
Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 16

Second Inaugural Address

Fellow Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future; no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we will suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

March 4, 1865

To Charles Sumner

Mr. Sumner.
My dear Sir

Executive Mansion
Washington, March 5/65

I should be pleased for you to accompany us to-morrow

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 17



Abraham Lincoln

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1861

The national upheaval of secession was a grim reality at Abraham Lincoln's inauguration. Jefferson Davis had been inaugurated as the President of the Confederacy two weeks earlier. The former Illinois Congressman had arrived in Washington by a secret route to avoid danger, and his movements were guarded by General Winfield Scott's soldiers. Ignoring advice to the contrary, the President-elect rode with President Buchanan in an open carriage to the Capitol, where he took the oath of office on the East Portico. Chief Justice Roger Taney administered the executive oath for the seventh time. The Capitol itself was sheathed in scaffolding because the copper and wood "Bulfinch" dome was being replaced with a cast iron dome designed by Thomas U. Walter.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States

to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is
those v
slaves;
Congre
provisi
slaves
delivere
the eff
nimity
unanim

The
be enfo
ference
it can b
thority
his oath
to how

Ag
guards
be intro
a slave
law for
guarant
privileg

I ta
with no
critical
acts of
be muc
form to
violate
to be u

It i
dent u
differen
ministe
conduct
Yet, wi
task for
peculia
only me

I h
tution t

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up" their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?

Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied,

if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "*to form a more perfect Union.*"

But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is *less* perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess

the pro
the du
these c
among
in any
vent c
there
people
Govern
do so v
I deem

Th
parts c
have tl
though
unless
change
tion w
and wi
trouble

Th
destroy
I will
no wo
may I

Be
our na
hopes,
Will y
that a
Will y
real or
mistak

Al
rights
written
the hu
audaci
which
denied
minori
moral
were a

the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of

minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to every high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously

possible the
still the ex
case, with
precedent
of a differ
confess the
affecting th
the Suprem
tion betwe
ceased to b
signed the
Nor is the
It is a duty
ly brought
turn their

One se
to be exte
to be exte
slave claus
the foreign
law can e
people im
people abi
break over
would be
than befo
would be
while fugi
surrender

Physi
our respe
wall betw
out of the
ferent pa
remain f
must con
intercour
tion than
make law
than law
fight alw
on either
terms of

possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory *after* separation than *before*? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it or their *revolutionary* right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration

tion by an
injure the

My con
whole subj
be an objec
would nev
taking tim
as are now
and, on the
while the
would, to c
satisfied ho
good reason
nity, and
avored lar
present dif

In you
nine, is th
not assail
the aggress
the Govern
ve, prote
I am lo
be ene
ak our l
from e
hearth
the Uni
ter ange

tion by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 18



Thomas Jefferson

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1801

Chief Justice John Marshall administered the first executive oath of office ever taken in the new federal city in the new Senate Chamber (now the Old Supreme Court Chamber) of the partially built Capitol building. The outcome of the election of 1800 had been in doubt until late February because Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the two leading candidates, each had received 73 electoral votes. Consequently, the House of Representatives met in a special session to resolve the impasse, pursuant to the terms spelled out in the Constitution. After 30 hours of debate and balloting, Mr. Jefferson emerged as the President and Mr. Burr the Vice President. President John Adams, who had run unsuccessfully for a second term, left Washington on the day of the inauguration without attending the ceremony.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful

thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye—when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this dis-

tant
some
of sa
ciple
ciple
any
its re
the s
reaso
men
Gove
the fi
has s
that
want
contr
one w
ard o
own
truste
with
forms

L
eral a
sentat
ocean
high-r
chose
sandtl
equal
our ov
result
them;
ticed
tempe
adorin
proves
er hap
essary
more,
restrai
wise f
ment,

tant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has

earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. My experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this sta-

tion
With
first
ices
destin
I ask
the l
throu
wron
whole
never
who r
appro
for th
opini
of oth
ment
R
with
becom
make
the u
vorab

tion with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: "Writings of Washington" / Misc

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: _____

19

communications which the President of the United States may then have to lay before you, touching their interests.³⁸

[N. H. H. S.]

TO THE SENATE

United States, March 2, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate: Application having been made to me to permit a Treaty to be held with the Seneka Nation of Indians, to effect the purchase of a parcel of their land under a pre-emption right derived from the State of Massachusetts and situated within the State of New York, and it appearing to me reasonable, that such opportunity should be afforded, provided the negotiation shall be conducted at the expence of the applicant; and at the desire and with the consent of the Indians; always considering these as pre-requisites, I now nominate Isaac Smith to be a Commissioner to hold a treaty with the Seneka Nation for the aforesaid purpose.³⁹

*TO HENRY KNOX

Philadelphia, March 2, 1797.

My dear Sir: Amongst the last Acts of my political life, and before I go hence into retirement, *profound*, will be the acknowledgment of your kind and affectionate letter from Boston, dated the 15th. of January.⁴⁰

From the friendship I have always borne you, and from the interest I have ever taken in whatever relates to your prosperity and happiness, I participated in the sorrows which I know you

³⁸In the writing of a Senate clerk. From the summons sent to Senator Samuel Livermore, of New Hampshire.

³⁹From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

⁴⁰In the *Washington Papers*.

must have felt for your late heavy losses.⁴¹ But is not for man to scan the wisdom of Providence. The best he can do, is to submit to its decrees. Reason, religion and Philosophy, teaches us to do this, but 'tis time alone that can ameliorate the pangs of humanity, and soften its woes.

To the wearied traveller who sees a resting place, and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself; but to be suffered to do *this* in peace, is I perceive too much, to be endured by *some*. To misrepresent my motives; to reprobate my politics; and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in my administration, are objects which cannot be relinquished by those who, will be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our political System. The consolation however, which results from conscious rectitude, and the approving voice of my Country, unequivocally expressed by its Representatives, deprives their sting of its poison, and places in the same point of view both the weakness, and malignity of their efforts.

Although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in the great world, or to partake in its politics, yet, I am not without my regrets at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love, among these, be assured you are one.

The account given by Mr. Bingham and others, of your agreeable Situation and prospects at St. George's, gave me infinite pleasure; and no one wishes more sincerely than I do, that they may increase with your years. The remainder of my life (which in the course of nature cannot be long) will be occupied in rural amusements, and though I shall seclude myself as much as possible from the noisy and bustling crowd, none more than myself, would be regaled by the company of those I esteem, at

⁴¹The death of three children.

Mount Vernon: more than 20 Miles from which, after I arrive there, it is not likely I ever shall be.

As early in next week as I can make arrangements for it, I shall commence my journey for Mount Vernon. To morrow, at dinner, I shall, as a servant of the public, take my leave of the President Elect,³⁹ of the foreign characters, heads of Departments, &c. And the day following, with pleasure, I shall witness the inauguration of my Successor to the Chair of government.

On the subject of Politics I shall say nothing; you will have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with many of the Legislators; from whom, so far as it relates to the proceedings of their own body, they can give you the details. The Gazettes will furnish the rest.

Mrs. Washington unites with me in every good wish for you, Mrs. Knox and family, and with unfeigned truth, I am yours always, and affectionately. [MS. H.S.]

TO THE RECTOR, CHURCH WARDENS, AND VESTRYMEN OF THE UNITED EPISCOPAL CHURCHES OF CHRIST CHURCH AND ST. PETER'S⁴⁰

[March 2, 1797.]

Gentlemen: To this public testimony of your approbation of my conduct and affection for my person I am not insensible, and your prayers for my present and future happiness merit my warmest acknowledgments. It is with peculiar satisfaction I can say, that, prompted by a high sense of duty in my attendance on public worship, I have been gratified, during my residence among you, by the liberal and interesting discourses which have been delivered in your Churches.

³⁹ John Adams.

⁴⁰ Of Philadelphia, Pa.

Believing that that Government alone can be approved by Heaven, which promotes peace and secures protection to its Citizens in every thing that is dear and interesting to them, it has been the great object of my administration to insure those invaluable ends; and when, to a consciousness of the purity of intentions, is added the approbation of my fellow Citizens, I shall experience in my retirement that heartfelt satisfaction which can only be exceeded by the hope of future happiness.⁴¹

TO HENRY LEE

March 2, 1797.

Sir: In answer to your enquiry concerning the Land I sold to you, last year, I can inform you from my own knowledge.

It is part of the great Dismal Swamp, about ⁴² Miles from Norfolk convenient to the Canal now Cutting, its soil extremely rich covered with Cypress and Juniper, the under growth Cane &c. I am etc.⁴³

* TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Philadelphia, March 3, 1797.

My dear Sir: Before the curtain drops on my political life, which it will do this evening, I expect for ever; I shall acknowledge, although it be in a few hasty lines only, the receipt of your kind and affectionate letter of the 23d. of January last.

When I add, that according to custom, all the Acts of the Session; except two or three very unimportant Bills, have been presented to me within the last four days, *you* will not be surprised at the pressure under which I write at present; but it must astonish *others* who know that the Constitution allows

⁴¹ The draft is in the writing of Timothy Pickering.

⁴² Left blank in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

⁴³ From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

*To JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Mount Vernon, June 25, 1797.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 11th of Feb: and a duplicate thereof, have been duly received; and I pray you to accept my best thanks for the trouble you have had in tracing to its origin, the history of the Sword which came to my hands last year, in the manner communicated in a former letter. As it is more than probable you will have left Holland before this letter can be received, I shall give you no further trouble in the affair than merely to inform you that I have never seen, or heard more of Alte than the account given of him in your letter of the above mentioned date.

I am now, as you supposed the case would be when you then wrote, seated under my Vine and Fig-tree; where, while I am permitted to enjoy the shade of it, my vows will be continually offered for the welfare and prosperity of our country; and for the support, ease and honor of the Gentleman to whom the Administration of its concerns are entrusted. I have expressed to him my sentiments, and wishes, that you may be induced to continue in the Diplomatic line; and these sentiments and wishes, are the result of the surest conviction of its utility, as it relates to the public interest.

For the kind expressions you have extended to me, and the approbation of those sentiments, I took the liberty of submitting to my countrymen, in my late Valedictory, I have a grateful sense; and thank you for communicating them, and the approbation of good and Virtuous Men, is the most pleasing reward my mind is susceptible of, for any Service it has been in my power to render my Country.

With great truth etc.

[N. Y. P. L.]

To EDWARD CARRINGTON

Mount Vernon, June 26, 1797.

Dear Sir: General Marshall, who did me the favor to spend an evening at this place on his way to Philadelphia, confirms the report I had before received of the utility of Mr. Booker's improved threshing machine, and added that a letter to that gentleman directed to your care would certainly reach him.

As I am extremely desirous (and that with as little delay as possible) to get one or two erected, and had got the scantling for them on the plan of the Scotch machine used by Mr. Jefferson, General Lee and others, I have taken the liberty of requesting the favour of your care of the enclosed letter, to which I am induced from the consideration of not having possessed myself of Mr. Booker's christened name or place of abode. I am etc.

*To WILLIAM BOOKER

Mount Vernon, June 26, 1797.

Sir: From the good report I have had of your improved threshing machine, I am desirous of getting one or two of them erected; and as expeditiously as possible.

The Scantling for two, upon the Plan of Mr. Jefferson and others, of the Scotch machine, had been got before I received the account of yours; and may, I presume, be appropriated to the latter. The purpose therefore of this letter, is to know if you would undertake to erect mine; Or, if your other engagements should prevent your personal attendance, whether a person in whose knowledge and skill in the matter, you cd. place *entire* confidence, could be sent; or, lastly, whether you could spare time to make me a visit for the purpose of directing my

¹From a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

upon your conduct. Let this be such, and let it be your pride, to demean yourself in such a manner to obtain the goodwill of your superiors, and the love of your fellow students.

