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**OA/ID Number:** 13779  
**Folder ID Number:** 13779-006

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**Folder Title:**  
The Hague 11/9/91 [OA 7564] [2]

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# For Bush, NATO Talks May Test His Strategy

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 — For President Bush, the meeting in Rome of the Atlantic alliance this week will be yet another exercise in trying to hold together an institution shaken by the very new world order that he has been so eager to help create.

As was the case with Mr. Bush's meeting in Madrid last week with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the summit meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on Thursday and Friday promises to be more symbol than substance. Administration officials said they do not view the meeting as a forum for major policy advances, apart from an already agreed-upon effort to bring the former Warsaw Pact countries into a liaison role with NATO.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d announced here today that the East European countries, the Baltic states and the Soviet Union would be invited to send representatives to a NATO foreign ministers' meeting in Brussels on Dec. 20.

But American officials are keenly aware that relations within NATO are so unsettled that basic questions, like the future security structure of Europe, are best papered over for now. Officials here have set their goals at a minimum: a reaffirmation of NATO's role as the central military institution in Europe.

## The Stakes Are Higher

But, where it was Mr. Gorbachev who stood to gain the most from the Madrid meeting, the stakes in Rome are higher for Mr. Bush, who senior officials said views NATO as Ameri-

**No policy  
advances are  
likely, but  
symbols aplenty.**

ca's only hope to retain its political influence in Europe as the Continent grows increasingly integrated.

"We think it's still very important to maintain our commitment to the security of Europe" through NATO, Mr. Baker said today, adding, "It is very important that it continue and it will continue."

American officials have deliberately combined the NATO trip with a visit to The Hague for meetings with officials of the European Community, a symbolic gesture that they hope will underscore the overlap in membership of the two organizations. Of the 12 members of the community, only Ireland is not a NATO member.

"The only institutional link we have to Europe is NATO as an organization," an American official said. "In NATO, we play a leading role and can exploit the overlap, we hope, with the E.C. membership to keep an institutional link in their economic zone."

## An Awkward Time for Bush

The trip comes at an awkward time politically for Mr. Bush, who is facing a major electoral fight in 1992 over the economy and other domestic issues, a notion that clearly was not lost on Mr. Bush's political opponents.

The Democratic National Committee distributed T-shirts bearing the legend "George Bush went to Rome and all I got was this lousy recession." And the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee compiled a list of 11 cities in the United States named Rome, along with the current unemployment rate for each.

Asked about this criticism today at a White House news conference, Mr. Baker said, "It would only be valid if there were a failure on his part to address domestic concerns. I don't think there has been a failure. In the absence of that, I think it's quite inappropriate."

In Rome, since much of what the NATO summit will produce has already been worked out, American officials are concentrating harder on the sideshow of individual meetings with European leaders than on the main event.

"The summit will be more like a political convention, where they come

together in a big room with a common platform, but the real action takes place on the outskirts, where they dicker and the problems are aired," an official said. "This is the first NATO summit where the importance will be in the bilaterals."

American officials said Mr. Bush hoped to head off a call by President François Mitterrand of France for a four-power meeting on nuclear disarmament, a process that Mr. Bush prefers to keep within his own control, as he did with his most recent initiative, or in the context of Soviet-American relations.

The President also will seek assurances from Mr. Mitterrand and from Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany that a recent Franco-German statement on joint defense policies is not intended to replace NATO as Europe's primary security apparatus.

With Mr. Kohl, Administration officials said the President would press for concessions in the current round of international talks aimed at lifting barriers to free trade. Officials here said Mr. Kohl had promised the United States he would press for progress on lifting protections for European farmers after his last round of elections but has since been dragging his feet.

## Meeting in the Hague

Mr. Baker said those trade talks will be at the top of Mr. Bush's agenda in the Hague when he meets on Friday with Jacques Delors, the European Community's chief executive, and Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of the Netherlands, which holds its rotating presidency.

Stitched throughout all these talks will be the Soviet Union, which has been a central subject for every NATO summit meeting but will be discussed by the alliance's leaders this week in an entirely different context than before.

The last time the NATO allies met at this level was in London in July 1990, and the goal was to make progress in reducing conventional armed forces in Europe and on the strategic arms reduction treaty.

"But that was before the Soviet Union fell apart," an Administration official said. "The Rome meetings will be the first opportunity for the President to brief the allies in person on his meeting in Madrid last week. What are we going to do about the fact that Gorbachev seems increasingly irrelevant?"

Mr. Baker said today that the President would urge his allies to adopt a specific set of principles for judging democratic reform in the Soviet Union, including respect for international conventions on human rights and strict

**Seeking to put  
into practice a  
liaison with the  
Warsaw Pact.**

control of Soviet nuclear weapons.

In an oblique criticism of the Ukraine's effort to use the presence of nuclear weapons on its territory as a bargaining chip with Moscow, Mr. Baker said, "Soviet nuclear weapons should not become the object of political bargaining of any kind."

As Mr. Baker did today during his news conference, American officials said Mr. Bush would use the uncertain political future of NATO's former adversary to bolster his argument to keep the Atlantic alliance intact, to protect its members against unexpected threats, like the Persian Gulf war earlier this year, and to provide a source of stability for Eastern Europe.

"The President will make a pitch that we have to be careful with this euphoria," one official said, adding: "After World War II, everybody disarmed and went home, then we had to come back and create NATO. So the argument now is to keep it strong. Its role has changed and the President will say, 'I'm the first to recognize that, but let's be realistic about the world around us at this stage.'"

# EC ready to apply selective sanctions against Yugoslavia

11-5-91

By Andrew Borowiec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

As fighting intensified across Croatia yesterday, the European Community prepared to impose selective economic sanctions on fractured Yugoslavia — an unofficial admission of failure of EC mediation efforts.

At the same time, Slovenia, another of Yugoslavia's secessionist republics, began issuing its own passports, printing currency and setting up missions in search of international recognition.

"There can be no agreement in Yugoslavia now," said Dr. Enest Petric who last month assumed the function of Slovenia's unofficial ambassador in the United States.

At a meeting scheduled today, the EC-brokered peace conference takes a last look at its up-to-now futile efforts before recommending sanctions against those Yugoslav republics that reject its peace proposal based on a loose confederation.

The measure is particularly aimed at Serbia, the most populous of the six Yugoslav republics, which opposes the EC peace formula. The sanctions would include suspension of EC trade agreements and a possible oil embargo.

The apparent death knell of the

EC efforts was sounded by Serbia's ruling Socialist Party, the renamed communists, which announced yesterday it could not accept the plan.

Party Vice President Mihajlo Markovic said Serbian minorities in Croatia and other republics should be allowed to remain in Yugoslavia — or what's left of it. In practical terms this would mean their joining Serbia.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic feels that the EC plan calling for the maintenance of the existing borders of the republics — with their ethnic minorities — would shatter the federal structure.

The Serbian-led Yugoslav federal army has been fighting Croatia following its declaration of independence in June, seizing one third of the republic's territory where most of the Serb minority lives.

Yesterday's clashes, from the scenic Dalmatian coast to the Danube River, was described as the most intense since the fighting erupted.

Croatia says that 2,500 Croats and an unspecified number of Serbs and federal soldiers have been killed so far in the undeclared war.

Artillery duels raged near Dubrovnik, a jewel of renaissance architecture on the Adriatic, which has been under bombardment for weeks. Federal MiG-21 aircraft



Residents take cover behind a wall in Dubrovnik as artillery shells from the Yugoslav federal army land nearby.

AP

were reported in action near the besieged Croat town of Vukovar on the Danube.

Thousands of refugees were fleeing the predominantly Serbian Slavonija area of Croatia after a Croatian militia counterattack. The Yugoslav army commander in northern Serbia, Gen. Mladen Bratic, was killed in action yesterday, Agence

France-Presse said, citing the Defense Ministry.

In Washington, Mr. Petric, the Slovene envoy, said Yugoslavia was in a state of deadlock that the EC was unable to break.

"The federation cannot be re-established, we cannot bring into a union people who don't want to be in it," he told reporters. He said there

was "no going back on Slovenian independence" and that his task in Washington was to act as the breakaway republic's de facto envoy.

But he admitted that in his first official contact, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger was "friendly but clear" that Slovenia could not be treated as an independent state.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-Nov-1991 13:56 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM: Beth E. Sanner (3684)  
(SANNER)

SUBJECT: List of participants for Dutch luncheon

This is a tentative list of the type of people the Dutch are inviting to the luncheon hosted by Prime Minister Lubbers on 9 November in the Hague.

Dutch government officials, including Parliamentarians and  
the military  
Representatives of the American business/economic community  
Some American military  
President of the World Court  
The U.S. judge at the World Court  
Some Dutch cultural figures  
The mayors of Amsterdam and The Hague  
Representatives of Dutch-American friendship organizations,  
like the Fulbright program.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(The Hague, The Netherlands)

For Immediate Release

November 9, 1991

PRESS CONFERENCE BY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH,  
PRIME MINISTER RUUD LUBBERS AND  
PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION OF THE  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES JACQUES DELORS

Binnenhof  
The Hague, The Netherlands

2:15 P.M. (L)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, let me just say that our meetings here and in Rome underline the Atlantic partnership is as important as ever. Our agenda today reflected the growing role of the European Community in Europe and beyond, and much of our international cooperation with the EC is based on the concept of responsibility-sharing. We're working together effectively in aiding Central and Eastern Europe, assisting the Soviet Union, trying to bring peace to the Middle East and Yugoslavia.

Trade was a central issue on our discussions today. The U.S.-EC economic relationship continues to grow. The United States and the EC must demonstrate the ability to lead in the economic area by successfully concluding the Uruguay Round; there's total agreement on that point. I think our talks did mark the narrowing of differences and a commitment to work to get that Round concluded this year.

And we share the concern of the EC regarding the conflict in Yugoslavia. We, the United States, have concluded that further measures must be taken to hold accountable those who placed their narrow ambitions above the well-being of the peoples. And so, therefore, we will apply sanctions on Yugoslavia comparable to those of the EC. And the EC can also depend on the United States to cosponsor a new U.N. Security Council resolution on Yugoslavia, looking toward a possible oil embargo, and to cooperate fully in efforts to strengthen the embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia.

We're very grateful to President Delors, Prime Minister Lubbers for the conduct of the meeting today, and also to Her Majesty for the hospitality shown us here in the Netherlands.

PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS: As you know, we discussed a number of items this morning; spent some time on explaining the institutional arrangements we are preparing from a strict monetary union and a political union. We exchanged limited views and prepare ourselves for a conference to be held next year in Brazil about the climatological problems.

We, of course, also here spent some time on Yugoslavia, and we are very happy, as you heard from President Bush, that also the United States will contribute to the policies there in putting some pressure on the parties, as was agreed upon already within the European Community.

Most of the time, of course, this morning we have spent to invest in coming to a more common position in the Uruguay Round. As the President said, we agreed that it is essential that we come to results in the last months of this year, November and December.

MORE

So a little bit running out of time, and therefore, I'm happy that we had a good opportunity here to discuss this matter. As you have seen in the declaration which was distributed, and which I am not going to read for you, we are aiming at an approach -- and this is not only one aspect or another, but it is as well about agriculture as about services and intellectual property and what have you.

From the paper you can see that there is progress. We have made an important step forward. On the other hand, we want to be realistic in saying there are still a number of problems that we have to solve together. There is a remaining gap, especially in agriculture. And as we see this as a package deal, so to say, we have to negotiate further a number of elements. Naturally, negotiations have to be a little -- be done in a way that they can be successful, but it will be difficult for me to be too specific on that.

Let me assure you that we will continue from here, and hopefully, in a period not all too long it will be possible for Mr. Dunkel of the GATT to come out with a proposal that can be endorsed as well by the United States and the Community.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT DELORS: Mr. Lubbers has made a full statement on the Community's side on the meeting of this morning. Let me add simply as a personal feeling that for the first time I am reasonably optimistic upon the possibility to reach an agreement in the three common -- on the Uruguay Round. And this is very important to deliver a very important signal to the world economy.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, how extensive are the sanctions against Yugoslavia, and why is there any reason to believe that the sanctions against Yugoslavia will be any more effective than those already in place against Iraq?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I'm not sure how effective sanctions by themselves will be. The decision to take the sanctions was to strongly back the efforts of the EC. As I mentioned, they are not complete yet. We are going to go to the United Nations to try to strengthen the concept of oil embargo. But I don't think anybody can predict with any accuracy that sanctions alone will solve the problem -- in Yugoslavia, in Haiti, or in Iraq, or in other places. But it is the way that the European Community felt, backed now by the United States, that we can make our position better -- clearer to the people in the various entities inside Yugoslavia.

So they're fairly broad. I don't have a list of the specific sanctions here, but I cannot say that I think sanctions alone are going to get this job done. I hope they will.

Q Mr. President, you spoke about the importance of accelerating the process towards European unity. The Netherlands tried, in the presidency, to do so. Do you think we go fast enough, and is the lack of speed in this process a problem also in the GATT negotiations?

PRESIDENT BUSH: The answer is, the manner of how fast one goes, that seems to me is a matter for Europe, and I don't believe that the failure to have all those matters resolved should inhibit a solution to the GATT Round.

Q President Bush, do you think it's time to take up John Major's suggestion of a G-7 special summit on the GATT which would at least allow you to bring Japan on board, given that time is really running out fast?

MORE

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I didn't have a chance to talk to the Prime Minister about that. I'm always interested in his suggestions; he's got very good judgment on these trade matters. But I think the first thing we must do is to follow through in the way that we've talked today through the existing mechanism. We are trying to get this matter wrapped up soon. The next step will be, I believe, in Geneva. So I think that's most important.

When John Major talks about getting Japan involved in various ways, I think he's on to something very important. Because it's the G-7 that gives Japan a window to these broad international questions. But before I comment on his proposal I would just simply stay with the process that we talked about here today.

Q President Bush, American farmers are looking at you to deliver on freeing international trade in agriculture. Reading your joint declaration, it looks as if they haven't got much to cheer about at the moment. And I just wondered if I could ask Mr. Lubbers a question -- do you think that the U.S. Omnibus Trade Act, Section 301, can still be in existence if there is to be a Uruguay Round agreement?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, on cheering about, American farmers have a lot at stake on this. Agriculture has been one of the stumbling blocks. Today we say we have made some progress. It is highly complex. As a layman, not one who has been in on all these negotiations, I can tell you I have a greater appreciation for the complexity. But to the American farmer I would say, please read the communique here, and say, where we've made some progress, I can enthusiastically endorse that. But if the question is, do we have all the problems of agriculture behind us so that the American farmer can rejoice, the answer is, not yet. We've got to keep on trying, though.

But I think there's a positive message here. I notice what President Delors said. He's been engaged in this right up to his elbows since it started. And if he can say that he feels there's progress, why, I think that's a good message not just for the American farmer, but for everybody.

PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS: Let me add to that question. As I see it, the GATT negotiations are not about serving one group in one country, but have to serve all countries in order to get more economic growth. That's the main point; it's important. That's what we have to do together. That's the first thing.

The second thing is, that we need a result. We came a little bit nearer to that today, as President Delors said, in order to avoid in the future all sorts of trade wars. I'm not going to brief you in formal legal formalities now, but I want to say that, of course, it would be very important to have more trade to have futures for farmers in all countries and other industries as well in a growing economy, and that we'd have to do it in such a way that we have a better chance to avoid trade wars in the future.

Q And on the trade question?

Q President Delors -- could you explain, President Delors, why you are more optimistic and in what areas the differences have been narrowed?

PRESIDENT DELORS: This is not the moment to enter into details, but it seems to me that the negotiation -- the conversation last week and the meeting tomorrow morning -- this morning, excuse me -- this meeting provides room of maneuver in the two most important sectors: services and agriculture. But we must go on. This is not the end of the negotiation. But I have always thought that result in an -- increase of the demand between U.S. and the Community on the

MORE

two fields, agriculture and services. It was impossible to give an impetus to the negotiation for all the countries.

Q We were hearing earlier on that figures were discussed for a new agricultural compromise. Do you now have the ingredients for something you can suggest to Dunkel on creeping together between the GATT -- the U.S. and the EC -- on agriculture offers?

PRESIDENT DELORS: We are on the tracks of a reform of the common agriculture policies. And the contribution of this reform to the negotiation of GATT is very simple to say. We intend to produce less, to import less -- to import more, excuse me, and to export less. This is our contribution with the modification of our old system, and this system of agriculture in the communique is different from the system in the U.S. -- for many reasons. But the main reason is there are -- (inaudible) -- differences between the American agriculture and the European agriculture.

But if we produce less, we are less pressure on the world market, and this is a contribution to the GATT Round to let room to maneuver for the other exporters, and notably, the exporters from less developing countries.

Q The American President -- the question was also put to you.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I agree with what Mr. Delors said.

(Laughter.)

Q With respect to the United Nations, do you support the idea of possibly forming a peacekeeping force to intervene in Yugoslavia, assuming that your European partners agree?

PRESIDENT BUSH: You're too far ahead of the power curve. We're not talking about force, we're talking about economic sanctions. And thus, I cannot answer a hypothetical question of that nature -- we're just not there yet.

Q President Bush, have you lowered your expectations in the agriculture negotiations --

PRESIDENT BUSH: No.

Q -- because you were seeking huge cuts in subsidies.

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, we haven't lowered our expectations. And I think our position publicly is well-known, but I agree with what President Delors said; I was not just brushing off the question, I really believe he said how we all feel the talks went today.

But, no, we're trying to reach an agreement, and I think our expectations, which certainly include a satisfactory solution to the agricultural problem, are about the same as they've been.

Q Mr. President, protectionist pressures are already growing in Congress, and given the coming political year, will probably grow more intense. If you're unsuccessful in these negotiations how do you expect to hold back that pressure? And shouldn't Americans expect you to protect their interests, perhaps retaliate for what may be considered unfair trade practices?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I think the GATT mechanism protects American interests there, protects the interests of others. And from time to time, we have used the GATT mechanism to protect American interest. But when I use the word "protection" there, I say to guarantee fair play. Just as when people bring trade cases against us, they would say they're doing it for fair play.

MORE

On your question of broad protectionist swings in the United States, I will continue to oppose that kind of protection -- isolation, if you will -- pulling back into fortress America and thinking that that will benefit the American people. It won't do it. It will shrink our existing markets, rather than expanding markets.

So you're right; some in an election year will demagogue that issue and try to move into a protectionist vein. But that happens every four years; indeed, it happens every two years.

But I would say to the American working man and woman, the best interest is to expand our markets and to resist the short-run appeal of basic protection philosophy, because that does nothing but shrink markets. And it really is a very bad approach in terms of our own interests, as well as in terms of the interests of the world. So I will have no problem staying with adherence, an advocacy of a freer trading system, free and fair, level playing field.

I took my case to the American people on that in 1988. I think it was endorsed then. And I recognize that some, given some economic hardships at home, are moving the way you say, but I just think they're wrong. The thing where we have been the strongest economically in recent times has been through expanding exports, through our export market. And one way to guarantee the lack of prosperity for the American men and women is to shrink those export markets. And one way to shrink the export markets is to think you can get there by what is called "protection." It simply will not work.

And history is replete with examples of where it failed, and I cited in the speech I just gave the experience that we had after the World War and in the time of the Great Depression. So we are not going to go back to a policy of protection. I want to stay with a policy of expanding markets for U.S. products.

Q But given the stalled economy and the political atmosphere, isn't that going to be a tougher sell?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, it could be, if anybody believes something that's not true. And what's not true is that protection is the way to prosperity. It is not the way to prosperity, and freer trade is. So I see your point, Jim, but I just don't -- I can't subscribe to it. And I'm not going to change my position based on political expediency. And I think the American people can see through political expediency. And I agree with you that some are sounding the siren's call of protection in the States.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

2:34 P.M. (L)

SEC. BAKE [JIM] 1<sup>st</sup> year Ambassador; the DCM

Acts - Embassy Meeting @ The Hague

David Wagner

Beth Sanner

OCM

① Dept. Chief of Mission TOM GEWECKE (GAY-WECKE)

▲ Pol. Counselor Larry Rossin (ROSS-IN)

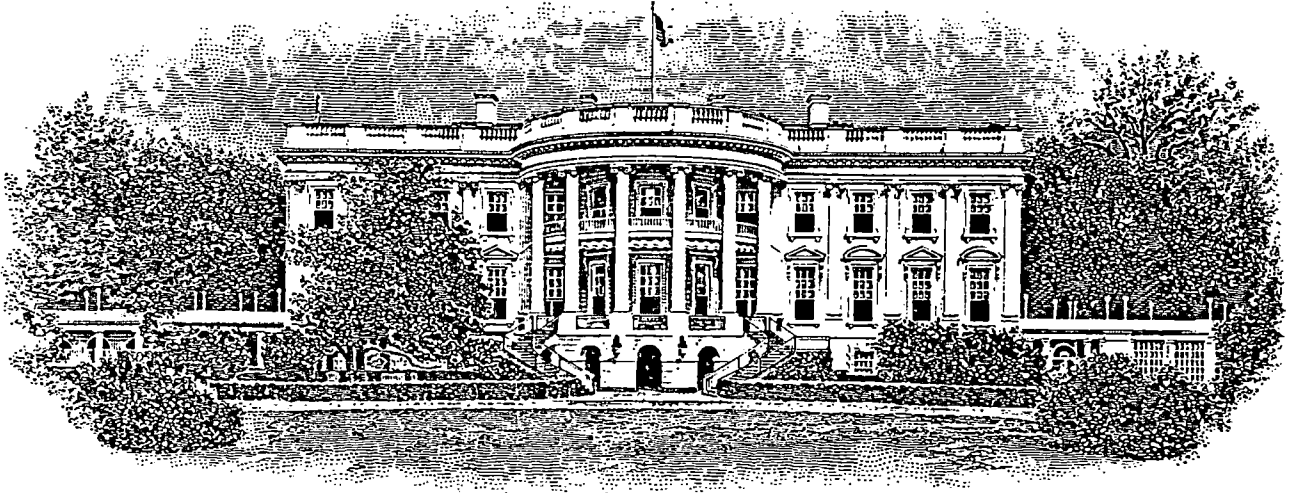
② ~~▲~~ Esp/~~Admin~~ Counselor Geo. Boutin (BOU-TIN)

③ ~~▲~~ Administrative Counselor TIMOTHY RODDY (TIM)

Call Chris Goodwin  
adv. 7545 5:20 PM  
Lt. US Marines  
Susan Garrett Baker

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE November 6, 1991

TO Kris Dee

FAX NUMBER x 2983

OFFICE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 2

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

FROM Dan McGroarty

COMMENTS FYI - for Dave in case they  
dont receive it in Rome.

OFFICE NUMBER (202) 456-7750

6 November 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR SHARON BOTWIN

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY *DM*  
FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON *JB*  
SUBJECT: UPDATED FACTS FOR HAGUE EC SPEECH AT THE  
RIDDERZAAL

Please note the following new language [page four, second sentence, Nov. 5, 6:30 p.m. draft]:

New language: More than 300 million people, close to one-fifth of.....

Old language: Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of....

6 November 1991

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THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON

SUBJECT: UPDATED FACTS FOR HAGUE EC SPEECH AT THE  
RIDDERZAAL

Please note the following new language [page four, second sentence, Nov. 5, 6:30 p.m. draft]:

New language: More than 300 million people, close to one-fifth of.....

Old language: Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of....

Kus

*It did pass - perhaps a mention in one of the Holland speech. Please monitor as far along to speech-writer. JJ*

Tony + Speechwriters →

**TUCKER & ASSOCIATES**

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October 30, 1991

The Honorable David Demarest, Jr.  
Director of Communications  
The White House  
2nd Floor, West Wing  
Washington, DC 20500

RE: Dutch-American Heritage  
Day Senate Joint Resolution  
No. 206 and House Joint  
Resolution No. 177

Dear David:

A majority of the Senators have signed Senate Joint Resolution No. 206 and it is expected to go before the Senate Judiciary Committee this week for passage and then for a vote on the floor of the Senate.

House Joint Resolution No. 177 now has a majority of members and is expected to be passed on the floor of the House of Representatives during the week of November 4, 1991.

There are approximately 4-5 million Dutch-American citizens in the United States and in light of the fact that President Bush will be in the Netherlands during the week of November 4, 1991 he might want to comment on the designation of Dutch-American Heritage Day, by the U.S. Congress. *Still in draft - Not - Bill authorized has been passed by Congress*

The Netherlands American Amity Trust, of which I am a Member of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee has schedule a dinner for November 16, 1991 at the Mayflower Hotel to celebrate Dutch-American Heritage Day.

Attached are copies of the Senate and House Resolutions and some background information which might be of some interest.

We would like to have a White House signing ceremony when the President returns to Washington and we would also like President Bush and Barbara to attend the dinner on November 16, 1991.

Very truly yours,



William Tucker  
Chairman  
Organizing Committee  
Dutch-American Heritage Day Resolution

cc: The Honorable Howard Wilkins  
U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands

**TUCKER & ASSOCIATES**

Suite 1000

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

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Tel: 202-835-0744

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**FACSIMILE**

**DATE:** October 30, 1991

**TO:** The Honorable David Demarest, Jr.  
Director of Communications  
The White House

**FAX NO.:** 456-2983

**FROM:** Bill Tucker

**RE:** Dutch-American Heritage Day

**PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 13**

102D CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. J. RES. 206

To designate November 16, 1991, as "Dutch-American Heritage Day".

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 26 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 19), 1991

Mr. RIEGLE (for himself, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. PACKWOOD, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. PELL, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. EXON, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. HELMS, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. GARN, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. ROBB, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. DOLE, Mr. INOUE, Mr. DEXON, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SASSER, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. REID, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. GLENN, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. PRESSLER, and Mr. BREAUX) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

To designate November 16, 1991, as "Dutch-American Heritage Day".

Whereas, on November 16, 1776, the batteries at the Dutch port of St. Eustatius fired the first salute to the flag of the newly independent United States;

Whereas the firing by the Dutch of the first salute to the flag of the United States uplifted the morale and determination of the individuals who were fighting for American independence;

Whereas commemoration of Dutch-American Heritage Day provides an opportunity for approximately 8,000,000 Dutch-Americans to celebrate their Dutch roots and the extraordinary contributions their ancestors made to the political, economic, and cultural development of the United States; and

Whereas commemoration of Dutch-American Heritage Day promotes awareness by the people of the United States of the essential role performed by the Dutch people in securing American independence and in aiding the development of the United States for the past 215 years: Now, therefore, be it

1       *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3 That November 16, 1991, is designated as "Dutch-American  
4 Heritage Day", and the President is authorized and  
5 requested to issue a proclamation calling on the people of  
6 the United States to observe the day with appropriate pro-  
7 grams, ceremonies, and activities.

○

H 1416

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

March 5, 1991

RANSTAD, Mr. KISS, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. DOBMAN of California, Mr. WELDON, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. COX of California, Mr. HOLLOWAY, Mr. McEWEN, Mr. BILLERAKIS, and Mr. LINDERS.

H.R. 1277. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the amount of the exemption for dependent children under age 18 to \$3,500, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself, Mr. LAFALCA, Mr. McDADE, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. ECKART, Mr. HATCHER, Mr. ROE, Mr. SPRETT, Mr. CAMPBELL of Colorado, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. POSRANS, Mr. FORAN, Mr. STANLEY, Mr. GORDON, Mr. MILLER of Washington, Mr. BERRY, Mr. LANCASTER, Mr. BROWN, Mr. PERRY, Mr. DE LUCA, Mr. BROOKHUIS, Mr. NEAL of North Carolina, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Mr. HAYS of Illinois, Mr. RITTER, Mr. BAKER, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. ENGLISH, and Mr. ENGEL).

H.R. 1278. A bill to modify the application of the antitrust laws to increase competition in trade by encouraging small businesses to jointly manufacture and distribute products; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EMERSON (for himself, Mr. QUARREN, Mr. MANTON, Mr. DE LUCA, Mr. HORTON, Mr. EAST, Mr. HARTZELL, and Mr. CLAYTON).

