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Folder Title:
The Hague 11/9/91 [OA 7564] [3]

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ters, at Passy,[2] both of which I very punctually answerd, and should have answered all if they had been an hundred.

In Truth Madam, I had very little Intelligence from America during my Absence. Your Frie[n]d, was as usual my best Correspondent, among the Gentlemen From Congress I could obtain no Intelligence at all.

If I comprehend the Resolves you mention, I am not at a Loss for the Influence, that obtained them. A factious Demagogue, disappointed in his Views of Ambition and Avarice, assisted by, a numerous Band of mercantile Speculators in Contract with him, on both side the Water, with a factious, foreign Minister, Consul, and Vice Consull[3] have forced up into Vegetation those Hotbed Plants, by the best opinion I can form.

I fear, Madam, We shall be much longer, distressed by Gamblers and stockjobbers. I can see no End to it. Yet sometimes Things are ordered better than We can foresee.

The Follies and Frivolities of our Countrymen, are too Serious to be ridiculous. Time however, and the Perseverance of the few who now, disapprove them, may produce a Cure. We shall find, by and by, that those who corrupt our symplicity, will be restrained. The Government, influenced chiefly by the Yeomanry will, after a little while, take Care of the Coxcombs and Coquettes.

Our Calamities, I think, will not be greatly increased, altho they may be prolonged.

I join with you, most sincerely, Madam, in deploring the Loss of our great and excellent Friend Dr. Winthrop, for whose Name and Character I shall ever entertain the highest Veneration. The University, the State and the Republick of Letters, have all Cause to lament the Death of this able and amiable Man.

I am with great Respect, & Esteem, John Adams

RC (MHi:Warren-Adams Coll.); docketed: "His Excelly. Jno. Adams Without date"; in another hand: "J Adams Esqr. ⟨*1776*⟩ 1780."

[1] The first sentence indicates that JA wrote this letter within a few days of his return to America on 3 Aug.

[2] See Mercy Warren's letter to JA of 29 July, note 2 (above).

[3] That is, Silas Deane, Conrad Alexandre Gérard, and probably Jean Holker and Martin Oster. The latter two were the French consul and vice consul for the port of Philadelphia.

To the President of the Congress

Sir Braintree August 4th: 1779

At the Close of the Service, on which Congress have done me the Honour to Send me, it may not be amiss to Submit a few Reflections

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the Congress

Braintree August 4th: 1779
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to their Consideration on the general State of Affairs in Europe, So far as they relate to the Interests of the united States.[1] As the Time approaches, when our Relations, with the most considerable States in Europe, will multiply, and assume a greater Stability, they deserve the Attention of Americans in general, but especially of those composing their Supream Council.

France deserves the first Place, among those Powers with which our Connections will be the most intimate. And it is with Pleasure, that I am able to assure Congress, that from the Observations I have made during my Residence in that Kingdom, I have the Strongest Reasons to believe, that their august Ally, his Ministers and Nation, are possessed of the fullest Perswasion of the Justice of our Cause, of the great Importance of our Independance to their Interests, and the firmest Resolution, to preserve the Faith of Treaties inviolate, and to cultivate our Friendship with Sincerity and Zeal. This of the more Consequence to Us, as this Power, enjoys in Europe at this Hour, an Influence, which it has not before experienced, for many Years.[2]

Men, are So sensible of a constant Tendency, in others, to Excesses, that a Signal Superiority of Power, never appears, without exciting Jealousies, and Efforts to reduce it. Thus when Spain, under Charles the fifth and his successor, made herself dangerous, a great Part of Europe, united against her; assisted in Severing the united Provinces from her; and by degrees greatly diminished her Power. Thus when France, under Louis the fourteenth, indulged the Spirit of Conquest too far, a great Part of Mankind, united their Forces against her, with such success, as to involve her in a Train of Misfortunes, out of which she never immerged, before the present Reign. The English, in their Turn, by means of their Commerce, and extensive settlements abroad, arose to a Degree of Oppulence, and naval Power, which excited more extravagant Passions in her own Breast, and more tyrannical Exertions of her Influence than appeared in either of the other Cases. The Consequence has been Similar, but more remarkable. Europe Seems to be more universally and Sincerely united in the Desire of reducing her, than they ever were in any former Instance. This is the true Cause, why the French Court never made War, with so universal a Popularity among their own subjects, So general an Approbation of other Courts, and such unanimous Wishes among all Nations for her Success, as at this Time.

The Personal Character of the King, his declared Patronage of Morals and Œconomy, and the great strokes of Wisdom, which have marked the Commencement of his Reign; The active Spring that has been given to Commerce, by the Division of the British Empire and

our new Connections with his subjects; all these Causes, together with the two Treaties of Peace, which have been lately signed under his Auspices and his Mediation, have given to this Power a Reputation,[3] which the last Reign had lost her.

The first of these Treaties, has determined those Controversies, which had for a long Time divided Russia and the Port,[4] and the Parties have been equally Satisfyed with the Conditions of their Reconciliation, a Circumstance the more honourable for the french Ministry, and the Chevalier de St. Priest their Ambassador at Constantinople, as it is uncommon. The ancient Confidence of the Porte in the Court of Versailles has revived and the Coolness, or rather Enmity, which had divided France and Russia for near Twenty Years, gives Place to a Friendship, which is at this Time in all its fervour, and will probably be durable, as these Powers, have no Interest to annoy each other, but, on the contrary, are able to assist each other in a manner, the most efficacious.

The Peace of Germany, Signed at Teschen, the thirteenth of last May, has not equally Satisfyed the Belligerent Powers, who were, on the one Part the Emperor,[5] and on the other the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, his Ally. From the Multitude of Writings, which have appeared before and during this War, in which the Causes, the Motives, and the Right of it are discussed, it appears, that in 1768 [i.e. 1778], at the Extinction of one of the Branches of the House of Bavaria, which has been Seperated from its Trunk for near five Centuries, the House of Austria, thought itself able, and Priests and Lawyers, among their own subjects, were complaisant enough to tell her she had a Right, to put herself, in Possession of the best Part of the Patrimony, of the extinguished Line. The King of Prussia, to whose Interests this Augmentation of Power, would have been dangerous, has crowned an illustrious Reign, by displaying all the Resources of military Genius, and profound Policy, in Opposition to it. While he contended in the Field, France negotiated, and the Work begun by his Arms, was compleated by the Cabinet of Versailles.[6] The Palatine House of Bavaria, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and particularly the Elector of Saxony, have obtained all that they could reasonably demand, and the Empire has preserved its Ballance of Power, in Spight of the Ambition of its Head: the King of Prussia, has covered himself with Glory, to which he put the last finishing stroke, by not demanding any Compensation for the Expences of the War: All Parties have been Satisfied, except the Emperor, who[7] has disordered his Finances; ruined his Kingdom of Bohemia; with immense Forces, has not obtained any

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Advantage over his Adversary and consequently has destroyed among his own Troops the opinion they had of their Superiority; and in fine, has sustained the Loss the most sensible for a young Prince, just beginning to Reign, the Reputation of Justice and Moderation. It is the Influence, the Address, and Ability of the french Ministry, joined to the Firmness of Russia, which have compleated the Work: and Louis the Sixteenth has restored in Germany, to the Nation over which he reigns, that Reputation, which his Grand father had lost. The Merit of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who was Ambassador, in Bavaria during the Transaction of this Business, and that of Mr. Marbois the Secretary to that Embassy, in accomplishing an Affair of Such Importance, which was rendered peculiarly delicate, by the late Family Connection, between the Courts of Vienna and Versailles[8] was probably a Motive for sending them now to America, a Mission of no less importance, and no less Delicacy. It is not probable, however, that they could have succeeded so soon, if England could have afforded Subsidies to the Emperor.

The Revolution in America, in which, the French King has taken an earlier and a greater Part, than any other Sovereign in Europe, has operated so as to conciliate to him, a Consideration,[9] that is universal. The new Minister, will give to Congress, Information the most precise in this Respect and touching the Part, which Spain is taking at this Time, for which Reason I shall refrain from entering into it, and content myself with observing That all these Considerations ought to induce Us to cherish the Alliance of France; and that every good Citizen of the United States ought to endeavour to destroy the Remains of those Prejudices, which our ancient Rulers have endeavoured to inspire into Us. That We have nothing to fear, and much to hope from France, while We conduct Ourselves with good sense, and Firmness, and that We cannot take too much Pains to multiply the Commercial Relations, and Strengthen the political Connections between the two Nations:[10] Provided Always, that We preserve Prudence and Resolution enough, to receive implicitly, no Advice whatsoever, but to judge always for ourselves; and to guard Ourselves against those Principles in Government, and those Manners, which are So opposite to our own Constitution, and to our Characters, as a young People, called by Providence to the most honourable and important of all Duties, that of forming Establishments for a great Nation and a new World.[11]

In the opinion of Some, the Power, with which We shall one Day, have a Relation the most immediate, next to that of France, is Great Britain. But it ought to be considered that this Power, looses every Day

her Consideration, and runs towards her Ruin. Her Riches in which her Power consisted, she has lost with Us, and never can regain. With Us, she has lost her Mediterranean Trade, her Affrican Trade, her German and Holland Trade, her Ally Portugal, her Ally Russia, and her natural Ally the House of Austria; at least by being unable to protect these as she once did, she can obtain no succour from them. In short, one Branch of Commerce has been lopped off, after another; and one political Interest Sacrificed after another, that she resembles the melancholly Spectacle of a great wide Spreading Tree that has been girdled at the Root.[12] Her Endeavours to regain these Advantages, will continually keep alive in her Breast the most malevolent Passions towards Us. Her Envy, her Jealousy, and Resentment, will never leave Us, while We are, what We must unavoidably be, her Rivals, in the Fisheries, in various other Branches of Commerce, and even in naval Power. If Peace should unhappily be made, leaving Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, or any of them, in her Hands, Jealousies, and Controversies will be perpetually arrising. The Degree therefore of Intercourse,[13] with this Nation, which will ever again take Place, may justly be considered as problematical, or rather the Probability is that it will never be so great as some Persons imagine. Moreover, I think that every Citizen, in the present Circumstances, who respects his Country, and the Engagements she has taken ought to abstain from the Foresight of a Return of Friendship, between Us and the English, and Act as if, it never was to be.

But it is lawful to consider that which will probably be formed between the Hollanders and Us. The Similitude of Manners, of Religion and in Some Respects of Constitution; the Analogy, between the Means, by which the two Republicks arrived at Independancy; but above all the Attractions of commercial Interests, will infallibly draw them together. This Connection will not probably shew itself, in a public Manner before[14] a Peace, or a near Prospect of Peace. Too many Motives of Fear or Interest place the Hollanders in a Dependance on England, to suffer her to connect herself openly, with Us, at present.[15] Nevertheless, if the King of Prussia could be induced to take Us by the Hand, his great Influence, in the united Provinces, might contribute greatly to conciliate their Friendship for Us. Loans of Money, and the operations of commercial Agents or Societies, will be the first Threads of our Connections with this Power.

From the Essays, and Inquirys, of your Commissioners at Paris, it appears that Some Money, may be borrowed there; and from the Success of Several Enterprizes by Way of St. Eustatia, it Seems, that the

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Trade, between the two Countries is likely to increase,[16] and possibly Congress may think it expedient to send a Minister there. If they shall, it will be proper to give him a discretionary Power, to produce his Commission, or not, as he shall find it likely to suceed: to give him full Powers and clear Instructions concerning the Borrowing of Money: and the Man himself, above all, should have consummate Prudence; of a Caution and Discretion that will be Proof, against every Tryal.

If Congress could find any certain Means, of paying the Interest, annually in Europe, commercial and pecuniary Connections would Strengthen themselves, from day to day: and if the Fall of the Credit of England should terminate in Bankruptcy, the seven united Provinces having nothing further to dissemble, would be zealous for[17] a Part of those rich Benefits which our Commerce offers to the maritime Powers; and by an early Treaty with Us, Secure those Advantages, from which they have already discovered strong symptoms of a Fear of being excluded, by Delays. It is Scarcely necessary to observe to Congress, that Holland has lost her Influence, in Europe to such a Degree, that there is little other Regard for her remaining, but that of a prodigal Heir, for a rich Usurer, who lends him Money, at an high Interest. The State, which is poor, and in Debt, has no political Stability: Their Army is very small, and their Navy less. The immense Riches of Individuals, may possibly be, in some future Time, the great Misfortune of the Nation, because her Means of Defence, are not proportioned to the Temptation which is held out, for some necessitious, avaricious and formidable Neighbour to invade her.

The active Commerce of Spain, is very inconsiderable: of her passive Commerce, We shall not fail to have a Part. The Vicinity of this Power, her Forces, her Resources, ought to make Us, attentive to her Conduct. But if We may judge of the future by the Past, I should hope, that We have nothing from it, to fear. The Genius and the Interest of the Nation, inclines it to repose. She cannot determine upon War, but in the last Extremity, and even then, she Sighs, for Peace. She is not possessed of the Spirit of Conquest, and We have Reason to congratulate ourselves that We have her, for the nearest, and the principal Neighbour. Her Conduct towards Us, at this Time, will perhaps appear equivocal and indecisive: her Determinations appear to be solely, the Fruit of the Negotiations of the Court of Versailles: But it ought to be considered, that she has not had Motives so pressing, as those of France to take in Hand our Defence.[18] Whether she has an Eye upon the Florida's, or what other Terms she may expect from Congress, they are, no doubt, better informed than I am. To their

Wisdom it must be submitted to give her satisfaction, if her Terms are moderate and her offers, in Proportion. This Conduct, may conciliate her Affection and shorten delays, a Point of great Importance, as the present Moment appears to be decisive.

Portugal,[19] under the Administration of the Marquis de Pombal, broke Some of the shackles, by which she was held to England. But the Treaty, by which a permanent Friendship, is established, between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal,[20] was made in 1777, an Event that the English deplore, as the greatest Evil, next to the irrecoverable Loss of the Colonies, arising from this War: because they will, now, no longer [be] able to play off Portugal against Spain, in order to draw away her Attention as well as her Forces, as in former Times. But as Portugal has not known how to deliver herself, entirely from the Influence of England, We shall have little to hope from her: on the other Hand, Such is her internal Weakness, that We have absolutely, nothing to fear. We shall necessarily have Commerce with her, but whether she will ever have the Courage to sacrifice the Friendship of England for the sake of it, is uncertain.

It would be endless to consider that infinite Number of little sovereignties, into which Germany is divided; and develope all their political Interests: This Task is as much beyond my Knowledge, as it would be useless to Congress, who will have few Relations, friendly, or hostile, with this Country, excepting in two Branches of Commerce, that of Merchandises and that of Soldiers. The latter infamous and detestible as it is, has been established between a Nation, once generous, humane and brave,[21] and certain Princes as avaricious of Money, as they are prodigal of the Blood of their subjects: And such is the Scarcity of Cash, and the Avidity for it, in Germany, and so little are the Rights of Humanity understood or respected, that sellers will probably be found as long as Buyers. America will never be found in either Class.

The states of Germany, with which We may have Commerce of an honourable Kind, are, the House of Austria; one of the most powerfull in Europe. She possesses, very few Countries, however near the Sea. Ostend is the principal City, where she might have established a Trade of Some Consequence, if the Jealousy of the maritime Powers, had not constantly opposed it. France, Spain, Holland and England, ⟨*are*⟩ have been all agreed in this opposition, and the Treaty of Utrecht, ratified more than once by subsequent Treaties, have so shackled[22] this Port, that it will be impossible to open a direct Trade to it, without some new Treaty,[23] which, possibly may not be very distant. England may possibly make a new Treaty with Austria and agree to Priviledges for

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this Port, in order to draw away Advantages of American Trade from France and Spain, and to such a Treaty Holland may possibly, acquiesce, if not acceed.

The Port of Triest, enjoys a Liberty, without Limits, and the Court of Vienna is anxious to make its Commerce flourish. Situated however as it is, at the Bottom of the Gulph of Triest, the remotest Part of the Gulph of Venice, tedious and difficult as the Navigation of those seas is, We could make little Use of it, at any Time, and none at all, while this War continues.[24] This Court would seize with Eagerness, the Advantages that are presented to her by the Independance of America, but an Interest more powerfull restrains her, and altho She is certainly attentive to this Revolution, there is Reason to believe she will be one of the last Powers to acknowledge our Independance. She is so far from being rich that she is destitute of the Means of making War, without subsidies as is proved by the Peace which has lately been made. She has Occasion for the Succours of France or of England, to put in Motion her numerous Armies. She conceives easily, that the Loss of Resources and of Credit of the English, has dissabled them to pay the enormous subsidies, which in former Times they have poured out into the Austrian Coffers. She sees therefore, with a Secret Mortification, that she shall be hereafter more at the Mercy of France, who may choose her Ally, and prefer at her Pleasure, either Austria or Prussia, while neither Vienna nor Berlin, will be able, as in Times past, to choose between Paris and London, Since the latter has lost her past oppulence and pecuniary Ressources.

It is our Duty to remark these great Changes in the system of Mankind which have already happened in Consequence of the American War. The Allienation of Portugal from England, the Peace of Germany and that between Petersbourg and Constantinople, by all which Events England has lost and France gained Such a superiority of Influence and Power, are owing entirely to the blind Diversion of that Policy and Wealth which the English might have still enjoyed, from the Objects of their true Interest and Honour to the ruinous American War.[25]

The Court of Berlin, flatters herself, that the Connections, which have heretofore so long united France and Prussia, will renew themselves sooner or later. This system is more natural, than that which subsists at this Day. The King of Prussia, may then wait without Anxiety, the Consequences of the present Revolution, because it tends to increase the Ressources of his natural Ally.[26] The jealousy between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, and that between the Houses of

Bourbon and Austria, are a natural Tye between France and Prussia. The Rivalry between France and Great Britain, is another Motive too natural and too permanent for the former to suffer the King of Prussia to be long the Ally of the latter.[27] One of the favourite Projects of Prussia, that of rendering the Port of Embden a Place of flourishing Trade, interests him more powerfully in our Independance. Silesia, one of his best Provinces, has already felt the Influence of it, and, sensible of the Force that Empires derive from Commerce, he is earnestly desirous to see it introduced between America and his states, which gives ground to believe, that as Austria will be one of the last, so Prussia, will be one of the first to acknowledge our Independance, an Opinion, which is rendered more probable, by the Answer which was given by the Compte De Schulemberg, to Mr. A. Lee.[28] And the Influence of the King of Prussia in the United Provinces, which is greater than that of any other Power, arising from his great military Force, the Vicinity of his Dominion and his near Relation to the stadholder, and the Prince of Brunswick, is an additional Motive with Us to cultivate his Friendship.[29]

The Electorate of Saxony, with a fruitful soil, contains a numerous and industrious People, and most of the Commerce, between the East and West of Europe passes through it. The Fairs of Leipzic, have drawn considerable Advantages for these four Years from our Trade. This Power will see with Pleasure, the Moment which shall put the last Hand to our Independance.

The Rest of Germany, excepting Hamborough and Bremen, has no Means of opening a direct Commerce with Us. With the latter, We can have no Connection at present, in the former all the maritime Commerce of the lower Germany, is transacted. Here We shall have Occasion soon to establish an Agent or Consul.

Poland, depopulated by War, and a vicious Government, reduced by a shamefull Treaty to two thirds of her ancient Dominion;[30] destitute of Industry and Manufactures, even of the first Necessity; has no Occasion for the Productions of America. Dantzic sees her ancient Prosperity diminish every day. There is therefore little Probability of Commerce, and less of any political Connection between that Nation and Us.

Russia,[31] Sweeden and Denmark, comprehended under the Denomination of the Northern Powers, have been thought by some to be interested in our Return to the Domination of Great Britain. Whether they consider themselves in this Light or not, their late Declarations against the Right of England to interrupt their Navigation,[32] and their

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Arming for the Protection of their Commerce, on the Ocean and even in the English Channel, are unequivocal Proofs of their Opinion concerning the Right, in our Contest, and of their Intentions not to interfere against Us. It is very true that the Objects of Commerce, which they produce, are in many Respects the Same, with those of America, yet if We consider that We shall have Occasion to purchase from them large Quantities of Hemp and Sail Cloth, and that our Productions of Timber, Pitch, Tar and Turpentine, are less profitable with Us, without Bounties, than some other Branches of Labour, it is not probable that We shall lower the Price of these Articles, in Europe so much as some Conjecture, and consequently our increased Demand upon those Countries for several Articles will be more than a Compensation to them, for the small Loss they may sustain, by a trifling Reduction in the Price of those Articles. It is not probable that the Courts of Petersbourg Stockholm and Copenhagen, have viewed with perfect Indifference the present Revolution. ⟨*Yet*⟩ If they have been apprehensive of being hurt by it in some Respects, which however I think must have been a Mistaken Apprehension,[33] Yet the Motive of humbling the Pride of the English, who have endeavoured to exercise their Domination even over the northern Seas, and to render the Sweedish and Danish Flagg, dependant on theirs, has prevailed over all others, and they are considered in Europe, as having given their Testimony against the English in this War.

Italy, a Country which declines every day, from its ancient Prosperity offers few Objects to our Speculations. The Priviledges of the Port of Leghorn, nevertheless, may render it usefull to our ships, when our Independance shall be acknowledged by Great Britain. If We once flattered ourselves, that the Court of Vienna might receive an American Minister, We were equally in Error respecting the Court of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, where an Austrian Prince reigns, who receives all his Directions from Vienna in such a manner, that he will probably never receive any Person in a public Character, untill the Chief of his House, shall have set him the Example.

The King of the two Sicilies, is in the Same Dependance on the Court of Madrid, and We may depend upon it, he will conform himself to all that she shall suggest to him. This Prince has already ordered the Ports of his Dominions to be open to American Vessells public and private, and has ordered his Ambassador at Paris to apply to your Commissioners for a Description of the American Flagg, that our Vessells might be known and receive no Molestation, upon their Appearance, in his Harbours.[34]

The Court of Rome, attached to ancient Customs, will be one of the last to acknowledge our Independance, if We were to solicit for it. But Congress will probably never send a Minister to his Holiness[35] who can do them no service, upon Condition of receiving a Catholic Legate or Nuncio in Return, or in other Words an ecclesiastical Tyrant, which it is to be hoped the united States will be too wise ever to admit into their Territories.

The States of the King of Sardinia, are poor and their Commerce is very small. The little Port of Villa Franca, will probably See few American Vessells, nor will there be any close Relations either commercial or political between this Prince and Us.

The Republic of Genoa, is Scarcely known at this Day, in Europe but by those Powers, who borrow Money. It is possible that some Small Sums might be obtained here, if Congress could fall upon Means of insuring a punctual Payment of Interest in Europe.

Venice heretofore so powerfull, is reduced to a very inconsiderable Commerce, and is in an entire state of Decay.

Switzerland is another Lender of Money, but neither her Position nor her Commerce, can Occasion any near Relation with Us.

Whether there is any Thing in these Remarks, worth the Trouble of reading them, I shall submit to the Wisdom of Congress, and subscribe my self with the highest Consideration, Your most obedient and most humble servant.[36] John Adams

RC (PCC, No. 84, I, f. 69); docketed: "Letter from J Adams Braintree Aug. 4. 1779 State of European powers Read Aug 20." LbC (Adams Papers).

[1] Some years later JA explained to Mercy Otis Warren that this letter's materials "had been collected in Europe and on the passage, and committed to writing" before his arrival at Boston on 3 Aug. JA drafted the full text in his Letterbook, leaving increasingly generous spaces between sections as he proceeded so that he could add sentences later, which he did in some cases (JA to Mercy Otis Warren, 28 July 1807, MHS, *Colls.*, 5th ser., 4:374–375).

[2] Added to the sentence in the Letterbook is a final clause: "a Felicity which arises from several Causes."

[3] After "Reputation" the Letterbook has "and a Stability."

[4] When it seemed that renewed war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia over control of the Crimea might break out, Comte de Saint-Priest more than once warned that the Porte (the imperial government of Turkey) was ill-prepared. Austria added her voice as well. On 21 March the Porte signed the convention of Ainali-Kavak, which reaffirmed the Crimea's independence, agreed upon in the Treaty of Kutschuk-Kainordji in 1774, but gave to the Sultan some face-saving concessions (M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923*, London, 1966, p. 6–7).

[5] Joseph II, of the Holy Roman Empire, was the son of Maria Theresa and co-regent with her over the Hapsburgs' Austrian and Hungarian domain.

[6] On 15 Jan. 1778 the Hapsburgs had signed an agreement with the Elector of Palatine, heir to the childless and deceased Elector of Bavaria, that ceded Bavaria to the Austrian house in return for certain concessions. The agreement ignored the rights of the heir presumptive, Duke Charles II of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld (Duke of Deux Ponts), to the Elec Palatine. Frederick II (the Great) of Pr sia, in his own interest, supported claims of Duke Charles II.

Frederick's and Joseph's armies fa each other across the Elbe River, but tually there was little fighting beca neither side wanted to take any gr risks. Maria Theresa, fearful of sought to have France and Russia m ate. Given France's obligations in the against Great Britain, it welcomed pe Negotiations were greatly encouraged the peace signed between Russia and Porte in March 1779, for the easing trouble with the Ottomans left Ru free to aid Prussia against Austria (C *bridge Modern Hist.*, 6:630–633).

[7] After "who" in the Letterbook, interlined "deprived of the Subsidies England or of France."

[8] Marie Antoinette, a daughter Maria Theresa, had married Louis XVI 1770.

[9] The Letterbook has "Considerat and Respect."

[10] The Letterbook reads "Connecti which now bind that nation to Us."

[11] The Letterbook reads "and ⟨*alm* a new World."

[12] This and the preceding sente were written in the margin of the Let book, their place in the text indic with a mark.

[13] The Letterbook has "of Intim and of Intercourse."

[14] The Letterbook has "before a cer Laps of Time" in place of the ph about peace. Not until April 1782 did Dutch recognize the independence of United States.

[15] The Letterbook adds "otherwise t in a clandestine manner" to this sente The following sentence was written at bottom of the Letterbook page, with place in the text indicated by a mark.

[16] Some idea of the extent of trad this small Dutch West Indian islan suggested by contemporary reports Dutch rear admiral stationed at St. E tius for thirteen months, 1778–1 reported that 3,182 ships sailed the island. Another reporter cla that 12,000 hogsheads of tobacco 1,500,000 ounces of indigo came North America in exchange for Euro goods. Military supplies flowed to the

nase"; by CFA: "Septr. 3d 1779."
:r is the draft of JA's reply of 23

; forestalling and engrossing" (Session
.s, [1779], Evans, No. 16333).

· Knox

nt Hudsons River 4h Sept 1779
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o procure proper information of

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Camp to Congress I pray you to
· residence with me for the time

d Affection Your Humble Servt.
H Knox

of the Congress

Philadelphia 7th. Septr. 1779
Pleasure of recieving and com-
f the 3d. and 4th. of that month.
ons on your safe Return to your
Feby. and 1st. March last came
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e to delay writing 'till now.
:at Respect & Esteem Your most
John Jay

ide JA wrote out a copy (or draft)

September 1779

To Jonas Belton

Braintree Septr. 10. 1779

Sir

I have received your Letter of the 14 of August,[1] and have the Pleasure in Answer to it, to inform you, that I Saw your son, Several Times in France, and in particular, Some time in the Month of February, or Beginning of March last, at Dr. Franklins House, consulting with him about Some of his Philosophical or mechanical Inventions or Projections. He was in good Health. I thank you, Sir, for your complaisant Congratulations, on my Return to my native Country, and am &c.

LbC (Adams Papers); directed to: "Mr. Jonas Belton of Groton New London County, Connecticutt."

[1] Not found. Capt. Jonas Belton, whose military title came from his service in the Connecticut militia in the 1750s, kept a tavern west of Center Groton (*Connecticut Colonial Records*, 9:241, 422; 10:263; Charles R. Stark, *Groton, Conn., 1705–1905*, Stonington, Conn., 1922, p. 134, 402). His son was Joseph Belton; see vol. 6:37, and J. D. Schweighauser and others to the Commissioners, 7 Nov. 1778 (above).

To Elbridge Gerry

Braintree September 10. 1779

My dear Friend

I received by last Post your obliging Letter of 24 of August. The sight of your Hand Writing, gave me more Pleasure than you are aware. I would send you Copies of my Letters to you, if they were not out of Date at this Time. Thank you for your Compliment on my Letter to Congress. It is a long dull story; but I think Several Things appear from it, that are of great Importance. It appears that the general Arrangement of Interests and Designs in Europe, is more favourable for Us, than even the most Sanguine of Us could have expected. That We have no Reason to fear that England will be able to form one Alliance against Us. That if she should, that one will be the House of Austria, notwithstanding there is an excellent Austrian Princess on the Throne of France, in which Case Prussia and Russia too, would join France and Us. That Prussia and Holland should be cultivated, and what perhaps is of as much Importance as all the rest, it appears from it that France has already derived the most solid and essential Advantages from our Seperation from G. Britain, and Alliance with her; that she will continue to desire still greater Benefits, and therefore, that We may rely on her Friendship, without Sacrificing any essential Right or Interest, from a servile Complaisance to her, much less to the low Intrigues of a few Hucksters.

I have done your Message to Portia: she desires me to tell you that

there is great Encouragement[1] to undertake Embassies to Europe—and that she is very happy to hear of so certain a Sign of Grace, as your Impatience to join, our Sacred Order.

Your Resolution, that no Person shall be appointed to any office within twelve Months of his being a Member of Congress may be too much. I should rather prefer a Resolution, never to appoint any Man abroad that they do not personally know. Yet I think that Resolutions so universal, had better be avoided in either Case.

You have Several very great Men, by all Relation, who have joined you, since I left you.[2] No doubt they are thought Superiour to others who have gone before them. If they are both in Abilities and Virtues I wish them success.

I have a great Desire to see the Journals, at before and after my appointment to go to France—and all the Journals. I should be greatly obliged to you for them. I should also be very happy to be informed by what Majority I was chosen and who was for and against and who else in Nomination. I never heard, a Word on the subject, and have very particular Reasons for enquiring.[3] Pray dont forget again to write to your old and sincere Friend John Adams

Thank you for voting me clear of Suspicions &c. dishonourable to the states. I have a Bone to pick with Adams and Lovel for their Votes on that Occasion.[4]

RC (CtNhHi, Oct. 1956). LbC (Adams Papers).

[1] "Encouragement" is underlined in the Letterbook copy.

[2] Among the numerous men who had begun their service in the congress after JA left in the late fall of 1777, he probably was thinking of those like Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (Md.), John Fell (N.J.), James Searle (Va.), and William Henry Drayton (S.C.). All four were wealthy and prominent in their own states; they had been active patriots and held important public offices (all in *DAB*).

[3] The previous seven words are not in the Letterbook copy. For Gerry's reply to these questions, see his letter of 29 Sept., and notes 3–5 (below).

[4] JA is referring to the congress' resolution of 20 April regarding the conflicts between Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, Arthur Lee, Ralph Izard, and William Lee. See Lovell to JA, 13 June, note 8 (above).

To Henry Laurens

My dear Sir Braintree Septr. 10. 1779

I had the Pleasure of a very agreable private Letter from you, while in Paris, which I answerd, having executed your Orders, as soon as received. Whether you received my Answer I dont know.[1]

I have had a Stormy Voyage, but not more so than the Scæne you have been in, at Land. I wish I may have escaped with as much Hon-

our, as you have done:[2] but hav
assure you, without a Complime
Europe, than that of President I
bers and Monopolizers, for these
and neither of these Tribes dare

I long to embrace you a la fran
before I Shall have that Pleasur
Continent the Honour of a Vi
Health, and give great Pleasure
more than your affectionate Frie

I left Commodore Gillon, and
with their under Officers at L'o
could get a Passage, having not
These are worthy Officers and de
better. You have no doubt Letter
sary for me to be more particular

RC (J. W. P. Frost, Maine, 1975).

[1] Laurens wrote on 19 May and JA re
plied on 27 July 1778 (vol. 6:137,
322–323).

[2] A reference to Laurens' resignatio
as president of the congress on 9 Dec
1778 (see JA to the president of the con
gress, 27 Feb., above).

To Jan

My dear Sir

By the last Post, I had the Plea
was not for Want of Affection, t
and to many other Gentlemen, b
Arrival to this Time, I have beer
&c., so often, my good old Town
Heads, upon my Arrival, to put
not been able to write, exceptin
Copies of Letters which I wish to

You tell me, that you send me
to inclose to A. Lee: but I find bu
is there a Word relative to the su

You say too, that you will sen

always obliged to him for his Advice, Opinions and sentiments upon any American subject, and that I should always give it its due Weight, altho I did not think myself bound to follow it, any farther than it seemed to me to be just.

