace between you and us, that we might again become as one people; you all know the reasons why it was not held at that time.

"We now send you this talk, inviting you to a treaty on your bank of the Oconee river, at the Rock Landing." (p73/c3)

A Sketch of the Political State of America (cont.), by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne) (p73/c1-2)

#### **June 24, 1789** #30000.93

Proceedings of Congress. Removals and impeachment.

"The question, Whether the Secretary of Foreign Affairs should be removable by the *President? still under consideration.*" (p81/c1)

Thomas Hartley of Pennsylvania: "The gentleman, he observed, had questioned the right of the legislature to make a construction of the constitution, or in case it was silent, to supply the defect. He could not agree to this. The instrument had expressly given it the power to make all laws necessary to carry the constitution into effect. If it was silent therefore, in any point necessary to be settled, in order to put it in operation, the inference was clear, that *Congress had a right to supply the defect.*" (p81/c1)

John Laurance of New York: "He would ask who, by the constitution, had the power of appointing. It was true, it had given the Senate an advisory power, but it had considered the appointment to be by the President. It had expressly declared, that HE should nominate and appoint, though THEIR advice was rendered necessary. The appointment was in the President, and in him should be also the removal." (p81/c2)



SKETCH OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

In the Moufe of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES

deprive the Prendent or tome of a manned the manned of the functions, which few as they were, ought not to fuffer the leaft functions, which few as they were, ought not to fuffer the leaft diminution. If I have a subsymptotic problem of the function of t

James Madison of Virginia: "I feel the importance of the question before us, as our decision will be a permanent exposition of the constitution in this point, and as on this decision will depend, in a great degree, the genius and character of our government. On the determination which will now take place, will depend perhaps the preservation of the government on that equal balance which the constitution designed." (p82/c1)

"But it is contended that the danger consists in this, that the President may remove from office a man whose merit requires that he should be continued in it. Let us consider what motives he can have for such an abuse of power, and what will be the checks on him. In the first place, he himself will be impeachable for the wanton removal of a meritorious officer, and will himself be removed from his high trust." (p82/c2)

Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts: "He insisted that as to the danger of abuses, the remedy against them, which had been mentioned, that is, the power of impeaching the President if he dismissed a good man, involved an absurdity. How could the House impeach the President, when they had declared that he could lawfully do as he pleased? Would they impeach him for exercising a discretion which they had given him in a most unlimited manner?" (p84/c2)

#### June 27, 1789 #30000.85

Proceedings of Congress. Department of Foreign Affairs.

Alexander White of Virginia: "I consider it as the most important question that has yet been considered; the most important than I ever had a voice in discussing or a vote in determining, except that of adopting the constitution itself in the convention of Virginia. I consider the day on which the sense of the house is to be taken on this subject as a memorable day in the annals of America. Sir, I do not consider it is simply whether the power shall be vested in the President, or in the President and Senate. The constitution has determined that point. Nor do I consider the question to be whether offices are to be held during good behavior, or at the pleasure to those who appoint them. I suppose that on a fair and necessary construction of the constitution, that matter is settled. All arguments tending to show that one or the other mode of appointment or removal, is proper or improper, or that they ought to be dispatched by impeachment, are inapplicable to the present case. But the respectability of the characters who support these arguments entitle them to notice...." (p85/c2)

Fisher Ames of Massachusetts: "We are warned against betraying liberty.... Wise and worthy as the Senators are, the power in their hands will not only tend to abuse, but cannot tend to any thing else. Many free governments have been subverted. The world has profited from by their experience, and agreed upon certain maxims: That all power is a trust; that to prevent abuse it must be distributed into three branches, who must be made independent, and to watch and check one another. If all power is given to the executive it is a despotism. If the senatorial branch is invested with the executive authority, it is an aristocracy, which of all tyrannies is the worst." (p86/c3)

Vote on the bill to create the Department of Foreign Affairs: "*there were 29 in the affirmative and 22 in the negative*." (p86/c3)

A letter 'from a very respectable Member of Congress, to his friend in this State [R.I.]' urging the ratification of the Constitution: "I have not a doubt that your State will finally accede to the union. Nature, compact, interest, the ties of honor, and those of blood bind us indissolubly together. Of all political curses, the most formidable is disunion; for I do not know another, which that would not draw after it. I am shocked to argue upon such a topic. Yet, if it is only probable that some party men intend a separation, it would be very proper to warn your people of the consequences." (p87/c2)

#### July 22, 1789 #30463

Proceedings of Congress. Amendments to the Constitution.

"Mr. Madison moved that the house should now form itself into a committee of the whole, on the state of the Union, to take into consideration the subject of amendments to the Constitution." (p115/c1)

"the following gentlemen were chosen by ballot, a special committee for the aforesaid purpose, viz.—Messrs Gilman, Goodhue, Sherman, Benson, Boudinot, Clymer, Vining, Gale, Madison, Burke, Baldwin.

"It was then voted that the committee be instructed generally to take the subject of amendments to the constitution of the United States into consideration, and report." (p115/c1)

On June 8, 1789, Virginia Congressman James Madison introduced his proposed amendments to the Constitution. On July 21, 1789, Congressman John Vining of Delaware was appointed to chair a select committee of 11 to review and make a report on the subject of amendments to the Constitution. Each member of the committee represented one of the 11 states (Rhode Island and North Carolina had not ratified the Constitution at that time and were not represented in Congress), with James Madison representing Virginia.

Full text of "*An Act Imposing duties on Tonnage*," approved July 20, the third act of the first Congress. The rates varied according to who built or owned the ships, with the highest (p50 cents per ton) for foreign owned and built ships. (p115/c1)

#### August 1, 1789 #26242.99

#### The first congressional draft of the Bill of Rights

This early printing documents a key stage in the development of the Bill of Rights. It provides the amendments proposed by the House Committee of Eleven that reviewed Madison's proposals and submitted this report to the full House on July 28, 1789.

"In the introductory paragraph before the words, 'We the people,' add, 'Government being intended for the benefit of the people, and the rightful establishment thereof being derived from their authority

alone.'

"Art. 1, Sec. 2, Par. 3-Strike out all between the words, 'direct' and 'and until such,' and instead thereof insert. 'After the first enumeration, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred: after which the proportion shall *be so regulated by Congress* that the number of representatives shall never be less than one hundred. nor more than one hundred and seventy-five, but each state shall always have at least one representative.'

## AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES, of the CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES, Tuefday, the 28th July, 1789.

Mr. VINING from the committee of eleven, to whom it was refered to take the fubject of Amendments to the Conftitution of the United States, generally into their confideration, and to report thereupon, made a report, which was read, and is as followeth.

IN the introductory paragraph before the words, "We the people," add, "Government "being intended for the benefit of the people, "and the rightful eftablifhment thereof being de-"rived from their authority alone."

Art. 1, Sec. 2, Par. 3-Strike out all between the words, "direct" and "and until fuch," and inftead thereof infert, "After the first enumer: "Art. 1, Sec. 6—Between the words 'United States,' and 'shall in all case,' strike out 'they,' and insert 'But no law varying the compensation shall take effect until an election of representatives shall have intervened. The members'

"Art. 1, Sec. 9, Between par. 2 and 3 insert, 'No religion shall be established by law, nor shall the equal rights of conscience be infringed.'

"'The freedom of speech, and of the press, and of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and consult for their common good, and to apply to the government for redress of grievances, shall not be infringed.'

"No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law."

"'No person shall be subject, except in case of impeachment, to more than one trial or one punishment for the same offence, nor shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.'

"'Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.'

"'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, shall not be violated by warrants issuing, without probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and not particularly describing the places to be searched, & the persons or things to be seized.'

*"The enumeration in this constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."* 

"Art. 1, Sec. 10, between the 1st and 2d par. Insert—'No State shall infringe the equal rights of conscience, nor the freedom of speech, or of the press, nor of the right of trial by jury in criminal cases.'

"Art. 3, Sec. 2, add to the 2d par.—"But no appeal to such court shall be allowed, where the value in controversy shall not amount to one thousand dollars; nor shall any fact triable by a jury according to the course of the common law, be otherwise re-examinable than according to the rules of common law."

"Art. 2, Sec. 3—Strike out the whole of the 3d par. and insert—'In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.'

"In suits at common law, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

"Immediately after Art. 6, the following to be inserted as Art. 7: "The powers delegated by this Constitution to the government of the United States, shall be exercised as therein appropriated, so that the Legislative shall never exercise the powers vested in the Executive or the Judicial; nor the Executive the powers vested in the Legislative or Judicial; nor the Judicial the powers vested in the Legislative or Executive.'

"'The powers not delegated by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively.'

"*Art. 7 to be made Art. 8.*" (p125/c3-p126/c).

## August 5, 1789 #30020.25

The Tablet, No. XXXIII.

*"Prohibition often creates eager and intemperate wishes towards objects; which we should otherwise seek after moderately, if at all."* 

"It is not an easy question to decide, whether it is a more common fault in education to indulge children too far in certain instances, or to restrict them too rigorously in others. If we take a critical view of human life, we shall probably find a considerable proportion of the most abandoned characters that disturb and disgrace society, to have originated from parents of very scrupulous piety, and severe and exalted morality."

## "They [children] are tempted to taste what is forbidden."

"When attempts are made to draw children into a belief that all pleasures are vices, and that all vices are equally abominable and injurious, they make no distinction between actions of moral detriment, and those which are only deemed wrong by the caprice, the ignorance or over-exact maxims of their parents." (p129/c1)

*A Sketch of the Political State of America*, by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne) (p129/c3-p130/c1)

## William Wilberforce in the House of Commons. The slave trade.

"That the trade carried on by European nations on the coast of Africa, for the purchase of slaves has necessarily a tendency to occasion frequent and cruel wars among the natives. To encourage acts of oppression, violence, and fraud, and to obstruct the natural course of civilization and improvements in those countries." (p132/c2)

"The slave trade has been found by experience to be peculiarly injurious and destructive to the British seamen, who have been employed therein." (p132/c2)

"That a large portion of the slaves so transferred has also perished in the harbors in the West-Indies, previous to being sold." (p132/c2)

*"it appears that no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the farther importation of African slaves."* (p132/c3)

## August 8, 1789 #30020.26

A Sketch of the Political State of America, by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne)

"While among the various objects which claim the attention of the government, none can be of more importance in their nature and consequences than the finances of this country; perhaps in no other instance have the sanguine hopes of individuals led them into so wrong conclusions...." (p133/c2)

*"We have already experienced great inconvenience and loss of credit by promising more than we are able to perform:"* (p133/c2)

"But considering the harassed situation of the country during the late war—the confusion introduced by a fluctuating currency—our youth and inexperience in the science of fiscal legislation—the weakness of the federal compact, &c. &c.—a derangement of our finances was rather to be expected than admired at. But as we now feel a more perfect constituency in our political situation, and as the present government possesses most of the resources of the country, it will be found not only expedient, but indispensably necessary to form a general liquidation of our domestic debt, consolidating the whole into one great national mass...." (p133/c2)

## Confinement for Crimes:

"The ministry of England have agreed to a partial adoption of Dr. Rush's plan for changing the punishment of capital offenders to solitary imprisonment instead of death. In Gloucestershire, where several persons have been doomed to seven years seclusion from that society whose peace and security their bad conduct tended to disturb, the horror that has seized them is not to be described. They beg with the greatest earnestness that they may be hanged out of their misery. Some ask to see their wives and children only for a moment, but this is not allowed them; in short no punishment ever devised seems so well calculated to soften the hearts of the hardened and insensible." (p133/c3)

Address of the New York State Senate and Assembly to President Washington:

"We are confident, Sir, of expressing with fidelity the sentiments of the freemen of this State, when we assure you of the regard they have for your person, of the confidence they repose in your wisdom, and of the firm expectation they entertain that your administration will, by the blessing of Almighty God, be glorious to yourself, and happy for your country.

"Permit us to add, that we shall do all in our power to make your residence in this State agreeable; and at all times be ready to afford you our united aid and support." (p134/c2)

#### George Washington's Response:

"In the fortitude and perseverance of the citizens of this State, even amidst the calamities and dangers with which they were surrounded in the late war, I found a resource, which it always gave me pleasure to acknowledge in the strongest and most grateful terms."

"I am now truly happy that my motives, for reassuming the arduous duties of a public station, have met with you approbation."

"nothing could be better calculated to encourage me to hope for prosperity in the execution of the duties of my office than the assurances you have given of the favorable sentiments and expectations of the freemen of your State." (p134/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p134/c3-p135/c2)

#### August 12, 1789 #30020.27

*A Sketch of the Political State of America* by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne) (p137/c1-3)

Washington's Message to Congress on peace with the Indians, importance of a national militia

"The business which has hitherto been under the consideration of Congress has been of so much importance, that I was unwilling to draw their attention from it to any other subject. But the disputes which exist between some of the United States and several powerful tribes of Indians within the limits of the Union, and the hostilities which have in several instances been committed on the frontiers, seem to require the immediate interposition of the general government." (p138/c2)

"While the measures of government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to

#### SKETCHOF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1789. THE engrofied bill, providing for the expences which may attend negociations, and treating with the Indian tribes-and for appointing com miffioners to fuperintend the fame, was read, when the Houfe proceeded to fill up the blanks.-It was moved that the fum of forty one thousand dollars be inferted in the first blank. This motion was oppofed by Mr. SUMPTER, Mr. GERRY, and Mr. LIVERMORE-It was faid, that a previous effimate of the expences necessary to be incured, ought first to be exhibited to the house-that great frauds and abufes had been complained of in these negociations-that the whole amount of the revenue would fall short of the necessary expences of the current year, and therefore it was incumbent on the Houfe to grant monies with due caution and deliberation—That it could not be contended that fo large a fum was requifite, but on the fuppolition of a very large number of In-dians' attending, and prefents being provided for them—It was urged that the treaties would be as efficacious without collecting a whole nation to gether-and the cuftom of giving prefents was reprobated by fome of the members, as a meafure fraught with useles expence, much mischief, and inconvenience.

Mr. JACKSON, Mr. HARTLEY, Mr. CLYMER, and Mr. BALDWIN fupported the motion—The latter gentleman produced a flatement of the expences which would arife from holding a treaty with the Creek nation only, of which it was expected that 1500 would attend—It was obferved that the fum moved for was to defray the expences of treating with the Indian tribes in general —more particularly with the Wabafn nation, and with the tribes to the fouthward of the Ohio— That agreeably to the effimate, which was laid on the table, the whole fum moved for would be necefiary ; but if the houfe chofe to have the treaties conducted upon different principles from what has been cuffomary, they can make fuch alterations as they may fee proper. The motion for 41000 being put, it pafied in the

The motion for 41000 being put, it passed in the negative. Mr. MADISON then moved that the blank should be filled with 40000—this was likewife opposed—and the ayes and nees called for on the question—which are as follow :

AFFIRMATIVE. Meffix Baldwin, Benfon, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Clymer, Cole, Fitzfimons, Cale, Griffin, Hariley, Huntington, Jackfon, Laurance, Lee, Madifon, Matthews, P. Muhlenberg, Page, Scott, Smith, (S.C.) Stone, Syivefler, Trumbull, Tucker, Vining, Wadfworth, Wynkoop. twenty-eight. NEGATIVE. NeGATIVE. Needstive. Noes-23 Key, Gerry, Gilman, Grout, Heifler, Hathorn, Leonard, Livermore, Moore, Parker, Partridge, Van Ranfellaer, Schureman, Sedgwick, Seney, Sherman, Schureman, Sedgwick, Seney, Sherman,

Smith, (M.) Sturgis, Sumpter, Thacher.

Majority 5.—So the motion obtained. The blank in the claufe for allowing a compenfation to the commiffioners was filled with Eight Dollars pr. day, exclusive of their actual expences at the place of holding the treaties. Upon motion Mr. P. MUHLENBERG, and Mr. WADSWOWTH were added to the committee ap-

Upon motion Mr. P. MUHLENBERG, and Mr. WADSWORTH were added to the committee appointed to bring in a bill providing a fyftem of regulations for the militia of the United States. Adjourned. those Indian Tribes, whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States." (p138/c2)

"If it should be the judgment of Congress, that it would be most expedient to terminate all differences in the Southern district, and to lay the foundation for future confidence, by an amicable treaty with the Indian Tribes in that quarter, I think proper to suggest the consideration of the expediency of instituting a temporary commission for that purpose, to consist of three persons...." (p138/c2)

"Along with this object I am induced to suggest another, with the national importance and necessity of which I am deeply impressed; I mean some uniform and effective system for the Militia of the United States. It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure, on which the honour, safety, and well-being of our country so evidently and so essentially depend." (p138/c2)

#### August 15, 1789 #24988

Proceedings of Congress. Bill of Rights (p142/c2-p143/c3)

In the discussion of the placement of amendments, James Madison preferred interspersing the amendments within the Constitution in the areas that they modified. Roger Sherman objected, insisting that they be placed at the end, "as the Constitution is an act of the people, and ought to remain entire—while the amendments will be the act of the several legislatures." (p142/c3)

#### August 19, 1789 #30020.29

#### **Creation of the Department of Defense**

"Sixth Act of the Legislature of the Union": "An ACT to Establish an EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, to be denominated the DEPARTMENT OF WAR." (p148/c3)

Proceedings of Congress. (p146/c2-p147/c2)

#### August 26, 1789 #30020.30

Proceedings of Congress. Bill of Rights, excise tax (p153/c2-p155/c2)

Correspondent: "It is to be regretted therefore, that there are not more restrictions imposed upon the individual governments by the Constitution to secure the equal rights of the people." (p155/c3)

#### August 29, 1789 #25430.99

#### Bill of Rights: First Draft approved by House of Representatives—17 Proposed Amendments

After months of work, on Aug. 24, the House approved 17 Constitutional amendments. This newspaper includes the full text of the resolution sent by the House to the Senate for approval. The Senate began deliberating the next day, approving some articles and rejecting or altering others. Ultimately, ten of these amendments would be ratified by the states as the Bill of Rights.

The lack of a Bill of Rights, a central feature of most state Constitutions, was a principal criticism of the recently-drafted federal Constitution. During the Constitutional Convention some delegates opposed its inclusion, thinking it unnecessary or afraid that the act of enumerating specific rights would imply that those not listed did not exist. On the other side, Anti-Federalists wary of new federal powers were among the most ardent proponents of a Bill

of Rights. Ultimately, to ensure ratification of the Constitution, the Convention delegates promised that Congress would address guarantees of specific liberties in their first session.

During the ratification process, five states that approved the Constitution passed along lists of proposed amendments, while two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, that had refused to ratify also suggested amendments. In all, nearly one hundred discrete amendments were offered.

James Madison, the "father of the Constitution," was at first lukewarm to the idea of a Bill of Rights. However, during his first Congressional campaign against James Monroe, he promised to fight for such a measure. Among Madison's fears were threats by Anti-Federalists, even after the Constitution had been ratified, of calling another convention, which would have likely been much less harmonious. On May 4, 1789, Madison told the House of Representatives that he planned to present a slate of amendments in three weeks. When May 25 arrived, the Congressmen were locked in a debate over import duties. Madison demurred until June 8, when the House again rebuked his efforts, citing more pressing business. Rising once more, Madison justified his timing, apologized to his colleagues, and proceeded to introduce his proposed amendments.

On July 21, 1789, the House formed the Committee of Eleven (one member from each state) to consider the proposed Amendments. The Committee made its report on July 28, taking the nine broad areas Madison had suggested for amendment and drafting 17 individual amendments for House approval. These passed the House on August 24, and the Senate began their debate the next day.

"RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both houses deeming it necessary, that the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the constitution of the United States, all, or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution.

"ARTICLES in addition to and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the 5th article of the original Constitution.

"Article 1. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress that there shall not be less than two

## CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES

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APPENDENT, prepare to be 5th article of the s-regent confliction.
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Art. 2. No law varying the compensation to the members of Congreis finall have enter-uend.
Art. 3. Congrefs finall make no law eftab-

Art. 4. To law targing the compension to the members of Congrefs shall take effect, un til an election of reprefentatives fhall have intervened.
 Art. 3. Congrefs fhall make no law effability religion, or prohibiting the free exercife thereof, nor thal the rights of conference be infininged.
 Art. 4. The freedom of fpeech, and of the prefs, and the right of the people peaceably to diffemble, and confult for their common good, and to apply to the government for a redrefs of the body of the people, being the beth focurity of a free fract, the right of the people to keep and bear arms fhall no be infringed.
 Art. 6. No foldier fhall in time of prace be to keep and bear arms fhall no be infringed, but no one religionfly feropulous of bearing arms, fhall no be infringed, but no one religionfly feropulous of bearing arms, fhall no be infringed, but no one religionfly feropulous of bearing arms, fhall no be infringed, but no one religionfly feropulous of bearing arms, fhall no be infringed.
 Art. 6. No foldier fhall in time of prace be womer, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be preferibed by law.
 Art. 7. The right of the people to be fecure in their perfons, houles, papers and effects againt time can be informated.
 Art. 8. No perfon shall be fubleci, except in one punihmient for the fame effence, nor fhall be completed in any criminal cefs, to ke a wither for gaint him fielf, nor be depixed of like, how the regulate procession depixed of like, how the regulate procession and particularly deforibing the place to be feared.
 Art. 8. No perfon fhall be fubleci, except in the off againt him fielf, nor be depixed of like, how the regulate remover public dex with our property be take also realised and and performation.
 Art. 9. The all eriminal profecutions, the activity or property be take also realised and to here the public of exit.
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hell be by an impartial jury of the vicin with the requilite of unanimity for convict he right of challenge and other accusto with the requifite of unanimity for conviction the right of challenge and other accuftome-requifices; and no perfon fhall be held to answe for a cupital or otherwise infanous crime, unlet of a prefaminent or indiciment by a grand jury but if a crime be committed in a place in the po-feffion of an enemy, or in which an infarrection may prevail, the indiciment and trial may be law be authorized in fome other place within the frame large.

time flate. Asr, ir. No appeal to the Supreme Cour-the United States shall be allowed, where value in controverly shall not amount to one of fand dollars; nor shall any fact triable by a j according to the courle of the common law, b incrwise re-examinable, than according to the course of the course of the course of the course of the terms of the course of the course of the course of the course of the terms of the course of the course of the course of the course of the terms of the course of the course of the course of the course of the terms of the course o

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hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

*"Art. 2. No law varying the compensation to the members of Congress shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.* 

*"Art. 3. Congress shall make no law establishing religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the rights of conscience be infringed."* 

"Art. 4. The freedom of speech, and of the press, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and consult for their common good, and to apply to the government for a redress of grievances, shall not be infringed.

"Art. 5. A well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, being the best security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, but no one religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be compelled to render military service in person.

"Art. 6. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

"Art. 7. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

"Art. 8. No person shall be subject, except in a case of impeachment, to more than one trial or one punishment for the same offence, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life or liberty or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

"Art. 9. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and the cause of the accusation, to be confronted by witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

"Art. 10. The trial of all crimes (except in cases of impeachment, and in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger) shall be an impartial jury of the vicinage, with the requisite of unanimity for conviction; the right of challenging and other accustomed requisites; and no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment by a grand jury; but if a crime by committed in a place in the possession of an enemy, or in which an insurrection may prevail, the indictment and trial may by law be authorized in some other place within the same state.

"Art. 11. No appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States shall be allowed, where the value in controversy shall not amount to one thousand dollars; nor shall any fact triable by a jury according to the course of common law be otherwise re-examinable, than according to the rules of common law.

"Art. 12. In suits at common law, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved.

*"Art. 13. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.* 

"Art. 14. No state shall infringe the right of trial by jury in criminal cases, nor the rights of conscience, nor the freedom of speech, or of the press.

*"Art. 15. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.* 

"Art. 16. The powers delegated by the constitution to the government of the United States, shall be exercised as therein appropriated, so that the legislative shall never exercise the powers vested in the executive or judicial; nor the executive the powers vested in the legislative or judicial; nor the judicial the powers vested in the legislative or executive.

*"Art. 17. The powers not delegated by the constitution nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively.* 

"Ordered, that the Clerk of this house do carry to the senate a fair and engrossed copy of the said proposed articles of amendment, and desire their concurrence." (p158/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p158/c2-p159/c3)

## September 2, 1789 #30020.31

*The Tablet*, No. XLI.

"The subject of addressing the President by a title has afforded ample materials for argument and conjecture. The question is not, however, whether by a legislative act a title shall be conferred on him, but whether the two Houses, or either of them, shall address him by any other style than that of President. Titles are supposed to be derived from courtesy and common usage: and in this form of the question the right of the two houses to address him by a title, is exactly on a footing with that of any other individuals: but is the usage a proper and safe one?" (p161/c1)

"The readers of the Gazette will not be much instructed, possibly, however, they may be amused, by an account of a conversation between two violent disputants on this point...." (p161/c1)

[Anti-title:] "A public officer, however elevated, is merely the servant of the people, and a title tends to make him a bad one. For it creates in the people false ideas of the office, and stimulates the ambition and vanity of the officer." (p161/c1)

[Pro-title:] "The State constitutions have actually given titles of higher import than any now in contemplation for the President. The people have not feared, nor suffered the loss of liberty in consequence.

"We have no pretensions to the mock humility we have assumed. There is real arrogance in it. The nations of Europe will not expect us to teach them how to treat their supreme magistrates.

"Are the people dishonored and degraded by addressing their President by a title or style of office? The reverse is true." (p161/c1)

"If with a founding title, no real power is given, the man who wears it will not become dangerous to liberty. He is rather disarmed by it.... If, without a title, great power is given, the danger is the greater. Power is a serpent, they tell us, whose bite is deadly. Give him a rattle and the heedless passenger will have warning. The silent snake in the grass is more to be dreaded." (p161/c2)

Letter from Fredericksburg, August 29: *"Mrs. Washington, the mother of our President, died this afternoon."* (p163/c3)

### September 5, 1789 #30020.32

Proceedings of Congress. Debate on the Judiciary Bill (cont.)

James Madison argues that a state judiciary is ill-equipped to enforce federal law, while James Jackson of Georgia believes that the bill in question is unnecessary because state court judges will know that the constitution trumps state law when making rulings. William L. Smith of South Carolina argues that the same arguments made against the establishment of a national judiciary could be used to argue against the establishment of any national government.

James Madison of Virginia: "It will not be doubted that some judiciary system is necessary to accomplish the objects of the government; and that it ought to be commensurate with the other branches of the government... If the latter be concurrent with the state jurisdictions, it does not follow that it will for that reason be impracticable." (p165/c2)

#### September 9, 1789 #30020.33

Proceedings of Congress. Debate on the Judiciary Bill (cont.)

Samuel Livermore of New Hampshire: "*I think this law will entirely change the form of government of the United States.*" (p169/c2)

John Vining of Delaware: "That the power of making laws, of executing laws, and a judicial administration of such laws, is inseparable and indivisible, if not, 'Justice might be said to be lame as well as blind among us.' The only plausible argument which has been urged against this clause, is the expense." (p169/c3)

"I wish to see justice so equally distributed as that every citizen of the United States should be fairly dealt by, and so impartially administered, that every subject or citizen of the World, whether foreigner or alien, friend or foe, should be alike satisfied: **By this means you would expand the doors of justice, encourage emigration from all countries into your own, and in short, would make the United States of America not only an Asylum of Liberty, but a Sanctuary of Justice.**" (p169/c3)

Michael Jennifer Stone of Maryland: "It is conceded on all hands that the establishment of these Courts is immutable; but the Constitution says that Congress shall constitute such inferior Courts from time to time.

"The Constitution gives you a right to extend the judiciary power to all those cases specified; but it does not say that these powers shall be exercised over all these cases." (p169/c3)

The motion to strike the clause was defeated by a large majority.  $(p_{170}/c_1)$ 

#### Permanent Seat of Government

Richard Bland Lee of Virginia: "Resolved, that a place as nearly central, as a convenient water communication with the Atlantic Ocean, and an easy access to the Western Territory will permit, ought to be selected and established as the permanent seat of the government of the United States." (170/c2)

#### **Obituary of Mary Washington**

"On Tuesday, the 25th inst. died at her house in this town, Mrs. Mary Washington, aged 82 years, the venerable mother of the illustrious President of the United States, after a long and painful indisposition, which she bore with uncommon patience. Though a pious tear of duty, affection, and esteem, is due to the memory of so revered a character, yet our grief must be greatly alleviated from the consideration that she is relieved from the pitiable infirmities attendant on an extreme old age. It is usual when virtuous and conspicuous persons quit this terrestrial abode, to publish an elaborate panegyric on their characters suffice it to say, she conducted herself through this transitory life with virtue, prudence and christianity, worthy the mother of the greatest Hero that ever adorned the annals of history." (171/c2)

"Recent accounts state, that North-Carolina and Rhode-Island will very probably soon come into the federal Family...." (171/c2)

#### **September 16, 1789** #30020.34

## Act Establishing the Treasury Department

Includes the full text of the Sept. 2 "Act to Establish the Treasury Department," which lists the responsibilities of the future Secretary and principal officers of the Treasury, as well as punishable offenses. Little more than a week later, Washington made his first cabinet appointment, naming Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury.

"It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the revenue, and for the support of public credit; to prepare and report estimates of the public revenue, and the public expenditures; to superintend the collection of revenue; to decide on the forms of keeping and stating accounts and making returns, and to grant under the limitations herein established, or to be hereafter provided, all warrants for monies to be issued from the Treasury, in pursuance of appropriations by law; to execute such services relative to the sale of the lands belonging to the United States, as may be by law required of him; to make report, and give information to either branch of the legislature, in person or in writing (as he may be required), respecting all matters referred to him by the Senate or House of Representatives, or which shall appertain to his office; and generally to perform all such services relative to the finances, as he shall be directed to perform...." (p180/c2-3)

"No person appointed to any office instituted by the Act, shall directly or indirectly be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce...or take or apply to his own use, any emolument or gain for negotiating or transacting any business in the said department, other than what shall be allowed by law...." (p180/c3)

Proceedings of Congress. Seat of Government. (p177/c1-p179/c1)

## September 23, 1789 #27215.99

## Penultimate draft of Bill of Rights

After the House of Representatives proposed seventeen amendments ("*Articles*"), the Senate took up the debate and reduced the number to twelve. Even after the reduction, the House and Senate continued wrangling over language, especially in the third article (which would become the First Amendment) and the eighth article regarding trials (which would become the Sixth Amendment).

On September 24, the House dropped most of its objections, insisting only on changes in the third and eighth articles. Agreement on these two areas established the final text of the Bill of Rights. The Senate concurred on September 25, and the House re-affirmed its approval on September 28 when at least one engrossed copy was signed, marking the Bill of Rights' final legislative hurdle before being sent to the states for ratification.

"The Conventions of a number of the states having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added. And as extending the ground of public confidence in the government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution—

"RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

"ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

"ARTICLE THE FIRST. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; to which number one Representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of forty thousand, until the Representatives shall amount to two hundred, to which number one Representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of sixty thousand persons. "ARTICLE THE SECOND. No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

"ARTICLE THE THIRD. Congress shall make no law establishing articles of faith, or a mode of worship, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition to the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH. A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

"ARTICLE THE FIFTH. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law.

"ARTICLE THE SIXTH. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

*"ARTICLE THE SEVENTH. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases* 

arising in the Land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the fame offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal cafe to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

"ARTICLE THE EIGHTH. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, [added in the final manuscript: by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and] to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

"ARTICLE THE NINTH. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by a Jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a Jury,



shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

*"ARTICLE THE TENTH. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.*"

*"ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.* 

"ARTICLE THE TWELFTH. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." (p185/c2-3)

The twelve articles of amendment were sent to the states for ratification on October 2, 1789. The states did not ratify two of the twelve proposed amendments, the first regarding apportionment of representation in the House, and the second, regarding congressional salaries. However, the second article, which stated that Congressional pay increases (or decreases) would not take effect until an election had ensued, eventually became the 27<sup>th</sup> Amendment on May 8, 1992, 203 years after it was first proposed. Articles 3 through 12 became the 1<sup>st</sup> through 10<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the federal Constitution upon Virginia's ratification on December 15, 1791.

