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THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

VOL. II.

“As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.”—*William E. Gladstone.*

HISTORY  
OF THE  
FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY  
GEORGE BANCROFT.

*IN TWO VOLUMES.*

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## APPENDIX.

*LETTERS AND PAPERS.*

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## APPENDIX.

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*Temple to Lord Carmarthen, New York, 7 July, 1786. Ex.*

It is with pleasure that I can inform your lordship what silver and gold is to be had in this country goes in his Majesty's packet boats to England. The last packet, the Tankerville, carried upward of three hundred thousand Spanish milled dollars, and the Carteret packet, to sail to-morrow, will, I believe, carry home near as much more. The French packets carry none.

*Monroe to Jefferson, New York, 16 July, 1786.*

DEAR SIR : I have not heard from you for several months past, the last being dated some time previous to your removal to London. Not knowing you would have stayed so long, I have wrote you by every packet to France. We have now present twelve states, and hope this will be the case for some time. Soon after my arrival here in the winter I suggested to you my apprehensions that the condition of the act of cession from Virginia, which respected the extent of the states to be erected over the ceded territory, was an unpolitic one, and that it might be proper to recommend it to the state to alter it. A proposition to this effect was submitted to congress, which ultimately passed, advising that it be vested in congress to divide the said territory into not less than three nor more than five states ; but the investigation of the subject has opened the eyes of a part of the union, so as to enable them to view the subject in a different light from what they have heretofore done. They have, therefore, manifested a desire



to rescind everything they have heretofore done in it, particularly to increase the number of inhabitants which should entitle such states to admission into the confederacy, and to make it depend on their having one thirteenth part of the free inhabitants of the United States.

This, with some other restrictions they wish to impose on them, evinces plainly the policy of these men to be to keep them out of the confederacy altogether.

I considered this as a dangerous and very mischievous kind of policy; and calculated to throw them into the waters of Britain. I know not with certainty whether they will be able to carry this point, but if it is pressed, and a probability of being carried, we shall object to the power of the United States to determine the numbers without the consent of the state; it having been left open in the act does by no means put it in the power of the United States to make such restrictions on this head as to defeat the condition altogether. If they do not, therefore, agree with the delegation to have it upon the ground of 23 April, 1784, we shall propose a subsequent convention between the parties as to that point, and deny the right of the United States to act otherwise in it.

In my last I advised you of an intrigue on foot under the management of Jay to occlude the Mississippi, supported by the delegation of Massachusetts. Since my last no further measures have been openly taken in the business, yet it is not relinquished. As yet there hath not been a fair trial of the sense of congress on the subject. I have a conviction in my own mind that Jay has managed this negotiation dishonestly; on the other hand, I am persuaded that the minister here has no power on the subject, yet I am firmly persuaded that he has conducted himself in such a manner in this business as to give him and his court hopes which neither the sense of congress nor his instructions authorize.

Having been on all the foreign committees latterly, indeed since you left us, I have had an opportunity of knowing him well, and this communication is founded in circumstances this opportunity hath given me. The Massachusetts delegates, except the president, whose talents and merits have been greatly overrated (though preferable greatly in the latter instance to his brethren), are without exception the most illiberal I have ever seen from that state. Two of these men, whose names are Dana and King, are elected for the next year, which is my motive for making known to you this circumstance. It may possibly

be of some service to you, as I shall leave congress, to possess information of this kind. The former is, I believe, honest, but the principles of the latter I doubt. It has been proposed and supported by our state to have a colonial government established over the western districts, to cease at the time they shall be admitted into the confederacy. We are fully persuaded it will be beneficial to the settlers and to the United States, and especially those to whose frontiers such establishment formed an immediate barrier. This hath not been decided on, and hath only been postponed in consequence of the inordinate schemes of some men above alluded to, as to the whole policy of the affairs of that country. I am not aware of anything else that I can give you new. In October I shall leave this for Virginia, and shall settle in Fredericksburg for the purpose of commencing the practice of the law.

I hope by this you have reached Paris again, and at home; that you have been well pleased with your trip.

Mr. Madison writes me to-day he is at Philadelphia, and intends in a few days a visit here. I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

*Rufus King to James Monroe, Tuesday, 30 July, 1786.*

DEAR SIR: I called at your house last evening to mention that in a conversation with Mr. Pettit on the subject on which we met Mr. Jay some weeks since at Mr. Alsop's, we coincided in opinion that the committee could do nothing preferable to reporting that they be discharged, the business referred to a committee of the whole house, and that Mr. Jay be directed to attend.

I wish your opinion of the propriety of such a report, and am affectionately your friend, R. King.

*Report of a Grand Committee on Federal Powers.*

[The first endorsement on the back of the report is as follows:

"No. 18. Report of a sub-committee to the grand committee on federal powers, viz., Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Dane, Mr. Johnson. Entered. Read 7 Aug., 1786. Order for Monday, 14."

The words of the endorsement "a sub-committee to the" are struck out, and the report to congress was made by the grand committee with the new endorsement as above.]

The grand committee, consisting of Mr. Livermore, Mr. Dane, Mr.

Manning, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Symmes, Mr. Pettit, Mr. Henry, Mr. Lee, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Pinckney, and Mr. Houstoun, appointed to report such amendments to the confederation and such resolutions as it may be necessary to recommend to the several states for the purpose of obtaining from them such powers as will render the federal government adequate to the ends for which it was instituted, beg leave to submit the following report to the consideration of congress :

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the legislatures of the several states to adopt the following articles as articles of the confederation, and to authorize their delegates in congress to sign and ratify the same severally as they shall be adopted, to wit :

ART. 14. The United States in congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive power of regulating the trade of the states as well with foreign nations as with each other, and of laying such prohibitions, and such imposts and duties upon imports and exports, as may be necessary for the purpose ; provided the citizens of the states shall in no instance be subjected to pay higher duties and imposts than those imposed on the subjects of foreign powers; provided, also, that all such duties as may be imposed shall be collected under such regulations as the United States in congress assembled shall establish consistent with the constitutions of the states respectively, and to accrue to the use of the state in which the same shall be payable ; provided, also, that the legislative power of the several states shall not be restrained from laying embargoes in times of scarcity; and provided, lastly, that every act of congress for the above purpose shall have the assent of nine states in congress assembled, and in that proportion when there shall be more than thirteen in the union.

ART. 15. That the respective states may be induced to perform the several duties mutually and solemnly agreed to be performed by their federal compact, and to prevent unreasonable delays in any state in furnishing her just proportion of the common charges of the union when called upon, and those essential evils which have heretofore often arisen to the confederacy from such delays, it is agreed that whenever a requisition shall be made by congress upon the several states on the principles of the confederation for their quotas of the common charges or land forces of the union, congress shall fix the proper periods when the states shall pass legislative acts complying therewith, and give full and complete effect to the same ; and if any state shall neglect season-

ably to pass such acts, such state shall be charged with an additional sum to her quota called for from the time she may be required to pay or furnish the same, which additional sum or charge shall be at the rate of ten per cent per annum on her said quota, and if the requisition shall be for land forces, and any state shall neglect to furnish her quota in time, the average expense of such quota shall be ascertained by congress, and such state shall be charged therewith, or with the average expense of what she may be deficient; and in addition thereto, from the time her forces were required to be ready to act in the field, with a farther sum, which sum shall be at the rate of twelve per cent per annum on the amount of such expense.

ART. 16. And that the resources of any state which may be negligent in furnishing her just proportion of the common expense of the union may in a reasonable time be applied, it is further agreed that if any state shall so neglect as aforesaid to pass laws in compliance with the said requisition, and to adopt measures to give the same full effect for the space of ten months, and it shall then or afterward be found that a majority of the states have passed such laws and adopted such measures, the United States in congress assembled shall have full power and authority to levy, assess, and collect all sums and duties with which any such state so neglecting to comply with the requisition may stand charged on the same by the laws and rules by which the last state tax next preceding such requisition in such state was levied, assessed, and collected, to apportion the sum so required on the towns or counties in such state, to order the sums so apportioned to be assessed by the assessors of such last state tax, and the said assessments to be committed to the collectors of the same last state tax, to collect and to make return of such assessments and commitments to the treasurer of the United States, who by himself or his deputy when directed by congress shall have power to recover the moneys of such collectors for the use of the United States in the same manner and under the same penalties as state taxes are recovered and collected by the treasurers of the respective states; and the several towns or counties respectively shall be responsible for the conduct of said assessors and collectors; and in case there shall be any vacancy in any of said offices of assessors or collectors by death, removal, refusal to serve, resignation, or otherwise, then other fit persons shall be chosen to fill such vacancies in the usual manner in such town or county within twenty days after notice of the assessment; and in case any towns or counties,

any assessors, collectors, or sheriffs, shall neglect or refuse to do their duty, congress shall have the same rights and powers to compel them, that the state may have in assessing and collecting state taxes.

And if any state by any legislative act shall prevent or delay the due collection of said sums as aforesaid, congress shall have full power and authority to appoint assessors and collectors thereof, and sheriffs to enforce the collections under the warrants of distress issued by the treasurer of the United States ; and if any further opposition shall be made to such collections by the state or the citizens thereof, and their conduct not disapproved of by the state, such conduct on the part of the state shall be considered as an open violation of the federal compact.

ART. 17. And any state which from time to time shall be found in her payments on any requisition in advance on an average of the payments made by the states shall be allowed an interest of        per cent per annum on her said advanced sums or expenses, and the state which from time to time shall be found in arrears on the principles aforesaid shall be charged with an interest of        per cent per annum on the sums in which she may be so in arrears.

ART. 18. In case it shall hereafter be found necessary by congress to establish any new systems of revenue and to make any new regulations in the finances of the United States for a limited term not exceeding fifteen years in their operation, for supplying the common treasury with moneys for defraying all charges of war and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and such new systems or regulations shall be agreed to and adopted by the United States in congress assembled and afterward be confirmed by the legislatures of eleven states, and in that proportion when there shall be more than thirteen states in the union, the same shall become binding on all the states as fully as if the legislatures of all the states should confirm the same.

ART. 19. The United States in congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive power of declaring what offences against the United States shall be deemed treason and what offences against the same misprision of treason, and what offences shall be deemed piracy or felonies on the high seas, and to annex suitable punishments to all the offences aforesaid respectively, and power to institute a federal judicial court for trying and punishing all officers appointed by congress for all crimes, offences, and misbehavior in their offices, and to which court

an appeal shall be allowed from the judicial courts of the several states in all causes wherein questions shall arise on the meaning and construction of treaties entered into by the United States with any foreign power, or on the law of nations, or wherein any question shall arise respecting any regulations that may hereafter be made by congress relative to trade and commerce, or the collection of federal revenues pursuant to powers that shall be vested in that body, or wherein questions of importance may arise, and the United States shall be a party, provided that the trial of the fact by jury shall ever be held sacred, and also the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*; provided, also, that no member of congress or officer holding any other office under the United States shall be a judge of said court, and the said court shall consist of seven judges, to be appointed from the different parts of the union, to wit, one from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, one from Massachusetts, one from New York and New Jersey, one from Pennsylvania, one from Delaware and Maryland, one from Virginia, and one from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and four of whom shall be a quorum to do business.

ART. 20. That due attention may be given to the affairs of the union early in the federal year, and the sessions of congress made as short as conveniently may be, each state shall elect her delegates annually before the first of July, and make it their duty to give an answer before the first of September in every year whether they accept their appointments or not, and make effectual provision for filling the places of those who may decline, before the first of October yearly, and to transmit to congress by the tenth of the same month the names of the delegates who shall be appointed and accept their appointments; and it shall be the indispensable duty of delegates to make a representation of their state in congress on the first Monday in November annually; and if any delegate or delegates, when required by congress to attend so far as may be necessary to keep up a representation of each state in congress, or having taken his or their seat, shall withdraw without leave of congress, unless recalled by the state, he or they shall be proceeded against as congress shall direct, provided no punishment shall be further extended than to disqualifications any longer to be members of congress or to hold any office of trust or profit under the United States or any individual state; and the several states shall adopt regulations effectual to the attainment of the ends of this article.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 13 August, 1786.*

MY LORD: The commercial convention which is to take place at Annapolis in the beginning of the next month now occupies the attention of all the legislatures of America. The delegates have been appointed, but it is doubtful whether they will assemble promptly, and whether their minds will agree upon general principles of action.

Everybody is convinced of the necessity of establishing as soon as possible a general plan for the commerce of the continent, and the most eminent personages from almost all the states assure me that they desire to grant exclusive benefits to France and to lay extraordinary duties on the commerce of Great Britain.

Mr. Jay himself has just spoken to me on this subject with much ardor. I beg of you to permit me to report in this place his own words. It does not belong to me to decide upon the justice of his observations, but it is my duty to transmit to you the opinions of the best informed Americans upon a subject so closely connected with the prosperity of our commerce. "We perceive very clearly," Mr. Jay said to me, "that the commerce of America is so reduced that extraordinary efforts are necessary to extricate it from its present embarrassments. Europe seems to neglect us because we have little wealth, but our situation is such that we shall of necessity become a rich and formidable power when a numerous population shall cause our industry to thrive.

"According to this idea, it would be good policy to cultivate us while we are young and need assistance from European nations; but among all the powers, with none do we desire more earnestly to enter into relations of friendship and commerce than with France. I am convinced that the people, and, above all, congress, are disposed to grant to your commerce exclusive favors, and to sever all bonds which still bind us to England.

"Your wines, your brandies, your manufactured goods of every sort suit us better than any we can import from other nations, but there are two things constantly opposing the success of our trade—the difficulty of exchange, and the want of honesty of your merchants in their consignments to America.

"I might mention further the restriction put upon our exports by your privileged companies, but we have reason to believe that these difficulties will be dissipated forthwith.

“We have not so much hope with regard to the returns which we might make to France of various objects which the kingdom has hitherto drawn from the north of Europe. In granting to our ship-timber and naval stores particular favors, the two nations would receive a very great service, and the Americans would be supplied with the means of paying for the goods which they import from France. As to the commerce with the Antilles, it cannot be denied that by encouraging the supply of breadstuffs to the planter, the price of sugars would necessarily be reduced, and the Bordeaux merchants would make good the loss of a part of their trade in flour by a largely increased export of wines and other merchandise which they would furnish us.

“It is certain, furthermore, that to buy the produce of other nations we must sell our own commodities. If Portugal receives our flour, she will pay us in wines; so also all the provisions which we introduce into Santo Domingo or Martinique will serve to offset the wines of Bordeaux and the other productions of the kingdom.

“All good citizens see with chagrin that the obstacles to commerce with the Antilles have hitherto furnished arms against France to evil-intentioned persons. An opinion prevails, and I cannot avoid sharing it, that there is a secret agreement between your ministry and that of Great Britain to exclude us from those islands. If, instead of these difficulties, France would exert herself to attract us by all sorts of favors, I know too well the dispositions and the taste of my countrymen not to assure you that she might almost monopolize the commerce of the United States. An object of this importance demands the utmost attention of your court at a time when congress is about to frame a general act of navigation; all these advances will be deeply felt, and will produce the best effect.”

Similar views, my lord, have been expressed to me by the principal members of congress, and especially by the influential men of New England.

The sentiments of Mr. King, which I have had the honor to report to you, are shared by but a few persons who are interested in the Newfoundland fisheries. In general, I have found in the northern states very favorable dispositions toward us and animosity toward England. It seems that the ill success of the American commissioners to the Barbary powers, the reply of Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Adams, and the repeated acts of hostility of the savages, have drawn nearer to us the heads of all the governments.



The despatches of Mr. Jefferson, in which he mentions the numerous wholesome counsels which you have given to him, have likewise produced an excellent effect, and the people have been well satisfied with the resolutions of the committee in regard to the supply of tobacco.

The contract with Mr. Morris alarmed all the Virginia planters, and I had the honor to inform you at the time of all that I knew on that subject.

I transmit these details with the more confidence as I see by a letter of the Marquis de Castries to M. de la Forest that our court is not averse to lending an ear to overtures concerning the means of facilitating commerce between the two nations. Permit me to add in this place that every favor which can be reconciled with the real interests of our commerce will be received by the Americans with much gratitude. Enthusiasm easily becomes general in this country by means of the public papers, which are found in the hands of every one; and the official letters of Mr. Jefferson, or any *arrêt* of the council which favors any branch whatever of American commerce, causes the greatest sensation.

*Monroe to Madison, New York, 14 August, 1786. Ec.*

It is manifest here that Jay and his party in congress are determined to pursue this business as far as possible, either as a means of throwing the western people and territory without the government of the United States, and keeping the weight of population and government here, or of dismembering the government itself for the purpose of a separate confederacy. There can be no other object than one of these, and I am, from such evidences as I have, doubtful which hath the influence. I write in congress, and therefore am deprived of the advantage of the cipher, but am so desirous of your sentiments as to risk mine without that cover. Sincerely your friend and servant, etc.

*Washington to Theodoric Bland, 15 August, 1786.*

DEAR SIR: I can only repeat what I have formally told my countrymen in a very serious manner, "that honesty will be found, on every experiment, the best policy." How far arguments deduced from this topic, and from the present alarming troubles in Rhode Island, can with pertinency and force be made use of against any attempts to procure a paper currency in the state, I leave to your judgment to decide. The advantages which are to be derived from seminaries of

learning, from the improvement of our roads, a proper establishment of our militia, the extension of inland navigation, etc., must have struck you in too forcible a manner to need a remembrancer.

My sentiments respecting federal measures in general are so well known that it is unnecessary to reiterate them. I am, etc.

*Monroe to Jefferson, New York, 19 August, 1786. Etc.*

DEAR SIR : My last advised you of the progress of Spanish negotiation. Until that time the reference of Jay's letter to a committee was, I believe, the point at which it rested ; but to enable you to form a satisfactory idea of the object of that letter, I transcribe [the] only operative paragraph in it :

"I take the liberty, therefore, of submitting to the consideration of congress whether it might not be advisable to appoint a committee with power to instruct and direct me on every point and subject relative to the proposed treaty with Spain." You are to observe his only ultimata were respecting the Mississippi and the boundaries ; the committee, consisting of a member from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and myself, kept it about two months, and at length two of them reported that they be discharged, the letter referred to a committee of the whole, and himself ordered to attend.

It was agreed to, with this alteration, that he attend congress to explain the difficulties stated in his letter, and to lay before them a state of the negotiation. He accordingly came, and, being aware that objections would be made to his entering into debate, produced a long written speech, which he read in virtue of his office, and which was in substance as follows :

France, against our right to the navigation of the Mississippi, and in case of a variance with Spain upon that point against us, will be on good terms with Spain ; therefore, on that account as well as to avail ourselves of her<sup>1</sup> influence in the councils of Portugal, the Italian states, and the Barbary powers, as also in those of France herself ; that Great Britain would rejoice to see us at variance with Spain, and therefore would foment dissensions between us ; that in case this treaty failed, Spain, mortified and disappointed in the eyes of all Europe, would enter into engagements with Britain (or in resentment) so as to exclude us from her ports. For these reasons, and fully to obtain the confidence

<sup>1</sup> Her, i. e. Spain's. The obscurity and incompleteness of expression here and elsewhere are in the MS. of Monroe's letters.

and good wishes of that power, as also her good services, in the lines aforesaid, he thought it wise to forbear the use of the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five years or thirty, if necessary, as a condition to obtain, at the same time, the following liberal articles as the basis of a commercial treaty: 1. All commercial confederation shall be reciprocal, Spanish merchants in the ports of [America] and American merchants in those of Spain and the Canaries to have the rights of native merchants of the two countries. 2. To establish consuls in their respective countries. 3. The *bona fide* manufactures and productions of both parties, tobacco excepted, to be admitted into the ports aforesaid, in the vessels of both parties, on the same footing as if they were their own manufactures and productions; and further, that all such duties and imposts as may mutually be thought necessary to lay on them by either party shall be regulated on principles of exact reciprocity by a tariff to be formed within one year from the ratification of this treaty; and, in the mean time, they shall severally pay, in the ports of each other, those of natives only. 4. Masts and timber for the navy to be bought, provided they be as cheap as in other countries.

This was the amount of his communications as to the project which he urged our adopting by all the arguments he could think of; such as, we can't obtain the use, and therefore of no consequence. We must now decide; must terminate in accommodation, war, or disgrace—the last, the worst; the second, unprepared for; the first, the preferable course. That we should avail ourselves of the moment, or Britain would; therefore, no [time] to lose, with others of the same kind. This subject hath, since the above communication, engaged the attention of congress for ten days past. The delegates of Massachusetts, who are his instruments on the floor, moved in committee to repeal his ultimata with a view of suffering him to proceed at pleasure, and upon this point hath the debate turned. It hath been manifest they have had throughout seven states, and we, five, they to Pennsylvania inclusive and Delaware absent, the rest against him; we deny the right in seven states to alter an instruction so as to make it a new one, but they will proceed, be that as it may; the treaty in that event will be formed and soon presented for ratification.

To prevent this, we have told them we would give notice to the secretary of the incompetency of his powers, as also to the [minister?] resident of Spain, to justify congress in refusing to ratify if they

should choose it. In this state it remained without any new proposition until yesterday, being Friday; we stated, however, in the close of the day that we would agree that a treaty be formed upon the following conditions :

That exports be admitted through the Mississippi, paying at New Orleans a duty of two and a half per cent *ad valorem* to Spain, to be carried thence in Spanish, American, and French bottoms; that imports be prohibited in that line. If this should be adopted, we propose to change the scene of negotiation and to carry it to Madrid, to take it out of the present and put it into yours and Adams's hands. We fear, however, and with too much reason, that this will fail; nothing could have been more unfortunate than even the agitation of this subject; it hath lessened the ground on which we stood, and given Spain hopes she had no reason to calculate on. What prospect to the general interest might be calculated on as resulting from the deliberations of the convention at Annapolis, must be diminished—in short, the measure strikes me as every way highly injudicious.

I am sorry to inform you that our affairs are daily falling into a worse situation, arising more from the intrigues of designing men than any real defect in our system or distress of our affairs. The same party who advocate this business have certainly held in this city committees for dismembering the confederacy, and throwing the states eastward the Hudson into one government. As yet this business hath not gone far, but that there should be a party in its favor, and a man heretofore so well respected, but in my opinion so little known, engaged in it, is to me very alarming. Congress hath again required money for the ensuing year, including that part of the principal of the foreign loans that becomes due in that time. All the states except New York and Pennsylvania have acceded to the impost to the acceptance of congress; the former hath granted the revenue accruing from it, but hath not made the collectors so amenable to congress as the system requires, and the other states have done; and Pennsylvania hath granted the impost but suspended its operation until all the states have granted the supplemental funds. A committee is appointed to attend the legislature of Pennsylvania on this subject, and recommendation passed to the executive of New York to convene the legislature to take the said system again into consideration. They meet in the usual term in the fall or commencement of the winter. They have passed an ordinance regulating the coin.

I have been apprised of the arrival of the Encyclopædia at Baltimore. Your late communications on the commercial subject have given great satisfaction to congress. We hope the monopoly of our tobacco in the hands of the Farmers General will ultimately be abolished. The services of Monsieur Lafayette are acknowledged with gratitude by congress.

I shall leave this about the 1st of October for Virginia, Fredericksburg. Believe me, I have not relinquished the prospect of being your neighbor. The house for which I have requested a plan may possibly be erected near Monticello; to fix there, and to have yourself in particular, with what friends we may collect around for society, is my chief object, or, rather, the only one which promises to me, with the connection I have formed, real and substantial pleasure, if indeed by the name of pleasure it may be called.

I am, dear sir, very affectionately, your friend and servant, etc.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 23 August, 1786.*

MY LORD: For more than a year Mr. Gardoqui has been negotiating with Mr. Jay a commercial treaty, and to-day is no further advanced than on his arrival here. Many circumstances conduce to this delay which I think proper to explain.

The northern states, which in all the commercial negotiations recognise no other interest than that of their fisheries, would be well disposed to conclude with Mr. Gardoqui if the delegates from the South did not propose as a condition *sine qua non* the opening of the Mississippi.

In consequence of this difference of sentiment and interest, the delegates of the five southern states have formed a league to break off completely every negotiation with Mr. Gardoqui. They publicly assert that that minister has no powers (to conclude a treaty), that this whole affair is in the hands of Mr. de Galvez, and that in general a negotiation of this importance ought not to be entered on in America, since the ease with which in a republic the dispositions of the sovereign body are ascertained gives great advantages to a foreign minister, who on his part conceals with the greatest care the instructions and the ultimatum of his court.

They fear, moreover, that the indifference of the northern states to the navigation of the Mississippi will cause them to urge on the negotiation; and that they will find means to secure votes, to the prejudice

of the southern states. In open congress they have asserted that France alone could succeed in procuring for them a treaty of commerce with Spain, and that they should negotiate with that power in vain without the mediation of their great ally.

In the midst of this fermentation the leaders of this party came to me to explain to me the necessity of having recourse to your good offices, and of putting this negotiation wholly into the hands of his Majesty.

"The navigation of the Mississippi," they said to me, "is perhaps the most important object for the United States; the inhabitants of the vast and fertile regions of Kentucky, and of the neighboring countries, have no other outlet than New Orleans. If congress is unable to procure for them an *entrepôt* in that city, they will regard its protection as wholly useless, and we are informed, in the most positive manner, that they are disposed to separate from the confederation and to throw themselves into the arms of England, in order, through the lakes and the river St. Lawrence, to gain the outlet which is refused them on the Mississippi side.

"In this case it will be easy for Great Britain to exchange Gibraltar for West Florida, and to make the whole interior of America dependent upon her. We earnestly desire to be in intimate relations with Spain, but we are at the same time convinced that without the support of France we shall never be able to negotiate with success. Some of the northern delegates, and especially Mr. Jay, wished to persuade us that France was opposed to the opening of the Mississippi; but we know that peace has brought about a new order of affairs, and that the objections which your court made to our pretensions can no longer be based upon the same principle. Only the Count Vergennes can procure for us the advantages we desire; we have written this to Mr. Jefferson, under an injunction of secrecy, and we wish that your court may make our treaty for us, or that no treaty at all be made."

After having declared to me many other motives leading them to wish for this measure; they communicated to me in writing the following articles, which should serve as a basis for the negotiation:

1. All the commodities and productions of interior America to descend the Mississippi in flat-boats to New Orleans, which will be the *entrepôt* for those commodities, and will serve only for exportations.

2. The Americans to pay, on their arrival at New Orleans, a duty

of two and a half per cent on the value of their goods, which duty will take the place of compensation for the favor asked of Spain.

3. An American consul to reside in that city, and to be personally responsible for all that may be contraband.

4. The said commodities to be re-exported from New Orleans only in French, Spanish, or American bottoms.

5. Importations of every sort to be prohibited, and no boat to ascend the Mississippi except flat-boats which have served to transport goods to New Orleans, and these empty, or at most carrying only passengers.

6. Spain to permit French and American merchants to reside in New Orleans, to deal in the aforesaid commodities.

7. France to share in this commerce because of her mediation.

In making these communications to me, my lord, the delegates begged me to transmit them to you at once, at the same time enjoining upon me the most profound secrecy toward Mr. Gardoqui and all persons who might speak to me of this negotiation. Without giving them any hope, and conforming to the orders which you thought proper to give me, that I should not interfere with the affairs of Spain, I said to them that they might rely upon my discretion, and that I would communicate to you the confidential conversation which they had held with me.

They wish to give powers to Mr. Jefferson to negotiate the treaty at Madrid, but to instruct him in the most positive manner to conform entirely to your counsels, and to take no step without your consent. They already have seven states on their side, and if they can gain two more, which is very likely, Mr. Jefferson will receive his instructions at once.

I have had this conference only a few hours before the departure of the packet; it is possible that the passion of the delegates who spoke with me may have led them to exaggerate some details. I shall be careful to animadvert in the future upon any points which appear to me susceptible of correction, without losing sight of the reserve and circumspection which you have enjoined upon me.