As Congress has declined giving me, the Charges vs. me, by their Authority, and have upon the whole acquitted me, with so much Splendor, it would look like a Littleness of soul in me, to make myself anxious or give them any further Trouble about it. And as I have in general so good an opinion of Mr. Izs. Attachment to his Country, and of his Honour, I shall not think myself bound to take any further Notice of this Fruit of his Inexperience in public Life, this peevish Ebullition[8] of the Rashness of his Temper. I have written a few other Observations to Gerry on the same subject. You and he will compare these with them, for your private satisfaction, but be sure that they are not exposed where they will do harm to the public to Mr. Iz. or me unnecessarily.[9]

If I should go abroad cant you send me 20 or 30 compleat setts of the Journals. They are much wanted in Europe. A sett of them is a genteel present—and perhaps would ⟨*give*⟩ do me ⟨*more Re*[*spect*?]⟩ and the public more service than you are aware. If Congress, or some Committee would order it, I should be very glad.

LbC (Adams Papers).

[1] See JA to Gerry, 17 Oct. (first letter) and note 1 (above); and JA to Henry Marchant, 25 Oct. and note 1 (below).

[2] See Gerry to JA, 24 Aug. and note 4; and JA to Gerry, 10 Sept. (both above).

[3] In JA to Gerry, 11 Sept. (above).

[4] See Lovell to JA, 28 Sept. (first letter) and note 2 (above).

[5] "These Letters" are presumably Lovell to JA, 27 Sept., and 28 Sept. (two letters), referred to at the head of this letter (all three above). "That received the Post before last" is Lovell to JA, 14 Sept. (above), with its important enclosures. Lovell had mentioned his bad health in his letter of 14 Sept., and in his letters of 31 Aug. and 21 Sept. (both above), which JA must have received by this date.

[6] Possibly from "bogue," to take part in or (later) to work (*Dict. of Americanisms*).

[7] JA altered "Volumes" to "a small Volume."

[8] A boiling over, as of the passions (*OED*).

[9] The two final sentences of the paragraph were squeezed into the text after the initial draft was completed. In the Letterbook this letter appears before the first letter of this date to Gerry.

To Elbridge Gerry

Secret as the Grave.

Mon cher Ami — Braintree Octr. 18 1779

Looking over your Letter[1] again, I find several Things unanswered. I should be Sorry to think that Mr. D. was the only vote against me. I had rather believe it was Some other State, than that this Gentleman

voted vs. from a personal Pique founded on so futile an Affair, So innocently intended and so unlukily divulged, as the only semblance of anything personal between me and him. In public Questions I never differed from that Gentleman in my Opinion, without carrying my Point, except in the 2d Petition, and Time has discovered that in this as well as all others, in which I differd from him I was right and he wrong. I had not then and never had since any personal Ill will or Dislike to that Gentleman, nor by the unluky Expression did I mean to express that he had not great Ingenuity, and a good Heart. But his Connections, or preconcieved Opinions at that time appeard to me to have drawn him from that great, masterly and daring System, that the Times appeared to me to make indispensible, and he had Influence enough at that time with one state S.C to carry the Point by a bare Majority, to the great Injury of the Cause, in my Anxiety and Mortification upon that Occasion to a bosom friend in Confidence, my Passions broke out into that ridiculous Expression, which I was then and have been ever since very sorry for—enough of this however.[2]

I thank you for the History of my first Appointment, which gives me much Satisfaction, as a Gentleman Mr. B. Deane, wrote something by me to Dr. B, from Mr. Hancock which had given me some Uneasiness[3]—that Mr. H. told him he was extreamly sorry Mr. D. was recalled—that Congress did not do it—that it was done after the Members were withdrawn and Congress very thin. But I find I was appointed by seven states, which is enough to remove this Imputation. I am glad I was absent, and more glad still that Mr. S. Adams was so—and more glad than all the rest that he was against my going.[4] I have my Reasons. You know, if any Man knows, and I Swear that no human Being knows the Contrary, that I never solicited, this nor any other Employment abroad. If I had not refused to be nominated when F., D. and Lee were first appointed, it would have been because the four New England states, Virginia, Georgia, and I believe New Jersey, could not have made a Vote. But I refused as a whole Clubb knows, and insisted on Deane, and A. Lee. In F[ranklin] we all then agreed. If I had not declined when W. Lee and Is[ard] were appointed and when R. H. Lee nominated me, I believe there is no doubt I should have been chosen. But in Truth I was never very desirous of exposing myself, to the sea and the Ennemy, and had too much Diffidence of my own Qualifications to solicit this Honour. I have great Reason to believe, however, that I should have been nominated and appointed ⟨20⟩ at different times,[5] that I can recollect if it had not been for my Name sake. His motives are easier guessed than expressed. So much for this.

But altho I have never be
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ciation with England for s
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and in Case you should
employ me to one of tho
Emoluments unless it sh
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Spain, that I may fill it
should attend only to Eng
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double salaries or any Ad
the public Bread without

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of your Political Creed e
know as well as Dr. L. or
Measure, but his Name i
People have rested upon
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into the Grounds, Reason
hesitated at it.

The Recall of Dr. Lee
and Provocation, I suppos
Affairs. And if they are
Discretion which ought t
Infant States, I shall be h

My dear Friend, there
the Representation of th
never stood by one anot
States. There is a Jealousy
has appeared to me to en
her Advocates. I could
Things this appears as we
Personal to myself, in pe
time that you never shew

Silas Deane is but of
Comparison of me. I was
Writer, in this Controve
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ıad not been for my Name
ɜpressed. So much for this.

But altho I have never before solicited, suffrages, I will now begin. I suspect that I shall go to France and live there, without much Negociation with England for some time, not in Idleness I promise you, for I am now as confident that I can render important services to my Country in Europe as I once was diffident of it. My Request is, that in Case there should be no Business to do as Negotiator with England, and in Case you should send to Holland or Prussia, that you would employ me to one of those Places, without any Additional salary, or Emoluments unless it should Occasion Additional Expences to be allowed by Congress. Or if there should be a Vacancy, in France or Spain, that I may fill it up—unless you think it is necessary that I should attend only to England and wait her Motions, in which Case I shall be content. I said before and repeat, that I dont mean to have double salaries or any Additional Emoluments. But I hate to live upon the public Bread without earning it, with the sweat of my Brow.

I must confess myself, very nearly of your Opinion in all the Articles of your Political Creed excepting as to the Recall of Dr. Franklin. I know as well as Dr. L. or Mr. Iz. every Thing that is to be said for this Measure, but his Name is so great in Europe and America and the People have rested upon him in their own Minds so long, however erroneously, it would take so much Time and Pains to let the People into the Grounds, Reasons and Motives of it, that I have ever hitherto hesitated at it.

The Recall of Dr. Lee and Mr. Izard, will give them Opportunity and Provocation, I suppose to go great Lengths in laying open foreign Affairs. And if they are restrained by that Delicacy Moderation and Discretion which ought to characterize, foreign Ministers from these Infant States, I shall be happy.

My dear Friend, there has been a kind of Fatality that has attended, the Representation of the Mass, from the Beginning. Her Delegates never stood by one another, ⟨*nor it has seemed*⟩ like those of other States. There is a Jealousy if not an Envy, you know against her, which has appeared to me to endeavour to take Advantages against her, and her Advocates. I could mention innumerable Instances. In little Things this appears as well as in great. Let me mention some that are Personal to myself, in perfect Confidence to you insisting at the same time that you never shew this Letter to any living Being.

Silas Deane is but of Yesterday and of Nothing in this Cause in Comparison of me. I was known in Europe and ⟨*vastly*⟩ celebrated as a Writer, in this Controversy vs. G.B more than fourteen Years ago. S. Ds Name was never heard in it, six years ago. I had been elected every

Year with all most Unanimous Votes by a great state, D. was left out by an almost unanimous Vote by a middling state. In the first Commission S.D. was arranged before A. Lee. But when my Commission was made out, I was placed after A. Lee.[6] Lee was a young student in Law, after being a Phicician and a Preceptor to Ld. Shelbournes Children, just beginning to open Cases at the Bar under the Auspices of Mr. Dunning.[7] I had been a Barrister at Law from the year 1761, had been in the fullest ⟨*and most important*⟩ Practice for fifteen Years at the Bar; had been Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Bay, by an unanimous Vote of Council to my Commission,[8] had been in Congress from the Beginning, had been President of the Board of War from its Creation, had been long a Member and sometime President of your Committee of Appeals in maritime Causes, had been upon that Committee which laid the foundation of the Navy, and been on allmost all the Committees for establishing disciplining and healing the Army, had been on the Committee for declaring Independency, and that for preparing a Treaty with France, a Measure that you know I was forced, with your Aid to push aganst all the great Folks in Congress, even the deified Franklin. Yet I was placed in the Commission after Mr. Lee.[9]

Is it possible, sir that the Massachusetts Bay, should ever be respected, or her Rights respected if the Men she most respects are thus to be slighted.

Is it possible that Congress should be respected, if she suffers those Men upon whom she has as her Records show most depended from the Beginning, those Men who have formed and disciplined her Navy and Army, who have supported her Independance, who have promoted and formed her Alliances,[10] thus to be postponed.[11]

In the present Instance, Mr. Jay is made Minister Plenipotentiary, I Commissioner.[12] This no doubt is done to give Mr. Jay Rank of me, and a Title above me, in order to maintain the superiority of New York above the Massachusetts Bay. Mr. Jays Name was never heard till 1774, mine was well known in Politicks in 1764.

These Things are of more Importance in Europe than here to the Public, but these[13] are of too much here. If the Mass. is to be made the Butt and Sport in this Manner you will soon see it abandoned by all Men of Spirit, or you will see it, break the Union, for myself I care ⟨*very*⟩[14] Nothing at all, for my Children I care but little for these Things, but for the public I care much. It is really important that Congress should not dishonour their own Members, it is really important that the Delegates of Mass Bay should support each other['s] Honour and Characters,[15] which never can be done if such little

stigmas are suffered to b
portant that Congress sh
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one or the other.

I am not at all Surpri
you mention. I had hear
sure, they must be unju
here. You stand on sure g
Vote about me, and are
the other Votes, altho I
every one of them, I m
many weighty Argument

It has been reported in
a Testimony from the Ki
in favour of Mr. Deane.
Rules of the Court and
lieved. I wish you would
if there is such an origin

LbC (Adams Papers). A
Family Correspondence, 4:19.

[1] That of 29 Sept. (above).

[2] John Dickinson was the
chief supporter of the second
George III that the congress a
5 July 1775, but which went
by the King (*JCC*, 2:127, 15
JA's opinion of the petition,
ment with Dickinson, and th
his reference to Dickinson as
genius" in his letter of 24 J
James Warren, see JA, *Diary*
ography, 3:316–317; and vol.
notes there.

[3] The passage is unclear b
JA is referring to a letter fr
to Silas Deane which contai
stance of what follows—Han
over Deane's recall and his a
JA was elected a commissio

stigmas are suffered to be fixed upon them, so unjustly. It is really important that Congress should not dishonour, the Man in one Moment upon whom they confer in the same Moment the most important Commission for ought I know which they ever issued.[16] I could return to my Practice at the Bar, and make Fortunes for my Children and be happier, and really more respected, than I can in the hazardous, tormenting Employments into which they have always put me. I can be easy, even under the Marks of Disgrace they put upon me, but they may depend upon it they either mistake their own Interest in putting me into these Employments, or in putting these Brands upon me—one or the other.

I am not at all Surprized at your Impatience under the Reflections you mention. I had heard an hint of them, with great Regret. But I am sure, they must be unjust, and that they have made no Impressions here. You stand on sure ground that of eternal Justice and Truth in the Vote about me, and are very far from being chargeable with a Fault in the other Votes, altho I cannot say I should have voted with you in every one of them, I mean for recalling F. and L. Yet there are so many weighty Arguments for them that I cannot blame you.

It has been reported in Europe that Mr. Deane laid before Congress, a Testimony from the King of France in his own Hand Writing, highly in favour of Mr. Deane. This was so extraordinary, so out of all the Rules of the Court and Maxims of the Monarchy that it was disbelieved. I wish you would inform me of the Fact, and send me a Copy, if there is such an original.[17]

LbC (Adams Papers). According to AA, this letter was never sent (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:192–193).

[1] That of 29 Sept. (above).

[2] John Dickinson was the author and chief supporter of the second petition to George III that the congress agreed to on 5 July 1775, but which went unanswered by the King (*JCC*, 2:127, 158–162). For JA's opinion of the petition, his disagreement with Dickinson, and the genesis of his reference to Dickinson as a "piddling genius" in his letter of 24 July 1775 to James Warren, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:316–317; and vol. 3:89–93 and notes there.

[3] The passage is unclear but apparently JA is referring to a letter from Hancock to Silas Deane which contained the substance of what follows—Hancock's regret over Deane's recall and his assertion that JA was elected a commissioner by a congress "very thin." See JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:145. Possibly Barnabas Deane, Silas' brother, used Hancock's expression of support in a letter to Edward Bancroft which was sent in care of JA.

[4] This is the only mention the editors have found that Samuel Adams opposed JA's going to France in 1778.

[5] "At" and "different" are interlined separately, suggesting that JA first wrote "20 times," then "20 different times," and finally "at different times." The various congressional appointments of Franklin, Deane, Arthur Lee, William Lee, and Ralph Izard, on 26 Sept. and 22 Oct. 1776, and 1 Jan., and 1, 7, and 9 May 1777, make JA's exaggeration more understandable (see Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, N.Y., 1941, p.

ce to the Superiour Wisdom of
ıeir Consideration, whether it
ıer by a direct Representation[1]
ınish Courts, or by Instructions
endeavour to convince those
lopting this Plan. It is certainly
nd Spanish Principles, simply,
as has a tendency, in the short-
o diminish the Power of their
w, I would submit it to Con-
onstrated, that these Ends may
y. A Representation from Con-
ıs to their Ministers, shewing
Materials, Vessells of War, Pri-
Way, France and Spain might
's either for Money, or as the
Weight.
French Ministry, upon these
Yet much more may be said, to
er Purpose, for they are ex-
made to appear to them, for

'pers on this subject. One, is a
xcellency the Comte De Ver-
of January last. The other is
Fayette, in February, with his

spect, your Excellencys, most
John Adams

seted: "Letter from Hon John
'9. read Novr. 1 4 Papers in-
e Vergennes No. 2 JA to the
r No. 4 JA to the Presd of
t. to the president of the con-
husetts Council, 13 Sept., and

to Vergennes, [ante 20] Dec.
[ante 9] Jan. 1779 (above). JA's
o Lafayette is that of 21 Feb.; the
replied on 9 April (both above).
JCC the receipt and description of
ıclosures is garbled (15:1231).

October 1779

To Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir Braintree Octr. 25. 1779

Yours of the 4. is before me.[1] Mr. Dana, I think will accept. I have no personal Objection to either of the Gentlemen you mention.[2] You know more of the political Character of one of them, than I do. With the other I never had any personal Misunderstanding. He has Abilities and he has had his Merit. But he has been in the Center of Disputes so much, that you must have learned perhaps more of his public Conduct than I have done, certainly enough to determine your Judgment.[3] Mr. D and the D[octo]r are much attached to him; Mr. L. and Mr. , much against him.[4] He has formerly written some Things well on the American Question. In France he wrote one good Thing. But he has had Connections in Change Alley, which in my Opinion ought to be renounced forever by him, if he is appointed to any Place, because I have no Imagination that any Thing can be concealed from Ld North, that is written to any one in Change Alley. I mention nothing of Religion nor Morals, for in these Respects, I suppose Objections are no stronger, than against others, whom it would be Blasphemy to Attack.[5] I mention these Things in Confidence.

Pray let me know, what is become of my Accounts and Vouchers; and whether there are any Objections to, or Speculations about them.

Adieu John Adams

RC (DLC, photostat in Gerry Papers). LbC (Adams Papers).

[1] Gerry's letter of 4 Oct. has not been found, but see his letter of 12 Oct. (above).

[2] According to Gerry's letter of 12 Oct., these were Sir James Jay, John Jay's brother, and Dr. Edward Bancroft. With the exception of the sentence immediately following, the remainder of this letter deals with Bancroft, who is described in terms similar to those used by JA in his Autobiography. There he indicates that the "one good Thing" that Bancroft wrote in France, which has not been otherwise identified, appeared in *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (*Diary and Autobiography*, 4:71–74).

[3] In the Letterbook JA first ended his letter at this point. He then extended it through the sentence discussing "Change Alley," and then again through "I mention these Things in Confidence." Finally, he added the query about accounts and vouchers.

[4] Silas Deane, Franklin, Arthur Lee, and probably Ralph Izard are intended here. In the Letterbook, immediately after the blank space left in place of the fourth name, "bitter" was lined out in favor of "much."

[5] That is, Franklin.

To Henry Laurens

My dear Sir Braintree Octr. 25. 1779

Your Favour of the fourth of the Month, gave me great Pleasure. But I am afraid that you and Some others of my Friends felt more for

me, in the Aukward Situation, you mention, than I did for myself, 'tho I cannot Say, I was wholly insensible. I could not help laughing a little at the figure I cutt, to be sure. I could compare it, to nothing, but Shakespeares Idea of Ariel, wedged by the Waist, in the Middle of a rifted Oak,[1] for I was Sufficiently Sensible that it was owing to an unhappy Division in Congress, and Pains enough were taken to inform me, that one Side were for Sending me to Spain, and the other to Holland, So that I was flattered to find that neither Side had any decisive Objection against trusting me, and that the apparent Question was only, where? But I assure you, that all my Sprawling, Wriggling, and brandishing my Legs and Arms in the Air,[2] like Ariel, never gave me half the Pain, that the Picture of Congress in my Imagination at that time, excited. When I saw a certain Appeal to the People;[3] that no Animadversion was made on it; that you resigned &c., Congress appeared to me to resemble a Picture in the Gallery of the C. De Vergennes and I trembled for the Union and safety of the states.

The Picture represents a Coach, with four Horses, running down a steep Mountain, and rushing on to the middle of a very high Bridge, over a large River. The Foundations of the whole Bridge, give Way, in a Moment, and the Carriage, the Horses, the Timbers, Stones and all, in a Chaos are falling through the Air down to the Water. The Horror of the Horses, the Coachman, the Footmen, the Gentlemen and Ladies in the Carriage, is Strongly painted in their Countenances and Gestures, as well as the Simpathy and Terror of others in Boats upon the River and many others on shore, on each side of the River.[4]

That I was sent without any solicitation of mine, directly or indirectly, is certainly true; and I had such formidable Ideas of the Sea and of British Men of War, Such Diffidence of my own Qualifications to do service in that Way, and Such Uncertainty of the Reception I should meet, that I had little Inclination to Adventure. That I went against my pecuniary[5] Interest is most certainly so, for I never yet served the public without loosing Money by it. I was not however, as you suppose kept unimployed. I had Business enough to do, as I could easily convince you. There is a great Field of Business there and I could easily shew you that I did my share of it. There is so much to do, and So much difficulty to do it well, that I rejoice with all my Heart to find a Gentleman, of such Abilities, Principles and Activity, as Coll. Laurens, without a Compliment, undoubtedly is, appointed to assist in it. I most Sincerely hope for his Friendship and an entire Harmony, with him, for which Reason, I should be very happy in his Company in

the Passage, or in an
rope. He will be, in a
and plain sense, hon
be sufficient to secure

Your kind Compli
Re-Election, are very

I have received no
Information of the P
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Hesitation, and trust I

It is a Misfortune t
Hands with you, at th
where there lives a La
Respects, and ask the
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hensions. But I hope t

Methods will be fo
cloath it, without Con
well to undertake, an
soon as possible.

Your Packetts for y
and shall be forwarded
Regard, I am, sir, your

RC (ScHi); docketed: Novem." LbC (Adams Pa

[1] See JA to William Whi and note 6 (above).

[2] Compare the image in Feb., in *Adams Family* 3:181.

[3] That of Silas Deane, 1778. The congress' failure this address caused Laurens presidency of that body.

[4] This painting has not bee

[5] "Pecuniary" was int

han I did for myself, 'tho not help laughing a little ıpare it, to nothing, but Vaist, in the Middle of a ıt it was owing to an un- gh were taken to inform in, and the other to Hol- ıer Side had any decisive apparent Question was prawling, Wriggling, and ike Ariel, never gave me ı my Imagination at that to the People;[3] that no igned &c., Congress ap- allery of the C. De Ver- ty of the states.

Horses, running down a le of a very high Bridge, ıole Bridge, give Way, in Timbers, Stones and all, ɔ the Water. The Horror ıe Gentlemen and Ladies Countenances and Ges- ɔthers in Boats upon the of the River.[4]

f mine, directly or indi- ıble Ideas of the Sea and ıy own Qualifications to nty of the Reception I Adventure. That I went ınly so, for I never yet .. I was not however, as enough to do, as I could ɔf Business there and I There is so much to do, ice with all my Heart to s and Activity, as Coll. is, appointed to assist in nd an entire Harmony, appy in his Company in

the Passage, or in an Interview with him, as Soon as possible, in Europe. He will be, in a delicate situation, but not so much so, as I was, and plain sense, honest Intentions, and common Civility, will I think be sufficient to secure him and do much good.

Your kind Compliments on my Safe Return, and most honourable Re-Election, are very obliging.

I have received no Commission, nor Instructions, nor any particular Information of the Plan, but from the Advice and Information from you and Several others of my Friends at Philadelphia, and here,[6] I shall make no Hesitation to say, that notwithstanding the Delicacy, and Danger of this Commission, I suppose, I shall accept it,[7] without Hesitation, and trust Events to Heaven as I have been long used to do.

It is a Misfortune to me, to be deprived of the Pleasure of shaking Hands with you, at the Foot of Pens Hill, Eleven miles from Boston, where there lives a Lady, however, who desires me to present her best Respects, and ask the Favour of a Visit, when you come to Boston, that She may have an opportunity of Seeing a Gentleman, whose unshaken Constancy, does so much Honour and Such essential Service to his Country.

The Convulsions at Philadelphia, are very affecting and alarming but not entirely unexpected to me. The state of Parties and the Nature of their Government, have a long time given me disagreable Apprehensions. But I hope they will find some Remedy.

Methods will be found to feed the Army, but I know of none to cloath it, without Convoys to trade, which Congress, I think would do well to undertake, and perswade France and Spain, to undertake as soon as possible.

Your Packetts for your Friends in Europe, will give me Pleasure, and shall be forwarded with Care and dispatch. With great Truth and Regard, I am, sir, your Friend and servant John Adams

RC (ScHi); docketed: "John Adams Esquire 25 October 1779 Rcd 8th. Novem." LbC (Adams Papers).

[1] See JA to William Whipple, 11 Sept., and note 6 (above).

[2] Compare the image in JA to AA, 28 Feb., in *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:181.

[3] That of Silas Deane, dated 5 Dec. 1778. The congress' failure to condemn this address caused Laurens to resign the presidency of that body.

[4] This painting has not been identified.

[5] "Pecuniary" was interlined, and "Money," at the end of this sentence, does not appear in the Letterbook draft copy.

[6] In the Letterbook JA does not set off "and here" from "Philadelphia," suggesting that "here" modifies "my Friends," and is not an introductory phrase to his statement of intent.

[7] In the Letterbook JA interlined "notwithstanding the Delicacy and Danger of this Commission."

ın Order from his Majesty to the
· and Protect me as a freind and
ther Molestation Whatever. I Am
icular to Dr. Barnardo del Campo
l Also to the Minister the Count

ou I have been Remarkably Suc-
to have it in My Power to be of
Quarter and have the Honour to
ur Most Obedient Most humble
Robt Montgomery
dvice that Mr. Jay is Arrived at
rt. I Am Not Aquaint With this
ı the favour of your Giving Me A
y to be Able to Render him Any

ı Thaxter: "Mr. Robt. Montgomery

ntrol of the approaches to Gibraltar,
ıus the beleaguered garrison received the
od that it needed to withstand and pro-
ng the seige (Mahan, *Navies in the War Amer. Independence*, p. 122–127).

[2] For Montgomery's problems with the anish government and his applications Benjamin Franklin, see his letter to JA 6 July 1779 (above), and *Cal. Franklin pers, A.P.S.*, 2:101, 109, 129, 133, 165.

Vergennes

JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, s formally notified Vergennes of ppointed to negotiate treaties of he explained, so far as he knew declared that his efforts would s to France and that "it is my nsequence in pursuance of my lajesty's Ministers." He asked e British government of his ar- dertake negotiations when cir- ter extent than in the Journals ; or "remain upon the reserve"

as he had done since he had arrived in Europe. Adams pledged that any British proposals to him would be reported to Vergennes, and he asked that any proposals made to France relating to American interests be disclosed to him. Finally, he requested permission to reside in France as either a public or private person, according to Vergennes' view of what was most advisable.

Although this letter was carefully phrased in the most polite and respectful language, it introduced several of the major themes that informed the antagonistic relationship between Adams and Vergennes during Adams' second diplomatic mission. Adams recognized his anomalous position in France as a minister with no official standing, charged with negotiating treaties with an enemy that showed no desire for peace and was pressing its naval war against France and Spain. Vergennes' distrust of Adams, fostered by reports placing him in an anti-French faction, was increased by this letter, as was his fear that Adams intended to undercut French and Spanish interests by initiating negotiations. For the progress of the Adams-Vergennes relationship, see the letters exchanged by the two men of 15, 19, 24, and 25 Feb. (all calendared below).

To Gabriel de Sartine

Paris, 13 February 1780. PRINTED: JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:248. This letter was a reply to Sartine's of 31 Dec. 1779 (same, 4:247–248), which Adams received when he arrived at Paris. In that letter the minister congratulated him on his new appointment and expressed his pleasure that he had been able to return to Europe on *La Sensible*. Adams thanked Sartine for his letter and indicated his gratitude for the aid given and the courtesies shown him by Gérard, La Luzerne, and Capt. Chavagnes in allowing him to make his return voyage on the French frigate.

From Alexander Gillon

Dr Sir

Amsterdam 14 Feby 1780

Permit me to Congratulate you on your happy return to Europe, and to make this enquiry after your Welfare.[1] I much flatter myself that nothing but affairs of the utmost Consequence cou'd induce you to undertake the Ardous task of again quitting your happy native Country, and I am well Convinced evry inhabitant on our Continent stands highly indebted to you for this fresh proof of your Zeal for their Welfare. As one from there please to Accept of my best thanks for your unwearied Studys in our behalf, and of my Sincere wishes that no Obstacles or difficultys may prevent your Accomplishing that which

your Country hopes for, from your peculiar and particular Abilitys and experience. I have not yet reciev'd Any replys to my repeated letters to Carolina, thus am Acting almost without orders, for as I recievd undoubted proofs that last year the French goverment intended me no Aid,[2] in my Business, I was Compell'd to try *Ailleurs* [elsewhere]. Have for that purpose been to Prussia, where I found my Assurance of Compleating what I requested, tho' found it wou'd take longer time than was proposed, but the Enemys and Supposed *friends* of our Country soon followd me there, and by their malicious reports and plans totally frustrated my views, by Shutting the doors to the Credit I shou'd have procured, and by preparing difficultys that Staggered me as they Carried the Appearance of a Concerted plan, to effectually prevent any American Succeeding there. It is a Consolation to me that I have clearly traced the Actors, in this and can produce proofs of their Cruelty to our distress'd Country.

I therefore timely withdrew with honor from a Country where Success woud have attended my endeavours had Secret motives that you can Judge not taken place, yet I do not lament my Jaunt as it answerd one essential pecuniary point. I had full oppertunity to Collect material Intelligence, and it is with pleasure I say that our friends in Prussia, and Saxony are very numerous, and had they been left to follow their own inclinations, I shoud have done much there. I reach'd here the 21 Xber, and as the season did not admit of my doing any thing more then Collecting the monies under my directions and gaining intelligence I have not been Idle, and it is with pleasure I assure you that this Goverment as well as its Inhabitants is altered very much in our favor lately, so much so that I have reason to be of opinion was their a gentleman here properly qualified by Congress he might be of much Service, for though they wou'd not receive him publickly, yet I am clear he wou'd evry where be receiv'd as a private gentleman, tho' they knew him to be a minister. I know they want and wish for Such person here, with proper powers. Such a person may also procure a large Sum at 5 percent Intrest for *10* a *15* years, and a very moderate Commission, but please observe it must Come direct from our Country, and to none but a Solid *dutch* house here. This sir is not my language but the observations that was made to me by the money lenders and brokers here. The late request of the English for the Dutch to furnish the Stipulated Assistance, Added to the threat if they do not Comply, that the ancient treaty is broke, has Staggerd some. However the States of Holland at their meeting last Month did resolve on an unlimitted Convoy. The Prince it seems is or *appears to be* altered in his Sentiments, and

makes no Secret of his being deciev'd by the English, Says he will do much to have the resolution of unlimited Convoy passed in the States general. Yet this late request may make some Alteration. Many are for using easy means about Mast, Spars, Timber and hemp, but in the mean while to Arm as quick as possible, but no one is for granting the Supply's the English require. Others are for entring into a Treaty with Denmark and Sweeden, if so, it is and will be a Common Cause for them to protect their Trade. A few days will enable me to Say more on this head, as the 25 Instant the States general meet, and I have oppertunitys to have Clear intelligence, so much so, that if your Excellency admits it I will be more in the way of it, and from time to time acquaint you *for your Eye only* what may be worth your attention. Perhaps if the French are Active at this Court, they may check the little inclination still left to aid the English.[3]

When your Excellency was about leaving Europe I had the honor of laying before you my requests to the French Ministers and their replys, also my requests to his Excellency B. Franklin Esqr. to which I recievd replys that the Fleet fitting out at L'orient was not Continental, and that the Alliance was lent to go the Cruize.[4] Thus they cou'd not go to America as I requested, Since when I've been doing my utmost to buy or to build as far as the money wou'd admit. The Jaunt to Prussia were seem'd sure of Success, prevented my trying here, Tho as I now have borrow'd and Collected more money, can act on a larger Scale, and am promised Still a further sum here. Mr. Chaumont in October last offerd me the Ship Indian, built here by Mr. Boux, if I wou'd pay him directly £600,000 that he wou'd go directly to Mr. de Sartine and Settle a bill of Sale.[5] I replyed I wish'd first to examine Said ship and her materials and to know the impediments to her getting out ere I determined. I came here with that View and find the Ship to be the best I ever Saw, well built and will readily Carry 28. 24 pounders on one Deck, must sail fast and is Compleatly fitted, as they Say, though have not Seen the Inventary, and may be got to Sea in 3 months. There is another of same kind may be launched in 8 weeks, and got ready to Sail in *4* months. It seems there is particular reasons perhaps political ones, that prevented these Ships being got out. Those reasons that depended on politics here, are now obviated, and if the objections in France are Overset and I buy them, I can fit them out not to appear as American property. There is no need of it. I am a native of Holland, have preserv'd and renewd my priveledges, thus have as much right as any dutch man to the use of the Flag. This is not only my opinion, but the voice and advice of those that can best Judge of those matters.

Now Sir as you know how and why those ships was built, and why *now french property*, and now know they can be got out, I take the liberty of Craving your Excellencys friendly aid to enable me to buy one or more of these Ships. I have now here 5 a 600,000 Livres to pay Cash down, and am not doubtfull but shall have all I want to fit them out. Seamen are Scarce, but I know I shall have my Share. Admit my Acquainting you what I did on my road here from Prussia. I wrote his Excellency B. Franklin Esqr. and Mr. Chaumont as per Copy of enclosed letters, whereto recievd no replys.[6] On my Arrival here I waited on Mr. de Neufville Mr. Chaumonts friend, got him to write and to offer £300,000 for the Indian. Mr. Chaumont replied if Mr. Gillon will pay the first Cost and realize his offer, I may become his mediator, *but she ought not to go under first Cost.* I got Mr. Deneufville to again write him to enable us to see the Inventary and to examine the Materials before we cou'd determine to give Such a high price. No reply has been recievd, thus it appears as if there was no real intention to Sell them. Perhaps they think if I Can get them out they Can. I presume to the Contrary, and it is with no little difficulty that I prevail'd, for firstly she must go as a dutch vessel, next she must have the Camillas to float her over the Shoals, and then she must have men. Enfin I can either get her Sent to St. Eustatius or any Port in France, Spain or Portugal as dutch, insure them to there and receive them there, or else fit them out as dutch here till get to Sea, and then do as I like. It may be Said these vessels draw too much for Charles Town Barr. I agree to it, but that risk I take on myself, well knowing the Conveniency of the Eastern Ports and that Congress wants Such Ships, that South Carolina woud Say take them in lieu of Frigates that may Suit our Barr, yet I know that Tho' Charles Town Barr may not do for them, The barr at Beaufort will admit their going into Port Royal harbour, thus the State may keep them. If I procure them my Idea is to go North About with them and to go to Boston, where I may recieve the orders of Congress and of the State.