Adieu, I sincerely wish you well, being your attached and affectionate friend.⁷⁹

*To RUFUS KING

Philadelphia, December 22, 1796.

Dear Sir: The enclosed is a copy of a letter I took the liberty of writing to you agreeably to its date.⁸⁰

Permit me to take the further liberty of entrusting the letters herewith sent, to your care. That to Count Rumford, is in answer to one without date or place, accompanying the first volume of his Essays, Political, Economical and Philosophical. This mark of his politeness required an acknowledgment on my part, but in truth I know not where to direct to him. His Essays are dedicated to the Elector, Palatine, reigning Duke of Bavaria, and dated in London, in July last, hence, I conclude he is now there.

My best respects attend Mrs. King, and with very great esteem etc.

*To COUNT RUMFORD⁸¹

Philadelphia, December 22, 1796.

Sir: In the month of November, I had the honor to receive your letter, and a few days since, that of the first Vol: of your Essays, Political Economical and Philosophical. For these marks of your polite attention to me, I pray you to accept my best thanks.

⁷⁹From the printed text in Custis's *Recollections of Washington*.

⁸⁰This inclosure seems to have been a copy of the formal diplomatic letter of credence for Rufus King to the King of England, June 7, 1796, a typed copy of which was kindly supplied by James Gore King, of New York.

⁸¹Formerly Col. Benjamin Thompson, of the King's American Dragoons, British Provincial Troops.

Congress being in Session, and my time, consequently much occupied with the business of it, will allow me no leisure until the close thereof to give the work an attentive perusal; the doing of which will, I am persuaded, afford both pleasure and edification to Sir Your etc.

*To GOVERNOR JOHN HAWKINS STONE

Philadelphia, December 23, 1796.

Dear Sir: Yesterday I received your letter of the 16th. instant, covering the resolutions of the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, passed on the 13th and 14th.⁸² The very obliging and friendly terms in which you have made this communication, merit my sincere thanks.

The manner in which the two branches of the legislature of Maryland have expressed their sense of my services, is too honourable, and too affectionate ever to be forgotten. Without ascribing to my exertions the extensive influence they are pleased to ascribe to them, I may with great truth say that, the exercise of every faculty I possessed was joined to the efforts of the virtue, talents and valour of my fellow-citizens to effect our Independence: and I concur with the Legislature in repeating, with pride and joy, what will be an everlasting honor to our country, that our revolution was so distinguished for moderation virtue and humanity, as to merit the eulogium they have pronounced of being unsullied with a crime.

⁸²The resolves of the Maryland House of Delegates, Dec. 13, 1796, were printed in broadside form, and are in the *Washington Papers*. Referring to the Farewell Address, they decree, unanimously, "That to perpetuate this valuable present in the most striking view to posterity, it be printed and published with the laws of this session, as an evidence of our approbation of its political axioms, and a small testimony of the affection we bear to the precepts of Him, to whom, under Divine Providence, we are principally indebted for our greatest political blessings." The Maryland Senate concurred in these resolves, December 14. Governor Stone's letter of transmittal, dated December 16, is in the *Washington Papers*.

With the same entire devotion to my country, every act of my civil Administration has been aimed to secure to it those advantages which result from a stable and free government; and with gratitude to Heaven, I unite with the Legislature of Maryland in the pleasing reflections, that our country has continued to feel the blessings of peace, liberty and prosperity, whilst Europe and the Indies have been convulsed with the horrors of a dreadful and desolating war. My ardent prayers are offered that those afflicted regions may now speedily see their calamities terminated, and also feel the blessings of returning peace.

I cannot omit my acknowledgements to the Senate and House of Delegates for the manner in which they have noticed my late Address to my fellow citizens. This notice, with similar acts in other States,⁸³ leads me to hope that, the advice which therein I took the liberty to offer as the result of much experience and reflection, may produce some good.

Their kind wishes for my domestic happiness, in my contemplated retirement, are entitled to my cordial thanks.

If it shall please God to prolong a life already far advanced into the vale of years, no attending felicity can equal that which I shall feel in seeing the administration of our government operating to preserve the Independence, prosperity and welfare of the American People. With great respect etc.

*To GUSTAVUS SCOTT

Philadelphia, December 26, 1796.

Sir: Your favour of the 15th instt. was not received until the 22d. To what the delay is to be ascribed, I know not.

⁸³ All except three of the State legislatures took similar action, and their addresses, or resolves, together with Washington's replies, are entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. A large number of unofficial addresses from citizen committees were also sent to the President. These, together with Washington's replies, fill 84 consecutive pages in the "Letter Book."

The voice of Maryland, as expressed by its legislature, in the Resolutions which you enclosed, is flattering indeed, as it respects myself, personally; and highly pleasing as it relates to their federal sentiments. I thank you for sendg. them.

From what you have said of the disposition of the Senate, of that State, the presumption is, that the loan of \$100,000 for the use of the Federal City, must, ere this, have passed through all the requisite forms. The necessity of the case justified the obtaining of it on almost any terms, and the zeal of the Commissioners (if they, in their individual capacities, which they surely may do without hazarding anything) in making themselves liable for the amount, as it could not be had without, cannot fail of approbation. At the sametime I must confess that the request has a very singular appearance, and will not, I should suppose, be very grateful to the feelings of Congress.

With great esteem etc.⁸⁴

*To ALEXANDER WHITE

Philadelphia, December 26, 1796.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th instt. was not received until friday last, too late for the Post of that day, of course the receipt of it could not meet an earlier acknowledgment than by the Mail of this mornng.

I wish Mrs. White's determination had been otherwise than is announced in your letter; but if I understand the expression of it, as it respects yourself, I do not see what more the Public could reasonably require of you, than you are disposed to give, when after saying this determination must occasion your resignation you add, "unless my personal attendance may be considered as sufficient," and then subjoin, "My court business is

⁸⁴ From *District of Columbia Letters and Papers* in the Library of Congress.

any thing from you in the course of last week, or by the Mail of this day, I begin to have uneasy sensations for the fate of my letter.

To this cause, and to my solicitude to have the Papers returned, you must ascribe the trouble of receiving this letter.

If my last got safe to your hands, and indisposition, business, or any other cause should have prevented your looking into the Papers; I wish, even under these circumstances, that they may be returned to me immediately; for I have no copies, and have but little time to digest, and to put the several matters therein contained into form, that the whole may be revised again and again, before it is presented. Among these Papers do not forget to place Sir John Sinclairs letter to me, as I am desirous of giving it an acknowledgment.

You will perceive by the publication of Mr. Adets letter to Colo. Pickering (in Claypools Gazette of this date) that the French Government are disposed to play a high game. If other proofs were wanting, the *time*, and *indelicate mode and stile*, of the present attack on the Executive, exhibited in this laboured performance, which is as unjust as it is voluminous, would leave no doubt as to the primary object it had in view; but what consequences it may ultimately produce, is not so accessible to human foresight, as it may depend upon various contingencies and events. I have not seen the writer since my return to the City, nor is it presumable I shall do it under present circumstances, unless courted on my part.

The letter of Mr. Adet having been committed to the keeping of Mr. Bache, by him. Extracts having already been given to the public, and other parts promised to be eked out, (as would, it is presumed, subserve the purposes in view) induced an opinion that it was best to give the *entire* letter to the Public from Authority, and without delay, that the well informed part of the Community might judge for themselves.

The necessity of bringing the matter fully before Congress is now rendered indispensable, and through that Medium it is presumed it will make its way to the Public with proper explanations. I am, as you know me to be, always and sincerely Your etc.

PS. Since, writing the above, your letter of the 19th. with its enclosures have been sent to me; accept my thanks for them. On account of the other matter contained in this letter I forward it, being written. Your sentiments in this interesting crisis will always be thankfully received.*

*To JAMES LINN, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, AND J. H. IMLAY, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF NEW JERSEY

United States, November 21, 1796.

Gentlemen: I am truly sensible of the honor done me by the concurrent and unanimous resolutions of the Council and House of Assembly of the State of New Jersey, passed the 15th. and 16th. instant, approving my conduct in the Administration of the Government of the United States, and regret[ing]** my determination to retire [from public life].** They have also been pleased to express their acknowledgments for the sentiments contained in my late Address to my fellow citizens, which affection, respect, and solicitude for their lasting welfare prompted me to lay before them.

Such testimonies, while they manifest the kindness of the Council and Assembly, persuade me to believe that my services have been useful to my country; a consideration which will render their recollection dear to me, to the latest period of my life.

*From the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

**The words in brackets are in the writing of George Washington Craik.

influence other foreign Governments to follow the example, which would, I conceive, contribute much more to the advancement of the City than any pecuniary consideration to be derived from the Sale of the Lots.

I shall not dwell however on the subject in this letter, as I expect in eight or ten days to be in the City, and will renew the matter then. With very great esteem etc.⁸⁵

FAREWELL ADDRESS

United States, September 19, 1796.

Friends, and Fellow-Citizens: The period for a new election of a Citizen, to Administer the Executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating

⁸⁵From a copy in the writing of George Washington Craik in *District of Columbia Letters and Papers* in the Library of Congress.

⁸⁶On September 15 Washington submitted the Farewell Address to the Cabinet. Pickering wrote to him that same day (September 15): "The paper you put into my hands to-day was attentively perused by us all. I am now going over it by myself, but it will not be possible to get thro' in time to return it before bed-time. Before breakfast in the morning I will wait upon you with it." Pickering's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

David C. Claypoole's account of the publication of the Address is printed by Paltata. An extract follows: "A few days before the appearance of this highly interesting document in print, I received a message from the President, by his private secretary, Col. Lear, signifying his desire to see me. I waited on him at the appointed time, and found him sitting alone in the drawing-room. He received me very kindly, and after I had paid my respects to him, desired me to take a seat near him; then addressing himself to me, said, that he had for some time contemplated retiring from public life, and had at length concluded to do so at the end of the (then) present term: that he had some thoughts and reflections on the occasion, which he deemed proper to communicate to the people of the United States, in the form of an address, and which he wished to appear in the *Daily Advertiser*, of which I was Proprietor and editor. He paused, and I took occasion to thank him for having selected that paper as the channel of communication to the Public, especially as I viewed this choice as an evidence of his approbation of the principles and manner in which the work was conducted. He silently assented, and asked me when I could make the publication. I answered that the time should be made perfectly convenient to himself, and the following Monday was fixed on: he then said that his secretary would deliver me the Copy on the next morning (Friday), and I withdrew. After the *proof sheet* had been carefully compared with the copy, and corrected by myself, I carried two different Revises, to be examined by the President; who made but few alterations from

the person, who is to be cloathed with that important trust,⁸⁸ it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in with drawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but⁸⁶ am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your Suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly

the original, except in the punctuation, in which he was very minute. The publication of the Address, dated 'United States, September 17th, 1796' being completed on the 19th [bearing the same date with the Paper, Sept. 19th, 1796, being completed], I waited on the President with the original; and, in presenting it to him, expressed my regret at parting with it, and how much I should be gratified by being permitted to retain it: upon which in the most obliging manner, he handed it back to me, saying, that if I wished for it, I might keep it;—and I then took my leave."

