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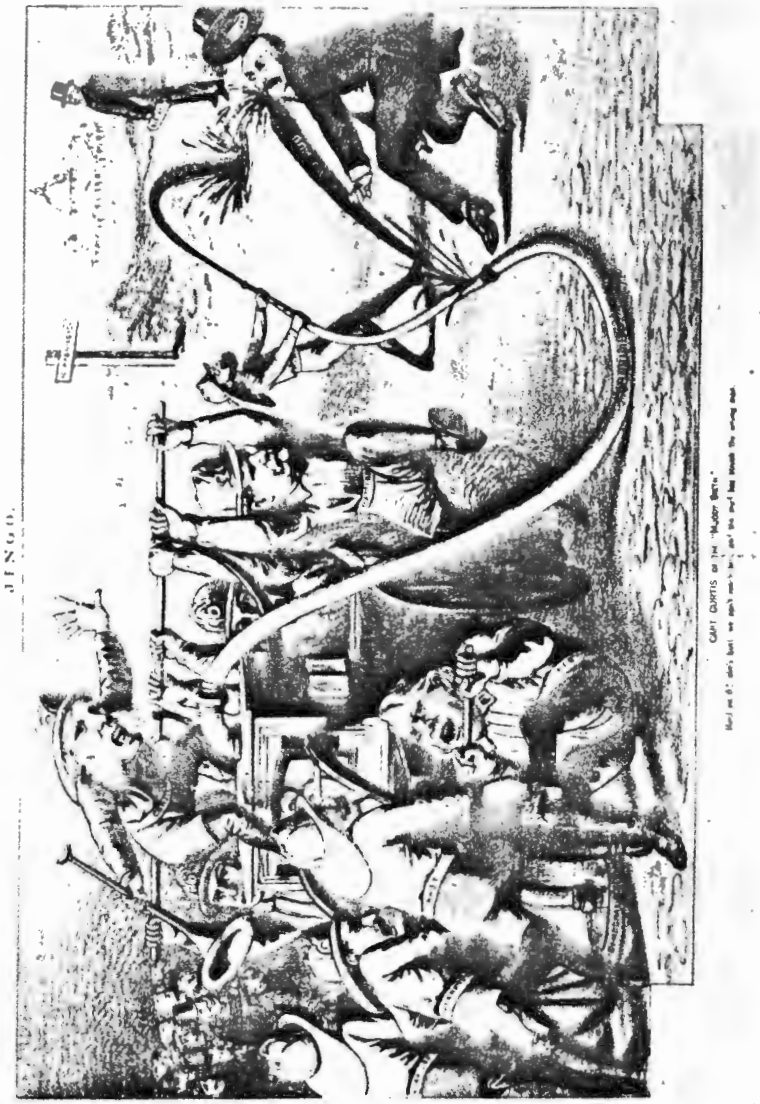
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TORCHLIGHT PARADE

Our Presidential Pageant

BY

SHERWIN LAWRENCE COOK

Essay Index Reprint Series

BOOKS FOR LIBRARIES PRESS
FREEPORT, NEW YORK

CHAPTER ONE

A FEUD AMONG THE FEDERALISTS

MR. ADAMS of Massachusetts was leaving town. With coach and four he was posting through the streets of Washington—forlorn, unfinished, ill-paved, unbeautiful Washington. It was early in the morning of a certain March day in the first year of the nineteenth century. Dreary enough as the slight beginnings of a capital undoubtedly were, they must have looked still drearier to this stout, elderly gentleman who was taking his leave abruptly and without formality. Splashing through the unpaved, muddy, deep-rutted streets, he passed the little groups of houses then, for the most part, quite unlovely. Truly Washington, the American capital, was a bugbear to the foreign legations exiled from livelier purlieus and the elegancies of sophisticated courts. But dreary and crude as the town was, the leave-taking was by no means a happy one for this doughty little man, fleeing the sight of the triumphs of his opponents, before his dignities were stripped from him. Perhaps he turned and looked back for a moment at the small unfinished capitol, so sightly on its hilltop. If he did we can be sure he did not heave a sigh. No, if he gave way to any noise, he grunted.

Few men who have left so high a fame as John Adams have played in harder luck. He was a good sturdy egotist, and everything seemed to conspire to wound his self pride. In New York, twelve years before, at the only inauguration at which the Vice President shared no honors with his chief, he had seen a military man who had reached his commanding

position in war largely through Adams's efforts, which he later repented, made President amid such plaudits that the sound lawyer and tested civic servant, who had been in office for two months already, was quite forgotten—and he thought that he should not be forgotten. And eight years after that in Philadelphia he stood in the chief place. This was his day! Alas! he witnessed a tremendous to-do over the retiring chief which left him quite neglected. Again he found himself playing second fiddle. True, the military hero was Washington, the absolute flower of American greatness above all his fellows. But Adams had never seen that greatness. To him the dull dignity was visible but hardly more, which perhaps is the best sign of the deficiencies of Mr. Adams of Massachusetts.

And now he had been expected to play another subordinate part at another inauguration. In effect he was to walk meekly at the chariot wheels of that fellow Jefferson, who with the help of that arch traitor Hamilton, had elbowed him out of office. Well, he would not do it. Hence he was galloping out of town, up into Maryland, with the little Massachusetts town of Braintree as his final destination. Anyhow, he had physicked those Republicans at the end. That man Marshall of Virginia was a strong character and a convinced Federalist. He had made him Chief Justice and the term was for life. Let the radical Mr. Jefferson put that in his pipe and smoke it. Still, even that had pleased many whom he did not enjoy pleasing, for, after all, much as he resented Jefferson's taking his place, he had found that a man's foes are of his own household. "Of his own household, his own household, household, household, household." Did not the hoof beats of the horses keep time as the embittered old statesman let the words ring in his brain? And what a pity! The party of eminence and dignity went out of power because of the feud between the two men who, after Washington, were the chieftains of this party, one, as Henry Cabot Lodge, who seems to have

understood them both, admirably puts it, the leader *de jure*, the other, the leader *de facto*.

It had lasted a long time, this feud. Although Hamilton had flung out of Washington's military family during the Revolution, he probably resented the stupid and mean intrigue of those subordinate generals of Washington who sought to supplant him with Gates. The alert West Indian must have had a contempt for the politicians (the predecessors of those who plagued Abraham Lincoln with a "committee on the conduct of the war") who sympathized with the movement, and among those was John Adams.

So when after a good deal of effort the former colonies had managed to pull themselves together under a constitution and the choice of a President must be made, Hamilton, who, having been the chief force, through his "Federalist" papers, in getting the constitution adopted by the states, just as Madison had been the greatest force in the convention which drew it, began to cast his eye over the horizon and not in Adams's direction. Of course Hamilton was a Federalist. These stalwart conservatives, far more by force of character and governing ability than by any real popularity, were the ruling party. Without them there had been no constitution. Washington was, by conviction and by association, a Federalist, although he did his honest best not to be partizan and to conceal his predilection. This first test of the elective provisions of the constitution was sure to eventuate in Washington's election as President. Even so restless a spirit as Jefferson agreed in this and even said that although in his opinion the provisions of the Constitution really meant a life tenure of the President, there would be no need to amend it by limiting the term while Washington held the office.

The vice-presidency was in question. There was no man in the Federalist party who undisputedly stood second to Washington. Hamilton was brilliant and able, in spite of his

petty talents for wire-pulling. His brilliance and assiduity had made him without question the most vital political force in the party. He was not old enough to be eligible for either office, although having been in the country at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, his West Indian birth did not bar him as is often supposed. But even if he could have had the place, he would have been uncomfortable in the vice-presidency. He intended his rôle should be that of a Warwick.

The geographical question was conspicuous even in the first election. Virginia was to furnish the President; let the North have the Vice President. Massachusetts then was the leading northern commonwealth, and a Massachusetts man would "balance the ticket." There was Hancock, whose bold hand was such a challenge on the Declaration of Independence. He would have made an excellent Vice President, for he was ornamental, had plenty of money and liked to cut a dash. There was Knox, the sturdy and loyal old bookseller who became so useful an officer in the Revolution, a man whom Washington deeply respected and whom he would gladly have welcomed. But though good words were said of both these men, the fact remained that the chief statesman of Massachusetts was John Adams, a sound lawyer, a strong constitutionalist and a stubborn patriot. As public opinion drifted to him, Hamilton must have made a wry face. Since Adams had not been entirely friendly to Washington in the mid-Revolutionary days, the chief was discreetly approached and offered no objection.

So public opinion, without any formal nomination, put the Federalist party behind Washington and Adams. That the Federalist electors would all vote for this pair seemed inevitable until Hamilton began to be active. The faulty provisions of the Constitution as it was adopted did not provide for separate ballots for President and Vice President. If there was a majority, the highest vote on the single ballot elected the President, and the next, also providing it was a majority,

By the United States in Congreſs aſſembled,

SEPTEMBER 13, 1788.

WHEREAS the Convention aſſembled in Philadelphia, purſuant to the Reſolution of Congreſs of the 21ſt February, 1787, did, on the 17th of September in the ſame year, report to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, a Conſtitution for the People of the United States; whereupon Congreſs, on the 28th of the ſame September, did reſolve unanimouſly, "That the ſaid report, with the Reſolutions and Letter accompanying the ſame, be tranſmitted to the ſeveral Legiſlatures, in order to be ſubmitted to a Convention of Delegates choſen in each State by the people thereof, in conformity to the Reſolves of the Convention made and provided in that caſe:" And whereas the Conſtitution ſo reported by the Convention, and by Congreſs tranſmitted to the ſeveral Legiſlatures, has been ratified in the manner therein declared to be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of the ſame, and ſuch Ratifications duly authenticated have been received by Congreſs, and are filed in the Office of the Secretary—therefore,

RESOLVED, That the firſt Wedneſday in January next, be the day for appointing Electors in the ſeveral States, which before the ſaid day ſhall have ratified the ſaid Conſtitution; that the firſt Wedneſday in February next, be the day for the Electors to aſſemble in their reſpective States, and vote for a Preſident; and that the firſt Wedneſday in March next, be the time, and the preſent Seat of Congreſs the place for commencing Proceedings under the ſaid Conſtitution.

Call for the First Election

Massachusetts Historical Society

elected the Vice President. In the event of a tie, the House of Representatives must decide between them, and, if a majority was lacking, the House was to make choice from the first five.

Now if all the party votes (and none other) were cast for both candidates, there would be a tie and Washington would be put to the humiliation of seeking election from Congress. Hamilton was the most influential man with Washington then living. He did not propose that any tie should occur. Now Hamilton was almost the only sensible man who believed such a contingency possible. Even then there were the beginnings of two parties, the Federalists and the opposition, to be known as Republicans and later as Democrats, destined to be the one indestructible party of our national history. There would be electors representing both of these parties, with the Federalists in probable majority. Both these factions would unite on Washington, there was no doubt of that. No anti-Federalist would vote for Adams. But Hamilton, seemingly greatly disturbed over this possibility, began a campaign to prevent Adams being an equal candidate with Washington.

There was just one man in the country who believed that these were equal candidacies; that was John Adams himself. Yes, Mr. Adams took himself very seriously indeed. And although he had a right to think well of himself, there is no doubt that he overdid it.

Hamilton began the active opposition to Adams which was to bear such bitter fruit by writing to his friends all over the country, urging a movement, ostensibly, perhaps honestly, in Washington's interest, which would keep a number of votes away from Adams. He succeeded perhaps better than he intended, although it seems fairly sure, from his subsequent acts, that he secretly desired to clip the wings of this coming Vice President and to injure his future prospects.

Adams was an Adams; he had all the bigness and littleness

of that famous family. Absolutely pure, intellectual and industrious, he may honestly be called great. But he was vain, sensitive and irritable. There was absolutely no danger of his being tied with the General. The electoral college gave Washington sixty-nine votes, which were all that were cast, while Adams received less than half that number. If Adams had got the entire Federalist support he would not have limped into office and, whether the motive was high or personal, the fact that the sensitive but honest and patriotic Adams was so flouted was attributable to Alexander Hamilton and to him only.

At the next election there was no friction in the predominant party. Washington was the choice of the country, as he had been before, receiving all the votes, while all the Federalist votes were cast for Adams.

Four years later, however, the old feeling burst out with new energy. In that memorable statement which set a precedent that has never yet been broken, Washington declined to serve longer. Hamilton had proved a constructive statesman of a high order, but he had little personal popularity and was not considered, perhaps to his disappointment. Outside of Adams, John Jay was the most available man. But Jay had just returned from England where he had negotiated an unpopular treaty and Adams was thought to be the stronger. A conference of Federalist members of Congress recommended him to the country. This was the first formal nomination that is recorded in the history of the Presidency. Thomas Pinckney, a man of considerable parts and useful public service but in no wise comparable to Adams, Hamilton or Jay, was at the same time nominated for Vice President. The fact that he was a South Carolinian was potent in his selection.

Once more Hamilton showed his hand. This time it was the vice-presidency that he was solicitous about. He liked Pinckney as much as he disliked Adams. He knew that the

seed he had sowed eight years before might blossom now; that some electors might cut Pinckney for the sake of making Adams sure of the presidency rather than let his respectable running mate be tied with him and so send both to the uncertainties of the House. So now Hamilton, instead of suggesting that the vice-presidential candidate be cut, urged that he be loyally supported. He now urged that the New Englanders show unquestioning loyalty to Pinckney and that they let the Massachusetts candidate take his chances that the electors at the South would show equal loyalty. It was known that there was a strong likelihood that this would not happen, and Hamilton—though his biographers credit the sincerity of his motives—did not conceal the fact that he would at least view such a result with equanimity. This caused a schism that had the exactly opposite effect of what Hamilton intended and probably was what cost Pinckney the vice-presidency. The Northern electors were suspicious of the Southern, and, believing that Hamilton intended bringing Pinckney in over Adams, they acted accordingly, and knowing the Northern feeling, a similar demonstration was made in Pinckney's favor in the South.

Adams won, but poor Pinckney fell by the wayside. Adams received 71 votes and became President. Jefferson had 68 and became Vice President, and Pinckney received 59. If the Federalist vote in South Carolina, which was deliberately given to the Anti-Federalist Jefferson, had been cast for Adams, and the votes in New England that were wasted upon minor Federalists in anticipatory reprisal, had been cast for Pinckney—Adams would have led the poll with 79, Pinckney would have had nearly the same amount, and Jefferson would have been third. This is approximately what the figures would have been had not Hamilton intervened.

Party discipline had not then become established firmly. The electoral system was still to a degree separated from

partizan dictation and the electors did not consider that their votes could have no relation to their desires or be virtually delivered in advance. This result would not have been possible after the elector practically ceased to be a free agent.

Hamilton was a greater man than all this makes him appear and the responsible modern biographers of Adams and himself now join in putting the best construction possible upon his acts, but at best they must be considered as reflecting on his political wisdom, and if it was his primary intention to ruin Adams at least it is certain that in such an event Hamilton would have had no regrets. It was but natural that Adams should only see that Hamilton, when Adams was a candidate for Vice President, had striven to keep the election from being thrown into the House and, when he was the presidential nominee, had endeavored to do just that if nothing worse. This was not the best kind of knowledge for a sensitive, autocratic and outspoken old man to possess at the outset of his administration, but it had been borne in upon Adams pretty strongly. Thus bad began while worse remained behind.

Then along came the French war scare and Washington was called back to the Army. Adams, as President, was the constitutional Commander-in-Chief. But in effect he relinquished that. If Washington came in he was to have the naming of his subordinates, Adams acting as Washington wished. When Hamilton was made the senior Major General, the crusty President found it a bitter pill to swallow. Washington was inclined to let Hamilton have a controlling influence in these preliminaries. Adams was right so far as military proprieties went, perhaps so far as military wisdom was concerned. Knox and Pinckney, the other generals, were older soldiers and Hamilton had not proved himself a better. When Adams yielded he did so ungraciously and in the best Adams manner. He wanted to appoint a brilliant young lawyer of New York with some military experience named Aaron

Burr to the position of Brigadier General but Hamilton, and therefore Washington, would have none of him; therefore the appointment was not made. Adams believed his failure to do this was the cause of Burr's political antagonism and, of course, blamed Hamilton.

Adams had in his cabinet three men, legacies from Washington's administration, Wolcott, Pickering and McHenry. They were all Hamilton henchmen and secretly disloyal to their chief. As election approached, the opposition in Adams's cabinet, amounting almost to treachery, became unmistakable, and two of the Hamiltonians—McHenry and Pickering—were dismissed. Hamilton's wrath now reached the boiling point. From the dismissed ministers and—what was worse—from Oliver Wolcott, still Adams's Secretary of the Treasury, he obtained the facts about the administration with which he decided to attack it. He wrote a bitter and denunciatory letter for private distribution, keeping his regularity by a lame and impotent closing paragraph in which he declared his intention to vote for the nominee he had spent his time in denouncing as unfit. How far this letter would have gone and whether or not Hamilton would have overcome his spleen and suppressed it, no one can tell, for Aaron Burr, the vice-presidential nominee of the Republican party, obtained a copy from the printing office, probably by subterranean methods, and all secrecy was at an end. The election was lost. The Republican candidates received 73 votes apiece. Adams had 65 and Charles C. Pinckney, his running mate, 64. A change of 5 votes would have changed the result and Hamilton's own state cast 12.