H.J. Res. 176. Joint resolution designating the month of April 1991 as "National Walk For Health and Fitness Month"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. OEKAS (for himself, Mr. BENTLEY, Mr. HYDE, Mr. McCOLLUM, Mr. McDADE, Mrs. MOONHEAD, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. OWENS of New York, Mr. DOBMAN of California, Mr. FORAN, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. INFANTE, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. LAMARCA, Mr. SCHWARTZ, Mr. HOGAN, Mr. DE LUCA, Mr. STALLINS, Mr. LACOMARINO, Mr. LOWERY of California, Mr. SISK, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. CASPER, Mr. MARTIN, Mr. ATKINS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. PACE, Mr. GALLO, Mr. YATON, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. TAVEN, Mr. LANCASTER, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. FISH, Mr. CORLE, Mr. BUSTAMANTE, Mr. FALLONE, Mr. BUSTON of Indiana, Mr. WELSON, Mr. SIKES, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. McCAATH, Mr. QUARREN, Mr. HORTON, and Mr. KOLTER).

H.J. Res. 171. Joint resolution to designate the week beginning April 21, 1991, as "National Crime Victims' Rights Week"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. OEKAS (for himself, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. QUARREN, Mr. LEACH, Mr. WOLF, Mrs. UNBECK, Mr. HEYER, Mr. HENRY, Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. STUBBS, Mr. BAOWEN, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. CALDWELL, and Mr. PATTS of Virginia).

H.J. Res. 172. Joint resolution designating May 27, 1991, "Memorial Day," as a national day of celebration recognizing the extraordinary bravery of members of the U.S. Armed Forces serving in the Persian Gulf region in connection with Operation Desert Shield/Storm; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HORTON (for himself, Mr. MINYON, Mr. BROOKHUIS, Mr. MARSH, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. FALSONA, Mrs. M. MOLINARI, Mrs. MINE, Mr. BLAZ, Mr. DE LUCA, and Mr. ASHCROFT).

H.J. Res. 173. Joint resolution to designate May 1991 and May 1992 as "Asian/Pacific

American Heritage Month"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MONTGOMERY (for himself, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. STUMP, Mrs. BYRON, Mr. APPLICATE, and Mr. McEWEN).

H.J. Res. 174. Joint resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives in support of a national victory parade in Washington, DC, and regional parades throughout the rest of the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. PANETTA (for himself and Mr. RUVALCABO).

H.J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to designate the weeks beginning December 1, 1991, and November 29, 1992, as "National Home Care Week"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SPENCE.

H.J. Res. 176. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States authorizing the Congress and the States to prohibit the act of desecration of the flag of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VANDER JAOT.

H.J. Res. 177. Joint resolution to designate November 16, 1991, as "Dutch-American Heritage Day"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BILBRAY.

H. Con. Res. 88. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should suspend all foreign assistance for Jordan until the President certifies to the Congress that Jordan is complying with the United Nations economic embargo against Iraq; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BILBRAY.

H. Con. Res. 88. Concurrent resolution commending employers who continue to compensate their employees who are called to active duty in connection with the Persian Gulf conflict; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GOODLING (for himself, Mr. HORTON, Mr. BILEY, and Mr. KOLTER).

H. Con. Res. 87. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that medical examiners and coroners should make reasonable, good-faith efforts to locate the next of kin of deceased individuals to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mrs. LOWEY of New York (for herself and Mr. ROSENTHAL).

H. Con. Res. 83. Concurrent resolution urging Arab States to recognize, and make peace with, Israel; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. MORELLA (for herself, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. POULITTA, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. LEFINKEL, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. KILPATRICK, Mr. O'NEILL, Mr. OAKAR, Mr. BENTLEY, Mr. OILMAN, Mrs. UNBECK, Mrs. SCHWARTZ, Mr. BERENSON, Mr. HAMILTON, Mrs. BENTLEY, Mr. PELOSI, Mr. OLSEN, and Mr. BUSTAMANTE).

H. Con. Res. 89. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that expert testimony concerning the nature and effect of domestic violence, including descriptions of the experiences of battered women, should be admissible when offered in a State court by a defendant in a criminal case; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANOFF.

H. Con. Res. 89. Concurrent resolution commending women serving in the U.S. Armed Forces with special recognition of those servicewomen in the Persian Gulf

region; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CHANDLER (for himself, Mr. MORRISON, Mr. MILLER of Washington, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. STUMP, Mr. KASICH, Mr. RAVIOLA, Mr. DOBMAN of California, Mr. BROOKHUIS, Mrs. MITCHELL of Kansas, Mr. HODGSON, Mr. ZELIFF, Mr. SLAUGHTER of Virginia, Mr. PAXON, Mr. JAMES, Mrs. BENTLEY, Mr. MACTLEY, Mr. OILMAN, Mr. STUMP, Mr. BILEY, and Mr. ROSENTHAL).

H. Res. 99. Resolution supporting Operation Homefront; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BAXTON (for himself, Mr. COOK, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. KYL, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. GALLO, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. GRANDE, and Mr. STRAUSS).

H. Res. 100. Resolution to urge the establishment of an international military tribunal to prosecute war crimes arising out of the Persian Gulf conflict; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PICKETT:

H.R. 1279. A bill for the relief of Charlotte A. Neal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1280. A bill for the relief of Earl B. Chappell, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 8: Mr. BOWEN, Mr. McNUFF, and Mr. TRAFICANT.

H.R. 34: Mr. WOLFE, Mr. WALSH, Mr. BALLOUGH, Mr. FISH, Mrs. VOLOVICH, Mr. MACTLEY, Mr. TAVEN, Mr. PORTER, Mr. MARTIN of New York, Mr. COOK, Mr. ROOPE, Mr. GUNDERSON, Mr. INFANTE, Mr. FIELDS, Mr. CAMPBELL of Colorado, Mr. SCHWARTZ, Mr. SCHWARTZ, Mr. LIVINGSTON, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. PARKER, Mr. ZONCA, Mr. PACIARRE, and Mr. MOLINARI.

H.R. 53: Mr. TAVEN, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. McEWEN, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. GIBSON, Mr. BILBAUM, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. HANCOCK, Mr. McNUFF, Mr. ROSE, and Mr. FISH.

H.R. 62: Mr. LIVINGSTON, Mr. PETRI, Mr. JACOBI, and Mr. BENTLEY.

H.R. 66: Mr. MARTIN of New York, Mr. BRAD, Mr. DE LUCA, Mr. MILLER of Washington, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. LANCASTER, and Mr. JAMES.

H.R. 68: Mr. FISH, Mr. GALLO, Mr. OEKAS, Mr. HUCKABY, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. LACOMARINO, Mr. PACIARRE, Mr. SURDOWITZ, Mr. COUGHLIN, and Mr. SISKANT.

H.R. 77: Mr. ORLEY, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. STARNES, Mr. FAWELL, and Mr. LEFINKEL.

H.R. 78: Mr. FRANKS of Connecticut, Mr. FAWELL, Mr. INFANTE, and Mr. CAMP.

H.R. 102: Mr. WALSH, Mr. EASTON, Mr. UPSON, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. RAVIOLA, Mr. HYDE, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. ROE, Mrs. MINE, and Mr. SOLOMON.

H.R. 103: Mr. LACOMARINO.

H.R. 104: Mr. FISH.

H.R. 105: Mr. FISH and Mr. SOLOMON.

**A BRIEF (BUT REMARKABLE) HISTORY OF DUTCH AMERICANS**  
Compiled by: Coen Blaauw and Romee Pameijer  
Part I

In 1609, Henry Hudson, engaged by the Dutch East India Company, sailed up the (nowadays called) Hudson River aboard the "HALVE MAEN". Ever since, Dutch settlers have been exploring this "new found land".

Let's see what has happened since:

1614 The States General granted a charter to several Dutch merchants, authorizing them to form the "New Netherland Company". This charter secured a four-year monopoly with exclusive trading rights in the territory named "New Netherland".

1623 Authorization was made by the newly established West India Company to send a ship to New Netherland with "five or six families of colonists in order to plant a beginning of settlement there."

1624 After the arrival of their ship, the "NIEU NEDERLANDT", these settlers were sent to various parts of the colony: some to the Delaware River, some to Connecticut river, but most to the present site of Albany (NY), where they built a fort: "Fort Orange."

1625 The "ORANJENBOOM" and the "MACKREEL" arrive in New Netherland with more settlers, hundred head of livestock and Governor-to-be Willem Verhulst. Manhattan was chosen as the site for Fort Amsterdam. The settlement which grew up around the fort became known as New Amsterdam.

1626 Manhattan is officially purchased from the Indians for the prize of some blankets, kettles and trinkets, with a total value of sixty guilders.

1629 The so-called "patroon system" is established. By this plan a qualified entrepreneur (or "patroon") was given a tract of land as far into the country "as the situation of the occupiers shall permit." The patroon had to settle on his estate fifty colonists over fifteen years of age. The settlers had to pay the patroon a fixed rent and a share of the profits.

1631 Periodic problems with the Indians, such as "The massacre of Swanendael", had a demoralizing effect on the settlers and caused some of them to return to the fatherland. ("Mine eyes saw ye flights & hurries of men, women & children, the present remoovall of all yt could for Holland.")

1634 The Dutch began settling "'t Lange Eylandt", now called Long Island.

1636 In an effort to bring more settlers to New Netherland, Governor van Twiller proposes concessions to prospective settlers

in New Netherland, by implementing: "And as to private persons...they may choose and take possession of as much land as they can properly cultivate and hold the same in full ownership."

1639 Contrary to popular belief, a Dane (and not a Dutchman) by the name of Jonas Bronck, after whom present-day New York borough "the Bronx" is named, was one of the first settlers to move into the new territory.

1640 The West India Company issued a "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions." Some of its clauses were designed to encourage persons of limited economic means to settle in the New Netherlands. Groups of children from orphanages and poorhouses of the Netherlands started arriving.

1642 In New Amsterdam, Hercks Siboutszen Krankheydt and Wyntje Theunis get married. The distinguished CBS-TV evening news anchorman Walter Cronkite is their immediate descendant.

1643 The population of Manhattan and its environs had climbed to between four and five hundred men.

1645 The village of Vlissingen -now called Flushing- was established on western Long Island.

1646 The village of Breuckelen -now called Brooklyn- was established, "about two thousand paces" from the ferry between Long Island and New Amsterdam.

1647 Adriaen van der Donck acquired the title to a major portion of land on Long Island. Because he was of "gentlemanly birth", he was addressed by the title of "Jonkheer." His settlement soon became known as "Jonkheers Landt" and afterwards simply as Yonkers.

1648 Governor Pieter Stuyvesant ordered the construction of Fort Beversreede, located within the limits of present-day Philadelphia.

1649 Claes Martenszen Van Rosenvelt emigrated from the Netherlands to New Amsterdam. Centuries later, he proved to be the immediate ancestor of the 26th President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt and 32nd President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

1651 A new village arises on western Long Island named Midwout (later called Flatbush.)

1656 A decree is issued prohibiting on Sunday "Ploughing, Sowing, Woodsawing, Bleaching, frequenting Taverns or Tippling Houses, Dancing, Playing Cards, Tricktrack or Ninepins, roving in search of Nuts and Strawberries, and too unrestrained and excessive Playing, Shouting and Screaming of Kids in the Streets."

more to follow

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Part II

1658 Antonius de Mil and his wife Elizabeth Van der Hout left a quiet bakery shop in Haarlem, the Netherlands, for New Amsterdam, not knowing of the movie-making skills of one of their descendants, Cecil B. de Mille, born in 1881.

1658 Stuyvesant and his council gave notice that a new settlement should be established on the north end of Manhattan, for the security of the cattle pasturing thereon and for the further promotion of agriculture: "Nieuw Haarlem" (now called Harlem.)

1659 Stuyvesant issues a complaint to the directors of the West India Company that too many colonists are unaccustomed to labor and asks not to "take up and engage whomever chance may throw your way. Most of the children from the orphan asylums are ... more inclined to carry a beggars gripsack than to labor." "Many who come hither are as poor as worms, and lazy withal!"

1660 A new village arises on western Long Island named Boswyck (later called Bushwick.) Around that time the word "Yankee" might have been introduced by the Dutch, derived from Jan Kaas or Jan Keese. The name was applied as a term of contempt for traders "whose business ethics stirred something less than admiration among Hollanders."

1663 Views expressed about Peter Stuyvesant by his contemporaries included: "He struts like a peacock with great state and pomp"; "Whoever has him opposed, has as much as the sun and the moon against him." "He likes to assert the maxim 'the Prince is above the law.'"

1664 The total white population of New Netherland is estimated between 8000 and 10,000, about two-thirds of whom were Hollanders. On September 5 of that year New Amsterdam surrenders to the British. The town was thereupon renamed New York, in honor of the new proprietor, the Duke of York.

1672 After a visit to Holland to explain to the officials of the West India Company the reasons for the loss of New Netherland, Peter Stuyvesant returns to New York, dies and is buried beneath the chapel on his farm.

1673 During the "Third Anglo-Dutch War" the Netherlands retook and briefly held a part of their former colony. New York was renamed "New Orange." By the Treaty of Westminster (February 19, 1674) the province was restored to England.

1676 The "Heere Gragt" extending from New York's East River to Wall Street was filled in and was renamed "Broad Street." De "Breede Weg", which led from the fort of New Amsterdam to the common pasture lands, became Broadway.

1681 Small groups of Dutch Quakers and Mennonites settle near Philadelphia at the invitation of William Penn. Later Penn achieved greater success in getting Hollanders living in the German Rhineland to participate in his "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania.

1682 Dutch families were large, and some were very large. Hendrik Banta had 21 children. The family of Joris Brinckerhoff was typical with 7 sons, six of whom married and among them had forty-nine children. Dominie Henricus Selyns wrote that children "multiply more rapidly here than anywhere else in the world."

1720 An English visitor observed that the Dutch were "at best rustic and unpolished" and had "little desire for conversation and society, their whole thoughts being turned upon profit and gain."

1725 In Bucks County, Pennsylvania, there were numerous families with names like Groesbeck, Hogeland, Vanartsdalen, Vandegrift, Van Deusen, Vandever, Vandeventer, Van Dyke, Van Horne, Van Vlecq, Van Zandt and Wynkoop.

1728 Albany boys and girls still got fines from the Albany constable for sleighing down the alluringly steep Albany streets on "sleds, small boards or otherwise."

1744 A visitor to Albany writes: "The Dutch here keep their houses very neat and clean, both without and within." Even more remarkable must have been the fact that beds were built into walls: "One can go through all the rooms of a great house and never see a bed!"

1746 The College of New Jersey (now Princeton) was established. Young Dutchmen, interested in education beyond the common school could go there or enroll in King's College (Now Columbia University), founded in 1754.

1750 Dutch influence could easily be detected by the presence of a Dutch Reformed Church. A number of villages along the Hudson had distinctively Dutch atmosphere: Kingston, 1659; Kinderhook 1712; Claverack 1716; Poughkeepsie 1716; Fishkill 1716; Rhinebeck 1731.

1751 Dutch farmers leave their homes to begin a new life along the American frontier. They end up in Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, and serve as an inspiration for the wave of Dutch immigrants who began settling in the Midwest during the middle of the nineteenth century.

1752 Smoking, like drinking, was very popular among the Dutch. A visitor to New York wrote: "Even women of the foremost families smoked tobacco. I frequently saw about a dozen old ladies sitting about the fire smoking. Once in a while I discovered wives of twenty some years sitting there with pipes in their mouths!"

more to follow

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Part III

1756 The Dutch were very keen on letting their language survive. Therefore, a Flatbush schoolmaster had an ingenious plan to crowd out the use of Dutch in his school: He carried a small metal token which he gave each day to the first pupil whom he heard using a Dutch word. That pupil handed it to any other whom he detected in using Dutch, and he in turn could do the same. The token passed from hand to hand through the day; the unlucky one who, at the end of the day, ended up with the token was badly whipped.

1775 At the start of the American Revolution the Dutch lined up with both the Loyalists, who support the British, and with the Patriots, who support independence. It is said that the Dutch are just motivated by reasons of "personal safety and the preservation of their property." "The interest of the Dutch in the American Revolution stems from the following motive: Profits!"

1776 First Salute: The guns of Fort Orange on St. Eustatius returned the ritual salute on entering a foreign port of an American vessel, the "Andrew Doria." The salute, ordered by Governor Johannes de Graaff, was the first recognition, following the rebel colonies' Declaration of Independence, of the American flag and American nationhood by an official of a foreign state.

1837 Martin Van Buren was elected as the 8th President of the United States. Born at Kinderhoeck, New York, where his father followed the combined occupations of farmer and tavern keeper, Van Buren can be credited with the creation of the modern American election system, but fell foul of his own brainchild in 1840 and failed to win reelection. He was succeeded by William H. Harrison.

1840 Starting from this year until the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, about twenty thousand Dutch went to the United States, compared to fewer than twenty-five hundred in the previous twenty years.

1846 Dominie van Raalte, leader of the Arnhem Association, arrives in New York from the Netherlands and sets out for Wisconsin. Because of the fierce cold he gets stuck in Detroit, takes the sleigh southbound and purchases a piece of land. His followers arrive the following year and settle down. Shops appear, marking the beginning of what is today known as Holland, Michigan.

1847 A large group of immigrants from the Zeeland Emigration Association settled six miles east of Holland, Michigan. Their community was appropriately named Zeeland. Other communities followed and bore Dutch names such as Vriesland, Overijssel, Nordeloos, Zutphen, Haderwyck and Groningen.

1848 Dominie Scholte, leader of the Utrecht Association, had found a settlement site in Iowa and named it Pella (signifying "refuge.") A reporter from an Iowa newspaper accounts: "I discovered a new race of beings...a broadshouldered race in velvet jackets and wooden shoes. They appear to be intelligent and respectable, quite above the average class of European immigrants that have ever landed upon our shores."

1851 "De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode" is the first Dutch-language newspaper to be published in the United States. The inhabitants of Sheboygan County, about fifty miles north of Milwaukee, were engaged primarily in cutting cordwood.

1861 Two Dutch Mormon elders from Utah, returned to the Netherlands, preaching that "God was about to wreak his vengeance on a sinful Europe." They attracted a significant number of converts. "De Utah Nederlander" started being published. Other Dutch newspapers were "De Grondwet" of Holland (MI), the "Weekblad" of Pella (IA), and the "Volksstem" of De Pere (WI).

1877 A settlement called Luctor (after Luctor et Emergo) was started in Kansas. Money was usually scarce, so "each year they trekked to the adjoining state of Colorado to seek a chance to labor, while their loved ones remained in their homesteads."

1882 The postmaster of Orange City, Iowa, reports that twenty letters leave his office daily for the Netherlands. Such letters were often published in the local newspaper. The influence of such correspondence is shown by the large number of immigrants who, upon arrival in the U.S., stated they were joining relatives or friends.

1883 A pamphlet is published in Rotterdam, praising Minnesota and the Dakotas as a place for settlers. Not much was needed to start. More important than money were "good health, a pair of strong arms, temperance, thrift, and a firm will to get ahead!"

1885 A Dutch community developed in southwestern Minnesota. Expense-paid excursion tours from northwest Iowa were conducted to the region, and land was advertised in "De Volksvriend" of Orange City, at 7 to 9 dollars per acre "with liberal terms of payment."

1896 In Texas, a town named "Nederland" was established, which soon harbored over six hundred inhabitants. However, unfamiliarity with the local rice culture and the unsuitable climate caused many to leave. Today, the town's name is all that remains.

1900 Despite bearing such appealing names as Queen Wilhelmina Colony and Hollandia, none of the settlements in California were very successful. Most of the colonists had been recruited from the well-to-do and "were woefully ignorant of farming." "The wrong people were brought to the wrong land at the wrong prices!"

more to follow

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**Part IV**

1903 A descendant from James Spaak, who emigrated from the Netherlands and served in the Revolutionary War, one of America's best-known pediatricians was born that year: Dr. (Benjamin) Spock.

1909 Famous Dutch writer Frederick Willem van Eeden acquired 500 acres of land near Wilmington, North Carolina, where he founded "Van Eeden Kolonie", which stressed social equality and rustic living. The "Kolonie" experiment never prospered, but its last vestiges did not disappear until 1939.

1910 The census report of that year lists over two-thirds of the 120,053 Holland-born, then living in the U.S., as being located in the middlewestern and western states. Allegedly, the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that "Nine-tenths of the people wanted lots of land, in order to get rich in a short time."

1914 During the period 1865-1914 (marking the end of the civil war and the beginning of World War I), 175,000 immigrants arrived from the Netherlands. Although this is a considerably larger amount than those who came in previous decades, the number appears rather minuscule, compared to the 25,000,000 Europeans, who moved to the U.S., during the same period of time.

1926 Shortly after graduating from an art academy in Rotterdam, Willem de Kooning (born in 1904) came to the U.S. Supporting himself at first as a housepainter, he was considered one of America's leading abstract expressionist painters in the 50's.

1946 Immediately following World War II, the U.S. was the favorite choice of Dutch immigrants. A questionnaire was held, stating: "For what great power do you have the greatest liking?" 48% of the replies showed a preference for the U.S., 22% for England, and 9% for the Soviet Union. 21% named others or had no opinion.

1950 During the heyday of Dutch immigration, Dutch Associations assisted newly arrived immigrants in obtaining housing and employment, gave advice and provided various forms of entertainment. "They were especially helpful in providing, what the Dutch call, "gezelligheid", meaning conviviality or chumminess."

1953 The mass repatriation of over 300,000 Dutch-Indonesians constituted a unique problem for a small country like the Netherlands. The U.S. was asked for help in the form of a special quota above what was provided by the Refugee Relief Act. Congress allowed 8,900 refugees to yearly emigrate to the U.S.

1955 Since the end of World War II, 79,650 Dutch nationals got permission to enter the U.S. as immigrants. This represented 19%

of the 425,565 Dutchmen who emigrated during those years. (36% to Canada, 29% to Australia, 8% to S. Africa, 6% to N. Zealand)

1970 The Dutch Immigrant Society, established at Grand Rapids, Michigan, starts a Dutch-English publication called "DIS", with 14,000 copies printed per issue and containing numerous articles of a historical nature bearing on the Dutch in America.

1971 Ten thousand members of the Dutch Immigrant Society take advantage of charter flights to the Netherlands. They found that "they rediscovered their fatherland." They found it changed and moving at a different pace than they used to know it, but fortunately "the old gezelligheid is still there!"

1973 The chief centers of Dutch concentration in the U.S. begin holding annual spring celebrations, the so-called "tulip festivals." Hundreds of locals, "including children who can hardly walk", are dressed in Old World costumes, with baggy breeches, multipetticoats, lace caps and wooden shoes.

1975 A new community named "Holland" is being constructed about midway between Los Angeles and San Jose. It features a "Dutch Retirement Village" and a "Hans Brinker Shopping Village" complete with mill, canal, drawbridge, gabled houses and so on.

1991 Resolutions were introduced in the U.S. Senate by Senators Riegle from Michigan and Lugar from Indiana to designate November 16 as "Dutch American Heritage Day." A similar Resolution was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives by Guy Vander Jagt.

POTUS:

second trip to Netherlands, visited in 1989 w/Flotus (Free Commonwealth of Nations address to Leiden -- as delivered enclosed)

scene - Dutch Parliament Building, The Hague, delivered at Ridderzaal (former Knights Hall) at noon;

Binnehof:

complex of old buildings in the center of the Hague where the PM's office, cabinet room (Treveszaal), parliament chambers and Ridderzaal are located

center of Netherlands political life; buildings known for architectural value, but historical events taken place there are of greater significance

The Treves Room:

US-EC meeting takes place here, built in 1697 Louis XIV style, in a room previously situated here, negotiations took place in 1698 ending what was later known as the Eighty-Years war (1566-1684)

Treves means "armistice", the oval dome in center of room contains Theodoor Van Sohier painting symbolizing unity, room often used to receive special guests, Cabinet meetings held there Fridays

Ridderzaal= Hall of Knights:

luncheon-speech site, the old core of the Binnenhof, indeed the city itself, and sits in an inner court of the Binnenhof

in 1432 and 1456 Phillip of Burgundy entertained his Knights of the Golden Fleece; Charles the Bold stayed there among other things to administer justice in the Hall of Knights

leaded glass windows depict the colorful coats of arms of the principal Netherlands cities, the large rose window contains the coats of arms of counts and dukes, arranged round the coat of arms of Queen Wilhemina. Escutcheons in the roof and the eleven provincial flags lend a colourful note. From 1904 on, hall used for ceremony of opening parliament by the delivery of the speech from the throne by the head of state. In 1907 the Second Peace Conference was held there.

*200 attend luncheon → mostly Dutch govt luncheon, military  
Am. Pres./Evon. - Pres. of and Judge of World Court, Mayors of  
UNES -*

# John Adams

1797–1801

It was not easy being the second President of the United States; George Washington was a hard act to follow. At his inauguration in March 1797, John Adams (1735–1826) could not help noticing that people were looking at his predecessor, who was sitting quietly on one side of the dais, with tears in their eyes, rather than at him. Washington, moreover, seemed “to enjoy a triumph over me,” Adams told his wife Abigail afterward. “Me-thought I heard him say, ‘Ay, I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest!’”<sup>1</sup>

Adams’s Presidency was not a happy one, and it lasted only one term. A Federalist, Adams not only clashed with the Jeffersonian Republicans but was also at odds with members of his own party a great deal of the time. He did show wisdom and courage in keeping an undeclared war with France from escalating into a full-fledged shooting war, but he also signed the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 which the Federalists pushed through Congress in order to stifle all criticism of Federalist policies. His Presidency did him an injustice; for if he was not a great President, he was undoubtedly a great patriot. During the American Revolution he served on ninety committees in the Continental Congress, pushed incessantly for bold measures, and came to be called the “Atlas of Independence.”<sup>2</sup> “In Congress,” he once complained impatiently, “nibbling and quibbling—as usual. There is no greater Mortification than to sit with half a dozen Witts, deliberating upon a Petition, Address or Memo-

rial. These great Witts, these subtle Criticks, these refined Geniuses, these learned Lawyers, these wise Statesmen, are so fond of showing their Parts and Powers, as to make their Consultations very tedious.”<sup>3</sup>

→ In February 1778, Adams boarded a frigate commanded by Captain Samuel Tucker and headed for France to represent the United States in Paris. A popular story grew out of the voyage. Tucker, it was said, instructed Adams to stay below and out of the way if there was any fighting en route. But no sooner had he sighted an enemy ship and engaged it in battle than Adams rushed up to the deck with a musket in his hand, ready to do his part. Tucker peremptorily ordered him below and then left to direct the engagement. An hour or so later he discovered Adams still at his post, diligently firing away at the enemy. “Why are you here, sir?” he cried angrily. “I am commanded by the Continental Congress to carry you safely to Europe, and I will do it!” With that, he seized Adams in his arms and forcibly carried him off from the scene of danger. Years later, when asked about the story, Tucker insisted that it was highly exaggerated. But he admitted there was a germ of truth in it: Adams did join the marines during one encounter with a British ship and impressed everyone with his patriotic determination to risk his life for his country.<sup>4</sup>

With the achievement of independence, Adams became minister to England. Just before leaving Paris in 1785 he got into a conversation with one of the foreign diplomats there. “You have been often in England?” the ambassador asked him. “Never but once in November and December 1783,” Adams told him. “You have relations in England no doubt,” said the ambassador. “None at all,” said Adams. “None!” exclaimed the ambassador, “how can that be? You are of English extraction?” Said Adams stoutly: “Neither my father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, great grandfather or great grandmother nor any other relation that I know or care a farthing for have been in England these 150 years. So that you see, I have not one drop of blood in my veins, but what is American.” “Ay,” nodded the ambassador, “we have seen proofs enough of that!”<sup>5</sup>

Adams was one of the most intelligent, learned, industrious, public-spirited, and far-seeing of all the Patriot Fathers. He was also one of the vainest, most outspoken, testiest, and most abrasive. Benjamin Franklin once said that Adams was “always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses.”<sup>6</sup> Throughout his entire public career, Adams felt that

his own enormous contributions to the cause of American liberty were unfairly overshadowed by those of Franklin and Washington. "The history of our Revolution," he once told Dr. Benjamin Rush sarcastically, "will be one continued Lye from one end to the other. The essence of the whole will be that *Dr. Franklin's electrical rod, smote the Earth and out sprung General Washington. That Franklin electrified him with his rod—and thence forward these two conducted all the Policy, Negotiations, Legislatures, and War.*"<sup>7</sup> Adams could express himself forcefully when he wanted to. Alexander Hamilton he called "the bastard brat of a Scotch peddler," Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* he described as "a poor, ignorant, malicious, short-sighted, crapulous mass," and the eighteenth century itself he once characterized as "the Age of Folly, Vice, Frenzy, Brutality, Daemons, Buonaparte, Tom Paine, or the Age of the Burning Brand from the Bottomless Pit, or anything but the Age of Reason."<sup>8</sup> But Adams probably didn't mind it all as much as this sounds. "For my own part," he once confessed, "I should not like to live in the Millennium. It would be the most sickish life imaginable."<sup>9</sup>

In his old age, Adams mellowed somewhat. Through the intercession of Benjamin Rush, he and Thomas Jefferson (who had been estranged since Adams's Presidency) became friends again and spent their final years conducting a lively correspondence about every subject under (and beyond) the sun. When Jefferson, in answer to a query from Adams, said he was willing to live his life over again, Adams had this to say about his own life: "I have had a Father and lost him. I have had a Mother and lost her. I have had a Wife and lost her. I have had Children and lost them. I have had honourable and worthy Friends and lost them—and instead of suffering these Grievances again, I had rather go forward and meet my destiny."<sup>10</sup> On June 17, 1826, Daniel Webster visited the ninety-year-old man in Quincy, Massachusetts. It was a hot day, and he found the former President lying on the sofa, being fanned by one of his relatives. "I hope the President is well today," ventured Webster. "No, I don't know, Mr. Webster," returned Adams; "I have lived in this old and frail tenement a great many years; it is very much dilapidated; and, from all that I can learn, my landlord doesn't intend to repair it."<sup>11</sup>

About the time of Webster's visit the inhabitants of Quincy asked Adams to make a speech to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Adams flatly

refused. But after they pressed him to reconsider, he finally agreed to propose a toast: "Independence forever." When asked if he would add anything to it, he said firmly: "Not a word."<sup>12</sup> By Independence Day Adams was confined to his bed. At dawn he awakened and a servant asked him, "Do you know, sir, what day this is?" "Oh yes," responded Adams, "it is the glorious Fourth of July. God bless it. God bless you all." Then he lapsed into a coma. Early that afternoon, unknown to Adams, Thomas Jefferson died in his home in Monticello. About one o'clock, Adams awakened and exclaimed feebly, "Thomas Jefferson survives!" They were his last words. He ceased to breathe about sunset.<sup>13</sup>

★ ★ ★

### *Ditching*

"When I was a boy," John Adams told his friends, "I had to study Latin grammar, but it was dull and I hated it. I told my father I did not like Latin, and asked for some other employment." "Well, John," said his father, "you may try ditching. My meadow yonder needs a ditch." So young Adams went to work in the meadow, soon found that "ditching" was arduous work, and by midnight was ready to resume his studies. Too proud to admit it, however, he spent another day digging. But by nightfall, he said, "toil conquered my pride," and he went back to his Latin. To the end of his life Adams always insisted that "ditching" played an important part in building his character.<sup>14</sup>

### *Leggs of a Lady*

In May 1764, while courting Abigail Smith, Adams sent her "a Catalogue" of her "Faults, Imperfections, Defects, or whatever you please to call them." She wasn't a good card-player, for one thing, he said, and held the cards awkwardly in her hands. She was a bit too prudish, for another, and blushed when she heard people speaking frankly. She also hadn't learned to sing; she hadn't developed a "stately strutt" but walked with "toes bending inward"; and she often sat with her head hanging "like a Bulfish" and her "Leggs across." Abigail responded good-naturedly to John's bill of particulars. "I must confess," she told him, "I was so hardened as to read over most of my Faults with as much pleasure, as another person

election. "No election or appointment conferred upon me," he said, "ever gave me so much pleasure."<sup>17</sup> When Clay asked him how he felt at "turning boy again" and warned him that he would find his situation extremely laborious, Adams responded: "I well know this; but labor I shall not refuse, so long as my hands, my eyes, and my brain, do not desert me."<sup>18</sup> He was as good as his word. He worked harder than just about any other Congressman during his more than seventeen years in the House and claimed no special privileges by virtue of once having been Chief Executive.