Sparks, who prints the Farewell Address from the publication of it in Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, of Sept. 19, 1796, states that he copies the following indorsement (which is in the writing of Washington) on Claypoole's paper, "designed as an instruction to the copyist, who recorded the Address in the letter-book: The letter contained in this gazette, addressed 'To the People of the United States,' is to be recorded, and in the order of its date. Let it have a blank page before and after it, so as to stand distinct. Let it be written with a letter larger and fuller than the common recording hand. And where words are printed with capital letters, it is to be done so in recording. And those other words, that are printed in italics, must be scored underneath and straight by a ruler." This newspaper, with Washington's indorsement thereon, is not now found in the *Washington Papers*. Claypoole's paper printed the Address as dated September 17, which date is followed by Sparks.

⁸⁸At this point the words "for another term" are crossed out.

⁸⁹The words "act under" are crossed out.

hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last Election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our Affairs with foreign Nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and⁸⁷ am persuaded whatever partiality⁸⁸ may be retained for my services, that⁸⁹ in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions,⁹⁰ with which I first⁹¹ undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed⁹² towards the Organization and Administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has⁹³ strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my

⁸⁷ The word "that" is crossed out.

⁸⁸ The words "any portion of you may yet retain" are crossed out.

⁸⁹ The words "even they" are crossed out.

⁹⁰ The word "under" is crossed out.

⁹¹ The word "accepted" is crossed out.

⁹² The word "to" is crossed out.

⁹³ The words "not lessened" are crossed out.

services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.⁹⁴

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment⁹⁵ of that debt of gratitude wch. I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal⁹⁶ to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that,⁹⁷ under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to⁹⁸ mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of Success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and⁹⁹ a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows¹ that Heaven may continue to you the

⁹⁴ Here are crossed out the words: "May I also have that of knowing in my retreat, that the involuntary errors, I have probably committed, have been the sources of no serious or lasting mischief to our country. I may then expect to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, I trust, of our mutual cares, dangers and labours." Opposite this deleted paragraph, Washington has written, in the margin: "obliterated to avoid the imputation of affected modesty."

⁹⁵ The words "demanded by" are crossed out.

⁹⁶ The words "in usefulness" are crossed out.

⁹⁷ The words "the constancy of your support" are crossed out.

⁹⁸ The words "wander and fluctuate" are crossed out.

⁹⁹ The word "the" is crossed out.

¹ The words "the only return I can henceforth make" are crossed out.

choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your Union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its Administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and Virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory³ of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude,⁴ urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation,⁵ and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

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

³The words "or satisfaction" are crossed out.

⁴The words "encouraged by the remembrance of your indulgent reception of my sentiments on an occasion not dissimilar to the present, urge me to offer" are crossed out.

⁵The words "and experience" are crossed out.

the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety;⁶ of your prosperity;⁷ of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from⁸ different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish⁹ a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment¹⁰ to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens¹¹ by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name

⁶The words "in every relation" are crossed out.

⁷The words "in every shape" are crossed out.

⁸The word "various" is crossed out.

⁹The words "towards it" are crossed out.

¹⁰The words "that you should accustom yourselves to reverence it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, adapting constantly your words and actions to that momentous idea; that you should watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and frown upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the several parts," are crossed out.

¹¹The words "of a common country by birth or choice" are crossed out.

of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation¹¹ derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits and political Principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your Interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained¹² intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter,¹³ great additional resources of Maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same Intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the National navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a Maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and com-

¹¹ The words "to be" are crossed out.

¹² The word "fettered" is crossed out.

¹³ The words "many of them peculiar" are crossed out.

fort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future Maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of Interest as *one Nation*.¹⁴ Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage,¹⁵ whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious.¹⁶

¹⁷ While then every part of our country thus¹⁸ feels an immediate and particular Interest in Union, all the parts¹⁹ combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts²⁰ greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign Nations; and,²¹ what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and Wars between themselves, which²² so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military establishments, which under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which²³ are to be regarded as

¹⁴ The word "The" is crossed out.

¹⁵ The word "either" is crossed out.

¹⁶ The words "liable every moment to be disturbed by the fluctuating combinations of the primary interests of Europe, which must be expected to regulate the conduct of the Nations of which it is composed." are crossed out.

¹⁷ The word "And" is crossed out.

¹⁸ The word "finds" is crossed out.

¹⁹ The words "of it" are crossed out.

²⁰ The words "cannot fail to find" are crossed out.

²¹ The words "which is an advantage" are crossed out.

²² The word "inevitably" is crossed out.

²³ The words "there is reason to" are crossed out.

particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to²⁴ every reflecting and virtuous mind, and²⁵ exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal.²⁶ We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective Sub divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment²⁷ With such powerful and obvious motives to Union,²⁸ affecting all parts of our country,²⁹ while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason,³⁰ to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.³¹

²⁴The word "any" is crossed out.

²⁵The word "they" is crossed out.

²⁶The words "'Tis natural" are crossed out.

²⁷The words "It may not impossibly be found, that the spirit of party, the machinations of foreign powers, the corruption and ambition of individual citizens, are more formidable adversaries to the unity of our Empire, than any inherent difficulties in the scheme. Against these, the mounds of national opinion, national sympathy and national jealousy ought to be raised" are crossed out.

²⁸The word "as" is crossed out.

²⁹The word "have" is crossed out.

³⁰The words "cause in the fact itself" are crossed out.

³¹The words "Besides the more serious causes already hinted as threatening our Union, there is one less dangerous, but sufficiently dangerous to make it prudent to be upon our guard against it. I allude to the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite vent themselves in declarations, that the different parts of the United States are ill affected to each other in menaces, that the Union will be dissolved by this or that measure. Intimations like these are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity, and without any really evil intention, they have a tendency to produce the consequences which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious—as an object to which they ought not to attach their hopes and fortunes, and thus chill the sentiment in its favor. By alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity at work to depreciate the value of the thing and to discover reasons of indifference towards it. This is not wise. It will be

In contemplating the causes wch. may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that³² any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations: *Northern* and *Southern*; *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views.³³ One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other Districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render Alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The Inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this³⁴ head. They have seen, in the Negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their Interests in regard to the *MISSISSIPPI*. They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with *G: Britain* and that with *Spain*, which secure to them every

much wiser to habituate ourselves to reverence the Union as the palladium of our national happiness—to accommodate constantly our words and actions to that idea, and to discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned." are crossed out. Washington has bracketed this paragraph in the margin and noted it as "not important enough."

³²The words "our parties for some time past have been too much characterized by" are crossed out.

³³The words "These discriminations, the mere contrivance of the spirit of Party, (always dexterous to seize every handle by which the passions can be wielded, and too skilful not to turn to account the sympathy of neighborhood), have furnished an argument against the Union, as evidence of a real difference of local interests and views, and serve to hazard it, by organizing larger districts of country under the leaders of contending factions, whose rivalships, prejudices and schemes of ambition; rather than the true Interest of the Country, will direct the use of their influence. If it be possible to correct this poison in the habit of our body politic, it is worthy the endeavors of the moderate and the good to effect it." are crossed out.

³⁴The word "subject" is crossed out.

thing they could desire, in respect to our Foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of [*sic*] these advantages on the Union by wch. they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with Aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of Your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No Alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all Alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all. 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.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and Associations, under whatever plausible character,

with the real design to direct, controul counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the Constituted authorities are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party; often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the Community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the Mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or Associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends,⁸⁵ they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. one method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test

⁸⁵The words "and purposes" are crossed out.

the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypotheses and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the laws and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.⁸⁶

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from⁸⁷ our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human Mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ The words "Owing to you as I do a frank and free disclosure of my heart, I shall not conceal from you the belief I entertain, that your Government as at present constituted is far more likely to prove too feeble than too powerful." are crossed out.

⁸⁷ The word "human" is crossed out.

⁸⁸ The words "In Republics of narrow extent, it is not difficult for those who at any time hold the reins of Power, and command the ordinary public favor, to overturn the established order [Constitution,] in favor of their own aggrandizement. The same thing may likewise be too often accomplished in such Republics, by partial combinations of men, who though not in office, from birth, riches or other sources of distinction, have extraordinary influence and numerous retainers [adherents.] By debauching the military force, by surprising some commanding citadel, or by some

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration. It agitates the Community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access⁸⁹ to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy⁹⁰ and and [*sic*] the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

other sudden and unforeseen movement, the fate of the Republic is decided. But in Republics of large extent, usurpation can scarcely make its way through these avenues. The powers and opportunities of resistance of a wide extended and numerous nation, defy the successful efforts of the ordinary military force, or of any collections which wealth and patronage may call to their aid. In such Republics, it is safe to assert, that the conflicts of popular factions are the chief, if not the only inlets, of usurpation and Tyranny." are crossed out. The words in brackets were inserted as afterthoughts.

⁸⁹ The words "through the channels of party passions. It frequently subjects the policy of our own country to" are crossed out.

⁹⁰ The words "of some foreign country, and even enslaves the will of our Government to the will of some foreign Government." are crossed out.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in Governments of a Monarchical cast Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest⁴¹ instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted 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. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create⁴² whatever the form of government, a real⁴³ despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and⁴⁴ proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal⁴⁵ against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country

⁴¹The words "it should not only warm but" are crossed out.

⁴²The word "under" is crossed out.

⁴³The words "form a" are crossed out.

⁴⁴The word "the" is crossed out.

⁴⁵The word "from" is crossed out.

and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the⁴⁶ customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent⁴⁷ must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or⁴⁸ transient benefit which the use⁴⁹ can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who

⁴⁶The words "usual and natural" are crossed out.

⁴⁷The words "of its use" are crossed out.

⁴⁸The word "temporary" is crossed out.

⁴⁹The word "itself" is crossed out.

that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric⁵⁰

Promote then as an object of primary importance, Institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as⁵¹ sparingly as possible: avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by⁵² shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the Debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should⁵³ cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection

⁵⁰The words "Cultivate industry and frugality, as auxiliaries to good morals and sources of private and public prosperity. Is there no room to regret that our propensity to expence exceeds our means for it? Is there not more luxury among us, and more diffusively, than suits the actual stage of our national progress? Whatever may be the apology for luxury in a country, mature in the arts which are its ministers, and the cause of national opulence. Can it promote the advantage of a young country, almost wholly agricultural, in the infancy of the arts, and certainly not in the maturity of wealth?" are crossed out. Washington has bracketed them in the margin, with the note "not sufficiently important."

⁵¹The word "little" is crossed out.

⁵²The word "avoiding" is crossed out.

⁵³The word "coincide" is crossed out.

of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the Conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations.⁵⁴ Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human Nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that⁵⁵ permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another⁵⁶ an habitual hatred,⁵⁷ or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one Nation against

⁵⁴The words "and cultivate peace and harmony with all, for in Public, as well as in private transactions, I am persuaded that honesty will always be found to be the best policy." are crossed out.

⁵⁵The word "rooted" is crossed out.

⁵⁶The article "a" is crossed out.

another,⁸⁷ disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate envenomed and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by illwill and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to⁸⁸ the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one⁸⁹ the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and Wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification: It leads also to concessions to the favourite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions;⁹⁰ by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained;⁹¹ and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom eq. privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without

⁸⁷ The words "begets of course a similar sentiment in that other" are crossed out.

⁸⁸ The words "its own" are crossed out.

⁸⁹ The word "another" is crossed out.

⁹⁰ The figure "1st." is crossed out.

⁹¹ The abbreviation "dly" is crossed out and the figure 2 converted into the ampersand.

odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful Nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me⁹² fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be⁹³ constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have

⁹² The words "my fr'ds" are crossed out.