## September 26, 1789 #30020.35

Proceedings of Congress. Debates on Bill of Rights (p190/c3-p191/c1)

Resolution requesting the President issue a Thanksgiving Proclamation (p191/c1)

House receives word that Senate agreed to amendments to proposed Bill of Rights (p191/c1)

Coasting Act: "An Act for Registering and Clearing Vessels, Regulating the Coasting trade." (p192/c1-3)

## September 30, 1789 #30020.36

President Washington's nominations of John Jay as Chief Justice of Supreme Court, other members of Supreme Court, Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, Edmond Randolph as Attorney-General, and Samuel Osgood as Postmaster-General. (p195/c2)

Washington's Reply to the Address of Pennsylvania Freemen

"The virtue, moderation and patriotism which have marked the steps of the American people, in framing, adopting, and thus far, carrying into effect our present system of government, has excited the admiration of nations, and now it only remains for us to act up to those principles which should characterize a free and enlightened people, that we may gain respect abroad, and ensure happiness to ourselves and to our posterity. It should be the highest ambition of every American to extend his views beyond himself—and to bear in mind that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity; but that its influence and effect, may be co-extensive with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn." (p193/c3)

French Revolution, including letter by Lafayette. **The Bastille** and the **Man in the Iron Mask**. (p194/c1-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p194/c3-0195/c2)

Coasting Act (cont.). (p196/c1-3)

[October 10, 1789 #22871 (described in main catalog)] Hamilton's First Report to Congress as Secretary of the Treasury

#### October 14, 1789 #30020.17

John Adams, Letter I, October 4, 1780, Amsterdam, summarizing American conflicts with Great Britain, beginning with the end of the French and Indian War and ending with the Battle of Lexington and Concord.

"Suffice it to say, that immediately upon the conquest of Canada from the French, in the year 1759, Great-Britain seemed to be seized with a jealousy against the Colonies, and then concerted the plan of changing their forms of government—of restraining their trade within narrower bounds, and raising a revenue within in them by the authority of parliament, for the avowed or pretended purpose of protecting, securing, and defending them. Accordingly, in the year 1760, orders were sent from the Board of Trade, in England, to the Custom-House Officers in America, to apply to the Supreme Courts of Justice for writs of assistance, to enable them to carry into a more rigorous execution certain acts of Parliament, called the acts of trade (among which the famous navigation act was one) by breaking open houses, ships or cellars, chests, stores, and magazines, to search for uncustomed goods." (p210 /c1)

"Paris, July 24...This evening, M. de la Fayette... gave up his commission of Colonel-General of the Parisian guards; but he was so earnestly requested to continue in it, and M. Bailly himself expressed with so much eloquence the wishes of all the citizens, that he triumphed over the modesty of the hero, who never fought but for liberty, and the equal rights of mankind." (p210/c2)

Letter from Fayetteville, North Carolina, discusses freedom of religion, praises people for joining militias.

"What a spirit of free enquiry pervades the United States! A universal toleration in matters of religious opinion has done more to unfetter the human mind in a few years, than whole centuries of bigotry and superstition – that flood of light which poured in upon the world, when the press began to fend forth its treasures, illuminated mankind to an astonishing degree, and raised human nature from the most abject depression, to a rank in the scale of being hitherto unknown... Much however remains to be done."

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been recognized by the General Government; but the best security of that right after all is, that military spirit... which has always distinguished the free citizens of these States.... The people appear determined to avail themselves of the circumstance, which our patriotic and beloved President pointed out in one of his messages to Congress.... A spirit of emulation is excited; and not only in cities and towns, where the people being more compact, can with greater ease concert and carry their plans into execution—but in the country towns also, whole Regiments are clothed in Uniform—and bodies of Horse completely equipped have been raised and disciplined." (p211/c1-2)

#### Essay on free trade, finances, taxes (cont.)

"the usual mode of taxation of polls and estates, is in its principle unjust and unequal, because it does not operate on our people in any due proportion to their wealth: This mischief was less felt, when our taxes were very small, and therefore though unjust, were not ruinous; but the case is greatly altered, now the taxes are grown up into the burden which the present exigencies of the nation require....

"The said tax hitherto in use, is further ruinous, because it carves what money it does produce, out of the very first resources, the original principle of our national wealth, which like tender cions, should be nursed and guarded with all care, till they arrive to strength and maturity, - then we may pluck the fruit without hurting the tree: - To cramp and diminish any of these, is like making bread of our seed wheat, or feeding our mowing grounds, every quantity we takes lessens the next...we have the clear proof of experience, that the utmost efforts in this way have been sufficient to produce one quarter of the sum necessary for the public service; nor is there any probability of an increased production."

"The mode of supply by foreign loans need not be further reprobated; 'tis plain to every body that if they can be continued, (which is doubtful) they will soon involve us in foreign debt, vastly beyond all possibility of payment..." (p212/c1-2)

"An Act for the temporary establishment of the Post-Office" (p212/c3)

#### October 21, 1789 #30020.39

John Adams, Letter III, October 6, 1780, Amsterdam, regarding the American revolution, population growth, natural resources, and trade

"It is an undoubted fact, that America daily increases in strength and force; but it may not be so easy to prove this to the satisfaction of an European; however, some things may be brought into consideration, which may convince if properly attended to." (p217/c3)

"It has been found by calculations, that America has doubled her numbers, even by natural generation alone, upon an average, about once in eighteen years. This war has now lasted near six years; in the course of it, we commonly compute, in America, that we have lost, by sickness, and the sword, and captivity, about five and thirty thousand fighting men. We have not less, probably, than seventy thousand fighting men, in America, more than we had on the day that hostilities were first commenced, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1775. There are near twenty thousand fighting men added to the numbers in America every year. – Is this the case with our enemy, Great Britain? Which then can maintain the war the longest?" (p218/c1)

"If America increases in numbers, she certainly increases in strength. But her strength increases in other respects: The discipline of her army increases; the skill of her officers increases, by sea and land; her skill in military manufactures, such as those of salt petre, powder, fire arms, cannon, increases; her skill in manufactures of flax and wool, for the first necessity, increases; her manufactures of salt also increase; and all these are augmentations of strength and force to maintain her independence. Further, her commerce increases every year: the number of vessels she has had this year, in the trade to the West-Indies; the number of vessels arrived in Spain, France, Holland and Sweden; shew that her trade is greatly increased this year." (p218/c1)

**The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen**, as decreed by the National Assembly of France on August 26, 1789. This historic document, reproduced here in full, asserts basic human rights, including freedom of speech, freedom of religion, fair taxation. Followed by a brief analysis celebrating both the document and the French people striving for freedom though the author is less than optimistic that the government will uphold the document but is optimistic for the French people's future as a free and democratic nation.

"The Representatives of the French people, constituted in National Assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunes, and the corruption of Governments, have resolved to set forth in a solemn Declaration, the natural, inalienable, and sacred Rights of Man; to the end that this Declaration...may perpetually remind them of their Rights and Duties; that the Acts of the Legislative and Executive Power...may be more respected by them; and that the claims of the Citizens...may uniformly turn to the maintenance of the Constitution, and to the happiness of all." (p218/c2)

"Art. 1. All men are born, and remain free, and equal in rights; social distinctions can only be founded on common utility....

"Art. 4. Liberty consists in doing whatever does not injure another; accordingly, the exercise of the natural rights of each man, has no other bounds but those which secure to other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights; these can be determined only by the law.

"Art. 5. The law should only prohibit actions injurious to society. Nothing can be prevented but what is prohibited by law; nor can any man be constrained to do what it does not ordain.

"Art. 6. The law is the expression of the general will; all the citizens have the right of concurring personally, or by their Representatives, in its formation; it ought to be the same for all, whether it, protects or whether it punishes....

"Art. 9. Every man being presumed innocent, until he shall have been pronounced guilty, if it be deemed indispensible to apprehend him, every species of rigour not absolutely necessary for securing his person, should be severely prohibited by law....

"Art. 10. No man can be disturbed in his opinions, even religious; provided their manifestation do not trouble the public order established by law.

"Art. 11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore may freely speak, write and print, under the condition of being responsible for the abuse of that liberty in cases provided for by law.

"Art. 12. The security of the rights of the man and citizen renders a public force necessary; that force then is instituted for the good of all, and not for the particular advantage of those to whom it is confided.

"Art. 13. For the maintenance of this public force, and the other expenses of Administration, a common contribution is indispensible; this should be apportioned among all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

"Art. 14. Each citizen has the right, by himself, or his Representatives, to determine the necessity of the noble contribution, freely to consent to it, to attend to its employment, and to fix the quota, the mode of imposition, the collection and duration of the same.

*"Art. 15. Society has a right to demand an account from every public agent of his administration."* 

*"Art. 16. Every society in which the guaranty of their rights is not secured, nor the separation of powers determined, is without a constitution."* (p218/c2-3)

"A more true definition of a free Government was never better given in so small a number of words." (p218/c3)

"Revolutions in States are the natural consequences of unpopular and oppressive measures, and in those cases, the troops always change to the side of justice;—it was so in the year 1688 in England—it is so in the year 1789 in France." (p218/c3-p219/c1)

"As we cannot suppose that the French Nobility are serious in yielding up their honors, or that the Clergy are in earnest in giving up their revenues, but firmly believing that they go with the current they cannot stem, and encourage the present enthusiasm for liberty in order to hurry it on to destruction, we have no doubt that the greater part of the Nobility and Clergy, who now compose the National Assembly, would seek the protecting wings of the Imperial Eagle, leaving Messieurs le Tiers Etat to deliberate on refined systems of Government which they cannot comprehend, and M. le Comte de la Fayette to try what great feats can be performed by the Militia and Versailles." (p219/c1).

Proceedings of Congress. Senate. (p220/c2-3)

#### October 24, 1789 #30020.18

George Washington's Response to Connecticut Governor Samuel Huntington and Legislature "If the prosperity of our common country has in any degree been promoted by my military exertions, the foils which attended them have been amply rewarded by the approving voice of my fellow citizens. I was but the humble agent of favouring Heaven, whose benign interference was so often manifested in our behalf, and to whom the praise of victory alone is due." (p223/c1).

After consulting with Hamilton, President Washington decided to tour the New England states in the fall of 1789 to "acquire knowledge of the face of the Country the growth and Agriculture thereof and the temper and disposition of the Inhabitants towards the new government." The trip lasted a month, during which he visited nearly sixty towns and returned to New York on November 13. Washington visited every New England state except Rhode Island, which had yet to ratify the Constitution.

Address of New Haven Congregational Ministers, including Jonathan Edwards the Younger, to George Washington, and Washington's response

"We presume that we join with the whole collective body of the congregational Pastors and Presbyterian Ministers throughout these states, in the most cordial congratulations of themselves, of their country, and of mankind, on your elevation to the head of the combined American Republic" (p223/c1)

[Washington:] "Respecting, as I do, the favourable opinions of men distinguished for science and piety, it would be false delicacy to disavow the satisfaction, which I derive from their approbations of my public services, and private conduct." (p223/c2).

Proceedings of Congress. Senate, including first 19 4ules adopted by the Senate for conducting its business (p224/c 2-3)

"II. No member shall speak to another, or otherwise interrupt the business of the Senate, or read any printed paper, while the Journals or public papers are reading, or when any member is speaking in any debate." (p224/c2)

"XIX. No member shall absent himself from the service of the Senate, without leave of the Senate first obtained." (p224/c3)

#### October 31, 1789 #26551.02

## Hamilton's Estimate of Budget for War Department for 1789

*"General Estimate of Money requisite for the War Department, for the year 1789,"* dated Sep 19, covers the pay of the troops (divided into artillery, infantry, and subsistence by rank), and separate amounts for the quartermaster's and ordnance departments, hospital, and the general expenses of the War Office. The total was \$163,078.60. (p232/c2)

John Adams, Letter VII, October 10, 1780, Amsterdam (p229/c2)

Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Hartford to President Washington and his Reply

[Washington:] "The indulgent partiality with which my fellow-citizens are pleased to regard my public services, is the most acceptable compensation they can receive, and amply rewards them." (p231/c1)

Washington signed the first Congressional appropriations act into law on Sep 29, which set a total budget of \$639,000 to cover the federal government's expenses for that year.

## November 11, 1789 #30020.40 Benjamin Franklin, "*Against Privateering*"

"By the original law of nations, war and extirpation were the punishment of injury-Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery instead of death: A farther step was the exchange of prisoners instead of slavery: Another, the respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and to be content with acquired dominion-Why should not this law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps-but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, Why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to as the future law of nations that in any war hereafter the following description of men should be undisturbed-have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in security, viz

"1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labor for the subsistence of mankind.

*"2. Fishermen, for the same reason."* 

"3. Merchants and Traders, in un-armed ships-who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life.

"4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns: It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested-they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it should be diminished. If rapine is abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting." (p241/c1-2)

Address by Massachusetts' Members of the Society of Cincinnati to Washington and his Reply (p242/c3-p243/c1)

"Remainder of the Judicial Act (Begun in our last.)" (p244/c1-3)

## November 14, 1789 #30020.41

## Washington tours Salem and Newburyport

Washington's letters to the townspeople of Salem and Newburyport, Massachusetts, in reply to addresses to him (also printed) during his New England tour.

"The inhabitants to the Town of Salem, upon receiving a visit from a personage the first object of their esteem, cannot forbear expressing those sensations, which an occasion so pleasing must naturally excite." (p245/c2)

[Washington:] "May your navigation and commerce flourish—your industry, in all its applications, be rewarded—your happiness, here, be as perfect as belongs to the lot of humanity—and your eternal felicity be complete!" (p245/c2).

John Adams, Letter X, October 16, 1780, Amsterdam (p248/c1-2)

Treasury Department, "Statement of the Anticipation of Monies on the Public Credit" and "State of the Anticipation of the Taxes" from most of the states and other bodies. (p248/c2-3)

## November 18, 1789 #30000.83

Letter from John Pickering to George Washington, and Washington's Response, concerning his visit to New Hampshire.

[Washington:] "I fear the fond partiality of my countrymen has too highly appreciated my past exertions, and formed too sanguine anticipations of my future services.—If the former have been successful, much of the success should be ascribed to those who labored with me in the common cause—and the glory of the event should be given to the great Disposer of events." (p249/c2) Ode to Washington from Boston Residents.

"He comes! The Hero Comes! tis He! "Who gave to Howe this high decree, "'Avaunt—Begone'—He bow'd—He fled! "And hallow'd Freedom rais'd her head, "Where Clinton shook th' avenging rod, "And round thy courts, Almighty God! "Burgoyne, by impious phrenzy driven, "Taught the war steed to mock at Heaven." (p250/c2)

#### Washington's visit to Portsmouth

"At his entrance to this town he was saluted by thirteen cannon from three companies of Artillery, in complete uniform, under the command of Col. Hacket. The street thro which he passed (Congress street) was lined by the citizens of the town, all the crafts being ranged alphabetically—the bells rang a joyful peal, and repeated shouts from grateful thousands, hailed their Deliverer to the Metropolis of Newhampshire." (p250/c3)

John Adams, Letter XI, October 17, 1780, Amsterdam

John Adams tries to assuage concerns that the American government is in insurmountable debt by appealing to the population of America, especially when compared to England and Scotland. He also makes clear that Americans will win the war regardless of whether they get aid, but Europe should send aid anyway because it would speed up the war.

"All Europe has a mistaken apprehension of the present debt of America." (p252/c1)

"Nothing is wanted but a loan of money and a fleet of ships." (p252/c2)

"The Americans will labor through, without a fleet, and without a loan. But it is ungenerous and cruel to put them to such difficulties, and to keep mankind embroiled in all the horrors of war, for want of such trifles, which so many of the powers of Europe wish they had, and could so easily furnish. But if mankind must be embroiled, and the blood of thousands must be shed, for want of a little magnanimity in some, the Americans must not be blamed, it is not their fault." (p252/c2)

## November 21, 1789 #30020.43

## Washington Visits Portsmouth, New Hampshire

"The illustrious President of the United States left this town this morning, on his return to New-York. He spent several days here, in which time he visited our river and harbor—and once disembarked on the most northern district of our Union—the old Province of Maine." (p255/c2)

John Adams, Letter XII, October 17, 1780, Amsterdam

"In the month of May, 1775, when the Congress came together, for the first time, after the battle of Lexington and Concord, they found it necessary to raise an army, or rather, to adopt an army already raised, at Cambridge, in order to oppose the British troops and shut them up in the prison of Boston. But they found that the colonies were but just out of debt, had but just paid off the debts contracted in the last French war. In the several treasuries of the colonies they found only a few thousand pounds.... In this situation, with so many wants and demands, and no money or revenues to recur to, they had recourse to an expedient, which had been often practiced in America, but no where else. They determined to emit paper money." (p256/c1)

#### December 2, 1789 #30020.45

Dartmouth College Trustees Praise Washington, and his response

"The discovery of the new world was made by the spirit of enterprise and perseverance; the advancement of it in people, in arts, and in wealth, was effected by prudence, economy, and industry: But a revolution from a state of oppression to that of freedom and independency; and a political resurrection from a state without harmony, dispatch and power to that of order, vigour and glory have been the achievements of all the combined virtues, which can adorn the statesman and the hero. Through these most interesting scenes the eyes of mankind were turned to you, and in you they confided. Guarded and directed by the auspices of our Divine Parent, you have justly merited those sublime and endearing epithets—The Saviour of your Country, and the Founder of a New Empire." (p268/c2)

[Washington's response:] "To the animated spirit of freedom that pervaded our country, and to the firm temper of our citizens, which braved all dangers in defence of their privileges (under the protecting care of Divine Providence) are we indebted for the blessings of political independence: To the enlightened policy which has directed our public councils, we owe the reform and establishment of our federal constitution: Under its auspicious influence, aided by the industry of those citizens, who compose the great family of our Union, we may hope for the substantial enjoyments of individual happiness and national honor. From your superintending care, Gentlemen as the guardians of a seminary and an important source of science, we are to derive great assistance in accomplishing these desiderata." (p268/c2)

Congregationalist minister and Yale College graduate Eleazar Wheelock founded Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1769, primarily to educate Native Americans in Christian theology and the English way of life, but from the beginning it primarily trained Congregationalist ministers. It is the ninth-oldest college in the United States and the last to be founded under colonial rule. It granted its first degrees in 1771.

The Tablet, No. LXVII. "There is no better way to estimate the understanding of a man, than by hearing him converse on what he had discovered in his travels.... But there is a description of travellers whose conversation soon becomes irksome, if not intolerable. I allude to those frivolous characters, whose minds are only occupied upon trifles...." (p265/c1)

The Observer, No. VII. "The fluctuating value of Paper in circulation oppressive to the poor.... Among the present means of oppression in the United States, none is greater than a circulating paper of unsteady and deceitful value...." (p265/c2)

The Guest, No. I. "How important is it to make provision in youth to alleviate the inevitable miseries of old age! that we may mitigate the sorrows of our declining years, by finding a substitute for those vacancies which time, accidents and death, will make in our friends and enjoyments!" (p267/c2)

#### John Adams, Letter XV, October 26, 1780, Amsterdam (p256/c1)

"When the English army was in Boston, they bought all that they could, and left considerable sums there in silver and gold. So they did at Rhode-Island. Since they have been in New York, they have purchased every thing they could of provisions and fuel, on Long-Island, Staten-Island, New-York-Island, and in those parts of the States of New-York and New-Jersey where they have been able to carry on any clandestine traffic....

"I am not able to ascertain exactly the yearly benefit, but it must be considerable: And the addition now of a French fleet, and army to supply, will make a great addition of cash and bills of exchange, which will facilitate commerce and privateering. And the more troops and ships Great Britain and France send to America, the greater will this resource necessarily be to the Americans." (p268/c1)

#### December 9, 1789 #30020.19

#### Charge to the Grand Jury

Judge John F. Grimké in Charleston, South Carolina, gives a charge to a grand jury about the importance of their role and explains their support for the constitution and why they should distrust its opponents. The judge also urges the jury to consider only what they hear from the people in their presence.

"The chief reason which renders a charge to a grand jury necessary or requisite is, that they may be more full instructed in the duties of their office, and be familiarized with the method of proceeding to execute those duties; that they may not only be enabled conscientiously, as well as legally, to form a just opinion of the nature of the crimes with which offenders shall be charged, but also of the legality of evidence which may be produced before them: I find that they may have every opportunity of doing justice to their country and fellow citizens, by having explained to them how they may bring the guilty to condign punishment, and discharge the innocent from the apprehensions of a public trial. Hence the result of such information would be, a legal verdict." (p273/c1)

*"Whenever the hand of Omnipotence shall deign to point out a WASHINGTON among their nations, the divinity will not prove unfavorable to their prayers or to his exertions."* (p273/c2)

"Our next care, gentlemen of the grand jury, will be to watch the motions of our internal enemies, to anticipate their various intrigues, and to disappoint those secret combinations, into which they may have entered. It may perhaps, be matter of curious enquiry, though of unsatisfactory inference, to consider the motives of many of the objectors to the new constitution; but this would lead me into a discussion to prolix for the present moment. I will content myself, therefore, with barely enumerating a few of these causes.

"Some men feared the losing of that influence, they had assumed and established to themselves, under the weak and divided governments of the several States; some again apprehended that they would be deprived of the benefits and emoluments of certain lucrative offices, which they held under the respective leaislatures of their country; the appointments of which were to be resigned into the hands of the President of the Union: A wish, perhaps, to involve this country in some destructive revolution, might influence others; for to men of no property, or those who are so embarrassed in their circumstances, as to hope for no relief from their own labor, or the arts of peace, or who are tormented with a discontented factious heart, rebellion and confusion would yield a rich harvest: For the honor of the human race, I hope, there are but few, if any such among us; but such have been found in other nations, and we must not flatter ourselves that mankind are more perfect in our time, than they have been heretofore.... Let us therefore do justice to their passionate ardor in the cause of liberty – and discriminate the licentious intemperance of a party, from the jealous integrity of a true republican. For if men have never been able to agree upon the great and solemn truths revealed to us in the Christian dispensation, what flattering hope can we foster in our bosoms. that we should be all reconciled in one political problem. Vain hope!" (p273/c2-3)

"At the same time that you are empowered to examine witnesses against the prisoner, and none for him, I must inculcate upon you the propriety, and necessity of your listening to no other sort of evidence that that which is delivered to you by persons in your presence." (p273/c3-p274/c1)

#### John Adams, Letter XVIII, October 26, 1780, Amsterdam

"There has been more of this tranquility and contentment, and fewer riots, insurrections, and seditions, throughout the whole war, and in the periods of its greatest distress, than there was for seven years before the war broke out, in those parts that I am best acquaint acquainted with. As to subsistence, there never was or will be any difficulty. There never was any want of any thing but warlike stores and clothing for the army, and salt and rum both for the army and people; but they have such plentiful importations of these articles now, that there is no want, except blankets, clothing and warlike stores for the army." (p276/c1)

"The great source of grief and affliction, is the fluctuation of the paper money; but this, although it occasions unhappiness, has no violent or fatal effects." (p276/c1)

#### John Adams, Letter XIX, October 26, 1780, Amsterdam

"The people, in all ages and countries, wish for peace; human nature does not love war—yet this does not hinder nations from going to war, when it is necessary, and often indeed for frivolous purposes of avarice, ambition, vanity, resentment, and revenge." (p276/c1)

"Great-Britain has tried so many experiments to deceive them, without effect, that I think it is scarcely worth her while to try again. The history of these ministerial and parliamentary tricks would fill a volume." (p276/c1)

Proceedings of Congress. The Senate. (p276/c2-3)

#### December 12, 1789 #30046

Address of the Presbytery of the Eastward to George Washington and His Response [Washington:] "I am persuaded, you will permit me to observe that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction.

"To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulation, respecting religion, from the Magna Charta of our country. To the guidance of the ministers of the Gospel, this important object is, perhaps, more properly committed. It will be your care to instruct the ignorant, and to reclaim the devious: And in the progress of morality and science, to which our government will give every furtherance, we may confidently expect the advancement of true religion, and the completion of our happiness." (p277/c2-3)

Report that Thomas Jefferson had arrived in Norfolk on his way to New York to assume the position of Secretary of State (p278/c3)

John Adams, Letter XX, October 26, 1780, Amsterdam (p280/c1)

John Adams, Letter XXI, October 27, 1780, Amsterdam (p280/c1)

## December 16, 1789 #30020.47

The Observer, No. VIII

The author discusses the nature of liberty, the threats to it, and how it can be preserved.

"A natural thirst for power in the human mind, with the emoluments springing from authority, tend to a general encroachment on the rights of human nature – Even patriots and honest men have their weakness, passions, and appetites, and in little instances may be tyrants, while they wish for general freedom." (p281/c1)

"To give any man unlimited power, is a greater temptation than ought to be placed before a frail being: at the same time, placing too many checks on rulers is in effect dismembering the body, and destroys its energy of action and of defense, both against foreign enemies and its own evil subjects. So far as we may judge from American experience, a nation of freemen, in modeling their government, are more apt to err in overlimiting than in giving too great scope to the power of rulers—In both cases the consequence is nearly the same; for when the citizens and their constitutional government cannot protect and do justice, they will throw themselves into the hands of some bold usurper, who promises much to them, but intends only for himself; and in this way very many free states have lost their liberties." (p281/c2) "The present constitution of the United States appears to embrace the essential principles both of freedom and energy in national operations; still very little dependence is to be made on this Constitution, as a future safeguard to the American liberties. I would by no means undervalue those systemic productions, which we call the Constitutions of the several States, and of the Union—they express our present ideas of the rulers' power and duty, and the subjects' rights—they are a written basis on which national habits will be formed, and in this way will cherish sentiments of freedom and retard the rise of oppression—on these your children will look as maxims of their fathers' wisdom; but if they have no other protection, the lust of those who have opportunity will undermine their privileges. Every generation must assert its own liberties; and for this the collective body of the people must be informed. A general diffusion of science, in every class of people, is the true cause of that new series of events which have taken place in the United States." (p281/c2)

#### John Adams, Letter XXII, October 26, 1780, Amsterdam

"It was not attachment to men, but to a cause, which first produced, and supported the revolution: It was no attachment to officers, but to liberty, which made the soldiers enlist. Politicians in America can only intrigue with the people: These are numerous and so scattered, that no statesman has any great influence but in his own small circle.... No revolution in America can be accomplished without gaining the majority of the people; and this not all the wealth of Great Britain is able to do, at the expense of their liberties." (p284/c1)

"In 1774, some were apprehensive that the fishermen, sailors, and shipwrights would be idle: But some went into the army, some into the navy, and some went into agriculture; and if there had been twice as many, they would all have found employment." (p284/c1)

#### **Thomas Jefferson and Norfolk**

Norfolk congratulates Jefferson and expresses gratitude for his safe voyage home to America.

[Aldermen and Mayor to Jefferson:] "It is with singular pleasure that we congratulate you on your safe arrival to your native land, returning you our unfeigned thanks for the many eminent services you have rendered the trade of this State during you residence abroad." (p284/c1)

[Jefferson:] "I am happy too that circumstances have led my arrival to a place which I have seen before, indeed, in greater splendor, but which I now see rising, like a Phoenix out of its ashes, to that importance to which the laws of nature destine it.... That my country should be served is the first wish of my heart; I should be doubly happy indeed, were I to render it a service." (p284/c1)

#### Anecdote

"When the President of the United States, in his late tour, was at Lexington, viewing the field where the first blood was shed in the late war; he with a degree of good humour, told his informant, and others that were present, that the Britons complained to Dr. Franklin of the ill usage their troops met with at Lexington battle, by the Yankies getting behind the stone walls, and firing at them; the Doctor replied, by asking them whether there were not two sides to the wall." (p284/c1)

## December 23, 1789 #30020.48

#### The Observer, No. IX

The author acknowledges the concerns of creditors who still have not received the money the national government owes them but urges patience.

"The patriotic creditor, who deposited his property with the public, has the happiness of reflecting that his loss contributed to the safety of millions, and laid the foundation of an empire, in which we hope science and virtue will perpetuate freedom. There have been many
delays, and many things done on the part of the public, which ought not to have been; still you have no reason to despair of national justice. Some there may be who would spunge the whole, and obliviate your claims—these men are of small number, and still less influence they act not from principle , and falsely supposing the measure would be popular, have baulked their own expectations of preferment. As the case is circumstanced, if there were no sense of justice, a principle of policy would support your claim with every considerate man; for to drive to despair two hundred thousand creditors and influential citizens, is an event too great to be hazarded, and might produce worse consequences than the most rigorous payment. Convinced of these facts, the creditors ought not to be too hasty in their expectations from the present government.... If by the adoption, of one general system, both people and creditors may be benefited, every friend of his country will give an influence to complete it." (p289/c2-3)

Ratification of the United States Constitution by North Carolina

*"The Convention of North-Carolina met at Fayetteville, the 1st November, and* after debating the Constitution throughout, the 20th November the question of Ratification was put, and passed in the affirmative—YEAS, 193 / NAYS, 75." (p291/c1)

#### **Reception of Amendments to the Constitution**

"The amendments to the Constitution proposed by Congress to the several states, appear to receive that cordial approbation which does honor to the candor and patriotism of the respective State Legislatures, to whom they have been submitted. If they do not in every respect meet the ideas of those who never liked the Constitution, it ought to be remembered that they are the result of a concession on the part of the majority, who were satisfied with the system in its original form—but from the best motives were induced to acquiesce in amendments to reconcile, if possible, opposition, and to conciliate the doubting." (p291/c3)

# John Adams, Letter XXIV, October 27, 1780, Amsterdam

"Manufactures in general never flourished in America. They were never attended to only by women and children, who could not work in the field, and by men at certain seasons of the year, and at certain intervals of time when they could not be employed in the cultivation of the lands; because that labor upon land, in that country, is more profitable than in manufactures....

"America is the country of raw materials, and of commerce enough to carry them to a good market; but Europe is the country for manufactures and commerce. Thus Europe and America will be blessings, to each other, if some malevolent policy does not frustrate the purposes of nature." (p292/c1)

#### **December 26, 1789** #30020.49 New Constitution of Pennsylvania

"The Representatives shall be chosen annually by the citizens of the city of Philadelphia and of each county in the State respectively, on the Tuesday of October."

"The Representatives from the city of Philadelphia and the several counties shall be in proportion to the number of taxable inhabitants; provided that the number of Representatives shall never be fewer than sixty, nor more than one hundred: But each county shall have, at least, one Representative."

"In elections by the citizens, every freeman of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the State two years next before the days of the elections respectively, and paid taxes within that time, shall enjoy the rights of an elector. The sons of freeholders, of the age aforesaid, shall be entitled to vote, though they have not paid taxes."

"If elections are not properly attended; attendance on them shall be enforced by law."

"A school or schools shall be established in each county for the instruction of youth, and the State shall pay to the masters such salaries as shall enable them to teach at low prices."

"The arts, sciences, and all useful learning shall be promoted in one of more universities."

"Religious societies and corporate bodies shall be protected in their rights, immunities, and estates." (p294/c1-p295/c1)

# John Adams, Letter XXV, October 27, 1780, Amsterdam

"America has gained [from the mutual capture of ships]. She took early, from the English, ordinance [ordnance] and ammunition ships, and supplied herself in that way with those articles when she had them not, and could not otherwise obtain them; she has taken, in this way, a great number of British and German soldiers; she has taken a vast number of seamen, who have generally enlisted on board our privateers; she has taken great quantities of provision, cloathing, arms, and warlike stores; she has taken every year more and more, since, 1775, and will probably continue to take more and more every year, while the war lasts. I have certain intelligence that there have been this year carried into Boston and Philadelphia only, ninety-nine vessels, in the months of July and August. On board of these vessels there were not less than eight hundred seamen: Many of the ships were very rich. The vessels the English have taken from the Americans were full of small value: This year they have taken few in number....

"Privateering is a great nursery for seamen; and if the Americans had not imprudently sacrificed such a number of their frigates and privateers in the attack and defence of places, these alone would, by this time, well nigh have ruined the British commerce, navy, and army." (p296/c1)

John Adams, Letter XXVI, October 27, 1780, Amsterdam

# December 30, 1789 #30020.21

# New Constitution of Pennsylvania (cont.) Declaration of Rights

"That the great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized, and unalterably established, we declare,

"I. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness." (p297/c1)

# North Carolina's Ratification of the Constitution and Proposed Amendments

The Constitution established the United States when New Hampshire voted for ratification on July 21, 1788. Eighteen months to the day later, North Carolina also ratified, albeit with an extensive list of suggested amendments.

"in behalf of the freemen and citizens of North Carolina, this Convention do adopt the Constitution proposed for the government of the United States; the main question was then put, Shall this Convention concur with the report of the committee? The yeas and nays being taken were as follow, viz. Ayes, 193—Noes, 76,--Majority 117." (p297/c3)

"Resolved, unanimously, that it be recommended and enjoined on the Representatives of this State in Congress assembled, to make application to Congress and endeavor to obtain the following amendments to the Constitution for the future government of the United States, agreeable to the second mode proposed by the fifth article of the said Constitution, which, when ratified agreeable to the said article, shall become a part of the Constitution; and that the Executive of this State be directed to transmit a copy of the said amendments to each of the United States." (p297/c3)

"We are now brought to the conclusion of the year Eighty-Nine. What an eventful period has it been! The most sanguine expectations did not anticipate what we now realize. At this time last year we were looking forward with anxious expectation to the organization of the new Government.... A form of government for a various people, and an extended territory, brought into operation with the happiest facility; and organized to the perfect satisfaction of the citizens. Peace, plenty and freedom reign in our borders.... The dreams of anarchy are no more.... Our resources are unfolding; our burthens are diminishing; right principles are taking root, and government is considered in a just point of view—and as he choicest gift of heaven." (p299/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress. The Senate. (p300/c2-3)

#### January 6, 1790 #30021.37

French Revolution (p305/c2-p306/c1)

"Not less than 200,000 families are said to have quitted France on account of her present distracted state; and as the exiles in general were those possessed of the greatest property, they are calculated to have drained the nation of fifty millions of money." (p306/c2)

# Letter by Candidus (Benjamin Franklin)

"For my part, I have always felt interested in the success of our allies in their exertions to obtain a free Constitution, and in saying this, I speak the sentiments of every American revolutionalist.