On May 18, 1836, the House of Representatives took up a resolution stipulating that "*all petitions . . . relating in any way . . . to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.*" When the roll was called and Adams's name came up, he rose and shouted (above the calls to order throughout the House): "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of the House, and the rights of my constituents."<sup>19</sup> But the resolution passed by a vote of 117 to 68; and for the next eight years Adams fought pertinaciously, with every parliamentary weapon at his disposal, to have the "gag rule," as it was called, repealed.

Adams's fight for the right of petition soon attracted wide attention. Abolitionists flooded him with anti-slavery petitions, all of which he dutifully presented to the House and all of which were "laid on the table." Slaveholders also sent him petitions, testing his consistency, but he faithfully presented them all: petitions to deport free blacks, dissolve the Union, demote him from Chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Committee because he was crazy, and expel him from the House as a public enemy. Day after day he made the same point: that the Constitutional right of petition obligated the House to refer these petitions to the appropriate Committees for consideration. Supporters of the "gag rule" were infuriated by his persistence; the shout, "Expel him!" regularly punctuated his presentations.

Early in 1837 Adams received a petition from some slaves upholding slavery. He thought it was a hoax, but decided to make the most of it. On February 6 he got up in the House, said he held in his hand a petition purporting to come from slaves, and wondered whether it came under the gag rule. The Speaker, momentarily confused, said he couldn't answer Adams's question until he knew the

contents of the document. But there were cries of "Expel him! Expel him!" throughout the House at this point and motions to burn the petition and censure Adams for presenting a petition from slaves. Finally a Virginia Congressman suggested ascertaining whether Adams had in fact "attempted to offer" this petition in violation of the gag rule and also whether the petition did indeed call for the abolition of slavery. Adams thereupon rose and said, "I did not present the petition and I appeal to the Speaker to say that I did not. . . . I intended to take the decision of the Speaker before I went one step toward presenting or offering to present that petition." Then he went on to reveal that the petition in question called for the retention, not the abolition, of slavery. This touched off a new set of motions of censure, and a Georgia Congressman suggested burning the petition and Adams with it. But the only resolution that passed was one condemning petitions from slaves. In the South, though, Adams came to be called "the Madman from Massachusetts."<sup>20</sup>

For eight long years Adams carried on his battle. At the opening session of each new Congress he promptly offered a motion to rescind the gag rule and was promptly voted down. But each time he gained a few more votes. On December 3, 1844, at long last, his motion to rescind carried, 105 to 80. That night he wrote in his diary: "Blessed, forever blessed be the name of God!"<sup>21</sup> By this time he was known as "Old Man Eloquent." Even his enemies could not help admiring his courage and integrity. In 1846, he suffered a paralytic stroke, but recovered the full use of his body and returned to Congress the following year. When he walked into the House, slightly tottering, on the morning of February 13, everyone rose spontaneously and applauded, and two Congressmen conducted him to his seat. A year later he collapsed at his desk in the House and was carried to the Speaker's room, where he died two days later. Exclaimed Thomas Hart Benton: "Where could death have found him but at the post of duty?"<sup>22</sup>

★ ★ ★

#### *Father and Son*

Early in 1796, President Washington commissioned John Quincy Adams minister to Portugal, but instructed him to stay at The Hague, where he was serving as American minister to the Netherlands, until

his successor there was named. In June 1797, Adams left The Hague for London; he planned to get married there and then to proceed to Lisbon on his new mission.

When Adams reached London, he learned that his father, now President, had changed the assignment and made him our first minister to Prussia. The young diplomat was upset by the news; he thought it was improper to accept an appointment from his own father. He wrote his father an anecdote he had heard in London. Louis XIV, the story went, expressing surprise at the stupidity of one of the ambassadors at his court, said: "He must be the relative of some Minister!" Said young Adams: "I have no desire to be the application for a similar reflection."

President Adams exploded when he read the anecdote. "Minister's relative!" he exclaimed. "I hope the puppies don't call the President of the United States a 'Minister.'" Then he went on to chide his son for his reluctance to accept the new assignment. He, too, had had scruples about the appointment, he said, but Washington himself had said that J. Q. Adams was "the most valuable public character we have abroad" and insisted that the new President should "not withhold merited promotion from [him] because he is your son." Adams went on to point out that his son's rank, salary, and qualifications were exactly the same for the Prussian post as for Lisbon. "Your disapprobation of a nomination by the President of his own son," he went on to say, "is founded on a principle which will not bear the test. It is a false principle. It is an unjust principle. The sons of Presidents have the same claim to liberty, equality, and the benefit of the laws with all other citizens." Neither the Constitution nor federal law prohibited such appointments, he added, and disqualifying a man from holding office was ordinarily considered a severe punishment for high crimes and misdemeanors. "Upon my honor," he told his son, "if such a law existed, I would not have accepted [this] office at my time of life. . . ." J. Q. Adams gave in at this point. After getting married, he proceeded with his bride to the capital of Prussia and served there with distinction.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Stickler for Detail*

In New York once, Adams visited John Trumbull to look over the latter's painting of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. He didn't think much of the painting and was especially annoyed

by the fact that Trumbull had put books by Locke and Sidney on the table of the president of Congress. These books, he told Trumbull, would have been read at home but not brought to the meetings. He advised Trumbull to replace them with journals.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Nude Bathing*

When he was President, Adams was in the habit of rising an hour or two before dawn and taking long walks or rides or going down to the Potomac for a swim in the buff. When the New York political leader Thurlow Weed first visited Washington, he determined to see the President swimming. On the morning after his arrival he rose before daylight and went to the river bank. There, he said, he saw "a gentleman, in nankeen pantaloons and a blue pea jacket, walking rapidly from the White House toward the river. . . . I moved off to a respectful distance. The President began to disrobe before he reached a tree on the brink of the river, where he deposited his clothes, and then plunged in head first and struck out fifteen or twenty rods, swimming rapidly and turning occasionally upon his back, seeming as much at ease in that element as upon terra firma. Coming out, he rubbed himself thoroughly with napkins, which he had brought for the purpose in hand. The sun had not yet risen when he had dressed himself and was returning to the presidential mansion."

Adams was an excellent swimmer, but once in a while he ran into trouble. One morning someone stole his clothes while he was swimming so he had to ask a passing boy to run to the White House and get him some others. Another time, he planned to paddle across the river in a canoe and swim back, but everything went wrong: the canoe filled with water in midstream and sank; Adams's loose sleeves filled with water and "hung like fifty-two pound weights upon my arms," making it hard for him to reach shore; and, since he lost half of his clothes in the water, he had to return to the White House only "half dressed." He did, though, have "ample leisure" while swimming, he said afterward, "to reflect upon my own indiscretion" in planning such an outing.<sup>25</sup>

Adams's most famous encounter while swimming was with Anne Royall, the newspaperwoman. She followed him to the river one day, bent on getting an interview, and parked herself on his clothes after he entered the water. "Come here!" she cried. Surprised, Adams

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 04

PRT: HILL PARMER ROGICH SITTMANN  
SIT: VAX

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<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 241541Z OCT 91

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0277  
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 08054  
STATE FOR A/TSS - BULL, EUR/NE - WAGNER  
WHITE HOUSE FOR ROGICH AND PARMER  
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)  
SUBJECT: DRAFT SCENARIO FOR 11-9 SPEECH AND LUNCHEON  
AT THE RIDDERZAAL

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SCENARIO FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NOVEMBER 9 SPEECH AND LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE DUTCH AT THE RIDDERZAAL. THIS SCENARIO PRESUMES THAT THE QUEEN WILL NOT BE IN ATTENDANCE, WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED.

11:46 AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN THE TREVEZAAL, THE  
PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS DEPART  
THE TREVEZAAL. (NOTE: SECRETARY BAKER AND  
FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DEN BROEK WILL FOLLOW  
CLOSE BEHIND. ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS WILL  
REMAIN IN THE TREVEZAAL UNTIL 11:50)

11:47 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS  
ARRIVE THE STATENZAAL. THEY WILL GREET MRS.  
BUSH, MRS. LUBBERS, MRS. BAKER AND MRS VAN DEN  
BROEK, WHO WILL HAVE ARRIVED THE STATENZAAL AT  
11:45.

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By 4 NARA, Date 06/06/23

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 04

- 11:50 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. LUBBERS DEPART THE STATENZAAL FOR THE ROLZAAL, PRECEDED BY THE DUTCH DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL. THEY WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE OTHER OFFICIAL PARTICIPANTS.
- 11:52 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. LUBBERS, ARRIVE THE ROLZAAL. THEY WILL BE PLACED BY THE DUTCH DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL IN POSITION FOR THE RECEIVING LINE.
- 11:55 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. LUBBERS, COMMENCE TO GREET THE APPROXIMATELY 200 LUNCHEON GUESTS. (NOTE: OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHERS WILL COVER THIS EVENT.)
- 12:15 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. LUBBERS, DEPART THE ROLZAAL FOR THE RIDDERZAAL, PRECEDED BY THE DUTCH DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL. THEY WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE OTHER OFFICIAL PARTICIPANTS.
- 12:17 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. LUBBERS, ARE DIRECTED BY THE DUTCH DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL TO THEIR SEATS AT A HEAD TABLE IN THE RIDDERZAAL. (NOTE: FROM THIS POINT ON THERE WILL BE PRESS COVERAGE.)
- 12:20 PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS GIVES BRIEF WELCOMING REMARKS.
- 12:30 PRESIDENT BUSH BEGINS HIS SPEECH. (NOTE. AT THIS POINT, IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE PODIUM WILL BE DIRECTLY BEHIND THE PRESIDENT'S SEAT.)
- 12:45 THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDES HIS SPEECH AND SITS DOWN.
- 12:46 LUNCHEON IS SERVED.
- 13:50 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH BID FAREWELL TO PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. LUBBERS, AND OTHER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 04

## HEAD TABLE GUESTS.

14: 00 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH CONCLUDE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE LUNCHEON, AND DEPART THROUGH THE MAIN DOOR OF THE RIDDERZAAL TO THE MOTORCADE.

→ 14: 05 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH DEPART EN ROUTE TO  
2105 THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF THE HAGUE.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SCENARIO FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NOVEMBER 9 SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT AND LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE DUTCH AT THE BT

#8054

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 08054  
STATE FOR A/TSS - BULL, EUR/NE - WAGNER  
WHITE HOUSE FOR ROGICH AND PARMER  
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)  
SUBJECT: DRAFT SCENARIO FOR 11-9 SPEECH AND LUNCHEON  
RIDDERZAAL.

11: 47 THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DEN BROEK DEPART THE TREVEZAAL JUST AFTER THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS.

11: 48 THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DEN BROEK ARRIVE THE STATENZAAL. THEY WILL GREET MRS. BUSH, MRS. LUBBERS, MRS. BAKER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK.

11: 51 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER, AND FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK FOLLOW THE PRESIDENT ET AL FROM THE STATENZAAL TO THE ROLZAAL.

11: 53 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK, ARRIVE THE ROLZAAL. THEY WILL BE PLACED BY THE DUTCH DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL IN POSITION FOR THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 04 OF 04

## RECEIVING LINE.

11:55 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK, COMMENCE TO GREET THE APPROXIMATELY 200 LUNCHEON GUESTS. (NOTE: OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHERS WILL COVER THIS EVENT.)

12:15 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK, FOLLOW THE PRESIDENT ET AL TO THE RIDDERZAAL.

12:17 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK ARE DIRECTED

BY THE DUTCH DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL TO THEIR SEATS AT A HEAD TABLE IN THE RIDDERZAAL.

(NOTE: FROM THIS POINT ON THERE WILL BE PRESS COVERAGE.)

12:20 PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS GIVES BRIEF WELCOMING REMARKS.

12:30 PRESIDENT BUSH BEGINS HIS SPEECH.

12:45 THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDES HIS SPEECH AND SITS DOWN.

12:46 LUNCHEON IS SERVED.

13:50 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER BID FAREWELL TO FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. VAN DEN BROEK AND OTHER HEAD TABLE GUESTS.

14:00 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BUSH CONCLUDE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE LUNCHEON, AND DEPART THROUGH THE MAIN DOOR OF THE RIDDERZAAL TO THE MOTORCADE.

→ 14:05 THE SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER DEPART EN ROUTE TO THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF THE HAGUE.

WILKINS

BT

#8054

OUTLINE  
ADDRESS AT THE HAGUE  
Nov. 9, 1991  
McGroarty: 10/31/91

- I. Introductory: Changing Face of Europe
  - A. President's last trip to Netherlands/Revo of '89
  - B. New challenges: Political and economic
    - 1. Between industrialized democs.
    - 2. West helping East
    - 3. Relations with developing world
- II. The new U.S.-European partnership
  - A. Emergence of the New Europe
    - 1. Europe's economic strength
    - 2. Continent free of Cold War tensions
  - B. Growing unity no threat to US
    - 1. Mention EC, WEU, EFTA
  - C. With partnership comes responsibility
- III. America's role in the new Europe.
  - A. America's place not determined by Soviet threat
    - 1. Answer critics who say America's role over
  - B. Lessons of history:
    - 1. American security tied to Europe's
    - 2. NATO's role as force for stability
  - C. America's role in Europe stems from common values
    - 1. U.S.-Europe's shared heritage
    - 2. NATO's roots as freedom alliance
- IV. Toward a commonwealth of free nations.
  - A. Challenges:
    - 1. Consolidate democratic gains in East against fractious nationalisms.
    - 2. Resist trend from Cold War allies to trade war adversaries.
    - 3. Support democratic reform in USSR/Republics
    - 4. Sustain collective security/common defense
- V. Concluding remarks
  - A. Focus on opportunities open to us
  - B. State again: Rising Europe no threat to U.S.

# # #



**EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
**The Hague, The Netherlands**  
**Political Section**



**Embassy Switchboard: (31)(70) 310-9209**  
**Direct to Sender, Political Section: (31)(70) 310-9341**  
**FAX Number: (31)(70) 310-9348**

**FAX COVER SHEET**

**Number of Pages (inc. this sheet)** 9

**Date:** 25 OCT 91

**TO:** Jeannie Bunton, WH Speechwriters Office

**FAX #** 202/456-6218 / 202-456-7929

**FROM:** Larry Rossin, Pol Counselor

**SUBJECT:** Materials on The Ridderzaal (Pres. Speech site)

**REFERENCE:** our phone conversation 10/25

**MESSAGE:** Following is some background info on the Ridderzaal and the Binnenhof. The B'hof is the complex of old buildings in the center of the Hague where the PM's office, cabinet room ("Treveszaal"), parliament chambers and Ridderzaal are located. The Ridderzaal is the old core of the Binnenhof -- indeed of the city itself -- and sits in an inner court of the Binnenhof. I think it should be clear from the following information.

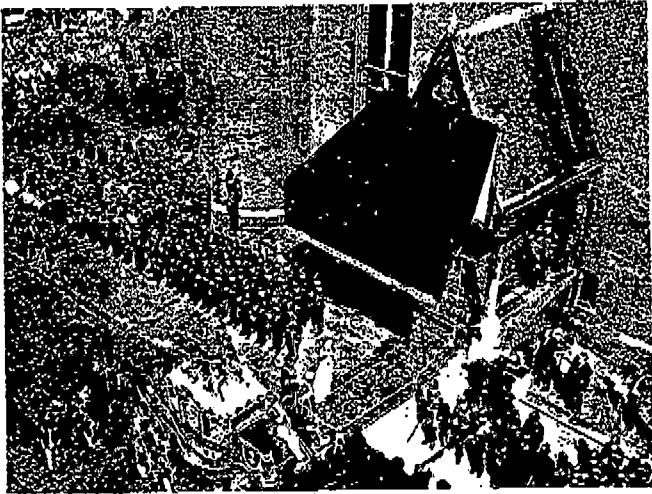
The control officer for the President's speech/luncheon event in the Ridderzaal is Lucy Reed, phone 31-70-310-9376. She can help you further if needed.

I spoke to the control officer for the American School event, our Commercial Counselor Mike Hegedus and asked he call you to discuss that event further. H 31-1751-404-29

All the best.

B 31-70-3109-417

# the hague | binnenhof



Information Centre: No. 9a Binnenhof, 'phone 848144

Open: 1st April to 30th September, Monday to Saturday, from 10.00 to 16.00 h. Closed on Sundays.

Admission fee: fls. 1.- per person; children up to the age of 12 and parties fls. 0.50, on application to the VVV.

Other Rooms of the Binnenhof:

First Chamber, No. 22 Binnenhof, 'phone 183180

Open: (when not in use) Monday to Friday from 09.00 to 17.00 h.

Second Chamber: No. 1a Binnenhof, 'phone 614911

Open: (when not in use) 15th April to 21st September,

Monday to Saturday from 10.00 to 12.00 h. and from 14.00 to 16.00 h.

→ Hall of Knights, No. 14 Binnenhof

Open: (when not in use) 1st April to 1st October, Monday to

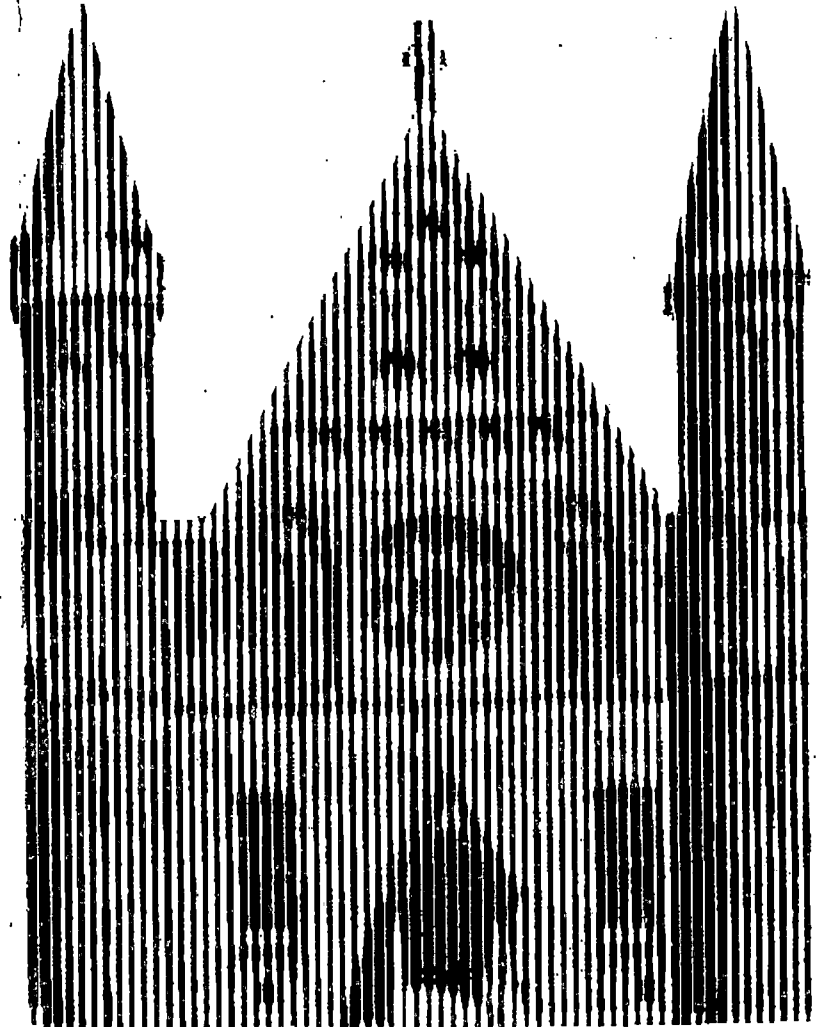
Saturday, from 10.00 to 17.00 h.

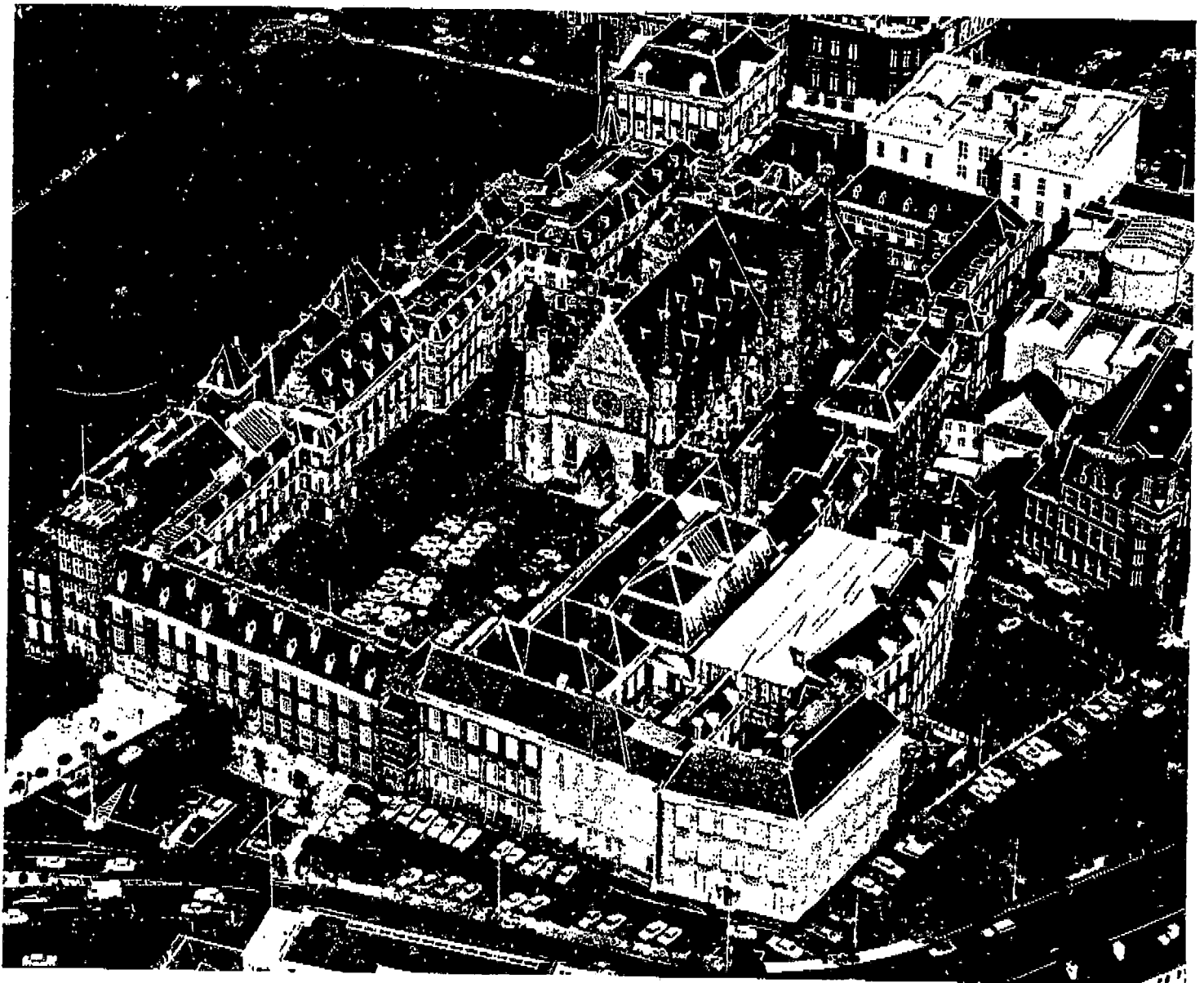
Closed on Sundays and public holidays.

→ Tréveszaal and Statenzaal, No. 20 Binnenhof, 'phone 659810

Open: (when not in use) Monday to Thursday, from 10.00 to 12.00 h. and from 14.00 to 16.00 h.

For tourist information, excursions and hotel reservations:  
apply to VVV THE HAGUE, 'phone 894950 No. 36 Parkstraat,  
Hollandaar Spoor Railway Station, Gevers Deynootplein.





The 'Binnenhof'

Throughout the centuries the 'Binnenhof' at The Hague has been the centre of political life in the Netherlands and it still is to this very day. The buildings are worth a visit for their architectural value alone, but the historical events that have taken place there in the course of time are of even greater significance. This makes a visit to the buildings of the Binnenhof doubly interesting.

Count Floris IV of Holland (1222-1234) bought a large area of land, consisting of dunes, woodland and grassland, which he probably wanted for hunting. On the site where the Hall of Knights now stands there was probably in former days a stone building of quite small size, which he must have used as a hunting lodge. #

His son William II (1234-1256), whose coronation took place in Aachen, bore the title of Roman King, King of the Holy Roman Empire, an old title for the German Empire. (He never came to be crowned as emperor, although he was appointed emperor-elect of Germany). He wanted to extend his father's hunting lodge and built a larger house quite near, possibly adjacent to it. He had the house completely walled in and surrounded by moats, thus turning it into a veritable hunting castle. Where such a prominent person spent a lot of his time and, in addition to his own court, entertained a great many important guests, there was money to be earned for the merchant and the artisan and thus in the course of time a village called 'Die Haghe' grew in between the castle and the St. Jacob's Church, which was built later. After the death of William II his son Count Floris V (1256-1296) displayed great building activity at the Binnenhof. Adjoining his father's residence he had the beautiful Hall of Knights built by his 'counsellor and friend', Gerard van Leyden.