⁹³ Washington first wrote the word "incessantly" and then crossed out "in" and erased the rest; he then converted it into the word "constantly."

already formed engagements let them be fulfilled, with⁶⁴ perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by⁶⁵ artificial⁶⁶ ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or⁶⁷ the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities:

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon⁶⁸ to be scrupulously respected; when⁶⁹ belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation;⁷⁰ when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by our justice shall Counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European Ambition, Rivalship, Interest, Humour or Caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of⁷¹ permanent Alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. So far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as

⁶⁴The words "circumspection indeed, but with" are crossed out.

⁶⁵The article "an" is crossed out.

⁶⁶The word "connection" is crossed out.

⁶⁷The word "in" is crossed out.

⁶⁸The words "to observe" are crossed out.

⁶⁹The words "neither of two" are crossed out.

⁷⁰The words "to throw our weight into the opposite scale" are crossed out.

⁷¹The words "intimate connections" are crossed out.

capable of patronising infidelity to⁷² existing engagements⁷³ (I hold⁷⁴ the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy).⁷⁵ I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to⁷⁶ temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all Nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our Commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and deversifying by gentle means the streams of Commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with Powers so disposed; in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one Nation to look for disinterested favors⁷⁷ from another; that it must pay with a portion of its Independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than

⁷²The prefix "pre" is crossed out.

⁷³The word "for" is crossed out.

⁷⁴The words "it to be true in public, as in private transactions," are crossed out.

⁷⁵The words "those must" are crossed out.

⁷⁶The word "occasional" is crossed out.

⁷⁷The word "at" is crossed out.

to expect, or calculate upon real favours from Nation to Nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the Destiny of Nations: But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign Intrigue, to guard against the Impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my Official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must Witness to You and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting War in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d. of April 1793 is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain⁷⁸ I was well satisfied that our Country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a Neutral position. Having taken

⁷⁸The words "(and from men disagreeing in their impressions of the origin progress and nature of that war)" are crossed out.

it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.⁷⁹

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct,⁸⁰ it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers has been virtually admitted by all.⁸¹

The duty of holding a Neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of Peace and amity towards other Nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have

⁷⁹The words "The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, some of them of a delicate nature would be improperly the subject of explanation of this occasion. I will barely observe that according to my understanding of the matter, that right so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all." are crossed out. A second attempt to express the same thought was also discarded by the device of wafering the slip of paper on which is recorded the version finally decided upon. The second discarded attempt reads: "The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, would be improperly the subject of particular discussion on this occasion. I will barely observe, that to me they appear warranted by well established principles of the Laws of Nations, as applicable to the nature of our alliance with France in connection with the circumstances of the War, and the relative situations of the contracting parties."

⁸⁰The words "some of them of a delicate nature, would be improperly the subject of explanation" are crossed out.

⁸¹This paragraph is bounded by a marginal brace, in which Washington has written "This is the first draught and it is questionable which of the two is to be preferred." This marginalia was, afterwards, crossed out.

committed many errors.⁵² Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate⁵³ the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty five years of my life dedicated to its Service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the Mansions of rest.⁵⁴

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a Man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for⁵⁵ several Generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow Citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free Government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.⁵⁶

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Mount Vernon, September 28, 1796.

Sir: Your letters of the 17th 20 and 20th instant have been received.

⁵²The words "I deprecate the evils to which they may tend, and" are crossed out.

⁵³The word "them" is crossed out.

⁵⁴The following words are here crossed out: "May I, without the charge of ostentation, add, that neither ambition nor interest has been the impelling cause of my actions; that I have never designedly misused any power confided to me, nor hesitated to use one, where I thought it could redound to your benefit? May I, without the appearance of affectation, say that the fortune with which I came into office is not bettered otherwise than by that improvement in the value of property, which the quick progress and uncommon prosperity of our country have produced? May I still further add, without breach of delicacy, that I shall retire without cause for a blush, with sentiment alien to the fervor of those vows for the happiness of his country so natural to a citizen who sees in it the native soil of his progenitors and himself for four generations." In a marginal brace, also crossed out, are the following words: "This paragraph may have the appearance of self distrust and mere vanity."

⁵⁵The word "four" is crossed out.

⁵⁶The original, in the New York Public Library (from a facsimile of which this text is printed), is dated by Washington September 19.

On September 19 Washington left Philadelphia for Mount Vernon.

Enclosed you have a Warrant on the Secy of the Treasury for two thousand dollars for Contingent purposes, agreeably to your request.

'Tis well to learn from Mr. Monroe's own pen that he trusted the French Councils relative to us were fixed, and that he should hear nothing more from the Directory on the subject he had frequently touched upon in his former letters. If his conjectures are right it will not be difficult to account for the cause.

It affords much satisfaction that Judge Benson⁵⁷ has accepted the office of third Commissioner for deciding on the true St. Croix.

As no fit character occurs to me to supply the place of Mr. Marsh⁵⁸ as District Attorney, I request that you will get what information you can on this head and transmit it to me.⁵⁹

TO THE JUSTICES OF THE COUNTY OF FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA

Mount Vernon, September 28, 1796.

Gentlemen: Having been named an Executor to the Will of the late Major George Augustine Washington of Fairfax County, decd. my avocations made it necessary for me to decline Acting in that Capacity and his Widow who was also named executrix, took upon her the Execution of the trust. Her decease makes it proper that some other person should be empower'd to settle and manage the business of the Estate of the late Major Washington, as the causes which first led me to decline the execution still exist. I therefore request you will

⁵⁷Egbert Benson.

⁵⁸Amos Marsh. He was United States attorney for the district of Vermont. Charles Marsh was nominated in his place Dec. 30, 1796, and confirmed by the Senate the same day.

⁵⁹From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

a few of the most esteemed. I now repeat that I shall be glad to see a small number of your wisest chiefs; but I shall not expect them 'till November. I shall take occasion to agree with them on the running of the boundary line between your lands and ours, agreeably to the treaty of Holston. I shall expect them to inform me what chiefs are to attend the running of this line, and I shall tell them whom I appoint to run it; and the time and place of beginning may then be fixed.

I now send my best wishes to the Cherokees, and pray the Great spirit to preserve them.⁵⁵

*TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

Saturday, ½ past 12 [August —, 1796]⁵⁶

Dr. Sir: If it is not too late for Fenno's Paper⁵⁷ of this Afternoon, an extract from Chapin's⁵⁸ letter, respecting the removal of the Artillery, Stores &c. from Niagara,⁵⁹ to the other side of the River (British side) might afford pleasing information. I presume there can be no doubt of its authenticity. Yrs. etc.

[H. S. P.]

*TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON

(Private)

Philadelphia, September 1, 1796.

My dear Sir: About the middle of last Week I wrote to you; and that it might escape the eye of the Inquisitive (for some

⁵⁵ From the broadside in the *Washington Papers*, which is signed, in manuscript, by Washington. A second broadside, also signed by the President, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is indorsed by Washington: "First—drawn but not sent being afterwards altered." This varies considerably from the above text.

⁵⁶ This letter is given the assigned date of 1796 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is one of those removed from the *Washington Papers* by William B. Sprague.

⁵⁷ John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*.

⁵⁸ Israel (?) Chapin. His letter, no copy of which is now found in the *Washington Papers*, probably reached Philadelphia by the end of August.

⁵⁹ The American troops under Capt. James Bruff took possession of Fort Niagara Aug. 10, 1796.

of my letters have lately been pried into) I took the liberty of putting it under a cover to Mr. Jay.

Since then, revolving on the Paper⁶⁰ that was enclosed therein; on the various matters it contained; and on the first expression of the advice or recommendation which was given in it, I have regretted that another subject (which in my estimation is of interesting concern to the well-being of this country) was not touched upon also: I mean Education *generally* as one of the surest means of enlightening and givg. just ways of thinkg to our Citizens, but particularly the establishment of a University; where the Youth from *all parts* of the United States might receive the polish of Erudition in the Arts, Sciences and Belle Letters; and where those who were disposed to run a political course, might not only be instructed in the theory and principles, but (this Seminary being at the Seat of the General Government) where the Legislature wd. be in Session half the year, and the Interests and politics of the Nation of-course would be discussed, they would lay the surest foundation for the practical part also.

But that which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion, is, that the Juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed, and habits established that will stick by one; the youth, or young men from different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part: of course, sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the Country would result from it. What, but the mixing of people from different parts of the United States during the War rubbed off these impressions? A century in the ordinary intercourse, would not have accomplished what

⁶⁰ The Farewell Address.

the Seven years association in Arms did: but that ceasing, prejudices are beginning to revive again, and never will be eradicated so effectually by any other means as the intimate intercourse of characters in early life, who, in all probability, will be at the head of the councils of this country in a more advanced stage of it.

To shew that this is no *new* idea of mine, I may appeal to my early communications to Congress; and to prove how seriously I have reflected on it since, and how well disposed I have been, and still am, to contribute my aid towards carrying the measure into effect, I enclose you the extract of a letter from me to the Governor of Virginia on this Subject, and a copy of the resolves of the Legislature of that State in consequence thereof.

I have not the smallest doubt that this donation (when the Navigation is in complete operation, which it certainly will be in less than two years), will amount to twelve or £1500 Sterlg a year, and become a rapidly increasing fund. The Proprietors of the Federal City have talked of doing something handsome towards it likewise; and if Congress would appropriate some of the Western lands to the same uses, funds sufficient, and of the most permanent and increasing sort might be so established as to entice the ablest Professors in Europe, to conduct it.

Let me pray you, therefore, to introduce a Section in the Address expressive of these sentiments, and recommendatory of the measure; without any mention, however, of my proposed personal contribution to the plan.⁶¹

⁶¹ Hamilton answered (September 4), that "The idea of the university is one of those which I think will be most properly reserved for your speech at the opening of the session. A general suggestion respecting education will very fitly come into the address."

On September 5 Hamilton wrote again: "I return the draft corrected agreeably to your intimations. You will observe a short paragraph added respecting Education. As to the establishment of a University, it is a point which in connection with military schools, and some other things, I meant, agreeably to your desire to suggest to you, as parts of your Speech at the opening of the season. . . . I think it will be advisable

Such a Section would come in very properly after the one which relates to our religious obligations, or in a preceeding part, as one of the recommendatory measures to counteract the evils arising from Geographical discriminations. With Affecte. regard etc.⁶²

*TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Private)

Thursday Morning, September 1, [1796.]

Dear Sir: Enclosed is the name, and description of the Girl I mentioned to you last night. She has been the particular attendant on Mrs. Washington since she was ten years old; and was handy and useful to her being perfect Mistress of her needle.

We have heard that she was seen in New York by someone who knew her, directly after she went off. And since by Miss Langden,⁶³ in Portsmouth; ⁶⁴ who meeting her one day in the Street, and knowing her, was about to stop and speak to her, but she brushed quickly by, to avoid it.

By her being seen in New York (if the fact be so) it is not probable she went immediately to Portsmouth by Water from this City; but whether she travelled by land, or Water to the latter, it is certain the escape has been planned by some one who knew what he was about, and had the means to defray the expence of it and to entice her off; for not the least suspicion

simply to send the address by your Secretary to *Dunlap*. It will of course find its way into all the other papers. Some person on the spot ought to be charged with a careful examination of the impression by the proof sheet."

Hamilton's letters are in the New York Public Library and are printed in *Paltsits's Washington's Farewell Address*.

⁶² From the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

⁶³ Langden.

⁶⁴ New Hampshire.

maintain a strict neutrality and thereby preserve peace, it was bound to do so by motives of policy, interest, and every other consideration, that ought to actuate a people situated and circumstanced as we are; already deeply in debt, and in a convalescent state, from the struggle we have been engaged in ourselves.