It is said that Dryden found English literature brick and left it marble. Almost as much might be said of the Federalist party. It certainly found this government in chaos and left it strong and united. Autocratic and narrow, it was certain ultimately to go down before the onward march of

popular suffrage; but that it fell as it did was tragic and pitiful, and was due to the stubborn blindness of one of its greatest statesmen and the mad resentment of another.

But the difficulties of the election were not yet over. From the returns in the possession of the public Jefferson and Burr were tied. The impasse which Hamilton had feared in 1789 had come in 1801. The country understood which office each man had been elected to fill but the House of Representatives must make the formal designation. If Jefferson and Burr were tied in the electoral count the House must break the tie. If there happened to be any reason for throwing out the returns of any Republican state, all four candidates would be eligible before that tribunal. Then Adams and Pinckney would be elected if the Federalists were wise or, if the hatred of Adams was sufficient, Pinckney would be made President and as Adams would have refused the lower place, Jefferson or Burr would be the Vice President. But no one expected such a contingency, though we shall see how clearly it came to arise.

Aaron Burr, destined to be the scapegoat of his historical day, was a man of manners, polish and magnetism, but he represented a lower type of politics than Jefferson, who himself was shrewd, clever and not above a bit of demagoguery now and then. Burr is supposed to have set about undermining his chief. His biographers deny it. But it has always been the fashion to pour obloquy on Burr. Without Burr's association with Tammany, Jefferson would never have been a possibility. New York City decided the state and New York State the nation. Whatever Burr's attitude there was no doubt about the attitude of some of the Federalist congressmen. Here was a chance to strike a blow at Jefferson, their dearest foe, and sow dissension in the party. Burr's chances before the House seemed excellent and he did not publicly repudiate them. Here Hamilton's patriotism and honor asserted itself. He had quite as great a hatred for Jefferson as for Adams

and one much better founded. He was then on outwardly friendly terms with Burr. He knew, however, whom the people had meant to elect and he knew, with all his trickiness, that Jefferson was a greater statesman and a safer man than Burr. He threw the whole weight of his influence with the Federal members for Jefferson, an influence destined finally to settle the issue.

This was the situation when Congress assembled on February 11, 1801, for the electoral count. Jefferson was Vice President. As the presiding officer of the Senate he must receive the votes from the tellers and announce them. Here seems to have occurred the first informality in registering votes in the history of American elections, an informality which but for Jefferson's being in a position to look out for himself, would very possibly have cost him the great office he sought. According to Matthew Davis, biographer of Burr, the "Aurora" of February 16 contains reference to "some informality in the votes of Georgia." The same authority tells us that Senator Wells of Connecticut was the teller who opened the envelope of Georgia and found that the return of the votes "was not authenticated by the signatures of the electors, or any of them, either on the outside or the inside of the envelope, or in any other manner." It merely contained a statement that four votes had been cast for Jefferson and Burr.

He consulted the other tellers and on their advice handed the envelope to Jefferson, stating to him that the vote was informal, expecting him to refer it to the joint convention. Jefferson, seldom bold, was courageous enough in that instance. He declared, without any other statement, that Georgia had cast four votes for Thomas Jefferson and four votes for Aaron Burr, thereby keeping the road open. Had he done otherwise he would probably have lost the presidency.

As the result of the tie the choice between Jefferson and

Burr went to the House. Here the battle was bitter. The vote was by states. At first Jefferson had eight, Burr six and the votes of Maryland and Vermont were equally divided. Thirty-five times from February 11 to February 17 was this result repeated. Then many Federalists declined to vote. Hamilton's efforts had had their effect and the alignment changed in Jefferson's favor. He received the votes of the two states which had been divided. Two others, Delaware and South Carolina, now divided and Burr received four, all from New England. Jefferson had won, thanks to Burr and Tammany and perhaps to his own shrewd, quick thinking on the day of the electoral count.

Jefferson's simplicity became the watchword on the day of Inauguration, as, angry and embittered, Adams made his way back to Braintree. Time heals many wounds. Adams lived to see his son in his seat, but not long enough to see him leave it even as he had himself. It may be that in those quiet autumn years the Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence, which Jefferson had drawn for the committte of which they both were members, loomed larger in his memory than later contention. These old rivals became reconciled and exchanged friendly and cordial letters, though they never again met. There is something infinitely appealing in the kindly words that passed between them in this mellow twilight. When Adams lay on his deathbed on the birthday of the nation he had helped to make, his last words were: "Thomas Jefferson still survives," and yet by one of the strangest coincidences in history, his great antagonist had bowed to the last enemy only a few hours before on the same day. Did they face the unknown together?

The chapter cannot close without a reference to Hamilton. Burr's ambition again asserted itself. In less than four years he sought the governorship of New York. He had worn out his welcome as a Democrat. Jefferson now hated him and

Burr was now playing for Federalist support. Hamilton again thwarted him and divided the Federalists, and the Democrat was elected. As Mr. Lodge says of Hamilton: "Over and over again he had described Burr in language which, as he was well aware, implied in that day a readiness to answer for it in the field." To this accounting Burr held him. Burr prepared for the meeting by pistol practice; Hamilton, by setting his affairs in order. They met on a beautiful summer morning at Weehawken. Burr, untouched, went forth to dissipation, intrigue and a wounded name. The death of Alexander Hamilton on the shores of the Hudson River is the last episode of a chapter in the history of American partizan contention unrivaled in animosity and bitterness.

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by Maxim Ethan Armbruster

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

AND THEIR ADMINISTRATIONS FROM WASHINGTON TO NIXON

Fourth Edition, Revised

Horizon Press New York

tors cast separate ballots for President and Vice-President, Jefferson won easily over his Federalist opponent.

The outstanding accomplishment of Jefferson's first term was, of course, the purchase in 1803, on his own initiative, of the vast Louisiana Territory at four cents an acre, doubling the area of the American nation and producing thirteen new states. America had had commissioners in France with two million dollars to spend, dickering for the cession of New Orleans and West Florida. Jefferson was alarmed at the prospect of an imperial power on the other side of the Mississippi endangering American commerce. Napoleon, fearing there might be a united English-American force marching against Louisiana in the event he declared war on England, sought to head off such an alliance and made a bid for American friendship by selling all Louisiana outright.

Again opportunity and the right man met and Jefferson, ignoring his Constitutional scruples, grabbed at the bargain and told Congress about it afterwards. Thus even Jefferson saw that in the day-to-day performance of practical affairs, decisions often have to be adjusted to circumstances; and that at such a time it would do no good to argue about whether you were a "strict constructionist" or a "loose constructionist" in your view of the Constitution. It is contingencies such as these which fanatical theorists lose sight of in their zeal to foist nostrums on their societies.

But Jefferson's second term was not as peaceful as his first. Europe's perennial conflicts were impinging upon America's domestic tranquillity again, England and France were locked in struggle, and again all neutral shipping was being suppressed by the combatants. Again, because of her superior sea force of seven hundred warships, Britain's depredations were the worst, and this, together with a renewal of her old practice of impressment of American seamen, angered the Americans. The fact that a Francophile was in the White House also did not help the British cause.

The President, whose horror of violence precluded his ever taking the American nation to war, obtained the passage of an embargo act. This kept American ships off the seas altogether, and it was hoped in this way to coerce the combatants into respecting American rights. All it did was to tie up American shipping and threaten ruin to the merchants, seamen, farmers, and fishermen.

Jefferson knew the embargo had failed and had substituted the Non-Intercourse Act, forbidding trade only with England and France until such time as they decided to treat American shipping with respect. France purported to comply—purported only—and the result was that the embargo was directed just against England, hastening the useless War of 1812. Jefferson, like Washington, declined a third term, and retired for good to Monticello; his successor Madison had to deal with the inevitable war.

Jefferson's talents and temperament fitted him for the management of domestic affairs, and all the high achievements of his statesmanship reveal this aspect of his abilities. No other American President ever was so interested in the agriculture of his country. While traveling in Europe he always looked for some new staple that the American planter might adopt to rotate his crops. It was possibly his greatest disillusionment that the United States did not remain an agrarian economy, and that so many of his glorious plans for her had therefore to be discarded.

By his appointment of the able Swiss Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury, he consistently reduced the national debt, even at the expense of the national defense; it was below sixty millions when he left office. West Point Military Academy was nevertheless established during his first term.

Of course, no biographical vignette can tell the whole story of Thomas Jefferson. His interests seem to have covered everything except metaphysics and such physical recreation as we today call sports; he was as talented as Leonardo da Vinci. The historian Beard calls him the most civilized man ever called to the Presidency. To discuss his *Notes on Virginia* alone would take countless pages. Some idea of the universality of his concerns is gained from Mr. David Bruce's delightful account of him:

> Jefferson loved birds, flowers and trees, and was more moved by the note of the mockingbird than by the grandest European art. He held the same opinion as did John Adams of the necessity for Americans of his generation to devote their attention to utilitarian objects in order that their descendants might cultivate artistic ones. His mind turned with ease from a discussion of Greek vowels to the invention of the swivel chair and the leather buggy top. He was the inventor of a plow which won him a prize from the French National Institute of Agriculture; the principle of its

moldboard is in common use today. His own inventions he never patented, wishing the people to have free use of them. Grieved by the dreadful mortality among laborers in the Southern wet rice fields, whose working life is supposed to have averaged only eight years, he strove to introduce the cultivation of Egyptian, Algerian and Italian rice, and attempted to import some, as well, from Cochin China. He sent over olive trees from France for experimental planting in South Carolina and Georgia . . . and he promoted as well the cultivation in the South, of figs, mulberry trees and sugar maples. . . .

During his long residence in France he was in frequent correspondence with American friends, and communicated to them his ideas on such varied subjects as innovations in wagonmaking, with designs for cabriolets, and balloon ascensions, properties of minerals, new mechanical processes, astronomical phenomena, literature and philology. . . . He proposed to compare the vocabulary of African Berbers with that of the Creek Indians, to see whether there could be any foundation for the suggestion that the Creeks were descendants of the Carthaginians. His mind roved from speculations on the practicability of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama to the arrangement of a private aviary and the best manner of packing china cups and saucers.[4]

Jefferson loved friends and glorified friendship. One story can illustrate this side of his character. When Dabney Carr and he were boys, they used to rest under an oak tree not far from where Monticello was built. The boys pledged to each other that they would be buried together under that oak. While Jefferson was away, Dabney Carr died and was buried in the local cemetery. When Jefferson returned, he had Dabney's remains disinterred and deposited under the tree where now Jefferson and his family rest, and the spot can be seen by all who visit that classic home on the hill. Any age would be refreshed by a story like this.

Jefferson had, of course, the finest library in the country. In 1800 the Government had authorized the creation of the Library of Congress, but during the War of 1812 it was burned by the British and Congress had to start all over again. Jefferson's library was then purchased by the Government as a new beginning for the Library of Congress. Jefferson often read works in their original

[4] David K. E. Bruce: *Revolution to Reconstruction*, pp. 99–100; Doubleday & Company.

tongues in order to get closer to their meaning. Imagine a President of the United States in the twentieth century writing to a correspondent as Jefferson wrote to Dr. Joseph Priestly:

> I enjoy Homer in his own language infinitely beyond Pope's translation of him . . . and it is an innocent enjoyment. I thank on my knees Him who directed my early education, for having put into my possession this rich source of delight: and I would not exchange it for anything which I could then have acquired, and have not acquired.

Jefferson's descendants today are legion but they are all through his two daughters, the only ones of his six children to reach maturity. Shortly before he entered upon his second term, he lost his youngest daughter also—his household had always been familiar with death. Thomas Jefferson Randolph came in time to be his favorite grandson.

In reviewing the life of a Washington or a Grant or a Roosevelt, one is conscious of a life of acts, of business having been done in the world of matter, and of one's having noted it all objectively. But in studying the life of Jefferson one feels as if one has himself had an emotional experience—whether good or ill—of having been imbued with a force, confronted by an onslaught of ideas; of having been subjected to influences not easily revocable; of having been unable to take a detached view of what was done or said. One experiences a similar sensation in exploring Woodrow Wilson's life: there is a certain neurosis around the whole matter the sense of which one cannot shake—relieved, in Jefferson's case, of course, by the evangel's genuine goodwill and benignity. In both Jefferson and Wilson we see this zealous absorption with an ideal to an extent that obscured for them the practical considerations to which their propositions were tangent. A main difference between the two men is that Jefferson did not hold personal grudges—one of the qualities that gave him his great charm, a charm that even his enemies acknowledged.[5]

On July 4, 1826, John Adams died in his ninety-first year. His last words were said to be, "Thomas Jefferson still lives." In their last years these two old political opponents, co-workers in the

[5] Although Alexander Hamilton was his most vigorous opponent Jefferson kept a bust of him in the hall at Monticello.

greatest sociological undertaking of the Western world, now both widowed, had recovered their friendship and were enjoying a happy correspondence. Adams's philosophy had not essentially changed; a true realist's seldom does. But we suspect that in his inmost soul the ever-learning Jefferson had perceived that much of his own philosophy could never be applicable in the America which was emerging. That was for Arcadia, which neither he nor those to come after him would ever see. It was a transcendently beautiful conception, this felicitous land, which Beethoven might have envisioned when he composed his *Pastoral Symphony* or Corot have contemplated in one of his tranquil landscapes. And it was right that the ideal should have been striven after in America. It was right also that a near-god should have fathered this idyllic *concept*. But it could have functioned only in a land where the other dwellers were comparably noble.

As if even in death to transcend the past and perplex the future, Thomas Jefferson died the same day as his friend, a few hours before John Adams. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the charter of freedom of the American states with which they had both had so much to do.

The rumblings of "the irrepressible conflict," which was to make all men free and equal as the Declaration stated, could already be heard.

4

★★★★

JAMES MADISON

☆ ☆

		Electoral
VOTE OF 1808:	James Madison, Republican	122
	Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist	47
	Scattered	6
		175
VOTE OF 1812:	James Madison, Republican	128
	DeWitt Clinton, Federalist	89
		217

☆ ☆

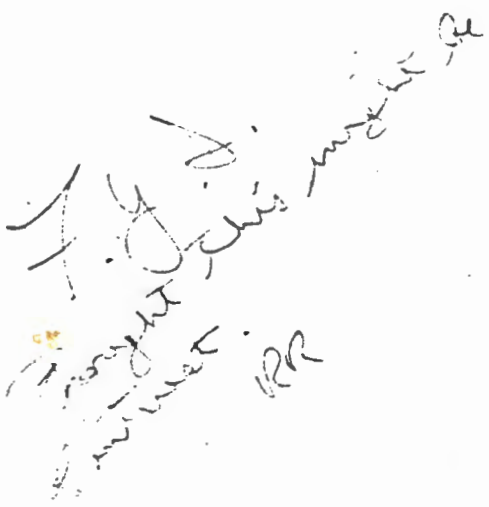
JAMES MADISON, THE DISCIPLE OF JEFFERSON, SUCCEEDED HIS MENTOR in the President's House.[1] It is significant that a political party today would hardly risk running a Presidential candidate like Madison: it would be that certain it could not win with him.

James Madison, son of James Madison and Nelly Conway, had about as drab a boyhood for use as campaign material as one can think of, although it never seemed drab to "Jemmy" Madison. Eldest of ten children, he was frail, slight, and introspective. He never took part in any of the usual boyhood activities, but preferred to keep to his studies and his solitary walks in the Virginia woods.

The America of the early days was fortunate that it had scholars and not mere "personality men" to get its ship of state launched and into the navigable waters of a national life. To the Father of the Constitution—James Madison—America is greatly indebted, even though he was not a great success as President because of his poor administrative ability.

[1] Official designation of the President's residence during this time. Although on occasion it had been referred to as the "White House," it was only after its burning by the British, when the still-standing walls were painted white to conceal the ravages of fire, that the latter name came into general use.

Jefferson
741
MD



ADAMS TO JEFFERSON,

JEFFERSON TO ADAMS

A Correspondence in the Form of a Dialogue

Anthologized by Richard K. Arnold

Adams-Jefferson Edited Text
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The material which follows consists of excerpts from the published correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson during the years 1812 to 1826.

It was presented at the Bohemian Club, San Francisco, on December 5, 1972, as "An Evening with Adams and Jefferson."

Acting as host was Dr. Bradford W. Young. John Adams was portrayed by Paul Speegle; Thomas Jefferson, by Richard Arnold.

This reproduction was made because of many requests from Club members who attended the reading.

INTRODUCTION
by Dr. Bradford W. Young

HOST: Let me set the stage for you. You must assume for this evening that I am a physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, educated at the College of New Jersey, which you now call Princeton. I then took my medical studies at the University of Edinburgh and returned to Philadelphia to practice medicine in the year 1769. That was a year! The colonies hardly established, the English at our throats, the French at our backsides on the Ohio river, and everywhere talk of Independence, Liberty, Freedom, Revolution. It was not a very glorious prospect for a young physician. It soon became evident that I had been invested by the Creator with certain talent -- more of my patients rallied than died -- and of those who became well, many were possessed of extensive land patents from King George III. I began to move in political circles. I became friends with Thomas Jefferson, barely older than I. Our ideas of religion, nature, mankind, politics, the English, the French were, it seemed, identical.