*Vergennes to Otto, Versailles, 25 August, 1786.*

I have received the despatches which you have taken the pains to write to me from Nos. 34 to 52 inclusive.

The Americans, it appears, are caught by the commerce with India, and are using very costly measures to engage in it. I confess I cannot

conceive how they propose to carry on a commerce which is only possible with cash, in regard to which America is in the greatest state of penury. Pray tell me how the Americans explain this enigma.

The remarks in America on the occasion of the piracies that some American ships have met with in the Mediterranean merit nothing on our part but contempt, but it is astonishing that congress does not think itself bound by a sense of delicacy to put an end to that by making known the support that the king gives to the American commissioners who are negotiating in Algiers and in Morocco, and the treaty which has been signed in the latter place with its regency. The publication of this treaty<sup>1</sup> would be the best refutation that could be made to the falsehoods circulated in the public journals, but it is not for us to take this pains.

Mr. Jefferson has sent me a note in which Mr. Jay seeks to justify the delay of the ratification of the consular convention. I think I may dispense with any analysis of this note. I merely observe that congress, having found time to ratify its treaty with the King of Prussia, might also have found it to ratify the convention in question.

Pray, make this remark to Mr. Jay, premising, however, that you have no orders to renew your demands; that, on the contrary, you are charged to declare that we shall very tranquilly await the pleasure of congress in regulating this matter according to the precise language of the treaty of the sixth of February, 1778, which is not yet abrogated. There has never been a question of an exchange of Louisiana for a French possession in the West Indies, and, if it is again mentioned to you, you will formally deny it.

Nothing can be more extraordinary, sir, than the claims of the Americans to the commerce of the isles; on hearing them one would suppose that this commerce is more their property than that of the sovereigns to whom they belong; but, whatever may be the excitement in America, we shall only do what our own interests shall exact.

*Monroe to Madison, New York, 30 August, 1786.*

DEAR SIR: Since my last we have been from day to day upon the business which engaged us when you were here. They carried the repeal by seven states, in the committee of the whole and afterward in the house. We moved to postpone to take into consideration the

<sup>1</sup> This treaty had not yet reached America; this was the first intimation of it.



plan in conformity with the idea I suggested to you, in which we entered into long reasoning upon the secretary's project, proving, if we were well founded, its futility and disadvantages in many instances, proposing to take the negotiation out of his hands, as to the Mississippi and the boundaries, commit them to our *chargé* at Madrid to agree on principles there, the treaty to be concluded here—that two commissioners be added to him to enter into the treaty, and the three authorized to form also a commercial treaty—to be incorporated together—for which five states voted. Their repeal was afterward carried by seven states only; to-day, additional instructions being added to their proposition for repeal respecting the boundaries, formed with the view of taking in Georgia, were also only carried by seven states. The president reported to-day upon the propositions altogether, that the question was lost; so that it now remains, Will Mr. Jay proceed? and I apprehend he will not. I have availed myself of a few moments to drop you this, and to assure you of my friendship and esteem.

*Edward Bancroft to William Fraser, London, 2 Sept., 1786. Ex.*

On the subject of American fish-oil it was decided that the oil of the United States should hereafter be admitted into France on the same terms as that of the Hanse towns, who in this particular are the most favored in France, where their oil, as I understand, pays only a duty equal to between three and four pounds sterling.

The great subject of the commerce of the United States and other foreigners with the French West India islands is likely to remain as it was settled by the edict of the 30th of August, 1784.

*Monroe to Madison, New York, 3 Sept., 1786. Ex.*

I consider the party, especially Jay and the principal advocates, as having gone too far to retreat. They must either carry the measure or be disgraced (as the principal already hath been by the vote of five states), and sooner than suffer this they will labor to break the union. I therefore suspect they have been already (and indeed have too much reason for my suspicions) intriguing with the principal men in these states to effect that end in the last resort. They have even sought a dismemberment to the Potomac, and those of the party here have been sounding those in office thus far; to defeat the measure, therefore, completely, we must follow their movements and counteract them everywhere; advise the leading men of their designs, the purposes

they are meant to serve, etc., and in event of the worst extremity, prepare them for a union with the southern states. I fear some of those in Pennsylvania will have a contrary affection, but it must be removed if possible. A knowledge that she was on our side would blow this whole intrigue in the air. To bring this about, therefore, is an important object to the southern interest. If a dismemberment takes place, that state must not be added to the eastern scale. It were as well to use force to prevent it as to defend ourselves afterward. I consider the convention of Annapolis as a most important era in our affairs. The eastern men, be assured, mean it as leading further than the object originally comprehended. If they do not obtain that things shall be arranged to suit them in every respect, their intrigues will extend to the objects I have suggested above. Pennsylvania is their object. Upon succeeding or failing with her will they gain or lose confidence. I doubt not the emissaries of foreign countries will be on the ground. In short, I do consider this convention as requiring your utmost exertions, in the change things will infallibly take, as well to obtain good as to prevent mischief. Mr. Randolph will, I hope, devote himself to the public upon this occasion, and not suffer himself to be taken off by his professional pursuits before the convention dissolves. I write you freely, without the cover of cipher, knowing you have not yours with you. Indeed, I fear nothing to the public or myself from a publication, for I am satisfied, if the public were acquainted with the conduct of their unworthy servants, their consequence would be of but short duration. Prevail, I beg of you, on Colonel Mason to attend the convention. It will give him data to act on afterward in the state. Very sincerely, I am your friend.

I have always considered the regulation of trade in the hands of the United States as necessary to preserve the union; without it, it will infallibly tumble to pieces, but I earnestly wish the admission of a few additional states into the confederacy in the southern scale.

[For this extract and more, see Rives, ii. 123-126.]

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 10 Sept., 1786.*

The negotiations relating to the treaty of commerce with Spain, of which I had the honor to give you an account in my last despatch, have since been the constant subject of the deliberations of congress. The southern states had vainly flattered themselves that they could detach Pennsylvania and New Jersey from the league of the North;

they have, however, proposed the mediation of his Majesty and the plan by which New Orleans is designated as a commercial *entrepôt* for all the commodities of the interior. The only change which they made in it consisted in giving full instructions to Mr. Carmichael to open negotiations at Madrid instead of sending Jefferson there.

This project has met serious opposition from the states of the North. As to the navigation of the Mississippi, they remarked that, far from being advantageous to the confederation, it would only serve to separate from the United States all the interior country; that the inhabitants of Kentucky, no longer feeling the necessity of maintaining commercial connections with the maritime states, and having, furthermore, a policy entirely different from that of their neighbors, would only think of rendering themselves wholly independent of congress as of a sovereign body from which they could derive no benefit; that the fertility of those countries would insensibly attract the most industrious inhabitants of the northern states, who would not hesitate an instant to exchange the arid rocks of Massachusetts and of New Hampshire for the smiling plains of the Ohio and the Mississippi; that a limited population spread over an immense surface would weaken the springs of the government, and that anarchy and discord would inevitably arise from this state of affairs; that the policy of congress ought to be to strengthen more and more the maritime states, and to await the time when the surplus of population would flow toward the interior; that, independently of all these motives, care should be taken to avoid exciting the jealousy of the savage hordes which still infest those lands; that a war with one of these perfidious nations, in the present exhausted state of the finances, would be one of the greatest calamities; that the possessions of the United States were already of too great extent, and that their territory ought to be reduced rather than augmented beyond all proportion; that, moreover, the court of Spain did not appear in the least disposed to give up the navigation of the Mississippi; that by insisting on this article would only irritate his Catholic Majesty and render him less disposed to yield on the most essential parts of the treaty. For these reasons it was necessary not only to reject the plan of mediation proposed by the southern states, but to recall the ultimatum which proposed the opening of the Mississippi as a condition *sine qua non*.

Not confining themselves to simple arguments, the delegates of the North at once made a motion to repeal this clause of the ultimatum,

and to authorize Mr. Jay to conclude with the Spanish minister. Seven states having given their sanction to the change in the instructions, the motion was passed in the form of a resolution.

The five southern states protested against this measure, which they called illegal; they proved that, according to the articles of the confederation, the consent of nine states was necessary to give instructions concerning the conclusion of a treaty; those instructions could not be revoked by seven states only; that a proceeding so extraordinary threatened the total overthrow of the constitution, and that even if Mr. Jay should be able to sign such a treaty with Don Diego de Gardoqui, they would never consent to the ratification of such a treaty; that in regard to the western country it would be useless to insist on the necessity of restricting the territory of the United States; that the fertile plains of the interior would always attract a considerable number of the inhabitants of the different states, and it would be easier to stay a torrent than the constant flow of this population; that everybody knew the restless spirit of a people ever urged on by necessity, and eager to change home and climate; and that the colonists of the rich countries of the West, having no facilities for exporting the surplus of their produce by way of the Mississippi, would finally without fail come to an understanding with England, in order to obtain an outlet by the lakes and the river St. Lawrence.

All these arguments made not the least impression upon the northern delegates; but the position of Mr. Jay becomes very embarrassing. The instructions given by seven states not being constitutional, he cannot conclude his treaty without encountering bitter reproaches from the five southern states, who loudly accuse him of having by all sorts of intrigues directed the actions of the northern delegates, in order not to suffer the negotiation to slip from his hand. They even threaten to displace him, or at least to give him two assistants. On the other hand, this minister cannot refuse to execute the orders of a party of which he is himself the most zealous partisan, without losing his popularity and influence.

Whatever Mr. Jay's conduct may be, it is to be feared that this discussion will cause a great coolness between the two parties, and may be the germ of a future separation of the southern states.

Mr. Gardoqui affects the greatest indifference about these negotiations. Recognising the instability of the American governments, the weakness of congress, and the continual fluctuation of political prin-

ciples, he sees no necessity of concluding a treaty which his Catholic Majesty can easily do without. He has often said to me that in spite of all the precautions of the government it would be impossible to prevent contraband trade and other disorders which the Americans would not fail to cause ; that it was of infinite importance to his court not to encourage establishments on the Mississippi which might one day become neighbors so much the more dangerous for the Spanish possessions, since even in their present weakness they were already conceiving vast schemes for the conquest of the western bank of the river ; that the savages would always form the best barrier between the two nations ; and that nothing better could be done than to leave matters on their present footing.

I have had the honor thus far of explaining to you merely the ostensible arguments of the two parties ; but a long acquaintance with the affairs of this country authorizes me, perhaps, to divine the secret motives of the heat with which each state supports its opinion in an affair which does not appear of enough importance to disturb their harmony.

The southern states are not in earnest when they assert that without the navigation of the Mississippi the inhabitants of the interior will seek an outlet by way of the lakes, and will throw themselves into the arms of England. They know too well the aversion of their compatriots for that power, and the difficulty of conveying heavy cargoes through the rivers which lead to Canada.

But the true motive of this vigorous opposition is to be found in the great preponderance of the northern states, eager to incline the balance toward their side ; the southern neglect no opportunity of increasing the population and importance of the western territory, and of drawing thither by degrees the inhabitants of New England, whose ungrateful soil only too much favors emigration.

Rhode Island, especially, has already suffered considerably from the new establishments of Ohio, and a great number of families daily leave their homes to seek lands more fertile and a less rigorous climate.

This emigration doubly enfeebles New England, since on the one hand it deprives her of industrious citizens, and on the other it adds to the population of the southern states.

These new territories will gradually form themselves into separate governments ; they will have their representatives in congress, and will augment greatly the mass of the southern states.

All these considerations make evident to the delegates from the South the necessity of promoting by all sorts of means their establishments in the West, and from this point of view a treaty with Spain appears to them most desirable. But if this treaty contains only stipulations in favor of the northern fisheries, far from strengthening themselves against the too great preponderance of the northern states, they would furnish them with new arms, by increasing their prosperity and the extension of their commerce.

The conduct of this thorny negotiation is in the hands of Mr. Jay. I am, etc.

*Van Berckel to the States General, New York, 12 Sept., 1786. Ex.*

Most of the states have issued paper money, which has caused the greatest discords, as is evident from the report that I made your H. M. in regard to the state of Rhode Island, where the dissensions have risen to such a height that the governor has been obliged to call together the general assembly for the purpose of restoring quiet. In the state of South Carolina the planters have, in the most solemn manner, bound themselves together to uphold the credit of the paper money of their state, to receive it at par with gold and silver, and to make no discount for payments in hard money; but all this does not hinder a considerable depreciation. In the state of Massachusetts, which has always distinguished itself by the wisdom of its measures, the fire of discord begins also to kindle; and the people have even assembled in a tumultuous manner and forcibly hindered the sitting of their court.

*Monroe to Madison, Philadelphia, 12 Sept., 1786.*

DEAR SIR: I arrived here a few days since to press on the legislature of this state a separation of the impost from the supplementary funds. I have the most satisfactory evidence they will reject the proposition. We proceed, therefore, further merely to discharge our duty. Both parties are united in opposition to it. To-morrow we shall be received by the legislature. I am sorry I came on the business. Before this you have received my letter informing you of the subsequent progress and final close of the business which lately engaged us in congress, or rather so far as it depended on their direction. By agreement nothing was to be done in it until our return. I expect to set out back in a day or two. It will depend much on the opinion

of Jersey and Pennsylvania as to the movements of Jay ; and that of Jersey much on that of Mr. Clark, now with you at Annapolis. He put Hornblower in congress, and may turn him out again, for he has no positive weight of his own. Clark has always been anxious for taking the western lands from us. I should suppose him inclined to turn it to the best account. I conclude, therefore, that if he knows the delegation, especially his part of it, pursue a system of policy so contrary to his own and to what is in effect the interest of his country, he would dismiss Mr. Hornblower. Perhaps you may be able to hint to Mr. Clark that Jersey, except Symmes, was with the eastern states upon this occasion. Mr. Henry, of the Maryland delegation, has referred Mr. Stone to you for information upon this subject, by my request. Mr. Stone is my friend, and a very upright, sensible man. You will show him what part of my letters you find necessary. The ablest men here believe and act on it in the rejection of the proposition that the refusal to separate the two parts of the system endangers the government, and that it will most probably induce a change of some kind or other. It is well for the southern states to act with great circumspection and to be prepared for every possible event ; to stand well with the middle states especially. I sincerely wish you to suffer no anxiety and to put yourself to no inconvenience upon our private affair. I have no occasion for the money until about the fifth or tenth of October, to help to remove me to Virginia ; and even then it will be in my power to do without it with tolerable convenience if you should find it inconvenient to command it. Believe me, it will put me to no inconvenience. My engagements are but few, and those within my control. Let me hear from you as often as possible. Remember me to Colonel Tucker and his lady, to the rest of your colleagues, and to Mr. Stone, and believe me, sincerely, your friend and servant, etc.

Colonel Grayson came with me in the interval to relax from business and meet his lady here. She is with him, but unfortunately he is afflicted with an extraordinary disease. The physicians differ in the name. He is often delirious—is afflicted with strange fancies and apprehensions ; in the morning he is better than in the latter end of the day and night, at which time his infirmity rages. It is supposed by some to be the floating gout. Shippen calls it a bilious affection of the nerves. The very close attention he hath lately paid to business, with the laborious exercise of the mind and the want of that

of the body, I fear, hath given birth to it. To-day he hath been better than heretofore.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 20 Sept., 1786.*

The want of energy in the separate government of the states had till now occasioned few commotions injurious to the repose and to the security of the citizens, and it was hoped that congress would insensibly take the stability that was supposed to be observable in the interior organization of the states; but the licentiousness of a greedy populace has just shaken the basis of the government, which had hitherto been regarded as the most solid and the most perfect of the whole confederation, and it is seen too late that the American constitutions, so generally admired, are far from being exempt from defects.

The common people of Massachusetts, indignant at not having obtained the emission of paper money, ran together in several districts, with arms in hand, to suspend the courts of justice and to prevent the recovery of debts. Governor Bowdoin having neglected instantly to assemble the militia, the insurgents went so far as to disperse the judges and the advocates. They demanded with loud cries the abolition of courts of justice, the holding of the sessions of the legislative assembly in any other town but Boston, the reduction of salaries granted to public officers, a new emission of paper money, the liberation of those imprisoned for debt, the settlement of the accounts of the United States, the prohibition of every object of luxury imported from abroad, the diminution of taxes, the absolute liberty of the press, and the abolition of the senate or upper chamber.

This last article attacks the very basis of the constitution, and tends to establish, after the example of Pennsylvania, a perfect democracy.

The courts of justice are at present protected by troops, and by several companies of artillery. Congress being informed that the seditious had drawn near to Springfield, and that the arsenals of the United States were in danger, General Knox, minister of war, received orders to go there immediately and to order a respectable corps of militia to march there. The proclamation of the governor of Massachusetts, the circular letters of the town of Boston, and other principal towns, the proceedings of the different municipal assemblies, and the measures taken by the seditious to disperse the courts of justice, are to be found in the gazettes that I have the honor to send you. To these details I will only add the reflections of the most enlightened



patriots on this factious event. They perceive that in forming the different constitutions they had too great need of the assistance of the common people not to grant to them much more than the repose of the republic, the security of the citizen, and the energy of the government can sustain ; that an entire and unlimited liberty is a phantom which has never been able to exist but at the expense of public tranquillity ; that the theory of the three powers equally distributed is sublime, but that practice offers a thousand difficulties which ought to have been foreseen ; that the executive power is much too weak in America ; that the simplicity of the chiefs renders them contemptible in the eyes of the multitude, which judges only by the senses, and that there is need of strokes of authority, of arms, and of lictors, to make the government respected. These principles are confirmed by a scene like that in Massachusetts which took place in New Hampshire. About three hundred mutineers met near Exeter, to break up the court of justice ; but Governor Sullivan, a distinguished officer during the war, instantly put himself at the head of the militia, dispersed the insurgents, and dispersed the chiefs of the revolt. The people of Connecticut have equally made some efforts for the abolishment of debts and breaking up the courts of justice, but the vigilance of the governor has thus far prevented any overt act. It must be agreed that these insurrections are in a great part due to the scarcity of specie. In the small state of Connecticut alone more than five hundred farms have been offered for sale to pay the arrears of taxes. As these sales take place only for cash, they are made at the very lowest price, and the proprietors often receive not more than one tenth of the value. The people feel the deadly consequences of this oppression, but, not being able to discover its true cause, it turns upon the judges and the lawyers. In the states which have paper money the rigor of the laws is less desolating for the farmer, since he can always get paper enough to satisfy his engagements ; and, besides, the creditors are less urgent. These details prove but too much the inability of the United States to fulfil at this time their engagements to France. Not only congress has not power to collect sums called for in its different requisitions, but the separate states are deprived of the vigor necessary to constrain their citizens, and they themselves have not the means of paying in specie the moderate taxes which are imposed on them. The exhaustion of the federal treasury is carried to an inconceivable point. It has not been possible to pay me several infinitely small pittances due to French

officers. The assembly of Pennsylvania, wishing to transmit to posterity the testimony of its gratitude for the services which the Chevalier de la Luzerne has rendered to the union, has just given his name to a new county.

*Monroe to Madison, New York, 29 Sept., 1786.*

DEAR SIR : Since my last it has been proposed that each delegation be at liberty to communicate to the legislature of the state to which they belong the projects of Mr. Jay and the proceedings of congress thereon, and negatived. The journal has been handed to Mr. Jay. As yet he has said nothing, nor have we information what course he means to take, except from those here in his party, who affirm he will proceed. I wrote some weeks since to Colonel Mason upon this subject, at the time I wrote Governor Henry, but have received no answer from him, from which circumstance, as well as that of R. H. Lee's being in the opposite sentiment, there is room to conjecture he is not with us. R. H. L., I conclude, has been influenced by Arthur, who has been intriguing on the other side to serve his own purposes, and leaving the business of the treasury board to Billy Duer. Bland is also in the assembly, so that possibly the party in favor of this project may have advocates with us. I hope Colonel Grayson hath recovered. Be so kind as to make my best respects to himself and lady, and believe me your friend and servant, etc.

*Henry Hill to Washington, Philadelphia, 1 Oct., 1786. Ex.*

I lately had the pleasure of hearing Mr. King's harangue to our assembly on the subject of the commission with which he and Mr. Monroe were charged by congress. It was truly, to the best of my judgment, adapted to insure applause even from an Attic audience.<sup>1</sup> Virginia appeared in the most advantageous light. Should her liberal support of the union be withdrawn, and Pennsylvania refuse hers, he represented with wonderful effect what would become of our state regulations, of the renown of our heroes and patriots; they would all be swept away and utterly lost.

The impression made on the house in favor of the point "suppliated" was remarkably though tacitly confessed, and had the mem-

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Brissot, *Nouveau Voyage*, i. 170, le plus éloquent des Etats-Unis. Ce qui says of King: "M. King, que je vis à ce me frappa dans lui, c'était sa modestie. Il dîner (chez Hamilton), passait pour l'homme parassait ignorer ce qu'il valait."

bers individually been questioned on the spot whether the impost should be granted without reserve, no one doubts it would have succeeded. They chose, however, on cool deliberation to refer the important business to the next assembly. Whether or not such a measure is practicable appears very doubtful.

*Mr. Temple to Lord Carmarthen, New York, 4 Oct., 1786. Ex.*

MY LORD: In my letter No. 5, of the ninth of April, I took the liberty of offering my sentiments briefly to your lordship upon the then prospect of public affairs in these states, and mentioned that I thought the necessary supplies for the support of government and to pay the interest only of their public debt would soon be found too great and weighty for these people to bear; that period is now approaching fast. Mobs, tumults, and bodies of men in arms are now on tiptoe in various parts of this country, all tending to the dissolution of not only what is called the supreme power (congress) but to bring into contempt and disregard the legislatures and governments of the several states. At this hour, while I am writing, I have undoubted intelligence that at Springfield (a county town in the state of Massachusetts) more than fifteen hundred men in arms are there assembled to stop the proceedings of the courts of justice until the constitution of government be altered and reformed to their approbation! and that about one thousand militia (horse and foot), by order of the governor, are there also assembled to support government against the said insurgents! In the mean time the governor of that state hath, by special proclamation, called the legislature to meet as upon last Thursday; and upon the proceedings and doings of that legislature it seems to depend whether or not arms shall decide the matter between the contending parties! Public affairs are much the same in the state of New Hampshire. The whole legislative body of that state were, for four hours, prisoners in the hands of a tumultuous assembly in arms! Indeed, dissatisfaction and uneasiness prevail more or less throughout this country; the greater part of the people poor, and many in desperate circumstances, do not, it seems, want any government at all, but had rather have all power and property reduced to a level, and it is more than probable that general confusion will take place before any permanent government be established in this unhappy country. Perhaps, in the hour of their confusion and distress, some or all of the states may seek for European friendship, counsel,

and advice; if they do, my most hearty wish is, that wisdom may lead them to look up to that sovereign to whom they once happily belonged, and who only, of all sovereigns upon earth, hath or can have any unfeigned regard for their real welfare and happiness. My voice and my utmost influence in this country, still guided by prudence, shall steadfastly and faithfully correspond with such my wishes.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 10 Oct., 1786.*

MY LORD: The commissioners appointed by various states to propose a general plan of commerce, and to give to congress the powers necessary to execute it, assembled at Annapolis in the course of last month. But five states alone being represented, they did not think it best to enter into the main question, and confined themselves to addressing to congress and the different legislatures a report which characterizes the present spirit of the politics of this country.

In translating this report I have not merely taken the pains to put it into French, but to render it intelligible. The effort was made to give to the original an obscurity which the people will penetrate with difficulty, but which the strong and enlightened citizens will not fail to turn to account.

For a very long time, my lord, the necessity of imparting to the federal government more energy and vigor has been felt, but it has also been felt that the excessive independence granted to the citizens, as regards the states, and to the states as regards congress, is too dear to individuals for them to be deprived of it without great precautions.

The people are not ignorant that the natural consequences of an increase of power in the government would be a regular collection of taxes, a strict administration of justice, extraordinary duties on imports, rigorous executions against debtors—in short, a marked preponderance of rich men and of large proprietors.

It is, however, for the interest of the people to guard as much as possible the absolute freedom granted them in a time when no other law was known but necessity, and when an English army, as it were, laid the foundations of the political constitution.

In those stormy times it was necessary to agree that all power ought to emanate only from the people; that everything was subject to its supreme will, and that the magistrates were only its servants.

Although there are no nobles in America, there is a class of men denominated “gentlemen,” who, by reason of their wealth, their talents,

their education, their families, or the offices they hold, aspire to a pre-eminence which the people refuse to grant them ; and, although many of these men have betrayed the interests of their order to gain popularity, there reigns among them a connection so much the more intimate as they almost all of them dread the efforts of the people to despoil them of their possessions, and, moreover, they are creditors, and therefore interested in strengthening the government, and watching over the execution of the laws.

These men generally pay very heavy taxes, while the small proprietors escape the vigilance of the collectors.

The majority of them being merchants, it is for their interest to establish the credit of the United States in Europe on a solid foundation by the exact payment of debts, and to grant to congress powers extensive enough to compel the people to contribute for this purpose. The attempt, my lord, has been vain, by pamphlets and other publications, to spread notions of justice and integrity, and to deprive the people of a freedom which they have so misused. By proposing a new organization of the federal government all minds would have been revolted ; circumstances ruinous to the commerce of America have happily arisen to furnish the reformers with a pretext for introducing innovations.

They represented to the people that the American name had become opprobrious among all the nations of Europe ; that the flag of the United States was everywhere exposed to insults and annoyance ; the husbandman, no longer able to export his produce freely, would soon be reduced to extreme want ; it was high time to retaliate, and to convince foreign powers that the United States would not with impunity suffer such a violation of the freedom of trade, but that strong measures could be taken only with the consent of the thirteen states, and that congress, not having the necessary powers, it was essential to form a general assembly instructed to present to congress the plan for its adoption, and to point out the means of carrying it into execution.

The people, generally discontented with the obstacles in the way of commerce, and scarcely suspecting the secret motives of their opponents, ardently embraced this measure, and appointed commissioners, who were to assemble at Annapolis in the beginning of September.

The authors of this proposition had no hope, nor even desire, to see the success of this assembly of commissioners, which was only intended to prepare a question much more important than that of commerce.

The measures were so well taken that at the end of September no more than five states were represented at Annapolis, and the commissioners from the northern states tarried several days at New York, in order to retard their arrival.

The states which assembled, after having waited nearly three weeks, separated under the pretext that they were not in sufficient numbers to enter on business, and, to justify this dissolution, they addressed to the different legislatures and to congress a report, the translation of which I have the honor to enclose to you.

In this paper the commissioners employ an infinity of circumlocutions and ambiguous phrases to show to their constituents the impossibility of taking into consideration a general plan of commerce and the powers pertaining thereto, without at the same time touching upon other objects closely connected with the prosperity and national importance of the United States.

Without enumerating these objects, the commissioners enlarge upon the present crisis of public affairs, upon the dangers to which the confederation is exposed, upon the want of credit of the United States abroad, and upon the necessity of uniting, under a single point of view, the interests of all the states.

They close by proposing, for the month of May next, a new assembly of commissioners, instructed to deliberate not only upon a general plan of commerce, but upon other matters which may concern the harmony and welfare of the states, and upon the means of rendering the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union.

In spite of the obscurity of this document, you will perceive, my lord, that the commissioners were unwilling to take into consideration the grievances of commerce, which are of exceeding interest for the people, without at the same time perfecting the fundamental constitution of congress.

It is hoped that new commissioners will be appointed, with ample powers to deliberate on these important objects, and to place congress in a position not only to form resolutions for the prosperity of the union, but to execute them.

*Monroe to Jefferson, New York, 12 Oct., 1786. Ex.*

I set out to-morrow for Virginia with Mrs. Monroe by land. My residence will be for the present in Fredericksburg. My attention is turned to Albemarle for my ultimate abode. The sooner I fix there

the more agreeable it will be to me. I should be happy to keep clear of the bar if possible, and at present I am wearied with the business in which I have been engaged. It has been a year of excessive labor and fatigue, and unprofitably so.

