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Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane, Philadelphia, 7 September 1774

Mr. Gadsden leaves all N. England Sons of Liberty, far behind, for he is for taking up his Fire-lock, & marching direct to Boston, nay he affirmed this Morning, that were his Wife, and all his Children in Boston & they were there to perish, by the sword, it would not alter his Sentiments or proceeding, for American Liberty, by which You may judge of the Man, when I add, that he is one of the most regularly, religious Men I ever met with.

Edward Rutledge to Thomas Bee, Philadelphia, October 1774

I long to tell you what we have done, but am prevented, from silence having been imposed upon us all by consent, the first week in congress; this, however, I may say, that the province will not be able to account for our conduct until we explain it, though it is justifiable upon the strictest principles of honor and policy. Don't be alarmed; we have done no mischief, though I am sure, if Mr. — had had his way, we should. But you may thank your stars you sent prudent men, and I trust that the youngest is not the least—The gentleman to whom you alluded, is, if possible, worse than ever; more violent, more wrong-headed.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 18 August 1776

My Friend Warren, the late Governor Ward, and Mr. Gadsden, are three Characters in which I have seen the most generous disdain of every Spice and Species of such Meanness. The two last had not great abilities, but they had pure Hearts. Yet they had less Influence, than many others who had neither so considerable Parts, nor any share at all of their Purity of Intention.

George Gains

William Gardner to Nicholas Gilman, Portsmouth, N.H., 14 June 1788

[Gains], who from the infatuation of the people, has been a long time kept in public office, altho' very conspicuous for Ignorance, Impertinence & Loquacity.

George Gale

“A Marylander,” Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 26 December 1788

Mr. *Gale* has only been *four* years in the senate of our state, and never in congress at all, consequently cannot be equal to his competitor [John Henry] in continental knowledge, although his character for abilities, integrity, and close application to public business, stands remarkably high—I wish to see him one of our six representatives, if he will consent to serve.

Albert Gallatin

James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, 31 January 1796

Gallatin is a real Treasure in this department of Legislation [i.e., financial matters]. He is sound in his principles, accurate in his calculations & indefatigable in his researches. Who could have supposed that Hamilton could have gone off in the triumph he assumed, with such a condition of the finances behind him?

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 28 April 1796

Gallatin has been exposed and his Ignorance as well as his other Ridicules held up. It is intolerable that a Foreigner, should act such a Part as he has done and yet go on.

Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, Philadelphia, 4 April 1798

Gallatin, the sly, the artful, the insidious Gallatin knew better than to join in the call [for American diplomatic dispatches from France].

Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz: *Travels through America*, 15 April 1798

He is originally from Geneva but has been established for 20 years in America. He is an educated man, what is more, is as clear headed and as logical as one could wish to meet. The role he plays in Congress though without any affectation or pre-eminence is well known. He is the leader of the opposition. the preciseness of his mind, his moderation, and his integrity prevent him, I would venture to say, from carrying his opposition to a point dangerous to the maintenance of order and the Constitution. He has published several pamphlets on the finances of the United States.

Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams, Philadelphia, 21 April 1798

The subtle Jesuit Gallatin will turn, and twist, twist & turn, but the Indignation of the House rises against him so strongly that he is quite placed in the back ground, and must quit the field or take a less conspicuous station.*

*Gallatin continued to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives from Pennsylvania until 1801.

Abigail Adams, to Mary Cranch, Philadelphia, 22 April 1798

The Jesuit Gallatin is as subtle and as artful and designing as ever, but meets with a more decided opposition. . . .

Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams, Quincy, Mass., 30 May 1801

Gallatin is appointed to the important trust of Secretary of the treasury—a Man, who beside his being a Foreigner: was implicated in the insurgency, and took Shelter in the general amnesty, who has uniformly been in opposition to every measure of the Government, and whose every effort has

been to pull it down, who cannot articulate a word of our language. Such is the Man exalted to one of the highest trusts of confidence.

Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams, Philadelphia, 8 June 1801

Gallatin is at the head of the Treasury. He is a foreigner—so is Hamilton.