Through Tom Jefferson, I came to know John Adams, of whom I grew very fond. Adams was "no nonsense"---examination, diagnosis, treatment. He should have been a physician. We all signed the Declaration of Independence, and after the unpleasantness and, finally, Yorktown--well, you know what happened. General Washington became President for eight years. Adams, whom I admired so greatly, succeeded the General in the Presidency. Adams got things done; and confidently ran for a second term. But, next time around, it was Tom Jefferson---Humanity, Nature, Action, Independent Sovereign Spirits, and Sovereign States. Adams left for Boston in the middle of the night before the inauguration. He was bitter. And Tom Jefferson got the blame. Not that he didn't deserve some of it. Not so outspoken as Adams, he had nonetheless made it plain that the Government belonged to the People. The People agreed. It was a bad breach between them, lasting too many years.

In 1811, when Tom Jefferson had retired to Monticello - by then 68 years of age - and Adams was safely out of it in Quincy at the age of 76 - I thought I should meddle in their politics once more. I wrote to both of them at length, desperately dressing their wounds with every balm and unguent I knew. Both patients rallied. It was the most gratifying cure I had ever achieved. Its result was their renewed correspondence, the essence of which is presented here.

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON

ADAMS: Quincy, January 1st, 1812

Dear Sir:

As you are a friend to American Manufactures, under proper restrictions, especially manufactures of the domestic kind, I take the liberty of sending you by the post a Packet containing two Pieces of Homespun, lately produced in this quarter by One who was honoured in his youth with some of your attention and much of your kindness....

All my Family whom you formerly knew are well. My Daughter Smith is here and has successfully gone through a perilous and painful operation, which detains her here this Winter, from her Husband and her Family ....

I wish you, Sir, many happy New Years and that you may enter the next and many succeeding years with as animating Prospects for the Public as those at present before us. I am, Sir, with a long and sincere Esteem, your Friend and Servant

John Adams

JEFFERSON: Monticello, January 21, 1812

Dear Sir:

I thank you before hand (for they are not yet arrived) for the specimens of homespun you have been so kind as to forward me by post. I doubt not their excellence, knowing how far you are advanced in these things in your quarter. Here we do little in the fine way, but in coarse and middling goods a great deal.

A letter from you calls up recollections very dear to my mind. It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right of self-government. Laboring always at the same oar, with some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless under our bark....we rode through the storm with heart and hand, and made a happy port. Still we did not expect to be without rubs and difficulties; and we have had them. In your day, French depredations; in mine English....As for France and England, with all their pre-eminence in science, the one is a den of robbers, and the other of pirates.

JEFFERSON: (cont'd)

I have given up newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides, for Newton and Euclid; and I find myself much the happier. Sometimes, indeed, I look back to former occurrences, in remembrance of our old friends and fellow laborers, who have fallen before us. Of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, I see now living not more than half a dozen on your side of the Potomack, and on this side, myself alone....No circumstances have lessened the interest I feel....respecting yourself; none have suspended for one moment my sincere esteem for you; and now I salute you with unchanged affections and respect.

Thomas Jefferson

ADAMS:

Quincy, February 3, 1812

Sitting at my fireside with my Daughter Smith, on the first of February, my Servant brought me a bundle of Letters and Newspapers from the Post Office in this Town...How is it possible a Letter can come from Mr. Jefferson to me in seven or eight days? I had no Expectation of an Answer, thinking the Distance so great and the Roads so embarrassed, under two or three months. This History would not be worth recording but for the Discovery it made of a fact, vizt., that the Communication between us is much easier, surer, and may be more frequent than I had ever believed or suspected to be possible.

The Material of the Samples of American Manufactures which I sent you was not Wool nor Cotton, nor Silk nor Flax nor Hemp nor Iron nor Wood. They were spun from the brain of John Quincy Adams and consist in two volumes of his lectures on Rhetorick and oratory, delivered when he was professor of that Science in our University of Cambridge.

Your Memoranda of the past, your Sense of the present and Prospect of the Future seem to be well founded, as far as I can see. But...the Prospect of the Future, will depend on the Union; and how is that Union to be preserved?....The Union is still to me an Object of as much anxiety as ever Independence was. To this I have sacrificed my Popularity in New England...

I cordially reciprocate your Professions of esteem and Respect. Madam joins me and sends her kind regards to your daughter and your Grandchildren as well as to yourself.

JEFFERSON: Monticello, May 27, 1813

Another of our friends of 76 is gone, my dear Sir, another of the co-signers of the independence of our country. And a better man, than Rush, could not have left us, more benevolent, more learned, of finer genius, or more honest. We too must go, and that ere long....I sincerely congratulate you on the successes of our little navy; which must be more gratifying to you than to most men, as having been the early and constant advocate....If I have differed with you on this ground, it was not on the principle, but the time.

ADAMS: I have ever believed that you were the Author of the Essay towards a Navy when you was Secretary of State. I have reason to suspect that Hamilton was averse to that measure. That you were always for a navy to compel the Barbary powers to peace, I distinctly remember in many of our personal conversations in Europe; and I have carefully preserved very strong letters from you full of arguments for such a Navy....P. S. We must have a Navy now to command the Lakes, if it costs us 100 Ships of the Line, whatever becomes of the Ocean.

JEFFERSON: One of the questions, you know, on which our parties took different sides, was on the improvability of the human mind, in science, in ethics, in government, etc. Those who advocated reform of institutions...maintained that no definite limits could be assigned to that progress. The enemies of reform, on the other hand, denied improvement, and advocated steady adherence to the principles, practices, and institutions of our forefathers, which they represented as the consummation of wisdom beyond which the human mind could never advance...You possess, yourself, too much science not to see how much is still ahead of you, unexplained and unexplored....In truth, my dear Sir, we were far from considering you as the author of all the measures we blamed.

ADAMS: There are critical moments when faction, whether in Church or State, will stick at nothing. Confidence of Friendship the most sacred, is but a cobweb tie. How few! Oh how few are the exceptions...Checks and Balances, Jefferson, however you and your Party may have ridiculed them, are our only Security, for the progress of the mind as well as the security of the body...Know thyself, Human Nature!

JEFFERSON: The same political parties which now agitate the U. S. have existed through all time. Whether the power of the people, or that of the Aristocrats, should prevail, were questions which kept the states of Greece and Rome in eternal convulsions, as they now schismatize every people whose minds and mouths are not shut up by the gag of a despot. And in fact the terms of whig and tory belong to natural as well as civil history. They denote the temper and constitution of different individuals...We well remember the violent parties which agitated the old Congress, and their bitter contests. There you and I were together, and (the) anti-independants were arrayed against us. They cherished the monarchy of England; and we the rights of our countrymen....

Shall we, at our age, become the Athletae of party, and exhibit ourselves, as Gladiators, in the arena of the newspapers? Nothing in the universe could induce me to it...The world...will judge me by my acts, and will never take counsel from me as to what that judgment shall be.

ADAMS: Quincy, June 30th, July 9, July 12 and 13, and August 16, 1813

...The real terrors of both Parties have always been, and now are, the fear that they shall lose the elections and consequently the Loaves and Fishes; and that their Antagonists will obtain them. Both parties have excited artificial terrors, and if I were summoned as a Witness to say, upon oath, which Party had excited... the most terror, and which had really felt the most, I could not give a more sincere answer, than in the vulgar style "Put them in a Bagg and shake them, and then see which comes out first."

...Your character in history may be easily foreseen. Your Administration will be quoted by philosophers as a model of profound wisdom; by politicians, as weak, superficial and shortsighted. Mine, like Pope's Woman, will have no Character at all.

While all other sciences have advanced, that of government is at a stand; little better understood, little better practiced now than 3 or 4 thousand years ago. What is the reason? I say Parties and Factions will not...permit improvements to be made. As soon as one man hints at an improvement, his rival opposes it. No sooner has

ADAMS: (cont'd)

one party discovered an amelioration of the condition of man or the order of society, than the opposite party belies it, misconstrues it, misrepresents it, ridicules it, insults it, and persecutes it. Histories are annihilated or interpolated, or prohibited, sometimes by Popes, sometimes by Emperors, sometimes by Aristocratical, and sometimes by democratical assemblies, and sometimes by Mobs.

...It is a fine observation of yours that "Whig and Tory belong to natural history." Inequalities of mind and body are so established by God almighty in his constitution of human nature that no art or policy can ever plane them down to a Level...The golden rule, do as you would be done by, is all the equality that can be supported by reason or reconciled to common sense.

The French revolution I dreaded; because I was sure it would not only arrest the progress of improvement, but give it a retrogade course for at least a century... The French patriots, appeared to me, like young Scholars from a college or sailors flushed with recent pay or prize money, mounted on wild horses, lashing and spearing, till they would kill the horses and break their own necks...Where are now in 1813 the perfection and perfectability of human nature?...

You and I ought not to die before We have explained ourselves to each other.

JEFFERSON:

I very much suspect that if thinking men would have the courage to think for themselves, and to speak what they think, it would be found they do not differ in religious opinions as much as is supposed...Sweep away (the) gossamer fabrics of factitious religion, and they would catch no more flies. We should all, then, moralise for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, and say nothing about what no man can understand, nor therefore believe; for I suppose belief to be the assent of the mind to an intelligible proposition...

We must reduce our volume to the simple evangelists, select from them the very words only of Jesus. There will be found remaining the most sublime and benevolent code of morals which has ever been offered to man. I have performed this operation for my own use, by cutting

JEFFERSON: (cont'd) verse by verse out of the printed book, and arranging the matter which is evidently his, and which is as easily distinguishable as diamonds in a dunghill...

ADAMS: August 16, 1813

Your Friend, my only daughter, expired Yesterday morning in the 49th year of her Age, 46 of which she was the healthiest and firmest of us all: Since which, she has been a monument to suffering and patience.

JEFFERSON: On the subject of the Postscript of yours...and Mrs. Adams' letter, I am silent. I know the depth of the affliction it has caused, and can sympathise with it the more sensibly, inasmuch as there is no degree of affliction, produced by the loss of those dear to us, which experience has not taught me to estimate. I have ever found time and silence the only medicine, and these but assuage, they never can suppress, the deep-drawn sigh which recollection for ever brings up, until recollection and life are extinguished together. Ever affectionately yours,

Thomas Jefferson

ADAMS: September 12, 1813

Now, my friend, who are the "Aristocrats."? Philosophy may answer "The Wise and Good." But the world, mankind, have by their practice always answered, "the rich and beautiful and well born." And Philosophers themselves in marrying their children, prefer the rich, the handsome, and the well descended to the wise and good. What chance have talents and virtues in competition with wealth and birth? and beauty? ...

One truth is clear; by all the world confess'd:

Slow rises worth, by Poverty oppress'd.

The five pillars of aristocracy are beauty, wealth, birth, genius, and virtues. Any one of the three first, can at any time over bear any one or both of the last.

JEFFERSON: I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtues and talents...Since the invention of gunpowder has armed the weak as well as the strong...bodily strength, like beauty, good humor, politeness and other accomplishments, has become but an auxiliary ground of distinction...The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society...May we not even say that that form of government is the best which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristocrats to the offices of government?

ADAMS: What gave Sir William Wallace his amazing Aristocratical Superiority? His Strength. What gave Mrs. Clark her Aristocratical influence to create Generals, Admirals, and Bishops? Her beauty. What gave Pompadour and Du Barry the power of making Cardinals and Popes? Their beauty. But I will select a single example:

A daughter of a green Grocer, walks the streets in London dayly with a baskett of Cabbage, Sprouts, Dandelions, and Spinage on her head. She is observed by the Painters to have a beautiful Face, an elegant figure, a graceful step, and a debonair. They hire her to Sitt. She complies, and is painted by forty artists in a Circle around her. The scientific Sir William Hamilton outbids the painters, sends her to schools for a genteel education, and Marries her. This Lady not only causes the Tryumphs of the Nile, of Copenhagen and Trafalgar, but seperates Naples from France and finally banishes the King and Queen from Sicilly. Such is the aristocracy of the natural Talent of Beauty...

You suppose a difference of opinion between you and me on the subject of Aristocracy. I can find none. I dislike and detest hereditary honours, office, emoluments established by law. So do you. I am for excluding legal hereditary distinctions from the U. S. as long as possible. So are you. I only say that Mankind have not yet discovered any remedy against irresistable Corruption in elections to offices of great Power and Profit but making them hereditary...

Allegiance to the Creator and Governor of the Milky Way and the Nebulae, and benevolence to all his Creatures, is my religion. "If you know anything better than these maxims, candidly share them." I am as ever

John Adams

JEFFERSON: Monticello, July 5, 1814

...While I rejoice, for the good of mankind, in the deliverance of Europe from the havoc which would have never ceased while Bonaparte should have lived in power, I see with anxiety the tyrant of the ocean remaining in vigor, and even participating in the merit of crushing his brother tyrant...

I am just returned from one of my long absences, having been at my other home for five weeks past. Having more leisure there than here for reading, I amused myself with reading seriously Plato's Republic. I am wrong, however, in calling it amusement....for it was the heaviest task-work I ever went through...While wading through the whimsies, puerilities, and unintelligible jargon of this work, I laid it down often to ask myself how it could have been that the world should have so long consented to give reputation to such nonsense as this?

But why am I dosing you with these Ante-diluvian topics? Because I am glad to have some one to whom they are familiar, and who will not receive them as if dropped from the moon. Our post-revolutionary youth are born under happier stars than you and I were. They acquire all learning in their mothers' womb, and bring it into the world ready-made. The information of books is no longer necessary; and all knowledge which is not innate, is in contempt, or neglect at least. Every folly must run its round; and so, I suppose, must that of self-learning and self sufficiency; of rejecting the knowledge acquired in past ages, and starting on the new ground of intuition.

ADAMS: Dear Sir:

I receiv'd this morning your favour of the 5th, and as I can never let a sheet of your's rest, I sit immediately to acknowledge it...

I am very glad you have seriously read Plato: and still more rejoiced to find that your reflections upon him so perfectly harmonize with mine. Some thirty years ago I took upon the severe task of going through all his works. With the help of two Latin translations, one French translation, and comparing some of the..passages with Greek, I labored through the tedious toil. My disappointment was great, my Astonishment greaters, and my disgust was shocking. Two Things only did I learn from him; 1. That Franklin's ideas of exempting Husbandmen and Mariners from the depredations of war were borrowed from him;

ADAMS: (cont'd)

2. That sneezing is a cure for the hickups. Accordingly I have cured myself and all my friends of that provoking disorder for thirty years, with a pinch of snuff.

JEFFERSON:

June 10, 1815

It is long since we have exchanged a letter, and yet what volumes might have been written on the occurrences even of the last three months...Peace, God bless it! has returned to put us all again into a course of lawful and laudable pursuits....That the person of our citizens shall be safe in freely traversing the ocean, that the transportation of our own produce in our vessels, to the markets of our choice, and the return to us of the articles we want for our own use, shall be unmolested, I hold to be fundamental, and that the gauntlet must be for ever hurled at him who questions it.

ADAMS:

Who shall take the side of God and Nature? Shall we become disciples of the Phylosophers? And who are the Phylosophers? Frederick? Voltaire? Rousseau? Buffon? Diderot? or Condorcet? These Phylosophers have shewn themselves as incapable of governing mankind, as the Bourbons or the Guelphs...

When and where were ever found, Sincerity, Honesty, or Veracity in any sect or party in Religion, Government or Phylosophy? ...

Mrs. Adams thanks Mr. Jefferson for his friendly remembrance of her, and reciprocates to him a thousand good wishes.

JEFFERSON:

Dear Sir:

The simultaneous movements in our correspondence have been really remarkable on several occasions. It would seem as if the state of the air, or state of the times, or some other unknown cause, produced a sympathetic effect on our mutual recollection...

Our correspondence has been observed at the post offices, and thus has attraced notice. Would you believe that a printer has had the effrontery to propose to me the letting him publish it? These people think they have the right to everything, however secret or sacred.

ADAMS: That our correspondence has been observed is no Wonder; for your hand is more universally known than your face. No Printer has asked me for copies, but it is no surprise that you have been requested. These gentry will print whatever will sell; and our correspondence is thought such an oddity by both parties, that the printers imagine an edition would soon go off and yield them a profit. There has, however, been no tampering with your letters to me. They have all arrived in good order....

According to the few lights that remain to us, we may say that the 18th Century, notwithstanding all its errors and vices, has been, of all that are past, the most honorable to human nature. Knowledge and Virtues were increased and diffused, Arts, Sciences useful to men, ameliorating their condition, were improved, more than in any former equal period. But what are we to say now? Is the 19th Century to be a contrast to the Eighteenth? Is it to extinguish all the Lights of its predecessor?

JEFFERSON: I agree with you in all eulogies on the 18th Century. It certainly witnessed the sciences and arts, manners and morals, advanced to a higher degree than the world had ever before seen...I think, too, we may add, to the great honor of science and the arts, that their natural effect is, by illuminating public opinion, to erect it into a Censor, before which the most exalted tremble for their future as well as present fame...

How then has it happened that these nations, France especially and England, so great, so dignified, so distinguished by science and the arts, plunged at once into all the depths of human enormity, threw off suddenly and openly all the restraints of morality, all sensation to character, and unblushingly avowed and acted on the principle that power was right?... The destruction of 8 or 10 millions of human beings has probably been the effect of these convulsions...

ADAMS: I know not what answer to give you, but this: that Power always sincerely, conscientiously, de très bon Foi, believes itself right. Power always thinks it has a great soul and vast Views, beyond the comprehension of the Weak; and that it is doing God service, when it is violating all his Laws...Power must never be trusted without a Check...

