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Freeman, Douglas Southall. George Washington: a Biography. V. 5 (Victory with the help of France) New York, C. Scribner's Sons 1952.

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CHAPTER XXVI

"I Have Grown Gray in Your Service"

(January 1–March 19, 1783)

The coming of January, 1783, found Washington of opinion that Charleston had been or soon would be evacuated [1] and that the issue of early peace or continued war would not be settled until the British Parliament met.[2] When confirmation of the reported abandonment of the South Carolina city was received,[3] Washington had the problem of deciding how many troops should remain in that region and when and in what manner the others should start their northward march.[4]

The good news had come at a time of some personal annoyances to Washington in what he termed the "rugged and dreary mountains" around Newburgh.[5] Heavy use of his eyes had led him to "try" the spectacles worn by some of his companions and from these he selected lenses he asked that David Rittenhouse duplicate for him.[6] A distress of different nature that gave him "extreme pain" concerned a member of his family. "In God's name," he wrote, "how did my brother Samuel contrive to get himself so enormously in debt?" [7] Besides this, Washington's mother was complaining that the overseer of the Falls Quarter was sending her nothing. From Newburgh, Washington wrote "Jack," who as always was his confidant: "It is pretty evident, I believe, that I get nothing from thence, which [8] I have the annual rent of between eighty and a hundred pounds to pay. The whole profit of the plantation, according to her account, is applied to [the overseer's] own use, which is rather hard upon me, as I had no earthly inducement to meddle with it but to comply with her wish, and to free her from care. This like every other matter of private concern with me, has been totally

[1] 26 *G. W.*, 15, 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17, 25, 77–78.
[3] This was by January 22. See *ibid.*, 59, 61. Cf. 7 *Burnett*, 18. Evacuation was completed Dec. 14–15, 1782 (3 *Greene's Greene*, 481–82). Some of Greene's observations on his own emotions and on the condition of Charleston appear in his letter of Dec. 20–21, 1783, to Joseph Reed (*Reed Papers*, NYHS).
[4] 26 *G. W.*, 76, 101.
[5] *Ibid.*, 97.
[6] *Ibid.*, 27.
[7] *Ibid.*, 41.
[8] He may have meant to write "while," instead of "which."

To MARK LANGE

neglected; but it is too much while I am suffering in every other way (and hardly able to keep my own estate from sale) to be saddled with all the expense of hers and not to be able to derive the smallest return from it." With that, he asked "Jack" to help him comply with his mother's request and to find a new overseer.[9]

Officially, there was the usual embarrassment of winter over the absence of senior officers [10] and sharp distress over the death of Lord Stirling.[11] Besides all this, Washington felt much concern because of the situation in Vermont,[12] and he had a disappointment when a secretly planned surprise on Oswego was a failure.[13] Fortunately, the British commanders at New York and in Canada had given orders to the Indians to abstain from raids,[14] with the result that the savages did not make the American advance an excuse for arson and massacre.

In fashioning the larger designs of 1783, Washington scarcely knew on what scale to project his operations. Sound strategy would prompt a powerful blow against New York, in order to drive the British from their last stronghold in the United States; but he hesitated to attempt this, because of continental finance and the peace negotiations, and he could bring himself to do no more than to have estimates made of the requirements of a siege.[15] For such a major effort, he believed he could rely on the Army, which still was better fed, better clothed and better sheltered than ever it had been in winter quarters,[16] nor did he question the willingness of officers to meet any challenge by the enemy. It was different with officers' attitude toward Congress and their own future. Many of Washington's subordinates displayed a restlessness, discontent and ill-temper he had no means of overcoming. Some of the men close to Washington thought that Gates and his supporters were responsible for at least a part of the demoralization of the officers, but the Commander-in-Chief had no proof of this.[17] "The predicament in which I

[9] *Ibid.*, 42–43, repunctuated. Another family matter, Washington's interest in his nephew Bushrod, is mentioned in the sketch with which this volume closes.
[10] 26 *G. W.*, 146.
[11] Stirling expired Jan. 14, 1783. See Richard Sill to Washington, Jan. 14, 1783; 214 *Papers of G. W.*, 43, LC; 26 *G. W.*, 52, 61; 24 *JCC.*, 96–97; 7 *Burnett*, 26–27. The original of Washington's letter of Jan. 20, 1783, to Lady Stirling is in the *Stirling Papers*, NYHS.
[12] 26 *G. W.*, 121.
[13] For the preparations and the detailed instructions of the commanding officer, Lieut. Col. Marinus Willett, see 26 *G. W.*, 47, 52, 57, 90–93. Washington's comments on the failure are in *ibid.*, 165, 190.
[14] 25 *G. W.*, 198, 206, 208, 209; 26 *ibid.*, 96.
[15] 26 *G. W.*, 82, 85, 88, 185 ff.
[16] *Ibid.*, 97; *Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia), Jan. 22, 1783, p. 3.
[17] Washington went no further than to remark that the "old leaven" was said to be at work. The context scarcely affords ground for doubt of his meaning. See 26 *G. W.*, 186.

stand as citizen and soldier," he wrote Alexander Hamilton, now in Congress, "is as critical and delicate as can well be conceived." He explained: "The sufferings of a complaining Army on one hand, and the inability of Congress and the tardiness of the States on the other, are the forebodings of evil . . ." [18]

As late as the 4th of March, when he wrote this, he confided that he was under "no *great* apprehension" that the dangerous spirit in the Army would exceed "the bounds of reason and moderation." [19] Both for that reason and because of his respect for civil government he did not take the full leadership in dealing with Congress that Hamilton and other Delegates urged him to display on the Army's behalf.[20] These members were anxious for Washington to intervene persuasively after they had done the little they could in Philadelphia to remove officers' suspicion that no promise of money, or land or half pay would be remembered after the Army was discharged.[21] The address of senior officers, which had been presented formally by McDougall's committee, had asked money for discharging part of the accumulated pay of the troops. Short weight of rations was exposed; the neglected pledge to compensate the men for clothing not delivered them was brought to the mind of Delegates. "We beg leave," the officers said, "to urge an immediate adjustment of all dues; that as great a part as possible be paid, and the remainder put on such a footing as will restore cheerfulness in the Army, revive confidence in the justice and generosity of its constituents, and contribute to the very desirable effect of re-establishing public credit." On their own account, the officers complained in moderate language of the opposition of the States to voting half pay for life to those incapacitated or retired. "We have reason to believe," the address stated, "that the objection generally is against the mode [of payment] only." Officers proposed therefore that promised half pay should be commuted to full pay for a number of years or even to a flat sum, as might be agreed between Congress and the committee. In this settlement, disabled officers and soldiers and the dependents of those who had lost their lives in the war should be included.[22] Unexplained, but deep in the mind of many officers was the feeling that when the Army was disbanded they would have a humiliating place, financially, in a society they had spent their years and fortunes to free.[23]

Congress recognized both the obligations and the limitations on its ability to meet the whole at once. The obstacle to approving commutation of half pay immediately was the belief of some Delegates that the individual States, which had been made responsible for the compensation of their own retired officers, might prefer varying methods of satisfying the veterans.[24]

Argument and delay angered the officers on the Hudson but nothing especially ominous occurred until the 10th of March. Then Washington was handed a written copy of a call that was being circulated for a meeting of general and field officers the next day. He was given, also, a transcript of a fiery and rhetorical appeal to the holders of commissions to make a vigorous demand for the compensation sought in the address McDougall had taken to Philadelphia. This appeal, like the call for an assembly of officers, was anonymous [25] and where it referred to the action that officers should take, it read as follows: "Tell [Congress] that though you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger: though despair itself can never drive you into dishonor, it may drive you from the field: that the wound often irritated and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of indignity from Congress now, must operate like the grave, and part you forever: that in any political event, the Army has its alternative. If peace, then nothing can separate them from your arms but death: if war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and 'mock when their fear cometh on.'" [26] As Washington interpreted this violent language, it meant that if the war continued, the anonymous counsellor wished the Army to desert Congress, to leave the coast defenceless, and to set up a new state in the wilderness. The alternative proposed by the writer might be the maintenance, if peace came, of an Army that would refuse to lay down its weapons.

This appalled Washington. Here seemed to be defiance of civil au-

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, 187.
[20] 3 *LTW.*, 551; also in 9 *A. Hamilton*, 311–12 and 7 *Burnett*, 32–35.
[21] See 7 *Burnett*, 6, 14 n. 19 ff. 22, 29, 57; 24 *JCC.*, 93, 146; 8 *Sparks*, 552; *Letters Joseph Jones*, 100; Knox to McDougall, Mch. 3, 1783, *McDougall Papers*, NYHS.
[22] 24 *JCC.*, 291–93. The address was dated December, 1782, and was referred on January 6 to the Grand Committee which reported January 22. Cf. *ibid.*, 93–95.
[23] Cf. Walter Stewart to Gates, May 28, 1783: ". . . And the poor, deluded crowd must return home the ridicule of their neighbors, and when their present plumage is lost, they must return to labor and, what is worse, they must recollect with poignant grief that they themselves have worked the mighty changes" (*Emmet Col.*, NYPL).
[24] 24 *JCC.*, 146–47.
[25] For the question of authorship, see *infra*, n. 48.
[26] 24 *JCC.*, 297. The quotation is a paraphrase of Proverbs 1, 26.

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thority, the threat of mutiny of a new sort, a revolt tha leadership sufficiently experienced and intelligent to ove gress and the governments of all the States. The Genera meet the danger, if he could, by reporting what Congress v the Army, and by urging officers to be moderate in seek else could reasonably be granted at the time. He put in Ge of March 11 a denunciation of "such an irregular invita "such disorderly proceedings." A new meeting was set by 15th, at which representatives of all Regiments would further measures should be adopted "to attain the just a object in view." The senior officer in attendance would

Although Washington acted quickly and decisively, he developments to the President of Congress "with inexpress and he did not pretend to say whether success would atte to avert a crisis. He would exert himself to the utmost, h belief that Congress intended to do "ample justice to the as circumstances will possibly admit."[28] Before he could alarming news, a second anonymous appeal was in circ author—he still was unidentified—must have realized Orders would keep most of the officers from the meeting and he consequently argued that Washington's langua Commander-in-Chief the advocate of the complainants. T haps, some recoil from the vehement spirit of the first Washington thought it appealed more to emotion and pa reason and judgment. In a postscript to the letter he was gress he simply mentioned the circulation of the second of which he enclosed. As often he had in the past, Wash privately to sympathetic Delegates—in this instance Alex ton and Joseph Jones—to explain what he had not thou incorporate in his letter to the President. The substance of the discontent of officers had been fomented "upon the ar tain gentleman from Philadelphia in camp." Washington assertions the returning soldier had made, and confided issued his orders in an effort to keep the officers from Any Delegates who were "really opposed to doing justice should be told that "if matters should come to extremity

[27] 24 *JCC.*, 298; 26 *G. W.*, 208.
[28] 26 *G. W.*, 211–12.

be answerable for all the ineffable horrors which may be occasioned thereby." [29]

Washington continued doubtless to collect information on the temper of the men under him and he decided that the wide circulation of the emotionally-eloquent anonymous papers made it prudent, if not downright necessary, to anticipate further trouble by publishing at once a number of sympathetic resolutions that Congress had adopted on January 25,[30] regarding the settlement of the claims of the Army. This was the report Washington had said the meeting would receive, and while it was inconclusive in some particulars, it might convince right-minded, reasonable officers that Congress would not play the cheat. Washington consequently included the text in GOs of the 13th, "for the information of the Army"—and without a single moralizing word. Justice to the Army at the hands of Congress was presented as a matter of course.[31]

Still further reflection on the results of possibly desperate action by the officers convinced Washington that he must do what he had not contemplated in the orders for a meeting on the 15th: he must go before his subordinates in person and must exert all the influence he had over them to reduce the chance of a foolish step. A public appearance of this sort was worse than distasteful; but nothing less than this might suffice, and even this might not be enough. He must do, in effect, what Hamilton and some of the others had thought he should have done soon: he must take the lead and make the officers' cause his own. Once this was decided, he began preparation of a statement.[32]

On the 15th, with this paper in his pocket, Washington went to the large wooden structure the soldiers had completed a few weeks previously.[33] The moment he entered, he may have become aware that

[29] 26 *G. W.*, 214–16. This letter and that to Hamilton are in Washington's autograph and probably were his own composition. As is explained *infra*, n. 48, the "certain gentleman" undoubtedly was Col. Walter Stewart, for whose appointment as "Inspector of the Northern Army," see 23 *G. W.*, 495.

[30] 24 *JCC.*, 93–95. These resolutions provided (1) that the Superintendent of Finance make allotment for current pay as soon as possible; (2) that the States be called on to settle to Aug. 1, 1780, the claims of all the soldiers of their respective lines; and (3) Congress study methods by which all creditors of the United States could be given security, to which, it was specifically stated, they were entitled.

[31] 26 *G. W.*, 221–22.

[32] He probably had the help of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., because the brief appeal, though in Washington's autograph, contains phrasing and a conclusion more in the style of the Secretary than of the General.

[33] Information on this building, used both as a chapel and as a dancing academy, will be found in Gates to Washington, Dec. 31, 1782 (213 *Papers of G. W.*, 84, LC), in 1 *Pickering*, 309, 339, in 25 *G. W.*, 464, and in *Heath*, 374, 400. The meeting place was known familiarly as "The Temple."

almost every man in the room was looking at him, eagerly, anxiously; but with no bows, acknowledgment or other preliminaries, Washington strode to the crude lectern, visibly agitated,[34] and began by excusing his attendance. At the time he issued the order for the meeting, he said, it was by no means his intention to participate in the deliberations; but the pains taken to circulate the anonymous addresses made it necessary that he give his sentiments to the Army on the nature and the tendency of these papers. To do this plainly, he had put his thoughts in writing and, with the permission of his brother-officers he would read what he wished to say.[35] The anonymous address, he said, was finely written but was "calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must inevitably flow from such a belief." [36] For venturing to put this unsparing interpretation on the paper, Washington gave as his warrant his long army service, which he sketched proudly; and he went on to assert that the alternatives proposed by the anonymous agitator were to leave the country defenceless and to go into the wilderness, perhaps to perish, or else to turn the arms of aggrieved officers against their own government. He denounced these courses and their advocate and then voiced the assurance he had resolved to give: ". . . in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost of my abilities."

He proceeded: ". . . let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained; let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress . . ." [37] There followed two or three minutes more of explanation in the same spirit that led to a fine climax: "you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'had this day been wanting,

[34] J. A. Wright to John Webb, Mch. 16, 1783; 3 *Webb*, 5, and 10 *Ford*, 178 n.

[35] These sentences merely paraphrase the summary of Washington's opening remarks, as given in a letter of Samuel Shaw's, Apr. n.d., 1783, the most detailed of the contemporary accounts of the meeting. See *Samuel Shaw*, 103–05.

[36] 26 *G. W.*, 223, 240.

[37] *Ibid.*, 226–27.

the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.' " [38]

This was the finest phrase with which he ever had exhorted disgruntled, sullen or resentful men; but he was not quite sure he had convinced his comrades of the perplexities and the good faith of Congress. He had brought with him a letter he had received not long previously from Joseph Jones, a discerning member of Congress from Virginia who spoke with sympathetic acknowledgment of the fiscal mountains the Delegates had to remove before they could discharge justly the proper claims of the Army. The reading of part of this communication, Washington told himself, perhaps might confirm whatever impression he had made. He stumbled through a few sentences, but as the manuscript probably was closely written and without paragraphs, Washington had trouble in making it intelligible to his auditors. He paused, reached into his pocket, took out his new spectacles, and put them on. "Gentlemen," he said, in effect, as he fumbled with the glasses, "you must pardon me. I have grown gray in your service and now find myself growing blind." [39]

That observation, made in the simplest manner, completed the rally to Washington. When he left the hall a few minutes later, Gates acted as presiding officer in accordance with General Orders,[40] and some of the most trusted lieutenants of the Commander-in-Chief took charge of the proceedings. In the face of mild opposition by Timothy Pickering,[41] Washington received a vote of thanks; a committee presented a report

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Samuel Shaw*, 103–05. The traditional account of this incident had its origin in a letter addressed to Timothy Pickering, Nov. 9, 1825, by David Cobb, who had left Washington's staff temporarily in January, 1783, to be Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Fifth Massachusetts. Cobb was 77 at the time he answered Pickering's inquiry concerning an event that had occurred forty-two years previously. Shaw's account, in contrast, was written within a few weeks of the meeting and, of course, is to be preferred. The one material point of difference between the two narratives concerns the time at which Washington made the remark about "growing blind." The letter of which the General read a part could not have been one from Delegate Samuel Hardy as John Armstrong later wrote (1 *Pickering*, 409). Burnett found no such letter of this period; Matteson's General Index to *G. W.* includes no reference to any letter from Washington to Hardy. A natural surmise would be that "Hardy" was the mistake of an old man's memory, and that Washington was quoting his known correspondent, John Harvie; but that Virginian was not in 1783 a member of Congress. The letter that perfectly fits Samuel Shaw's description is that of Joseph Jones to Washington, Feb. 27, 1783, in 7 *Burnett*, 60 ff. Identification is rendered complete by (1) Pickering's admitted contemporary opinion that Jones was the author (see 1 *Pickering*, 438) and (2) the remark of Washington in his address that "like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, [the Delegates'] deliberations are slow" (26 *G. W.*, 226). Jones had written Washington: ". . . with those acquainted with the deliberations of public bodies, and especially so mixed a body as that of Congress, allowances will be made for slow determination" (7 *Burnett*, 61).

[40] 26 *G. W.*, 208.

[41] 1 *Pickering*, 438–39, 440, 442.

in which the officers expressed their confidence in the justice of Congress, asked the General to act in their behalf, repudiated the proposals of the anonymous addresses, and called on McDougall and his associates to remain in Philadelphia until they accomplished their object. The report was discussed and amended slightly and then adopted without a show of dissent;[42] the meeting adjourned quietly.[43] Many officers left in deep emotion and with higher admiration for their leader. Samuel Shaw phrased admirably what men of mind less well ordered doubtless were thinking: "On other occasions, he [Washington] had been supported by the exertions of an Army and the countenance of his friends; but in this he stood single and alone. There was no saying where the passions of an Army, which were not a little inflamed, might lead; but it was generally allowed that longer forebearance was dangerous, and moderation had ceased to be a virtue. Under these circumstances he appeared, not at the head of his troops, but as it were in opposition to them; and for a dreadful moment the interests of the Army and its General seemed to be in competition! He spoke—every doubt was dispelled, and the tide of patriotism rolled again in its wonted course. Illustrious man! What he says of the Army may with equal justice be applied to his own character. 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.' "[44]

Washington felt immense relief and told himself and his friends in Congress that the result was what he "had reason to expect";[45] but his common sense and numerous evidences of continuing deep discontent were warnings that action by Congress, prompt and adequate action, was the only guarantee against another storm. He went further, if possible, than ever he had gone in urging immediately that Congress satisfy the officers' claims,[46] and he wrote his friend Joseph Jones that Congress should not rely "on any influence of mine to dispel other clouds if any should arise, from the causes of the last."[47] Realist that he was, he knew he could not hope again to placate his officers with promises Congress did not redeem.[48]

42 Timothy Pickering wrote that he did not hold up his hand. Letter of Mch. 16, 1783, to Samuel Hodgdon; 1 *Pickering*, 440.

43 See the proceedings in 24 *JCC.*, 310–11.

44 *Samuel Shaw*, 105.

45 26 *G. W.*, 228.

46 *Ibid.*, 229–32.

47 *Ibid.*, 253.

48 The history of the "Newburgh addresses" was never known in its entirety to the General but was briefly this: Col. Walter Stewart, on returning from Philadelphia, at Washington's insistence, to active duty as inspector (26 *G. W.*, 46–47, 143) made full report to his friends regarding the plans of Congress for early dissolution of the Army, and he asserted that officers must make common cause and must act, if need be, with other creditors, in demanding that Congress pay promptly all that had been promised them. Stewart spread this view everywhere he went in camp (John Armstrong, Jr. in *U. S. Mag.*, Jan. 1823, p. 40) and when he became satisfied that Washington would not take the lead in making demands on Congress he turned to Gates (*Rufus King*, v. 1, p. 621–22), who proved sympathetic. John Armstrong, Jr., wrote the addresses which Gates's friend, Capt. Christopher Richmond copied, and Maj. William Barber, one of the Inspectors, distributed (Gates to Armstrong, June 23, 1783; *U. S. Mag.* as *supra*). Barber sometimes was confused with Col. Francis Barber, who had been killed accidentally in February (3 *Webb*, 2) and with one of several officers named Barker, but his identity is beyond dispute. That he remained with the Army on intimate terms with Stewart is plain from his letter of Aug. 24, 1783 to that officer (*Stewart Papers*; Force Transcripts, LC). In spite of what had happened at the meeting of March 15, renewal of demands was considered in April by Armstrong and others but was abandoned because Armstrong thought it had been disclosed to Washington. See Armstrong to Gates, Apr. 29, 1783, 7 *Burnett*, 155 n. Cf. same to same, June 9, and Christopher Richmond to Gates, June 15, 1783, *Emmet Col.*, NYPL. A controversy in 1823 over the authorship of the addresses served only to disclose the peculiarities of Armstrong's temperament and the unreliability of Timothy Pickering's memory. See *U. S. Mag.*, January, 1823, p. 40 and 1 *Pickering*, 406 ff.

However it might be judged, it had been an alarming experience, and most inopportune, because it had come just at the time to dampen rejoicing over the greatest news that ever had come to headquarters, the glorious tidings of a treaty of peace that recognized the independence of the United States.

DAIS GUESTS

4/24/89

	NAME	TITLE	SPOUSE/GUEST	RESP	ST PAUL	FED HALL	CRU ISE	FLOT ILLA	PREZ BALL	XTR TIX
1	Abrams, Robert	Attorney General, NYS	Ms. Rachel Abrams (da	yes	2	2	no	no	2	1
2	Ackerman, Gary L.	Rep., NYCCD		yes	1	1	1	1	1	
3	Anderson, Donald K.	Clerk, House of Rep.	Mrs. Anderson	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
4	Arter, Robert	Lt. Gen., U.S. Army (Ret)	Mrs. Lois Arter	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
5	Bernstein, Richard B.	Historian, NYCCBC		yes	1	1	no	1	2	
6	Blanc, Pierre-Louis	U.N. Ambassador, France	Mrs. Jutta Von Cramm-	yes	2	2	2	3	2	1
7	Boggs, Lindy	Chair., House Bicen.		yes	1	1	no	no	1	
8	Brieant, Charles	Chief Judge, Fed'l	Mrs. Virginia Brieant	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
9	Brown, Rev. Percival Ge.	Trinity Church	Ms. Delores Young	yes	2	2	2	no	2	
10	Brown, William Holmes	House Parliamentarian		yes	2	2	2	2	2	
11	Brownell, Herbert	Former Attorney General	Mrs. Marion R. "Riki"	yes	2	2	no	no	2	
12	Burger, Warren E.	Chair., Bicen. Comm.	Mrs. Burger	yes	2	2	no	no	2	
13	Bush, George	President	Mrs. Barbara Bush	yes	2	2	no	no	?	
14	Bush, Jonathan			yes	?	?	?	?	?	
15	Cables, Herbert S. Jr.	Dep. Dir, Nat'l Park Svc	Mrs. Lucienne Cables	yes	no	2	no	no	2	
16	Casson, Rev. Canon Lloyd S.	Vicar, Trinity & S.P's	Mrs. Shirley Casson	yes	2	2	2	no	2	
17	Coffey, Diane M.	Chief of Staff, NYC		yes	1	1	1	1	2	
18	Crane, Philip	Rep., Burger Comm.	Mrs. Crane	yes	2	2	no	no	2	
19	Crosson, Matthew T.	Chief Administrator	guest	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
20	Cuomo, Mario	Governor of New York		yes	1	no	no	no	no	
21	Dayal, Virendra	Chief of Cab., UN Sec-Gen.		yes	1	1	no	no	no	
22	de Aldasoro, Miguel I.	Consul General, Spain		yes	2	2	2	2	2	
23	Dinkins, David	Manhattan Boro Pres.	Mrs. Joyce Dinkins	yes	no	no	no	no	2	
24	Dornan, Bob	Rep., OCD	Mrs. Sally Dornan	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
25	Dunlop, Becky Norton	Asst. Sec. of the Interior	Mr. George Dunlop	yes	no	2	no	no	2	
26	d'Aboville, Benoit	Consul General, France	Elaine de Dampierre	yes	1	1	2	2	no	
27	D'Amato, Alfonse M.	Senator, NYSCO	Ms. Donna Kaufman	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
28	Eliasson, Jan	U.N. Ambassador, Sweden	Mrs. Kerstin Eliasson	yes	no	no	2	no	2	
29	Engel, Eliot	Rep., OCD, NYCCD		yes	2	2	?	?	?	
30	Feinberg, Wilfred	Chief Judge, Fed'l (Ret)	Mrs. Feinberg	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
31	Ferrer, Fernando	Bronx Boro Pres.		yes	?	?	?	?	?	
32	Fisher, Zachary	Chrmn, Intrepid Museum	Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher	yes	2	2	no	yes	no	10
33	Flom, Joseph H.	Chairman, NYCCBC	Mrs. Claire Flom	yes	2	2	2	2	-	s
34	Ford, Dr. James D.	Chaplain, House	Mrs. Marcy Ford	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
35	Gerstein, Rabbi Louis C.	Temple Shearith Israel	Mrs. Amy Gerstein	yes	2	2	2	no	2	
36	Goldin, Harrison J.	Comptroller, NYC	Mrs. Diana Goldin	yes	2	2	2	2	?	

- N.Y. Guest List ✓

DAIS GUESTS

	NAME	TITLE	SPOUSE/GUEST	RESP	ST PAUL	FED HALL	CRU ISE	FLOT ILLA	PREZ BALL	XTR TIX	
	Gray, Gen. Alfred A.	Commandant, USMC	Mrs. Jan Gray	yes	2	2	no	no	2		
	Green, S. William	Rep., NYCCD	Mrs. Patricia Green	yes	no	1	2	no	no		
	Hayes, Helen		James MacArthur (son)	yes	2	2	no	no	?		
	Hochbrueckner, George J.	Rep., NYSCD	Mrs. Carol Ann H.	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Iakovos, Archbishop Iakvos	Greek Orth. Archdiocese		yes	2	2	2	no	?		
	Jacobovits de Szeged, Adriaan	U.N. Ambass., Netherlands	Mrs. J. de Szeged	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Jewkes, Gordon W., CMG	Consul Gen'l, Gt. Brit.		yes	2	2	no	no	2		
	Koch, Edward I.	Mayor, NYC		yes	1	1	1	1	1		
	Lautenberg, Frank	NJ Senator		yes	2	2	?	?	?		
	Lowey, Nita M.	Rep., NYSCD	Mr. Stephen Lowey	yes	2	2	no	no	2		
	Lujan, Manuel Jr.	Sec. of the Interior	Mrs. Jean Lujan	yes	2	2	no	no	?		
	Manoogian, Most Rev. Torkom	Eastern Diocese, Armenian C		yes	1	1	1	no	1		
	Manton, Thomas J.	Rep, NYCCD	Mrs. Diane Manton	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Marsh, John O., Jr.	Sec. of the Army	Mrs. Glenn Ann Marsh	yes	2	2	no	no	3		
	Matthews, Rev.Dr.Daniel Paul	Rector, Trinity Church	Mrs. Diane Matthews	yes	2	2	no	no	no	4	
	Mollen, Milton	Presiding Justice	Mrs. Bebe Mollen	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Molloy, Ames T.	House Doorkeeper	Mrs. Roseanne Molloy	yes	2	2	?	?	?		
	Moody, Rev. John W.	Trinity Church	Ms. Caroline Stacey (	yes	2	no	2	no	no		
	Moore, Rt. Rev. Paul, Jr.	Bishop, Episcopal Diocese		yes	1	no	no	no	no		
	Moynihan, Daniel P.	Senator, NYSCD	Mrs. Liz Moynihan	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Mulloy, Father Matthew	Church of St. Peter		yes	1	2	2	no	NO		
	Murphy, Francis T.	Presidg Justice, Appel. Div	Mrs. Shirley Murphy	yes	no	no	2	no	2		
	Ohrenstein, Manfred	Minority Ldr., NYS Senate	Mrs. Lynn Ohrenstein	yes	no	2	2	no	2		
	Owens, Major	Rep., OCD, NYCCD		yes	2	2	?	?	?		
	O'Connor, H.E. John Cardinal	R.C. Archdiocese	Monsignor McCarthy	yes	no	2	?	no	?		
	Perelman, Ronald	Chairman, Revlon Inc.	Mrs. Claudia Perelman	yes	2	2	2	2	-	S	
	Phelan, John	Pres., NY Stock Exchange		yes	2	2	2	2	-	S	
	Pickering, Thomas	Chief Delegate to the U.N.	Mrs. Alice Pickering	yes	2	2	no	no	no		
	Pierce, Lawrence W.	Circuit Judge, Ct. of Appls	Mrs. Cynthia StrakerP	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Reed, Joseph Verner Jr.	Chief of Protocol (Pres)		yes	1	1	no	no	?		
	Regan, Ned	NY State Comptroller		yes	1	1	no	no	2	6	
	Ridenour, James	Director, NPS		yes	no	1	no	no	no		
	Ross, Steven J.	Chairman, Warner Comm.		yes	2	2	2	2	-	S	
	Rota, Robert V.	House Postmaster		yes	2	2	?	?	?		
	Russ, Jack	Sergeant at Arms, House	Mrs. Susan Russ	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Santamaria, Julian	U.S. Ambassador, Spain	Mrs. Santamaria	yes	2	2	2	2	2		
	Scheuer, James H.	Rep., Dean, NYCCD	Mrs. Emily Scheuer	yes	no	2	no	no	2		

DAIS GUESTS

	NAME	TITLE	SPOUSE/GUEST	RESP	ST PAUL	FED HALL	CRUISE	FLOTILLA	PREZ BALL	XTR TIX
1	Sherman, Rev. Elizabeth A.	Trinity Church		yes	?	no	?	no	?	
5	Shulman, Claire	Queens Boro Pres.	Dr. Melvin Shulman	yes	no	2	no	no	?	
6	Smith, Lt.Gen. Carl R.	Asst. Vice Cf Staff, USAF	Ms. Mariana Smith	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
7	Smock, Dr. Raymond W.	Historian, House	Mrs. Phyllis Smock	yes	2	2	2	2	2	
8	Solarz, Stephen	Rep., OCD		yes	no	1	no	no	1	
9	Sorensen, Gillian	Comm., UN & Consular Affrs	Mr. Theodore Sorensen	yes	2	2	2	no	2	
0	Sununu, John H.	Chief of Staff to the Pres.		yes	1	1	no	no	?	
1	Thoren, Arne	Consul General, Sweden		yes	1	1	2	no	2	
2	Tickell, Crispin Sir	U.N. Ambassador, Gt. Britai	Lady Penelope T.	yes	2	2	2	no	2	
3	Tieleman, Adrien F.	Consul Gen'l, Netherlands		yes	1	1	no	1	no	
4	Towns, Edolphus	Rep., OCD, NYCCD		yes	no	1	no	no	1	
5	Vallone, Peter J.	Majority Ldr., Bd of Est.	Mrs. Tena Vallone	yes	2	no	2	no	2	
6	Villar, Don Francisco	U.N. Ambassador, Spain	Mrs. Isabel Villar	yes	2	2	no	no	no	
7	Wachtler, Sol	Chief Judge, Ct. of Appls	Ms. Joy Silverman	yes	no	2	no	no	no	
8	Wachtmeister, Wilhelm	U.S. Ambassador, Sweden		yes	2	2	2	no	no	
9	Weinstein, Jack B.	Chief Judge, Fed'l (Ret)	Mrs. Evelyn Weinstein	yes	2	2	2	2	?	1
0	Weiss, Ted	Rep., Sec. of NYCCD		yes	no	1	no	no	no	
			Totals		127	140	88	62	98	23

1. Gjelde, Earl — Und. Sect of Interior — Mrs. Sandra — Yes no 2 no no 2

142 100

elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed Choir* who met him with the gratulatory song,[47] have made such impressions on his remembrance, as, he assures them, will never be effaced.[48]

*THE FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[April 30, 1789.]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notifica-

[47] Washington has entered on pp. 17–18 of this volume of the "Letter Book" the words of the song which was sung by the "*white robed Choir,*" and also a copy of his acknowledgment to the ladies, which is the only entry in the volume in his writing.

[48] From the original in the Trenton Public Library. For a photostat of this, and Jane Ewing's description, I am indebted to Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, director of New Jersey Public Record Office.