*H. Lee, Jr., to Washington, New York, 17 Oct., 1786. Ex.*

MY DEAR GENERAL: In my last letter I detailed the eastern commotions and communicated my apprehensions of their objects and issue. G. Knox has just returned from thence, and his report, grounded on his own knowledge, is replete with melancholy information.

We are all in dire apprehension that a beginning of anarchy with all its calamities has approached, and have no means to stop the dreadful work. Individuals suggest the propriety of inviting you from congress to pay us a visit, knowing your unbounded influence, and believing that your appearance among the seditious might bring them back to peace and reconciliation.<sup>1</sup>

*David Stuart to Washington, Richmond, 8 Nov., 1786. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: You will learn the issue of this from the enclosed note.<sup>2</sup> The strong language in which this offspring of iniquity is condemned will, it is hoped, have some operation on future legislatures, and by banishing the idea of it from among the people be the means of encouraging industry and economy, the true sources of public happiness. From a conception that the vote on this subject might have some effect on the policy of other states where the measure is not yet adopted, the printer was ordered to publish it, with a request to the printers throughout the continent to do the same.

As a further proof of the high regard which seems at present to prevail for the preservation of national faith, I have to inform you that an attempt to reduce the certificates by a scale has been unanimously rejected.

The ease with which these two bugbears have been removed give me a hope that a similar propriety will characterize all the proceedings of the present assembly.

You have, no doubt, heard that the attorney [Edmund Randolph]

<sup>1</sup> This is from the letter to which Washington, on the thirty-first, in part replies: "You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influ-

ence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is no government."

<sup>2</sup> Resolutions condemning paper money.

was a candidate for the chief magistracy. As there has never been a senate before yesterday, the election for this place and delegates to congress was made. The attorney was chosen by a great majority. The other candidates were R. H. Lee and Colonel Bland. The delegates to congress are Messrs. Madison, Grayson, Carrington, R. H. Lee, and Joseph Jones. Colonel Lee, you observe, is left out.

From the progress made to-day in two acts, one for immediately empowering commissioners to meet for the purpose of fixing on similar taxes on imported articles with the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the other agreeable to the recommendation of the commissioners at Annapolis, there can be little doubt of their ultimately passing.

The subject of the latter commission—the amending the articles of the confederation—is important and delicate, but absolutely necessary. From some conversation with Mr. Madison on this business I have reason to think you will be requested to act in it.

*D. Humphreys to Washington, New Haven, 9 Nov., 1786. Ex.*

In Massachusetts the assembly of that state are occupied in removing all the real subjects of hardship and complaint. They have likewise passed a new riot act, and given some indications of spirit in support of government. But still the preparations and systematic arrangements on the part of the mob do not cease. You will have seen by the speech of Mr. King before that legislature that congress consider themselves as the guarantees of each state government, and bound to interfere in its support under certain circumstances.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 10 Nov., 1786. Ex.*

The resolutions of the convention of Annapolis, which I had the honor to communicate to you, have as yet been adopted only by Virginia. The other states are little disposed to introduce a new system of confederation, and congress appears to wish to reserve to itself the right of proposing the changes necessary to consolidate the union. With this view it has appointed a grand committee, composed of a member from each state, to submit the alterations to be made in the old system.

*Washington to Thomas Johnson, 12 Nov., 1786. Ex.*

The want of energy in the federal government ; the pulling of one state and parts of states against another ; and the commotions among



the eastern people, have sunk our national character much below par, and have brought our politics and credit to the brink of a precipice. A step or two more must plunge us into inextricable ruin. . . . Liberality, justice, and unanimity in those states which do not appear to have drunk so deep of the cup of folly may yet retrieve our affairs, but no time is to be lost in essaying the reparation of them.

*Washington to David Stuart, 19 Nov., 1786. Ex.*

However delicate the revision of the federal system may appear, it is a work of indispensable necessity. The present constitution is inadequate; the superstructure is tottering to its foundation, and without helps will bury us in its ruins. Although I never more intended to appear on a public theatre, and had in a public manner bid adieu to public life, yet, if the voice of my country had called me to this important duty, I might, in obedience to the repeated instances of its attention and confidence, have dispensed with these; but an objection now exists which would render my acceptance of this appointment impracticable with any degree of consistency.

*Washington to Edmund Randolph, 19 Nov., 1786.*

DEAR SIR: It gave me great pleasure to hear that the voice of the country had been directed to you as chief magistrate of this commonwealth, and that you had accepted the appointment.

Our affairs seem to be drawing to an awful crisis;<sup>1</sup> it is necessary, therefore, that the abilities of every man should be drawn into action in a public line, to rescue them, if possible, from impending ruin. As no one seems more fully impressed with the necessity of adopting such measures than yourself, so none is better qualified to be entrusted with the reins of government. I congratulate you on this occasion, and, with sincere regard and respect, am, etc.

*William Grayson to Monroe, New York, 22 Nov., 1786. Ex.*

Colonel Lee has heard of his being left out of the delegation, and is far from being pleased at the circumstance; I own I am surprised at R. H. Lee's being continued, when he did not serve a day last year;

<sup>1</sup> Washington's words reappear in Governor Randolph, of Virginia, to President Dickinson, of Pennsylvania: "Richmond, Dec. 1, 1786. Sir: I feel a peculiar satisfaction in forwarding to your Excellency the enclosed act of our legislature. As it breathes a spirit truly federal, and contains an effort to support our general government, which is now reduced to the most awful crisis, permit me to solicit your Excellency's co-operation at this trying moment." —Penn. Archives, 1786-1790, 523.

had Colonel Lee been continued instead of him, all would have been right; he is preparing to return to Virginia. I wish that R. H. Lee may resign, and he be elected in his room. •

The disturbances in Massachusetts bay have been considerable, and absolutely threaten the most serious consequences. It is supposed the insurgents are encouraged by emissaries of a certain nation, and that Vermont is in the association. How it will end, God only knows; the present prospects are, no doubt, extremely alarming.

The Massachusetts delegation have been much more friendly, I have understood, since the late insurrection in their state. They look upon the federal assistance as a matter of the greatest importance; of course, they wish for a continuance of the confederation. Their general court is now sitting, but, I believe, are fearful of taking any vigorous steps against the insurgents.

Mr. King sets out from this next week to meet the New York and the other of the Massachusetts commissioners, to effect a compromise respecting the latter against the former. It seems they have got unlimited powers on both sides. I remain, with great sincerity, your affectionate friend, etc.

*George Wythe to Jefferson, Williamsburg, 13 Dec., 1786. Ex.*

I think him<sup>1</sup> sensible and discreet, and in a fair way of being learned—to which one great encouragement, both of him and many others of our youth, is the specimen of its utility which they admire in one of their countrymen in another quarter of the globe. His Notes on Virginia, whatever he writes, says, or thinks, is eagerly sought after, and this not by youth alone. His sentiments are most earnestly desired on the grand subject of the enclosed act by the oldest (except one) of the commissioners appointed by it, who supposes that he cannot be directed so well by any other luminary. You must have advanced money for me. Let me know the amount, and whether, by a draft on a merchant in London, or in what other manner I shall discharge it. On these terms (but not else) I wish you to send to me Polybius and Vitruvius. Adieu.

*Monroe to Madison, Spring Hill, 16 Dec., 1786. Ex.*

Have you heard anything from the other states? Do they take correspondent measures with our legislature upon federal subjects?

<sup>1</sup> Peter Carr, the orphan nephew of Jefferson.

*Edward Carrington to Madison, New York, 18 Dec., 1786. Ex.*

The re-election of Colohel Lee has afforded me the highest pleasure, as it undoubtedly relieves his feelings, but I am at the same time deeply affected by the loss of Mr. Jones from the delegation.

I cannot learn that Mr. Jay is proceeding in the business of the Mississippi. He probably will wait to see the countenance of the new congress. If he can assure himself of the cover of a bare majority, I believe he will make the treaty, and rely upon the timidity of some of the dissenting states for the ratification. It is probable the eastern column will be broken in Jersey and Pennsylvania, and it is equally so that there will be a change in some of the southern states.

The business of the convention is well brought forward by Virginia, and I hope their act will be generally adopted. The dereliction of Massachusetts is, however, to be apprehended. The delegation of that state prevented the recommendation of the measure from congress, as suggested by the deputations at Annapolis, and advised its non-adoption in their legislature. The effect of this advice I have not been informed of, but the natural supposition is that nothing was done in the late session, and there will not be another before the time proposed for the convention of the deputies. The reasons given by these gentlemen for their opposition are that the mode of amending the confederation is provided by the act itself. Amendments are to originate with congress and be agreed to by the states, and that it would derogate from the dignity and weight of that body to take a secondary position in the business. This is an elevated idea, and in an efficient sovereignty would be a wise one. The truth is, we have not a government to wield and correct, but must pursue the most certain means for obtaining one. We have only four states now on the floor.

*D. Stuart to Washington, 19 Dec., 1786. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: I need not, I suppose, inform you of your being appointed to the convention to be held at Philadelphia. It appeared to be so much the wish of the house, that Mr. Madison conceived it might probably frustrate the whole scheme if it was not done. As it was, however, intimated that, from many circumstances in your situation, it might be impossible for you to attend, you will have a fair opening for an excuse, if at the time you should still think it inconvenient, or incompatible with what has happened respecting the soci-

ety of the Cincinnati. The original imperfection of the federal union, and its present tottering state, may perhaps at that time present themselves in such a point of view as to supersede every objection. I am, dear sir, with great respect, your affectionate, humble servant, etc.

*George Wythe to Jefferson, Williamsburg, 22 Dec., 1786.*

Lest a letter which a few days ago I wrote to you should not come to your hands, I now write this to entreat that you will let us have your thoughts on the confederation of the American states, which is proposed to be revised in the summer following. I mentioned in that letter that Peter Carr was attending the professors of natural and moral philosophy and mathematics, learning the French and Spanish languages, and with me reading Herodotus, Æschylus, Cicero, and Horace, and that I wished to know if you approved the course, or would recommend any other. Farewell.

*D. Stuart to Washington, 25 Dec., 1786. Ex.*

I have no doubt but Mr. Madison's virtues and abilities make it necessary that he should be in congress, but from what I already foresee I shall dread the consequences of another assembly without him.

*From Monthly Reports to the British Government, 5 Jan., 1787. Ex.*

The following account has been taken from the custom-house books of the three undermentioned states of all foreign vessels cleared, viz., from the twenty-first November, 1785, to the twenty-third November, 1786 :

	British vessels.		French vessels.		Spanish vessels.		Dutch vessels.		Danish vessels.		Imperial vessels.	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.
Philadelphia...	94	12,482	13	1,122	37	851	7	923	3	1,037	2	327
New York.....	81	9,347	20	2,218	8	781	6	1,874	4	867	..	...
South Carolina.	172	17,163	14	1,984	37	1,251	5	1,419	4	913	2	387
Total.....	347	38,942	47	5,324	82	2,883	18	4,216	11	2,807	4	714

Great Britain has nearly eight times as much trade with the above ports as France.

*Washington to Jabez Bowen, 9 Jan., 1787. Ex.*

I have been long since fully convinced of the necessity of granting to congress more ample and extensive powers than they at present

possess ; the want of power and energy in that body has been severely felt in every part of the United States. The disturbances in New England, the declining state of our commerce, and the general languor which seems to pervade the union, are in a great measure (if not entirely) owing to the want of proper authority in the supreme council. The extreme jealousy that is observed in vesting congress with adequate powers has a tendency rather to destroy than confirm our liberties. The wisest resolutions cannot produce any good unless they are supported with energy ; they are only applauded, but never followed.

Paper money has had the effect in your state that it ever will have, to ruin commerce, oppress the honest, and open a door to every species of fraud and injustice.

The death of our worthy friend, General Greene, must be sincerely regretted by every friend to America, and peculiarly by those whose intimacy with him gave them a full knowledge of his virtues and merits.

*Lord Dorchester to Lord Sydney (secret), Quebec, 16 Jan., 1787.*

MY LORD : The military preparations in the United States, with the measures taken to form magazines along the frontier of Virginia, and as far as to Saratoga, their leading men say, are intended to reduce the Indians. Probably the disorders in the Massachusetts, and neighboring states, are another object of these arrangements. I at the same time cannot but apprehend the upper posts are also comprised in their plan for the campaign ; the measure would be popular among them.

The weak situation of these posts—more particularly Fort Ontario, near Oswego—seems to invite an insult ; the strongest of them depend on the savages for protection, and these, having neither national bands nor subordination of any sort, cannot have that firmness necessary for great confidence.

Should this apparent storm blow over without injury, and the wisdom of his Majesty's council determine to maintain these posts, a considerable expense must be incurred to put the works in a proper state of defence ; and a considerable reinforcement should be sent up, which will not only increase the transport, but add to the expense also. Fort Ontario, in this juncture, in place of the present garrison of fifty men, should have a battalion, to enable them to hold out till succor might arrive to them from the province ; and these succors must, in a great measure if not wholly, be drawn from the militia, when it is so arranged

as to enable us to employ it. Should it be determined to surrender these posts, the states will immediately become masters of forts, strong enough against Indians, with a communication tolerably secure, which will greatly facilitate the reduction of that people and draw on us many reproaches; at the same time we shall lose great part of the fur trade, and open a door for much smuggling.

Should it be judged advisable to retire, and destroy or suffer the forts to be destroyed, the disadvantages would thereby be greatly retarded.

The most injudicious of all is *a no resolution*; remaining in an impotent state, and yet holding those places in defiance of powerful neighbors, who have set their hearts upon them, and who, sooner or later, will certainly assault them if left in their present situation.

I must, therefore, request your lordship will, as soon as possible, honor me with the king's commands on these points, and what his Majesty's pleasure may be, should the upper posts be attacked and carried.

*D. Humphreys to Washington, New Haven, 20 Jan., 1787. Ec.*

I have lately had an opportunity of conversing with several of the first characters from the neighboring states. These gentlemen—viz., Messrs. Duane, Chancellor Livingston, Egbert Benson, Judges Yates, Haring, and Smith, from New York, with Messrs. Lowell, King, Parsons, and Judge Sullivan, from Boston—were commissioners for settling the boundaries between the two states. They seemed to be all of opinion that something must be done, but what that something was appeared to baffle their deepest penetration. It is, however, worthy of remark that Mr. King, Mr. Sedgwick, and several others (I believe I might say John Jay), who have been mortally opposed to the Cincinnati, now look with considerable confidence to that quarter for our political preservation.

Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Barlow, and myself have written a good number of pieces in prose and verse on political subjects; we have the satisfaction to find that they are reprinted in more papers and read with more avidity than any other performances. Pointed ridicule is found to be of more efficacy than serious argumentation.

*T. Stone to Washington, 30 Jan., 1787.*

DEAR SIR: The senate and house of delegates of Maryland, having differed upon the subject of issuing paper money on loan, and the lat-

ter having appealed to the people, I take the liberty of enclosing you the papers of each house, and, if not disagreeable, I shall be much obliged by a communication of your sentiments upon a subject which is likely to create great and perhaps dangerous divisions in the state, and am, with perfect esteem, etc.

*Address of the Maryland Senate to the House.*

An act of the commonwealth of Virginia, for appointing deputies to meet at Philadelphia in May next, for revising the federal government and correcting its defects, was early communicated to this legislature. In consequence thereof, your house proposed to appoint deputies, which we acceded to, and a conference took place to ascertain the powers to be given to the deputies. A report was made by the conferrees, which has been agreed to by the senate.

As this proposition originated with you, and the measure is confessedly necessary and important, we are not a little surprised that you have resolved to adjourn without making this appointment. Although it may be urged that this deputation may be made at the session proposed by your house to be held in March next, time enough for the deputies to meet at Philadelphia in May, yet it must be obvious that the other states, perceiving that the legislature of this state has adjourned without making the appointment, may conclude that the measure has not met their approbation. This inference may create suspicions destructive of that unanimity which is admitted by the wisest and best men in the United States to be absolutely necessary to preserve the federal union.

The neighboring states of Virginia and Pennsylvania have discovered their sense of the importance of this meeting, and their expectation of its effects, by appointing some of their first characters to assist in the deliberations.

We cannot account for your postponing the consideration of these great and interesting subjects, and your adjournment to the twentieth of March, unless it be to appeal to the people upon the bill for an emission of paper money, which we rejected.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 10 Feb., 1787. Ex.*

The new congress was formed but a few days since, and proceeded at once to the election of a president. The choice was very difficult; the southern party wished a member from Carolina or Georgia to be

chosen, while that of the north insisted on the election of a delegate from New Hampshire. The votes finally united in favor of Mr. (Sinclair) St. Clair, delegate from Pennsylvania, a former major-general, known by his defeat at Ticonderoga. He is ingenuous, upright, and federal, and is sincerely attached to us, as are all those who fought in the war along with the command of the Count de Rochambeau. He is a friend of Franklin, which is sufficient evidence to us of his dispositions toward France; furthermore, I have the advantage of being in particularly close relations with him.

But if foreign affairs, my lord, are subject to delays innumerable, it must not be inferred that congress has been entirely idle since the peace.

The various departments have been arranged in the most perfect manner; a regular system has been introduced into all the branches of the general administration, and, but for the want of permanent revenues, the United States would be one of the best organized of governments. The department of foreign affairs, of war, of finances, are in the hands of trusty and capable men, whose integrity, wisdom, and circumspection will stand every test. Secrecy is much better observed than during the war. It is especially noticeable that the different branches of the department of finances check each other so ingeniously that the slightest malversation is impossible. But this fine structure is, unfortunately, useless on account of the exhaustion of the treasury.

I cannot instance a better proof of the integrity of the public officers than in observing that General Washington, who began the war with quite a large fortune, and who has had so many legitimate ways of increasing it, finds himself so much in arrears that he is obliged himself to cultivate his farm. I have before me a letter of this honored man in which he complains of being obliged to sell, at a rate of twenty for one, the certificates (*les contrats*) which congress sent to him in payment for the arrearages due him.

Mr. Jefferson is for us in Virginia what Franklin has always been in Pennsylvania—that is, the most indefatigable panegyrist of France. The delegates from that state treat me with the greatest confidence, and they are at pains to inform me of all the measures which may directly or indirectly interest the subjects of his Majesty or our national importance.

It is chiefly by his private correspondence that Mr. Jefferson en-



deavors to preserve in America the sentiments of gratitude which many of his colleagues in Europe have taken so great pains to suppress. I am sure that recognition of his services which you may show to him will produce the best effect, and that he will not fail to communicate it to his constituents. All the measures taken in France in favor of American commerce have an immediate influence on the minds of the legislatures, and every sacrifice on our part is at once reciprocated by a compensation.

*Washington to Mrs. Mary Washington, 15 Feb., 1787. Ex.*

HONORED MADAM: I have now demands upon me for more than five hundred pounds, three hundred and forty odd of which are due for the tax of 1786; and I know not where, or when, I shall receive one shilling with which to pay it. In the last two years I made no crops. In the first I was obliged to buy corn, and this year have none to sell, and my wheat is so bad I can neither eat it myself nor sell it to others, and tobacco I make none. Those who owe me money cannot or will not pay it without suits, and to sue is like doing nothing, whilst my expenses, not from any extravagance, or an inclination on my part to live splendidly, but for the absolute support of my family and the visitors who are constantly here, are exceedingly high—higher, indeed, than I can support without selling part of my estate, which I am disposed to do rather than run in debt or continue to be so; but this I cannot do without taking much less than the lands I have offered for sale are worth. This is really and truly my situation.

Mrs. Washington, George, and Fanny join me in every good wish for you, and I am, honored madam, your most dutiful and affectionate son,

G. WASHINGTON.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 16 Feb., 1787.*

MY LORD: By a table of the navigation of the state of New York it appears that the English vessels arriving during the past year amount to sixty-seven, while only seven have come from France. This great disproportion is due in part to the fact that the English do not admit to their islands any American ships, and that they themselves carry on the commerce in live stock and lumber which the United States furnish to their Antilles.

It is nevertheless true that Great Britain maintains direct commercial relations, and, to a large extent, with America.

Combining, my lord, the language of Sir John Temple with all that daily passes before my eyes, I cannot refrain from the belief that the English ministry shows itself so tenacious with regard to the commerce of their islands, and maintains its navigation act so strictly, only that it may at some time secure for itself a favorable treaty with the United States. This time will come when congress shall have received by an unanimous vote the power of regulating commerce. The more closely England shall have adhered to its exclusive system, the more it will be able to take advantage of the sacrifices which it shall make and be more urgent in regard to compensation for them. The revolutions which are occurring daily in the commercial policy of Europe are a proof to us of the possibility of such an event.

The commerce of the United States is of too great importance for England to neglect the means of gaining almost exclusive control of it. By conceding to the United States, all at once, the right of furnishing breadstuffs to its Antilles, and to export sugar, a necessary article of consumption in these states, she will be able to place a very high price on a sacrifice which will be the more sensibly felt, since it will be sudden and unexpected. Extraordinary favors will be the natural result of this, and the allies of the United States cannot complain, since these favors will not have been gratuitous, and, consequently, will not extend to the nations who have concluded commercial treaties with the United States.

England cannot be ignorant that her act of navigation is at this moment very unfavorable to the Antilles. Her colonies are seldom supplied with provisions, while ours have in abundance all that is necessary for their subsistence, and furnish very often to the English the surplus of their cattle and commodities. However, that power, far from relaxing the execution of her prohibitory laws, excludes all American ships from her ports more strictly than ever. The numerous petitions of the planters are not even taken into consideration by parliament, which seems to fear to grant gratuitously to the United States advantages which it will be able to sell to them at a very high price when the American government shall have the strength necessary for forming and executing resolutions favorable to English commerce. The forts on the lakes, although formally ceded by the treaty of peace, will be another compensation for the benefits which congress will grant to English commerce, and these two baits will render the negotiations of England very easy in America.

The recent arrangements made in France in regard to the trade in tobacco have given the greatest satisfaction here. Rice becomes henceforth the most important object of our commercial negotiations, not only because it is largely consumed in France, but because Carolina offers a large market for our finer goods as well as for the most common woolen stuffs for the negroes. This object, however, would depend in great part on our present position with regard to the seaports of the Levant.

*Lord Dorchester to Lord Sydney, Quebec, 28 Feb., 1787. Ex.*

MY LORD : The grand council of Indians held near the mouth of the Detroit river have sent to the United States and desired that all hostilities may cease, that deputies from each side may meet in spring to make a peace, and settle a reasonable boundary line, and that in the mean time they would prevent their surveyors and people from crossing the Ohio.

This business despatched, they held a second council at Detroit, the object of which was to desire I would inform them what assistance they might expect from us should the states refuse them a reasonable peace. My letter to the superintendent of Indians will show your lordship what I had already said on this subject, and to this I shall refer them. It has been intimated proposals have been made to congress for the surprisal of the Fort of Niagara. This is scarcely possible, but with the assistance of the Indians of that neighborhood, or after their departure, for which I understand the six nations are preparing with intentions to join the Mohawks at Grand river on the north side of Lake Erie.

This situation of affairs renders it necessary to arrange the militia so that regular corps may be speedily formed therefrom, agreeable to the plan I had the honor to present to your lordship, I think it was in April last. Should I succeed, it will equally strengthen the interests of this country and of Great Britain ; if not, our tenure here is very precarious. I can have no doubt of the passing of a bill for this purpose, nor of the good intentions of the legislative council, though I am sorry to say there is not that harmony among them I could wish ; this I think of little consequence, but a people so disused to military services for twenty-seven years do not willingly take up the firelock and march to the frontier when their passions are not strongly agitated.

P. S.—Mr. Shays, who headed the Massachusetts insurgents, arrived in this province the twenty-fourth instant with four of his officers.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 5 March, 1787. Ex.*

The situation of congress with respect to the treaty with Spain becomes more embarrassing from day to day. The inhabitants of Kentucky and of Frankland do not merely insist on the free navigation of the Mississippi, but they threaten to commit hostile acts against the inhabitants of Louisiana unless Spain renounces its exclusive system. Quite recently they stopped two Spanish vessels carrying on a trade with Fort St. Vincent, on the Wabash. "If the Spaniards," they say, "will not permit us to descend the river, we, in turn, will prevent them from ascending it."

They propose to arm ten thousand men, and to make a way for themselves across to the colony of Santa Fé.

Some delegates of New England begin to declare themselves for the opening of the Mississippi. "Although we are persuaded," one of the most moderate among them said to me, "that the regions of the west will by degrees absorb our population, a greater evil—the fear that those vast countries will yield to England in order to obtain from her the protection which we refuse them—leads us to wish for the free navigation of the Mississippi as the only means of keeping them subject to the laws of congress."

*Monthly Report to the British Government.*

P. A., eighth March, 1787, writes that he has a "mercantile" member of congress with him, whose expenses exceed his income, who would enter into "business" relations with the British "house" on a "liberal plan." Instructions must be particular, in order "that the goods may be packed up in as small a compass as possible." P. A., fifth April, 1787, writes that the member of congress is ready to send "such samples as lays within the line of his business, every packet to be directed to such person as shall be named in England, neither the contents nor the packet am I to be trusted with, he taking on himself to send them, as my detaining one letter would forever put it in my power to ruin him." This M. C. is a delegate from his state to the convention at Philadelphia for forming a new federal union, and P. A. thinks he will be of more service than "half a dozen Temples or Bonds; the first thinks the post beneath him since his being a baronet, and the other knows not anything of the mercantile line; he has been, ever since his arrival here, endeavoring, by the assistance of his friends, to

get his attainer removed by the interest of that old rascal Franklin."

*E. Randolph to Washington, Richmond, 2 April, 1787.*

DEAR SIR : Your favor of the twenty-seventh ult. was handed to me this moment. Solicitous as I am for your aid at Philadelphia, I could not prevail upon myself to wish you to go, unless your health would fully permit. But, indeed, my dear sir, everything travels so fast to confusion that I trust one grand effort will be made by the friends of the United States.

There is a decided prospect of a representation, and the board have peremptorily determined not to fill up another vacancy. The members now in nomination are, Mr. Madison, Mr. Mason, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Blair, Mr. R. H. Lee, and myself.

You will oblige me by saying how I shall forward the money to be advanced from the treasury.

You recollect that congress have altered the day of meeting to the fourteenth of May, at which time it is my purpose to take you by the hand. I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend, etc.

*Temple to the Marquis of Carmarthen, New York, 5 April, 1787. Ex.*

MY LORD : At present the general attention is chiefly turned to what will be done next month at Philadelphia by a convention of the thirteen states, who meet then for the purpose of altering or revising the confederation. Various are the opinions about this same convention. Many think there will be great discord, and the convention break up without doing anything, and in consequence thereof two or three separate congresses for the government of these states be established.

*Sydney to Lord Dorchester, Whitehall, 5 April, 1787. Ex.*

MY LORD : To afford the Indians active assistance would at the present moment be a measure extremely imprudent, but at the same time it would not become us to refuse them such supplies of ammunition as might enable them to defend themselves. I observe by Colonel Brant's letter that they are in great want of that article, and, circumstanced as they now are, there cannot be any objection to your furnishing them with a supply, causing it to be done in a way the least likely to alarm the Americans, or to induce the Indians to think that there is a disposition on our part to incite them to any hostile proceedings.

*David Ramsay to Jefferson, 7 April, 1787. Ex.*

Our governments in the southern states are much more quiet than in the northern, but much of our quiet arises from the temporizing of the legislature in refusing legal protection to the prosecution of the just rights of the creditors. Our eyes now are all fixed on the continental convention to be held in Philadelphia in May next. Unless they make an efficient federal government, I fear that the end of the matter will be an American monarchy, or rather three or more confederacies. In either case we have not labored in vain in effecting the late revolution, for such arrangements might be made as would secure our happiness.