My compliments to (your daughter) Mrs. Randolph, her Daughter Ellen, and all her other Children, and believe me, as ever,

John Adams

ADAMS (cont'd): To which Mrs. Adams adds her affectionate regards, and a wish that distance did not seperate Souls congenial.

ADAMS: Quincy, March 2, 1816

I cannot be serious! I am about to write you the most frivolous letter you ever read. Would you go back to your cradle and live over again your 70 years? I believe you would return me a New England answer, by asking me..."Would you live your 80 years over again?"

JEFFERSON: You ask if I would agree to live my ~~70~~, or rather 73, years over again, to which I say Yea. I think with you that it is a good world on the whole, that it has been framed on a principle of benevolence, and more pleasure than pain dealt out to us. There are indeed...gloomy and hypocondriac minds, inhabitants of diseased bodies, disgusted with the present, and despairing of the future, always counting that the worst will happen, because it may happen. To these I say: How much pain have cost us the evils which have never happened? My temperament is sanguine. I steer my bark with Hope in the head, leaving fear astern. My hopes indeed sometimes fail; but not oftener than the forebodings of the gloomy. There are, I acknowledge, even in the happiest life, some terrible convulsions, heavy set-offs against the opposite page of the account. I have often wondered for what good end the sensations of grief could be intended. All our other passions, within proper bounds, have an useful object...

ADAMS: J. Would you agree to live your life of 80 years over again?

A. Aye...

I have had more comfort than distress, more pleasure than pain, ten to one, nay, if you please, an hundred to one. A pretty large Dose, however, of distress and pain. But after all, what is human life? A Vapour, a Fog, a Dew, a Cloud, a Blossom, a flower, a Rose, a blade of grass, a glass Bubble, a Tale told by an Idiot, a Boule de Savon, Vanity of Vanities, an eternal succession of which which would terrify me almost as much as annihiliation. What is there in Life to attach us to it, but the hope of a future and a better?...

ADAMS: (cont'd)

In your favor of April 8th, you "wonder for what good end the sensations of grief could be intended?" When I approach such questions as this, I consider myself like one of those little eels in Vinaigre, or one of those Animalcules in black or red pepper or in the Horse Radish root, that bite our tongues so cruelly...Of what use is this Sting upon the tongue? Why might We not have the benefit of these stimulants, without the sting?

Did you ever see a Portrait or a Statue of a great man, without perceiving strong traits of pain and anxiety? These furrows were all ploughed in the countenance by Grief. Our juvenile oracle, Sir Edward Coke, thought that none were fit for Legislators or Magistrates but "Sad Men." And who were these sad men? They were aged Men, who had been tossed and buffeted in the vicissitudes of life, forced upon profound Reflection by Grief and disappointments and taught to command their Passions and Prejudices...Grief drives men into habits of serious reflection, sharpens the understanding, and softens the heart; it compels them to arouse their reason...to elevate them to a superiority over all human events; to give them "the imperturbable tranquility of a happy heart"; in short to make them Stoicks and Christians.

JEFFERSON:

Poplar Forest, November 25, 1816

The present exhausted state of the continent will, I hope, permit (England) to go through their struggle without foreign interference, and to settle their new government according to their own will...Were they once under a government which should treat us with justice and equality, I should myself feel with great strength the ties which bind us together, of origin, of language, laws and manners...The individuals of the nation I have ever honored and esteemed, the basis of their character being essentially worthy: but I consider their government the most flagitious which has existed since the days of Philip of Macedon, whom they make their model. It is not only founded in corruption itself, but insinuates the same poison into the bowels of every other, corrupts its councils, nourishes factions, stirs up revolutions, and places its own happiness in fomenting commitions and civil wars among others...I am in hopes that a purer nation will result, one which...will see in us what we really are, their natural friend and brethren...

ADAMS: ...If I should write you a Volume of Observations I made in England, you would pronounce it a Satire. Suppose the "refrein"...of the song should be: the Religion, Government, the Commerce, the Manufactures, the Army and Navy of G. B. are all reduced to the Science of Pounds and Shillings. Elections appeared to me a mere commercial Traffick; mere bargain and sale...Now suppose an election for a President of the British Empire...The only question would be, Which Party has the deepest purse....

Britain will never be our Friend till we are her Master. This will happen in less time than you and I have been struggling with her Power—provided We remain United... I fear there will be greater difficulties to preserve our Union, than you and I, our fathers, brothers, friends, disciples, and sons, have had to form it....

Towards Great Britain I would adopt their own Maxim. An English jocky says: "If I have a wild horse to brake I begin by convincing him that I am his Master. And then I will convince him that I am his friend." I am well assured that nothing will restrain G. B. from injuring us, but fear.

JEFFERSON: January 11, 1817

Forty-three volumes read in one year!...Dear Sir, how I envy you...I can read by candlelight only, and stealing long hours from my rest...From sun-rise to one or two o'clock, and often from dinner to dark, I am drudging at the writing table. And all this to answer letters into which neither interest nor inclination on my part enters; and often for persons whose names I have never before heard. Yet, writing civilly, it is hard to refuse them civil answers...

The result of your 50 or 60 years of religious reading in the four words "be just and good" is that in which all our enquiries must end...One of our fan-colouring biographers, who paints small men as great, enquired of me lately ... whether he might consider as authentic, the change in my religion much spoken of in some circles. Now this supposed that they knew what had been my religion before, taking for it the word of their priests, whom I certainly never made the confidants of my creed. My answer was: "Say nothing of my religion. It is known to my God and myself alone. Its evidence before the world is to be sought in my life. If that has been honest and dutiful to society, the religion which has regulated it cannot be a bad one." Affectionately, Adieu.

Thomas Jefferson

ADAMS: April 19, 1817

Twenty times in the course of my late reading, have I been upon the point of breaking out, "This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there were no religion in it." But in this exclamation...I should have been...fanatical. Without religion, this world would be something not fit to be mentioned in polite company...The most abandoned scoundrel that ever existed, never yet wholly extinguished his Conscience, and while Conscience remains, there is some religion...The vast prospect of Mankind, which these books have passed in review before me...has sickened my very soul...Yet I can never be a misanthrope. Homo sum--"I am a man." I must hate myself before I can hate my fellow men; and that I cannot and will not do.

I congratulate you and Madison and Monroe, on your noble employment in founding a University. From such a noble Tryumvirate, the world will expect something very great and very new. But if it contains anything quite original, and very excellent, I fear the prejudices are too deeply rooted to suffer it to last long. It will not always have three such colossal reputations to support it....

JEFFERSON: October 7, 1818

It is very long, my dear friend, since I have written to you. The fact is that I was scarcely at home from May to September, and from that time I have been severely indisposed and not yet recovered so far as to sit up and write...Having been subject to troublesome attacks of rheumatism for some winters past, and being called by other business into the neighborhood of our Warmsprings, I thought I would avail myself of them as a preventative of future pain. I was then in good health and it ought to have occurred to me that the medicine which makes the sick well, makes the well sick...I am getting better slowly and, when I can do it with less pain, shall always have a pleasure in giving assurances to Mrs. Adams and yourself of my constant and affectionate friendship and respect.

ADAMS: My dear Friend:

One trouble never comes alone. At our Ages we may expect more and more of them every day in groups, and every day less fortitude to bear them....When I saw in print that you was gone to the Springs, I anxiously suspected that all was not healthy at Monticello...

ADAMS: (cont'd)

Now, Sir, for my griefs! The dear partner of my life for fifty four years as a wife and for many years more as a lover, now lies *in extremis, forbidden to* speak or be spoken to...If human life is a bubble, no matter how soon it breaks, if it is, as I firmly believe, an immortal existence, we ought patiently to wait the instructions of the great Teacher. I am, Sir, your deeply afflicted friend

John Adams

JEFFERSON:

The public papers, my dear friend, announce the fatal event of which your letter of October 20 had given me ominous foreboding. Tried myself, in the school of affliction, by the loss of every form of connection which can rive the human heart, I know well, and feel, what you have lost, what you have suffered, are suffering, and have yet to endure...It is some comfort to us both that the term is not very distant at which we are to deposit, in the same cerement, our sorrows and suffering bodies, and to ascend in essence to an ecstatic meeting with the friends we have loved and lost and whom we shall still love and never lose again. God bless you and support you under your heavy affliction.

ADAMS:

Your letter of November 13 gave me great delight not only by the divine consolation it afforded me...but as it gave me full proof of your restoration to health.

While you live, I seem to have a Bank at Monticello on which I can draw for a Letter of Friendship and entertainment when I please...

Trumbull with a band of associates drew me by the cords of old friendship to see his picture on Saturday, where I got a great cold. The air of Fanueil Hall is changed. I have not been used to catch Cold there.

Sick or well, the friendship is the same of your old acquaintance

John Adams

JEFFERSON:

Dear Sir:

I hope you have read our University Report with approbation... We are all atiptoe here in the hourly expectation of hearing what our legislature decides on the Report. Being a good piece of a century behind the age they live in, we are not without fear as to their conclusions. We have to contend with so many biasses, personal, local, fanatical, financial, that we cannot foresee in what their combinations will result.

JEFFERSON: (cont'd) God bless you, and preserve you in good health and spirits.

ADAMS: November 23rd 1819

My Dear Sir:

I congratulate you and myself on your recovery from the three illnesses which have distressed you...My health is astonishing to myself.

...Though I have not had three remarkable illnesses, I have been afflicted with three times three misfortunes... I ought, however, to remember the saying of a Bishop with whom I dined once at Versailles who asked me many questions concerning Doctor Franklin, his health, his spirits, and his mind. I answered: His health is very robust, his spirits very cheerful, and his intellect as bright as ever. Monseigneur replied, "But at his age he better be careful not to get angry." ..

JEFFERSON: I have been amusing myself latterly with reading the voluminous letters of Cicero... I ask myself What was that government which the virtues of Cicero were so zealous to restore, and the ambition of Caesar to subvert? ...Steeped in corruption, vice, venality as the whole nation was, what could even Cicero, Cato, Brutus have done?...Your intimacy with their history...will enable you, if any body, to go back with our principles...and tell us by what process these great and virtuous men could have led so unenlightened and vitiated a people into freedom and good government...

ADAMS: In some part of my life I read a great work of a Scotchman on the Court of Augustus, in which with much learning, hard study, and fatiguing labor, he undertook to prove that had Brutus and Cassius been conqueror, they would have restored virtue and liberty to Rome..."But I don't believe it." Have you ever found in history one single example of a Nation thoroughly corrupted, that was afterwards restored to virtue? And without virtue, there can be no political liberty...Will you tell me how to prevent riches from becoming the effects of temperance and industry? Will you tell me how to prevent riches from producing luxury? Will you tell me how to prevent luxury from producing

ADAMS: (cont'd)

effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, Vice and Folly? When you will answer me these questions, I hope I may venture to answer yours. Yet all these ought not to discourage us from exertion, for ...I believe no effort in favour of virtue is lost, and all good men ought to struggle both by their council and example...

To return to the Romans, I never could discover that they possessed much virtue, or real liberty there. Patricians were in general griping usurers and tyrannical creditors in all ages. Pride, strength, and courage were all the virtues that composed their National Characters. A few of their nobles, effecting simplicity, frugality, and Piety, perhaps really possessing them, acquired Popularity among the Plebeians and extended the power and dominions of the Republic and advanced in glory till Riches and Luxury come in, sat like an incubus on the Republic, and "took vengeance on a conquered world."

Our Winter sets in a fortnight earlier than usual, and is pretty severe. I hope you have fairer skies and milder air...

JEFFERSON:

August 15, 1820

I am getting better, however slowly...I can walk but little but I ride 6 or 8 miles a day without fatigue...Our University, 4 miles distant, gives me frequent exercise, and the oftener as I direct its architecture. Its plan is unique, and it is becoming an object of curiosity for the traveller.

January 20, 1821

I was quite rejoiced, dear Sir, to see that you had health and spirits enough to take part in the late convention of your state for revising its constitution, and to bear your share in its debates and labors...

ADAMS:

Dear Sir:

...My appearance in the late convention was too ludicrous to be talked of...I have harangued and scribbled more than my share, but from 1779 to the convention in 1820 I never opened my lips in a public debate. After a total desuetude for 40 years, I boggled and blundered more than a fellow just rising to speak at the Bar. What I said, I know not; I believe the Printers have made better speeches than I made for myself...

JEFFERSON: Monticello, June 1, 1822

...The papers tell us that Genl. Starke is off at the age of 93. Charles Thomson still lives at about the same age, chearful, slender as a grasshopper, and so much without memory that he scarcely recognises the members of his household. An intimate friend of his called on him not long since; it was difficult to make him recollect who he was, and sitting one hour, he told him the same story 4 times over. Is this life? It is at most but the life of a cabbage, surely not worth a wish...

...I am told you walk well and firmly. I can only reach my garden...I ride, however--daily. But reading is my delight.

ADAMS: ...My sight is very dim..hearing pritty good; memory poor enough...Winter is as terrible to me, as to you. I am almost reduced...to the life of a Bear or torpid swallow. I cannot read but my delight is to hear others read, and I tease all my friends most unmercifully and tyrannically...

The worse of the Evil is that our friends will suffer more by our imbecility than we ourselves...

JEFFERSON: I happened to turn to my letter-list some time ago, and a curiosity was excited to count those received in a single year...I found the number to be 1,267, many of them requiring answers of elaborate research, and all to be answered with due attention and consideration. Take an average of this number for a week or a day, and I will repeat the question. Is this life? At best it is but the life of a mill-horse.

ADAMS: Your stationery bill alone for paper, quills, ink, wafers, wax, sand and pounce, must have amounted to enough to maintain a small family.

JEFFERSON: October 12, 1823

...A correspondence of yours with a friend...is said to be...published...such as seemed most likely to draw a curtain of separation between you and myself...All men who have attended to the workings of the human mind, who have seen the false colors under which passion sometimes dresses the actions and motives of others,

JEFFERSON: (cont'd) have seen all these passions subsiding with time and reflection, dissipating like mist before the rising sun, and restoring to us the sight of things in their true shape and colours. It would be strange indeed if...we were to go an age back to hunt up imaginary or forgotten facts to disturb the repose of affections so sweetening to the evening of our lives. Be assured, my dear Sir, that I am incapable of receiving the slightest impression from the effort now made to plant thorns on the pillow of age, worth, and wisdom...

ADAMS: ...A letter from Mr. Jefferson says I, I know what the substance is before I open it. The best letter that was ever written--and round it went through the whole table: How generous! how noble! how magnanimous! I said it was just such a letter as I expected, only it was infinitely better expressed...

The peevish and fretful effusions of politicians in difficult and dangerous conjunctures from the agony of their hearts, are not worth remembering...

I salute your fire-side with cordial esteem and affection. J. A. in the 89 year of his age, still too fat to last much longer...

JEFFERSON: Monticello, January 8, 1825

The presidential election has given me few anxieties. With you this must have been impossible. I am comforted and protected from other solicitudes by the cares of our University..."

ADAMS: ...The presidential election has given me less anxiety than I myself could have imagined. The next administration will be a troublesome one to whomsoever it falls. And our John (Quincy) has been too much worn to contend much longer with conflicting factions. I call him our John, because when you was...at Paris, he appeared to me to be almost as much your boy as mine...

Your University is a noble employment in your old age, and your ardor for its success does you honor...

JEFFERSON: Monticello, March 25, 1826

My grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph, being on a visit to

JEFFERSON: (cont'd)

Boston, would think he had seen nothing were he to leave it without seeing you...Like other young people, he wishes to be able, in the winter nights of old age, to recount to those around him what he has heard and learnt of the Heroic age preceding his birth, and which of the Argonauts particularly he was in time to have seen. It was the lot of our early years to witness nothing but the dull monotony of colonial subservience, and of our riper ones to breast the labors and perils of working out of it. Theirs are the Halcyon days succeeding the storm which our Argosy has stoutly weathered...Gratify his ambition, then, by receiving his best bow and my solicitude for your health, by enabling him to bring me a favorable account of it. Mine is but indifferent, but not so my friendship and respect for you.

Thomas Jefferson

ADAMS:

Quincy, April 17, 1826

Your letter of March 25th has been a cordial to me, and the more consoling as it was brought by your Grandsons, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Coolidge. We New Englanders are but pygmies by the side of Mr. Randolph...Your letter is one of the most beautiful I have ever received.

Public affairs go on pretty much as usual: perpetual chicanery and rather more personal abuse than there used to be...Our American chivalry is the worst in the world. It has no laws, no bounds, no definitions; it seems to be all a caprice. My love to all your family, and best wishes for your health...

John Adams

POSTFACE

HOST: 1826 was the fiftieth anniversary year of the Declaration of Independence. And it was the final year for both Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.

They died within a few hours of each other on the same day. The day was the Fourth of July.

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THE BOOK OF PRESIDENTS

BY TIM TAYLOR



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May, 1821, defended proposed changes in state constitution, Quincy town meeting
- The amendments to the constitution were approved.

Aug. 14, 1821, reviewed U.S. Military Academy corps of cadets, Quincy
- The two hundred West Point cadets went through close-order and extended-order drill in the field across from his home, while he watched from the porch. Afterwards, he spoke to them on their duties and obligations as future military leaders of the U.S. A cold buffet was served in the courtyard. The afternoon ended with a concert by the cadet band.
- This was his last public appearance.