He added a storey to his father's house and erected a smaller building adjoining it at the back. A chapel was built on the bank of the 'Hofvijver' and its contours were reflected in the water until it was demolished in 1879.

The Hall of Knights is a hall of royal grandeur, with its mighty oak roof, which - supported by stone wall-pilasters - rests on the heavy walls. The Hall is 38.40 metres long, 17.80 metres wide and 25.74 metres high. It was originally intended for receptions and other festive occasions.

# Hall of Knights = Ridderzaal  
(Luncheon/speech site)



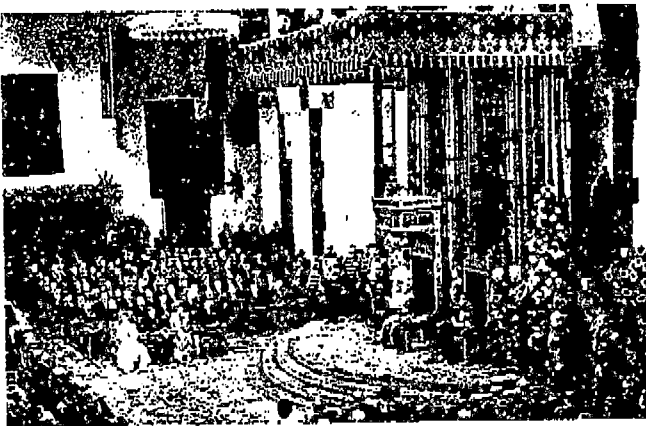
Up to the Burgundian era (abt. 1430) the castle was occupied fairly regularly. The Counts of the House of Burgundy usually resided in Brussels or Dijon and if ever they did stay at The Hague it was only for a short time. Their stadholder continued to live there, however, and consequently the administration of the County of Holland likewise remained established in Die Haghe. In 1432 and 1456 Phillip of Burgundy entertained his Knights of the Golden Fleece here with great splendour. Charles the Bold stayed there some time later, among other things to administer justice in the Hall of Knights.

Then the Hall went through a period of decline. First small offices were built against the front of the building. In 1446 building was started against the north side (the side towards the Vijver). Gradually the space along this side was completely filled and the large windows were bricked up. Later the same occurred on the south side. To replace the light that formerly entered through the windows, roof-lights were installed in 1469. Windows were also made in the east wall - on either side of the fireplace - which were removed again when the building was last restored in about the year 1900. The hall gradually became a public lobby.

From here access could be had, over the middle gate of the the Binnenhof, to the hall where the States General and the Council of State held their sessions. This means of communication is now no longer available. Furthermore, a stairway to the right of the fireplace gave access to the session-room of the Court of Holland. Small shops appeared along the walls, where books, paintings, fabrics, etc. were offered for sale.

The shops were removed for a special event such as the Great Assembly in 1651, but later they returned and remained there until 1806. The painting by Dirck van Deelen (Mauritshuis) shows the hall as it was during the Great Assembly, decorated with banners taken from the enemy in battles of war. From 1709 to 1856 the draws of the state lottery were held in the place now occupied by the large fireplace and consequently the hall was known for a long time as the 'Lottery Hall'.

In 1861 the leaking medieval roof was replaced by a gothic iron roof with roof-lights, supported in the hall by two rows of pillars. The hall had now been fully deprived of its original glory. In 1878 it was taken into use as a place for keeping the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Fortunately, the whole complex of buildings was fully restored in the period from 1898 to 1904. The annexes were pulled down, the windows opened up again and the



roof replaced by a true copy of the medieval roof. The leaded-glass windows depict the colourful coats of arms of the principal Netherlands cities. The large rose window (five metres in diameter) contains the coats of arms of counts and dukes, arranged round the coat of arms of Queen Wilhelmina. Escutcheons in the roof and the eleven provincial flags lend a colourful note here. From 1904 onwards the hall was used for the ceremony of opening parliament by the delivery of the speech from the throne by the head of state. A public gallery was provided on behalf of this ceremony.

In 1907 the Second Peace Conference was held here. Apart from the ceremony of opening parliament, the hall is used for conferences and to receive prominent guests of the Royal House and the Government.

The 'Rolzaal'

*Pres. will held here at her  
US-EC meeting & before  
lunch*

The Rolzaal originally served as living quarters for Count William II and at the time was probably divided into two rooms. In 1511, by order of Emperor Maximilian of Austria - acting as regent for his grandson Charles V - it was turned into a court-room for the Court of Holland and West-Friesland, the highest court of law for this district. The front third part of the hall, starting at the winding tower stairway, was open to the public. The Court sat behind a balustrade. It was here that Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Solicitor for the Government of Holland, heard his death sentence on 13th May, 1619. As the cause list was kept here, the room received the name 'de Pleitrolle'. It is now called the 'Rolzaal'. Justice was administered here until the great restoration in about 1900.

An interesting feature is the beautiful mantelpiece with six colourful coats of arms from Burgundian times, all showing the emblem of the Golden Fleece. The consoles for the roof beams, which were made in 1511, are also quite remarkable.

### The De Lairesse Room

NOT  
USED

This room is in the annex dating back to the time of Floris V and it was probably the room of the Countess. It acquired its present appearance in 1688. The States of Holland commissioned the painter Gerard de Lairesse (1640-1711) to make paintings on six wall areas, the subjects being derived from ancient Greek and Roman history and representing the civic virtues. The painting over the mantelpiece represents 'Justice', quite appropriate considering that the room served as council chamber for the Court. All the panelling and fixtures of this room reveal the characteristic style of the end of the 17th century. Above this room there is an attic, where Rombout Hogerbeets, Pensionary of Leiden, was held prisoner from 1618 to 1619. At the same time Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and the world-famous jurist and statesman Hugo de Groot, Pensionary of Rotterdam and the 'father of international law', were held prisoners on the floor above the Rolzaal.

From the De Lairesse Room a wall-stairway gives access to the large basement under the Rolzaal, which in the middle ages was probably used as workshop, bottling room and servants' quarters. This basement has a very beautiful groined vault.

### The First Chamber of the States General

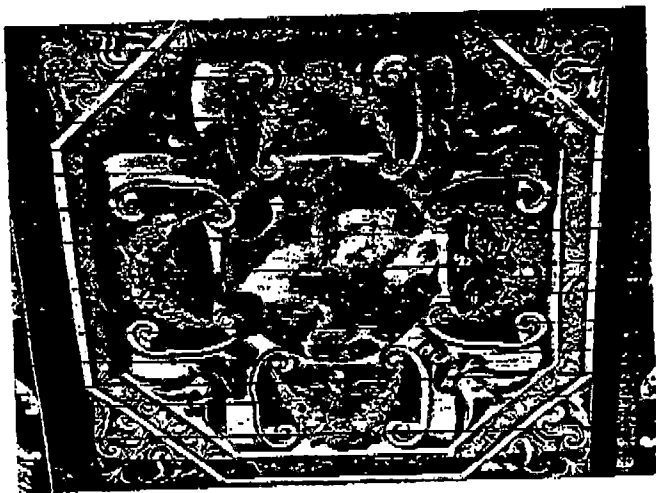
NOT USED

When entering the Binnenhof from the Bultenhof, the building of the First Chamber is on the left and that of the Second Chamber on the right. The wing between these two buildings and the adjoining, towerlike corner building formerly served as the quarters of the stadholders, hence the name 'Stadhouderlijk Kwartier'. The tower is now used by the First Chamber, the adjoining wing by the Council of State. The stadholder's quarters comprised the corner tower and the adjoining wing over the gate.

The building on the left contains the famous room built by Pieter Post on behalf of the States of Holland and West Friesland, the representatives of 18 cities and the Knight-hood. Since 1848 the First Chamber has held its sessions in this room.

A number of windows are depicted on the arched roof, painted by Wielingh and De Haan, through which representatives of the trade partners of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands watched and listened to the decisions of the High Lords. Two magnificent mantelpieces - unfortunately partly hidden from view by the public galleries built in about 1880 - are decorated with paintings. Jan Lievensz (1661) painted the war god Mars and Adriaan Hanneman 'Peace'. Above the paintings there is the coat of arms of Holland, a red lion on a golden field.

Above the niches in the wall there are medallions bearing the portraits of well-known statesmen from the time of the Republic: Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Adriaen Pauw, Johan de Witt, Caspar Fagel, Antonie Heinsius, Simon van Slingeland, Laurens van de Spiegel and Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck. Behind the seat of the Chairman: the portrait of King William II (1792-1849), painted by J. A. Krusemar in 1848. Opposite the Chairman's seat there is the Ministers' table. The First Chamber numbers 75 members, who are elected by the eleven Councils of Provincial States.



## US-EE meeting takes place here

### The Trèves Room

Further along, on the same side as the building of the First Chamber we find the middle gate. To the left of this gate there is the entrance to two historic rooms: the 'Statenzaal' and the 'Trèveszaal'.

The Statenzaal was the assembly room of the States General, the representatives of the seven provinces of the Republic of the United Netherlands (abt. 1650-1795). Above one of the mantelpieces there is a symbolical representation of Steadfastness (a young woman clasping a pillar) and above the other a symbolical representation of Prudence (a young woman with a snake). Both paintings, as well as the paintings on the ceiling and the painting over the entrance door, are by J. Parmentier (1698).

Next to this door there are portraits of the stadholders William IV (1711-1751) and William V (1748-1795).

A door in the centre gives access to the magnificent Trèveszaal, built in Louis XIV style in 1697 by the French refugee, Daniel Marot.

In a room previously situated here negotiations took place in 1608 with a view to putting an end to what was later to become known as the Eighty-Years' War (1568-1648).

These negotiations led to an armistice of twelve years, concluded in Antwerp in 1609. The name Trèveszaal - Trèves meaning armistice - relates to these negotiations. The beautiful ceiling rests on 12 (wooden) caryatids by Johan Blommendael. The oval central dome contains a painting by Theodoor van der Schuer, symbolizing Unity: seven women with the escutcheons of the Seven Provinces, surrounded by angels.

Along the longitudinal wall opposite the windows: the seven provinces, painted in brown and represented in Roman armour, laying their swords on an altar and swearing an oath to protect the faith and freedom, symbolically represented by two female figures left and right. Opposite: the Republic, represented as a young woman receiving the riches of the earth. To her left the half-god Hercules and the war god Mars. In each corner of the ceiling two seated female figures with attributes, personifying the eight cardinal virtues.

The richly ornamented mantelpieces were made by Anthonie Begemaker. Above one of them: the portrait of King-Stadholder William III (1650-1702), painted by J. M. Brandon; above the other: a symbolical representation of Peace, Freedom and Abundance, painted by Theodoor van der Schuer.

Along the longitudinal wall: portraits of the Princes and Stadholders William I (the Silent) (1533-1584), Maurits (1567-1625), Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) and William II (1626-1650), all by J. M. Brandon. The nine windows present a beautiful view of the Hofvijver.

The Trèveszaal is often used to receive special guests. Nowadays, Cabinet Meetings are held there, usually every Friday.

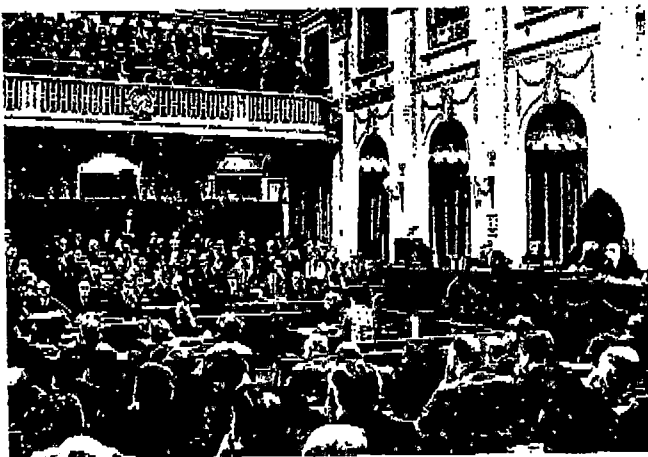


### The Second Chamber of the States General

NOT  
USED

This building was erected on behalf of Stadholder William V between 1777 and 1790 as an extension of the Stadholder's Quarters (the building of the First Chamber and the buildings between the Buitenhof and the Binnenhof). The architect was a German, L. Gunckel.

The style is Louis XVI, a style combining simplicity, a certain starkness of line and elegance. In 1790 the building was inaugurated with a great festive occasion, namely the marriage of the Prince's daughter Louise, to the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel. Since 1815 (the joining of the Netherlands and Belgium) this room has been used for the sessions of the Second Chamber. It is very suitable for this purpose, since it is in a quiet location and can accommodate the 150 members of this Chamber. The two balconies have always been there; they have only been extended somewhat so that they can serve as public galleries. The Ministers' table is located opposite the Chairman's seat, with the places for the stenographers in between. Above the Chairman's seat there are some boxes for guests and officials.



### The Conversation Room

NOT  
USED

In this room the members of parliament, can converse or read the newspapers which - when sessions are in progress - are always abundantly available. On one of the walls is the painting by Plet van der Hem, representing the Gort van der Linden Cabinet, which was in office from 1913 to 1918, hence a war cabinet. Further, the room contains busts of well-known statesmen from the period around 1900: Schaeepman, Nolens, Troelstra, De Savornin Lohman.

### The Princess' Room or Ministers' Room

NOT USED

This is the only room in the building where the 18th-century style is still to be found. It was probably the sitting-room of Princesses Wilhelmina of Prussia, the wife of Stadholder William V.

Nowadays, the room is usually referred to as the Ministers' Room, as it is used by the Ministers until such time as they have to appear in parliament. The ceiling decorations are especially beautiful; the gobelins and seats date back to the 18th century.

The entrance gates

WILL DRIVE IN  
& OUT  
THROUGH  
THESE

The so-called Stadholder's Gate (1620) connects the Buitenhof and the Binnenhof. Originally only the stadholders were entitled to pass through this gate on horseback or in their carriage on the way to their quarters.

The Maurits or Grenadiers' Gate (1634) is situated at the other end, past the middle gate (1634) and near the 'Mauritshuis' museum. Above the Maurits Gate there are still two pulleys with pieces of chain belonging to the draw-bridge over a moat that was filled up in 1862. Opposite the Hall of Knights on the south side there is the fourth gate, known as the Spui Gate (17th century). A remarkable building near the Spui Gate is the Guild-House of the Gold and Silversmiths, the 'Goldsmiths' Assaying House' (middle 17th century).

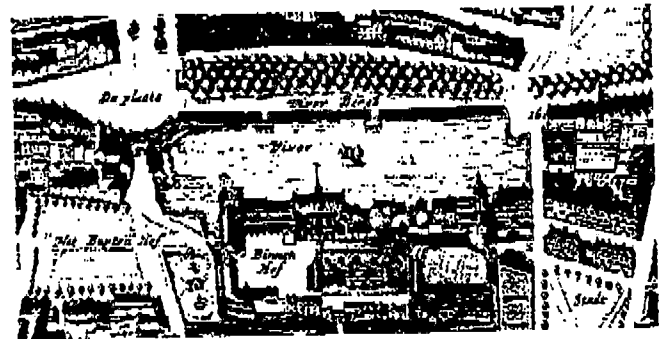


The Hofvijver

THE POND NEXT TO  
THE BINNENHOF

Little is known about the Hofvijver. It may have been a small lake originally, but it is also possible that the pond was dug for the purpose. There is nothing to be found in the archives as to its origin. The first reference to the pond dates back to 1352. There is the story, of course, that Count Albrecht of Bavaria (abt. 1300) once had the pond drained, because one of the ladies at the Court, while out boating, lost a valuable ring, which slipped off her finger into the water. The island in the middle of the pond was not there originally. Much smaller than it is to-day, it can be seen for the first time on a print dating from 1620. The pond surrounded by the old buildings and the heavy trees is certainly one of the most beautiful town views in the country.

The pond is supplied with water from a somewhat mysterious, natural watercourse: a brook which has its source in the west dunes (near 'Ockenburg'), disappears underground further along towards the town and discharges into the Hofvijver.



PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: HILL PARMER ROGICH SITTMANN  
SIT: VAX

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<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 221618Z OCT 91

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0238  
RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 07974

STATE FOR A/TSS - BULL, EUR/NE - WAGNER

WHITE HOUSE FOR ROGICH AND PARMER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP, (BUSH, GEORGE)

SUBJECT: DRAFT SCENARIO FOR 11-9 BILATERAL  
- BREAKFAST WITH THE DUTCH

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SCENARIO FOR THE  
PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NOVEMBER 9  
BILATERAL WORKING BREAKFAST WITH THE DUTCH.

7: 50 THE PRESIDENT DEPARTS NOORDEINDE PALACE  
- FOR THE CATSHUIS, THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE  
- OF THE DUTCH PRIME MINISTER.

8: 00 THE PRESIDENT ARRIVES AT THE CATSHUIS.  
- PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS MEETS THE  
- PRESIDENT AT THE ENTRANCE. THEY PROCEED  
- THROUGH THE DAMES SALON. (NOTE: THERE  
- WILL BE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE ARRIVAL.)

8: 05 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS  
- DEPART THE DAMES SALON AND PROCEED TO THE  
- GARDEN FOR A PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. (NOTE:  
- SECRETARY BAKER AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAN  
- DEN BROEK WILL FOLLOW THE PRESIDENT AND  
- THE PRIME MINISTER AT A DISTANCE OUT INTO  
- THE GARDEN FOR PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. ALL

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By lt NARA, Date 06/06/23

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

- OTHER MEETING PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REMAIN
- INSIDE DURING THE PHOTO OPPORTUNITY.
- 8: 06 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS
- 
- ARRIVE IN THE GARDEN AND BEGIN THEIR
- PARTICIPATION IN THE PHOTO OPPORTUNITY.
- 8: 09 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS
- CONCLUDE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE PHOTO
- OPPORTUNITY, DEPART THE GARDEN AND
- PROCEED TO THE HEREN KAMER ROOM.
- 8: 10 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS
- CONDUCT A BRIEF ONE-ON-ONE MEETING.
- 8: 15 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS
- DEPART THE HEREN KAMER ROOM FOR THE
- MAIN HALL.
- 8: 16 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS
- ARRIVE IN THE MAIN HALL AND BEGIN
- PARTICIPATION IN THE WORKING BREAKFAST.
- 9: 15 THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDES HIS PARTICIPATION
- IN THE WORKING BREAKFAST, DEPARTS THE
- MAIN ROOM, AND PROCEEDS THROUGH THE MAIN
- DOOR TO THE MOTORCADE.
- 9: 17 THE PRESIDENT DEPARTS THE CATSHUIS GROUNDS
- 
- EN ROUTE TO THE BINNENHOF.
- 3. THE FOLLOWING IS THE DRAFT SCENARIO FOR THE
- SECRETARY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NOVEMBER 9
- BILATERAL WORKING BREAKFAST WITH THE DUTCH.
- 7: 50 THE SECRETARY DEPARTS SOFITEL FOR THE
- CATSHUIS.
- 8: 00 THE SECRETARY ARRIVES AT THE CATSHUIS, IS
- MET BY FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DEN BROEK AND
- THEN PROCEEDS TO DAMES SALON.
- 8: 05 SECRETARY BAKER AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAN
- DEN BROEK FOLLOW THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME
- MINISTER LUBBERS AT A DISTANCE OUT INTO

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

- THE GARDEN FOR PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. ALL  
- OTHER MEETING PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REMAIN  
- INSIDE DURING THE PHOTO OPPORTUNITY.  
8: 09 THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAN  
- DEN BROEK DEPART THE GARDEN FOR THE MAIN  
- HALL. U.S. PARTICIPANTS ARE SEATED ON  
- THE LEFT SIDE OF THE TABLE, THE DUTCH  
- DELEGATION IS ON THE RIGHT.

8: 15 THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS  
BT

\*7974

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 07974

STATE FOR A/TSS - BULL, EUR/NE - WAGNER

WHITE HOUSE FOR ROGICH AND PARMER

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP, (BUSH, GEORGE)

SUBJECT: DRAFT SCENARIO FOR 11-9 BILATERAL

- ENTER THE MAIN HALL AND THE BILATERAL  
- WORKING BREAKFAST BEGINS.

9: 15 THE SECRETARY CONCLUDES HIS PARTICIPATION  
- IN THE BILATERAL WORKING BREAKFAST AND  
- DEPARTS THROUGH THE MAIN DOOR TO THE  
- MOTORCADE.

9: 17 THE SECRETARY DEPARTS EN ROUTE TO THE  
- BINNENHOF.

GEWECKE

BT

\*7974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED  
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: COHRSEN  
SIT: VAX BRANSCUM

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<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 221551Z OCT 91

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5682  
INFO RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE PRIORITY

UNCLAS PARIS 28204

FROM USOECD

FOR OES/EHC - ELEANOR SAVAGE

WHITE HOUSE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FOR JOHN COHRSEN

PASS EPA/OIA PAUL COUGH

PASS HHS FOR DAS FRANK YOUNG

E.O. 12356: NA

TAGS: OECD, TBIO, SENV

SUBJ: OECD: REQUEST FOR WASHINGTON APPOINTMENT ON  
BIOTECHNOLOGY, NOVEMBER 21

1. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST. REQUEST IS IN PARA 3.

2. OECD SECRETARIAT HAS REQUESTED WASHINGTON MEETING OR  
MEETINGS THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, WITH USG OFFICIALS  
INTERESTED IN THE OECD WORK ON ENVIRONMENTAL  
BIOTECHNOLOGY. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AD HOC GROUP OF  
GOVERNMENT EXPERTS ON THE OECD PROJECT, "BIOTECHNOLOGY  
FOR A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT," DR. MIKE GRIFFITHS (UK  
DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND INDUSTRY) AND  
SALOMON WALD (OECD SECRETARIAT) WOULD BE WILLING TO  
BRIEF A GROUP ON THEIR WORK. THEY ALREADY HAVE NOVEMBER  
22 APPOINTMENTS, ACCOMPANIED BY PROF. RON ATLAS OF  
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, WITH EPA ON THE PROJECT.  
(LETTER TO MISSION REQUESTING NOVEMBER 21 MEETING OR  
MEETINGS HAS BEEN FAXED TO ELEANOR SAVAGE.)

UNCLASSIFIED

PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED  
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

3. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE ARRANGE REQUESTED MEETING ON  
NOVEMBER 21. LARSON

BT

#8204

UNCLASSIFIED

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 05

PRT: HILL PARMER ROGICH SITTMANN  
SIT: VAX

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<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 241423Z OCT 91

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0270  
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 08049  
STATE FOR A/TSS - BULL. EUR/NE - WAGNER  
WHITEHOUSE FOR ROGICH AND PARMER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP, (BUSH, GEORGE)

SUBJECT: DRAFT SCENARIO FOR ACTIVITIES AT  
- NOORDEINDE PALACE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SCENARIO FOR THE PRESIDENT'S FORMAL RECEPTION AT THE PALACE; HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE NOVEMBER 8 DINNER HOSTED BY QUEEN BEATRIX; AND HIS DEPARTURE ON SATURDAY MORNING.

1905 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH ARRIVE AT THE BACK ENTRANCE TO NOORDEINDE ROYAL PALACE IN THE HAGUE. WHERE THEY WILL BE GREETED BY THE QUEEN AND ESCORTED TO THEIR PLACES ON THE DAIS. (NOTE: WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE QUEEN'S HUSBAND, PRINCE CLAUS, WILL BE WELL ENOUGH TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WELCOMING CEREMONY AND DINNER. IF NOT, THE QUEEN MAY BE ESCORTED BY HER SON, THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.) THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS WILL BE PLAYED AND THE PRESIDENT WILL BE INVITED TO INSPECT THE GUARD OF HONOR.

-----  
PRESS: A PRESS POOL WILL COVER THE ARRIVAL

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By lt NARA, Date 06/06/23

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 05

CEREMONY FROM A SPECIAL PODIUM AT ONE SIDE OF THE PALACE GROUNDS.

-----

1915 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH AND THE QUEEN WILL BE ESCORTED INTO THE PALACE FOR CHAMPAGNE IN THE RODE SALON.

1925 THOSE GUESTS NOT STAYING AT THE PALACE WILL DEPART FOR THE HOTEL.

NOTE: MR. M. W. SCHUIT, THE MARSHAL OF THE COURT, HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARRIVAL CEREMONY IS FOR THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH ALTHOUGH OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS COULD BE ACCOMMODATED IF DESIRED. THOSE OFFICIALS PARTICIPATING IN THE DINNER WOULD DEPART THE PALACE AT 1925 AND MUST BE BACK BY 1950. WE SUGGEST THE DINNER GUESTS SKIP THE WELCOME CEREMONY AND INSTEAD GO DIRECTLY TO THEIR HOTEL FROM THE AIRPORT. ALTERNATIVELY, THE US GUESTS FOR THE DINNER COULD REMAIN AT THE PALACE AFTER THE WELCOME CEREMONY.

1925 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL BE ESCORTED TO THEIR LIVING QUARTERS IN THE PALACE.

NOTE: PLEASE LET US KNOW WHETHER MRS. BUSH WOULD

LIKE TO HAVE A HAIR DRESSER AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME.

1950 AMERICAN DINNER GUESTS ARRIVE AT THE REAR ENTRANCE OF THE PALACE. THEY WILL BE RECEIVED BY THE MARSHAL OF THE COURT AND ESCORTED TO THE RED RECEPTION ROOM.

2000 DINNER HOSTED BY THE QUEEN AT NOORDEINDE PALACE. (DRESS IS DARK SUITS FOR THE MEN; SHORT EVENING DRESSES FOR THE LADIES.) THE OTHER DUTCH GUESTS AT THE DINNER WILL BE PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS; DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER/FINANCE MINISTER KOK; AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DEN BROEK. EC GUESTS AT THE DINNER WILL BE EC PRESIDENT JACQUES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 05

DELORS; EC VICE PRESIDENT ANDRIESEN; AND  
PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BARON  
CRESPO.

THE QUEEN'S AIDE DE CAMP AND LADY IN WAITING WILL  
ESCORT THE PRESIDENT AND MRS BUSH FROM THEIR  
SUITES TO THE BALCONY ROOM ON THE SAME FLOOR WHERE  
THEY WILL BE MET BY THE QUEEN.

-----  
PRESS: THERE MAY BE A BRIEF PHOTO SESSION, WITH,  
IN ADDITION TO OFFICIAL DUTCH AND WHITE HOUSE  
PHOTOGRAPHERS, ONE US AND ONE DUTCH PRESS POOL  
STILL PHOTOGRAPHER AND POSSIBLY A SMALL TELEVISION  
CREW. ALL PRESS WILL DEPART IMMEDIATELY AFTER  
THIS SESSION. THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER PRESS

BT

#8049

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 08049  
STATE FOR A/TSS - BULL, EUR/NE - WAGNER  
WHITEHOUSE FOR ROGICH AND PARMER  
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OVIP, (BUSH, GEORGE)  
SUBJECT: DRAFT SCENARIO FOR ACTIVITIES AT  
COVERAGE ON FRIDAY EVENING.

-----  
2005 DINNER GUESTS ARE ESCORTED TO THE BALCONY  
ROOM TO BE RECEIVED BY THE QUEEN AND THE PRESIDENT  
AND MRS. BUSH. AS THE GUESTS LEAVE THE RECEIVING  
LINE THEY WILL ENTER THE ADJOINING SMALL BALLROOM  
FOR COCKTAILS.

2030 ALL THE GUESTS EXCEPT THE PRINCIPALS WILL BE  
ESCORTED TO THE GALLERY ROOM WHERE THEY WILL TAKE  
THEIR PLACES AT THE TABLE. ONCE EVERYONE IS  
STANDING IN PLACE, THE QUEEN AND HER ESCORT AND  
THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL ENTER AND TAKE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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THEIR PLACES. THE QUEEN AND THE PRESIDENT WILL BE SEATED TOGETHER AT THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE TABLE; MRS. BUSH AND THE QUEEN'S ESCORT ON THE LEFT. EVERYONE WILL BE SEATED. THE QUEEN WILL RISE AND GIVE A TOAST OF NOT MORE THAN THREE MINUTES. THE PRESIDENT MAY RESPOND IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS WITH A SIMILARLY SHORT TOAST.