Gouverneur Morris: To Those Members of Congress Who Have the Sense to Perceive and the Spirit to Pursue the True Interests of Their Country (unpublished sheets)

We consider, then, Mr. Gallatin as an efficient man of real talents. We did not approve, neither do we now approve of his appointment; but we forbear to assign the reasons, because, as far as it has come to our knowledge, his conduct is not reprehensible. We believe, moreover, that he is not swayed by pecuniary motives. We are convinced that he touched nothing in the Louisiana concern, and have no reason to suppose he will pocket any part of the sum to be expended in purchasing the Floridas.

John Adams to John Quincy Adams, Quincy, Mass., 25 February 1804

Do the President and Mr Madison preserve their health under all their fatigues. Mr Gallatin's pale face will never be made paler by any application to Business or Study. His Constitution is hardened to both by habit.

William Plumer: Memorandum, 1 March 1807

The Heads of Department visit few members of either House. Mr. Madison for this two or three years past has entirely omitted even the ceremony of leaving cards at their lodgings. He invites very few to dine with him.

Mr. Gallatin leaves no cards, makes no visits—scarce ever invites a Member to dine—or has even tea parties—Mrs. Gallatin is a domestic wife & averse to company. He is himself frugal and parsimonious—Is very inattentive & negligent of his person & dress—his linen is frequently soiled, & his clothes tattered.

Thomas Jefferson to William Duane, Monticello, 28 March 1811

I believe Mr. Gallatin to be of a pure integrity, and as zealously devoted to the liberties and interests of our country as its most affectionate native citizen. Of this his courage in Congress, in the days of terror, gave proofs which nothing can obliterate from the recollection of those who were witnesses of it. . . . An intercourse, almost daily, of eight years with him, has given me opportunities of knowing his character more thoroughly than perhaps any other man living.

Benjamin Rush to John Adams, Philadelphia, 26 December 1811

You will say perhaps, what can she [Pennsylvania] mean by asking for a larger representation in the honors of the general government? Is not Mr. Gallatin a Pennsylvanian? I once heard a servant girl who quarreled with a mulatto fellow servant and called him “a no nation son of b——h.” Many of our citizens who would blush to apply such low and indelicate language to any

man, do not hesitate to say Mr. Gallatin is “a *no state* man” and that he belongs as much to the Union as to Pennsylvania.

Abigail Adams to Abigail Adams Smith, Quincy, Mass., 28 April 1813

Mr. Gallatin derived his origin in a country where both the religion and the government were congenial to our own. He is a naturalized citizen; he has risen by his talents and industry to places of high trust in the state of Pennsylvania. I know now of any want of honour, honesty, or integrity which has been ascribed to him even by his enemies, in the high and responsible station of Secretary of the Treasury. He is a man of learning, and well acquainted with all our foreign negotiations, as well as the affairs of the country; he leaves a wife and family and large possessions in the country. I wish to view with a liberal and candid temper of spirit, every measure of the government and administration: they have difficulties enough to encounter when every allowance is made. I hope the native American may prove as able, as wise, and as candid, as true to the interests of the country, as the Genevean; and I believe your brother will not take any exception to his associates. Upon this occasion they are all commissioned as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipo, and as such must be presented to the emperor.

John Adams to Richard Rush, Quincy, Mass., 13 June 1813

To be one of the most indefatigable of Men, both in buisness and Studies, has been an acknowledged Character of Mr Gallatin for the twenty odd years that I have known his name: and while I rejoice that he has left his department in Such Order, I cannot expect his return by Christmas.

Thomas Jefferson to William Short, Monticello, 15 January 1816

I concur with you in considering the retirement of Mr. Gallatin from the Treasury as a great misfortune. Had he remained he would have shielded us from the faux frais of the War & Navy departments which constituted a great portion of our expenditures, he would have sooner recurred to the resource of substantial taxation, have devised more economical & effectual means of using the public credit, and altho' not without good will to some banking establishment, he would have crushed that mob of banks which it was so entirely in the power of the government to have done.

Thomas Jefferson to Louis Pio, Monticello, 13 June 1817

I am glad you have made an acquaintance with Mr. Gallatin. You will find him an able, honest and friendly man, of plain habits, & above ceremony.