On these principles, I have steadily and uniformly proceeded; bidding defiance to calumnies calculated to sow the seeds of distrust in the French nation, and to excite their belief of an influence, possessed by Great Britain in the councils of this Country; than which nothing is more unfounded and injurious; the object of its pacific conduct being truly delineated above. I am, &c.⁸⁸

*To ALEXANDER HAMILTON

(Private)

Philadelphia, August 25, 1796.

My dear Sir: I have given the Paper⁸⁸ herewith enclosed, several serious and attentive readings; and prefer it greatly to the other draughts, being more copious on material points; more dignified on the whole; and with less egotism. Of course less exposed to criticism, and better calculated to meet the eye of discerning readers (foreigners particularly, whose curiosity I have little doubt will lead them to inspect it attentively and to pronounce their opinions on the performance).

When the first draught was made, besides having an eye to the consideration above mentioned, I thought the occasion was fair (as I had latterly been the subject of considerable invective) to say what is there contained of myself; and as the

⁸⁸From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

⁸⁹Hamilton's "Original Major Draft" of the Farewell Address.

Address was designed in a more especial manner for the Yeomanry of this Country I conceived it was proper they should be informed of the object of that abuse; the silence with which it had been treated; and the consequences which would naturally flow from such unceasing and virulent attempts to destroy all confidence in the Executive part of the Government; and that it was best to do it in language that was plain and intelligible to their understandings.

The draught now sent comprehends the most, if not all these matters; is better expressed; and I am persuaded goes as far as it ought with respect to any personal mention of myself.

I should have seen no occasion myself, for its undergoing a revision. But as your letter of the 30th. Ult. which accompanied it, intimates a wish to do this, and knowing that it can be more correctly done after a writing has been out of sight for sometime than while it is in hand, I send it in conformity thereto; with a request, however, that you wd. return it as soon as you have carefully reexamined it; for it is my intention to hand it to the Public before I leave this City, to which I came for the purpose of meeting General Pinckney; receiving the Ministers from Spain and Holland; and for the dispatch of other business which could not be so well executed by written communications between the heads of Departments and myself as by oral conferences. So soon as these are accomplished I shall return; at any rate I expect to do so by, or before the tenth of next month for the purpose of bringing up my family for the Winter.

I shall expunge all that is marked in the paper as unimportant &c. &c. and as you perceive some marginal notes, written with a pencil, I pray you to give the sentiments so noticed mature consideration. After which, and in every other part, if change or alteration takes place in the draught, let them be so

clearly interlined, crazed, or referred to in the Margin as that no mistake may happen in copying it for the Press.

To what Editor in *this* City do you think it had best be sent for Publication? Will it be proper to accompany it with a note to him, expressing (as the principal design of it is to remove doubts at the next Election) that it is hoped, or expected, that the State Printers will give it a place in their Gazettes; or preferable to let it be carried by my private Secretary to that Press which is destined to usher it to the World and suffer it to work its way afterwards? If you think the first most eligible, let me ask you to sketch such a note as you may judge applicable to the occasion. With affectionate regard I am always yours.*

*To JOHN W. BRONAUGH

Philadelphia, August 28, 1796.

Sir: Among the first things I did after my arrival in this City, was to look for the Bond given to me by your father, for conveyance of the land he sold me on the great Kanhawa; and among my Papers *for those Lands* I found the Bond; but could find no Deed conveying the said Land, although in the same bundle I perceived conveyances from others, from whom I had made similar purchases. I have, notwithstanding, some recollection that your father has made, or did propose to make me, a Deed for the 2000 Acres of land that is mentioned in the Bond; but as there is no such Deed among those Papers which

*From the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Hamilton sent to Washington (August 10) another draft "on the plan of incorporating. Whichever you may prefer, if there be any part you wish to transfer from one to another any part to be changed; or if there be any material idea in your own draft which has happened to be omitted and which you wish introduced; in short if there be any thing further in the matter in which I can be of any [service], I will with great pleasure obey your commands." Hamilton's letter and also his "Draft for incorporating in Address" are in the New York Public Library. Both are printed in Palsit's *Washington's Farewell Address*.

contain my title to the Lands on the Kenhawa, As the recollection of what I have mentioned above (from the deversified scenes I have passed through since) is more like a dream than reality; and as the Bond is of no importance to him, if he has complied with the Conditions of it, but *all important* to me if he has not, I shall postpone the surrender of it until the fact respecting this matter can be explained.

Let me pray you therefore to learn from your father when, and where the conveyance was made, and if he is enabled so to do, to inform me in what Court it was recorded, for if the event did happen (as I presume it did) the Deed as it is not among my Land Papers must be in Clerks Office where it was deposited for the purpose of recording. I am etc.

[M. L.]

TALK TO THE CHEROKEE NATION

City of Philadelphia, August 29, 1796.

Beloved Cherokees: Many years have passed since the White people first came to America. In that long space of time many good men have considered how the condition of the Indian natives of the country might be improved; and many attempts have been made to effect it. But, as we see at this day, all these attempts have been nearly fruitless. I also have thought much on this subject, and anxiously wished that the various Indian tribes, as well as their neighbours, the White people, might enjoy in abundance all the good things which make life comfortable and happy. I have considered how this could be done; and have discovered but one path that could lead them to that desirable situation. In this path I wish all the Indian nations to walk. From the information received concerning you, my beloved Cherokees, I am inclined to hope that you are prepared to take this path and disposed to pursue it. It may seem a little

*TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Mount Vernon, August 10, 1796.

My dear Sir: The principal design of this letter, is to inform you, that your favor of the 30th Ult^o,³⁹ with its enclosure,⁴⁰ got safe to my hands by the last Post; and that the latter shall have the most attentive consideration I am able to give it.

A cursory reading it has had, and the Sentiments therein contained are extremely just, and such as ought to be inculcated. The doubt that occurs at first view, is the length of it for a News Paper publication; and how far the occasion would countenance its appearing in any other form, without dilating *more* on the present state of matters, is questionable. All the columns of a large Gazette would scarcely, I conceive, contain the present draught. But having made no accurate calculation of this matter, I may be much mistaken.

If any matters should occur to you as fit subjects of communication at the opening of the next Session of Congress I would thank you for noting and furnishing me with them. It is my

³⁹ Hamilton's letter, which inclosed this draft, is in the New York Public Library. From the printed text in Paltsits's *Washington's Farewell Address*, the following extract is quoted: "It has been my object to render this act *importantly* and *lastingly* useful, and avoiding all just cause of present exception, to embrace such reflections and sentiments as will wear well, progress in approbation with time, and redound to future reputation. How far I have succeeded, you will judge. I have begun the second part of the task; the digesting the supplementary remarks to the first address, which in a fortnight I hope also to send you; yet I confess the more I have considered the matter the less eligible this plan has appeared to me. There seems to me to be a certain awkwardness in the thing, and it seems to imply that there is a doubt whether the assurance without the evidence would be believed. Besides that I think that there are some ideas which will not wear well in the former address, and I do not see how any part can be omitted, if it is to be given as the thing formerly prepared. Nevertheless when you have both before you you can better judge. If you should incline to take the draft now sent, and after perusing and noting any thing that you wish changed and will send it to me I will with pleasure shape it as you desire. This may also put it in my power to improve the expression and perhaps in some instances condense."

⁴⁰ Hamilton's "Original Major Draft" for the Farewell Address, which is in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress. It is printed (with all the alterations in the manuscript reproduced in type) in Paltsits's *Washington's Farewell Address* (New York Public Library: 1935), p. 179, *et seq.*

wish, and my custom to provide all the materials for the Speech in time that it may be formed at leisure. With sincere esteem and Affectionate regard I am etc.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

Mount Vernon, August 12, 1796.

Sir: The originals and drafts of letters, enclosed in yours of the 8th. instt, are herewith returned.

The publication of the letters to and from Lieutt. Colo. England was certainly improper; and the reprehension of Genl. Wilkinson for *doing it*, or suffering it *to be done*, is just; and the manner in which it has been conveyed to him is delicate.

The draught of the letter to Colo. Gaither, predicated on the information you *had* received, is very proper; But as Colo. Hawkins is on his way to Philadelphia, and Mr. Clymer⁴¹ probably arrived there, I would not have it dispatched until you communicate fully and freely with them on all matters and things relative to that frontier; the establishment of Posts, &c. &c. Many things in oral conversations often cast up that never can be well explained, and understood by written transmissions from so distant a part of the Union. It is better to encounter a little delay in acquiring perfect information, (as much so I mean, as the nature of the case will admit) than to have a second letter to write on the same subject; corrective perhaps, in some instances, of the first. This appears the more necessary in the present case, for as much as Colo. Hawkins is furnished with suggestions from the Indians themselves, relative to proper sites for the establishment of Military and trading Posts.

General Picken's⁴² sentiments, respecting the conduct of the Indian Agent to the Southward, accords precisely with the ideas

⁴¹ George Clymer.

⁴² Andrew Pickens.

loss to guess at the Interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him. However, the subject shall have due consideration; but a previous resignation would, in my opinion, carry with it too much the appearance of Concert; and would have a bad, rather than a good effect. Always, and sincerely I am yours.⁶⁴

FAREWELL ADDRESS

[First Draft]⁶⁵

[May 15, 1796.]

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

The quotation in this Address was composed, and intended to have been published, in the year 1792; in time to have announced to the Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States, the determination of the former previous to the sd Election but the solicitude of my confidential friends⁶⁶ added to the peculiar situation of our foreign affairs at that epoch induced me to suspend the promulgation; lest among other reasons my retirement might be ascribed to political cowardice. In place thereof I resolved, if it should be the pleasure of my fellow citizens to honor me again with their suffrages, to devote such services as I could render, a year or two longer: trusting that within that period all impediments to an honorable retreat would be removed.

In this hope, as fondly entertained as it was conceived, I entered upon the execution of the duties of my second administration. But if the causes wch produced this postponement had any weight in them at that period it will readily be acknowledged that there has been no diminution in them since, until very lately, and it will serve to account for the delay wch

⁶⁴From the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

⁶⁵Inclosed in Washington's letter to Alexander Hamilton, May 15, 1796, *ante*.

⁶⁶Madison's name was starred in at the bottom of the page and afterward erased.

has taken place in communicating the sentiments which were then committed to writing, and are now found in the following words.

"The period which will close the appointment with which my fellow citizens have honoured me, being not very distant, and the time actually arrived, at which their thoughts must be designating the citizen who is to administer the Executive Government of the United States during the ensuing term, it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should apprise such of my fellow citizens as may retain their partiality towards me, that I am not to be numbered among those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg them to be assured that the Resolution which dictates this intimation has not been taken without the strictest regard to the relation which as a dutiful citizen I bear to my country; and that in withdrawing that tender of my service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am not influenced by the smallest deficiency of zeal for its future interests, or of grateful respect for its past kindness: but by the fullest persuasion that such a step is compatible with both.