"The printers through the United States must realize that their interest is connected with publishing the most authentic accounts: However, it is exceedingly difficult for them always to distinguish between those that are fabricated for political purposes, and those that are genuine.... I have been informed that many accounts of inhuman barbarities and murders, published in English papers, have turned out to be entire fabrications." (p307/c3) **January 9, 1790** #30021.38 *"The Federal Oath"* by "A Federalist" (p309/c2-3)

Address of deputation of Jews from Alsace and Lorraine to the French National Assembly

"Every where persecuted, every where despised, and though always held in subjection, never rebellious; among all nations, objects of indignation and contempt, though deserving toleration and pity-the Jews whom we represent at your feet, have ventured to hope, that, in the midst of your important labours, you will not reject their prayers, you will not disdain their complaints; that you will listen with some degree of feeling, to the timid remonstrances which they dare to form in the bosom of that profound humiliation in which they are buried." (p310/c1)

# Washington's First State of the Union Address

Washington urges Congress to establish a uniform rule of naturalization and make provisions for the *"common defence,"* and notes North Carolina's adoption of the Constitution.

"I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity, which now presents itself, of congratulating



you on the present favorable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important state of North-Carolina to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received)—the rising credit and respectability of our country—the general and increasing good-will towards the government of the union, and the concord, peace and plenty, with which we are blessed, are circumstances auspicious, in an eminent degree to our national prosperity....

"Among the many interesting objects, which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

"A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well digested plan is requisite; And their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories, as tend to render them independent on others, for essential, particularly for military supplies....

"Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of Citizens, should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturaliza[tion].... "The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed. And I shall derive great satisfaction from a cooperation with you, in the pleasing though arduous task of ensuring to our fellow citizens the blessings, which they have a right to expect, from a free, efficient and equal government." (p311/c1-2)

# January 13, 1790 #30021.39

Proceedings of Congress (p314/c1-3)

Proceedings of the Legislature of New Hampshire (p315/c1)

Plan for a System of Public Education (p316/c2)

# January 16, 1790 #30021.40

Congress Responds to Washington's First State of Union Speech in Addresses by John Adams, Vice-President of the United Sates and President of the Senate, and Fredrick. A. Muhlenberg, Speaker of the House of Representatives (p318/c2-p319/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p319/c1-2)

Proceedings of New York State Legislature (p319/c2-3)

# January 20 – February 27, 1790 #26551.01

#### Hamilton's Report on Public Credit–Serial Printing and Congressional Debates

Commissioned by Congress on September 21, 1789, to examine the financial standing of the United States and make recommendations, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton presented his First Report on the Public Credit on January 9, 1790. It was the first of four major reports that he submitted on fiscal and economic policy. The report called for full federal payment at face value of all government securities and the assumption and funding of all state debt as well. The report led to a political stalemate in Congress that was resolved by the Compromise of 1790.

Alexander Hamilton laid out seven goals in his Report on Public Credit: restoring public credit, establishing a sound system of taxation, a national bank, and a sound currency, promoting commerce, establishing a liberal immigration policy, and encouraging manufactures. Hamilton brilliantly and counterintuitively urged Congress to assume all remaining state war debts and to pay off the resulting new national debt through a combination of federal taxes and land sales. Southerners opposed the plan, fearing that it would create a dangerous centralization of power and give the North too much financial control.

Most of the debt in question had originally been held by ordinary citizens. Since the end of the Revolutionary War, however, speculators bought these paper notes for pennies on the dollar. The government under the Articles of Confederation had not kept records of the original debt holders, and there was no blockchain technology to help follow it back. Hamilton argued

#### all, and the credulous dupes of fuch characters.

# NEW-YORK, JANUARY 20.

SUMMARY VIEW of the R+ PORT of the SECRE-TARY of the TREASURY, fubmitted to the Hon. House of Reprefentatives of the United States, on Thurfday laft

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THE Report of the Secretary of the Treafury, after premiting, in a forcible manner, the importance of PUBLIC CREDIT, to the charac-ter and profperity of a Nation-the impolicy, as well as the impracticability of making a diffin-tion between the various classes of Public Credi-tors—the obligation which the public are under, either of difcharging the intereft due on the debt, or of funding it, on the fame terms with the principal—and the propriety of affuming the State Debts, not only on the principles of juffice, but in order to facilitate a fair and equitable fettlement of accounts' between the States and the Union, and of preventing that competition in the raifing of Revenue, which would prove either injurious to both, or oppreflive to the people-

propofes, That a Loan fhould be opened for the full a-

nount of the debts, as well of the particular States, as of the Union, upon the following terms, viz. 10. That for every Hundred Dollars fubfori-bed, payable in the debt, (as well Intereft as Principal,) the fubforiber fhould be entitled, to have two thirds funded on an yearly intereft of Six per Cent, (the capital redeemable at the plea-fure of the Government, by payment of the prin cipal,) and to receive the other third in lands of the Western Territory, at the rate of Twenty

the Weltern lerritory, at the rate of I wenty Cents per acre—Or, ad. To have the whole fum funded at a yearly intereft of Four per Cent, irredeem-able by any payment, exceeding Five Dollars per annum, on account both of principal and intereft, and to receive, as a compensation for the reduction of intereft, Fifteen Dollars and Eighty Cents, payable in Lands, as in the preceeding

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ty Cents, payable in Lands, as in the preceeding cafe—Or, 3dly. To have Sixty Six and Two Thirds Dol-lars funded at a yearly intereft of Six per Cent. irredeemable alfo by any payment exceeding Four and Two 1 hirds Dollars per annum, on ac-count both of principal and intereft—and to have at the end of Ten Years, Twenty Six Dollars and Fighty & Eighty Const funded at the like intereft Eighty Eight Cents funded at the like intereft, and rate of redemption-Or

4thly. To have an annuity for the remainder of like, upon the contingency of living to a given age, not lefs diftant than Ten Years, computing intereft at Four per Cent.-Or, sthly. To have an annuity for the remainder of life, on the contingency of the furvivorship of

i. of life, on the contingency of the lurvivorfunp of the youngest of two perfons, computing interest in this case also at Four per Cent. 6thly. In addition to the foregoing Loans, the Secretary proposes a Loan of Ten Millions Dol-lars, payable one half in fpecie, and the other half in the debt, (as well principal as interest,) bearing an interest of Five per Cent. irredeema-ble by any payment exceeding Six Dollars per an-num both of principal and interest. ir on ny ble by any payment exceeding Six Dollars per an-num, both of principal and intereft. And alfo (by way of experiment) a TONTINE, re upon the following principles, viz. THAT the Claffes fhould be Six, compofed ref-metively of perfons of the following ages: Firlt Clafs. Of those of 20 years and under. 2d. do. Of those above 20, and not exceeding the of he

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that paying the debts in full would establish the new nation's credit-worthiness. He wanted to publicize that the system would honor its bills, reward risk, and give the holders of the now-federal debt a stake in the new government's success. His proposal did fuel tensions between those who expected to rise in wealth and those who felt left behind by the new economic reality - which included many disillusioned veterans.

In a deal brokered by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, southern legislators agreed to support Hamilton's Assumption Plan in return for locating the permanent national capital on the banks of the Potomac River. Hamilton still had to work out the details, get his National Bank established, and encourage investment in the new nation. Here, Hamilton anonymously published an address supporting his plan.

Eleven issues from January 20 to February 27, 1790, print the text of Hamilton's "Report of the Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, Relative to a Provision for the Support of the Public Credit of the United States, in Conformity to a Resolution of the Twenty-First Day of September, 1789." (the Feb. 20 paper does not include text from the report, but is included as a twelfth issue as it has related content). This nearly complete set contains January 20, 23, [27 first leaf only, lacking Public Credit part], 30, February 3, [lacking Feb. 6], 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, and 27.

Hamilton's *Report* was published in a highly sought-after pamphlet at the end of January 1790. This newspaper run is equally if not more rare, and includes a great deal of additional content.

# January 20, 1790 part of #26551 **Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton** to the House of Representatives:

"SUMMARY VIEW of the REPORT of the SECRETARY of the TREASURY, submitted to the Hon. House of Representatives of the United States, on Thursday last.

"The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, after premising, in a forcible manner, the importance of PUBLIC CREDIT, to the character and prosperity of a Nation-the impolicy, as well as the impracticability of making a distinction between the various classes of Public Creditors—the obligation which the public are under, either of discharging the interest due on the debt, or of funding it, on the same terms with the principal-and the propriety of assuming the State Debts, not only on the principles of justice, but in order to facilitate a fair and equitable settlement of accounts between the States and the Union, and of preventing that competition in the raising of Revenue, which would prove either injurious to both, or oppressive to the people-proposes,

"That a Loan should be opened for the full amount of the debts, as well of the particular States, as of the Union, upon the following terms...." (p322/c2) "The foreign and domestic debt of the United States, with the arrears of interest, together with the debts of the respective States which are estimated at 25,000,000 dollars principal and interest, form a total of about Eighty Million Dollars—the whole amount of the debt of the United States, after the debts of the individual Governments shall be assumed." (p322/c3)

# **January 23, 1790** part of #26551

Proceedings of Congress. Report of Secretary at War Henry Knox (p326/c2-p327/c2)

Address of the Legislature of Massachusetts to President Washington and his Reply

[Washington:] "In executing the duties of my present important station, I can promise nothing but purity of intentions-and in carrying these into effect, fidelity and diligence; if these under the guidance of a superintending Providence, shall continue to me the approbation and affection of my fellow-citizens of the Union, it will be the highest gratification and the most ample reward that my mind can form any conception of, in this life." (p328/c2)

**January 30, 1790** part of #26551 Extract from Governor Hancock's Speech to the Massachusetts Legislature (p333/c2)

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p336/c1-3)

February 3, 1790 part of #26551

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p340/c1-2)

**February 10, 1790** part of #26551 Letter by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne) (p346/c1-2)

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p348/c1)

# February 13, 1790 part of #26551

Brutus, Letter to "Mr. Adams" on New Hampshire's Adoption of the U.S. Constitution

"How far the spirit of the citizens of New-Hampshire have changed since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, I cannot pretend to say-but the assertion of the President of that State, that their government "has ceased to be a free, "sovereign and independent State" is so alarming, that it ought to put the citizens of every State in the Union, upon the most serious reflection..." (p349/c1-2)

"Memorial of the Hon. Robert Morris, to the Legislature of the United States" (p350/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p350/c2-3 & 351/c1-3)

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p352/c1)

February 17, 1790 part of #26551

French Revolution. *"It now turns out, on proof, exactly as we expected, that that the might and dreadful stories of tumult in Paris- of the streets running in blood, of 12000 being slaughtered-of the King and Queen being beset, &c.&c.- are mere fabrications…"* (p355/c1)

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p356/c1)

#### February 20, 1790 part of #26551

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p357/c1-3 & 358/c1-3 & 359/c1-3)

*Rusticus* [Frederick Call Hans Bruno Baron von Poellnitz], Letter I on Slavery (p360/c1) Baron von Poellnitz (1734-1801) was a German chamberlain in the court of Frederick the Great, of Prussia, before immigrating to North Carolina in 1782. After living for eight years in Manhattan, he exchanged his estate there for a plantation in South Carolina in 1790 and spent the next decade there.

# February 24, 1790 part of #26551

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p361/c2-p363/c1)

James Jackson of Georgia: "Public justice, he observed, has not been done; the soldiers, the original creditors, have not been paid; they have received but 2s. 6d. and there were 20s. due them. Many of those creditors, and the war-worn soldier, are pining in retirement, in the most cruel situations, and condemning the injustice of that country which, in consequence of their exertions, are legislating here this day." (p361/c3)

Benjamin West to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, October 8, 1789

"The bearer of this letter is our ingenious countryman, Mr. John Trumbull, who has resided in London to study painting; and I have the happiness to acquaint you, and his countrymen in general, that thro force of genius, and industry, he has already attained that excellence in painting, which placed him in the first class of men of that profession now living." (p363/c3)

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p364/c1-2)

"The practice of smuggling never fails to have one or two effects, and sometimes unites them both. Either the smuggler undersells the fair trader, as, by saving the duty, he can afford to do, and makes it a charge upon him; or he sells at the increased price occasioned by the duty, and defrauds every man, who buys of him, of what the public ought to receive." (p364/c1)

"The Secretary accordingly proposes,

"That the duties heretofore laid upon wines, distilled spirits, teas and coffee, should, after the last day of May next, cease, and instead of them, the following duties be laid...." (p364/c1)

*Rusticus*, Letter II on Slavery (p364/c2)

# February 27, 1790 part of #26551

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p365/c2-p366/c3)

# Rusticus, Letter III on Slavery

"But when nations have attained a high degree of cultivation, and population, they fell the impropriety to have slaves, and if not compelled by circumstances, they will suffer none; this leads me to consider slaves, on political ground. *"Where slaves are numerous, plots, insurrections and war will be the consequence.... Slaves are a contradiction to the laws of a free government...."* (p367/c2)

"Ode, For the Birth Day of the President By the Rev. Thomas Thornton" (p367/c3)

Report of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton (cont.) (p368/c1-2)

# March 3, 1790 #30021.41

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p369/c2-p370/c3)

Rusticus, Letter IV on Slavery (p372/c1)

# Africanus (a free African American), Response to Rusticus

"Mr. Fenno, I am a sheep-hairy negro, the son of an African man and woman; by a train of fortunate events I was left free, when very young, and by the interposition of the most generous of mankind, I have received a common English school education, and have been instructed in the Christian religion-I am a master of a trade whereby I get a comfortable living: My leisure time I employ in reading, it is my delight, and I am encouraged by several spirited, noble. An generous American freemen, who are pleased to praise me for employing my time so much more rationally (so they say) than most of the white men who are in the same station of life that I am..." (p372/c1-2)

# March 6, 1790 #30021.42

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p373/c1-p374/c3)

Alexander Hamilton, Report on Funds for the Payment of the Interest on the States' Debts, March 4, 1790 (p374/c3-p375/c1)

"Subscription for a Medal of the President of the United States"  $(p_{375}/c_3)$ 

Rusticus, Letter V on Slavery (p376/c1)

# Africanus (a free African American), Response to Rusticus

"After all his pains and trouble to convince the world that from our inferior nature, we black, sheep hairy negroes are marked out for slaves. Rusticus concludes that it is impolitic to keep us so. Then why endeavor to lower us in the eyes of our white brethren? Are we not already sufficiently despised? When my daily work is done, and I put on my Sundays cloaths to fit myself for the converse of those unphilosophic men who patronize me; as I pass through the street how often do I hear—Kye! Massa Mungo! you tinka you buckra; while another curses the damn'd proud negro! These are the sentiments, which the pen of a philosopher is laboring to encourage. If pride must be the consequence of human wisdom, may I still remain in simplicity of heart, a plain, unphilosophic, black, sheep hairy, free citizen of America." (p376/c2)

# March 10, 1790 #30021.43

Commentary on the Bill of Rights; the Census Act (March 10).

# Rusticus, Letter VI on Slavery (p377/c1-2)

"I would propose: That Congress be requested to grant to every free negro man, of family, a tract of land in the district hereafter mentioned [Upper Peninsula of Michigan], proportionate to what they can cultivate, but of no value in trade till occupied by him, his heirs, or those to whom it was granted." (p377/c1) THE ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

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CHARLES CARROLL, of Garrollton, DANIEL CARROLL, THOMASFITZSIMONS,

DOMINICK LYNCH, In Bebalf of the Roman Gatholic Laity.

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"To the United States, colonization will be a triumph; it will be performed within their own territory; it will be a strong frontier establishment, commanding three lakes...."  $(p_{377}/c_2)$ 

"An Act providing for the enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States" (p377/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report.  $(p_{378}/c_{1}-p_{380}/c_{3})$ 

#### March 13, 1790 #30021.44

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p381/c1-p383/c2)

#### Philelutheros, "On The Liberty of The Press"

"Since the invention of the eminently useful Art of Printing, the Press has become a powerful agent in the cause of *liberty.*" (p384/c1)

#### March 17, 1790 #30050.08

Address of Roman Catholics to President Washington, and his Reply

[Washington:] "The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their Country, in the permanent duration of its Freedom and Independence. America, under the smiles of a Divine Providence—The protection of a good Government, and the cultivation of manners, morals and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence, in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home and respectability abroad." (p387/c1)

Philelutheros, "On The Liberty of The Press" (cont.) (p386/c3)

#### March 20, 1790 #30021.45

Proceedings of Congress (p389/c2-p390/c2)

Address of the Intendant and the Wardens of the City of Charleston, SC, to President Washington and his Reply (p390/c3)

Updates on the French Revolution: "The Marquis de laFayette received information of a new conspiracy being formed against the liberties of the people..."  $(p_{391}/c_{2-3})$ 

#### March 24, 1790 #30021.46

Representative James Jackson of Georgia opposes Assumption Plan

"He had as high an opinion of the Secretary's abilities as any man: They were conspicuous: The force of his genius was striking, and his talents in the report were admired, but he was one of those who did not think the Secretary infallible; as long as he possessed human nature, so long would he possess the imperfections and failings of human nature. Ambition, laudable perhaps, to do the utmost for the Union, might lead him too far, and the plan, evidently to him, in its policy, had reference to one of two points: First, that it is extended as an additional ligature to the continent, by detaching the creditors from their dependance on the state governments, and transferring that dependance to the nation; and thereby making it the interest of the remote parts of the Union to support its measures: or. secondly, by this specious method of relieving the States, to remove every pretext for taxation from them, and thereby throw that power entirely into the hands of Congress."  $(p_{393}/c_3)$ 

"Yet those citizens whose property had been thus destroyed, had cheerfully submitted to the payment of the State debt. But would it be justice, after all those losses, and after this

already voluntary contribution, to put our hands again in their pockets, and say, you must pay the debts of Massachusetts and South-Carolina. If those States have not done as they ought—if they have not extinguished their debts, they have themselves to blame for it."  $(p_{394}/c_1)$ 

"I trust that we shall not run ourselves enormously in debt and mortgage ourselves and our children, to give scope to the abilities of any minister on earth to give an opening to shew the talents he possesses of managing taxes and the resources of the burthen he imposes."  $(p_{394}/c_1)$ 

"Mr. Jackson concluded, by saying, that to his mind and agreeably to the reasons he had given, he was convinced the assumption of the State debts was inexpedient, impolitic, and unjust; and he trusted that it would not be adopted." (p394/c1)

Address of Citizens of Albemarle County, VA, to Thomas Jefferson and his Reply:

[Jefferson:] "Gentlemen, The testimony of esteem with which you are pleased to honor my return to my native country, fills me with gratitude and pleasure. While it shews that my absence has not lost me your friendly recollection, it holds out the comfortable hope that when the hour of retirement shall come, I shall again find myself amidst those...whose

# CONGRESS. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. MONDAY, MARCH I, 1790.

N committee of the whole House .- The proposition for alluming the State debts, and the amendments propoled thereto, be-

ing under confideration. MR. JACKSON observed, that he had been, from the introduction of the refolutions before the committee, particularly against the one now in contemplation : That he was opposed to it, not only in its original form, but in every pofible modification it might affume. That his indiposition had prevented his rising benight affume. That his indifpolition had prevented his riling be-fore : That altho many arguments mult have been ufed, which it was impoffible for him to know : His duty compelled him to come forward ; not with an expectation that his fmall abilities could change the fentiments of a fingle member, or that he fhould gain a fingle profelyte; but to fnew the realons for which he op-pofed the measure, and to produce fome facts arifing in the State he reprefented. He confeffed, that if he was in favor of any modification, it was the one which an honorable gentleman from Virginia (Mr. White) had brought forward a few days fince. As he had not been prefent at the former part of the debate, he hoped he had not been prefert at the former part of the debate, he hoped the houfe would indulge him in entering on the original ground, and pointing out the light in which the bufinels appeared to him. The queftion might be viewed on three grounds : if. the ex-pediency; 2d, the policy; and gdly, the juffice of the refolution. It might be expedient; either from the prefing call of the States who might complain of the grievance of their debts; or, it might be arised in the closers of the citizens of the refolution.

who might complain of the greevance of their debts, of it might be expedient from the clamors of the citizens of the refpective States, complaining of the State taxation. On the first point, he believed the States had made no fuch request, and that therefore the expediency on that head was obviated. That he had heard the expediency on that head was obviated. That he had heard indeed, that South-Carolina had made fome kind of application, but that one or two States could not declare the fenfe of the Uniou ; it could be known only by a majority, which did not appear to demand this affumption. That on the contrary he believed a ma-jority of the States were against the proposition, and that North-Carolina had made it an article of amendment, "that Congress should not interfere with the flate debts," and that the voice of North-Carolina, as well as South-Carolina, should be attended to.

m With refpect to individual citizens, no complaints had been made to the houfe; no petitions or infructions had been forward ded to their representatives. Here he would remark, that it was on this latter principle he wished, at a former day, the poliponeid ment of the quellion, that the fense of his conftituents might be known. The wifh of individuals was therefore not afcertained by either method, and he believed that a great majority were for the State debts remaining as they were. That they were fatis-fied with the State taxation by known and accuftomed methods, g

affection is the source of my present happiness. Their favour was the door through which I was ushered on the stage of public life; and while I have been led on through its varying scenes, I could not be unmindful of those who assigned me my first part.

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"My feeble and obscure exertions in their service, and in the holy cause of freedom, have had no other merit than that they were my best. We have all the same. We have been fellow labourers, and fellow-sufferers; and Heaven has rewarded us with a happy issue from our struggles. It rests now with ourselves alone to enjoy in peace and concord the blessings of self-government, so long denied to mankind...." (p395/c2-3)

Address of the Georgia General Assembly to President Washington and his Reply (p396/c1-2)

# March 27, 1790 #30021.47

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p397/c2-p398/c3)

Address of the General-Assembly of Maryland to Washington and his Reply

[Washington:] "When I reflect on the critical situation to which this country has been more than once reduced, I feel a kind of exultation in the character of my countrymen, who have rescued it from threatened ruin by their virtue, fortitude, intelligence and unanimity." (p399/c1)

Address of the Town of Alexandria, VA, to Thomas Jefferson and his Reply

[Jefferson:] "Convinced that the republican is the only form of Government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind, my prayers and efforts shall be cordially contributed to the support of that we have so happily established." (p399/c2)

**May 29, 1790** #30027.34 *Discourses on Davila*, No. VII (cont.), by John Adams (p469/c1-2)

Summary of benefits to Boston of "Dr. Franklin's Will" (p472/c2)

# March 31, 1790 #30021.48

Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p401/c2-p403/c2)

# **April 3, 1790** #30021.49 Proceedings of Congress. Discussion of Hamilton's Report (p405/c2-p407/c2)

# "An Act to Establish a Uniform Rule of Naturalization"

"Be it enacted...That any alien, being a free white person, who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof...." (p408/c1)

With the end of the Revolutionary War, individual states established a variety of naturalization policies. Many of the middle and southern states defined the rights of naturalization in new state constitutions or by statute. New England states relied on private legislation and did not adopt general or public laws of naturalization. The reciprocity built into the Articles of Confederation, ratified in 1781, created a sort of de facto national citizenship that laid the foundation for a national constitutional standard for naturalization.

An Act to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization. B E it enacted by the Senate and Houfe of Repreprefentatives of the United States of America, in Congrefs affembled, That any alien, being a free white perfon, who shall have refided within the limits and under the jurifdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof, on application to any common law court of record, in any one of the States wherein he shall have refided for the term of one year at leaft, and making proof to the fatisfaction of fuch court, that he is a perfon of good character, and taking the oath or affirmation prefcribed by law, to support the constitution of the United States ; which oath or affirmation fuch court fiall administer, and the clerk of fuch court fhall record fuch application, and the procee-ings thereon ; and thereupon fuch perion thall be confidered as a citizen of the United States. And the children of fuch perfon fo naturalized, dwelling within the United States, being under the age of twenty-one years at the time of fuch naturalization. fhall also be confidered as citizens of the United States. And the children of citizens of the United States that may be born beyond fea, or out of the limits of the United States, fhall be confidered as natural born citizens : Provided, That the right of citizenship shall not defcend to perfons whole fathers have never been relident in the United States : Provided alfo, That no perfon heretofore profcribed by any State, shall be admitted a citizen as aforefaid, excent by an act of the legiflature of the State in which fuch perfon was proforibed. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBURG, Speaker of the Houfe of Reprefentatives. JOHN ADAMS, Vice-Prefident of the United States, and Prefident of the Senate. APPROVED MARCH 26th, 1790. GEORGE WASHINGTON, Prefident of the United States. (TRUE COTY) THOMAS JEFFERSON, Scoretary of State.

The Constitution gave Congress the right to determine the process by which the foreignborn could obtain U.S. citizenship. On March 26, 1790, Congress passed this *Act to Establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization*. If "*any common law court of record*" in his or her place of residence were convinced of the applicant's "*good character*," it could administer an oath of allegiance to support the Constitution of the United States and declare the person a citizen of the United States. The residency requirements were largely to avoid the anti-republican threat of absentee landowners in favor of actual settlers.

"Of The Extent and Value of The North-Carlina Cession"

The cession was approximately 24.5 million acres and later became the State of Tennessee.

"This land, or so much of the same as is, or shall be ceded by the Indians, may be immediately sold at half a dollar the acres, in national securities. It is worth that sum in specie." (p408/c2)

# April 7, 1790 #30021.50

Proceedings of Congress. First Part of Speech of Congressman William L. Smith of South Carolina against the memorial of the Quakers to abolish slavery (p409/c3-p411/c1)

"An Act to accept a Cession of the Claims of the State of North Carolina, to a certain District of Western Territory" (p411/c2-3)

#### **April 10, 1790** #30021.51 **Congress Debates Crimes Against the United States and Capital Punishment**

"The clause which enacts that counterfeiting the securities of the United States, or uttering counterfeits knowingly, shall be punished with death, by being hanged, it was moved, should be amended by striking out the words 'punished with death by being hanged,' to admit a less punishment for uttering or passing, than for counterfeiting. The degrees of criminality in the two cases were accurately defined by Mr. Sherman." (p414/c1)

Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts "enlarged on the pernicious consequences of counterfeiting: He considered it as a crime against the most important interests of society— and of a peculiarly malignant tendency in the present and probable situation of the United States. Persons addicted to forgery, are seldom, if ever, reclaimed—the security of the society therefore appears to depend, on a capital punishment. The idea is strengthened when we reflect on the mischief and ruin which have already ensued from forgery." (p414/c1)

Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania "was opposed to the motion— He adverted to the practice and experience of Great Britain—the injurious and fatal consequences to credit which result from Forgery, are considered in England in so serious a point of light, that the Bank pays notes which they know to be counterfeit. Hence the inexorable rigor of the laws of that country in cases of forgery. He could not see so clearly, as some gentlemen appear to, the difference between forging, and simply uttering what is known to be counterfeit—the mischief is not compleated till the forgery is uttered." (p414/c1)

Alexander White of Virginia "observed, that he was opposed in general to inflicting Death, except for murder, or crimes which might terminate in murder; but in the present case, he thought there were degrees of guilt, and the punishment ought to be proportioned. He was moreover opposed to a capital punishment in this case, as he conceived it would tend to prevent convictions."

William Loughton Smith and Aedanus Burke of South Carolina "were opposed to the motion. They severally dilated on the injuries which society was liable to, from the ingenuity of these unprincipled persons—the extreme difficulty of guarding against their depredations rendered it highly expedient they should be cut off.

*"The vote being taken on the motion, it was negatived—and the clause retained."* (p414/c1)

Early in 1790, Senator Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut authored "An Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Against the United States" as chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee. This bill defined crimes such as treason, piracy, counterfeiting, and crimes against the law of nations, as well as other crimes against persons or property committed in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, such as the District of Columbia or federal territories like the Northwest Territory.

Although the bill generated little debate in Congress, this debate over the punishment for creating and circulating (uttering) counterfeit money led to a debate over the seriousness of the crimes and appropriate punishments. On April 30, 1790, Washington signed the bill into law.

# Congressman William L. Smith of South Carolina opposing the memorial of the Quakers against slavery:

"allowing that a practicable scheme of general emancipation could be devised, there can be no doubt that the two races would still remain distinct. It was known from experience that the whites had such an idea of their superiority over the blacks that they never even associated with them; even the warmest friends to the blacks kept them at a distance, and rejected all intercourse with them." (p413/c2)

"In whatever light therefore the subject was viewed, the folly of emancipation was manifest. He trusted these considerations would prevent any further application to Congress on this point, and would so far have weight with the committee as to reject the clause altogether, or at least to declare in plain terms that Congress have no right whatever to manumit the slaves of this country." (p413/c2)

"There were no petitions against slavery from the Southern states, and they were the only proper judges of what was for their interest. The toleration of slavery in the several states was a matter of internal regulation and policy, in which each state had a right to do as she pleased, and no other state had any right to intermeddle with her policy or laws." (p413/c2)

"The Northern states knew that the Southern states had slaves before they confederated with them. If they had such an abhorrence for slavery, why said Mr. Smith, did they not cast us off and reject our alliance? The truth was, that the most informed part of the citizens of the Northern states knew that slavery was so ingrafted into the policy of the Southern states, that it could not be eradicated without tearing up by the roots their happiness, tranquility and prosperity—that if it were an evil, it was one for which there was no remedy, and therefore, like wise men they acquiesced in it: We, on the other hand, knew that the Quaker doctrines had taken such deep root in some of the states that all resistance must be useless: We therefore made a compromise on both sides, we took each other with our mutual bad habits and respective evils, for better for worse; the Northern states adopted us with our slaves, we adopted them with their Quakers." (p413/c3)

*"If then nothing but evil would result from emancipation, under the existing circumstances of the country, why should Congress stir at all in the business, or give any countenance to such dangerous applications."* (p413/c3)

*"If you injure the Southern States, the injury would reach our Northern and Eastern brethren; for the States are links of one chain: if we break one the whole must fall to pieces."* (p414/c1)

On March 16, 17, and 18, 1790, the U.S. House of Representatives resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to discuss the report of the committee to whom was referred the memorials of the Quakers and of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Congressman Smith made his speech in the context of this debate. The *Gazette of the United States* published the summary of Smith's speech in its issues of April 7, 10, and 14.

#### April 14, 1790 #30021.52

#### Patent Act of 1790 Encourages Invention and Protects Inventors

"upon the petition of any person or persons to the Secretary of State, the Secretary for the Department of War, and the Attorney-General of the United States, setting forth, that he, she, or they, hath or have invented or discovered any useful art, manufacture, engine, machine, or device, or any improvement therein not before known or used, and praying that a patent may be granted therefor, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Secretary of State, the Secretary for the Department of War, and the Attorney-General, or any two of them, if they shall deem the invention or discovery sufficiently useful and important, to cause letters-patent to be made out in the name of the United States...and thereupon granting to such petitioner or petitioners, his, her or their heirs, administrators or assigns for any term not exceeding fourteen years, the sole and exclusive right and liberty of making, constructing, using and vending to others to be used, the said invention or discovery...." (p3/c2)

In Aug. of 1787, well into the proceedings of the Federal Convention, James Madison and Charles Pinckney recommended adding the power to issue patents to the draft U.S. Constitution. The delegates agreed without a dissenting vote. The clause appears in Article 1, Section 8, charging Congress with the promotion of "the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." Congress passed the first Patent Act on April 10, 1790. It gave complete power to grant patents to a board consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General. As Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson personally examined all applications and approved only 57 patents under the 1790 Act, in part because of his strict interpretation of the requirement for originality and practicality.

The second Patent Act, approved on February 21, 1793, charged the Secretary of State with issuing a patent to any applicant who complied with a set of prescribed formalities, swore his invention was original, and paid a fee. It also allowed patents not only for new inventions but also for any "new and useful improvement" to an existing product, a definition that remains to this day.