Albert Gallatin to Thomas Jefferson, Paris, 17 July 1817

I thirst for America, and I hope that the time is not distant when I may again see her shores, & enjoy the blessings which are found only there.

Albert Gallatin to Thomas Jefferson, New York, 29 June 1823

I am well myself, but cannot bear much bodily fatigue and find the heat very oppressive. This will prevent my enjoying the pleasure of paying you and Mr. Madison a visit this autumn, although you are the two friends I most wish to see.

Joseph Galloway

John Adams to Edmund Jenings, 18 July 1780

If the strictures upon Galloway are not sent off, pray scratch out all the Personalities against him. It is beneath me to be personal against such a Creature. Tho a meaner, falser, heart never circulated Blood.

Don Diego de Gardoqui

Henry Wynkoop to Reading Beatty, New York, 18 March 1789

The don Diego de Gardoqui is one of the best tempered, lively, little beings you ever saw. He speaks in raptures of the new government, having been a uniform advocate in favor of America at the Court of Spain, during the whole of the late Revolution. He declares himself ready to establish such a national union, and intercourse, as will prove satisfactory and beneficial to both countries. That once accomplished, he says, I take my leave for my native land.

Horatio Gates

Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, 26 November 1774

Major Gates I believe will be with you tomorrow—I waited on him on Monday morning; he dined with me last Tuesday—I think him a good natured worthy man & well behaved.

Richard Henry Lee to George Washington, Philadelphia, 13 June 1776

It is more than probable that Congress will order our friend Gates to Canada. His great abilities and virtue will be absolutely necessary to restore things there, and his recommendations will always be readily complied with. You will find that great powers are given to the Commander in that distant department.

Samuel Adams to Samuel Cooper, Philadelphia, 15 July 1777

Gates is the Man I should have chosen [instead of Philip Schuyler to command the Northern Department]. He is honest and true, & has the Art of gaining the Love of his Soldiers, principally because he is always present and shares with them in Fatigue & Danger.

Samuel Adams to John Langdon, Philadelphia, 7 August 1777

Gates is gone to take the Command [of the Northern Department]. He is an honest and able officer; always beloved by his Soldiers because he always shares with them in Fatigue and Danger. This has not been said of his immediate Predecessor [i.e., Philip Schuyler].

Abigail Adams to John Adams, Boston, 25 October 1777

Burgoyne is expected in by the middle of the week. I have read many Articles of Capitulation, but none which ever contained so generous Terms before. Many people find fault with them but perhaps do not consider sufficiently the circumstances of General Gates, who perhaps by delaying and exacting more might have lost all. This must be said of him that he has followed the golden rule and done as he would wish himself in like circumstances to be dealt with.

De Lisle (William Livingston), *New Jersey Gazette*, 31 December 1777

[On Gates assuming command at Saratoga.] The first object with General Gates was to put his army in order. This was done in a few weeks; for he infused at once his own spirit into every corps among them. His general orders were short, but they were implicitly obeyed. He saw every thing with his own eyes, and heard every thing with his own ears. He slept but little, and was seldom absent from the morning and evening parade of his troops. He understood every part of the duty of an officer and soldier as well as of a general, for he had served the King of Great-Britain, during the greatest part of the two last wars with France, under some of the ablest Generals that Great-Britain ever sent into the field. His temper was naturally hasty, which sometimes led him to make use of passionate expressions in reproving his officers, but he was notwithstanding equally beloved and feared by them. I have been told, that he never had a single personal enemy under his command.

Not only the genius and character of this illustrious officer, but the abilities of several of his general officers, and the spirit of his troops, all concurred to afford a favourable presage of a successful campaign.