As I now have made your Excellency Acquainted with this whole affair, will you pardon me for Craving you to Step forth, and be the glorius Instrument of aiding your Country to have a great Assistance to her infant navy. I know they will make great difficulty but I know your friendly heart to your Country, and I know your perseverance, thus have great hopes. I do not mean to dictate to your Excellency, but I humbly presume the nearest road to success is by a direct application to Mr. de Sartine, Mr. de Vergennes and Mr. de Maurpas. If you apply without mentioning my name, they may Suppose it is *for Congress* and

may readily Acquiese, and
them. Mr. Chaumont neec
to your better Judgement.
Ship Indian from the Am
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may readily Acquiese, and you can Say you gave me the Command of them. Mr. Chaumont need not know the Affair but all this I Submit to your better Judgement. I am told the French goverment took this Ship Indian from the American Commissioners at the valuation of £300,000. That price even with Interest I woud Chearfully pay or whatever price you sold her for. If not, they Can Choose two experienced men here and I will do the Same, and let them value Said Ship Indian and all her materials, which valuation I will pay the Instant I get bill of Sail and possesion of her. Please observe that this Ship by being launched a good while requires heaving down, and I am told her bottom is Such that it must be Sheath'd. All this makes a decline in her value. As to the other Ship on the Stocks, I will either take her at a valuation as above, or else take her as she now Stands, by taking and fullfilling the Contract they entered into with the Builder, and then I can rigg and fit her out as I like, in a cheaper and better manner than the Indian is fitted out. Indeed if they will not Sell both I prefer her on the Stocks, as she will be a better Ship by not being launched, and by different methods of outfitting Ships. There will also be less noise about her, for really the other was a Town Talk. Mr. Izard was here Saw the Ships and knows my Applications. If you think proper I am Sure both he and Mr. A. Lee will Chearfully Join you in the Application on this business. I know this requires Sometime, but as letters meets with Curious delays, you'l oblige me to Say per return of post you have recievd this, that I may know it has got Safe. I inclose it to Messrs. Pache freres & Co. *Bankers* of Solidity Craving them to waite on you with it and to deliver it to no other person. They are friendly Gentlemen and Able Bankers. Nay so much do I dread letters not getting Safe, that was I Sure of Success I wou'd immediatly waite on your Excellency and tarry till the Business was over. However you will oblige me to Acquaint me as Soon as Convenient if it is needfull for me to be there and I will soon be with you for I have much at Heart to procure those two very fine Ships, well knowing what Service they may be to our Country. Shou'd I not Succeed in this I fear I then must determine to Invest the funds in shipping materials, Send them to a neutral port in neutral Botoms nearest our Coast, and then I return with my Officers as soon as possible to America, with a lasting proof that France though she has it in her power, wou'd not aid us in the least towards getting a Navy, for as to her not aiding me the last year may be owing to her want of all her naval force, yet there Ships being here being idle, that they Cannot or will not get them out here, is not loss to them. Thus they Can readily Spare them to you. I have been

wrote to on some good Ships to be Sold at the French ports, but as I dread that instead of aiding me to procure Seamen I might be prevented as I know they want all their men for their own ships I now submit the matter to your Excellency. I can do all the rest. Evry thing we wish is to be done in this Country if proper and Cautious methods are adopted.

I have been hinted Mr. Dana Accompanys you, if so you will much oblige me to present my best respects to him, also to your promising Son if he is with you. Please direct to me under Cover to Messrs. *Nicolaas and Jacob van Staphorst Merchants here.* If any news of Consequence from home shall esteem it as a favor if you will impart it to me. I will trouble you with what is doing here and am with respect—Your Excellys. most obdt. & most hble Servant A. Gillon

NB. The highest tides here are in March and April thus that is the best times to get these Ships over the Shoals. As Mr. Chaumont and Doctor Franklin[7] did not reply to my letter on this Business presume it was not Agreable to them, thus leave to you to mention it to them or not—or to deliver them the Inclos'd Copys of my last to them if they say they did not receive the Originals.

RC with two enclosures (Adams Papers); notation by Gillon at the top of the first page: "the outside Case directed by AG. please [remove?] if Open'd"; docketed on enclosed letter to Franklin: "Commodore Gillon Amsterdam 14. Feb. 1780 ans. Feb. 20." The enclosures are described in note 6.

[1] Because Gillon used only commas for punctuation, the editors have replaced them with periods here and elsewhere as. has seemed appropriate. Punctuation has also been supplied on occasion.

[2] Gillon presumably is referring to Sartine's refusal to give a positive answer to his requests for aid (Gillon to JA, 17 April 1779, above). In addition, Benjamin Franklin, believing that Gillon's effort would undercut his own, had refused to aid him in obtaining a loan at an interest rate higher than that permitted for the loan that Franklin had been directed to raise by the congress (Franklin to Gillon, 5 July 1779, Wharton, ed., *Dipl. Corr. Amer. Rev.*, 3:239–240).

[3] The shift in Dutch opinion to which Gillon refers resulted in large part from the British seizure of a convoy of merchant ships under the protection of Dutch naval vessels off the Isle of Wight on 31 Dec. 1779. This action further weakened the English party, but did not immediately result in the decisive action by the States General that Gillon apparently expected. For a summary of Dutch relations with Britain and France in 1779 and early 1780, see Dumas to the Commissioners, 27 Jan. 1779 (above).

[4] Gillon had written to JA on 17 April 1779 (above), giving a summary of his appeal to Sartine for aid. The appeal to Franklin to which he refers is probably his letter of 29 June 1779, to which Franklin replied on 5 July (Wharton, ed., *Dipl. Corr. Amer. Rev.*, 3:239–240). Gillon presumably reported this exchange to JA soon thereafter, but no letter has been found.

[5] For the *Indien*, later the *South Carolina*, see Richard G. Stone Jr., "'The *South Carolina* We've Lost': The Bizarre Saga of Alexander Gillon and His Frigate," *American Neptune*, 39:159–172 (July 1979). Here and elsewhere in this letter Gillon uses the "£" sign to indicate French livres.

[6] Both enclosed letters w
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(above) and briefly comment
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fication of Poyning's Law of 1495 and the Irish Declaratory Act of 1719. The first provided that all previous general statutes that had not specifically been applied to Ireland were to be in force and enabled the Privy Council in England to "initiate, supervise, reject, or amend all bills" enacted or considered by the Irish Parliament. The second formally provided for the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland (Henry Campbell Black, *A Law Dictionary Containing Definitions of the Terms and Phrases of American and English Jurisprudence Ancient and Modern*, 2d edn., St. Paul, Minn., 1910; R. Coupland, *The American Revolution and the British Empire*, London, 1930, p. 58–59). These efforts came to nothing, and at the time that this letter was written the Irish Parliament had not yet considered the issue. Not until 19 April did Henry Grattan, noted Irish statesman and orator, introduce a resolution calling for legislative independence; after a fifteen-hour debate, the measure was postponed and never revived (*DNB*; Coupland, *American Revolution and the British Empire*, p. 125–128; W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols., N.Y., 1878–1890, 4:550–551).

[6] A reference to the removal of Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, and Francis Osborne, marquis of Carmarthen (later 5th Duke of Leeds), as lords lieutenant of Wiltshire and the East Riding of York, respectively, because of their refusal to oppose the demands of the county associations. Both were restored to office by the Rockingham ministry in 1782 (*DNB*). Pembroke, and presumably also Carmarthen, received notice of his dismissal in a letter from Lord Hillsborough of 14 Feb., to which Pembroke replied on the same day. For the two letters, which were widely reprinted, see the *London Chronicle* of 29 Feb. – 2 March.

[7] Thus in both the recipient's copy, where JA interlined "to be sure," and the Letterbook copy.

To the President of the Congress, No. 10

No. 10.

Sir Paris February 27th. 1780

There are so many Gentleman of Rank going out to America, that there can be no doubt Congress will be fully informed of the State of public Affairs.

Mr. Lee, Mr. Izard, the Marquiss de la Fayette, Mr. Wharton, and many others, are going by different Vessels.

Besides these Monsieur de L'Etombe, who is appointed Consul General of France for the Northern District of America, as Mr. Holker is for the middle, and I have not yet learned who for the Southern, will go soon.[1]

There is an Armament preparing with the greatest Expedition at Brest, which is to be commanded by Monsieur de Ternay, and to consist of eight or ten Ships of the Line and Frigates. Six of the Line and several Frigates, as it is said, perhaps it is not yet certain nor determined, exactly how many of either, with several thousand Men, all Numbers are mentioned from six to ten thousands, under the General Officers, de la Rochambeau and Jaucourt.[2] Whether this Force is destined to the Continent or the West Indies, Time will discover, at present it ought not to be known.

On the other Hand, I see a Paragraph in a London Paper of the sixteenth of this Month, that the Thunderer, Torbay, Ramilies, Royal Oak, Triumph, and Egmont, are ordered for the West Indies under Captain Walsingham, the Southampton, St. Albans and Winchelsea, which were talked of to go with him, are found unfit for Service, and in so bad a Condition as to be ordered to be paid off.

Thus the French are likely to be drawn into the American Seas in sufficient force, where they have great Advantages in carrying on the War. It is much to be wished that the Spaniards could be drawn into the same Field of Battle,[3] for Gibralter must be taken in America, if ever.

There are some Persons, however, who think, that the English will avenge the French, the Spaniards, and above all the Americans, upon one another, and it is certain that Parties in England are working up to a Crisis. The Petitions of the Counties, their numerous Committees of Correspondence, their Hints of Associations have most certainly alarmed the King and his Ministers to a great degree—to such a degree, that for some Time their Conduct was equivocal, giving Hopes at Times to the People, that the Crown would favour the desired Reformation, in the Expenditure of Money. But upon the News of Rodney's Success, they grew bolder, and determined, to exert all the Authority of the Crown, to suppress the Meetings of the People. Accordingly the Cry, of Faction, Sedition and Rebellion was set up in Parliament by the Majority, and the King was advised to dismiss those Lieutenants of Counties, who had favoured the Meetings of the People, Advice which he has certainly taken.

This is a decisive Measure. It will either discourage, and suppress these Meetings, Petitions, Correspondences and Associations altogether; or it will give them greater Force.

By a Debate in the House of Commons on the fourteenth of this Month, one would think that the Nation was really at the Brink of a Civil War.[4] Yet I confess, I cannot think that there are any Characters at present, in whom the Nation have sufficient Confidence, to venture themselves any Lengths under their Guidance. And I believe that this spirited Conduct of the King, will defeat the Measures of the Counties, unless indeed in the Course of the next Campaign, his Arms, especially by Sea, should meet with any signal Defeat, which would re-animate perhaps, the People.

But, even supposing the People go on, and succeed so far as to effect a Change in the Ministry: the Question is, whether this would be an Advantage to Us or our Allies? I am myself, very far from being convinced that it would. There are none, of the principal Leaders of the

People, that avow any
None that avow a design
of making Peace.

By[5] Letters I have reci
rival,[6] I am told that the
the Dutch Ships, has ma
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RC in John Thaxter's 'h
"No. 10. Letter from J. Ad
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England no prospect of ser
(Adams Papers); notation by T

[1] The three consuls were
André Joseph de Létombe at Bos
(or Jean) Holker the younger at
phia, and Charles François,
d'Anmours, at Baltimore (JA to
Feb. 1780, and note 3, *Adam*
Correspondence, 3:286–287). On
Ralph Izard wrote to JA (Adam
concerning a meeting between
and Létombe on the following
not known if the meeting took plac

[2] When it sailed on 2 May
under the command of Chevalier
nay consisted of seven ships of
two frigates, and two smaller w
escorted thirty-two transports a
ships carrying 5,500 troops u
command of Comte de Rochamb
force reached Newport in Jul
French Navy and Amer. Indepen
190–191). Jaucourt remains unide

[3] In the Letterbook the rem
this sentence reads: "for ⟨*in my*
Gibraltar must be taken in An

People, that avow any fixed Principle, that We can depend upon. None that avow a design of acknowledging our Independence or even of making Peace.

By[5] Letters I have recieved from Brussels and Holland since my Arrival,[6] I am told that the late desperate Step of the English in seizing the Dutch Ships, has made a great Change in the Minds of the People there, and the Government too, in our Favour. Even the Prince, declares that he has been decieved by the English, and that he will promote unlimited Convoys: that an American Minister is much wished for, who, altho' he might not be yet publickly recieved, would be able to do as much Good as if he was: that Money might be borrowed there, by such a Minister directly from Congress applying directly to solid Dutch Houses. I hope every Hour to hear of Mr. Laurens's arrival.

I have subscribed for the English Papers, but have not yet recieved any, which I am sorry for, because I can get none to inclose. As fast as they come to me I will send them. I have the Honour to inclose another Mercure de France, and to be, with the most perfect Attachment, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

John Adams

RC in John Thaxter's hand (PCC, No. 84, I, f. 291–294); docketed: "No. 10. Letter from J. Adams Paris Feby 27. 1780 Read May 15.— french & english Armaments preparing for the American Seas Disputes in England no prospect of serious Articles of Peace. Affairs of Holland." LbC (Adams Papers); notation by Thaxter: "No. 10."

[1] The three consuls were Philippe André Joseph de Létombe at Boston, John (or Jean) Holker the younger at Philadelphia, and Charles François, Chevalier d'Anmours, at Baltimore (JA to AA, 27 Feb. 1780, and note 3, *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:286–287). On 29 Feb., Ralph Izard wrote to JA (Adams Papers) concerning a meeting between Izard, JA, and Létombe on the following day. It is not known if the meeting took place.

[2] When it sailed on 2 May the fleet under the command of Chevalier de Ternay consisted of seven ships of the line, two frigates, and two smaller warships; it escorted thirty-two transports and cargo ships carrying 5,500 troops under the command of Comte de Rochambeau. The force reached Newport in July (Dull, *French Navy and Amer. Independence*, p. 190–191). Jaucourt remains unidentified.

[3] In the Letterbook the remainder of this sentence reads: "for ⟨*in my Opinion*⟩ Gibraltar must be taken in America, if ever."

[4] The debate on 14 Feb. was ostensibly over a proposal put forth by Isaac Barré to establish a committee of accounts to oversee public expenditures. This was one of the demands of the county association movement, and the debate largely centered on the propriety of that movement. During the debate George Onslow attacked the Duke of Richmond for his support of the county associations and strongly implied that Richmond was making military preparations to support their demands for reform. As reported in the *London Chronicle* of 12–15 Feb., Onslow stated at one point that "associations were the commencement of rebellions." See also *Parliamentary Hist.*, 21:74–83.

[5] In the Letterbook this paragraph was written below the formal closing and marked for insertion at this point.

[6] These were the letters from Edmund Jenings of 19 Feb. and Alexander Gillon of 14 Feb. (both above).

The Adams Papers

L. H. BUTTERFIELD, EDITOR IN CHIEF

SERIES I

DIARIES

Diary and Autobiography of John Adams

eign legation, stood until sometime in the 1820's; a print of about 1830 of the Fluwelen Burgwal and the canal that then traversed it shows only a one-story wall and doorway on the site.

[2] Hendrik Fagel (1706–1790), *griffier* (secretary, "graphiary") of the States General from 1744 until his death (*Nieuw Ned. Biog. Woordenboek*, 3: 390–391). A strong supporter of the House of Orange and of what JA called the "Anglomane" party, Fagel nevertheless signed, as he was obliged to by his office, the States General's resolution recognizing the United States.

[3] Willem Boreel (1744–1796), of Amsterdam and later of The Hague, a deputy to the States General from the Province of Holland and holder of numerous civil and military offices (Johan E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578–1795*, Haarlem, 1903–1905, 2: 945, 1188). As president of the week of the States General when the vote recognizing the United States was passed, Boreel signed, with Fagel, the text transmitted to JA (*Collection of State Papers*, 1782, p. 92). Boreel and his wife presided over a very hospitable household in The Hague; see numerous entries in JA's Diary during Sept.–Oct., below.

[4] That is, the houses or *hôtels* where the deputies from the cities of Holland to the "States of Holland" (the provincial assembly, which met at The Hague) had their respective headquarters. As for the numbers in the last column, Dr. H. M. Mensonides, Director of the Gemeente-Archief, The Hague, has made the following plausible suggestion: "The figures . . . probably indicate the order in which the visits had to be made: first Amsterdam at the Plein (now Ministry of Foreign Affairs) as the most important; then through the Spuistraat (2), Brielle; the Hoogstraat (3), Delft; the Buitenhof (4), Leyden; the Hofsingel (5), Alkmaar and Enkhuizen; the Voorhout (6), Hoorn-Edam-Monnikendam-Medemblik-Purmerend; and (7), Gouda; the Lange Vijverberg (8), Dordrecht; the Korte Vijverberg (9), Haarlem; back to the Plein (10), Rotterdam (present War Ministry); and then to the outside of the town [and nearest his own establishment], the Fluwelen Burgwal (11), Gorinchem-Schiedam-Schoonhoven. If you will follow it on a modern map, you will see it is quite a logical itinerary" (letter to the editors, 29 Dec. 1959).

[5] Since Sunday and Monday fell on the 21st and 22d of April (and not of May) in 1782, this entry confirms the supposition that JA erred in dating these lists of ceremonial visits in May. It was Llano, the Spanish minister at The Hague, who at this time paid JA a compliment which he reported to various correspondents in bad French but with much satisfaction: "Vous avez frappé, Mo[n]sieur, (said he to me) le plus grand Coup de tout L'Europe. C'est le plus grand Coup, qui a jamais été frappé dans la Cause Americain. . . . C'est Vous qui a rempli cette nation d'Enthousiasme. C'est Vous qui a tournée leurs Tetes" (JA to Edmund Jenings, 28 April 1782, Adams Papers).

[6] Le Maréchal de Turenne—an inn.

1782 SEPTEMBER 14. SATURDAY.[1]

Supped last Night at Court in the Maison du Bois.[2] M. Boreel told me he had been to Paris which he quitted 8 days ago. That M. Franklin had been sick. It was at first reported that he had been struck with an Apoplexity. Then it was said he had a billious Cholick, and afterwards a Retention of Urine. But that he had got well before he left Paris.

Fell into Conversation naturally with Don Joas Theolonico de Almeida, Envoy Extraordinary of Portugal. . . .[3] He said to me, the Peace is yet a good Way off. There will be no Peace this Winter.

There will be another Campain, and no Peace untill the Winter following.... Spain will be the most difficult to satisfy, of all the Powers. Her Pretensions will be the hardest for England to agree to. As to the Independance of America, that is decided. I said to him, it is reported that Portugal is about to open her Ports to American Vessells.—I have not yet received says he any Intelligence of that.

The Comte Montagnini de Mirabel, Min. Plen. of the King of Sardinia, asked what was the Principle of the Indecision of G. Britain? Why dont they acknowledge your Independance? They must have some Intelligence, that is not publick.—I answered I dont believe there is any Principle, or System in it. It is merely owing to their Confusion. My Lord Shelburne, in complyance with the Will of his Master, refuses to do what all the World sees to be necessary.—Perhaps says the Comte they mean to annex certain Conditions, to the Acknowledgment of your Independance.—But says I, what if We should annex Conditions too? What if We should insist on an Acknowledgement of our Independence as a Preliminary Condition to entering into any Treaty or Conference?—Ay, says he, in that Case you may have work enough.

Mr. Magis said to me afterwards, I see you often in Conversation with Mr. de Mirabel. He is a great Politician. He is very well informed of all affairs in General, but particularly with the Affairs and political System of Germany.

Mr. De Llano, the Spanish Plenipo., said to me afterwards, do you know that Man, you have been in Conversation with this Evening so much, Mr. De Mirabel?—Very well says I.—The Baron de Thulemeyer, who was by, said Yes I see Mirabel often Attacks him.—I am told says I, that he is a great Politician.—Ay says Llano I see you know him—but he knows nothing else.

Mr. Boreel, The Baron de Linden de Hemmen, and the President of the grand Committee, all Members of the Assembly of their H[igh] M[ightinesses,] told me, that five Copies of the Treaties would be made out, according to my Desire, the English and Dutch Side by Side upon every Page, and the Treaty would be signed next Week.

The Baron de Thulemeyer chatted with me about riding on Horseback. Says he rides always in the Morning, at any Hour between 9 and Dinner, but never after Dinner.

They shewed me this Evening the Lady who holds at her House an Assembly every Evening, where the whole Corps Diplomatick assists. The Lady, who used to preside at Sir Joseph Yorks Table, and see that all was in order there.

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to me. The Rhin Grave de
and other Officers. In short
My Party was stronger this
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ing at 9.
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In passing over the Spot o
We saw three or four Hur
Rabits and other Game, th
General seemed very appreh
not keep a good Look out bu

The Comte de Welderen came as usual and made his Compliment to me. The Rhin Grave de Salm, Colonel Bentink, M. Van der Duesn,[4] and other Officers. In short I never spent so social an Evening at Court. My Party was stronger this Evening, Mirabel and Bentink never play, and there were several others in the same Case.

The Comte Sarsefield went with me and returned in my Carriage. The Duke de la Vauguion was not there.

Agreed with Lt. Gen. Van der Dussen to ride with him this Morning at 9.

Chatted at Supper with one of the Ladies of Honour, Madamoiselle Starembourg, in English, French and Dutch.

At 9 took my Ride with Mr. Vander Dussen Lt. General of Cavalry. He was mounted upon a noble English Horse, with an embroidered Housing and a white silk net, and with his sword. A servant behind him in Livery, upon another fine Horse with a white silk net. We made a long Ride, of three of four Leagues. In our Way We saw People digging Turfs out of Heaps of Sand. Upon observing more Attentively, I found that they dug away the sand hills to the Depth of 15 or 20 feet, and then came to bodies of Peat or Turf, which they cutt up to sell and to burn. The General says, at the Depth of 10, 15 or 20 feet, they find this layer of Turf which is also some times 10 or 15 feet deep and then come to a fine Soil, upon a Level nearly with the general surface of the Meadows. The Generals Hypothesis is this. —Before the Dykes were built, there were frequent Inundations in Consequence of storms which are still frequent. It is supposed that the whole Country was originally level and covered over with thick and heavy Forrests of Woods. In great Storms, the Waves of the Sea threw up vast Heaps of Sand, and carried them sometimes several Miles in upon the Land. By which means the Forrests of Trees were thrown down, or at least covered up, with Mountains of Sea Sand. That the Wood of these Trees in the Course of many hundreds perhaps some thousands of Years, has putrified and dissolved into Peat or Turfe. So that you have nothing to do, but to dig through the Sand Hills first, and the Turf Beds next to come to the original Surface of the Earth which is yet very fertile. Many fine Meadows have been made, in this Way.

In passing over the Spot of Downs between the Hague and Leyden, We saw three or four Hunters, Gunners, in search of Hares and Rabits and other Game, this being the Season of the Chase. The General seemed very apprehensive of these Sportsmen that they would not keep a good Look out but might be so eager for their Game, as to

be inattentive to Travellers and fire upon our Bodies. This was a fear that never occurred to me, and I never felt it after it was mentioned.

The General was inquisitive after the American Savages and a great Part of our Conversation consisted in his Questions and my Answers concerning them. The Roads, the Woods, the Forests in America also, occasioned many Questions.—The General is a Relation as he told me, of the Minister of the same name at the Conferences of Gertruydenbourg.

Upon Inquiry to day I find that the Lady, who was so intimate at Sir Joseph Yorks, as to oversee his Entertainments, is named Madame de Boetzelaar. She holds an Assembly every Night, at her House, to which resort all the Corps diplomatique. There they Play. She paints but is horridly ugly.[5]

The Baron de Kruyningen holds an Office of Intelligence, where the Ministers or Secretaries meet of Mornings as at a Kind of Coffee house to exchange with each other the News, and compare Notes.

Mr. Magis holds such another. What these People get by their Assemblys and Offices, is a Question. Perhaps nothing more than a Reputation, an Acquaintance with foreign Ministers, and now and then an Invitation to dinner.

The Foreign Ministers here all herd together, and keep no other Company, but at Court and with a few in this Way.—It is not from Choice but necessity. There is no Family, but Mr. Boreel that ever invites any of them, to breakfast, dine or sup. Nor do any of the Members of the States General, the States of Holland, Bleiswick, Fagel, any of the Lords of the Admiralty, Gecommitteerde Raaden, Council of State, high Council of War, or any Body, ever invite Strangers or one Another.

Hospitality and Sociability are no Characteristicks here.

This Day Mr. Van Asp made me a Visit. This Gentleman is Chargé d'Affairs of Sweeden since the Departure of The Baron D'Ehrenswerd for Prussia. He is a solid prudent Man. He very much admired my House, and its Situation. I said smiling it was very well for a Beginning, and that I hoped We should have an House at Stockholm e'er long. He smiled in return, but said nothing. His Visit was not long. There is not a more sensible, manly, happy, or prudent Countenance in the whole Diplomatick Body. He has desired Mr. Dumas to inform him as soon as the Treaty is signed, that he may write itt to his Court before it arrives in the News papers.[6]

[1] First entry in D/JA/33, which consists of a few folded leaves containing irregular entries through 3 Oct. 1782. On 23 April, the day following his

first audience with the Stadhold
formally proposed to Van Citter
current president of the States G
that negotiations be commenced
treaty of amity and commerce b
the Dutch Republic and the
States. Accordingly, "a grand Co
tee" of deputies from each of the
Provinces was appointed to confer
the American minister on this su
and JA laid before them "a Projec
Treaty, which I had drawn up,
formable to the Instructions of
gress" (JA to Livingston, 23 April
LbC, Adams Papers; JA, *Works*, 7:
573). Under Dutch constitutional
cedures the *projet* had to be take
referendum to the provincial assen
before the States General could act
at length on 22 Aug. JA could r
to Livingston that "Their High Mi
nesses have . . . received their Ins
tions from all the Provinces, and I
this Day been in Conference with
grand Committee, who communicat
me the Remarks and Proposition
[on?] their Part. To this I shall
give my Replication [on certain p
not yet agreed on], and I hope the
fair will be soon ended" (LbC, Ad
Papers; *Works*, 7:614). There
further delays, however, and the tr
was not signed and sealed until 8 (
the final stages are reported in JA's D
entries of 3–8 Oct., below.

Meanwhile, after some fumbling,
numerable Vexations," and weeks of
tense effort, JA had negotiated a
for the United States with a syndi
of Dutch banking houses. On 11 J
he signed five bonds in the amount
1,000,000 guilders each for a loan
be raised by Wilhem & Jan Willi
Nicolaas & Jacob van Staphorst, and
la Lande & Fynje, at 5 per cent inte
and with a 4 1/2 per cent commissio
the bankers, repayment to begin a
ten years and to be completed in fift
years. See JA to Livingston, 9 June
July, letterbook copies, Adams Pap
Wharton, ed., *Dipl. Corr. Amer.* R
5:482–483, 594–595; a printed copy
the contract, in Dutch, is in Ad
Papers, 11 June 1782. Congress ratif
the contract on 14 Sept. (*JCC*, 23:57
580). This was the first of four lo
obtained by JA in the Netherlands

Went then to visit Mr. Le Ray de Chaumont, who has been here 15 days with his son.

Went then to visit Mr. Grandville, Commissaire General du Port. Then to the Commissaire des Classes.

Was very politely received, by all these Gentlemen, and Captn. Landais treated with particular respect.

I spoke very freely to Mr. Chaumont, about my situation—told him, I was ill treated—that I had many Jealousies and Suspicions—that I suspected it was an Intrigue.

[1] Sartine's letter to Franklin of 20 April; see entry of 28 April, above. CFA omitted this and the two following paragraphs from his text of JA's Diary.

[2] This paragraph was also omitted by CFA.

THURSDAY. MAY 13TH.

Went on Shore and dined with Captain Jones at the Epèe Royal. Mr. Amiel, Mr. Dick, Dr. Brooke, officers of the Poor Richard, Captain Cazneau, Captain Young, Mr. Ingraham, Mr. Blodget, Mr. Glover, Mr. Conant, Messrs. Moylans, Mr. Maese, Mr. Nesbit, Mr. Cummings, Mr. Tayler, made the Company, with Captain Landais, myself and my Son.

An elegant Dinner we had—and all very agreable.

No very instructive Conversation. But we practiced the old American Custom of drinking to each other, which I confess is always agreable to me.

Some hints about Language, and glances about Women, produced this Observation, that there were two Ways of learning french commonly recommended—take a Mistress and go to the Commedie. Dr. Brookes, in high good Humour—Pray Sir, which in your Opinion is the best? Answer in as good Humour—Perhaps both would teach it soonest, to be sure sooner than either. But, continued I, assuming my Gravity, the Language is no where better spoken than at the Comedie. The Pulpit, the Bar, the Accademie of Sciences, and the faculty of Medicine, none of them speak so accurately as the french Comedie.

After Dinner walked out, with C[aptain]s Jones and Landais to see Jones's Marines—dressed in the English Uniform, red and white. A Number of very active and clever Serjeants and Corporals are employed to teach them the Exercise, and Maneuvres and Marches &c.

After which Jones came on Board our ship.

This is the most ambitious and intriguing Officer in the American Navy. Jones has Art, and Secrecy, and aspires very high. You see the Character of the Man in his uniform, and that of his officers and

Marines, variant from t
Button holes, for hims
instead of Green.

Excentricities, and I
they are in his Charact
soft and still and smal
Softness in it.

On Board all day, ill
visit me. A Dr. Brooks,
me. He seems to be wel
I led him to talk upon th
ton, fixed Air, Gas &c. A
with the Thermometer,
Water, Air, Blood &c.

Finding he had Ideas
cent of Vapours in the
this subject.

He mentioned a natu
in 4 Volumes folio with
25 Guineas. He mentio
Glasgow, as great Philos

This Dr. Brooks is a C
Fortune and good Char
rines, on Board of Jones,
in Virginia.

Mr. Gimaet came on
quis de la Fayette.[1]

[1] Jean Joseph Sourbader d
Victoire in 1777, returned th
tary record (Lasseray, *Les fra*

Went on Shore, and
L'Epee Royale. Mr. Hil
Dr. Brooks &c. Mr. Gou
&c. Gourlade married a
shewed me a Letter fro
for leaving the Ship, bec

Marines, variant from the Uniforms established by Congress. Golden Button holes, for himself—two Epauletts—Marines in red and white instead of Green.

Excentricities, and Irregularities are to be expected from him—they are in his Character, they are visible in his Eyes. His Voice is soft and still and small, his Eye has keenness, and Wildness and Softness in it.

MAY 14. FRYDAY.

On Board all day, ill of a Cold. Many Gentlemen came on board to visit me. A Dr. Brooks, Surgeon to the Poor Richard, drank Tea with me. He seems to be well acquainted with Philosophical Experiments. I led him to talk upon this subject. He had much to say about Phlogiston, fixed Air, Gas &c. About absolute and sensible Heat, Experiments with the Thermometer, to shew the absolute and sensible Heat in Water, Air, Blood &c.

Finding he had Ideas of these Things, I led him to talk of the Ascent of Vapours in the Atmosphere, and I found he had considered this subject.

He mentioned a natural History of N. and S. Carolina, by Catesby in 4 Volumes folio with Stamps of all the Plants and Animals. Price 25 Guineas. He mentioned a Dr. Erving [Irvine] and a Dr. Black of Glasgow, as great Philosophers, whose Hints Priestly had taken.

This Dr. Brooks is a Gentleman of Family, whose father has a great Fortune and good Character in Virginia. Mr. Dick, Captain of Marines, on Board of Jones, is also of good family and handsome fortune in Virginia.

Mr. Gimaet came on board to visit me, Aid de Camp of the Marquis de la Fayette.[1]

[1] Jean Joseph Sourbader de Gimat had accompanied Lafayette to America in the *Victoire* in 1777, returned there again in 1780, and achieved a distinguished military record (Lasseray, *Les français sous les treize étoiles*, 2:418–420).

15 MAY. SATURDAY.

Went on Shore, and dined with Captain Jones at the Mess, at L'Epee Royale. Mr. Hill, Capt. Cazneau, Captn. Young, Mr. Dick, Dr. Brooks &c. Mr. Gourlade, another Aid du Camp of the Marquis[1] &c. Gourlade married a Scotch Lady.—Captain Jones this Morning shewed me a Letter from Lt. Browne, desiring or rather apologizing for leaving the Ship, because of the Word (first) in M. Amiels Com-

I have much Satisfaction in reflecting, that in all the Conversations I have yet had with the Chevalier, no unguarded Word has escaped me. I have conversed with that Frankness that makes a Part of my Character, but have said nothing that I did not mean to say.

I find a Gentleman in the Suit of the Chevalier, in the Character of Interpreter and English Master who has written a large Volume upon English Pronunciation and Accent. His Name is Carrè.

[1] Suspension points, here and below, in MS.