The impressions under which I entered on the present arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In discharge of this trust, I can only say that I have contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. For any errors which may have flowed from this source, I feel all the regret which an anxiety for the public good can excite; not without the double consolation, however, arising from a consciousness of their being involuntary, and an experience of the candor which will interpret them. If there were any circumstances which could give value to my inferior qualifications for the trust, these circumstances must have been temporary. In

this light was the undertaking viewed when I ventured on it. Being, moreover still further advanced into the decline of life, I am every day more sensible that the increasing weight of years, renders the private walks of it in the shade of retirement, as necessary as they will be acceptable to me. May I be allowed to add, that it will be among the highest as well as the purest enjoyments that can sweeten the remnant of my days, to partake in a private station, in the midst of my fellow citizens, of that benign influence of good laws under a free Government, which has been the ultimate object of all my wishes, and in wch I confide as the happy reward of our cares and labours. [May I be allowed further to add as a consideration far more important, that an early example of rotation in an office of so high and delicate a nature, may equally accord with the republican spirit of our Constitution, and the ideas of liberty and safety entertained by the people.]⁶⁷

In contemplating the moment at which the curtain is to drop forever on the public scenes of my life, my sensations anticipate and do not permit me to suspend, the deep acknowledgments required by that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred on me, for the distinguished confidence it has reposed in me, and for the opportunities I have thus enjoyed of testifying my inviolable attachment by the most steadfast services which my faculties could render. All the returns I have now to make will be in those vows which I shall carry with me to my retirement and to my grave, that Heaven may continue to favor the people of the United States with the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that their union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution which is the work of their own hands,

⁶⁷The brackets are so added by pencil, on the original, and are what Washington refers to as "parenthesis's" in his letter to Hamilton.

may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and with virtue; and that this character may be ensured to it, by that watchfulness over public servants and public measures, which on the one hand will be necessary, to prevent or correct a degeneracy; and that forbearance, on the other, from unfounded or indiscriminate jealousies which would deprive the public of the best services, by depriving a conscious integrity of one of the noblest incitements to perform them; that in fine the happiness of the people of America; under the auspices of liberty, may be made compleat, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire them the glorious satisfaction of recommending it to the affection; the praise; and the adoption of every Nation which is yet a stranger to it.

And may we not dwell with well grounded hopes on this flattering prospect; when we reflect on the many ties by which the people of America are bound together, and the many proofs they have given of an enlightened judgment and a magnanimous patriotism.

We may all be considered as the Children of one common Country. We have all been embarked in one common cause. We have all had our share in common sufferings and common successes. The portion of the Earth allotted for the theatre of our fortunes, fulfils our most sanguine desires. All its essential interests are the same; while the diversities arising from climate, from soil, and from other local and lesser peculiarities, will naturally form a mutual relation of the parts, that may give the whole a more entire independence than has perhaps fallen to the lot of any other nation.

To confirm these motives to an affectionate and permanent Union, and to secure the great objects of it, we have established a common Government, which being free in its principles;

being founded in our own choice; being intended as the guardian of our common rights; and the patron of our common interests; and wisely containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, as experience may point out its errors, seems to promise every thing that can be expected from such an institution; [and if supported by wise Councils, by virtuous conduct, and by mutual and friendly allowances, must approach as near to perfection as any human work can aspire, and nearer than any which the annals of mankind have recorded.]⁸⁸

With these wishes and hopes I shall make my exist [*sic*] from civil life; and I have taken the same liberty of expressing them, which I formerly used in offering the sentiments which were suggested by my exit from military life. If, in either instance, I have presumed more than I ought, on the indulgence of my fellow citizens, they will be too generous to ascribe it to any other cause, than the extreme solicitude which I am bound to feel, and which I can never cease to feel for their liberty, their prosperity, and their happiness."⁸⁹

Had the situation of our public affairs continued to wear the same aspect they assumed at the time the foregoing address was drawn I should not have taken the liberty of troubling you my fellow citizens, with any new sentiments or with a repetition [*sic*], more in detail, of those which are therein contained; but considerable changes having taken place both at home and abroad, I shall ask your indulgence while I express with more lively sensibility, the following most ardent wishes of my heart.

That party disputes, among all the friends and lovers of their country may subside, or, as the wisdom of Providence has

⁸⁸So bracketed in pencil by Washington. (See Washington's letter to Alexander Hamilton, May 15, 1796, *ante*.)

⁸⁹Here ends the quoted part of the 1792 draft, which was a copy, almost verbatim, of Madison's suggested draft, the original of which is in the New York Public Library and the rough draft in the *Madison Papers* in the Library of Congress. Madison's inclosing letter to Washington, June 20, 1792, is also in the New York Public Library.

ordained that men, on the same subjects, shall not always think alike, that charity and benevolence when they happen to differ may so far shed their benign influence as to banish those invectives which proceed from illiberal prejudices and jealousy.

That as the allwise dispenser of human blessings has favored no Nation of the Earth with more abundant, and substantial means of happiness than United America, that we may not be so ungrateful to our Creator; so wanting to ourselves; and so regardless of Posterity, as to dash the cup of beneficence which is thus bountifully offered to our acceptance.

That we may fulfil with the greatest exactitude *all* our engagements: foreign and domestic, ~~to~~ the *utmost* of our abilities whensoever, and in whatsoever manner they are pledged: for in public, as in private life, I am persuaded that honesty will forever be found to be the best policy.

That we may avoid connecting ourselves with the Politics of any Nation, farther than shall be found necessary to regulate our own trade; in order that commerce may be placed upon a stable footing; our merchants know their rights; and the government the ground on which those rights are to be supported.

That every citizen would take pride in the name of an American, and act as if he felt the importance of the character by considering that we ourselves are now a distinct Nation the dignity of which will be absorbed if not annihilated, if we enlist ourselves (further than our obligations may require) under the banners of any other Nation whatsoever. And moreover, that we would guard against the Intrigues of *any* and *every* foreign Nation who shall endeavor to intermingle (however covertly and indirectly) in the internal concerns of our country; or who shall attempt to prescribe rules for our policy with any other power, if there be no infraction of our engagements with themselves, as one of the greatest evils that can befall us as a

people; for whatever may be their professions, be assured fellow Citizens and the event will (as it always has) invariably prove, that Nations as well as individuals, act for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of others, unless both interests happen to be assimilated (and when that is the case there requires no contract to bind them together). That all their interferences are calculated to promote the former; and in proportion as they succeed, will render us less independent. In a word, nothing is more certain than that, if we receive favors, we must grant favors; and it is not easy to decide beforehand under such circumstances as we are, on which side the balance will ultimately terminate; but easy indeed is it to foresee that it may involve us in disputes and finally in War, to fulfil political alliances. Whereas, if there be no engagements on our part, we shall be unembarrassed, and at liberty at all times, to act from circumstances, and the dictates of Justice, sound policy, and our essential Interests.

That we may be always prepared for War, but never unsheath the sword except in self defence so long as Justice and our *essential* rights, and national respectability can be preserved without it; for without the gift of prophecy, it may safely be pronounced, that if this country can remain in peace 20 years longer: and I devoutly pray that it may do so to the end of time; such in all probability will be its population, riches, and resources, when combined with its peculiarly happy and remote Situation from the other quarters of the globe, as to bid defiance, in a just cause, to any earthly power whatsoever.

That whensoever and so long as we profess to be Neutral, let our public conduct whatever our private affections may be, accord therewith; without suffering partialities on one hand, or prejudices on the other to controul our Actions. A contrary practice is not only incompatible with our declarations, but is

pregnant with mischief, embarrassing to the Administration, tending to divide us into parties, and ultimately productive of all those evils and horrors which proceed from faction, and above all,

That our Union may be as lasting as time; for while we are encircled in one band, we shall possess the strength of a Giant and there will be none who can make us affraid. Divide, and we shall become weak; a prey to foreign Intrigues and internal discord; and shall be as miserable and contemptible as we are now enviable and happy. And lastly:

That the several departments of Government may be preserved in their utmost Constitutional purity, without any attempt of one to encroach on the rights or privileges of another; that the Genl and State governmts may move in their propr Orbits; And that the authorities of our own constituting may be respected by ourselves as the most certain means of having them respected by foreigners.

In expressing these sentiments it will readily be perceived that I can have no other view now, whatever malevolence might have ascribed to it before, than such as result from a perfect conviction of the utility of the measure. If public servants, in the exercise of their official duties are found incompetent or pursuing wrong courses discontinue them. If they are guilty of mal-practices in office, let them be more ex[em]plarilly punished; in both cases the Constitution and Laws have made provision, but do not withdraw your confidence from them, the best incentive to a faithful discharge of their duty, without just cause; nor infer, because measures of a complicated nature, which time, opportunity and close investigation alone can penetrate, and for these reasons are not easily comprehended by those who do not possess the means, that it necessarily follows they must be wrong; This would not only be doing injustice to

your Trustees, but be counteracting your own essential interests; rendering those Trustees (if not contemptible in the eyes of the world) little better at least than ciphers in the Administration of the government and the Constitution of your own chusing would reproach you for such conduct.

As this Address, Fellow citizens will be the last I shall ever make you, and as some of the Gazettes of the United States have teemed with all the Invective that disappointment, ignorance of facts, and malicious falsehoods could invent, to misrepresent my politics and affections; to wound my reputation and feelings; and to weaken, if not entirely destroy the confidence you had been pleased to repose in me; it might be expected at the parting scene of my public life that I should take some notice of such virulent abuse. But, as heretofore, I shall pass them over in utter silence; never having myself, nor by any other with my participation or knowledge, written, or published a scrap in answer to any of them. My politicks have been unconcealed; plain and direct. They will be found (so far as they relate to the Belligerent Powers) in the Proclamation of the 22d of April 1793; which, having met your approbation, and the confirmation of Congress, I have uniformly and steadily adhered to, uninfluenced by, and regardless of the complaints and attempts of *any of those* powers or their partisans to change them.

The Acts of my Administration are on Record. By these, which will not change with circumstances, nor admit of different interpretations, I expect to be judged. If they will not acquit me, in your estimation, it will be a source of regret; but I shall hope notwithstanding, as I did not seek the Office with which you have honored me, that charity may throw her mantle over my want of abilities to do better; that the gray hairs of a man who has, excepting the interval between the close of the Revolutionary War, and the organization of the new governmt.

either in a civil, or military character, spent five and forty years, *All the prime of his life*, in serving his country, be suffered to pass quietly to the grave; and that his errors, however numerous; if they are not criminal, may be consigned to the Tomb of oblivion, as he himself soon will be to the Mansions of Retirement.

To err, is the lot of humanity, and never for a moment, have I ever had the presumption to suppose that I had not a full proportion of it. Infallibility not being the attribute of Man, we ought to be cautious in censuring the opinions and conduct of one another. To avoid intentional error in my public conduct, has been my constant endeavor; and I set malice at defiance to charge me, justly, with the commission of a wilful one; or, with the neglect of any public duty, which, in my opinion ought to have been performed, since I have been in the Administration of the government. An Administration which I do not hesitate to pronounce, the infancy of the government, and all other circumstances considered, that has been as delicate, difficult, and trying as may occur again in any future period of our history. Through the whole of which I have to the best of my judgment, and with the best information and advice I could obtain, consulted the true and permanent interest of my country without regard to local considerations, to individuals, to parties, or to Nations.

To conclude, and I feel proud in having it in my power to do so with truth, that it was not from ambitious views; it was not from ignorance of the hazard to which I knew I was exposing my reputation; it was not from an expectation of pecuniary compensation, that I have yielded to the calls of my country; and that, if my country has derived no benefit from my services, my fortune, in a pecuniary point of view, has received no augmentation from my country. But in delivering this last

sentiment, let me be unequivocally understood as not intending to express any discontent on my part, or to imply any reproach on my country on that account. [The first wd be untrue; the other ungrateful. And no occasion more fit than the present may ever occur perhaps to declare, as I now do declare, that nothing but the principle upon which I set out, and from which I have, in no instance departed, not to receive more from the public than my expences, has restrained the bounty of several Legislatures at the close of the War with Great Britain from adding considerably to my pecuniary resources.]⁷⁰ I retire from the Chair of government no otherwise benefitted in this particular than what you have all experienced from the increased value of property, flowing from the Peace and prosperity with which our country has been blessed amidst tumults which have harassed and involved other countries in all the horrors of War. I leave you with undefiled hands, an uncorrupted heart, and with ardent vows to heaven for the welfare and happiness of that country in which I and my forefathers to the third or fourth progenitor drew our first breath.⁷¹

*To THOMAS PINCKNEY

(Private)

Philadelphia, May 22, 1796.