Alexander McDougall to George Clinton, Camp, Second Hills 3 miles from New Milford, 5 November 1778

General Gates I understand is gone to command at Boston. I know he was exceedingly impatient under command. And from his known temper, I suspect, he prefers being the first man of a village to the second in Rome. He has but little to do there; but the service will not suffer, by his being at a Post of ease and security. I could hardly believe he was so extremely credulous; as I found him to be. He is the most so, in his profession of any man I ever knew, who had seen so much service. He has the weakest mind to combine circumstances, to form a judgment of any man I ever knew, of his plausible, and specious appearance. In short sir, he is as weak as water. His whole Fort lies, in a little Routine of detail, of duty, & a perfect knowledge of the English corrupt Nobility. The Lord of Hosts have Mercy on that Army, whose movements must depend on his combination of Military demonstrations of an Enemy. God avert so great a Judgment to America; as his having the chief command of her Armies. It's fortunate for America Gen. Burgoyne was so rash as to put himself in the Position he did; and that there was no other route, for him to Albany, but the one he took, or he would not have been an American Prisoner.

Nathaniel Greene to Alexander McDougall, Fredericksburg, N.Y., 8 November 1778

I believe you have guessed the true cause of General Gates going to Boston. Hitherto he has found himself surrounded with flatterers until the junction of the two Armies. Since which he has been like Samson after his Head was shaved. His strength has been no more than another man's. This is a situation his pride and ambition cannot brook.

Nathanael Greene to John Cadwalader, Fredericksburg, N.Y., 10 November 1778

General Gates is gone to Boston. He had rather be the first in a Village than the second man in Rome. “Ye gods what havock does Ambition make among your creatures.”

Samuel Adams to Charles Chauncy, Philadelphia, 25 December 1778

When General Gates was ordered to Boston a considerable Embarkation of the Enemy’s Troops had been made at New York & it was apprehended they would attempt a Landing somewhere near that Place. His military Abilities and Experience, his political Principles & Attachments and the Confidence which the Troops and People of the Eastern States had in him were the Considerations which induced his being sent thither. Had the Enemy turned their whole Force that way of Course the Commander in Chief would have followed.

Marquis de Lafayette: Memoirs, 1779

It is singular that the shrewdest people did not believe that Gates was the true object of the intrigue. He was a good officer, but he had neither the talent, the intelligence, nor the willpower necessary for supreme command. He would have been crushed by the burden, and he would have given way to the famous General Lee, who was then a prisoner of the British, and whose first action would have been to sell out his friends and the whole American cause.

James Warren to Samuel Adams, Boston, 30 March 1779

I am very happy in our Friend General Gates, but I fear he is to leave us soon. He is a true Genuine Republican of sterling virtue, etc., etc.

Alexander Hamilton to John Laurens, Middlebrook, N.J., April 1779

Gates has refused the Indian command. Sullivan is come to take it. The former has lately given a fresh proof of his impudence, his folly and his rascality.

George Washington to John Jay, Middlebrook, N.J., 14 April 1779

If you were to peruse, My dears Sir, the letters which have passed between General Gates & myself for a long time back, you would be sensible that I have no great temptation to court his correspondence, when the transacting of business does not require it. An air of design—a want of candor in many instances, & even of politeness, give no very inviting complexion to the correspondence on his part. As a specimen of this I send you a few letters & extracts, which at your leizure, I shall be glad you will cast your eye upon. . . .

I discovered very early in the War symptoms of coldness & constraint in General Gates’s behaviour to me—These increased as he rose into greater consequence; but we did not come to a direct breach till the beginning of last year. This was occasioned by a correspondence, which I thought made rather free with me between him and General Conway, which accidentally came to my knowledge. The particulars of this affair you will find delineated in the packet herewith, indorsed “Papers respecting General Conway.” Besides the evidence contained in them of the genuineness of the offensive correspondence, I have other proofs, still more convincing, which, having been given me in a confidential way, I am not at liberty to impart.

After this affair subsided—I made it a point of treating General Gates with all the attention & cordiality in my power, as well from a sincere desire of harmony, as from an unwillingness to give any cause of triumph to our enemies, from an appearance of dissention among ourselves. I can appeal to the world, & to the whole Army, whether I have not cautiously avoided every word or hint, that could tend to disparage General Gates in any way. I am sorry his conduct to me has not been equally generous, and that he is continually giving me fresh proofs of malevolence and opposition—It will not be doing him injustice to say, that besides the little underhand intrigues, which he is frequently practising, there has hardly been any great military question, in which his advice has been asked, that it has not been given in an equivocal and designing manner, apparently calculated to afford him an opportunity of censuring me, on the failure of whatever measures might be adopted.