1823, *Correspondence Between the Hon. John Adams and the late William Cunningham, Esq.* published by E. M. Cunningham, Boston
- He had pledged Cunningham not to publish the letters—written between 1803 and 1812—during his lifetime. When Cunningham committed suicide in 1823, his son, a Jacksonian, published the correspondence in an effort to discredit John Quincy Adams.
- Some of the letters were strongly anti-Jefferson, but their publication did not cause another breach. "It would be strange indeed if, at our years, we were to go an age back to hunt up imaginary or forgotten facts to disturb the repose of affections so sweetening to the evening of our lives," wrote Jefferson to Adams, Oct. 23.

Fall, 1824, visited by Lafayette, Quincy

Mar. 4, 1825, his son, John Quincy Adams, took oath as president, Washington, D.C.
- He did not attend the inauguration.

Oct. 30, 1825, celebrated his 90th birthday
- He was the first of two presidents who lived to be 90. The other was Hoover.

Winter, 1825, his portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart, Quincy

June, 1826, reluctantly declined to participate in 50th anniversary celebration of Independence Day, Boston

DEATH

Date of death: July 4, 1826
- Adams was the second of three presidents who died on the Fourth of July. He and Jefferson died on the same day; Jefferson died several hours earlier.

Place of death: Quincy, Mass.
- He was the first of two presidents who died in Massachusetts. The other was Coolidge.

Age at death: 90 years, 247 days
- He was the president who lived to the most advanced age.
- He lived 136 days longer than Hoover.
- He lived 25 years, 122 days, after the completion of his term.

Cause of death: Debility

Place of burial: Quincy, Mass.
- He was the first of two presidents who were buried in Massachusetts. The other was his son, John Quincy Adams, who was also buried in Quincy.

THE VICE PRESIDENT (2nd)

Full name: Thomas Jefferson
- *See also* pages 40–52.
- He was the first of two vice presidents who were born in Virginia. The other was Tyler.
- He was the first of two vice presidents who were of no specific religious denomination. The other was Andrew Johnson.
- He was the first of two vice presidents who attended the College of William and Mary. The other was Tyler.
- He was the first of four vice presidents who served in the cabinet.
- He was the first of 14 vice presidents who served as state governors.
- He was the first of 17 vice presidents who served four-year terms.
- Adams and Jefferson were the second of 41 president-vice president teams.
- He was the first of two vice presidents who represented Virginia. The other was Tyler.
- He was the first of six vice presidents who were Democratic-Republicans.
- He was the first of three vice presidents who died in Virginia.
- He was the first of three vice presidents who died on the Fourth of July.
- He was the first of two vice presidents who were buried in Virginia. The other was Tyler.

THE CABINET

State: Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts, Dec. 10, 1795, to May 12, 1800
- John Marshall of Virginia, June 6, 1800, to

Feb. 4, 1801

Treasury: Oliver W
Feb. 3, 1795, to De
- Samuel Dexter of
1801, to May 13, 1

War: James McHenr
1796, to May 13, 1
- Samuel Dexter of
1800, to Jan. 31, 18

Attorney General: C
Dec. 10, 1795, to I

Navy: Benjamin Stoc
18, 1798, to Mar.

THE FORMER PRESIDENT

Mar. 4, 1809, attended inauguration of Madison

•Jefferson's age upon leaving office was 65 years, 325 days.

•He retired to Monticello, where he lived the rest of his life. He actively supervised the running of the estate, entertained a constant stream of guests, and carried on extensive correspondence.

•He was the second of six presidents who were farmers, planters, or ranchers after their terms of office.

Apr. 13, 1813, celebrated his 70th birthday

•He was the second of 16 presidents who lived to be 70.

Jan. 26, 1815, Congress authorized purchase of his library

•The library, consisting of nearly sixty-five hundred volumes, formed the basis for a new Library of Congress. The original had been burned by the British in 1814. He received $23,950 for the books, which required ten wagons for transportation to the capital. With typical thoroughness, he specified the form of packing, loading, and shipping the books. He also supplied, at the request of the librarian of Congress, a system of classification for cataloguing, which was adopted with only minor changes.

1817, drafted bill for establishment of University of Virginia

•The bill, which called for the establishment of public elementary schools as well as the university, was introduced in the state legislature by his friend, Joseph C. Cabell.

Apr. 13, 1818, celebrated his 75th birthday

•He was the second of ten presidents who lived to be 75.

1819, University of Virginia chartered

•He designed the buildings, supervised their construction, laid out the curriculum, and chose the faculty. The university opened in March, 1825, with 40 students in the first class.

•He served as rector until his death.

Apr. 13, 1823, celebrated his 80th birthday

•He was the second of six presidents who lived to be 80.

1826, saved from bankruptcy by gift of $16,500 from friends

•He had been financially embarrassed for most of his retirement as a result of his openhanded hospitality and such gestures as cosigning notes for friends. He was on the verge of losing Monticello when he received this timely gift. Mayor Philip Hone of New York City raised $8,500, an additional $5,000 came from Philadelphia, and $3,000 arrived from Baltimore.

DEATH

Date of death: July 4, 1826

•Jefferson was the first of three presidents who died on the Fourth of July. He and John Adams died on the same day; Adams died several hours later.

Place of death: Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va.

•He was the second of four presidents who died in Virginia.

Age at death: 83 years, 82 days

•He lived 17 years, 122 days, after the completion of his term.

Cause of death: Diarrhea

Place of burial: Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va.

•He was the second of seven presidents who were buried in Virginia.

THE VICE PRESIDENTS
(3rd and 4th)

Note: Jefferson was the first of seven presidents who had two vice presidents.

Full name: Aaron Burr (3rd)
Date of birth: Feb. 6, 1756
Place of birth: Newark, N.J.

•He was the first of two vice presidents who were born in New Jersey. The other was Hobart.

Religious denomination: Presbyterian

•He was the first of 11 vice presidents who were Presbyterians.

College: College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
Date of graduation: 1772
Occupation: Lawyer

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Occupation:

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, the body of delegates that spoke or acted collectively first for the American colonies and then for the states during the years 1774 to 1789. The first and second of these congresses, which assembled in September 1774 and May 1775, respectively, served as a kind of advisory council for the colonies because they were extralegal bodies. During the course of the Revolutionary War, subsequent congresses served as the central government of the American union under the Articles of Confederation. These congresses were superseded in 1789 by the new government of the United States established under the federal Constitution.

Background. There were precedents for an intercolonial congress before 1774. Earlier in the 18th century both Americans and Englishmen had offered plans for an American union consisting of a congress elected by the individual colonies and an executive appointed by the crown. The purpose of such proposals usually was to provide for a more effective defense against the French and Indians.

In 1754, the Albany Plan of union called for a central government within the colonies to be given certain powers of taxation and controls over western lands and military affairs. But the colonial legislatures that considered the plan rejected it (see ALBANY CONGRESS). The colonies were as much opposed to limitations on their powers by an American central government as by Britain. The intercolonial Stamp Act Congress of 1765 was a temporary body; once its aim of organizing resistance to Parliament's acts had been achieved, it was dissolved.

The calling of the first continental congress resulted directly from a series of repressive measures passed in Britain in the spring of 1774. These were aimed mostly at Massachusetts. To punish that colony for the Boston Tea Party, Britain issued the so-called Coercive Acts (q.v.). Among these were the Boston Port Act, closing that seaport, and the Massachusetts Government Act, which virtually annulled the colony's charter. But instead of isolating that province, as Britain had hoped, these acts ultimately rallied the other colonies to the Massachusetts cause.

Demand for an intercolonial congress came promptly from many quarters. In May 1774, Providence, Philadelphia, and New York City each called for a congress at which common measures binding on all the colonies might be taken. Members of the Virginia House of Burgesses, in an unofficial session on May 27, urged a similar move. On June 17 the lower house of Massachusetts issued a call for a congress to be held in September at Philadelphia. Most colonies responded by choosing delegates. In Georgia, however, the attempt to name delegates was prevented by the governor, and the colony did not participate.

The First Congress. The First Continental Congress assembled in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on Sept. 5, 1774. Twelve colonies eventually sent 56 delegates—a gathering that John Adams termed "a nursery of American Statesmen." Among those attending were George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; John and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts; John Jay, James Duane, and Philip Livingston of New York; Roger Sherman of Connecticut; Joseph Galloway, John Dickinson, and Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania; and John and Edward Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina.

In organizing the congress as a legislative body, the delegates agreed that each colony should have one vote. Peyton Randolph of Virginia was elected president unanimously, and Charles Thomson of Pennsylvania was elected secretary. It should be noted that the historic choice of the two principal titles in the American system of government—"Congress" and "president"—were made at this time.

The delegates were more interested in gaining a redress of grievances than in declaring independence, but their first major move made difficult any effort at accommodation by the British. On September 17, Congress took a tough stand by endorsing the Suffolk Resolves. These denounced the Coercive Acts as unconstitutional and arbitrary, advised the people to arm and to form their own militia, and recommended stiff economic sanctions against the mother country. A more conciliatory proposal by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania then was narrowly defeated. Galloway's plan, like the Albany plan of 1754, provided for an American union and would have given the American colonies something like dominion status within the British Empire.

The Congress next proceeded to issue a series of important state papers. On October 14 the delegates drew up a Declaration of Rights, which listed the personal rights—life, liberty, property, assembly, and trial by jury—to which the colonists felt they were entitled. The document demanded recognition by Britain of these American rights based upon "the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts." It called also for the repeal of a long list of laws passed by the Parliament after 1763, including the Coercive Acts.

To bring economic pressure to bear upon Britain, the Congress on October 18 passed a bold measure called the Continental Association, which provided for a boycott of British goods by means of an association formed among the colonies. Nonimportation and nonconsumption of British goods were to go into effect on Dec. 1, 1774, and nonexportation of American products, except rice, to Britain or the West Indies, after Sept. 10, 1775.

As its deliberations drew to a close, the First Continental Congress made an effort to influence public opinion. Petitions were addressed to the king and to the British and American people. Congress adjourned on Oct. 26, 1774, having resolved to meet again on May 10, 1775, if American grievances had not been redressed by that date.

The Second Congress. The Second Continental Congress assembled on the designated date at the Pennsylvania statehouse in Philadelphia (later Independence Hall). By that time fighting was under way, for the battles at Lexington and Concord had taken place three weeks earlier. Delegates arrived from all the colonies except Georgia (that colony was not officially represented until autumn). Many members of the Second Congress had attended the first, but there were some new delegates present including Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, John Hancock of Massachusetts, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and, later on, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. Randolph and Thomson were reelected, respectively, president and secretary, but Randolph withdrew from the Congress on May 24, and John Hancock was elected to succeed him.

The new Congress gradually assumed the

duties of a provisional government and began to direct the growing American war effort. In June the Congress voted to send military aid to Massachusetts. Congress also moved to assume responsibility for the provincial forces fighting around Boston and to expand them with soldiers from the other colonies. George Washington was appointed commander in chief of the new Continental Army on June 15, 1775. To support the army, money was issued in the form of bills of credit. Congress established a Continental Navy on Oct. 13, 1775.

Although few delegates had advocated the idea of independence in 1774 and 1775, the move for a complete break with Britain began to gather speed in the spring of 1776. Reasons for the change in sentiment were many: a year's bitter fighting, Britain's refusal to offer acceptable concessions, and the use of foreign mercenaries against the colonists. On July 2, 1776, Congress resolved "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states." Two days later, Congress approved a formal Declaration of Independence.

After Independence. The Second Congress adjourned on Dec. 12, 1776, but a new session opened before the end of the year. Holding several sessions then and in 1777, Congress set about drawing up a plan for a more permanent union of the 13 states. This task turned out to be a difficult one in view of the conflicting interests between the large and small states and between those with and those without claims to western lands. On Nov. 15, 1777, however, Congress was able to agree on a framework of government known as the Articles of Confederation, which became the first constitution of the United States.

Ratification of the articles was not completed until March 1, 1781. From that date on, Congress was on a constitutional basis. Though substantially unchanged, Congress under the Articles is sometimes referred to as "the Congress of the Confederation," to emphasize the change to a constitutional regime.

Under the Articles. The Articles of Confederation actually did little more than legalize the powers Congress had been exercising since 1775. The Articles provided Congress with an imposing list of powers in foreign, domestic, and military affairs but did not give Congress the power to force the states to comply with its decisions.

Powers. In the area of foreign policy Congress had the power to make war and peace, sign treaties, and to send and receive ambassadors. In domestic affairs Congress had authority over many different matters. It could issue paper money, borrow money, and regulate the value of coins minted by the central government and the states; establish a system of weights and measures; create and administer a post office system; manage and regulate trade with Indians outside of state boundaries; and establish courts of final appeal to settle disputes between states. In military affairs Congress had the power to direct operations of the army and navy. To exercise most of the important powers, a vote of nine states was required within the Congress: lesser matters could be settled by a simple majority.

Limitations. All powers not enumerated in the Articles remained in the hands of the states, which fact made the state governments very strong. Moreover, the Articles carefully safeguarded the states against encroachment by the central government by granting to them the power of the purse. Congress could requisition the states for money, but it could not force them to pay taxes. The failure to give the central government either coercive power or taxing power proved to be major defects.

Achievements and Failures. Despite these limitations, Congress under the Articles was able to accomplish a great deal during the war. It put the army on a more permanent footing by asking the states to enlist men for three years or for the duration of the conflict, and it worked out a pension plan for officers who continued in service until the end of the war. The administration of the central government also was made more efficient. Until early 1781, Congress had functioned through a system of committees. Under the Articles the burden of routine duties was lifted from the shoulders of the congressional delegates and assigned to four executive departments—finance, war, marine, and foreign affairs—operating under strong executives, who were not members of Congress.

During the postwar period, Congress faced serious problems in four major areas—foreign trade, foreign policy, public finance, and currency. In Massachusetts the currency problem and state debt precipitated the uprising known as Shays' Rebellion (1786–1787), which, though it failed, presumably shocked many people into the realization that a stronger central government was needed. This episode, coupled with the growing dissatisfaction over the Articles of Confederation, resulted in the calling of a convention in Philadelphia in 1787, originally for the purpose of revising the Articles.

While this convention was debating, the Congress, still operating under the Articles, registered one of its greatest achievements—the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. This legislation outlined the framework of government for the western territory north of the Ohio River. One of the most striking provisions in the ordinance was that it enabled these western areas, once settled, to be promoted eventually to equal statehood with the older eastern states.

Historians have been prone to criticize the Congress of the Confederation. Such evaluations were based in part on criticisms by Revolutionary War veterans who felt the central government treated them unfairly, and partly on attacks by proponents of the federal Constitution who hoped to make the need for reform seem more urgent. In retrospect, however, the Congress did have certain merits. It successfully prosecuted the war and negotiated the peace, and it issued the Northwest Ordinance. It also managed to carry on the routine administration of matters that were of joint concern to the states, although unusual problems tended to be settled on the state level. The Congress continued to function under the Articles until March 4, 1789, when it was superseded by the government established under the federal Constitution.

See also AMERICAN REVOLUTION—3. *Political, Social, and Economic Developments;* ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION; DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, UNITED STATES; UNITED STATES—*16. The Founding of the Nation, 1763–1815.*

GEORGE A. BILLIAS, *Clark University*

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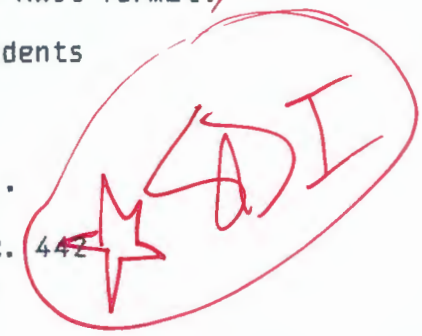
Public Papers of the Presidents

National Security

Address to the Nation.

19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 442

March 23, 1983



LENGTH: 4572 words

... mind, I call upon the scientific community in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace, to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.

Tonight, consistent with our obligations of the ABM treaty and recognizing the need for closer consultation with our allies, I'm taking an important first step. I am directing a comprehensive and intensive effort to define ...

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April 30, 1789: Washington delivering his first inaugural address in the Old City Hall, New York (now the Treasury Building). *Engraving by H. S. Sadd after T. H. Matteson. Collections of the Library of Congress.*

First



GEORGE WASHINGTON
APRIL 30, 1789

Thursday, April 30, 1789, was a cool, clear day in New York City. A west wind swept crisply across the Hudson River, adding a tang to the mounting excitement. Since dawn, the festive crowd in front of Federal Hall had steadily increased, and by nine o'clock, when the church bells rang out, heralding the great event that was about to occur and inviting the people to mark it with prayers, the intersection of Wall and Broad Streets was a solid, cheering mob. At noon, on the Federal Hall balcony, George Washington was scheduled to take his oath of office as the first President of the United States, and this was an historic occasion well worth risking one's neck to see. With nowhere to go but up, the high-spirited crowd broke into nearby office buildings, filling the windows and lining the rooftops.

A joint session of Congress had been called for ten o'clock, but when the hour came many Congressmen were still battling through the crowd in the street. The brute force of a mounted escort was required to open a path for the carriage bearing Vice President John Adams. For less favored notables the trip down Wall Street was a personal combat, and victory finally sent them skittering through the Federal Hall entrance, gasping and disheveled. Inside they found much of the same hysteria. The week before, an arrangements committee—three Senators and three Representatives—had been appointed to plan the details for the inauguration, and now, with the important moment at hand, the Committeemen suddenly realized that they had overlooked the simplest matters of protocol.