2200 COFFEE WILL BE SERVED AT THE TABLE AFTER DINNER.

2215 THE DINNER PARTY WILL RETURN TO THE SMALL BALLROOM FOR AFTER-DINNER DRINKS.

NOTE: WHEN THE PRESIDENT WISHES TO RETIRE, HE AND

MRS. BUSH AND THE QUEEN AND HER ESCORT WILL FORM A RECEIVING LINE TO SAY GOOD NIGHT TO THE OTHER GUESTS. THE PRESIDENT AND MRS BUSH WILL BE ESCORTED TO THEIR ROOMS BY THE QUEENS ADC AND THE LADY IN WAITING. (IF THE PRESIDENT WISHES, HE MAY INDICATE BEFOREHAND THE TIME AT WHICH HE WOULD LIKE TO RETIRE AND THE QUEEN WILL BE INFORMED.)

NOTE: THOSE STAFF WHO ARE STAYING AT THE NOORDEINDE PALACE WILL BE SERVED DINNER IN THE MAROT DINING ROOM. THIS PARALLEL DINNER WILL START JUST AFTER AND END JUST BEFORE THE PRINCIPALS' DINNER.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1991  
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0750 THE PRESIDENT WILL DEPART FROM THE PALACE TO THE CATSHUIS--THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER WHERE BREAKFAST WILL BE SERVED. THE QUEEN'S ADC WILL ESCORT THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS SUITE TO THE MOTORCADE AT THE REAR ENTRANCE. MRS. BUSH WILL BE SERVED BREAKFAST IN HER SUITE. SHE WILL BE MET AT THE PALACE BY MRS. LUBBERS AND PROCEED WITH HER ITINERARY.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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NOTE: THE QUEEN HAS NOT DECIDED WHEN SHE WILL BID HER OFFICIAL GOODBYE TO THE PRESIDENT. SHE MAY DO SO AT THE END OF THE DINNER FRIDAY NIGHT OR WHEN THE PRESIDENT DEPARTS FOR THE CATSHUIS ON SATURDAY MORNING. HOWEVER, THE QUEEN MAY DECIDE TO ATTEND THE LUNCHEON AT THE RIDDERZAAL ON SATURDAY. IF SHE ATTENDS, SHE WILL SAY GOODBYE TO THE PRESIDENT FOLLOWING THE LUNCH. WILKINS

BT

#8049

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

John P. Adams

Adams

ism (1889); *The Leisure of God* (1895); *Nature Studies in Berkshire* (1899); *William Hamilton Gibson* (1901); *Hosea Ballou and the Gospel Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century* (1902); *An Honorable Youth* (1906); *Short Studies in the Larger Faith* (1907); *Santa Claus's Baby and other Christmas Stories* (1911); *Universalism and the Universalist Church* (1915); "The Universalists," in *The Religious History of New England* (1917).

[*Who's Who in America, 1922-23*; O. F. Adams, *Dict. of Am. Authors* (4th ed., 1901); *Men of Mark in Conn.*, II (1906), ed. by N. G. Osborn; *Hartford Daily Courant*, June 23, 1922; personal information.] L. S. M.

1767  
1778

(11)

**ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY** (July 11, 1767-Feb. 23, 1848), eldest son of John and Abigail (Smith) Adams, was born at Braintree (now Quincy), Mass. With little early schooling he accompanied his father to France in 1778, already keeping a journal which developed into one of the most famous of diaries. He had a short training in French and Latin in an academy at Passy. Returning to America he went to France again in 1779 and attended the Latin School at Amsterdam. He matriculated into Leyden University in January, 1781, but soon went to St. Petersburg as secretary to Francis Dana, United States minister to Russia. In 1783 he returned to The Hague and resumed his classics under Dumas, the editor of Vattel, again to be called away to serve as secretary to his father during the peace negotiations. On the father's appointment to the London mission the son determined to return to America, entered Harvard College a junior sophister, graduated in 1787, studied law at Newburyport under Theophilus Parsons, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts, and was admitted to practice July 15, 1790. Law as a profession did not attract him and he readily turned to political discussion. In 1791 he wrote, under the name of "Publicola," a reply to Paine's *Rights of Man*, and the authorship was ascribed to his father in London and Edinburgh reissues. He contributed to and translated for a French newspaper in Boston and in a series of essays signed "Marcellus," "Columbus," and "Barneveld," he so dealt with Genet and neutrality as to attract the notice of Washington, who commissioned him (May 30, 1794) minister to the Netherlands. He arrived at his post as the French occupied the country, but remained to study, observe, and report upon European conditions. On July 26, 1797, while in England on diplomatic business he married Louisa Catherine, daughter of Joshua Johnson, of a Maryland family. He was named for the mission in Portugal, but his destination was changed to Berlin, where he negotiated a treaty and found abundant leisure for

1783  
1767  
16

THE HAGUE

Adams

reading. He made a visit to Silesia and printed a volume of letters describing it. His foreign mission ended in September 1801, he resumed his law practice in Boston. He was nominated for Congress, but was defeated on Nov. 3, 1802, by W. Eustis, who received a majority of 59 votes in a total of 3,699. Though without party affiliations, Adams had been previously elected to the state Senate in April 1802. On the first opportunity he showed his want of respect for party lines by proposing in caucus that two or three of the governor's council be "of opposite politics to our own, by way of conciliatory procedure," but his suggestion was rejected. In February 1803 he was elected to the United States Senate, with Timothy Pickering as a colleague, and took his seat in October while the bill for taking possession of Louisiana was under consideration. On Oct. 26 he asked its supporters where in the Constitution they found authority for vesting in persons appointed by the President the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised "by the existing government of Louisiana." He proposed to amend the bill "consistently with the Constitution," but his motion, not being in order, could not be considered. On Nov. 3 he voted in favor of an appropriation for carrying into effect the purchase treaty, which other Federalist senators opposed, and on Jan. 10, 1804 he introduced two resolutions against taxing the inhabitants of Louisiana without their consent, neither of which was accepted by the Senate. He also opposed a bill for the temporary government of the territory. He was never reconciled to the course of legislation taken at that time, but believed the acquisition of Louisiana to have been "accomplished by a flagrant violation of the Constitution."

His report on Senator John Smith, who was implicated in the Burr plot, his attitude on the impeachment of Judge Pickering, his apparent support of the administration in regard to British aggressions against neutrals and the affair of the *Chesapeake*, and finally his votes on the Embargo of 1807, where he chose to favor embargo as an alternative to war, proved his want of party allegiance and aroused the full hostility of Pickering. The latter denounced him at home, secured a premature election of a new senator from Massachusetts, and thus forced Adams to resign, on June 8, 1808. He was now regarded by the Federalists as an apostate, was shunned by his old associates, and shared in the odium heaped upon his father. He had in 1806 been appointed to the chair of rhetoric and oratory in Harvard College and even in that position was made to feel the dislike of his social equals. During his term as senator the tendency of the Federalists to condone the in-

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sults and injuries inflicted upon American commerce, that peace might be kept with Great Britain, had led Adams to draw away from that party; and its secret maneuvers, with Pickering as a leader, to form closer relations, if not more, with England shocked his devotion to the Union. Unable to induce the Federalists of Boston to pledge full support to the government after the affair of the *Chesapeake*, he accomplished his end in a meeting of Republicans. Yet he was not a Republican nor a full supporter of the administration, and refused an offer from Republicans of a nomination to Congress. An independent, he was regarded with suspicion by both parties.

When Madison became president he nominated Adams to be minister at St. Petersburg, and in October 1809 the new minister was at his post. His experience at other capitals proved of service in Russia, the only country of Europe which refused to comply with the commercial decrees of Napoleon and thus the only outlet for the trade of the United States. On friendly terms with the Tsar, respected by his diplomatic colleagues, participating in the social life of the capital though without being able properly to reciprocate favors, he widened his knowledge and, even against the English representative, furthered the interests of his country with results that were to be gratefully remembered fifty years later. During his absence (February 1811) he was nominated and confirmed to the Supreme Court of the United States, an appointment which he immediately declined. He saw Russia invaded by Napoleon because of her refusal to close her ports and he saw the United States declare war against Great Britain at the very time when Russia was combining with that nation against France. An offer from Russia to mediate the differences between England and the United States led to the appointment of peace commissioners by the latter, and Adams, James A. Bayard, and Albert Gallatin were named (Apr. 17, 1813) and dispatched, too hastily, it proved, as Great Britain had not agreed to the mediation, and the Senate rejected Gallatin (July 19, 1813). Growing weary of the war, Great Britain expressed a willingness to negotiate, but not under Russian mediation, and the United States again named the same agents and added to the mission Jonathan Russell and Henry Clay (Jan. 18, 1814). In a commission composed of such incongruous personalities differences in opinion were certain to arise. Adams was the first in authority by his appointment, but he required Gallatin's tact and criticism to temper his too ardent sensibility and in the end the credit for success may be divided between those two members. The British commissioners were by no means the

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equal in ability of the Americans, and by their demands and arrogant manner of making them created a situation unfavorable to agreement. Adams drafted the papers of the American commissioners and complained somewhat overmuch that his colleagues revised them in a hostile spirit. Clay specially irritated him, for they differed in temperament as well as in interests. To Adams the fisheries were immeasurably important; to Clay the navigation of the Mississippi. Clay favored a continuance of war, Adams looked for peace. The course of the negotiation and the part played by each commissioner are related in Adams's diary. While failing to obtain all their instructions called for, they succeeded in making peace (Dec. 24, 1814) and either postponed undetermined questions or provided for their settlement in future instruments.

Adams was in Paris on the return of Napoleon and during the greater part of the "Hundred Days." He was made minister to the Court of St. James's, thus repeating the father's experience in being the first minister to that court after a war, and, still in succession, took part in discussing a commercial treaty. For two years Adams had abundant opportunity to complete his diplomatic education. Never quite congenial with the English, he carried on negotiations with the cabinet of the King on questions still at issue between the two countries, without reaching agreement. He lived at Ealing, in the neighborhood of London, and took but little part in the social life around him, though he formed many agreeable connections, and educated his sons in English schools. Official functions he endured, rather than enjoyed, and he indulged his tastes as a reader and student.

He was invited by Monroe, in March 1817, to be secretary of state in his cabinet and took up his duties Sept. 22. No more congenial office could have fallen to him, and his previous training and experience eminently fitted him to fill it. Politically, it was a period of calm. The war for independence and the organization of a federal government had been accomplished; a new generation, with new problems, had come forward and Adams, though inheriting and easily imbibing prejudices, brought to the conduct of his office wide experience and knowledge, great industry, and political independence. At times, it is true, his direct method seemed aggressive and unnecessarily forceful in cabinet discussion. He soon learned, too, that the apparent "era of good feeling" was largely neutralized by a contest among many for the presidency, in succession to Monroe. Clay had opposed Adams's appointment to the State Department, deeming that he had him-

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self better claims and he opposed the administration because of his disappointment. Crawford and Calhoun, in the cabinet, laid their plans for succession and the last four years of Monroe's term were passed in maneuvering for political position.

The questions before the Department of State were many and of grave moment. The revolting Spanish colonies in America fitted out many privateers in the United States, a practice defended by Clay, who severely criticized both Monroe and Adams for their more cautious and correct policy. The Floridas, still Spanish territory, afforded a refuge for Indians and malefactors, and Spain could not protect the United States from raids and retreats, accompanied by murder and rapine. Jackson, placed in command, went against the Seminole Indians, pursued them into Spanish territory, hanged some of them, executed two British subjects, deposed one governor and named another, and left a garrison in occupation. Thus to invade the territory of a nation in time of peace created serious liabilities. Monroe and all his cabinet, except Adams, believed the general had exceeded his instructions and had done what could not in law be defended. Calhoun would have punished him. Adams took the ground that, as Spain had proved incapable of policing her territories, the United States was obliged to act in self-defense, and so far and so ably justified Jackson's conduct as to silence protests either from Spain or Great Britain. Congress debated the question, with Clay as the leading opponent of Jackson, but would not disapprove of what Jackson had done. It was strange that Jackson's later hatred of Adams, his ablest defender, should have been greater than his hatred of Clay and Calhoun, his critics.

The most delicate and important negotiation conducted by Adams was the treaty for the cession of the Floridas by Spain. Not only were the western bounds of the territory in doubt, but the delays and trickiness of Spanish diplomacy complicated the agreement. Huge grants of land to court favorites, not mentioned, or concealed by false dates, nearly trapped Adams in serious errors. He had secured (1818) a postponement of the Oregon question by an agreement with Great Britain for a joint occupation for ten years, and to obtain Florida and quiet Spanish claims he gained an acknowledgment from Spain of a line of boundary to the South Sea, a proposal wholly his, in which he took natural pride. Giving up Texas with the consent, if not at the instance of Monroe, he obtained a treaty of cession (1819) which later was declared by his opponents a deliberate sacrifice of territory. Jackson approved

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of the treaty, and Clay again opposed what had been done, but without success.

While the Spanish treaty was in the making Missouri applied for statehood and a struggle arose on the exclusion of slavery. Adams approved of the Missouri Compromise and believed the measure excluded slavery in territories and in states formed from territory north of the dividing line. He saw clearly that the principle involved momentous possibilities, and might even lead to the dissolution of the Union. To him the controversy over Missouri was the "title-page to a great tragic volume." His opposition to slavery was pronounced and in his diary he pictured a life devoted to the problem of emancipation as "nobly spent or sacrificed."

The Spanish colonies in America obtained recognition of their independence from Monroe in March 1822. Already Adams had questioned the claims of Great Britain on the Pacific Ocean, and soon after, in contesting a Russian ukase regarding the same ocean, he laid down the principle that "the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." Russia acquiesced. Great Britain feared that the United States would take Cuba and that France, if allowed to interpose in Spain, might control the Spanish empire in America. Acting on a suggestion of Adams that the interests of the United States and Great Britain were the same, Canning proposed a joint declaration against a forcible subjection of the colonies to Spain and against acquisition by cession or conquest of American territory by any European power. Both Jefferson and Madison favored this proposal, though it recognized the leadership of England and opposition to the Holy Alliance; but Adams wished to remonstrate against interference of European powers by force with South America, to disclaim all interference with Europe, and to make an American policy. The President's message of Dec. 2, 1823, embodied those principles. Striking out his own references to European questions, such as the invasion of Spain by France and the Greek revolt, Monroe asserted that the American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power"; that "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere" would be regarded as "dangerous to our peace and safety," and "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them [the late Spanish possessions], or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

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Known as the Monroe Doctrine, and with credit equally divided between the President and the Secretary, it has proved of great importance in the history of American diplomacy.

As the time of the presidential election approached Adams was one of four candidates. His office had by custom come to be regarded as the stepping-stone to the presidency, but in his term of service he had done little directly to advance his prospects by conciliating his rivals or the politicians. He stood upon his public services, and was the only Northern candidate. When the returns were known Jackson had received 99 votes; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; and Clay, 37. Adams's support had come from New York and New England. With Crawford broken in health the decision in the House rested with Clay and his pronounced dislike of Jackson made a support of Adams natural. Adams, receiving the votes of thirteen states to Jackson's seven, was declared elected. The contest left a long train of consequences materially affecting the later careers of the two candidates, and Adams himself wished that a nearer approach to unanimity could have been reached, even had it been necessary for him to refuse the office in order to permit a new choice. Before the House had acted it was charged that Clay had entered into a corrupt bargain with Adams by which Adams would be president and Clay secretary of state. Though without any basis of truth the charge gained plausibility when Clay was appointed secretary. In the hands of Jackson and his followers it became a weapon which served to check Clay's success during his life and to defeat Adams in 1828. Three years before that election Jackson was again nominated for the presidency by the legislature of his State; he accepted and announced his platform, the essence of which was the denunciation of the alleged bargain between Clay and Adams.

President Adams in his inaugural stated his broad plan of internal improvements, and, in his annual message, his ideas of directing government powers to promote the arts and sciences, a national university, astronomical observatories, and scientific enterprises, in short, to whatever would improve the people. Not only were Northern strict constructionists astonished at the proposal that the federal government should exercise such extensive powers but Southerners were alarmed, fearing slavery might be abolished under them. Opposition in Congress took shape and was first directed against the proposed Panama mission—the sending of commissioners to attend a congress of the republics, lately Spanish colonies. In the course of the debate John Randolph uttered his famous characterization of the “coalition of

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Blifil and Black George—the combination, unheard of till then, of the Puritan with the black-leg.” Adams's own faith in any success from the Congress was not strong and he gauged the weakness of the republics better than did Clay. In the end circumstances prevented the United States from being represented.

The mid-term elections of 1827 to Congress gave, for the first time in the history of the government, a large majority against the administration. By the union of the Crawford and Jackson forces the South was consolidating its influence against Adams. With no great difference in policy to justify contests of parties the agitation for political vantage turned upon personalities. Adams removed no man for political opinion or even for political activity against himself, and so little of the politician did he have in his make-up that he wished to retain Crawford in the cabinet and to appoint Jackson to the War Department. He refused to break with McLean, the postmaster general, though cognizant of his activities in behalf of Jackson. Such restraint in the exercise of a power to secure followers by the use of patronage alienated friends and encouraged enemies. During his administration only twelve removals from office were made, yet in 1826 he was arraigned for abuse of patronage and an effort was made to transfer a good share of the appointments from the President to congressmen. Few campaigns have equalled that of 1828 for its license and bitter personalities. For want of a party of his own to check the attacks of the well-organized opposition, Adams and his policy of centralized government were defeated. In the electoral college he received only 83 votes while to Jackson were given 178.

He returned to Massachusetts, where the old-time Federalists showed much the same opposition to him that they had shown to his father. By the publication of a Jefferson letter in the last days of the campaign Giles of Virginia fixed upon Adams the charge of giving Jefferson knowledge of the disunion proposals by the leaders of the party in 1804. To a demand for names and particulars by thirteen leading Federalists of Massachusetts Adams made a reply which did not satisfy, and the questioners published a letter (expressive of their deep resentment against him) which they believed to be conclusive (see *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams and Several Citizens of Massachusetts, 1829*). Keenly feeling the attitude and language of his opponents, among whom were some of the most influential men in the state, he prepared a reply, which was first published in 1877 (*Documents*

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*Relating to New England Federalism*, ed. by Henry Adams). As a controversial document it stands high and as an explanation of the somewhat obscure movements of Pickering and others, it must be accepted as final.

Retiring to Quincy, ostracized by the Federalists and deeming his defeat an unjust return for his long public service, Adams expected to repeat the years of practical banishment endured by his father. Books, of which he had collected many in Europe, offered some refuge from memories of the past, his farm required attention, and he planned writing history or biography. Before he could fall upon any settled and engrossing task, however, he was asked to be the representative in Congress from the Plymouth district. Without definite party support he was elected to the Twenty-second Congress (Mar. 4, 1831) by a large majority and was returned for eight successive Congresses—a period of seventeen years lacking ten days. At the time of his election no member had sat in the House who possessed such varied experience and appropriate qualities. He was familiar with the inside political history of forty years abroad and at home. His remarkable memory of events was supplemented by a remarkable diary, the general accuracy of which could hardly be questioned, however colored it might be by temperament and prejudice. Industrious and conscientious in the discharge of his public duties in Congress, he served on many important committees and prepared reports which covered many questions of public policy. As a debater he was listened to with respect and, when aroused, with nearly as great fear; for his integrity was unquestioned, his information vast and ready, and his utterances direct, forceful, and at times tipped with gall. Altogether he entered upon years of influence and combat which made his congressional service unique and quite the most important part of his career.

His first appointment, chairman of the committee on manufactures, which he held for ten years, brought him into indirect connection with South Carolina nullification. For Calhoun he had no warm feeling, having received no support from him in Monroe's cabinet and only opposition in the presidency; but he thought that some concessions in the protective tariff might be made to placate South Carolina. Though it was not his committee that devised tariffs, he presented from it a minority report censuring the course of the administration. Jackson's proclamation he commended, but he believed in the event too much had been yielded to the nullifiers by a compromise which postponed instead of deciding the issue. To him any compromise on that par-

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ticular question would lead to "final and irretrievable dissolution of the Union," an ever present thought in his view of public affairs.

In the discussion of the question of slavery Adams did not take a prominent part before 1835 and even then leadership was thrust upon him by force of circumstances. In 1805 he had proposed to lay a duty upon imported slaves, but only four senators had voted with him. As secretary of state he had dealt with the suppression of the slave-trade and not with the question of slavery. Atrocious as he considered that traffic, he considered the right of search by foreign officers of American vessels upon the seas in time of peace a still greater evil (*Memoirs*, VI, 37). When Haiti had become free and could be recognized in 1826, as president he had acted with caution and had found reasons for withholding an acknowledgment of independence. Clay's influence had led him to evade the question in the proposed Panama Congress, as both Haiti and Cuba furnished "near and dangerous examples," against the contagion of which "all means necessary to the security" of the United States should be employed. Now in Congress the question assumed a new form. In the first weeks of his first session he had presented petitions on slavery. In 1834 the attempts of the upholders of slavery to suppress the right of petition had been successful. For Congress to refuse to receive appeals from individuals and associations was bad enough from any point of view; to treat with contempt resolutions from the legislature of a State, no matter what the subject, involved an extraordinary exercise of power, even more indefensible. Adams, whether armed with resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts, or with his "bundles" of petitions, kept the question before the House, greatly exasperating the majority, who were always ready to enforce the gag principle.

When president he had made a fruitless attempt to obtain Texas from Mexico by cession; but now when the annexation of Texas was first brought forward he opposed it and in a speech delivered May 25, 1836—"by far the most noted speech that I ever made," he wrote in the following year—he "opened the whole subject of the Mexican, Indian, negro, and English war." A Spanish translation was printed in Mexico and Miss Martineau used it in her volume upon America. On the general reception given to it, assailed in the South and West and applauded in the North and East, he felt that his opportunity had come. "This [the extension of slavery] is a cause upon which I am entering at the last stage of life; and with the certainty that I cannot advance in it far; my career must close, leav-

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ing the cause at the threshold. To open the way for others is all that I can do. The cause is good and great" (*Memoirs*, IX, 298). His position, the same as that he had taken on the admission of Louisiana, was on the broadest lines. In June 1838, it was expressed in the following language: "That the power of annexing the people of a foreign government to this Union has not been delegated to the Congress nor to any Department of the Government of the United States, but has been reserved to the people. That any attempt by Act of Congress or by treaty to annex the republic of Texas to this Union would be an usurpation of power, which it would be the right and the duty of the free people of the Union to resist and annul" (*Memoirs*, V, 20). On that proposition he occupied the "morning hour" from June 16 to July 7, 1838, preventing a vote on annexation; and in 1843 he united with twelve other members of Congress in a protest declaring that annexation would mean the dissolution of the Union (*Niles' Register*, LXIV, 173-75). Territory, they held, could be acquired by treaty, but there was no power to transfer a man from one country to another without his consent. Adams embodied the conviction that the Texas question involved the sacrifice of Northern freedom to slavery and the South, and the purchase of Western support by the plunder of the public lands. His opposition to annexation and to the war with Mexico brought to him petitions against annexation as well as on slavery in the District of Columbia and on slavery in general and they came to him in increasing numbers. His management of these "incendiary papers" was at first guided by the unanimous support of the Massachusetts members of the House of Representatives (*Memoirs*, IX, 443), but he acted more and more independently.

Wearied if not frightened by the number of petitions relating to slavery, some of which had been presented through Adams, the House entertained a proposition (December 1836) that no such petitions should be read, printed, committed, or in any way acted upon by the House. This took final shape in the rule that all such petitions should, without reading or printing, or any other action of the House upon them, be laid upon the table. As a motion to lay on the table admitted no debate, all discussion was precluded. Each year, from 1836 to 1844, Adams opposed without success the adoption of this rule. Such a "gag" on free discussion, he charged, was a direct violation of the Constitution, of the rules of the House, of the rights of his constituents, and, as he said in after years, of his right to freedom of speech as a member of the House. On Dec. 3,

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1844, the "gag" resolution was at last defeated. While the right of petition was to Adams the real issue, he became the channel through which petitions on slavery streamed in large numbers. He was not an abolitionist, and suffered from the attacks of the abolitionists as well as from their opponents; but he recognized, as few of his day did, that a denial of the right to discuss a public question of such character threatened the continuance of the Union. Further, he early expressed (1836) the conviction that should the South become the seat of a war, "civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of the Congress[would]extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way by which it can be interfered with" (*Register of Debates in Congress*, vol. XII, pt. IV, p. 4047), a sweeping proposition which implied an assertion of an even stronger power; *viz.*, that slavery could be abolished by the exercise of the treaty-making power (1841) and still later, that in a state of war the military authority—president or commander of the army—might order the universal emancipation of slaves (Apr. 14, 1842. See C. F. Adams, "John Quincy Adams and Emancipation through Martial Law" in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. XV). To check Adams's continued presentation of petitions, Southern members proposed to discipline and even to expel him, but he proved capable of holding his positions and of putting his critics in the wrong. Thus in February 1837 he asked if the gag resolution would cover a petition he had received from twenty-two persons who declared themselves to be slaves, and in the confusion that followed various motions from censure to expulsion were offered. When permitted to speak, Adams, by stating that the petition favored slavery, turned the tables on his opposers, who rounded out a somewhat ridiculous policy of suppression by gravely proposing to censure Adams for "creating an impression and leaving the House under that impression" that the petition in question was for the abolition of slavery (*Letters from John Quincy Adams to his Constituents*, 1837, p. 16); also for "giving color to the idea that slaves have the right of petition" and for being ready to serve as their organ (*Ibid.*, p. 19). The petition was probably a hoax, intended to embarrass Adams. His final speech silenced his critics and proved his ability to meet, almost single-handed, the forces of the South.

His course in the House showed what was regarded at the time as strange inconsistency. He debated and voted with complete independence, to the great confusion of those who counted upon his support. When assurance was made by those

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in charge of the bill for the admission of Arkansas as a State that no proposition concerning slavery would be made in the debate, Adams remarked that if no other member would offer such a proposal he would, and kept his promise. The fact that he had not been on speaking terms with President Jackson and had received insult at his hands did not prevent his supporting him—"at the hazard of my own political destruction"—in Jackson's quarrel with France, in his controversy with South Carolina, and in other critical periods of his administration. Yet he opposed Jackson's bank policy, submitting a minority report in protest against the proceedings of the committee of inquiry of which he was a member. A speech upon Jackson's removal of the public moneys from the Bank of the United States was not delivered but was published and served its purpose. From the committee on manufactures he also submitted (February 1833) a report which reviewed the claims of the South for the protection of slavery, the proposed disposal of the public lands, and the doctrine of nullification. To none of these would he yield a particle. Only one other member of the committee signed this report.

His personal influence and ability to deal with a crisis were shown in December 1839, when the House assembled to find itself unable to organize because of the arbitrary action of its clerk. So equally were parties divided in it that the members from New Jersey, whose election was contested, would decide the political complexion of the House, the Speaker, and the committees. The clerk, himself the clerk of the last House, without authority to do anything but list the members offering proper credentials, and depending for his own reflection on the issue of the contest, refused to name the contested seats, producing a state of complete inaction difficult to meet. After three days of futile effort, Adams appealed to the members to organize and stated his determination himself to put to the meeting the question of ordering the clerk to read the names of the New Jersey members holding the governor's credentials. He was elected chairman, and for eleven days presided over a body not yet formally organized and torn by a partisan difference, on which depended the large rewards of committee appointments and their influence on legislation. Belonging to no party and entirely familiar with parliamentary practice, he controlled the stormy sessions and brought the extraordinary situation to a successful issue.

When the Whigs controlled the House in the Twenty-seventh Congress Adams was made chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for which he was eminently fitted. He could not

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escape attack, however, and his position in the matter of the *Creole*, a vessel captured by its cargo of slaves and taken to Nassau, where the slaves were set free by the authorities, invited it. A petition from Georgia for his removal engaged the House for some days; the Southern members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs resigned from it, unwilling, as they said, to serve with a chairman in whom they had no confidence, and others appointed asked to be excused. If the objectors planned to replace Caleb Cushing in the chairmanship, they failed; but Adams was not reappointed to that committee in the next Congress.