When I find that this Gentleman does not scruple to take the most unfair advantages of me—I am under a necessity of explaining his conduct to justify my own. This, and the perfect confidence I have in you, have occasioned me to trouble you with so free a communication of the state of things between us. I shall still be as passive as a regard to my own character will permit. I am however uneasy, as General Gates has endeavour'd to impress Congress with an unfavourable idea of me, and as I only know this in a private confidential way—that I cannot take any step to remove the impression, if it should be made.

I am aware, Sir, of the delicacy of your situation; and I mean this letter only for your own private information; you will therefore not allow yourself to be embarrassed by its contents; but with respect to me, pass it over in silence.

John Jay to George Washington, Philadelphia, 21 April 1779

I have perused the several papers with which favoured me. The delicacy, candour, and temper diffused through your letters form a strong contrast to the evasions and design observable in some others. Gratitude ought to have attached a certain gentleman to the friend who raised him; a spurious ambition, however, has, it seems, made him your enemy. This is not uncommon. To the dishonour of human nature, the history of mankind has many pages filled with similar instances; and we have little reason to expect that the annals of the present or future times will present us with fewer characters of this class.

Nathanael Greene to Ephraim Bowen, Smith's Clove, N.Y., 21 June 1779

The Military character you mention is without principle, honor or honesty. He is a child of vanity, and a dupe to his foolish ambition. So little does he know his own standing that he conceives himself in the high road to the chief Command, while he is despised by the great part of the continent. Had he been content with his good fortune he would have been respected, but aspiring to dignities for which he had no talents he has lost even the consequence that his good fortune gave him. I both pity and despise him, and shall give myself no further trouble about him; unless he throws out openly personal reflections; in that case I shall speak to him in language he is not fond of.

Nathanael Greene to Horatio Gates, New Windsor, N.Y., 20 July 1779

If any thing could add to my happiness it would be this to see you have the power to make people love and respect you in spite of their teeth [i.e., fault-finding]. I don't mean such traits as

General gates for nobody can ever please him without making a sacrifice of truth, and plastering him with that kind of fulsome flattery which is sickening to a delicate and sensible mind. He had better not give himself any airs with respect to me, for I will make his old bones to tremble, as bad as the dry bones of Ezekiel. He has drank so deep of the British corruption and is such a slave to his mad Ambition, that who ever he conceives to stand in his way, he would think nothing of stabbing the most spotless character to answer his own base designs. God preserve the life of one of the best of men [George Washington] to keep him from a situation, to add new difficulties to our present calamities.

Don't be mortified my dear at the neglect he shows you. remember it is a greater reproach to his politeness and want of breeding than it is to your want of merit. For you are treated with a polite attention by the first characters upon the Continent both Civil and Military; and received with due respect by all companies. When you reflect on this I am persuaded you will rather pity than resent his pitiful behavior; which marks him as a little dirty genius that can enjoy a malicious triumph over a female who never did him injury because he don't like her husband. I always knew him to be a little minded wretch; but he now appears less than little. I will not blacken paper to characterize him any further; but leave the poor soul to play the sycophant with those who are servile enough to flatter him double in turn.

Nathanael Greene to Jabez Bowen, West Point, N.Y., 5 August 1779

Your observations are very just respecting the common injury from a division of councils and difference subsisting among the great. If General Gates feels any ill effects from neglect he has brought it upon himself. It has been the constant study of General Washington to cultivate a good understanding between all the States and promote harmony among every order of men. How far this has been the practice of others, I leave their own conscience to determine. I am informed General Gates takes every opportunity to traduce the General and others. This practice is ignoble and directly contrary to that of his Excellency's, who never lisps anything to his prejudice whatever he may think.

Alexander McDougall to Nathanael Greene, Fish Kill, N.Y., 18 February 1780

I am told the Northern Hero [Gates] did not even make a Leg to the Commander in chief, when he passed to the Southward. Is this true? If it is, it adds one to his other acts of disrespect. But they will ultimately reflect no Honor on himself. Those impotent insults instead of answering his purpose, will have the direct contrary effect. What will he aim at now? He will hardly intrigue for a Command in the South to Burgoyne Sir Harry; nor wish for the Command of the Right wing; And to be the first man in the American Alps is not desirable.* I think he is in a perfect Quandary until he conducts otherwise; I hope he will not get out of it.