How should President-elect Washington be received at Federal Hall? How should he be addressed? Where should he sit? Who should accompany him out to the balcony for his oath of office?

The Congressional confusion came as no surprise to the crowd outside. The people were used to it. For the past five years the Continental Congress had languished at Philadelphia, accomplishing so little that it became a national joke. Actually, Congress was not entirely to blame. The Articles of Confederation which gave the Continental Congress its authority, also gave each state a veto, and in view of the many differences of opinion between the

states it was virtually impossible for Congress to pass a law.

Congressmen lost interest in their work and stopped attending sessions; for months at a time there were seldom enough members present to provide a quorum. The authors of the Constitution sought to remove the stumbling block by eliminating the veto and resolving Congressional decisions by a majority vote. This was the effort that seriously threatened the Constitution and caused it to win only slim margins of approval in most states; two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, had still to ratify the Constitution—a predicament which made them foreign territories on Washington's inauguration day. The New York legislature remained so sharply divided on the issue that the Federalist Senate and the Antifederalist House could not agree on a slate for the Electoral College, and as a result New York did not even participate in Washington's election.

As its last act, the Continental Congress decreed that its successor, the First Congress of the United States, should convene in New York City on March 4, 1789, to receive the results of the Electoral College vote. The negative attitude toward Congress evidently persisted, even among its new members. At the first session of Congress only eight of the twenty-two Senators were present; only fourteen of the fifty-nine Representatives. Lacking quorums, both houses adjourned; they adjourned repeatedly for a month.

Actually, everybody knew the result of the vote. George Washington had been elected President, with John Adams as Vice President. But neither man could take office until Congress had been officially informed and then, in turn, officially informed the victors. Day after day the handful of Congressmen met in their separate chambers, took a roll call, acknowledged that they had no quorum, adjourned, then reconvened later in their favorite taverns. The nation's forty-two newspapers began to complain: where were the missing Congressmen? Finally, on April 6, enough of them showed up to conduct the business at hand. Next day two couriers left New York on horseback, one rushing to Mount Vernon, Virginia, the other to Braintree, Massachusetts, to announce to George Washington and John Adams the news that both men had known for a month.

During the month that George Washington waited at Mount Vernon for the arrival of the Congressional courier, he spent his time putting his personal affairs in order. He was fifty-three years old. His health was impaired by chronic dysentery, recurrent malaria, and bad teeth. At the end of the war he had hoped to retire to his plantation, but first the Constitutional Convention, over which he presided, and then the Electoral College, which chose him to be President, put an end to that hope. Washington was considered a rich man, but he was actually land-poor. Often he found himself short of cash; he found himself so now, and he had to borrow five hundred dollars from a neighbor to settle some debts he did not want to leave unpaid. In his last days at Mount Vernon Washington wrote his inaugural address, and he practiced it aloud often. A natural shyness caused him to stammer and stumble over his words when called upon to speak in public; by rehearsing his speech repeatedly he hoped to avoid this embarrassment at Federal Hall.

The Congressional courier reached Mount Vernon on April 14. The next evening Washington gave a farewell dinner party for a few neighbors, and early on April 16 he left Mount Vernon accompanied by Colonel David Humphreys, his aide, and Tobias Lear, his secretary. Washington intended to make the journey to New York quickly and peacefully, with as little ceremony as possible. But a mile from Mount Vernon a deputation from Alexandria blocked the road, and Washington was asked to pause long enough to attend a reception that had been arranged for him. This was the start of an ovation that continued for three hundred miles. With Washington, the acclaim was as much for the man as for his office. He had been America's first war hero; he had

been the idol of his men, who knew he had borrowed thirty thousand dollars against his property to pay their salaries when Congress could not raise the money; his skill at compromise at the Constitutional Convention was greatly responsible for its success. Already he was a triumphant figure who would be heralded as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

From Alexandria Washington went on to an even more elaborate reception at Georgetown, then on to Baltimore where the entire city turned out to greet him. Everywhere he was expected to take part in the extravagant wining and dining. He could not refuse; he could not even complain.

On the morning of April 18, Washington crossed from Delaware into Pennsylvania. Awaiting him was the Philadelphia City Troop of Horse, in full regalia and with full armament. Washington indicated that he disapproved of the military, warlike display, but he knew there was nothing he could do about it. At the head of the contingent were Governor Thomas Mifflin and Pennsylvania House Speaker Richard Peters, both of them eager to escort the President-elect across the state. Mifflin presented Washington with a magnificent white horse. At each town more militia groups joined the procession until, at Chester, it was the size of an invading army.

Between Chester and Philadelphia the cavalcade reached the Lower Schuylkill River at the point known as Gray's Ferry. The ferry was actually a floating bridge, decorated now with bunting and banners. Archways at either end were covered with laurel, evergreen, flowers, and flags, and hidden in the first archway was a small boy camouflaged in shrubbery. By prearrangement, Washington was the first to ride onto the ferry. As he passed under the arch, the boy dropped a crown of laurel that landed neatly on Washington's peaked hat and so startled him that he almost lost control of his enormous white horse. The boy shouted: "Long live George Washington!" With that, cannons fired from both sides of the river, great crowds came running over the hills and down both banks, and a band blared from Gray's Inn on the far shore. And once again the march was halted by a huge feast and celebration.

Philadelphia, then the biggest and richest city in the country, lived up to its reputation. The banquet at City Tavern was described in the newspapers as "grand and plentiful" at which "numerous patriotic toasts were drunk." The celebrated and uncelebrated alike moved slowly along an endless receiving line to meet Washington and shake his hand. The adulation shown him surpassed hero worship: he was virtually a new god. The next morning, as he was preparing to leave for Trenton, a rainstorm broke and Washington was offered a carriage in which to ride, but he refused it, announcing that he preferred to ride in the open as the men of his escort were forced to do, and this inspired a reporter to rhapsodize:

"How different is power when derived from its only just source, viz., the PEOPLE, from that which is derived from conquest or hereditary succession! The first magistrates of the nations of Europe assume the titles of gods and treat their subjects like an inferior race of animals. Our beloved magistrate delights to show, upon all occasions, that he is a man and, instead of assuming the pomp of master, acts as if he considered himself the FATHER—the FRIEND—the SERVANT of the PEOPLE!"

At Trenton Washington was heralded as a savior as well. At the south entrance to the city stood an enormous arch, twenty feet high and twenty feet long, supported by thirteen evergreen pillars. In its cupola of flowers were the dates 1776 and 1777, marking Washington's two victories at Trenton—the capture of the Hessians and the repulse of the British army at the bridge. A banner bore the words: "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." As Washington passed under the arch, thirteen Trenton women formed a line, strewing flowers in his path as they sang a greeting to him.

The increasing fervor of the receptions from town to town unnerved Washington, and he sent word ahead to New York that he hoped to be able to enter the capital quietly. But it was too late. When on Thursday, April 23, Washington reached Elizabeth, New Jersey, he found awaiting him a large delegation of Senators and Representatives, public officials of New York and New Jersey, mayors and councils of towns along the bay, and Federal executives. The waterfront was jammed with cheering crowds. Offshore a fleet of small boats was ready to accompany Washinton on his trip across the bay, but before the trip could begin, he had to be introduced to the many dignitaries who had come to greet him.

Finally Washington was led to a forty-seven-foot barge, manned by thirteen harbor pilots in white sailor suits. A tent stood astern, in the event that Washington might want to escape the winds of the broad bay. Instead, he took a place among the oarsmen, standing there and waving at the accompanying small craft as the barge swept through the Kill van Kull, around the tip of Staten Island, and out into the bay. The harbor was as crowded as the roads from Mount Vernon had been. All the boats were gayly decorated; some carried choirs that sang to Washington as his barge raced by; from others came showers of petals that were caught by the wind and blown back at the people who had thrown them. Among the boats was the Spanish man-of-war, the *Galveston,* strangely quiet and drab; but as the barge came abreast, all hands went to work. Up shot flags and banners and bunting: the ship was dressed in seconds. From her battery came a roaring thirteen-gun salute—so staggering and dramatic an effect that some of the dazed pilots rowing the barge dropped their oars and stared, recovering their composure when the *North Carolina,* up ahead, blasted its own salute.

The barge reached the Battery, then swung into the passage between Manhattan and Governor's Island; both shores were lined with people. Onward the barge went, into the East River, to Murray's Wharf at the foot of Wall Street, where a crimson-carpeted staircase had been erected from the dock down to the water-level. On the dock, under a crimson canopy, was Governor George Clinton, waiting to welcome George Washington back to New York as the country's first President-elect.

After the confusion of introductions, to which Washington had grown accustomed in the week since leaving Mount Vernon, an army officer stepped up, saluted, announced that Washington's carriage was ready and that the Presidential escort, composed of Grenadiers of the First Regiment, was his to command.

Washington replied: "I need no escort except the affections of my fellow citizens, and I prefer to walk."

The common-man gesture had the same dazzling effect on the crowd as had Washington's decision to ride in the rain in Philadelphia. When the news spread, the emotional mob sent up a roar that could be heard on the ships out in the bay. Linking arms with Clinton, Washington made his way through the crowd, up Wall Street to Pearl, along Pearl, past the Governor's mansion, to Cherry Street, then around into Franklin Square—a walk of over a mile, with the cheering throng at his heels the whole distance. His home was to be Franklin House, built by Walter Franklin, a wealthy merchant whose widow had married Samuel Osgood, Postmaster General of the new government. The Osgoods had moved to their country estate in order to turn their home over to Washington; Franklin House, the first Presidential residence, remained a New York landmark for a century, until it was displaced by the approaches to the Brooklyn Bridge.

Foreign ambassadors were at Franklin House, anxious to meet Washington and to congratulate him. That evening Washington attended a dinner in his honor at the Governor's mansion. It was "open house" everywhere in New York that night. Public figures who did not rate an invitation to the Governor's exclusive party held dinners of their own. In tav-

erns all food and drink were free. People wandered from house to house, tavern to tavern, party to party; strangers embraced on the streets.

At Federal Hall, construction workers rushed to complete the renovation of the building that had formerly been New York's City Hall and was now being made over into the Capitol at a cost of $32,500 —all of it raised by public subscription. At Franklin House crowds gathered day and night, hoping for a glimpse of Washington. He stepped outside and waved to the people several times a day, as callers arrived or departed. On two or three occasions when his time was his own, he rode through the city on horseback to see for himself how the war damage had been repaired and removed since he had last been in New York, and on all these occasions he was followed by a cheering crowd. Sometime during the week, Washington showed his inaugural address to James Madison, who decided it was too long and helped Washington edit it down to the 1425 words of its final form.

At last, six weeks late, the day came—Thursday, April 30. And with it came the Congressional confusion over protocol, which now delayed the inauguration even longer.

How should Washington be addressed? Someone suggested "Excellency"; someone else wanted "His Highness"; others were for "His Highness, the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties" or "His Serene Highness" or "His Mightiness." At Elizabeth he had been addressed as "The President General of the United States." Experts hurriedly read through the Constitution and discovered that its authors had not taken this crucial question into consideration. As respectful as everyone was prepared to be toward the Presidency, the flowery, regal titles made most men cringe, and the debate continued until someone suggested a simple "Mr. President." It was adopted.

Now, how to receive Washington? Should he be invited to sit down? Where? Adams regarded the crimson chair which symbolized his office. There was not room for two men on it. Should he surrender it to Washington? He admitted to the Senate: "Gentlemen, I feel great difficulty how to act. I am Vice President. In this I am nothing, but I may be everything. But I am president, also, of the Senate. When the President comes into the Senate, what shall I be? I wish, gentlemen, to think what I shall be."

Again the discussions and debates erupted, and they were not resolved until someone suggested that maybe Washington wouldn't want to sit down. After all, he would be coming to make a speech and he would undoubtedly stand up to give it.

The speech was to be made before a joint session of both Houses. What to do with the Representatives when they came into the Senate chambers? Should they be left to stand, as members of the House of Commons stood when in the House of Lords for a joint session of England's Parliament? Someone pointed out that the Commoners stood merely because there were no seats for them in the House of Lords. How should the Speaker of the House be received? It was suggested that the Senate sergeant-at-arms go to the door carrying the Senate mace and there receive the Speaker, but then the Senators realized that they did not have either a sergeant or a mace.

At this point the Senate door was swung open and the House Speaker, followed by the Representatives, came hurrying in, and the Speaker had his own problem for the Senate. According to schedule, the Congressional escort was supposed to be at Franklin House at eleven o'clock to accompany Washington to Federal Hall for his inauguration at noon. Since it was now well after eleven, shouldn't the escort be on its way?

The escort of three Senators and three Representatives went downstairs to a waiting carriage. Because of the jammed streets, the carriage traveled slowly, and the escort arrived one hour and ten minutes late. Other contingents of the inaugural procession had by now been standing in Cherry Street for over two hours. Reaching Franklin House at last, the Con-

ury Building). *Engraving by H. S. Sadd after T. H. Matteson. Collections of the Library of Congress.*

gressmen hurried inside and found Washington waiting patiently at the door. Only enough time was spent in shaking hands to allow the coachmen to turn the carriage around and guide it into its parade position. Then Washington entered the carriage with the escort for the trip back to Federal Hall. The nearer the parade approached Federal Hall the more difficult progress became. Wall Street was a solid mass of people. The leading military unit had to break ranks and force an opening through the crowd. At Federal Hall Washington paused only a moment at the door to acknowledge the cheers.

Inside, Washington was led quickly to the second floor where Adams awaited him at the Senate door. Once in the chambers, an unsmiling Washington accepted the applause of the joint Congress. After it came an awkward silence. Washington glanced around for a place to sit down, saw Adams' crimson chair, stepped to it and sat down—which settled that problem. He became aware that the men near him were apparently awaiting some sort of signal, so he caught Adams' eye and said: "I am ready to proceed."

Again there was confusion. Nobody had thought of arranging these last steps of the inauguration procession. Realizing this, Washington merely walked to the balcony doors at the far end of the room, with Adams falling in close behind and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, of the New York judiciary, behind Adams. Secretary of the Senate Samuel Allyne Otis quickly took a place beside Livingston. Then the Congressional escort moved into position. A few steps ahead of the others, Washington went out on the balcony, and at the sight of him the great crowd burst into an ovation. This gave the principals time to jostle for room on the balcony; other Congressmen watched from adjoining windows.

A small table covered with crimson damask stood near the railing, and on it was a Bible borrowed from St. John's Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons. Otis picked it up and stepped between Washington and Livingston. At a nod from Livingston, Otis opened the book. The crowd became quiet as Washington placed his left hand on the Bible, raised his right hand, and looked at Livingston. The authors of the Constitution, aware of the religious sensitivities in the country, allowed for a President either to "swear" or merely "affirm" his oath; Washington used the word "swear" as he pledged:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

There was a silence; then Washington said: "I swear, so help me God." And he bent over and kissed the Bible. This was unexpected and sent a murmur through the crowd.

Livingston waited a moment, then said softly: "It is done." He turned to the crowd and shouted: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

The crowd broke into a storm of cheers that served as a signal to the rest of the city. Church bells rang. From the fort and from ships in the bay came the roar of cannons. Washington accepted the ovation for several minutes, then turned and led the men on the balcony back to the Senate chamber for the inaugural address.

It was a well-written speech, direct, eloquent; and the heart of it was aimed at both the Federalist and Antifederalist extremists who, Washington knew, were still dissatisfied with the Constitution and were impatient to get to the battle of amendments. A united and effective government and the rights of freemen should, he said, be the Congressional guides in any alterations that might be made.

The day's schedule next called for a visit by Washington and other principals to St. Paul's Chapel for a religious service to be conducted by Episcopal Bishop Provost, who had been named the chaplain of the Senate. This proved to be the only time a religious service was officially part of an inauguration. Though many people had left the Wall Street area, there was still a great crowd in the street. Washing-

ton's carriage, removed from Federal Hall during the oath-taking, could not be brought back. It was Washington who suggested that they all walk to the chapel, a suggestion that did not go too well because the church was located at Broadway and Fulton Street, over seven blocks away. Washington started to walk; Congressmen and other dignitaries straggled after him, and many latecomers were still arriving at St. Paul's when the service was over and Washington was climbing into his carriage for the ride to Franklin House.

That night the city again was loud with celebration. Bonfires burned in every street. Federal Hall was a blaze of light. In the windows of most homes and shops were 11 lighted candles, one for each state in the Union. Large transparencies, illuminated from behind, hung in front of theaters and in parks, showing Washington's profile and scenes from his career. The transparency at the Spanish embassy had moving parts and attracted enormous crowds. The doors and windows of the French embassy were festooned with colored lanterns, and French wine was served to the lingering admirers.

Parties were given nightly for the next week, but it was not until Thursday, May 7, that America's first inaugural ball was held. Some three hundred political and social leaders attended the affair in the Assembly Rooms at Broadway and Wall Street. Martha Washington, busy at Mount Vernon closing down the house and preparing for her own triumphant journey to New York, missed the ball, and thus it fell to Mrs. Peter Van Burgh Livingston and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton to be Washington's partners at the opening cotillions. Washington enjoyed dancing; he was soon back on the floor doing the minuet with Mrs. James Homer Maxwell, of the prominent New Jersey family.