[2] Thus punctuated in the MS, but this phrase undoubtedly qualifies the preceding sentence. By the secret Convention of Aranjuez, 12 April 1779, Spain and France agreed that Spain would come into the war against Great Britain if the latter declined the terms of a Spanish proposal of mediation. In May Great Britain did decline, the Spanish and French fleets began to operate together, and on the day JA made the present entry in his Diary Spain declared war on Great Britain. But contrary to the urgent wish of Vergennes, the Spanish government had refused to include in the Convention any guarantee of American independence; Spain became an ally of France but not of the United States; and though she sent "observers" there, there was no officially accredited Spanish minister in the United States until 1784. See Bemis, *Diplomacy of the Amer. Revolution*, ch. 7; Doniol, *Histoire*, vol. 3: ch. 13, especially p. 806–807, 850–851; Frances G. Davenport and Charles O. Paullin, eds., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*, Washington, 1917–1937, 4:145–146.

JUNE 22. TUESDAY.

We have had a fine Wind ever since We came out of L'orient, but it blows fresher today than ever. Yet We go but about 5 Knots, because being obliged to wait for the Three Friends, and the Foudroyant, which sail slow, We cannot carry Sail. With all our Sails We might now go eleven Knots. This is Mercantile Politicks of C[haumont] and W[illiams] in getting the Chevaliers Baggage on Board those Ships.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne, the other day at Mr. De Thevenards Table, gave a terrible Stroke to M. Chaumont. Chaumont said, M. Franklin parle Francais bien.—Oh que non, said the Chevalier, fort mal. Mr. Adams parle mieux que lui.—Yesterday, in a long Conversation with the Chevalier, on the Quarter Deck, he said to me, Vous connoissez les Fondemens de notre Langue tres bien. Vous parlez lentement et avec difficulté, comme un homme qui cherche pour les mots: mais vous ne pechez pas contre la Prononciation. Vous prononcez bien. Vous prononcez, beaucoup mieux que Mr. Franklin. Il est impossible de l'entendre.

Mr. Marbois, with whom I fell into Conversation, this Afternoon very easily upon Deck, said a great many Things that deserve Notice.

He said that Mr. Franklin had a great many Friends among the Gens des Lettres in France, who make a great Impression in France,

that he had Beaucoup des Agremens, Beaucoup de Charlatagnerie, that he has Wit: But that he is not a Statesman. That he might be recalled at this Moment, and in that Case, that his Opinion was he would not return to America—But would stay in Paris.

That he heard many of the honest People in France lament that I left France, particularly the Count and the Marquis de . That I might possibly return to France or to some other Part of Europe. That the Court of France would have Confidence in any Gentleman, that Congress should ⟨*appoint*⟩ have Confidence in. That there ought to be a Charge des Affairs or a Secretary, and a successor pointed out, in Case of the Death of Dr. F.

Mr. Marbois said some were of opinion, that as I was not recalled, I ought to have staid untill I was.

I told him that if Congress had directed me to return, I would have returned. If they had directed me to stay untill further orders I should have staid. But as they reduced me to a private Citizen I had no other Duties but those of a private Citizen to fulfill, which were to go home as soon as possible and take Care of my family. Mr. Franklin advised me to take a Journey to Geneva. My own Inclinations would have led me to Holland: But I thought my Honour concerned to return directly home.—He said I was right.

In the Evening I fell into Chat with the Chevalier. He asked me, about Governeur [Gouverneur] Morris. I said it was his Christian Name—that he was not Governor. The Chevalier said He had heard of him as an able Man. I said he was a young Man, chosen into Congress since I left it. That I had sat some Years with his Elder Brother in Congress. That Governeur was a Man of Wit, and made pretty Verses—but of a Character trés legere. That the Cause of America had not been sustained by such Characters as that of Governor Morris or his Colleague Mr. Jay, who also was a young Man about 30 and not quite so solid as his Predicessor Mr. Laurence [Laurens], upon whose Resignation in the sudden Heat Mr. Jay was chosen. That Mr. Lawrence had a great landed Fortune free from Debt, that he had long Experience in public life and an amiable Character for Honour And Probity. That he is between 50 and 60 Years of Age.

JUNE 23. WEDNESDAY.

This Forenoon, fell strangely, yet very easily into Conversation with M.M.

I went up to him—M.M. said I, how many Persons have you in your

Train and that of th
Only my Servant, sai
be a great Advantage
to be able to speak Ge
sylvania] and M[ary
Philadelphia, of this
which one Lutheran
elegant Churches in
gregations, where the

Is there not one C
I. There is a Roman
Building, frequented
of Germans, partly
tolerated in America
Courts a Right to a
never had any.—No
going to say, what I
and laughed.—No, sa
has interested a grea
said I, laughing, all
Philosophers and La
—Yes said Mr. M., l
great Legislator of A
a Legislator of Ame
lieved in France, En
accomplished all thi
has [done][1] very litt
Constitutions, and t
not even make the
of Rights is taken a
made and published
was begun. It was n
Timothy Matlack,
Paine. Mr. Sherman
wards a Confederat
liked, but very litt
Confederation was
and but a few Days

Who, said the Cl
Mr. Jefferson of V
mittee consisted of

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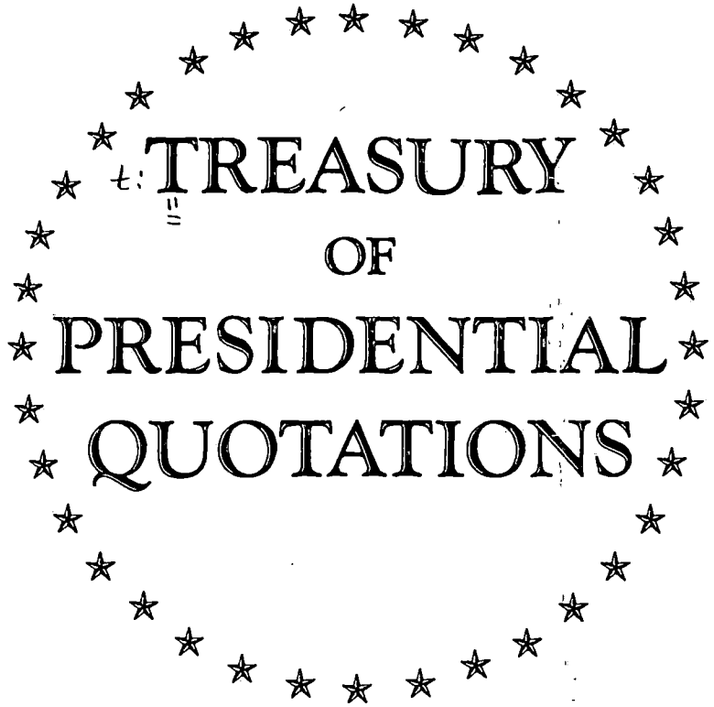

TREASURY OF PRESIDENTIAL QUOTATIONS

Compiled and edited by
CAROLINE THOMAS HARNSBERGER

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Good Sense

1. The good sense of the people is the strongest army our government can ever have . . . it will not fail them.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

To William Carmichael, Dec. 26, 1786; *Writings, VI, 31*

See also People 7, 14

Good Will

1. Our policy is not only peace with all, but good will toward all the powers of the earth. While we are just to all, we require that all shall be just to us.

JAMES K. POLK

First Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1845; *Messages and Papers, p. 2252*

2. Good will precedes good trade.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

In Philadelphia, Pa., June 2, 1897; *Speeches and Addresses,*

See also Justice 10

Government

1. Influence is no Government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To Henry Lee, Oct. 31, 1786; *Writings (Fitzpatrick), XXIX, 34*

2. When a people shall have become incapable of governing themselves, and fit for a master, it is of little consequence from what quarter he comes.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the Marquis de Lafayette, Apr. 28, 1788; *Ibid., p. 479*

3. The aggregate happiness of society, which is best promoted by the practice of a virtuous policy, is, or ought to be, the end of all government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To Count de Moustier, Nov. 1, 1790; *Ibid., XXXI, 142*

4. The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; in every shape of that very Liberty which you so highly prize.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Farewell Address, Sept. 19, 1796; *Ibid., XXXV, 218*

5. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Farewell Address, Sept. 19, 1796; *Ibid., p. 224*

6. Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Farewell Address, Sept. 19, 1796; *Ibid., p. 225*

7. [Liberty] is indeed little less than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the law, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of persons and property.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Farewell Address, Sept. 19, 1796; *Ibid., p. 226*

8. It is important . . . that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Farewell Address, Sept. 19, 1796; *Ibid., p. 228*

9. The most sensible and jealous people are so little attentive to government that there are no instances of resistance until repeated, mutiplied oppressions have placed it beyond a doubt that their rulers had formed settled plans to deprive them of their liberties; not to oppress an individual or a few, but to break down the fences of a free constitution, and deprive the people at large of all share in the government, and all the checks by which it is limited.

JOHN ADAMS

"Novanglus," in Boston *Gazette*, Jan. 23, 1774; *Works, IV, 17*

10. As the happiness of the people is the sole end of government, so the consent of the people is the only foundation of it, in reason, morality, and the natural fitness of things.

JOHN ADAMS

Proclamation, Massachusetts Bay Council, 1774; *Ibid., I, 193*

11. A legislative, an executive, and a judicial power comprehend the whole of what is meant and understood by government. It is by balancing each of these powers against the other two, that the efforts in human nature towards tyranny can alone be checked and restrained, and any degree of freedom preserved in the constitution.

JOHN ADAMS

To Richard Henry Lee, Nov. 15, 1775; *Ibid., IV, 186*

12. Fear is the foundation of most governments. . . . The foundation of every government is some principle or passion in the minds of the people. . . . Honor is a principle which ought to be

sacred . . . but at most, is but a part of virtue, and therefore a feeble basis of government. . . .

All sober inquirers after truth, ancient and modern, divines, moralists, and philosophers, have agreed that the happiness of mankind, as well as the real dignity of human nature, consists in virtue; if there is a form of government whose principles and foundation is virtue, will not every wise man acknowledge it more likely to promote the general happiness than any other?

JOHN ADAMS
To John Penn, January, 1776; *Ibid., p. 203*

13. The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights and the blessings of life. . . .

JOHN ADAMS
Report of a Constitution . . . for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; *Ibid., p. 219*

14. Mobs will never do to govern states or command armies.

JOHN ADAMS
To Benjamin Hichborn, Jan. 27, 1787; *Works, IX, 551*

15. You are apprehensive of monarchy; I, of aristocracy. I would therefore have given more power to the President and less to the Senate.

JOHN ADAMS
To Thomas Jefferson, Dec. 6, 1787; *Ibid., VIII, 464*

16. The declaration that our People are hostile to a government made by themselves, for themselves, and conducted by themselves, is an insult.

JOHN ADAMS
Address in Westmoreland County, Va., July 11, 1789

17. The essence of a free government consists in an effectual control of rivalries.

JOHN ADAMS
Discourses on Davila, 1789; *Works, VI, 280*

18. The existence of such a government as ours for any length of time is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. . . . If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

JOHN ADAMS
Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1797

19. My worthy fellow-citizens! Our form of government, inestimable as it is, exposes us, more than any other, to the insidious intrigues and pestilent influence of foreign nations. Nothing but our inflexible neutrality can preserve us.

JOHN ADAMS
To the Boston *Patriot*, 1809; *Works, IX, 277*

20. While all other sciences have advanced, that of government is at a standstill—little better understood, little better practised now than three or four thousand years ago.

JOHN ADAMS
To Thomas Jefferson, July 9, 1813; *Works of Jefferson, VI, 159*

21. 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.

JOHN ADAMS
To Thomas Jefferson, June 20, 1815; *Ibid, VII, 423*

22. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
To Virginia delegates to Congress, August, 1774; *Writings, I, 209*

23. Governments [derive] their just powers from the consent of the governed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
The Declaration of Independence, 1776

24. It is not by consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
Autobiography, 1787; *Writings, I, 122*

25. The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions, that I wish it to be always kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong but better so than not to be exercised at all. I like a little rebellion now and then. It is like a storm in the atmosphere.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
To Abigail Adams, Feb. 22, 1787; *Ibid., V, 263*

26. The earth belongs always to the living generation: they may manage it, then and what proceeds from it, as they please, during their usufruct. They are masters, too, of their own persons, and consequently may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The constitution and the laws of their predecessors are extinguished then, in their natural course, with those whose will gave them being. This could preserve that being, till it ceased to be itself, and no longer. Every constitution, then, expires at the end of thirty-four years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, and not of right.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
Letter to James Madison, Sept. 6, 1789; *Works, III, 106*

3. An honorable defeat is better than a dishonorable victory.

MILLARD FILLMORE
Speech at Buffalo, N.Y., Sept. 13, 1844; *Papers, I, 407*

4. It is patriotic sometimes to prefer the honor of the country to its material interest.

WOODROW WILSON
Address in Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1914; *Life, IV, 236*

5. No person was ever honored for what he received. Honor has been the reward for what he gave.

CALVIN COOLIDGE
Veto of Salary Increase Bill; *Faith, p. 173*

See also Friendship 10, Labor 8, Peace 35, 37, Prosperity 8, War 22, Wealth 7

Hope

1. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Second Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862; *Messages and Papers, p. 3343*

2. Peace requires an international society that is free from vicious provocations to strife among men. These are rooted in inequalities so glaring that, to those who suffer them, they seem to make attractive any alternative. The gamble of war lures the desperate, for even overwhelming defeat can hardly worsen their state; while victory, if it gives the survivors any improvement, will be worth its cost in blood. It is possible, even probable, that hopelessness among a people can be a far more potent cause of war than greed. War in such case is a symptom, not a disease. . . .

Peoples hopeful of their domestic future do not use war as a solution to their problems. Hope spurs humans everywhere to work harder, to endure more now that the future may be better; but despair is the climate of war and death. Even America, without American optimism, can accomplish nothing beyond the needs of each day.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
Address at Columbia University, Mar. 23, 1950; *Peace, pp. 15, 20*

See also Education 33, Fear 1, God 9, League of Nations 2, Patriotism 9, Peace 86, Revolutions 8, War 1, 68, 72, Youth 2

Humanity

1. There have been touches of humanity in this recent [Spanish-American] war that will impress mankind for all time. In the words of the commander of the ship . . . to his crew, "Don't cheer, the poor fellows are dying"; when the commander of that other ship said to his crew, "Don't fire, the flag has gone down"; in the command of the colonel of the Rough Riders, "Don't swear; fight!" we seem to get a glance of the divine spark in the nobility of the men who participated in our war. What we want . . . is that the conclusion of this war . . . shall be a triumph for humanity.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY
Speech at Belle Plaine, Ia., Oct. 11, 1898; *Speeches and Addresses, p. 89*

2. My dream is . . . that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity.

WOODROW WILSON
Address in Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1914; *Public Papers, III, 147*

3. The interesting and inspiring thought about America . . . is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself.

WOODROW WILSON
Speech in New York, N.Y., May 17, 1915; *Ibid., p. 330*

See also Greatness 11, Isolationism 4, Religion 33, Virtue 7, War 35, 37, 71

Human Nature

1. Human nature is more easily wrought upon and governed by promises, and encouragement, and praise, than by punishment, and threatening and blame. . . . Commendation enlivens and stimulates . . . to a noble ardor and emulation.

JOHN ADAMS
Diary, Nov. 21, 1755; *Works, II, 6*

2. Among the dark spots in human nature which in the course of my life I have observed, the devices of rivals to ruin me have been sorry pictures of the heart of man.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
1835; *John Quincy Adams (Morse), p. 297*

3. Human nature will not change. In any great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from and none of them as wrongs to be revenged.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Response to a serenade, Nov. 10, 1864; *Complete Works, X, 263*

See also Defense 11, Political Parties 12, Politics 3, Rights 1

Human Welfare

1. Human welfare has not increased and does not increase through mere materialism and luxury, but . . . it does progress through integrity, unselfishness, responsibility and justice.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
Second Annual Message to Congress, Jan. 3, 1934; *Public Papers, III, 8*

See also Self-Deception, Poverty

29. The government of a country never gets ahead of the religion of a country. There is no way by which we can substitute the authority of law for the virtue of man.

CALVIN COOLIDGE

Speech in Washington, D.C., Oct. 15, 1924; *Foundations, p. 153*

30. It would be difficult for me to conceive of anyone being able to administer the duties of a great office like the Presidency without a belief in the guidance of a divine providence. Unless the President is sustained by an abiding faith in a divine power which is working for the good of humanity, I cannot understand how he would have the courage to attempt to meet the various problems that constantly pour in upon him from all parts of the earth.

CALVIN COOLIDGE

To Bruce Barton, Sept. 23, 1926; *Calvin Coolidge (Hennessy), p. 27*

31. I come of Quaker stock. My ancestors were persecuted for their beliefs. Here they sought and found religious freedom. By blood and conviction I stand for religious tolerance both in act and in spirit.

HERBERT HOOVER

1928; *New Day, p. 36*

32. "Peace on earth, good-will toward men"—democracy must cling to that message. For it is my deep conviction that democracy cannot live without that true religion which gives a nation a sense of justice and of moral purpose.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Speech in Chicago, Ill., Oct. 28, 1944; *Wit and Wisdom, p. 24*

33. Religion has always been the most effective process of developing human character strong enough to forget the motivation of selfishness and to act on the larger concept of duty to God, to humanity, and to Country. . . . Religion nurtures men of faith, men of hope, men of love. . . .

The inner peace of a well integrated life is something that must be continually achieved; the outer peace of a world in which nations live together in a spirit of brotherhood is something that must be continually earned.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Speech to Chaplains' Association, Washington, D.C., Oct. 23, 1946; *Eisenhower Speaks, p. 144*

34. We need to remember that the separation of church and state must never mean the separation of religious values from the lives of public servants. . . . If we who serve free men today are to differ from the tyrants of this age, we must balance the powers in our hands with God in our hearts.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Remarks at Presidential Prayer Breakfast, Feb. 1, 1961; *Story, p. 188*

See also Civilization 5, Conduct 1, Conscience 6, Creeds, Declaration of Independence 9, Faith, Fear 1, Freedom 5, 6, 20, 21, God, Happiness 10, Liberty 18, Morality 1, 3, 6, Opinion 1, Peace 58, Politics 4, Prosperity 1, Providence 1, Union 5, War 16

Republics

1. Republicanism is not the phantom of a deluded imagination: on the contrary . . . under no form of government, will laws be better supported, liberty and property better secured, or happiness be more effectually dispensed to mankind.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To Edmund Pendleton, Jan. 22, 1795; *Writings (Fitzpatrick), XXXIV, 99*

2. When public virtue is gone, when the national spirit is fled, when a party is substituted for the nation and faction for a party, when venality lurks and sulks in secret, and, much more, when it impudently braves the public censure . . . the republic is lost in essence, though it may still exist in form.

JOHN ADAMS

To Benjamin Rush, Sept. 27, 1808; *Works, IX, 603*

3. Of republics, the varieties are infinite, or at least as numerous as the tunes and changes that can be rung upon a complete set of bells. Of all the varieties, a democracy is the most natural, the most ancient, and the most fundamental and essential.

JOHN ADAMS

To J. H. Tiffany, Apr. 30, 1819; *Ibid., X, 378*

4. The republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

To William Hunter, Mayor of Alexandria, Va., Mar. 11, 1790; *Works, III, 128*

5. I suspect that the doctrine, that small States alone are fitted to be republics, will be exploded by experience, with some other brilliant fallacies. . . . Perhaps it will be found, that to obtain a just republic . . . it must be so extensive as that local egoisms may never reach its greater part. . . . The smaller the societies, the more violent and more convulsive their schisms.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

To François d'Ivernois, Feb. 6, 1795; *Writings, IV, 114*

6. The support of State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration of our domestic concerns, are the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

First Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1801

7. A republican government is slow to move, yet when once in motion, its momentum becomes irresistible.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

To Francis C. Gray, Mar. 4, 1815; *Works, VI, 438*

On Wednesday June 12. 1776 Congress resolved, That a Committee of Congress be appointed by the name of a board of War and Ordinance to consist of five members, with a secretary, Clerks &c. and their extensive Powers are stated, Vol. 2. page 209 of the Journals.[8] On the 13th. Congress having proceeded to the Election of a Committee to form the board of War and ordinance, the following Members were chosen Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Wilson and Mr. E. Rutledge, and Richard Peters Esq. was elected Secretary. The Duties of this Board kept me in continual Employment, not to say Drudgery from this 12 of June 1776 till the Eleventh of November 1777 when I left Congress forever. Not only my Mornings and Evenings were filled up with the Croud of Business before the Board, but a great Part of my time in Congress was engaged in making, explaining and justifying our Reports and Proceedings. It is said there are Lawyers in the United States who receive five thousand Guineas a Year and many are named who are said to receive to the Amount of ten thousand dollars. However this may be I dont believe there is one of them who goes through so much Business, for all his Emoluments as I did for a Year and a half nearly that I was loaded with that office. Other Gentlemen attended as they pleased, but as I was Chairman, or as they were pleased to call it President, I must never be absent.

On Thursday October 5. 1775. See the Journals. Sundry Letters from London were laid before Congress and read, and a motion was made, that it be resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to prepare a Plan for intercepting two Vessells which are on their Way to Canada, laden with Arms and Powder, and that the Committee proceed on this Business immediately. The Secretary has omitted to insert the Names of this Committee on the Journals. But as my Memory has recorded them, they were Mr. Deane, Mr. Langdon and myself, three Members who had expressed much Zeal, in favour of the Motion. As a considerable part of my time, in the Course of my profession, had been spent upon the Sea coast of Massachusetts, in Attending the Courts and Law Suits at Plymouth, Barnstable,

ters with John Jay on the authorship of the Address to the People of Great Britain, written by Jay and issued by Congress in Oct. 1774; see JA to Jay, 9 Jan. 1818, LbC, Adams Papers; Jay to JA, 31 Jan. 1818, Adams Papers; both printed in Jay, *Correspondence and Public Papers*, 4:395–402.

[8] Farther on in his Autobiography, in a more intensive review of the record in the *Journals*, JA copied "the Constitution, Powers and Duties of this Board" into his narrative *in extenso*; see a later entry dated 12 June 1776, below.

Marthas Vineyard, to the Southward and in the Counties of Essex, York and Cumberland to the Eastward, I had conversed much with the Gentlemen, who conducted our Cod and Whale Fisheries, as well as the other Navigation of the Country, and had heard much of the Activity, Enterprize, Patience, Perseverance, and daring Intrepidity of our Seamen, I had formed a confident Opinion that if they were once let loose upon the Ocean, they would contribute greatly to the relief of our Wants as well as to the distress of the Ennemy. I became therefore at once, an Ardent Advocate for this motion, which We carried, not without great difficulty. The Opposition to it was very loud and vehement. Some of my own Colleagues, appeared greatly allarmed at it: and Mr. Edward Rutledge never displayed so much Eloquence as against it. He never appeared to me to discover so much Information and Sagacity, which convinced me that he had been instructed out of Doors, by some of the most knowing Merchants and Statesmen in Philadelphia. It would require too much time and space to give this debate at large, if any memory could Attempt it. Mine cannot. It was however represented as the most wild, visionary mad project that ever had been imagined. It was an Infant, taking a mad Bull by his horns. And what was more profound and remote, it was said it would ruin the Character, and corrupt the morals of all our Seamen. It would make them selfish, piratical, mercenary, bent wholly upon plunder, &c. &c. &c. These formidable Arguments and this terrible Rhetoric, were answered by Us by the best Reasons We could alledge, and the great Advantages of distressing the Ennemy, supplying ourselves, and beginning a System of maritime and naval Opperations, were represented in colours as glowing and animating. The Vote was carried, the Committee went out, and returned very soon,[9] brought in the Report, in these Words, The Committee appointed to prepare a plan for intercepting the two Vessells bound to Canada, brought in a Report which was taken into Consideration; whereupon

Resolved, That a Letter be sent to General Washington to inform him that Congress having received certain Intelligence of the Sailing of two north Country built Briggs, of no force, from England, on the eleventh of August last, loaded with Arms, Powder and other Stores for Quebec, without Convoy, which, it being of importance to intercept, desire that he apply to the Council of Massachusetts Bay

[9] On the very same day (5 Oct.). Concerning this and the succeeding actions that JA records here and that initiated the Continental Navy, see his Diary entry (Notes of Debates) of 7 Oct. 1775 and note 1 there.

for the two armed Vessells in their service, and dispatch the same, with a sufficient number of People, Stores &c. particularly a number of Oars, in order, if possible, to intercept the two Briggs and their Cargoes, and secure the same for the Use of the Continent; also any other Transports, laden with Ammunition, Cloathing, or other Stores, for the Use of the Ministerial Army or Navy in America, and secure them in the most convenient places for the purpose abovementioned; that he give the Commander or Commanders such Instructions as are necessary, as also proper Encouragement to the marines and Seamen, that shall be sent on this Enterprize, which Instructions are to be delivered to the Commander or Commanders sealed up, with orders not to open the same, untill out of sight of Land on Account of Secrecy.

That a Letter be written to the said honourable Council, to put the said Vessells under the Generals Command and Direction, and to furnish him instantly with every necessary in their Power, at the Expence of the Continent.

That the General be directed to employ the said Vessells and others, if he judge necessary, to effect the purposes aforesaid; and that he be informed that the Rhode Island and Connecticutt Vessells of Force, will be sent directly to their Assistance.

That a Letter be written to Governor Cooke, informing him of the above, desiring him to dispatch one or both the Armed Vessells of the Colony of Rhode Island on the same Service, and that he Use the Precautions above mentioned.

That a Letter be written to Governor Trumbull, requesting of him the largest Vessell in the Service of the Colony of Connecticutt, to be sent on the Enterprize aforesaid, acquainting him with the above particulars, and recommending the same precautions.

That the said Ships and Vessells of War be on the Continental Risque and pay, during their being so employed.

Fryday October 6. 1775. The Committee appointed to prepare a Plan &c. brought in a further report which was read. Ordered to lie on the Table for the Perusal of the Members.

Fryday October 13. 1775. The Congress taking into Consideration the report of the Committee appointed to prepare a Plan &c. after some debate

Resolved That a swift sailing Vessell to carry ten Carriage Guns, and a proportionable Number of Swivells, with Eighty Men, be fitted with all possible dispatch, for a Cruize of three months, and that the Commander be instructed to cruize eastward, for intercepting such

Transports as may be laden with warlike Stores, and other Supplies for our Ennemies, and for such other purposes as the Congress shall direct. That a Committee of three be appointed to prepare an Estimate of the Expence, and lay the same before Congress, and to contract with proper Persons to fit out the Vessell.

Resolved that another Vessell be fitted out for the same purpose, and that the said Committee report their Opinion of a proper Vessel, and also an Estimate of the Expence. The following Members were chosen to compose the Committee. Mr. Deane, Mr. Langdon and Mr. Gadsden.

Resolved that the further consideration of the Report be referred to Monday next.

Monday October 30th. 1775. The Committee appointed to prepare an Estimate, and to fit out the Vessells, brought in their report, which being taken into Consideration. Resolved that the second Vessell ordered to be fitted out on the 13th. instant, be of such a Size as to carry fourteen Guns, and a proportionate number of Swivels and Men. Resolved that two more Vessels be fitted out with all expedition; the one to carry not exceeding twenty Guns and the other not exceeding thirty six Guns, with a proportionable number of Swivells and Men, to be employed in such manner for the protection and defence of the United Colonies, as the Congress shall direct. Resolved that four Members be chosen and added to the former Committee of three, and that these seven be a Committee to carry into Execution, with all possible Expedition, as well the Resolutions of Congress passed the thirteenth Instant, as those passed this day for fitting our armed Vessells. The Members chosen, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Hewes, Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. John Adams. This Committee immediately procured a Room in a public house in the City, and agreed to meet every Evening at six o Clock in order to dispatch this Business with all possible celerity.

On Thursday November 2. 1775 Congress resolved that the Committee appointed to carry into Execution the Resolves of Congress for fitting out four armed Vessells, be authorized to draw on the Continental Treasurers from time to time, for as much cash as shall be necessary for the above Purpose, not exceeding the Sum of one hundred thousand dollars, and that the said Committee have Power to agree, with such Officers and Seamen as are proper to man and command said Vessells, and that the Encouragement to such Officers and Seamen be, One half of all Ships of War made prize of by them, and one third of all transport Vessels, exclusive of Wages.

On the 8th of November 1775 Congress resolved, that the Bills of Sale of the Vessells ordered to be purchased, be made to the Continental Treasurers, or those who shall succeed them in that Office, in trust never the less for the Use of the Continent or their Representatives, in Congress met.

On the 10th of November 1775 Congress resolved that two Battalions of Marines be raised, consisting of one Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors, and other Officers as usual in other regiments; that they consist of an equal Number of privates with other Battalions; that particular care be taken, that no Person be appointed to Officers, or inlisted into said Battalion[s], but such as are good Seamen or so acquainted with maritime Affairs, as to be able to serve to Advantage by Sea when required: that they be inlisted and commissioned to serve for and during the present War between Great Britain and the Colonies, unless dismissed by order of Congress; that they be distinguished by the names of the first and second Battalions of American Marines, and that they be considered as part of the number which the Continental Army before Boston is ordered to consist of. Ordered that a Copy of the above, be transmitted to the General.

On the 17th of November 1775. A Letter from Gen. Washington, inclosing a Letter and Journal of Colonel Arnold, and sundry papers being received, the same were read, whereupon

Resolved that a Committee of seven be appointed to take into Consideration so much of the Generals Letter, as relates to the disposal of such Vessells and Cargoes belonging to the Ennemy, as shall fall into the hands of, or be taken by the Inhabitants of the United Colonies. The Members chosen Mr. Wythe, Mr. E. Rutledge, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. W. Livingston, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Johnson.[1]

Thursday. November 23. 1775. The Committee for fitting out armed Vessells laid before Congress, a draught of Rules for the Government of the American Navy and Articles to be signed by the Officers and Men employed in that Service, which were read and ordered to lie on the Table for the Perusal of the Members.[2]

[1] Washington's letter, 8 Nov. 1775, is printed in his *Writings*, ed. Fitzpatrick, 4:71–75. The report of this committee, recommending the establishment of prize courts, was brought in on 23 Nov., debated the next day, and adopted on the next (*JCC*, 3:364–365, 368–369, 371–375). JA copied it into his Autobiography under 25 Nov. but did not assert his authorship.

[2] This "draught" was the work of JA. It was debated, probably amended, and adopted by Congress on 28 Nov., and was printed (with some last-minute changes) as *Rules for the Regulation of the Navy of the United Colonies of North-America* . . . , Phila.: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775. See *JCC*, 3:364, 375–376, 378–387, 393, 513. A facsimile reprint of this exceedingly rare founding document of the United States Navy was issued by the Naval Historical Foundation, Washington, 1944.

Saturday November 25. 1775. Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on General Washingtons Letter, and the same being debated by Paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

Whereas it appears from undoubted information, that many Vessells which had cleared at the respective Custom houses in these Colonies, agreable to the regulations established by Acts of the British Parliament, have in a lawless manner, without even the semblance of just Authority, been seized by his Majestys Ships of War, and carried into the harbour of Boston and other Ports where they have been rifled of their Cargoes, by orders of his Majestys naval and military officers there commanding, without the said Vessells having been proceeded against, by any form of Tryal, and without the charge of having offended against any Law.

And whereas orders have been issued in his Majestys name, to the Commanders of his Ships of War, "to proceed as in the case of actual rebellion, against such of the Sea port Towns and places being accessible to the Kings Ships, in which any Troops shall be raised, or military Works erected," under colour of which said orders the Commanders of his Majesty's said Ships of War have already burned and destroyed the flourishing and populous Town of Falmouth, and have fired upon and much injured several other Towns within the United Colonies, and dispersed, at a late Season of the Year, hundreds of helpless Women and Children, with a savage hope that those may perish under the approaching rigours of the Season, who may chance to escape destruction from Fire and Sword, a mode of Warfare long exploded among civilized Nations.

And whereas the good People of these Colonies, sensibly affected by the destruction of their property, and other unprovoked Injuries, have at last determined to prevent as much as possible a repetition thereof, and to procure some reparation for the same, by fitting out armed Vessels and Ships of Force; in the Execution of which commendable designs it is possible that those, who have not been instrumental in the unwarrantable violences abovementioned may suffer, unless some Laws be made to regulate, and Trybunals erected competent to determine the Propriety of Captures. Therefor Resolved.

1. That all such Ships of War, Frigates, Sloops, Cutters, and armed Vessels as are or shall be employed in the present cruel and unjust War against the united Colonies, and shall fall into the

hands of, or be taken by the Inhabitants thereof, be seized and forfeited to and for the purposes herein after mentioned.