In January and March 1841, for the first time since 1809, Adams appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States. On the earlier occasion he had argued in defense of certain rights in which many of his fellow citizens had much property at stake; on the later he presented an elaborate argument vindicating the right to freedom of the *Amistad* captives, fifty-three negroes who had been taken at sea by a vessel of the United States, after they had revolted, killed the captain, and obtained possession of the vessel in which they and their masters were sailing for their destination. They were charged with murder and piracy. The Spanish owners claimed the negroes, the Spanish minister claimed both ship and negroes under the treaty of 1795, and the United States officer called for salvage. The United States circuit court held that it had no jurisdiction of a crime committed on the high seas in a Spanish vessel, but would not release the negroes claimed as property by the Spaniards. Adams was asked to defend the slaves and made an argument which Justice Story described as "extraordinary, for its power, for its bitter sarcasm, and its dealing with topics far beyond the record and points of discussion" (W. W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, 1851, II, 348). The decision of the Court declared the negroes to be free. Adams's published argument was a plea for justice, but it also served once more to express his views upon slavery.

In 1842 another occasion arose in the House of Representatives for action against Adams. He had presented (Jan. 24) a petition from citizens of Haverhill, Mass., praying that for sectional reasons the Union of the States be peaceably dissolved, and moved its reference to a select committee with instructions to report against it. The document may be regarded as a satire on the proposed dissolution of the Union. Days were spent in discussing resolutions prepared in a caucus of Southern members and presented by Marshall of Kentucky, stating that Adams had

## Adams

disgraced his country, might well be expelled from the national councils, and should receive their "severest censure." After eleven days of excitement, with Adams as the center of the storm, he offered to drop the subject if the resolution of censure were tabled, ending a scene that was dramatic and sensational and ending also all attempts to suppress the offender by threats of censure.

Science had interested him, though he was too absorbed in public duties to be able to pursue the study. When in Russia he had given some attention to Russian weights and measures and, shortly after becoming secretary of state, the Senate (March 1817) called upon him for a full report. The House did not act until December 1819, when it made the same requisition. On receiving the Senate's call Adams began a report, but had made little progress before that of the House was received. Devoting six months to the subject he completed the document—"a fearful and oppressive task"—and in February 1821 it was printed by Congress. Elaborate and thorough for the time and containing definite recommendations for permanent and universal uniformity of standards, it remained without influence in legislation or in advancing an agreement among nations on the subject. It was reprinted in 1871 and is still of value for reference. In another direction he left a permanent record. He was chairman of the committee to report upon the power of Congress to accept the fund left by the Englishman, James Smithson, to the United States, to establish at Washington an institution for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge." Adams not only reported that Congress was competent to accept the bequest, but he made recommendations for employing it and was instrumental in preventing its diversion to local and temporary objects. He wished to establish in the United States "the most complete astronomical observatory in the world," but Congress was unwilling to act. From the receipt of the fund in 1838 until 1846 Adams jealously watched the proposed uses, made four elaborate reports upon its disposition, provided for restoring the fund when wasted by bad investment in state bonds, and saw success in the end—a permanent fund and a national observatory. In the Smithsonian Institution his foresight and labor have been justified. It was in recognition of his efforts to encourage the study of astronomy that he was invited in 1843 to lay the corner-stone of the Cincinnati Observatory.

On Sept. 17, 1842, Adams gave to his constituents a full statement of his conduct during his service in Congress in the form of an exam-

## Adams

ination of the administration under the successive presidents in that time (*Address of John Quincy Adams to his Constituents of the Twelfth Congressional District*). It embodied his conception of what the South and the slave power had done or wished to do, and how far their policy had been aided by a sacrifice of principle by the North. Entirely characteristic in form and expression it contains an excellent picture of the great political acts of twelve years by a leading actor in them. It was the last political paper prepared by Adams and may serve as his political testament. A minority report supporting resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts which proposed to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to abolish the representation of slaves was made by him in April 1844, signed also by Giddings. Occasional addresses, of more or less political cast, and debates in Congress on the annexation of Texas and the Oregon question, occupied his attention and called out his accustomed vigor and acumen. On Nov. 19, 1846, he was stricken with paralysis while walking in the streets of Boston, but recovered sufficiently to take his seat in the House on Feb. 16, 1847. A year later, Feb. 21, 1848, shortly after responding to the call of his name he fell in a second stroke and, carried to the Speaker's room in the Capitol, he died there on the evening of Feb. 23 without having recovered consciousness. Mrs. Adams died on May 15, 1852.

Of unquestioned patriotism, Adams believed that the nation should contribute to the happiness of all, and that no nation should "regulate its conduct by the exclusive or even the paramount consideration of its own interest." He saw and criticized the faults of policy or administration even more readily than he praised conduct that was based on the performance of duty. From his early years he studied political institutions, especially those of his own country, applying his knowledge to national and international questions as they came before him. Too much engrossed by immediate problems, he did not formulate a policy and thus appears inconsistent in his conduct, as if swerved by temporary considerations. Yet it was recognized in his day that one sentiment ran through all his life, an intense love of freedom for all men, and an invincible belief in the inalienable rights of man. The American Constitution was to him but a stage in the political development of those rights, not creating but accepting them, and must itself, therefore, be interpreted as a means rather than an end. As his father had done before him, he went back to natural law for the origin of rights, and, because the Constitution embodied

## Adams

"compromises," he accepted and defended it only so far as its principles rested upon natural right. In his long and bitter controversy over slavery this conception of the Constitution and its failure to embody the higher forms of freedom and rights of man gave him a weapon of great power. "Slavery and democracy," he wrote, "especially a democracy founded, as ours is, on the rights of man—would seem to be incompatible with each other; and yet, at this time, the democracy of the country is supported chiefly, if not entirely, by slavery."

In the contest with the slave power he acted almost alone. Independence of party was a "duty" imposed upon him, for his service belonged to the nation. Even as a representative in Congress from Massachusetts he was not influenced by the peculiar interests of that State, unless support of a protective tariff can be instanced to the contrary, a tariff that in form was framed for the whole country. To him a majority meant nothing, unless it acted oppressively—and he worked for the individual or a number, for the slave or the free man, for women or men, with the same zeal and detachment, intent only on defending the cause he had at heart. No other man of his day came to represent as he did the essence of the right of petition, and his persistence and courage won admiration even from those who thought him a madman or incendiary, and condemned his methods and the principle for which he was contending.

His many writings and speeches contain much that is autobiographical and much that is historical, for he dwelt on past and present history, and both utilized his own experience to the full and rested upon documents. His state papers and controversies suffered from the wealth of reference which his early studies, wide reading, extraordinary memory and application supplied. His readiness in debate and his bitterness of speech, which seemed at times almost too strongly colored by vindictiveness, made his attack something to be feared. Fond of combat and of controversy, his career was marked by an assertiveness amounting to pugnacity. Conscientious to a fault, he left no argument without exhausting its possibility. From his early days surrounded by enemies, as he believed, his gift of contention was developed and leaned toward offense. Yet he kept himself under restraint in the face of great provocation. He avoided the mean and tricky: he was always an honorable foe. No man judged his own acts more severely than he, and his diary, described as a "treasury of damnations," dealt with his own thoughts and acts more contritely than the occasion demanded. Harsh as

## Adams

his judgments on men and deeds appear, they show an ability to touch upon character and motives that makes them in part true. He had a deeply religious feeling and became a Unitarian, but never worked out a system of theology, any more than he did a system of politics. Only in his great fight on freedom did he approach a philosophy of the latter subject.

To him his generation gave the title of "the old man eloquent." Yet Theodore Parker thought him "seldom eloquent" and what oratorical ability he had to be of late development. In his manner of speaking there was little dignity and no grace, though sometimes there was a terrible energy and fire and "invective was his masterpiece of oratorical skill." Emerson, who heard him in his later years, spoke of his reputation as a fine reader: "No man could read the Bible with such powerful effect" (*Works*, 1904, VIII, 122). Of the fine voice broken by age he declared that the "wonders he could achieve with that cracked and disobedient organ showed what power might have belonged to it in early manhood" (*Ibid.*).

Simple in his tastes, and disliking the exposure to flattery that high position in the state brings, Adams was known as a man of social talent, a good talker, admired for his richness of recollection and apt illustration. Even his enemies, of whom he had an abundance, recognized that side of him and wondered. His family letters are of a quality different from his public papers, and his admiration for his father and his ambitions for his son, Charles Francis Adams, led to free confidences which reveal a softer and more lovable nature and a conscience that smote him when he thought himself most obliged to oppose or punish. Theodore Parker, not sparing in his opinion of others, wrote on the death of Adams, "The one great man since Washington, whom America had no cause to fear" (*Works*, 1908, vol. VII).

The more important writings of John Quincy Adams are: *Memoirs*, 12 vols., edited by Charles Francis Adams (1874-77); *Life in a New England Town*, diary as a law student, 1787-88, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Jr. (1903); *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, edited by Henry Adams (1877); *Writings*, edited by W. C. Ford, 7 vols. (1913); *Oration at Plymouth, Mass., Dec. 22, 1802* (repr., 1820); *Letters on Silesia* (London, 1804; Paris, trans. by J. Dupuy, 1807); *Inaugural Oration* (1806); *Letter to H. G. Otis* (1808); *American Principles, a Review of the Works of Fisher Ames* (1809); *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory*, 2 vols. (1810); *Correspondence, 1811-14* (1913); *Report on Weights and Measures* (1821); *Duplicate Letters, the Fisheries and the Mississippi* (1822; 2nd

## Adams

ed., Louisville, 1823); *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams and Several Citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the Charge of a Design to Dissolve the Union* (1829); *Eulogy on James Monroe* (1831); *Dermot MacMorrough, or the Conquest of Ireland* (1832); *Letters to Wm. L. Stone . . . upon the Subject of Masonry and Antimasonry* (1833); *Letters to Edward Livingston [on Freemasonry]* (1833); *Oration on Lafayette*, Dec. 31, 1834 (1835); *Eulogy on James Madison* (1836); *Letters to his Constituents* (1837); *Character of Hamlet: a letter to J. H. Hackett* (1839); *Speech upon Right of Petition*, June-July, 1838; *Jubilee of the Constitution* (1839); *China Question* (1841); *New England Confederacy of MDCXLIII* (1843); *Oration, Cincinnati Astronomical Society* (1843); *Letters on the Masonic Institution* (1847); *Poems of Religion and Society* (1848); and *Orations*, 4th of July, at Boston, 1793; Quincy, 1831; and Newburyport, 1837.

[W. H. Seward, *Life and Public Services of John Quincy Adams* (1849); Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams* (1858); John T. Morse, *John Quincy Adams* (1882).]

W.C.F.

**ADAMS, JOSEPH ALEXANDER** (1803-Sept. 11, 1880), wood engraver, inventor, was born in New Germantown, Hunterdon County, N.J. He was largely self-taught, under the encouragement of Dr. Alexander Anderson, America's first wood engraver. His apprenticeship to the printing business, which took place at an early age, was directed by three successive masters. When he became twenty-one, he went to New York, where he worked for three weeks as a journeyman printer. While still an apprentice, he had made his first attempt at engraving, a cut of a boot which could be used for a newspaper advertisement. In his own words he worked as follows: "I intensely blackened the block with India ink, then marked the outlines of the subject with a point and cut away at it. I had not then even heard of finished drawings being made on the wood. In this manner I worked for about six months" (Linton, p. 12). One day Samuel Wood, a publisher of juvenile works, advised him to go to see Dr. Alexander Anderson. "After walking several times to and fro in front of his house," Adams wrote, "I ventured to knock at the door. I found him very pleasant and communicative. He showed me a block he was then working upon and to my astonishment I found the whole design was neatly washed on the block complete with India ink alone. This was entirely a new idea to me. The Doctor gave me many hints, such as lowering parts of the block after the manner of Bewick, so as to print faintly. He also sent me customers

## Adams

occasionally. He laid before me several of Bewick's works which I had never heard of before and also showed me many other specimens of cuts done by English and old German artists" (*Ibid.*, p. 12). Books were not profusely illustrated in Adams's time, and what illustration was used was generally copperplate: nevertheless, in 1831, he was financially able to make a voyage to England, probably incited to do so by the coming to this country in 1829 of Abraham J. Mason, an English engraver on wood, from whom he may have had introductions to Thompson, Bonner, and others.

In 1833 some of his work appeared in the *Treasury of Knowledge* and in the *Cottage Bible*. His "Last Arrow" was engraved in 1837 for the *New York Mirror*. But it was his sixteen hundred illustrations for Harper's *Illuminated Bible*, published in 1843, which constituted his greatest achievement. He is said to have been the first electrotyper in America and to have invented several improvements in the process. Linton commends his work for its firm, honest exactness and clearness, and for his graver drawing, mechanism of the art, disposition and perfection of lines. He died in New Jersey at the age of seventy-seven.

[William James Linton, *Hist. of Wood Engraving in America* (1882); J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper* (1912), pp. 79-81; *Am. Art Rev.*, Oct. 1880.]

R.C.S.

**ADAMS, NEHEMIAH** (Feb. 19, 1806-Oct. 6, 1878), Congregational clergyman, was born in Salem, Mass., the son of Nehemiah Adams, deacon of the Tabernacle Congregational Church, and Mehitable Torrey Adams. He was educated at Salem Latin School, Harvard College, and Andover Theological Seminary; was ordained and installed as co-pastor with Dr. Abiel Holmes at the Shepard Church (First Congregational) in Cambridge, Mass., in 1829, and on the retirement of Dr. Holmes in September 1831 was made sole pastor. He served in this position until Mar. 14, 1834, and was installed pastor of the Essex Street or Union Congregational Church of Boston, Mar. 26, 1834. He remained pastor of the Boston church until his death. He was given the degree of D.D. by Amherst in 1847. In 1869 he suffered a paralytic shock from which he never fully recovered. Accompanied by his two daughters, he made a trip around the world, 1869-70, in the ship *Golden Fleece*, commanded by his son. The experiences of this trip are recorded in his book, *A Voyage Around the World* (1871), republished in enlarged form as *Under the Mizzen Mast* (1873). During the Unitarian controversy Adams figured prominently as an upholder of Evangelical orthodoxy. His works in this connection

In the realm of human conduct, particularly, I do not suppose it is possible for any man, however acute or profound his mental processes may be, to say anything bearing the stamp of universal truth, that many other men, in equivalent words, have not said before him. Back of each of us there are those many thousands of years of race experience.

*Ibid.*

**John Adams**

(1735-1826)

*2nd President of the United States*

Numberless have been the systems of iniquity contrived by the great for the gratification of this passion in themselves; but in none of them were they ever more successful than in the invention and establishment of the canon and the feudal law.

*Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law, 1765.*

By the former of these (canon law), the most refined, sublime, extensive, and astonishing constitution of policy that ever was conceived by the mind of man was framed by the Romish clergy for the aggrandizement of their own order. *Ibid.*

They even persuaded mankind to believe, faithfully and undoubtingly, that God Almighty had entrusted them with the keys of heaven, whose gates they might open and close at pleasure; with a power of dispensation over all the rules and obligations of morality; with authority to license all sorts of sins and crimes; with a power of deposing princes and absolving subjects from allegiance; with a power of procuring or withholding the rain of heaven and the beams of the sun; with the management of earthquakes, pestilence, and famine; nay, with the mysterious, awful, incomprehensible power of creating out of bread and wine the flesh and blood of God himself.

All these opinions they were enabled to spread and rivet among the people by reducing their minds to a state of sordid ignorance and staring timidity, and by infusing into them a religious horror of letters and knowledge. Thus was human nature chained fast for ages in a cruel, shameful, and deplorable servitude to him and his subordinate tyrants, who, it was foretold, would exalt himself above all that was called God and that was worshipped.

*Ibid.*

They (the Puritans) saw clearly that of all the nonsense and delusion which had ever passed through the mind of man, none had ever been more extravagant than the notions of absolutions, indelible characters, uninterrupted successions, and the rest of those fantastical ideas, derived from the canon law, which had thrown such a glare of mystery, sanctity, reverence, and right reverend eminence and holiness around the idea of a priest as no mortal could deserve, and as always must, from the constitution of human nature, be dangerous to society. For this reason they demolished the whole system of diocesan episcopacy, and, deriding, as all reasonable and impartial men must do, the ridiculous fancies of sanctified effluvia from episcopal fingers, they established sacerdotal ordination on the foundation of the Bible and common sense. *Ibid.*

Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people.

*Ibid.*

The preservation of the means of knowledge among the lowest ranks is of more importance to the public than all the property of all the rich men in the country.

*Ibid.*

But none of the means of information are more sacred, or have been cherished with more tenderness and care by the settlers of

America, than the press. Content taken that the art of printing encouraged, and that it should be and cheap and safe for any person to communicate his thoughts to the world, you, Messieurs printers, who are the rants of the earth may say content have done important service to the world by your readiness and freedom in publishing the speculations of the world, the stale, impudent insinuations of content sedition with which the government power have endeavored to suppress. The papers are so much the more content for the jaws of power are content to devour, and her arm is always content out, if possible, to destroy the content thinking, speaking, and writing.

Be not intimidated, then, by the terrors, from publishing with freedom whatever can be warranted by the laws of your country; nor suffer to be wheedled out of your just pretenses of politeness, delicacy. These, as they are often used under different names for hypocrisy and cowardice.

Let us dare to read, think, and write.

Set before us the conduct of our British ancestors, who defended their inherent rights of mankind against domestic tyrants and unprincipled arbitrary kings and cruel power against the gates of earth and heaven.

Let the pulpit resound with the sentiments of religious freedom, and hear the dangers of thralldom, sciences from ignorance, error, and dependence; in short, political slavery. Let us see before us the true map of man.

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Let us dare to read, think, speak and  
 write. *Ibid.*

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 and domestic tyrants and usurpers, against  
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 against the gates of earth and hell. *Ibid.*

Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines  
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 fore us the true map of man. Let us hear

the dignity of his nature, and the noble  
 rank he holds among the works of God  
 —that consenting to slavery is a sacrilegious  
 breach of trust, as offensive in the sight of  
 God as it is derogatory from our own honor  
 or interest or happiness—and that God  
 Almighty has promulgated from heaven  
 liberty, peace, and goodwill to man! *Ibid.*

My country has in its wisdom contrived  
 for me the most insignificant office that  
 ever the invention of man contrived or his  
 imagination conceived.

*Letter, as vice-president, 1789.*

The Hebrews have done more to civilize  
 men than any other nation. If I were an  
 atheist, and believed in blind eternal fate,  
 I should still believe that fate had ordained  
 the Jews to be the most essential instru-  
 ment for civilizing the nations.

*Letter to F. A. Van der Kamp,  
 February 16, 1809.*

Indeed, Mr. Jefferson, what could be in-  
 vented to debase the ancient Christianity,  
 which Greeks, Romans, Hebrews and Chris-  
 tian factions, above all the Catholics, have  
 not fraudulently imposed upon the public?  
 Miracles after miracles have rolled down in  
 torrents, wave succeeding wave in the Cath-  
 olic church, from the Council of Nice, and  
 long before, to this day.

*To Jefferson, December 3, 1813.*

There is but one element of government,  
 and that is THE PEOPLE. From this ele-  
 ment spring all governments. "For a nation  
 to be free, it is only necessary that she wills  
 it." For a nation to be slave, it is only  
 necessary that she wills it.

*To John Taylor, 1814.*

If the Christian religion, as I understand  
 it, or as you understand it, should maintain  
 its ground, as I believe it will, yet Platonic,  
 Pythagoric, Hindoo, and cabalistical Chris-

John Adams

tianity, which is Catholic Christianity, and which has prevailed for 1500 years, has received a mortal wound, of which the monster must finally die. Yet so strong is his constitution, that he may endure for centuries before he expires.

To Jefferson, July 16, 1814.

If there is ever an amelioration of the condition of mankind, philosophers, theologians, legislators, politicians and moralists will find that the regulation of the press is the most difficult, dangerous and important problem they have to resolve. Mankind cannot now be governed without it, nor at present with it.

Letter to James Lord, February 11, 1815.

The question before the human race is, whether the God of nature shall govern the world by his own laws, or whether priests and kings shall rule it by fictitious miracles? To Jefferson, June 20, 1815.

You ask, how has it happened that all Europe has acted on the principle, "that Power was Right" . . . Power always sincerely, conscientiously, *de très bon foi*, believes itself right. . . . Power must never be trusted without a check.

To Jefferson, February 2, 1816.

I do not like the late resurrection of the Jesuits. . . . If ever any congregation of men could merit eternal perdition on earth, and in hell, according to these historians, though, like Pascal, true Catholics, it is this company of Loyolas.

Letter to Jefferson, May 5, 1816. Official edition, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. VI, p. 604.

My History of the Jesuits is not elegantly written, but is supported by unquestionable authorities, is very particular and very horrible. Their restoration is indeed "a step

toward darkness," cruelty, perfidy, despotism, death and—I wish we were out of danger of bigotry and Jesuitism.

To Jefferson, August 9, 1816.

Conclude not from all this that I have renounced the Christian religion . . . Far from it. I see every page something to recommend Christianity in its purity, and something to discredit its corruptions . . . The ten commandments and the sermon on the mount contain my religion.

To Jefferson, November 4, 1816.

My History of the Jesuits is in four volumes . . . This society has been a greater calamity to mankind than the French Revolution, or Napoleon's despotism or ideology. It has obstructed progress of reformation and the improvement of the human mind in society much longer and more fatally.

*Ibid.*

As I understand the Christian religion, it was, and is, a revelation. But how has it happened that millions of fables, tales, legends, have been blended with both Jewish and Christian revelation that have made them the most bloody religion that ever existed?

Letter to F. A. Van der Kamp, December 27, 1816.

The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the hearts and minds of the people . . . *This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people, was the real American Revolution.*

To Hezekiah Niles, February 13, 1818.

When people talk of the freedom of writing, speaking or thinking I cannot choose but laugh. No such thing ever existed. No such thing now exists; but I hope it will exist. But it must be hundreds of years after you and I shall write and speak no more.

To Jefferson, July 15, 1818.

I wish your nation may be all the privileges of citizens in every part of the world. This country much. I wish it may do more every narrow idea in religion, and commerce. Let the wits join philosophers sneer; what then? It is the Providence of the "first universal cause, that Abraham religion, not only to Hebrews, but to Christians and Mohemetans, the great the civilized world.

Letter to Mordecai M. Noah, 1818.

Abuse of words has been the bane of the government of sophistry and chicanery, faction, and division of society.

To J. H. Tiffany, March

I would define liberty to be that which we would be done by. The power of liberty to be the power of the law, never the law permits, meaner laws, does not seem satisfactory

Can a free government proceed with the Roman Catholic religion?

To Jefferson, May

The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not sacred, the laws of God, and there is no other law, of law and public justice to anarchy and tyranny commence.

Letter, quoted in *Fortune*, February 1951.

In every society where property is not sacred there will ever be a struggle between the rich and poor. Mixed in one assembly laws can never be expected; the laws will be made by the members to the few who are rich, or by the few who are poor.

Quoted by Senator Estes with the remark: "A remark"

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To Jefferson, August 9, 1816.

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ah Niles, February 13, 1818.

ple talk of the freedom of writ- or thinking I cannot choose o such thing ever existed. No ow exists; but I hope it will must be hundreds of years l I shall write and speak no o Jefferson, July 15, 1818.

I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much. I wish it may do more; and annul every narrow idea in religion, government and commerce. Let the wits joke; the philosophers sneer; what then? It has pleased the Providence of the "first cause", the universal cause, that Abraham should give religion, not only to Hebrews, but to Christians and Mohemetans, the greatest part of the civilized world.

Letter to Mordecai M. Noah, July 31, 1818.

Abuse of words has been the great instrument of sophistry and chicanery, of party, faction, and division of society.

To J. H. Tiffany, March 31, 1819.

I would define liberty to be a power to do as we would be done by. The definition of liberty to be the power of doing whatever the law permits, meaning the civil laws, does not seem satisfactory. *Ibid.*

Can a free government possibly exist with the Roman Catholic religion?

To Jefferson, May 19, 1821.

The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence.

Letter, quoted in *Fortune*, February, 1951.

In every society where property exists there will ever be a struggle between rich and poor. Mixed in one assembly, equal laws can never be expected; they will either be made by the members to plunder the few who are rich, or by the influence to fleece the many who are poor.

Quoted by Senator Estes Kefauver, with the remark: "A remarkable antici-

pation of the basic presumption of Marxism."

The proposition that the people are the best keepers of their own liberties is not true. They are the worst conceivable, they are no keepers at all; they can neither judge, act, think, or will, as a political body.

*Defence of the Constitution.* (Quoted by W. E. Woodward in his *Tom Paine: America's Godfather.*)

Liberty, according to my metaphysics . . . is a self-determining power in an intellectual agent. It implies thought and choice and power.

Letter to John Taylor.

I almost shudder at the thought of alluding to the most fatal example of the abuses of grief which the history of mankind has preserved—the Cross. Consider what calamities that engine of grief has produced!

*On the Abuses of Grief.* Letter to Jefferson, in *Jefferson's Works*, Vol. VII, p. 35.

As the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian Religion,—as it has itself no character of enmity against the law, religion or tranquility of Musselmen, . . .

Article 11, *Treaty of Peace and Friendship between The United States and the Bey and Subjects of Tripoli of Barbary.* *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller. Vol. 2. 1776-1818. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1931; p. 365.\*

\* Now be it known, That I, John Adams, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered the said treaty do, by and within the consent of the Senate, accept, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof.

*Ibid.*, p. 383.

What havoc has been made of books through every century of the Christian era? Where are fifty gospels, condemned as spurious by the bull of Pope Gelasius? Where are the forty wagon-loads of Hebrew manuscripts burned in France, by order of another pope, because suspected of heresy? Remember the *index expurgatorius*, the inquisition, the stake, the axe, the halter, and the guillotine.

*Letter to John Taylor, The Life and Works of John Adams, Boston, 1851, v. 6, p. 479.*

Shall we have recourse to the art of printing? But this has not destroyed property or aristocracy or corporations or paper wealth in England or America, or diminished the influence of either; on the contrary, it has multiplied aristocracy and diminished democracy. *Ibid.*, p. 510.

Admit that the press transferred the pontificate of Rome to Henry VIII—Admit that the press demolished in some sort the feudal system, and set the serfs and villins free; admit that the press demolished the monasteries, nunneries, and religious houses; into whose hands did all these alienated baronies, monasteries, and religious houses and lands fall? Into the hands of the democracy? Into the hands of serfs and villins? Serfs and villins were the only real democracy in those times. No. They fell into the hands of other aristocrats . . .

*Ibid.*

The priesthood have, in all ancient nations, nearly monopolized learning . . . And ever since the Reformation, when or where has existed a Protestant or dissenting sect who would tolerate A FREE INQUIRY? The blackest billingsgate, the most ungentlemanly insolence, the most yahooish brutality, is patiently endured, countenanced, propagated, and applauded. But touch a

solemn truth in collision with a dogma of a sect, though capable of the clearest proof, and you will soon find you have disturbed a nest, and the hornets will swarm about your eyes and hand, and fly into your face and eyes. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

### John Quincy Adams

(1767-1848)

6th President of the United States

Let us not be unmindful that liberty is power, that the nation blessed with the largest portion of liberty must in proportion to its numbers be the most powerful nation upon earth.

Our Constitution professedly rests upon the good sense and attachment of the people. This basis, weak as it may appear, has not yet been found to fail.

Always vote for a principle, though you vote alone, and you may cherish the sweet reflection that your vote is never lost.

America, in the assembly of nations, has uniformly spoken among them the language of equal liberty, equal justice, and equal rights. 1821.

### Samuel Adams

(1722-1803)

American revolutionary leader

I believe that no people ever yet groaned under the heavy yoke of slavery but when they deserved it.

*Article published in 1771.*

The truth is, all might be free if they valued freedom, and defended it as they ought. *Ibid.*

The liberties of our country, the freedom of our civil constitution, are worth defending at all hazards; and it is our duty to defend them against all attacks. We have

received them as a fair inheritance from our worthy ancestors: they purchased for us with toil and danger and treasure and blood, and transmitted to us with care and diligence. It is an everlasting mark of infamy on this generation, enlightened as it is, if we suffer them to be wrested from us by violence without a struggle, or if we are out of them by the artifices of designing men.

Among the natural rights of man are these: first, a right to *life*; secondly, to *liberty*; thirdly, to *property*; fourthly, the right to support and defend the same in the best manner they can. The government is to be chosen in the best manner, rather than to be a burden, from the duty of self-preservation, which is the first law of nature.