New York, now the political capital of the United States, quickly became its social capital as well. For the next weeks the rich and influential arrived from Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Atlanta, even from abroad, to give parties and dinners for any reason they could dream up, and Washington attended most of them. When Martha Washington arrived in the city at the end of May, the round of festivities started all over again. Settled in Franklin House, Martha Washington established her own routine of entertaining—teas on Tuesday afternoons, dinners on Thursday evenings, dances on Friday nights. Franklin House was soon too small to accommodate all the guests who managed to finagle invitations to the Washington parties, and so, in February, 1790, the Presidential household moved to the larger McComb mansion on Broadway near Trinity Church.

Thus New York settled back to bask in the exciting privilege of being the home of America's First Family and of American inaugurations. Thursday, April 30, 1789, had been a great day, indeed, and it had opened a great era. However, as far as New York City was concerned, the era would soon end and the great day would never come again.

HAIL TO THE CHIEF !

The Inauguration Days of Our Presidents

by GLENN D. KITTLER

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U.S. Population by Offici

(Members of the Armed Forces overse

State	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880
Ala.	.....	1,250	9,046	127,901	309,527	590,756	771,623	964,201	996,992	1,262,505
Alas.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ariz.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,658	40,440
Ark.	.....	.....	1,062	14,273	30,388	97,574	209,897	435,450	484,471	802,525
Cal.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	92,597	379,994	560,247	864,694
Col.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,277	39,864	194,327
Conn.	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,248	297,675	309,978	370,792	460,147	537,454	622,700
Del.	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748	78,085	91,532	112,216	125,015	146,608
D.C.	.....	14,023	24,023	33,039	39,834	43,712	51,687	75,080	131,700	177,624
Fla.	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,730	54,477	87,445	140,424	187,748	269,493
Ga.	82,548	162,686	252,433	340,989	516,823	691,392	906,185	1,057,286	1,184,109	1,542,180
Ha.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ida.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,999	32,610
Ill.	.....	.....	12,282	55,211	157,445	476,183	851,470	1,711,951	2,539,891	3,077,871
Ind.	.....	5,641	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866	988,416	1,350,428	1,680,637	1,978,301
Ia.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	43,112	192,214	674,913	1,194,020	1,624,615
Kan.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	107,206	364,399	996,096
Ky.	73,677	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,828	982,405	1,155,684	1,321,011	1,648,690
La.	.....	.....	76,556	153,407	215,739	352,411	517,762	708,002	726,915	939,946
Me.	96,540	151,719	228,705	298,335	399,455	501,793	583,169	628,279	626,915	648,936
Md.	319,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040	470,019	583,034	687,049	780,894	934,943
Mass.	378,787	422,845	472,040	523,287	610,408	737,699	994,514	1,231,066	1,457,351	1,783,085
Mich.	.....	.....	4,762	8,896	31,639	212,267	397,654	749,113	1,184,059	1,636,937
Minn.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,077	172,023	439,706	780,773
Miss.	.....	8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621	375,651	606,526	791,305	827,922	1,131,597
Mo.	.....	.....	19,783	66,586	140,455	383,702	682,044	1,182,012	1,721,295	2,168,380
Mon.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20,595	39,159
Neb.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28,841	122,993	452,402
Nev.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,857	42,491	62,266
N.H.	141,885	183,858	214,460	244,161	269,328	284,574	317,976	326,073	318,300	346,991
N.J.	184,139	211,149	245,562	277,575	320,823	373,306	489,555	672,035	906,096	1,131,116
N.M.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	61,547	93,516	91,874	119,565
N.Y.	340,120	589,051	959,049	1,372,812	1,918,608	2,428,921	3,097,394	3,880,735	4,382,759	5,082,871
N.C.	393,751	478,103	555,500	638,829	737,987	753,419	869,039	992,622	1,071,361	1,399,750
N.D.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*2,405	36,909
Oh.	.....	45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,519,467	1,980,329	2,339,511	2,665,260	3,198,062
Okla.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ore.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,294	52,465	90,923	174,768
Pa.	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,049,458	1,348,233	1,724,033	2,311,786	2,906,215	3,521,951	4,282,891
R.I.	68,825	69,122	76,931	83,059	97,199	108,830	147,545	174,620	217,353	276,531
S.C.	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185	594,398	668,507	703,708	705,606	995,577
S.D.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*4,837	*11,776	98,268
Tenn.	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,823	681,904	829,210	1,002,717	1,109,801	1,258,520	1,542,359
Tex.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	212,592	604,215	818,579	1,591,749
Ut.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,380	40,273	86,786	143,963
Vt.	85,425	154,465	217,895	235,981	280,652	291,948	314,120	* 315,098	330,551	332,286
Va.	821,267	880,200	974,600	1,065,366	1,211,405	1,239,797	1,421,661	1,596,318	1,225,163	1,512,565
Wash.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,201	11,594	23,955	75,116
W. Va.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	442,014	618,457
Wis.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30,945	305,391	775,881	1,054,670	1,315,497
Wy.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,116	20,789
U.S.[1]	3,929,214	5,308,483	7,239,881	9,638,453	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783

*1860 figure is for Dakota Territory; 1870 figures are for parts of Dakota Territory. (1) U.S. total includes persons (5,318 in 1830 and 6,100 in 1840) on public ships in the service of the United States not credited to any region, division, or state.

≈ 4 million

Density of Population by States

(Per square mile, land area only)

State	1920	1960	1970	1980	State	1920	1960	1970	1980	State	1920	1960	1970	1980
Ala.	45.6	64.2	67.9	76.6	La.	39.6	72.2	81.0	94.5	Okla.	29.2	33.8	37.2	44.1
Alas.*	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.7	Me.	25.7	31.3	32.1	36.3	Ore.	8.2	16.4	21.7	27.4
Ariz.	2.9	11.5	15.6	23.9	Md.	145.8	313.5	396.6	428.7	Pa.	194.5	251.4	262.3	264.3
Ark.	33.4	34.2	37.0	43.9	Mass.	479.2	657.3	727.0	733.3	R.I.	566.4	819.3	902.5	897.3
Cal.	22.0	100.4	127.6	151.4	Mich.	63.8	137.7	156.2	162.6	S.C.	55.2	78.7	85.7	103.4
Col.	9.1	16.9	21.3	27.9	Minn.	29.5	43.1	48.0	51.2	S.D.	8.3	9.0	8.8	9.1
Conn.	286.4	520.8	623.6	637.8	Miss.	38.6	46.0	46.9	53.4	Tenn.	58.1	86.2	94.9	111.8
Del.	113.5	225.2	276.5	307.6	Mo.	49.5	62.6	67.8	71.3	Tex.	17.8	38.4	42.7	54.8
D. C.	7,292.9	12,523.9	12,401.8	10,132.3	Mon.	3.8	4.6	4.8	5.4	Ut.	5.5	10.8	12.9	17.8
Fla.	17.7	91.5	125.5	180.0	Neb.	16.9	18.4	19.4	20.5	Vt.	38.6	42.0	47.9	55.2
Ga.	49.3	67.8	79.0	94.1	Nev.	.7	2.6	4.4	7.3	Va.	57.4	99.6	116.9	134.7
Ha.*	39.9	96.5	119.6	150.1	N. H.	49.1	67.2	81.7	102.4	Wash.	20.3	42.6	51.2	62.1
Ida.	5.2	8.1	6.6	11.5	N. J.	420.0	805.5	953.1	986.2	W. Va.	60.9	77.2	72.5	80.8
Ill.	115.7	180.4	199.4	205.3	N. M.	2.9	7.8	8.4	10.7	Wis.	47.6	72.6	81.1	86.5
Ind.	61.3	128.8	143.9	152.8	N. Y.	217.9	350.6	381.3	370.6	Wy.	2.0	3.4	3.4	4.9
Ia.	43.2	49.2	50.5	52.1	N. C.	82.5	93.2	104.1	120.4	U.S.	*29.9	50.6	57.4	64.0
Kan.	21.6	26.6	27.5	28.9	N. D.	9.2	9.1	8.9	9.4					
Ky.	60.1	76.2	81.2	92.3	Oh.	141.4	236.6	260.0	263.3					

*For purposes of comparison, Alaska and Hawaii included in above tabulation for 1920, even though not states then.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Population – US – TOTAL (incl overseas & armed services)

as of Oct. 1984

237,267,000 ≈ (240 mil)

---

per Census

763-5072

Mrs. Shepherd

– 1/17/85 phone call

J Cane

Africa: The Corps Flight

HAIL TO THE CHIEF !

The Inauguration Days of Our Presidents

by GLENN D. KITTLER

CHILTON BOOKS a division of Chilton Company

Publishers / Philadelphia and New York





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THOMAS JEFFERSON

Portrait by Mather Brown, painted in London, 1786

(See p. vii)

V.2
WHRC

THE *Adams-Jefferson* LETTERS

The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams

*

EDITED BY

LESTER J. CAPPON

IN TWO VOLUMES

Vol. II, 1812-1826

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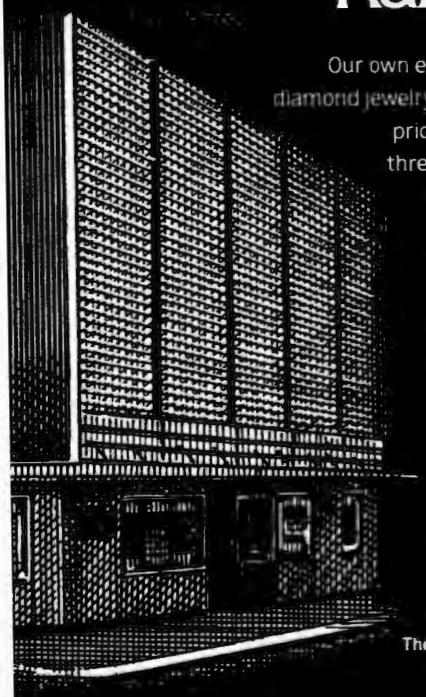
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When in Aruba or Curacao...

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Because the *-ism* flows from the noun *vigilante* rather than the adjective *vigilant*, we should logically say *vigilante-ism*.

lante. This *-ism* does not refer merely to "being vigilant"; it has to do with "being a vigilante." Because the *-ism* flows from the noun *vigilante* rather than the adjective *vigilant*, we should logically say *vigilante-ism*.

You think it looks awkward with the hyphen and is hard to say? If you prefer *vigilantism*, then maybe you would like *McCarthism*. Of course not; it's *McCarthyism* and *vigilante-ism*. (Next time I hear an announcer drop the *e*, I'm gonna let him have it.)

Good Night, Irenic

THE HARVARD DIVINITY School is searching for a scholar to fill an endowed chair for the study of Judaism. The likeliest choice for the post was Dr. Jacob Neusner, a Brown University professor and co-director of its renowned Program in Judaic Studies.

That was before Professor Neusner saw that one of the qualifications specified for the position was "an irenic personality." *Irenic* means "peaceful," with additional connotations of "calm, serene, undisturbed"; Irene was the Greek goddess of peace, parallel to the Roman Pax.

That adjective, as all who know him will attest, does not describe the iconoclastic Jack Neusner. In a letter asking that his name be removed from further consideration, he wrote: "My hero has always been Jeremiah and, alas, he too never turned out to be . . . irenic." The prolific Talmudic scholar must also have been aware of the theological sense of *irenics*, "the doctrine of promoting peace among contentious Christian churches."

In an era of arms-control talk, with *peace-loving* a word the Communists have made their own, you might think we would see more of *irenic*. Careful how you use it, though — as they have learned at Harvard Divinity School, it can trigger a jeremiad (which the dictionaries still define as "a long tale of woe," but has gained the sense of "an irate blast of complaint").

Yes, the World Is Lit

STUDENTS OF ORATORY were interested in President Reagan's use of *yes* in his Second Inaugural Address. Not since Molly Bloom, in James Joyce's "Ulysses," punctuated her stream of consciousness with *yes* to register passion has this technique been used so variously.

When the President puts *yes* before a word, it can mean "even," as in "I remember a time when people of different race, creed or ethnic origin found hatred and prejudice installed in social custom and, *yes*, in law."

Or it can mean "lastly," as after a series of "when" clauses, he concluded with "And, *yes*, the years when America . . . turned the tide of history. . . ."

Or it can be "the defiant yes," a characteristic of Mr. Reagan's style, often accompanied by a tightening of the mouth and a ducking of the head. It uses "yes" to mean "and I know some of you won't like this, but I'm going to say it anyway." Example: "A society . . . where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, *yes*, the unborn protected. . . ."

Those who search for literary allusions in Presidential speeches hit pay dirt in his peroration: "My friends, we live in a world that's lit by lightning."

Henry Hanson of Chicago magazine promptly turned to his copy of Tennessee Williams's 1944 play "The Glass Menagerie" and the memorable "I didn't go to the moon" curtain speech, in which Tom tells his crippled sister, Laura, who believes in the magic of candlelight on little glass animals, that he has been searching for "anything that can blow your candles out! . . . for nowadays the world is lit by lightning."

Did the President, or any of his writers, know of this allusion? Did he mean, as Williams's character did, to contrast gentle candlelight with fierce lightning? That is for the orator to know and for us to guess. ■

New York Magazine 2/10/85

the editorial pages of The Washington Times.

hotels hastily thrown together to catch the tourist dollars.

grades of meat are scarce, and long queues of shoppers form daily at the meat markets.

The Chinese permit only a tiny, sanctioned Catholic church — the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Associ-

hold in the modern world. Th American who climbs the Grea Wall is set upon each step of the wa

MORTON KONDRACKE

Prescription from Babbitt

Bruce Babbitt talked to the CDM last week and a ray of hope pierced the gloom for the Democratic Party.

Mr Babbitt is the 46-year-old, second-term governor of Arizona, and one of the leaders of the high-tech "neo-liberal" wing of the Democratic Party, the "Gary Hart" wing of 1984.

The CDM is the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a group formed in 1972 to represent the Henry Jackson-Hubert Humphrey wing of the party, dedicated to a strong defense and an assertive foreign policy

The CDM has suffered severe blows in recent years. Its founding heroes have died. Some of its leaders, including United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, joined the Reagan administration.

Its kind of candidates (John Glenn, Ernest Hollings, and Reubin Askew) failed miserably in presidential primaries and its influence at the Democratic National Convention was practically nil.

In recent years, it has appeared that the CDM was less a wing on the body of the Democratic Party than a feather that just might float away into the Republican Party.

But the CDM's annual Washington conference on the future of the Democratic Party indicated that there's a mission for the CDM and hope for the Democrats.

The first speaker at the conference, Virginia Gov. Chuck Robb, made me wonder.

There is a possibility of an alliance between Gary Hart neo-liberals and "Scoop" Jackson neo-conservatives.

Mr. Robb said correctly that "what we (Democrats) must become, if we ever hope to recapture the White House, or the Senate, or the South, is the party with discipline and with hope," but his programmatic prescriptions sounded precisely like those of the Reagan administration.

It's not that a stronger defense, domestic budget cuts, and sponsorship of measures to benefit business are necessarily wrong, and probably a Democrat has to sound like a Republican to get elected in the South.

But nationally, there simply is no need for two Republican parties, and if voters are given a choice between the real one and a fabricated one, they'll choose the former every time.

The Democratic Party has to remain more "liberal" — more dedicated to compassion, opportunity, and peace — than the Republicans or it has no reason for existing.

But how it expresses its liberalism — what kind of liberalism it stands for — must change.

And what Mr. Babbitt did was to show how it can change and must change.

"We must step away from the lazy orthodoxy that represents what we did 30 or 40 years ago," he said. "We have to have a wide-open dialogue about the future, agreeing to disagree about means, and try to reach a new synthesis that can restore us as the majority party."

Mr. Babbitt's new ideas for the party to consider included the following:

• Seize and run with Treasury Secretary Donald Regan's tax

see **KONDRACKE,** *page 2D*



Bruce Babbitt — a ray of hope for the Democratic Party?

Morton Kondracke, executive editor of The New Republic, *is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

VARREN BROOKES

The rudderless Fed

This Friday the conservative Heritage Foundation will

eral Reserve's "monetary roller-coaster ride."



omy is. . . . This [rule-less] policy leaves the Fed rudderless."

But Heritage's assault on the Fed is downright mild when compared to the general tone of an important

ibility and adaptability to changing conditions.

While the papers were studded with incompre-



From the book.

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ition" and "a reli-
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religion with their science."

The two scholars are quite right in insisting that there is nothing logically necessary about claims that the future findings of neuroscience will support materialist theories. Nevertheless, it is equally undeniable that as our understanding of the world has been enlarged by unremitting use of the scientific method, so the domain of formerly mysterious and mystical phenomena has shrunk to an ever-smaller ambit. For example, now

[illegible] rather, they are are rationally betting on the continuing efficacy of the scientific method in explaining phenomena without recourse to realms outside of the physical universe and its laws.

So, for the time being, the debate goes on. Questions liable to be asked about their "dualistic-interactionism," and to which Professors Eccles and Robinson do not provide answers, tend to mirror the opposite accusations which they, as non-materialist thinkers, put to the materialists. In this instance: just what exactly is a 'non-material entity? Of what is it made and through what mechanism does it influence the material world?

On the same materialist bias, how would one ever design an experiment that would prove that non-material minds do exist? This question is of paramount importance, because it embodies the principle of falsifiability: any theory that does not meet this criterion cannot ever be proven — not "scientifically," that is.

Professors Eccles and Robinson have performed a service through their incisive questioning of the theories of their opponents, but they have not thereby proved their own case. Their theory resides only in the gaps of our current scientific knowledge.