Dear Sir: To my letters of the 20th. of February and 5th. of March, I beg leave to refer you for the disclosure of my sentiments on the subjects there mentioned to you. Very soon afterwards, a long and animated discussion in the House of Representatives relative the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and

⁷⁰In the margin of this bracketed passage Washington wrote: "This may, or not, be omitted."

⁷¹From the printed text in Victor Hugo Paltsits's *Washington's Farewell Address* (New York Public Library: 1935). The original, entirely in the writing of Washington, is in the New York State Library.

Paschal seems to be pretty regularly reported sick, Six days in the Week. What is the matter with him? ⁹⁹

*To ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Philadelphia, May 15, 1796.

My dear Sir: On this day week, I wrote you a letter on the subject of the information received from G— M— and put it with some other Papers respecting the case of Mr. De la Fayette, under cover to Mr. Jay: to whom also I had occasion to write. But in my hurry (making up the dispatches for the Post Office next morning) I forgot to give it a Superscription; of course it had to return from N: York for one, and to encounter all the delay occasioned thereby, before it could reach your hands.

Since then, I have been favored with your letter of the 10th. instt. and enclose (in its rough State) the paper mentioned therein,⁹⁹ with some alteration in the first page (since you saw it) relative to the reference at foot. Having no copy by me (except of the quoted part), nor the notes from wch. it was drawn, I beg leave to recommend the draught now sent, to your particular attention.

Even if you should think it best to throw the *whole* into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draught may be returned to me (along with yours) with such amendments and corrections, as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed, if too verbose; and relieved of

⁹⁹From the printed text in M. D. Conway's *George Washington and Mount Vernon*, Long Island Historical Society Memoirs (vol. 4).

⁹⁹The Farewell Address. Hamilton's letter requested Washington to send him the "certain paper" in question. "As it is important that a thing of this kind should be done with great care and much at leisure touched and retouched, I submit a wish that as soon as you have given it the *body* you mean it to have, it may be sent to me." Hamilton's letter is in the New York Public Library.

all tautology, not necessary to enforce the ideas in the original or quoted part. My wish is, that the whole may appear in a plain stile; and be handed to the public in an honest; unaffected; simple garb.

It will be perceived from hence, that I am attached to the quotation. My reasons for it are, that as it is not only a fact that such an Address *was written*, and on the point of being published, but *known also to one or two* of those characters who are now strongest, and foremost in the opposition to the Government;⁹¹ and consequently to the person Administering of it contrary to their views; the promulgation thereof, as an evidence that it was much against my inclination that I continued in Office, will cause it more readily to be believed, that I could have *no* view in extending the Powers of the Executive beyond the limits prescribed by the Constitution; and will serve to lessen, in the public estimation the pretensions of that Party to the patriotic zeal and watchfulness, on which they endeavor to build their own consequence at the expence of others, who have differed from them in sentiment. And besides, it may contribute to blunt, if it does not turn aside, some of the shafts which it may be presumed will be aimed at my annunciation of this event; among which, conviction of fallen popularity, and despair of being re-elected, will be levelled at me with dexterity and keenness.

Having struck out the reference to a *particular character* in the first page of the Address, I have less (if any) objection to expunging those words which are contained within parenthesis's in pages 5, 7 and 8 in the quoted part, and those in the

⁹¹Jefferson and Madison.

On May 14 Madison had written a long letter to Monroe in which he stated that it is now generally understood that the President will retire and that his successor lay between Jefferson "on one side Adams apparently on the other." The draft of this letter is in the *Madison Papers* in the Library of Congress.

18th page of what follows. Nor to discarding the egotisms (however just they may be) if you think them liable to fair criticism, and that they had better be omitted; notwithstanding some of them relate facts which are but little known to the Community.

My object has been, and must continue to be, to avoid personalities; allusions to particular measures, which may appear pointed; and to expressions which could not fail to draw upon me attacks which I should wish to avoid, and might not find agreeable to repel.

As there will be another Session of Congress before the Political existence of the *present* House of Representatives, or my own, will constitutionally expire, it was not my design to say a word to the Legislature on this subject; but to withhold the promulgation of my intention until the period, when it shall become indispensably necessary for the information of the Electors, previous to the Election (which, this year, will be delayed until the 7th of December). This makes it a little difficult, and uncertain what to say, so long beforehand, on the part marked with a pencil in the last paragraph of the 2d page.

All these ideas, and observations are confined, as you will readily perceive, to *my draft* of the valedictory Address. If you form one anew, it will, of course, assume such a shape as you may be disposed to give it, predicated upon the Sentiments contained in the enclosed Paper.

With respect to the Gentleman⁶² you have mentioned as Successor to Mr P——⁶³ there can be no doubt of his abilities, nor in *my mind* is there any of his fitness. But you know as well as I, what has been said of his political sentiments, with respect to another form of Government; and from thence, can be at no

⁶² Rufus King.

⁶³ Pickering.

loss to guess at the Interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him. However, the subject shall have due consideration; but a previous resignation would, in my opinion, carry with it too much the appearance of Concert; and would have a bad, rather than a good effect. Always, and sincerely I am yours.⁶⁴

FAREWELL ADDRESS

[First Draft]⁶⁵

[May 15, 1796.]

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

The quotation in this Address was composed, and intended to have been published, in the year 1792; in time to have announced to the Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States, the determination of the former previous to the sd Election but the solicitude of my confidential friends⁶⁶ added to the peculiar situation of our foreign affairs at that epoch induced me to suspend the promulgation; lest among other reasons my retirement might be ascribed to political cowardice. In place thereof I resolved, if it should be the pleasure of my fellow citizens to honor me again with their suffrages, to devote such services as I could render, a year or two longer: trusting that within that period all impediments to an honorable retreat would be removed.

In this hope, as fondly entertained as it was conceived, I entered upon the execution of the duties of my second administration. But if the causes wch produced this postponement had any weight in them at that period it will readily be acknowledged that there has been no diminution in them since, until very lately, and it will serve to account for the delay wch

⁶⁴ From the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

⁶⁵ Inclosed in Washington's letter to Alexander Hamilton, May 15, 1796, *ante*.

⁶⁶ Madison's name was starred in at the bottom of the page and afterward erased.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 20

PERSPECTIVES

A Campaign of the Future

The balloons have all popped, the confetti been swept away. Lawn signs will be pulled down and bumper stickers will erode. High school bands in swing states will go back to playing at football games instead of political rallies. Our airwaves can be reclaimed in the name of products we don't need, after having been temporarily subjugated by candidates we don't want. It is all over. Bob Dole, who first faced the voters at age 27, has waged his last campaign and lost. Bill Clinton, who ran his first race at age 28, has waged his last campaign and won.

It all seems so very obvious and anti-climactic now. The race contained few surprises and each of the parties did little more than play their perfunctory parts. Yet, less than two years ago, the experts predicted a far different outcome for the 1996 presidential contest. Back then the Republicans were revolting and the President was arguing with the press about whether he had some relevance

to the process of government. The week after the 1994 elections Time charitably said that, "if not gone, certainly radically diminished was the prospect of William Jefferson Clinton's gaining a second term." Yet, Tuesday night it was that same President who was beaming in front of the Old State House in Arkansas, having been reelected in an electoral college landslide.

Exactly a year ago this week, U.S. News & World Report asked on its cover, "Democrats: Is the Party Over?" Inside it declared that the "world's oldest political party is fighting for its life." Such talk has long since disappeared as the Republicans have spent much of this year on the defensive. Bill Clinton and the Democrats have recaptured the political center.

In the days following the midterm election, pundits presented the President with one of two options to have a chance of reclaiming his presidency from oblivion. The first was to oppose the Republicans at every step. If they say "yes," say "no." If they say "stop," say "go." If they say "high," barnstorm the nation furiously insisting "low."

The second option was to accept their interpreted verdict of the nation and ever so softly tap the breaks on the hurtling Republican revolution. If they

say "high," say "I'll jump as high as you want." Clinton, wisely, took neither option. He forged his own path by looking inward and realizing that articulating and trusting in who he was all along was the surest path to success.

Clinton was neither a demagogue nor a Demo-GOP. Instead, he became what he had promised to be in 1992 and throughout his career: a raging centrist who would fight for middle class interests and mainstream values. In 1994, voters didn't vote for a "do nothing" government. They wanted a government that works and has real accomplishments on real problems. For all the criticism

articulation of a different vision of government than that which we have come to expect from the overheated debates in Washington. It is a vision of government that neither solves problems for people nor leaves them alone to fend for themselves. Rather, Bill Clinton's winning vision is one that gives people the means to fix their own problems.

For a politician who seems to constantly be under fire for a perceived lack of consistency, this is a strain that runs indelibly through his entire career. In 1974, a young Bill Clinton fresh out of law school campaigned for Congress. He recalled "the words of a friend of mine who works on the Scott County road crew, 'the people want a hand up, not a hand out.'" Twenty-two years later, Clinton spoke in Cleveland on the last day of his last campaign. He called on Americans to "work together to give everyone the tools they need, the

chance—not a guarantee, but a chance—to make the most of our own lives and build that bridge to the 21st century together."

This was the question in 1996. A 15 percent tax cut that would give individuals greater autonomy from the government or a government that works with the American community to create equal opportunities for advancement. By no means a small question, the argument over individualism versus community has the potential to play an even greater role as we enter a world where technology both separates people from one another and concurrently demands they work in teams to succeed. That's a big enough debate for any election.

Now, after endless months of campaigning, the 1996 election has drawn to a close. For those of you are feeling withdrawal from a lack of discussion of bridges, villages, and "whatever"—never fear. Disappointed with Tuesday's results? Bide your time. Voters of New Hampshire: lock your doors! Citizens of Iowa: batten the hatches! After all, it's only 1,461 days until the next Presidential election.

Andrei H. Cherny is The Crimson's election columnist.



of Clinton's "little programs," school construction, teenage curfews, and child literacy have a lot bigger impact on American families than the "big ideas" that some inside the Beltway demanded.

Yet, Clinton's pygmy proposals are representative of more than what they seem at first glance. In 1960, John F. Kennedy '40 and Richard M. Nixon spent much of the fall arguing about the fate of Quemoy and Matsu, two small islands off the coast of China. Yet for all the hand-wringing that year and thenceforth about spending so much of the election on such minute specks of land, the argument was really about how the candidates would deal with the Communist menace—a debate definitely worth having. When George Bush spent the Fall of 1988 talking about the Pledge of Allegiance and prison furloughs, Americans understood it as the criticism of a Democratic Party that too often failed to recognize America's special place in the world and sought to strike an improper balance between the rights of criminals and their victims.

So too this year's campaign issues of V-chips, education tax breaks, and cellular phones for neighborhood watch groups can also be seen as the

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 21

David S. Broder

A Bad Mixture of Journalism and Politics

The topic of today's column is a bit unusual. It's not provoked by a politician or public official but by a fellow columnist, William Safire of the New York Times, a likable and learned man with a wonderful flair to his writing. Safire has placed himself at the intersection of two disturbing trends, and his Dec. 26 column urging House Speaker Newt Gingrich to step down illustrates a confusion about roles and responsibilities that is a danger to our democracy.