*The Rights of the Colonies*

In regard to religion, mutual toleration in the different professions thereof is all good and candid minds in all ages ever practiced, and both by pagans and christians. For example inculcated on mankind are only sects which he (Locke) thought to be and which by all wisdom should be excluded from such toleration and to teach doctrines subversive of the government under which they live. Catholics or Papists are excluded from such toleration as these: those who are excommunicated may be deposed; those they call heretics may be destroyed; those they call schismatics may be excluded from mercy; besides their recognizing no government, in so absolute a manner, in such a manner, by introducing as many sects as possible into the states under whose government they enjoy life, liberty, and property. This is a solecism in politics, *Imperium in Imperio*, leading directly to the worst confusion, civil discord, war and

# The Adams Papers



## Papers of John Adams



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EDITORS

*Volume 7*

*September 1778-February 1779*

THE BELKNAP PRESS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Papers of John Adams*

guerre, et se procurer une protection dont l'Etat les laisse manquer; et ils se sont prêtés à cela de la meilleur grace du monde; on a renvoyé à LL. hh. pp. plusieurs Marchands dont la propriété vient d'être saisie par les Anglois, pour demander d'être dédommagés. La France menace de ne plus admettre dans ses ports les caboteurs Hollandois, si la République souffre que les Anglois les prennent. On a réduit un grand Personnage<sup>6</sup> absolument au silence, en lui certifiant l'inutilité parfaite de toute tentative ultérieure quant à l'augmentation; en faisant voir l'incongruité de faire promener pour rien les vaisseaux de l'Etat dans la méditerranée et ailleurs, pendant qu'il n'en reste pas un seul dans le Canal et dans la Mer du Nord, où sont les vrais pirates;<sup>7</sup> en demandant ce qu'il falloit penser d'un Vaisseau de guerre tout neuf de 54 canons, consumé par les flames depuis peu de jours à Amsterdam au milieu des autres vaisseaux de l'Etat: car on soupçonne violemment les <sup>8</sup> de cette méchanceté.

J'ai vu les dernières dépeches étrangères. Il n'y a rien, dans 24 mortelles pages in folio, qui vaille une ligne de ce que je vous marque ci-dessus. Et quand il y auroit quelque chose qui valût l'Extrait, je n'en aurois plus le temps aujourd'hui. Vous savez, Messieurs, que je suis seul, sans Clerc ni Secrétaire sans moyens d'en tenir; mais avec le dévouement le plus parfait au service des Etats-Unis, et le respect le plus sincère pour vos personnes, Messieurs, Votre très-humble & très obéissant serviteur  
Dumas

TRANSLATION

Gentlemen

The Hague, 4 September 1778

Our friend<sup>1</sup> and I propose to undertake an initiative<sup>2</sup> in regard to his town more ambitious than any yet attempted. With God's help and that of our enemies, who further our strategy by continuing to mistreat this Republic, we hope that it will lead us into the final, great phase of establishing a perfect union between the two sisters. To achieve this we must give our friend additional material, beyond what he has received from me, so that he can deal successfully with that part of his city's Regency that he has not yet approached. Here is what is needed. Please send me, as soon as possible, *an ostensible letter*<sup>3</sup> in which should be enclosed either *a proposal for a general treaty of amity and commerce, such as would conform to the wishes of the United States, or a declaration that the Republic is desired to conclude with the United States a treaty similar to that with France, which would serve as a basic model, and with such appropriate modifications as might be required by the locations of the contracting parties.* I communicated this plan to the Grand Facteur,<sup>4</sup> who not only approved it completely, but thinks that no time should be lost. Your response, if you send it at once, will arrive just as the Assembly of the States of Holland adjourns, and our friend will be able to begin proceed-

ings with his city immediately and make it possible for me to be very auspicious because the city but the city pressing for it as enthusiastic as I am about the important document, which concerning the troops, the contradiction of their demands and circular real interests of the Republic will be offered for insertion test against all that might present circumstances.<sup>5</sup> They readily agreed, to submit in order to equip, at their expense with the protection not given property was seized by the Mightinesses to request could admit the Dutch coasters in seizure by the British. This complete silence by showing increase the army and by preventing vessels idly cruise the Mediterranean left in the Channel and Also brought to his attention guns was consumed by flames other Dutch warships. For suspected.

I have seen the latest for folio there is nothing worth And were there something it today. As you know, I am any means to get one. But, of the United States and the am your very humble and ve

RC (PPAmP:Franklin Paper "Dumas."); in another hand: "N

<sup>1</sup> For Englebert François van Pensionary of Amsterdam, see vol. 6  
<sup>2</sup> The initiative planned by van and Dumas was intended to obtain the Regency of Amsterdam, the governing body of that city, a declaration in a treaty between the Netherlands and the United States, which could then influence the members of the General. However, events were of that would materially affect the

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 e du monde; on a renvoyé à  
 propriété vient d'être saisie  
 mmagés. La France menace  
 oteurs Hollandois, si la Re-  
 nent. On a réduit un grand  
 certifiant l'inutilité parfaite  
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 es vaisseaux de l'Etat dans la  
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 e locations of the contracting  
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 ime should be lost. Your re-  
 just as the Assembly of the  
 ill be able to begin proceed-

ings with his city immediately. Therefore, gentlemen, please be prompt  
 and make it possible for me to strike while the iron is hot. The plan is  
 very auspicious because then it would no longer be America soliciting,  
 but the city pressing for it to happen. I can assure you that our friend is  
 as enthusiastic as I am about this project. He has composed a most im-  
 portant document, which cites the city's reasons for refusing to increase  
 the troops, the contradictions into which they have all fallen here in  
 their demands and circular letters on the subject, and the true state and  
 real interests of the Republic. The conclusion to this document, which  
 will be offered for insertion in the Public Acts of the Republic, is a pro-  
 test against all that might prove detrimental to the Republic in the  
 present circumstances.<sup>5</sup> The merchants of Amsterdam were advised, and  
 readily agreed, to submit to paying double *tonnage and poundage* in  
 order to equip, at their expense, 15 men-of-war to provide themselves  
 with the protection not given by the State. Several merchants whose  
 property was seized by the British have gone again to Their High  
 Mightinesses to request compensation. France threatens no longer to  
 admit the Dutch coasters into her harbors if the Republic tolerates their  
 seizure by the British. This has reduced an important personage<sup>6</sup> to  
 complete silence by showing him the futility of any further attempt to  
 increase the army and by pointing out the incongruity of having naval  
 vessels idly cruise the Mediterranean and elsewhere when there are  
 none left in the Channel and the North Sea, where the real pirates are.<sup>7</sup>  
 Also brought to his attention was the fact that a new man-of-war of 54  
 guns was consumed by flames a few days ago in Amsterdam amidst  
 other Dutch warships. For this miserable deed the <sup>8</sup> are strongly  
 suspected.

I have seen the latest foreign dispatches. In 24 deadly dull pages in  
 folio there is nothing worth a line more than what I have written above.  
 And were there something worth an extract, I would not have time for  
 it today. As you know, I am alone with neither clerk nor secretary nor  
 any means to get one. But, with the most perfect devotion to the service  
 of the United States and the most sincere respect for you, gentlemen, I  
 am your very humble and very obedient servant  
 Dumas

RC (PPAmP:Franklin Papers); docketed by William Temple Franklin:  
 "Dumas."; in another hand: "M. Dumas 4th Sept. 78."

<sup>1</sup> For Englebert François van Berckel, Pensionary of Amsterdam, see vol. 6:51.

<sup>2</sup> The initiative planned by van Berckel and Dumas was intended to obtain from the Regency of Amsterdam, the governing body of that city, a declaration in favor of a treaty between the Netherlands and the United States, which could then be used to influence the members of the States General. However, events were occurring that would materially affect the outcome

of the initiative as well as future relations between the United States and the Netherlands.

On the same day that Dumas wrote the Commissioners, Jan de Neufville, an Amsterdam merchant, and William Lee, who was authorized only to function as American Commissioner to Berlin, were signing a draft treaty of amity and commerce at Aix-la-Chapelle (Wharton, ed., *Dipl. Corr. Amer. Rev.*, 2:789-798). The

## TRANSLATION

Gentlemen

The Hague, 9 September 1778

Yesterday I met twice with the Grand Facteur and twice with our friend.

Here is what happened in the Assembly of Holland yesterday morning. Amsterdam presented its proposal, to be inserted in the acts of the republic, opposing an increase in the size of the army, adding that since it would be printed for the use of each member who could then read it at leisure, it seemed unnecessary to try the patience of the Assembly by reading it aloud at the present time. The Grand Pensionary insisted, however, that because it would be inserted, it should be read and that he would do so in his own capacity. They responded that if it did not fatigue either the reader or the audience it would certainly not tire the originators of the proposal. The Grand Pensionary read it and could not refrain from indicating, by violent contortions on his chair, the frequent passages that displeased him. The Corps of Nobility listened sullenly and declared that in addition to the proposal it had already inserted, which was sufficient *ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*,<sup>1</sup> &c., it intended to introduce another *against that of Amsterdam*. Dort<sup>2</sup> then spoke and invoked its prerogative to oppose the introduction of such a *counter-proposal* as being contrary to the Constitution, and to permit only the insertion of a new proposal on the same issue, but not as *against* the proposal of another member of the State. Harlem, in its turn, declared that, without caring to pronounce itself either for or against this formality, it agreed with the substance of Amsterdam's proposal. Finally, the proposal from Amsterdam was inserted as planned. It will be printed and distributed to all the members. There will be a hundred extra copies, of which I will have one that I will translate and send you, gentlemen, in due time.<sup>3</sup>

Our friend is both delighted by this success and irritated at the Grand Pensionary. He told me that the Grand Pensionary's conduct was not, as we had previously thought, that of a statesman and shrewd courtier<sup>4</sup> and that if he had wished to play the latter role while being in actual agreement with the Republican party, they would have aided him in his effort. But he has lost the trust of Amsterdam, which is now convinced that he is doing and will do everything out of complaisance for &c.<sup>5</sup> He added that if one had any doubts about it, all that I had to do was to go and ask him what would be his answer to your letter,<sup>6</sup> gentlemen, and I would see what he told me. I said that I had no orders that could be produced or even alleged in order to do so. Well, he said, go on your own behalf. I made him to understand that I could not thus commit myself without compromising you too. He observed, smilingly, that I would, therefore, have to believe him. I immediately reported this conversation to the Grand Facteur, who agreed with me.

I have the honor, gentlemen to confirm my letter of the 4th of this month and await your reply. The part of the Regency of Amsterdam

that our friend intends to approach is the entire council of the city, having until now limited himself to the burgomasters. If he succeeds, important deliberations and démarches may follow. The party with which you will, through me, have increasing contact, gentlemen, is, as in England, the whig or republican party, but with this advantage over its British counterpart: that in regard to the principal subject now dividing the parties, the plurality of suffrages can do nothing against it. We are, therefore, now proceeding down the only route that can succeed in alienating this state from your enemies and, little by little, draw it closer to France and America.

I will add, for the historical record, that Harlem and Dort have for Pensionaries Messrs. Van Zeeberg and Boschart, two very capable men, good republicans, and friends of our friend.

I am, with respectful devotion, gentlemen, your very humble and very obedient servant.

RC (MH-H:Lee Papers); addressed: "à Leurs Excellences Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique à Paris."

<sup>1</sup> That the state suffer no harm.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Dordrecht, located on the southern boundary of the province of Holland, almost directly south of Amsterdam.

<sup>3</sup> Dumas reported on the progress of the translation in his letter of 27 Oct., but it was not ready for transmission to the Commissioners until he wrote on 2

Dec. (both below).

<sup>4</sup> See Dumas to the Commissioners, 17 July (vol. 6:298-304).

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the Stadholder and his party.

<sup>6</sup> That of 28 April from the Commissioners to the Grand Pensionary (vol. 6:61-62).

### The Commissioners to Caron de Beaumarchais

Sir

Passi. September 10. 1778

In a Letter We have received from the Committee of Commerce of the 16 May<sup>1</sup> We are informed that they had (")ordered Several Vessels lately to South Carolina for Rice, and directed the Continental Agents in that state to consign them to (y)our Address.(")

In the Letter from Mr. Livingston to Us dated Charlestown So. Carolina 10. June 1778 he has Subjected the Cargo of the Theresa [*Thérèse*] to our orders.<sup>2</sup>

In your Letter to Us dated Passi 8. September 1778,<sup>3</sup> you "demand that the Cargo arrived in your own proper Vessell should be sold and the Money remitted to you in Part for a Discharge of what is due to you by the Congress."

We are at a Loss to know how you claim the Therese as your proper Vessell, because Mr. Monthieu claims her as his, produces a written

contract for the Hire and paid and the Remainder he

However, sir, We beg Letters We have received from them as soon as possible enter upon the Discussion of please.

But until the Accounts of Co. are settled for what is ratified by you and Us, or should be justified in remitting Therese.

We will however give orders and that the Proceeds of Sa Roderique Hortalez and Co. counts shall be settled or the

The Powers and Instructions By a Copy of a Contract by Francy dated the 16th of April,<sup>6</sup> respecting the annual shall not be binding upon e be ratified by Roderique H sioners of the United States

We take this opportunity confer with Roderique Hort authorized for this Purpose shall appoint.

We have the Honour to be ble servants.

LbC (Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 6:127-128. Except for change from "your" to "our," necessary because this letter was Commissioners, the last part of sentence is an exact quotation from ter of 16 May.

<sup>2</sup> Livingston's letter has no found, but following this sentence Letterbook is a large space, perhaps originally intended for the insertion of tation from that letter.

<sup>3</sup> Actually, Beaumarchais' letter dated 5 Sept. and, although by JA, was to Benjamin

Europe, 1776-1787 (DNA, RG 39 Microfilm), f. 25, 51, 53). None of the accounts mentioned by Williams below have been found.

to William Lee

Passi September [22-26]<sup>1</sup> 1778  
Attention the Papers which you  
ject of a Treaty to be made be-  
vinces, and that of the United

Authority of treating with all  
s have particular Commissioners  
nem, and as no particular Com-  
with their High Mightinesses:  
as appeared to Us Suitable to  
a Friendship between two Na-  
in their Power to be extremly  
their mutual Prosperity. And We  
every Way consistent with the

many Reasons<sup>3</sup> to express at  
ning the Project of a Treaty  
communicate to Us.<sup>5</sup>  
out expressing a ready Disposi-  
, which<sup>6</sup> besides laying a foun-  
ween the two Countries would  
the Effusion of human Blood;  
Flames of War. We have the  
ct, sir your most obedient and

erning his negotiation of a draft  
ty with the Netherlands can be seen  
a reprimand for his assumption of  
ers not given him by the congress. It  
also an indication of the Commis-  
ers' concern that his negotiation of a  
y with an equally unauthorized repre-  
ntative from Amsterdam, Jan de Neuf-  
would undermine the delicate nego-  
ns then being carried on with Pieter

van Bleiswyck, the Grand Pensionary,  
through C. W. F. Dumas. Indeed, the  
Commissioners were still awaiting a re-  
sponse from van Bleiswyck to their pre-  
vious overtures (Commissioners to Dumas,  
9 Sept., above). Assuming that Franklin  
made them known to his colleagues, the  
Commissioners were probably also in-

fluenced by Dumas' letters to Franklin of  
3, 8, and 11 Sept. (PPAmP:Franklin  
Papers), in which he expressed his reser-  
vations about the Lee-Neufville efforts  
(see Dumas to the Commissioners, 4  
Sept., and note 2, above).

<sup>6</sup> The following twelve words were in-  
terlined for insertion here.

E. F. van Berckel to the Commissioners

Amsterdam 23 Septembre 1778

Le soussigné, Conseiller Pensionaire de la Ville d'Amsterdam, a  
l'honneur de faire savoir à tous les Messieurs qui se trouvent duement  
qualifiés de la part du Congrès des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, qu'il se  
trouve autorisé par Mrs. les Bourguemaîtres de la dite Ville, de déclarer  
en leur nom, que, dans la supposition que le dit Congrès n'entrera pas  
avec les Commissaires Anglois dans des Engagemens, qui pourroient être  
nuisibles ou préjudiciables au Commerce de la République des Pays-Bas  
Unis en Europe, directement ou indirectement,<sup>1</sup> les Bourguemaîtres sus-  
dits seront entierement disposés à diriger, de leur côté, les affaires, au-  
tant qu'il dépendra d'eux, de la sorte, que, dès que l'Indépendance des  
dits Etats-Unis en Amérique sera reconnue par les Anglois, il pourra  
être arrêté et conclu au plutôt un Traité d'Amitié perpétuelle entre  
cette République et les dits Etats-Unis, contenant des avantages réci-  
proques, par rapport au Commerce entre les sujets des deux nations,  
les plus étendus.

Le soussigné a l'honneur d'ajouter, que c'est l'intention des dits  
Bourguemaîtres que l'on fasse usage de cette déclaration où l'on le ju-  
gera convenable; ne doutant nullement qu'on ne le fasse avec le mén-  
agement nécessaire, pour qu'il n'en transpire rien auprès de ceux qui  
pourroient être intéressés à faire échouer, s'il étoit possible, ou bien à  
rendre difficile, l'exécution d'un plan, qui n'a d'autre but que celui  
d'avancer le bonheur et les véritables intérêts réciproques des deux Ré-  
publiques.<sup>2</sup>

E. F. Van Berckel

TRANSLATION

Amsterdam, 23 September 1778

The undersigned, Councilor Pensionary of the City of Amsterdam,  
has the honor to inform all the gentlemen who find themselves duely  
commissioned by the congress of the United States of America, that he  
finds himself authorized by the burgomasters of the city to declare in  
their name that, assuming the said congress will not enter into any agree-  
ment with the English commissioners that would be harmful or prejudicial

to the trade of the Republic of the Netherlands in Europe, either directly or indirectly,<sup>1</sup> the aforementioned burgomasters will be entirely disposed to facilitate matters on their part and as much as may depend upon them, so that as soon as the independence of the said United States in America is recognized by the English, it will be able to at once settle and conclude a treaty of perpetual friendship between this Republic and the said United States containing the broadest reciprocal advantages in trade between the subjects of the two nations.

The undersigned has the honor to add that it is the intention of the said burgomasters that the present statement be used as will be deemed appropriate, not doubting that it will be used with all the necessary precautions so that nothing will occur to aid those who would like to see such a project fail or at least made difficult to implement, when its sole purpose is to increase the happiness and true reciprocal interests of the two republics.<sup>2</sup>

E. F. Van Berckel

RC (PPAmP:Franklin Papers). Although the letter printed here constituted the recipient's copy for the Commissioners, it was not the original MS signed by van Berckel, but a copy made by C. W. F. Dumas from the original sent to him by van Berckel. Dumas sent his copy to the Commissioners enclosed in a letter of 2 Oct. (below), adding at the bottom of the copy: "Copie fidele, faite sur l'original qui m'a été adressé, et qui est entre mes mains, à La Haie le 2e. Octobre 1778. C. G. F. Dumas."

<sup>1</sup>The italics here are Dumas' (see Dumas to the Commissioners, 2 Oct., below).

<sup>2</sup>The declaration by the burgomasters of Amsterdam was, at its heart, an exercise in self-defense against the possible consequences of the Lee-Neufville treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on 4 Sept. (see Dumas to the Commissioners, 4 Sept., note 2, above). Unable to deny its existence, the burgomasters sought to define the agreement as merely an effort to prepare the ground for the eventual conclusion of a treaty after the formal recognition of American independence by Great Britain.

This intention is even more clearly expressed in the letter of 23 Sept. from van Berckel to Dumas (PPAmP:Franklin Papers), which Dumas also copied and enclosed in his letter to the Commis-

sioners of 2 Oct. There van Berckel stated that the burgomasters' declaration made it clear that they did not intend to conclude an agreement separately from the States General, but only to make advance preparations for a treaty when an opportunity presented itself. He also noted that the States General could not conclude a treaty without Amsterdam's consent and approval of the draft. To save time, however, such a draft could be examined even before Britain recognized American independence.

Van Berckel closed his letter by suggesting that the preliminary work might be accomplished by using the Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce as a model. That document could be submitted to experienced Amsterdam merchants, who would then suggest what changes were necessary.

From Ralph Izard

Dear Sir

Paris 24th. Sepr. 1778

I must apologize for not having given you an immediate answer to your Letter of 20th. instant, which would have been the case if I had

not been much employed in writing, and in the absence of Mr. Blake<sup>1</sup> for Nantes. It has been soon as Great Britain shall be compelled by our Countrymen, to abandon her plan of war, and to accept the blessings of Peace, uninterrupted by any war ever. Contentions with France, ought to be excluded from every consideration. It is upon this subject that I feel a great uneasiness from some articles in the Declaration which I fear will in some future day bring forth mischief. Two of those Articles which I have proposed, and by their direction have been adopted, was spent in examining the Treaties of Commerce, other parts may have escaped their attention, and may occur to them when it is too late. Happily, however, proposed on either side," to be made from the Declaration by Congress to the Commissioners at Philadelphia, to me, some good might possibly have resulted, but it was the indispensable duty of the Commissioners to make such communication, and if a consequence of their persisting in the same, it will be of every application on my part, they will be obliged to their Country.<sup>3</sup>

This, however, is not the proper time to discuss those points. I shall therefore proceed to the Treaty only, which you have done me the honor to propose.

The 8th. Article<sup>4</sup> of the original Treaty contains the following words. "The most extensive rights of fishery on the banks of the said Island relating to any of the said Islands, in the virtue of the Treaty of Paris."

The 13th. Article of the Treaty of Commerce says "It shall be allowed to the subjects of the said Kingdom of Great Britain, to fish on land, in that part only, and in the said Island of Newfoundland, which is situated between Cape Bonavista, to the northern point, and the latitude running down by the western side of the said Island, called Point Riche."<sup>5</sup> The French proposed in the above Article, they had an exclusive right to fish the coast of Newfoundland as are their subjects, never admitted by England; indeed th

twelve letters written by JA, from this date through 6 Sept. 1785, that were sent to JQA by Richard Henry Lee, Arthur Lee's grandnephew, who had used them in preparing his *Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D.* (2 vols., Boston, 1829). JQA received the letters, and an additional one from Arthur Lee to JA written in 1788, in 1827 and 1828. In April 1837, as JQA was organizing his papers, he reread them and was deeply affected by the memories they evoked. In his Diary he wrote: "I now read them all, and they took me back a full half century, and more; even to the days of my boyhood. The Letters written at different times mark each the feelings and the interests of a different epoch." JQA, then nearly seventy, continued: "there is a character of romantic wildness about the memory of my travels in Europe, from 1778 to 1785, which gives to it a tinge, as if it was the recollection of something in another world. Life was new—everything was surprizing—everything carried with it a deep interest" (JQA, Diary, 26 April 1837, *Memoirs*, 9:352-353).

<sup>1</sup> In the Letterbook copy this word was followed by "upon the pub," which has been canceled.

<sup>2</sup> In the Letterbook this passage, from the preceding comma, reads: "yet in the Eyes (*both*) of the English Nation the French Nation, and above all the American Nation."

<sup>3</sup> In the Letterbook this paragraph began: "But whether you approve of these

Ideas, or not."

<sup>4</sup> In the Letterbook JA substituted "Settled" for "fixed."

<sup>5</sup> In the Letterbook "Friendship" was originally followed by "between," which was canceled.

<sup>6</sup> In the Letterbook the following ten words were interlined for insertion. In that passage "my duty" originally followed "consistent with," but was canceled.

### The Commissioners to C. W. F. Dumas

Sir

Passy, Oct. 10, 1778

We have received yours of the 2d Instant, with the Declaration sign'd by Mr. Van Berikel, and his explanatory Letter to you,<sup>1</sup> which give us much Pleasure, as they show the good Disposition of that respectable Body, the Burgomasters of Amsterdam towards the United States of America, and their Willingness, as far as may depend on them, to promote, between the Republick of the United (*States*) Low Countries in Europe and the said States, "a Treaty of perpetual Amity containing reciprocal Advantages with respect to Commerce between the Subjects of [the] two Nations." As that Body must be better acquainted than we with the Methods of doing public Business in their Country, and appear to be of Opinion that some previous Steps can be taken by them which may facilitate and expedite so good a Work, when Circumstances shall permit its coming under the Consideration of their HH. MM. we rely on their<sup>2</sup> Judgement, and hereby request they should take those Steps, as explain'd in M. Van Berikel's Letter. And they may<sup>2</sup> be assured that such a Treaty (*will be very agreeable to*) as is above described would at this time meet with no obstacle on the Part

of the United States of America; for your Nation; and that nothing accomplish the End proposed. W tioning it in the Declaration as clusion of such a Treaty *th acknowledged by the English*, is there is no more Occassion fo Treaty with Holland, than the And we apprehend that if that sary,<sup>3</sup> or waited for, England make an Advantage of it in the for it some Privileges in Comm wish therefore that Idea to be l may be made to us of England i We are, Sir, Your most obedi

Dft (ViU:Lee Papers); docketed mas Treaty"; in another hand: 1778." This mis-dating is due to be read as 16. However, Arthur 1 Letterbook (PCC, No. 102, IV, f. in his letter of 27 Oct. (below) to of the 10th; and Arthur Lee's no marginal notes by Franklin and 1 draft was done at Passy and sent tions. All alterations in the draft : the right margin and on the fold in

<sup>1</sup> For the declaration, as well as an tract from van Berckel's letter to Du see van Berckel to the Commissioners Sept., and note 2 (above).

<sup>2</sup> At this point, immediately be "be." at the beginning of a line, Lee inserted an "X" and, in the left margin the first page, wrote: "M. Vanber Letter proposes to have the comme Treaty with France examined and acc modated to our present object, by s Merchants of Amsterdam. I submit t<sup>1</sup> fore whether we can with prop assur[e] them that such a treaty wou<sup>2</sup> agreeable before we have seen it; whether it would be better [to] say— may be assured that a treaty fou upon the principles of reciproci[ty] fair intercourse woud at this time with no obstacle on the part of the U States. I put in, at this time, to room for them to apprehend that i

e through 6 Sept. 1785, that were  
 hur Lee's grandnephew, who had  
 Lee, LL.D. (2 vols., Boston, 1829).  
 one from Arthur Lee to JA writ-  
 1837, as JQA was organizing his  
 affected by the memories they  
 read them all, and they took me  
 to the days of my boyhood. The  
 h the feelings and the interests of  
 ty, continued: "there is a charac-  
 ry of my travels in Europe, from  
 as if it was the recollection of  
 v—everything was surprizing—ev-  
 JQA, Diary, 26 April 1837, Mem-

as, or not."

<sup>4</sup> In the Letterbook JA substituted  
 "settled" for "fixed."

<sup>5</sup> In the Letterbook "Friendship" was  
 originally followed by "between," which  
 was canceled.

<sup>6</sup> In the Letterbook the following ten  
 words were interlined for insertion. In  
 that passage "my duty" originally followed  
 "consistent with," but was canceled.

C. W. F. Dumas

Passy, Oct. 10, 1778

Instant, with the Declaration  
 explanatory Letter to you,<sup>1</sup> which  
 the good Disposition of that re-  
 Amsterdam towards the United  
 ess, as far as may depend on  
 ck of the United (States) Low  
 ; "a Treaty of perpetual Amity  
 respect to Commerce between  
 that Body must be better ac-  
 doing public Business in their  
 at some previous Steps can be  
 expedite so good a Work, when  
 ; under the Consideration of  
 ment, and hereby request they  
 M. Van Berikel's Letter. And  
 (will be very agreeable to) as is  
 with no obstacle on the Part

of the United States of America, who have great Esteem and Respect  
 for your Nation; and that nothing will be wanting on our Part to ac-  
 complish the End proposed. We would only remark, that the Men-  
 tioning it in the Declaration as a Thing necessary to precede the Con-  
 clusion of such a Treaty *that American Independence should be*  
*acknowledged by the English*, is not understood by us, who conceive  
 there is no more Occassion for such an Acknowledgement before a  
 Treaty with Holland, than there was before our Treaty with France.  
 And we apprehend that if that Acknowledgement were really neces-  
 sary,<sup>3</sup> or waited for, England (*would probably*) might endeavour to  
 make an Advantage of it in the future Treaty of Pacification, to obtain  
 for it some Privileges in Commerce, perhaps exclusive of Holland. We  
 wish therefore that Idea to be laid aside, and that no farther Mention  
 may be made to us of England in this Business.