Moreover, if we reject "dualistic-interactionism," do we humans then lose our specialness? Look around, and I believe the answer will be quite clear.

rule of thumb that you can't go wrong as long if you read *The Post*, digest its message, and assume that the opposite of whatever it predicts is probably going to happen.

Last Wednesday, as usual, it did.

KONDRACKE

From page 1D

reform program. "It's so good," he said, "that the Republicans won't have the courage to support it."

One controversial feature of the Regan tax plan — especially among Republicans and perhaps the AFL-CIO — would limit depreciation allowances for corporations with heavy investment in plant and equipment, meaning they will pay more taxes, while individuals and small businesses pay less.

According to Mr. Babbitt, present tax laws "favor large, politically powerful businesses at the expense of small entrepreneurs" who create new jobs at a much faster rate. The Regan plan would even the balance.

- Abandon the idea of a national "industrial policy" — or central planning — and instead encourage individuals and small businesses to be more productive on a decentralized basis, through education, employee stock purchases, and fairer taxes.
- The Democrats should again become the free-trade party, abandoning such protectionist measures as domestic-content legislation and quotas, which limit imports.

He said that protectionism is "the lazy way" to fight unfair trade practices by Japan and other countries. Instead, he said, the United States should organize a new round of global trade talks to free up commerce everywhere.

These ideas by themselves won't save the Democratic Party, but the good news is that the CDM audience was impressed by Mr. Babbitt.

The upshot is that there is a possibility of an alliance between Gary Hart neo-liberals and "Scoop" Jackson neo-conservatives. This group now needs to reach out to some blacks, Hispanics, and traditional liberals who are capable of seeing the need for change.

While the neo-liberals teach the party new ways of thinking about the economy, the CDM can teach it about foreign policy. School should begin right away, with all the prospective 1988 presidential nominees as the class.

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accordingly." Thus investors will tend to make such "surprise" inflation more difficult and costly to pull off. Conversely, the current arbitrary tight money policy keeps rates high as investors try to outguess the Fed on the high side.

This means, he said, that under discretionary policy, we will tend to move to an "equilibrium of relatively high but steady rates of inflation," and very high interest rates.

That, of course, has been the history since the 1968-71 breakdown of the Bretton Woods Agreement (which tied the world to the dollar, and the dollar to gold), when the nation moved from an average inflation of less than 2 percent to more than 7 percent.

That is why, Mr. Barro argues, "there must now be a mechanism for binding the policymaker's hands in advance. . . . " While he gives full credit to the ability of a gold standard to sustain long-term monetary value and price stability, he comes down in favor of tying monetary policy to an overall target path of a general *price* index . . . whereby a price level above the target triggers lower growth of the monetary base, and vice versa." Supply-siders have long argued for such a "price rule."

Once there is such a credible rule (as opposed to discretion) it "works to stabilize prices even if there are lags" because "there is a form of stabilizing speculation [in the market] that improves the system." People know what to expect.

Instead, of course, for the past 18 months, even as commodity prices were *falling*, the Fed choked off monetary and economic growth — because its "discretionary theory" was that growth causes inflation.

As Heritage argues, it is time for a serious commitment to rules — and not whims in Fed policy.

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COURTESY OF DR. NATHAN ROBERT KAHN

Cover: In a 1961 painting by David Levine, the pediatrician Nathan Robert Kahn holds the artist's newborn baby. When Dr. Kahn, who practiced in New York from 1946 to 1972, moved to Palm Beach, Levine gave this painting to him in thanks for the doctor's care of his children over the years.

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permanently closed to everyone except maintenance people. This was not due to fear that the arm might weaken but because of the inconvenience of the steep, narrow, almost ladderlike single staircase.

Did you know that Liberty almost wound up on the bottom of the Atlantic instead of on her pedestal? Or that the young French naval lieutenant who brought her safely through an ocean storm eventually became an American citizen?

Nineteen-year-old Rodolphe Victor de Drambour commanded the small steam-and-sail gunboat *Isère* that carried the dismembered statue to this country. Because none of the ship's hatches were big enough to admit the cases, he cut a hole in the vessel's side and shoved them in as best he could, with no means of proper stowage.

On the voyage the ship ran into a heavy storm. For seventy-two hours young Drambour never left the bridge as the wildly shifting cargo threatened to capsize the gunboat at any moment. Two days after his twentieth birthday he anchored safely off Sandy Hook. When or why he left France I do not know, but in 1936, at the time of Liberty's fiftieth anniversary, he had long been a U.S. citizen and was living in the Bronx.

Jack W. Rudolph
De Pere, Wis.

The article on the Statue of Liberty triggered memories. During the years from 1931 to 1935, my father was assigned to Fort Jay on Governors Island in New York Harbor, but we, along with a number of other families, were quartered on Bedloe's Island (Fort Wood) at the foot of the statue. We took the excursion boat to school each day; supplies were delivered to the island by Army mules pulling a wagon. In the winter we used to hitch our sleds to the back of the wagons (forbidden, of course), and in the summer we would hang on to get slivers of ice when it was delivered.

Some of the best times were had in the winter when the bay was filled with broken ice and the excursion boat could not get through. We would be marooned for a day or two—once for three days. No school! My mother, who is now in her nineties, does not remember our life there as being fun, but it was a great place to be a child during the Depression.

D. F. Fuller
Santa Clara, Calif.

Huck Finnish

I have a question for you after reading the June/July issue. In the article "One Hundred Years of Huckleberry Finn," you give the year 1904 for the first Finnish translation of Twain's novel, but then on page 84 you also list 1927 for the first Finnish translation. Which year is the correct one?

Erik Nelson
Ventura, Calif.

The correct date is 1904.

Manhattan Playground

The June/July "Time Machine" states that the 1934 All-Star Game was hosted by the National League in the Polo Grounds in the Bronx. Wrong. The dear departed Polo Grounds were in Manhattan. Yankee Stadium, which sits almost directly across the Harlem River from the site of the Polo Grounds, is in the Bronx.

As an eleven- and twelve-year-old I had the opportunity to see the Mets play at the Polo Grounds several times before they were torn down to make way for high-rise housing. By the time I got to see a game there, whatever charm the place had was quickly disappearing within the dried-out wooden boards of its facade. But it was still a thrill, especially now as I look back on it, to have been in a park where so much baseball history took place. It was ancient, it was decrepit, it deserved to be put to rest. But the Polo Grounds had character; they were a far cry from the antiseptic, geometric, Astroturfed pleasure domes of today. But more important, the Polo Grounds were in Manhattan.

Robert V. Cancro
East Brunswick, N.J.

A Penny for Lincoln

The New York Times may have disapproved when the government decided to put Lincoln on the penny ("The Time Machine," August/September), but Carl Sandburg thought it was a stroke of genius. He wrote an editorial in the Milwaukee *Daily News* when the coin was issued in 1909: "The penny is strictly the coin of the common people. At Palm Beach, Newport, and Saratoga you will find nothing for sale for one cent. No ice cream cones at a penny a piece there.

" 'Keep the change,' says the rich man. 'How many pennies do I get back?' asks the poor man.

"Only the children of the poor know the joy of getting a penny for running around the corner to the grocery.

"The penny is the bargain counter coin. Only the common people walk out of their way to get something for nine cents reduced from ten cents. The penny is the coin used by those who are not sure of tomorrow, those who know that if they are going to have a dollar next week they must watch the pennies this week.

"Follow the travels of a penny and you find it stops at many cottages and few mansions.

"The common, homely face of Honest Abe looks good on the penny, the coin of the common folk from whom he came and to whom he belongs."

Jerome Harman
Rogers, Ark.

Martin Wooster

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mention
John Ford

Representative government: a British view

The Fact is, that the Inhabitants of the Colonies are represented in Parliament: they do not indeed chuse the Members of that Assembly; neither are Nine Tenths of the People of Britain *Electors; for the Right of Election is annexed to certain Species of Property, to peculiar Franchises, and to Inhabitancy in some particular Places; but these Descriptions comprehend only a very small Part of the Land, the Property, and the People of this Island....*

The Colonies are in exactly the same Situation: All British *Subjects are really in the same; none are actually, all are virtually represented in Parliament; for every Member of Parliament sits in the House, not as Representative of his own Constituents, but as one of that august Assembly by which all the Commons of* Great Britain *are represented. Their Rights and their Interests, however his own Borough may be affected by general Dispositions, ought to be the great Objects of his Attention, and the only Rules for his Conduct; and to sacrifice these to a partial Advantage in favour of the Place where he was chosen, would be a Departure from his Duty; if it were otherwise,* Old Sarum *would enjoy Privileges essential to Liberty, which are denied to* Birmingham *and to* Manchester; *but as it is, they and the Colonies and all* British *Subjects whatever, have an equal Share in the general Representation of the Commons of* Great Britain, *and are bound by the Consent of the Majority of that House, whether their own particular Representatives consented to or opposed the Measures there taken, or whether they had or had not particular Representatives there.*

From Thomas Whately, *The Regulations Lately Made...*, 1765.

could have wished. A decade earlier, when the Albany Congress proposed a union against a danger in the West, they had unanimously declined. This time, when the danger came from the East, they had spontaneously joined to boycott British goods, to prevent the distribution of stamps, to define the limits of Parliament's authority. Indian tomahawks and French guns had revealed nothing but discord; the threat of tyranny had revealed fundamental agreement. The definition of Parliament's authority that the Stamp Act Congress had formulated was no compromise measure reluctantly agreed to under the pressure of circumstance. The congress merely reiterated principles already familiar in newspapers and pamphlets, principles that the colonial assemblies themselves had embodied in their resolutions. It nevertheless surprised the Americans to find themselves agreeing so readily. "The Colonies until now were ever at variance and foolishly jealous of each other," Joseph Warren of Massachusetts wrote to a friend, "they are now . . . united . . . nor will they soon forget the weight which this close union gives them."

In defending their rights the colonists also discovered that the ideas which united them and which they thought inherent in the British constitution were not shared by most Englishmen. Men in England had denied not only the colonists' distinction between taxation and legislation but their conception of representation. At the outset of the tax controversy Grenville and his backers, admitting that Englishmen had a right to representation in the body that governed them, had claimed that the colonists *were* represented—not actually but virtually. A member of Parliament, Grenville maintained, represented not only the men who elected him, but the whole empire. The concept of virtual representation was widely accepted in England, but it was nonsense to Americans, who thought that a representative should be directly responsible to his constituents. By Grenville's reasoning, they said, Parliament could equally well claim an authority to tax the whole world.

Although a few suggestions had been made, like Governor Bernard's, that England should allow the colonies to send representatives to Parliament, the colonists did not take to the idea. It would be impractical, they thought, because of the great distance. Colonial representatives in London would lose contact with their constituents; it would cost too much to send them back and forth and to pay for their keep; they would be corrupted by the metropolis. But most important, there would be too few of them to have any real effect on the decisions of empire, yet their presence could be used to justify Parliamentary taxation of America.

These objections were serious, but not insuperable had either England or the colonies wanted to resolve them. But the plain fact was that the colonists did not want representation in Parliament. Perhaps

g liberal credits. The American merchants in turn tended credit to retailers and consumers, and the ountry indulged itself in a buying spree. Only when came time to pay the bills did the Americans dis-ver their situation.

The colonial economy had been a complex one, ı which Americans paid for British imports by carry-ıg their own and other people's goods to market in arious ports throughout the world, but mostly within ıe empire. Now they were no longer a part of the mpire, and Britain closed her West Indian ports to ımerican vessels. Prices of American produce lropped, merchants found themselves cut off from ısual channels of trade, and depression settled over he land—while British merchants called for payment.

Americans blamed themselves and their mer-:hants. Having won their political independence, they had promptly mortgaged it by extravagant purchases from their old masters. It seemed that the British, by craftily extending liberal credits and closing their ports to Americans, had rewon economically the position of dominance that they had lost politically. Congress instructed John Adams to ask England for a commercial treaty, but he was no more successful in this than in pressing for the evacuation of British garrisons in the Northwest.

There were loud demands for retaliation against the British restrictions on American trade, and some states passed laws to discourage imports. But such partial legislation by single states, each imposing different restrictions, only added to the difficulties by injuring the economies of sister states. As John Sullivan confessed concerning the New Hampshire law, "It was a blow aimed at Britain but wounds us and our friends." What was needed was an overall national regulation of commerce, not simply to discourage unnecessary imports, but to create a balanced economy in which manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce would all find their place. Only in this way could the United States become economically as well as politically independent and insure herself against domination by Britain or any other nation. But the American Congress, with no power to regulate commerce, could not even begin to direct the economy toward such a goal.

The crisis of American nationality

Many Americans found the impotence of the national government intolerable. The Revolution had widened their vision beyond the affairs of town or county or colony and had taught them to think, as Alexander Hamilton put it, "continentally." They knew that the only way to solve the difficulties of the United States was to strengthen the national government—they had known it before the ink was dry on the Articles of Confederation. Now, as the weakness of the government became more and more embarrassing, they spoke out ever more loudly.

Thinking continentally. The Americans had had plenty of practice in making and breaking governments. Their usual method had been to call an extralegal convention—like the Stamp Act Congress or the Continental Congress or the provincial congresses that replaced the royal governments. Conventions were also summoned whenever the people of a state or region wanted to achieve a public purpose for which their regular government had proved inadequate. Several interstate conventions had met during the war in an effort to regulate prices. Connecticut held a convention in 1783 to protest the founding of the Society of the Cincinnati and the granting of extra pay to army officers. And, as we have seen, Massachusetts called a convention to draft a state constitution.

It was only natural, then, for men who had begun to think "continentally" to turn to a convention for the purpose of strengthening the continental government. As early as 1784 they had talked of it, but at that time public sentiment was overwhelmingly against it. The opposition did not arise from a deficiency of national patriotism or from too much local patriotism. Nationalism, which has proved the most lively—and deadly—force in the modern world, attached itself in America to the Union rather than to the states. Thomas Paine, in his first publication after the peace, wrote: "I ever feel myself hurt when I hear the Union, the great palladium of our liberty and safety, the least irreverently spoken of. . . . Our citizenship in the United States is our national character. Our citizenship in any particular state is only our local distinction."

This sentiment was echoed by statesmen, poets, painters, and schoolmasters. George Washington, the nation's hero, was a great Virginian but a greater American. "We are known by no other character among nations," he declared in 1783, "than as the United States." Connecticut during the 1780s produced a host of brilliant young men who celebrated in literature and art not their own state but America. John Trumbull depicted the great events of the American Revolution in a series of historical paintings. Joel Barlow attempted an American epic in *The Vision of Columbus*. Noah Webster wrote schoolbooks designed to teach American English. Jedidiah Morse published an *American Geography*. And Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale, preached of *The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor*. Some authors, to be sure, wrote

Thinking continentally: George Washington

I rejoice most exceedingly that there is an end to our warfare, and that such a field is opening to our view as will, with wisdom to direct the cultivation of it, make us a great, a respectable, and happy People; but it must be improved by other means than State politics, and unreasonable jealousies and prejudices; or (it requires not the second sight to see that) we shall be instruments in the hands of our Enemies, and those European powers who may be jealous of our greatness in Union.... No man in the United States is, or can be more deeply impressed with the necessity of a reform in our present Confederation than myself. No man perhaps has felt the bad efects of it more sensibly, for to the defects thereof, and want of Powers in Congress may justly be ascribed the prolongation of the War, and consequently the Expences occasioned by it. More than half the perplexities I have experienced in the course of my command, and almost the whole of the difficulties and distress of the Army, have there origin here....



From George Washington, Letter to Alexander Hamilton, March 31, 1783.

Thinking continentally: Thomas Jefferson

I find also the pride of independance taking deep and dangerous hold on the hearts of individual states. I know no danger so dreadful and so probable as that of internal contests. And I know no remedy so likely to prevent it as the strengthening the band that connects us. We have substituted a Congress of deputies from every state to perform this task: but we have done nothing which would enable them to enforce their decisions. What will be the case? They will not be enforced. The states will go to war with each other in defiance of Congress; one will call in France to her assistance; another Great Britain, and so we shall have all the wars of Europe brought to our own doors.... I feel great comfort on the prospect of getting yourself and two or three others into the legislature. My humble and earnest prayer to Almighty god will be that you may bring into fashion principles suited to the form of government we have adopted, and not of that we have rejected, that you will first lay your shoulders to strengthening the band of our confederacy and averting those cruel evils to which it's present weakness will expose us, and that you will see the necessity of doing this instantly before we forget the advantages of union, or acquire a degree of ill-temper against each other which will daily increase the obstacles to that good work.



From Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Edmund Randolph, February 15, 1783.

Thinking continentally: Alexander Hamilton

We have now happily concluded the great work of independence, but much remains to be done to reach the fruits of it. Our prospects are not flattering. Every day proves the inefficacy of the present confederation, yet the common danger being removed, we are receding instead of advancing in a disposition to amend its defects. The road to popularity in each state is to inspire jealousies of the power of Congress, though nothing can be more apparent than that they have no power; and that for the want of it, the resources of the country during the war could not be drawn out, and we at this moment experience all the mischiefs of a bankrupt and ruined credit. It is to be hoped that when prejudice and folly have run themselves out of breath we may return to reason and correct our errors.



From Alexander Hamilton, Letter to John Jay, July 25, 1783.

The National Experience, Fourth Edition

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