2. Resolved, That all Transport Vessels in the same Service, having on board any Troops, Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing, Provisions, or military or naval stores of what kindsoever, and all Vessels to whomsoever belonging, that shall be employed in carrying provisions or other necessaries to the British Army or Armies, or navy, that now are or hereafter may be, within any of the United Colonies, or any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes for the Use of such fleet or Army, shall be liable to seizure, and with their Cargoes shall be confiscated.
3. That no Master or commander of any Vessel shall be intitled to cruize for, or make prize of any Vessel or cargo before he shall have obtained a Commission from the Congress, or from such Person or Persons as shall be for that purpose appointed in some one of the United Colonies.
4. That it be, and is hereby recommended to the several Legislatures in the United Colonies as soon as possible, to erect Courts of Justice, or give Jurisdiction to the Courts now in being, for the purpose of determining concerning the Captures to be made as aforesaid, and to provide that all Tryals in such case be had by a Jury under such qualifications as to the respective Legislatures shall seem expedient.
5. That all Prosecutions shall be commenced in the Court of that Colony in which the Captures shall be made, but if no such Court be, at that time erected in the said Colony, or if the Capture be made on open Sea, then the prosecution shall be in the Court of such Colony as the Captor may find most convenient, provided that nothing contained in this resolution shall be construed so as to enable the Captor to remove his prize from any Colony competent to determine concerning the Seizure, after he shall have carried the Vessel so seized, within any harbour of the same.
6. That in all Cases an Appeal shall be allowed to the Congress, or such Person or Persons as they shall appoint for the Tryal of Appeals, provided the Appeal be demanded within five days after definitive Sentence, and such Appeal be lodged with the Secretary of Congress, within forty days afterwards, and provided the Party appealing shall give Security to prosecute the said Appeal to effect, and in case of the death of the Secretary during the Recess of Congress, then the said Appeal to be lodged in Congress within twenty days after the meeting thereof.

7. That when any Vessel or Vessels shall be fitted out at the Expence of any private Person or Persons, then the Captures made, shall be to the Use of the owner or owners of the said Vessel or Vessels; and where the Vessels employed in the capture shall be fitted out at the Expence of any of the United Colonies, then one third of the Prize taken shall be to the Use of the Captors, and the remaining two thirds to the Use of the said Colony, and where the Vessel so employed, shall be fitted out at the continental charge, then one third shall go to the Captors, and the remaining two thirds to the Use of the United Colonies, provided nevertheless, that if the Capture be a Vessel of War, then the Captors shall be entitled to one half of the Value, and the Remainder shall go to the Colony or Continent as the case may be, the necessary charges of the condemnation of all Prizes, being deducted before distribution made.
8. That the Captures heretofore made by Vessels fitted out at the Continental Charge were justifiable, and that the distribution of the Captors Share of the Prizes by General Washington be confirmed, which is as follows. A Captain or Commander 6 shares. First Lieutenant 5. Second Lieutenant 4. Surgeon 4. Master 3. Steward 2. Mate one and a half. Gunner, Boatswain, Gunners Mate, Serjeant, one and a half each. Privates one Share.

Resolved that, that Part of General Washingtons Letter of the 11th. Instant respecting the capture of a Vessell by the Inhabitants of New Hampshire be referred to the committee, who brought in the forgoing Report.[3] Congress next took into Consideration the Rules and Orders for the Fleet of the United Colonies, but not having Time to finish them Resolved that the farther consideration of them be deferred till Monday next. I have been particular in transcribing the Proceedings of this day 25. of November 1775, because, the[y] contain the true Origin and Formation of the American Navy, and as I had at least as great a share in producing them as any Man living or dead, they will shew that my Zeal and Exertions afterwards in 1798. 1799. and 1800, at every hazard and in Opposition to a more powerfull Party than that against me in 1775, was but a perseverance in the same Principles, Systems and Views of the public Interest.

On Tuesday November 28. 1775. The Congress resumed the Consideration of the Rules and Orders for the Navy of the United Colonies,

[3] Washington's letter of 11 Nov. is printed in his *Writings*, ed. Fitzpatrick, 4: 81-84. Congress did not act on it until 20 Dec., after JA had taken leave of absence (*JCC*, 3:439).

and the same being debated by Paragraphs were agreed to as follows: These Regulations are to be found in the 262. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11th. Pages of the Journals of Congress for 1775. They are too long to transcribe. They were drawn up in the Marine Committee[4] and by my hand, but examined, discussed and corrected by the Committee. In this place I will take the Opportunity to observe, that the pleasantest part of my Labours for the four Years I spent in Congress from 1774 to 1778 [*i.e.* 1777] was in this naval Committee. Mr. Lee, Mr. Gadsden, were sensible Men, and very chearful: But Governor Hopkins of Rhode Island, above seventy Years of Age kept us all alive. Upon Business his Experience and Judgment were very Usefull. But when the Business of the Evening was over, he kept Us in Conversation till Eleven and sometimes twelve O Clock. His Custom was to drink nothing all day nor till Eight O Clock, in the Evening, and then his Beveredge was Jamaica Spirit and Water. It gave him Wit, Humour, Anecdotes, Science and Learning. He had read Greek, Roman and British History: and was familiar with English Poetry particularly Pope, Tompson [Thomson] and Milton. And the flow of his Soul made all his reading our own, and seemed to bring to recollection in all of Us all We had ever read. I could neither eat nor drink in those days. The other Gentlemen were very temperate. Hopkins never drank to excess, but all he drank was immediately not only converted into Wit, Sense, Knowledge and good humour, but inspired Us all with similar qualities.

This Committee soon purchased and filled five Vessells. The first We named Alfred in honor of the founder of the greatest Navy that ever existed. The second Columbus after the Discover[er] of this quarter of the Globe. The third Cabot, for the Discoverer of this northern Part of the Continent. The fourth Andrew Doria in memory of the Great Genoese Admiral and the fifth Providence, for the Town where she was purchased, the Residence of Governor Hopkins and his Brother Eseck whom We appointed first Captain. We appointed all the officers of all the Ships. At the Solicitation of Mr. Deane We appointed his Brother in Law Captain Saltonstall.[5]

Sometime in December, worn down with long and uninterrupted Labour I asked and obtained Leave to visit my State and my Family. Mr. Langdon did the same, Mr. Deane was left out of the Delegation

[4] More correctly, the Naval Committee, which was absorbed and replaced by the standing Marine Committee early in 1776.

[5] See the Journal, 30 Oct. (*JCC*, 3:311–312); JA's Diary entry (Notes of Debates) of the same date and note; and his List of Persons Suitable for Naval Commands, printed in the Diary under date of Nov. 1775.

by his State and some others of the naval Committee were dispersed, when Congress appointed a Committee of twelve one from each State, for naval Affairs,[6] so that I had no longer any particular Charge relative to them: but as long as I continued a Member of Congress I never failed to support all reasonable measures reported by the new Committee.

It is necessary that I should be a little more particular, in relating the Rise and Progress of the new Governments of the States.

On Fryday June 2. 1775. Journals of Congress, page 112. The President laid before Congress a Letter from the Provincial Convention of Massachusetts Bay dated May 16. which was read, setting forth the difficulties they labour under, for want of a regular form of Government, and as they and the other Colonies are now compelled to raise an Army to defend themselves from the Butcheries and devastations of their implacable Enemies, which renders it still more necessary to have a regular established Government, requesting the Congress to favour them with explicit Advice respecting the taking up and exercising the Powers of civil Government, and declaring their readiness to submit to such a general Plan as the Congress may direct for the Colonies, or make it their great Study to establish such a form of Government there, as shall not only promote their Advantage but the Union and Interest of all America.

This Subject had engaged much of my Attention before I left Massachusetts, and had been frequently the Subject of Conversation between me and many of my Friends Dr. Winthrop, Dr. Cooper, Colonel Otis, the two Warrens, Major Hawley and others besides my Colleagues in Congress and lay with great Weight upon my Mind as the most difficult and dangerous Business that We had to do, (for from the Beginning I always expected We should have more difficulty and danger, in our Attempts to govern ourselves and in our Negotiations and connections with foreign Powers, than from all the Fleets and Armies of Great Britain). It lay therefore with great Weight upon my mind: and when this Letter was read, I embraced the Opportunity to open myself in Congress, and most earnestly to intreat the serious Attention of all the Members and of all the Continent to the measures which the times demanded. For my Part I thought there was great Wisdom in the Adage when the Sword is drawn throw away the Scabbard. Whether We threw it away voluntarily or not, it was useless now and

[6] Appointed 14 Dec. (JA having left Philadelphia on the 9th), this became the permanent Marine Committee (*JCC*, 3:428; Charles O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, Cleveland, 1906, p. 86–87).

DICTIONARY OF
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1

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close by his proposal to reopen the African slave trade (T. D. Jervey, *The Slave Trade,* 1925, pp. 114–16). In spite of the presence in the South of a considerable sentiment in favor of the proposition, this official pronouncement shocked public sensibility, and the South Carolina legislature refused to indorse it (W. J. Carnathan, "The Proposal to Reopen the Slave Trade," in *South Atlantic Quarterly,* XXV, 410–30). In consequence of this and his advanced stand on the question of secession, Adams was defeated in his candidacy for the United States Senate in 1858 (E. Merritt, *James Henry Hammond,* 1923, p. 128). In the secession convention of 1860 he spoke eloquently in favor of immediate disunion. After the passage of the Ordinance of Secession he was elected one of three "Commissioners to the Federal Government at Washington" to negotiate for the transfer of United States property in South Carolina to the state government (*Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in 1860–61,* pp. 59 ff.). His death occurred shortly after his return from this mission and while he was still a member of the convention.

[The nearest approach to an adequate account of the life of J. H. Adams is a brief but valuable sketch by B. F. Perry in his *Reminiscences of Public Men* (1883). A few of his private letters have been preserved in the Jas. H. Hammond MSS. in the Lib. of Cong., and two open letters on public questions were printed among papers by others in a pamphlet entitled, *An Appeal to the State Rights Party of S. C.* (1858). A eulogy by James D. Tradewell was published in the *Charleston Mercury,* July 22, 1861; obituaries in the *Columbia Guardian,* July 13, 1861, and *Charleston Courier,* July 15, 1861. A genealogy of the Adams family of South Carolina has been compiled by James Hopkins Adams, but has not been published.] J.H.E.

ADAMS, JASPER (Aug. 27, 1793–Oct. 25, 1841), college president, was a good scholar, an unusually able administrator, and a man of great practical wisdom, energy, and determination, but a frail constitution necessitated his living in the South, where he worked under conditions which did not afford opportunity and recognition commensurate with his abilities. He was one of the numerous descendants of Henry Adams of Braintree, and was born in East Medway, Mass. His father was Major Jasper Adams, and his mother, whose first name is variously given as Ama, Anna, Amy, and Emma, was the daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Rounds. He prepared for college under Rev. Luther Wright, graduated from Brown University in 1815, and then taught at Phillips Andover Academy for three years, during two of which he also studied at Andover Theological Seminary. After serving as tutor at Brown for a year, he was appointed, in 1819, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

In 1820 he was ordained priest in the Episcopal Church. On May 16 of the same year he was married to Mercy D. Wheeler of Medway, who died Nov. 11, 1821. Some three years later he married a Miss Mayrant of Charleston, S. C. His principal educational work was done in connection with Charleston College, of which he was president from 1824 to 1836, except for an interim of about eighteen months. "From his accession the real greatness and true fame of the college seems to date" (*History of Charleston College,* 1896). It was then little more than a preparatory school, nearly bankrupt, without suitable buildings, and in ill repute. Almost single-handed, in the face of the pessimism and indifference of its trustees, he raised its standards, restored its reputation, and secured funds for an adequate building. Apparently discouraged by lack of support, in 1826 he accepted a call to become the first president of Geneva (Hobart) College, N.Y. The loss of his services awakened the trustees to an appreciation of his value, and in 1828 they summoned him back, offering him a practically free hand. Their assurances and the warmer climate led him to return, and he still further raised the standard of the institution, organized it into departments, put it on a business basis so that the tuition of students met all the expenses, and greatly increased its enrolment. After his resignation, in 1836, he engaged in literary work, and from 1838 to 1840 was chaplain and professor of geography, history, and ethics at the United States Military Academy, West Point. Returning to the South, he took charge of a seminary in Pendleton, S. C., in 1840, but died the following year. He published *Elements of Moral Philosophy* (1837), a practical rather than speculative work, based on the prevailing theology, and numerous sermons and addresses.

[Andrew N. Adams, *Geneal. Hist. of Henry Adams of Braintree, Mass., and His Descendants* (1898); E. O. Jameson, *Biog. Sketches of Prominent Persons in Medway, Mass.* (1886); *Hist. Cat. of Brown Univ.* (1905); *Hobart Coll. Gen. Cat.* (1897); *Am. Quart. Reg.,* XII, 164 (1829); Colyer Meriwether, "Hist. of Higher Educ. in S. C.," in *Contrib. to Am. Educ. Hist.,* vol. II (1889), U. S. Bureau of Educ.] H.E.S.

ADAMS, JOHN (Oct. 19, 1735–July 4, 1826), second president of the United States, was of the fourth generation from Henry Adams, the first of the family to emigrate to America. This Henry was of yeoman stock, copyholder of the manor of Barton St. David, Somerset County, England. He married (*c.* 1609) Edith, daughter of Henry Squire of Charlton Mackrell, Somerset County, and for three generations after he came to Mount Wollaston (Braintree), Mass., about 1636, his descendants remained in that town, a line of "vir-

tuous, independent New England farmers" (Morse, p. 4), undistinguished beyond the place where they lived. In the third generation John Adams (1691–1760) married Susanna Boylston, of a family prominent in the medical history of Massachusetts, and their eldest son was John, born at Braintree. On graduating from Harvard College in 1755 he taught school at Worcester with thoughts of becoming a minister; but "frigid John Calvin" was not to his liking and he had growing doubt on some "disputed points" of doctrine. So he took up the study of law under James Putnam, in the conviction that "the study and practice of law . . . does not dissolve the obligations of morality or of religion" (*Works*, I, 32). He was presented for admission to the Boston bar, Nov. 6, 1758, by Jeremiah Gridley, a leader in the profession, and attorney general of the province. His law practice grew slowly; he took an interest in town matters; and he wrote for the newspapers on public affairs. He married, Oct. 25, 1764, Abigail, daughter of Rev. William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith, of Weymouth, a marriage which greatly widened his connections with prominent families of Massachusetts. In mind and character Mrs. Adams was a worthy partner throughout his career. In 1765 he contributed to the *Boston Gazette* a number of essays, "written at random, weekly, without any preconceived plan," which were published as "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law" (*Ibid.*, IX, 332). The Stamp Act gave him his first real opportunity and the resolutions of protest he prepared for Braintree were followed throughout Massachusetts. This led to his association with Gridley and James Otis in presenting Boston's memorial against the closing of the courts and opened his long contest with the lieutenant-governor, Thomas Hutchinson. Adams disapproved of the Stamp Act riots, but opposed the act on legal grounds, arguing that it was invalid because the colonists had never consented to it. Early in 1768 he removed to Boston, occupying the "White House," Brattle Square, and was engaged to defend John Hancock, charged with smuggling; Corbet, on a question of impressment and manslaughter; and Capt. Preston, on a technical charge of murder. Such important cases connected him with the patriotic cause, and he declined an appointment as advocate general in the court of admiralty, rightly regarding it as a step to draw him from that association. His conduct was guided by law and he boasted that he had the only complete set of the British statutes-at-large in Boston, or even in the colonies.

Elected to the General Court as a representative of Boston he served a year and for reasons of health removed to Braintree in the spring of 1771, to pursue law and farming, but found it advisable again to take a house in Queen Street, Boston. Devoting himself to the law he soon occupied a leading place at the bar, but political events forced him into public life. The destruction of tea in Boston harbor he considered "the grandest event which has yet happened since the controversy with Britain opened" (*Ibid.*, IX, 333), yet he was again opposed to mob outbreaks. The Boston Port Act he condemned, and because of his general attitude on the controversy with Great Britain, he was chosen, June 17, 1774, one of the delegates from Massachusetts to the first Congress of the colonies, known later as the Continental Congress. His position on measures to be taken had not become fixed, though he saw independence as a possibility, and dreaded it. Before reaching Philadelphia he learned that Massachusetts was regarded as inclined to be dictatorial and infected with independence. Recognizing that the Congress would not take an extreme position and restraining publicly his impatience while recording it in his private letters, he served as a member of the committee to prepare a petition to the King; on a second to draft a declaration of rights, in which he urged unsuccessfully a recognition of "natural rights," and wrote the fourth section on taxation, representation, and consent to the regulation of external commerce; he favored non-importation. With not a little disappointment at the outcome of the Congress, Adams returned to Massachusetts, sat in the provincial congress, was chosen to the council, and for some months, indeed until the battle of Lexington, as "Novanglus" carried on a controversy in the press with Daniel Leonard ("Massachusettensis") on the origin of the dispute with Great Britain. "The language is rather energetic than elegant," wrote the grandson of Adams, "and the feeling is more cherished than the rhetoric" (*Ibid.*, I, 166).

In this interval he had opportunity to learn the disadvantages under which the province suffered from the want of an organized government, and in the second Congress, supported by instructions from the Massachusetts Assembly to concert measures for establishing American liberty on a permanent basis, secure from attack from Great Britain, he pointed out the probable necessity of forming a confederacy of separate states, each with its own government; but he found the Congress, while feeling the "spirit of war" more intimately than before, conservative and suspicious of New England, especially of Massachusetts. He opposed unsuccessfully another petition to the King, and served on com-

mittees to prepare an address to the people of Ireland, to draft instructions to Washington, for whose appointment to command he was largely responsible, to reply to Lord North's resolution of Feb. 20, 1775, and to consider equipping vessels to take enemy ships—the beginning of a navy. In July his policy had taken form: "We ought immediately to dissolve all Ministerial Tyrannies and Custom houses, set up Governments of our own like that of Connecticut in all the colonies, confederate together like an indissoluble Band for mutual defence, and open our Ports to all Nations immediately" (*Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 75). Encountering opposition, both in Congress and in his own delegation, he could not gain all he desired, and, accepted and feared by the conservatives as a leader for independence, he could only await the march of events which seemed to favor his propositions. His impatience became known through two intercepted letters, which proved for a time embarrassing without in the end reducing his influence. As colony after colony applied to Congress for advice on government Adams used the opening to advance his views, suggesting the adoption of a form as nearly resembling that which had existed as circumstances would permit, to be framed by colony conventions and submitted to the people if necessary. A governor, council, and representatives were familiar instruments and easily adaptable. In October he was appointed chief justice of the superior court of Massachusetts and accepted; but he never sat upon the bench and from pressure of occupation, Feb. 10, 1777, he resigned the office.

Early in December 1775 he obtained leave to return to Massachusetts, where he sat in the council and gained a knowledge of local opinion. He returned to Congress, Feb. 9, 1776. In that month appeared Paine's *Common Sense,* advocating a plan of government which Adams sought to counteract by his *Thoughts on Government,* originally prepared for the delegates of North Carolina, but published, at first anonymously, to meet a wider demand. In March he secured the adoption of recommendations to promote the production of flax, cotton, and wool, the establishing of societies for the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and for making steel and sail-cloth. By May Congress was persuaded to make a general recommendation, that where no adequate government had been established such a one should be adopted as in the opinion of the representatives of the people should "best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general" (*Works,* I, 217). To this recommendation Adams prepared a preamble (*Journals of the Continental Congress,* IV, 357–58), which Duane called a "machine for the fabrication of independence," and which Adams thought was independence itself (*Works,* I, 18). The way was now open for the final act. Richard Henry Lee's motion for independence, foreign alliances, and a confederation was laid before Congress June 7 and seconded by Adams. Committees were provided for on June 11 to prepare a declaration of independence and a plan of treaties with foreign powers, and Adams was appointed on both. Of the plan of treaties, for trade and not alliance, he was the author, but not of the instructions to a negotiator under it. To the text of the declaration he contributed nothing of importance, but to him fell the severer task of defending it in its passage through Congress. "He was the pillar of its support on the floor of Congress," Jefferson wrote in 1813, "its ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious assaults it encountered" (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. by P. L. Ford, 1898, IX, 377–78). Stockton, of New Jersey, called him "the Atlas of American independence."

Adams

Meantime (June 13) he had been placed on the newly created Board of War, with engrossing duties; reported the (British) Articles of War, and rules for the navy; met Lord Howe at the Staten Island conference. He also drafted the credentials of the Commissioners to France and secured a committee to establish a military academy in the army. Worn down by continual application, anxious for the condition of his family, and wishing to confer with his constituents, he left Philadelphia Oct. 13, returning Feb. 1, 1777, when Congress was sitting in Baltimore. He served on a number of important committees—appeals, neutrality, Du Coudray, evacuation of Ticonderoga, Saratoga convention—and took part in the debates on currency, regulation of prices, French loan, foreign officers and confederation, trusted as a member free from the divisions which pervaded and hampered the Congress. Wearied by the disputes over promotions in the army, he expressed the hope to Greene that Congress would elect annually all the general officers, so that some great men should be obliged to serve their country in some other capacity, better adapted to their genius, a proposition cited against him many years after. The news of Burgoyne's surrender reached Congress Nov. 3, eight days after Adams had left that body never, as it proved, to return. He was not involved in the Conway cabal against Washington, but believed it wise to have a general ready, should any chance remove or incapacitate Washington.

Adams

On Nov. 21 Deane was recalled from France, and on the 28th Adams was elected commissioner to France. That did not prevent his reëlection on Dec. 4 to Congress. On Feb. 13, 1778, he embarked on the frigate *Boston* with his son, John Quincy Adams, then ten years old. After six weeks at sea they landed at Bordeaux, to learn that France had recognized the American States, entered into treaties of amity and commerce with them, and that war between France and Great Britain was regarded as inevitable. Adams reached Paris, Apr. 8, and took quarters in the same house with Franklin. He found the commissioners much divided by disputes which the recall of Deane had not ended, and sought to be neutral. "It is no part of my business to quarrel with anybody without cause; it is no part of my duty to differ with one party or another, let it give offence to whom it will" (*Works,* III, 139). He took upon himself to introduce orderly system in correspondence and accountability in money matters, lived simply, taking a somewhat exaggerated view of the expense of the other commissioners, and in May explained to Samuel Adams the need of an entirely new organization of the foreign mission of the States, framing a plan which would, if adopted, in all probability deprive him of office. Franklin agreed in his recommendations.

In the meantime a loan in France or Holland was considered necessary and Adams began the long series of letters on European affairs that form so large a part of his dispatches to Congress. In spite of the good resolutions he had brought with him to France, he conceived a jealousy—to ripen later—of French policy and its dangers to America, which colored his relations with that court, with his colleagues, and with their followers. Yet he confessed that the French ministry was reserved to all three of the commissioners and therefore could have no personal animus toward him. He became restive and distrustful of his associates. "There is no man here that I dare trust" (February 1779, *Works,* III, 188). Believing that common report belittled him, he belittled himself, and Deane's *Address to the People of America* (November 1778) roused him to fury; he wished to carry the matter to the French ministry, when he learned that Franklin had been appointed sole plenipotentiary, and that he himself had become a private citizen, his own suggestion having been adopted by Congress. Unwilling to remain in Europe without appointment, he embarked (Mar. 22, 1779), at Nantes on the *Alliance,* but was detained by the French government until the middle of June, that he might accompany the French minister to the United States in the *Sensible.* They arrived at Boston, Aug. 2, and seven days later he was chosen to represent Braintree in the convention called to frame a constitution for Massachusetts. The plan submitted to the convention was largely his, but he was called away before final action was taken. Congress, in response to an intimation from Gérard, the French minister, had spent much time on instructions for a minister to negotiate peace. On Sept. 25 both Adams and Jay were nominated, and on Sept. 26 both were also nominated to negotiate treaties with Spain; but on Sept. 27 Jay, believed to be not opposed to French plans, received the Spanish mission, and Adams, aided by a commendation of his conduct by Vergennes, the peace negotiation. Adams was also appointed to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain and to represent the United States of America at the Court of St. James's.

Embarking on the *Sensible,* Nov. 13, with his two sons John and Charles, he landed at Ferrol Dec. 8, making the journey to Paris by land. He reached that city, Feb. 5, and the French ministry advised him, against his own judgment, to keep his mission secret for a time. Presented to the King, Mar. 7, Adams was again disappointed in not being publicly recognized. In his enforced inaction he wrote freely to Congress on European politics, contributed American news to the *Mercure de France,* and, at the instance of Vergennes, gave intelligence of American affairs direct to the minister. Neither Congress nor Adams had informed Franklin of the peace mission, and when Vergennes took exception to Adams's defense of a financial measure of Congress, deemed hostile to the interests of French holders of Continental paper, Adams found himself in a delicate situation, acting overzealously and independently of Franklin, and disavowed by Vergennes. He thought that Franklin had interfered with him instead of giving support, and his jealousy of French intentions increased. On his asking again that public announcement of his commission be made, Vergennes threatened to carry the question to Congress, thus strengthening Adams's suspicions of bad faith, since he knew that Vergennes could reach Congress through the French minister at Philadelphia and work against him. Adams gave to Vergennes his reasons for believing that Great Britain desired peace and added his conviction that greater naval and military exertions on the part of France would favor the Americans. So indiscreet a suggestion, made without instructions and on a matter clearly within Franklin's province, had the result that Vergennes ended all intercourse with Adams and sought to have his mission, at least

in part, revoked. Without doubting his attachment to independence and the alliance, Vergennes thought a less unbending commissioner would be more promising in peace parleys.

Adams went to Holland (July 27) without the indorsement of the French court, to test the possibility of a loan for the States. A threat of war from Great Britain put an end to any hope of success; but he formed wide connections, wrote much on the situation of the Dutch, and gained useful knowledge of banking methods in that country. Congress had long been divided on foreign affairs and, while it indorsed the opinion of Vergennes on the inexpediency of communicating Adams's powers to Great Britain, refused to accede to the minister's wish that Adams be curbed and placed under the direction of France. On Dec. 29, 1780, it made Adams minister to the United Provinces in place of Laurens, and authorized him to join the newly formed league of armed neutrality. He could at that time hold out no hope of assistance in any shape from the Dutch republic, for he could not be recognized, French influence was against him, and his memorials were returned. Nor could the Americans expect any present advantage from the armed neutrality—a "sublime bubble" he termed it—however useful the principle of free ships making free goods might prove to a neutral America in the future.

Summoned to Paris by Vergennes in July 1781, he learned of a proposed peace or armistice with Great Britain through the mediation of Russia and Austria, and looked upon it as a clumsy trick. For Great Britain asked two preliminary and impossible conditions: that the United States should break with France, and that they should return to their obedience to their former ruler. Adams believed that the powers offering mediation should first acknowledge the independence of the States, or at least receive a minister plenipotentiary from them. Returning to Amsterdam in August, he received a new commission for peace (dated June 15, 1781), naming four associated commissioners; and later came a revocation (July 12) of his commission to treat with Great Britain on commerce. Welcoming the larger commission he regretted the revocation of his commercial powers as ill-judged, making it impossible in 1782 to take advantage of a liberal trade policy in the British ministry. The revocation had been moved in Congress by Madison and carried with only New England opposed. Adams was now laid low for weeks by a nervous fever and on recovery learned that Congress had, Aug. 16, commissioned him minister plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, with instructions to negotiate a treaty of alliance, but enjoining him on all occasions to confer in the most confidential manner with the French representative at The Hague. The peace commissioners were also directed ultimately to govern themselves by the advice and opinion of the French minister (Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, IV, 505). The measures in Congress and these instructions show how far Vergennes had succeeded in making the negotiations for peace subservient to French influence, and led Adams to consider resigning his mission. The surrender of Cornwallis and the arrogance of Great Britain turned the favor of the Dutch toward America, without, however, furthering a loan by the Dutch bankers. In October 1781, after months of effort, less than three hundred pounds had been subscribed and the bonds were held by not more than three persons. Encouraged by improved political conditions and with full sympathy of the French minister at The Hague, in January 1782 Adams demanded of the ministers of the republic and the deputies of the city a reply to his memorial of Apr. 19 asking for recognition. Three months later he was formally recognized, whereupon he submitted a plan of a treaty, which was signed in October, and made proposals for and secured the first loan.

While he was thus engaged, Great Britain had made at Paris advances toward peace, and, since June, Franklin and Jay had been in what they called the "skirmishing business" of their commission. Not until the end of September did the British representative, Oswald, show satisfactory powers to treat with the thirteen United States of America. Adams was then summoned to Paris. He arrived Oct. 26, and Jay, whose Spanish experience had made him suspicious of French designs, found him "a very agreeable coadjutor." Jay was willing and anxious to treat separately with Great Britain; Adams agreed with him; and Franklin, with some proper reluctance because of his closer ties with the French minister, accepted the decision. The articles of a treaty had been agreed upon before Adams's arrival, but his contributions to an agreement were essential. On the questions of boundaries, especially on the northeast, the claims of indemnity to the Loyalists and the fisheries, he prepared articles, and it was he who suggested that Congress recommend to the States to open their courts for the recovery of just debts, a suggestion welcomed by the British negotiators. Refusing to sign articles which did not meet his requirements as to the fisheries, he established, nevertheless, rights and liberties that were important for the new nation and essential to New Eng-

land. On Nov. 30 the provisional articles were signed without the knowledge of the French court and in the event proved no hindrance to a general pacification or to the peace treaties of France or Spain. Not until August 1783 were the provisional articles ratified by Great Britain. Offered without change as a definite treaty, thus making any new concessions by the British ministry improbable, they were signed Sept. 3, 1783. Had a minister of the United States been then in London a fair agreement on a treaty of commerce might have been reached. Adams, with Jay and Franklin, had been appointed (May 1, 1783) to negotiate such a treaty, but a change of ministry prevented a favorable issue, and Adams, in England for his health, was obliged to return to Holland to negotiate a new loan, in which he was successful in spite of less favorable conditions. The return of Jay to America made a new commercial commission necessary and on May 7, 1784, Jefferson was added.

In the summer of 1784, Mrs. Adams and their daughter joining him, Adams took a house at Auteuil and on Feb. 24, 1785, he was appointed envoy to the Court of St. James's. He went to London in May, was received by the King, and had interviews with the Minister for Foreign Affairs on questions arising from the treaty—such as surrender of the Western posts, compensation for slaves and property, recovery of debts, and the treatment of refugees or Loyalists. The attitude of court and ministry discouraged advances, and the divided interests of the United States made it difficult for the British to have confidence in the execution of the treaty of 1783 or in the permanence of the confederation. The serious divisions in the States led Adams to study principles of government. Taking his text from a letter of Turgot to Dr. Price referring to the American States, he wrote in three volumes *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States of America against the Attack of Mr. Turgot* (1787). The first volume appeared in America while the convention for framing a constitution was assembling. Its timeliness gave it vogue; but it is chiefly remembered for the unjustifiable partisan interpretation given to it in later years as an attempt to favor a monarchy. Seeing no prospect of further success in England, Adams asked to resign and letters of recall were sent in February 1788. Congress thanked him for his "patriotism, perseverance, integrity, and diligence" (*Works*, I, 438).

Hardly had he landed in Massachusetts when he was elected to the Congress, but never took his seat in that dying body. In the new government under the Constitution Washington was unanimously chosen president, but the votes for vice-president were for political reasons scattered, and Adams, receiving 34 out of 69 votes, was chosen. Only after some years did Adams complain of the stratagem and of Hamilton's conduct of it. "My country has in its wisdom," he wrote to his wife, "contrived for me the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived" (*Ibid.*, I, 460). An eager debater, he was reduced to silence, and he could exert influence only through the casting vote in a Senate equally divided, a vote he had occasion to exercise more frequently than any of his successors in office—no less than twenty times—and though not a party man, always on the Federalist side. Thus he decided the president's power of removal from office, commercial reprisal on Great Britain, and the policy of neutrality; supported Washington's administration; and aided Hamilton's financial measures, winning to that extent the favor of the Secretary of the Treasury, who had not concealed a certain want of confidence in the Vice-President. Watching the progress of the French Revolution Adams could see only failure in the want of proper government and in *Discourses on Davila*, published in the *United States Gazette* in 1791, he drew lessons from the past history of France. Not only did Hamilton disapprove of these essays, as tending to weaken the government, but Jefferson saw in them a leaning to hereditary monarchy and aristocracy, and to counteract the effect indorsed Paine's *Age of Reason*. Unknown to his father, John Quincy Adams answered Paine and widened the separation between Jefferson and John Adams, to whom the authorship of the reply was generally ascribed. In the second election (1792) Adams received the Federalist vote, becoming again vice-president; and in the election of 1796 Hamilton once more intervened, intending to make Thomas Pinckney president and to keep Adams in the vice-presidency. The plan failed of its purpose, but it drew sufficient votes to mortify Adams and to make Jefferson vice-president. Unnecessary as the act was, it exasperated Adams beyond possible reconciliation with Hamilton and was an unfortunate beginning for Adams's administration, which seemed to encounter Hamilton's hostility at every turn.