We are, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servants.<sup>4</sup>

Dft (ViU:Lee Papers); docketed by Benjamin Franklin: "Rough to M Du-  
 mas Treaty"; in another hand: "The Commrs. to M. Dumas Oct. 16th.  
 1778." This mis-dating is due to the fact that at first glance the date can  
 be read as 16. However, Arthur Lee's uncorrected copy of the draft in his  
 Letterbook (PCC, No. 102, IV, f. 75-76) was dated the 10th; Dumas refers  
 in his letter of 27 Oct. (below) to the recipient's copy (not found) as being  
 of the 10th; and Arthur Lee's notation is dated 13 Oct. (see note 4). The  
 marginal notes by Franklin and Lee (see notes 2 and 3) indicate that the  
 draft was done at Passy and sent to Lee, who returned it with his sugges-  
 tions. All alterations in the draft are in Franklin's hand. The text is worn at  
 the right margin and on the fold in the center.

<sup>1</sup> For the declaration, as well as an ex-  
 tract from van Berckel's letter to Dumas,  
 see van Berckel to the Commissioners, 23  
 Sept., and note 2 (above).

<sup>2</sup> At this point, immediately before  
 "be." at the beginning of a line, Lee in-  
 serted an "X" and, in the left margin of  
 the first page, wrote: "M. Vanberkle's  
 Letter proposes to have the commercial  
 Treaty with France examined and accom-  
 modated to our present object, by some  
 Merchants of Amsterdam. I submit there-  
 fore whether we can with propriety  
 assur[e] them that such a treaty would be  
 agreeable before we have seen it; and  
 whether it woud be better [to] say—They  
 may be assured that a treaty founded  
 upon the principles of reciproci[ty] and  
 fair intercourse woud at this time meet  
 with no obstacle on the part of the United  
 States. I put in, at this time, to leave  
 room for them to apprehend that if de-

layd it may meet with obstacles. A. Lee."

Responding to Lee's comments, Benja-  
 min Franklin noted in the top margin of  
 the first page: "The Remark in the Mar-  
 gin is not founded; the Words *such a*  
*Treaty* evidently refer to the foregoing  
 Description of the Treaty, which is taken  
 from the Burgomasters own Declaration.  
 B F." Lee may also have underlined the  
 passage, including the portion that was  
 deleted, beginning with "be" and ending  
 with "States." The sixteen words begin-  
 ning with "as is above described" and  
 ending with "on the part of" were later  
 interlined for insertion. The underscore  
 under "the United States" was erased.

<sup>3</sup> Immediately after "necessary" Lee in-  
 serted an "a" and, in the left margin of  
 the draft's second page, noted: "Or waited  
 for, England &c. It seems to me that this  
 apprehension cannot be pressed upon  
 them too often, or too much; and there-

de la lettre<sup>5</sup> que vous avés eu la  
comme vous l'entendez.

TION

Versailles, 29 October 1778  
: Mr. Izard's, concerning the as-  
it to Count d'Estaing at present,  
ommon good of our two nations  
efore our Ministers.<sup>1</sup> In order not  
osition as a commissioner from  
your permission, I did not reveal  
had found myself in Paris with  
mous opinion seemed to be that  
ut delay, twelve ships of the line  
i.<sup>2</sup> I made this proposal to Mr. de  
Count de Vergennes tomorrow.  
r me out very attentively. I can-  
is idea as being the best thing to  
to adopt it; but from the ques-  
ast, would not find it strange if I  
ding to indicate the necessity of  
ich to proceed with it, and the  
probably be wise to mention in  
not too advanced and that one  
it d'Estaing in order to join with  
tail the facilities of all kinds that  
o find in all the American ports,  
tish would expose themselves if  
forces, and finally, how little ve-  
rces will be prejudicial to us in  
on that, as a Commissioner, you  
is request, for fear of going too  
nade great efforts in this matter,  
norandum which I would then  
ne of my American friends. In-  
gs,<sup>3</sup> and others could have com-  
would be no awkwardness for  
here among our Ministers, since  
w as well as I do that today the  
e face Estaing with nineteen or  
uns.<sup>4</sup> It seems to me that this is  
ored. I would be most happy if  
a manner that would be agree-

le and very obedient servant  
Genet

P.S. Thank you for the letter<sup>5</sup> you had the kindness to write. It will  
be employed as you intended.

RC (Adams Papers); docketed: "Genet"; and in CFA's hand: "Octr. 29th  
1778."

<sup>1</sup> For JA's account of the genesis of  
the proposal for reinforcing the fleet, see  
his letter to Elbridge Gerry of 11 Sept.  
1779 (below); for the proposal's formal  
presentation to the French government,  
see Commissioners to Vergennes, [ante  
20] Dec. 1778 - [ante 9] Jan. 1779 (below).

<sup>2</sup> Estaing's squadron had been formed  
and sailed from Toulon.

<sup>3</sup> John J. Pringle, who served as Ralph  
Izard's secretary; and Edmund Jennings,  
with whom JA later formed a close rela-  
tionship; and perhaps John Lloyd of  
Maryland, whom JA had met at Nantes  
and with whom he dined several times  
after arriving at Passy (DAB; JA, *Diary  
and Autobiography*, 2:355-357; 4:67, 85,

90, 145).

<sup>4</sup> Genet's figures for the combined fleet  
of Byron and Howe are substantially cor-  
rect. Against it Estaing could muster  
eleven ships of the line and one of fifty  
guns (Dull, *French Navy and Amer. Inde-  
pendence*, p. 359, 360; Mackesy, *War for  
America*, p. 194, 198, 218). Estaing, how-  
ever, never faced such a force in 1778,  
and, indeed, it was he who had the super-  
ior strength in his abortive efforts to en-  
gage the British at Sandy Hook in July  
and off Rhode Island in August (Mahan,  
*Navies in the War of Amer. Independence*,  
p. 66-67, 72-73).

<sup>5</sup> Of [post 24 Oct.] (above).

### From Richard Henry Lee

My dear Sir

Philadelphia Octr. 29. 1778<sup>1</sup>

I am exceedingly happy to hear of your safe arrival, and I hope  
agreeable accommodation at Paris. At first, I doubt not, the splendid  
gaity of a magnificent Court, accorded not so well with the temperate  
manners of a sober Republican. But use reconciles most things. It may  
soon happen that you be desired to visit Holland, where I believe they  
yet retain much of that simplicity of manners which first raised that  
people to greatness. Our finances want the support of a Loan in Eu-  
rope. 81,500,000 of dollars with increasing demands as depreciation  
advances with emission, cannot be cured by the slow working of Taxes.  
The latter is, I believe deeply gone into by all the States.<sup>2</sup>

I have seen your letter to our common friend Mr. S. Adams,<sup>3</sup> and do  
most thoroughly accord with you in sentiments. The battle of Mon-  
mouth in June last, and the subsequent arrival of Count d'Estaing has  
kept our enemies in pretty close quarters this Campaign at N. York.  
The better opinion is, that they mean shortly to abandon that City. But  
where they intend next we are at a loss to guess. Indeed they have such  
a choice of difficulties, that it is not an easy matter for themselves to  
determine what course they shall steer. Never did Men cut a more ri-  
diculous figure than the British Commissioners have done here. There  
last effort is a formal application to each State, and to all the people in

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each, by a Manifesto sent in Flags of Truce. We consider this as a prostitution of the Flag, and have recommended the seizure and imprisonment of the people, and the publication of their Manifesto.<sup>4</sup> In some instances, the Sea has saved us the trouble by previously swallowing up these silly Missives. I shall be at all times extremely glad to hear from you, being very sincerely dear Sir your affectionate friend

Richard Henry Lee<sup>5</sup>

RC (Adams Papers); docketed: "Hon. R. H. Lee. ans Feb. 13 1779 Oct. 28. 1778 most thoroughly accords with me in Sentiments in my Letter to S. Adams."

<sup>1</sup> For the publication of this letter in *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (vol. 13, "Lettres," cahier 65, p. clxx-clxxvii) under this date and the heading "Lettre de M. Richard Henri Lée, un des Membres, du Congrès, à M.\*\*\* à P—y," as well as JA's role in the alterations indicated in notes 2 and 5, see Samuel Adams to JA, 25 Oct., note 1 (above).

<sup>2</sup> The preceding three sentences were omitted from the translation in *Affaires*.

<sup>3</sup> That of 21 May (vol. 6:144-145, calendar entry; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:106-108).

<sup>4</sup> The Carlisle Commission's *Manifesto and Proclamation* of 3 Oct. (Evans, No. 15832) offered the state governments the

same terms for peace originally sent to congress, plus a total exemption from parliamentary taxation. The Commissioners indicated, however, that if the Americans persisted in their quest for independence and the alliance with France, they could expect Britain to do whatever was necessary to return the colonies to the empire. On 16 Oct. the congress recommended that the states arrest the agents distributing the document and on 30 Oct., in a countermanifesto, condemned Britain for its barbarous conduct of the war and promised retaliation if such practices continued (JCC, 12:1015-1016, 1080-1082).

<sup>5</sup> The signature was omitted in *Affaires*.

### Benjamin Franklin and John Adams to Gabriel de Sartine

Passy Oct. 30. 1778

We have been honoured with your Letter of the 26th. October, and We *(request your)* thank your Excellency, for the prompt and generous manner in which, you have given Liberty to four of our Countrymen, who were among the Prisoners at Dinant. Such Examples of Benevolence can not fail to make a lasting Impression on the American Mind.

Since the Receipt of your Excellencys Letter, We have received another from the American Prisoners at Brest, by which it appears that there are ten of them, from four of whom only we had received Letters when We wrote before, the other six having written to Us, but their Letters miscarried. We inclose a Copy of this Last Letter, and have the Honour to request, a similar Indulgence to all the ten.<sup>1</sup>

By a Letter, We received last night from L'orient,<sup>2</sup> We have the Pleasure to learn, that Three Whaling Vessells bound to the Coast of

the Brazils have been taken by Cruizers, and sent into that Port. Masters of these Vessells and even

We are happy in this opportunity some Intelligence, which V and have good Reasons to believe

The English the last Year, carried on the Coast of Brizil, off the Latitude Thirty five south and five of Soundings off and on, about 1

They have this Year about seven have all sailed in the Months of

All the officers, and almost all Vessells are Americains, from New chusetts excepting two or three from Long Island.

The Names of the Captains: port, Goldsmith and Richard Chadwick, Francis May, Reuben Elisha Clark, Benjamin Clark, Reuben Fitch, Zebbeda Coffin — John Lock Cape Codd —

Nantuckett, William Ray Nant

Four or five of these Vessels Greenland the last of February

There was published last Year same Imposture has been reported of the Admiralty to Mr. Dennings Mr. De berdt that a Core Fleet. But this We have certainly merely to deceive Americans appointed or did go with that.

For the Destruction or Capture for not one of the Vessels had of twenty four or even of Twenty Beginning of December would hence, because they would loaded.

The Cargoes of these Vessels very valuable, and at least five seamen *(in the whole World,*

Revolution," WMQ, 3d ser., 32:275-276 [April 1975]).

for Foreign Affairs

Passy Feb. 13. 1779<sup>1</sup>  
our Favour of the 28 Octr. inclos-  
22 of the same Month, to which I  
ower.<sup>2</sup> I have great Satisfaction in  
ndeavoured<sup>3</sup> with much Sincerity,

to communicate to the Ministers  
s I may receive, will not in future  
as I can while I Stay in Europe, I  
t is a long Time that we have had  
three Vessells we know have been  
ters, and two of them public Dis-  
adelphia 4 Nov. another 24. and  
ear that many others are lost. The  
nd the Letters too.

l, if I were able to throw any Light  
Loan in Europe all has been done  
without the desired Effect. (Econ-  
he Resources, I can think of.

from the Marquiss de la Fayette  
ive with Gratitude, for his gallant  
e best Causes in which an Hero

nd Wishes for my Happiness,<sup>6</sup> and  
riend  
John Adams

cketed: "Letter from J Adams Passy  
ms Papers).

<sup>3</sup> In the Letterbook the remainder of  
this sentence reads "with (great) much  
Sincerity (and Anxiety) to conform to this  
Spirit of (this Resolution) it."

<sup>4</sup> In the Letterbook this sentence con-  
tinues "(as I am now out of Employment.)"

<sup>5</sup> There is a canceled closing at this  
point in the Letterbook where JA in-  
tended to end the letter. The comments  
on Lafayette, which are interlined, were

an afterthought.

<sup>6</sup> From this point in the Letterbook  
the closing reads "and believe me to be,

(with great Sincerity,) your affectionate  
Friend."

To Richard Henry Lee

My dear Sir

Passy Feb. 13. 1779

I am much obliged to you for your kind Congratulations on my Ar-  
rival, and agreeable Accommodation at Paris. I assure you, Sir, I have  
no Objection to the "Splendid Gayety of a magnificent Court,"<sup>1</sup> in a  
Country, where<sup>2</sup> Manners, Habits and the Constitution of the (Coun-  
try) Government make it necessary, which I hope however, will never  
be the Case in America.

He must be of a Strange Disposition, indeed, who cannot be happy  
at Paris, where he may have his Choice, of all the Pleasures, Amuse-  
ments and Studies,<sup>3</sup> which human Life affords.

You hint that I may be Soon desired to visit Holland, and that you  
imagine this would be more agreeable to me. In this you are mistaken.  
Either would be agreeable to me, if I were able to do any good in it: but  
there are others, who are able to do more. I hope, and I fancy I shall  
not be desired to make this Visit, because I think it is time for me to go  
home, if I can get there. The Character I sustain, at present, that of a  
private Citizen, best becomes me, and is most agreeable to me.

Congress have done wisely, in my poor Opinion, in confiding, their  
political affairs, at this Court to one.<sup>4</sup> But then I think it will be neces-  
sary to appoint Consuls or other Persons to manage maritime and com-  
mercial Affaires which I presume, they mean to do. The Care of these  
Things is inconsistent with your Ministers Character, and the Burthen  
of them is too weighty for his Forces.

I feel myself honoured, by your Assurance, that my sentiments in  
my Letter to our Friend are conformable to yours, and that they pre-  
vail.<sup>5</sup> And in the Sincerity of my Heart I assure you, that no Intelli-  
gence I ever heard relieved my Mind from a greater Burthen, than that  
which informed me I was a private Citizen.<sup>6</sup>

Keppell is acquitted,<sup>7</sup> amidst the greatest Rejoicings, ever known.  
The Mob have at last become violent and pulled to Pieces Sandwichs  
and Palisser's Houses. Edinborough also is in Tumults about the  
Roman Catholics. In short the English Government seems to be in a  
fair Way, instead of burning your Houses and massacring your Chil-  
dren to be obliged to call home her Troops to save their own from the  
Mob.

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What shall I say to you, my Friend concerning a certain vicious and illiberal Address to the virtuous and free? Is it possible it should have made an Impression? Is that vain Man capable of thinking himself a Match for his Antagonist? And of weighing his Parts, his Learning, his services in the scale against the other? What Bounds can be set to the Presumption of the human Heart? But I must hasten to subscribe myself your Friend & servant

John Adams

RC (Mrs. Stephen Keiley, Massachusetts, 1976). LbC (Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Closing quotation marks have been supplied. The quotation is from Lee's letter of 29 Oct. 1778 (above).

<sup>2</sup> In the Letterbook this word is followed by (*Time*).

<sup>3</sup> In the Letterbook this sentence originally ended (*that can render human Life agreeable*).

<sup>4</sup> In the Letterbook this word is followed by (*Gentleman*).

<sup>5</sup> In the Letterbook this paragraph reads, to this point, as follows: "*(It may be imagined by some that I must be in an awkward situation, and that I may be thought to be disgraced. They are mistaken. I feel no Disgrace, on the contrary I must be destitute of the sentiment of Glory, if I did not feel myself)* honoured, when you tell me that my sentiments, in my Letter to (*Mr. Adams,*) our Friend are perfectly conformable to your own, and when our common Friend Mr. Lovell tells me that my Ideas, of distributing the Gentlemen abroad, were the prevalent Ideas at Philadelphia, and will be carried into Effect." JA is referring to his letter of 21 May to Samuel Adams (vol. 6:144-145, calendar entry; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:106-108) and that from James Lovell of 24 Oct. 1778 (above).

<sup>6</sup> The paragraph reflects JA's public pronouncements on being superseded as a

Commissioner. While he may have been relieved at his release from the burdens of the office, he expressed the unhappiness he felt at his situation two weeks later in a letter to AA: "The Scaffold is cutt away, and I am left kicking and sprawling in the Mire, I think. It is hardly a state of Disgrace that I am in but rather of total Neglect and Contempt" (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:181).

<sup>7</sup> The reference here to Keppel's acquittal and later to the Edinburgh riots indicate that this and the following paragraph were composed sometime after the rest of the letter, probably around 20 Feb. (see the last paragraph of JA to Samuel Adams, 14 Feb., below). This is indicated by a canceled closing before the paragraphs in the Letterbook and, more significantly, by the fact that JA could hardly have known of Keppel's acquittal and its accompanying disorders or of the Edinburgh riots as early as the 13th. The court-martial did not end until 11 Feb., and the riots in Edinburgh against repealing the penal laws against Catholics, which began on 2 Feb., were not reported in the London papers until about 9 Feb. (JA to Francis Dana, 25 Dec. 1778, and note 4, above; *London Chronicle*, 6-9, 11-13 Feb.).

To James Lovell

My dear Sir

Passy Feb. 13. 1779<sup>1</sup>

Yours of the 24 Oct. is before me. I have received several Letters from you (*every one of*) which I have answered, and written you many more. But so many Vessells have been taken, that I fear many have miscarried.

We have been totally in t  
for a very long Space of Ti  
(*the Address of Mr. Deane to*  
the English News papers ar  
imagine, for I cant describe  
on the Arrival of the Dispa:  
lief, and I hope the sensati  
Consequence. But for three  
the Public than I ever felt bo

As to Finances, I am qui  
Opinion. Dr. Price most pu  
Connections.<sup>4</sup> As to loaning  
End of it—it is too vast an  
the Way of Economy, to le  
help along? You say I am ag  
ments in Congress upon tha  
sumed, to Act in Conformity  
of Congress, I have done all  
But the state of our Currency  
Europe from all Parts of Ame  
ages and will discourage. The  
very well disposed towards U  
now accountable only to mys  
zen, and therefore I tell you  
tion and Appreciation Laws, c  
And you must tax to the quick

The States of Europe, sec  
friendly to Us, and England  
late Intelligence, has altered c  
are so artful in framing and in  
It may be necessary to say to  
firmness of this Court, in our  
very great, and already in my c  
Number of Seamen Superiou  
Ships is not so great.<sup>6</sup> We exp  
Hour. I am with great Affectio

LbC (Adams Papers); notation:

<sup>1</sup> No extant letters by James L  
mention receiving a letter of 13 Feb  
does indicate in his letter to JA of  
Aug. (below), however, that he had

<sup>4</sup> See Price to the Commissioners, 18 Jan. (above).

<sup>5</sup> This sentence was interlined, as was at least a portion of the one immediately preceding it. It is impossible to determine precisely how much of that sentence was an addition to the original text.

<sup>6</sup> The preceding nine words were interlined.

## e Vergennes, with ry Translation

a Versailles Le 13. fevrier 1779  
ue vous m'avés fait l'honneur de  
formement a vos desirs je n'ai point  
pour prendre Connoissance de Son  
é que vous Monsieur, de l'appel au  
ane a Publié. Il ne m'appartient pas  
a vos souverains respectifs d'en juger  
ai peuvent S'Être Elevés entre Mrs.  
it on vous a traités ici ensemble et  
que Si nous avons pô Être instruits  
mes entrés pour rien, et L'Estime  
hé a faire remarquer a chacun de  
que nous n'avons point adopté les  
nspirer a l'amerique et dont Le fon-  
i que Cette desagreable discussion  
levions a tout Egard nous l'abstenir  
charmé de Vous voir Monsieur; Le  
nien, je vous prie Seulement de me  
us aurés choisi.

Veritable Consideration Monsieur,  
serviteur, De Vergennes

ATION

Versailles 13th. Feby. 1779  
you did me the honor of writing to  
to your desire I have not submitted  
Translator. I am no less hurt than  
r. Silas Deane has made to the peo-  
to me to qualify this step. Your re-

February 1779

spective sovereigns must judge of the measure and decide the differences which have arisen between their Commissioners. The manner in which you have been treated here conjointly and separately, must have convinced you that if we even had been informed of your disputes we should have paid no regard to them, and the personal esteem which we have endeavoured to show each of the Commissioners is a proof that we have not adopted the prejudices with which they have endeavoured to inspire America the foundation of which is unknown to us; altho' this disagreeable discussion is strange to us, and it becomes us by all means to refrain from taking part therein, I shall nevertheless be delighted to see you sir, whatever day you fix will be agreeable to me, I only request you to acquaint me beforehand with the time you shall choose. I have the honor to be with true regard Sir Yr. mo. he. & mo. ob Servt.

(signed) De Vergennes

RC (Adams Papers); docketed: "M. Le Comte De Vergennes ans. Feb. 16. 1779." LbC (Adams Papers); notation at the head of the letter: "about Six o Clock, in the Evening of the 15 of February being Monday I received, in my Chamber, the following Letter, in these Words, viz"; and at the foot: "This Letter was inclosed in a Cover, inscribed with these Words. A Monsieur, Monsieur, Adams l'un des Deputes des Congrès de l'Amerique Septentrionale. a Passy. De Vergennes." Copy in JA's hand with contemporary translation by John Pintard (PCC, No. 83, II, f. 310-312). The copy was sent to Arthur Lee with JA's letter of 13 June (below). Lee then obtained the translation and enclosed it and JA's copy in his letter to the president of the congress of 17 Oct. 1780, which was read on 19 Oct. (PCC, No. 83, II, f. 302-303; JCC, 18:951). At the bottom of the copy, JA entered the same notation that appears at the foot of the LbC.

## To Samuel Adams

My dear Sir

Passy Feb. 14. 1779

The Marquiss de la Fayette did me, the Honour of a Visit, Yesterday, and delivered me, your Favour of the 25. of October. I am not sorry, as Things have been ordered, that mine of May 24<sup>1</sup> did not reach you till 24 Octr. because as the new Arrangement was previously made, it cannot be said that I had any Hand in accomplishing it. Yet I am glad the Letter has arrived because it will shew that the new system is quite agreeable to me, i.e. the appointment of a single Minister here. Believe me Sir, it was become very necessary. How Congress will dispose of me, I dont know. If it is intended that I shall return, this will be very agreeable to me: and I think this the most probable opinion, because Congress resolved soon after the 5 of december, to begin and go through, foreign affairs.<sup>2</sup> The Alliance sailed the 14 Jan. and there is

*Papers of John Adams*

no Resolution arrived here respecting me. I think therefore it is my duty to return, and that is my present determination, but whether I shall go to Amsterdam and thence to St. Eustatia, or to Spain and thence, home, or in a French Man of War to Martinico or any other Way I know not. I have not decided.

Some Hint that I am to go to Holland—others to Spain—the last implies the Removal of Mr. Lee, which would give me much Paine. I think him an able and faithfull Man. Yet what the Determination, may be upon the Complaint, if it is decided before he answers I know not.<sup>3</sup> This is a subject that I cannot write nor talk about. I would not have such another Sensation to be made a Prince. I confess I expected the most dismal Consequences, from it, because I thought it would render Business and Confidence between Us three, wholly impracticable. That it would destroy all Confidence between this Court and Us—that it would sta[r]tle Spain<sup>4</sup>—and allienate many in Holland. That it would encourage Ministry in England and disconcert opposition so much that they would even be able to make another vigorous Campaign, besides all the Evils it would produce among you.

But the arrival of Dr. F's Commission has relieved me from many of these Fears. This Court has Confidence in him alone: but I think they were cautious even of him when he had two Colleagues, to whom he was obliged to communicate every Thing, one of whom was upon as ill terms with him as with Mr. Deane. I have had a Kind of a Task here as my dear Brother Lovel expresses himself.<sup>5</sup> Determined to be the Partisan of neither; yet the Friend of both as far as the service would Admit, I am fully perswaded that leaving the Dr. here alone, in a political Capacity only, is right and that Mr. Lee is an honest and faithfull Man.

You say that France should be our Pole Star in Case War should take Place. I was I confess, surprized at this Expression. Was not War sufficiently declared in the King of Englands Speech, and in the answers of both Houses, and in the Recall of Ambassadors, and in actual Hostilities in most Parts of the World?

I think there never will be any other Declaration of War—Yet there is in fact as compleat a War as ever existed, and it will continue, for you may depend upon it, the King of France is immoveably fixed in our support, and so are his Ministers. Every suspicion of a wavering Disposition in this Court, concerning the support of our Independance is groundless—is ridiculous—is, impossible. You may remember that several Years ago, several Gentlemen were obliged to reason in order to shew that American Independance was the Interest of France.<sup>6</sup> Since

my Arrival here, I never one who doubted it. If t you that this Voice was our Independance as it is to depart from its present it would make this Natio peat that the Court is as ment arises out of such cannot alter. Common sense in France the last—nay the Comm sense of France. By the V agree with him perfectly because England is the nat present situation is her n altho there are many othe Nature.

France Scarcely ever ma rope. Now there is not a sta wishes her success. And in skill and Bravery of Office You may be suprized at my the wretched state of the Br Men you will not wonder a iour.

I therefore think that all Tryals of our Patience. But begin to think it necessary fo grow so fat as to go off in an There is one Thing, in on Expences of the Commission wrote according to the best heard. But I now think I put

There is not the least appe America nor any Intelligenc Discontent is very great, and in London.<sup>9</sup> According to pro sion for so many of their Tro

think therefore it is my  
 mination, but whether I  
 ustatia, or to Spain and  
 o Martinico or any other

others to Spain—the last  
 d give me much Paine. I  
 t the Determination, may  
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 e, wholly impracticable.  
 en this Court and Us—  
 many in Holland. That it  
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 e another vigorous Cam-  
 among you.

relieved me from many of  
 im alone: but I think they  
 o Colleagues, to whom he  
 e of whom was upon as ill  
 ad a Kind of a Task here as  
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 far as the service would  
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Star in Case War should  
 s Expression. Was not War  
 ds Speech, and in the an-  
 Ambassadors, and in actual

aration of War—Yet there  
 d, and it will continue, for  
 nce is immoveably fixed in  
 ry suspicion of a wavering  
 pport of our Independance  
 e. You may remember that  
 bliged to reason in order to  
 e Interest of France.<sup>6</sup> Since

February 1779

my Arrival here, I never yet found one Man, nor heard of more than  
 one who doubted it. If the Voice of Popularity is any Thing, I assure  
 you that this Voice was never so unanimous in America, in favour of  
 our Independance as it is here. It is so much so that if the Court were  
 to depart from its present system in this Respect, it is my clear opinion  
 it would make this Nation very unhappy, and the Court too. But I re-  
 peat that the Court is as fixed as the Nation, and this Union in senti-  
 ment arises out of such Principles in Nature, as without a Miracle,  
 cannot alter. Common sense in America supported Independance,  
 Common sense in France supports the Alliance and will support it to  
 the last—nay the Common sense of Europe supports the Common  
 sense of France. By the Way my Love to Mr. P. and tell him, I cant  
 agree with him perfectly in his Ideas about natural Ennemies.<sup>7</sup> It is  
 because England is the natural Ennemy of France, that America in her  
 present situation is her natural Friend—at least this is one Cause  
 altho there are many others, some of them more glorious for human  
 Nature.

France Scarcely ever made a War before that was popular in Eu-  
 rope. Now there is not a state that I can hear of, but applauds her, and  
 wishes her success. And in Point of Finance—and naval strength—in  
 skill and Bravery of Officers, she seems to be superiour to England.  
 You may be suprized at my saying naval strength. Yet if you consider,  
 the wretched state of the British Navy, as to Masts, Yards, Rigging, and  
 Men you will not wonder altho their Number of Ships may be super-  
 iour.

I therefore think that all is safe. We may have further Trouble and  
 Tryals of our Patience. But Trouble is to you and me familiar, and I  
 begin to think it necessary for my Health, for without it I should soon  
 grow so fat as to go off in an Apoplexy.

There is one Thing, in one of my Letters to you exaggerated—the  
 Expences of the Commissioners. I had been here but a short time and  
 wrote according to the best guess I could make, from what I had  
 heard. But I now think I put it too high.<sup>8</sup> With much Affection yours

John Adams

Feb. 20. 1779

There is not the least appearance of the Embarkation of Troops, for  
 America nor any Intelligence of Transports taken up. The national  
 Discontent is very great, and Tumults, have arisen in Edinborough and  
 in London.<sup>9</sup> According to present Appearances, they will have Occa-  
 sion for so many of their Troops to keep their Populace in fear, as to