"The Triumphal Arch supported by thirteen Pillars adorned with wreaths of flowers the form was thus [a rough diagram of arch and pillars, entwined with flowers. The inscription on the arch reads: 'The Protector of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters.' Below the center of the arch was hung a small square on which was the date December 26, 1776] the writing large letters painted yellow on white; the pillars on one side 6 the other 7 observe all the Scollops is wreaths of laurel and pillars flowers. the Ladies was rang'd in a line from the arch along the Bridge and thirteen Girls dress't in white with Baskets of flowers they sung the inclos'd song and when they come these words Build and strew thy way with flowers they skaterd them round that is the flowers out of their Baskets round his horses feet. he sat on his horse while they sung and then made them a low Bow say'd the Ladies had done them a very great honour requested them to except his most greateful thanks, the most respectable Carecters met him at the ferry, the Infantry and Dragoons they made a grand apearance he stayd all night at Vandigrifts Mr. Ewing and a few others spent the Evening with him and next morning at Sunrise accompanied him 8 miles out of town."—*Jane Ewing to James Hunter, jr.*, at Philadelphia, Apr. 23, 1789. The original is in the Public Record Office at Trenton, N. J.

Marshall's account gives the inscription as: "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters," and says the dates of the two memorable events were on a dome or cupola of flowers and evergreens above the arch. Sparks, quoting from Marshall, v. 12, p. 149–50, gives the verses sung by the young ladies. Joseph Vandegrift's tavern was on North Warren Street. Jane Ewing was the wife of Maskell Ewing, and daughter of James Hunter, of Philadelphia.

Washington reached Princeton April 21, where he received and answered an address from the president and faculty of the College of New Jersey and the inhabitants. He reached New Brunswick April 22, and lodged at Woodbridge; and arrived at Bridgetown April 23. A specially built barge, rowed by 13 pilots, with Capt. Thomas Randall acting as coxswain, conveyed him across New York bay to the city, which he

tion was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my Country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my Country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with dispondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof, of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my Country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would

reached about 2 o'clock p. m. This barge was afterwards presented to the President. (The letter from a number of gentlemen of New York City to Captain Randall, Apr. 20, 1789, is in the *Washington Papers*.)

be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official Act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe, who presides in the Councils of Nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the People of the United States, a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No People can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the Affairs of men more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United Government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me I trust in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and

expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the Great Constitutional Charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices, or attachments; no seperate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our National policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free Government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my Country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the œconomy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the Republican model of Government, are justly

considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the System, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an United and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceeding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the Service of my Country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the Executive Department; and must accordingly pray that

the pecuniary estimates for the Station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.[49]

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication that since he has been pleased to favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparellelled unanimity on a form of Government, for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.[50]

* [PROPOSED ADDRESS TO CONGRESS][51]

[April ?, 1789.]

. . . myself with the idea it was all that would ever be expected at my hand. But in this I was disappointed. The Legislature of Virginia in opposition to my express desire signified in the clearest terms to the Governor of that State, appointed me a Delegate to the federal Convention. Never was my embarrassment or hesitation more extreme or dis. . . .

[5] . . . At the beginning of the late War with Great Britain, when we thought ourselves justifiable in resisting to blood, is was known to those best acquainted with the different condition of the combatants and the probable cost of the prize in dispute, that the expence in comparison with our circumstances as Colonists must be enormous, the struggle protracted, dubious and severe. It was known that the resources of Britain were, in a manner, inexhaustible, that her fleets covered the Ocean, and that her troops had harvested laurels in every quarter of the globe. Not then organised as a nation, or known as a people upon the earth, we had no preparation. Money, the nerve of War, was wanting. The Sword was to be forged on the Anvil of necessity: the treasury to be created from nothing. If we had a secret resource of a nature unknown to our enemy, it was in the unconquerable resolution of our Citizens, the conscious rectitude of our cause, and a confident trust that we should not be forsaken by Heaven. The people willingly [6] offered themselves to the battle; but the means of Arming, clothing and subsisting them; as well as of procuring the implements of hostility were only to be found in anticipation of our future wealth. Paper bills of credit were emitted: Monies borrowed for the

[49] This request was, after consideration, seen to establish an awkward precedent, and Congress fixed the compensation of the President at $25,000 a year. Washington drew only $196,121 from the Treasury during his two terms, but the $3,879, which is the difference between $200,000 and his warrants, is almost exactly the salary for the 56 or 57 days which his first administration lacked of being 4 full years. The curious may be further satisfied by the following figures taken from the Government's statement of warrants drawn for the use of the President: From Sept. 26, 1789, to Dec. 27, 1791, $72,150; from Jan. 3, 1792, to Dec. 19, 1792, $22,500; Jan. 4 to Dec. 27, 1793, $27,500; Mar. 17 to Dec. 11, 1794, $24,000; Jan. 1 to Dec. 22, 1795, $19,500; Jan. 5 to Dec. 21, 1796, $23,596; Jan. 13 to Mar. 7, 1797, $6,875. In all, $196,121.

[50] From the original in the files of the United States Senate, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. (*See* Washington's letter to James Madison, May 5, 1789, *post.*)

[51] This document now exists in fragmentary form only. The first pages are missing. Apparently intended as Washington's inaugural address, or as his first annual message to Congress, it was discarded and not used. Jared Sparks, finding that the document had no official existence, did as he had done in other instances (specifically the Washington "Diaries"), split up the document and presented pages and cuttings of pages to his friends. The complete manuscript was more than 62 pages in length, Washington having numbered each page himself. It was most carefully written and evidently was considered of importance at the time it was inscribed. Some of the widely separated pages bear Sparks's initialed statement that this is Washington's handwriting, and on the margin of page 33 Sparks has written "Washington's handwriting, but not his composition. J. S." Comment is needless. It is extremely doubtful that the complete document can ever be recovered. Those pages that are numbered have been placed in sequence and the unnumbered fragments have been tentatively placed. Washington's numbering is inserted at the beginning of the page texts in brackets, for the sake of record. Photostats of all the known fragments (with the exception noted, pp. 57–58) are in the "Washington Photostats" in the Library of Congress.

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OF THE UNION
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THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN HISTORY



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Richard C. Wade Gordon S. Wood

BRAMHALL HOUSE
New York

OCTOBER 10, 1792

publishes an account of his botanizing expeditions throughout North and South Carolina, Georgia, and East and West Florida. Bartram's *Travels* will be highly valued by such European writers as Chateaubriand, Wordsworth and Coleridge; and the book also becomes a seminal document of romanticism, helping to inspire its interest in American landscape.

In Massachusetts, Boston clergyman and historian Jeremy Belknap founds the first American historical association, the Massachusetts Historical Society. The goal of the society is to collect and preserve significant documents of American history.

12 JANUARY 1792
International South Carolina Federalist Thomas Pinckney is appointed the first minister of the United States to Great Britain. Pinckney departs with instructions to obtain favorable commercial terms for American trade. On the same day, Congress confirms the appointment of Gouverneur Morris as minister to France. Morris is already in France, where he has been a witness to the French Revolution.

JANUARY 1792
Ideas/Beliefs The second part of Tom Paine's political pamphlet, *The Rights of Man*, is issued. This tract supports the revolutionary cause and argues that power should rest in the will of the democratic majority.

21 FEBRUARY 1792
National Congress passes the Presidential Succession Act, providing for the succession of the president pro tempore of the Senate and then the speaker of the House in case of the removal, death, resignation or disability of both the president and vice-president. Thomas Jefferson's attempt to place the secretary of state next in the line of succession is defeated by the Federalists; this proposal is finally incorporated into the Presidential Succession Act in 1886.

5 MARCH 1792
Indian Affairs Following his November 1791 defeat by the Ohio Indians, General Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, is replaced as the military commander of the troops in the Ohio territory by General Anthony Wayne.

2 APRIL 1792
Finance Congress passes the Coinage Act, establishing a national mint in Philadelphia, mandating a decimal system of coinage, and setting the ratio of silver to gold in the United States dollar at 15 to 1. Astronomer and mathematician David Rittenhouse is appointed the first director of the mint.

APRIL 1792
Slavery At the Kentucky constitutional convention, Presbyterian clergyman David Rice unsuccessfully tries to exclude slavery from Kentucky. A second attempt, in 1799, to abolish slavery from Kentucky also fails.

8 MAY 1792
Indian Affairs Faced with the growing Indian hostilities in the Northwest Territory, Congress passes the Militia Act which authorizes the states to draft all able-bodied free white men between the ages of 18 and 45 into militia brigades.

11 MAY 1792
Discovery On a second voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, Boston Captain Robert Gray discovers the 1214-mile-long Columbia River in the Washington-Oregon territory. Gray names the river after his ship. The Columbia River will not be explored overland until the 1805 Lewis and Clark Expedition.

17 MAY 1792
Finance The New York Stock Exchange is organized by 24 brokers who gather at the Merchants Coffee House.

1 JUNE 1792
Westward Movement Kentucky becomes the 15th state to enter the Union, with a state constitution providing for male suffrage, slavery and a bill of rights.

18 JULY 1792
Life/Customs In Paris, John Paul Jones, the naval hero of the Revolutionary War, dies at the age of 45.

21 AUGUST 1792
Finance In Pennsylvania, the whisky excise tax of 1791 is protested at a Pittsburgh convention. Republican leader Albert Gallatin heads a committee to draft a series of resolutions opposing the tax, and the convention seeks to determine legal means to circumvent the tax. Opposition to the whisky excise tax is strong throughout the South, especially in central North Carolina.

29 SEPTEMBER 1792
Finance In reaction to the Pittsburgh proclamation opposing the whisky excise tax, President Washington issues a proclamation warning against avoidance of the tax and insisting that the tax will be collected as provided for in the law.

2 OCTOBER 1792
National At Mount Vernon, President Washington meets with Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in an unsuccessful attempt to mediate an end to the feud between Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. The quarrel has been fueled by a series of articles in the opposing partisan journals, the Jeffersonian *National Gazette* and the Hamiltonian *Gazette of the United States*. Hamilton accuses Jefferson of opposing the Constitution and the Washington Administration and of being the source of political intrigue undermining the government.

10 OCTOBER 1792
Regional The Virginia legislature enacts a bill

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VOLUME IX

THE DIARY OF WILLIAM MACLAY AND OTHER NOTES ON SENATE DEBATES

(Senator from Pennsylva

KENNETH R. BOWLING
and
HELEN E. VEIT
Editors

For John Riley, Enjoy Maclay's view of G.W.!
Kenneth R Bowling

The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London

shall he be received? a Silly kind of Resolution of the Committee on that Business,[19] had been laid on the Table some days ago, the amount of it was that each house should communicate to the other what and how they choose. it concluded however something in this way, that everything should be done with all the *propriety* that was *proper*. the question was shall this be adopted, that we may know how to receive the Clk. it was objected. this will throw no light on the Subject, it will leave you where you are. Mr. Lee brought the House of Commons before Us again. he reprobated the Rule declared that the Clerk should not come within the Bar of the House, That the proper mode was for the Sergeant at Arms with the Mace on his shoulder should to meet the Clerk at the door and receive his Communications we are not however provided for this ceremonious way of doing business, having neither Mace nor Sergeant, nor masters in chancery, who carry down Bills— from the English Lords.

Mr. Izard got up, and labored unintelligibly to show the great distinction, between a Communication and a delivery of a thing. but he was not minded. Mr. Elsworth shewed plainly enough that if The Clerk was not permitted to deliver the Communication, the Speaker might as well send it inclosed. repeated accounts came the Speaker and representatives were at the door. confusion insued. the members left their Seats. Mr. Read rose and called the attention of the Senate to the neglect that had been shewed to Mr. Thomson late Secretary. Mr. Lee rose to answer him, but I could not hear one word he said. the Speaker was introduced followed by the Representatives. here we sat an hour and ten minutes, before the President arrived— this delay was owing to Lee(,) Izard and Dalton, who had staid with us untill the Speaker came in, instead of going to attend the President. the President advanced between the Senate and Representatives bowing to each. he was placed in the Chair by the President of the Senate. the Senate with their President on the right the Speaker and Reptesentatives on his left. the President of the Senate rose and address'd a short Sentence to him. The import of it was that he should now take the Oath of Office as President. he seemed to have forgot half of what he was to say for he made a dead pause and stood for some time, to appearance, in a vacant mood. he finished with a formal bow. and the President was conducted out of the middle Window into the Gallery and the Oath administered by the Chancellor.[20] Notice of that the

pp. x–xv. (*PMHB* 72:54–59; E. Griffith Dodson, ed., *Speakers and Clerks of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1776–1955* [Richmond, 1955], pp. 19–20)

[19]The resolution of the joint committee on communication between the Houses was tabled on 28 April.

[20]Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813) held the post of Chancellor of New York from 1777 to 1801 and for that reason was asked to administer the oath of office to Washington. A member of a wealthy, landed, and politically influential New York family, Livingston graduated from Kings College in 1765. Admitted to the bar in 1770, he served as a member of various New York revolutionary bodies, as a delegate to Congress for several terms between 1775 and

Business was done, was communicated to the Croud by Proclamation &ça., who gave three Cheers, and repeated it on the Presidents bowing to them— as the Company returned into the Senate Chamber, the President took the Chair, and the Senate and Representatives their Seats, he rose & all arose also. and addressed them (see the address) this great Man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the levelled Cannon or pointed Musket. he trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, tho it must be supposed he had often read it before. he put the part of the fingers of his left hand, into the side, of what I think the Taylors call the fall, of his Breetches. changing the paper into his left hand, after some time, he then did the same with some of the fingers of his left right hand. When he came to the Words *all the World*, he made a flourish with his right hand, which had left rather an ungainly impression. I-sin I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the dancing Masters. and that this first of Men, had read off, his address, in the plainest Manner without ever taking his Eyes off From, the paper. for I felt hurt, that he was not first in every thing. he was dressed in deep brown, with Metal buttons, with an Eagle on them, White Stockings a Bag and Sword— from the Hall there was a grand Procession to St. Pauls Church where prayers were said by the Bishop.[21] the Procession was well conducted and without accident, as far as I have heard, the Militias were all under Arms, lined the Street near the Church, made a good figure and behaved well The Senate returned to their Chamber after Service, formed & took up the Address. Our President called it *his most gracious Speech*. I cannot approve of this. a Committee was appointd on it, Johnson, Carrol, Patterson. adjourned. in the Evening there were grand fire Works. The Spanish Ambassadors House was adorned with Transparent paintings, The French Ministers House was illuminated, and had some transparent pieces[22] the Hall was grandly illuminated. and after all this the People went to bed.

1785, as secretary for foreign affairs between 1781 and 1783, and as a Federalist member of his state's ratification convention.

[21]Samuel Provoost.

[22]Don Diego de Gardoqui (1735–98), who resided at No. 1 Broad Way, had represented Spanish interests in the United States since 1785. Much of this time was spent in unsuccessful negotiations over a boundary treaty between Spain and the United States. Gardoqui left the United States at the end of the first session of the FFC. (*DGW* 5:184n; *New York*, pp. 19, 85)

Eleanor François Elie, Comte de Moustier (1751–1817), who resided near the Bowling Green at the foot of Broad Way, served as French Minister during 1788 and 1789. He was unsocial, proud, and did little to conceal his "illicit connection" with his sister-in-law, with whom he lived. The United States successfully urged his recall. (*New York*, pp. 26, 85–86; *DGW* 5:147n; *PTJ* 14:291, 340–41)

Transparencies were a popular art form at times of celebration and had been employed in America at least since the 1760s. Color was applied to window shades, to canvas, or to thin paper pasted on a framework behind which a candle or other source of light provided illumination. (Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* [New York, 1976], p. 96)

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GEORGE WASHINGTON

A BIOGRAPHY

By

Douglas Southall Freeman

VOLUME SIX

PATRIOT AND PRESIDENT

With a Foreword
BY
DUMAS MALONE

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

tioning a
model and
the statue
work, has

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delphia to organize a Jacobin Club; the *National Gazette* was in a rapture; Fenno's teeth chattered as he wrote that the word "club" was "almost synonymous to faction."[102] Neither Federalist nor republican editors seemed to regard the fact—if indeed they discerned it—that relations with Britain were slowly approaching a settlement. Hamilton soon was to receive a confidential report that Lord Hawkesbury[103] had said, "as long as Washington is at the head of the executive and the Federal party prevail, there will be no war with this country, as peace is the interest and wish of both governments."[104] Further, after some maneuvering to prevail upon both Ternant and Hammond to visit Mount Vernon,[105] the British Minister arrived late in September.[106] Considerately, he did not tarry long, though doubtless the President extended his warmest hospitality to the young diplomat.[107]

After Hammond's departure, Washington completed his arrangements at Mount Vernon, as far as this was possible, and made preparations for his own leave-taking. Already he had called on several of his subordinates to give him their suggestions for his annual "speech" to Congress,[108] and, during spare moments toward the end of Hammond's visit, he had had opportunity of talking with Jefferson, who stopped on the Potomac en route to Philadelphia from Monticello. Before breakfast on the morning of the 1st of October, the two had a long, frank discussion of the desire both had to retire from public service. Washington explained his state of mind and confessed that he still was in doubt about a second term, though all his inclination was to return to Mount Vernon; only there was he happy.[109] He said the evidence he had from Tobias Lear, whom he had instructed to make inquiry, was that it seemed to be the wish of the people in the North for him

[102] *Gazette of U. S.*, June 23, 1792, p. 3. See *National Gaz.*, June 18, p. 2: "The patriotic French song of *Ça Ira* . . . may be considered as the funeral dirge of tyrants"; *ibid.*, June 21, p. 3: "Few people have a proper sense of the importance of the success of the French revolution to the welfare and happiness of America . . . Should the French Revolution eventually succeed, a moderate degree of vigilance on the part of the people of this country will preserve a pure republican system . . ."; *ibid.*, July 7, 1792, p. 2: The friends of the French Revolution are "the real friends to the revolution in America."

[103] This was Charles Jenkinson, later (1796) first Earl of Liverpool, usually known in British history of the seventeen-nineties as Lord Liverpool.

[104] Conversation of Aug. 19, 1792, with "Mr. Baring," almost certainly Francis Baring, who received a baronetcy in May, 1793; 17 *Hamilton Papers*, 2310.

[105] See Knox to Washington, Sept. 16, 1792; *Knox Papers*, MHS.

[106] 32 *G. W.*, 163.

[107] Hammond's dispatch to Foreign Secretary Grenville, dated Oct. 3, 1792, fails to elaborate on the details of the visit but does mention a tour of the proposed site of the Federal City; *British Photostats*, Foreign Office 4, v. 16, No. 39, LC.

[108] 32 *G. W.*, 132–36, 140, 172–74.

[109] 1 *Jefferson*, 315.

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to remain in office. "Those who expressed a doubt of his continuance, did it in the language of apprehension, and not of desire." [110]

Jefferson took this to be a hint that Washington wished to draw from him a statement of the view of Southerners, if their opinion differed from that of the region above the Delaware; but he did not have to employ the diplomatic art in answering. He affirmed that the President was "the only man in the United States who possessed the confidence of the whole; that government was founded in opinion and confidence, and that the longer [Washington] remained, the stronger would become the habits of the people in submitting to the Government, and in thinking it a thing to be maintained; that there was no other person who would be thought anything more than the head of a party." [111]

This brought the conversation to the doubt that troubled Washington as much as any other—whether he could and should attempt to go on when deep division existed between Jefferson and Hamilton. The President had never been aware, he told Jefferson, of the magnitude of the rift. "He knew, indeed, that there was a marked difference in our political sentiments, but he had never suspected it had gone so far in producing a personal difference, and he wished he could be the mediator to put an end to it." [112] Washington proceeded to explain in complete candor that he thought it important to have Jefferson among the officers of administration "in order to keep things in their proper channel, and prevent them from going too far." [113] As for the idea of changing the government into a monarchy, Washington said, "he did not believe there were ten men in the United States whose opinions were worth attention, who entertained such a thought." [114] Here, of course, Jefferson dissented, and, in citing what he considered proof that the monarchist element was considerable, he reverted to the allegations he previously had made against Hamilton as one of this large number. A call to breakfast ended the discussion. [115]

The next move of Washington was back to Philadelphia, via Georgetown, where, on the 8th of October, he attended a sale of lots in the new Federal City. [116] The satisfactions of this evidence of public faith

[110] This is Jefferson's paraphrase of Washington's quotation of Lear and not the precise words of the General's secretary; *ibid.*, 316.

[111] *Ibid.*, 317. [112] *Ibid.* [113] *Ibid.* [114] *Ibid.*

[115] 1 *Jefferson*, 317–19. The quotations are from Jefferson's minutes of the conversation as set down later that day at Bladensburg and subsequently incorporated in the "Anas."

[116] 32 *G. W.*, 170. Original deeds and titles, with every lot and its purchaser accounted for, are compiled in Erastus Thatcher, *Founding of Washington City*.

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in the future of the "permanent seat of government" were marred by the second report Washington had received of strange electioneering tales told by John Francis Mercer, a Maryland candidate for reelection to Congress. The first yarn, promptly and indignantly denied by Washington, had been to the effect that the President had endorsed Mercer as "the best representative that now goes or ever did go" to Congress from the State. Washington, of course, never had spoken for or against any candidate and he set down that fact stiffly in a letter to Mercer.[117] The second report, which Washington did not have time to hear in full at Georgetown, was that Mercer had charged Hamilton with attempting to bribe the Marylander to "vote for a further assumption of the State debts." Washington put this away in his mind, incomplete though the story was, so that, later on, he might investigate the charge.[118]

From Georgetown, with Martha and the other members of the family, Washington went to Baltimore and there on the 10th he received entertainment at the hands of gentlemen of the city, entertainment that included the inescapable toasts with artillery salute as the wine was drunk.[119] This sort of hospitality was becoming an embarrassment to Washington. He had told James McHenry: ". . . it oftentimes, if not always, proves inconvenient to some of the party bestowing, if it is not to the party receiving, the compliment of a public dinner, being a tax which I am as unwilling to impose, as many are to pay, if false delicacy would allow them to express their real sentiments."[120] The dinner had been arranged in spite of this protest, which had been voiced in advance. With thanks to his host, the President made the best speed he could to Philadelphia and arrived there on the 13th of October.[121]

As soon as he reopened his office, Washington found that the routine of his daily life had to be changed somewhat. Public duties, of course, still came first and would demand many hours, because Congress was to meet on the 5th of November and affairs in the Federal District had to be supervised. Without stinting here or in his general administration, Washington had to devote much thought to Mount Vernon and had to write many long, long letters to the manager, Anthony Whiting.

[117] *Ibid.*, 147 n. 165–66.
[118] *Ibid.*, 193–94.
[119] Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, 264.
[120] 32 *G. W.*, 110.
[121] *Ibid.*, 177; *Baker*, 243.

Last page
Page 10 of

Mark Lonze:

I cannot find at this time the reference that Jefferson and GW were actually on piazza — I think it comes from John Marshall's biography which isn't well-indexed. Nevertheless they were here at Mount Vernon.

Jeff. dates it Oct 1 1792.

[Jefferson]

New York

, in NyC

- Brad Blakeman (516) 825 - 7575 - lead Advance

Jay Parmer.

Cathy

(212) 938 - 9100

x 7806

x 7807

289 - 8300

William Sommerfield

- played G.W.

done.

~~Saturday - day trip~~

Events are same

Take Photo by railing - where G.W. was

Justin Berger

- UN Amb France

- No

Koch

D'Mato

Moynihan

UN Amb. Sweden

Sol. Walkler.

U.S. Amb. to Sweden

Gen Grey

U.S. Amb Nitho

Card. O'Connor

Bill Green

- Lautenberg from N.J.

Lowry

Owens

U.S. Amb. Spain

James.

Scheuer

Ted Weiss.

Towns

Solarz

FAX TRANSMITTAL FORM
THE COMMISSION ON THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE U. S. CONSTITUTION

TELECOPIER PHONE NO.: (202) 653-5219

DATE: 4/26/89 **TIME:** 5:25

TO: **Name:** Rhett Wallace
Office Symbol:
Organization: White House
OFFICE PHONE NO.: 456-7750

FROM: **Name:** JACK BARLOW
Office Symbol: BIC. COMMISSION
OFFICE PHONE NO.: 653-5174

SUBJECT: WASHINGTON INAUGURAL EXCERPTS

NO. OF PAGES: 2

REMARKS: SENT TO NYC FOR REENACTMENT.

If you have problems receiving this document, please call (202) 653-2142

[Possible excerpts from George Washington's first Inaugural Address for use in the reenactment:]

Fellow-citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives:

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen as the asylum of my declining years. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies.

By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your [the Congress's] consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to

the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American People.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favor the American People with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend.

[NOTE: Ellipses within sentences are not marked as such in this text.]

780-~~2000~~ ~~1000~~ ~~700~~

Curator, Mt. Vernon

Dir. U.S. News 955-2652
Barbara Goat

Lib Congr. - Daniel Boorstin? CRS - 707-5700
Paul Hodgkinson

Smithsonian [707-5205]

John Riley

George Washington University

John Riley - Mt. Vernon

Hamilton & Jefferson

Dept in Sacramento

@ Const'l Convention – discussions w/ resp. to Presid.

in other countries, fd weak plural executives. Mistrust of exec. power

@ every pt., the decision was made to give more power than less

majority of Geo Washington

defined & shaped the office.

Const. Convent.

give them confid

to create an executive

Nowhere else in world

Now, freely elected, had such power

because of GW's stature, char.

last 200 yrs -- what is the office that has brought nation

The

– backbone –

Nash

Jeff

Jacks

T. Roos

path of sustained pr

Rarely pris. to start in that line of

presidency.

He saw that the leadership of this Republic, however presidential
was fundamentally providential.

For he knew that whatever power
the strongest leadership, however prudent,
was ultimately providential

that the strength of its citizens would
not derive from Presidents, but from Providence
from people devoted to liberty.

GEORGE BUSH
710 NORTH POST OAK ROAD
SUITE 208
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77024
(713) 467-1980

September 4, 1979

Mr. Ralph L. Benson
21 Tallmadge Avenue
Chatham, NJ 07928

Dear Mr. Benson,

Thank you for your recent letter.

I certainly understand your concern about inflation and rising costs. We are never going to hold down the cost of living until we hold down the cost of government. Excessive government spending is the chief cause of inflation.

As President, I would exert every effort to reduce government spending in conjunction with a tax cut and a cut-back in government regulation. In my view, these actions would greatly reduce the inflationary pressure.

I'm most grateful for your support.

Sincerely,

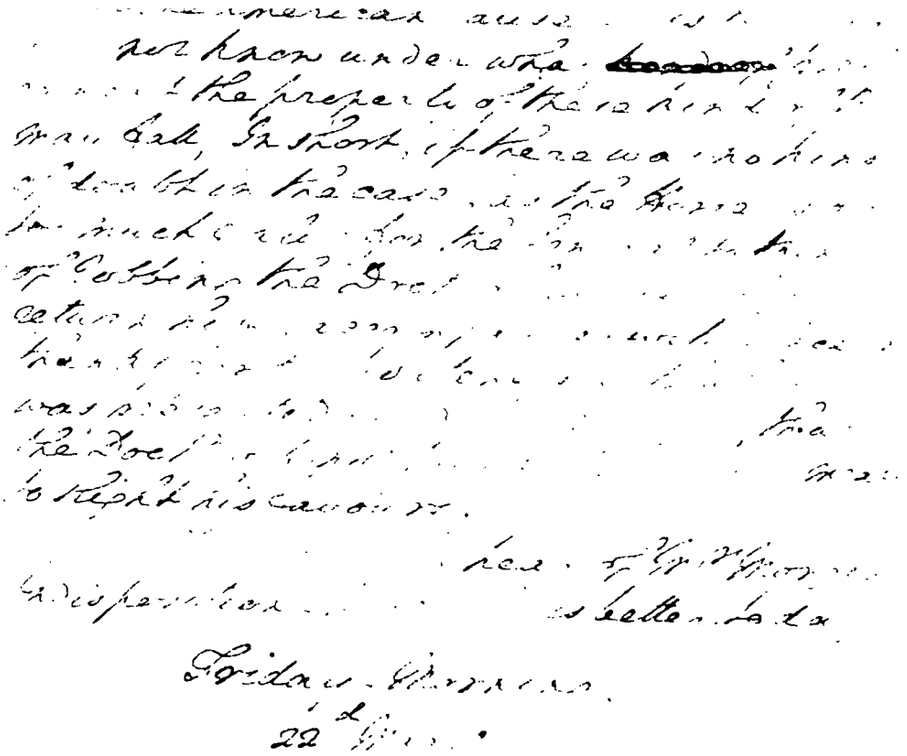
George Bush

This letter from President George Bush is one of 41 presidential letters to be featured in "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush" commemorating the 200th anniversary celebration of George Washington's inauguration. In the 1979 letter, George Bush indicates that when he becomes president there will be no new taxes and a freeze on spending, a policy later included in his 1988 campaign platform. The exhibit will be open April 22 until May 6, 1989 at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street in New York. Hours are 11 a.m until 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes
Beth Tuseck



This letter from former President George Washington is one of 41 presidential letters to be featured in "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush" commemorating the 200th anniversary celebration of George Washington's inauguration. An extraordinary letter to the Director General of Hospitals and Physician-in-Chief to the Continental Army, Dr. John Morgan, written on March 22, 1776, two days following a British retreat from Boston. George Washington declines the gift of a horse captured from the Tory, Doctor Lloyd, explaining that he has not as yet established a moral policy for such situations. The exhibit will be open April 22 until May 6, 1989 at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street in New York. Hours are 11 a.m until 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes
Beth Tuseck

MIXING THE PRESENT WITH THE PAST

PRESIDENTIAL AUTOGRAPHS ON VIEW

The exhibition at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street, New York to commemorate the 200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration held on April 30th, 1789 is called "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush." It is open from April 22nd until May 6th, 1989.

Located in a special exhibition area at **Place des Antiquaires**, the "By George" show is being organized by Dr. George Szabo, the director of the center, and Kenneth W. Rendell, owner of a gallery at **Place des Antiquaires** which bears his name. Mr. Rendell, who for 30 years has been a dealer in historical letters and documents, has this to say about the show: "The world of historical letters is a way of mixing the past with the present. In this show at **Place des Antiquaires**, for instance, we are showing letters from all the presidents. One dating back to 1979 from George Bush indicates that when he becomes president there will be no new taxes, and a freeze on spending. As you know, that was his 1988 campaign platform."

The "By George" exhibition, free and open to the public, will contain letters and documents which reveal the human aspect of the 41 presidents. Ken Rendell will give a talk on this subject, and will give his brand-new booklet: "A Guide to Collecting Presidents" free to all guests who attend both the exhibition and his talk.

According to Mr. Rendell, the typical historical letter and document collector is usually self-assured, intelligent, an entrepreneur and a decision-maker, not professional scholar but generally has a deep interest in a subject such as a period of history, music, art or literature.

Hours at **Place des Antiquaires** (212-758-2900) are 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes



Special Fact Sheet on Kenneth Rendell,

Historical Letter and Document Specialist

at Place des Antiquaires

1. New York gallery at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street. Offices in Cambridge, with an enormous collection in Newton, Massachusetts. Sells autographs to many Japanese collectors through his Tokyo gallery.

2. He's a co-editor of Autographs and Manuscripts: A Guide to Collecting sponsored by The American Library Association as an outstanding reference book. He is a consultant to CBS News, the FBI, the Treasury Department, Newsweek (he wrote the Hitler Diary cover story) and numerous universities, libraries and museums.