Proceedings of Congress, including the conclusion of a speech by Congressman William Loughton Smith of South Carolina in opposition to an anti-slavery petition by Quakers (p417/c3-419/c1)

Report of Revolutionary naval hero John Paul Jones still in the service of Russian Empress Catherine II though others intrigued against him. (p420/c2)

#### April 21, 1790 #30021.53

*Aristides* (Edmund Randolph) on the motto "*Admiration and acquaintance are incompatible*." (p425/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p425/c3-p426/c2)

# Thomas Jefferson, Report on Proposal for Copper Coinage

"Coinage is peculiarly an attribute of sovereignty; to transfer its exercise into another country, is to submit it to another sovereign." (p428/c1)

"He is therefore of opinion on the whole— That a mint, whenever established, should be established at home.... And in the mean while he is of opinion, the present proposals should be declined." (p428/c1)

# April 24, 1790 #30021.54 Congress Learns of the Death of Benjamin Franklin; James Madison Introduces Resolution

"The house being informed of the decease of Benjamin Franklin, a citizen whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his county, do resolve, as a mark of the veneration due to his memory, that the members wear the customary badge of mourning for one month." (p14/c3)

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 22.

Reports on fundry memorials and petitions from the Secretary at War were read.

Mr. MADISON made the following motion: Mr. Speaker As we have been informed not only through the channel of the newfpapers but by a more direct communication, of the deceafe of an illuftrious character, whofe native genius has rendered diftinguifhed fervices to the caufe of feience and of mankind in general; and whofe patriotic exertions have contributed in a high degree to the independence and profperity of this country in particular—the occafion feems to call upon us to pay fome, tribute to his memory expressive of the tender veneration his country fee for fuch diftinguifhed merit—I therefore move the following refolution:

"The house being informed of the decease of BENJA-MIN FRANKLIN, a citizen whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to fcience, to freedom, and to his country, do resolve, as a mark of the veneration due to his memory, that the members wear the customary badge of mourning for one month."

On the question, this motion passed without a division.

Mr. PARTRIDGE brought in a bill for allowing compensation to John Ely, which was read a first time.

Mr. GILMAN of the committee of enrolment, reported that the committee had examined the bill entitled an act for the punifhment of certain crimes against the United States; whereupon, the speaker signed the faid bill.

In committee of the whole on the report of the Secretary of the Treafury, Mr. Sherinan's refolutions were again read, and an interesting debate enfued but no decision took place. Detailed Account of Franklin's Final Days, by his attending physician (p16/c1-2)

Letter by Americanus (Sylvanus Bourne)

"The free use of the press is the birth-right of an American, which he will not consent to dispose of for a mess of pottage; it is the fan which kindled the spark of liberty in this country, which is fast spreading over all Europe, and bids fair to illuminate the world" (p13/c1-2)

French Revolution. Essay on the importance of a national debt, translated from the French *Leyden Gazette*, bringing the latest news from Europe, including an account of the abolition of religious orders by the National Assembly of France. (p15/c1-p16/c2)

# April 28, 1790 #30021.55

#### The Tablet, No. CIX. "Dr. Franklin."

"By his death one of the best lights of the world may be said to be extinguished. I shall not attempt any historical details of the life of this illustrious patriot and philosopher, as I have nothing further in view than to make a few comments upon the most striking traits of his character.

"Original genius was peculiarly his attribute. The native faculties of his mind qualified him to penetrate into every science; and his unremitted diligence left no field of knowledge unexplored. There were no limits to his curiosity. His enquiries were spread over the whole face of nature....

"But whatever claims to eminence Dr. Franklin may have, as a politician or a scholar, there is no point of light in which his character shines with more lustre, than when we view him as a man or a citizen. He was eminently great in common things. Perhaps no man ever existed, whose life can with more justice be denominated useful. Nothing ever passed through his hands without receiving improvement; and no person ever went into his company without gaining wisdom. His sagacity was so sharp, and his science so various, that whatever might be the profession or occupation of those with whom he conversed, he could meet every one upon their own ground. He could enliven every conversation with an anecdote, and conclude it with a moral....

"A man so wise, and so amiable could not but have many admirers, and many friends." (p433/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress, including a proposal by Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania to enact the domestic Whiskey Tax proposed by Hamilton. (p435/c1-3)

When Congress passed such an act in January 1791, it led to the domestic Whiskey Rebellion that challenged the authority of the new federal government.

Discourses on Davila by John Adams (p436/c1-2)

#### Order of Franklin's Funeral Procession

"The concourse of spectators was greater than ever was known on a like occasion. It is computed that not less than 20,000 persons attended and witnessed the funeral. The order and silence which prevailed, during the Procession, deeply evinced the heartfelt sense, entertained by all classes of citizens, of the unparalleled virtues, talents, and services of the deceased." (p436/c2)

#### May 1, 1790 #30021.56

Address of the General-Assembly of Virginia to Washington and his Reply (p438/c3-p439/c1)

Discourses on Davila by John Adams (p440/c2-3)

#### May 5, 1790 #30021.57

Proceedings of Congress. Debate over Hamilton's Assumption Plan.

William Loughton Smith of South Carolina: "*if they are to be paid, and that is admitted on all sides, than I am clear it will be more easy for Congress to pay them than the states, it will be require less money to be levied on the people.*" (p441-442)

#### French Revolution.

"The Marquis and Marchioness de Favras were apprehended on the night of the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>. They were accused of setting foot a plot to assassinate M. Neckar, the Marquis de la Fayette, and M. Bailly, to fill Paris with armed people, carry off the King, &c...." (p441/c1)

After the overthrow of King Louis XVI, there was a royalist plot supposedly led by Thomas de Mahy, Marquis de Favras, to assassinate three prominent Revolutionary figures, rescue the royal family, and lay siege to Paris. Authorities apprehended both Favras and his wife before the alleged plot could be carried out. Though evidence against Favras was notably weak, he was executed on February 18, 1790.

# Native Americans attacks along Ohio River

"We are sorry to remark, says a correspondent, that the accounts from Kentucky, and the danger in going down the river, are very alarming: It appears evident that the Indians are determined on hostilities, and though they are not seen in large bodies, yet the great number of small parties which keep continually watching the river bank, and cutting off the frontier inhabitants.. .seems rather to threaten the people of Kentucky with a very troublesome summer." (p443/c2).

**May 8, 1790** #30021.58"An Act for Regulating the Military Establishment of the United States" (Standing army to fight Indians and protect Western frontier) (p445/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p445/c2-p447/c1)

Marriage of Secretary to the President Tobias Lear to Polly Long (p447/c3)

# May 12, 1790 #30021.59

The first statute defining Federal crimes: "An Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Against the United States" (p449/c1-p450/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p450/c2-p451/c2)

Appointment of Isaac Roosevelt (Ancestor of FDR and Theodore Roosevelt) as President of the Bank of New York (p451/c3)

News of Appointment of Tench Coxe as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (p451/c3)

*Discourses on Davila*, No. IV, by John Adams (p452/c1)

# May 15, 1790 #30021.60

"An Address to the Creditors of the United States" (p453/c1-2)

*Discourses on Davila*, No. IV (cont.), by John Adams (p453/c2-p454/c1)

# "Jewish Anecdote."

"In a Coffee-House near Leadenhall-Street, where the Priestian controversy became the topic of conversation, an Israelite, whose lungs merely were much too strong for his antagonist, after the former had retired, was pluming himself up on his prowess in defeating him, &c. and with an air of éclat asked another Israelite



if he had not served the Philistine right? Most certainly you have, replied he; and if ever I have an engagement with any of them, I should be much obliged to you for your jaw-bone." (p454/c3)

Proceedings of Congress (p455/c1-3)

Details of Benjamin Franklin's Will (p455/c3)

# **May 19, 1790** #30021.61

Proceedings of Congress (p457/c1-p459/c3)

# "Notices of Dr. Franklin"

"His funeral was as crowded as at the entry of Gen. Washington; all seemed as if they had lost a parent, or a friend, and such indeed he was to more than the world knew.... His life was more governed by reason, than that of any person we have heard of—and he was an example to others of what he wished them to be. His fortune was the effect of Industry and Savingness; not of Avarice or desire of Wealth, but from a strong principle of practical economy, as the necessary part of a good citizen, and a necessary principle to make a State thrive." (p458/c3)

"It was his happy talent to draw instruction from every thing. He died, as he lived, doing good." (p458/c3)

Discourses on Davila, No. V, by John Adams (p460/c1-2)

**May 22, 1790** #30021.62 *Discourses on Davila*, No. VI, by John Adams (p461/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p463/c1-2)

"The President of the United States continues to recover his health very rapidly." (p463/c3)

# May 26, 1790 #30021.63

The Tablet, No. CXVII. Aristides (Edmund Randolph), "For The Tablet" (p465/c1-2)

Discourses on Davila, No. VII, by John Adams (p465/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p465/c3-p467/c2)

Poem mourning the death of Benjamin Franklin (p467/c2)

"The President of the United States is so far recovered that he rode out in his carriage on Monday last." (p467/c3)

June 2, 1790 #30021.29

Discourses on Davila, No. VIII, by John Adams (p473/c1)

Donation by Benjamin Franklin to his native town of Boston (p473/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p473/c3, p474/c3-p475/c2)

"An Act for the Government of the Territory of the United States, South of the Ohio" (p474/c2-3)

"Adoption of the Constitution by the State of Rhode-Island" (p475/c2-3)

On May 29, a Rhode Island convention ratified the U.S. Constitution by a vote of 34 to 32. Rhode Island was the last of the original thirteen states to ratify the Constitution.

# June 5, 1790 #30021.30

First Federal Copyright Law. "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned." (p478/c2-3)

Discourses on Davila, No. VIII (cont.), by John Adams (p477/c1-3)

Address of the Society of the Cincinnati to President Washington and his Reply (p478/c1-2)

# June 9, 1790 #30021.09

Ratification by Rhode Island

"Under these impressions, and declaring that the rights aforesaid cannot be abridged or violated, and that the explanations aforesaid are consistent with the said Constitution, and in confidence that the amendment hereafter mentioned with receive an early and mature consideration, and speedily become a part thereof: We, the said Delegates, in the name and in the behalf of the People of the State of Rhode Island...do, by these presents, ASSENT TO and RATIFY the said Constitution." (p481/c2) [Suggested Amendments] "1. That the several State-Legislatures shall have the power to recall their federal Senators and to appoint others in their stead.

*"2. That Congress shall not erect any Company of Merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.* 

"3. That Congress shall have the power of establishing a universal rule of inhabitancy, or settlement of the poor, throughout the United States.

*"4. That whenever two members of either House shall on any question call for the yeas and nays, the same shall be entered on the journals of the respective Houses."* (p481/c2)

# Proceedings of Congress. Debate on Tonnage (cont.)

Madison's motion: "That from and after the day of next the tonnage of all such vessels be raised to , and from and after the day of next, no such vessels be permitted to export from the United States any manufactured article the growth or produce of." (p481/c2)

Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania "said he very much doubted the policy of adopting this proposition; he thought it an experiment of two [too] bold a complexion considering the recent establishment of the government and the present situation of the commerce of this country; he thought we were not prepared to hazard the consequences which may result from the operation of a system which would grow out of so great a change in our commercial affairs. – Its present operation would only be to raise the price of imports." (p481/c2-3)

Thomas Hartley of Pennsylvania: "I can say for myself, I feel no enmity toward Great Britain, so long as she treats this country with the justice and respect due to a nation: but she seems indirectly, nay, I might almost say directly by her policy and regulations, to attack our ship-building, navigation and commerce, and wishes to injure our interests and our property."

William Loughton Smith of South Carolina "thought it highly impolitic to enter into a commercial warfare with Great Britain. We ought not to condemn her for following her usual policy in her navigation laws; they are not particularly aimed at us; her navigation act was originally aimed at the Dutch. We have not heard of any alteration particular against this country, and therefore we have no room for being displeased. Whenever she finds her advantage, she will propose a commercial treaty, perhaps now, at the present time, it may be contemplating." (p481/c3)

#### Speech by Massachusetts Governor John Hancock, June 3, 1790

"Having formed our governments and established our independency, we sit down quietly and peaceably, to enquire into, and to perform those duties, which may be reasonably expected from us in our tranquil situation. And I am very happy to inform you, that the business of our meeting is principally confined to the devising ways and means for answering the just demands of our public creditors—making such additional laws as may be necessary to mark out the paths of distributive justice—to adopt such measures as may facilitate the settlement of the uncultivated parts of the State—and to devise ways for promoting useful knowledge, and for inculcating those virtues which are the only solid foundation of public and private felicity.

"Many of the citizens of this Commonwealth, while the country was pressed on every side by danger and distress, freely loaned their property to the public safety: And had the most solemn assurances for a re-payment with interest. Others ventured their lives in the war for our defense, and received the public faith pledged for a compensation, when the war should be terminated. The eyes of these creditors are now upon us for justice: And the sufferings of the widow and orphan demand our attention." (p483/c1)

June 12, 1790 #30021.22

Discourses on Davila, No. IX (cont.), by John Adams (p485/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p485/c3-p486/c1, p486/c3-p487/c1)

News of the death "of a fever, in the 73d year of his age, that justly celebrated Hero, Patriot, and Philanthropist, ISRAEL PUTNAM, Esq. Major-General in the late Continental army." (p486/c2)

Poem mourning the death of Benjamin Franklin (p487/c1)

#### June 16, 1790 #30021.23

Discourses on Davila, No. X, by John Adams (p489/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p490/c1-p491/c1)

#### **June 19, 1790** #27831

#### George Washington to the Hebrew Congregation (Mickve Israel) of Savannah

"I rejoice that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth; and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive. Happily, the people of the United States have, in many instances exhibited examples worthy of imitation....

"May the same wonder-working Deity, who, long since delivering the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, planted them in the promised land—whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation—still continue to water them with the dews of Heaven...." (p494/c2-3)

Includes the Congregation's May 6, 1789, address to Washington by Levi Sheftall (p494/c2)

Proceedings of Congress. Debate over assumption of state debts (p493/c3-494/c1)

"The bill to authorize the purchasing of West-Point was read the second and third time—and passed." (p494/c3)

*Discourses on Davila*, No. X (cont.), by John Adams (p496/c1-2)

June 23, 1790 #30021.24



"N.W." [Noah Webster], "On MEANS of PRESERVING the UNION of the AMERICAN STATES" (p497/c1)

Discourses on Davila, No. XI, by John Adams (p497/c2)

"Eulogium, By Dr. Albigence Waldo, Delivered at the grave of the late General ISRAEL PUTNAM." (p497/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p497/c3-p499/c1)

June 26, 1790 #30021.35

"Address of the National Assembly to the People of France" (p501/c1-2)

Discourses on Davila, No. XI (cont.), by John Adams (p501/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p501/c3-p502/c1, p503/c2-3)

"An act to establish the Judicial Courts of the United States...within the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations..." (p502/c2)

"Mr. Jonathan Hartop, an extraordinary instance of longevity, is still living at Aldborough, in Yorkshire. He is now 137 years old, being born in 1653, and perfectly remembers the great fire of London, in 1666." (p502/c3)

**June 30, 1790** #30022.48 "Address of the National Assembly to the People of France" (cont.) (p505/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p505/c3-p507/c2)

"The New Constitution of the State of South-Carolina" (p508/c1)

July 3, 1790 #30022.09

"Address of the National Assembly to the People of France" (cont.) (p509/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress. Debate on assumption of state debts. (p509/c2-511/c1)

"A message was received from the President of the United States, with the copy of an Act of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, for ratifying certain articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States." (p510/c2)

*"The New Constitution of the State of South-Carolina"* (cont.) (p512/c1)

# July 7, 1790 #30022.10

"Address of the National Assembly to the People of France," (cont.) (p513/c2-514/c1)

Discourses on Davila, No. XII, by John Adams (p513/c1-2)

"An Act providing the Means of intercourse between the United States and foreign nations" (p514/c2)

"Character of the King of Sweden"

"This Monarch is generally allowed to be one of the most amiable and popular princes in Europe. He has a particular gift to gain the heart of every one." (p514/c3) Proceedings of Congress. (p515/c2-3)

"The New Constitution of the State of South-Carolina" (cont.), Articles 2-7 (p516/c1)

# **July 10, 1790** #30022.26 "Anecdote of Dr. Franklin"

"A GENTLEMAN remarkable for his aversion to revealed religion, some time ago, in a large company, among whom was Dr. Franklin, indulged himself in a number of remarks dishonorable to the Christian faith, and warmly opposed all who defended it: when, turning to the Doctor, he appealed to him for the truth of his assertions. That good old man made this laconic wise reply: 'IT IS SAFEST TO BELIEVE.' This declaration, considered as the mature decision of one of the most enlightened sages, after upwards of fourscore years experience in the learned and active world, is of no little weight in the scale of human opinion, on the most important question in the universe." (p520/c3)

# French Revolutionary Army

"In the session of this day when the Abbe de Montesquieu was declared for the second time President of the Assembly, the following articles, respecting the organization of the army, were decreed.

"Article 1. The King is the Supreme Chief of the army.

"Art. 2. The army is essentially designed to fight against the enemies of the country. "Art. 3. No body of foreign troops can be introduced into the kingdom, nor admitted into the service of the State, but by virtue of a legislative body, seconded by the King...." (p517/c1)

Proceedings of Congress. (p519/c1-3)

*"The New Constitution of the State of South Carolina"* (cont.), Articles 8-11 (p520/c1)

# July 14, 1790 #30022.44

Proceedings of Congress. Residence Bill. (p521/c2-523/c1)

Discourses on Davila, No. XIV, by John Adams (p523/c2-3)

"A BILL more effectually to provide for the national defense by establishing a uniform Militia throughout the United States" (p524/c1-2)

This bill "has been reported by a committee appointed for the purpose; after being read in the House, it was ordered to be printed—and it is understood that it shall be laid over to the next session, in order that the public sentiment may be obtained on the subject." (p524/c1)

[**July 17, 1789** #30022.31 (described in main catalog)] The Residence Act: Jefferson's Quid pro Quo for Accepting Hamilton's Plan

# July 21, 1790 #30022.13

"Instructions for the Colonies, presented to the National Assembly, the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1790" (p529/c2-530/c1)

"An ACT further to provide for the payment of the Invalid PENSIONERS of the United States" (p530/c2)

Proceedings of Congress. Residence Bill. (p530/c2-3)

"A BILL more effectually to provide for the national defense, by establishing a uniform Militia throughout the United States" (cont.) (p532/c1)

"The Whistle – A True Story, Written by Dr. Franklin, to his Nephew" (p532/c2-3)

**July 24, 1790** #30022.14 *Discourses on Davila*, No. XV (cont.), by John Adams (p533/c1-2)

*"Instructions for the Colonies, presented to the National Assembly, the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1790"* (cont.) (p533/c3-p534/c1)

Proceedings of Congress. (p534/c2-p535/c1)

Address of Convention of South Carolina to Washington and his response

[South Carolina:] "Independence had been established, but the arduous task of internal legislation still remained, and the United States were yet to establish upon the firmest basis that station amongst the nations of the earth, which they had of right assumed; called upon for this sacred purpose, you have listened, Sir, to the voice of your country—you have given a further proof of your never failing attachment to her interests, and we can only hope, in the warmest wishes which we form for the good of the public weal, that your administration in the office of President of the United States may be as prosperous as your acceptance of it has been honorable and patriotic." (p536/c1)

[Washington:] "Flattering as it must have been to me to find the extraordinary unanimity of the people of the United States, in placing me at the head of their federal republic, I am still more pleased with the recollection of the manly conduct on their part, which, in the issue of an arduous struggle, put them in a condition to enjoy the blessings of a free government." (p536/c1)

"An ACT imposing Duties on the Tonnage of Ships or Vessels" (p536/c2)

# July 28, 1790 #30022.52

Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers to President George Washington and his response

[Association:] "Pleased with the establishment of a firm government, we are happy in thus having it in our power to express our sentiments of regard and attachment to the President of the Union, and our determination, as far as in us lies, to support the constitution and laws of the United States." (p538/c2)

[Washington:] "The accession of the State of Rhode-Island to the General Government, which has again completed our Union, is, indeed, an event that affords me singular satisfaction. For your favourable sentiments respecting myself, as well as for your determination to support the constitution and laws of the United States, I return you my thanks." (p538/c2)

Georgia Governor Edward Telfair to Alexander McGillivray, January 8, 1790

"The favorable representations I have had of your disposition to suppress violence and restore peace and confidence between the people of Georgia, and the Creek Indians, have induced me to open a correspondence with you, not with a design to enter into the merit or demerit of past transactions, farther than the restoration of property belonging to the people of this State—something of this nature I trust will be agreed to, and complied with, as far as the nature of the case will by any means admit—and also that every species of future depredation be withheld. If a conduct of this nature, and more particularly a strict observance of peace and good order in future, be fully ratified and duly observed, it will give the government of this State an operation to put in practice the wish and desire of the great body of the people thereof, I mean a return of mutual confidence." (p538/c3)

# Alexander McGillivray to Edward Telfair, March 30, 1790:

"as a peace was not concluded on between us at the Rock Landing meeting, your demand for property taken by our warriors from off the disputed lands, cannot be admitted. We also have had our losses by captures made by your people. We are willing to conclude a peace with you, but you must not expect extraordinary concessions from us. In order to spare the further effusion of human blood, and to finally determine the war, I am willing to concede in some measure, if you are disposed to treat on the ground of mutual concession." (p538/c3)

# Editorial on Assumption of State Debts:

"If the peace and tranquility of the United States depended on the assumption of the State debts. If the operations of the general government were liable to insuperable difficulties in case of non-assumption, and if distributive and impartial justice was absolutely suspended on the affirmative of this question. The sacrifices of public time and treasure, occasioned by endeavours to surmount and obviate the objections to this measure, are but as a drop to the ocean, compared to the solid, substantial, enduring and encreasing advantages derived to the whole people from the assumption. From this moment, the face of public affairs assumes a new, a vigorous, and animated aspect—unlimited confidence is restored in the Councils of the Union—and having one great object, the perfecting our whole finances—commerce, arts and agriculture will receive a spring hitherto unknown." (p539/c3)

Discourses on Davila, No. XVI, by John Adams (p537/c1-2)

"Instructions for the Colonies, presented to the National Assembly, the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1790" (cont.) (p537/c2-538/c1)

Proceedings of Congress. Amendments to Hamilton's Funding and Assumption Bill (p539/c2)

Alexander Hamilton, Request for proposals to supply rations for the Western army in 1791. (p540/c3)

# July 31, 1790 #30022.16

Discourses on Davila, No. XVI (cont.), by John Adams (p541/c1-2)

"Instructions for the Colonies, presented to the National Assembly, the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1790" (cont.) (p541/c2-3)

Alexander Hamilton, Report on the "formation of a plan for the disposition of the vacant lands of the United States" (p541/c3-542/c1)

Proceedings of Congress. Debate on the assumption of state debts. (p542/c1-p543/c1)

"Mr. Steele of the committee appointed to examine into the proceedings of the several States on the subject of the Amendments proposed by Congress to the Constitution of the United States, reported...that it appears the first article has been agreed to by six States—the second by five—and all the others by eight." (p542/c3) *"An ACT providing for holding a Treaty or Treaties to establish Peace with certain Indian Tribes,"* appropriating an additional \$20,000 for expenses of negotiating treaties. (p544/c1)

*"An ACT to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes,"* prohibiting unlicensed trade with the Native Americans. (p544/c1)

[August 7, 1790 #30022.27 (described in main catalog)] The four laws enacting Hamilton's Assumption Plan, passed by Congress

August 11, 1790 #30022.54

Discourses on Davila, No. XVII (cont.), by John Adams (p553/c1-2)

John Courtenay, "Philosophical Reflections on the late Revolution in France, and the Conduct of the Dissenters in England, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley" (p553/c3)

"An ACT to continue in force for a limited time, an Act, intituled An Act for the temporary establishment of the Post-Office" (p554/c1)

Proceedings of Congress. (p555/c1-2)

Convention of the Universal Church to President George Washington and his reply.

[Washington:] "It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find, that, in our nation, however different are the sentiments of the citizens on religious doctrines, they generally concur in one thing: For their political professions and practices are almost universally friendly to the order and happiness of our civil institutions." (p556/c1)

Alexander Hamilton, Request for proposals to supply rations for the Western army in 1791. (p556/c3)

[August 14, 1790 #30022.28 (described in main catalog)] The four laws enacting Hamilton's Assumption Plan, passed by Congress (cont.)

# August 18, 1790 #30022.72

Discourses on Davila, No. XVIII, by John Adams (p561/c1-2)

John Courtenay, "Philosophical Reflections on the Late Revolution in France, and the Conduct of the Dissenters in England; in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley" (p561/c2-562/c1)

"An act to enable the Officers and Soldiers of the Virginia line on Continental Establishment, to obtain titles to certain lands, lying northwest of the river Ohio, between the little Miami and Sciota," August 10, 1790 (p562/c2-3)

Proceedings of Congress. Continued debate on the assumption of state debts by the federal government. (p564/c1-2)

[August 21, 1790 #30022.29 (described in main catalog)] The four laws enacting Hamilton's Assumption Plan, passed by Congress (cont.)

August 25, 1790 #30022.20

Discourses on Davila, No. XVIII (cont.), by John Adams (p569/c1-2)

"M. Mirabeau rose, and made a funeral panegyric on Dr. Franklin. " 'Franklin is dead—the man who emancipated America,—the Sage who was the ornament of the two worlds." (p570/c1)

"An Act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to finish the Light-House, on Portland-Head, in the District of Maine," August 10, 1790. (p571/c1)

"On Sunday last The President of the United States returned to this city from Rhode-Island." (p571/c2)

Proceedings of Congress. Continued debate on the assumption of state debts. (p572/c1-2)

[August 28, 1790 #30022.30 (described in main catalog)] The four laws enacting Hamilton's Assumption Plan, passed by Congress (cont.)

# **September 1, 1790** #30022.74 Alexander Hamilton, "Address to the Public Creditors. By A Friend"

"It is probable that many of you are not sufficiently apprised of the advantages of your own situation, and... you may be tempted to part with your securities much below their true value, and considerably below what it is probable they will sell for in eight or nine months from this time.

"To guard you against an unnecessary sacrifice of your interests by a precipitate sale, I will now state to you, in a plain and concise way, what has been done for you in the course of the last session of Congress, and what you may reasonably expect.

"Effectual provision has been made for actually paying you six per cent. yearly, on two thirds of the principal of your debt, that is, 4 per cent. on the whole amount of your principal. And at the end of ten years you are to receive six per cent. yearly on the remaining third of your principal, that is, two per cent. more on the whole of your principal. And like effectual provision has been made, for actually paying you three per cent. yearly on whatever arrears of interest may be due to you on your principal.... To secure this to you, the duties which have been



laid on goods imported, and on the tonnage of ships or vessels... are absolutely mortgaged to you till the whole of your debt is discharged." (p579/c1)

"These remarks are intended to satisfy you, that there is no cause, from any thing that has happened for a diminution, but on the contrary much reason for an increase of your confidence in the property you possess, as holders of the public debt." (p579/c1)

John Courtenay, "Philosophical Reflections on the Late Revolution in France, and the Conduct of the Dissenters in England; in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley" (cont.) (p577/c1-2)

Discourses on Davila, No. XIX, by John Adams (p578/c1)

*"EXTRACT from the EULOGIUM on the late Dr. CULLEN. By his pupil, Dr. BENJAMIN RUSH, of Philadelphia"* (p577/c3

Washington's departure from New York City for Mount Vernon (p579/c2)

"The public were...informed in the Massachusetts Centinel, that a Bust of the President of the United States had been executed by Mr. Gullager of Boston in Plaister of Paris; this statue, the first of its kind ever produced in the United States, is now in this city...." (p579/c2).

"Notice. All persons having demands against the Household of the PRESIDENT of the United States are requested to exhibit their accounts for settlement, at his late Dwelling in Broad-Way, before the 15<sup>th</sup> of September." (p579/c3)

Proceedings of Congress. (p580/c1-2)

#### September 4, 1790 #30022.85

Discourses on Davila, No. XIX (cont.), by John Adams (p581/c1)

"An Act for the relief of persons therein mentioned or described," August 11, 1790 "And be it further enacted, That the widow or orphan of each officer, noncommissioned officer or soldier who was killed or died whilst in the service of the United States...entitled to a pension...shall receive a certificate therefor in like manner...." (p581/c2)

# George Washington to the Freemen of Newport, R.I. (with their address, Aug. 19):

"Although I am not ignorant how much the worthy inhabitants of this town have been injured in their circumstances by their patriotic sufferings and services; yet I must be allowed to say, that nothing on their part has been wanting to convince me of their affection to myself, and attachment to the government over which I am appointed to preside.

"I request, gentlemen, you will be persuaded that I take a due interest in your particular situation; and that I join with you in anticipating the happy period, when, in our country at large, commerce, arts, manufactures and agriculture, shall attain the highest degree of improvement." (p584/c2)

**George Washington to the Clergy of Newport, R.I.** (with their address to him, Aug. 19): "I am inexpressibly happy, that, by the smiles of divine Providence, my weak but well-meant endeavors to serve my country have hitherto been crowned with so much success, and apparently

given such satisfaction to those in whose cause they were exerted. The same benignant influence, together with the concurrent support of all real friends to their country, will still be necessary to enable me to be in any degree useful to this numerous and free people, over whom I am called to preside." (p584/c2)

# September 8, 1790 #30022.22

John Courtenay, "Philosophical Reflections on the Late Revolution in France, and the Conduct of the Dissenters in England; in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley" (cont.) (p585/c1-3)

*Discourses on Davila*, No. XIX (cont.), by John Adams (p586/c1)

# **George Washington to the Inhabitants of Providence, R.I.** (with their address, Aug. 20)

"As, under the smiles of Heaven, America is indebted for freedom and independence rather to the joint exertions of the citizens of the several States, in which it may be your boast to have borne no inconsiderable share, than to the conduct of the Commander in Chief—so is she indebted for their support rather to a continuation of those exertions, than to the prudence and ability manifested in the exercise of the powers delegated to the President of the United States." (p588/c1)

# **George Washington to the Corporation of Rhode-Island College** (with their address, Aug. 19):

"While I cannot remain insensible to the indulgence with which you regard the influence of my example, and the tenor of my conduct, I rejoice in having so favorable an opportunity of felicitating the State of Rhode-Island on the co-operation I am sure to find in the measure adopted by the guardians of literature in this place, for improving the morals of the rising generation, and inculcating upon their minds principles peculiarly calculated for the preservation of our rights and liberties. You may rely on whatever protection I may be able to afford, in so important an object as the education of our youth." (p588/c1-2)

#### September 11, 1790 #30022.02

"An Act to provide more effectually for the Collection of the Duties imposed by Law on Goods, Wares and Merchandize imported into the United States, and on the Tonnage of Ships or Vessels," August 4, 1790 (p589/c1-p590/c1) (continued in next six issues)

#### "Character of Dr. Franklin," Political Magazine (London). (p590/c1-2)

Sketch of Proceedings of the National Assembly of France "*M. Houdon, a celebrated artist, presented to the Assembly, the busts of Washington and Franklin. The Members were much pleased with this mark of his respect, and appointed the president to express him their satisfaction ..."* (p590/c2-3).

Discourses on Davila, No. XIX (cont.), by John Adams (p592/c1-2)

#### King David's Masonic Lodge, Newport, RI, Address to Washington and his Reply

"With unspeakable pleasure, we gratulate you as filling the Presidential Chair, with the applause of a numerous and enlightened people—whilst at the same time, we felicitate ourselves in the honor done the Brotherhood, by your many exemplary virtues, and emanations of goodness proceeding from a heart worthy of possessing the ancient mysteries of our Craft, being persuaded that the wisdom and grace, with which Heaven has endowed you, will ever square all your thoughts, words and actions by the eternal laws of honor, equity and truth; so as to promote the advancement of all good works, your own happiness, and that of mankind. Permit us then, illustrious Brother, cordially to salute you, with Three times Three, and to add our fervent supplications, that the Sovereign Architect of the Universe may always en-compass you with his holy protection." (p592/c2)

Moses Seixas (1744-1809) was the Worshipful Master of the King David's Lodge and signed the document, which he also likely wrote and presented to Washington on Aug. 18, 1790, in Newport.