*Humphreys to Washington, Fairfield, 9 April, 1787. Ex.*

If the difference of opinion among the members of this national assembly should be as great as the variety of sentiments concerning the result, the progress of business before it will be attended with infinite embarrassment. Besides the two primary objects of discussion, viz. : 1st, Whether the old constitution can be supported, or, 2d, Whether a new one must be established, I expect a serious proposal will be made for dividing the continent into two or three separate governments. Local politics and diversity of interests will undoubtedly find their way into the convention. Nor need it be a matter of surprise to find there, as subjects of infinite disagreement, the whole western country as well as the navigation of the Mississippi.

Should you think proper to attend, you will indisputably be elected president. This would give the measures a degree of national consequence in Europe and with posterity. But how far (under some supposable case) your personal influence, unattended with other authority, may compose the jarring interests of a great number of discordant individuals and control events, I will not take upon me to determine.

*Otto to Vergennes, New York, 10 April, 1787. Ex.*

If all the delegates chosen to this convention at Philadelphia are present, Europe will never have seen an assembly more respectable for talents, for knowledge, for the disinterestedness and patriotism of those who compose it. General Washington, Dr. Franklin, and a great number of other distinguished personages, though less known in

Europe, have been called thither. No doubt the interests of the confederation will be more thoroughly discussed than ever before.

*B. Gale to W. S. Johnson, Killingworth, 19 April, 1787. Ex.*

HON. AND DEAR SIR: Your opposition to the convention has done you great honor among republicans, and could you adopt this sentiment honestly, that all lands ceded by treaty and all forfeited estates were ceded and forfeited to the whole confederacy, and make a reasonable proposal for the rendering civil process more concise and less expensive, it would render your country eminent service, etc., etc.

*R. R. Livingston to Lafayette, New York, 24 April, 1787. Ex.*

The population of New York in the last twelve years, notwithstanding the numbers destroyed by the war and the still greater numbers that have left us, has increased 40,000 souls, exclusive of Vermont, which, if taken into the calculation, would carry our numbers from 190,000, which was its greatest extent before the war, to 280,000, as appears by our last census. Few traces remain in the country of the ravages of war: lands are cultivated, houses built, new lands cleared, new sources of commerce opened, and what is the best criterion of the state of trade is that the commodities and labor of the country still bear a better price than they did before the war.

*Washington to Major-General Knox, 27 April, 1787. Ex.*

Though so much afflicted with a rheumatic complaint (of which I have not been entirely free for six months) as to be under the necessity of carrying my arm in a sling for the last ten days, I had fixed on Monday next for my departure, and had made every necessary arrangement for the purpose, when (within this hour) I am called by an express, who assures me not a moment is to be lost, to see a mother and only sister (who are supposed to be in the agonies of death) expire; and I am hastening to obey this melancholy call, after having just buried a brother who was the intimate companion of my youth, and the friend of my ripened age.

*Grayson to Monroe, New York, 30 April, 1787. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: Affairs go on here very slowly; Mr. Jay has reported to congress that he and Gardoqui have adjusted an article in which the navigation of a certain river is given up; that Mr. Gardoqui has

wrote for instructions respecting the limits ; the English of the matter is that Rendon has gone to Spain on this business, and, if that court gives up the limits, I have no doubt but the design is to conclude the treaty immediately.

The convention are to meet soon, but am satisfied will effect nothing ; or, if they do, that the states will not confirm. The insurgents of Massachusetts have got full possession of the government constitutionally ; they talk of a depreciating paper and other villainous acts, and I have no doubt but they will be precisely in the situation of Rhode Island without delay. Congress have agreed to sell the townships that have been surveyed at this place. We have made an unsuccessful attempt at indiscriminate locations ; a treaty with Morocco is concluded ; the Count de Vergennes dead ; a close alliance talked of between the king of Prussia and the emperor ; Vermont and Great Britain upon close and secret terms.

You may rely upon me in any instance where I can serve you, and the opportunity of doing this will always give me real happiness.

Consider this letter as confidential.

*William Short to Madison, Paris, 7 May, 1787. Ex.*

DEAR SIR : The Marquis de Lafayette exerts every nerve to prevent the present unfavorable ideas from increasing, and he is reproached every day with the want of faith, if not the bankruptcy of America. Their want of money makes them feel too sensibly at present our want of punctuality. It is in vain that the Marquis tells them they ought not to be surprised at the deranged finances of a young country, just rising from the devastations of war, since so old a government as France, and that in time of peace, should find itself in its present situation. Arguments like this, sir, are of little avail except with a few thinking men, and will not be able to counteract the ill effects of the clamors of those foreign officers dispersed in every part of the kingdom, who served in America, and who think themselves ruined by congress because the interest of their pay is not furnished them—nor of the murmurs of the treasury here because they have not received the annual interest, and a part of the principal of the American debt.

These are the opinions of our federal circumstances—but the circumstances of the states taken individually make a very different impression, and of no state more than Virginia. It is but just to men-



tion it to you, sir, who have contributed so much, by your exertions in the legislature, to the fame she has acquired in every part of Europe, even in England, where all ranks of people, from the crown to the shopkeeper, may be considered as in a state of war with whatever is American. The act respecting Kentucky, that on religion, and the almost unanimous refusal either to emit a paper currency or meddle with the certificates of public credit, have acquired our state, sir, a degree of eclat and of honor of which it is difficult to form an idea.

*Rochambeau to Washington, Paris, 12 May, 1787.*

MY DEAR GENERAL: It is dreadful to live so far that we do from one another. I receive but in this moment the letter wherewith you have honored me on the thirty-first July ultimate, that you put aboard of an English ship, which after he had made its trade has at last sent it to Havre this last days. But whatever was the cause of the tardy news I receive from you, I am always charmed to see that my dear general and my good friend is enjoying of his glorious and philosophical retreat, where he has known fixed his glory and his happiness.

We are here in a terrible crisis of finances, which has occasioned an assembly of chief men that last yet. You heard speak of the ministry of M. Necker, and of the flourishing state where he had left our finances. A devil of fool, named Calonne, minister of finances since four years, has believed to be bound to take contrary sense of his predecessor, and has made succeed to an economical administration, a prodigality and a devastation which has no example; being at the end of last year without means, he has imagined an assembly of chief men, in which discovering, in his quality of quack, a part of the wound, he did propose all the remedies of an empiric. The assembly of chief men at last has unmasked him to our virtuous king, that he had the skill to deceive as well as a part of his council. He has been lately dismissed, and his office is given to the Archbishop de Toulouse, the knowledge, probity, order, and talents of which give the greatest hopes to the nation. You know enough my character to think that it would not sympathize with that of M. de Calonne, and consequently he did not put me in that assembly, that I have been very glad of. He had also forgot the Marquis de Lafayette. I should have desired he had taken the same course, but his ardor did not permit him to be quiet. We are still in the middle of this crisis which tends to its end, but to comfort us of this misfortune, I will tell you a word of the

late king of Prussia, which said to the Count d'Esterno, our minister : " I have been brought up in the middle of the unhappiness of France ; my cradle was surrounded with refugees Protestants, that about the end of the reign of Louis XIV. and at the beginning of the regency of the Duc d'Orleans, told me that the France was at the agony, and could not exist three years. I known in the course of my reign that the France has such a temper, that there is no bad minister, nor bad generals which be able to kill it, and that constitution has made rise it again of all its crisis with strength and vigor. It want no other remedy but time and keep a strict course of diet." It is to the Archbishop de Toulouse to make use of this two means under a king born virtuous and without passions.

I have been very sorry, my dear général, of the General Green's death. I knew him by reputation and correspondence, and I loved very much all his relations. My consolation, my dear général, is that with sobriety and philosophy you live under a pure sky and in good air, and that Mount Vernon will conserve a long time to the America its heroes and my friend.

My respects to Mad. Washington, to all your family, and to all my ancienne camarades and friends.

*George Mason to George Mason, Jr., Philadelphia, 20 May, 1787.*

*Ex.*

DEAR GEORGE : Upon our arrival here on Thursday evening, seventeenth May, I found only the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania fully represented ; and there are at this time only five—New York, the two Carolinas, and the two before mentioned. All the states, Rhode Island excepted, have made their appointments ; but the members drop in slowly ; some of the deputies from the eastern states are here, but none of them have yet a sufficient representation, and it will probably be several days before the convention will be authorized to proceed to business. The expectations and hopes of all the union centre in this convention. God grant that we may be able to concert effectual means of preserving our country from the evils which threaten us.

The Virginia deputies (who are all here) meet and confer together two or three hours every day, in order to form a proper correspondence of sentiments ; and for form's sake, to see what new deputies are arrived, and to grow into some acquaintance with each other, we regu-

larly meet every day at three o'clock P. M. at the state-house. These and some occasional conversations with the deputies of different states, and with some of the general officers of the late army (who are here upon a general meeting of the Cincinnati), are the only opportunities I have hitherto had of forming any opinion upon the great subject of our mission, and, consequently, a very imperfect and indecisive one. Yet, upon the great principles of it, I have reason to hope there will be greater unanimity and less opposition, except from the little states, than was at first apprehended. The most prevalent idea in the principal states seems to be a total alteration of the present federal system, and substituting a great national council or parliament, consisting of two branches of the legislature, founded upon the principles of equal proportionate representation, with full legislative powers upon all the objects of the union; and an executive: and to make the several state legislatures subordinate to the national, by giving the latter the power of a negative upon all such laws as they shall judge contrary to the interest of the federal union. It is easy to foresee that there will be much difficulty in organizing a government upon this great scale, and at the same time reserving to the state legislatures a sufficient portion of power for promoting and securing the prosperity and happiness of their respective citizens; yet, with a proper degree of coolness, liberality, and candor (very rare commodities by the bye), I doubt not but it may be effected. There are among a variety some very eccentric opinions upon this great subject; and what is a very extraordinary phenomenon, we are likely to find the republicans, on this occasion, issue from the southern and middle states, and the anti-republicans from the eastern; however extraordinary this may at first seem, it may, I think, be accounted for from a very common and natural impulse of the human mind. Men disappointed in expectations too hastily and sanguinely formed, tired and disgusted with the unexpected evils they have experienced, and anxious to remove them as far as possible, are very apt to run into the opposite extreme; and the people of the eastern states, setting out with more republican principles, have consequently been more disappointed than we have been.

We found travelling very expensive—from eight to nine dollars per day. In this city the living is cheap. We are at the old Indian Queen in Fourth street, where we are very well accommodated, have a good room to ourselves, and are charged only twenty-five Penn-

sylvania currency per day, including our servants and horses, exclusive of club in liquors and extra charges; so that I hope I shall be able to defray my expenses with my public allowance, and more than that I do not wish.

*Knox to President Sullivan, Philadelphia, 21 May, 1787.*

MY DEAR SIR: As an old friend, a number of gentlemen, members of the convention, have pressed me to write to you, soliciting that you urge the departure of the delegates from New Hampshire.

Impressed most fully with the belief that we are verging fast to anarchy, and that the present convention is the only means of avoiding the most flagitious evils that ever afflicted three millions of freemen, I have cheerfully consented to their request; and beg leave to have recourse to your kind friendship for an excuse, if any is necessary. There are here a number of the most respectable characters from several states, among whom is our illustrious friend General Washington, who is extremely anxious on the subject of the New Hampshire delegates. A number of states sufficient for organization, and to commence business, will assemble this week. If the delegates come on, all the states, excepting Rhode Island, will be shortly represented. Endeavor, then, my dear sir, to push this matter with all our powers. I am persuaded, from the present complexion of opinions, that the issue will prove that you have highly served your country in promoting the measure.

*Grayson to Madison, New York, 24 May, 1787.*

DEAR SIR: Some particular gentlemen have offered to join us in getting Georgetown fixed as the capital of the federal empire; they say they will vote money for the buildings, and in every respect make the compact as irrevocable as the nature of the case will admit of, provided we will agree to stay here a reasonable time, until everything is made proper for their reception. I am not certain when all the eastern states come forward, but some good may come out of this, provided we act with delicacy and caution. Most of the foreigners who come among us say the sessions of congress should be fixed by national compact; I think they are right in their reasoning with respect to all such governments as ours. The arguments are too obvious to be mentioned to you. We have a right to it at Georgetown, and ought in justice to get it.

*Grayson to Monroe, New York, 29 May, 1787. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: I hardly think the convention will be dissolved these three months. What will be the result of their meeting I cannot with any certainty determine, but I hardly think much good can come of it; the people of America don't appear to me to be ripe for any great innovations, and it seems they are ultimately to ratify or reject. The weight of General Washington, as you justly observe, is very great in America, but I hardly think it is sufficient to induce the people to pay money or part with power.

I shall make no observations on the southern states, but I think they will be (perhaps from different motives) as little disposed to part with efficient power as any in the union.

*From Monthly Reports to the British Government, June, 1787. Ex.*

My opinion is, your interest consists in disuniting them, and that they do not agree to fulfil the preliminaries of peace, or fully to enter into a commercial negotiation; for, by those means, you secure to yourselves the whole of the fur trade, and keep the people of the six northern states in a continual ferment. You may depend, your party gains ground daily, and, should there ever be a war between the United States and Great Britain, I can assure you that, where you had one friend the last war, you would find three now, for the people at large have been deceived, cheated, and ruined by congress; the individual states have tenfold taxes to pay; and nine tenths of their commerce deprived them which they enjoyed before the rebellion. Nor should I be surprised that, in the space of few years, we should send you deputies, to take us on the same footing as Ireland, a glorious transaction to be performed by your house.

*George Mason to George Mason, Jr., Philadelphia, 1 June, 1787. Ex.*

The idea I formerly mentioned to you, before the convention met, of a great national council, consisting of two branches of the legislature, a judiciary, and an executive (upon the principles of fair representation in the legislature), with powers adapted to the great objects of the union, and consequently a control, in those instances, on the state legislatures, is still the prevalent one. Virginia has had the honor of presenting the outlines of the plan upon which the convention is proceeding, but so slowly that it is impossible to judge when

the business will be finished ; most probably not before August. *Festina lente* may very well be called our motto. When I first came here, judging from casual conversations with gentlemen from the different states, I was very apprehensive that, soured and disgusted with the unexpected evils we had experienced from the democratic principles of our governments, we should be apt to run into the opposite extreme, and in endeavoring to steer too far from Scylla, we might be drawn into the vortex of Charybdis, of which I still think there is some danger, though I have the pleasure to find, in the convention, many men of firm republican principles. America has certainly upon this occasion drawn forth her first characters ; there are upon this convention many gentlemen of the most respectable abilities, and, so far as I can yet discover, of the purest intentions ; the eyes of the United States are turned upon this assembly, and their expectations raised to a very anxious degree. May God grant we may be able to gratify them by establishing a wise and just government. For my own part, I never before felt myself in such a situation, and declare I would not, upon pecuniary motives, serve in this convention for a thousand pounds per day. The revolt from Great Britain, and the formations of our new governments at that time, were nothing compared with the great business now before us. There was then a certain degree of enthusiasm which inspired and supported the mind ; but, to view through the calm, sedate medium of reason, the influence which the establishments now proposed may have upon the happiness or misery of millions yet unborn, is an object of such magnitude as absorbs, and in a manner suspends, the operation of the human understanding.

P. S.—All communications of the proceedings are forbidden during the sitting of the convention ; this, I think, was a necessary precaution to prevent misrepresentation, or mistakes, there being a material difference between the appearance of a subject in its first crude and indigested shape, and after it shall have been properly matured and arranged.

*Temple to Carmarthen, New York, 7 June, 1787. &c.*

MY LORD : Delegates for eleven of these states are now sitting (with General Washington for their president) in convention at Philadelphia. Their principal object is to form a federal establishment that shall answer for the government of this now distracted and unhappy country, either by a revision of the present articles of confed-

eration, or by adopting others entirely new. So many different sentiments and clashing interests will probably meet in contact upon the occasion, that great doubts are justly entertained whether any measures will be unanimously adopted by the convention; or, if that should happen, whether all the states will ratify and abide by what the delegates may determine upon. The little state of Rhode Island hath already gone so retrograde to the articles of confederation, and to the subsequent orders and doings of congress, and having not thought proper to send delegates to the convention, it is already seriously talked of, the annihilating of Rhode Island as a state, and to divide that territory (I mean the government of it) between Massachusetts and Connecticut. The delegates in convention are at present acting under the most solemn injunctions of secrecy, so that it is not yet in my power to mention what progress they have made. Whenever it may be in my power, I shall have the honor of communicating it to your lordship.

Since the date of my last letter, three ships have arrived from Canton—one at Philadelphia, one at Salem, and the other here—loaded with the produce and manufactures of the East, and several more ships are expected; their cargoes sell at a very low price for specie, which is daily becoming scarcer in these states.

*E. Carrington to Jefferson, New York, 9 June, 1787. Ex.*

The proposed scheme of a convention has taken more general effect, and promises more solid advantages than was at first hoped for.

The commissions of these gentlemen go to a thorough reform of our confederation; some of the states at first restricted their deputies to commercial objects, but have since liberated them. The latitude thus given, together with the generality of the commission from the states, have doubtless operated to bring General Washington forward. In every public act he hazards without a possibility of gaining reputation; he already possesses everything to be derived from the love or confidence of a free people, yet it seems that it remained for himself to add a lustre to his character by this patriotic adventure of all for his country's good alone.

The importance of this event is every day growing in the public mind, and it will, in all probabilities, produce a happy era in our political existence. Taking a view of the circumstances which have occasioned our calamities, and the present state of things and opinions,

I am flattered with this prospect. Public events in the United States since the peace have given a cast to the American character which is by no means its true countenance. Delinquencies of the states in their federal obligations, acts of their legislatures violating public treaties and private contracts, and an universal imbecility in the public administrations, it is true, form the great features of our political conduct ; but these have resulted rather from constitutional defects and accidental causes than the natural dispositions of the people.

The nefarious acts of state governments have proceeded not from the will of the people ; peace once obtained, men whose abilities and integrity had gained the entire popular confidence retired from the busy scene ; mere adventurers in fraud were left to act unopposed. Hence have proceeded paper money, breaches of treaty, etc. The ductility of the multitude is fully evidenced in the case of the late tumults in Massachusetts. Men who were of good property, and owed not a shilling, were involved in the train of desperadoes to suppress the courts. A full representation of the public affairs from the general court, through the clergy, has reclaimed so great a proportion of the deluded that a rebellion, which a few months ago threatened the subversion of the government, is, by measures scarcely deserving the name of exertion, suppressed. In this experiment it is proved that full intelligence of the public affairs not only would keep the people right, but will set them so after they have got wrong.

Civil liberty, in my opinion, never before took up her residence in a country so likely to afford her a long and grateful protection as the United States. A people more generally enlightened than any other under the sun, and in the habit of owning instead of being mere tenants in the soil, must be proportionably alive to her sacred rights and qualified to guard them ; and I am persuaded that the time is fast approaching when all these advantages will have their fullest influence. Our tendency to anarchy, and consequent despotism, is felt, and the alarm is spreading ; men are brought into action who had consigned themselves to an eve of rest, and the convention, as a beacon, is rousing the attention of the empire.

The prevailing impression, as well in as out of convention, is that a federal government, adapted to the permanent circumstances of the country, without respect to the habits of the day, will be formed, whose efficiency shall pervade the whole empire ; it may, and probably will at first, be viewed with hesitation ; but, derived and patron-



ized as it will be, its influence must extend into a general adoption as the present fabric gives way. That the people are disposed to be governed is evinced in their turning out to support the shadows under which they now live, and, if a work of wisdom is prepared for them, they will not reject it to commit themselves to the dubious issue of anarchy.

I am certain that nothing less than what will give the federal sovereignty a complete control over the state governments will be thought worthy of discussion.

The ideas here suggested are far removed from those which prevailed when you was among us; and as they have arisen with the most able from an actual view of events, it is probable you may not be prepared to expect them; they are, however, the most moderate of any which obtain in any general form among reflective and intelligent men.

*E. Gerry to Monroe, Philadelphia, 11 June, 1787. Ex.*

The convention is proceeding in their arduous undertaking with eleven states, under an injunction of secrecy on their members. New Hampshire has elected members, who are soon expected. The object of this meeting is very important, in my mind; unless a system of government is adopted by compact, force, I expect, will plant the standard; for such an anarchy as now exists cannot last long. Gentlemen seem to be impressed with the necessity of establishing some efficient system. I hope it will secure us against domestic as well as foreign invasion.

*E. Carrington to Madison, New York, 13 June, 1787. Ex.*

Had the rules of the convention permitted communications from thence, you would have conferred an obligation by including me in the number of your correspondents upon the subjects of deliberation in that assembly. My curiosity is, however, perfectly suppressed by the propriety of the prohibition. Having matured your opinions and given them a collected form, they will be fairly presented to the public and stand their own advocates; but caught by detachments, and while indeed immature, they would be equally the victims of ignorance and misrepresentation. The public mind is now on the point of a favorable turn to the objects of your meeting, and, being fairly met with the result, will, I am persuaded, eventually embrace it. Being

calculated for the permanent fitness, and not the momentary habits of the country, it may at first be viewed with hesitation ; but, derived and patronized as it will be, its influence must extend into an adoption as the present fabric gives way. The work once well done will be done forever ; but, patched up in accommodation to the whim of the day, it will soon require the hand of the cobbler again, and in every unfortunate experiment the materials are rendered the less fit for that monument of civil liberty which we wish to erect. Constitute a federal government, invigorate and check it well ; give it then independent powers over the trade, the revenues, and forces of the union, and all things that involve any relationship to foreign powers ; give it also the revisal of all state acts. Unless it possesses a complete control over the state governments, the constant effort will be to resume the delegated powers ; nor do I see what inducement the federal sovereignty can have to negative an innocent act of a state.

Constitute it in such shape that, its first principles being preserved, it will be a good republic. I wish to see that system have a fair experiment. But let the liability to encroachments be rather from the federal than the state governments. In the first case we shall insensibly glide into a monarchy ; in the latter nothing but anarchy can be the consequence.

Some gentlemen think of a total surrender of the state sovereignties. I see not the necessity of that measure for giving us national stability or consequence. The negative of the federal sovereignty will effectually prevent the existence of any licentious or inconsiderate act, and I believe that even under a monarchy it would be found necessary thus to continue the local administrations. General laws would operate many particular oppressions, and a general legislature would be found incompetent to the formation of local ones. The interests of the United States may be well combined for the common good, but the affairs of so extensive a country are not to be thrown into one mass. An attempt to confederate upon terms materially opposed to the particular interests would in all probability occasion a dismemberment, and, in that event, within a long time yet to come, the prospects of America will be at an end as to any degree of national importance, let her fate be what it may as to freedom or vassalage. Be good enough to present me to your honorable colleagues, and believe me to be, with the utmost sincerity, your affectionate friend and humble servant.

*Wm. Sam. Johnson to his Son, Philadelphia, 27 June, 1787. Ex.*

MY DEAR SON: I am here attending with Mr. Shearman (*sic*) and Mr. Elsworth (*sic*) as delegates, on the part of Connecticut, a grand convention of the United States, for the purpose of strengthening and consolidating the union and proposing a more efficient mode of government than that contained in the articles of confederation. We have delegates from eleven states actually assembled, consisting of many of the most able men in America, with General Washington at our head, whom we have appointed president of the convention. It is agreed that for the present our deliberations shall be kept secret, so that I can only tell you that much information and eloquence has been displayed in the introductory speeches, and that we have hitherto preserved great temperance, candor, and moderation in debate, and evinced much solicitude for the public weal. Yet, as was to be expected, there is great diversity of sentiment, which renders it impossible to determine what will be the result of our deliberations. Your most affectionate father and friend.

*Lords of the Council to Dorchester, Whitehall, 13 July, 1787. Ex.*

With respect to any intercourse by land or by inland navigation between his Majesty's province of Quebec and the territories belonging to the United States of America, the committee are of opinion that it should be left to Lord Dorchester, with the advice of the legislative council of that province, to make such orders therein as he may think most proper.

*Nathan Dane to Rufus King, New York, 16 July, 1787.*

DEAR SIR: I am obliged to you for yours of the eleventh instant. With pleasure I communicate to you what we are doing in congress—not so much from a consciousness that what we do is well done as from a desire that you may be acquainted with our proceedings. We have been much engaged in business for ten or twelve days past, for a part of which we have had eight states. There appears to be a disposition to do business, and the arrival of R. H. Lee is of considerable importance. I think his character serves, at least in some degree, to check the effects of the feeble habits and lax mode of thinking of some of his countrymen. We have been employed about several objects, the principal of which have been the government enclosed and the Ohio

purchase; the former, you will see, is completed, and the latter will probably be completed to-morrow. We tried one day to patch up M.'s p system of W. government; started new ideas and committed the whole to Carrington, Dane, R. H. Lee, Smith, and Kean. We met several times, and at last agreed on some principles; at least Lee, Smith, and myself. We found ourselves rather pressed. The Ohio company appeared to purchase a large tract of the federal lands—about six or seven millions of acres—and we wanted to abolish the old system and get a better one for the government of the country, and we finally found it necessary to adopt the best system we could get. All agreed finally to the enclosed plan except A. Yates. He appeared in this case, as in most others, not to understand the subject at all. I think the number of free inhabitants—60,000—which are requisite for the admission of a new state into the confederacy is too small; but, having divided the whole territory into three states, this number appears to me to be less important. Each state, in the common course of things, must become important soon after it shall have that number of inhabitants. The eastern state of the three will probably be the first and more important than the rest, and will no doubt be settled chiefly by eastern people; and there is, I think, full an equal chance of its adopting eastern politics. When I drew the ordinance (which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it), I had no idea the states would agree to the sixth article, prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts, of the eastern states, was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but, finding the house favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition. We are in a fair way to fix the terms of our Ohio sale, etc. We have been upon it three days steadily. The magnitude of the purchase makes us very cautious about the terms of it, and the security necessary to ensure the performance of it.

[The preceding extract was communicated to the New York Tribune, 31 Jan., 1855, by Charles King. Its authenticity is vouched for by Charles R. King, the present custodian of the original.]

*Otto to Montmorin, New York, 20 July, 1787. Ex.*

The vast territories lying between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the lakes, begin to be of great interest to congress.

A company has just offered to that body the sum of five millions

of dollars, in loan certificates, for a like number of acres, which is considered a very good bargain for the United States. It is certain that that country contains enough land to pay the whole domestic debt of the United States.

Colonel Harmer, stationed on the Ohio with seven hundred regulars, prevents adventurers from Kentucky crossing the river to seize the land, and even the savages begin to acknowledge the sovereignty of the United States since congress has solemnly announced that it would not dispose of an inch of ground unless it had been previously purchased of the savage tribes dwelling on it. The former division of that country into ten states, which was proposed by Jefferson, appeared very imperfect, and subject to great difficulties.

Congress has just published a new ordinance, by which all the territory of the west between the Ohio and the lakes will be included in a single government until a large population renders its division necessary.

This ordinance contains very wise provisions in regard to the manner of acquiring lands, the appointment of the governor, of the assembly, and of the legislative council, commerce and navigation, the rights of the citizen, the formation of courts, and in general all that which relates to the internal organization of this new colony.

Here it is established as a fundamental principle that every person of orderly demeanor may reside in that country without being molested on account of religion ; that the inhabitants shall always be entitled to the privilege of *habeas corpus* and of trial by jury ; that they shall lose neither liberty nor property except by the judgment of their peers ; that no law ought ever to be made prejudicial to private property (this provision has especial reference to the grievances caused by paper money) ; that it shall not be allowed to take from the savages without their consent the least portion of their lands ; that no deceit shall be employed in treating with them ; that the territory shall forever form a part of the confederation, and shall pay its part of the public debts and other federal expenses, but shall be taxed only by its own legislature, in the same manner as the states of the union ; that, when its population shall allow, it shall be divided into not more than five states, each one of which shall have the right of sending representatives to congress whenever it shall give evidence of containing sixty thousand inhabitants ; finally, that slavery shall be forever prohibited in the said territory, except in the case of those whom the laws shall decree quietly of heinous offences.