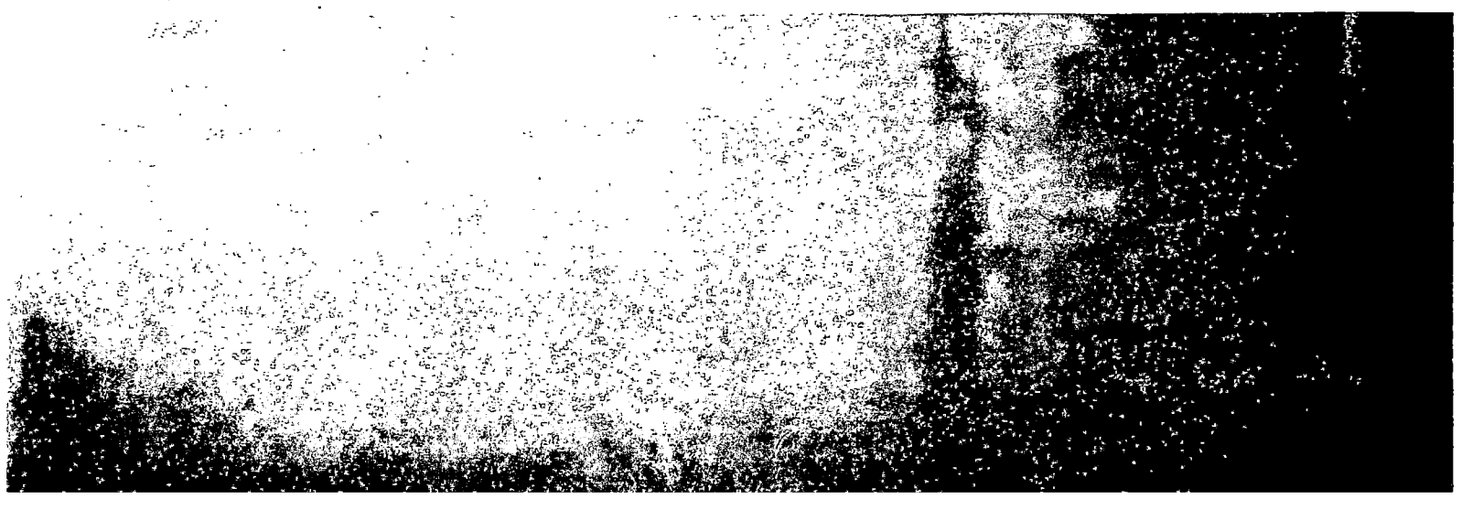
3. Clients of Kenneth Rendell who are collectors of historical letters and documents, past and present, include Malcolm Forbes, Armand Hammer (who has purchased gifts for the Russian leaders as well as Leonardi deVinci's notebooks), Ross Perot, Barbara Streisand, Joan Sutherland, Robert F. Kennedy, Senator Ted Kennedy, The Getty Museum, and Emperor Hirohito's brother.

4. He is working on a book on collecting autographs with information on rarity, authenticity and value.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes



Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C. 20543

CHAMBERS OF
CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER
RETIRED

December 15, 1988

Dear Mr. Vice President:

You may recall that sometime ago the New York City Commission, chaired by Joseph Flom, wrote you a letter about the same time that I wrote you concerning a significant Bicentennial program for April 30, 1989 in New York to commemorate George Washington's first inaugural.

The program would actually commence with George Washington and two friends stepping out of Mt. Vernon at 10:00 in the morning on April 16, and proceeding for seven and one-half days to New York. They would then cross the bay in order for a reenactment of the First Inaugural on Wall Street on April 30. The reenactment, of course, would take place on the same site where Washington took the oath.

Our Commission is prepared to take the responsibility for the trip of George Washington's double from Mt. Vernon to New York with stops being made along the route, coordinated with schools and patriotic organizations. The New York City Commission would control the reenactment and they have not defined the April 30 program in detail.

The New York City Commission has been pressing us to secure a commitment from you to be present on April 30 but without indicating what you would be invited to do. I assume this is because the broadcast producers are in turn pressing them for such a commitment from you. The New York City Commission represents to us that they cannot proceed with their plans until and unless they have such a commitment from you. We have responded to this by pointing out that you have many important burdens between now and January 20 and as a result such a commitment may not be feasible.

I write you now chiefly at the urging of the New York Commission. We assume that the planning for national radio and television coverage will be greatly enhanced if the commitment is obtained from you.

If you wish to have your staff discuss this with us, I will make myself available at any time.

Cordially,

Warren E. Burger

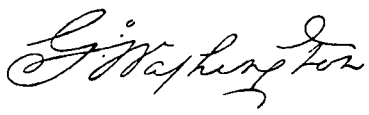
Chairman
Commission on the Bicentennial
of the United States Constitution

Vice President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Benjamin Hawkins 1934



The Two Hundredth
Anniversary of
George Washington's
Inauguration



April 30, 1989

Edward I. Koch
Mayor
City of New York

Mario M. Cuomo
Richard Nixon
Gerald R. Ford
Jimmy Carter
Honorary Chairmen

Joseph H. Flom
Chairman

Richard S. Heffner
Anna Murdoch
Vice Chairmen

Peter S. Kohlmann
Executive Director

March 3, 1989

John G. Keller, Jr.
Director of Presidential Advance
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Keller:

We are in the latter stages of planning for the commemoration of the 200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration, to take place New York City on April 30, 1989. This is following in the tradition of previous celebrations of this historic occasion.

For the 50th, 100th and 150th Anniversary of Washington's Inauguration, Presidents and former Presidents have led grand festivities in New York City to honor this event. Accordingly, President Bush has been invited to lead this celebration on April 30.

Enclosed for your review is a draft protocol for the President's participation on April 30th. We have been working with the President's scheduling office, as well as Chief of Staff Sununu, and have also submitted this protocol to them.

While we have not received an official determination from the scheduling office, we are anxious to meet with you and your staff to begin preliminary conversations in anticipation of the President's participation.

We have hired Radio City Music Hall Productions to produce the main ceremony at Federal Hall National Memorial. They have extensive background in producing Presidential events, including the parade for the Bicentennial of the Constitution in Philadelphia in 1987.

I will be in contact with you to discuss arranging a meeting with you or your staff as soon as possible. If you or Jay Parmer are going to be in New York City for the President's visit on March 9, we would welcome the opportunity to meet with you then.

Thank you in advance for your consideration,

Sincerely,

Peter Kohlmann
Executive Director

cc: Jay Parmer



April 30, 1989

Revised Protocol for The President and First Lady of the United States

On the Occasion of the Commemoration of The 200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration

April 30, 1989, New York City

There are two alternative arrival plans:

1) 1000 Wheels Down New York Metropolitan Area. The President and Mrs. Bush travel by Helicopter to the Wall Street Heliport.

or

2) 0930 Wheels Down New York Metropolitan Area. The President and Mrs. Bush travel by Helicopter to a landing site on Governor's Island, board Coast Guard ship "Eagle," and sail across NY Bay to the South Street Seaport.

1020 President and Mrs. Bush motorcade to St. Paul's Chapel on Broadway between Fulton and Vesey Streets.

1030 President and Mrs. Bush attend the commemorative Service of Thanksgiving at St. Paul's Chapel, Parish of Trinity Church, at the invitation of The Right Reverend Paul Moore, the Bishop of New York.

St. Paul's Chapel is the same church in which George Washington attended services following his inauguration in 1789. Washington's pew (the "President's Pew") still occupies its original location in the Chapel.

The Service will be lead by the Rev. Daniel Paul Matthews, Rector, Parish of Trinity Church, and the Participants will include the leaders of New York's religious community, such as John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop Iakovos, and Archbishop Manoogian, as well as the Chaplains of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

Attendees will likely include former Presidents, Congressional leaders, New York City and State Officials, foreign dignitaries and judges.

1115 Service concludes. The President and Mrs. Bush depart St. Paul's Church and proceed down Broadway by motorcade to Pine Street. The President and Mrs. Bush enter Federal Hall National Memorial through the Pine Street entrance. (rear door)

Federal Hall was the meeting place of the First Congress and the site of George Washington's inauguration in 1789. The present Federal Hall National Memorial was built in 1840.

1125 The President and Mrs. Bush tour the new Museum of American Consitutional Government located inside Federal Hall. The Museum is a project of the National Park Foundation and the legacy of this event. A select group of school children will demonstrate the unique concepts of the museum.

1145-1200 Holding time (if needed)

1200 Commemorative Inaugural Ceremony begins. Program includes:

The National Anthem.
Performances by:
- The United States Army Band
- Continental Color Guard
- The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps

Brief Remarks by distinguished guests:
- Former Presidents
- Congressional leaders
- Chief Justice Burger
- Governor Cuomo
- Mayor Koch

The United States Army Herald Trumpeters sound "Ruffles and Flourishes" followed by "Hail to the Chief."

The President of the United States walks out onto the steps of Federal Hall and stands at the very site where George Washington was sworn in 200 years ago. From a special podium which recreates the balcony upon which Washington stood, the President delivers an Address to the Nation, after having completed his 100th day in office.

In his Address, the President officially dedicates the National Park Service's new Museum of American Constitutional Government at Federal Hall.

1300 The program concludes with the raising of the American Flag over Federal Hall, as was done in 1789, and the firing of a 50 gun Salute to the Nation from the Battery by the United States Army.

The President reviews the Bicentennial Procession up Wall Street, which features military units from all five branches of the Armed Forces and civic organizations from throughout the region, many representing those groups which participated in celebrations in 1789 and 1889.

1315 At a designated point in the procession, the President and Mrs. Bush depart Federal Hall using the Pine Street door they travel by motorcade around the block and enter the parade route.

1400 When they have reached the end of the approximately two mile route, the President and First Lady continue to the Waldorf=Astoria and maintain a private schedule for the afternoon. The Presidential Suite has been reserved for the President and First Lady.

1830 The President and the First Lady depart the Waldorf=Astoria and travel by motoracde to the Intrepid Sea Air and Space Museum.

1845 Arrive at the Intrepid. Attend Crew Party for 2-3,000 sailors, in conjunction with Fleet Week 1989, at the invitation of Zachary Fisher.

1915 Depart Intrepid for the Waldorf=Astoria for the President's Ball.

1930 Arrive at Waldorf=Astoria as guests of honor at the President's Ball--a gala dinner-dance--chaired by Mrs. Milton Petrie and Mr. Steven J. Ross; Honorary Chair Mrs. Vincent Astor.

2200 The President and Mrs. Bush depart.

There are two departure plans:

1) 2200 Motorcade travels to the Wall Street Heliport. Wheels Up for Airport.

or

2) 2200 President and Mrs. Bush retire to the Presidential Suite at the Waldorf=Astoria, which has been reserved for them should they wish to remain overnight.

Monday, May 1

0730 Motorcade departs for Wall Street Heliport prior to rush hour. Wheels up for airport.

Schedule for Stephen M. Studdert and John G. Keller, Jr.

Site Visit to New York City

Wednesday, March 29, 1989

20
9:~~45~~ am Arrive Newark International Airport, Butler Aviation. Phone: (201) ~~642-1660~~. Met by Peter Kohlmann, Director, NYC Commission on the Bicentennial. 624-1660

9:55 am Wheels up for Manhattan.

10:00 am Arrive Downtown Manhattan Heliport (Pier 6). Phone: (212) 466-4353

10:15 am Arrive South Street Seaport. Walk through proposed arrival plan at Pier 16. Phone: (212) 669-9430 (Kathleen Madden's Office)

10:30 am Depart South Street Seaport for St. Paul's Chapel.

10:40 am Arrive St. Paul's Chapel, Broadway between Fulton and Vesey Streets. Meet Father Percival Brown, Parish of Trinity Church, and Michael Fiur, Deputy Director of the Bicentennial Commission. Briefing on Chapel Service. Phone: (212) 602-0809 (Father Brown's Office)

11:30 am Depart St. Paul's Chapel for Federal Hall. (walk)

11:40 am Arrive at Federal Hall National Memorial, Wall and Nassau Streets, (enter Pine Street door). Meet Barnett Lipton, Senior Producer, Radio City Music Hall Productions, and John Lucas, Director of Production, Radio City Music Hall Productions. Briefing on museum dedication, commemorative ceremony and parade. Phone: (212) 264-4456 (Robert Mahoney's Office)

1:00 pm Depart Federal Hall
Optional review of additional sites:
Parade route; Intrepid Sea Air and Space Museum (Fleet Week Crew Party Site); Waldorf-Astoria (Dinner Location)

Lunch

2:30 pm Return to appropriate heliport

2:45 pm Wheels up Newark International Airport, Butler Aviation. Phone: (201) 642-1660

3:30 pm Wheels up Washington D.C.

Commission on the Bicentennial of The United States Constitution

808 17th Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006
202/USA-1787

Warren E. Burger
Chairman

Frederick K. Biebel
Lindy Boggs
Herbert Brownell
Lynne V. Cheney
Philip M. Crane
Dennis DeConcini
William J. Green
Edward Victor Hill
Cornelia G. Kennedy
Edward M. Kennedy
Harry McKinley Lightsey, Jr.
William Lucas
Betty Southard Murphy
Thomas H. O'Connor
Phyllis Schlafly
Barnard H. Siegan
Ted Stevens
Obert C. Tanner
Strom Thurmond
Ronald H. Walker
Charles E. Wiggins
Charles Alan Wright

Mark W. Cannon
Staff Director

March 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR PEGGY HAZELRIGG
WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE

FROM: Ted McConnell
Director
Marketing and Public Relations

SUBJECT: Potential Visit of the President to New York/Washington Inaugural Re-enactment

Peggy, the attached memo clearly outlines the views of the Chief Justice and the Commission, relating to the potential April 30th visit of the President to New York in conjunction with the re-enactment of President Washington's first inaugural. Paul Clark (the Commission's Director of Governmental Affairs) is the individual appointed by the Chief Justice as liaison to the New York activities.

Not holding this re-enactment of Washington's oath taking would be similar to an inaugural day for President Bush without the oath, it would be incomplete. In this Commission's opinion the oath re-enactment is the centerpiece of the April 30th activities and the event most newsworthy (as opposed to the church service at St. Pauls, the parade and the gala that we understand President Bush has been invited to).

This information is intended as background for your advance staff only. We merely wish you to know the Chief Justice and Commission's strong feelings about an oath re-enactment.

Thank you for your assistance. Please let me know if I can provide any further information.

JGLC -
for you + Steve
to see only.
Peg
3-28

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Staff Director

March 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO : Ted McConnell

FROM : Paul Clark

SUBJECT: President Bush to NYC April 30

If the President decides to attend the Bicentennial events in New York City on April 30--as I believe he should--it would be helpful to our Commission if his staff would encourage the New York organizers to include a reenactment segment to their program.

I believe the President should attend the proposed noontime ceremony at Federal Hall (where he is being asked to make remarks). It would provide him a large national media audience, as well as a New York metro area audience. It is an opportunity to speak to a live crowd that is present largely because they are patriotic. Also, it is a once-in-a-lifetime historical anniversary that relates directly to the Presidency. As you know, the Inaugural Committee took as its theme--from George (Washington) to George (Bush). What better way for the President to extend his identification with George Washington.

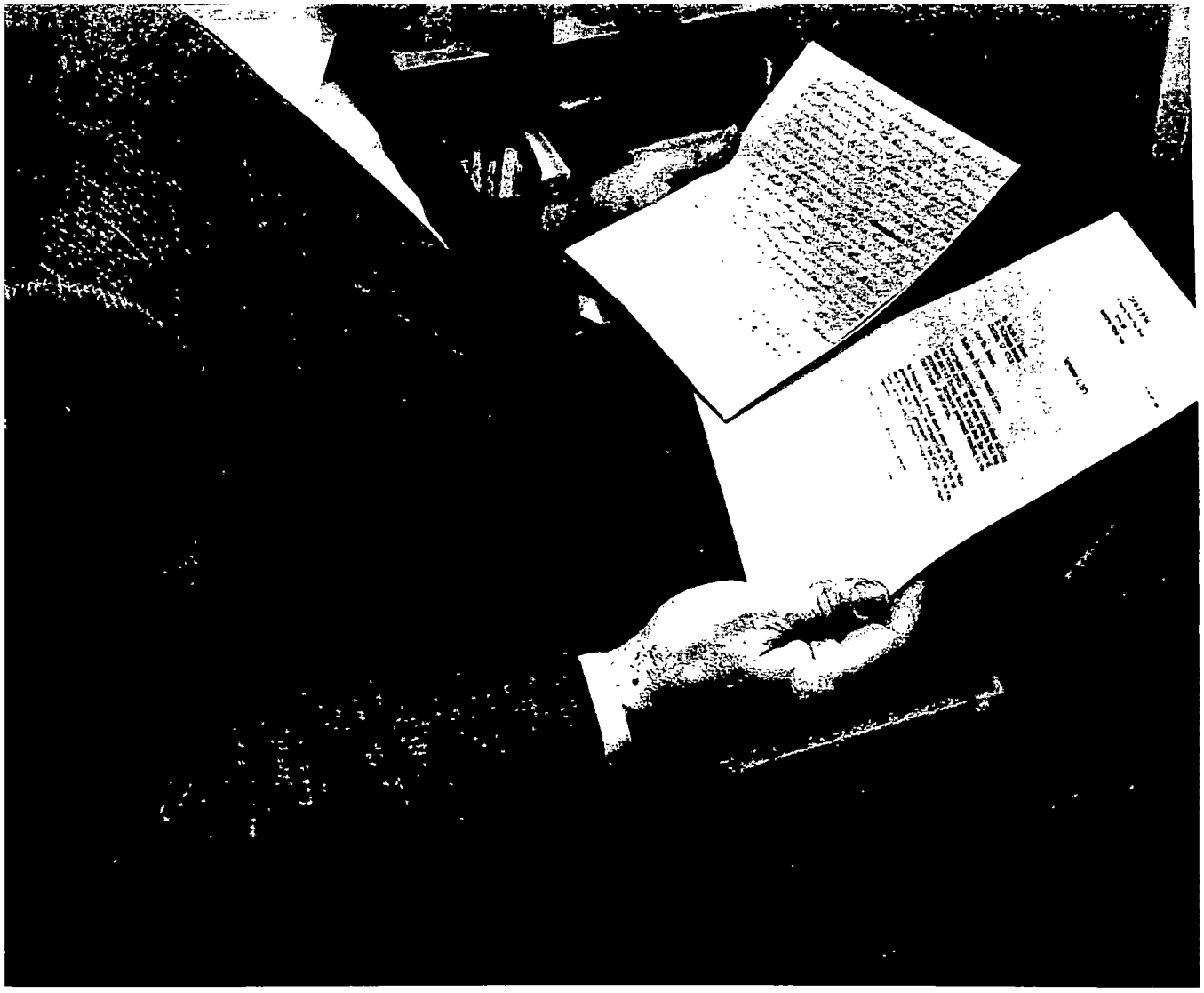
The ceremony will provide the President an opportunity to be photographed with an actor who looks very much like Washington. I believe this photo would appear on the front page of a large number of Monday morning newspapers (Sunday being a notoriously slow news day). In my opinion there is no downside to his attending the NYC event. They have made it clear the President may speak on any subject he chooses, for as long or short as he wants. It is a patriotic event, in an excellent media market.

If the President decides to go to New York, his advance staff could be very helpful to us by encouraging the people in New York (the NYC Commission and Radio City Music Hall) to have a short portion of the program

dedicated to a reenactment of the swearing-in of President Washington. This would, in essence, provide the patriotic overtones to the ceremony. Chief Justice Burger would take about five minutes at the podium and lead into the actual reenactment. He would provide the historical background to the entire occasion. Then one of Chancellor Livingston's descendents (Robert Livingston swore in Washington as President) would hold the original 1789 bible while Chief Judge Sol Wachtler of New York swears-in Washington--all in 18th Century costume. The entire reenactment should only take 5-10 minutes.

The New York City Commission for several months has told us that they cannot commit to a reenactment ceremony until the President says okay. They "will do what the President wants done." Our Chairman, Chief Justice Burger, very much wants such a reenactment. Very much. If the President's staff could encourage New York to include a reenactment I know it would help us and please the Chairman. It also, I believe, would enhance the whole event and the President would benefit from the clear historical association with our first President--George Washington.

-end-



Kenneth W. Rendell, owner of a gallery at **Place des Antiquaires** which bears his name dealing in historical letters and documents, examining rare letters from President George Washington and President George Bush to be featured in "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush" commemorating the 200th anniversary celebration of George Washington's inauguration. The exhibit will be open from April 22 until May 6, 1989 at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street in New York. Hours are 11 a.m until 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes
Beth Tuseck

Mr. Jack Backus · Nat'l Committee
653-5174

Faith in Providence
Belief in Freedom + Democracy, honestly

Anecdotes

Richard Bernstein · (212) 732-3152
1:15 - 8:30 Historian

212 566-1989

Wooden Teeth
Cherry Trees
Washington's Prayer
} Bullshit

Devoutly believed in Religious freedom.

Letter to the
Truro Synagogue - Religious Diversity
- 1790

Event in human history - people assembled a government of their own

Extraordinary experiment in Gov
- Leap in the dark

Ltr 1790 to Catherine McCaulby Graham
"We walk on untrodden ground"

William McClay - Diary - Best account of Fram.
April 30 1789

Cincinnatus myth - Duty for country.

- Short Bio Robert C. Jones
"George Washington."

- Forrest McDonald. E311 .M24

Richard B. Morris
"7 who shaped our destiny"

John Miller
The Federalist Era

Are we to be a nation: The making of a constitution
last chapter

John C. Fitzpatrick - 40 vols - very good.

Smithsonian
Georgetown.

Smithsonian - 357-1300
Margaret Clatford

Keith Melder - 2008

Marcus Cunliffe - GWU

Georgetown - 687-6061
M. Duncan - 6182

- Dumas Malone - Jefferson
- Peterson -
- Forest McDonald.

G-town Government Dept. - 687-5055
Prof. Carey 6130

- Chm. Bill Allen - Dept. Humanities + Soc. Sci
civil rights Harvey Mudd College
Claremont, Ca.
-
-(714)-621-8000
8022

6328
Maryland - (301) 974-3914
- Greg Stevenson
Rhoda Jacobson.

Washington Papers -- Bill Abbott. - U.V.A.
924-3569 (804)-924-0311
Dorothy Twohig

Harvard U. - History - (617) 495-1000
Prof. Donald - 495-2500
Prof Flemming 495-2488

- Gov. Morris

- Senate - "Damned if I will ever go

1791 - St Clair

Jack Barlow

Sen McLay's Diary

① "Manner -.

Shaking. -

more than w/ any canon or musket

② 1792 - Conflict between Ham + Jeff.

July 29

Letter from Mount Vernon to Ham.

21 objections. - polled in Mt. V.

To obtain

---

③ Faith in Wash. at Const. Conv.

Maxims of Washington

Pol. social, moral, religious

John Frederik Schroeder

Joke (?) - "I'll be damned..."

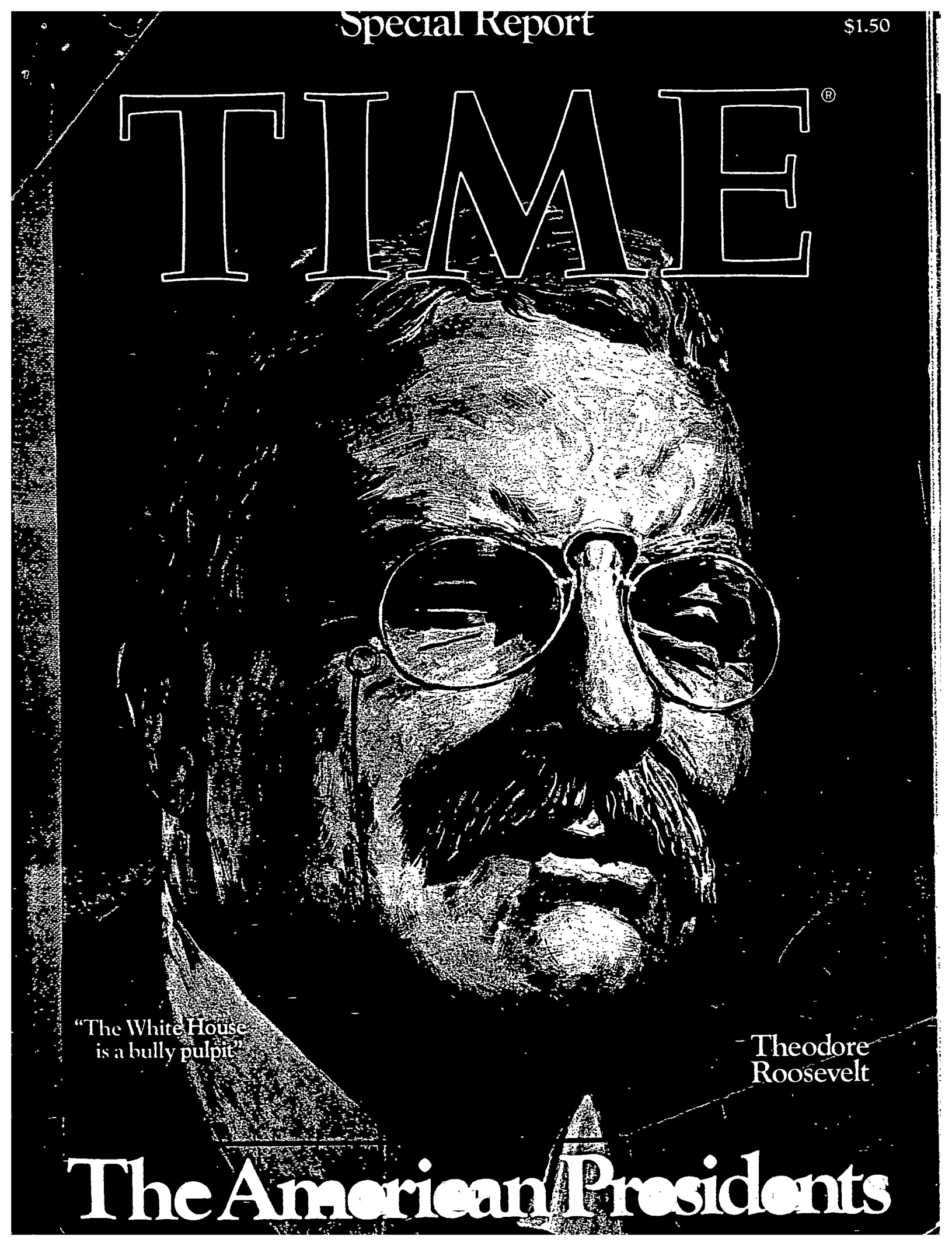
- Who will be there?

Bells

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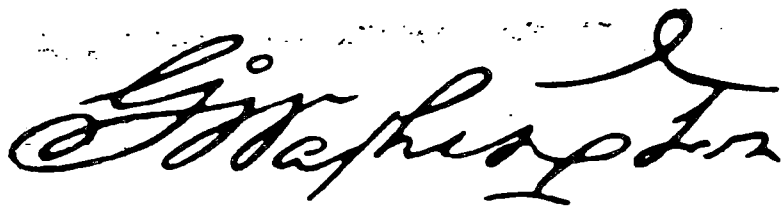


"The White House is a bully pulpit"

Theodore Roosevelt

The American Presidents

I have seen without despondency (even for a moment)
the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones.



The Commander in Chief was reconnoitering near White Plains, N.Y., when a courier dashed up, crying: "The British are on the camp, Sir!" The general galloped full tilt back to camp, where he was told that his outposts had been beaten in. He turned to his officers. "Gentlemen," said George Washington, "you will repair to your respective posts and do the best you can."

George Washington always did the best he could—and it was enough to create and sustain a nation. Perhaps he provided the key to his own achievements. "We ought not to look back," he once wrote, "unless it is to derive useful lessons from past errors."

His learning was hard-earned. His father, big "Gus" Washington, a Virginia land speculator and iron-mine owner, died when George was eleven, leaving him with a querulous mother whom he spent much of his life trying to avoid. He had less formal education than any other early American President, picking up enough math to get started as a surveyor and painstakingly copying 110 "Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior." Samples: "Cleanse not your teeth with the tablecloth," and "Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience."

There is something not quite pleasant about the young Washington. As a soldier rising to colonel in Virginia's militia, he was forever squabbling with British authorities about "honor" and "preferment," which seemed synonymous in his mind. He was less than modest: "I can truly say and confidently assert that no soldiers were ever under better command," he said, speaking of his own men. But he was also—and always—brave. After his first battle, in which he defeated a French force near Fort Duquesne in the Western wilderness, he reported: "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." During the woodlands massacre of Britain's General Edward Braddock and his forces, Washington had two horses shot from beneath him, his coat shredded by bullets that not only whistled but pierced. Years later, as the American Commander in Chief at Princeton, he rode to within 30 yards of the British line and (as an aide covered his own face with his hat so as not to see what must surely happen) survived the crossfire between enemy troops and his own.

In 1758, at age 26, he left military service and settled into Mount Vernon, the family estate on the Potomac. There he spent the next 17 years of his life, and there he may be caught in the cameo of repose. By the standards of his day he was immense, standing, as he described himself, "6 ft. high" (though after his death his secretary measured him at 6 ft. 3½ in.), weighing nearly 200 lbs., with huge hands and feet (size 13 boots), chestnut hair and light smallpox scars on the end of his nose. He married 27-year-old Martha Custis, one of the wealthiest widows in America (her inheritance was reckoned at £23,632), who was barely 5 ft. tall and, whenever she wished to speak to him, had to pluck at his coat buttons for attention. Besides farming, Washington served quietly but effectively in the Virginia House of Burgesses where, as a member named Thomas Jefferson noted, he was "in action cool, like a bishop at his prayers."

As his long sojourn neared its end, he was elected to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, and there, because he was the most experienced officer from a militarily and politically strategic state, he was unanimously named head of the revolutionary army. The date: June 15, 1775.

On the eve of command Washington wrote: "I am now embarked on a tempestuous ocean, from whence, perhaps, no friendly harbor is to be found." Not many privies were to be found either in the Continental encampments outside Boston, and one of Washington's first acts was to protest that shortage. It was, for him, too often that kind of niggling war. But he learned as he went along, and on the bloodstained road that led to Yorktown, he made some major discoveries: this war went by no Old World book; in the American vastness, mere territorial gains meant little; mobility was the key, and even the fleetness of foot which his men often displayed when things went badly could be an advantage—they could run and live to fight another day. Valley Forge was a nadir best described by a member of the Connecticut Line: "Poor food—hard lodging—cold weather—fatigue—nasty clothes—nasty cookery—vomit half my time—smoked out of my senses—the devil's in it—I can't endure it." But Washington made good use even of those grim days: he turned his ragtags over to the Prussian drillmaster Steuben, who made soldiers of them. And finally, unbelievably, it was all over: George Washington was free to return to "the shadow of my own vine and my own fig tree."

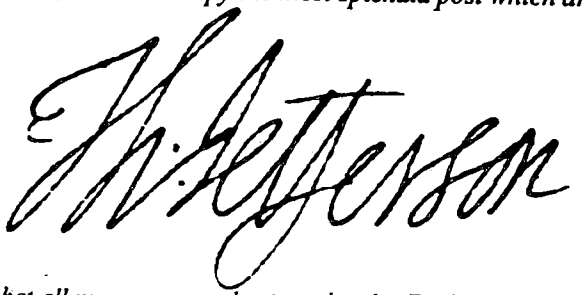
But not for long. He watched restively as the frail coalition of former colonies began to fall apart, and when a call came to go to Philadelphia, he was ready. On May 25, 1787, he was unanimously named president of the Constitutional Convention. For four months, he sat on a low dais, taking almost no part in the debate. But it is entirely possible that there would have been no Constitution had it not been for Washington's presence, and it is almost certain that the Constitution would not have taken the form it did had it not been for the expectation that Washington would be the first President. Wrote Pierce Butler, a Maryland delegate: "Many of the members cast their eyes toward General Washington as President, and shaped their ideas of the powers to be given to a President by their opinions of his virtue." In New York's Federal Hall, on April 30, 1789, after unanimous election, George Washington was sworn in as the first President of the United States.

He was keenly conscious of being the first. "I walk on untrodden ground," he wrote. "There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." Thus he set about creating precedents—on everything from Presidential protocol to constitutional meanings. Example: unsure about the requirement that the President have both the "advice" and the "consent" of the Senate on treaties, he appeared before the Senate in person to present a proposed pact with the Creek Indians. After two tedious days of bickering, he left declaring that he would be "damned if he ever went there again." He never did, and to this day Senate advice has taken a back seat to Senate consent.

He was 62, weary and worried about his failing memory when, with great reluctance, he accepted a second term—again by unanimous vote. As at Princeton years before, he was once more caught between hostile firing lines, this time the opposing political forces of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. But Washington endured. At the same time, he performed one of his greatest services to his country: in the explosive aftermath of the French Revolution, he insisted that the U.S. remain neutral and unentangled in Europe's wars. Excepting only the twitch that was the War of 1812, Washington's policy remained America's until 1917.

He left office on March 4, 1797, returning to his beloved Mount Vernon. There, on a December morning in 1799, he awakened Martha to say that he was suffering ague, but he refused to let her summon a servant lest, in getting out of bed, she catch cold herself. He continued to sicken, and in his final seconds he felt his own pulse, silently counting to the beat of faint and fading drums.

I would rather be shut up in a very modest cottage with my books, my family and a few old friends, dining on simple bacon and letting the world roll by as it liked, than to occupy the most splendid post which any human power can give.



We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

After 200 years, the words carry pure as a bugle's call. But the bugler stands behind a veil of his own making. Thomas Jefferson defies his biographers. To Henry Adams, his character could be caught only in "the shifting and uncertain flicker of its semi-transparent shadows." Said Merrill Peterson, author of a massive work: "It is a mortifying confession, but he remains for me, finally, an impenetrable man." Even Dumas Malone, who has spent most of his 84 years on a Pulitzer-prizewinning biography, once admitted: "In my youthful presumptuousness I flattered myself that some time I would fully comprehend and encompass him. I do not claim that I have yet done so, and I do not believe that I or any other single person can."