No change of cabinet officers followed Adams's accession to the presidency, nor was there made any sweeping change in the minor offices. The election brought Adams nearer to Jefferson than to Hamilton, for Adams had shown a sensibility to the candor of Jefferson's friends during the contest, and had learned of personal sentiments

of Jefferson toward him of a conciliatory nature. Indeed Jefferson had written a friendly letter to Adams (Dec. 28, 1796. Jefferson, *Writings,* VII, 94) which Madison, to whose discretion it was entrusted, never delivered, though he allowed its general terms to become known. Hamilton compared this approach to the lying down together of the lion and the lamb, and was skeptical of the result; but added that he trusted Adams's real good sense and integrity would be a sufficient shield against his possible vanity (Hamilton, *Works,* 1851, VI, 206).

Adams's inaugural speech gave pledges to maintain the policy of his predecessor, but seemed "temporizing" to the Federalists. Relations with the French republic demanded immediate attention. Jay's treaty and the recall of Monroe had so worked upon the French Directory that it refused to receive or even to permit his successor, Charles C. Pinckney, to remain on French territory. Sincerely desirous of renewed relations between the two countries, Adams called upon Jefferson the day before inauguration to offer him the mission. Jefferson declined, nor did he warm to the suggestion of Madison in his place. The President immediately after inauguration consulted Wolcott and found that to pursue his plan would mean a break in his cabinet and its reorganization. Later Hamilton made the same suggestion, naming Jefferson or Madison, Pinckney, and Cabot, and favored an extraordinary mission as necessary to learn what redress the French expected. In spite of this apparent harmony in plan the Republicans felt that the administration of Adams might turn against them, surrounded as he was by ministers who had been made by Hamilton and who looked to him and not to the President as the leader of the party and of Federalist policy. Jefferson thought the followers of Hamilton to be only a "little less hostile" to Adams than to himself; but it cannot be shown that the Jeffersonians excited Adams's suspicions against Hamilton, nor that they were to be held responsible for Pickering's dismissal, as the latter claimed. At the same time the Jefferson party became more and more antagonistic to Adams's administration and almost from its beginning opposed its measures and the man held responsible for them.

A special session of Congress was called for May 15, but before it assembled news came that the French Directory had declared pirates all Americans serving on British vessels. On Apr. 14 Adams framed questions for his cabinet on the situation with France, and on the 15th other questions on his message to be submitted to Congress (Gibbs, I, 501, 502). McHenry sent both

lists to Hamilton who prepared replies (Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry,* 1907, pp. 216, 213), which McHenry practically made his own (*Ibid.,* p. 222). The cabinet was against war, and united in support of a new mission and measures of defense in case negotiation should fail. The message to Congress was firm and dignified, favoring peace and means of defense in militia and navy, and received general approbation. Adams wished one member of the mission to be taken from the opposition and suggested Gerry, but met with no support from his cabinet. The names first sent to Congress were Pinckney, Marshall, and Dana; when Dana declined to serve, Gerry was added. William Vans Murray was appointed minister to The Hague in place of John Quincy Adams, a measure later to prove important. The commission sailed for France, there not to be admitted to an audience with the Directory, and to be met by a demand of a bribe and loan, impossible conditions which led to the return of Marshall and Pinckney; Gerry remained. Wishing to be prepared for a failure of negotiation, the President, Jan. 24, 1798, asked his cabinet to advise on war, an embargo, or changed relations with European powers. McHenry, as before, sent the questions to Hamilton and his reply seems to have formed the opinion of Wolcott, Pickering, and McHenry (*McHenry,* p. 291), recommending a vigorous policy and also closer connections with Great Britain. The latter Adams could not accept. The first intimation of the situation in France reached the United States in March 1798; the failure of the mission was announced to Congress Mar. 19, and Gerry was directed to return but delayed. On June 21, after Marshall's arrival, Adams sent a message to Congress saying: "I will never send another minister to France, without assurances that he will be received, respected and honored, as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation" (Adams, *Works,* IX, 159). The country was aroused.

Without declaring war, Congress declared the treaties with France null and void, increased the army, ordered the construction or purchase of new ships, and created a navy department. The President, having in mind a defensive system, favored a navy, but Congress, under the influence of Hamilton, planned a large provisional army in case of actual invasion (May 28), and, in imitation of British acts, passed the Alien (July 6) and Sedition (July 14) laws, of doubtful expedience or necessity. For the command of the provisional army only one person was considered. On July 2 the President nominated Washington, and the Senate confirmed the nomination on the

following day. The Secretary of War went to Mount Vernon with the commission and arranged that the general officers should be such as were acceptable to Washington. Pickering urged Hamilton for the second place and, after some hesitation between Pinckney and Knox, Washington named the three in the following order, Hamilton, Pinckney, Knox, and the Senate so confirmed them. The President believed that by right Knox should come first and Pinckney second, and sought to rank them thus. On Washington's threat to resign, Adams yielded, but from that time he distrusted the two members of the cabinet—Pickering and McHenry—who were closest to Hamilton. By defeating the appointment of Adams's son-in-law, William S. Smith, to the army, Pickering did not fail to invite the displeasure of the President. While this difference continued—it was not settled till the end of September—addresses from all parts of the country poured in upon the President, and his replies, all of his own composition, kept the public feeling awakened to the dangers of the situation.

Gerry landed at Boston, Oct. 1, and made report of his mission to Adams, then at Quincy. Not only did he convince the President that he was without blame in remaining, but he brought intimation of a wish on Talleyrand's part to renew diplomatic intercourse. From Murray, at The Hague, was received about the same time a message to the same effect, which had been sent by Talleyrand to Pichon, the French representative in the Netherlands, and was intended for Murray's notice. Not yet willing to meet these indirect advances, the President asked Pickering to consult the cabinet on two points: whether it would be expedient for the President to recommend to the consideration of Congress a declaration of war against France; and whether any further proposals of negotiation could be made with safety, or with any advantage, in Europe or America. Might not the President say, in order to keep the channels of negotiation open, that he would nominate a minister to the French republic, ready to embark on proper assurances from that country? The President wished in his message to say that he was ready at all times to appoint or receive a minister to treat of the differences between France and the United States. The cabinet note, prepared in consultation with Hamilton, sought to shut off all possibility of a new mission. Adams modified his wish so as to read: "But to send another minister without more determinate assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the United States ought not to submit" (*Ibid.*, IX, 130), and outlined in general terms the steps necessary to restore intercourse. The door was left open for a peaceful solution, but vigorous preparations for war were essential. Not satisfied with this outcome, Hamilton exerted his influence on Congress. By this time Adams was quite conscious of Hamilton's dominance in the party, cabinet, and Congress, and of his effort to bring about war with France, a large standing army, and an attack upon Spanish America. Without consulting any one, but acting wholly within his right, on Feb. 18, Adams sent to the Senate the nomination of W. Vans Murray, then minister to the Netherlands, to be minister to the French republic. The cabinet felt outraged. The Senate intended to reject the nomination and Sedgwick, of the committee reporting on it, took the unusual step of personally remonstrating with the President, a step he was unable to defend on correct principles. To meet some of the objections raised and before action was had on Murray, Adams proposed a peace commission of three members, not to depart on their mission without further instructions. This bold and unexpected act brought to his support the press of the country and neither Hamilton nor Congress could oppose it, however ardently the Federalists resented it. Adams realized that he could place little confidence in two of his cabinet—Pickering and McHenry—now completely under the influence of Hamilton, and for his own good he should have replaced them. Instead of this he said he counted upon their coöperation and to his cost permitted them to remain in office. By his long absence at Quincy he gave them full opportunity to work against his policy. Fries's rebellion in March was a local incident which in the event produced feeling against Adams; and the Alien and Sedition laws, for which he had no direct responsibility and which he refused to enforce as the Federalists wished, added to his unpopularity. To be prepared for probable concessions by France, in August he agreed with his cabinet on instructions to the commissioners, but in his absence the cabinet determined to suspend the mission until he could be personally consulted. They believed the restoration of the Bourbons at hand; Adams had no faith in such a prediction. Arriving, Oct. 10, at Trenton, to which place the government had retired because of the infection at Philadelphia, the President found there his cabinet, Ellsworth of the French mission, and Hamilton, and felt that a struggle for control was at hand. Knowing that France would receive the mission, he went over the instructions with his cabinet on the evening of the 15th, and the next

Adams

day gave orders for the completion of the papers and for the departure of the mission by Nov. 1. Again he had surprised his advisers through an independent act by which they believed themselves to have been deceived and outraged. By so doing he antagonized Hamilton's influence, prevented a war with France, preserved the neutrality of the United States, and lost a renomination, which he did not then desire and for which he had laid no plans. Regarding him as a traitor to the party, the leaders sought means to win the election without him. At last convinced that he could no longer retain certain members of his cabinet bent upon thwarting his policy and plotting his exclusion, Adams had a stormy interview with McHenry, the least efficient member, who promptly resigned. A few days later, Pickering, the chief sinner in disloyalty to his chief, was given an opportunity to resign, but refused it and on May 12 was discharged from office. Wolcott, as much involved as his colleagues, was not suspected and remained, serving as an informer. In the appointment of John Marshall and Samuel Dexter the cabinet gained, but nothing could prevent the bitter war made upon Adams by the Federalist leaders, now implacably bent not only upon defeating but upon discrediting him to the limit of their power. The pardon of three men condemned to death for participation in the Pennsylvania "insurrection" increased the Federalist animus. Hamilton's illogical and ill-judged *Letter concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams* displayed at large his own animosity and the division in the party. It was based upon information derived from Wolcott, had been first submitted for his revision, and appeared in the last week of October, too late to permit of reply before election. Adams, with no party behind him, received 65 to Jefferson's 73 votes, and Hamilton was obliged to admit that the body of the people of New England favored him. Hamilton's tactics had merely resulted in the election of Jefferson whom he disliked far more than Adams. Immediately after the election Wolcott sent in his resignation, to take effect at the close of the year; but he in no wise abated his intrigues against the President, to serve under whom, he said, would be "incompatible with honor and a suitable respect" to his own character (Wolcott to Pickering, Dec. 28, 1800, Gibbs, II, 461). He even obtained from the State Department material to enable Pickering to attack his chief. Adams never knew or suspected Wolcott's hostility, or treachery, and appointed him to a judgeship in the circuit court of the United States. Peace with France was concluded at Morfontaine, Sept. 30, 1800, and was, with the exception of one article, accepted by the Senate. One of the last acts of Congress reorganized the national judiciary system and created a large number of life appointments. The President made the appointments on grounds of public policy and by so doing incurred the increased enmity of Jefferson.

On the expiration of his term of office and after twenty-six years passed in public employment, in a great variety of important services, Adams retired to Quincy under a weight of odium which he could not accept as merited. The legislature of Massachusetts welcomed him, however, as did the town of Quincy. Never a strong partisan, he saw the Federalists lose their influence as a party and their opponents attain almost unquestioned power, and he was held to be the cause of the defeat of the one and the success of the other. After a quarter of a century of great and varied activity he was doomed to as long a period of almost complete isolation from public affairs. His active mind refused to rest, retaining an interest in public questions, which grew in strength as he sympathetically watched the career of his son, John Quincy Adams. At times he was aroused to take part in political discussions and corresponded freely with a few of his friends. The affair of the *Chesapeake* in June 1807 brought both the Adamses to the support of the administration in maintaining the rights of America, and from the elder a vigorous examination of *The Inadmissible Principles of the King of England's Proclamation of Oct. 16, 1807,* on the impressment of seamen from neutral vessels. The younger Adams's vote for the embargo proved that the son was no more of a partisan than the father, and led to a series of letters from the latter to the *Boston Patriot,* a newspaper recently established, in explanation and defense of his own past acts, diplomatic and executive. A part of this correspondence, which extended over a period of three years, was gathered into a volume, *Correspondence of the late President Adams* (1809). Loosely constructed and carelessly printed in the columns of a newspaper at a time when party feeling ran high, and without arrangement or fit explanation, the series did preserve, nevertheless, important documents; but it is marked by intemperate denunciation of Hamilton and others as unjust to them as to the writer. The appointment by Madison of John Quincy Adams, regarded by the Federalists as a Republican, to be minister of the United States at St. Petersburg seemed to John Adams almost a recognition of himself, who had been so harshly dealt with by the party in power. Through the agency of Benjamin Rush he renewed relations with Jefferson, and the letters

which passed between these men whom political circumstances had so often placed in opposition have an extraordinary interest. Adams turned to the history of the past and wrote on the men and events of his day, with uncertain memory, but with much that is valuable for personal characters and historical fact. Though the death of Mrs. Adams, Oct. 28, 1818, deprived him of a loved companion and saddened his later years, he was made happier by the changing public attitude. In 1820 he attended the state constitutional convention and was received with honors. As the years passed he gained in general estimation; Quincy became a place of visit, with him as its leading character. He died, July 4, 1826, a few hours after Jefferson.

His grandson, Charles Francis Adams, has described John Adams as "not tall, scarcely exceeding middle height, but of a stout, well-knit frame, denoting vigor and long life, yet as he grew old, inclining more and more to corpulence. His head was large and round, with a wide forehead and expanded brows. His eye was mild and benignant, perhaps even humorous, when he was free from emotion, but when excited, it fully expressed the vehemence of the spirit that stirred within. His presence was grave and imposing, on serious occasions, but not unbending. He delighted in social conversation, in which he was sometimes tempted to what he called rhodomontade. . . . His anger, when thoroughly roused, was, for a time, extremely violent, but when it subsided, it left no trace of malevolence behind." In 1783, on learning of Adams's appointment on the peace commission, Jefferson wrote: "He has a sound head on substantial points and I think he has integrity. . . . His dislike of all parties and all men, by balancing his prejudices, may give the same fair play to his reason as would a general benevolence of temper" (Jefferson, *Writings,* ed. by Ford, III, 309–10). Four years later and after more than seven months of intimacy, he added: "He is vain, irritable, and a bad calculator of the force and probable effect of the motives which govern men. This is all the ill which can possibly be said of him. He is as disinterested as the being who made him; he is profound in his views and accurate in his judgment, except where knowledge of the world is necessary to form a judgment. He is so amiable, that I pronounce you will love him if ever you become acquainted with him. He would be, as he was, a great man in Congress" (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. by H. A. Washington, 1871, II, 107). Men most hostile to Adams have united in praise of his abilities, integrity, high intentions, and unquestioned patriotism. His diplomacy showed initiative clogged by influences he had himself aroused; his administration showed statesmanship and independence. His mind was stored with much learning, usable at will; though often intemperate and extravagant in language, he was cool in action. Of undoubted courage and ambition, careful of his independence and jealous of others, he stood much alone, and so largely lost the benefit of acting with others.

Of his published writings the following are the more important: 1. *Essay on Canon and Feudal Law* (London, 1768) appended to *The True Sentiments of America;* also to *Collection of State Papers* (The Hague, also London, 1782; reprinted at Philadelphia, 1783). 2. *Thoughts on Government* (Philadelphia, 1776; Boston, 1776 and 1788). 3. *Mémoire à leurs Hautes-Puissances les Seigneurs États-Généraux des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas* (1781; also in English, Leyden, 1781). 4. *A Collection of State Papers* (The Hague, 1782; reprinted at London, 1782). 5. *History of the Dispute with America,* an abridgment of his replies to Leonard (written in 1774, published at London, 1784. Both series were not printed in full until 1819, as *Novanglus and Massachusettensis.* A Dutch edition of the *History* appeared at Amsterdam, 1782). 6. *Letters* (to Dr. Calkoen, privately printed, 1786; reprinted as *Twenty-Six Letters, upon Interesting Subjects,* in two editions, New York, 1789). 7. *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (the first volume, London, 1787, reprinted, Boston, New York and Phila., 1787; with Volumes II and III, London, 1787–88; again in two editions, London, 1794, one with title *History of the Principal Republics of the World;* Paris, 1792; Phila., 1797). 8. *A Selection of the Patriotic Addresses to the President of the United States, together with the President's Answers, presented in the year 1798* (Boston, 1798). 9. *Four Letters* (John and Samuel Adams, Boston, 1802). 10. *Discourses on Davila* (Boston, 1805). 11. *The Inadmissible Principles of the King of England's Proclamation* (Boston, 1809). 12. *Correspondence . . . concerning the British Doctrine of Impressment* (Baltimore, 1809). 13. *Correspondence of the late President Adams* (originally published in the *Boston Patriot,* Boston, 1809). 14. *Correspondence between the Hon. J. Adams and the late William Cunningham* (Boston, 1823. This publication was a gross violation of decency, by the son of Cunningham, who sought favors of Adams and, when denied, printed in 1811 *A Letter to a Great Character* abusive of the former President and based upon the letters to the father). 15. *Letters of John Adams, addressed to his Wife* (1841, being Volumes III and

IV, supplementing *Letters of Abigail Adams,* 1841; the two series republished as *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his wife Abigail Adams,* Boston, 1876). 16. *Works,* 10 vols. (1850–56). 17. "Letters to Mercy Warren," *5 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections,* IV, 1878. 18. "Letters" in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* April 1906. 19. "Warren-Adams Letters," 2 vols., *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections,* LXXII, LXXIII (1917, 1925). 20. *Correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson,* 1812–26, selected by Paul Wilstach (1925). 21. *Statesman and Friend,* letters to Dr. B. Waterhouse (1927).

[Charles Francis Adams, *Life,* being vol. I of the *Works;* John T. Morse, Jr., *John Adams* (1885); John Wood, *Hist. of the Administration of John Adams* (1802, repub. 1846), and *A Correct Statement of the various Sources from which the Hist. was compiled* (1802), being a reply to James Cheetham's *A Narrative of the Suppression by Col. Burr of the Hist. of the Administration of John Adams* (1802); Geo. Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and Adams,* 6 vols.; J. H. A. Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États Unis d'Amérique* (1886–99); Correa M. Walsh, *Political Science of John Adams* (1915); C. Warren, *John Adams and Am. Constitutions* (1927). A catalogue of his library was printed by the Boston Public Library in 1917.] W.C.F.

ADAMS, JOHN (Sept. 18, 1772–Apr. 24, 1863), fourth principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, was born in Canterbury, Conn., the eldest of ten children of Capt. John Adams, a Revolutionary soldier, and Mary (Parker) Adams. His forebears were simple farming folk, but he traced his ancestry back to Henry Adams, from whom the two Presidents of the United States were also descended. As a boy, he worked hard in the fields, but he was enabled, through the painful economy of his parents, to enter Yale College, where he graduated in 1795. After some experience in teaching at Canterbury, at Plainfield Academy, and at Bacon Academy, Colchester, Conn., he was offered in 1810 the principalship of Phillips Academy, then at the lowest point in its history. There he found only twenty-three pupils and a complete lack of discipline. Under his firm rule, however, conditions quickly improved, and the academy was soon in good standing. The number of students gradually increased until in ten years it was over a hundred, the faculty having meanwhile been enlarged to four. Although he was naturally conservative and did not disturb the predominance of Latin and Greek, he somewhat modified the curriculum; of the twenty subjects required for a diploma in 1820, however, thirteen were classical and two mathematical. He set a high standard of scholarship, and his boys did well in college. Among his pupils were Nathaniel P. Willis, Josiah Quincy, and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Adams's influence was exerted most vigorously in the field of morals and religion. He was "by all his views, habits, and impulses a *revival* man," and he aimed "to lay as securely as possible in the character of every pupil the foundation of Christian manhood." He held frequent prayer-meetings and accomplished many conversions; indeed he boasted that one out of every five of his pupils later entered the ministry. He was a handsome and imposing figure, with the bearing of an autocrat. As he walked down the aisle in church, his ivory-headed cane ringing against the floor, he seemed to dominate the assemblage. Holmes, in his poem *The School Boy,* gave his impression of Adams in the lines:

"Supreme he sits. Before the awful frown
That bends his brows the boldest eye goes down."

After 1825 Adams seems to have loosened his grip on school affairs, with the result that the attendance gradually fell off and he lost the confidence of the trustees; in 1832, when he was sixty, he resigned at their request. During the remaining thirty-one years of his life, he struggled bravely against poverty, first as principal of an academy in Elbridge, N. Y., then as president of a female seminary in Jacksonville, Ill., and finally as agent of the American Sunday-school Union in the Middle West; for twelve years he drove from village to village in an open carriage, organizing Sunday-schools and winning the title of "Father Adams." In 1854 Yale made him a Doctor of Laws.

Adams was twice married, first to Elizabeth Ripley, in 1798, by whom he had ten children. After her death, in 1829, he married Mrs. Mabel Burritt, of Troy, N. Y. One of his sons, William Adams, became president of Union Theological Seminary. Principal Adams is commemorated at Andover by a tablet in the Chapel, the gift of his grand-daughter, Mrs. John Crosby Brown, and also by a dormitory, erected in 1912 and known as Adams Hall. He was buried in Jacksonville, Ill., under a granite monument with the epitaph, "A Lover of Children, A Teacher of Youth, A Sinner Saved by Grace."

[*The Story of John Adams* (1890), by M. E. B. (Mrs. J. C. Brown) and H. G. B. (Helen Gilman Brown); *An Old New Eng. School,* by Claude M. Fuess (1917); articles in the *Phillips Bull.,* the quarterly publication of Phillips Acad., Andover.] C.M.F.

ADAMS, JOHN (July 1, 1825–Nov. 30, 1864), Confederate soldier, was the son of parents who came to the United States in 1814 from Ulster, Ireland, following the example of a relative, John Adams, who had prospered as a banker in New York City. In 1817 they moved to Nashville, Tenn., and there John Adams was born. Shortly

the Understanding of this Age, that this worthless fellow should be believed in any thing. But Impudence and Malice will always find Admirers.[4]

1778

I was almost out of Patience, in Waiting for the Frigate till the Thirteenth day of February 1778, when Captain Samuel Tucker, Commander of the Frigate Boston, met me at the House of Norton Quincy Esquire, in Braintree, where We dined.[5]

After dinner I bid Adieu to my Friend and Unkle Quincy, sent my Baggage, and walked myself with Captain Tucker, Mr. Griffin a Midshipman, and my eldest Son, John Quincy Adams between ten and eleven years of Age, down to the Moon Head where lay the Bostons Barge.[6] In our Way We made an halt of a few minutes at the House of Mr. Seth Spear on Hoffs neck, where some Sailors belonging to our barge had been waiting for Us. The good Lady, who was an Adams, came out very civilly to invite Us in. We had no time to spare and excused ourselves. She was an amiable Woman, with very delicate health, much afflicted with hysterical complaints, often a little disarranged in her imagination. At this time she was somewhat flighty and accosted me in an alarming manner. "Mr. Adams you are going to embark under

[4] Preceding two sentences omitted by CFA in his text. (Attention is called in Part Two of the Autobiography only to the more significant textual omissions and alterations made by CFA in the only text of JA's Autobiography hitherto published.) The particular attacks by Paine that JA alludes to have not been identified, though Paine had often enough abused JA in print, most recently and perhaps most bitterly in a series of letters "To the Citizens of the United States" published in Washington and Philadelphia newspapers, 1802–1805; see Paine's *Complete Works*, ed. Philip S. Foner, N.Y., 1945, 2:915–917, 952–957.

[5] Here for the first time in composing the three fragmentary parts of his Autobiography JA consulted his Diary in order to refresh his memory. Having done so, he began to incorporate large portions of it into his narrative, sometimes copying his Diary entries fully and faithfully, sometimes paraphrasing or summarizing them, sometimes greatly expanding them. The Autobiography thus becomes from this point on a text with commentary, so that in order to distinguish what is new in it from what JA took from his Diary one must read the two texts in tandem. Any attempt by the editors to point out systematically the additional matter, not to mention all the variations in language between the contemporary Diary record and the later narrative distilled through JA's memory, would result in a veritable forest of footnotes. The editors have therefore limited themselves to pointing out only representative instances of altered language. For the same purpose of economy in annotation, cross-references to identifying and explanatory notes in the Diary have also been furnished very selectively in the Autobiography.

[6] On the topographical details see JA's Diary entry of 13 Feb. 1778 and note 2 there.

very threatening Signs. The Heavens frown, the Clouds roll, the hollow Winds howl, The Waves of the Sea roar upon the Beech," and on she went in such a Strain that I seemed to be reading Ossian. I thought this prophecy of the Sybill, was not very cheering to one whose Acquaintance with the Sea, had been confined to a few Trips to Half Moon a guning and one to Cohasset rocks a fishing when he was a Boy[7] and a few Parties to Rainsfords Island and the Light House in Company with the Select Men of Boston after he was grown up: but I was not enough of a Roman to believe it an ill Omen. It was only a prelude to a Commedy, which I feared all my Voyages and Negotiations would prove to be. It amused me enough to be remembered and that was all.[8]

The Wind was high and the Sea, very rough, but by means of a quantity of Hay in the bottom of the boat, and good Watch Coats with which We were covered, We arrived on board the Boston, about five O Clock, tolerably warm and dry. I found in the Frigate Mr. Vernon a Son of Mr. Vernon of the Navy board, who had that year graduated at Colledge; a little Son of Mr. Deane of Weathersfield between Eleven and twelve years of Age; and a Mr. Nicholas Noel, a french Gentleman, Surgeon of the Ship, who seemed to be a well bred man. He shewed me a Book which I was very glad to see as the French Language was then one of my first Objects. The Title is "The Elements of the English Tongue, develloped in a new, easy and concise manner, in which the pronunciation is taught by an Assemblage of Letters, which form similar Sounds in french, by V. J. Peyton. I mention this because Peytons Grammar is little known, and I think will be very Usefull to any American who wishes to acquire that Language.

Feb. 14. 1778. A fine morning, the Wind at North West. At day break orders were given for the Ship to unmoor. My Lodging had been a Cott with a double Mattross, a good Bolster, my own Sheets and Blanketts enough. My little Son with me, We lay comfortably and slept well though there was a violent gale of Wind in the night.

[7] "Cohasset rocks," a few miles east of Braintree but beyond the Nantasket peninsula in Massachusetts Bay, remained a favorite fishing and shooting area throughout the 19th century. As an example of the continuity of family habits it is worth remarking that in 1880 two of JA's great-grandchildren, JQA2 and CFA2, who had as boys gone on fishing jaunts there with their father, bought shares in a private summer colony, the Glades Club, whose property helps form Cohasset harbor, and that in the 1960's *their* great-grandchildren still swim, fish, and sail off "Cohasset rocks." See Mary B. Hunnewell, *The Glades*, Boston, privately printed, 1914.

[8] The incident of the pause at the house on Hough's Neck was written by JA on a separate sheet of the MS and keyed to its proper place in the text by a dagger mark.

On the morning of Sunday the fifteenth of February, the last Anchor was weighed and We came under Sail before breakfast, with fine Wind, a pleasant Sun but a sharp cold Air. Thus I supposed I had bid farewell to my native Shore perhaps forever: but I was disappointed. The Captain, either to take leave of his friends, or in hopes of obtaining more Sailors, steered a course that was unexpected and We arrived and Anchored in the harbour of Marblehead about noon. Major Reed, Captain Gatchell, Father in Law of Captain Tucker, came on board and a Captain Stevens, who came to make me a present of a single Pistoll. He made many Apologies for giving but one. He had no more. He had lately presented Mr. Hancock with a beautiful pair and this was all he had left. I understood they had been taken from the English in one of the Prize Ships. The friends of our Officers, and others came on board in great numbers, and gave us formidable Histories of the Cruelties of the English Men of War and Privateers to the Prisoners they had taken from Us, in firing grape Shots into our defenceless American Merchant Ships after they had struck their Colours &c. Though I regretted these Things I was not sorry to hear them, because the more I heard of the dangers I had to encounter I thought, the better my mind would be prepared to meet the worst that could happen.

On Monday February 16. 1778. We had for our mortification another Storm from the North East, and so thick a Snow that the Captain thought he could not go to Sea. Our Excursion to this place, was unfortunate, because it was almost impossible to keep the Men on board. Mothers, Wives, Sisters came and begged leave for their Sons, husbands and Brothers, to go on Shore for one hour &c. so that it was very hard for the Commander to resist their importunity. I was anxious because I thought We should not have another Wind so good as that We had lost. Congress and the Navy Board would be surprized at these delays, and yet there was no fault that I knew of. The Commander of the Ship was active and vigilant, and did all in his Power, but he wanted Men. He had very few Seamen: all was as yet chaos on board. His Men were not disciplined: even the Marines were not. The Men were not exercised to the Guns. They hardly knew the ropes. My Son was treated very complaisantly by Dr. Noel, and by a Captain and Lt. of Artillery who were with Us, all French Gentlemen. They were very assiduous in teaching him French. Noel was a genteel Man and had received somewhere a good Education. He had Scars on his forhead and on his hands which he said were wounds received last War, in the light horse Service. The Name of the Captain of Artillery, was

Parison, and that of the Lie
tion, Master Jesse Deane deli
Deane, dated the tenth of F
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Deane Esqr. then in France,
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the common hands on board.
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sume it is unnecessary to say
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thousand miles distance. You
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On the morning of Sunday the fifteenth of February, the last Anchor was weighed and We came under Sail before breakfast, with fine Wind, a pleasant Sun but a sharp cold Air. Thus I supposed I had bid farewell to my native Shore perhaps forever: but I was disappointed. The Captain, either to take leave of his friends, or in hopes of obtaining more Sailors, steered a course that was unexpected and We arrived and Anchored in the harbour of Marblehead about noon. Major Reed, Captain Gatchell, Father in Law of Captain Tucker, came on board and a Captain Stevens, who came to make me a present of a single Pistoll. He made many Apologies for giving but one. He had no more. He had lately presented Mr. Hancock with a beautiful pair and this was all he had left. I understood they had been taken from the English in one of the Prize Ships. The friends of our Officers, and others came on board in great numbers, and gave us formidable Histories of the Cruelties of the English Men of War and Privateers to the Prisoners they had taken from Us, in firing grape Shots into our defenceless American Merchant Ships after they had struck their Colours &c. Though I regretted these Things I was not sorry to hear them, because the more I heard of the dangers I had to encounter I thought, the better my mind would be prepared to meet the worst that could happen.

On Monday February 16. 1778. We had for our mortification another Storm from the North East, and so thick a Snow that the Captain thought he could not go to Sea. Our Excursion to this place, was unfortunate, because it was almost impossible to keep the Men on board. Mothers, Wives, Sisters came and begged leave for their Sons, husbands and Brothers, to go on Shore for one hour &c. so that it was very hard for the Commander to resist their importunity. I was anxious because I thought We should not have another Wind so good as that We had lost. Congress and the Navy Board would be surprized at these delays, and yet there was no fault that I knew of. The Commander of the Ship was active and vigilant, and did all in his Power, but he wanted Men. He had very few Seamen: all was as yet chaos on board. His Men were not disciplined: even the Marines were not. The Men were not exercised to the Guns. They hardly knew the ropes. My Son was treated very complaisantly by Dr. Noel, and by a Captain and Lt. of Artillery who were with Us, all French Gentlemen. They were very assiduous in teaching him French. Noel was a genteel Man and had received somewhere a good Education. He had Scars on his forhead and on his hands which he said were wounds received last War, in the light horse Service. The Name of the Captain of Artillery, was

Parison, and that of the Lieutenant was Begard. Since my Embarkation, Master Jesse Deane delivered me a letter from his Unkle Barnabas Deane, dated the tenth of February recommending to my particular care and Attention, the Bearer the only Child of his Brother Silas Deane Esqr. then in France, making no doubt, as the letter adds, that I shall take the same care of a Child in his Situation, which I would wish to have done to a Child of my own, in the like circumstances, it is needless to mention his Youth and Helplessness, also how much he will be exposed to bad company, and to contract bad habits, without some friendly Monitor to caution, and keep him from associating with the common hands on board. About the same time another Letter was delivered to me from William Vernon Esqr., of the Continental Navy Board at Boston dated February the ninth in these Words "I presume it is unnecessary to say one Word, in order to impress your mind with the Anxiety a Parent is under, in the Education of a Son, more especially when not under his immediate inspection, and at three thousand miles distance. Your parental Affection fixes this principle. Therefore I have only to beg the favour of you, Sir, to place my Son, in such a Situation, and with such a Gentleman, as you would choose for one of yours, whom you would wish to accomplish for a Merchant. If such a house could be found, either at Bourdeaux or Nantes, of Protestant Principles, of general and extensive Business, I rather think one of these Cities the best; yet if it should be your Opinion, that some other place might be more Advantageous to place him at, or that he can be employed by any of the States Agents, with a good prospect of improving himself in such manner, that he may hereafter be usefull to Society, and in particular to these American States, my views are fully answered. I have only one Observation more to make, vizt. in respect to the Œconomy of this matter, which I am persuaded will engage your Attention, as the small fortune that remains with me, I would wish to appropriate for the Education of my Son, which I know must be husbanded, yet I cannot think of being rigidly parcimonious, nor must I be very lavish, lest my money should not hold out. I imagine a gratuity of one hundred pounds Sterling may be given to a Merchant of Eminence to take him for two or three Years, and perhaps his yearly board paid for. I shall be entirely satisfied in whatever may seem best for you to do and shall ever have a grateful remembrance of your unmerited favours, and sincerely hope in future to have it in my Power to make Compensation. I wish you health and the Utmost happiness and am with the greatest regards" &c.