Washington's Response: "I receive the welcome which you give me to Rhode-Island with pleasure—and I acknowledge my obligations for the flattering expressions of regard contained in your address with grateful sincerity. Being persuaded that a just application of the principles on which the Masonic Fraternity is founded, must be promotive of private virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance the interest of the Society, and to be considered by them as a deserving Brother." (p592/c2)

# September 18, 1790 #30022.58

George Washington's Proclamation against violations of the Treaty of Hopewell. With printing of full articles of the treaty. (p598/c2-3)

Report that "The President's Portrait, is finished by [Jonathan] Trumbull—and a fine thing it is; designed and executed in his superiour style of excellence. It is a full length, in his uniform of blue and buff—head uncovered...with his right hand and arm thrown on the saddle of an elegant white horse...." (p599/c2)

Discourses on Davila, No. XX (cont.), by John Adams. (p600/c1)

Report of a Jewish **pogrom in Morocco**. Upon the "death of his father, "El-Azed in an instant ordered himself to be proclaimed in the tomb of Absolem, Emperor of Morocco.... The first order that he gave was, that every Jew in that city should be put to death. This was nearly being carried into execution, but a worthy fellow who had been with him during his travels requested that he would suspend his order, as being contrary to the laws of Mahomet and God. The new Emperor then ordered every man, woman, and child of the Jewish religion to be stripped naked, their goods, property, and money of every kind to be given to his troops. This was actually done.... My rooms were as full of women as they could stow.... My pen cannot describe to you the horrid situation they were in, cut, beat, and abused by every rascal they came near. Many hundreds of their women were ravished by the black troops. This horrid scene being over, he inquired for the Spanish and English Vice-Consuls, who were both Jews. He ordered them to be tied up by their heels, there to remain until they died. At the request of the English Admiral, the English Vice-Consul did not suffer, but a much better man, the Spanish, suffered as above." (p600/c2)

# September 22, 1790 #30022.59

[Noah Webster], *"Remarks on the English Language"*; response to Dr. Franklin's comments on English (p602/c3)

Proclamation by the President of the United States, August 26, 1790

"Whereas it hath, at this time, become peculiarly necessary to warn the citizens of the United States against a violation of the Treaties made at Hopewell.... I have thought fit to require, and I do by these presents require all officers of the United States, as well civil as military, and all other citizens and inhabitants thereof, to govern themselves according to the treaties and act aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril." (p604/c1-2)

Discourses on Davila, No. XX (cont.), by John Adams. (p603/c2)

#### September 29, 1790 #30022.78

Treasury Department Notice, September 20, 1790. (p609/c3)

John Adams, "Thoughts on Government, Applicable to the present state of the American colonies. Written in the year 1776" (p610/c1-2)

Celebration of the Anniversary of French Freedom, July 16, 1790, London (p612/c1-3)

#### October 2, 1790 #30022.62

"An Act to provide more effectually for the Collection of the Duties imposed by Law on Goods, Wares and Merchandize imported into the United States, and on the Tonnage of Ships or Vessels" (concluded) (p613/c1-2)

Discourses on Davila, No. XXI, by John Adams. (p614/c1-2)

John Adams, "Thoughts on Government, Applicable to the present state of the American colonies. Written in the year 1776" (cont.) (p616/c1-2)

Treasury Department, Request for proposals to build a lighthouse on Cape Henry, Virginia. (p616/c2)

"War Department: Information is hereby given to all the military Invalids of the United States, that the sums of which they are annually entitled, and which will become due on the fourth day of March ensuing, will be paid on the said day, by the Commissioners of the Loans within the states respectively, under such regulations, as the President of the United States may direct." (p616/c3)

#### October 6, 1790 #30022.80

Discourses on Davila, No. XXI (cont.), by John Adams. (p617/c1-2)

#### "DR. FRANKLIN.

"It will be a monument of the victory of philosophy over prejudice, that Benjamin Franklin, who 50 years ago was a Compositor in London, for 12s. a week, should have lived to be the author of a Revolution, that emancipated a Continent; and that a solemn public mourning should be decreed to his memory by the greatest nation in Europe." (p617/c2)

#### [General Horatio Gates:]

"The General, previous to his leaving Virginia exhibited an example of benevolence and generosity, which heightens the lustre of his Character—highly distinguished as a brave Patriot-soldier, and friend to the rights of Mankind—He summoned his numerous family of slaves about him, and, amidst their tears of affection and gratitude, gave them their freedom—in a manner so judicious, as not only to secure them the inestimable blessing of liberty, but to prevent the ill consequences of a too precipitate and indiscriminate emancipation." (p619/c2)

In 1790, General Horatio Gates (1727-1806) sold his Virginia plantation, Traveller's Rest, and moved to an estate in New York City. Despite contemporary and later accounts that Gates freed his slaves at the same time, the deed reveals that he sold the slaves for £800 with the stipulation that five would be freed after five years, and the remaining eleven would be freed when they reached the age of twenty-eight. Despite the limitations of this emancipation provision, it was more than other generals of the Revolutionary era did.

"The enemies of the federal government look with concern on the re-election of so many of the old representatives. This circumstance evinces not only that the people are well satisfied with the proceedings of the past sessions of Congress, but that their attachment to the federal government itself increases. Why indeed should it not? A government which is the admiration of the whole world; which has given a new face to our affairs; has effected the resurrection of our national credit; restored our finances to system, and which has already raised the character of this country into high estimation, should be expected to acquire more than the bare approbation of the happy inhabitants who participate of its benign influence. It is with pleasure therefore we learn, that a great proportion of the gentlemen who represented the United States in the first congress under the new constitution, will act in a similar capacity in the second. Their tried abilities afford a good presage that the measures they adopt will contribute to the honor and prosperity of their country." (p619/c3)

More than half of the members of the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress (1789-1791) returned for service in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1791-1793). Roughly a quarter of Congressmen in the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress did not seek reelection, and fewer than 5 percent were defeated for reelection. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress also added representatives from new states Vermont and Kentucky.

Notice that the *Gazette of the United States* would, from the beginning of November, be published in Philadelphia, the new seat of the federal government (p620/c3)

#### October 9, 1790 #30022.64

John Adams, "A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America." From the English Review (November 1787). (p621/c1-2)

"Account of the late Mr. John Ledyard, a Celebrated Traveller" "Mr. Ledyard was an American by birth, and seemed form his youth to have felt an invincible desire to make himself acquainted with unknown or imperfectly discovered regions of the globe." (p621/c1-622/c1)

Discourses on Davila, No. XXI (cont.), by John Adams. (p624/c1-2)

**October 13, 1790** #30022.65 (last issue published in New York) John Adams, "*A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*" (cont.). From the *English Review* (November 1787). (p625/c1-3)

Discourses on Davila, No. XXII, by John Adams. (p626/c1-2)

New York Act to create the State of Vermont. (p626/c2-3)

#### November 3, 1790 #30050.17

John Fenno, "Plan of the Gazette of the United States. (A National Paper)" (p629/c1-2)

Address of Inhabitants of Elizabethtown to President Washington and his Reply

"Estimating, as I do, the affection and esteem of my fellow-citizens, and conscious that my best pretention to their approbation is founded in an earnest endeavour faithfully to discharge the duties which have been assigned me, I cannot better reply to their confidence than by assuring them that the same impartiality, which has heretofore directed, will continue to govern my conduct in the execution of public trusts." (p630/c2)

*"WAR ONCE MORE!"* News of Great Britain's Declaration of War Against Spain (p631/c2)

Discourses on Davila, No. XXIII, by John Adams (p632/c1)

**November 24, 1790** #30014.05 *Discourses on Davila*, No. XXIII (cont.), by John Adams (p649/c1-2)

"Particulars of the Late Fire at Madrid" (p649/c3)

London: "Wednesday evening the New Year was ushered in by the Jews, with that solemnity which distinguishes that holiday from all others. The men appeared in their

different Synagogues cloathed in shrouds; the women all in white; which cast a very awful reflection on the ungodly among them; for it is presumed, that on that festival the almighty sits in judgment for poor sinners; and on that account the Jews invoke angels, patriarchs, and deceased friends, to intercede for their iniquities." (p649/c3)

"The Emperor of Morocco has declared WAR against Spain, on which account three regiments have been embarked at Cadiz to defend the Spanish coasts most likely to be attacked by these Barbarians." (p650/c3)

"The President of the United States was to leave Mount Vernon, his seat in Virginia, on Monday last, on his return to the seat of government." (p651/c2)

"On Saturday arrived in town from Virginia, The Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; and the Hon. James Madison, one of the Representatives in Congress from that State." (p651/c2)

**December 9, 1790** #30050.18 "The French King's Intended Flight to Rouen" (p666/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p667/c1)

Simon Searcher, "The Student, No. I." (p668/c1-2)

#### December 11, 1790 #30050.19

President Washington's Second Annual Message, December 8, 1790

"It has been heretofore known to Congress that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians from the northwest side of the Ohio.... The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances peculiarly shocking...the aggressors should be made sensible that the government of the union is not less capable of punishing their crimes than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act which empowers the President to call out the militia for the protection of the frontiers....

"The establishment of the militia, of a mint, of standards of weights and measures, of the post-office and post-roads, are subjects, which (I presume) you will resume of course, and which are abundantly urged by their own importance." (p669/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p671/c1-3)

Poem: "IMPROMPTU."

*"KENTUCKY to the Union given- / Vermont will make the ballance even; / Still Pennsylvania holds the scales, / And neither South or North prevails."* (p671/c3)

# December 15, 1790 #30050.20

BERLIN: "A REGULATION is shortly expected to be published, respecting the Jews who reside in the Prussian dominions, which will tend greatly to their relief. It is to the following purport:

The Jews are from henceforth to enjoy all the privileges of Christians, and be enabled to follow any trade or function, provided they will serve as soldiers in the army, or find a good substitute. It is expected, that this regulation will produce much murmuring among the Christian Traders, as at present every Jew must employ a Christian to do his business, which will in future be given to his tribe. Besides, the lower class of Jews being inured to hard living, will be enabled to underwork the Christians." (p669/c2)

Proceedings of Congress. Address of Senate to the President (and his reply). Address of the House of Representatives to the President (and his reply) (p670/c1-p671/c2)

Letter "*To the Honorable Winthrop Sargent, Esq., Secretary of the Territory of the United States, North West of the River Ohio*" and his reply (p672/c1-2)

[**December 25, 1790** #27433 (described in main catalog)] Hamilton's Plan for a National Bank

**February 2, 1791** #30050.21 Proceedings of Congress (p726/c2-p727/c1)

Advertisement announcing the sale of *"THE SEAT OF THE LATE GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON"* (p727/c3)

#### February 5, 1791 #30050.22

Proceedings of Congress (p729/c3-p730/c3)

"A Negro Man was lately tried at the Court-House in Fairfax county, Virginia, for killing an Overseer. It appearing on the trial, that the Overseer had been guilty of many barbarous acts towards the Negro, and that the Negro's life was in danger when he committed the fact [act], he was acquitted. This decision has given great satisfaction to the friends of justice and humanity in that quarter." (p731/c3)

#### February 19, 1791 #30050.23

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p754/c3-p755/c3)

#### Alexander Hamilton, Report on the Subject of a Mint (cont.)

"There can hardly be a better rule, in any country, for the legal, than the market proportion; if this can be supposed to have been produced by the free and steady course of commercial principles. The presumption, in such case, is that each metal finds its true level, according to its intrinsic utility, in the general system of money operations.

"But it must be admitted, that this argument in favor of continuing the existing proportion, is not applicable to the state of the coins with us. There have been too many artificial and heterogeneous ingredients, too much want of order in the pecuniary transactions of this country, to authorise the attributing the effects, which have appeared, to the regular operations of commerce...." (p756/c1)

"A further preliminary to the adjustment of the future money unit, is to determine what shall be the proportion and composition of alloy in each species of the coins.

"The first, by the resolution of the 8th of August, 1786, before referred to, is regulated at one twelfth, or in other words, at 1 part alloy to 11 parts fine, whether gold or silver: which appears to be a convenient rule; unless there should be some collateral consideration, which may dictate a departure from it." (p756/c1)

"The component ingredients of the alloy in each metal will also require to be regulated. In silver, copper is the only kind in use, and it is doubtless the only proper one. In gold, there is a mixture of silver and copper; in the English coins consisting of equal parts, in the coins of some other countries varying from 1-3 to 2-3 silver." (p756/c1-2) "A third point remains to be discussed, as a pre-requisite to the determination of the money unit, which is, whether the expence of coining shall be defrayed by the public, or out of the material itself; or, as it is sometimes stated, whether coinage shall be free, or shall be subject to a duty or imposition? This forms, perhaps, one of the nicest questions in the doctrine of money." (p756/c2)

Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton sent his Mint report to Congress on January 28, 1791, drawing in part on Thomas Jefferson's earlier work, including "Notes on Coinage" (1784) and "Report on Copper Coinage" (1790). Congress passed *An Act establishing a mint, and regulating the Coins of the United States* on April 2, 1792. The act created a decimal system with the dollar as the main currency unit and declared it to be legal tender. Congress determined that the first mint would be in Philadelphia, then the temporary seat of the federal government. Originally part of the Department of State, the Mint was made an independent agency in 1799 and became part of the Treasury Department in 1873.

Governor Alexander Martin of North Carolina discusses federal assumption of state debts (p754/c2-3)

[March 2, 1791 #23392 (described in main catalog)] "An Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States"

#### March 12, 1791 #30050.24

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p778/c1-2)

Amendment to the Constitution proposed by Egbert Benson of New York to "*establish a General Judicial Court in each state*." (p778/c3-p779/c1)

"An ACT giving effect to the Laws of the United States within the State of Vermont" (p780/c1)

An advertisement for Philadelphia Jewish broker Manuel Noah (1755-1822), a Revolutionary War veteran and merchant. He was the father of Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), the noted journalist, consul, playwright, and promoter of Ararat in western New York as a refuge for Jews. (p780/c3) (appears in several subsequent issues)

# March 23, 1791 #30050.25

"AN ACT repealing, after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon Distilled Spirits imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead; and also upon Spirits Distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same." (cont.) (p789/c1-3)

Discourses on Davila, No. 27, by John Adams (p790/c1-2)

Treasury Department, Request for proposals to supply rations for the Western army in 1792. (p791/c3)

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p792/c1-2)

# March 26, 1791 #30050.26

"AN ACT repealing, after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon Distilled Spirits imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead; and also upon Spirits Distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same." (cont.) (p793/c2-3)

Discourses on Davila, No. 28, by John Adams (p793/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p794/c1-2)
News of Promotion of Arthur St. Clair to Major-General (p795/c3)

**April 2, 1791** #30050.27 *Discourses on Davila*, No. 29, by John Adams (p801/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p801/c3-p802/c2)

April 9, 1791 #30050.28

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p809/c2-p810/c2)

George Washington, Proclamation Declaring the Area of land to become the National Capital (p811/c2)

**April 13, 1791** #30050.29 *Discourses on Davila*, No. 29 (cont.), by John Adams (p813/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p813/c2-p814/c2)

"The bill pending before the Legislature of this state [Pennsylvania], making appropriations for erecting Federal Buildings in this City [Philadelphia], is postponed by the Senate to the next Session." (p815/c3)

**April 20, 1791** #30050.31 *Discourses on Davila*, No. 31, by John Adams (p821/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress. National Bank. (p821/c3-p822/c2)



n lance or equipoife contemplated by the confitution, to be obferved and maintained between the feveral branches of government—and fhewed, that except this idea was preferved, the advantages of different independent branches would be loft, and their feparate deliberations and determinations were intirely ufelefs.

In defcribing a corporation he obferved, that the powers proposed to be given, are fuch, as do not exist antecedent to the existence of the corporation; these powers are very extensive in their nature, and to which a principle of perpetuity may be annexed.

He waved a reply to Mr. Vining's obfervations on the common law, [in which that gentleman had been lengthy and minute, in order to invalidate Mr. Madifon's objection to the power propofed to be given to the Bank, to make rules and regulations, not contrary to law.] Mr. Madifon faid the queftion would involve a very lengthy difcuffion—and other objects more intimately s. connected with the fubject, remained to be confidered.

The power of granting Charters, he observed, is a great and important power, and ought not to be exercised, without we find ourselves expressly authorised to grant them : Here he dilated on the great and extensive influence that incorporated focieties had on public affairs in Europe : They are a powerful machine, which have always been found competent to effect objects on principles, in a great measure independent of the people.

d He argued against the influence of the preceif dent to be established by the bill-for tho it has

#### April 23, 1791 #30050.33

*Discourses on Davila*, No. 31 (cont.), by John Adams (p825/c1)

Address of the Representatives of the People of Pennsylvania to the National Assembly of France (p825/c2-3)

Thomas Paine's Reply, addressed to President George Washington, to Burke's Pamphlet.

"I PRESENT you a small treatise in defence of those principles of freedom, which your exemplary virtue hath so eminently contributed to establish: That the rights of man may become as universal, as your benevolence can wish—and that you may enjoy the happiness of seeing the new world regenerate the old, is the prayer of Sir, you much obliged, and obedient humble servant, THOMAS PAINE." (p826/c3)

Address of the Corporation of the City of Richmond to President Washington and his Reply

"If to my agency in the affairs of our common country may be ascribed any of the great advantages which it now enjoys, I am amply and most agreeably rewarded in contemplating the happiness, and receiving the approbation of my fellow citizens, whose freedom and felicity are fixed I trust for ever on an undecaying basis of wisdom and virtue." (p828/c1)

Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the Corporation of Fredericksburg to President Washington and his Reply

"At all times flattered by the esteem, and grateful for the good wishes of my fellowcitizens, I am particularly so, when, to my respect for their public worth, is united the endearments of private acquaintance." (p828/c1)

Report of the death of John Wesley (1703-1791), the founder of Methodism. (p828/c1)

#### April 27, 1791 #30050.34

*Discourses on Davila*, No. 32, by John Adams (p829/c1)

"Expence and Profit of Raising Silk-Worms" (p832/c1)

[September 10, 1791 #30019 (described in main catalog)] Prospectus for Hamilton's Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures

#### November 23, 1791 #27005

"Ordinance and Bye-Laws, For the Regulation of the Bank of the United States" (p237/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress. Ratio of Representation. (p238/c1-p239/c2)

News of Marriage of Benjamin Franklin Bache to Margaret H. Markoe (p239/c3);

#### Advertisement for Runaway Slave

"Thirty Dollars Reward. RUN AWAY, some time in August 1789, a yellow NEGRO man, named Abraham, late the property of Nathaniel Wickliff, deceased—about forty-five years of age, about five feet eight or nine inches high, pretty well set, with a large woolly head and large beard, walks with his knees bent, often complains of pains in his feet and ancles—by trade a bricklayer, stonemason and plasterer.... He has been eloped so long that no description of his present clothing can be given.... Twenty Dollars reward will be given to any person that will secure said Negro in any jail, so that the subscriber may get him again; and reasonable charges will be paid—or Thirty Dollars will be gi 5ven if he is brought to Prince William County, Virginia...." (p240/c3)

#### PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 23.

#### ORDINANCE AND BYE-LAWS. FOR THE REGULATION OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

At a general meeting of the STOCKHOLDERS of the BANK of the UNITED STATES, held at the City-Hall in Philadelphia, on Monday evening, October 31, 1791, agreeably to adjournment-

MR. BINGHAM, from the Committee appointed at the laft meeting to report fuch Bye-Laws, Ordinances and Regulations, as fhall feem neceffary and convenient for the government of the Corporation, made report-and the fame being taken into confideration, after debate, the Stockholders agreed to the following Ordinance :

#### SECTION I.

THE Charter of Incorporation granted to the Bank of the United States, amongft other rights, privileges and abilities therein conveyed, having impowered the Stockholders, at general meetings, legally convened, to make, ordain, cftablifh and put in excoution, fuch Bye-Laws, Ordinances and Regulations, as fhall feem neceffary and convenient for the government of the faid Corporation :----Be it ordained, by the Prefident, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States,

#### SECTION II.

That the Bank shall be opened for the transaction of bufinefs every day in the year (Sundays, Christmas-day, and the fourth of July, excepted) during fuch hours as the Board of Directors shall deem advifable.

#### SECTION III.

That the books and accounts of the Bank fhall be kept in Dollars and Cents, and shall be regularly balanced on the first Mondays in January and July in each year, when the half-yearly dividends shall be declared, and published in at least four of the public newspapers.

#### SECTION IV.

That the Bank fhall take charge of the cafh of all those who chufe to place it there (free of expence) and fhall keep it fubject to their order, payable at fight-and shall receive deposits of ingots of gold, bars of filver, wrought plate, or other valuable articles of fmail bulk, in the fame manner, and return them on demand of the depositor.

#### SECTION V.

That the Bank shall receive and pay all specie coins, according to the rates and value that have been, or shall hereafter be established by Congress.

#### SECTION VI.

That until offices of difcount and deposit shall be established, there shall be at least two discount days in every week, when meetings of the Board of Directors thall be affembled. Difcounts thall be made at a rate not exceeding fix per cent. per annum, on notes or bills of exchange that have not more than fixty days to run, and with at leaft two refponfible names, and under fuch modifications as the Board of Directors, in their diferetion, shall deem fatisfactory and expedient.

#### SECTION VII.

That the Prefident shall have power to convene the Directors on fpecial occasions, and with the approbation of the Board of Directors, to affix the feal of the Corporation to all conveyances or other inftruments, and fign the fame in behalf of the Corporation-The faid feal shall always remain in the custody and fafe keeping of the Prefident.

#### SECTION VIII.

That a Committee of the Board, confifting of at leaft three members, to be elected monthly by ballot, fhall vifit the vaults in which the cash and other effects shall be deposited, at least once in every month, and make an inventory of the fame, to be compared with the books, in order to afcertain whether they perfectly agree therewith

#### SECTION XUL

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That the Board of Directors are hereby authorized to afcertain and determine in what manner the remaining portions of the capital flock, due on the fhares fubfcribed, confifting of fpecie and public debt, shall be paid and received. And they are hereby further authorized and empowered to receive into their policifion, the certificates of faid public debt, and demand and receive by their Prefident, or in fuch other manner as they fhall think proper, the interest that shall accrue and become due upon the fame, and to give receipts therefor in behalf of the faid. Corporation.

#### SECTION XIV.

That the Board of Directors are hereby authorifed and empowered to fix and establish requisite fafe and convenient forms for transferring Bank Stock, for receiving half yearly dividends, for conveying a right to proxies to reprefent Stockholders at any general meeting after the fecond Monday of January next, for the certificates of capital Stock of the Bank, for the circulating and goo polt notes of the Bank, and for the oath or affirmation of the officers of the Bank previous to their entering on the execution of their respective duties.

#### SECTION XV.

That the Board of Directors are hereby authorifed and canpowered to effablish a common feal with fuitable devices-to afcertain and mark out the various duties and employments of the officers, clerks and fervants of the Bank, and to direct them accordingly-as well as to determine the amount of fecurities they fhall respectively give for the faithful discharge of their dutiesto affign to the Prefident fuch additional functions as are not already defignated by law --and to re-iffue or renew at their diferetion the notes in circulation.

#### SECTION XVI.

That the Directors shall have power to make loans to the government of the United States, or of any State, to fuch extent and on fuch terms as they fhall deem expedient, not contrary to law, provided that a Board confifting of not lefs than a majority of the whole number of Directors, shall be necessary to decide in all fuch cafes.

#### SECTION XVII.

That the Board of Directors are hereby authorifed to leafe or hire, for a term not exceeding two years fuch fuitable buildings as the administration of the affairs of the Bank may require. SECTION XVIII.

That in cafe it shall happen that an election of Directors shall not be made at a meeting of the Stockholders for that purpofe on the first Monday of January next, and on faid day in each fucceeding year, it thall be lawful for the Stockholders to adjourn faid meeting to any future day within five days from faid first Monday of January, and at faid adjournment to make complete and finish faid election.

#### SECTION XIX.

Ob That the Board of Directors are hereby impowered to form and effablish all other rules and regulations that they may deem neceffary for the interior management of the Bank,

On motion, Refolved, That it is the opinion of the Stock holders of the Bank of the United States that the Prefident and Directors should turn their immediate attention to the effablishnot ment of offices of difcount and deposit at fuch places in the Unibly ted States as the interest and fafety of the institution will admit. end

On motion, Refolved, That Mr. Edward Fox be requefted to gra act as Secretary to the Stockholders meeting, and that he procure wh a book, and record therein the acts and proceedings of the Stockfac of holders and keep the fame in his pollellion until their next meet-Sta ing .- Adjourned, fine die. to,

THOMAS WILLING, Chairman. ATTEST, EDWARD FOX, Secretary to the meeting of Stockholders.

Mr. FENNO will oblige fome of his Jerfey friends, and cuflomers, if

#### May 19, 1792 #30057

#### Tariff Act of 1792 with Back-Door Implementation of Hamilton's Report on Manufactures Proposals

"An act for raising a further Sum of Money for the Protection of the Frontiers, and for other Purposes therein mentioned, May 2, 1792

"from and after the last day of June next, the duties now in force upon the articles hereinafter enumerated and described, at their importation into the United States, shall cease, and that in lieu thereof, there shall be thenceforth laid, levied and collected upon the said articles, at their said importation, the several and respective rates of duties following:" (p441/c1)

"That the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, out of the surplus of the duties which accrued to the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and a farther sum of five hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred dollars, out of the surplus of the duties hereby established, as the same shall accrue, making together the sum of six hundred and seventy-three thousand five hundred dollars, shall be, and are hereby appropriated and applied, in addition to any former appropriation for the military establishment of the United States, towards carrying into execution the act, intituled, 'An act for making farther and more effectual provision for the protection of the frontiers of the United States." (p441/c3)

For historical background, see Jefferson Signed Act #24196.99 in main catalog.

Executive Mansion in Philadelphia. "*I will take the liberty of presenting you with a true copy, taken from the stone as it lay in the cutter's shop.... The true inscription is as follows:* "*This Corner Stone, of the House to accommodate the President of the United States, was laid, May 10, 1792; when Pennsylvania was happily out of debt; Thomas Mifflin then Governor of the State.*" (p441/c3)

Proceedings of Congress. Hamilton's Report on the Public Debt. (p442/c1-3)

"The President of the United States arrived at Baltimore last Saturday evening—he pursued his route on Monday following." (p443/c2)

"Twenty Dollars Reward. RUN AWAY from the subscriber, on Monday the 9t current, a NEGRO MAN named ROBIN, is 55 years of age, stout made and bred a farmer; one of his thumbs much swelled; is 5 feet 6 inches high... Also, a young NEGRO BOY, named SAM, is 19 years of age, stout and well made; 5 feet 9 inches high, much marked with the small-pox...." (p443/c3)

**May 26, 1792** #22670.03 or #21555.12 (See related documents in main catalog) "An Act Concerning the Duties on Spirits," May 8, 1792 (p449/c1-3)

"An Act Making Alterations in the Treasury and War Departments," May 8, 1792 (p449/c3-p450/c1)

"An Act relative to compensations of certain officers employed in the collection of the Duties of Impost and Tonnage," May 8, 1792 (p450/c1)

Announcement of A Premium of \$500 for Best Design for President's House (p452/c2)

Announcement of A Premium of \$500 for Best Design for Capitol Building (p452/c2) (appears in many subsequent issues)

**May 30, 1792** #22670.04 or #21555.13 (See related documents in main catalog) Printing ten Congressional Acts (seven on the front page), nine of which are mentioned in Jefferson's transmittal letter in the main catalog, including "An Act to Provide for a Copper Coinage" (p453/c3) and "An Act Respecting the Government of the Territories of the United States" (p454/c1)

#### June 2, 1792 - September 14, 1793 #27501

Near-complete vol. IV, June 2, 1792 – September 14, 1793 (Nos. 1–135). **123** complete and 7 incomplete, of 136 issues from this period. Philadelphia: John Fenno. 510. pp. (The five lacking are: Aug 7, 1792; Feb 3, 9, May 22, Sep 18, 1793. The seven incomplete are: Jun 6, Sep 15, Oct 24, 1792; Feb 6, Mar 27, Aug 3, Sep 14, 1793.)

This volume of bound issues chronicles the last nine months of Washington's first term and the first six months of his second term as president, published at the seat of government. The *Gazette* served as Alexander Hamilton's primary platform to attack Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and his allies, heightening the divisions that led to the creation of the first political parties in the United States.

This volume features a near-complete set of the first printings of Hamilton and James Madison's 1793 debates in the *Pacificus-Helvidius* essays on the scope of executive and legislative powers in foreign policy. Although they had been political allies when they were the chief authors of the *Federalist Papers* in 1787 and 1788, their relationship deteriorated, as they increasingly took different ideological positions during Washington's first term.

**June 2, 1792 (Volume IV, No. I)** (Pagination starts over at page 1) (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress. Assumption of state debts. (p1/c3-p2/c1)

Governor of New York offers \$500 reward for the capture of John Ryer, wanted for the murder of a deputy sheriff in Westchester County, NY (p3/c2)

**June 6, 1792** (incomplete issue, missing p7-8) (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress. Hamilton's Report on the Public Debt. (p6/c1-2)

[Notice of the death of Alexander McGillivray, chief of the Creek and an ally of the United States  $(p_7/c_4)$ ]

**June 9, 1792** (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress (p10/c1-2)

King of Sweden Gustav III by assassination (p10/c2)

Extract from Thomas Paine, Rights of Man (p11/c2)

"RUN AWAY from the subscriber, living in Kent County, and State of Maryland, on Sunday the 20th May last, a NEGRO MAN, named Hark; about 40 years of age, about five feet nine inches high, has a scar over one of his eye-brows, and when talking, hangs his head on one side and looks up....

"Whoever takes up said Negro, if out of this State, and secures him in gaol, shall receive FOURTEEN DOLLARS reward—and if taken within this State, and secured as aforesaid, shall receive EIGHT DOLLARS reward; and if brought home, reasonable expences will be paid by PEREGRINE LETHRBURY." (p11/c4)

**June 13, 1792** (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress (p14/c2-4)

**June 16, 1792** (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress (17/c2-3)

Election of George Clinton as Governor of New York and Pierre Van Cortlandt as Lieutenant Governor ( $p_{19}/c_3$ )

Governor John Hancock's speech to Massachusetts legislature (extract) (p19/c3)

"Thirty Dollars Reward. RUN AWAY from the subscriber in February last, a NEGRO LAD, named PHIL, about 20 years of age;... the fellow has a yellowish complexion, his height about five feet six or seven inches, very square made; has a mark along side of his nose, and one of his insteps has been burnt, which causes the sinews to draw." (p19/c4)

French Revolution (p20/c1-2)

**June 20, 1792** (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress (p21/c4-p22/c1)

French Revolution (p22/c1-3)

**June 23, 1792** (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress (p25/c2-4)

News from New Brunswic[k], N.J.

"On the 6th current, a coroners inquest was held on the body of a young Negro woman, late the property of Samuel Hunt, at the Presbyterian church in Maidenhead, where it had been sent the preceding evening for interment—the corners inquest reports that her death was occasioned by a most barbarous and inhuman whipping, inflicted by her said master, which she survived but a few hours—the act was committed by him and a connection of his by the name of Elias Hunt, under the direction and superintendence of Mrs. Hunt, wife of the said master; we hear they are all confined, and no doubt but they will have a fair and impartial trial." (p28/c1)

**June 27, 1792** (part of #27501) Proceedings of Congress (p29/c2-3)

French Revolution (p30/c1-2)

"The Constitution of Kentucky was finally ratified by the Convention of Danville, on the 26th day of April last. The first Legislature was to meet at Lexington, on the 4th instant. Isaac Shelby is elected Governor." (p31/c1)

**June 30, 1792** (part of #27501)

# **Constitution of Kentucky** (p33/c1-3)

French Revolution (p33/c3-p34/c4)

"The following is the celebrated French Revolution Song, with a translation." (p36/c1)

**July 4, 1792** (part of #27501) Constitution of Kentucky (cont.) (p37/c2-4)

Boston: "The Cannon, for the use of the Artillery of this commonwealth are now casting by Col. [Paul] Revere, at his Foundry in this town." (p38/c4)

Edict of King Christian VII of Denmark Prohibiting the Slave Trade (p39/c1-2)

Philadelphia: "THIS DAY is the Anniversary of that memorable event in the history of our country—the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE. Sixteen years have elapsed since the United States took their rank in the scale of nations." (p39/c2)

**July 7, 1792** (part of #27501) Constitution of Kentucky (cont.) (p41/c2-4)

Address of Committee from Lansingburgh, New York, to Chief Justice John Jay, and his Reply (p43/c1-2)

New York: "The Portrait of Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, painted for the citizens of New-York by Mr. Trumbull, has been received, and for the present, placed in the City Hall. It must afford much pleasure to the gentlemen who promoted this undertaking, to know, that this elegant specimen of Mr. Trumbull's abilities, is reckoned one of the finest productions of his pencil." (p43/c2)

"24 Dollars Reward. RUN AWAY the 30th March last, a NEGRO WOMAN, by the name of CHLOE. She is five feet two and a half inches high; quick spoken; upper tooth open; no eyebrows at all; is about 30 years old, but looks much younger.... She is now passing for a free woman, I understand, and has changed her name.... JOHN PUZEY. / Somerset County, near Princess-Ann, Maryland." (p43/c4)

**July 11, 1792** (part of #27501)

Boston: France declares war on Austria (p46/c2)

Charleston, South Carolina: "YESTERDAY, at half past one o'clock, John Fuller was executed according to his sentence, for attempting to pass a forged note, knowing the same to be forged." (p46/c2)

Albany, New York: Notice of arrival of John Jay, "the gentleman who at the late election had the majority of legal votes for governor of this state." (p46/c3)

Address of the Virginia Legislature to the National Assembly of France (p47/c3)

**July 14, 1792** (part of #27501) Tench Coxe, "*Reflections on the State of the Union*" (cont.) (p49/c3-4) Advertisement for New York stockbroker Leonard Bleecker: "*The Subscriber intending to confine himself entirely to the PURCHASE and SALE of STOCKS on COMMISION, Begs leave to offer his service to his friends and others, in the line of a Stock Broker.*" (p49/c2)

Bleecker was one of two dozen brokers who signed the Buttonwood Agreement on May 17, 1792, considered to be the founding of the New York Stock Exchange.