The most public of men, Thomas Jefferson was the most private of persons. He was a member of Virginia's colonial House of Burgesses and of its revolutionary House of Delegates, an alternate delegate to the Second Continental Congress and a delegate to the Continental Congress elected in 1783, wartime Governor of Virginia, Minister to France, the first U.S. Secretary of State, the second Vice President and (for two terms) the third President. He was, in words he composed for his own epitaph, the "father of the University of Virginia," and he was a founder of the American political party system (though he once said: "If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all"). He was the author of treatises that illumined the way on man's long and continuing progress toward freedom: *A Summary View of the Rights of British America,* the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom—and the Declaration of Independence. He left a legacy of 18,000 letters, many of them written with a crippled hand (the result of an injury suffered when, while walking along the Seine with Maria Cosway, a married woman with whom he had a brief and perhaps platonic affair, he exuberantly vaulted a fence and fell). As collected and indexed in the remarkable *Jeffersonian Cyclopedia* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1900), his writings cover 1,256 subjects, from *abilities* ("Men of high learning and abilities are few in every country") to *zeal* ("I fear that my zeal will make me expose myself to ridicule").

Yet rarely does Thomas Jefferson offer a glimpse of the inner man. Indeed, it seems obvious that he deliberately drew the veil, even destroying the copies—and he did make copies—of his letters to his mother and his wife. Though his pen blazed, his public speaking voice, choked by tension, was guttural and indistinct. Controversial, he dreaded face-to-face confrontations: they gave him migraines. Time after time, he withdrew to the peace and solitude of Monticello in moments of high crisis and drama. In 1774, when he first risked his neck to the King's noose by writing *A Summary View* ("Let not the name of George the Third be a blot in the pages of history"), he set out for Williamsburg to deliver the politically heretical document; but he soon turned back with dysentery, and Peyton Randolph read it for him.

Jefferson was enigmatic even about the Declaration of Independence, though there has never been the slightest doubt that it was written with his heart and soul. When, in 1776, the Continental Congress named a committee of five to write an enunciation of common colonial policy, it was generally assumed that Massachusetts' John Adams would take the lead. But Adams, for perhaps the only time in his life, deferred to another man, declining to write the Declaration himself. A conversation (recorded by Adams) took place that is still being felt round the world:

Jefferson: Why will you not? You ought to do it.

Adams: Reasons enough.

Jefferson: What can be your reasons?

Adams: Reason 1st. You are a Virginian and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason 2nd. I am obnoxious, suspected and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason 3d. You can write ten times better than I can.

Jefferson: Well, if you are decided, I will do as well as I can.

Thomas Jefferson did more than that. Between May 17 and June 28, 1776, in a historic explosion of genius, he wrote both a constitution for Virginia and the Declaration of Independence. But then, when the Declaration came under attack from other members of the Continental Congress, Jefferson sat almost mute while Adams defended it thought for thought.

Some years later, the Virginian's great antagonist, Alexander Hamilton, paid a visit to Jefferson, saw three portraits on the wall and asked whom they portrayed. Replied Jefferson: "They are my trinity of the three greatest men the world has ever produced—Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke." Hamilton stood bemused for a moment, then asserted: "The greatest man that ever lived was Julius Caesar."

That, at any rate, was the way Jefferson later was fond of telling the story. If the point was that Hamilton was a would-be tyrant or dictator, it was utterly unfair. But if it was meant to illustrate the fact that beyond brilliance, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton had absolutely nothing in common, it was perfectly to the point.

Jefferson was the son of a Virginia planter and surveyor who died when Tom was a 14-year-old; Hamilton was a West Indies–born bastard. Jefferson's inheritance was an estate of more than 2,000 acres; Hamilton got nothing. Jefferson read Cicero in Latin, Plato in Greek, Montesquieu in French; Hamilton understood finance by instinct. Jefferson stood for individual rights under a loosely knit federal system; Hamilton believed in a strong central Government. Jefferson saw America as the agrarian land of his nativity; Hamilton foresaw it as a commercial power. Both were right, but their quarrel was basic and bitter.

It was fitting in the course of human events that Thomas Jefferson became President of the nation he had done so much to bring into being. (Hamilton, under the Constitutional requirement that the President be a native-born American, was not even eligible.) His Presidency has often been accounted a disappointment; if so, it was mainly one of historical second guessing. During his first term, the Louisiana Territory was purchased; Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, at Jefferson's specific behest, opened the American frontier to the Pacific shores, and a limited war put the Barbary pirates out of business. During his second term, trying to steer clear of both Britain and Napoleonic France, Jefferson mandated an embargo on all foreign commerce by the U.S., thereby pleasing almost no one.

Still, he was urged to run for a third term, and could have had it. But at age 66, he opted to retire to the small mountain crowned by Monticello. One of the highest accolades to the man and his mind came from a Presidential successor, a member of the party fathered by Jefferson. President John F. Kennedy, once playing host to a group of Nobel prizewinners, described his guests as "the most extraordinary collection of talent...that has ever been gathered together at the White House—with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone."

There were all kinds of things of which I was afraid at first,
ranging from grizzly bears to "mean" horses and gunfighters;
but by acting as if I was not afraid I gradually ceased to be afraid.

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt roared into the White House with the exploding vitality, the volcanic optimism, the flaming soul of the new century. He was the man who gave substance to the spirit of America that had been gathering from Concord Bridge to the Oregon Trail, from Gettysburg to "Remember the Maine!" He was the man who was to change the nation, change the world, and not just for the new century. "The world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy," said T.R. Nobody called him Teddy to his face. His eyes would ignite behind the steel-rimmed spectacles, his fists clench, his mustache bristle. His high voice propelled ballistically: "And, oh, my fellow citizens, *each—one—of—you*—carries on your shoulders the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country—and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind."

Specifically, Theodore Roosevelt, as President, went to work defining what kind of nation America ought to be: Jeffersonian for "genuine faith in democracy and popular government," and Hamiltonian for "the need of the exercise of broad powers by the national Government." He mobilized the American people to help put down robber industrialists and radical labor leaders precisely so he could protect—and project—both U.S. business and U.S. labor as U.S. institutions. "There had been a riot of individualistic materialism," and "malefactors of great wealth," but for doubt there would be faith, for "don't care" there would be dedication, and America for all time would be the land of opportunity to which the golden gates would never snap shut. America would become a new kind of country in which Americans would align "never between section and section, never between creed and creed, and never, thrice never, between class and class, *but—that—the—line—be—drawn*—on the line of conduct."

He was also the first U.S. President to mobilize the American people to work for the U.S. interest in world peace and order. "Speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far," he counseled, and the new concept for the new century was deterrence. U.S. armed forces would be deployed with visible strength and efficiency for the first time, not just to win wars, but to discourage other nations from starting wars.

Finally, Theodore Roosevelt was the first U.S. President not only to envision but to enact measures for the conservation of national resources: "I do not recognize the right...to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." He appealed to the conscience of the nation as he set aside an incredible—at the time—150,000,000 acres of timberland for national use.

It was on October 27, 1858, that this President was born, son of a wealthy merchant-banker, at 28 East 20th Street in New York City. A frail, asthmatic youngster, he exercised so devotedly he was able to box at Harvard, where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa. Always oriented toward public service, he joined Manhattan's 21st District Republican Club and was elected and reelected as a reform member of the lower house of the New York State legislature. After the death of his first wife, Alice Lee, he headed west to work on the Maltese Cross and Elkhorn cattle ranches in the Badlands beneath the thunderclouds of the Dakota Territory. "Black care rarely sits behind a rider whose pace is fast enough," he explained.

Revitalized, T.R. wed a childhood playmate, Edith Kermit Carow, and they settled into Sagamore Hill, at Oyster Bay, Long Island, which was to be his beloved, trophy-cluttered, lifelong home. He served six years as a reform Civil Service Commissioner under Presidents Harrison and Cleveland. That was followed by two years as police commissioner of New York City, where he was deeply moved by his constant prowling on the beats through the slums. "I am dealing with the most important and yet most elementary problems of our municipal life," he wrote. "There is nothing of the purple in it. It is grimy."

Appointed by President McKinley in 1897 to serve as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, T.R. argued for war with Spain, not just to liberate Cuba, but to rally the U.S. into the kind of energetic world involvement advocated by Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, author of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*. As colonel of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry—the "Rough Riders"—he led the famous charge against the Spanish defenses on San Juan Hill and became the national hero of the war. As Governor of New York only months afterward, T.R. sponsored so many reform measures that he was promoted upstairs by standpat Republican bosses to run for Vice President on the ticket headed by William McKinley (whom Roosevelt once described as having the backbone of a chocolate éclair). After McKinley's assassination, he took the oath of office on September 14, 1901—at 42, the youngest President of the U.S. "My ambition," he wrote a friend, "is that, in however small a way, the work I do shall be along the Washington and Lincoln lines."

In domestic affairs, he launched the first successful antitrust suit ever brought by an American President to dissolve a corporate monopoly (the Northern Securities Co.) to safeguard the right of fair competition. In the great anthracite coal strike, his was the first Presidential mediation to protect the public interest in a massive struggle between management and labor. T.R. galvanized press and public in successive drives for the U.S.'s first pure food bill, the right for the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate fair railroad rates.

In international affairs, T.R. was the first U.S. President to win the Nobel Peace Prize, for his brilliant negotiation of a conclusion to the Russo-Japanese War. He deterred Germany's rampaging Kaiser Wilhelm II from adventures in Venezuela and Morocco and helped hold off the outbreak of World War I. He dug the Panama Canal. In what he considered his greatest service to peace, he sent 16 battleships, all painted white—"the Great White Fleet"—on a year-long, good-will mission around the world. This was the American assurance that the American Dream might be global, and was surely here to stay.

In his personal conduct in the White House T.R.'s example was as significant as his accomplishments. The White House is a "bully pulpit," he said, and he was forever heckling, hectoring, encouraging his fellow citizens to lead more fruitful lives. "When I see a husky man going along with his wife, letting her carry the baby, I know that sort of fellow is no good," said the President. The White House was an arena of family romps and pillow fights, Presidential boxing and judo matches, crag-climbing excursions with foreign diplomats in Rock Creek Park, "the strenuous life" also of verse, biography and natural history. "Theodore...is drunk with himself," said one friend; Henry Adams, and another, Edith Wharton, thought the President lived each moment so intensely and so entirely that each encounter glowed like radium. A third, Oscar Straus, summed up. "He had the quality of vitalizing things," and as T.R. stepped down in favor of his friend William Howard Taft, the U.S.'s morale was soaring to the stars.

On January 6, 1919, after a doomed, third-party, Bull Moose run for the Presidency in 1912, and after passionate advocacy of U.S. entry into World War I, T.R. died, aged 60. "Both life and death are part of the same Great Adventure," said the unforgettable President Theodore Roosevelt.

I come from the very heart of America.



Screaming eagle patches on their battle jackets, cocoa-and-linseed-oil camouflage on their faces, the officers and men of the 101st Airborne Division thronged around the Supreme Commander on the afternoon of D-day minus one. Dwight Eisenhower moved about informally and cheerfully, with his war-winning grin, his casual banter: Where are you from? What did you do in civilian life? How many bushels per acre did you raise? One of the paratroopers was licking at the camouflage mixture on his lips. "Does it taste good?" Ike asked. "Damn good," said the paratrooper, laughing.

At the last airfield he visited, Ike watched the paratroops climbing into their planes en route for the highly hazardous—some said murderous—night drop into the marshlands of the Cotentin Peninsula behind Utah Beach. Ike swallowed hard and his eyes blinked hard. "Good luck," he shouted, holding back the tears. He raised his hand and waved. "Good luck, and godspeed."

That morning Ike had visited British soldiers as they loaded into Landing Craft Infantry for their role in the seaborne assault on the Normandy coast. Ike was, as Winston Churchill once remarked, "a creative, constructive and combining genius," and he was commanding a D-day attack force of more than 156,000 British and Canadian as well as American troops, along with a scattering of Free French. "This is an Allied battle," he said. "Men will be praised or blamed for what they do, not for their nationality." In his pockets were three good-luck coins—one American, one British, one French.

In World War II, Supreme Commander Dwight David Eisenhower led Allied forces of approximately 4 million men to one of history's most complete victories with his own brand of welding humanity and sensible coalition building. Ike and his men also knew why they fought in this war. "To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—a Londoner will fight," said Ike. Then he added: "So will a citizen of Abilene." As twice-elected President of the U.S., Ike attempted to unify the nation and lead it through the calm and consolidation he felt the country desperately needed after two wars within less than a decade.

Dwight Eisenhower was born Oct. 14, 1890, in Denison, Texas, and was moved as an infant to Abilene, Kans. His father, a creamery mechanic, and his mother, both members of the River Brethren, a Mennonite sect, raised six boys on an income that rarely exceeded $100 a month. The family was so poor that Ike had to wear his mother's button-top shoes to school. He and his brothers worked in the Belle Springs Creamery, pulling ice, washing cream cans and firing furnaces, and they held together in their share of neighborhood fights. Ike once took on a bigger boy, Wesley Merrifield, in a drawn battle in a vacant lot at Third and Broadway that lasted an astonishing two hours. Said Wes, who was to become superintendent of grounds and buildings at St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wis.: "Ike, I can't lick you." Ike gritted through swollen lips, "Wes, I haven't licked you."

Ike was encouraged by another Abilene friend, Everett E. ("Swede") Hazlett Jr., to take up a service career and, in June 1911, after passing qualifying examinations (he was too old for Annapolis), he entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. There he was brought along by Football Trainer Marty Maher as a halfback of All-America potential. Ike once helped bring down Carlisle's immortal Jim Thorpe: "Well, we timed it just right. We gave him the old high-low, the old one-two, just like that. We were sure we'd laid him out for good. But do you know what that Indian did? On the very next play, he took the ball and went right through us for ten yards." But Ike broke his knee in the very next game, against Tufts. His football career was over. He graduated 61st in his class of 164, rated by at least one instructor as "a not uncommon type."

After Stateside service in World War I and marriage to Denver's vivacious belle, Mamie Doud, Ike was thrown some useful forward passes by his commanding officer in the Canal Zone, Brigadier General Fox Conner. Encouraged to study military history and advanced strategy, Eisenhower was well prepared for the Army's Command and General Staff School: out of his class of 275, he graduated first. As Chief of Staff of the Third Army in the Louisiana maneuvers of 1941, after years of staff service to Douglas MacArthur in Washington and the Philippines, Ike planned movements of 270,000 men. His virtuoso performance was disturbed mainly by General George S. Patton Jr., who led a force of tanks on to a ridge that commanded miles of country behind Ike's lines. Ike declared profanely that Patton *could* not be there. But Patton was.

Throughout World War II, Ike was named by President Roosevelt for the major supreme Allied commands of the Western front. The Allied statesmen were haunted by memories of inter-Allied discord in World War I but, under Ike, the World War II coalition succeeded miraculously. He and his men moved forward from North Africa through Sicily, from Salerno on to Normandy, from the Battle of the Bulge to the approaches to Berlin. There Ike stopped, and his decision is still being debated. Churchill wanted to take Berlin, but Ike, supported by President Roosevelt, let the city fall to the Russians. Eisenhower's reasons: the area around Berlin had already been allotted to the Russians as a zone of occupation, and there was no need for further loss of life. History may say that the halt was the mistake of Ike's wartime career; few of his soldiers, still living, would agree.

Appointed Army Chief of Staff (1945-1948) and Supreme Commander for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1950-1952), Eisenhower was sought as President by many leading Republicans and Democrats, few if any of whom knew where his affiliations actually lay. Declaring himself a Republican, Ike said: "The path to America's future lies down the middle of the road." In 1952 he defeated conservative Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft for the G.O.P. nomination and liberal Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson for the Presidency. Ike won 442 electoral votes to 89 for Stevenson, 33,936,137 popular votes to Stevenson's 27,314,649. The landslide slogan was I LIKE IKE. In 1956 Ike was re-elected over Stevenson by a somewhat larger margin.

As President, Ike did indeed lead along the middle of the road. In international relations, he fortified the thermonuclear deterrent while exploring coexistence. He settled the Korean War for a draw and resisted demands for U.S. intervention in Indochina. He opposed the British-French landings at Suez—but then, two years afterward, landed U.S. troops in Lebanon to shore up the world's still-shakiest status quo.

In domestic affairs, President Eisenhower declined to take on Wisconsin's Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. He was, he said, determined "never to admit that he has damaged me, upset me or anything else." In fact, he rightly believed that the U.S. would finally recognize McCarthyism for what it was. Ike made Earl Warren of California the Chief Justice and, in 1954, the Supreme Court came out for school integration "with all deliberate speed." When Arkansas' Governor Orval Faubus defied a court decree, Ike sent federal troops to Little Rock. But he still said, "I have very little faith in the ability of law to change the human heart or eliminate prejudice." Ike was criticized for his frequent golf, admired for his painting and contract-bridge expertise. "The vitality of the man!" exclaimed incoming President Kennedy in the spring of 1961. "Ike—as healthy and ruddy and as vital as ever."

On March 28, 1969, after a remarkable aggregate of seven heart attacks, Dwight David Eisenhower—Ike—died. His legacy was immense: victory in war and consolidation in peace.

Jubilant journey to democracy

April 16, 1789, began a great journey in a life filled with great journeys. On that day, George Washington left Mount Vernon by carriage to go to New York where the First Congress was in session and where he would take the constitutional oath as the first president. Together the new Congress and the new president would give meaning to the promises of the Declaration of 1776 and the plan of government under the Constitution.

In April 1989 and throughout the year, the United States will commemorate one of the most fascinating episodes of our history — a story filled with the drama, emotion and symbolism befitting the origin of our national government, the beginnings of the events that gave meaning to the Constitution. It will reach into grade schools, high schools, colleges, luncheon clubs and the armed services.

For eight days in April, one part of this dramatic story will once again come alive as men portraying George Washington and his companions will retrace the steps he took from Mount Vernon to New York in a four-horse carriage (relieved by the hours of riding his white horse).

As commander of our armies, as a chairman presiding over drafting the new Constitution, Mr. Washington was willing to respond when his country called. An even more difficult task, however, lay ahead: to reconcile the political and economic views and policies of Alexander Hamilton with Thomas Jefferson and of the plantation states with the mercantile North and a restless West.

Many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia had Mr. Washington in mind when they created the job of president, and the successful ratification process by the states was in part due to the widely shared belief that Mr. Washington would be the first president. Many people felt that Mr. Washington was the only person who could preserve the fragile compromises made between large and small states, North and South during the Constitutional Convention.

Having been officially notified by the secretary of Congress of his unanimous election, Mr. Washington was accompanied by Col. David Humphreys, his former aide-de-camp, and Secretary of Congress Charles Thomsof as he left Mount Vernon, bound for New York City and the launching of a new experiment in governing.

Mr. Washington wrote in his diary, "About 10 o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York..."

Americans were not conscious of Mr. Washington's reservations. For the next eight days, Mr. Washington and his companions were honored with speeches, toasts, banquets and parades along the route from Alexandria, Georgetown, Baltimore and finally Elizabethtown, N.J., and to New York.

Mr. Washington intended the journey from Mount Vernon to New York City to be made quickly and privately, but his hopes were soon thwarted. Less than two hours into the journey, Mr. Washington's party stopped for dinner at Wise's Tavern in Alexandria, where he was praised in a speech by Mayor Dennis Ramsey and 13 toasts were given.

The night of the first day was spent at Spurrier's Tavern Inn, about a dozen miles south of Baltimore. He was able to travel only as far as Baltimore on the 17th, where speeches and addresses took up the entire day. The 18th was relatively uneventful, as the Washington party made good time, spending the evening in the vicinity of Havre de Grace, Md.

The fourth day, April 19, found Mr. Washington and his companions in Wilmington, Del., but because it was Sunday, no public festivities were planned. Early the next morning, after a number of speeches, they proceeded toward Philadelphia, arriving in Chester, Pa., about 7 a.m. Here the travelers were greeted by many Philadelphians, including some of Mr. Washington's Revolutionary War comrades.

Astride his white horse, Mr. Washington rode the rest of the way to Philadelphia, to the cheers of thousands, who "... filled the doors, windows and street [and were] greater than on any other occasion we ever remember," according to the Pennsylvania Gazette.

Mr. Washington left Philadelphia early April 21, crossing the Delaware River into New Jersey at Trenton — the scene of one of his great military triumphs, again mounted on a white horse, to be welcomed by a large number of citizens.

On the 22nd, Mr. Washington and his party visited Princeton, and then moved on to New Brunswick, where he was met by Gov. William Livingston, who escorted Mr. Washington to Woodbridge, where they were to spend the night.

On the eighth and final day of the journey, April 23, Mr. Washington was on the road early, proceeding to Elizabethtown, where members of Congress were waiting for him at the home of Elias Boudinot. After breakfast, citizens of the town escorted Mr. Washington to the waterfront, where a specially built barge was waiting to transport his party across New York Harbor.

At 3 p.m., led by Gov. George Clinton, a leader of the forces that had opposed the Constitution, the citizens of New York welcomed the man charged with guiding the way for the new republic it created.

On April 30, 1789, at Federal Hall on the corner of Wall and Broad Streets, George Washington was sworn in as the first president. He wore a suit of brown material, manufactured in Hartford, Conn. Mr. Washington declined to wear his full-dress uniform, and chose a suit "made in America," to encourage American industry, a theme his two terms as president would express often. He wanted a truly independent United States.

In his address he said, "the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are ... staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."



Detail from "First in Peace;" Washington's arrival in New York, 1789

Warren E. Burger, chief justice of the United States from 1969 to 1986, is chairman of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution.

ROBERT SIEGRIST

A bicentennial milestone

Just two hundred years ago today, George Washington received formal notification of his election as the first president of the United States. It was no surprise. But it was a long time coming. He had been the unanimous choice of the Electoral College when it had met Feb. 4. But the vote could not be official until the ballots had been counted in the presence of the members of the First Congress of the United States.

Its members assembled so slowly at the temporary capital, New York City, that more than a month was lost before the necessary quorum was present.

This brought uncertainty to the country and anxiety to the 57-year-old Mr. Washington; an anxiety which only compounded his mixed emotions. Throughout his adult life, he had seen himself as, primarily, a farmer and a businessman. Yet much of that life had been consumed by public service. Upon completion of each mission, Mr. Washington vowed, ever more resolutely, never again to stray from his good life as proprietor of Mount Vernon.

Yet, by the moment of his presumed final retirement from service as president of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, he had long since become a national symbol; a father figure held by his countrymen in such unparalleled affection, confidence and esteem that his election as president of the newly constituted United States had been a foregone conclusion.

Now his lack of interest in returning to public service was compounded by his realization that his acceptance of the presidency would lead him to his most severe challenge as a national figure. He feared that, should this bold new experiment in self-government that was the American Republic fail, chaos would result; and with it, the loss of liberty for the nation, and the loss of the public esteem he now enjoyed.

So it was that, during the month and a half that dragged by after the meeting of the Electoral College, Washington's anxieties grew, and his mood darkened with each passing day. Nor was it eased by the mood of accounts-receivable problems, Mr. Washington had to borrow 600 pounds from Alexandria friend Richard Conway to pay his Virginia debts and finance the trip to New York.

His concerns, reservations and problems notwithstanding, however, his bags were packed and his affirmative response prepared when, on April 14, Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress, finally arrived at Mount Vernon with the official word. Vintage Washington, his response said it all:

"Whatever may have been my private feelings and sentiments, I believe I cannot give a greater evidence of my sensibility for the honor they (my fellow citizens) have done me, than by accepting the appointment ..."

So it was that, on the morning of the 16th, Mr. Washington again bade reluctant farewell to Martha and Mount Vernon to begin the arduous journey to New York that would etch him even more indelibly into history.

Some of that anxiety and pain should have been eased by the gala reception afforded him at his first a Fourth of July mood throughout. It was, in short, a triumphant tour both unprecedented and unparalleled in American history. And yet, the biggest, the loudest, the most tumultuous reception awaited him in New York City, where he arrived April 23. It was a reception so tumultuous that even Mr. Washington was moved to note it in his diary entry that day.

"The display of boats which attended and joined us ...; the decorations of the ships, the roar of the cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the skies," he wrote, but added the note that it "filled my mind with sensations as painful ... as they are pleasing." Clearly, all of the rich and uproarious acclamation of the people had not lightened his mood. Nor had it by April 30, when he stepped onto the balcony of Federal Hall to take the oath of office.

And that mood continued to show itself in the great solemnity of his inaugural address, in which he admitted, anew, his "anxieties," his "despondence," his "deficiencies." Having done so, he struck a tone deeply religious; a tone reflected, though with less severity and stilt, in the inaugural addresses of each of his successors.

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There was still another problem: Perpetually "land poor" and suffering more than his usual share of accounts-receivable problems, Mr. Washington had to borrow 600 pounds from Alexandria friend Richard Conway to pay his Virginia debts and finance the trip to New York.

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Some of that anxiety and pain should have been eased by the gala reception afforded him at his first stop at nearby Alexandria; a civic reception topped by a sumptuous feast that set the tone and pattern for what he would witness at every other of his many stops along the way.

The entire trip was studded with cheering throngs who jostled just to touch him, to wish him well; by bands and speeches and parades and a Fourth of July mood throughout. It was, in short, a triumphant tour both unprecedented and unparalleled in American history. And yet, the biggest, the loudest, the most tumultuous reception awaited him in New York City, where he arrived April 23. It was a reception so tumultuous that even Mr. Washington was moved to note it in his diary entry that day.

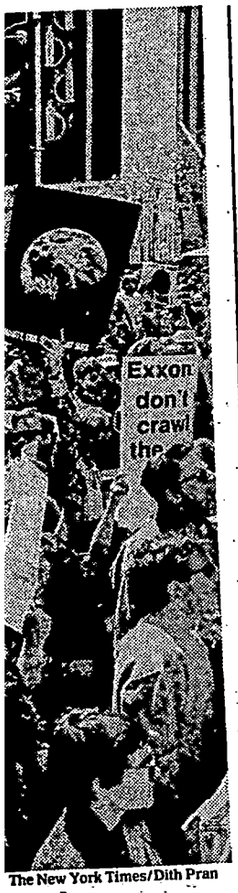
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"It would," he told his hushed audience, "be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplication to the Almighty Being ..."

For the government of the United States of America, George Washington had set the tone and course of faith and confidence in Divine Providence by which his own life had long been directed.

Robert R. Siegrist is executive director of the Ferry Farm Project, the effort by the Stafford County, Va., Board of Supervisors to acquire, reconstruct and open to the public George Washington's boyhood home on the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg.



The New York Times/Dith Pran

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shment of Striped Bass

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Robert F. Kennedy Jr.
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lves at Chelsea, which extend
from the riverbank and 40 feet
ne surface, will suck the young
ough the screens if the pumping
s operating in early May.

Cooped-Up Cats

Spanning 200 Years to *the* Inaugural

By HAROLD FABER

Two hundred years ago today, George Washington arrived in New York City for his inauguration as the first President of the United States.

His arrival and his inauguration on April 30 are being celebrated in a week-long series of events — parades, pageants, exhibitions, symposiums and a ball — throughout the city. The observances start at 2 P.M. today with a re-enactment of his colorful arrival in the city by boat from New Jersey.

The high point of the ceremonies will come next Sunday with a re-enactment of that first inaugural, a speech by President Bush and the dedication of a new Museum of American Constitutional Government, all at the Federal Hall National Memorial at Wall and Nassau Streets.

The celebration will continue that afternoon and evening with a parade up Broadway, a fireworks display over the East River and a fund-raising ball at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Historic and Fun Event

"The recognition of our heritage and the theme that we have of continuity and peaceable change is something we need to be reminded of from time to time," said Joseph Flom, chairman of the New York City Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution, which organized the celebration.

Mr. Flom, a partner in the law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, said, "It's not only a celebration of an historic theme, but it is also a fun event."

Mr. Flom estimated the cost of the bicentennial celebration, including the endowment of the new museum, at "well over $2.5 million." The money has been or will be raised by private and corporate contributions, he said.

The celebration will be a reminder of the brief time in 1789-90 when New York City was the first capital of the United States under the new Constitution, which went into effect in 1789. In 1790, Washington and the Congress moved to Philadelphia and in 1800, John Adams, then President, moved to the new center of government in Washington.

City of Elegance and Crudeness

The New York that Washington came to in 1789 was small, with a population of 28,000 at the tip of Manhattan Island below what is now Broome Street.

It was second to Philadelphia in size, as the census of 1790 showed, but it was growing rapidly, prospering as a seaport. The most imposing building in the city was the Federal Hall at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, which was to become the home of the first Congress and the site of the first inauguration. (It was torn down in 1812).

In 1789, New York was a city of both elegance and crudeness. Men and women of the upper class dressed in the latest fashion from London or Paris and attended balls. But the streets were unpaved, narrow and crooked, often unlighted at night and frequently impassable because of wandering pigs.

Washington knew the city well as commander in chief of the Continental Army in the Revolutionary War. He had last seen it in 1783, when he made a tearful farewell to his officers in Fraunces Tavern at the end of the war.

Crossing by Barge

Six years later, he returned in one of the most colorful pageants that America had ever seen. Eight days after he left Mount Vernon, waving goodbye to his wife, Martha, he arrived at Elizabeth, N.J., across the river from New York, where he was met by officials from Congress and New York State.

He boarded a barge with an awning and red curtains, rowed by 13 white-uniformed pilots, one for each state in the union. It moved slowly across the harbor, escorted by scores of other boats. Many ships fired gun salutes and from one of the escorts came what was described as "ravishing music" from a

Events re-enact Washington's final steps to the Presidency.

the nation's first Postmaster General. It was a square house, described as "five windows wide and three stories high."

A Debate Over Titles

How did Washington feel about his reception? Washington Irving, the novelist who also was a biographer of Washington, quoted this from him:

"The display of boats which attended and joined us on this occasion, some with vocal and some with instrumental music on board; the decorations of the ships, the roar of the cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the skies, as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (considering the reverse of the scene, which may be the case after all labors to do good) as they are pleasing."

Washington arrived in New York as Congress was engaged in a debate that can be regarded only as comic today. Some members of the Senate wanted to call the President "His Excellency" or "His Elective Majesty" or "His Highness" or even "His Highness the President of the United States and Protector of the Rights of the Same."

John Adams, the Vice President, was the strongest advocate of a grandiose title for the President. Senator William Macclay of Pennsylvania and Representative James Madison of Virginia led the fight against anything but the simple phrase "President of the United States." After days of argument and committee meetings, they won.

In a letter to a friend, Washington wrote that he lamented that the subject had been raised. "Happily the matter is now done with, I hope never to be revived."

The only title that did come out of the controversy was one of derision. Those who disliked Vice President Adams, who was stout and pompous, began to call him "His Rotundity."

Washington remained quietly in New York, receiving visitors and calling upon as many members of the new Congress as he could see before his formal inauguration on April 30.

Pageants and Exhibitions Highlight the Celebration

These are some of the events scheduled to celebrate the bicentennial of George Washington's inauguration as the first President of the United States.

Today

A re-enactment of Washington's arrival in New York City, with a flotilla escorting him from Elizabeth, N.J., leaving at 2 P.M. for the South Street Seaport, Fulton and South Streets, and arriving between 4 and 5 P.M.

Monday

Opening of the exhibit "It Is Done: The Inauguration of George Washington, April 30, 1789," St. Paul's Chapel, Broadway and Fulton Streets.

Opening of the exhibit "Birth of a Nation: The First Federal Congress, 1789-1791," the United States Courthouse, Foley Square.

Tuesday

Opening of the exhibit "An Ocean of Difficulties: The New Nation, 1789-1849," Trinity Church, Broadway and Wall Streets.

Wednesday

Symposium on "The Presidency in the 90's," Fordham University School of Law, 140 West 62d Street, 2 P.M. The seminar continues at 4:30 P.M. Thursday.

Thursday

Opening the exhibit "G. Washington in New York," the New-York Historical Society, Central Park West and 76th Street.

Friday

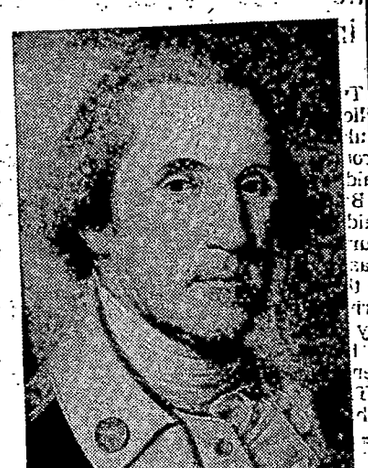
Opening of the exhibit "The First Capital Salutes the First President," with Washington memorabilia, including one of his desks, the Governor's Room in City Hall, 10 A.M.