Such is the substance of an ordinance which determines the future rights of this territory, a great part of which is still unknown. The wisdom which dictated these various provisions is universally admired, and congress will experience no difficulty in disposing by degrees of all the lands included in this colony.

Many delegates have come (to me) to inform me that the United States earnestly desired to show their gratitude to the French generals who distinguished themselves in America by offering to them extensive possessions in this new country, but they did not know whether the court would approve such a step. I told them that his Majesty would probably receive with great satisfaction this new proof of the attachment of the United States. I think that the parsimony of the northern states will forbid this plan, and that merely the names of Rochambeau, d'Estaing, etc., will be given to certain districts, as has been done in Pennsylvania in order to give to the Chev. de la Luzerne and to the Marquis de Lafayette public testimonials of esteem and gratitude.

*Memorial of the Ohio Company, 21 July, 1787.*

It is proposed by S. H. Parsons, Rufus Putnam, and M. Cutler, for themselves and associates, to purchase of the United States the under-mentioned tract in the western territory of the United States, on the following conditions, viz. :

DESCRIPTION OF THE TRACT.

A certain tract of land in the western territory of the United States, bounded on the east by the western boundary of the seventh range of townships, on the south by the Ohio river, on the west by the river Scioto, and on the north by a due east and west line run from the northwest corner of the south township of the seventh range [reckoning from the Ohio] until it shall intersect the Scioto.

CONDITIONS.

1. The price to be three shillings and sixpence, lawful money, or one twelfth of a dollar, per acre, payable in any of the securities of the United States.

2. In payment for the lands, no interest shall be computed on the certificates paid in, provided that indents of interest, signed by the treasurer of the United States, shall be given to the purchasers for all arrearages of interest due on the said certificates to the date of their

payment, which indents shall be receivable in all the general requisitions, in proportion assigned to the respective requisitions, on which they may be paid in.

3. The payments of the above purchase to be made in the following manner, viz. :

The first payment shall be within three months, computed from the date of this agreement, and shall amount to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The second payment shall be when the survey of the above tract is made, and shall amount to four hundred thousand dollars.

The remainder shall be paid in six equal instalments, at the expiration of every six months, computed from the date of the second payment.

4. When the first payment is made, an instrument of writing shall be delivered to the purchasers, signed by the president of the United States in congress, and sealed with their seal, declaring that the United States have sold to S. P., R. P., and M. C., and their associates, for and in consideration of one dollar per acre, the tract of land above described. On which the purchasers shall execute another instrument, binding themselves and their associates for the payment of the above purchase, agreeable to the above conditions.

And it shall be further declared, in the last-mentioned instrument, that the purchasers shall not be entitled to take possession of any part of the lands contained in the above tract only in the following manner, viz. : When the first payment is made, they shall have a right to take possession of a certain tract of land bounded east by the seventh range of townships, on the south by the Ohio river, on the west by a line run due north from the western cape of the Great Kanawha, so far as that from its termination ; a line run east to the western boundary of the seventh range of townships may comprehend a quantity adequate to the first payment. When the second payment is made, they shall have a right to take possession of as great a quantity of lands as shall be, when added to the aforesaid quantity, equal to the amount of one million of dollars ; which lands shall be bounded on the east by the western line of the seventh range of townships, on the south by the first location, on the west by a continuation of the line from the Great Kanawha, and on the north by an east and west line to the western boundary of the seventh range of townships. Military rights, in ratio of one to seven, to be admitted in the above-

mentioned possessions for the officers and soldiers of the late army who may be proprietors in the said lands, and also two townships for the establishment of a literary institution. When the first and second instalments are completely paid, and not before, the purchasers shall have a right to take possession of as great a quantity of lands as the several payments at that time made shall amount to, and this ratio of equal payment and possession shall be continued until the whole payment and possession is accomplished.

When the first and second payments are made, and the first instalment completed, then the purchasers shall receive a federal deed for the quantity of land which shall be equal to the purchase of one million of dollars, comprehended within the boundaries above mentioned; and after this period they shall, from time to time, receive deeds for as great a quantity of lands as their several payments shall entitle them to at the price agreed on.

5. Notwithstanding the declaration of sale specified in the first-mentioned instrument, the purchasers and their associates bind and oblige themselves, in case of failure in the payments as above mentioned, to renounce all claim or pretension of right to any lands for which they have not made *bona fide* payment as before expressed, and the said company or individuals thereof shall have no kind of right or pretence to enter on or take possession of any parts of said tracts, of which such failure is made, and the said tracts shall be free to be sold by congress to any person or persons whatever; and in case the said tracts of which such failure is made be afterward exposed to sale by congress, the present purchasers shall be liable to make up the loss, if any, which may arise betwixt the price of the land so sold and what is hereby contracted for.

6. The purchasers shall have the right of pre-emption of three additional townships somewhere northerly of the tract above specified, at the price agreed on, and to take possession of the same when the payment thereof shall be duly made.

7. The aforesaid purchasers shall, at their own expense, within seven years from date hereof, lay off the whole tract which they shall purchase into townships and fractional parts of townships, and divide the same into lots according to the land ordinance, and make complete returns thereof to the board of treasury. Lots Nos. 8, 11, and 26, in each township and fractional part of townships, to be reserved for the future disposition of congress. Lot No. 16 to be given perpetually,



by congress, to the maintenance of schools, and lot No. 29 to the purposes of religion in the said townships. Two townships near the centre of the second specified tract, which comprehends the purchase amounting to the first-mentioned million of dollars, and of good land, to be also given by congress for the support of a literary institution, to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state.

[The above is in the handwriting of Parsons, vol. viii., No. xli. Memorials P. R. Papers of old cong. state dept.

Endorsed in Thomson's hand. Proposals of S. H. Parsons, 21 July, 1787.]

*Edw. Carrington to Jas. Madison, New York, 25 July, 1787. Ex.*

We are trying to do something with our western territory to make it useful to the purposes for which the United States were vested with it. You have seen in the papers the scheme for the temporary as well as perpetual government of it. A practical measure for the sale of it, or rather by means of it, to redeem the domestic debt, remains still to be agreed upon, and I fear the difficulties which have always stood in the way of this great object are not yet to be surmounted. Colonel Lee joins Grayson and myself with great zeal, but what will be the issue of our efforts I know not.

*Jay to Washington, 25 July, 1787. Ex.*

Permit me to hint whether it would not be wise and seasonable to provide a strong check to the admission of foreigners into the administration of our national government, and to declare expressly that the command in chief of the American army shall not be given to, nor devolve on, any but a natural-born citizen.

*Carrington to Monroe, New York, 7 Aug., 1787. Ex.*

We have at last made a break into the western lands. The Ohio company have adjusted with congress a contract for four or five millions of acres in a body, on the east side of Scioto, at two thirds of a dollar per acre, to lay it out into townships agreeably to the land ordinance, and leave three sections in each township for the future disposition of congress. This I hold a great bargain for the U. S., as the land goes good and bad together, and it will be a means of introducing into the country, in the first instance, a description of men who will fix the character and politics throughout the whole territory, and

which will probably endure to the latest period of time. This company is formed of the best men in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and they will move out immediately. I am about to join them with a few shares ; what think you of such an adventure ?

*Grayson to Monroe, New York, 8 Aug., 1787. Ex.*

DEAR SIR : Since my last, congress has passed the ordinance for the government of the western country in a manner something different from the one which you drew, though I expect the departure is not so essential but that it will meet your approbation. You will observe that the consent of Virginia is necessary to entitle the people to certain rights, as also that the former act is repealed absolutely. I am satisfied, therefore, you will do everything in your power to get the state to alter her act of cession in such a manner as will square with the ordinance. It seems the subject was not taken up last year. The clause respecting slavery was agreed to by the southern members for the purpose of preventing tobacco and indigo from being made on the northwest side of the Ohio, as well as for several other political reasons. After this ordinance was passed in congress, the eastern Ohio company came forward, and have agreed with congress for between five and six millions of acres lying between the Scioto and the western boundary of the seven ranges, and extending back into the country about sixty miles. On the following terms, viz., one dollar per acre, public securities, deducting one third of a dollar for bad land, and surveying, etc., the company to pay half a million on the signing the contract ; half a million on the line being run by the geographer, and the residue in six half-yearly instalments with interest in the mean time ; the company to lay off the territory in townships of six miles square ; the company to have two sections for religion and education gratis, also two townships for the purposes of a university on the same terms ; three sections in each township to be reserved for the future disposition of congress. I understand this company mean to settle this country very thick and without delay ; of course, the adjacent lands will become very valuable ; they send forward a number of families this fall ; a reinforcement in the spring, and a very considerable number fall come twelvemonth ; the funds of the company were only a million when they made the contract, since which they have increased in an amazing degree, so that there is not the least doubt but they will perform their part of the contract in all its parts ; and

as their objects are actual settlement and defence, there is every reason to conclude it will be of the greatest advantage to that country. From the great number of inhabitants in the eastern states and in the Jerseys, I should not be surprised to see them in a very few years extend themselves by additional purchases quite to the Mississippi, and thereby form a complete barrier for our state, at the same time greatly validating the lands on the Virginia side of the Ohio.

A committee is appointed to draught an ordinance for the sale of the lands between the Scioto and Great Miami, on the principles of indiscriminate location nearly ; and if the southern states attend, I apprehend it can be carried ; this, however, will not bring any large quantity to market, as after deducting the claims of the Virginia officers and soldiers, and the continental bounties, the residue will not be very considerable.

Mr. Adams has not done anything at the court of Great Britain ; he has requested his recall in very pointed terms. Who will be elected to succeed him, or whether congress will send anybody, is more than I can tell ; at present they seem much divided on the subject. The Mississippi is where you left it ; i. e., nothing has been done. Mr. Jay has, in one of his late letters, decidedly said he would do nothing more without further discretion of congress. I therefore think we are safe for the present.

*From the Cabinet of Versailles to Otto, Versailles, 30 Aug., 1787. Ex.*

It appears, sir, that in all the American provinces there is more or less tendency toward democracy ; that in many this extreme form of government will finally prevail.

The result will be that the confederation will have little stability, and that by degrees the different states will subsist in a perfect independence of each other.

This revolution will not be regretted by us. We have never pretended to make of America a useful ally ; we have had no other object than to deprive Great Britain of that vast continent. Therefore, we can regard with indifference both the movements which agitate certain provinces and the fermentation which prevails in congress. This must not hinder you from continuing to give an account of all that shall take place ; I can only praise the accuracy which I have noticed in your despatches.

I fear that the discussions in regard to the Mississippi will become

serious, and that they will become embarrassing for us. Spain may misapprehend her interests, but that does not give the Americans the right to employ force against that power. The mouth of the Mississippi belongs to her ; she has therefore the right to open it or keep it closed, and the Americans can obtain special favors only by means of negotiation. The court of Madrid would not be difficult to gain over if it had the same principles as ours in this matter.

*William Grayson to J. Madison, New York, 31 Aug., 1787. Ex.*

Judge Symms, of Jersey, yesterday made an application for all that tract of country lying between the Great and Little Miami, the east and west line, and the Ohio, supposed about two millions of acres, on the same terms, with the Eastern Ohio company. His application has met with the entire approbation of the members present, and there is no doubt but as soon as there is a congress that this contract will be closed.

*Sydney to Lord Dorchester, Whitehall, 14 Sept., 1787. Ex.*

MY LORD : I have been favored with your lordship's despatches, numbered from ten to twenty-six, inclusive, and I lost no time in laying them, with their several enclosures, before the king. They have all undergone some consideration, and I shall make my replies, as I have been instructed to do, to them in the order in which they stand.

With regard to the posts, to which No. 10, marked secret, particularly relates, it was, I believe, intimated to your lordship, previous to your departure, that it was the firm opinion of the king's servants that the retaining the possession of the posts was a measure perfectly justifiable, and, from the conduct observed since that time on the part of the American states, they have no reason to alter their sentiments upon that point. It therefore becomes necessary that steps should be taken by putting them into a temporary state of defence, to resist any attack which the citizens of the states may meditate, and the sooner it can be done the better. The execution of a project of this sort must consequently be attended with expense, but the king's servants feel no difficulty in submitting the extent of the works to be performed to your lordship's judgment and discretion, persuaded, as they are, that your zeal for the public welfare will induce you not to suffer a charge of any sort to be incurred which is not found to be indispensably necessary.

This resolution naturally brings forward some communications from your lordship wherein that subject is very materially concerned ; I mean with respect to the conduct to be observed toward the Indians, and the establishment of a militia.

As to the first, it has all along been the disposition of his Majesty's ministers to pay that sort of attention to those people, and that regard to their situation and necessities, which can with any degree of reason be expected by them. Under this idea such supplies have been sent out, as appeared from your lordship's despatches, to be equal to their immediate wants, and though, as your lordship must suppose, it is desirable upon many accounts that these expenses should be kept upon as moderate a scale as possible, yet his Majesty's servants, considering that the protection of the fur trade and perhaps the general security of the province of Quebec may in some degree depend upon the part these people may take, would rather submit to an augmentation of such supplies than suffer them to be discontented or dissatisfied, particularly at this moment, when their active assistance may possibly be called for, and which must happen should the posts be attacked. It is to be hoped that the Americans will not proceed to hostile measures ; but if they should avail themselves of any opportunity which may offer of seizing upon the posts, it will become your lordship's duty to use every endeavor to regain the possession of them, if you should find yourself sufficiently strong to be able to effect it.

With regard to the establishment of a militia, I am to acquaint your lordship that his Majesty's servants entirely approve of the measure. It will not only immediately add to the internal strength of the province, but will be a means of attaching the principal Canadian families, and will incline them warmly to engage in the support of its interests whenever they may be invaded.

It is to be hoped that your lordship has been able to succeed in your endeavors to procure a sufficient number of seamen to compose the crews of the vessels which your lordship proposed to employ upon the lakes ; at present it seems to be very difficult to raise supplies of seamen in this country, and could it even easily be done, it might perhaps be advisable, considering the uncertain state of affairs upon the European continent, to secure their services on this side the Atlantic. But if your lordship should still remain under any difficulties, I have no doubt that the officer commanding the king's ships upon the Ameri-

can station will be ready to lend every assistance which the small squadron under his orders can enable him to do.

The report of an intention on the part of America to apply for a sovereign of the house of Hanover has been circulated here; and should an application of that nature be made, it will require a very nice consideration in what manner so important a subject should be treated. But whatever ideas may have been formed upon it, it will upon all accounts be advisable that any influence which your lordship may possess should be exerted to discourage the strengthening their alliance with the house of Bourbon, which must naturally follow were a sovereign to be chosen from any branch of that family.

*Major Jackson to Washington, 17 Sept., 1787.*

Major Jackson presents his most respectful compliments to General Washington. He begs leave to request his signature to forty diplomas intended for the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati.

Major Jackson, after burning all loose scraps of paper which belong to the convention, will this evening wait upon the general with the journals and other papers which their vote directs to be delivered to his Excellency Monday evening.

*Carrington to Madison, New York, 23 Sept., 1787. Ex.*

MY DEAR SIR: The gentlemen who have arrived from the convention inform us that you are on the way to join us. Lest, however, you may, under a supposition that the state of the delegation is such as to admit of your absence, indulge yourself in leisurely movements after the fatiguing time you have had, I take this precaution to apprise you that the same schism which unfortunately happened in our state in Philadelphia, threatens us here also. One of our colleagues, Mr. R. H. Lee, is forming propositions for essential alterations in the constitution, which will, in effect, be to oppose it. Another, Mr. Grayson, dislikes it, and is at best for giving it only a silent passage to the states. Mr. H. Lee joins me in opinion that it ought to be warmly recommended to insure its adoption. A lukewarmness in congress will be made a ground of opposition by the unfriendly in the states. Those who have hitherto wished to bring the conduct of congress into contempt will, in this case, be ready to declare it truly respectable.

Next Wednesday is fixed for taking under consideration this business, and I ardently wish you could be with us.

The New York faction is rather active in spreading the seeds of opposition. This, however, has been expected, and will not make an impression so injurious as the same circumstance would in some other states. Colonel Hamilton has boldly taken his ground in the public papers, and, having truth and propriety on his side, it is to be hoped he will stem the torrent of folly and iniquity.

I do not implicitly accede in sentiment to every article of the scheme proposed by the convention, but I see not how my utmost wishes are to be gratified until I can withdraw from society. So long as I find it necessary to combine my strength and interests with others, I must be satisfied to make some sacrifices to the general accommodation.

*Report to Count de Montmorin, Versailles, 8 Oct., 1787.*

You are aware, sir, of the advances which the royal treasury made to the United States of North America during the last war, and of the terms of the contract agreed to by the king and congress in July, 1782, for repayment and for the interest on these advances.

I see with pain, according to the account which has just been rendered to me, that these terms have not been fulfilled, and that the United States are greatly in arrears in their engagements.

On the first of January next they will owe us :

1. 800,000 livres for the years 1786 and 1787, interest of the loan of ten millions made in Holland in 1781 on their account . . . . .	800,000
2. 1,000,000 for first instalment of the said loan falling due in December, 1787 . . . . .	1,000,000
	<hr/>
	1,800,000

NOTE.—The king is bound to pay this 1,800,000 livres in Holland, and he has received nothing to replace it.

Further, the United States owe on the first of this month :

1. 3,600,000, four years' interest at five per cent. of loan of eighteen millions . . . . .	3,600,000
	<hr/>
	5,400,000
2. 1,500,000, first payment on said loan . . . . .	1,500,000
3. Interest at five per cent. since 1 January, 1784, on another loan of six millions . . . . .	1,125,000
	<hr/>
Total,	8,025,000

I thought it my duty, sir, to place this result before your eyes, and to beg you to employ your offices to hasten the repayment of these various sums, and particularly the 1,800,000 for which the royal treasury will be in advance at the end of this year.

I shall be greatly obliged to you if you will signify to me what part of this sum I can depend upon. I have the honor, etc.

(Signed)

LAMBERT.

*Washington to James Madison, Mount Vernon, 10 Oct., 1787. Ex.*

The political tenets of Colonel M. [Mason] and Colonel R. H. L. [Richard Henry Lee] are always in unison. It may be asked which of them gives the tone? Without hesitation I answer the latter, because I believe the latter will receive it from no one. He has, I am informed, rendered himself obnoxious in Philadelphia by the pains he took to disseminate his objections among some of the leaders of the seceding members of the legislature of that state. His conduct is not less reprobated in this country. How it will be relished generally is yet to be learned by me.<sup>1</sup>

*Washington to Colonel David Humphreys, 10 Oct., 1787. Ex.*

MY DEAR HUMPHREYS: Go matters, however, as they may, I shall have the consolation to reflect that no objects but the public good, and that peace and harmony which I wished to see prevail in the convention, obtruded even for a moment in my bosom during the whole session, long as it was. What reception this state will give to the proceedings in all its extent of territory is more than I can inform you of; in these parts it is advocated beyond my expectation. The great opposition (if great there should be) will come from the southern and western counties, from whence I have not as yet received any accounts that are to be depended on.

*Instructions to the Count de Moustier, Versailles, 13 Oct., 1787. Ex.*

I have the honor, sir, to send you your instructions. They make mention of a document regarding commerce. I will cause it to be forwarded to you as soon as it shall have been addressed by the controller-general. You know that it is to include the result of a treaty which has for its object to determine the advantages which France is

<sup>1</sup> This passage, left out by Sparks, ix. Book. It has been printed in the "Cincinnati Enquirer."



willing to grant to American commerce. As to the obligations which are also mentioned in your instructions, you will find them in the correspondence of M. de Chevalier de la Luzerne.

The political object, sir, which I have to recommend most strongly to your attention is the conduct of England, and the sentiment which prevails in America regarding that power.

I surmise that, if war should break out, the Americans would wish to remain neutral. The king would probably willingly favor this disposition, provided it should be carried out in good faith. But it is not the moment to be more explicit upon this point, since circumstances may counteract our principles. For the rest, it appears to me that it will become the business of the Americans to approach us in a matter which will make an exception to our treaty of alliance.

Accordingly, sir, if you are sounded on this subject, you will respond with the greatest circumspection, and you will take heed to say nothing which may bind or embarrass his Majesty. For the rest, I maintain a steadfast hope that war may still be prevented.

*Monroe to Madison, Richmond, 13 Oct., 1787.*

The report from Philadelphia hath presented an interesting subject to their consideration. It will perhaps agitate the minds of the people of this state more than any subject they have had in contemplation since the commencement of the late revolution, for there will be a greater division among the people of character than then took place, provided we are well informed as to the sentiments of many of them. It is said that Mr. Henry, General Nelson, Harrison, and others, are against it. This ensures it a powerful opposition, more especially when associated with that of the two dissenting deputies. There are, in my opinion, some strong objections *against* the project, which I will not weary you with a detail of; but under the predicament in which the union now stands, and this state in particular, with respect to this business, they are overbalanced by the arguments in its favor. The assembly will meet to-morrow, and we have reason to believe we shall have a house the first or second day. We shall soon find how its pulse beats, and what direction this business will take. I believe there will be no opposition to a convention; however, of this I shall be able to give you better information in a few days.

*Grayson to Monroe, New York, 22 Oct., 1787. Ex.*

DEAR SIR : I have received your favor, and delivered the enclosure to Miss Kortright, the captain being on a trip to the township. Congress four days since made a contract with Royal Flint and associates, of New York, for three millions of acres on the Wabash, on nearly the same terms as that of Cutler and Sarjeant. I believe I informed you that Judge Symms, of Jersey, had contracted for two millions between the Great and the Little Miami. The whole of the contracts will, when fully complied with, amount to an extinguishment of six millions dollars of the domestic debt ; and congress, *now* looking upon the western country in its true light—i. e., as a most valuable fund for the extinction of the domestic debt—have directed the treasury board to continue the sales on nearly the same terms and principles as those already made. A very considerable emigration will take effect from the five easternmost states. A brigade files off from Massachusetts immediately, which is to be followed by much more considerable ones next spring and fall. A Dr. Gano, a Baptist preacher in this town, will carry out (it is said) his whole congregation, amounting to five hundred. Symms is beating up for volunteers in the Jerseys, as is the case with Parsons in Connecticut, and Varnum in Rhode Island ; these two last are appointed judges in the western country.

Congress have authorized St. Clair, now governor of the western territory, to hold a treaty with the Indians next spring, if necessary, and fourteen thousand dollars are appropriated for this purpose ; a treaty is also directed with the Cherokees and Creeks, and six thousand dollars are appropriated for it.

The new constitution is favorably received in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey ; in this state it is thought there is a majority against it, and in Pennsylvania that the *pros* and *cons* are nearly equal. From Rhode Island and New Hampshire I have no information.

*Carrington to Jefferson, New York, 23 Oct., 1787.*

The project is warmly received in the eastern states, and has become pretty generally a subject of consideration in town meetings and other assemblies of the people, the usual result whereof are declarations for its adoption. In the middle states appearances are generally for it, but not being in habits of assembling for public objects, as is the case to the eastward, the people have given but few instances of collective

declarations. Some symptoms of opposition have appeared in New York and Pennsylvania ; in the former only in individual publications, which are attended with no circumstances evidencing the popular regard. The governor holds himself in perfect silence, wishing, it is suspected, for a miscarriage, but is not confident enough to commit himself in an open opposition ; in the latter, the opposition has assumed a form somewhat more serious, but under circumstances which leave it doubtful whether it is founded in objections to the project or the intemperance of its more zealous friends.

From the southern states we are but imperfectly informed ; every member from the Carolinas and Georgia, as well in convention as congress, are warm for the new constitution ; and, when we consider the ascendancy possessed by men of this description over the people in those states, it may well be concluded that the reception will be favorable. In Virginia there may be some difficulty ; two of her members in convention, whose characters entitle them to the public confidence, refused to sign the report ; these were Colonel Mason and Governor Randolph. Nor was that state without its dissentients, of the same description, in congress ; these were Mr. R. H. Lee and Mr. Grayson, but upon very opposite principles—the former because it is too strong, the latter because it is too weak.

Mr. Madison writes you fully upon the objections from Virginia, and therefore I will not impose on your patience by repeating them ; one, however, being merely local, and an old source of jealousy, I will present to your consideration my opinion upon ; this is the ability of a bare majority in the federal government to regulate commerce. It is supposed that a majority of the union are carriers, and that it will be for the interest and in the power of that majority to form regulations oppressing, by high freights, the agricultural states. It does not appear to me that this objection is well founded.

A navigation act ought, doubtless, to be passed for giving exclusive benefits to American ships. This would, of course, serve the eastern states, and such in justice ought to be the case, as it may, perhaps, be shown that no other advantage can result to them from the revolution ; indeed, it is important to the interests of the southern states that the growth of a navy be promoted for the security of that wealth which is to be derived from their agriculture.

The western territory belonging to the United States has more effectually received the attention of congress during this session than it ever

did before. Enclosed you will receive the ordinance for establishing a temporary government there, and providing for its more easy passage into permanent state governments. Under the old arrangement the country might upon the whole have become very populous, and yet be inadmissible to the rights of state government, which would have been disgusting to them and ultimately inconvenient for the empire. The new arrangement depends on the accession of Virginia, which there can be no doubt of obtaining.

*Otto to Montmorin, New York, 23 Oct., 1787. Ex.*

Surprise is manifested that congress itself is not of one mind in regard to the great powers which are proposed to be granted to it.

Mr. Richard Henry Lee is at the head of the opposition. Although chosen a member of the convention at Philadelphia, he steadfastly refused to betake himself thither. He does not consider that the situation of the United States is so desperate that a necessity exists of resorting to violent remedies; he especially disapproves of the grant of immense power to the government without introducing the constitution by a bill of rights, which has always been regarded as the palladium of a free people. "If," he says, "instead of a virtuous and patriotic president, they give us a William V., what will become of our liberty? how shall we avoid usurpation? Where is the compact between the nation and the government? The constitution makes mention only of those who govern, nowhere of the rights of the people governed." This new Gracchus has all the talents necessary to cause an impression; opposed to him are men equally distinguished for their merit, learning, and their services; but he pleads the cause of the people.

The continental treasury is so exhausted that the commissioners do not know how to satisfy the most urgent needs. The moment of effectually pressing the claims of his Majesty has not yet come; from this point of view the proposed government would certainly be more favorable to us.

General St. Clair, the present president of congress, has recently been appointed governor of the western country; the other officers have also been chosen, and are about to set out for their destination. Several officers of the army, and a great number of adventurers, are flocking thither to form settlements there. The excess of population in the northern states and all the discontented are journeying

thither in crowds, and the banks of the Ohio will soon be covered with plantations.

*Lord Dorchester to the Secretary of State, Quebec, 24 Oct., 1787.*

MY LORD: A proposal was made to me by Mr. Silas Deane, a few days before my departure from England, to cut a canal from Lake Champlain, round the rapids of St. John, into the basin of Chambly, for the purpose of opening a navigation to that lake from the river St. Lawrence, for vessels of a certain burden.

As far as a cursory view of the country can justify any opinion, this object appears to be practicable and useful, both in a commercial and a political view, provided the conditions of executing the same be not objectionable.

I have therefore advised Mr. Deane to lay the particulars of his plan and proposals before your lordship, that the same may be considered and submitted to the king's pleasure.

*C. Gadsden to Thomas Jefferson, Charleston, 29 Oct., 1787.*

I make no doubt the philosophic part of Europe will admire the constitution recommended by our convention; the trading part of Great Britain, perhaps, many of them, may be jealous of it, considered in a commercial view, in its probable consequence to them, by increasing the means of opening the eyes of America and exposing many rooted prejudices to them particularly.

For my part I bless God to have lived to see this important point in so fair a way to be accomplished; and, if I live to see it completely so, I shall be able to cry out with old Simeon: "Now may thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

*Langdon to Washington, Portsmouth, 6 Nov., 1787.*

Your Excellency will permit me to congratulate you on the prospect that appears in this part of the continent of speedily establishing the national plan of government, in the formation of which you took so laborious a part. I have not heard a single person object to the plan, and very few find fault even with a single sentence, but all express their greatest desire to have it established as soon as may be.