*Gates did not want the Right wing, that is second in command to Washington; nor to command in the American Alps, that is the Highlands of the Hudson and the command of West Point. Although he did not seek a Southern command, he was appointed to command the Southern army after the capture of Benjamin Lincoln at Charleston. Gates was then defeated by Cornwallis (Henry Clinton's replacement) at Cowpens, S.C.

John Adams to John Bondfield, Paris, 25 April 1780

[Sir Henry] Clinton has then arrived at Georgia, where he is destined to be as well watched and guarded and finally as compleatly ruined as Burgoyne was at Saratoga or Preston at Rhode Island,

and that favorite Child of Fortune Gates is to have the Glory of it all. I am quite easy since I know, he commands. There is an Affection for him and a Confidence in him, a kind of devotion to him, in the Mind of the American Soldier, that makes him infallible.

John Adams to Comte de Vergennes, Paris, 25 April 1780

I have no other news by this vessel as yet, excepting that General Gates was appointed to command the army in Charleston, an event which I esteem of great importance, because there is in the mind of the American soldier an affection for that officer, and a confidence in him that will show its effects.

Nathanael Green to Nathaniel Peabody, Camp at Kennemack, N.J., 6 September 1780

Our friend General Gates has met with a Military check to the Southward. No man but he in America, has the faculty of taking and losing whole Armies.

Alexander Hamilton to James Duane, Bergen County, N.J., 6 September 1780

The letter accompanying this has lain by two or three days for want of an opportunity. I have heard since of Gates defeat, a very good comment on the necessity of changing our system. His passion for Militia, I fancy will be a little cured, and he will cease to think them the best bulwark of American liberty. What think you of the conduct of this great man? I am his enemy personally, for unjust and unprovoked attacks upon my character, therefore what I say of him ought to be received as from an enemy, and have no more weight than as it is consistent with fact and common sense. But did ever any one hear of such a disposition or such a flight? His best troops placed on the side strongest by nature, his worst on that weakest by nature, and his attack made with these. 'Tis impossible to give a more complete picture of military absurdity. It is equally against the maxims of war, and common sense. We see the consequence. His left ran away and left his right uncovered. His right wing turned on the left in all probability been cut off. Though in truth the General seems to have known very little what became of his army.

Had he placed his Militia on his right supported by the Morass, and his Continental troops on his left, where it seems he was most vulnerable, his right would have been more secure, and his left would have opposed the enemy; and instead of going backward when he ordered to attack would have gone forward. The reverse of what has happened might have happened.

But was there ever an instance of a General running away as Gates has done from his whole army? and was there ever so precipitous a flight? One hundred and eighty miles in three days and a half. It does admirable credit to the activity of a man at his time of life. But it disgraces the General and the Soldiers. I always believed him to be very far short of a Hector, or an Ulysses. All the world I think will begin to agree with me.

Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Schuyler, Bergen County, N.J., 6 September 1780

Most people here are groaning under a very disagreeable piece of intelligence just come from the Southward; that Gates has had a total defeat near Camden in South Carolina. Cornwallis and he met in the night of the 15th by accident marching to the same point. The advanced guards skirmished and the two armies halted and formed 'till morning. In the morning a battle ensued, in which the Militia and Gates with them immediately run away and left the Continental troops to contend with the enemy's whole force. They did it obstinately; and probably are most of them cut

off. Gates however who writes to Congress seems to know very little what has become of his army. He showed that age and the long labors and fatigues of a military life had not in the least impaired his activity; for in three days and a half, he reached Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty miles from the scene of action, leaving all his troops to take care of themselves, and get out of the scraps as well as they could. He has confirmed in this instance the opinion I always had of him.