French Revolution (p50/c2-p51/c2)

Georgetown, VA: "On the fourth instant, being the anniversary of American Independence, the artists and workmen concerned in erecting the Federal Bridge over Rock Creek in this district, met in procession...to the eastern abutment of the bridge, where the ceremony of laying the corner stone was performed...." (p51/2)

**July 18, 1792** (part of #27501)

Tench Coxe, "Reflections on the State of the Union" (cont.) (p53/c3)

Poem: "To The Hon. John Jay, Esq." (p55/c4)

#### **July 21, 1792** (part of #27501)

Address of the "Friends of Liberty" to John Jay, and his reply

"The Friends of Liberty have ever entertained a lively sense of the important services which you have rendered to your country, in every situation in which you have been placed. Whether they examine your conduct as a member of the general Congress, at the most trying periods of the late war, and of the Convention which framed the constitution of this state—or consider your agency in negociating the treaty which secured to America the blessings of peace, liberty, and safety, they find a continual display of abilities and virtue which will hand your name down to remote posterity, as one of the illustrious defenders of the rights of man." (p58/c2)

Jay: "I derive great satisfaction from the hope and expectation that the event which at present excites so much alarm and anxiety, will give occasion only to such measures as patriotism may direct and justify; and that the vigilance and wisdom of the people will always afford to their rights that protection, for which other countries, less informed, have often too precipitately recurred to violence and commotion." (p58/c3)

In a public speech, Richard R. Smith, the former Sheriff of Otsego County, New York, commented about the 1792 gubernatorial election returns: "I cannot help giving it as my opinion that it was but a shallow pretence for so horrid a violation of public right, and that the evidence produced was by far too slender, on which to have determined a matter of much less importance. I despise the person who made the affidavit, they mention, with a view to insinuate a fraud on my part—and I despise the man, who, under pretence of believing it, condemned my conduct without a hearing, or even informing me that I was suspected. I know that I have a conscience, and that I sustain a character which will support me under all the calumnies of party—and, I possess a firmness and fidelity to my trust, which all the bribes and all the offices in the power of a monarch to bestow shall never make me relinquish for a moment...." (p59/c2)

John Jay had a majority of more than 400 votes in Otsego County, but due to a technicality regarding the transmission of the returns to the Secretary of State, they were not counted. George Clinton was elected by 108 votes statewide. Jay's supporters were furious, and the election divided New York for years. At the next gubernatorial election in 1795, Jay defeated the Democratic-Republican candidate with 53.8 percent of the vote statewide.

"A considerable additional number of laborers will be wanted, at the city of Washington, and the Little Falls of the Potowmack: It is expected the foundations of the Capitol and President's Palace will be entered on by the first day of next month, and prosecuted with great activity. The Cut at the Little Falls is nearly dug out, and every effort will be made to get it walled, and the river improved to the Great Falls this season; so that by shifting the loads at the Great and Little Falls, there will by next spring be no occasion for wagoning the produce down Potowmack." (p59/c2)

#### **July 25, 1792** (part of #27501)

Address of Citizens of New York City to Governor George Clinton and his Reply (p62/c2-3)

*Crito*, letter defending government against charges in the *National Gazette* of being a junto (p63/2-3)

#### Alexander Hamilton as T.L., No. I

"Mr. Fenno, The Editor of the 'National Gazette' receives a salary from government. "Quere—Whether this salary is paid him for translations; or for publications, the design of which is to vilify those to whom the voice of the people has committed the administration of our public affairs—to oppose the measures of government, and, by false insinuations, to disturb the public peace?

"In common life it is thought ungrateful for a man to bite the hand that puts bread in his mouth; but if the man is hired to do it, the case is altered." (p63/c3)

Announcement of Sale of Lots in Washington, D.C. (p63/c4) (repeated in many following issues)

#### **July 28, 1792** (part of #27501)

Georgetown: "On Sunday last the President of the United States arrived in this city from Philadelphia, and on Tuesday set out for his Seat at Mount Vernon.

"On Monday and Tuesday last the President of the United States, and the Commissioners of the Federal Buildings, examined the plans for a Capitol, and the President's House, to be erected in the City of Washington; several of considerable merit for each building, were presented. The premium for the best Plan of a President's House, was adjudged to James Hoben, from Charleston, South-Carolina, but no decision was given in favor of any plan for a Capitol, three or four of superior merit are under consideration, and it is expected that the Commissioners, at their next meeting (the 1st of August) will then make their election." (p66/c3-4)

"The Editor assures A.Z. that the author of the piece signed T.L. is neither the editor, publisher or printer of any newspaper whatever, nor directly or indirectly concerned in any." (p67/c1)

Baltimore: "It has been stated as an important Fact, that Russia and Prussia mean to attack Poland, and to destroy its new constitution. The following sketch of the proceedings of the Polish Diet manifests the unanimity of that body, and the confidence they have in their King— Stanislaus-Augustus." (p67/c1)

On July 27, 1792, the Polish–Russian War of 1792 came to an end with a victory for Russia under Catherine the Great and resulted in the second partition of Poland among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatwoski left Poland in January 1795 under Russian military escort, and the final third partition of Poland took place nine months later, effectively erasing Poland from the map of Europe until the end of World War I.

# August 1, 1792 (part of #27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>*T.L.*</u>, No. II

"If there were as many pieces in the National Gazette in favor of government and public characters, as there are against them, I should be apt to conclude that Congress and their officers were playing us the same trick, in hopes of keeping their seats and places for life; but when all the publications are against them, and none in their favor—when this 'free newspaper' is always Free to defame, but never free to praise, it does not appear easy to account for this branch of national expense." (p71/c1-2)

Wilmington: Letter from Saint Lucia. "*The decree in favor of the people of colour occasions much fermentation here, and we apprehend it will be attended with all the bad consequences as with St. Domingo. God only knows when we will enjoy peace and tranquility.*" (p70/c4)

#### August 4, 1792 (part of #27501)

#### Alexander Hamilton as An American, No. I

"Mr. Freneau is not then, as he would have supposed, the Independent Editor of a News Paper, who though receiving a salary from Government has firmness enough to expose its maladministration. He is the faithful and devoted servant of the head of a party, from whose hand he receives the boon." (p74/c4)

"But it may be asked—Is it possible that Mr. Jefferson, the head of a principal department of the Government can be the Patron of a Paper, the evident object of which is to decry the Government and its measures? If he disapproves of the Government itself and thinks it deserving of opposition, could he reconcile to his own personal dignity and the principles of probity to hold an office under it and employ the means of official influence in that opposition?" (p74/c4)

French Revolution: "*M. Gaudet made some severe sarcastic remarks on the conduct of M. de la Fayette, and asked whether such a General should have the power of enacting military Laws: His remarks, however, were not productive of any effect.*" (p73/c4)

#### August 11, 1792 (part of #27501)

#### Alexander Hamilton as An American, No. II

"It may be very true in a literal sense, that no negotiation was ever opened with Mr. Freneau, by Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and yet it may be very certain, that a negotiation was opened with him directly, or circuitously, by a particular friend of that officer—and expectations given of his patronage and encouragement." (p82/c4)

"The circumstance of your having come from another State to set up and conduct a new paper; the circumstance of the Editor of that new paper being appointed a Clerk in the department of State—the coincidence in point of time of that appointment with the commencement of your paper, or to speak more correctly, its precedency—the conformity between the complexion of your paper and the known politics of the head of the department who employs you—these circumstances collectively leave no doubt of your true situation—the conviction arising from them is too strong to be weakened by any of those bold or even solemn declarations, which are among the hackneyed tricks employed by the purists in politics, of every country and age, to cheat the people into a belief of their superior sanctity, integrity and virtue." (p83/c1)

Tench Coxe, "Reflections on the State of the Union" (p81/c1-2)

"[Thomas] Paine being informed that the British ministry intend to bring a prosecution against him...observes, a nation (as well the poor as the rich) has a right to know what any works are which are made the subject of prosecution." (p83/c3)

"Sixty Dollars Reward. BROKE goal in Baltimore, the 10th of April last, and made his escape, a Negro Man, named BILL FLANAGAN, the property of the subscriber. He is a stout, straight, likely fellow, about 25 years of age; 5 feet 8, 9 or 10 inches high. He affects to be a zealous Methodist, is extremely artful,, talkative and plausible; can read, and it is supposed can write.... He was lately the property of Capt. Joseph Goutrou, of Baltimore, and was employed as a sailor on board his packet.... CHRISTOPHER HUGHES. Baltimore." (p83/c4)

# Alexander Hamilton as T.L., No. III

"although I consider the National Gazette as having a most pernicious tendency, and being eminently calculated to disturb the public peace, and corrupt the morals of the people, I have not a wish to do injustice either to the Gazette itself or its editor." (p82/c4)

"Who then pays him? If anybody does, then he receives a stipend both as French translator to the department of state, and as editor [or compiler, I don't care which] of a newspaper. If he is in the pay of Messrs. Childs and Swaine, he is at least guilty of ingratitude to the government which has retained him as translator to the department of state; for, as editor or compiler, his attacks upon that government are both frequent and licentious." (p82/c4)

# August 15, 1792 (part of #27501)

Tench Coxe, "Reflections on the State of the Union" (p85/c2-3)

French Revolution: "The King's Guard are consigned to the Military School, and the service at the Thuilleries is performed by the National Parisian Guards. The gardens are shut, and no person allowed to enter them; all is suspicion, fear, and accusation." (p85/c4)

# August 18, 1792 (part of #27501)

# Alexander Hamilton as An American, No. III

"The charges, which have been brought against 'the Editor of the National Gazette,' as he himself states them to be, are no otherwise personal charges, than as they designate the persons, against whom they are made.

"In their application to Mr. Freneau, they affect him solely in his capacity of Editor of a public paper (which may justly be considered as a public capacity) and in relation to matters of public or national concern. It is therefore a meer subterfuge to call them personal charges, and then to say, that they shall not be answered, unless the author of them will come forward to support them....

"The inferences from these facts are the only things, which remain for discussion; and these so naturally flow from the premises, that they defy the arts of sophistry to obscure them." (p91/c1)

Tench Coxe, "Reflections on the State of the Union" (cont.) (p89/c1-2)

Georgetown: Updates on construction of public buildings in Washington, D.C. (p90/c2-3)

"The celebrated Mr. Paine, it is said, has quitted England. Since which his third pamphlet has been suspended." (p91/c2)

August 22, 1792 (part of #27501)

Tench Coxe, "Reflections on the State of the Union" (cont.) (p93/c3-4)

Murder of 17-year-old Elizabeth Reeves in Philadelphia (p95/c3)

In 1810, eighteen years after the murder, a Philadelphia constable named Charles Breece was arrested for the murder after his stepmother gave evidence on her deathbed.

#### August 25, 1792 (part of #27501)

Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Mifflin offers \$300 reward for arrest of murderer of Elizabeth Reeves (p97/c2)

Brussels: "The main body of M. la Fayette's army occupies part of the territory of Leige, extending towards Charlerai.... At home the revolution spirit is by no means extinct. Every occasion is eagerly laid hold of to inflame the minds of the people, and it is only by numerous patroles of troops scouring the streets night and day that insurrection is prevented." (p97/c4)

French Revolution. (p97/c4-p98/c2)

#### August 29, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution: "A Joan D'Arc has lately presented herself to the National Assembly. She demands to be sent to the frontiers to expel the Austrians, as her great predecessor did the English from the territories of France. The majority of the members did laugh heartily." (p101/c3)

#### **September 1, 1792** (part of #27501) *"Letter from La Fayette to the Minister at War"* (p106/c2-3)

# September 5, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution: "The late changes in the administration, and the firmness of the King's resistance to certain measures, have placed him in a situation of imminent danger. The Queen, always the imputed origin of every obnoxious act, is virulently reviled, threatened and insulted." (p111/c1)

Reports of British General Lord Cornwallis in India (p109/c4-p110/c4)

# September 8, 1792 (part of #27501)

Aristides (Edmund Randolph), No. 1, in response to Hamilton's "An American" letters: "How long Mr. Jefferson has been distinguished as the Cataline of the day, or as the ambitious incendiary, who would light a torch to the ruin of his country, may be matter of useful speculation; and whether he is now, for the first time, thus distinguished, because of the manly freedom with which he declares his abhorrence of some of the leading principles of Mr. Hamilton's fiscal administration; or, that because of his known attachment to republicanism, he is feared, as the decided opponent of aristocracy, monarchy, hereditary succession, a titled order of nobility, and all the other mock-pageantry of kingly government, will be the subject of future enquiry...." (p113/c4)

Tench Coxe, "Reflections on the State of the Union" (cont.) (p113/c2-3)

French Revolution (p114/c3-p115/c2)

**September 12, 1792** (part of #27501) Tench Coxe, "*Reflections on the State of the Union*" (cont.) (p117/c2-3)

French Revolution (p117/c4-p118/c4)

**September 15, 1792** (incomplete issue, missing p121-122) (part of #27501) **Alexander Hamilton as** <u>*Catullus*</u>, <u>No. I</u> to *Aristides* 

"It occurs at once to an observant reader, that Aristides passes over in total silence, the leading article of charge brought by the American against Mr. Jefferson—namely, that he is the institutor and patron of a certain Gazette published in this City, the object and tendency of which are to vilify and depreciate the government of the United States, to misrepresent and traduce the administration of it, except in the single department of which that gentleman is the head, implicating in the most virulent censure the majorities in both houses of Congress, the heads both of the treasury and war departments, and sparing not even the Chief Magistrate himself....

"These are the facts: The conclusion is irresistable. The secret intentions of men being in the repositories of their own breasts, it rarely happens, and is therefore not to be expected, that direct and positive proof of them could be adduced.

*"Presumptive facts and circumstances must afford the evidence; and when these are sufficiently strong, they ought to decide."* (p123/c2)

#### **September 19, 1792** (part of #27501)

Alexander Hamilton as Catullus, No. II to Aristides

"Say Aristides! did the character to whom you are so partial, imitate, in this case, the sublime virtue of that venerable Athenian, whose name you have assumed—did he dissuade his countrymen from adopting a proposition, because tho' 'nothing could be more advantageous, nothing could be more unjust?' Did he not rather advise them to do what was both disadvantageous and unjust? May he not, as a public man, discard all apprehension of ostracism, for being the superlatively just?" (p127/c1)

French Revolution. (p125/c2-p126/c2)

**September 22, 1792** (part of #27501) Death of General John Burgoyne (p131/c4)

William Loughton Smith as *Scourge* to *Aristides* (p130/c2-p131/c2)

#### September 26, 1792 (part of #27501)

James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson**, first published in *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser* (p133/c1-2)

French Revolution (p134/c1-4)

**September 29, 1792** (part of #27501) James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson** (cont.) (p137/c4p138/c1)

Alexander Hamilton as Catullus, No. III to Aristides

"the never to be satiated lovers of innovation and change—the tribe of pretended philosophers, but real fabricators of chimeras and paradoxes—the Catalines and the Cæsars of the community (a description of men to be found in every republic) who leading the dance to the tune of liberty without law, endeavor to intoxicate the people with delicious but poisonous draughts to render them the easier victims of their rapacious ambition...." (p138/c2)

<sup>6</sup>Mr. Jefferson has hitherto been distinguished as the quiet, modest, retiring philosopher—as the plain simple unambitious republican. He shall not now for the first time be regarded as the intriguing incendiary—the aspiring, turbulent competitor." (p138/c4)

"But there is always 'a first time,' when characters studious of artful disguises are unveiled; When the vizor of stoicism is plucked from the brow of the Epicurean; when the plain garb of Quaker simplicity is stripped from the concealed voluptuary; when Caesar coyly refusing the proffered diadem, is seen to be Caesar rejecting the trappings, but tenaciously grasping the substance of imperial domination.

"It is not unusual to defend one post, by attacking another. Aristides has shewn a disposition to imitate this policy. He by clear implication tells us, and doubtless means it as a justification of the person whom he defends—that attachment to aristocracy, monarchy, hereditary succession, a titled order of nobility and all the mock pageantry of Kingly government form the appropriate and prominent features in the character to which he boasts Mr Jefferson's opposition, and which it seems to be a principal part of the business of his Gazette to depreciate." (p138/c4)

"It has been pertinently remarked by a judicious writer, that Cæsar, who overturned the republic, was the Whig, Cato, who died for it, the Tory of Rome; such at least was the common cant of political harangues; the insidious tale of hypocritical demagogues." (p138/c4)

#### President Washington's Proclamation re Whiskey Rebellion

"Now Therefore I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, do by these presents most earnestly admonish and exhort all person whom it may concern, to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object or tending to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid; inasmuch as all lawful ways and means will be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto." (p140/c1)

French Revolution (p139/c1-2)

October 3, 1792 (part of #27501)



PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES. A PROCLAMATION. (L.S.) WHEREAS certain violent (L.S.) WHEREAS certain violent and unwarrantable proceedings have lately taken place, tend ing to obfurde the operation of the laws of the United States for railing

aws of the United states for two of the operation of the United States for two of the United States is which diproceedings are fuberfive of good of order, contrary to the duty that every for a state of the very being of a nature dangerous to de the very being of a government.

laws, and of a narure dangerous to the very being of a government. And whereas fach proceedings are the more unwarrantable, by reaton of the moderation which has been hererofore fhewn on the part of the government, and of the difpofition which has been manifefted by the legiflature (who alone have authority to fufpend the operation of laws) to obviate caufes of objection, and to render the laws as acceptable as porfible : and whereas it is the particular duty of the Executive " to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" and not only that duty, but the permanent interefts and happinefs of the people require, that every legal and neceflary ftep thould be purfied, as well to prevent fuch violent and unwarrantable proceedings, as to bring to juffice the infractors of the laws and fecure obedience thereto. New THEREFORE I, GEORGE

Now THEREFORE 1, GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, do by thefe prefents moft earnefly admonifh and exhort all perfons whom it may concern, to refrain and defift from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatfoever, having for object or tending a forefaid ; inafunch as all lawful ways and means will be flriftly put in execution for bringing to juffice the infractors thereof and fecuring obdedience thereto. And 1 do moreover charge and re-

And I do moreover charge and require all courts, magiftrates and offito cers whom it may concern, according to the duties of their feveral offices, to exert the powers in them refpectively velided by law for the purpofes aforcfaid, hereby alfo enjoining and requiring all perfons whomfover, as they tender the welfare of their country, the juft and due authority of government, and the prefervation of the public peace, to be aiding and affifting therein according to law.

In Tellimony whereof, I have canfed the Scal of the United States to be affixed to thefe prefents, and Signed the fame with my Hand. Dowe this fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouldand feven hundred and ninety two, and of the Independence of the United States the feventeenth. Go. WASHINGTON. By the Prefident. TH: JEFFERSON.

Univerfal Hymn Book. Are

French Revolution (p142/c2-4; p143/c4)

#### October 6, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution: "To procure arms the populace broke open the gates of the Arsenal and several of the buildings near the Thuilleries were set on fire. The mirrors, and part of the furniture in the Palace were destroyed; but those who attempted to carry away any thing privately were punished with instant death.... Amidst these scenes of horror, the women shewed no sign of that sensibility natural to their sex, and many of them mixed boldly among the mob. Towards 8 o'clock the light of the flames, the approach of night, and the sight of many dead bodies, particularly those of the Swiss exposed quite naked, exhibited a spectacle awful and horrid beyond description." (p146/c3)

#### October 10, 1792 (part of #27501)

A Citizen of Philadelphia, "A Statement of some Objections to the Administration of the Federal Government" (p149/c2-4)

French Revolution: "There is no doubt but the Swiss fired first, but not until they were pressed upon in the most violent way, and their guns forcibly turned round, and planted against the palace... in a few minutes there was a dreadful slaughter.... The dead lay in heaps. The Quays were full of people, armed and unarmed and directing their fire deliberately into this multitude; the massacre was dreadful. It did not, however, intimidate the assailants. Seven pieces of cannon were played on the Thuilleries and the Louvre...." (p150/c1) "It is said the King is to have a public trial on the 28th of this month " (p150/c2)

"It is said the King is to have a public trial on the 28th of this month." (p150/c2)

#### **October 13, 1792** (part of #27501)

James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson** re his sentiments on the Constitution (cont.) (p153/c1-2)

French Revolution. (p154/c1-3; p155/c1-2), including "Decree of Accusation against M. de La Fayette" (p154/c2)

Arthur Lee as *Philanthropos* (p154/c4)

#### **October 17, 1792** (part of #27501)

#### Alexander Hamilton as <u>Catullus</u>, No. IV to Aristides

"A correspondency of the principles and opinions of Mr. Jefferson, with the complexion of a paper, the conductor of which is in the regular pay of his department, is surely a strong confirmation of the conclusion—that the paper is conducted under his influence, and agreeably to his views." (p157/c3)

"Deception, however artfully veiled, seldom fails to betray some unsound part. Aristides assures us, that Mr. Jefferson 'has actually refused in any instance to mark a single paragraph, which appeared in the foreign prints for republication in the National Gazette.['] On what ground was such an application to Mr. Jefferson made, if he was not considered as the patron of the paper? What printer would make a similar application to the head of any other department? I verily believe none." (p157/c4)

French Revolution. (p158/c1-p159/c1)

**Small-Pox Epidemic in Boston** has affected 9,384 people, of whom "*not more than*" 198 have died. (p159/c2)

#### October 20, 1792 (part of #27501)

Alexander Hamilton as <u>Fact</u>, No. II, in response to *Truth*, both reprinted from the *National Gazette* (p161/c3)

Sylvanus Bourne as *Americanus*, on Spirits Tax, in response to *A Citizen of Philadelphia* (p161/c3-4)

French Revolution (p162/c1-2)

Georgetown: Sale of lots and construction of public buildings in Washington, D.C. (p163/c2)

**October 24, 1792** (incomplete issue, missing p167-168) (part of #27501) James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson** (cont.) (p165/c1-3)

#### Alexander Hamilton as Metellus

"The votaries of Mr. Jefferson, whose devotion for their idol kindles at every form, in which he deigns to present himself, have deduced matter of panegyric from his opposition to the measures of government. 'Tis according to the sublimest pitch of virtue in him, not only to have extra-officially embarrassed plans, originating with his colleagues, in the course of their progress, but to have continued his opposition to them, after they had been considered and enacted by the legislature, with such modifications as appeared to them proper, and had been approved by the chief magistrate...." (p165/c3)

French Revolution, including extracts from Marquis de Lafayette letters (p166/c1-p167/c1)

**October 27, 1792** (part of #27501) *A Citizen of Philadelphia, "Strictures on Americanus,*" responding to *Americanus* (p169/c3-p170/c1)

French Revolution (170/c1-p171/c2)

#### October 31, 1792 (part of #27501)

A Consistent Federalist, letter to the People of Maryland (p173/c3-p174/c1), in opposition to attempt to replace John Adams with Charles Carroll as vice president.

French Revolution. (p174/c1-4)

#### **November 3, 1792** (part of #27501) James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson** (cont.) (p177/c4)

French Revolution, including capture of Lafayette by the Austrians (177/c4-p179/c1)

Arthur Lee as *Philanthropos: "May America continue that happy country, where the majesty of the law, which constitutes the liberty of the subject, shall always be superior to the restless efforts of aspiring faction."* (179/c1)

November 7, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution: "We are informed from Turin, that the events of the 10th of August have had an effect there very unfavorable to the French cause. It was reported there that the head of Louis XVI, had been cut off, and carried through the streets of this capital on a pole." (p181/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p182/c4-p183/c1)

George Washington, Fourth Annual Message to Congress (p183/c1-3)

**November 10, 1792** (part of #27501) James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson** (cont.) (p185/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p186/c2-4)

Address of John Langdon (President, pro tempore of the Senate) to President Washington and his Reply (p187/c3-4)

#### November 14, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution: "At three o'clock in the afternoon of the fatal 2d of September, the sanguinary mob reached the Temple, where they were met by two of the commissioners from the National Assembly.... they demanded the head of the Queen; the commissioners therefore to prevent a greater mischief, found it necessary to accompany them to the tower of the Temple, one of their leaders carrying on a pole the head of the princess de Lamballe." (p189/c1)

Letter from the Mayor of Marseilles, France, to President George Washington (p190/c4)

Proceedings of Congress, including Address of the House of Representatives to President Washington, and his reply (p191/c1-3)

# November 17, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution: "We have the omens of new massacres in Paris.... The minister of justice has found, that since the massacre, between four and five hundred persons have been imprisoned in Paris...most of them on mere undescribed suspicion. The Assembly...have taken measures to save these poor wretches from the fury of the mob.

"'Citizens! Be on your guard; keep a watchful eye over these traitors; let us refrain from every kind of excess; let us respect persons and property; let us maintain good order; war against tyrants, and union among ourselves; let Paris be the cradle of liberty; let it also be a safe and sure asylum; suffer the inhabitants to remain in it; suffer strangers also to visit it; the poor will be able to live; commerce will return; and Paris will become the first city in the world." (p193/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p194/c3-p195/c4)

# November 21, 1792 (part of #27501)

French Revolution. (p197/c3-p/198/c3)

Siege of Thionville, France: "It is asserted that three Princes were killed...and that the enemy carried off three waggon loads of dead bodies." (p197/c3-4)

Proceedings of Congress (p199/c1-3)

# November 24, 1792 (part of #27501)

Alexander Hamilton as Catullus, No. V to Aristides (p201/c3-4)

"It is suggested that the animadversions upon Mr. Jefferson's conduct, in these papers, proceed from 'private revenge.' This supposes some private injury real or imagined—The assertor must be not a little embarrassed to support the probability of such a cause—It is affirmed that none such exists. Private revenge therefore cannot be the stimulous. Let Facts speak the true motives." (p201/c4)

Constitution of the Insurance Company of North America (p201/c1-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p202/c1-p203/c3)

Governor John Hancock's speech to the Massachusetts Legislature, extract regarding law prohibiting stage plays and theatrical entertainments (p204/c1-2)

#### November 28, 1792 (part of #27501)

Memorial of Quakers to President Washington and Congress (p205/c3-4)

French Revolution (p205/c4)

Proceedings of Congress (p206/c1-p207/c3)

"The re-election of Mr. Adams to the office of Vice-President, is perhaps as important to the interests, peace and freedom of the United States, at this period, as any event of a similar nature ever can be to this country...." (p207/c4)

#### December 1, 1792 (part of #27501)

Arthur Lee as *Philanthropos*, "to the free and Independent Electors of President and Vice-*President*," recommending reelection of John Adams as Vice President (p209/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p210/c1-p211/c3)

French Revolution (p212/c1-2)

# **December 5, 1792** (part of #27501)

French Revolution (p213/c1-p214/c4)

"M. Robertspierre [Maximilien Robespierre] recalled the memory of his public services, as a man of letters, and a member of the constituent assembly. He disavowed every idea of personal ambition; and at length formally, but rather equivocally, denied the charge [that he sought a dictatorship]." (p213/c4)

Proceedings of Congress (p214/c4-p215/c3)

**December 8, 1792** (part of #27501) James Madison and James Monroe, **Vindication of Mr. Jefferson** (cont.) (p217/c1-2)

French Revolution (p217/c3-p218/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p219/c1-3)

Updates on Presidential Election: *"We hear from New Jersey that the Electors of that State have given a unanimous vote for George Washington and John Adams...."* (p219/c3)

**December 12, 1792** (part of #27501) **Alexander Hamilton, Report "Respecting the Redemption of the Public Debt"** (p221/c1-4; p224/c1-4)

French Revolution (p222/c1-2)

Proceedings of Congress (p223/c1)

Updates on Presidential Election: Unanimous votes for George Washington from electors in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut, and New York. Unanimous votes for John Adams in Maryland and Connecticut, all but one in Pennsylvania, and all electors for George Clinton in New York. (p223/c1)

**December 15, 1792** (part of #27501) Alexander Hamilton, Tables for Report *"Respecting the Redemption of the Public Debt"* (p225/1-3)

President George Washington, Proclamation Against Attack on a Cherokee Town

"Whereas I have received authentic information, that certain lawless and wicked persons, of the western frontier, in the state of Georgia, did lately invade, burn, and destroy a town belonging to the Cherokee nation, altho' in amity with the United States, and put to death several Indians of that *nation: and whereas such outrageous* conduct not only violates the rights of humanity, but also endangers the public peace.... I do moreover offer a reward of Five Hundred Dollars, for each and everu of the above-named persons who shall be so apprehended and bro't to justice...." (p226/c1) (appears in many subsequent issues)

Proceedings of Congress (p226/c3p227/c1)

**December 19, 1792** (#27501) French Revolution (p229/c1-p230/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p231/c1-2)

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Updates on Presidential Election: Unanimous votes for George Washington and John Adams by the electors of New Hampshire. (p231/c3)

# December 22, 1792 (#27501)

# Alexander Hamilton as Catullus, No. VI to Aristides

"But these reasons do not prove that Mr. Jefferson was only the vehicle of communication; they prove the contrary; that he was both the vehicle of communication, and the patron, though not the author of the proposition. The precise difference between being the mere vehicle, and being both the vehicle and the patron of a proposition consists in this; that in the first case the agent does nothing more than communicate the proposition—in the last he gives an opinion arising out of it, in furtherance of the views of the proposers; which is exactly, what is acknowledged to have been done by Mr. Jefferson." (p233/c3)

# Proceedings of Congress (p235/c1-2)

Updates on Presidential Election: Unanimous votes for George Washington and George Clinton by the electors of North Carolina. (p235/c3)

# December 26, 1792 (#27501)

Proceedings of Congress. Bank of United States. (p238/c4-p239/c1)

Updates on Presidential Election: Unanimous votes for George Washington and John Adams by the electors of Vermont; unanimous votes for George Washington and George Clinton by the electors of Georgia; unanimous votes for George Washington, seven votes for John Adams, and one vote for Aaron Burr by the electors of South Carolina. (p239/c2)

#### **December 29, 1792** (#27501) French Revolution (p241/c1-p243/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p243/c1-3)

"M. Blanchard's forty-fifth Aerial Flight, is fixed for Wednesday, January 9th, in the Prison Court, at 10 in the morning, precisely, weather permitting." (p243/c3)

"RUN-AWAY from the subscriber, the 12th April, A NEGRO BOY, named Zeb; slim and tall, sixteen years old.... whoever takes up said Boy, and brings him to Jacob Mersereau, on Staten-Island, shall receive TWENTY DOLLARS...." (p243/c4)

# January 2, 1793 (#27501)

French Revolution (p245/c1-p246/c1)

"Letter From Thomas Paine to the People of France": "First year of the Republic, Fellow Citizens! I receive with affectionate gratitude the honor which the late national assembly has conferred upon me, by adopting me a citizen of France; and the additional honor of being elected by my fellow-citizens a member of the national convention. Happily impressed as I am, by those testimonies of respect shewn towards me as an



WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1793.

[No. 62 of Vol. IV.]

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Foreign Affairs. FRANCE.

FRANCE CONVENTION, LITTLE For TROMAR PAIRS tokin PROFILE (FRANCE) "PRANCE" "PRANCE" "PRANCE" "Firly year of the Ikepublic. "TROMAR PAIRS tokin PROFILE Inded the homor which the Lare minded the homor which the lare provided by my fellow-citit the an individual 1. Feel marrier backen down that divided marri

autorisitie by Ipons of earth, and Historic chitzenhips to the foil, like erestion.
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and for all the damgers the commercial mercial. The principles on which that this on began, have extended this to Levrope, and an over-ga Favidence is regenerating and wold by the principles of the control of the control of the and the other parts of the globe, has admit of her carrying of principles beyond her own fai-time, that the now raifes the and a bus the power all the other here, that the now raifes the and shifts of the rown failes, con-forther rights of all markind. The fame for the rown battles, con-ting the rights of all markind. The fame for the rown battles, con-ting the rights of all markind. The fame for the rown battles, con-ting the rights of all markind. The fame for the rown battles, con-ting t

other : and they know from system and practice, how to calculate the probable fuccefs of defors against defors : and here their knowledge and their experience end. " But in a contell like the pre-fent, a new and boundless variety of the system of the second of the power against which he contends. New armiserife against him with the needling of the moment. It is then that the difficulties of an inva-ding enemy multiply, as in the for-mer cale they diminished i, and he use preferd them to cod. " The only war that has any fi-milarity of circumstances with the proferent, is the later revolution-war in America. On her part, as innow is in France, it was a war of the whole nation. There is was that the ordition of the second the second prepared him for defers. He ad-uer, put himidal in a condition of being conguered. His first victories prepared him for defers. He ad-found thindel' in the midd of a nat-on a merics. the agitated mind, be calm. Let us ponish by instructing, rather than by revenge. Let us begin the new craby a greatments of friendship, and hait the approach of union and fac-cefs. Your Pellow-Chitzen, "THOMAS PAINES."