Our general court unfortunately adjourned a few days before the official plan came to hand, but will meet again next month, and no

doubt will call the convention early, for the purpose of accepting the national plan of government. I have the honor, etc.

*Lord Dorchester to Lord Sydney, Quebec, 8 Nov., 1787. Ec.*

MY LORD : The political system, which lost thirteen populous provinces, cannot preserve us these remaining fragments for a long space of time. I cannot too often repeat it : the provincials must have nothing to gain by a separation, or we must not depend upon their attachment, and without their attachment the dominion of Great Britain will be of short duration. But should these provinces be so governed as to leave them neither private nor public advantage to hope for by a revolution, should they have nothing to hope but much to fear from a separation, the cause of defence may be made their own, national strength will be derived from their zeal, and in the succession of time many national and mutual advantages may result from the connection.

But I must further observe that whatever is proper to grant should be granted without delay. Delay affords opportunities to turbulent and factious men to poison whatever flows from the pure benevolence of the crown, and to arrogate to their own seditious insolence the merit of all the free but tardy bounties of government ; and by such means they too frequently are suffered to usurp the gratitude and confidence of the people, which, once estranged from their natural objects, seldom return unimpaired, and are easily employed for the worst of purposes.

*Otto to Montmorin, New York, 10 Nov., 1787.*

In consequence of the treaty of peace which confirms to the United States all the territory this side of the Mississippi as far as the thirty-first parallel, the Georgians have thought themselves authorized to take possession of a part of the territory of the Creeks, one of the most powerful nations of the interior, whom the vicinity of the Spaniards renders more daring ; and although they have concluded boundary treaties with these savages, they have not been very scrupulous in observing them.

This state, my lord, thus finds itself somewhat in opposition to the government of West Florida. One of its delegates has represented to M. Gardoqui that the inhabitants of that colony protect and encourage the negro kidnappers of Georgia.

Several companies have been formed in New England which pur-

chase from congress whole districts of several millions of acres ; they receive stockholders from all quarters, and inasmuch as the payments may be made in paper of the continental loan, many French holders of these bills have joined them.

An acre costs the equivalent of three francs. A very large settlement has been made on the Mississippi, between the Illinois river and that of the Kaskaskias ; it is proposed to build a town nearly opposite the Missouri, whither they count upon attracting all the fur trade which descends that great river.

There is always something of the wonderful in these projects, but there is perhaps no civilized nation which changes its habitation more readily than the Americans, and which founds settlements more rapidly.

A society which has just been incorporated in Massachusetts to send missionaries to the savages, will but hasten the first clearings of these new colonies.

It has been noticed in Pennsylvania that the Quaker savages become good citizens, industrious and contented, and in spreading Christianity among these tribes, their manners may certainly be softened.

In promoting these new settlements, undoubtedly a great service is rendered to humanity, but perhaps it would have been more politic for the United States to render themselves as compact as possible by restricting their limits toward the west.

This state of affairs would certainly be very desirable if the United States would consent simply to follow their natural occupation, agriculture ; but this constant emigration toward the west is little in accord with the principles of a nation which aims to play a distinguished rôle, to equip fleets, to extend its commerce to the ends of Asia, to establish manufactures, and to share with European nations the benefits they derive from their colonies.

*Carrington to Jefferson, New York, 10 Nov., 1787. Ex.*

The legislature have directed that a convention be held in June for the purpose of "adopting, amending, or rejecting" the proposed government. The long postponement was occasioned by unfriendly intentions toward it, but I apprehend the rapidity of the movements of the other states in the business will, by that time, have brought so many into the adoption that even its enemies will see the necessity of joining.

*A. Donald to Jefferson, Richmond, 12 Nov., 1787.*

DEAR SIR: Many thanks to you for your very friendly and polite letter of the twenty-eighth July.

You will, no doubt, have seen before this time the result of the deliberations of the convention, which was assembled at Philadelphia last summer for revising and amending the federal constitution. I am sorry to say it is like to meet with strong opposition in this state.

I staid two days with General Washington at Mount Vernon, about six weeks ago; he is in perfect good health, and looks almost as well as he did twenty years ago. I never saw him so keen for anything in my life as he is for the adoption of the new form of government.

As the eyes of all America are turned toward this truly great and good man for the first president, I took the liberty of sounding him upon it. He appears to be greatly against going into public life again, pleads in excuse for himself his love of retirement and his advanced age, but, notwithstanding of these, I am fully of opinion he may be induced to appear once more on the public stage of life.

I form my opinion from what passed between us in a very long and serious conversation, as well as from what I could gather from Mrs. Washington on same subject.

Our assembly are now sitting; they have not yet done much business, but what has been done is highly commendable. They have in very strong and pointed language thrown out a proposal for emitting paper money.

*Samuel Powell to Washington, 13 Nov., 1787. Ex.*

Our good friends, Messrs. Robert and Gouverneur Morris, left this city yesterday, and will probably be with you before the arrival of this letter. They will be able to give you a full and ample detail of all matters relative to our grand question, I mean the acceptance of the federal constitution. In Maryland there is a secret opposition from a member of the assembly, but it is believed that his politics will not succeed. It is said that R. H. Lee escaped the resentment of the people at Chester by his short stay there, which he employed in fixing up and distributing printed papers against the proposed constitution. At Wilmington he harangued the populace and cautioned them against hastily adopting it, assuring them that a powerful opposition was forming against it in Philadelphia, and, in confirmation of his



assertions, distributed many of his inflammatory papers. On such conduct there can be but one comment made.

*Washington to John Langdon, 3 Dec., 1787. Ex.*

The public papers have undoubtedly announced to you before this the proceedings of the legislature of this state upon the business. They have appointed the convention to meet on the first Monday in June; whether putting it off to so late a period will be favorable or otherwise must be determined by circumstances, for if those states whose conventions are to meet sooner should adopt the plan, I think there is no doubt but they will be followed by this, and, if some of them should reject it, it is very probable that the opposers of it here will exert themselves to add this state to the number.

*Otto to Montmorin, New York, 7 Dec., 1787.*

If the United States, on the score of their political constitution, are still great laggards, they may be compared with the oldest and most intelligent nations in all that tends to make the arts and useful sciences flourish among them.

It does not belong to me to enter into any detail with regard to the great number of societies which have been formed in America, either to superintend the education of the young or to ensure the property of individuals against the ravages of fire, or to encourage poor emigrants and those stripped of their resources, to resuscitate the drowned, to spread Christianity among the savages, to abolish negro slavery, or, at least, to render their chains less galling.

This spirit of benevolence and humanity has spread among all the American institutions, and I at times regret that I cannot represent to you these people under that interesting point of view which is most favorable to them.

But it is not equally foreign to my task to submit to you the incentives offered to many industries or manufactories the growth of which may at some time prove of interest to the commerce of Europe, either because it will thereby lose a branch of its former trade, or because it will there find a new market of raw materials for its own manufactures.

Many states of the union already contain, my lord, respectable societies to promote certain industrial objects peculiar to them, but the one which appears to have the largest means and the most comprehen-

sive plans is the Philadelphia society. Since the high price of hand labor has hitherto been the greatest obstacle in the establishment of manufactures, the society offers a prize to whoever will invent a machine which, by means of fire, water, or any other agent, will be able to lessen hand work in cotton, wool, linen, and flax, and to render their manufacture as cheap as in Europe.

It proposes considerable prizes to those citizens who, in the course of the year 1788, shall have cultivated and prepared the greatest quantity of flax, of linen, and of cotton, for those who shall have manufactured the most beautiful calicoes or prints, who shall have printed the finest book on types and paper manufactured in Philadelphia, who shall have made the most beautiful pottery equal to that of Delft or England, to those who shall have established the best glass factories, and to those, finally, who shall have offered for sale the greatest quantity of potash and pearl ashes, who shall have made from their own flocks the finest clip of wool, who shall have bleached the greatest quantity of candle-wax fit for exporting.

The society offers a still larger prize to those who may be able to prove incontestably that they have taken from the mines and from the soil of Pennsylvania the largest quantity of painters' colors, as well as to those who, before the first of January, 1789, shall have manufactured the greatest number of anvils of the best quality, comparable to those hitherto imported from England.

If to these efforts we add those of the societies which have been formed to render navigable the Potomac, the Susquehanna, and other important rivers, to construct bridges, to send out colonies into the west, to found business houses in China, in the Indies, and at Mogadore, to fish for the whale at the Falkland Islands, or to follow the track of Cook as far as Behring's Straits, we cannot but admire their courage, their industry, and that intelligence which causes them to conceive the mightiest schemes and to execute them with limited means.

The disposition of the United States, my lord, to shake off the commercial yoke of Europe can only affect Great Britain, which loses every year a certain part of its trade with America.

The identity of language and of manners may, I confess, promote connections, but it has this peculiar result: that the discoveries made in England become at once common to the United States, that workmen are easily transported, and produce in Philadelphia or in Boston as

perfect work as in London. This is not true of the articles which France may be able to furnish to these states.

The wines, brandies, and silks, it would seem, ought to assure us here for a long time a considerable market.

The reflections which I have just had the honor of submitting to you scarcely conform to the vague and exaggerated reports with which almost all the European and American publications are flooded in regard to the situation of the United States.

They confound the uncertainty of a people which has not yet chosen its form of stable and permanent government with disorder and internal anarchy ; but this uncertainty is only felt abroad or in their political discussions without affecting in any way the tranquillity and industry of the citizens.

The partisans whom England still has in America, and of whom some are infatuated enough to hope for a reunion of the two countries, make haste to confirm these false news ; perhaps, too, England, having more to fear from emigrations, is interested in representing this country under a point of view the most disadvantageous ; but if one studies ever so little the general prosperity, individual comfort, the well-nigh inconceivable growth of all parts of the republic, one is tempted to believe that of all the countries of the world, this one has taken the longest strides toward opulence and formidable power.

*Otto to Montmorin, New York, 15 Dec., 1787. Ex.*

We learn that the general convention of the state of Delaware has unanimously ratified the new constitution.

That small state has the honor of having given the first signal of a revolution in the general government of the United States, and its example can but produce a good effect in the other conventions.

The legislature of Virginia, in ordering the election of a general convention, has voted at the same time for the choice of several commissioners to be sent to the other states in case the convention should decide to propose certain amendments to the new constitution. This resolution, adopted by a large majority, appears to be of bad omen.

The news from Georgia, my lord, continue to be very alarming. The Creeks perpetrate unheard-of cruelties on the inhabitants. Half of the militia has received orders to march, and the state is striving to raise four regiments of seven hundred and fifty men each. Fifteen hundred citizens of the little state of Frankland have agreed to make

common cause with the Georgians, who have sent a commissioner to the Spanish governors to beg them not to give aid to their enemies. This measure is the more prudent as it is only from the two Floridas that the Creeks can obtain their arms and munitions of war. Mr. Gillivray, a violent royalist whose property was confiscated by the state of Georgia during the revolution, is at the head of the savages, governs them like a king, and joins to the boldness of the savage the education and knowledge of a statesman. I am, etc.

*Edm. Randolph to Washington, Richmond, 27 Dec., 1787.*

The enclosed pamphlet<sup>1</sup> speaks so fully for itself that any explanation of it from me would be useless. I send it to you because I know your friendship for the writer, and because I take pleasure in subscribing myself at all times with unfeigned truth, my dear sir, your obliged friend and servant.

*Washington to Lafayette, 10 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

In my private opinion I have no hesitation to believe there will be a clear majority in favor of the new constitution in Virginia.

*Knox to Washington, New York, 14 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

Connecticut has adopted the constitution by a noble majority of one hundred and twenty-seven to forty. This event took place on the ninth instant. I call the majority a noble one because it included every character in the convention of any real importance excepting General James Wadsworth, whom you may remember as commandant of a brigade of Connecticut militia in the year 1776. Colonel Wadsworth writes me that the present governor and lieutenant-governor, the late governor, the judges of the supreme court, and the council, were at the convention, and all for the constitution excepting James Wadsworth.

*Washington to John Francis, Mercer, Esq., 14 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

Mr. White's letter is returned to you, and I should be glad to know precisely whether I am to expect any and what part of the two hundred pounds on which you assured me in Philadelphia I might absolutely rely, and the half of which you informed me in November should be sent to me by your servant in ten days, if you could not

<sup>1</sup> Randolph's letter of tenth October, on his refusal to sign the constitution.

get the residue. I have put the sheriff of this county off three times. If he comes again I must, if I have no further expectation from you, suffer him to make distress, as I raised nothing last year for sale, and allotted this money for the payment of my taxes.

*Count de Rochambeau to Washington, 18 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

Poor Count de Grasse, our colleague in the expedition against Cornwallis, is dead the day before yesterday of an apoplexy. He had an unhappy end—the pains he had after his unlucky fighting of the twelfth of April, and having being lately married again with a woman of bad a character—all that occasioned him a great sorrow. I made all it has been in my power to soften his pains, but by the vivacity of his head he did take always violent parts, which spoiled all what his friends could make in his favor.

I long, my dear general, to see your convention passed upon the plurality of the states, and to see you president of a confederation strongly settled.

*Washington to Samuel Powell, Mount Vernon, 18 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: North Carolina has, it seems, postponed the meeting of its convention to a later period than that of Virginia, which indicates, I conceive, a disposition to take the tone from hence.

*Ed. Carrington to J. Madison, Richmond, 18 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR SIR: I arrived here on Wednesday night last; have as yet had but little opportunity to sound the people in any part of the country upon the constitution. The leaders of the opposition appear generally to be preparing for a decent submission; the language among them is, that amendments must be tried if there should, at the sitting of the convention, be a prospect of carrying them down in a respectable number of states, but that should this appear improbable, the constitution must be adopted. I have seen but few of these gentlemen, but have good information as to most of their dispositions upon the subject. The governor's letter to the public, which you doubtless have before this seen, marks out this conduct, and I think that publication will be of great service. Mr. Henry, it is said, is determined to amend, and leave the fate of the measure to depend on all the other states conforming to the will of Virginia. His language is that the other states cannot do without us, and therefore we can

dictate to them what terms we please. Should they be weak enough to stand out, we may alone enter into foreign alliances. The staple is such that any nation will be ready to treat with us separately; I have not heard of any who have shown a disposition to go this length with him, except Mr. Bullet, whom I saw at Dumfries, and I think at the day of trial but few will be found so mad.

Mr. B. Randolph, whose apprehensions from the gigantic features in the constitution appear to be as high as any whatever, is of opinion with the governor. He thinks that should nine states have adopted when the convention of Virginia meets, every idea of amendment ought to be abandoned; but that should there be a less number, the attempt must be made, but with such caution as not to hazard entirely the fate of the measure. I am persuaded that this will become the prevailing sentiment among the malcontents; and in that case there will be tolerable safety, because I see no prospect of more than Rhode Island, New York, and North Carolina holding out. The latter, it is said, and I believe with truth, has, out of respect for Virginia, deferred her convention until after the time appointed for ours to sit.

*Washington to Charles Carter, Mount Vernon, 20 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the twenty-first of last month came to my hands last night only. I wish it had reached me in time for the prevention of the hasty and indigested sentiments of my former letter going to the press, not, as I observed in my last, because I had the least repugnance to the communication of them in a proper dress, accompanied with reasons for their support, if any person whatever was desirous of knowing them.

22 Jan.—I am satisfied you had no agency in publishing the extract of my letter to you, which is now to be traced through all the newspapers.

*James Madison, Sr., to Colonel James Madison, Jr., 30 Jan., 1788. Ex.*

I have deferred writing to you till I saw our delegates after their return from the assembly, that I might more fully inform you of their sentiments of the proposed constitution. I have only seen Major Burnley at court on Monday last, but did not hear him say anything about it. He disapproves of it, but says very little about it, probably as he does not intend to offer his service for the convention; he may hurt his interest in the election for delegates to the assembly, for

which he intends to offer, if he opposes the adoption of the new constitution too warmly. Colonel Barbour I have not seen; he was not at court; probably was preparing for his mother's funeral, who was to be interred the day after. He is much opposed to it, and is a candidate for the convention. "I believe there were but four that disapproved of it at first in this county; but several being at Richmond with their tobacco at the time the assembly was sitting, and hearing the many objections made to it, altered their opinions, and have influenced some others who are no better acquainted with the necessity of adopting it than they themselves; and the pieces published against it have had their intended effect with some others.

The Baptists are now generally opposed to it, as it is said. Colonel Barbour has been down on Pamunky among them, and on his return, I hear, publicly declared himself a candidate, I suppose, on the encouragement he met with from the anti-federalists. I do not know at present any other candidates but yourself and Mr. Gordon, who is a warm friend to the constitution, and I believe no others that are for it will offer. I think you had better come in as early in March as you can. Many of your friends wish it; there are some who suspend their opinion till they see you, and wish for an explanation; others wish you not to come, and will endeavor to shut you out of the convention, the better to carry their point.

Mr. R. H. L.'s letter to the governor is much approved of by some, and as much ridiculed by others; and so is the reasoning and representation of the minority of the Pennsylvania convention. I am your affectionate father,

JAMES MADISON.

*William Moore to James Madison, Orange, 31 Jan., 1788.*

DEAR SIR: From the foregoing information of your father, of the fluctuating sentiments of the freeholders of this county on the constitution proposed by the convention at Philadelphia, and the arts of some men in this county to mislead the people whose interests, you know, are repugnant to a government that will administer justice, safety, protection, and true liberty to the good and virtuous citizens of America, and as you well know the disadvantage of being absent at elections to those who offer themselves to serve the public, I must therefore entreat and conjure you—nay, command you, if it was in my power—to be here in February or the first of March next. If you do, I think your election will be certain (if not, I believe, from reports, it

will be uncertain), and you will in that case be able to silence the disaffected, and give that assistance to the constitution that your knowledge of it, and the necessity of such establishment to the well-being and future prosperity of America. However, sir, be assured that the friends of the constitution will promote your interest at any rate. But let me repeat it again, as a lover of your country, pray don't disappoint the wishes of your friends and many others who are wavering on the constitution, that are anxiously waiting for an explanation from you. In short, they want your sentiments from your own mouth, which, they say, will convince them of the necessity of adopting it. I am, my dear sir, yours affectionately, etc.

P. S.—I repeat again, come.

*Washington to John Fowler, 2 Feb., 1788. Ex.*

SIR : I have received your letter of to-day, and in answer to it must inform you that I have no inclination to purchase the negro fellow which you mention, as I have already as many slaves as I wish, and I cannot engage to give another, or others, in exchange for him, because I do not think it would be agreeable to their inclinations to leave their connections here, and it is inconsistent with my feelings to compel them.

*Jefferson to W. Smith, Paris, 2 Feb., 1788. Ex.*

DEAR SIR : I am glad to learn, by letters which come down to the twentieth of December, that the new constitution will undoubtedly be received by a sufficiency of the states to set it agoing. Were I in America, I would advocate it warmly till nine should have adopted, and then as warmly take the other side to convince the remaining four that they ought not to come into it till the declaration of rights is annexed to it ; by this means we should secure all the good of it, and procure as respectable an opposition as would induce the accepting states to offer a bill of rights ; this would be the happiest turn the thing could take. I fear much the effects of the perpetual re-eligibility of the president, but it is not thought of in America, and have, therefore, no prospect of a change of that article, but I own it astonishes me to find such a change wrought in the opinions of our countrymen since I left them, as that three fourths of them should be contented to live under a system which leaves to their governors the power of taking from them the trial by jury in civil cases, freedom of religion,



freedom of the press, freedom of commerce, the *habeas corpus* laws, and of yoking them with a standing army: that is a degeneracy in the principles of liberty to which I had given four centuries instead of four years, but I hope it will all come about. We are now vibrating between too much and too little government, and the pendulum will rest finally in the middle. Adieu. Yours affectionately.

*John Jay to George Washington, 3 Feb., 1788. Ex.*

A few months more will decide all questions respecting the adoption of the proposed constitution. I sincerely wish it may take place, though less from an idea that it will fully realize the sanguine expectations of many of its friends than because it establishes some great points, and smooths the way for a system more adequate to our national objects.

*Jefferson to Madison, Paris, 6 Feb., 1788. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: I am glad to hear that the new constitution is received with favor. I sincerely wish that the nine first conventions may receive, and the four last reject it. The former will secure it finally, while the latter will oblige them to offer a declaration of rights in order to complete the union. We shall thus have all its good and cure its principal defect. You will, of course, be so good as to continue to mark to me its progress.

*Monroe to Madison, Fredericksburg, 7 Feb., 1788. Ex.*

This new constitution still engages the minds of people with some zeal among the partisans on either side. It is impossible to say which preponderates. The northern part of the state is more generally for it than the southern. In this county (except in the town) they are against it, I believe, universally. I have, however, this from report only, having not been from home. My late colleague is decidedly so. Mr. Page is for it, and forms an exception to the above. It is said here that Georgia has adopted it—New Hampshire also. Our object in the postponement of the meeting of our convention to so late a day was to furnish an evidence of the disposition of the other states to that body when it should be assembled. If they, or many of them, were against it, our state might mediate between contending parties and lead the way to a union more palatable to all. If all were for it, let the knowledge of that circumstance have its weight in their de-

liberations. This, I believe, was the principle on which that measure was adopted, at least, those whose sentiments I knew expressed it to be theirs.

*General Knox to R. R. Livingston, New York, Sunday, 10 Feb., 1788.*

DEAR SIR: I send you a summary statement of my last information from Boston. In a few days I expect to be able to congratulate you on the adoption of the new constitution by Massachusetts. On Wednesday, the thirtieth ultimo, Mr. Hancock was well enough to take his seat in the convention. On Thursday he brought forward the proposition for adopting the constitution, and for recommending certain alterations agreeably to the paper herein enclosed. The propositions were seconded by Mr. Samuel Adams, and committed to a large committee of two members from each county, a majority of the committee being federalists. As the propositions were the production of the federalists after mature deliberation, there cannot be a doubt that the committee will report in favor of the propositions as they are stated. The final question was most certainly taken in the convention somewhere between the fifth and eighth instant. The members of the convention and others who wrote to me on the third instant have no doubt with respect to the adoption of the constitution, but they do not flatter themselves with a large majority. I am, with great esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant, etc.

A most perfect union was effected between the friends of Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bowdoin. Handsome things are said of the open and decisive conduct of Mr. Hancock, and also of Mr. S. Adams, notwithstanding his neutrality in the first part of the business. Please to let Mr. Benson see this letter. I am, with great esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant, etc.

*C. Griffin to Thomas Fitzsimons, New York, 15 Feb., 1788.*

Colonel R. H. Lee and Mr. John Page, men of influence in Virginia, are relinquishing their opposition; but what to us is very extraordinary and unexpected, we are told that Mr. George Mason has declared himself so great an enemy to the constitution that he will heartily join Mr. Henry and others in promoting a southern confederacy.

*John Langdon to Rufus King, Portsmouth, 23 Feb., 1788.*

DEAR SIR: I am sorry to inform you that our convention adjourned yesterday (to meet again in June next) without completing the im-

portant business of adopting the constitution. Contrary to the expectation of almost every man of reflection, at our first meeting a majority appeared against the plan, a great part of whom had positive instructions, to vote against it. However, after spending ten days on the arguments, a number of opponents came to me and said they were convinced, and should be very unhappy to vote against the constitution, which they (however absurd) must do in case the question was called for. I therefore moved for the adjournment, which was carried, though much opposed by the other side. This question determined a majority in favor of the constitution, had it not been for their instructions. This shows the fatality of the times.

*Knox to Washington, New York, 10 March, 1788. Ex.*

The business in this state is critically circumstanced, and the parties nearly balanced. The issue will depend greatly on the industry of the different sides. I am apprehensive that the anti-federalists will be the most indefatigable. The federalists say they shall have a small majority certainly, but it is to be apprehended that their confidence will prove highly injurious to the cause.

*B. Lincoln to Washington, Boston, 19 March, 1788. Ex.*

Your Excellency will recollect that our last house of assembly was chosen under the influence of the insurgents; most of whom are against the proposed constitution at the least. Had it been submitted to our house of representatives, it would have been negatived. We had different men in our convention; they were chosen at a time when the spirit of insurgency had, in a degree, subsided.

*Jay to Washington.*

Mr. Jay presents his compliments to his Excellency, General Washington, and sends him herewith enclosed the first volume of *The Federalist*.—24 March, 1788.

*Washington to General B. Lincoln, 2 April, 1788.*

I am not able to give you any more satisfactory information upon the subject than when I wrote last to you. This, however, I may say, that the northern or upper countries are generally friendly to the adoption of the government, the lower are said to be generally unfriendly, the sentiments of the western parts of the states are not

fully known, but no means have been left untried to prejudice them against the system ; every art that could inflame the passions or touch the interests of men have been essayed ; the ignorant have been told that, should the proposed government obtain, their lands would be taken from them and their property disposed of ; and all ranks are informed that the prohibition of the navigation of the Mississippi (their favorite object) will be a certain consequence of the adoption of the constitution. But, notwithstanding these unfair and unjust representations, I have the fullest confidence in its being received in this state.

*Ed. Carrington to J. Madison, Jr., Richmond, 8 April, 1788.*

I congratulate you upon the success which attended your efforts to turn the sinners of Orange from their wicked ways. Powhatan county, from being anti, are become entirely federal.

Most of the elections in the upper and middle parts of the south side of James river have been made in frenzy, and terminated in deputations of weak and bad men, who have bound themselves to vote in the negative, and will, in all cases, be the tools of Mr. Henry.

I have had much conversation with the chief justice. He dislikes the constitution, but dreads the consequences of a disunion so much that he is determined to place us in no situation which shall in the least degree hazard such an event.

*Charles Lee to Washington, Richmond, 14 April, 1788.*

With regard to the proposed constitution, it seems that the newspapers have mispublished the delegates from Kentucky, and the governor informs me that they are to a man opposed to it. He seems to be fixing in favor of it.

*Cyrus Griffin to Madison, New York, 14 April, 1788. Ex.*

In point of virtues and real abilities the federal members are much superior. Henry is mighty and powerful, but too interested ; Mason too passionate, the governor by nature timid and undecided, and Grayson too blustering.

*Samuel H. Parsons to Washington, Carlisle, 21 April, 1788. Ex.*

I am now on my road to the settlements forming on the river Ohio ; and take this only method in my power to take leave of your Excellency, and to assure you of my most cordial wishes for your

happiness. I view the adoption of the present plan with all its imperfections as the only means of preserving the union of the states and securing the happiness of all the parts of this extensive country ; I feel myself deeply interested in this subject, as it will affect the country of which I am now commencing an inhabitant. I am sure it must ever be our interest to continue connected with the Atlantic states. Our new settlement progresses rapidly ; two hundred families will be within our city by July, and I think we are sure of a thousand families from New England within one year if we remain in peace.

*Ed. Carrington to J. Madison, New York, 23 April, 1788. Ex.*

The business of the constitution, as referred to the town meetings of Rhode Island, is over without producing any effect. Three of the towns were decidedly for calling on the legislature to appoint a convention according to the mode prescribed, and this it seems from friendly views to the measure.

The remaining towns have done nothing decisive of their sentiments. A few of them have apparently voted against it, but it is said, and I believe with truth, that the reason votes do not appear in favor, is that the friends objected so directly against the mode of proceeding that they would not act at all. In some others there are votes both for and against, and at the same time propositions for insisting on the legislatures calling a convention. Upon the whole, it is a perfectly decided matter that Rhode Island will not be among the adopting states by June.

We have no congress, but it is expected we shall have one in a few days. This is a trifling business, which I long to see an end of.