Celebration of the centennial of the Washington Bridge over the Harlem River, at mid-span, 1 P.M.

Saturday

Parade of ships in New York Harbor, passing the Battery at noon.

Fireworks display entitled "Hail to the Chief," East River at the foot of Wall Street, 8:45 to 9:15 P.M.



George Washington in a portrait by James Peale.

Next Sunday

New Jersey Waterfront Marathon, starting at mid-span of the George Washington Bridge, 9:30 A.M., and ending at Giants Stadium in the Meadowlands.

Service of Thanksgiving, St. Paul's Chapel, Broadway and Fulton Street, 10 A.M. (By invitation only)

Commemorative inaugural ceremony, including a re-enactment of Washington's inauguration, dedication of the Museum of American Constitutional Government, and a speech by President Bush, Federal Hall, Wall and Nassau Streets, noon to 1 P.M.

Bicentennial parade, Wall Street to Broadway, up Broadway past City Hall to Waverly Place, ending at Washington Square, 1 to 3:30 P.M.

The President's Ball, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 7 P.M. (Tickets are $500 to $2,500. For ticket information, call (212) 874-4098.)

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Hail thou auspicious day,
Far let America
Thy praise resound:
Joy to our native land!
Let every heart expand
For Washington's at hand
With glory crowned.

Washington landed at Murray's Wharf at the foot of Wall Street, where the stairs were carpeted for his arrival. A salute of 13 guns roared greetings. In today's re-enactment, Washington's barge will land at the South Street Seaport, and the ceremony will end with speeches and music there.

Bowing and Waving

In 1789, a parade formed, led by the city troop of dragoons, followed by grenadiers, infantry and a committee of Congress. Washington and Governor George Clinton walked together, followed by the Mayor, James Duane, aldermen, the French and Spanish ambassadors and, as one account said, "an amazing concourse of citizens."

Washington walked through streets decorated with flags, silk banners, flower wreaths and evergreen branches. A normally reserved man who seldom smiled, Washington responded by bowing and taking off his hat to wave to women in the windows of houses he passed. Many of them waved back and threw flowers in his path.

The parade ended at the President's Mansion at 3 Cherry Street, close to the East River, where the Brooklyn Bridge now towers over the scene.

Built in 1770, the house was owned by Samuel Osgood, who in 1789 became

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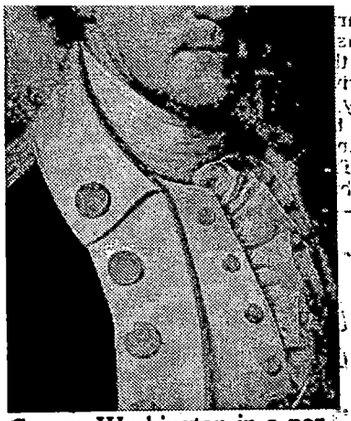
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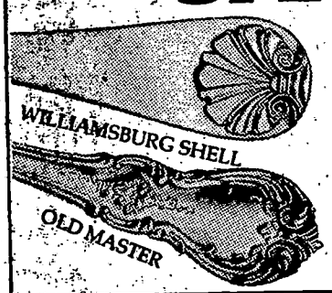
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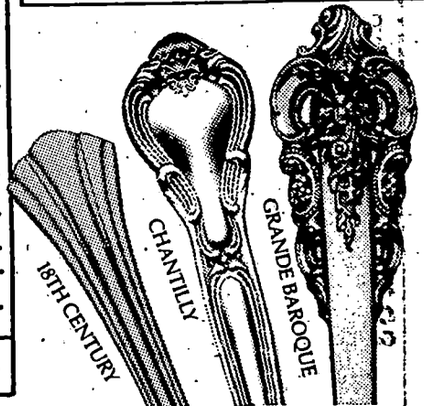
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GEORGE WASHINGTON: Journey to the Presidency

APRIL 16 *Washington departs Mount Vernon and arrives in Alexandria about noon for an early dinner at Wise's Tavern. After an address by the Mayor and 13 toasts, he is escorted up the Potomac and ferried across to Georgetown. He spends the night at Spurrier's Tavern, about 12 miles southwest of Baltimore.*

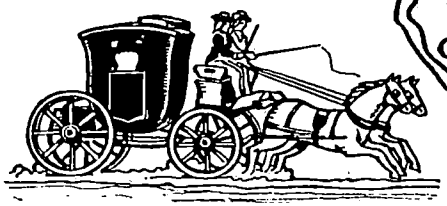
APRIL 17 *Near Baltimore, Washington meets a large party of "citizens on horseback" and with an artillery salute continues to Daniel Grant's Fountain Inn. After dinner and addresses from Baltimore citizens and some of his former officers, he retires.*

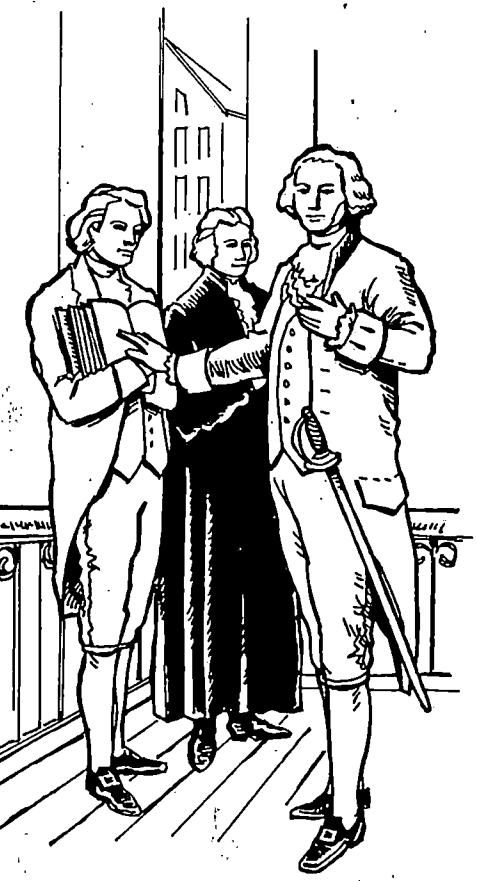
APRIL 18 *Washington departs Baltimore about 5:30 a.m., accompanied by a band of citizens and saluted by artillery. After seven miles, he thanks his escorts and requests that they return home. He spends the night near Havre de Grace.*

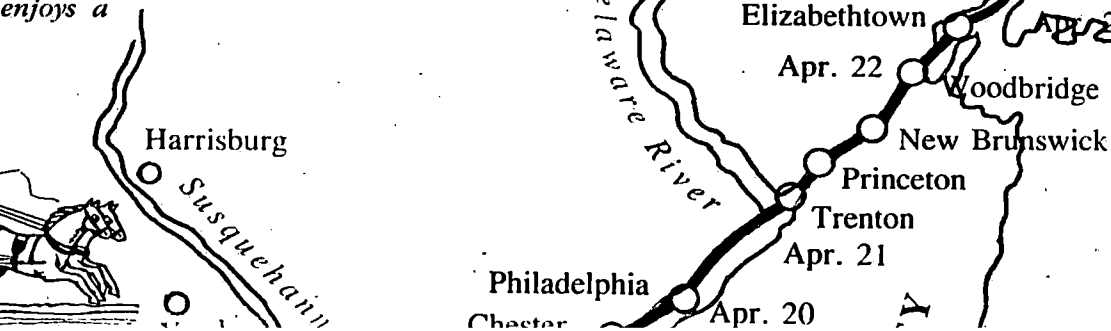
APRIL 19 *On Sunday, Washington travels to Wilmington and arrives in the evening. A decorated vessel commemorates his crossing of the Delaware River.*

APRIL 20 *Washington leaves Wilmington after several addresses and is met at the Pennsylvania line by Philadelphians who escort him to Chester where he breakfasts. He mounts a white horse for his ride into Philadelphia. About noon, the procession crosses the Schuylkill River on Gray's Ferry Bridge, which has been decorated with laurel, evergreens, state flags, banners, and, at each end, a classical arch. A child lowers a crown of laurel as Washington passes beneath. Thousands line the road to Philadelphia, where he later dines with a party of 250 at City Tavern and enjoys a fireworks display.*

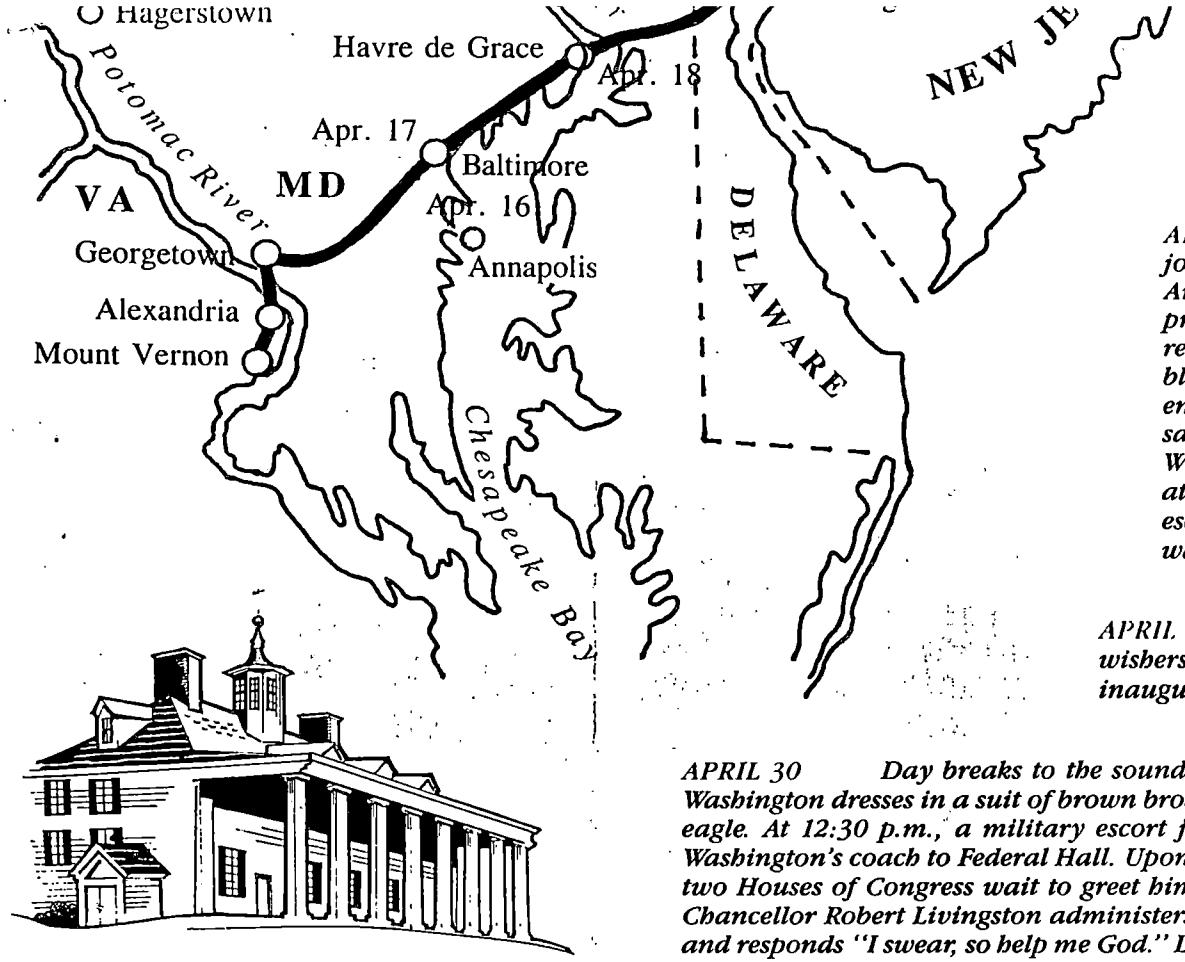








APRIL 21 *Washington departs in the rain for Trenton. Crossing the Delaware at Colvin's Ferry, he again mounts a white horse. An arch of greenery 12 feet long and 20 feet high, supported by 13 columns, spans the entrance of the bridge over Assunpink Creek. While crossing, Washington is welcomed by women and girls who sing an ode and strew flowers in his path. After a dinner and reception at Samuel Henry's City Tavern, he (pro-*



APRIL 22 *Washington breakfasts at Princeton with the president and faculty of Princeton College and the citizens of the town. At New Brunswick he is met with an artillery salute, the ringing of church bells and a welcoming band procession. Troops line the main street for Washington's review. After dinner he lodges for the night at Woodbridge.*

APRIL 23 *Washington proceeds to Elizabeth Town where a joint committee from Congress waits to escort him to New York. Around noon at Elizabeth Town Point, they board a specially prepared ceremonial barge with a keel of 47 feet, festooned with red curtains and manned by 13 pilots dressed in white smocks and black-fringed caps. Six barges carry other dignitaries. As the flotilla enters New York Harbor it is joined by other vessels. Amid gun salutes and the cheers of thousands of New Yorkers along the shore, Washington arrives at Murray's Wharf at the foot of Wall Street at about 3:00 p.m. After a welcome by Governor Clinton, a military escort cuts a passage through the dense throng for Washington, who walks to the Franklin House where he will reside.*

APRIL 24-29 *Washington receives numerous visits from well-wishers at Franklin House, while Congress makes arrangements for his inauguration.*

APRIL 30 *Day breaks to the sound of artillery and church bells. In honor of American industry, Washington dresses in a suit of brown broadcloth spun at Hartford with buttons displaying a wing-spread eagle. At 12:30 p.m., a military escort joined by a procession of dignitaries and citizens accompany Washington's coach to Federal Hall. Upon arrival, Washington proceeds to the Senate Chamber where the two Houses of Congress wait to greet him, then onto the outer balcony in front of the Senate Chamber. Chancellor Robert Livingston administers the oath to Washington, who holds his right hand on the Bible and responds "I swear, so help me God." Livingston then turns to the cheering crowd and proclaims "Long live George Washington, President of the United States."*

For information on commemorative ceremonies along Washington's Route to New York City, contact:

Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution
808 Seventeenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 653-9808

Virginia Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
2015 Ivy Road
Charlottesville, VA 22903-1780
(804) 924-0948

Maryland Office for the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
c/o Maryland State Archives
Hall of Records, Box 828
Annapolis, MD 21404
(301) 974-3914

Independence National Historical Park
Third and Chestnut Sts.
Philadelphia, PA 19106
(215) 597-8974

New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
Cultural Education Center, Room 9D30
Empire State Plaza
Albany, NY 12230
(518) 473-6191

Mount Vernon Ladies Association
Mount Vernon, VA 22121

District of Columbia Bicentennial Commission
515 D Street, NW
Room 307
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 727-2052

Delaware Heritage Commission
Carvel State Office Bldg., 4th Floor
820 N. French Street
Wilmington, DE 19801
(302) 652-6662

Constitution Bicentennial Commission of New Jersey
Ramapo College, Room G-431
505 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430-1680
(201) 529-7401

New York City Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
51 Chambers Street, Room 525
New York, NY 10007
(212) 566-1989

The Journey

When the Senate finally achieved a quorum on April 6, the count revealed that George Washington was unanimously elected President. John Adams of Massachusetts became the first Vice President. Senator John Langdon, President Pro Tempore of the Senate, dispatched Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson to inform Washington of his election.



On April 16, Washington left Mount Vernon by coach, accompanied by his former aide-de-camp, Colonel David Humphreys, and Charles Thomson, bound for New York City. They traveled through Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and arrived in New York City on April 23.

For eight days Washington's journey became a triumphal procession honoring the hero of a new Nation, the "father" of his country. Along the way, dignitaries and citizens of all walks of life honored Washington in a variety of events and celebrations. He visited with many friends from his days as Commander-in-Chief of the Army as well as those who took part in the Constitutional Convention. His journey reflects the profound universal respect and admiration of his countrymen, and its completion marked the transition from a loose collection of states to an independent nation governed by the People.

The inside map traces the journey to the Presidency as We the People commemorate the 200th anniversary of the inaugural of our first President, April 30, 1789.

PHOTO CREDITS

Front: Unknown artist's impression of the first Inaugural, courtesy of the New York Historical Society.

George Washington, oil on canvas by John Trumbull (1791), from the collection of City Hall, Charleston, South Carolina.

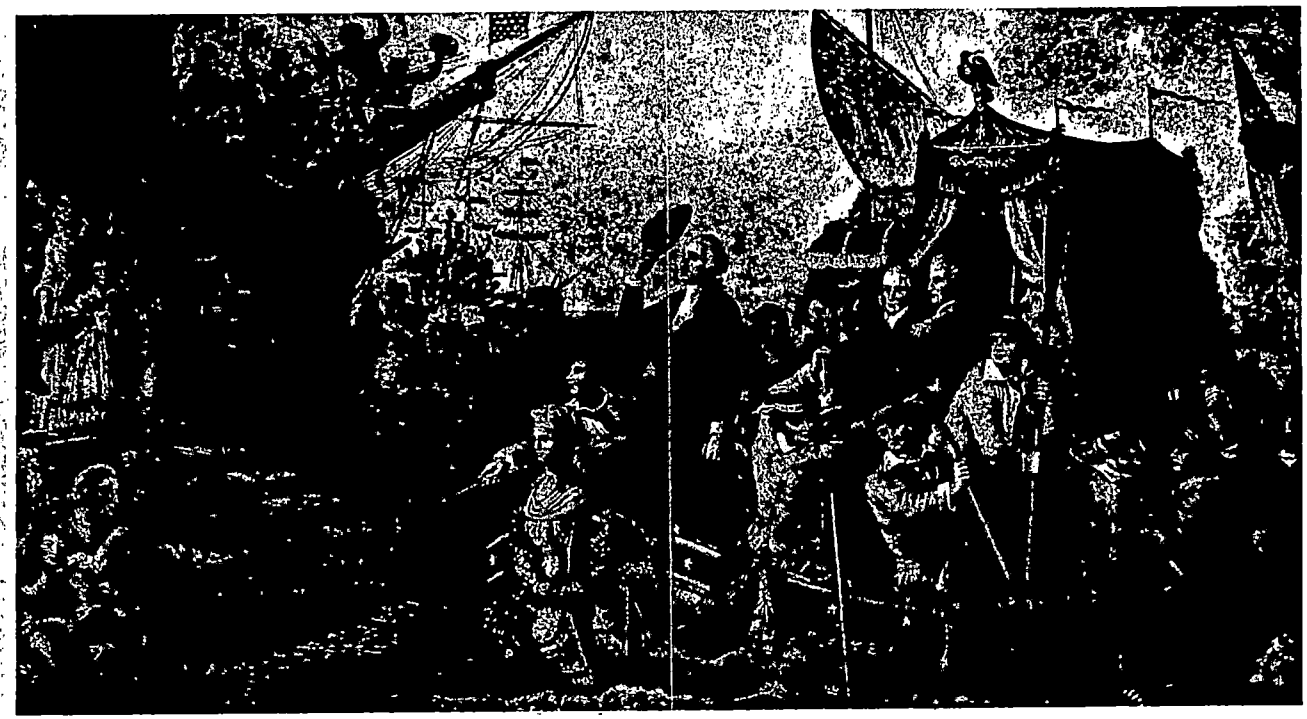
Washington's arrival at the Battery, New York, April 23, 1789. Reproduced from an early engraving by James Tyroler (1857) after an original by John C. McRae. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association

Map, courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association.



Journey to the Presidency

The journey of George Washington in April 1789 from his Mount Vernon plantation to New York City—and to the Presidency—highlighted the beginning of our national government under the Constitution. Washington's triumphal progress to his April 30 inaugural was witnessed by hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens. It symbolized their hopes for the new government which had begun with the first convening of Congress on March 4, 1789. This year's reenactment of that journey commemorates the 200th anniversary of our government, as it reminds us of the blessings we continue to enjoy under the Constitution.



Background

In 1776, as the 13 colonies struggled for independence, the tall Virginia gentleman accepted appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. Under his leadership, this patchwork force of fighting men of varied background accomplished what most of Europe thought impossible: the defeat of the most powerful empire of that time—and independence for the new United States.

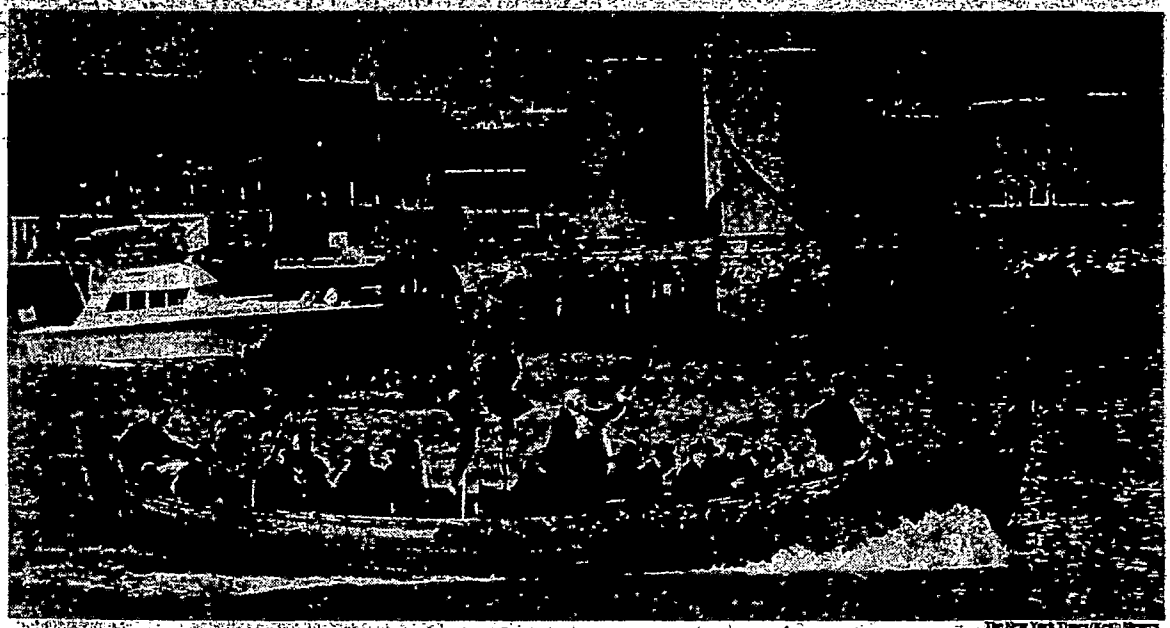
Once the war was over, Washington returned to his Mount Vernon plantation on the banks of the Potomac River in anticipation of a quiet, private life. He had no desire to become a leader in the government of the Virginia Commonwealth nor did he seek a position in the Confederation Congress of the new United States, meeting in New York City.

Nevertheless, Washington saw clearly his duty to the country he helped create. When requested in 1787 to attend the Philadelphia Convention, Washington responded. Originally called by the Confederation Congress "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation," this meeting of state representatives produced a new Constitution.

Washington's arrival in May inspired a hero's welcome with thousands of admirers filling the streets. Selected to serve as President of the Convention, Washington chose not to take a direct part in the discussions and debate, but indirectly influenced the other delegates (or deputies). His was the honor of being the first to sign the completed document on September 17, 1787. After forwarding the new Constitution to the Confederation Congress, Washington returned to the serenity of his beloved Mount Vernon. But his seclusion was to be short lived.

Over the next ten months Washington carefully followed the ratification process while avoiding any direct involvement in the actual debate. The Constitution went into effect on June 21, 1788, when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify it. On September 13, in one of its last acts, the Confederation Congress authorized the states to proceed with the selection of Presidential electors (as provided in Article II, Section 1), for the purpose of electing the first President of the United States under the Constitution.

By February 4, 1789, ten states had chosen electors. They met in their states and after voting sent their sealed ballots to New York City, the site of the first U.S. Congress. The ballots were to be counted officially when that body convened for the first time—which it was scheduled to do March 4, 1789.



The New York Times/Keith Meyers

George Washington Arrives Again

Actors playing George Washington and 13 oarsmen being towed yesterday from Port Elizabeth, N.J., to the South Street Seaport Museum. The boat ride was the culmination of a two-week trip from Mount Vernon, Va., to New York as part of the 200th anniversary celebration of the first President's inauguration April 30, 1789. Their escort included the Rose, a re-creation of a 1757 British frigate.

Bush, Homeless and the Past to Meet at St. Paul's

By DAVID W. DUNLAP

Witness to the infancy of the American republic and the prayers that accompanied its creation, St. Paul's Chapel on lower Broadway is about to depart from its tranquil ways and regain momentarily a place at the nation's center.

At St. Paul's, an Episcopal service of thanksgiving was held on April 30, 1789, after the first inauguration. President Washington attended. And so did the two houses of Congress.

At St. Paul's, an interfaith service of praise and thanksgiving is to be held Sunday, the bicentenary of the inauguration. President Bush is to attend. And so are two of the homeless men who live in the chapel.

The church has served the needy since the 1700's.

In tender defiance of Ground Zero, New York, the Georgian church between Fulton and Vesey Streets has endured not only as a physical fact but as a religious house, a northern outpost of Trinity Parish, as when it was built in a wheat field 223 years ago.

Beds and Chandeliers

A modern social crisis is also being accommodated there. In a gallery upstairs from where Washington worshipped when New York was the capital, under Waterford chandeliers, clustered around a 185-year-old, mahogany organ case, there are six beds and footlockers. Four more beds are in a room nearby.

Since 1982, St. Paul's has sheltered 10 to 14 people every night, and continues to do so in concert with the Partnership for the Homeless. It also serves about 125 sandwiches each day to the needy.

"In every generation, Trinity Parish has met whatever need has come along," said the Rev. Canon Lloyd S. Casson, Vicar of Trinity Church and St. Paul's Chapel.

"St. Paul's is a sign that the God of love, justice, peace and hope is in the midst of us," he said. "It can house the President of the United States and a homeless man. It is like a mini-cathedral; more than just a church for a particular group of people. It becomes a rallying place, a gathering place, a reminder."

'We Don't Have Space'

Patricia Burton-Eadie, supervisor of shelter development for the Partnership, has served on occasion as the overnight volunteer at the chapel, sleeping next to Washington's pew. "When other churches and temples say, 'We don't have space for the homeless,' I use St. Paul's as an example," she said.

There are other surviving Manhattan landmarks that existed on Inauguration Day 1789 — most prominently the Morris-Jumel Mansion, at Edgecombe Avenue and 160th Street, and the Dyckman House, at Broadway and 204th Street. But they are now museums, while St. Paul's is still performing much the same mission it did in the 18th century.

That is not to say it is static. Its role is "evolving," Canon Casson said. Even the account of its origin is changing. The church has long been credited to the architect Thomas McBean. But Phyllis Barr, director of archives at Trinity, believes a Frenchman named Andrew Gautier may have been responsible.



"It can house the President of the United States and a homeless man," said the Rev. Canon Lloyd S. Casson, Vicar of Trinity Church and St. Paul's Chapel, about his parish.

Ms. Barr pored over account books from the time and found no mention of McBean. Gautier, however, turned up repeatedly, with payments itemized "for the use of St Pauls Church" — presumably in the sense of putting something into operation.

First Church Had Burned

Both archivist and vicar are frustrated by the scarcity of details regarding the 1789 service. At that time, St. Paul's was the parish church because the first Trinity Church had burned in 1776 and construction of the second was not finished.

A contemporary newspaper account described the events after Washington was sworn into office: "His Excellency, accompanied by the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and both Houses of Congress then went to Paul's Chapel, where divine service was performed by the Right Revd. Dr. Provost, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this State, and Chaplain to Congress."

"We don't know what they did except sing the 'Te Deum,' " Canon Casson said. "But that's typical of Anglicans. They *always* sing the 'Te Deum' at times of excitement."

There was concern over whether that hymn should be sung in a modern service deliberately structured to include leaders from the Jewish, Islamic, Buddhist and American Indian communities.

A week before the bicentennial excitement, St. Paul's looks particularly peaceful as the setting sun breaks between the towers of the World Trade Center and washes over the church, toasting its roughly cut stones and warming the sharp edges of the brownstone pediments and cornices.

With many of the surrounding skyscrapers cast in shadow, the pewter-gray wooden steeple appears to be much higher than it does at midday.

Within the church, the men are gathering as they do every evening to fix dinner. One of them, whom Trinity identifies only as Pete, was asked recently what he would say to President Bush if he had the chance. He answered:

"'Mr. President, welcome to my home. Without it, I would have been out on the street.' And I would take him up and I would show him the room and everything and say, 'Thank God for Trinity Church has opened up its doors.' "

America houses us all, keeps us safe & free...

Preserve this house of freedom

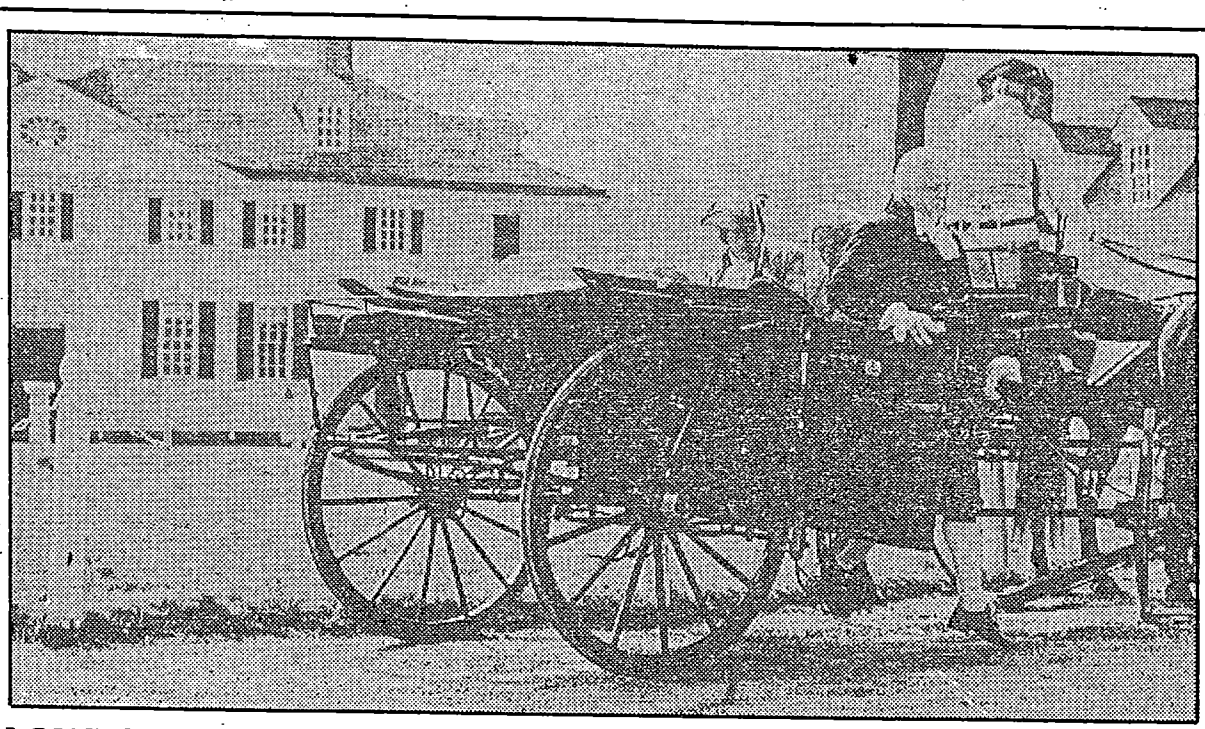
turns are down.

"The last I checked, early this week, we were 350,000 returns behind last year," said Karl Felsen, department spokesman.

Preparers in Manhattan expected last-minute filers to New York State, which had about 4.5 million returns in by late last week, typically processes 7 million returns in the tax season and another 1 million at other times, Felsen said.

To aid last-minute filers, the them until Aug. 15 to file without penalty. He said 600,000 New Yorkers did just that last year.

Those who do not file may owe penalties and interest if taxes are due. But he said one-third of returns produce a refund.



Associated Press

I CANNOT GET A RIDE: *Washington (William Sommerfield) dumps his broken carriage.*

Washington schlepped here

George's trip to Apple gets a rough start

By CHARLES CARILLO

We cannot tell a lie: the man pictured here is *not* George Washington.

On the other hand, William Sommerfield is a fairly startling replica of the Father of our Country — which is why he's portraying the big guy all this week.

Sommerfield left Mt. Vernon, Va. by horse-drawn carriage yesterday to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the presidency.

Washington made the journey to New York when he learned he was president.

But yesterday — less than 100 feet into the 250-mile trek to New York — Sommerfield's carriage broke down. One wheel hit a fence post, breaking the shaft between the harnesses and the carriage.

So Sommerfield left the Mt. Vernon estate in a Ford van, travelling 20th-century style for the first five miles before switching to a back-up carriage that was hauled to a park along the route.