First, Safire is part of the trend in the past couple decades for people to achieve prominent places in journalism not by working their way up from routine beats to more responsible tasks in the newsroom but instead by vaulting the wall from politics and government straight into punditry. He was not the first, but since Safire moved directly from speechwriting and flackery for Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew onto the op-ed page of the Times, dozens of others have followed his route and tried to emulate his success.

You can see them opining away on the weekend TV talk shows, their partisanship often on display. George Stephanopoulos, late of the Clinton White House, is the latest recruit, but others from the staffs of Ronald Reagan,

George Bush, Dan Quayle, Jimmy Carter, Mario Cuomo, Pat Robertson, and Tip O'Neill are regularly on display.

They carry over from their former roles as political *consiglieri* the habit of giving advice to politicians. Thus Safire moved quickly beyond his judgment on Gingrich's actions—"wrong, even if not unlawful"—to his advice to the speaker on how to cope with the situation.

A journalist has no business advising a politician—a fact that an earlier transplant, George F. Will, famously forgot when he coached Ronald Reagan for his debate in the 1980 campaign. But when Gingrich called Safire for advice, Safire tells us, he told the speaker that he should step down "for the sake of the country, the conservative cause, the Republican Party and even his own long-term career."

Other commentators jumped into the debate about whether Gingrich should cash in his chips or stand his ground, and the journalistic focus shifted—as it too often does—from helping the public understand the fairly complex facts of the case into a food fight over the best tactic for Gingrich and his party to follow.

This brand of punditry feeds a second—and more consequential—trend, the tendency to reduce every issue to

public referendum, ignoring the special responsibilities that elected officials hold in a republic like ours. It feeds the growing distortion of democracy identified by British political scientist Anthony King in an important article in the current issue of the Atlantic Monthly magazine. The now-dominant concept of democracy in America, King writes, "might be called the 'agency' view" that those in office are expected to execute the wishes of the majority, "whatever their views may be."

The alternative concept, now derided here, he says, is "the division of labor" that requires those in office to apply their best judgment to the problems at hand, knowing that they will be held accountable for their work at the next election.

If Americans recognized the proper division of labor between the elected and the governed, we would acknowledge that while the choice of a speaker and the judgment on Gingrich's ethics may affect the public indirectly, they are essentially internal matters that are, in the first instance, the responsibility of the House. We do not elect the speaker in the way we elect our legislators or presidents, nor do we decide the disciplinary measures to be applied to any member of the House.

The House must take that responsibility. That it takes its duty seriously is proven by the severely critical report on Gingrich issued unanimously by the two Democrats and two Republicans who make up the ethics subcommittee.

Soon that report will go to the full House, where each and every member will be held accountable for his or her part of the collective judgment on the appropriate punishment for the rule-breaking Gingrich has acknowledged, just as each member will be accountable for Tuesday's vote on reelecting Gingrich as speaker.

But this nation ignores the value of the division of labor. More and more of the prominent figures in journalism display the mindsets and play the roles of partisan advisers more appropriate to the political world from which they came, while flouting the values of detachment, skepticism and caution about leaps of judgment that are vital to the craft they have joined. And fewer and fewer opinion-makers accept the notion that those in government have responsibilities beyond doing what the public (or the pundits) want.

Both journalism and politics are subverted by these trends.

George F. Will

The Fruits of *Roe v. Wade*

Clinton's speech sounded good

From afar, he's more vividly the president

By William Safire
New York Times

LONDON — When Sen. Rufus Choate in 1856 coined a phrase by criticizing "the glittering and sounding generalities" of the Declaration of Independence, Ralph Waldo Emerson snapped back with: "Glittering generalities? They are blazing ubiquities!"

That was my chauvinist reaction when the Daily Telegraph, Britain's liveliest quality newspaper, dismissed President Clinton's second inaugural address as "banal."

Banal it was not. (That word better describes the plodding poem read at the ceremony.) Although Clinton's reach for historical resonance hardly blazed with all-pervasive wisdom, his speech was a respectable effort, forcefully delivered.

In assessing his second inaugural, much depended on how you participated in the occasion.

If you watched as a conservative partisan, you could take umbrage at his pose of being above the battle. Who is this tricky triangulator — demagogue of Mediscare and rental agent of the Lincoln bedroom — to denounce as "petty bickering and extreme partisanship" congressional disagreement with his outrageous campaign misrepresentations?

If you nitpicked as a writer, you winced at his sentence fragments, at the awkwardness of shaping a hope into a chapter, and at the risk of building a speech on the theme of a new "promised land" — inviting distrust of political promises or derision at presuming to be a new Moses.

But if you let the ceremony wash over you as an American — the monumental setting, the singing of patriotic hymns, the flags, the oath, the traditional speech — you gained an appreciation of what your president was trying to do.

He paid more than the usual obeisance to the black community. His reminder about the scourge of slavery, his evocation of Martin Luther King Jr. "at the other end of this Mall" and his "we shall overcome" are both payback for monolithic political support and a genuine expression of one of his few bedrock principles. The time for affirmative action is out of joint, but for Clinton to press his strength on race relations is good for the country.

He bestraddled the center like a would-be Colossus with "The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity — not a guarantee. . . ." That sentiment was one Newt Gingrich of the Opportunity Society had to applaud, while entitlement liberals had to cringe.

At the same time, Clinton replied to Ronald Reagan's inaugural "government is not the solution to our problem" with an oblique "government is not the problem and not the solution."

Few can argue with Clinton's welcome call for an assumption of personal responsibility, unless his simultaneous embrace of "a new spirit of community" turns out to be a euphemism for the continued assumption of that responsibility by government.

His vision of "a land of new promise" — the "I see an America where" construction beloved of American orators — is not to be cynically dismissed. It's a fine farrago of hopes that need to be expressed by our elected leader as he repeats the informal "so help me God" that George Washington added to the oath set down in our Constitution.

Viewed from across an ocean, the president acting as president comes across more vividly than when viewed inside our borders or D.C.'s Beltway. The office seems a bigger part of the man.

That's a thought to keep in mind as the second Clinton term reveals the tawdry secrets of the first. His popularity is at its peak in the postelection rush of patriotism (I believe the CBS-New York Times poll, though it was egregiously wrong about the election), and this may be a good time to lock in profits on Clinton stock.

The investigations may bear bitter fruit; the economy may not prop up his ratings forever; decisionmaking will surely move to the Hill and then to his putative successor. Just as, in Clinton's stirring inaugural words, our actions at this moment in our nation's history will "define our course and our character," so will his reaction to the process of American justice define his own.

I like to think Bill Clinton will preserve, protect and defend that process, at whatever personal cost, remembering all that he represented on Inauguration Day.

Our perspective

Democrats and money*Lots of smoke but little fire*

The Democratic National Committee and President Bill Clinton have taken enormous flak for the DNC's fund-raising practices during the 1996 campaign — especially the fund-raising that focused on Asian Americans. But when the accusations are picked apart and examined closely, there's far less there than the howls of objection would suggest.

It's true that some of the DNC practices were unseemly. Some may also have been illegal, though at several levels of control and accountability removed from President Clinton, and in ways that remain to be determined.

Mostly, however, the ruckus consists of politically inspired smoke created by cynical, hypocritical Republicans. They appear furious that in this election the Democratic nominee didn't play his assigned role as the naive, cash-poor good guy getting beat up royally by free-spending Republicans.

Instead, following the 1994 GOP congressional triumph, Clinton decided he would try to beat the GOP at its own fund-raising game. Some of the efforts made on his behalf apparently got out of hand, but most of the statements of horror from people like Newt Gingrich and William Safire appear to be pure partisan poppycock.

For the record, despite the DNC's mammoth fund-raising effort, Democrats in 1996 were the poor cousins of the campaign. In the last report before the November election, Republicans had raised \$399 million, almost twice as much as the Democrats. In the 10 closest House races won by Republicans, the GOP winner outspent the Democrat by an average \$371,000. In the 10 closest races won by a Democrat, the GOP candidate still spent an average \$94,000 more.

Yes, critics say, but Republicans didn't have to send back more than \$1 million in tainted contributions, as the Democrats did. In fact, returning questionable contributions is not an uncommon occurrence; it happens to Republicans as respectable as Bob Dole and Minnesota Gov. Arne Carlson. The Democrats needed better contribution screening procedures — which they've now instituted — but they are hardly alone in having to return contributions.

A thorough investigation may turn up problems with the legality of fund-raising by John Huang, a low-level DNC employee. But consider that in July 1996, Simon C. Fireman, who had served as a vice chairman of Bob Dole's campaign finance committee, pleaded guilty to 74 counts of conspiracy for laundering illegal political contributions through Hong Kong — including \$120,000 that went to the Dole campaign. Fireman was fined \$1 million, while his company had to pay \$5 million. The Dole campaign announced that the illegal contribution would be forwarded to the U.S. Treasury, and that was that. End of story.

Well yes, critics say, but in Clinton's case, the contributions arranged by Huang apparently caused changes in U.S. policy.

Which policies? This accusation seems to change from week to week. Initially it was asserted that the United States softened its policy toward Indonesian abuses in East Timor. In fact, the Clinton administration has been

far more critical of Indonesia's, East Timor policies than either the Reagan or Bush administrations. A U.S. State Department report, "Indonesia Human Rights Practices, 1995," issued in March 1996, long after the largest of the Indonesian donations were made, continued that critical approach.

It was also asserted that following the Indonesian contributions, Mickey Kantor, then serving as U.S. trade representative, abruptly ended an investigation of Indonesian labor policies, allowing that nation to continue receiving special trade benefits.

In fact, the investigation was supposed to conclude in one year. Kantor continued it several additional months, so concerned was he with Indonesia's use of its military to crush independent labor unions. Kantor brought the investigation to a close only after President Suharto pledged to end that objectionable practice and others.

Suharto's adherence to that pledge has been spotty, but the Clinton administration at least extracted it. Charlene Barshefsky, Clinton's current trade representative, followed up with an aggressive campaign, over objections from Indonesia and other developing nations, to ensure that the new World Trade Organization pay attention to the rights of labor. Barshefsky's effort culminated in an important new WTO agreement on the subject last week. Far from being bought off by foreign contributions, the Clinton administration has aggressively focused on human rights concerns in Indonesia and elsewhere that failed to get much attention from the two previous Republican administrations.

And so it goes. When you look closely at the accusations against Clinton, they appear insubstantial. Coffee in the White House or nights in the Lincoln bedroom for those who make big contributions? Unseemly, yes, but these reward systems are variations of similarly unseemly Washington breakfast clubs, ambassadorships essentially sold by both Democrats and Republicans, and similar practices. In Minnesota, remember Gov. Carlson's proposal to offer private quarterly briefings for large donors? Remember Gov. Al Quie's Key Club? Recall Sen. Rudy Boschwitz's blue stickers, which big donors could affix to their mail to ensure that it got priority attention?

It's true that the Democrats, in an effort to match Republican spending, got too caught up in raising funds to finance their 1996 campaign. It's true that some of their hired minions stretched the limits of taste and honor, and perhaps violated the law. But it's not true that all this reflects horribly on President Clinton. What it does reflect is the horribly corrosive role money has come to play in American politics — whether politics practiced by Democrats or Republicans.

Further corrosion needs to be prevented through a thick application of strong campaign finance reform. But the emphasis should be on the need for reform. Focusing on Clinton's supposed sins is simply part of the continuing Republican strategy of throwing as much mud as possible at the president in hopes some of it will stick. That's a lesson from the Newt Gingrich school of politics, and it has gotten very old and tiresome indeed.