*E. Carrington to Jefferson, New York, 24 April, 1788. Ex.*

In New York and Virginia very active opposition is made, and the event is uncertain ; in the latter it will depend much upon the ideas entertained in convention as to the issue in New Hampshire, whose reassembling is to be after the meeting in Virginia. I am certain that a great majority of our convention will be for adopting, upon being ascertained that nine states will adopt, as much worse apprehensions are held from the event of a disunion than from anything that is in the constitution. We have a party that is truly anti-federal, headed by Mr. Henry, but it will be limited to a few, unless the federalists who are for amendments should, from a mistaken view of the proba-

bility of the measures being carried into effect by nine states, be drawn into steps favoring the anti-federal scheme. Mr. H. does not openly declare for a dismemberment of the union, but his arguments in support of his opposition to the constitution go directly to that issue. He says that three confederacies would be practicable, and better suited to the good of commerce than one. God forbid that I should ever see the trial made. Virginia would fall into a division from which she might add to her burdens, but could never derive aid of any kind.

It would have afforded me much pleasure to have seen your sentiments fully upon this subject, but, Mr. Madison having gone to Virginia before my return to this city, I have not seen your letter to him as yet.

I feel sensibly for your situation with our numerous and too justly discontented foreign creditors, nor do I see a prospect of relief before the new government shall get into operation, which must still require some time.

*Washington to James McHenry, 27 April, 1788. Ex.*

As you are pleased to ask my opinion of the consequences of an adjournment of your convention until the meeting of ours, I shall (though I have meddled very little in this political dispute—less, perhaps, than a man so thoroughly persuaded as I am of the evils and confusions which will result from the rejection of the proposed constitution ought to have done) give it as my sincere and decided opinion that the postponement of the question would be tantamount to the final rejection of it; that the adversaries of the new constitution, Virginia and Maryland, view it in this light, and they will press for the accomplishment of this measure as the dernier resort, I have very good reason to believe. To adduce arguments in support of this opinion is as unnecessary as they would be prolix. They are obvious, and will occur to you on a moment's reflection.

Though the period to which the adjournment in New Hampshire was fixed had no respect to the meeting of the convention in this state, but was the effect solely of local circumstances within itself, yet the opposition here ascribe it wholly to complaisance toward Virginia, make great use of it, and undertake to pronounce that all the states thereafter, whose conventions were to precede hers, will pursue the same line of conduct, and, of course, that those which are to follow

will receive the tone from it. Should Maryland fulfil this prognostic, South Carolina may indeed be staggered, and the prediction of the foes to the constitution will thereby be realized; for the assertion, so far as it respects North Carolina, may with some truth, I believe, be applied, while the opposition in New York, it is well known, will avail itself of every pretext for rejection.

The sentiments of the western district of this state are not yet brought to my view. Independently thereof the majority, so far as the opinions of the delegates are known or presumed, is in favor of the adoption and is increasing; but as the parties, from report, are pretty equally poised, a small matter cast into either scale would give it the preponderancy. Decisions or indecisions then with you will, in my opinion, determine the fate of the constitution, and with it whether peace and happiness or discord and confusion is to be our lot. The federalists here see and deprecate the idea of the latter, and their opponents are doing all they can to encourage it, as their last hope. Thus stands the matter in my eyes at present.

*Washington to Dan. of St. Thomas Jenifer, Mount Vernon, 27 April, 1788.*

DEAR SIR: Accept my thanks for the obliging information contained in your letter of the fifteenth instant. The great, the important question must ere this have received its first features in, if not the fiat of, your convention.

If they are decisive and favorable, it will most assuredly raise the edifice. Seven affirmative, without a negative, carries weight with them that would almost convert the unerring sister, and yet—but in place of what I was going to add—I will say that I am, dear sir, etc.

*Dan. Carroll to Madison, Georgetown, 28 April, 1788. Ex.*

If the Anne Arundel county election had not taken the extraordinary turn it did, I may say with certainty there would not have been a show of opposition. Perhaps the adoption would have been unanimous.

*Georgetown, eod. die.*—I am just informed, from good authority, that the question was taken on Saturday evening. The constitution adopted by sixty-three against eleven. No amendments will be proposed, even in the constitutional manner. Great illuminations have taken place at Annapolis, the members having given one guinea for that purpose.

*Gouverneur Morris to Washington, Richmond, 29 April, 1788.*

It may not be quite unsatisfactory to receive even conjecture on a subject whose importance is great and when situation precludes evidence. As far as one who avoids much enquiry can judge, I am led to decide that the opposers to the new constitution are fewer and more feeble than they were in this quarter, and would almost venture to predict that, if South Carolina and Maryland shall be tolerably unanimous in the adoption, particularly the latter, the convention of this state will not long hesitate. I am mistaken if some leaders of opposition are not more solicitous in the present moment how to make a good retreat than how to fight the battle. It is, you know, a sad thing for a great and deep politician to make a great blunder, and fall in a deep ditch, and yet this may easily happen when men walk on bad ground. Adieu.

*Washington to Madison, Mount Vernon, 2 May, 1788. Ex.*

The body of which you supposed Mr. D. Carroll a member, by a large [60 odd to 12] and decided majority, have ratified the new constitution. A thorn in the sides of the leaders of opposition in this state. Should South Carolina give an unequivocal approbation of the system, the opposition here must become feeble, for eight affirmatives without a negative carries weight of argument if not eloquence with it that would cause even the unerring sister to hesitate. Mr. Chase, it is said, made a display of all his eloquence. Mr. Mercer discharged his whole artillery of inflammable matter; and Mr. Martin [*sic*] I know not what—perhaps vehemence—but no converts were made, no, not one, so business after a very short session ended; and will, if I mistake not, render yours less tiresome.

*John Langdon to Rufus King, Portsmouth, 6 May, 1788.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am honored with your kind favor of the sixteenth ultimo, enclosing the address to the people of New York, which is greatly admired here. I shall take great care to circulate this and all other pieces that will give light to the subject. You may depend every exertion shall be made that is capable to promote the adoption of the constitution, and I have no doubt, notwithstanding our late disappointments and mortification, we shall finally prevail and thereby make the people happy in spite of their teeth, as the saying



is. I think affairs to the south look well. Maryland will certainly adopt the plan, and I have but little doubt of South Carolina. We must watch and pray for Virginia and North Carolina. I cannot help thinking but they will both agree to it. New York and New Hampshire must agree to the plan, which will complete our business.

The state of Georgia ceding that territory to the United States under certain restrictions will have very good effect. Pray make my kind respects to your lady, not forgetting the little bantling, also my respects to Mr. Alsop.

*Carrington to Jefferson, New York, 14 May, 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR SIR : Mr. Barlow, of Connecticut, will have the honor to call on you with this letter. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him, but his literary talents have considerably distinguished him as a poetical as well as prose writer, and he is introduced to me as a gentleman deserving your countenance; permit me to recommend him to your attention and civilities. He conducts to the Marquis de Lafayette the eldest son of our illustrious friend General Greene, who is sent at the particular request of that noble man to receive his education under his direction in France. I have given the little fellow a few lines to you, and directed him to deliver them in person; it is unnecessary for me to solicit for him the attention of one who so well knew his father.

*Doctor John Lathrop to Washington, Boston, 16 May, 1788. Ex.*

We are looking with vast expectation and hope to your ancient and venerable state. Massachusetts, in the most difficult and trying times, prided herself in acting in strict concert with Virginia; we hope to be united with her and all the sister states in that form of government which, with all its imperfections, has more to recommend it than any constitution formed heretofore by the wisdom of men.

*McHenry to Washington, Baltimore, 18 May, 1788. Ex.*

You will have concluded, from the address of our minority, that the convention were a little embarrassed on the subject of amendments. A very good friend of yours, for whom I have the greatest respect, brought us into the difficulty, and we were obliged to leave him to get out of it. The amendments were intended to injure the cause of fed-

eralism in your state, and, had we agreed to them, they were well calculated to effect it.

*Knox to Washington, New York, 25 May, 1788. Ex.*

In this state it appears to be conceded on the part of the federalists that numbers will be against them in the convention, but they hope so many states will previously have adopted the constitution that they shall prevail. It is, however, doubtful. The party against it in this state are united under the auspices of the governor, and he is supposed to be immovable, and yet one would think they could not persist in an opposition fraught with the most deadly consequences. The elections will be known in a few days, when a better judgment will be formed than at present.

Colonel Smith has lately arrived from England, and informs that Dr. Price and all the friends of liberty in Great Britain highly approve the constitution, and ardently wish its adoption. Mr. John Adams, who probably has arrived in Massachusetts, is exceedingly pleased with it, and thinks it the first production ever offered to the human race. It is spoken of by the English ministry as an admirable form of government, and which, if adopted, will place the American character in a new point of view highly deserving respect.

*Cyrus Griffin, President of Congress, to Thomas Fitzsimons, New York, 26 May, 1788. Ex.*

Messrs. Jefferson and Adams have been able to borrow for the United States another million of florins in Holland, upon the prospect of the new constitution being established; but, as congress have not yet ratified the contract, it may remain with you.

Mr. Jefferson seems to think that the war in Europe will be general, but no positive judgment can be drawn from such a chaos of politics as that part of the world now exhibits.

The British courtiers are ridiculing our situation very much, and tell Mr. Adams, in a sneering manner, when America shall assume some kind of government, then England will speak to her.

*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, Mount Vernon, 28 May, 1788. Ex.*

A few short weeks will determine the political fate of America for the present generation, and probably produce no small influence on

the happiness of society through a long succession of ages to come. Should everything proceed with harmony and consent, according to our actual wishes and expectations, I will confess to you sincerely, my dear marquis, it will be so much beyond anything we had a right to imagine or expect eighteen months ago, that it will demonstrate as visibly the finger of Providence as any possible event in the course of human affairs can ever designate it. It is impracticable for you, or any one who has not been on the spot, to realize the change in men's minds, and the progress toward rectitude in thinking and acting, which will then have been made.

Adieu, my dear marquis. I hope your affairs in France will subside into a prosperous train without coming to any violent crisis.

*President Griffin to Thomas Fitzsimons, New York, 16 June, 1788. Ex.*

I am not a little happy that the important business of the proposed constitution is going on so well in Virginia. Governor Randolph's recantation, though embarrassing enough with respect to himself, may produce some pleasing consequences.

New Hampshire will certainly adopt the system. About two thirds of this state are at present in opposition—but the federal members expect to convert a great number—and, from good authority, I am told that Governor Clinton thinks it absolutely necessary that New York should adopt the measure also. Governor Collins and some of the leading men of Rhode Island are advocates for the plan now. From the appearance of things, taken altogether, we have good reason to conclude that the union will be complete.

*Ed. Carrington to Madison, New York, 17 June, 1788.*

We may calculate with certainty upon a considerable majority, from the facts you communicate. It is impossible that the present critical state of the business, and the consequent responsibility of Virginia to humanity for her conduct under such circumstances, should not have inclined most of the opposition, who can discern the hazard of persevering, to follow Governor Randolph in taking the other side.

The convention of New York is now assembling at Poughkeepsie. The anti-federalists, who are indeed the majority, have received a shock from the accounts from Virginia.

*Jonathan Trumbull to Washington, 20 June, 1788. Ex.*

The triumph of federalism has been great in Connecticut since last winter. The opposition which then existed is now dwindled into mere unimportance. At our late elections—which you know, sir, are formed by the people at large—a General Wadsworth, who was the champion of opposition in our convention, lost his place as an assistant by great odds. His seat at the council board was filled by Colonel Chester, late speaker of our house of assembly—a gentleman of independent, liberal sentiments, and a firm friend to general government. Your old secretary being placed in the speaker's chair, on the removal of Colonel Chester, is an additional blow to opposition; and he being considered as a warm supporter of the federal interest, a fast friend to the army and to public justice, this event had its influence toward completing the triumph.

*John Langdon to Rufus King, Concord, 21 June, 1788.*

DEAR SIR: The state of New Hampshire have this moment adopted the federal constitution; fifty-seven yeas, forty-six nays. I have sent on the express to Springfield, to Mr. Smith, to forward Colonel Hamilton's letter to Poughkeepsie, which I enclosed him. Excuse haste. Believe me yours, etc.

*John Langdon to Hamilton, Concord, 21 June, 1788.*

DEAR SIR: By the desire of our mutual friend, Rufus King, Esq., I have the great pleasure and satisfaction of informing you that this state has this day adopted the federal constitution. This all-important question was carried by a majority of eleven—fifty-seven yeas, forty-six nays. Excuse haste.

P. S.—This letter goes to Springfield by an express, which I have sent for this purpose, to the care of William Smith, Esq., of that place, who is to forward it to you.

*Washington to Madison, 23 June, 1788. Ex.*

I hear with real concern of your indisposition. At Fredericksburg (on a visit to my aged and infirm mother) I learned that you intended to proceed immediately from Richmond to New York. Relaxation must have become indispensably necessary for your health, and for that reason I presume to advise you to take a little respite from busi-

ness, and to express a wish that part of the time might be spent under this roof in your way thither. Moderate exercise, and books occasionally, with the mind unbent, will be your best restoratives. I can assure you, with much truth, that none will be happier to see you than yours, etc.

*Gen. Schuyler to his son, John Bradstreet Schuyler, Poughkeepsie, Thursday, 26 June, 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR CHILD: The adoption of the constitution by New Hampshire, although it will be the means of ultimately bringing this state into the union, and although it has disappointed the expectations of those who are averse to the constitution, yet I have no reason to conclude that it is attended with such effect as to induce the convention to adopt the constitution otherwise than with previous amendments. Perhaps they may adjourn under pretence of taking the sense of their constituents, but this is very problematical.

The debates are not yet published; when they shall be promulgated and read, the candid will acknowledge that those of the Chancellor, Messrs. Jay, Harrison, and Hamilton ought to have carried conviction. Mr. Duane has not yet spoken, but he also will do justice to the cause. Though all are eloquent, yet Hamilton [MS. worn away] ad his sentiments are so true, his judgment so correct, his elocution so pleasing, so smooth, and yet so [forcible], that he reaches the heart and carries conviction, where every avenue to conviction is [not] shut up. Alas! I fear there are too many who labor under this prejudice.

*J. B. Cutting to Thos. Jefferson, London, 11 July, 1788. Ex.*

It is not a solecism to say that the opposition to a thorough reform of the federal government began in Maryland, even before the agitation of the question in the general convention at Philadelphia. Mr. Martin, the attorney-general, who was primarily appointed to that office by Mr. Chase, was by the same influence deputed to represent the state. After Messrs. Carroll, Johnson, etc., etc., the first choice of the legislature declined quitting Maryland even upon the important business of newly framing the national government, Mr. Chase having just before menaced the senate for rejecting a wide emission of paper money, and appealed to the people against them. They had joined in that general issue, and could not venture to relinquish to a violent and headstrong party their active influence in the senate as well as in the

lower house, at the very moment when it was so essentially needed to stem the torrent of the populace for the paper. Those gentlemen, therefore, remained at home, convinced their fellow-citizens of their superior rectitude and wisdom, and defeated that favorite measure of Mr. Chase. Meanwhile, Mr. Martin, and Mr. John F. Mercer, a young gentleman whom you well know, went to the general convention, opposed the great leading features of the plan which was afterward promulged, withdrew themselves from any signature of it, and from the moment when it was proposed for ratification in conjunction with Mr. Chase, and his sure coadjutor, Mr. Paca, exerted every effort to hinder its adoption.

I have also enclosed, for the same purpose of amusing, the manly proceeding of a Virginia court of appeals. Without knowing the particular merits of the cause, I may venture to applaud the integrity of judges who thus fulfil their oaths and their duties. I am proud of such characters. They exalt themselves and their country, while they maintain the principles of the constitution of Virginia and manifest the unspotted probity of its judiciary department. I hope you will not think me too local or statically envious when I mention that a similar instance has occurred in Massachusetts, where, when the legislature unintentionally trespassed upon a barrier of the constitution, the judges of the supreme court solemnly determined that the particular statute was unconstitutional. In the very next session there was a formal and unanimous repeal of the law which, perhaps, was unnecessary.

*Monroe to Jefferson, Fredericksburg, 12 July, 1788. Etc.*

DEAR SIR: Although I am persuaded you will have received the proceedings of our convention upon the plan of government submitted from Philadelphia, yet as it is possible this may reach you sooner than other communications, I herewith enclose a copy to you. They terminated, as you will find, in a ratification which must be considered, so far as a reservation of certain rights go, as conditioned with the recommendation of subsequent amendments. The copy will designate to you the part which different gentlemen took upon this very interesting and important subject. The detail in the management of the business, from your intimate knowledge of characters, you perhaps possess with great accuracy, without a formal narration of it. Pendleton, though much impaired in health, and in every respect in the decline of life,

showed as much zeal to carry it as if he had been a young man. Perhaps more than he discovered in the commencement of the late revolution in his opposition to Great Britain. Wythe acted as chairman to the committee of the whole, and, of course, took but little part in the debate, but was for the adoption, relying on subsequent amendments. Blair said nothing, but was for it. The governor exhibited a curious spectacle to view; having refused to sign the paper, everybody supposed him against it; but he afterward had written a letter, and having taken a part which might be called rather vehement than active, he was constantly laboring to show that his present [position was] consistent with that letter and the letter with his refusal to sign. Madison took the principal share in the debate for it, in which, together with the aid I have already mentioned, he was somewhat assisted by Innes, H. Lee, Marshal, Corbin, and A. Nicholas, as Mason, Henry, and Grayson were the principal supporters of the opposition.

The discussion, as might have been expected where the parties were so nearly on a balance, was conducted generally with great order, propriety, and respect of either party to the others, and its event was accompanied with no circumstance on the part of the victorious that was extraordinary exultation, nor of depression on the part of the unfortunate. There was no bonfire illumination, etc., and had there been, I am inclined to believe the opposition would have not only expressed no dissatisfaction, but have scarcely felt any at it, for they seemed to be governed by principles elevated highly above circumstances so trivial and transitory in their nature.

The conduct of General Washington on this occasion has no doubt been right and meritorious; all parties had acknowledged defects in the federal system, and been sensible of the propriety of some material change. To forsake the honorable retreat to which he had retired and risk the reputation he had so deservedly acquired, manifested a zeal for the public interest that could, after so many and illustrious services, and at this stage of life, scarcely have been expected from him. Having, however, commenced again on the public theatre, the course which he takes becomes not only highly interesting to him, but likewise so to us; the human character is not perfect, and if he partakes of those qualities which we have too much reason to believe are almost inseparable from the frail nature of our being, the people of America will perhaps be lost. Be assured his influence carried this government. For my own part, I have a boundless confidence in him, nor have I any

reason to believe he will ever furnish occasion for withdrawing it. More is to be apprehended if he takes a part in the public councils again, as he advances in age, from the designs of those around him than from any dispositions of his own.

In the discussion, an allusion was made, I believe, in the first instance by Mr. Henry to an opinion you had given on this subject in a letter to Mr. Donald. This afterward became the subject of much enquiry and debate in the house as to the construction of the contents of such letter, and I was happy to find the great attention and universal respect with which the opinion was treated, as well as the great regard and high estimation in which the author of it was held.

*Nathaniel Gorham to Washington, 21 July, 1788. Ex.*

The adoption of the constitution by Virginia has diffused in general a joy through the other states.

Although I am passing rapidly into the vale of years, and shall live to see but a small portion of the happy effects which I am confident this system will produce for my country, yet the precious idea of its prosperity will not only be a consolation amid the increasing infirmities of nature and the growing love of retirement, but it will tend to soothe the mind in the inevitable hour of separation from terrestrial objects.

*John Jay to Washington, Poughkeepsie, 23 July, 1788. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: I wrote to you a few days ago and enclosed a copy of certain propositions, or mode of adoption. Great objections to it being urged, it was withdrawn for the present. The convention proceeded to-day in debating on the plan of *conditional* amendment. Some of the anti-party moved for striking out the words *on condition* and substituting the words *in full confidence*; it was carried thirty-one to twenty-nine in the committee, so that, if nothing new should occur, this state will adopt unconditionally; the party, however, mean to rally their forces and endeavor to regain that ground.

*Washington to General Nelson, Mount Vernon, 3 Aug., 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR SIR: Far, very far indeed, was it from my intention to embarrass you by the letters which enclosed the proceedings of the general convention, and still farther was it from my wish that the communication should be received in any other light than as an in-



stance of my attention and friendship. I was well aware that the adoption or rejection of the constitution would be, as it ought to be, decided upon according to its merits, and agreeably to the circumstances to which our public affairs had arrived. That all questions of this kind are, ever will, and perhaps ought to be (to accomplish the designs of infinite wisdom), viewed through different mediums by different men, is as certain as that they have existence; all that can be expected in such cases, therefore, is charity, mutual forbearance, and acquiescence in the general voice; which, though it may be wrong, is presumably right.

*Washington to Dr. James Craik, Mount Vernon, 4 Aug., 1788.*

DEAR SIR: With this letter you will receive the horse I promised you, and which I now beg your acceptance of. He is not in such good order as I could wish, but as good as my means would place him.

I also send you thirty pounds cash for one year's allowance for the schooling of your son, G. W. I wish it was in my power to send the like sum for the other year, which is now about or near due; and that I could discharge your account for attendance and ministries to the sick of my family, but it really is not; for with much truth I can say I never felt the want of money so sensibly since I was a boy of fifteen years old as I have done for the last twelve months, and probably shall do for twelve months more to come. Sincerely and affectionately, I am yours.

*Jefferson to Monroe, 9 Aug., 1788. Ex.*

There is another article of which I have no hopes of amendment, because I do not find it objected to in the states. This is the abandonment of the principle of necessary rotation in the senate and presidency. With respect to the last particularly, it is as universally condemned in Europe as it is universally unanimately in America. I have never heard a single person here speak of it without condemnation, because, on the supposition that a man being once chosen will be always chosen, he is a king for life; and his importance will produce the same brigues and cabals, foreign and domestic, which the election of a king of Poland and other elective monarchies have ever produced. So that we must take refuge in the end in hereditary monarchy, the very evil which grinds to atoms the people of Europe.

I sincerely take part with you in your domestic felicity. There is no other in this world worth living for.

*John Brown to Jefferson, New York, 10 Aug., 1788.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the twenty-eighth May came to hand a few days ago, for which accept my warmest acknowledgments. I am well convinced of the justness of your remarks respecting the importance of strengthening and maintaining the connection between the district of Kentucky and the maritime states.

During my residence in that country it was my constant care to cultivate that idea; but I am sorry to inform you that from the present complexion of affairs there is reason to apprehend that the connection will not be of long duration. Congress have rejected their application to be admitted into the union as an independent state, notwithstanding it was acknowledged to be reasonable—thinking it inexpedient in the present state of the confederacy, and that the admission of a new state might affect the balance of power, unless Vermont could be brought forward at the same time. This will be considered by the people of that country as a great disappointment, inasmuch as they have been more than three years in bringing forward this application, and as they are now referred to the new government, to be admitted under which in a constitutional mode must necessarily be attended with considerable delay. Their vast increase in population (amounting to at least one hundred thousand souls in that district alone), added to the great delay and difficulty attending a communication with the seat of government, render their connection with Virginia so burdensome that there is every reason to expect that, immediately on hearing that congress has refused to receive them, they will assume their independence. Should they take this step, I think it very problematical whether or not they will apply for admission into the new confederacy, especially as they are generally opposed to the new constitution, apprehending much inconvenience and danger from the judicial system, and fearing that the powers vested in the general government may enable [it] to carry into effect the proposed treaty with Spain relative to the navigation of the Mississippi. Indeed, the ill-advised attempt to cede the navigation of that river has laid the foundation for the dismemberment of the American empire by destroying the confidence of the people in the western country in the justice of the union, and by inducing them to despair of obtaining

possession of that right by means of any other exertions than their own.

However, as we are informed by the governor of the western territory that there is great reason to apprehend a general Indian war, I hope that Kentucky will see the danger and impropriety of breaking off from the union at this time, and that it may still be in the power of congress to conciliate their minds and to secure their attachment to the confederacy.

I expect to set out in a few days for the western country; shall take pleasure in communicating to you the news of that country by every opportunity. Should you be so good as to honor me with a letter, it will find a ready conveyance from New York to me by post.

Before I conclude this letter I must, in justice to my feelings, express my gratitude for the many favors I have received from you; be assured that they have made a lasting impression upon my mind, and that it is, in a great measure, to your friendship and instruction that I am indebted for my success in life.

*Washington to Samuel Powell, 15 Sept., 1788.*

DEAR SIR: The present congress, by its great indecision in fixing on a place at which the new congress is to convene, have hung the expectations and patience of the union on tenter-hooks, and thereby (if further evidence had been necessary) given a fresh instance of the unfitness of a body so constituted to regulate with energy and precision the affairs of such an extensive empire.

*Sept. 23d, Ex.*—I am glad congress have at last decided upon an ordinance for carrying the new government into execution. The patience of the union was too long tried for a question of so temporary a nature.

*R. R. Livingston to Lafayette, Claremont, 17 Sept., 1788. Ex.*

In many of the new states the new plan has met with great opposition, and more particularly in this where the governor headed the opposition with all the weight arising from his office. However, after six weeks laborious debate, we were happy enough to bring over such a number of our opposers as to carry the question for the adoption of the new constitution which has now been acceded to by all the states but North Carolina and Rhode Island; both of which are at present convulsed by the paper money epidemic of which the other states have

been so lately cured. The plan will now be carried into effect, and I cannot but hope from it such consistency as will give us the weight which our situation and increasing numbers entitle us to.

*General Lincoln to Washington, Hingham, 24 Sept., 1788.*

I am prompted to wish that Mr. Adams might come in, from the double motive that from his knowledge and rectitude he will be able to render the most essential services to the United States, and that with him your Excellency will be perfectly happy. I am, however, very apprehensive that the anti-federal junta will attempt from sinister views to prejudice your Excellency, and to fix in your mind the most unfavorable ideas of him, and they will endeavor to persuade you that the moment such a connection shall take place, your Excellency must bid adieu to all hope of future happiness in public life. Perhaps these apprehensions are not well founded. I hope they are not; but when it is considered how dangerous your Excellency's administration must be to the views of that party, we cannot suppose that they will stick at anything to prevent its taking place.

I am happy in knowing Mr. J. Adams; my acquaintance commenced with him early in life. Few men can boast of equal abilities and information, and of so many virtues; his foibles are few. I am happy in knowing his sentiments of your Excellency; there is not a virtue in your character which the most intimate of your friends have discovered but it seems to be known and acknowledged by him. I am, from a free conversation with him, as well as from his general character, perfectly convinced that there is not a man in this part of the confederacy, if one can be found through the whole of it, who would render your Excellency's situation at the head of the government more agreeable, or who would make it more his study that your administration should be honorable to yourself, and permanently interesting to the people.

*Monroe to Madison, Fredericksburg, 24 Sept., 1788. Ex.*

I perfectly agree in the propriety of yielding to the majority respecting the place of residence. If a concession must be made, the minority must make it, and when the states south of us yielded, all hope was at an end. I have long since desponded of Georgetown, nor are my hopes more sanguine under the new than they have been under the old government; but it has in my estimation every consideration of

reason and propriety on its side, and, of course, every effort should be made in its favor while there is a prospect of success.

*Enclosures in Lord Dorchester's No. 82, of 14 Oct., 1788. Ex.*

The manufactures of the states are in their infancy, yet the enterprising genius of the people may be gathered from the great exertions of individuals in this branch under all their present embarrassments. In Connecticut, attempts have been made to make silk, and with success; specimens are shown at New Haven College, and Dr. Styles, the president, who is a man of genius and perseverance, is indefatigable at present in promoting it. Nail manufactories are already established; there are two in Albany that supply the whole country, and the importation of nails from Great Britain has ceased in that neighborhood. A white-glass manufactory has lately been set on foot in Jersey, and the sale is not inconsiderable.