Like Washington, Sommerfield stands 6-2, weighs 210, has blue-gray eyes and long silver hair that was once sandy red. And like Washington, Sommerfield's serpentine journey will take him about 250 miles through Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He's a "professional interpreter" who's played this role many times — which is why the government hired him for this eight-day, 57-event gig.

(And you thought your tax dollars were being wasted.)

Sommerfield has thoroughly researched Washington's life, and he'll answer questions during the trip in accordance with his knowledge.

Just don't ask him about cherry trees, wooden teeth, or the silver dollar Washington's said to have thrown across the Potomac.

"That's exactly why this trip is being made — so those myths can be swept away," said Sommerfield, 58.

Washington wore false teeth, all right, but they were made of bone and ivory.

The tale of him chopping down his father's cherry tree is not documented anywhere, Sommerfield added.

And the one about him hurling the silver dollar is the biggest whopper of all.

"First of all, the Potomac in front of Mount Vernon is a mile wide," Sommerfield noted. "And they didn't have silver dollars. They had paper dollars."

GEZ
HIS MEANES
THE ULTIMATI
Choose from 4,000 T
HIS BIGGEST BOLDES
COLLECTION OF EXO
BLENDS OF LINEN &
BY THE HANDS OF
PORTOFINO IMPORTED
100% COTTON IN SOLID
WHITE BROADCLOTH.
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NEW FOR SP
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162 Fifth A
MONDAY - F
We welcome American Exp

GEORGE BUSH
710 NORTH POST OAK ROAD
SUITE 208
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77024
(713) 467-1980

September 4, 1979

Mr. Ralph L. Benson
21 Tallmadge Avenue
Chatham, NJ 07928

Dear Mr. Benson,

Thank you for your recent letter.

I certainly understand your concern about inflation and rising costs. We are never going to hold down the cost of living until we hold down the cost of government. Excessive government spending is the chief cause of inflation.

As President, I would exert every effort to reduce government spending in conjunction with a tax cut and a cut-back in government regulation. In my view, these actions would greatly reduce the inflationary pressure.

I'm most grateful for your support.

Sincerely,

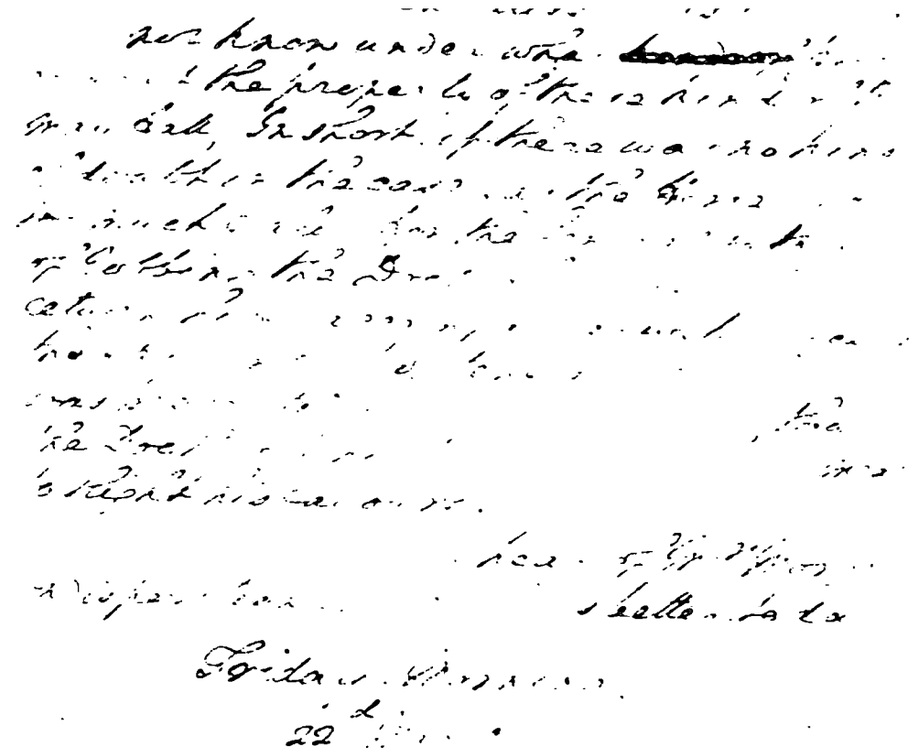
George Bush

This letter from President George Bush is one of 41 presidential letters to be featured in "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush" commemorating the 200th anniversary celebration of George Washington's inauguration. In the 1979 letter, George Bush indicates that when he becomes president there will be no new taxes and a freeze on spending, a policy later included in his 1988 campaign platform. The exhibit will be open April 22 until May 6, 1989 at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street in New York. Hours are 11 a.m until 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes
Beth Tuseck



This letter from former President George Washington is one of 41 presidential letters to be featured in "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush" commemorating the 200th anniversary celebration of George Washington's inauguration. An extraordinary letter to the Director General of Hospitals and Physician-in-Chief to the Continental Army, Dr. John Morgan, written on March 22, 1776, two days following a British retreat from Boston. George Washington declines the gift of a horse captured from the Tory, Doctor Lloyd, explaining that he has not as yet established a moral policy for such situations. The exhibit will be open April 22 until May 6, 1989 at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street in New York. Hours are 11 a.m until 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

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Beth Tuseck



MIXING THE PRESENT WITH THE PAST

PRESIDENTIAL AUTOGRAPHS ON VIEW

The exhibition at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street, New York to commemorate the 200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration held on April 30th, 1789 is called "By George: Presidential Autographs from George Washington to George Bush." It is open from April 22nd until May 6th, 1989.

Located in a special exhibition area at **Place des Antiquaires**, the "By George" show is being organized by Dr. George Szabo, the director of the center, and Kenneth W. Rendell, owner of a gallery at **Place des Antiquaires** which bears his name. Mr. Rendell, who for 30 years has been a dealer in historical letters and documents, has this to say about the show: "The world of historical letters is a way of mixing the past with the present. In this show at **Place des Antiquaires**, for instance, we are showing letters from all the presidents. One dating back to 1979 from George Bush indicates that when he becomes president there will be no new taxes, and a freeze on spending. As you know, that was his 1988 campaign platform."

The "By George" exhibition, free and open to the public, will contain letters and documents which reveal the human aspect of the 41 presidents. Ken Rendell will give a talk on this subject, and will give his brand-new booklet: "A Guide to Collecting Presidents" free to all guests who attend both the exhibition and his talk.

According to Mr. Rendell, the typical historical letter and document collector is usually self-assured, intelligent, an entrepreneur and a decision-maker, not professional scholar but generally has a deep interest in a subject such as a period of history, music, art or literature.

Hours at **Place des Antiquaires** (212-758-2900) are 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes



Special Fact Sheet on Kenneth Rendell,

Historical Letter and Document Specialist

at Place des Antiquaires

1. New York gallery at **Place des Antiquaires**, 125 East 57th Street. Offices in Cambridge, with an enormous collection in Newton, Massachusetts. Sells autographs to many Japanese collectors through his Tokyo gallery.

2. He's a co-editor of Autographs and Manuscripts: A Guide to Collecting sponsored by The American Library Association as an outstanding reference book. He is a consultant to CBS News, the FBI, the Treasury Department, Newsweek (he wrote the Hitler Diary cover story) and numerous universities, libraries and museums.

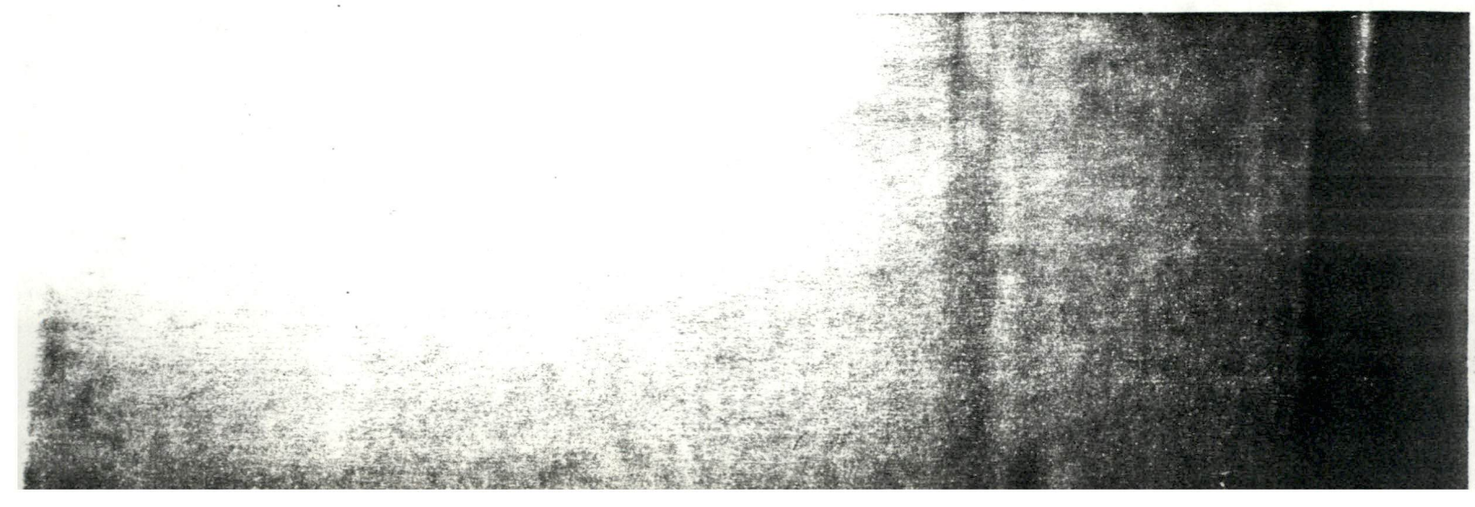
3. Clients of Kenneth Rendell who are collectors of historical letters and documents, past and present, include Malcolm Forbes, Armand Hammer (who has purchased gifts for the Russian leaders as well as Leonardi deVinci's notebooks), Ross Perot, Barbara Streisand, Joan Sutherland, Robert F. Kennedy, Senator Ted Kennedy, The Getty Museum, and Emperor Hirohito's brother.

4. He is working on a book on collecting autographs with information on rarity, authenticity and value.

For: **Place des Antiquaires**

From: **Delibes Communications Ltd.**
200 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 247-7295

Claude Delibes



Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C. 20543

CHAMBERS OF
CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER
RETIRED

December 15, 1988

Dear Mr. Vice President:

You may recall that sometime ago the New York City Commission, chaired by Joseph Flom, wrote you a letter about the same time that I wrote you concerning a significant Bicentennial program for April 30, 1989 in New York to commemorate George Washington's first inaugural.

The program would actually commence with George Washington and two friends stepping out of Mt. Vernon at 10:00 in the morning on April 16, and proceeding for seven and one-half days to New York. They would then cross the bay in order for a reenactment of the First Inaugural on Wall Street on April 30. The reenactment, of course, would take place on the same site where Washington took the oath.

Our Commission is prepared to take the responsibility for the trip of George Washington's double from Mt. Vernon to New York with stops being made along the route, coordinated with schools and patriotic organizations. The New York City Commission would control the reenactment and they have not defined the April 30 program in detail.

The New York City Commission has been pressing us to secure a commitment from you to be present on April 30 but without indicating what you would be invited to do. I assume this is because the broadcast producers are in turn pressing them for such a commitment from you. The New York City Commission represents to us that they cannot proceed with their plans until and unless they have such a commitment from you. We have responded to this by pointing out that you have many important burdens between now and January 20 and as a result such a commitment may not be feasible.

I write you now chiefly at the urging of the New York Commission. We assume that the planning for national radio and television coverage will be greatly enhanced if the commitment is obtained from you.

If you wish to have your staff discuss this with us, I will make myself available at any time.

Cordially,

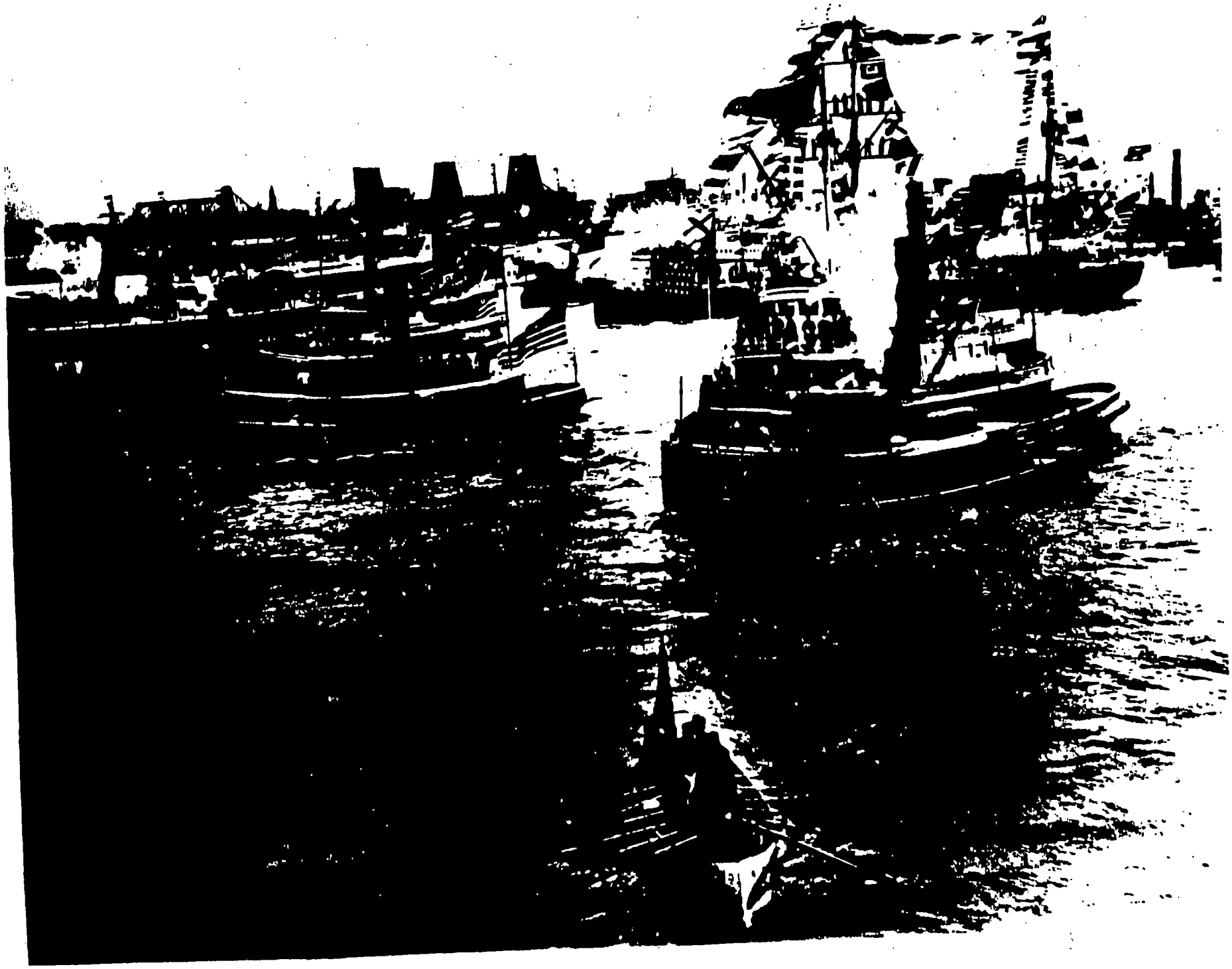
Warren E. Burger

Chairman
Commission on the Bicentennial
of the United States Constitution

Vice President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



Benjamin Harrison 1984



The Two Hundredth
Anniversary of
George Washington's
Inauguration



April 30, 1989

Edward I. Koch
Mayor
City of New York

Mario M. Cuomo
Richard Nixon
Gerald R. Ford
Jimmy Carter
Honorary Chairmen

Joseph H. Flom
Chairman

Richard S. Heffner
Anna Murdoch
Vice Chairmen

Peter S. Kohlmann
Executive Director

March 3, 1989

John G. Keller, Jr.
Director of Presidential Advance
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Keller:

We are in the latter stages of planning for the commemoration of the 200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration, to take place New York City on April 30, 1989. This is following in the tradition of previous celebrations of this historic occasion.

For the 50th, 100th and 150th Anniversary of Washington's Inauguration, Presidents and former Presidents have led grand festivities in New York City to honor this event. Accordingly, President Bush has been invited to lead this celebration on April 30.

Enclosed for your review is a draft protocol for the President's participation on April 30th. We have been working with the President's scheduling office, as well as Chief of Staff Sununu, and have also submitted this protocol to them.

While we have not received an official determination from the scheduling office, we are anxious to meet with you and your staff to begin preliminary conversations in anticipation of the President's participation.

We have hired Radio City Music Hall Productions to produce the main ceremony at Federal Hall National Memorial. They have extensive background in producing Presidential events, including the parade for the Bicentennial of the Constitution in Philadelphia in 1987.

I will be in contact with you to discuss arranging a meeting with you or your staff as soon as possible. If you or Jay Parmer are going to be in New York City for the President's visit on March 9, we would welcome the opportunity to meet with you then.

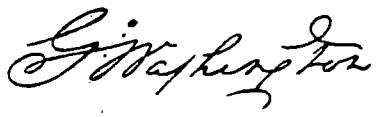
Thank you in advance for your consideration,

Sincerely,

Peter Kohlmann
Executive Director

cc: Jay Parmer

The Two Hundredth
Anniversary of
George Washington's
Inauguration



April 30, 1989

Revised Protocol for The President and First Lady of the United States

On the Occasion of the Commemoration of The 200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration

April 30, 1989, New York City

There are two alternative arrival plans:

1) 1000 Wheels Down New York Metropolitan Area. The President and Mrs. Bush travel by Helicopter to the Wall Street Heliport.

or

2) 0930 Wheels Down New York Metropolitan Area. The President and Mrs. Bush travel by Helicopter to a landing site on Governor's Island, board Coast Guard ship "Eagle," and sail across NY Bay to the South Street Seaport.

1020 President and Mrs. Bush motorcade to St. Paul's Chapel on Broadway between Fulton and Vesey Streets.

1030 President and Mrs. Bush attend the commemorative Service of Thanksgiving at St. Paul's Chapel, Parish of Trinity Church, at the invitation of The Right Reverend Paul Moore, the Bishop of New York.

St. Paul's Chapel is the same church in which George Washington attended services following his inauguration in 1789. Washington's pew (the "President's Pew") still occupies its original location in the Chapel.

The Service will be lead by the Rev. Daniel Paul Matthews, Rector, Parish of Trinity Church, and the Participants will include the leaders of New York's religious community, such as John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop Iakovos, and Archbishop Manoogian, as well as the Chaplains of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

Attendees will likely include former Presidents, Congressional leaders, New York City and State Officials, foreign dignitaries and judges.

1115 Service concludes. The President and Mrs. Bush depart St. Paul's Church and proceed down Broadway by motorcade to Pine Street. The President and Mrs. Bush enter Federal Hall National Memorial through the Pine Street entrance. (rear door)

Federal Hall was the meeting place of the First Congress and the site of George Washington's inauguration in 1789. The present Federal Hall National Memorial was built in 1840.

1125 The President and Mrs. Bush tour the new Museum of American Consitutional Government located inside Federal Hall. The Museum is a project of the National Park Foundation and the legacy of this event. A select group of school children will demonstrate the unique concepts of the museum.

1145-1200 Holding time (if needed)

1200 Commemorative Inaugural Ceremony begins. Program includes:

The National Anthem.
Performances by:
- The United States Army Band
- Continental Color Guard
- The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps

Brief Remarks by distinguished guests:
- Former Presidents
- Congressional leaders
- Chief Justice Burger
- Governor Cuomo
- Mayor Koch

The United States Army Herald Trumpeters sound "Ruffles and Flourishes" followed by "Hail to the Chief."

The President of the United States walks out onto the steps of Federal Hall and stands at the very site where George Washington was sworn in 200 years ago. From a special podium which recreates the balcony upon which Washington stood, the President delivers an Address to the Nation, after having completed his 100th day in office.

In his Address, the President officially dedicates the National Park Service's new Museum of American Constitutional Government at Federal Hall.

1300 The program concludes with the raising of the American Flag over Federal Hall, as was done in 1789, and the firing of a 50 gun Salute to the Nation from the Battery by the United States Army.

The President reviews the Bicentennial Procession up Wall Street, which features military units from all five branches of the Armed Forces and civic organizations from throughout the region, many representing those groups which participated in celebrations in 1789 and 1889.

1315 At a designated point in the procession, the President and Mrs. Bush depart Federal Hall using the Pine Street door they travel by motorcade around the block and enter the parade route.

1400 When they have reached the end of the approximately two mile route, the President and First Lady continue to the Waldorf=Astoria and maintain a private schedule for the afternoon. The Presidential Suite has been reserved for the President and First Lady.

1830 The President and the First Lady depart the Waldorf=Astoria and travel by motoracde to the Intrepid Sea Air and Space Museum.

1845 Arrive at the Intrepid. Attend Crew Party for 2-3,000 sailors, in conjunction with Fleet Week 1989, at the invitation of Zachary Fisher.

1915 Depart Intrepid for the Waldorf=Astoria for the President's Ball.

1930 Arrive at Waldorf=Astoria as guests of honor at the President's Ball--a gala dinner-dance--chaired by Mrs. Milton Petrie and Mr. Steven J. Ross; Honorary Chair Mrs. Vincent Astor.

2200 The President and Mrs. Bush depart.

There are two departure plans:

1) 2200 Motorcade travels to the Wall Street Heliport. Wheels Up for Airport.

or

2) 2200 President and Mrs. Bush retire to the Presidential Suite at the Waldorf=Astoria, which has been reserved for them should they wish to remain overnight.

Monday, May 1

0730 Motorcade departs for Wall Street Heliport prior to rush hour. Wheels up for airport.

Schedule for Stephen M. Studdert and John G. Keller, Jr.

Site Visit to New York City

Wednesday, March 29, 1989

20

9:~~45~~ am Arrive Newark International Airport, Butler Aviation. Phone: (201) ~~642-1660~~. Met by Peter Kohlmann, Director, NYC Commission on the Bicentennial. 624-1660

9:55 am Wheels up for Manhattan.

10:00 am Arrive Downtown Manhattan Heliport (Pier 6). Phone: (212) 466-4353

10:15 am Arrive South Street Seaport. Walk through proposed arrival plan at Pier 16. Phone: (212) 669-9430 (Kathleen Madden's Office)

10:30 am Depart South Street Seaport for St. Paul's Chapel.

10:40 am Arrive St. Paul's Chapel, Broadway between Fulton and Vesey Streets. Meet Father Percival Brown, Parish of Trinity Church, and Michael Fiur, Deputy Director of the Bicentennial Commission. Briefing on Chapel Service. Phone: (212) 602-0809 (Father Brown's Office)

11:30 am Depart St. Paul's Chapel for Federal Hall. (walk)

11:40 am Arrive at Federal Hall National Memorial, Wall and Nassau Streets, (enter Pine Street door). Meet Barnett Lipton, Senior Producer, Radio City Music Hall Productions, and John Lucas, Director of Production, Radio City Music Hall Productions. Briefing on museum dedication, commemorative ceremony and parade. Phone: (212) 264-4456 (Robert Mahoney's Office)

1:00 pm Depart Federal Hall
Optional review of additional sites:
Parade route; Intrepid Sea Air and Space Museum (Fleet Week Crew Party Site); Waldorf-Astoria (Dinner Location)

Lunch

2:30 pm Return to appropriate heliport

2:45 pm Wheels up Newark International Airport, Butler Aviation. Phone: (201) 642-1660

3:30 pm Wheels up Washington D.C.

Commission on the Bicentennial of The United States Constitution

808 17th Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006
202/USA-1787

Warren E. Burger
Chairman

Frederick K. Biebel
Lindy Boggs
Herbert Brownell
Lynne V. Cheney
Philip M. Crane
Dennis DeConcini
William J. Green
Edward Victor Hill
Cornelia G. Kennedy
Edward M. Kennedy
Harry McKinley Lightsey, Jr.
William Lucas
Betty Southard Murphy
Thomas H. O'Connor
Phyllis Schlafly
Bernard H. Siegan
Ted Stevens
Obert C. Tanner
Strom Thurmond
Ronald H. Walker
Charles E. Wiggins
Charles Alan Wright

Mark W. Cannon
Staff Director

March 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR PEGGY HAZELRIGG
WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE

FROM: Ted McConnell
Director
Marketing and Public Relations

SUBJECT: Potential Visit of the President to New York/Washington Inaugural Re-enactment

Peggy, the attached memo clearly outlines the views of the Chief Justice and the Commission, relating to the potential April 30th visit of the President to New York in conjunction with the re-enactment of President Washington's first inaugural. Paul Clark (the Commission's Director of Governmental Affairs) is the individual appointed by the Chief Justice as liaison to the New York activities.

Not holding this re-enactment of Washington's oath taking would be similar to an inaugural day for President Bush without the oath, it would be incomplete. In this Commission's opinion the oath re-enactment is the centerpiece of the April 30th activities and the event most newsworthy (as opposed to the church service at St. Pauls, the parade and the gala that we understand President Bush has been invited to).

This information is intended as background for your advance staff only. We merely wish you to know the Chief Justice and Commission's strong feelings about an oath re-enactment.

Thank you for your assistance. Please let me know if I can provide any further information.

JGC -
For you & Steve
to see only.
Peg
3-28

Commission on the Bicentennial of The United States Constitution

808 17th Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006
202/USA-1787

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Bernard H. Siegan
Ted Stevens
Obert C. Tanner
Strom Thurmond
Ronald H. Walker
Charles E. Wiggins
Charles Alan Wright

Mark W. Cannon
Staff Director

March 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO : Ted McConnell

FROM : Paul Clark

SUBJECT: President Bush to NYC April 30

If the President decides to attend the Bicentennial events in New York City on April 30--as I believe he should--it would be helpful to our Commission if his staff would encourage the New York organizers to include a reenactment segment to their program.

I believe the President should attend the proposed noontime ceremony at Federal Hall (where he is being asked to make remarks). It would provide him a large national media audience, as well as a New York metro area audience. It is an opportunity to speak to a live crowd that is present largely because they are patriotic. Also, it is a once-in-a-lifetime historical anniversary that relates directly to the Presidency. As you know, the Inaugural Committee took as its theme--from George (Washington) to George (Bush). What better way for the President to extend his identification with George Washington.

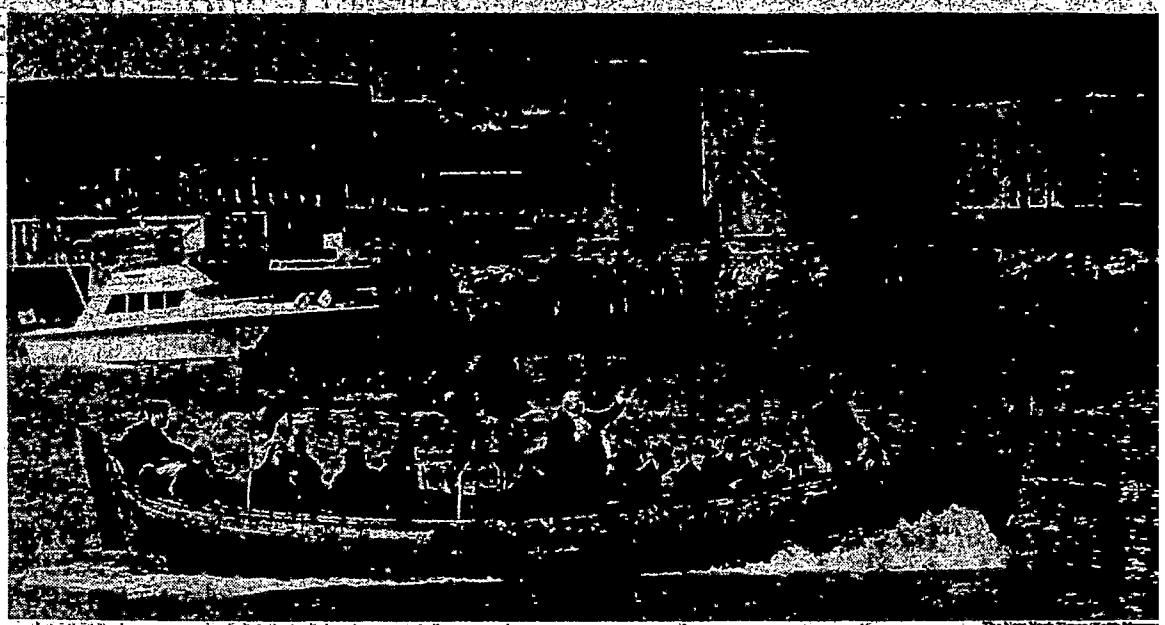
The ceremony will provide the President an opportunity to be photographed with an actor who looks very much like Washington. I believe this photo would appear on the front page of a large number of Monday morning newspapers (Sunday being a notoriously slow news day). In my opinion there is no downside to his attending the NYC event. They have made it clear the President may speak on any subject he chooses, for as long or short as he wants. It is a patriotic event, in an excellent media market.

If the President decides to go to New York, his advance staff could be very helpful to us by encouraging the people in New York (the NYC Commission and Radio City Music Hall) to have a short portion of the program

dedicated to a reenactment of the swearing-in of President Washington. This would, in essence, provide the patriotic overtones to the ceremony. Chief Justice Burger would take about five minutes at the podium and lead into the actual reenactment. He would provide the historical background to the entire occasion. Then one of Chancellor Livingston's descendents (Robert Livingston swore in Washington as President) would hold the original 1789 bible while Chief Judge Sol Wachtler of New York swears-in Washington--all in 18th Century costume. The entire reenactment should only take 5-10 minutes.

The New York City Commission for several months has told us that they cannot commit to a reenactment ceremony until the President says okay. They "will do what the President wants done." Our Chairman, Chief Justice Burger, very much wants such a reenactment. Very much. If the President's staff could encourage New York to include a reenactment I know it would help us and please the Chairman. It also, I believe, would enhance the whole event and the President would benefit from the clear historical association with our first President--George Washington.

-end-



The New York Times/Keith Meyers

George Washington Arrives Again

Actors playing George Washington and 13 oarsmen being towed yesterday from Port Elizabeth, N.J., to the South Street Seaport Museum. The boat ride was the culmination of a two-week trip from Mount Vernon, Va., to New York as part of the 200th anniversary celebration o the first President's inauguration April 30, 1789. Their escort include the Rose, a re-creation of a 1757 British frigate.

Bush, Homeless and the Past to Meet at St. Paul's

By DAVID W. DUNLAP

Witness to the infancy of the American republic and the prayers that accompanied its creation, St. Paul's Chapel on lower Broadway is about to depart from its tranquil ways and regain momentarily a place at the nation's center.

At St. Paul's, an Episcopal service of thanksgiving was held on April 30, 1789, after the first inauguration. President Washington attended. And so did the two houses of Congress.

At St. Paul's, an interfaith service of praise and thanksgiving is to be held Sunday, the bicentenary of the inauguration. President Bush is to attend. And so are two of the homeless men who live in the chapel.

The church has served the needy since the 1700's.

In gentle defiance of ephemeral New York, the Georgian church between Fulton and Vesey Streets has endured not only as a physical fact but as a religious house, a northern outpost of Trinity Parish, as when it was built in a wheat field 223 years ago.

Beds and Chandeliers

A modern social crisis is also being accommodated there. In a gallery upstairs from where Washington worshipped when New York was the capital, under Waterford chandeliers, clustered around a 185-year-old, mahogany organ case, there are six beds and footlockers. Four more beds are in a room nearby.

Since 1982, St. Paul's has sheltered 10 to 14 people every night, and continues to do so in concert with the Partnership for the Homeless. It also serves about 125 sandwiches each day to the needy.

"In every generation, Trinity Parish has met whatever need has come along," said the Rev. Canon Lloyd S. Casson, Vicar of Trinity Church and St. Paul's Chapel.

"St. Paul's is a sign that the God of love, justice, peace and hope is in the midst of us," he said. "It can house the President of the United States and a homeless man. It is like a mini-cathedral, more than just a church for a particular group of people. It becomes a rallying place, a gathering place, a reminder."

'We Don't Have Space'

Patricia Burton-Eadie, supervisor of shelter development for the Partnership, has served on occasion as the overnight volunteer at the chapel, sleeping next to Washington's pew. "When other churches and temples say, 'We don't have space for the homeless,' I use St. Paul's as an example," she said.

There are other surviving Manhattan landmarks that existed on Inauguration Day 1789 — most prominently the Morris-Jumel Mansion, at Edgecombe Avenue and 160th Street, and the Dyckman House, at Broadway and 204th Street. But they are now museums, while St. Paul's is still performing much the same mission it did in the 18th century.