Thus I found myself invested with the unexpected Trust of a kind

of Guardianship of two promising young Gentlemen, besides my own Son, a benevolent Office which would have been peculiarly agreable to me, if I had not a prospect before me of too much Occupation in my own to be at leisure to discharge the duties of it, with that Attention which it might [require].[9] I was soon relieved from the principal care of it, however, for Mr. Vernon chose to remain at Bourdeaux, and Mr. Deane, by the Advice of Dr. Franklin, was put to Le Cœur's Pension at Passy with my Son J.Q.A. and his Grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, since that time famous enough as the Editor and Proprietor of the Aurora.

On Tuesday the Seventeenth of February 1778 I set a Lesson to my Son in Chambauds French Grammar and asked the favour of Dr. Noel to shew him the precise critical pronunciation of all the french Words, Syllables and Letters, which the Dr. very politely undertook to do, and Mr. John proceeded to get his Lessons accordingly very much pleased.

The Weather was now fair and the Wind right, and We were again weighing Anchor in order to put to Sea, when Captain Diamond and Captain Inlaker came on board and breakfasted, two Prisoners, taken with Captain Manly in the Hancock Frigate, and lately escaped from Hallifax. Our Captain was an able Seaman, and I believed a brave, active and vigilant Officer, but he had no great Erudition. His Library consisted of Dyche's english Dictionary; Charlevoix's Paraguay, which since the British Conquest of Buenos Aires, I regret that I did not read at that time with more attention; the Rights of the Christian Church asserted against the Romish and other Priests who claim an independent power over it; the second Volume of Chubbs posthumous Works, 1. Volume of the History of Charles Horton Esqr. and the first and second Volumes of the delicate Embarrassments a Novell. More Science than this is required in a Naval Officer. . . .[1] About Sunsett we sailed out of Marblehead harbour.

February 18. Wednesday. We had a fine Wind for twenty four hours; but the constant rolling and rocking of the Ship, made Us all Sick. Half the Sailors were so. My young Gentlemen Jesse and John were taken about twelve O Clock the last night and had been very Sick all day. I was seized with it in the afternoon. My Servant Joseph Stevens and the Captain's Will, were both very bad.

February 19. Thursday. 1778. Arose at four O Clock. The Wind and

[9] MS: "acquire."

[1] Suspension points in MS, as are all those found below in Part Two of the Autobiography (and not hereafter noted editorially). In this instance they indicate matter not copied by JA from the Diary, but this is by no means always the case.

Weather still fair. The Ship rolled less than the day before, and I neither felt nor heard any thing of Sea Sickness last night nor this morning. Monsieur Parison, one of General Du Coudrai's Captains of Artillery, dined with Us Yesterday, and behaved like [a] civil and sensible Man. We learned from him, that the roads from Nantes to Paris are very good; no mountains, no rocks, no Hills, all as smooth as the Ships deck, and a very fine Country: But that the roads from Bourdeaux to Paris are bad and mountainous.

The Mal de mer, seems to be the Effect of Agitation. The vapours and exhalations from the Sea; the Smoke of Seacoal, the Smell of stagnant, putrid Water, the Odour of the Ship where the Sailors sleep, or any other offensive Odour will increase the Qualminess, but of themselves, without the violent Agitation they will not produce it.

February 19. 1778. In the morning We discovered three Vessells a head of Us. They appeared to be large Ships, and Captain Tucker observing them with his Glasses, gave it as his Opinion that they were British Frigates and was preparing to give orders to avoid them. But a murmur arising among the Men which was countenanced by some of the petty Officers, if not by some of the three Lieutenants, who were eager for Prizes; "They would not run from an Enemy before they saw him; they would not fly from danger before they knew they were in it. They were only three fine rich English Merchantmen, or perhaps transports, and would make fat Prizes" &c. To humour his Men Captain Tucker gave orders to make all sail towards them. It was not long before We were near enough to see they were Frigates and count their Guns, to the full Satisfaction of every Man on board. No man had an Appetite for fighting three Frigates at once in our feeble State. Orders were given to put away, and our Officers had discovered that our Frigate sailed uncommonly fast near the Wind. This Course was therefore taken, and We soon lost Sight of two of the Ships, but the third chased Us the whole day. Sometimes she gained up[on] Us, and sometimes We gained in our distance from her.

February the 20th. Fryday. In the morning nothing to be seen: but soon after a Sail discovered a head: supposed to be the same Frigate. She pursued Us the whole day. When the night approached, the Wind died away and We were left rolling and pitching in a Calm, with our Guns all out, our Courses or Coursers, I know not which is the right Word, all drawn up and every Way prepared for battle, the Officers and Men appeared in good Spirits and Captain Tucker said his orders were to carry me to France and to take any Prizes that might fall in his Way; he thought it his duty therefore to avoid fighting especially

with an unequal force if he could, but if he could not avoid an Engagement he would give them something that should make them remember him. I said and did all in my power to encourage the Officers and Men, to fight them to the last Extremity. My Motives were more urgent than theirs, for it will easily be believed that it would have been more eligible for me to be killed on board the Boston or sunk to the bottom in her, than to be taken Prisoner. I sat in the Cabin at the Windows in the Stern and saw the Ennemy gaining upon Us very fast, she appearing to have a Breeze of Wind, while We had none. Our Officers were of Opinion she had Oars out or some other machinery to accellerate her Course. Our Powder, Catridges and Balls were placed by the Guns and every thing ready to begin the Action. Although it was calm on the Surface of the Sea where we lay, the heavens had been gradually overspred with very thick black clouds and the Wind began to spring up, our Ship began to move, the night came on and it was soon dark. We lost Sight of our Enemy who did not appear to me to be very ardent to overtake Us. But the Wind increased to a Hurricane. The Ship laboured under the Weight of her Guns which were all out ready for Use, she shuddered and shivered like a Man in an Ague, she darted from Side to Side and pitched forward with such Velocity, that it was a very dangerous Operation to get the Guns into their places. If by any Accident or want of Skill or care, one of those heavy cannon had got loose, it would have rolled with the Vessel and infallibly have gone through the Side. All hands were called, and with much difficulty the Guns were all got in and secured. As it was impossible to sleep upon deck or in the Cabin one of the Lieutenants came to me and begged me to go down to his Birth below. But such was the Agitation of the Vessell that instead of sleeping it was with the Utmost difficulty that my little Son and I could hold ourselves in bed with both our hands, and bracing our selves against the boards, planks and timbers with our feet. In this Situation, all of a sudden, We heard a tremendous Report. Whether the British Frigate had overtaken Us, and fired upon Us, or whether our own Guns had been discharged We could not conjecture, but immediately an Officer came down to Us and told Us that the Ship had been struck with lightening and the Noise we had heard, was a Crash of Thunder: that four Men had been struck down by it upon deck, one of them wounded by a Scortch upon his Shoulder as large as a Crown. This Man languished and died in a few Weeks.[2] That the Mainmast was struck and it was feared, damaged, but to what degree could not yet be ascertained. In the midst of all this terror and con-

[2] He died in three days; see Diary entry of 21–23 Feb. 1778 and note there.

fusion, I heard a Cry that the Powder room was open. Cartridges, Powder horns, if not some small casks of Powder had been left rather carelessly in various parts of the Ship, near the Guns. If a Spark of the lightening had touched any of these, the Consequences might have been disagreable enough, but if it had reached the Powder room, it would have made an End of the Business. The Men were allarmed at the danger of the Powder room, and Sailors and Marines scampered away with their Lanthorns in such a hurry, that I apprehended more danger to the Powder room from their candles than from the Lightening, but instantly I heard the Voice of an Officer. "Be cool! No Confusion! come back with all your lanthorns. I will go with mine and secure the Powder room." I was as much pleased to perceive the immediate Obedience of the Men, as to hear the Voice of the Officer. He soon returned and proclaimed that he had secured the Powder room and all was Safe.

February 21. Saturday. 22. Sunday. and 23. Monday exhibited such Scænes as were new to me, except in the Histories of Voyages, and the descriptions of the Poets. We lost sight of our Ennemy it is true, but We found Ourselves in the Gulph Stream, in one of the most furious Storms, that ever Ship survived, the Wind North East, then North and then North West. It would be fruitless to attempt a description of what I saw, heard and felt, during these three days and nights. Every School Boy can turn to more than one description of a Storm in his Virgil, but no description in P[r]ose or Verse of a hurricane in the Gulph Stream, the Wind always crossing the rapid current in various Angles, has ever[3] yet been Attempted, as far as I know. To describe the Ocean, the Waves, the Winds, The Ship, her motions, rollings, pitches, Wringings and Agonies, The Sailors, their countenances, language and behaviour, is impossible. No man could stand upon his legs; nothing could be kept in its place; an universal Wreck of every thing in all parts of the Ship, Chests, casks, chairs, Bottles &c.; no place or person was dry. The Wind blowing against the current, not directly, but in various Angles, produced a tumbling Sea, vast mountains of Water above Us, and as deep caverns below Us, the mountains sometimes dashing against each other, and sometimes piling up on one another like Pelion on Ossa, and not unfrequently breaking on the Ship threatened to bury Us all at once in the deep. The Sails were all hauled down but a foresail under which We hoped to scudd, but a sudden Gust of Wind rent it in an instant from the bottom to the top, and We were left with bare poles entirely at the Mercy of Wind

[3] MS: "never."

and Water. The Noises were such that We could not hear each other speak at any distance. The Shrouds and every other rope in the Ship exposed to the Wind became a Cord of a very harsh musick. Their Vibrations produced a constant and an hideous howl, of itself enough to deafen Us, added to this the howl and Whistle of the Winds, and incessant roar of the Ocean all in boiling rage and fury, white as Snow with foam through the whole Extent of the horrison; and to compleat the whole, a Sound more allarming I found to our Officers than all the rest, a constant Cracking night and day, from a thousand places in all parts of the Ship, excited very serious Apprehensions of the Starting of the Butts.

Tuesday. 24. Wednesday 25. and Thursday 26 of February. 1778. Our Mainmast and Maintopmast had been hurt by the Lightening. On Tuesday We espyed a Sail and gave her chase. We gained upon her, and upon firing a Gun to leward and hoisting American Colours, she fired a friendly Gun and hoisted the French Colours of the Province of Normandy. She lay to, for Us, and we were coming about to speak to her, when the Wind sprung up fresh of a sudden, and carried away our Maintopmast. We lost the Opportunity which I greatly regretted of speak[ing] to our Friend the Norman, and were sufficiently employed for the remainder of the three days, in getting in a new Maintopmast, repairing the Sails and rigging, which were much damaged in the late Storm and in cleaning the Ship and putting her in order. From the thirty sixth to the thirty ninth degree are called the Squally Latitudes and We found them fully to answer their Character. It was reported among the Seamen that two Sailors who happened to be aloft, had no way to save themselves but by wrapping themselves in the Sail and going over with it. Whether it was true or not, and for what purpose it was propagated if it was not true, I know not: but the report itself was a sufficient illustration of a great Truth of which I have had abundant Experience both before and since that Event, that He who builds on Popularity is like a Sailor on a topmast whether drunk or sober, ready at the first blast to plunge into the briny deep.

I[t] had been my intention to keep an exact Journal of all that happened in this Voyage, and I should have been much pleased to have preserved all the Occurrences in the late Chases, and turbulent Weather: but I was constantly so wett, and every Place and thing was so wett, and every Table and Chair was so wrecked, that is was impossible to touch a Pen or Paper. There is one Anecdote humorous and instructive too, which I will record from my memory. We had on board about thirty french Gentlemen, of General Du Coudrays Corps

of Engineers, whom Congress had sent back to France at the Expence of the United States, because they could not ratify the absurd and unauthorised Contract which Mr. Deane had made with them, and among those was a Captain Parison, who has been repeatedly mentioned before. In the course of our three days chase, I had often heard this Gentleman when any danger, or difficulty occurred, exclaim among his Fellow Passengers, Patience! Pondicherry! By means of our Interpreter Dr. Noel, I enquired of him what he meant, by these Words, and he very civilly told me that in the last War between France and England, (the War of 1755. to 1763) he had been in the East Indies in the Garrison of Pondicherry, when that place was besieged by the English, and was finally taken Prisoner, and during his Siege and Captivity had been exposed to every danger, distress and hardship that human nature could endure. Since he had escaped from them all, when he found himself in any perplexity he had only to recollect his former misfortunes and every thing appeared to him a trifle in comparison with them. The Story was circulated among the Men and became generally understood. On one of the nights of our Hurricane, the French Officers and Men had got together in the Cabin under the Stern, and covering themselves in Blanketts as well as they could, endeavoured to get a little Sleep, when an enormous Sea broke upon the Stern, stove in the dead lights, and washed the Frenchmen forward as far as they could go. The first Voice that was heard was Patience! Pondicherry! thundered out by Captain Parison, as loud as he could cry, half drowned as he was in the Water, and it had such an Effect upon his Countrymen, as soon as they got their breath, as to revive their national Gaiety and they all broke out into a loud laugh, which, in spight of all that was dismal and terrible in the Scæne, sett us all a laughing. It was the Opinion of our Officers, and of Captain McIntosh, whom We took Prisoner soon afterwards, that We shipped from that Wave two hundred Tons of Water.

It was a vast Satisfaction to me to recollect, that I had been perfectly calm and collected during the whole of the late Chases and Tempests. I found by the Opinion of all the People on board, as well as that of the Captain and all the Officers that We had been in great danger, and of this I had all along been very certain by my own Observation, but I thought myself in the Way of my duty, and I did not for one moment repent of my Voyage. I often regretted however that I had brought my Son with me. I was not so clear that it had been my duty to expose him as well as myself: but I had been led to it, by his Inclination and by the Advice of all his Friends. The Childs Behaviour gave me a Satis-

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faction, that I cannot express. Fully sensible of our Danger, he was constantly endeavouring to bear up under it with a manly courage and patience, very attentive to me, and his thoughts always running in a serious Strain. In this he was not singular, for I found that Seamen have their religion as well as Landsmen, and that Sailors, as Corporal Trim said of Soldiers, have sometimes more pressing motives to Prayer than the Clergy. I believe there was not a Soul on board, who was wholly thoughtless of a Divinity. I more than once heard our Captain, who was no Fanatic, on stepping into his Cott, towards morning, offering up his Prayers to his God, when he had no Suspicion that any one heard him, and in a very low but audible Voice, devoutly imploring the Protection of Heaven for the Ship, and the preservation of himself, his officers, Passengers and Men.

I had made many Observations in the late bad Weather, some of which I should not have thought it prudent to put in Writing if I could have kept a regular Journal. A few of them however may be recalled in this place. 1. I had seen the inexpressible Inconvenience, of having so small a Space between the Decks as there was in the Boston. As the main deck was almost constantly under Water, the Sea rolling in and out of the Ports and Scuppers, We were obliged to keep the Hatchways down. The Air consequently became so hot and foul in the 'Tween Decks, as they call it, that for my own part I could not breath or live there; yet the Water would pour down, whenever an Hatchway was opened, so that all was afloat. 2. The Boston was overmetaled. The Number of her Guns, and the Weight of their metal, was too great for her tonnage. She had five twelve Pounders, and nineteen nines. We were obliged to sail, day and night, during a Chace, with the Guns out, in order to be ready for Battle, and this exposed Us to certain Inconvenience, and very great danger. They made the Ship labour and roll, to such a degree as to oblige Us to keep the Chain pumps as well as the hand pumps almost constantly going: besides, they wring and twist the Ship, in such a manner as to endanger the Starting of a Butt, and still more to endanger the Masts and Rigging. 3. The Ship was furnished with no Pistols. She ought to have had a variety and a large Number of these Or at least a Number of Setts for the Officers, because, there is nothing but the dread of a Pistol, will keep many of the Men to their quarters, in time of Action. 4. The Frigate was not furnished with good Glasses, which appeared to me of very great consequence. Our Ships ought to [be] supplied with the best glasses that Art affords: the expence would be saved a thousand Ways. 5. There was I found, on board the Navy, the same general

Inattention to Œconomy, that there was in the Army. 6. There was the same general relaxation of order and discipline. 7. There was the same inattention to the Sweetness of the Ship, and the Persons and Health of the Sailors, as there was at land of the Neatness of the Camp, and the health and cleanliness of the Soldiers. 8. The practice of profane cursing and Swearing, so silly as well as detestable prevailed in a most abominable degree. It was indulged and connived at in the Men, and practised too, by Officers, in such a manner that there was no kind of Check, or discouragement to it. This may be thought trivial, by some, but to me it appeared that order of every kind would be lax, as long as this scurvy Vice was so wholly unrestrained.

In this place it will not be impertinent to take notice of an absurd and pernicious report which was propagated in this Country during my Absence, I know not by whom nor for what End. Certainly it could be with no good design. It was that I had been convinced by my own Observation that in critical times at Sea, the Sailors could not be stimulated to sufficient Activity and Exertion, unless the Officers terrified them by these vulgar Oaths and Execrations. The Rumour was wholly without foundation. On the contrary I have often observed, that a dry Sarcasm, or an Arch Irony, has excited the Ambition, Energy, Agility and Ingenuity of a Seaman more effectually, than any Oath I ever heard. If such vile Language ever has any effect upon the Men, it is only in the mouths of such Officers as are in the habit of speaking to them only in such a Style. They may possibly not think such an officer in earnest, when he does not Use his common Dialect. But this is more the fault of the Officer than of the Man. If he would mend his manners the man would soon understand him and reform his own. This report is however only a revival of a very ancient one. I have heard the same Story and the same insinuations of Dr. Sewall when I was very young, and of Dr. Cooper, when he sailed with Captain Hollowell in the Province Ship: and have no doubt they were as falsely imputed to them as they were to me.

This Morning Captain Tucker made me a present of Charlevoix's History of Paraguay and Dr. Noel put into my hand a Manual of Geography, containing a description of all the Countries of the World. These manuals come out annually, and are to be had in any of the great Towns in France.

February 27. Fryday. 1778. A calm. As soft and warm as Summer. A Species of black Fish, which were called Beneaters, appeared about the Ship.

One source of the disorders in our Ship was a great irregularity in

the meals. There ought to have been a well digested System, for eating, drinking and sleeping. At six all hands should have been called up. At Eight they should all breakfast. At one they should dine, and at Eight they should sup. It should have been penal for the Cook to fail of having his Victuals punctually, ready. This would have been much for the Health, comfort and Spirits of the Men, and would have greatly promoted the Business of the Ship. I was constantly giving hints to the Captain concerning Order, Œconomy and regularity. He seemed to be sensible of the necessity of them, and exerted himself to introduce them. He cleared out the 'Tween decks, ordered up the Hammocks to be aired, and ordered up the Sick, such at least as could bear it, upon Deck for sweet Air. That Ship would have bred the Plague or the Goal fever, if there had not been great exertions after the Storm to wash, sweep, Air, and purify Cloaths, Cotts, Cabins, Hammocks, and all other things, places, and Persons. In the Morning I very seriously advised the Captain to reform his Cockpit. I said to him "if you intend to have any reputation for Œconomy, Discipline or any thing that is good, look into that Scæne." He went down, accordingly and ordered up every body from that Sink of Devastation, Putrefaction and Ruin. He ordered up the Hammocks and every thing else that could be removed, and that required to be aired and cleansed.

The Captain brought in a Curiosity, which he had drawn up, over the Side in a Buckett of Water, and which the Sailors call a Portuguese Man of War. We saw many of them sailing by the Ship. They had some Appearances of Life and Sensibility. They spread a curious Sail and are wafted along very briskly. They have something like Strings or twisted and knotted Cords, hanging down in the Water, which are said to be caustic and in some degree poisonous to human Flesh, or perhaps it may be electricity, which gives a shock upon the touch of them. The Hulk is like blue glass. This was a very small one in comparison of many We saw around Us. I pierced it, with the sha[r]p point of a Pennknife and found it empty. The Air came out and the Thing shrunk almost to nothing. Ten Years afterwards in the Ship Lucretia Captain Callahan, I had a number of large ones brought on board, in the same Gulph Stream and found in them shell fishes growing of various Species, vizt. Cockles, Muscles, Scollops and large Clams.

February 28. Saturday. 1778. The last night and this day We enjoyed a fine easy breeze, the Ship had no motions but directly forward. I slept as quietly and as soundly as in my own bed at home.... Some of the Gentlemen had given me some West India Nutts, and not

knowing the caustic quality in the outward Shell I had broken them with my hands, and probably carelessly rubbed my face or my Eyes afterwards, and I found myself poisoned. My Eyes swelled and were enflamed to an alarming degree. Dr. Noel gave me a Phial of Balsamum Fioraventi which abated the inflammation and gave me some relief. It is very much compounded, very subtle and penetrating. Pour a few drops into your hand, rub it over the palm and fingers, then hold the inside of your hand before the Eyes, and the Steam which evaporates enters the Eyes and works them clear. The Balsam derives its name from the Italian Inventor of it. For two or three years afterwards, at the return of the Season, a similar inflammation in my Eyes and Swelling about them, returned with it, a fact the Solution of which as beyond the reach of my Skill, I leave to the Physicians.

The Ship was now in very good order, cleared and cleaned between Decks, on the main Deck, in the Cabin, and on the Quarter Deck: the Masts, Yards, Sails and rigging were all well repaired.

The Captain sent written orders to the Steward, to make weekly returns to him, of the State of provisions, and to be very frugal in the Use and management of them and particularly of Candles, as nearly one half of the Ships Store of Candles appeared to have been expended.

This was Saturday night a fortnight and one day since I took leave of my family. What Scænes had I beheld in those fifteen days! What anxiety had my Friends on Shore suffered on my Account! during the North East Storm, which they must probably have felt at Land! But these Reflections were too tender to be indulged, especially as they could do no good to my friends or me. I diverted my mind from them by enquiring what was this Gulph Stream? What was the course of it? From what Point and to what Object did it flow? How broad it was? How far distant from the Continent? What were the longitudes and Latitudes of it? But I found but little satisfactory Information, till some years afterwards, I saw Governor Pownalls Treatise upon this Subject.[4]

March 1. 1778. Sunday. It was discovered that our Mainmast was sprung in two Places; one beneath the Maindeck, where, if the Mast had wholly failed in the late Storm it must have torn up the Main deck, and the Ship must have foundered. This was one among many instances in which it had already appeared that our Safety had not depended on ourselves. We had a fine Wind all day and night. The Ship was quiet and still; no disturbance, little noise; but the Velocity

[4] Thomas Pownall, *Hydraulic and Nautical Observations on the Currents in the Atlantic Ocean* ..., London, 1787.

of our Motion was so great as to cause some Seasickness. My desire and Advice was to carry less Sail especially of nights, and at all times when We should not be in chace.

March 2. Monday. 1778. A fine Wind still and a pleasant morning. The Colour of the Water which was green, not blue as it had been for many days past, the appearance of large flocks of Gulls, and various other birds convinced many of the Gentlemen, that We were not far from the grand Bank of Newfoundland. The Captain however thought it thirty five Leagues to the North West of Us. Our Mast was the day before repaired with two large fishes, as they call them, that is to say large Oaken Planks cutt for the purpose, and put on. The Mast seems now to be firm. The Sailors were however very superstitious; they said the Ship had been so unfortunate, that they believed some Woman was on board. Women they said were the unluckyest Creatures in the World at Sea.

This Evening the Wind was very fresh and the Ship sailed at a great rate. I hoped We were out of the reach of the Gulph Stream and of British Cruisers, two Objects and Evils to which I had a strong Aversion. But my Exultation was too hasty. Other Storms and other Cruisers awaited Us, not much less formidable than those We had escaped.

March 3. Tuesday. 1778. Our Wind had continued brisk and fresh all the last night and this morning. Our Course was about North East. Showers fell in the night and in the morning. The Flocks of Gulls still pursued Us. This morning Captain Parison breakfasted with Us. Our Captain was in high Spirits and very gay, chattering in French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Latin[5] and Greek and boasting that he could speak some Words in every Language. He told Us, besides that he had ordered two more Fishes upon the Mainmast to cover the flaws above Deck. This Mast was very large and strong, and thought to be one of the best Sticks that our Country aforded: but it had been very roughly handled by the Lightening and the Storm, and dangerously injured.

The Captain, Lieutenants, Master, Mates, and Midshipmen, were now making their calculations to discover their Longitude, but I conjectured they would be very wild.

The Life I lead was a dull Scæne to me—No Business, no Pleasure, No Reading, no Study. Our little World was all wet and damp. There was nothing I could eat or drink, without nauseating. We had no Spirits for Conversation, nor any thing about which to converse. We

[5] The Latin is an addition to the list in the Diary entry of this date, and an improbable one.

saw nothing but Sky, Clouds and Sea, and then Seas, Clouds and Skies. I had often heard of Learning a Language, as English or French for example, on a Passage: but I believed very little of any thing was ever learned at Sea. There must be more health and better Accommodations. My young Friend Mr. Vernon had never had the least qualm of Sea Sickness since We came on board. I advised him to begin the Study of the French Tongue, methodically by reading the Grammar through. He began it accordingly.

March 4. Wednesday. 1778. The Weather was fair, but We had an adverse Wind from the North East, which obliged us to go to the Southward of the South East, which was out of our Course. Our general intention was to make for Nantes, one of the most commercial Cities of France, which I was very anxious to see, not only on Account of its Wealth and Antiquity, and the Connection of its Merchants with those of Bilbao, but also as the Scæne of the Edict of Nantes proclaimed by Henry the fourth in 1598 so much to the honour and Interest of Humanity, and revoked by Louis the 14th. in 1685 so much to its disgrace and Injury.

March 5. Thursday 1778. This morning We had the pleasantest prospect We had yet seen. An easy breeze from the Southward, gave Us an Opportunity of keeping our true course. With a soft, clear, warm Air, a fair Sun and no Sea, We had a great number of Sails spread, and went at the rate of nine Knots; yet the Ship had no perceptible motion and made no noise. My little Son was very proud of his Knowledge of all the Sails, and the Captain put him upon learning the Mariners Compass. I was ardently wishing that We might make Prize of an English Vessell, lately from London, with all the Newspapers and Magazines on board, that We might obtain the latest Intelligence and discover the plan of Operations for the ensuing Campaign in America. I was impatient to arrive in some Port or other, whether in France or Spain, that I might make Inquiries concerning the designs of the Enemy, what Force they meant to send to America; where they were to procure Men; what was the State of the British nation; what the State of Parties; what the State of Finances and of Stocks; what Supplies of Cloathing, Arms, Ammunition &c. were gone to America during the past Winter; The State of American Credit in France; what remittances had been made from America in Tobacco, Rice, Indigo or any other Articles; The State of Europe, particularly of France and Spain; what were the real designs of those Courts; what the condition of their Finances; what the State of their Armies, and especially of their fleets; what number of Ships they had, fitted for Sea; what their

names, number of Men and Guns, Weight of Metal &c.; where they lay; the probability or improbability of a War, and the causes and reasons for and against each Supposition. I wanted to be employed in collecting and transmitting to Congress all the Information I could find upon these and all other points, which it might be Usefull for them to know, but the time was not yet come.

We were now supposed to be nearly in the Latitude of Cape Finisterre so that We had only to sail an Easterly course. Every one knows that this Cape and City of the same name, are the most westerly part not only of the Kingdom of Gallicia and of Spain but of all Europe, and therefore was called by the Ancients, who knew no other country, The End of the World.

We enjoyed, through the whole of this day, the clearest Horrison, the softest Weather, the smoothest Sea, and the best Wind, which We had ever found since We came on board. All Sails were spread and We went, ten Knots upon an Avarage the whole day.

March 6. Fryday. 1778. The Wind had continued in the same point all night; about South, and We had gone nine Knots upon an Avarage. This was great favour.

Many Years before I had accidentally purchased an Edition of Molieres Commedies in ten or twelve Volumes, with an English translation on the page opposite to the French. I had never made any Use of the French part untill I found myself destined to go to France. From that time I had compared the French and English together as well as I could, and now I had an Opportunity to apply myself, to the Study of the Language, which I did very closely as often as Winds and Seas and British Men of War would permit. But these Halcyon days were soon at an End.

We passed to the Northward of the Western Islands and were now supposed to be as near them as We should be at any time.

March 7. Saturday. 1778. The same prosperous Wind and the same beautifull Weather continued. We proceeded on our course about two hundred miles in twenty four hours. We had passed all the dangers of the American Coast; those of the Bay of Biscay and those of the Coast of France, and as it happened those of the English Channel remained to be encountered.

Yesterday the Ship had been all in an Uproar, with laughter. The Boatswains Mate asked one of the Officers if they might have a little Sport. The Answer was Yes. Jere accordingly, with the Old Sailors, proposed to build a Galley, and all the green hands to the Number of twenty or thirty were taken in, and suffered themselves to be tied to-

gether by their Legs. When, all on a sudden, Jere, and his knowing ones, were found, handing bucketts of Water over the Sides, and pouring them upon the poor Dupes till they were wet to the Skin. The Behaviour of the Gullies, their passions, Speeches and countenances, were diverting enough. So much for Jere's fun. This frolick I suppose, according to the Sailors reasoning was to conjure up a Prize.

This morning the Captain ordered all hands upon Deck, and took an Account of the Number of Souls on board, who amounted to one hundred and seventy two. Then the Articles of War were read to them. Then he ordered all hands upon the Forecastle, and then upon the Quarter Deck, to determine by Experiments whether any difference was made in the Sailing of the Ship, by the Weight of the Men when forward, or Aft. Then all hands were ordered to their Quarters to exercise them at the Guns. Mr. Barron gave the Words of command and they spent an hour at their exercise in which they appeared to be tolerably expert. After this a dance was ordered by the Captain upon the main Deck, and all hands, Negroes, Boys and Men were obliged to join in it.... When this was over the Old Sailors sett on foot another game, which they called The Miller. I will not spend time to describe this odd Scæne: but it ended in a very wild Vagary, in which all the Men were powdered over with flour, and wet again to the Skin. Whether these whimsical Diversions are indulged in order to compell the Men to wash themselves, shift their Cloaths and wash away Vermin, or whether it is to awaken the Spirits of the Men which are very apt to sink in a long Voyage, I know not: but there is not in them the least Appearance of Elegance, very little Wit, and a humour of the coarsest kind. It is not superiour to the dances of Indians.

March 8. Sunday. 1778. The same Wind and Weather continued and We went at the rate of seven and a half and Eight Knots.

Mr. Barrons our first Lieutenant, appeared to be an excellent Officer, very Attentive and diligent in his Duty; thoughtfull for the Safety of the Ship, and considerate about Order, Œconomy and regularity among the officers and Men. He had great experience at Sea. Had used the Trade to London, Lisbon, the West Indies, the Southern States, and I am sorry to add Africa.[6]

This morning the Captain ordered all hands upon the Quarter Deck to Prayers. Mr. William Cooper, the Captains Clerk, had prepared a composition of his own, a very decent and comprehensive Prayer, which he pronounced in a grave and proper manner. The

[6] The Diary passage of this date which JA was copying reads: "the Trade to London, Lisbon, Affrica, West Indies, Southern States &c."

Officers and Men all attended, in clean Cloaths and behaved very soberly. The Weather was cloudy the whole of this day. Towards night it became rainy and windy, and the Ship rolled a little in the old fashion. We were about two thousand miles from Boston.

The Hurricane in the Gulph Stream surpassed all Powers of description. Neither Milton in Verse, nor Gibbon in prose could have given any adequate Idea of it, but the present and subsequent turbulent Weather, as I was a Student in French turned my Attention to Boileaus description of a Tempest. As the Book happened to be at hand I amused myself with it and became very familiar with it. As it was the first morsel of french Verse, except Molières, which I ever attempted to Understand, it may be inserted here.

> Comme l'on voit les flots, soûlevez par l'orage,
> Fondre sur un Vaisseau, qui s'oppose a leur rage,
> Le Vent avec fureur, dans les voiles frêmit;
> La Mer blanchit d'ecume, et l'air au loin gémit;
> Le Matelot troublè, que son Art abandonne,
> Croit voir dans chaque flot, la mort qui l'environne.