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[Whole No. 384.]

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FAYETTEVILLE, (N. C.) Dec. 18.

EATETEVILLE, (N.C.) Dec 18. Latters from Newbern mention the Hon. RECEASE 19. SPACET, to be choles GOVERNOM of bis 52nt. Hit Excellency Accessing Martin, 252, out hat Governo, tecked SUNATOR, in Congreth, in place of free Hon. Samuel Jone-Rom, the term of whole appointment expire in March next; that by the laft balleting for the place footbolling the next alignably Pag-etteville had a large majority.

individual, I feel my felicity increased by seeing the barrier broken down that divided patriotism by spots of earth, and limited citizenship to the soil, like vegetation." (p245/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p246/c2-p247/c1)

**January 5, 1793** (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p249/c1-4, p251/c1-2, p252/c1-4)

James Madison and James Monroe, Vindication of Mr. Jefferson (cont.) (p250/c1-2)

French Revolution (p250/c3-4, p251/c3-4)

**January 9, 1793** (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p253/c1-4, p255/c1, p256/c1-3)

**January 12, 1793** (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p257/c1-p259/c2)

French Revolution (p259/c2-3, p260/c1)

Report of Mr. Blanchard's hot-air balloon ascent (p259/c4)

**January 16, 1793** (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p261/c1-p262/c3)

French Revolution (p262/c4-p263/c2)

"50 Dollars Reward. RAN away on the 25th instant, a likely Negro Man called Isaac, about twenty-three years old, five feet six or eight inches high, a well made fellow, fond of talking, has a large mouth, and shows his teeth very much when talking.... Said Negro was formerly the property of Mr. William Thomas, Isle of Kent County, near George-Town Cross Roads, deceased, and has for several years been employed...as a waggoner.... He is an artful fellow, and when taken, will make his escape, unless particularly secured. OWEN KENNARD. Easton, Talbot County, Maryland." (p263/c4)

**January 19, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p265/c1-3)

Proceedings of Congress (p265/c4-p267/c1)

#### January 23, 1793 (#27501)

*"A Lottery for the Improvement of the Federal City."* (p269/c2) (appears in many subsequent issues)

Proceedings of Congress (p270/c2-p271/c2)

# January 30, 1793 (#27501)

"An Act to amend an Act intitled, 'An act establishing a Mint, and regulating the Coins of the United States, so far as respects the coinage of Copper" (p277/c3)

Proceedings of Congress (p277/c4-p279/c2)

**February 6, 1793** (incomplete issue, missing p287-288) (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p286/c3-p287/c2)

French Revolution (p286/c1)

# February 13, 1793 (#27501)

Tench Coxe as A Pennsylvanian, Letter (p293/c2)

Proceedings of Congress (p293/c3-p294/c3)

French Revolution, including Trial of the King (p294/c3-p295/c3)

# February 16, 1793 (#27501)

"Sketches of the Proceedings of a Club of Hon. and learned Gentlemen, friends of the P—t of this state, at a meeting held in the early part of last month." Friends and admirers of Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Mifflin consider how best to honor him. (p297/c2-p298/c1)

Arthur Lee as *Philanthropos*, Letter (p298/c1)

Proceedings of Congress (p298/c3-p299/c2)

# **Congress Counts Electoral Votes and Declares George Washington and John Adams Elected** (p299/c3)

# February 20, 1793 (#27501)

Address of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to President Washington and his reply

[Washington:] "To enlarge the sphere of social happiness is worthy the benevolent design of a Masonic Institution. And is most fervently to be wished, that the conduct of every member of the fraternity, as well as those publications that discover the principles which actuate them, may tend to convince mankind that the grand object of Masonry is to promote the happiness of the human race....

<sup>\*</sup>And I sincerely pray that the Great Architect of the Universe may bless you here, and receive you hereafter in his Immortal Temple." (p302/c2-3)

French Revolution  $(p_{302}/c_{3-4})$ 

Proceedings of Congress (p303/c2-3)

February 23, 1793 (#27501)



Proceedings of Congress (p306/c2-p307/c1)

"Song For The President's Birth-Day-1793. Sung at the Ball Last Evening" (p307/c2)

Summary of *Chisholm v. Georgia*, United States Supreme Court (p307/c3)

Impromptu Poem: "THE Secretary makes reports, / Whene'er the House command him; / But, for their lives, some Members say / They cannot understand him. / In such a puzzling case as this, / What can a mortal do? / 'Tis hard for one to find reports / And understandings too." (p307/c4)

**February 27, 1793** (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p309/c1-4, p310/c4-p311/c2, p312/c1-2)

Trial of Louis XVI (cont.) (p310/c1-4)

March 2, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p313/c1-3, p314/c3-p315/c2)

French Revolution (p313/c3-p314/c1)

**March 6, 1793** (#27501) Trial of Louis XVI (cont.) (p317/c4)

Proceedings of Congress, including Presidential Inauguration (p318/c2-p319/c2)

March 9, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p321/c1-323/c2)

George Washington, Second Inaugural Address (p323/c3)

March 13, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p325/c1-326/c4)

March 16, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p329/c1-p330/c4)

March 20, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p333/c1-p334/c2)

*Marat*, "*Articles of Impeachment Against Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury*" (p334/c2-3) Satire in support of Hamilton.

French Revolution:

*"The final judgement of Louis XVI.... "THAT LOUIS CAPET IS GUILTY OF HIGH TREASON, AND OF ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE GENERAL SAFETY OF THE STATE."* (p335/c1)

"The National Convention after sitting near 34 hours, has just voted that eh punishment of **DEATH Shall be inflicted on his MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.**" (p335/c1)

March 23, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p337/c1-4)

French Revolution (p338/c1-3)

March 27, 1793 (incomplete issue, missing p343-344) (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p341/c3-p342/c1)

#### [French Revolution

"Execution of Louis 16.

"Louis was Beheaded yesterday at the Place de Louis XV at a quarter past ten o'clock in the morning. He was conducted thither in the mayor's carriage, accompanied by his confessor and two gendarmes. Great silence was preserved during the procession, but when he reached the fatal spot, the noise of drums and trumpets was great, He ascended the scaffold with firmness, made a sign he had something to say: little however, was heard, on account of the noise, except 'I die innocent! I forgive you all!' The sentence was instantly executed, and Vive la Nation resounded on all sides." (p343/c2)]

March 30, 1793 (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p345/c1-2)

French Revolution (p346/c1-3)

**April 3, 1793** (#27501) Proceedings of Congress (p349/c1-4)

me co For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES. de ce Mr. FENNO. A s charges against the executive officers of the general government have lately WC tie become fashionable, I beg leave through your ŀ paper to lay the inclosed refolutions before the Houfe of Citizens of the United States. What I really am, is a matter of no con-Th fequence to any one-but I PROFESS to be a man of great candour and to be influenced by no motive befide that of the public good; I am clearly of opinion that capable fervants th are dangerous to the public fafety-that they tai fhould often be charged with maladministraho tion, either before, or without the producan tion of evidence, fimply to introduce the good-D ly principle of rotation in office-that when m ey obtain influence by eminent abilities and ufefulnefs, the United States should adopt the Athenian plan and fubject them to irreke vocable offracifm-that when violations of ali official duty are charged, there fhould always fp be a promife on the part of the acculer to acknowledge his error when proved, but every ra care should be taken to elude performance tr whatever proof may be produced on the part re Ju N of the accused; in short I fully acquiesce in r the doftrine of old Hudibras, and make it my of invariable practice that "When convine'd against vy will, "I'm of the fame opinion ftill." in ot These with the principles contained in the following resolutions are mine, and I hold n m cc myfelf to be as flaunch a democrat as any the dominion can produce. MARAT. 31 ART:CLES OF Impeachment against ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Secretary of the Treasury. re G ne of IR. RESOLVED, That every officer of the United States who by talents and integer ed rity-by important fervices and republican manners, conciliates the effect and affection y. of the people, " violates the law" of equality -is an ariftocrat-exposes the counfels of m dthe United States to confidency, flability, and confidence, and therefore is highly reprehenfible. to 2d, RESOLVED, That a violation of the law 0, of equality is the violation of the people's he right, which requires that every free man, fhould enjoy the privilege of defpiling talents 6--degrading worth and demolishing reputaad ín by refolutions uninveftigated and untion, founded 3d. RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Treafury has been guilty of a violation of this law of equality. 1. By his long and diffin-guifhed fervices during the late war. 2. By as ITn-1íis indefatigable exertions to effort the effabliffment of the federal government. 3. By I,

on his fidelity and induftry in the difference of his prefent office, by which he has obtained the confidence and effects of his fellow-citizens, and is likely from his talents, virtues,

"Particulars of the Execution of Louis, XVI." (p351/c2-3)

#### April 6, 1793 (#27501)

"An ACT for enrolling and licensing ships or vessels to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, and for regulating the same." (p353/c1-p354/c1)

French Revolution (p354/c1-p355/c1)

#### April 10, 1793 (#27501)

"An ACT for enrolling and licensing ships or vessels to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, and for regulating the same." (cont.) (p357/c1-3)

French Revolution, including Testament of Louis XVI (p357/c3-p358/c2, p359/c1-4)

"I forgive, with all my heart, those who have made themselves my enemies without my having given them any cause; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as those who, through a false or mistaken zeal, have done me much evil....

"I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils which she suffers on my account, and the uneasiness which I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured, that I remember nothing against her, if she thinks she has any thing to reproach herself with." (p359/c3)

# April 13, 1793 (#27501)

"An ACT for enrolling and licensing ships or vessels to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, and for regulating the same." (cont.) (p361/c2-p362/c1)

French Revolution (p362/c2-p363/c1)

Poem, "Death of Louis XVI." (p363/c3)

#### April 17, 1793 (#27501)

*"AN ACT providing compensation to the President and Vice-President of the United States"* (p365/c2)

**Fugitive Slave Act of 1793**: "An ACT respecting Fugitives from Justice, and persons escaping from the Service of their Masters" (p365/c2)

With this first federal law on fugitive slaves, Congress authorized local governments to capture and return escaped enslaved people to their owners. This act was strengthened a half century later as part of the Compromise of 1850, but the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 outraged northern public opinion and helped lead to civil war.

French Revolution (p365/c4-p366/c1, p366/c3-4)

# April 20, 1793 #25420 (#27501)

**Patent Act of 1793**: "AN ACT to promote the progress of useful Arts, and to repeal the act heretofore made for that purpose," **full front-page printing** (p369/c1-3)

"when any person or persons, being a citizen or citizens of the United States, shall alledge that he or they have invented any new and useful art, machine, manufacture or composition of matter, **or any new and useful improvement** on any art, machine, manufacture or composition of matter, not known or used before the application, and shall present a petition to the Secretary of State...it shall and may be lawful for the said Secretary of State, to cause letters patent to be made out...." (p369/c1)

In August 1787, well into the proceedings of the Federal Convention, James Madison and Charles Pinckney recommended adding the power to issue patents to the draft U.S. Constitution. The delegates agreed without a dissenting vote. The clause appears in Article 1, Section 8, charging Congress with the promotion of "the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." The first Patent Act, passed on April 10, 1790, gave the power to grant patents to a board consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General. Thomas Jefferson personally examined all applications. Only 57 patents were granted during his tenure as Secretary of State under the First Act, partly due to his strict interpretation of the requirement for originality and practicality. Soon, however, Jefferson and the other board members realized that they had insufficient time to assess all the applications.

The Patent Act of 1793 addressed the problem, charging the Secretary of State with issuing a patent to any applicant who complied with a set of prescribed formalities, swore his invention was original, and paid a fee. Also, through Jefferson's private influence, it broadened the wording to include any "*new and useful improvement*" to an existing product, a definition that remains to this day. To reduce the Patent Board's responsibility, however, the 1793 Act left any claims of the novelty and validity of an invention for the courts to decide. This system remained in effect for more than forty years, by which time patents—many of them for inventions that were not original—were being issued at a rate of 600 per year. To stem the tide of derivative and useless inventions, Congress passed a revised act in 1836, which returned to the practice of examining an application before the issue of a patent.

A Citizen, Letter from New Jersey defending Alexander Hamilton (p369/c3-4)

Fredericksburg, VA: Satire on patents and politics:

"A correspondent informs us, that a Patent will shortly pass the President's seal to secure to several congressional districts in this state, the benefits arising from a late and most important discovery they have made, that talents are not essential in legislation: But as an extension of this privilege to the usual term might create jealousies in other districts, it is expected the exclusive right will not be guaranteed to the inventors for a longer time than two years; during which period we shall doubtless have an opportunity of judging of this wonderful invention." (p370/c4)

French aeronaut Jean Pierre Blanchard's balloon flight reaches 5,812 feet over Philadelphia, and he records the results of four experiments ( $p_{371}/c_4$ )

#### April 24, 1793 (#27501)

*A Citizen*, Letter from New Jersey **defending Alexander Hamilton** (cont.) (p373/c3-p374/c1)

French Revolution (p374/c1-2)

#### Washington's Proclamation of U.S. Neutrality in War of the First Coalition

*"WHEREAS it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, G. Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part; and France, on the other—and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers.* 

*"I HAVE therefore thought fit by these presents, to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively...."* (p375/c4) (appears in several subsequent issues)

**April 27, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p378/c2-p379/c3)

#### May 1, 1793 (#27501)

"AN ACT to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes" (p381/c1-3)

# Abridgement of the New Constitution of France (p381/c3-4)

French Revolution (p382/c2-3, p383/c1)

May 4, 1793 (#27501) Abridgement of the New Constitution of France (cont.) (p385/c3-4)

French Revolution (p385/c4-p386/c2, p387/c3-4)

"ADDRESS from the National Convention to the French Nation" (p386/c4-p387/c2)

**May 8, 1793** (fragment of leaf between pages) (#27501) Proclamation by Major General Anthony Wayne prohibiting any "*hostile attempts*" against any Indian towns or settlements near the Lower Sandusky River (p389/c2)

French Revolution (p389/c3-p390/c2)

**May 11, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p394/c2-4)

**May 15, 1793** (#27501) John Quincy Adams as *Marcellus*, arguing in favor of U.S. neutrality (p397/c2-3)

French Revolution (p397/c4-p398/c2)

**May 18, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p401/c3-p402/c2)

Arrival of Minister from the Republic of France

"Mr. Genest [Citizen Edmond-Charles Genêt] has been violently censured by many for giving commissions to the privateers fitted out at Charleston. We can assert, from good authority, that in so doing he has only complied with the orders of the executive of France who sent him, and that the commissions are in fact from that executive and only filled up by Mr. Genest, which he is directed to do when called upon for that purpose." (p403/c1)

Citizen Genêt's actions in Charleston, South Carolina, in commissioning American privateers endangered American neutrality. When Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton refused to suspend American neutrality to support France, Genêt protested and defied the American government. Washington and his cabinet demanded that France recall Genêt. The new government in France issued an arrest warrant for Genêt. Fearing that he would be sent to the guillotine, Genêt asked Washington for asylum. Hamilton, Genêt's harshest critic in Washington's cabinet, convinced Washington to grant Genêt the asylum he sought.

Address of Committee of the Commercial and Trading Interests to President George Washington, and his reply

[Washington:] "The friends of humanity will deprecate war wherever it may appear; and we have experienced enough of its evils in this country to know that it should not be wantonly or unnecessarily entered upon—I trust therefore that the good citizens of the United States will shew to the world that they have as much wisdom in preserving peace at this interesting juncture, as they have heretofore displayed valour in defending their just rights." (p403/c4)

**May 25, 1793** (incomplete issue, missing p409-410) (#27501) [John Quincy Adams as *Marcellus*, arguing in favor of U.S. neutrality (p409/c1-2)]

Numa, "Probable Consequences Of the United States taking part in the present War between France & Great Britain." (p411/c2)

"OBSERVATIONS on the newly proposed CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE." (p412/c1)

#### May 29, 1793 (#27501)

"Address of the German Republican Society of Philadelphia, to M. Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France to the United States," and his Reply (p413/c3-4)

French Revolution (p414/c3-p415/c1)

**June 1, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p417/c4, p420/c1-4)

"Gen. Alexander McGillivray died lately at Pensacola—It is said he is succeeded by Galphen." (p419/c3)

**June 5, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p421/c2-p423/c1)

**June 8, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p426/c1-p427/c2)

#### Blanchard's Balloon Flight Experiments

"Mr. Blanchard on Wednesday made his Parachute experiment with complete success. A dog, a cat, and a squirrel were carried up with the Parachute by a balloon. A match was so placed to burn, at a certain heighth, the connection, between the balloon and the parachute, under which the animals were secured; the balloon then ascended with doubled velocity, and the parachute descended, first with celerity, but soon spreading in the shape of an umbrella nearly, brought the travellers safely to the ground near Bush-hill, from the heighth of about one mile." (p427/c3)

**June 12, 1793** (#27501) Letters from Lafayette (*"during the first days of his captivity"*) (p429/c3-p430/c2)

French Revolution (p430/c2-p431/c1)

**June 15, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p433/c4-p434/c4) "M. Blanchard will repeat his experiment with the Parachute, for the last time, on Monday next, at ½ past 6 o'clock in the evening, at his Rotunda in Chesnut-street. Tickets, at half a dollar, may be had at Mr. Oellers' Hotel." (p435/c3)

**June 19, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p438/c2-p439/c1)

**June 22, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p442/c2)

#### June 26, 1793 (#27501)

Address of the Baltimore Mechanical Society to President Washington, and his Reply

[Washington:] "THE language of your address shews that you have rightly estimated the purposes for which our general government was established—and so evident are the benefits resulting to the industrious citizen of every description throughout the United States, from the operation of equal laws, and from the security and tranquility with which they have pursued their various avocations...that it becomes the duty of those who are entrusted with the management of their public affairs to endeavor, by all proper means, to continue and promote those invaluable blessings.... If the citizens of the United states have obtained the character of an enlightened and liberal people, they will prove that they deserve it, by shewing themselves to be true friends of mankind , and making their country not only an asylum for the oppressed of every nation, but a desirable residence for the virtuous and industrious of every country." (p445/c4)

French Revolution (p446/c1-3)

#### June 29, 1793 (#27501)

Address of the Town of Salem, Massachusetts, to President Washington, and his Reply "Gentlemen, Placed in the situation I am by the free voice of my fellow citizens, it becomes a duty, pleasing as it is strong, to pursue such measures as appear best calculated to promote their true interests. Under this impression I issued the late Proclamation, declaring

the neutrality of the United States in the present contest between France and other European powers." (p449/c4)

# Alexander Hamilton as *Pacificus*, No. I (p450/c4-p451/c3)

The **Pacificus-Helvidius** letters were a series of articles published in the *Gazette of the United States* in response to President George Washington's controversial Proclamation of Neutrality of April 22, 1793.

Hamilton's seven *Pacificus* letters, published between June 29 and July 27, defended the president's right to proclaim neutrality and defined the U.S. responsibilities toward France under the 1778 treaties narrowly. In response to the Constitution's grant of executive power, Hamilton insisted that the Senate's participation in making treaties and Congress's power to declare war were "exceptions" to the general plan of leaving foreign policy in the hands of the Executive and should be "construed strictly." Washington's proclamation was constitutional because it neither declared war nor made a treaty. Because the treaty with France created a "defensive alliance" and the existing war was an offensive war on the part of France, the United States had no obligation to support France. Arguing that "self preservation is the first duty of a Nation," Hamilton also argued that the United States, surrounded by British and Spanish possessions and lacking necessary fortifications and a sufficient navy, was in no position to enter a war.

Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison, urging him to respond to Hamilton's letters: "Nobody answers him, & his doctrine will therefore be taken for confessed. For god's sake, my dear Sir, take up your pen, select the most striking heresies, and cut him to pieces in the face of the public." Reluctantly, Madison, writing as *Helvidius*, responded in five letters published between August 24 and September 18, 1793.

Madison stressed the Constitution's limits on executive power in both foreign and domestic affairs. Madison asserted that the constitutional powers to declare war and make treaties were not executive in nature but that the Constitution expressly delegated those powers to the legislature. Madison insisted that the Proclamation infringed upon the power of Congress to decide whether to declare war. Despite the "change of government" in France, Madison argued that the treaty with France still applied and the United States remained obligated to France. He also asserted that the executive had no power to "suspend or prevent the operation" of a treaty.

Marriage of Henry Lee (Revolutionary War officer, Governor of Virginia, and father of Robert E. Lee) to Ann Carter (p451/c4)

**July 3, 1793** (#27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>*Pacificus*</u>, No. II</mark> (p454/c4-p455/c3)

**July 6, 1793** (#27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>*Pacificus*</u>, No. III</u> (p458/c4-p459/c1)

**July 10, 1793** (#27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>*Pacificus*</u>, No. IV (p461/c3-4)

French Revolution (p462/c2-4)

**July 13, 1793** (#27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>*Pacificus*</u>, No. V</u> (p465/c4-p466/c1)

"Hints respecting a project for establishing universal peace with the Indians" (p465/c1-2)

**July 17, 1793** (#27501)

"Hints Respecting a project for establishing universal peace with the Indians" (cont.) (p469/c1-2)

Alexander Hamilton as <u>Pacificus</u>, No. V (cont.) and <u>No. VI</u> (p469/c4-p470/c3)

**July 20, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p473/c1-4)

**July 24, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p478/c1-2)

#### **July 27, 1793** (#27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>*Pacificus*</u>, No. VII</mark> (p481/c1-3)

French Revolution (p482/c2-3)

[Address of the inhabitants of the City and Neighborhood of Trenton [New Jersey], to the President of the United States," and his Reply

[Washington:] "I am persuaded that the flourishing condition of the United States, and the happy situation of our political circumstances, will not fail to impress every reflecting mind. And sure I am, that there is not a well-wisher to this country who can desire to see us involved in the contest in which the powers of Europe are now engaged." (p483/c2)

#### July 31, 1793 (#27501)

John Quincy Adams, "AN ORATION Pronounced July 4th, 1793, at the request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in commemoration of the Anniversary of American Independence." (p485/c1-p486/c1)

Address of Inhabitants of Alexandria, Virginia, to President Washington, and his Reply

[Washington:] "Deeply impressed with the important advantages which the United States will experience by remaining in peace during the present contest among the powers of Europe, it is with the highest satisfaction that I receive this manifestation of your wishes for the preservation of that invaluable blessing...." (p486/c1-2)

**August 3, 1793** (incomplete issue, missing p491-492) (#27501) French Revolution (p489/c3-p490/c4)

**August 7, 1793** (#27501) French Revolution (p494/c1-3)

#### August 10, 1793 (#27501)

#### John Jay, Opinion in Chisolm vs. Georgia (p497/c1-2)

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled 4–1 that Georgia did not possess sovereign immunity and was subject to suit by private citizens from another state in federal court.

Citizen Genêt's Arrival in New York City (p499/c2)

**August 14, 1793** (#27501) John Jay, Opinion in *Chisolm vs. Georgia* (cont.) (p501/c1-3)

Address of Committee of Republicans to Citizen Genêt, and his Reply "*To the Republicans of New-York*" (p502/c1-3)

French Revolution (p502/c3-4)

August 17, 1793 (#27501)

John Jay, Opinion in Chisolm vs. Georgia (cont.) (p505/c1-3)

Alexander Hamilton, Circular to the Collectors of Customs, August 4, 1793, regarding privateers (p506/c1-2)

#### Sea-Serpent Account

"Capt. Crabtree, who lately arrived at Frenchman's bay...gives the following extraordinary account of a sea-serpent, the authenticity of which may depended on:

"On the 20th of June last, being on my passage from the West Indies, in the morning, having just made Mount-Desart Island, distant nearly ten leagues, I suddenly got sight of a Serpent of an enormous size, swimming on the surface of the ocean, its head elevated about six or eight feet out of the water, rather prone forward. That part of the body which was out of water, I judged to be about the size of a barrel in circumference, but the head larger, having some resemblance of a horse's. According to the most accurate computation which I made in my mind of his length, I think it could not be less than 55 to 60 feet, and perhaps longer.... The eye was perfectly black, sharp, and piercing. I was so near it as to observe clearly that there were no fins or external appendages to the body...." (p506/c3)

#### August 21, 1793 (#27501)

Nestor, letter No. I "TO THE PEOPLE."

"The nation has observed with astonishment during the last three months the torrent of abuse that has been poured out against the President and the chief officers of government.... the only thing to be considered at this hour is the clear and positive proof we have received that foreigners are interfering in the administration of our government; that they are attempting to turn out some of the principal executive officers, for no cause that we can discover, but because those officers are desirous to preserve neutrality and peace." (p509/c1)

#### August 24, 1793 (#27501)

Nestor, letter No. II "TO THE PEOPLE." (p513/c1)

**James Madison as** <u>*Helvidius*, No. I</u>, responding to Alexander Hamilton's *Pacificus* letters (p513/c2-4)

French Revolution (p514/c1-3)

Citizen Genêt, Letter to President Washington, and reply by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson (p514/c4-p515/c1)

August 28, 1793 (#27501) James Madison as <u>*Helvidius*</u>, No. I (cont.) (p517/c1-3)

Resolutions in support of Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, and Delaware. (p518/c1-p519/c1)

Address of the Inhabitants of Hartford, Connecticut, to President Washington, and his reply (p519/c1-2)

College of physicians report about yellow fever outbreak in Philadelphia (p519/c3)

August 31, 1793 (#27501) Alexander Hamilton as <u>No Jacobin, No. IX</u> (p521/c4-p522/c1)

# James Madison as Helvidius, No II (p521/c1-4)

French Revolution (p522/c2-3)

#### September 4, 1793 (#27501)

"NEW CONSTITUTION of FRANCE. Decreed by the National Convention. DECLARATION of the RIGHTS of MAN and of the CITIZEN." (p525/c1-3)

Address of arrested members of the National Convention to the French nation (p525/c3-4)

Address of Citizens of Dorchester County, Maryland, to President Washington, and his reply [Washington:] "YOUR approbation of the measure which I have taken to declare to the world the Neutrality of the United States, towards the belligerent powers of Europe, gives me sincere pleasure." (p527/c1)

**September 7, 1793** (#27501) James Madison as <u>*Helvidius*, No III</u>. (p529/c3-4)

French Revolution (p530/c2-4)

Resolutions in support of Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality from Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. (p531/c1-2)

"NEW CONSTITUTION of FRANCE." (cont.) (p532/c1-4J)

**September 11, 1793** (#27501) **James Madison as** <u>*Helvidius*, No. III</u> (cont.) (p534/c1-2)

Alfred, Letter to Citizen Genêt (p533/c1-4)

French Revolution (p534/c3-4)

September 14, 1793 (incomplete issue, missing p539-540) (#27501) James Madison as <u>Helvidius</u>, No. IV (p537/c1-3)

Resolutions in support of Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maryland, Virginia, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. (p537/c3-p538/c3)

President George Washington to the Mayor of New Haven, Connecticut (p538/c2-3)

[Alexander Hamilton to the Citizens of Philadelphia, on the yellow fever epidemic:

"Motives of humanity and friendship to the citizens of Philadelphia, induce me to address to you this letter, in the hope that it may be in some degree instrumental in diminishing the present prevailing calamity....

"I have myself been attacked with the reigning putrid fever, and with violence—but I trust that I am now compleatly out of danger. This I am to attribute, under God, to the skill and care of my friend Doctor Stevens, a gentleman lately from the island of St. Croix, one to whose talents I can attest, from an intimate acquaintance begun in early youth...." (p539/c1)]

Note: Due to the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, which infected approximately 11,000 and killed about 5,000 people, the *Gazette of the United States* suspended publication following the September 18 issue for three months, resuming on December 11, 1793.

# Original Newspaper Runs Capturing Unfolding Stories

Newspapers published from 1800 to 1804, including the *New York Post*, the newspaper Hamilton founded.


Washington's funeral; the "Revolution of 1800"; Hamilton's election as President of the Society of the Cincinnati; westward expansion; pro-Federalist commentary; debates in Congress; official legislation; important speeches, letters, and addresses by and about Jefferson.

*Columbian Centinel*, January – December 1800. Boston: Benjamin Russell. 101 issues, lacking only January 4, 8, 11, and June 21. 404 pp. total. The *Centinel* was printed on Wednesdays and Saturdays. #30027.42

Jan. 15 Death of George Washington, "Funereal Solemnities in Honor of the Memory of the Now Sainted Washington." ( $p_1/c_2-4$ ). Dispatches from around the nation printed through Feb 1.

Jan. 25 Napoleon Bonaparte seizes power, Nov. 1799. "Another Revolution in France!"

May 3 Sedition Act, Justice Chase rules in trial of Thomas Cooper: *"All governments punish libels upon government… there is nothing we should more dread than the licentiousness of the Press."* (p1)

June 11 James Callender indicted on sedition charges for "The Prospect Before Us" a pamphlet criticizing President Adams (secretly financed by Thomas Jefferson).



June 25 "The Jeffersoniad" by "Decius" (attributed to an aide of Hamilton), on the dangers of a Jefferson presidency. Complete series of sixteen published serially, through Sep. 20.

Oct. 15 "The Latitudinarian." Series of essays (printed serially through Dec. 27), including attacks on Mary Wollstonecraft's female adherents in America as "*unsexed Innovators*." This series provoked vigorous debates in Boston about the rights of women within the Federalist party. (p1/c3)

Dec. 10 John Adams' Final State of the Union Address, on Washington's death, the capital's move to Washington, DC, defense, strong economy, etc.

Dec. 20 **Quasi-War Ends.** "Convention Between the French Republic and the United States of America" October 3, 1800. Peace treaty signed by Joseph Bonaparte, Oliver Ellsworth. (p2/c2; p3)

Dec. 24 Election of 1800. Votes tied. House of Representatives will decide election: "*It is* asserted, and generally conceded, that Messrs. Jefferson and Burr will each have a majority of votes for President of the United States.... Should this prove to be the fact, the citizens...will yet have another chance to elect a Federal President." (p2/c3)

Hamilton's reelection as councilor to the New York Manumission Society; Gabriel Prosser's Slave Rebellion; Toussaint L'Ouverture's Proclamations; Jefferson's election and Inaugural Address; Congress Convenes its first session in Washington, D.C.; President John Adams appoints John Marshall Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

*New York Spectator*, October 4, 1800 – September 30, 1801. New York: G.F. Hopkins. 105 issues, 420 pp. total. #23484

Oct. 25 **Gabriel Prosser executed** on Oct. 10 in Richmond. Anger following Prosser's planned rebellion leads directly to outlawing of free blacks in Virginia (1806) and much stricter laws against the education and free travel of slaves. (p1/c1)

Nov. 8 Quasi-War Ends: Treaty with France promising mutual "amity and commerce" signed at Paris (September 30). (p2/c3)

Nov. 29 **John Adams' last State of the Union**, on Washington's death, Congress' first assembly in Washington, D.C., and the state of the nation's military. Further correspondence between Adams and Congress, printed on December 3 and 6.



Nov. 29 **Hamilton Defended**. *NY Gazette* asserts that Hamilton's intended audience for the inflammatory Letter "Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams" had been only a few Federalist officials. Hamilton's scathing Letter was instead circulated publicly, embarrassing and dividing the Federalist party just ahead of the critical 1800 election. (p3/c1)

Dec. 3 **Presidential Election Results**: First count of votes returned, by state and party: "Adams & Pinckney... 66... Jefferson & Burr... 57" (p3/c2). Further vote returns, commentaries, and reports printed through December 17.

Dec. 24 Full text of Convention ending Quasi-War with France

Jan. 24 Hamilton reelected Councilor of NY Manumission Society

Feb. 25 Jefferson Elected President on 36<sup>th</sup> Ballot. *"10 States for Mr. Jefferson...4 States for Mr. Burr"* (p3/c5). Further coverage of Jefferson's election on February 27.

Feb. 27 **John Adams submits his "midnight" nominations for circuit judges**; nominates Charles Lee for Attorney General. (p3/c3)

March 11 **Thomas Jefferson's First Inaugural Address,** March 4, 1801 (p3/c3) "A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry...advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye....

"Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things.... We have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions...." "[E]very difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated."

Mar. 14 Jefferson names cabinet appointments, including Madison as Secretary of State.