That is not to say it is static. Its role is "evolving," Canon Casson said. Even the account of its origin is changing. The church has long been credited to the architect Thomas McBean. But Phyllis Barr, director of archives at Trinity, believes a Frenchman named Andrew Gautier may have been responsible.



"It can house the President of the United States and a homeless man," said the Rev. Canon Lloyd S. Casson, Vicar of Trinity Church and St. Paul's Chapel, about his parish.

Ms. Barr pored over account books from the time and found no mention of McBean. Gautier, however, turned up repeatedly, with payments itemized "for the use of St Pauls Church" — presumably in the sense of putting something into operation.

First Church Had Burned

Both archivist and vicar are frustrated by the scarcity of details regarding the 1789 service. At that time, St. Paul's was the parish church because the first Trinity Church had burned in 1776 and construction of the second was not finished.

A contemporary newspaper a count described the events aft Washington was sworn into offic "His Excellency, accompanied by t Vice President, the Speaker of t House of Representatives, and ho Houses of Congress then went Paul's Chapel, where divine servi was performed by the Right Rev Dr. Provost, Bishop of the Episcop Church in this State, and Chaplain Congress."

"We don't know what they did e cept sing the 'Te Deum,'" Canon Ca son said. "But that's typical of Ang cans. They *always* sing the 'Te Deu at times of excitement."

There was concern over wheth that hymn should be sung in a mo ern service deliberately structured include leaders from the Jewish, I lamic, Buddhist and American Indi communities.

A week before the bicentennial e citement, St. Paul's looks particular peaceful as the setting sun breaks b tween the towers of the World Tra Center and washes over the churc toasting its roughly cut stones a warming the sharp edges of t brownstone pediments and cornices With many of the surrounding sk scrapers cast in shadow, the peste gray wooden steeple appears to much higher than it does at midda

Within the church, the men a gathering as they do every evening fix dinner. One of them, whom Trini identifies only as Pete, was asked r cently what he would say to Preside Bush if he had the chance. He a swered:

"'Mr. President, welcome to n home. Without it, I would have be out on the street.' And I would ta him up and I would show him t room and everything and say, 'Than God for Trinity Church has opened its doors.'"

WARREN BURGER

Jubilant journey to democracy

April 16, 1789, began a great journey in a life filled with great journeys. On that day, George Washington left Mount Vernon by carriage to go to New York where the First Congress was in session and where he would take the constitutional oath as the first president. Together the new Congress and the new president would give meaning to the promises of the Declaration of 1776 and the plan of government under the Constitution.

In April 1989 and throughout the year, the United States will commemorate one of the most fascinating episodes of our history — a story filled with the drama, emotion and symbolism befitting the origin of our national government, the beginnings of the events that gave meaning to the Constitution. It will reach into grade schools, high schools, colleges, luncheon clubs and the armed services.

For eight days in April, one part of this dramatic story will once again come alive as men portraying George Washington and his companions will retrace the steps he took from Mount Vernon to New York in a four-horse carriage (relieved by the hours of riding his white horse).

As commander of our armies, as a chairman presiding over drafting the new Constitution, Mr. Washington was willing to respond when his country called. An even more difficult task, however, lay ahead: to reconcile the political and economic views and policies of Alexander Hamilton with Thomas Jefferson and of the plantation states with the mercantile North and a restless West.

Many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia had Mr. Washington in mind when they created the job of president, and the successful ratification process by the states was in part due to the widely shared belief that Mr. Washington would be the first president. Many people felt that Mr. Washington was the only person who could preserve the fragile compromises made between large and small states, North and South during the Constitutional Convention.

Having been officially notified by the secretary of Congress of his unanimous election, Mr. Washington was accompanied by Col. David Humphreys, his former aide-de-camp, and Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson as he left Mount Vernon, bound for New York City and the launching of a new experiment in governing.

Mr. Washington wrote in his diary, "About 10 o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York. . ."

Americans were not conscious of Mr. Washington's reservations. For the next eight days, Mr. Washington and his companions were honored with speeches, toasts, banquets and parades along the route from Alexandria, Georgetown, Baltimore and finally Elizabethtown, N.J., and to New York.

Mr. Washington intended the journey from Mount Vernon to New York City to be made quickly and privately, but his hopes were soon thwarted. Less than two hours into the journey, Mr. Washington's party stopped for dinner at Wise's Tavern in Alexandria, where he was praised in a speech by Mayor Dennis Ramsey and 13 toasts were given.

The night of the first day was spent at Spurrier's Tavern Inn, about a dozen miles south of Baltimore. He was able to travel only as far as Baltimore on the 17th, where speeches and addresses took up the entire day. The 18th was relatively uneventful, as the Washington party made good time, spending the evening in the vicinity of Havre de Grace, Md.

The fourth day, April 19, found Mr. Washington and his companions in Wilmington, Del., but because it was Sunday, no public festivities were planned. Early the next morning, after a number of speeches, they proceeded toward Philadelphia, arriving in Chester, Pa., about 7 a.m. Here the travelers were greeted by many Philadelphians, including some of Mr. Washington's Revolutionary War comrades.

Astride his white horse, Mr. Washington rode the rest of the way to Philadelphia, to the cheers of thousands, who " . . . filled the doors, windows and street [and were] greater than on any other occasion we ever remember," according to the Pennsylvania Gazette.

Mr. Washington left Philadelphia early April 21, crossing the Delaware River into New Jersey at Trenton — the scene of one of his great military triumphs, again mounted on a white horse, to be welcomed by a large number of citizens.

On the 22nd, Mr. Washington and his party visited Princeton, and then moved on to New Brunswick, where he was met by Gov. William Livingston, who escorted Mr. Washington to Woodbridge, where they were to spend the night.

On the eighth and final day of the journey, April 23, Mr. Washington was on the road early, proceeding to Elizabethtown, where members of Congress were waiting for him at the home of Elias Boudinot. After breakfast, citizens of the town escorted Mr. Washington to the waterfront, where a specially built barge was waiting to transport his party across New York Harbor.

At 3 p.m., led by Gov. George Clinton, a leader of the forces that had opposed the Constitution, the citizens of New York welcomed the man charged with guiding the way for the new republic it created.

On April 30, 1789, at Federal Hall on the corner of Wall and Broad Streets, George Washington was sworn in as the first president. He wore a suit of brown material, manufactured in Hartford, Conn. Mr. Washington declined to wear his full-dress uniform, and chose a suit "made in America," to encourage American industry, a theme his two terms as president would express often. He wanted a truly independent United States.

In his address he said, "the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are . . . staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."



Detail from "First In Peace;" Washington's arrival in New York, 1789

Warren E. Burger, chief justice of the United States from 1969 to 1986, is chairman of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution.

ROBERT SIEGRIST

A bicentennial milestone

Just two hundred years ago today, George Washington received formal notification of his election as the first president of the United States. It was no surprise. But it was a long time coming. He had been the unanimous choice of the Electoral College when it had met Feb. 4. But the vote could not be official until the ballots had been counted in the presence of the members of the First Congress of the United States.

Its members assembled so slowly at the temporary capital, New York City, that more than a month was lost before the necessary quorum was present.

This brought uncertainty to the country and anxiety to the 57-year-old Mr. Washington; an anxiety which only compounded his mixed emotions. Throughout his adult life, he had seen himself as, primarily, a farmer and a businessman. Yet much of that life had been consumed by public service. Upon completion of each mission, Mr. Washington vowed, ever more resolutely, never again to stray from his good life as proprietor of Mount Vernon.

Yet, by the moment of his presumed final retirement from service as president of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, he had long since become a national symbol; a father figure held by his countrymen in such unparalleled affection, confidence and esteem that his election as president of the newly constituted United States had been a foregone conclusion.

Now his lack of interest in returning to public service was compounded by his realization that his acceptance of the presidency would lead him to his most severe challenge as a national figure. He feared that, should this bold new experiment in self-government that was the American Republic fail, chaos would result; and with it, the loss of liberty for the nation, and the loss of the public esteem he now enjoyed.

So it was that, during the month and a half that dragged by after the meeting of the Electoral College, Washington's anxieties grew, and his mood darkened with each passing

accounts-receivable problems, Mr. Washington had to borrow 600 pounds from Alexandria friend Richard Conway to pay his Virginia debts and finance the trip to New York.

His concerns, reservations and problems notwithstanding, however, his bags were packed and his affirmative response prepared when, on April 14, Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress, finally arrived at Mount Vernon with the official word. Vintage Washington, his response said it all:

"Whatever may have been my private feelings and sentiments, I believe I cannot give a greater evidence of my sensibility for the honor they (my fellow citizens) have done me, than by accepting the appointment . . ."

So it was that, on the morning of the 16th, Mr. Washington again bade reluctant farewell to Martha and Mount Vernon to begin the arduous journey to New York that would etch him even more indelibly into history.

Some of that anxiety and pain should have been eased by the gala a Fourth of July mood throughout. It was, in short, a triumphant tour both unprecedented and unparalleled in American history. And yet, the biggest, the loudest, the most tumultuous reception awaited him in New York City, where he arrived April 23. It was a reception so tumultuous that even Mr. Washington was moved to note it in his diary entry that day.

"The display of boats which attended and joined us . . . ; the decorations of the ships, the roar of the cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the skies," he wrote, but added the note that it "filled my mind with sensations as painful . . . as they are pleasing." Clearly, all of the rich and uproarious acclamation of the people had not lightened his mood. Nor had it by April 30, when he stepped onto the balcony of Federal Hall to take the oath of office.

And that mood continued to show itself in the great solemnity of his inaugural address, in which he admitted, anew, his "anxieties," his "despondence," his "deficiencies." Having done so, he struck a tone deeply religious; a tone reflected, though with less severity and stilt, in the inaugural addresses of each of his successors.

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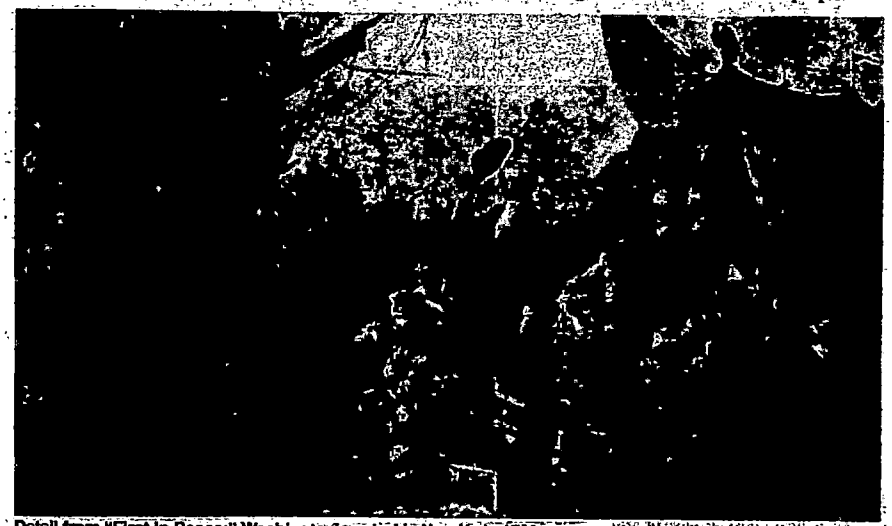
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So it was that, during the month and a half that dragged by after the meeting of the Electoral College, Washington's anxieties grew, and his mood darkened with each passing day. Nor was it eased by the mood of his wife, Martha, whose concerns about his accepting the presidency and moving to New York City were so great that she declined to accompany him to the inauguration, preferring to join him later.

There was still another problem: Perpetually "land poor" and suffering more than his usual share of accounts-receivable problems, Mr. Washington had to borrow 600 pounds from Alexandria friend Richard Conway to pay his Virginia debts and finance the trip to New York.

His concerns, reservations and problems notwithstanding, however, his bags were packed and his affirmative response prepared when, on April 14, Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress, finally arrived at Mount Vernon with the official word. Vintage Washington, his response said it all:

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Some of that anxiety and pain should have been eased by the gala reception afforded him at his first stop at nearby Alexandria; a civic reception topped by a sumptuous feast that set the tone and pattern for what he would witness at every other of his many stops along the way.

The entire trip was studded with cheering throngs who jostled just to touch him, to wish him well; by bands and speeches and parades and a Fourth of July mood throughout. It was, in short, a triumphant tour both unprecedented and unparalleled in American history. And yet, the biggest, the loudest, the most tumultuous reception awaited him in New York City, where he arrived April 23. It was a reception so tumultuous that even Mr. Washington was moved to note it in his diary entry that day.

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"It would," he told his hushed audience, "be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplication to the Almighty Being . . ."

For the government of the United States of America, George Washington had set the tone and course of faith and confidence in Divine Providence by which his own life had long been directed.

Robert R. Siegrist is executive director of the Ferry Farm Project, the effort by the Stafford County, Va., Board of Supervisors to acquire, reconstruct and open to the public George Washington's boyhood home on the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg.

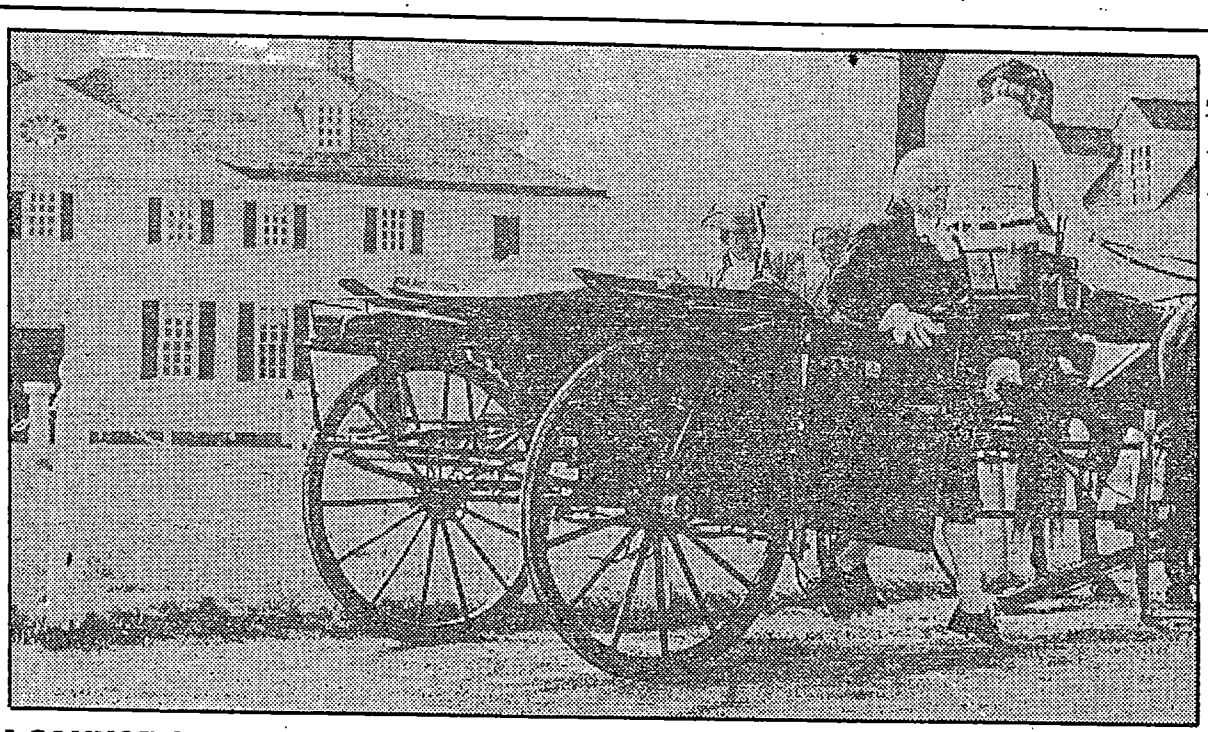
turns are down.

"The last I checked, early this week, we were 350,000 returns behind last year," said Karl Felsen, department spokesman.

Preparers in Manhattan expected last-minute filers to New York State, which had about 4.5 million returns in by late last week, typically processes 7 million returns in the tax season and another 1 million at other times, Felsen said.

To aid last-minute filers, the them until Aug. 15 to file without penalty. He said 600,000 New Yorkers did just that last year.

Those who do not file may owe penalties and interest if taxes are due. But he said one-third of returns produce a refund.



Associated Press

I CANNOT GET A RIDE: *Washington (William Sommerfield) dumps his broken carriage.*

Washington schlepped here

George's trip to Apple gets a rough start

By CHARLES CARILLO

We cannot tell a lie: the man pictured here is *not* George Washington.

On the other hand, William Sommerfield is a fairly startling replica of the Father of our Country — which is why he's portraying the big guy all this week.

Sommerfield left Mt. Vernon, Va. by horse-drawn carriage yesterday to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the presidency.

Washington made the journey to New York when he learned he was president.

But yesterday — less than 100 feet into the 250-mile trek to New York — Sommerfield's carriage broke down. One wheel hit a fence post, breaking the shaft between the harnesses and the carriage.

So Sommerfield left the Mt. Vernon estate in a Ford van, travelling 20th-century style for the first five miles before switching to a back-up carriage that was hauled to a park along the route.

Like Washington, Sommerfield stands 6-2, weighs 210, has blue-gray eyes and long silver hair that was once sandy red. And like Washington, Sommerfield's serpentine journey will take him about 250 miles through Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He's a "professional interpreter" who's played this role many times — which is why the government hired him for this eight-day, 57-event gig.

(And you thought your tax dollars were being wasted.)

Sommerfield has thoroughly researched Washington's life, and he'll answer questions during the trip in accordance with his knowledge.

Just don't ask him about cherry trees, wooden teeth, or the silver dollar Washington's said to have thrown across the Potomac.

"That's exactly why this trip is being made — so those myths can be swept away," said Sommerfield, 58.

Washington wore false teeth, all right, but they were made of bone and ivory.

The tale of him chopping down his father's cherry tree is not documented anywhere, Sommerfield added.

And the one about him hurling the silver dollar is the biggest whopper of all.

"First of all, the Potomac in front of Mount Vernon is a mile wide," Sommerfield noted. "And they didn't have silver dollars. They had paper dollars."

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elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed Choir* who met him with the gratulatory song,[47] have made such impressions on his remembrance, as, he assures them, will never be effaced.[48]

*THE FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[April 30, 1789.]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notifica-

[47] Washington has entered on pp. 17–18 of this volume of the "Letter Book" the words of the song which was sung by the "*white robed Choir,*" and also a copy of his acknowledgment to the ladies, which is the only entry in the volume in his writing.

[48] From the original in the Trenton Public Library. For a photostat of this, and Jane Ewing's description, I am indebted to Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, director of New Jersey Public Record Office.

"The Triumphal Arch supported by thirteen Pillars adorned with wreaths of flowers the form was thus [a rough diagram of arch and pillars, entwined with flowers. The inscription on the arch reads: 'The Protector of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters.' Below the center of the arch was hung a small square on which was the date December 26, 1776] the writing large letters painted yellow on white; the pillars on one side 6 the other 7 observe all the Scollops is wreaths of laurel and pillars flowers. the Ladies was rang'd in a line from the arch along the Bridge and thirteen Girls dress't in white with Baskets of flowers they sung the inclos'd song and when they come these words Build and strew thy way with flowers they skaterd them round that is the flowers out of their Baskets round his horses feet. he sat on his horse while they sung and then made them a low Bow say'd the Ladies had done them a very great honour requested them to except his most greateful thanks, the most respectable Carecters met him at the ferry, the Infantry and Dragoons they made a grand apearance he stayd all night at Vandigrifts Mr. Ewing and a few others spent the Evening with him and next morning at Sunrise accompanied him 8 miles out of town."—*Jane Ewing to James Hunter, jr.,* at Philadelphia, Apr. 23, 1789. The original is in the Public Record Office at Trenton, N. J.

Marshall's account gives the inscription as: "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters," and says the dates of the two memorable events were on a dome or cupola of flowers and evergreens above the arch. Sparks, quoting from Marshall, v. 12, p. 149–50, gives the verses sung by the young ladies. Joseph Vandegrift's tavern was on North Warren Street. Jane Ewing was the wife of Maskell Ewing, and daughter of James Hunter, of Philadelphia.

Washington reached Princeton April 21, where he received and answered an address from the president and faculty of the College of New Jersey and the inhabitants. He reached New Brunswick April 22, and lodged at Woodbridge; and arrived at Bridgetown April 23. A specially built barge, rowed by 13 pilots, with Capt. Thomas Randall acting as coxswain, conveyed him across New York bay to the city, which he

tion was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my Country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my Country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with dispondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof, of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my Country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would

reached about 2 o'clock p. m. This barge was afterwards presented to the President. (The letter from a number of gentlemen of New York City to Captain Randall, Apr. 20, 1789, is in the *Washington Papers*.)

be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official Act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe, who presides in the Councils of Nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the People of the United States, a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No People can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the Affairs of men more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United Government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me I trust in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and

expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the Great Constitutional Charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices, or attachments; no seperate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our National policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free Government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my Country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the œconomy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the Republican model of Government, are justly

considered as *deeply,* perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the System, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an United and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceeding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the Service of my Country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the Executive Department; and must accordingly pray that

the pecuniary estimates for the Station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.[49]

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication that since he has been pleased to favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparellelled unanimity on a form of Government, for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.[50]

* [PROPOSED ADDRESS TO CONGRESS][51]

[April ?, 1789.]

. . . myself with the idea it was all that would ever be expected at my hand. But in this I was disappointed. The Legis-

[49] This request was, after consideration, seen to establish an awkward precedent, and Congress fixed the compensation of the President at $25,000 a year. Washington drew only $196,121 from the Treasury during his two terms, but the $3,879, which is the difference between $200,000 and his warrants, is almost exactly the salary for the 56 or 57 days which his first administration lacked of being 4 full years. The curious may be further satisfied by the following figures taken from the Government's statement of warrants drawn for the use of the President: From Sept. 26, 1789, to Dec. 27, 1791, $72,150; from Jan. 3, 1792, to Dec. 19, 1792, $22,500; Jan. 4 to Dec. 27, 1793, $27,500; Mar. 17 to Dec. 11, 1794, $24,000; Jan. 1 to Dec. 22, 1795, $19,500; Jan. 5 to Dec. 21, 1796, $23,596; Jan. 13 to Mar. 7, 1797, $6,875. In all, $196,121.

[50] From the original in the files of the United States Senate, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. (*See* Washington's letter to James Madison, May 5, 1789, *post.*)

[51] This document now exists in fragmentary form only. The first pages are missing. Apparently intended as Washington's inaugural address, or as his first annual message to Congress, it was discarded and not used. Jared Sparks, finding that the document had no official existence, did as he had done in other instances (specifically the Washington "Diaries"), split up the document and presented pages and cuttings of pages to his friends. The complete manuscript was more than 62 pages in length, Washington having numbered each page himself. It was most carefully written and evidently was considered of importance at the time it was inscribed. Some of the widely separated pages bear Sparks's initialed statement that this is Washington's handwriting, and on the margin of page 33 Sparks has written "Washington's handwriting, but not his composition. J. S." Comment is needless. It is extremely doubtful that the complete document can ever be recovered. Those pages that are numbered have been placed in sequence and the unnumbered fragments have been tentatively placed. Washington's numbering is inserted at the beginning of the page texts in brackets, for the sake of record. Photostats of all the known fragments (with the exception noted, pp. 57–58) are in the "Washington Photostats" in the Library of Congress.

lature of Virginia in opposition to my express desire signified in the clearest terms to the Governor of that State, appointed me a Delegate to the federal Convention. Never was my embarrassment or hesitation more extreme or dis. . . .

[5] . . . At the beginning of the late War with Great Britain, when we thought ourselves justifiable in resisting to blood, is was known to those best acquainted with the different condition of the combatants and the probable cost of the prize in dispute, that the expence in comparison with our circumstances as Colonists must be enormous, the struggle protracted, dubious and severe. It was known that the resources of Britain were, in a manner, inexhaustible, that her fleets covered the Ocean, and that her troops had harvested laurels in every quarter of the globe. Not then organised as a nation, or known as a people upon the earth, we had no preparation. Money, the nerve of War, was wanting. The Sword was to be forged on the Anvil of necessity: the treasury to be created from nothing. If we had a secret resource of a nature unknown to our enemy, it was in the unconquerable resolution of our Citizens, the conscious rectitude of our cause, and a confident trust that we should not be forsaken by Heaven. The people willingly [6] offered themselves to the battle; but the means of Arming, clothing and subsisting them; as well as of procuring the implements of hostility were only to be found in anticipation of our future wealth. Paper bills of credit were emitted: Monies borrowed for the

MAYOR'S OFFICE -- CITY OF NEW YORK
212-566-5291

FAX NO.: 212-732-3152

DATE: 26 APR. 1989

TO: RETT WALLACE

[RECIPIENT'S FAX NO.: 202 456 6218]

FROM: RICHARD B. BERNSTEIN

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 16

ACTION TO BE TAKEN

DELIVER IMMEDIATELY ..... [X]

SEND BY MESSENGER ..... [ ]

AS REQUESTED ..... [X]

FOR YOUR INFORMATION ..... [ ]

PLEASE APPROVE AND CALL ME [ ]

OTHER ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rett Wallace
FROM: Richard B. Bernstein
DATE: 26 April 1989
RE: Federal Hall -- historical information on Washington's Presidency

As we discussed today, I attach my essay, "'I Walk on Untrodden Ground': George Washington as President, 1789-1797." This essay will appear in Stephen L. Schechter and Richard B. Bernstein, eds., WELL BEGUN: CHRONICLES OF THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD (Albany: New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, 1989).

I hope that it is of some assistance to you; of course, I will be glad to answer any questions that you or your colleagues may have on history, historiography, and so forth -- even questions about wooden teeth and cherry trees.

"I WALK ON UNTRODDEN GROUND":
GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT, 1789-1797

Richard B. Bernstein

President George Washington found it difficult to share the feelings of joy and pride that prevailed at his inauguration in 1789. He knew the magnitude of the task before him. He wrote, "Few who are not philosophical spectators can realize the difficult and delicate part which a man in my situation had to act.... I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." 1/

As Washington knew, the Presidency of the United States was unique in the history of government. Its creation caused the framers of the Constitution as much trouble as anything else in the document. As the design for the Presidency took shape at the Federal Convention in the summer and fall of 1787, the few dozen men who struggled to define the office found themselves under the shadow of two Georges: George III and George Washington. 2/

The framers of the Constitution were wrestling with the concept of executive power, which most Americans had learned to distrust in the Revolutionary era. 3/ In the years leading up to the American Revolution, advocates of the colonists' cause repeatedly appealed to George III as an impartial "patriot king" who would mediate among his subjects to achieve the common good. The Americans bitterly resented King George's failure even to acknowledge their arguments; they also resented his representatives in

America, the royal governors of the colonies. Thus, most state constitutions framed during the 1770s had cut back sharply on the authority and independence of their chief executives, or governors, and Pennsylvania and Vermont had done away with an independent executive altogether. 3/

At the same time, American political thinkers such as John Adams of Massachusetts, John Jay of New York, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia counseled against abandoning executive power altogether. The New York constitution of 1777 (largely the work of Jay) and the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 (drafted by Adams) created the first popularly elected chief executives in the western world; these state constitutions found a wide and appreciative audience, and shaped the thinking of those who framed the U.S. Constitution a decade later.

Just as important an influence on the creation of the Presidency was Washington's presence at the Convention as a Virginia delegate. As he presided over the Convention's debates, he may well have been aware of his fellow delegates' appraising glances. If the proposed Constitution was adopted, its framers thought, Washington most likely would be the first man chosen to be President; for this reason, the aged Benjamin Franklin urged, they need not give in to their fears as they shaped the office. Washington's shadow, too, hung over the Convention, as the delegates sought to strike a balance between their hopes, symbolized by Washington, and their fears, symbolized by George III.

Washington already had had a great deal of practice as the repository of his fellow citizens' confidence. 4/ Ever since 1775, when he was named Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, Washington had been a living symbol of the Revolution, Independence, and American nationalism. Throughout the war, he had to watch his conduct lest any slip or indiscretion on his part damage his country's cause. Even in peace, the General kept a sharp eye on the propriety of his public and private life. He worried lest his service as a delegate to the Federal Convention in 1787 be seen as betraying his 1783 pledge that he was done with public affairs. He remained silent during the ratification controversy, content to let his signature on the Constitution speak for itself. And, when it became all but certain that he would be chosen as the first President of the United States, his friends and supporters James Madison and Alexander Hamilton had constantly to reassure him that it was appropriate for him to accept the office.

Thus, the first President was already sensitive to one of the most difficult tasks confronting any President: the ceremonial role of Head of State. Although he often found his symbolic role painful and embarrassing, Washington gamely bore the burden. In his conduct as President, Washington sought to maintain his personal dignity and reserve in the hope that it would come to be associated with the office he held, so that the personal respect he enjoyed would also attach itself to the Presidency. In particular,

he followed the advice of his longtime adviser Alexander Hamilton, who maintained that pomp and ceremony were necessary to preserve the respect of the people for their chief executive. Other Americans, worried lest the people forget that they had once overthrown a monarch, repeatedly criticized Washington for assuming kingly airs and for condoning the ornate ceremony of formal receptions, or levees.

This symbolic role dominated the pPresident's first year in office. He had little else to do except to sign bills enacted by Congress and to fill offices created by Congress. He found this last responsibility especially burdensome. As he explained to one friend:

> That part of the President's duty which obliges him to nominate persons for offices is the most delicate and in many instances will be, to me, the most unpleasing, for it may frequently happen that there will be several applicants for the same office, whose merits and pretensions are so nearly equal that it will almost require the aid of supernatural intuition to fix upon the right. 5/

Washington governed his appointments policy by reference to three criteria. First, he sought the ablest men available. Second, he preferred to appoint those whom he knew to be warm friends of the Constitution and sincerely committed to its success. Third, aware of the touchy sensibilities of the several states and sections of the United States, he strove for geographic balance in his appointments to national office.

As discussed elsewhere in this book, Washington devoted

great care to selecting his principal advisers, the heads of the executive departments created by Congress. He regarded as a mandate of his office the part of Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution authorizing the President to require the written opinions of the heads of the executive departments on major questions, and convened them regularly to discuss pending issues. This practice gave rise to the first major extra-constitutional institution, the President's Cabinet (a term borrowed from British usage), then composed of the secretaries of state, the treasury, and war and the attorney general. The president also consulted Representative James Madison of Virginia (on whom he had come to rely during the framing and adoption of the Constitution) and Chief Justice John Jay.

Washington's habit of seeking advice from all available sources became a sore point with his critics, who charged that he was indecisive. A more accurate assessment came from his first secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, who declared long after Washington's death that the president's mind was "slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion." 6/

Washington's practice of seeking advice from as many sources as possible occasionally had constitutional consequences. At one point in his first term, Washington and Jefferson inadvertently set a major precedent in the area of separation of powers. They sought to submit a question of treaty interpretation to the Supreme Court,

seeking what we would call an "advisory opinion." The Justices politely but firmly refused, declaring that their powers extended only to actual "cases or controversies," as required by Article III of the Constitution. Similarly, when Washington and Secretary of War Henry Knox sought the advice and consent of the Senate to a proposed strategy for negotiating a treaty with Indian tribes, the embarrassed Senators suggested that the president return when he had a completed treaty to lay before them. This incident established the understanding that negotiating a treaty falls within the province of the executive branch, with the Senate's role limited to ratifying or rejecting all or part of what the executive has been able to negotiate.

The president tended to defer to Congress in the shaping of federal policy, exercising his veto power only when he believed a proposed statute to be unconstitutional. As to economic issues, he permitted Treasury Secretary Hamilton great discretion, largely due to his confidence in Hamilton's knowledge and ability. On the other hand, he acted as his own Secretary of State and Secretary of War, believing that he had adequate experience and knowledge to assume these responsibilities. This tendency caused few problems for Secreetary Knox, who resumed the familiar habit of executing Washington's instructions as he had done during the Revolution. However, Thomas Jefferson, one of the nation's most experienced diplomats, chafed at the degree to which, as Secretary of State, he was forced to follow the

dictates of the President rather than have a free hand in shaping policy. 7/

The most important instance of Washington's practice of directing foreign relations came in 1793. With Europe convulsed by a war between the revolutionary French Republic and the conservative monarchies, pressure mounted on the United States to take sides. Supporters of the French, including Secretary of State Jefferson and Representative Madison, maintained that the 1778 friendship treaty between France and the United States required the United States to come to the aid of its old ally. Those who distrusted and feared the revolutionary French government, such as Treasury Secretary Hamilton, Secretary of War Knox, Vice President Adams, and Chief Justice Jay, maintained that the United States should remain neutral, and that the 1778 treaty had been abrogated by the overthrow of the former French monarchy. Washington ultimately accepted the arguments for neutrality, issuing a Neutrality Proclamation and by implication asserting inherent Presidential authority over foreign relations. 8/

Few men could have managed to hold together a Cabinet containing members as brilliant and antithetical as Hamilton and Jefferson. More than once, the President had to resort to cajolery and even to formal reprimands to control the antagonism that threatened to split his government. He tended to sympathize with Hamilton's points of view, for he shared with Hamilton first-hand knowledge of the weaknesses

that had nearly destroyed the United Statess under the Articles of Confederation, as well as a pessimism about human nature lurking just underneath the calm face he showed to the world. When Jefferson left the Cabinet in 1793, soon after he had joined forces with Hamilton to persuade the President to accept a second term, Washington was hurt by what he saw as Jefferson's betrayal and in consequence placed even more reliance on Hamilton and the Federalists.