March 9. 1778. Monday. Last night the Wind shifted to the North West, and blew fresh. It was then fairer for Us than before. The Weather was fair and We proceeded on our Voyage at a great rate. Some of our Officers thought We should reach our Port, by thursday night: others by Saturday night: But these made no Account of Cruisers and Chace's, nor any allowance for the variability of the Winds. From this time however till Saturday, We were in great Confusion and hurry.

Tuesday March 10. 1778. We espied a Sail and gave her chace. We soon came up with her, but as we had borne directly down upon her, she had not seen our Broadside and knew not our force. She was a Letter of Mark, with fourteen Guns, Eight nines and Six Sixes. She suddenly turned and fired a broadside into Us, but did Us no other damage, than by cutting some of our rigging, piercing some of our Sails, and sending one of her Shot through our Mizzen Yard. I happened to be standing in the gang Way between the Quarter Deck and the Main Deck, and in the direction from the Ship to the Yard, so that the Balls flew directly over my head. We upon this Salutation, turned our broadside towards her. As soon as she saw this she struck her colours. Our Sailors were all in a rage to sink her for daring to fire. But Captain Tucker very promptly and prudently ordered his Officers not to fire, for he wanted the Egg, without breaking the Shell. I

suspected however that the Captain of the Prize knew our force better than he pretended, and that he discharged his Broadside, that he might have it to say that he had not surrendered his Ship, without firing a Gun.

The Prize was the Ship Martha, Captain McIntosh from London to New York, loaded with a Cargo of great Value. The Captain told me that seventy thousand Guineas had been insured upon her at Lloyds and that she was worth Eighty thousand. The Behaviour of the Captain was that of a Gentleman, and he bore his misfortune with fortitude but his Mate cryed like a Child in despair. The Sailors seemed to me to felicitate themselves that it was not a British Man of War, and that they were not impressed. There were two Gentlemen on board as Passengers. Mr. R. Gault was One, and Mr. Wallace of New York the other. There were two young Jews, on board. That and the next day were spent in dispatching the Prize, under the command of the third Lieutenant, Mr. Wells[1] to Boston.

We soon fell in chace of another Vessell, and overtaking her, found her to be a French Snow, from Bourdeaux to Miquelon. We then saw another Vessell, chaced and came up with her. She proved to be a French Brig from Marseilles to Nantes. This last cost Us very dear.... Mr. Barrons our first Lieutenant, attempting to fire a Gun as a Signal to the Brigg, the Cannon burst, and tore in pieces the right leg of this worthy officer so that the Surgeon was obliged to amputate it, a little below the Knee.

I was present at this afflicting Scæne, and, together with Captain Tucker, held Mr. Barron in our Arms, while the Doctor put on the Turnequett and cutt off the Limb. Mr. Barron bore it with fortitude, but thought he should die, and his principal concern seemed to be for his family.

I could not but think the fall of this officer, a great loss to the ⟨*Public*⟩ United States. His Prudence, moderation, Attention and Zeal were qualities much wanted in our Infant Navy. He was by Birth a Virginian.

He said he had a Mother, a Wife and Children who were dependant on him and in indigent Circumstances, and intreated me to take care of his Family. I promised him, that as soon as I could write to America I would recommend his Family to the Care of the Public as well as of Individuals. I recollect to have done something of this: but the Scenes of distraction in which I was soon involved, I fear, prevented me from

[1] JA's copying error for "Welch." On this and other incidents recorded in the present entry, see the Diary entry of 14 March 1778 and notes there.

doing so much as I ought to have done, and I feel it, to this hour to be one of the omissions which I ought to regret.

March 19. Thursday. Captain McIntosh assured Us that by his Reckoning when he was taken he was in the English Channel, and We had been beating about in it for some time. For the last five days We had been tossed in another Gale: I had been scarcely able to stand or sit, without holding fast with both my hands, upon some lashed Table, or Gun, or the Side, or beams of the Ship or some other fixed Object, such was the Agitation and perpetual motion of the Vessel by violent Gales and a heavy Sea. In the course of [the] last five days We had seen a great Number of Vessells two of which if not four were supposed to be large British Men of War, for they chased Us a long time and drove Us in various directions all out of our Course. The Wind had been much against Us, but this morning it veered and We steered, at least our head lay by the Compass South East. We consoled Ourselves as well as We could by reflecting, that possibly We had been favoured by the last Gale as We had been by the first. By the last We had escaped Cruisers, as We did by the first, which I own I considered as an Escape, because although We all agreed, Officers, Passengers and Men, in the necessity of Fighting the Frigate in the Gulph Stream, yet I had reasons enough to be apprehensive of the Consequences of an Engagement perhaps with a superiour force, probably with a superiour number of Men and certainly with greater Experience in the Officers and stricter discipline among the Men.

Possibly this violent Gale from the South East, had driven all the Cruisers from the Coast of Spain, and the southerly part of the Bay of Biscay, and by this means have opened a clear passage for Us to Bourdeaux. This was possible and so was the contrary. Heaven alone knew.

March 20 Fryday. 1778. Yesterday afternoon the Weather cleared up and the Wind came about very fair. We had a great run, last night. This Morning espyed a Sail under our leward Bow, chased and soon came up with her, a Snow from Amsterdam to Demarara and Essequibo.

I made Inquiry to day of our Prisoner, Captain McIntosh, concerning the Trinity House. He says it is the richest corporation in the Kingdom. That the Earl of Sandwich is an elder Brother of it. That any Master of a Vessell may be made a younger Brother of it, if he will. That there are many thousands of younger Brothers. That this house gives permission to every Vessell to take out, or take in ballast, and

that a few pence, six pence perhaps a Ton are paid them for such Licence. That they have the care of all Lighthouses &c.

I had omitted to keep a regular and particular Journal, even when the Weather might have permitted it, from an Apprehension that these Papers might possibly fall into hands of an Ennemy as there might be no Opportunity of destroying them. My publick Papers were always prepared to be sunk in the Sea, at the moment when the preservation of the Ship should be no longer practicable.

We had now so fine a Wind that a few days We thought, would determine whether We were to meet any capital disaster, or arrive safe in port.

March 21. Saturday 1778. Five Weeks had elapsed Yesterday, since my Embarkation. We went East South East.

March 27. Fryday. On Wednesday Evening Mr. Barrons died, and Yesterday was committed to the Deep, from the Quarter Deck. He was laid in a Chest made for the purpose by the Carpenter; about a Dozen twelve pound Shot were put in with him and then nailed up. The Fragment of the Gun which destroyed him, was lashed on the Chest, and the whole launched overboard, through one of the Ports, in presence of all the Ships company after the funeral Service had been read by Mr. Cooper.

In the course of the last Week, We had some of the worst Winds, We had ever felt.

On monday last We made the Land on the coast of Spain.

On Tuesday We ran into the Bay of Saint Anthonio. Four or five Boats with fifteen or sixteen men in each, came to Us, out of one of which We took a Pilot.

At Sight of the Country of Spain, which I viewed as distinctly and particularly as the Glasses we had in our possession, would permit, I had a great Curiosity to go on Shore. Though the mountains at a distance were covered with Snow, there was a fine Verdure near the Sea. I saw one convent but We could not come in Sight of the Town. The moment We were about turning the point of the Rock, to enter the harbour, a Sail appeared. She might be an English Merchantman, and We must put out, to see who she was. As prizes were not my particular Objects, I had not enthusiasm enough to see any probability of a prize and felt much disappointed, but said nothing. After She was ascertained to be a Spanish Brigg, We found it impracticable upon repeated Efforts to get into the harbour. In the night a sudden Wind caught Us at Anchor, from the North West, obliged Us to weigh, make all the

Sail We could and put to Sea. We steered our course for Bourdeaux. Yesterday was almost a calm, the little Wind there was directly against Us. This morning the Wind was a little better. We were supposed to be within thirty Leagues of Bourdeaux River.

March 28. Saturday. 1778. Last night and this morning We were in the thoroughfare of all the Ships from Bourdeaux. A great number of them were always in Sight. By Observation to day our Latitude was forty six degrees three minutes north, about seven minutes South of the middle of the Isle of Rea. We were therefore about twenty leagues from the Tower of Cordovan. We had no Wind, but a very disagreable Suel [Swell], and nothing could be more tedious to me than this idle Life. I had not yet learned the French Word, Ennui, but I felt enough of it.

Last Evening We had two little Incidents, which were very unpleasant. One was, the French Barber, attempting very roughly to go below, contrary to orders, the Centinell, after repeatedly announcing his orders, and giving warning of the consequences to no effect, cutt off his Toe with a Cutlace. The French People on board, as was very natural, at first were allarmed and expressed much resentment, but finding on Inquiry, that the fellow had been wholly deserved[8] all he had suffered and the Centinell had done no more than his duty they all very honourably acquiesced.

The other disagreable incident was this. Our English Prisoners, though in general they behaved very well, were sometimes out of humour, and had made some invidious remarks upon our Officers and Men and their awkward Conduct of the Ship, and especially on the Evening of Saint Patricks day, when many of them declared they would get drunk, and I suppose had been as good as their Words, were overheard to wish to meet a British Man of War and hinted that We could not stand an Engagement of half an hour with a british Vessell of half our force &c. &c. &c. On this day one of these Prisoners a little more elevated than Usual, grew out of temper and was very passionate and abusive to Mr. Vernon, and afterwards to Captain Palmes of the Marines, but a little prudent language used to both parties composed their humours and the difficulty subsided.

Captain McIntosh was of North Britain, and had been twenty Years before a Lieutenant of a Man of War. He was very open and decided against America, in her contest, and his Passions were so engaged that they easily inkindled.

[8] Thus in MS. JA probably meant to write: "had been wholly in the wrong and deserved," &c.

Mr. Gault was an Irish Gentleman, and as decided against America, at least in her Claim of Independence as the other.

Mr. Wallace was more reserved, cautious, silent and secret. Jealousies arose among the Men, that the Prisoners were plotting with some of our profligate People. But I believed the Suspicion was not well grounded; at least that there was not much danger to be apprehended from any such Intrigues.

All day Yesterday, and all the forenoon of this day We had been looking out for Land, with no light Apprehensions on our Approach to the dangerous and unexperienced Coast of France, where a sandy Shore generally extends a great Way into the Sea, and very shoal Water is often at a great distance from Land. The Country also is very flatt and low so that a Vessell gets into very shallow Water before the Land is discerned. About four O Clock, We cryed France! France! We saw the Isles of Rhee and Oleron, between which two, is the Entrance into the Harbour of Rochelle, which is about half way between Nantes and Bourdeaux. The land was extreamly level and low, scarcely visible. We saw a Tower. The Water was but twenty or thirty fathoms deep. The Bottom all Sand: in all respects the reverse of the Spanish Coast on the other Side of the Bay of Biscay. In the Afternoon We had an entire calm and Mr. Goss played upon his Violin and the Sailors danced, which seemed to have a happy effect on their Spirits and put them all in good humour. Numbers of small Birds from the Shore, came along to day, some of which alighted on our Rigging, Yards &c. One of them a little Lark We caught. These Birds venture from the Shore till they loose sight of it, and then they fly till they are so fatigued, that the instant they alight upon a Ship, they drop to sleep.

March 29. Sunday. 1778. Becalmed all the last night. This morning a vast number of Sails were in Sight. Saint Martins and Oleron were visible, at least the Towers and Windmills, but the Land was very low and level. A Pilot boat, with two Sails and four Men, came on board of Us, and the Pilot instantly undertook to carry Us to Bourdeaux. He said the Ship might go quite up to the City, if she drew twenty feet of Water. We were soon sailing very agreably towards our Port. The Pilot said War was declaired last Wednesday, and that the Pavillions were hoisted Yesterday at every Fort and Lighthouse. This News, I did not believe, but it signified something, which I did not Understand nor the Pilot neither.

There was a civil Frenchman on board, whose name I had never asked till this day. His Name was Quillau, Fourier des Logis de Monseigneur Le Compte D'Artois. He was not of Du Coudrays Corps. I

know not whether my Conjecture was well founded [but][9] I then suspected that the Court of Versailles had sent some of their domestic and confidential Servants to America to reconnoitre the Country and that they might not receive all their Information from the Representations[1] of their Ministers.

The French Gentlemen on board could scarcely understand our new Pilot. They said he spoke Gascoine, the Dialect of Bourdeaux, which they said was not good French.

This day six Weeks We had sailed from Nantaskett Road. How many dangers, distresses, and hairbreadth escapes had We seen. There was one however which has been omitted. One Evening when We were approaching the French Coast, I was sitting in the Cabin, when Captain McIntosh our Prisoner came down to me and addressed me, with great solemnity "Mr. Adams this ship will be captured by my Countrymen, in less than half an hour. Two large British Men of War are bearing directly down upon Us, and are just by, you will hear from them I warrant you in six minutes. Let me take the Liberty to say to you that I feel for you more than any one else. I have always liked you since I came on board, and have always ascribed to you chiefly the good treatment I have received as well as my People; and you may depend upon it, all the good Service I can render you with my Countrymen shall be done with pleasure." I saw by his Countenance, Gestures, Air, Language and every Thing that he believed what he said, that he most heartily rejoiced in his own prospect of deliverance and that he heartily pitied me.... I smiled however at his Offers of kind Offices to me, knowing full Well that his Prayers and tears would be as unavailing as my own if he should be generous and I weak enough to employ them, with British Officers, Ministers, Judges or King, in the then Circumstances of Things and Temper of the Britons. I made him a bow expressive of my Sense of his politeness, but said nothing. Determined to see my danger before I would be intimidated at it, I took my hat and marched up to the Quarter Deck. I had before heard an uncommon trampling upon Deck and perceived Signs of some Alarm and confusion, but when upon Deck I saw the two ships indeed. They both appeared larger than our Frigate and were already within Musquet Shot of Us. The Air was clear and the Moon very bright. We could see every thing even the Men on board. We all expected every moment to be hailed, and possibly saluted with a broadside. But the two ships passed by Us without speaking a Word, and I stood upon Deck till they had got so far off as to remove all Apprehensions of dan-

[9] MS: "by."

[1] Possibly "Representatives."

ger from them. Whether they were English or French, or Spanish or Dutch, or whether they were two American Frigates which had been about that time in France We never knew. We had no inclination to inquire about their business or destination, and were very happy that they discovered so little curiosity about ours.[2]

Every Ship at Sea is a kind of Prison, and the poor Inhabitants are obliged to have recourse to songs, cards, dances and Stories to amuse them, and wear away the tedious hours. We had many Stories told but I remember very few. In some of the dull hours of calm upon the coast of France, some of the Officers or Passengers told a Story of Garrick. He had a relation convicted of a Capital Offence. He obtained Leave to wait upon his Majesty to beg a pardon. The King asked what was the Crime. He has only taken a Cup too much, may it please your Majesty. Is that all said the King? Then let him be pardoned.

One of Captain Tuckers Stories too diverted the Frenchmen as well as the Englishmen and Americans. A Frenchman in London Advertised an infallible Remedy against fleas. The Women as well as Men flocked to the place to purchase the Powder. But after many had bought it and paid for it, one only of the Women, asked for directions to Use it. Madam said the Frenchman, you must catch the Flea, and squeese him between your thumb and finger, till he gape, then put a little dust of this powder in his mouth, and he never will bite you again. But said the Lady when I have him between my fingers why may I not throw him in the fire or press him to death? Ah, Madam, said the Frenchman, dat will do just as well den. I should not perhaps have remembered this story, if the same had not been told me afterwards by Mr. Dumas at the Hague, who declared he had been present and seen and heard the same Sale and Dialogue between a German Mountebank and a Dutch Woman at the Hague.

We had been becalmed all day in Sight of Oleron. The Village of Saint Dennis was in Sight, and many Windmills and Sand Hills all

[2] This incident, somewhat improbable in itself and only vaguely alluded to in JA's Diary (see entry of 19 March 1778), is confirmed in both the *Boston's* Log (MH:Tucker Papers) and Capt. Tucker's "Abstract of a Journal Kept . . . on board the Contl. Frigate Boston" (Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 342). Both mention it under date of 15 March, five days after McIntosh's ship, the *Martha*, was taken. The account in the "Journal" is fuller than that in the Log and gives details not found elsewhere:

"Sunday 15th. Fresh Gales; at 8 PM saw two Ship[s] on my starboard Bow, standing to the Westward. I Cross'd them about 1/2 a Mile under their Lee, discovering them to be British Ships one a two decker, the other a Frigate, I then bore away from them by order, of the Hon. Jno. Adams. One of the gentl[eme]n passangers Informd me, they were boarded the Day before I took them by three Man of War Boats, that their were Six two Deckers, and a Frigate in Company. At 9 AM Lost Sight of them."

along the Shore: and Multitudes of Vessells in Sight, French, Spanish and Dutch Merchantmen and English Smugglers.

I felt a strong curiosity to visit this Island of Oleron, so famous in Antiquity for its Sea Laws.

March 30. Monday. 1778. This Morning the Officer came down and told the Captain that a lofty Ship was in Sight and had fired two heavy Guns. All hands were called up: but the lofty Ship appeared to be an heavy loaded Snow. The Weather was Cloudy, but there was no Wind. All very still excepting a small Suel. The Tower of Cordovan or as our Sailors called it The Bourdeaux lighthouse, was in Sight over our larbord Bow. The Officers were now employed in clearing the Ship and removing all warlike Appearances.

This day had been fortunate and happy.... Our Pilot had brought Us safely into the River of Garonne, and We had run up with Wind and Tide as far as Pouliac, when We anchored for the night and took in another Pilot.

This forenoon a Fisherman came along Side of Us, with Hakes, Skates and Gennetts. We bought some of them and had a high regale.

The River was very beautiful: on both sides of it, the plantations were pleasant. On the South Side especially We saw Horses, Oxen, Cows and great flocks of Sheep, grazing. The Husbandmen ploughing and Women half a dozen in a drove with their hoes. The Churches, Convents, Gentlemens Seats, and the Villages appeared to me, simple Inhabitant of the American Wilderness, very magnificent.

The River seldom swells with Freshes, for the rural Improvements and even the Fishermens Houses, are brought quite down to the Waters Edge. The Water in the River is to all Appearance very foul, being saturated and stained with red or purple Earth, washed into it I suppose from the banks on each Side of it. The Tide setts in at the rate of five Knotts. The Wind was directly fair, and We outsailed every Thing in going up the River. The Lands on each Side of Us and the Vessells in the River seemed to fly away from Us.

The Buildings public and private were of Stone: and a great number of pleasant Groves, appeared between the principal Seats and best plantations. The Vessells at Anchor and sailing in the River were very numerous. The Pleasure resulting to a Novice, from the Sight of Land, Houses, Cattle, after Three tremendous Storms and three equally tremendous Chases, one in the Gulph Stream, one in the English Channell and one in the Bay of Biscay, if it was ever experienced before I hope it never will be again, delicious as it was, by any human Being.

It gave me a pleasing kind of Melancholly Reverie, to see this Country and to look at a Part of Europe, as a few Weeks before[3] I had never expected to see this great Theatre of Arts, Sciences, Commerce and War.

March 31. Tuesday. 1778. Lying in the River, near Pouliac; a twenty four Gun Ship close by Us, under French Colours bound to Dominique. A dark misty morning. I was anxious to enquire, who was Agent for the United States of America at Bourdeaux, at Blaye &c., who were the principal Merchants on this River, concerned in the American Trade? What Vessells French or American had sailed, or were about sailing for America? What their Cargoes and for what Ports? Whether on Account of the United States, of any particular State, or of private Merchants French or American? But I could get no satisfactory Intelligence on any of these Subjects.

This Morning the Captain and a Passenger came on board The Boston from The Julie, a large Ship bound to Saint Domingo, to make Us a Visit. They invited Us on board to dine. Captain Palmes, Jesse Deane, John Quincy Adams and myself, went, and found a very pretty Ship, an elegant Cabin and every Accommodation. The white Stone plates were laid, a clean Napkin in each and a Cut of very fine Bread. The Cloth, Plates, Servants, all things were as neat as in any Gentlemans House. The first Dish was a French Soup. I had heard of Soup Meagre, which in America as well as in England had been Words of Contempt: but I thought if this was Soup meagre, it was a very respectable thing. Then a dish of boiled Beef, as I called it, having never heard the Word Bouillie. Then the Lights of a Calf dressed one Way and the Liver another. Then roasted Mutton. Then fricasseed Mutton. A good Sallad and something very like Asparagus, but not it. The Bread which had been baked on board was very fine. We had then Prunes, Almonds and the most delicious Raisins I ever saw; Dutch Cheese, then a Dish of Coffee, then a little glass of French Liqueur. Wine and Water and excellent Claret with our dinner. All these Appearances and provisions were luxuries to which We had been Strangers for many Weeks. None of our Hosts who entertained Us so hospitably understood English: None of Us French, except Dr. Noel who acted as Interpreter. The Conversation of the French Gentlemen among themselves was lively enough: but to the rest of Us it was a dull and silent Scæne.... On the Quarter deck I was struck with the Capons, Cocks and Hens in their Coops the largest I ever saw and the Number was as remarkable

[3] The passage in the Diary of this date which JA is paraphrasing reads: "a few Months ago."

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The American Presidents

The Office and the Men

1

Washington to Buchanan

Edited by
FRANK N. MAGILL

Introduction by
MICHAEL WITKOWSKI

GROLIER EDUCATIONAL CORPORATION
Danbury, Connecticut

Adams

JOHN ADAMS

1797–1801

On September 19, 1796, President George Washington published his farewell address and revealed to the nation what he had decided privately months earlier, that he would retire from public life at the end of his second term. The news disappointed staunch Federalists, who hoped Washington would run again and thus avoid even the possibility that Thomas Jefferson might become president. It also delighted their opponents, who, not having to counter Washington's immense popularity, might be able to elect Jefferson president. Finally, it relieved Vice President John Adams (1735-1826), who wanted badly to be the Federalist candidate but who had, along with everyone else, to wait nervously until September to be certain Washington intended to retire after all.

Adams did not so much win the Federalist nomination in 1796 as inherit it. He had served Washington loyally as vice president for eight years, presiding quietly over the Senate, dutifully breaking tie votes in favor of Federalist economic and foreign policies when necessary (Adams broke twenty such ties, more than any other vice president in history). With the exception of Washington, no Federalist still active in national affairs rivaled his reputation with the public as an early and steady advocate of independence. No one still active, Federalist or otherwise, could bring with him to the presidency the long and successful experience in government and diplomacy and the reputation as a legislator, essayist, and speaker that Adams could. If he was not loved by the people at large as was Washington, he was at least genuinely and widely respected for his service to the Revolution and the republic. In the minds of many Americans, and certainly in his own mind, Adams was Washington's heir apparent.

Lawyer, Revolutionary, Diplomat

Born in 1735 to a middle-class farming family in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, Adams' parents expected him to enter the ministry. He was graduated from Harvard in 1755 and taught school briefly in Worcester while he convinced himself that he would be far happier and much more successful disputing law before juries than dispensing piety from a pulpit. In 1758, he was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts and began practicing law

in Braintree.

Public spirited and ambitious, Adams soon began writing essays for the Boston newspapers and was already established in a minor way as a public spokesman when the Stamp Act crisis vaulted him into politics and prominence. Resolutions denouncing the stamp tax that he prepared for the Braintree town meeting were well received and circulated throughout the colony. Soon after, he joined James Otis in Boston to challenge the constitutionality of the Stamp Act in court, and he found himself being drawn into popular politics in the capital and into the nascent political party forming around Otis, Sam Adams, John Hancock, and others. In 1768 Adams moved to Boston, and by the end of the decade his growing reputation as an opponent of British taxation and tyranny won for him election to the Massachusetts General Court.

Ill health forced his withdrawal from office for a while, but the Tea Act crisis brought him back into public view. In 1774, Massachusetts sent him to the First Continental Congress, where he urged a strong stand against English policy and opposed reconciliation on anything but colonial terms. Back in Massachusetts, he wrote a series of essays under the pseudonym of "Novanglus" refuting the Tory essays of Loyalist Daniel Leonard. The "Novanglus" essays circulated widely and began to build for Adams a "national" reputation in a nation not yet quite born. He returned to the congress after the war began, and in the spring of 1776 he was appointed to a committee to prepare a declaration of independence. Though Adams had little to do with drafting the declaration, he had much to do with wrestling Jefferson's text through an excited but nervous and often balky congress. In Jefferson's opinion, Adams was the declaration's "ablest advocate and defender" in the congress.

Adams began his diplomatic career in February, 1778, when the Continental Congress dispatched him to Paris to replace the discredited Silas Deane as a member of the American diplomatic team seeking French aid against England. For the next ten years, with only one brief hiatus during which he helped write Massachusetts' revolutionary constitution, Adams represented the republic abroad at Paris, Amsterdam, the Hague, and London on a variety of diplomatic missions: seeking recognition for the new nation, raising money, negotiating treaties of trade and alliance, and, most challenging of all, helping draft the Treaty of Paris, which finally brought the War of Independence, if not the American Revolution, to a formal close. In Paris, he acquired a healthy skepticism about French diplomats and a thorough dislike of Benjamin Franklin. Between 1785 and 1788, he served in London as the first United States minister to England. During his last two years abroad, he wrote *A Defense of the Constitutions of the United States of America*, which argued that bicameral (as opposed to unicameral) legislatures, the sharp separation of legislative, executive, and judicial func-

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tions in government, and a powerful executive with an absolute veto were all crucial elements of good constitutions. "The people's rights and liberties," he contended, could "never be preserved without a strong executive," for "if the executive power, or any considerable part of it, is left in the hands ... of ... a democratical assembly, it will corrupt the legislature as rust corrupts iron, or as arsenic poisons the human body." Such ideas would not be popular in America, he told Jefferson in 1787 (accurately, as it turned out), but he intended to publish his opinion anyway, "however unpopular it might be."

Adams returned home in 1788 and the following year won the vice presidency. It was not a particularly gratifying victory, since he received only 34 of the 69 electoral votes cast, and it placed him in a job he described halfway through his tenure as "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived." By 1796, then, Adams was determined either to move on to the presidency or, failing that, to retire to his law practice, his farm, and his family in Quincy.

The Campaign of 1796: No Electoral Mandate

The presidential campaign of 1796 was by modern standards, a curious one. Both candidates thought it demeaning and unseemly to plead for votes, so neither campaigned. In Adams' opinion, and Jefferson's too, public men should be called to office by an unsolicited electorate, very much as a minister was called to his pulpit by a congregation—a relaxed approach to presidential politics that would not survive Adams' presidency. Still, a campaign did take place in 1796, carried out mostly by newspaper essayists, editors, and political pamphleteers. Also, the election was expected to answer important questions. For example, what kind of government had the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 created? Or, put a little differently, where, precisely, was the limit of federal power with respect to the states? With England and France again at war, where did the best interests of the United States lie: as an ally of the revolutionary French Republic or as an ally in all but name of Great Britain? Or somewhere in between?

Jefferson and his backers believed that Adams, Hamilton, and the Federalists had already perverted the Constitution and increased the powers of the central government at the expense of the states to a dangerous degree during Washington's two terms. Should Adams win, they warned, this assault on the Constitution and on the liberties of all Americans would doubtless continue. Adams, Republican essayists insisted, was a monarchist at heart who would reestablish in American the principles of monarchial government if he could. He was therefore unfit to govern a free people, and for proof they pointed to his *Defense of the Constitutions*.

From Adams' point of view, the creation of an effective national government with its powers properly distributed among its branches, and the im-

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Dictionary of AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

**SECOND EDITION,
Revised and Expanded**

John E. Findling

Greenwood Press
New York • Westport, Connecticut • London

but lost. Adams died in Boston on November 21, 1886.Adams, Ephraim D., *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2 vols. (1925); *DAB*, 1:40; Duberman, Martin B., *Charles Francis Adams* (1961).

ADAMS, EPHRAIM DOUGLASS (1865–1930). E. D. Adams was born in Decorah, Iowa, on December 18, 1865, attended Iowa College (later Grinnell), and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1887. Three years later he received a Ph. D. from Michigan and began a lifelong career teaching and writing history. From 1891 to 1902, Adams was at the University of Kansas; from 1902 to 1930, he taught at Stanford, specializing in American diplomatic history and Anglo-American relations. He wrote several significant books, the most important of which was *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (2 vols., 1925). In 1915, Adams urged Herbert Hoover to preserve the records of the Belgian Relief Commission, which under Hoover's direction provided food and other needed goods for Belgium from 1915 to 1919, and in the latter year he went to Paris to organize historical materials from the war years into a collection that became the Hoover War Library. Adams was twice married: first to May Stevens Breakey, who died in 1916, and then to Florence S. Ober. Elected first vice-president of the American Historical Association in 1929, Adams died September 1, 1930, in Palo Alto, California.*DAB*, Supp., 1:8; Jameson, J. F., "Ephraim Douglass Adams," *Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1930* 1 (1931): 48–49; *New York Times*, September 3, 1930.

ADAMS, JOHN (1735–1826). An important figure in Revolutionary era diplomacy, John Adams was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1735, graduated from Harvard in 1755, and was admitted to the bar in 1758. He soon became involved in Massachusetts politics, married Abigail Smith in 1764, and was active in pre-Revolutionary protestations of British colonial policy. After service in the Continental Congress, 1774–1777, Adams was selected commissioner to France in late 1777. He returned to Boston in early 1779 but in September was on his way back to France as a member of the delegation appointed to negotiate peace. In December 1780, he was named minister to the Netherlands, where he made useful contacts and achieved diplomatic recognition, a treaty of alliance, and a loan in the spring of 1782. Returning to Paris in October 1782, Adams participated in peace negotiations with the British and was particularly influential in the debt and fisheries questions. From 1785 to 1788, he was minister to Great Britain, attempting, without success, to settle problems arising from the Treaty of Paris (1783),* including the return of slaves taken by British troops during the war, the adjudication of ships seized illegally, and the unfulfilled promise of the British to evacuate forts in the Old Northwest. With negotiations stalemated, Adams spent his time writing a three-volume work, *Defence of the Constitutions* (1787–1988), to influence politics in the United States. From 1789 to 1797, he served as vice-president under George Washington and from 1797 to 1801 was president. During his term, the quasi-war* with France occurred,

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and Adams managed to overcome the strong political objections of his secretary of state, Timothy Pickering,* and his chief political rival, Alexander Hamilton, to keep the weak United States out of a full-scale war with France. After many years in retirement in Quincy, Massachusetts, Adams died July 4, 1826. Brown, Ralph A., *The Presidency of John Adams* (1975); Chinard, Gilbert, *Honest John Adams* (1933); *DAB*, 1:72; Hutson, James H., *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (1980); Smith, Page, *John Adams*, 2 vols. (1962–1963, 1968).

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY (1767–1848). The son of President John Adams,* John Q. Adams was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, on July 11, 1767, educated in Europe and at Harvard, and was admitted to the bar in 1790. A succession of diplomatic appointments began in 1794: minister to the Netherlands (1794–1797), minister to Prussia (1797–1801), minister to Russia (1809–1811), and minister to Great Britain (1815–1817). In the Netherlands during a period of French occupation, Adams's duties were confined to observing and reporting European affairs. He negotiated a treaty with Prussia and visited Silesia. His Russian mission marked the beginning of a period of cordial relations that would prove useful a half-century later during the Civil War. Between his ministries in Russia and Great Britain, Adams served on the peace commission that negotiated the Treaty of Ghent,* ending the War of 1812. After the war, as minister to Great Britain, he worked on a commercial treaty and other problems but without result. President James Monroe* named Adams secretary of state in 1817, and in eight years at that post, he was responsible for the acquisition of Florida through the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819),* the settlement of the U.S.–Canadian boundary through the Convention of 1818,* and for much of the Monroe Doctrine (1823).* After a term as president (1825–1829), in which foreign affairs were of little note, Adams spent most of the rest of his life in Congress, where he was prominent in his opposition to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. According to his biographer, Samuel F. Bemis,* John Quincy Adams was at the center of the development of most of the principles of American foreign policy that were established between 1790 and 1830. His ability to take advantage of America's favorable geographic position and his personal qualities—self-discipline, industry, negotiating skill—mark him as the foremost American diplomatist before the Civil War. Adams married Louise Catherine Johnson in 1797 and died in Washington, D. C., while still in Congress, on February 23, 1848. Adams's *Memoirs*, 12 vols. (1874–1877), were edited by his son, Charles Francis Adams.*Bemis, Samuel F., *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (1949); *DAB*, 1:84; Kushner, Howard I., *Conflict on the Northwest Coast* (1975); Perkins, Dexter, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823–26* (1927).

"ADAMS FORMULA," diplomatic principle named for John Quincy Adams. First included in the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819),* this formula held that if one of the treaty powers goes to war with a third nation and the other remains neutral,

THE HAGUE

10/29/91

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Franita

Hegens Embassy home

Mike — @

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Am. school in H/ one of finest
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