### Mar. 21 Jefferson's response to Baltimore's New Jerusalem Church

Apr. 29 Jefferson, to the inhabitants of Warren County, N.C.: "*Nothing is more important to the interest of our country, than the absolute exclusion of every degree of foreign influence.*"

May 13 Republication from the *Gazette of the United States* all 25 "Phocion Letters," which questioned Jefferson's temperament for the presidency, accused him of hypocrisy on slavery, and hinted at his relationship with Sally Hemings. (Hamilton had used that pen name in 1784, so some observers believed him to be the author. However, William Loughton Smith, a Federalist Congressman and Hamilton ally from South Carolina, has since been identified as the more probable author of the 1796 Phocion letters.)

### June 10 *"The Dey of Algiers has DECLARED WAR against the United States."*

July 25 **Jefferson's** "*Reply to the 'Remonstrance of the Merchants of New-Haven,*" Jefferson, already suspected of partisan motives in dismissing many Federalist office-holders, drew sharp criticism when he denied the substance of the merchants' complaint. (p1/c5)

Aug. 8 "Whatever claims to eminence **Dr. Franklin** may have...there is no point of light in which his character shines with more luster, than when we view him as a man or a citizen. He was eminently great in common things.... Nothing ever passed through his hands without receiving improvement; and no person ever went into his company without gaining wisdom."



Capt. Bainbridge Pays Tribute to the Dey

Aug. 15 **Toussaint L'Ouverture, Address to the People of Santo Domingo**, commemorating their new Constitution. (p1/c4) Constitution printed in full in Aug. 19 issue.

# Rare run of first year of Hamilton's Paper, including many of his pseudonymous letters, Coverage of the duel that killed Philip Hamilton, Addresses by and about Jefferson, etc.

*New-York Evening Post*, November 18, 1801 – May 15, 1802. New York: William Coleman. 153 issues, lacking only the first two issues (Nov 16 and 17), with Nov 18 damaged with some loss of content. (The Nov 24 issue is disbound). 612 pp. total. #24683

This run of the *New-York Evening Post* includes a complete series of eighteen articles entitled "The Examination," signed "Lucius Crassus." First appearing in the *Post*, "The Examination" was the Federalist answer to Thomas Jefferson's first annual message to Congress on December 8, 1801. Letter I was printed on December 17 and reprinted the next day. Subsequent letters were printed on December 21, 24, 26, 29, January 2, 7, 12, 18, 19, Feb 3, 23, 27, March 2, 3, 19, 20 and April 8. Among the other Hamilton-related content was an extensive report on November 28, 1801, of the duel that killed his son Philip.

Nov. 19, 1801. Editor William Coleman expresses his devotion to the "cause of Federalism" but also pledges to promote "a spirit of harmony" among all who are "disposed to unite in their exertions to maintain the Constitution and Laws."

Nov. 20. Announcement that "*Preliminaries of Peace have been signed between Great-Britain and France.*" The Treaty of Amiens, signed in March 1802, temporarily ended hostilities during the French Revolutionary Wars.

Nov. 24. Death of Philip Hamilton. On November 23, 1801, Philip Hamilton was shot by George Eacker in a duel, and died the next morning. This issue of the *New-York Evening Post* was printed only hours later. The fact that the fight was precipitated by Eacker's criticism of Alexander Hamilton was omitted.

"On Friday evening last, young Hamilton and young Price, sitting in the same box with Mr. George I. Eacker, began in levity a conversation respecting an oration delivered by the latter in July, and made use of some expressions respecting it, which were overheard by Eacker, who asked Hamilton to step into the lobby; Price followed- here the expression, damned rascal, was used by Eacker to one of them, and a little scuffle ensued...challenges followed....

#### NEW-YORK EVENING POST. TUESDAY, NOFEMBER 24, 1901.

#### DIED,

This morning, in the 20th year of his age, PHILIP HAMILTON, eldest son of General Hamilton-murdered in a duel.---

As the public will be anxious to know the leading particulars of this deplorable event, we have collected the following, which may be relied upon as correct.

On Friday evening last, young HAMILTON and young PRICE, sitting in the same box with Mr. GEORGE I. EACKER, began in levity a conversation respecting an ora ion delivered by the latter in July, and made use of some ex pressions respecting it, which were overheard by EACKER, who asked HAMILTON to step into the lobby ; Price followed-here the expression, dammed rascal, was used by EACKER to one of them, and a little scuffle ensued ; but they yoon adjourned to a public house :plantition was then demanded, which of them the offensive expression was meant for ; after a little hesitation, it was declared to be intended for each : EACKER then said, as they parted, I expect to hear from you ; they replied, you shall; and challenges followed. A meeting took place, between EACKER and PRICE, OF Sunday morning; which, after exchanging four shots each, was finished by the interference of the seconds.

Yesterday afternoon, the fatal Duel was fought between young HAMILTON, and EACKER. HAMILTON received a shot tho' the body the first discharge, and fell without firing. He was brought across the ferry to his father's house, where he languished of the wound till this morning, when he expired.

He was a young man of an amiable disposition and cultivated mind; much esteemed and affectionately beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Reflections on this horrid custom must occur to every man of humanity; but the voice of an individual or of the press must be ineffectual without additional, strong and pointed legislative interference. Fashion has placed it upon a footing which nothing short of this can controul.

"Yesterday afternoon, the fatal Duel was fought.... Hamilton received a shot thro' the body the first discharge, and fell without firing.... Reflections on this horrid custom must occur to every man of humanity; but the voice of an individual or of the press must be ineffectual without additional, strong and pointed legislative interference. Fashion has placed it upon a footing which nothing short of this can controul."

On July 4, 1801, George Eacker had given a speech (at King's College, now Columbia University), criticizing Federalist policies, many of which were developed by Alexander Hamilton. On November 20, 1801, Philip Hamilton and his friend Richard Price went to see a play at Park Theater and ran into Eacker. A screaming match ensued, and Eacker called them "damned rascals," a grave insult. Both Philip and Price challenged Eacker to duels. On November 22, Eacker and Price dueled, but neither were injured. The next day, Eacker faced Hamilton, who reportedly took his father's advice and refused to raise his pistol. Eacker did not shoot either—at first. After some time, Eacker raised his pistol, and Philip followed. Eacker shot. The bullet struck Hamilton above his right hip, went through his body, and lodged in his left arm. He died on the morning of the 24th.

Three years later, Alexander Hamilton would duel in the same spot, with the same tragic results, with his mortal wound being attended by the same doctor.

Nov. 28. Announcement "to the public": "The friends of young Mr. [Philip] Hamilton sincerely regret that the unfortunate affair, which terminated his life, should have become matter of news-paper discussion. But since it has so happened they feel it to be due to his memory, that a correct statement of facts should vindicate him from more blame than is imputable to him, and should show that the catastrophe which ensued, might probably have been avoided, if, in the subsequent stages of the transaction, the moderation, as well of Mr. H. as of his friends, had been favorably met....

"On the evening of Friday, the 20th instant, at the Theatre, Mr. Hamilton and another young gentleman, Mr. P—, went into a box where Mr. Eacker was, and entered into conversation together, casting pointed ridicule upon an oration delivered by Mr. Eacker, on the Fourth of July last, and afterwards printed.... Mr. E. seized Mr. H. by the collar and exclaimed, 'I will not be insulted by a set of rascals.'... They united in opinion, that the retaliation of Mr. E. had been of so violent a nature as to render it impossible for Mr. H. to decline taking further notice of it....

"Mr. E. first undertook to deliver his answer verbally, but after some hesitation, and embarrassment of expression, he drew from his pocket a paper from which he read it—it was to this effect, 'the expressions I made use of towards Mr. Hamilton at the Theatre on Friday night last, were produced by his conduct on that occasion; I thought them applicable then, and I think so still.'...

"In the mean time Mr. H. still reflecting, that in the origin of the controversy, the blame lay with him, averse in principle to the shedding of blood in private combat, anxious to repair his original fault, as far as he was able without dishonor, and to stand acquitted in his own mind, came to the determination to reserve his fire, receive that of his antagonist, and then discharge his pistol in the air....

"Unhappily the first fire of Mr. E. took effect, and by mortally wounding Mr. H. defeated the execution of this generous intention....

"It is a small tribute due to the memory of this estimable but unfortunate young man, to say, that the witnesses to this fatal scene testify the display of a steady resolution on his part, which evinced the most deliberate courage....

"He received his wound about three o'clock, and languished till five the next morning int eh full possession of his faculties, supporting the pain of his faculties, supporting the pain of his situation with the utmost fortitude, without a murmur or a reproach—soothing occasionally his afflicted parents, and piously resigned to the event." (p3/c1-2)

Nov. 30. "*Reflections on the Peace*." In the peace between France and Great Britain, there is "one danger, far more menacing to all the interests of our country." The Spanish cession of Louisiana to France, territories "adjoining our's on this side the Mississippi," could "anticipate evils of enormous magnitude, and of the most mischievous tendency." (p3/c2) Dec. 1. In response to an article in the American Citizen that accused editor William Coleman of having "a servile and unprincipled disposition to distort truth" and describing the statement on Philip Hamilton's duel as "totally destitute of truth," Coleman wrote, "He feels himself authorized to add, that the terms on which he has since stood with the nearest connections of Mr. H. while it refutes the calumnious insinuation, affords him a consolation, equally grateful to his sensibility, and flattering to his pride. He is satisfied with having acted from upright motives...."

Dec. 2. "Reflections on the Peace, Number II." "France assuredly will be now, more than ever, an object of jealousy to all the powers of Europe; because she is now, more than ever, to be feared."

Dec. 17. "The Examination, Number I" by Lucius Crassus [Alexander Hamilton]. "The Message of the President, by whatever motives it may have been dictated, is a performance which ought to alarm all who are anxious for the safety of our Government, for the respectability and welfare of our nation. It makes, or aims at making, a most prodigal sacrifice of constitutional energy, of sound principle, and of public interest, to the popularity of one man.... What will the world think of the fold when such is the shepherd?"

Dec. 21. "The Examination, Number II." "How reconcileable is this with the wanton and unjust clamours heretofore vented against those who projected and established our present system of public credit; charging them with a design to perpetuate the debt under the pretext that a public debt was a public blessing? It is not to be forgotten, that in these clamours Mr. Jefferson liberally participated! Now, it seems, the tone is entirely changed. The past administrations who had so long been calumniated by the imputation of that pernicious design, are of a sudden discovered to have done too much for the speedy discharge of the debt, and its duration is to be prolonged by throwing away a part of the fund destined for its prompt redemption. Wonderful union of consistency and wisdom!" (p3/c1)

Dec. 24. "The Examination, Number III." "the adepts of the new-school have a ready answer: Industry will succeed and prosper in proportion as it is left to the exertions of individual enterprise. This favorite dogma, when taken as a general rule, is true; but as an exclusive one, it is false, and leads to error in the administration of public affairs. In matters of industry, human enterprize ought, doubtless, to be left free in the main, not fettered by too much regulation; but practical politicians know that it may be beneficially stimulated by prudent aids and encouragements on the part of the Government. This is proved by numerous examples too tedious to be cited; examples which will be neglected only by indolent and temporising rulers, who love to loll in the lap of epicurean ease, and seem to imagine that to govern well, is to amuse the wondering multitude with sagacious aphorisms and oracular sayings."

Jan. 12, 1802. "The Examination, Number viii." "It appears from the last census, that we have increased about one third in ten years; after allowing for what we have gained from abroad, it will be quite apparent that the natural progress of our own population is sufficiently rapid for strength, security and settlement. By what has been said, it is not meant to contend for a total prohibition of the right of citizenship to strangers, nor even for the very long residence which is now a prerequisite to naturalization, and which of itself, goes far towards a denial of that privilege. The present law was merely a temporary measure adopted under peculiar circumstances and perhaps demands revision. But there is a wide difference between closing the door altogether and throwing it entirely open; between a postponement of fourteen years and an immediate admission to all the rights of citizenship. Some reasonable term ought to be allowed to enable aliens to get rid of foreign and acquire American attachments; to learn the principles and imbibe the spirit of our government; and to admit of at least a probability of their feeling a real interest in our affairs. A residence of at least five years ought to be required."

Feb. 24. Another editorial attributed to Hamilton: "Were we to attempt a correct definition of a Republican Government, we should say, 'That is a Republican Government, in which both the Executive and Legislative organs are appointed by a popular Election, and hold their offices upon a responsible and defeasible tenure.'... General Hamilton did never propose a monarchy.... To arraign the morals of any man because he entertains a speculative opinion on government different from ourselves, is worse than arrogance. He who does so, must entertain notions in ethics extremely crude, and certainly unfavourable to virtue."

Apr. 8. "The Examination, No. 18." "Though adventitious circumstances may have aided the result, it is certain that a penetrating and comprehensive mind could be at no loss to foresee a progress of our affairs, similar to what has been experienced. Upon this anticipation the assumption of the state debts, and other apparently bold measures of the government were avowedly predicated, in opposition to the feeble & contracted views of the little politicians, who now, triumph in the success of their arts, and enjoy the benefits of a policy, which they had neither the wisdom to plan nor the spirit to adopt.... Already the cause of truth has derived this advantage from the crude essays of their Chief, that the film has been removed from many an eye. The credit of great abilities was allowed him by a considerable portion of those who disapproved his principles; but the short space of nine months has been amply sufficient to dispel that illusion; and even some of his most partial votaries begin to suspect, that they have been mistaken in the object of their idolatry."

May 11. Advertisement for *The Examination of the President's Message*, "*Revised and Corrected by the Author*," a book of 127 pages, was available at the newspaper's office for 50 cents. "It is believed that every person who duly estimates the political discussions which have appeared in the E. Post in a series of numbers, under the signature of Lucius Crassus, will wish to have them in their best form. That they may be read without interruption, they are offered in the shape of a pamphlet, and are recommended by the revision and correction of the author.— Whoever is desirous of comprehending the schemes of the party now in power, in their true light, and in all their consequences, will peruse this book with entire satisfaction."

May 13. Announcement of the signing of the Treaty of Amiens between Great Britain and France on March 27, which brought hostilities in the French Revolutionary Wars to a halt, until they resumed in May 1803.

## **Repeal of Federalist legislation; The New Naturalization Act; Callender turns on Jefferson; Jefferson's Second State of the Union**

*New-York Herald*, March 31–December 22, 1802. New York: M. Burnham. 80 issues, plus 2 pp. index. The *Herald* was the semi-weekly edition of the *New-York Post*, founded in part by Alexander Hamilton in 1801. Both papers acted as a Federalist counterpoint to the Jefferson administration and figured prominently in public debates on Congressional legislation. Signed by prominent Hartford lawyer Enoch Perkins (1760-1828). #30038

Mar. 31 Repeal of 1801 Judiciary Act, signed in type by Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

Apr. 1 Fire destroys Princeton College. Contributions solicited for rebuilding (p1/c3). Further content on rebuilding in May 15 issue.

Apr. 7 **William and Mary College, Student Riot following a Duel:** "For this gross violation of the rules of the College, they were both expelled, which so enraged all the rest of the Collegians, that they assembled, went into the church, broke and destroyed all the windows, cut down the pulpit, tore out all the leaves of the bible.... These may be considered as some of the blessed effects of the modern, or Jeffersonian system of religion." (p1/c2)

Apr. 7 US Mint. House Debate on dissolution, and repeal of Mint Law. (p2/c4)

Apr. 21 Public Debt Satire: "Instead of pursuing the old-fashioned aristocratical way of ... paying off the debt, our sagacious committee of ways and means have originated a much less expensive plan ... by borrowing money at a higher rate of interest." (p1/c2)

May 1 Naturalization Act of 1801, signed by Jefferson and Burr (p1/c1)

## May 8 Luther Martin, a staunch Anti-Federalist, defends Hamilton against charges of monarchism. (p1/c1)

May 29 John Stanley "Report on the Activities of the Congress," advocating transparency. "*It is of the first importance that the citizens of a free country should be acquainted with the acts of those to whom they have committed the administration of their affairs.*" (p1/c1)

May 29 Letters parody John Wood's book, *Narrative of the Suppression by Col. Burr, of the History of the Administration of John Adams.* (p2/c2-3)

May 29 Death of Martha Washington, May 22, 1802, at Mount Vernon. (p3/c4)

June 2 "Female Aeronaut!" In Paris, Jeanne Genevieve Labrosse, *"only 20 years of age"* ascended in a balloon, observed by 43,000 people. (p3/c1)

June 5 Letter to Thomas Jefferson, signed "A Christian": "You were, I believe, permitted by heaven as a scourge to punish the licentiousness and wickedness of the times." (p3/c4)

## June 9 George Washington, Journal, excerpt recounting an ambush during his 1753-54 mission to assert Virginia's claims in the Ohio Valley. (p2/c2)

July 14 James Callender reveals Jefferson bribed him to denounce Washington and Adams.

July 24 John Wood (attributed), "A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr, Esq. Vice President of the United States." (p1/c4) Printed serially through July 28.

July 24 Hamilton's 1780 **"Letter respecting the fate of Major John Andre"** to John Laurens: *"Never, perhaps, did a man suffer death with more justice, or deserve it less."* 

July 28 Duel between General James Jackson and Col. Watkins, Jackson wounded. (p3/c3)

Aug. 18 Cato Letters (poss. Thomas Paine). Two letters written directly to the *Herald*, Aug 18 and 25 on the "Revolution of 1800": "*When the storm is once raised; when 'the tempestuous sea of liberty' is once put in agitation, it will be found no easy task to allay its fury*...."

Dec. 4 Report of Thomas Paine's Return to the U.S.: "*Mr. Paine now stands before the world the avowed Author of "The Age of Reason"...too blasphemous to meet the public eye.*"

Dec. 4 **Thomas Paine, Four Letters "To the Citizens of the United States."** Printed serially through Dec. 15. "*After an absence of almost fifteen years, I am again returned to the country in whose dangers I bore my share, and to whose greatness I contributed my part.*" (p3/c1)

Dec. 22 **Jefferson's 1802 State of the Union Address.** Discussing Indian relations, outlining negotiations to fix the boundaries, and continuing warfare between the US and Tripoli. Domestically, Jefferson praises the strong state of finances that has allowed the redemption of a large portion of the national debt. (p2/c1-3): "Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad; law, order, and religion at home; good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbors; our burthens lightened, yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond



example. These, fellow citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet, and we remark with special satisfaction those which under the smiles of Providence result from the skill, industry, and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions ... A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruisers, and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary Powers may eventually require that force to be augmented.... [T]o keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union as the only rock of safety—these, fellow citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all proceedings."

Dec. 22 Excerpt of Preface to new edition of The Federalist Papers. (p2/c5)

Dec. 22 Response to State of the Union: "In truth Mr. Jefferson, the people expect a little flattery from you, they have been accustomed to it ... but when you treat them in a manner that could hardly pass with a miss in her teens, is there not some little danger they may open their eyes when you least expect it, to the paltry artifices which are played upon them?"  $(p_3/c_3)$ 

### Louisiana Purchase; Marbury v. Madison; Debates over Naturalization Laws and Freedom of the Press, Jefferson's Third State of the Union.

*New-York Herald*, January 1–December 31, 1803. New York: M. Burnham. 103 issues, 412 pp. total. Printed on Wednesdays and Saturdays. This volume lacks only June 4. (The March 26 issue had been removed, but we were able to acquire another separately, and include it here. That key issue contains Justice John Marshall's opinion in *Marbury v. Madison*, the landmark case establishing the principle of judicial review.) #30039

Prominent in this run of the 1803 *Herald* are debates over the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, printings of recently passed Acts of Congress, reports of July 4th Celebrations, and impeachment proceedings against Judges John Pickering and Samuel Chase. The *Herald* provides an impressive snapshot into the workings of the federal government, foreign affairs, and the dastardly deeds of officials big and small.

Jan. 19 James Callender imprisoned in Virginia. Concerns about freedom of the press. (p1/c1)

Jan. 19 Jefferson names James Monroe Minister Extraordinary to France and Spain. (p3/c1)

Feb. 5 "Revolutionizing America," 1794 tract originally attributed to Thomas Paine, giving detailed instructions for a French invasion and radicalization of America. Paine denied authorship.  $(p_3/c_3)$ 

Feb. 9 Judiciary Act of 1801, House debates repeal, constitutionality of removing judges. (p1/c1)

# Feb. 19 Essay defending Irish immigrants in Pennsylvania who petitioned for Naturalization Law reforms. (p4/c1)

Feb. 26 Abolition of the Slave Trade, House Debates. (p3/c3)

March 5 Report finds Yazoo Land sales illegal, signed by James Madison and Albert Gallatin.

March 19 Smallpox inoculation research in London leads to a more effective vaccine. (p3/c3)

March 26 *Marbury v. Madison:* Landmark Supreme Court case which established the principle of judicial review. Chief Justice John Marshall, writing for the unanimous court, outlines the argument that "*It is undoubtedly the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is.*" Consequent to this ruling, the Court had jurisdiction to void unconstitutional Congressional legislation. (This issue, while lacking from the run in the bound volume, was acquired separately and is included in the collection.) (#30039.001)

April 13 Jefferson, "Letter to George Clinton," on the necessity of strong state militias. (p3/c2)

July 2 "Two Millions of Dollars!!!" Congressional Act making allowance for "*extraordinary expenses* ... *incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations*." With editorial criticizing Jefferson's hypocrisy. (p1/c4-5)

### July 2 Louisiana Purchase: April 29, 1803. (p2/c4)

July 9 Burr "unanimously elected a member" of the Society of the Cincinnati. (p2/c5)

July 13 Fourth of July toast: "Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold----may Traitors always meet their reward." (p2/c4)

July 27 William Cooper of Cooperstown announces new settlement in DeKalb, N.Y. (p4/c4)

Oct. 1 King George III justifies war against Napoleon in lengthy address. (p1/c1-5)

Oct. 15 France, preparing to invade England, seizes land. (p3/c1)

### Oct. 22 Jefferson's Third State of the Union, (October 17, 1803)

"Free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide-spread field for the blessings of freedom and equal laws."

Delivered just three days before the final ratification of the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson urges Congress to absorb the resulting \$13,000,000 of new debt without raising taxes. American negotiators James Monroe and Robert Livingston were authorized to purchase the port of New Orleans only, but after the loss of Haiti to Toussaint L'Ouverture's forces, Napoleon offered the entire 828,000 acres to the United States for \$15,000,000, or about 3 cents an acre. It was one of the best land deals in history. Jefferson, a strict Constitutional constructionist, engaged in a little hand-wringing over his principles but ultimately favored the acquisition. The Constitution was silent on the matter of acquiring new territory, and some in Congress questioned the legality of the purchase. Most, however, came to support the acquisition as a phenomenal opportunity for the young nation. For all its positive benefits, however, national expansion created unforeseen harms, most notably the expansion of slavery and Indian removal.

Oct. 26 12th Amendment passes in Congress, advances to state legislatures. (p1/c1)

Oct. 26 Treaty and Convention between the United States and France, re control of Louisiana: *"For the payment of the sum of sixty millions of francs ... Louisiana shall be taken possession of in the name of the government of the United States,"* signed James Monroe and R. R. Livingston.

Nov. 2 Spain remonstrates against France and United States for the sale of Louisiana. (p1/c2)

Nov. 9 Congress passes "An Act to Enable the President of the United States to take possession of the territories ceded by France to the United States," October 31, 1803.  $(p_2/c_2)$ 

Nov. 23 "An Account of Louisiana," including geography, cultural descriptions, and records from the Departments of State and the Treasury  $(p_1/c_4; p_2)$ . Printed serially through Nov. 26.

## Hamilton-Burr Duel, Hamilton's Funeral, & Thomas Jefferson's Fourth State of the Union, News of Louisiana Purchase

*New-York Herald*, January 4–December 29, 1804. New York: M. Burnham. Includes three black-bordered issues related to the death and funeral of Alexander Hamilton, copious reporting on the Hamilton-Burr duel, and other major national and international events including the beginning of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, the ratification of the 12th Amendment, the beginnings of U.S. administration of the newly acquired Orleans territory, the Barbary Pirate War, the humiliating loss to Barbary powers of the USS *Philadelphia* and Stephen Decatur's burning of the captured American frigate, Napoleon becoming Emperor of France, among many other news and opinion items. Contemporary marbled boards. #30040

Jan. 25 France officially cedes Louisiana to United States.

March 28 Jefferson, Report to Congress on the loss of the USS *Philadelphia*, run aground in Tripoli harbor, with Commodore Bainbridge's letter reporting the loss. Further dispatches, commentary, and content on May 19.

June 26 12th Amendment ratified, following vote in New Hampshire legislature.

July 4 Philadelphia Board of Health, Rules for Containing Yellow Fever

July 7 New York City's Independence Day festivities

July 11 The last issue of the Herald under Hamilton's ownership before the duel.

July 13 (#30040.01) "With emotions we have not a hand to inscribe, have we to announce the death of ALEXANDER HAMILTON. He was ruthlessly cut off in the 48<sup>th</sup> year of his age, in the full vigor of his faculties and in the midst of all his usefulness.

"We have not the firmness to depict this melancholy, heart-rending event. Now- when death has extinguished all party animosity, the gloom that overspreads every countenance ... bear irresistible testimony of the esteem and respect all maintained for him, of the love all bore him; and assure us than an impression has been made by his loss which no time can efface...."

July 14 Hamilton's July 11 duel with Burr, Hamilton's death on July 12. Including testimonials, news of the procession, and two pages with funerary black borders.

July 18 Testimonials and commentary on Hamilton's death and a complete report of the "Funeral Obsequies," including Gouverneur Morris' funeral oration. Pages in black borders. "*The shocking catastrophe which has recently occurred, terminating the life of Alexander Hamilton, and* 



which has spread a gloom over our city that will not be speedily dissipated, demands that the circumstances which led to it, or were intimately connected with it, should not be concealed from the world. When they shall be truly and fairly disclosed, however some may question the soundness of his [Hamilton's] judgement on this occasion.... The following is the correspondence that passed between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr."

July 21 Further reports on Hamilton-Burr duel, also black-bordered.

Oct. 10 Jefferson's Address to the Chiefs of the Osage tribe.

Nov. 7 Burr indicted for murder of Alexander Hamilton.

Nov. 7 College of New Jersey (Princeton). Trustees announce rebuilding of College following its destruction in a fire, plus construction of several additional buildings.

#### Nov. 14 Thomas Jefferson's Fourth State of the Union Address.

"The objections which had been urged by [the Spanish] Government against ... our title to ... Louisiana have been withdrawn.... With the nations of Europe in general our friendship and intercourse are undisturbed.... The activity and success of the small force employed in the Mediterranean in the early part of the present year ... will ... reduce ... Tripoli to the desire of peace on proper terms.... With the Indian tribes established within our newly acquired limits, I have deemed it necessary to open conferences for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighborly relations between us."

Dec. 5 Thomas Paine's "To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana"—anti-slavery.

#### First Printings of Thomas Paine Essays; News of the Hamilton-Burr Duel; Hamilton's Funeral Proceedings; Louisiana Purchase Celebrations; Jefferson's Fourth State of the Union

*The Aurora*, January–December 1804. Philadelphia: William Duane. 310 of 312 issues printed in 1804, lacking only March 13 and 19. 620 pp. #30037

Prolonged debates over the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, printings of recently passed Acts of Congress, impeachment proceedings against Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase, and many other topics made 1804 a banner year. Several new Thomas Paine publications, including his "*Remarks on Governeur* [sic] *Morris's Funeral Oration of General Hamilton,*" "*Nonsense from New York*" on Hamilton's death, and his major anti-slavery screed, "*To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana,*" signed "Common Sense"). The sitting Vice President killed a national hero (Duane was still printing letters between Hamilton and Burr five months after the duel). The nation tripled in size. This rare run of the *Aurora*, with an anti-Federalist attitude, provides an impressive snapshot into the workings of the federal government, foreign affairs, and the misdeeds of public officials. Many Jefferson reports, including his 4<sup>th</sup> State of the Union Address.

June 26 The 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment (to avoid a repeat of the contentious election of 1800, the Vice President must meet the same constitutional requirements as the President and run on one ticket) becomes part of the Constitution upon New Hampshire's ratification.

July 4 A printing of the Declaration of Independence.

July 13 News of Hamilton's death. "Burr and Hamilton have this morning fought a duel, general Hamilton is wounded, and it is said mortally! ... I have just now heard (half past 12 o'clock) is dead.... The greatest man in America has this morning fallen in a duel!—General Hamilton!—yes—HAMILTON!—the pride of every true American, is, by this time no more!" (p2/c1)

July 19 A complete report of Hamilton's funeral.

Aug. 7 **Thomas Paine's "Remarks on Governeur [sic] Morris's Funeral Oration of General Hamilton,"** signed "Common Sense." Criticizing praise of Hamilton and his political achievements.

Aug. 23 **Thomas Paine's "Nonsense from New York" on the death of Hamilton**, signed "Comus."

Sept. 22 Thomas Paine's "To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana," signed "Common Sense."

Nov. 12 Thomas Jefferson's 4th State of the Union Address.

#### Year of *The Port Folio* (1804), Including Special Issue on Burr-Hamilton Duel

This entire year of weekly issues of *The Port Folio* includes excellent content—political and diplomatic articles and essays from the year of Jefferson's second presidential election victory. The highlight is the July 21, 1804 issue, entirely devoted to the commemoration of Alexander Hamilton, mortally wounded in a duel with Aaron Burr on July 11. *The Port Folio* prints the entire correspondence between Hamilton, Burr, and their seconds, in the days leading up to the famous "interview" at Weehawken. The editor also includes several tributes from other newspapers, the citizens of Philadelphia, and the members of the bar of the city of Philadelphia.

#### Excerpts, July 21, 1804

"TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. THE shocking catastrophe which has recently occurred, terminating the life of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, and which has spread a gloom over our country...demands that the circumstances which led to it...should not be concealed from the world.... however some may question the soundness of his judgment on this occasion, all must do justice to the purity of his views, and the nobleness of his nature." (p225/c1)

"The following paper, in the hand writing of Gen. Hamilton, was inclosed with his will.... My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws.... I am conscious of no ill will to colonel Burr, distinct from political opposition, which, as I trust has proceeded from pure and upright motives. Lastly, I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview. But it was, as I conceive, impossible for me to avoid it. There were intrinsick difficulties in the thing, and artificial embarrassments, from the manner of proceeding on the part of colonel Burr." (p227/c2-3)

"BISHOP MOORE'S LETTER. Thursday Evening, July 12, 1804.... By reflecting on this melancholy event,... Let the Infidel be persuaded to abandon his opposition to the Gospel, which the strong, inquisitive, and comprehensive mind of a HAMILTON embraced, in his last moments, as the truth from Heaven. Let those who are disposed to justify the practice of duelling be induced, by this simple narrative, to view with abhorrence that custom which has occasioned an irreparable loss to a worthy and most afflicted family...and his country of a great Statesman and a real Patriot." (p228/c3-p229/c1)

*"FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.... The streets were lined with people; doors and windows were filled, principally with weeping females, and even the house tops were covered with spectators...."* (p229/c1-2)

"The Daily Advertiser.... As a statesman, Gen. Hamilton added still greater honour to his name. To him we are principally indebted for the national constitution and the system of laws under which we now live. It was his hand that traced the outlines of our most important municipal institutions. To him we owe the plans for the organization of our National Treasury, the provisions for the payment of the public debt, for the establishment of the banks, of the mint, and the whole revenue system of our country. As a lawyer he was unrivalled at the bar." (p230/c3)

#### July 14, 1804

"This morning, the mournful intelligence of the death of Major-General ALEXANDER HAMILTON has saddened this city, and will long afflict this nation. He was killed by the Vice*President of the United States in a duel, fought on the Jersey shore, on the morning of the 11th of July.*" (p222/c2)

"During the conversation, Mr. Mason wished that general H. would bear testimony against

the practice of dueling, which would be a crowning service to those, which he had already rendered to his country. The general replied, that no man more abhorred the practice, and at his death it would be discovered, he had left a solemn Protest against a custom so ferocious and unprincipled. He then assured Mr. Mason that for a long period, he had been convinced that nothing would appease his antagonist, and though he had strenuously and sincerely endeavored it was impossible to shun the encounter." (p222/c3)

"Thus has perished, in the prime of life, and in the midst of his usefulness, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, the man of exalted sentiments, and extensive views, whose theories guided the statesman, whose eloquence influenced senates, whose delicacy might have polished courts, and whose versatile talents blessed mankind. He has fallen, not in the course of nature, not jeopardizing his life in the high places of the field, but by a private and petty hand, and his perplexed and sorrowing country makes the pathetic interrogatory of the royal Psalmist: KNOW YE NOT



THAT THERE IS A GREAT MAN, FALLEN THIS DAY IN ISRAEL?" (p223/c1)

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON]. *The Port Folio*, January 7, 1804 – December 29, 1804. Philadelphia: printed and published by Hugh Maxwell for editor Joseph Dennie. 416 pp. #25887