Nonetheless, Washington was alarmed by the rivalry and dissension between Hamilton and Jefferson, for it hinted at an even more ominous development in the nation at large -- the rebirth of party strife. 9/ Washington viewed the growing rupture between the Administration's supporters, or Federalists, and opponents, or Republicans, as the first signs of factional strife that might tear the republic to pieces. This had been the teaching of political philosophers and historians of republican government for thousands of years, and virtually every leading member of the Revolutionary generation shared these views. Despite their fears, however, the American political system adapted to the development of political parties, and the republic did not fall.

Yet another Presidential role inaugurated by the first President was that of Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, a role specified in the Constitution. In 1794, it became apparent that the farmers of western Pennsylvania were refusing to pay federal taxes on whisky, an important

element of Hamilton's fiscal program. Hamilton was outraged by this defiance of federal authority, and the President agreed. Washington placed the militias of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia under federal authority, and became the first of only two Presidents actually to take the field as Commander-in-Chief. He, Hamilton, and General Henry Lee led an army of 12,500 men throughout western Pennsylvania seeking the rebels. Although the "Whiskey Rebellion" turned out to be more rumor than reality, Washington's actions vindicated the authority of the federal government. They also alarmed Republicans, who feared that the army might be used to suppress them even though the First Amendment protected their political rights. 10/

Seeking to ease the tension between Britain and the United States, the President sent Chief Justice John Jay to London to negotiate a treaty. Jay's instructions, which again provoked heated dissension within the Cabinet, were wide-ranging, granting the veteran diplomat great discretion and authorizing him to take account of border disputes, the question of unpaid debts to British creditors, and trade issues. When Jay returned from London with a treaty in hand, its terms seemed so one-sided in favor of Britain that even Jay's friend Hamilton was startled. The dispute over the Jay Treaty exacerbated the already tense situation in American politics. Republican gatherings hanged Jay in effigy; one outraged opponent of the treaty wrote, "Damn John Jay! Damn everyone who won't damn John Jay! Damn

everyone who won't sit up all night with a candle in his window damning John Jay!" Despite all odds, the Senate ratified the treaty. The Republican-dominated House sought to impede putting the treaty into effect, invoking its authority over appropriations as justification, but Washington resisted the House's actions as violating the separation of powers, and ultimately prevailed. 11/

In 1796, Washington determined to retire at the end of his second term. He had lost all his closest advisers to retirement, and he had given up any hope of securing a Cabinet representing diverse points of view. His new Cabinet was composed of second-rate men who were firm Federalists, and the President often gave in to outburts of temper against Republican opposition to his Administration. He bitterly regretted having been persuaded to accept a second four-year term, and yearned for the peace and tranquility of Mount Vernon. He turned once more to Hamilton, asking him to prepare a farewell address. Washington then carefully reworked Hamilton's draft line by line, to put it in his own words and emphasize the points he wanted stressed. Further drafts went back and forth between New York and Philadelphia until the President was satisfied.

On September 19, 1796, the "Farewell Address" was published in David C. Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser. This statement, the capstone of Washington's political writings, is remembered today for its eloquent advice against "entangling alliances" with foreign nations. An

equally important theme of the Farewell Address was Washington's denunciation of the spirit of party and factionalism which, he warned, could still destroy the fragile American experiment in government. These passages of the Address provoked Republican hostility, for members of the opposition rightly felt that the President was singling them out for blame for the rise of party controversy. Read out of context, the Farewell Address may well appear as a disinterested valedictory, but when the reader recalls that it appeared in the middle of the 1796 presidential campaign, the Farewell Address looks more and more like a Federalist campaign document. By this point, the retiring President had so gone over to the Federalist camp that he could not perceive his party bias.

On March 4, 1797, as Washington congratulated his successor, John Adams, the new President had a curious fancy, which he confided in a letter to his wife Abigail. "Ay!" the ex-President seemed to say, "I am fairly out and you are fairly in. See which of us will be happiest." 12/ It was clear that the former President was overjoyed to have relinquished the burden of office. For the first time in over two decades, he could think of himself as a purely private citizen. If he pondered the preceding eight years, with all their frustrations, he could take pride at least that he had done all he could to ensure that the new government was successfully launched. Fifteen years after Washington's death in 1799, his old adviser and adversary

Jefferson penned what may well be the most fitting summation of Washington's career:

> His was the singular destiny and merit of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war for the establishment of its independence, of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and principles, until it settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example. 13/

NOTES

1/ Quoted in Robert F. Jones, George Washington, rev. ed. (New York: Rose Hill Books/Fordham University Press, 1986), 88.

2/ This metaphor comes from Richard B. Bernstein and Jerome Agel, Into the Third Century: The Presidency (New York: Walker, 1989), ch. 1.

3/ Willi Paul Adams, The First American Constitutions (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). See also Ralph Ketcham, Presidents Above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789-1829 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

4/ See generally Barry Schwartz, George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol (New York: Free Press, 1987); Paul K. Longmore, The Invention of George Washington (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Garry Wills, Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

5/ George Washington to Joseph Jones, 14 May 1789, quoted in Richard B. Bernstein with Kym S. Rice, Are We to Be a Nation? The Making of the Constitution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 245.

6/ Thomas Jefferson to Walter Jones, 2 January 1814, quoted in Jones, George Washington, 159.

7/ Forrest McDonald, The Presidency of George Washington (1974; New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 40-41.

8/ McDonald, Presidency of Washington, 125-127; John C. Miller, The Federalist Era, 1789-1801 (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 128-139.

9/ The literature on the origins of parties is enormous. See generally Richard Hofstadter, The Idea of a Party System (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Joseph Charles, Origins of the American Party System (1955; New York: Harper & Row, 1963); Miller, Federalist Era, passim; Kenneth R. Bowling, "Politics in the First Congress, 1789-1791" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1968); and the sources cited in Bernstein with Rice, Are We to Be a Nation?, 318 n.26.

10/ See generally Steven Boyd, ed., The Whiskey Rebellion (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985); Thomas Slaughter, The Whiskey Rebellion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

11/ On the diplomatic background and context of Jay's mission, the classic study is Samuel Flagg Bemis, Jay's Treaty, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). On the political controversy, see Jerald A. Combs, The Jay Treaty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Charles, Origins, ch. 3.

12/ John Adams to Abigail Adams, 5 March 1797, quoted in Jones, George Washington, 139.

13/ Thomas Jefferson to Walter Jones, 2 January 1814, quoted in Jones, George Washington, 161.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING:

James Thomas Flexner, George Washington. 4 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, 1963-1973. [One-volume abridgment: James Thomas Flexner, Washington: The Indispensable Man. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975.]

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Leonard D. White, The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History, 1789-1801. New York: Macmillan, 1948.

(Lange/Wallace)
April 25, 1989
8:15 p.m.
[BICENT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BICENTENNIAL OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 1989

Two centuries ago, standing here, a man took an oath before a new nation, in the eyes of God. An oath that I, like 40 before me, have since had the privilege to take.

No one here today could fail to feel the pulse of history -- the power of that great moment -- in the genesis of a nation.

Here, the first Congress was in session -- crafting fragile compromises that have endured for 200 years. Here, our first President issued a solemn address. He admitted his "anxieties" and "deficiencies," as honest men will. But then he turned to God for strength. For he knew that the advancement of America, while it might rely on its presidents, would surely depend on Providence.

George Washington defined and shaped this office. It was Washington's vision -- a balance of power and restraint, as he watched over the Constitutional Convention in 1787 -- that gave the delegates the confidence to vest powers in a chief executive unparalleled in any freely-elected government, before or since.

For all of the turmoil and transformation of the last two centuries, there is a great constancy to this office, and this Republic. We say that leaders are not elected to quarrel, but to govern. In his first inaugural address, Washington pledged that "no party animosities will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests."

We speak of values. On that day, Washington said that "the foundations of our National Policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality." We reaffirm ethics, strength, and honor in government. Washington spoke of a government "exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and command the respect of the world."

We seek a new engagement in the lives of others -- believing that success cannot be measured by the sum of our possessions. Washington said there exists "in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage."

Over the last two hundred years, we have moved from the revolution of democracy, to the evolution of peace and prosperity. But so much remains constant. So much endures.

The Presidency, then as now -- in both oath, and in office -- exists to serve. And the principles that drive this democracy, then as now, derive from the strength and will of the people.

Today we stand -- free Americans -- citizens in an experiment of freedom that has yielded sustained and unprecedented progress.

Here we dedicate a museum of American Constitutional Government. But we must also re-dedicate ourselves to the principles to which Washington so gracefully gave voice, two hundred years ago today.

We must re-dedicate ourselves to the renewal of united, representative government, in these United States of America.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God forever bless this great nation.

(Lange/Wallace)
April 25, 1989
8:15 p.m.
[BICENT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BICENTENNIAL OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
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oath Const. article 2 Section 1 Last ¶

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GW's Inaug

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Time article GW

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For all of the turmoil and transformation of the last two centuries, there is a great constancy to this office, and this Republic. We say that leaders are not elected to quarrel, but to govern. In his first inaugural address, Washington pledged that * "no party animosities will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests."

P.2 GW's 1st Inaug

We speak of values. On that day, Washington said that "the foundations of our National Policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality." We reaffirm ethics, strength, and honor in government. Washington spoke of a government "exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and command the respect of the world."

P.2 Washington's Inaugural

We seek a new engagement in the lives of others -- believing that success cannot be measured by the sum of our possessions. Washington said there exists "in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage."

Over the last two hundred years, we have moved from the revolution of democracy, to the evolution of peace and prosperity. But so much remains constant. So much endures.

The Presidency, then as now -- in both oath, and in office -- exists to serve. And the principles that drive this democracy, then as now, derive from the strength and will of the people.

Today we stand -- free Americans -- citizens in an experiment of freedom that has yielded sustained and unprecedented progress.

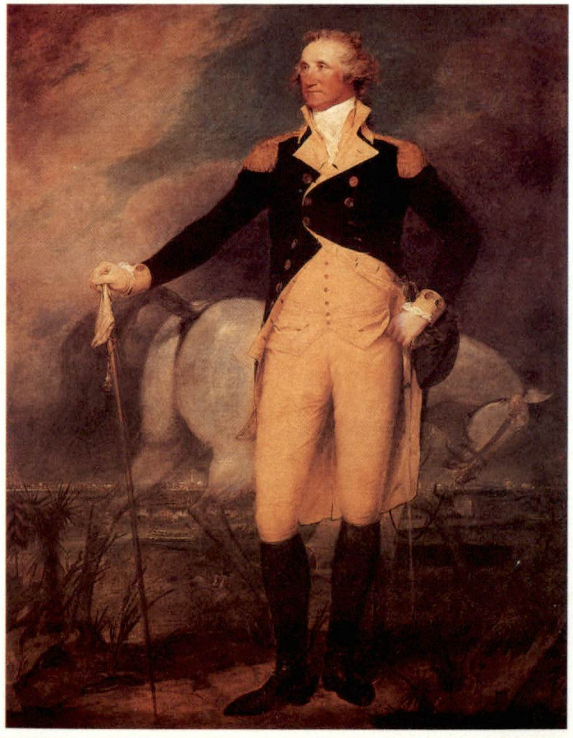
Here we dedicate a museum of American Constitutional Government. But we must also re-dedicate ourselves to the principles to which Washington so gracefully gave voice, two hundred years ago today.

We must re-dedicate ourselves to the renewal of united, representative government, in these United States of America.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God forever bless this great nation.

The Journey

When the Senate finally achieved a quorum on April 6, the count revealed that George Washington was unanimously elected President. John Adams of Massachusetts became the first Vice President. Senator John Langdon, President Pro Tempore of the Senate, dispatched Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson to inform Washington of his election.



On April 16, Washington left Mount Vernon by coach, accompanied by his former aide-de-camp, Colonel David Humphreys, and Charles Thomson, bound for New York City. They traveled through Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and arrived in New York City on April 23.

For eight days Washington's journey became a triumphal procession honoring the hero of a new Nation, the "father" of his country. Along the way, dignitaries and citizens of all walks of life honored Washington in a variety of events and celebrations. He visited with many friends from his days as Commander-in-Chief of the Army as well as those who took part in the Constitutional Convention. His journey reflects the profound universal respect and admiration of his countrymen, and its completion marked the transition from a loose collection of states to an independent nation governed by the People.

The inside map traces the journey to the Presidency as We the People commemorate the 200th anniversary of the inaugural of our first President, April 30, 1789.

PHOTO CREDITS

Front: Unknown artist's impression of the first Inaugural, courtesy of the New York Historical Society.

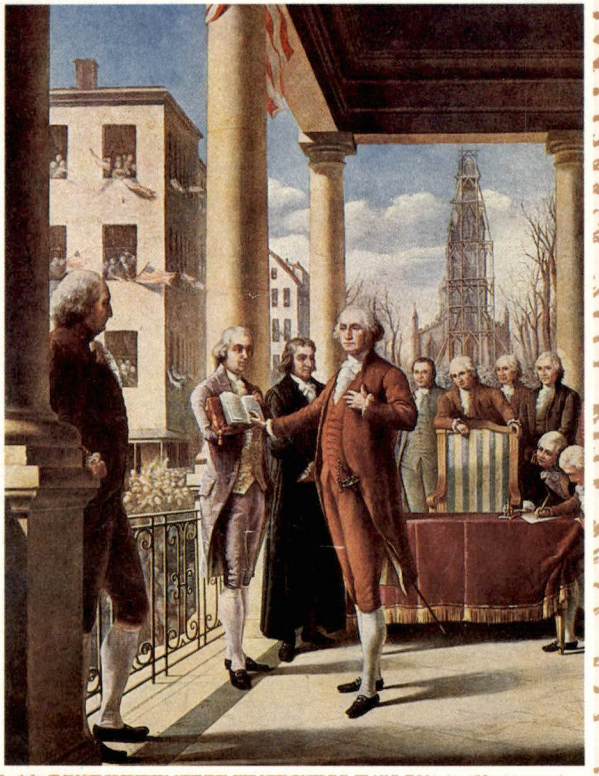
George Washington, oil on canvas by John Trumbull (1791), from the collection of City Hall, Charleston, South Carolina.

Washington's arrival at the Battery, New York, April 23, 1789. Reproduced from an early engraving by James Tyroler (1857) after an original by John C. McRae. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association

Map, courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Journey to the Presidency



Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution
808 Seventeenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006

GEORGE WASHINGTON: Journey to the Presidency

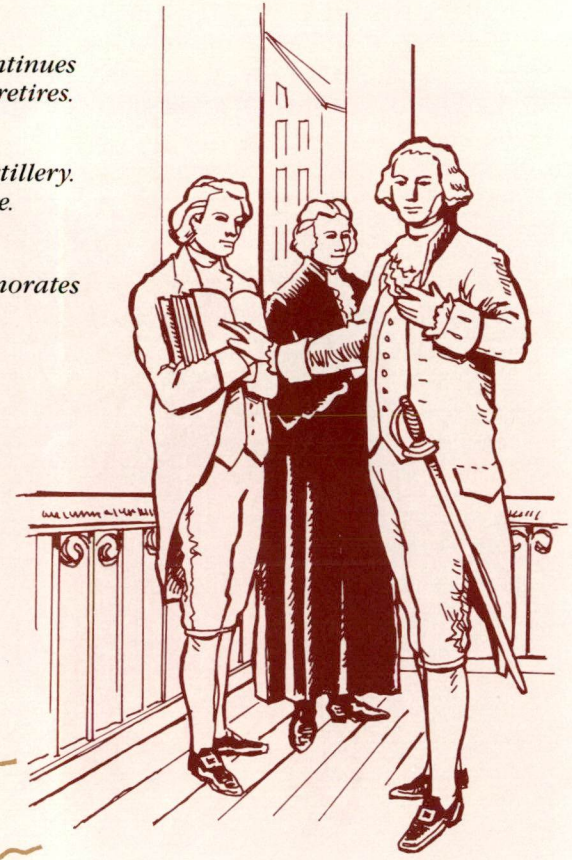
APRIL 16 *Washington departs Mount Vernon and arrives in Alexandria about noon for an early dinner at Wise's Tavern. After an address by the Mayor and 13 toasts, he is escorted up the Potomac and ferried across to Georgetown. He spends the night at Spurrier's Tavern, about 12 miles southwest of Baltimore.*

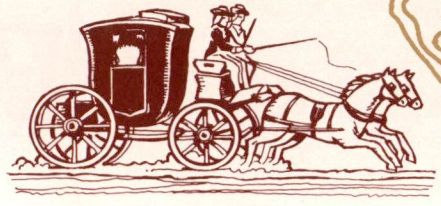
APRIL 17 *Near Baltimore, Washington meets a large party of "citizens on horseback" and with an artillery salute continues to Daniel Grant's Fountain Inn. After dinner and addresses from Baltimore citizens and some of his former officers, he retires.*

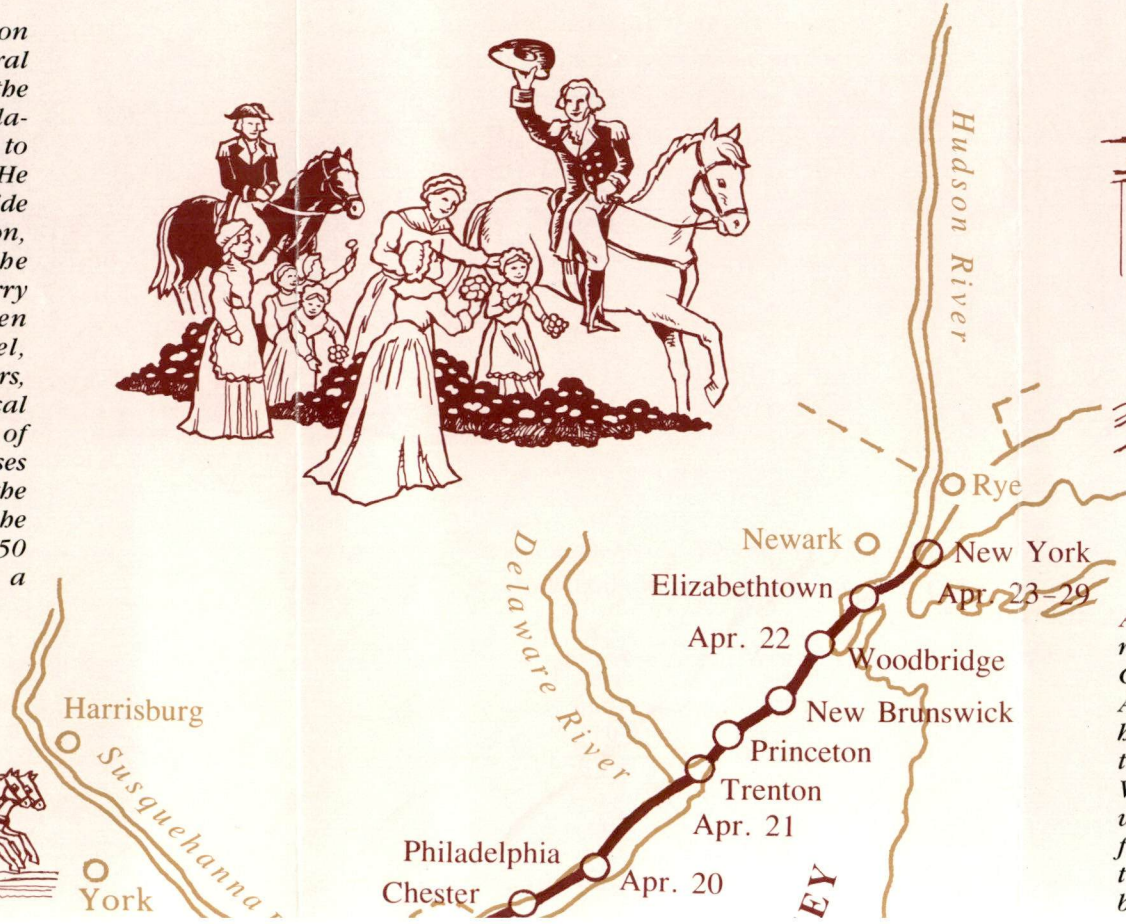
APRIL 18 *Washington departs Baltimore about 5:30 a.m., accompanied by a band of citizens and saluted by artillery. After seven miles, he thanks his escorts and requests that they return home. He spends the night near Havre de Grace.*

APRIL 19 *On Sunday, Washington travels to Wilmington and arrives in the evening. A decorated vessel commemorates his crossing of the Delaware River.*

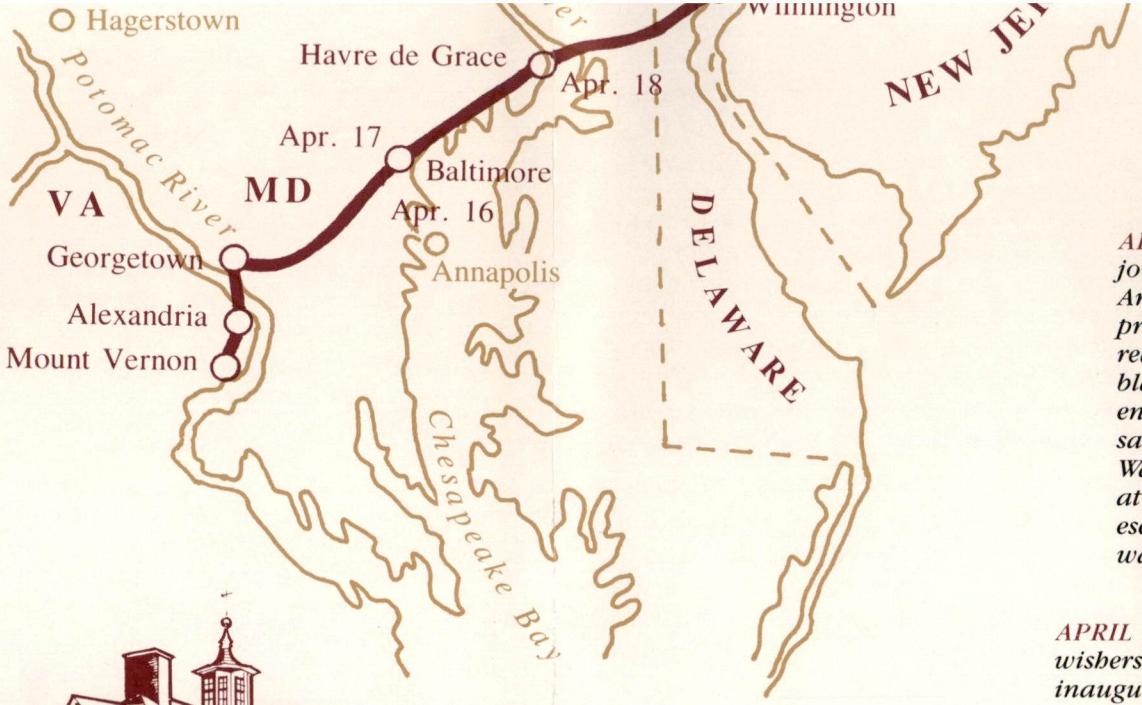
APRIL 20 *Washington leaves Wilmington after several addresses and is met at the Pennsylvania line by Philadelphians who escort him to Chester where he breakfasts. He mounts a white horse for his ride into Philadelphia. About noon, the procession crosses the Schuylkill River on Gray's Ferry Bridge, which has been decorated with laurel, evergreens, state flags, banners, and, at each end, a classical arch. A child lowers a crown of laurel as Washington passes beneath. Thousands line the road to Philadelphia, where he later dines with a party of 250 at City Tavern and enjoys a fireworks display.*







APRIL 21 *Washington departs in the rain for Trenton. Crossing the Delaware at Colvin's Ferry, he again mounts a white horse. An arch of greenery 12 feet long and 20 feet high, supported by 13 columns, spans the entrance of the bridge over Assunpink Creek. While crossing, Washington is welcomed by women and girls who sing an ode and strew flowers in his path. After a dinner and reception at Samuel Henry's City Tavern, he (probably) spends the night in Trenton.*





APRIL 22 *Washington breakfasts at Princeton with the president and faculty of Princeton College and the citizens of the town. At New Brunswick he is met with an artillery salute, the ringing of church bells and a welcoming band procession. Troops line the main street for Washington's review. After dinner he lodges for the night at Woodbridge.*

APRIL 23 *Washington proceeds to Elizabeth Town where a joint committee from Congress waits to escort him to New York. Around noon at Elizabeth Town Point, they board a specially prepared ceremonial barge with a keel of 47 feet, festooned with red curtains and manned by 13 pilots dressed in white smocks and black-fringed caps. Six barges carry other dignitaries. As the flotilla enters New York Harbor it is joined by other vessels. Amid gun salutes and the cheers of thousands of New Yorkers along the shore, Washington arrives at Murray's Wharf at the foot of Wall Street at about 3:00 p.m. After a welcome by Governor Clinton, a military escort cuts a passage through the dense throng for Washington, who walks to the Franklin House where he will reside.*

APRIL 24-29 *Washington receives numerous visits from well-wishers at Franklin House, while Congress makes arrangements for his inauguration.*

APRIL 30 *Day breaks to the sound of artillery and church bells. In honor of American industry, Washington dresses in a suit of brown broadcloth spun at Hartford with buttons displaying a wing-spread eagle. At 12:30 p.m., a military escort joined by a procession of dignitaries and citizens accompany Washington's coach to Federal Hall. Upon arrival, Washington proceeds to the Senate Chamber where the two Houses of Congress wait to greet him, then onto the outer balcony in front of the Senate Chamber. Chancellor Robert Livingston administers the oath to Washington, who holds his right hand on the Bible and responds "I swear, so help me God." Livingston then turns to the cheering crowd and proclaims "Long live George Washington, President of the United States."*

For information on commemorative ceremonies along Washington's Route to New York City, contact:

Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution
808 Seventeenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 653-9808

Virginia Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
2015 Ivy Road
Charlottesville, VA 22903-1780
(804) 924-0948

Maryland Office for the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
c/o Maryland State Archives
Hall of Records, Box 828
Annapolis, MD 21404
(301) 974-3914

Independence National Historical Park
Third and Chestnut Sts.
Philadelphia, PA 19106
(215) 597-8974

New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
Cultural Education Center, Room 9D30
Empire State Plaza
Albany, NY 12230
(518) 473-6191

Mount Vernon Ladies Association
Mount Vernon, VA 22121

District of Columbia Bicentennial Commission
515 D Street, NW
Room 307
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 727-2052

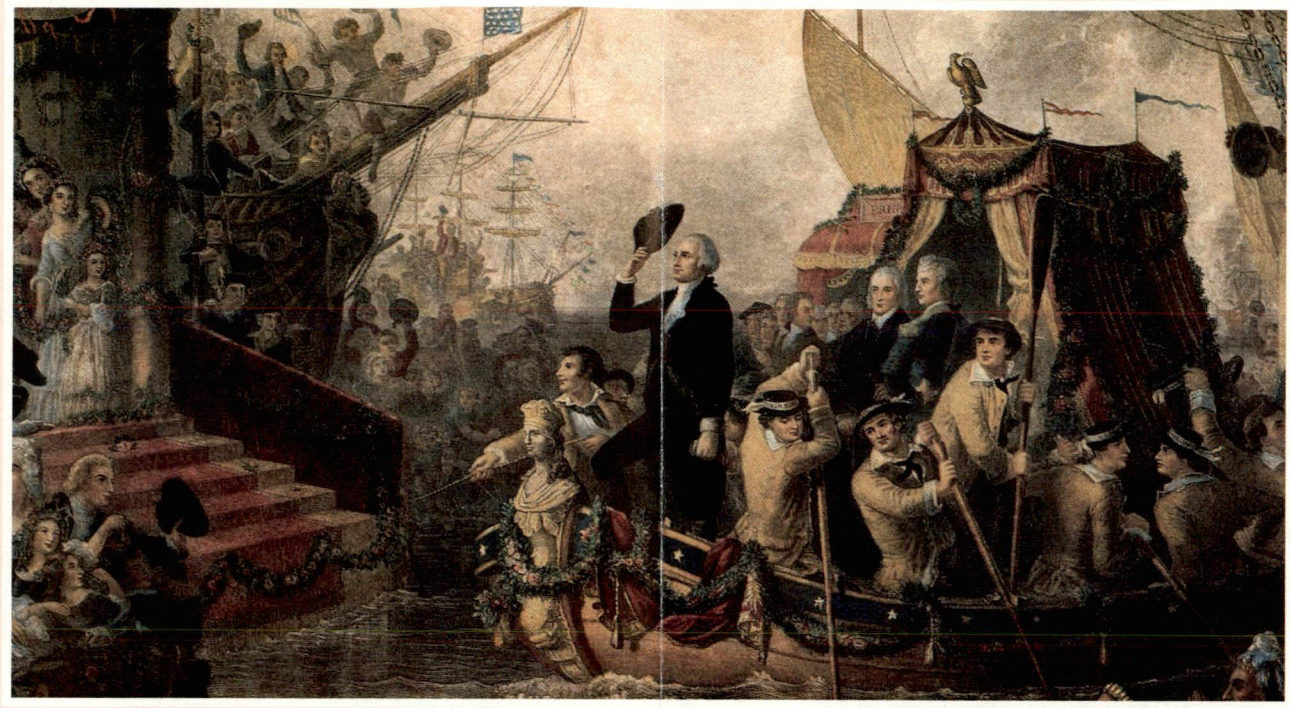
Delaware Heritage Commission
Carvel State Office Bldg., 4th Floor
820 N. French Street
Wilmington, DE 19801
(302) 652-6662

Constitution Bicentennial Commission of New Jersey
Ramapo College, Room G-431
505 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430-1680
(201) 529-7401

New York City Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
51 Chambers Street, Room 525
New York, NY 10007
(212) 566-1989

Journey to the Presidency

The journey of George Washington in April 1789 from his Mount Vernon plantation to New York City—and to the Presidency—highlighted the beginning of our national government under the Constitution. Washington's triumphal progress to his April 30 inaugural was witnessed by hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens. It symbolized their hopes for the new government which had begun with the first convening of Congress on March 4, 1789. This year's reenactment of that journey commemorates the 200th anniversary of our government, as it reminds us of the blessings we continue to enjoy under the Constitution.



Background

In 1776, as the 13 colonies struggled for independence, the tall Virginia gentleman accepted appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. Under his leadership, this patchwork force of fighting men of varied background accomplished what most of Europe thought impossible: the defeat of the most powerful empire of that time—and independence for the new United States.

Once the war was over, Washington returned to his Mount Vernon plantation on the banks of the Potomac River in anticipation of a quiet, private life. He had no desire to become a leader in the government of the Virginia Commonwealth nor did he seek a position in the Confederation Congress of the new United States, meeting in New York City.

Nevertheless, Washington saw clearly his duty to the country he helped create. When requested in 1787 to attend the Philadelphia Convention, Washington responded. Originally called by the Confederation Congress "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation," this meeting of state representatives produced a new Constitution.

Washington's arrival in May inspired a hero's welcome with thousands of admirers filling the streets. Selected to serve as President of the Convention, Washington chose not to take a direct part in the discussions and debate, but indirectly influenced the other delegates (or deputies). His was the honor of being the first to sign the completed document on September 17, 1787. After forwarding the new Constitution to the Confederation Congress, Washington returned to the serenity of his beloved Mount Vernon. But his seclusion was to be short lived.

Over the next ten months Washington carefully followed the ratification process while avoiding any direct involvement in the actual debate. The Constitution went into effect on June 21, 1788, when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify it. On September 13, in one of its last acts, the Confederation Congress authorized the states to proceed with the selection of Presidential electors (as provided in Article II, Section 1), for the purpose of electing the first President of the United States under the Constitution.

By February 4, 1789, ten states had chosen electors. They met in their states and after voting sent their sealed ballots to New York City, the site of the first U.S. Congress. The ballots were to be counted officially when that body convened for the first time—which it was scheduled to do March 4, 1789.