Pennsylvania has taken the lead in various branches of manufacture; it is said that there are at this time between two and three hundred stocking looms in the city of Philadelphia and different parts of the state, with full employment. Machines for carding and spinning cottons have been introduced, and jeans can be made on moderate terms. The culture of cotton is at present much attended to in the southern states.

*Ed. Carrington to Madison, Fredericksburg, 19 Oct., 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR SIR: Having traveled leisurely, I arrived here last evening, and shall proceed to-morrow morning for Richmond.

I left Mount Vernon on Friday; during my stay there I had much conversation with the general upon the probable politics of the assembly, with respect to the constitution. He is fully persuaded that anti-federalism will be the actuating principle, and that great circumspection is necessary to prevent very mischievous effects from a co-operation in the insidious proposition of New York. He is particularly alarmed from a prospect of an election for the senate, entirely anti-federal. It is said in this part of the state that Mr. Henry and Mr. R. H. Lee are to be pushed. I believe it is founded only in conjecture, but the general is apprehensive it may prove true; that to exclude the former will be impossible; and that the latter, being supported by his influence, will also get in, unless a federalist very well established in the confidence of the people can be opposed. He is decided in his wishes

that you may be brought forward upon this occasion. I told him "that your views were to offer your services to the public in the legislature, in that branch which would be most agreeable to the public, but that I had reason to believe you had a preference for the house of representatives." Upon this, he observed that, in addition to the considerations first suggested, your services in the senate will be of more importance than in the other house, as there will be much depending on that branch unconnected with the other. Some other observations were made to this purpose, and the issue was his decided opinion that you ought [to] be proposed for the senate.

*St. John Crevecoeur to Jefferson, New York, 20 Oct., 1788. Ec.*

Never was so great a change in the opinion of the best people as has happened these five years ; almost everybody feels the necessity of coercive laws, government, union, industry, and labor. I hope the small differences entertained by some people about the mode of regeneration will no longer be a barrier ; such will be the foundations of America's future peace, opulence, and power. The exports of this country have singularly increased within these two years, and the imports have decreased in proportion ; manufactures of the most useful kind are establishing in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts ; in the south they begin to cultivate cotton, and in the north they are erecting engines to spin it. Nails, canvas, cordage, glass, woollens, linens are now making as good of their kind as any in Europe. Bridges are building everywhere, new communications are opening, new settlements forming ; the fisheries have been singularly prosperous this year ; even here a singular spirit of improvement is conspicuous ; they are paving all their streets in *dos d'âne*, with elegant footpaths on each side ; toward the North river immense docks are filling up with the adjacent banks, over which a beautiful street, sixty feet wide, is already laid out, which begins at the Battery and is to extend two miles, a considerable part of which is already done and paved. Four thousand pounds have been subscribed for embellishing and enlarging the City Hall, in order to accommodate the new federal corps with more decency, and Major l'Enfant has been appointed to preside over the works, which he has planned himself. This country, once consolidated, will easily pay its debts, by a wise system of commercial law encourage the industry of its inhabitants, and draw forth all their genius. The Trans-

appalachian country is filling apace ; there lies the embryo of new connections, a vast political field which I dare not explore.

• *J. B. Cutting to Jefferson.*

There is a gentleman just arrived from Virginia ; left the convention debating on the eleventh of June. He says he attended several days, and that nothing can exceed the seeming violence with which Mr. Henry and Colonel Grayson combat the constitution, except the ability with which Mr. Madison and Governor Randolph advocate it. Mr. Henry used such harsh language in reprobating the fickle conduct of the latter that the house compelled him to ask that gentleman's pardon. No doubt was entertained in Virginia respecting the ratification by that state.

*Francis Corbin to Madison, 21 Oct., 1788. Ex.*

A proposition will be brought forward in the assembly for a second convention of the states, and I fear it will be carried, although I have not yet been able to ascertain the complexion of the house, this being but the second day of our meeting. This proposition, it is said, will be introduced, not by Henry, but (*mirabile dictu !*) by our friend Randolph. He will injure his political reputation by his doublings and turnings. He is too Machiavellian and not Machiavellian enough. I wish, I sincerely wish, that he could be advised, and would take advice ; but this, I fear, is out of the question. We Virginians are too much accustomed to solitude and slavery, too much puffed up with our own foolish pride and vanity, ever to entertain any other idea than that we alone are wise, and all the rest of the world fools.

*General Lincoln to Washington, Boston, 25 Oct., 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR GENERAL : I have the pleasure of transmitting to your Excellency a publication containing a number of letters written some time since by Mr. J. Adams. The writer has, I think, discovered great knowledge of our country and of the state of our affairs, and conducted his answers to the several questions with great address and in a very masterly manner.

Our general court meets here on Wednesday next. It is quite uncertain who will be our senators, or at the least one of them. Mr. Strong, I think, will be chosen ; for the other seat there are many candidates—Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. R. King, Mr. Judge Dana, etc.

*Ed. Carrington to James Madison, Richmond, 9 Nov., 1788. Ex.*

MY DEAR SIR: The election for senators came on yesterday, and terminated as I gave you some reason to apprehend in my last. The ballots were as follows: For R. H. Lee, ninety-eight; for William Grayson, eighty-six; for James Madison, seventy-seven. The whole number of votes was one hundred and sixty-two, sixty-two whereof were given singly to you; of those cast away, Mr. H. got twenty-six, and the remainder were distributed to many others. I am confident that two thirds of the assembly are antis who meditate mischief against the government. You will therefore account for the majority against you upon principles not dishonorable to yourself; and indeed many must have voted from personal regard against their own principles, or you could not have received so great a ballot.

The voice of this state runs pretty unanimously for General Washington as president, and Mr. Henry is putting in agitation the name of Clinton for vice-president, which takes well with the antis; indeed, it is more than probable he will receive a majority among the electors to be chosen. Grayson is warm in such an election; he is, indeed, the devoted servant of Henry. You may rely upon it, my dear friend, that Mr. Henry will throw into the government every embarrassment he possibly can.

*Carrington to Madison, Richmond, 15 Nov., 1788. Ex.*

Your friends from the district will write you, and therefore I will not say more on the point of your election. You may, however, depend on meeting with all the opposition that can be brought into practice against you.

*Washington to Madison, 17 Nov., 1788. Ex.*

The accounts from Richmond are, indeed, very unpropitious to federal measures. In one word it is said that the edicts of Mr. H. are enregistered with less opposition in the Virginia assembly than those of the grand monarch by his parliaments. He has only to say, Let this be law, and it is law.

*Carrington to Madison, Richmond, 18 Nov., 1788. Ex.*

It is as yet not ascertained who will be started against you; within a few days there has arisen some reason to suspect that Colonel Mon-



roe will be the man. Let me apprise you that you are upon no occasion of a public nature to expect favors from that gentleman.

*Henry Lee to Madison, Alexandria, 19 Nov., 1788. Ex.*

Except the mortification I feel personally at the late appointments and the evidence it holds up to the world of the temper of this state, I profess myself pleased with your exclusion from the senate, and I wish it may so happen in the lower house; then you will be left qualified to take part in the administration, which is the place proper for you. I had a full and confidential conversation with our sachem on all these points. He agreed precisely with me in the above opinion. He will come forward if the public happiness demands it, although his love of domestic repose renders him deaf to all the allurements of ambition and power. On nobler principles and with more generous views he will quit his happy situation, and if he quit, he will expect, and with justice too, the united and firm assistance of all friends to their country.

*Ed. Carrington to Madison, Richmond, 26 Nov., 1788.*

MY DEAR SIR: Since my last to you it is decided that Monroe is to be your opponent; the interest of both Cabel and Strother will be combined in his favor. I wish you could be in the district, as no pains will be spared to impress the minds of the people with prejudices against you.

I have already apprised you of the political hostility of Monroe, and it will be well for you to pay some regard to it.

*Washington to Rochambeau, 27 Nov., 1788.*

Here we have all peace, and a happy prospect that the new government will soon be carried into execution. On your side of the Atlantic I am sorry to find that there is some probability of a general war. You will, I know, my dear count, applaud the wish which humanity makes to prevent the effusion of blood, even though you are a military man, and might have a better chance than most others to gather fresh laurels in the field of death.

*D. Humphreys to Jefferson, Mount Vernon, 29 Nov., 1788. Ex.*

The same General Wadsworth who was in congress with you at Annapolis became, in conjunction with two or three of his subalterns,

the director of every political measure in Connecticut, and prevented, in almost every instance, a compliance with the requisitions of congress. On the other part, great numbers of those who wished to see an efficient federal government prevail, began to fear that the bulk of the people would never submit to it. In short, some of them who had been utterly aversé to royalty began to imagine that hardly anything but a king could cure the evil. It was truly astonishing to have been witness to some conversations which I have heard. Still, all the more reasonable men saw that the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease. In this fluctuating and irritable situation the public mind continued for some time.

Colonel R. H. Lee and Colonel Grayson, the senators of this state, are not comprehended under the denomination of federalists, but it is generally believed they will be less violent than many of their party. Mr. Madison was in nomination with those two gentlemen, and lost his election by eight or nine votes. This was owing entirely to Mr. Patrick Henry, who openly opposed his election, and who carries every measure he espouses in the assembly. In throwing the state into districts for the choice of representatives to congress, it is said, he has taken particular pains to prevent Mr. Madison from being chosen. Some who wish equally well to the government and Mr. Madison, imagine it may be the means of having him better employed as minister for the home department.

The opinion seems to be universal that General Washington will be elected president. Mr. John Adams, Mr. Hancock, and General Knox are spoken of as candidates for the vice-presidency. It is rather probable that the first will be appointed, than either of the others. Upon the whole, we may augur much more favorable things than appearances heretofore promised. The habits of industry and economy, which have been introduced by necessity, require only an efficient general government to ensure prosperity; and the people of the different states seem disposed to acquiesce in such a government, provided care be taken not to touch their purses too deeply.

The Count du Moustier, his sister, her son, and Mr. Du Pont, have lately been at Mount Vernon. The minister appears to be a very well informed man, and extremely desirous of promoting the commercial connection between France and this country.

He affects plainness in dress and simplicity of manners; but, perhaps, not so much to fall into American customs as the Chev.

Luzerne did. It is questionable, therefore, whether he will be so popular.

Madame de Brehan appears very inquisitive after information. She does not find the country answer Mr. Crevecoeur's description of it. Some ladies have thought she rather undervalued them, when she appeared in a considerable company with a three-cornered muslin handkerchief tied round her head, nearly in the fashion of the negro women in the West Indies.

Emigrations from the old settlements to the West continue to be immense. In the mean while the arts of peace are progressing in the old states, perhaps more rapidly than they have ever before done. The spirit of improvement is gaining ground. The three great bridges lately erected in Massachusetts do that state vast credit. The enterprise in trade and manufactures, supported by domestic economy, has, during the last year, for the first time made the exports from thence considerably more valuable than the imports into it. To this the trade to the East Indies has not a little contributed.

*Washington to David Stuart, 2 Dec., 1788. Ex.*

That the legislature of the state has displayed the most malignant (and, if one may be allowed the expression, the most unwarrantable) disposition toward the new government, in all its acts respecting it, needs no other evidence than their public records; but upon what ground they have undertaken to assert things which the representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose in convention, have not authorized them to do, lies with the wisdom of the majority of that assembly to explain. Nor will it redound much to their honor, I conceive, if in the ultimate appeal to the people there should (as you have intimated) be seven out of the ten representatives on the federal side. But excuse me, my dear sir, when I give it to you as my opinion that you are reckoning without your host, as the phrase is. There may be such a proportion through the state who are friends to the adopted constitution, but they either do not see the necessity, or are too indolent or too much engaged in other matters to come forward, or too much disunited among themselves to act in unison; while those of the other description (or I am much mistaken) will be formed into one solid phalanx. Need I go out of this district for proof? In my opinion, Chatham Fitzhugh, or you, are the characters most likely to unite the suffrages of the federal interest in it. Neither will serve. What is the consequence?

Why, a third is proposed, in whom all cannot agree ; a fourth and a fifth will have advocates, and neither will be chosen. This is my idea of the matter. I give it to you, however, in confidence, for I have been already dragged into public view on these occasions more than is agreeable to me. It would seem to me good policy for the federal delegates (now in assembly) of each district to confer freely together, and resolve to support the fittest character therein ; at any rate, not to be disunited. Sorry, indeed, should I be if Mr. Madison meets the same fate in the district of which Orange composes a part as he has done in the assembly ; and to me it seems not at all improbable.

The expensive manner in which I live (contrary to my wishes, but really unavoidable), the bad years of late, and my consequent short crops, have occasioned me to run in debt, and to feel more sensibly the want of money than I have ever done at any period of my whole life, and obliges me to look forward to every source from whence I have a right to expect relief. Under these circumstances I must ask you what prospect I have, and in what time (after it becomes due) I may expect to receive the present year's annuity. •

*Washington to Colonel Henry Lee, 12 Dec., 1788. Ex.*

Your intention to decline offering yourself for the Westmoreland district, since you have received advice of Mr. John Page's doing it, is an unequivocal proof, if proof was wanting, of your friendly dispositions to the new government ; but whether it is the most effectual way of serving it is another question. Whether Mr. Page's interest or yours is best in the district I am not sufficiently informed to decide ; but of one thing I am sure, and that is that these matters (to stand upon equal ground with the opponents of the constitution) ought to be the result of previous consultation and arrangement.

*St. John Crevecoeur to Jefferson, New York, 5 Jan., 1789. Ex.*

Notwithstanding all these untoward appearances, I am convinced that the nail is clinched. This country can remain no longer without a government, and the sticklers for amendments are only those who are head over heels in debt. Our governor is not a man of sufficient abilities to become the head of a party. Colonel Hamilton is just set out for Albany ; not that he is a member of the house, but to be on the spot and help in directing his friends.

*Sir John Temple to Lord Carmarthen, New York, 7 Jan., 1789. Ex.*

Many difficulties have arisen, and are daily arising, concerning the organization of the new constitution; anti-federalism daily gains ground in many of the states, so much so that it appears to me doubtful whether ever the said constitution will take place until it be altered or modified, and the tedious progress of state and general conventions for that purpose will render it at least a considerable time before any firm government shall be established.

*J. E. Howard, Governor of Maryland, to Washington, Annapolis, 23 Jan., 1789.*

In this state, the federal ticket has been carried by a very large majority. Knowing that this circumstance will give you pleasure, I have taken the earliest opportunity of communicating it. One circumstance I will add: that, in the county which bears your name, out of 1,164 taken, there was not one for the anti-federal ticket.

*Tobias Lear to John Langdon, Mount Vernon, 31 Jan., 1789. Ex.*

Since the assembly of this state have finished all matters relative to the government so far as depended upon them, the aspect of these affairs have assumed a more settled form, and will enable a person to speak with some degree of certainty upon them.

Mr. Henry, the leader of the opposition in this state, finding himself beaten off the ground by fair argument in the state convention, and outnumbered upon the important question, collected his whole strength and pointed his whole force against the government in the assembly. He here met with but a feeble opposition, for those great characters who had supported the system in the convention were not members of the assembly. There was not now a single speaker who could cope with him. He led on his almost unresisted phalanx, and planted the standard of hostility upon the very battlements of federalism.

In plain English, he ruled a majority of the assembly, and his edicts were registered by that body with less opposition than those of the Grand Monarque have met with from his parliaments. He chose the two senators, R. H. Lee and Colonel Grayson, both of whom had declared themselves opposed to the government. He divided the state into districts, obliging every district to choose one representative who

should be an inhabitant of that district, taking care to arrange matters so as to have the county of which Mr. Madison is an inhabitant thrown into a district of which a majority were supposed to be unfriendly to the government, and by that means exclude him from the representative body in congress. He wrote the answer to Governor Clinton's letter, and likewise the circular letter to the executives of the several states (one of which, I presume, your Excellency has received before this time), requesting that the states might unite in desiring congress to call another general convention, etc. And after he had settled everything relative to the government wholly (I suppose) to his satisfaction, he mounted his horse and rode home, leaving the little business of the state to be done by anybody who chose to give themselves the trouble of attending to it.

This, I believe, is a pretty fair state of facts so far as they relate to the legislature. One thing, however, should be remarked, viz., that the doings of the assembly upon the government have been represented out of the state as their almost unanimous deed. This is not the case; there was a respectable minority in point of number, and in any other view they would be considered by all good men as far outweighing their opponents; and the voice of the people, in the choice of electors since the assembly have risen, clearly shows that their sentiments were not justly represented in that body, for they have made choice of gentlemen for that business of whom a great majority were warm and decided supporters of the government. But the fullest proof of the disposition of the people will be given in their choice of representatives to congress which will take place on Monday next, and of these, six, at least, will be federal characters. This the opposite party themselves acknowledge, and the more sanguine in favor of the government speak with confidence of seven or eight out of ten that will be warm supporters of the system. There can be but little doubt of Mr. Madison's election, for, notwithstanding their unwearied efforts to exclude him from any share in the government by the arrangement of the district, and every other obstacle that could be suggested, his personal appearance in the district and the exertions of his friends have so far turned the current in his favor that they chose a decided federalist as an elector in spite of every opposition. If he should be left out, not only this state but the whole continent will sustain a considerable loss by being deprived of his superior abilities.

Mr. Richard H. Lee has declared that, in his opinion, the govern-

ment ought to have a fair trial in its present form, and that he shall be opposed to any premature amendments.

*John Adams to Jefferson, Braintree, 1 March, 1789. Ex.*

In four days the new government is to be erected. Washington appears to have an unanimous vote, and there is probably a plurality, if not a majority, in favor of your friend. It may be found easier to give authority than to yield obedience. Amendments to the constitution will be expected, and no doubt discussed.

Will you be so good as to look over the code, and write me your sentiments of amendments which you think necessary or useful? That greatest and most necessary of all amendments, the separation of the executive power from the legislative, seems to be better understood than it once was; without this our government is in danger of being a continual struggle between a junta of grandees for the first chair.

The success of the new plan will depend, in the first place, upon a revenue to defray the interest of the foreign and domestic debt. But how to get a revenue? how to render smuggling and evasion shameful?

You must expect the first operations will be very slow. Mrs. A., and your old admirer, my son, John Quincy Adams, desire their respects to you. With unabated respect, esteem, and affection, I am, my dear sir, your friend and humble servant, etc.

*Washington to Captain Richard Conway, 4 March, 1789. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: Never till within these two years have I ever experienced the want of money. Short crops, and other causes not entirely within my control, make me feel it now very sensibly. To collect money without the intervention of suits (and these are tedious) seems impracticable, and land which I have offered for sale will not command cash at an under value, if at all. Under this statement I am inclined to do what I never expected to be driven to—that is, to borrow money on interest. Five hundred pounds would enable me to discharge what I owe in Alexandria, etc.; and to leave the state (if it shall not be in my power to remain at home in retirement) without doing this would be exceedingly disagreeable to me. Having thus fully and candidly explained myself, permit me to ask if it is in your power to supply me with the above, or a smaller sum. Any security you may best like I can give, and you may be assured that it is no more my inclination

than it can be yours to let it remain long unpaid. Could I get in one fourth part of what is due to me on bonds, or sell any of the landed property which I am inclined to dispose of, I could do it with ease; but, independently of these, my rents and crops would soon enable me to do it, provided I am tolerably successful in the latter and have common justice done me in the former. Your answer will much oblige yours, etc.

*Washington to Captain Richard Conway, 6 March, 1789. Ex.*

DEAR SIR: I am much obliged by your assurance of money. Mr. Lear waits upon you for it, and carries a bond, drawn in the manner you requested. I am very well satisfied to allow six per cent. (the interest of Maryland), because I have not the smallest doubt of the readiness with which you could lend any sum on those terms. If it is necessary that the bond should be taken in Maryland, I will exchange the one now sent for another to be given at Georgetown, or opposite to Alexandria (at whichever ferry I may pass). I would have done it this day, but being to set off to-morrow for Fredericksburg, in order, probably, to discharge the last act of personal duty I may (from her age) ever have it in my power to pay my mother, it would be very inconvenient for me.

Upon collecting my accounts by Mr. Lear, the other day, it was found that though five hundred pounds will enable me to discharge them, yet it is incompetent to this and the other purpose, the expenses of my journey to New York, if I go thither. If, therefore, you could add another hundred pounds to the former sum, it would be very acceptable. Mr. Lear is provided with a bond for this sum also.

As you said nothing about security in your letter, none is given, but I am not less willing and ready, notwithstanding, to include it in another bond if you desire it.

*John Langdon to Washington, New York, 6 April, 1789.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of president of the United States of America. Suffer me, sir, to indulge the hope that so auspicious a mark of public confidence will meet your approbation, and be considered as a sure pledge of the affection and support you are to expect from a free and an enlightened people.



*G. Washington to Robert R. Livingston, New York, 31 May, 1789.*

SIR: The new and busy scenes in which I have been constantly engaged since my arrival in this place, and which will not allow me to pay that pointed attention to the favors of my friends that my inclination would lead me to do, will, I trust, apologize for this late acknowledgment of your letter of the fifteenth instant.

To you, sir, and others who know me, I believe it is unnecessary for me to say that when I accepted of the important trust committed to my charge by my country, I gave up every idea of personal gratification that I did not think was compatible with the public good. Under this impression I plainly foresaw that the part of my duty which obliged me to nominate persons to offices would, in many instances, be the most irksome and displeasing; for however strong my personal attachment might be to any one—however desirous I might be of giving a proof of my friendship—and whatever might be his expectations, grounded upon the amity which had subsisted between us, I was fully determined to keep myself free from every engagement that could embarrass me in discharging this part of my administration. I have, therefore, uniformly declined giving any decisive answer to the numerous applications which have been made to me; being resolved, whenever I am called upon to nominate persons for those offices which may be created, that I will do it with a sole view to the public good, and shall bring forward those who upon every consideration, and from the best information I can obtain, will, in my judgment, be most likely to answer that great end.

The delicacy with which your letter was written, and your wishes insinuated, did not require me to be thus explicit on this head with you; but the desire which I have that those persons whose good opinion I value should know the principles on which I mean to act in this business, has led me to this full declaration; and I trust that the truly worthy and respectable characters in this country will do justice to the motives by which I am actuated in all my public transactions. I have the honor to be, with due consideration and very great esteem, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,  
G. WASHINGTON.

*Morgan Lewis to Hamilton, Rhinebeck, 24 June, 1789.*

DEAR SIR: I am informed the inhabitants of New York have it in contemplation to make Mr. King one of our senators. Under this

persuasion I have thrown it out in conversation to several of the country members, and have found it very generally disapproved of, so much so that I am satisfied it cannot at present be accomplished. I am afraid, too, it would interfere with the appointment of General Schuyler, in this way. Many persons think we are bound to support Judge Yates, in order to convince the public that our only object in pushing him for the government was not merely the removal of Mr. Clinton. This may operate with many as a reason for supporting the judge against the general. How will it answer to try the old chief for the southern district? This, I imagine, will give pretty general satisfaction. The old gentleman will be provided for, and Judge Yates satisfied with stepping into the chief justice's chair. Give me your sentiments upon this subject; and also upon the mode most proper to be adopted in the appointment of senators. Mrs. L. joins in compliments to Mrs. H. with, dear sir, your friend and humble servant,

MORGAN LEWIS.<sup>1</sup>

*Secretary W. W. Grenville to Lord Dorchester (secret), Whitehall, 20 Oct., 1789.*

MR LORD: Your lordship's despatches Nos. 107, 112, and 126, which relate to the new settlements in Kentucky, contain information highly important to the future interests of his Majesty's provinces in North America, and his Majesty has, therefore, seen with great satisfaction the attention which you have given to this subject. It appears extremely desirable that the turn of affairs in those settlements should lead to the establishment of a government distinct from that of the Atlantic states, and that if this should be the case, every means should be taken to improve and cultivate a connection with the former, as being likely to prove highly advantageous to the interests of this country. But this business does not (as far as I am enabled to judge from the information of which I am hitherto in possession) appear to be in a situation in which any direct or open interference on our part would be in any respect a proper or prudent measure. The great object of your lordship's endeavors should, therefore, be to cultivate such an intercourse with the leading men in the new settlements as might give

<sup>1</sup> The letter is addressed to Alexander Hamilton, Esq., New York, honored by Colonel Fish. The first endorsement made at the time is "Morgan Lewis, '89, Mr. King, Senator, June 24th." The later endorsement, without date, is "A good enough federalist at that time. A. H."

to this country a facility of acting, if at any time a proper occasion should occur, and enable your lordship, even at present, in some degree to influence their conduct by representations and advice. It is particularly desirable to prevent any close connection being formed between them and the Spanish government. Their mutual jealousies on the subject of the Mississippi are, I trust, sufficient to retard this event, but if, contrary to expectation, it should appear likely to take place, your lordship should exert yourself to counteract it by all such measures as may not give any just ground of complaint to Spain. It is not, however, to be wished that your lordship should for this purpose make use of any promises of eventual, and still less of immediate, assistance, against the Atlantic states. His Majesty's servants, on the contrary, entirely concur in the prudence and propriety of the conduct held by your lordship in this respect, wishing that, whenever the case should occur, this country may be left at liberty to decide, according to then existing circumstances, as to the degree of support which it may be proper to hold out. The necessity of this caution is the more evident from the uncertain situation in which we stand toward the United States with respect to the posts which were ceded at the peace, and have since been retained as a just indemnification for the non-execution of that treaty. A connection with the Kentucky settlers might, in the event of any dispute with the Atlantic states, be of great advantage; and the means of cultivating such a connection ought, therefore, carefully to be kept in view while the point which I have mentioned remains unsettled; but, on the other hand, it is desirable that no measures should be taken which might have the effect of bringing forward any such dispute which might otherwise be avoided.

Having thus stated the general outline of what occurs to me on this subject, I have only to recommend it to your lordship to persevere in the same cautious line of conduct which you have already observed with respect to it, and to endeavor, if possible, to cultivate a close correspondence and intercourse with the principal persons among the Kentucky settlers, observing, however, very carefully, not to use any language which can in the smallest degree make this country a party to any attack on the possessions of his Catholic Majesty, with whom his Majesty is on a footing of peace and good correspondence. I am,  
etc.,

W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Secretary W. W. Grenville to Lord Dorchester, Whitehall, 29 Oct., 1789. Ex.*

There will be a considerable difficulty in the mode of describing the boundary between the district of upper Canada and the territories of the United States, as the adhering to the line mentioned in the treaty with America would exclude the posts which are still in his Majesty's possession, and which the infraction of the treaty on the part of America has induced his Majesty to retain, while, on the other hand, the including them by express words within the limits to be established for the province by an act of the British parliament, would probably excite a considerable degree of resentment among the inhabitants of the United States, and might perhaps provoke them to measures detrimental to our commercial interests. Possibly the best solution for this difficulty might be to describe the upper district by some general words, such as "All the territories, etc., etc., etc., possessed by and subject to his Majesty, and being to the west or south-west of the boundary line of lower Canada, except such as are included within the present boundaries of the government of New Brunswick."

*Count Moustier to Count Montmorin, New York, 5 June, 1789. Ex.*

The second revolution through which the United States have passed by the change of their federal government has put them in an entirely new light. This has appeared to me to exact greater details. This is the motive which has determined me to collect and to present to you different observations that may assist in forming a fixed opinion on the actual situation of the United States, and on the turn they may gradually take.

The constitution of the United States has defined with precision the different branches of the government ; but their powers are still susceptible of many modifications, according to the usage that each branch may establish for that part which is confided to it, and according to the impression which its exercise will have produced. It is already beyond doubt that, in spite of the asserted beauty of the plan which has been adopted, it would have been necessary to renounce its introduction if the same man who presided over its formation had not been placed at the head of the enterprise. The opinion of General Washington was of such weight that it alone contributed more than any

other measure to cause the present constitution to be adopted. The extreme confidence in his patriotism, his integrity, and his intelligence forms to-day its principal support. It has become popular much more out of respect for the chief of the republic than by any merit of its own. All is hushed in presence of the trust of the people in the savior of the country.

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