Nathanael Greene to Benedict Arnold, Camp Kennemack, N.J., 7 September 1780

Have you heard of General Gates retreat and defeat to the Southward? He has been defeated, and lost the whole Maryland line, and a considerable part of the Militia with him, and was obliged to retreat 180 miles before he thought himself safe from the pursuit, so as to set down to gain an account of the action. All the Militia he had with him fled the first fire, and left the continental Troops to bear the whole brunt of the Enemy's force.

Marquis de Lafayette to the Chevalier de La Luzerne, at the light division camp near Hackensack, N.J., 10 September 1780

It appears to me that the speed of our friend Gates's horse served only to impair the accuracy of his information, and if one takes Governor Jefferson's word for it, the disastrous defeat—due, I think, to the bad and unmilitary order of battle—has nevertheless allowed us to save some troops.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, Philadelphia, 24 October 1780

General Gates who but a little time since stood high on the list of *Fame* stands at this time very low, and in addition to his other Misfortunes hath lately buried his Son.

Philip Schuyler to Alexander Hamilton, Saratoga, N.Y., 12 November 1780

General Gates has lost the Command in that quarter [i.e., Virginia], I Consider rather favorable to us, for certain I am that his want of abilities would have proved extremely prejudicial to us. I sincerely wish he may never command at any Important post.

Nathanael Greene to John Cox, Camp on Pedee, S.C., 9 January 1781

On my arrival at camp I found General Gates at the head of a few ragmuffins without discipline, order or government. The officers had lost all confidence and respect for the General, the loss of discipline naturally followed.

Horatio Gates to Thomas Jefferson, Berkeley County, Va., 2 February 1781

Public Good, has throughout this War, been my Polar Star. My Poverty, and my Zeal declare it; my Enemies, who are the Rich, and Cunning Beings of the Hour, write my Eulogy by their Malice! but, Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere Culpa.

Richard Henry Lee to James Madison, Trenton, N.J., 26 November 1784

If the election of [Virginia] Counsellors is not over, may I be permitted to suggest what I really believe will improve and fortify the counsels of that Board. It is, that Major Gen. Gates be appointed a Member of it. He has a pretty good estate in Berkeley, is a single Man & therefore not withheld from due attendance by domestic considerations. But above all, he is a Man of great worth, solid judgment, and sound attachments to America.

Luigi Castiglioni: Sketches of American Soldiers, 1787

Proud of having acquired for himself an immortal fame by the capture of Burgoyne, he would have been thoroughly happy if the war had ended at that time and he were not compelled to experience the variable turns of fortune on other occasions. But having gone to command in the South, unsuccessful in several encounters, not only was he unable to add other laurels to his brow, he even sullied those he had won in the North, and led many to attribute to a sheer stroke of good luck the deed that perhaps previously was ascribed to his superior talents in military art.

William L. Smith to Edward Rutledge, Philadelphia, 24 November 1790

and this brings me to mention my acquaintance with Genl. Gates, whom I found a pleasant companion & not a little fond of a dirty story.

Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz: *Travels through America*, 10 September 1797

After travelling for two miles along a road bordered with country houses and gardens we were shown a gate which led us to the house of General Gates, and soon we found ourselves before a very beautiful facade of Corinthian columns which formed the peristyle of the General's house. We found on the threshold the conqueror of Saratoga. He is a 75 year-old man, but still quite vigorous, urbane and remarkably high spirited for his age. Except for the battle of Camden, Fortune has smiled on him throughout his whole life. He was born in England and was for a long time in the British service. In the Revolution he warmly embraced the American side and was appointed a General at the very beginning. When peace came, besides the emoluments and land which were awarded him by Congress, he also received from the State of Virginia a really immense stretch of land. The sale of all this brought him a rather large capital. It was further increased by his marriage to M. — who brought him quite a decent fortune.

In Mrs. Gates this old man possesses a real treasure. She is a woman of 50 with a still attractive figure and with the most happy disposition that one could hope to see. She alone could bring cheer to the sadness and the frailties of one so late in life. From the way which this couple live together, the little quarrels, jokes, and jealousies which prevail between them, one would say that this is the first year of a marriage of two people 20 years old. General Gates is not less happy in his monetary affairs. the farm that he occupies, situated 3 miles from New York, contains nearly 200 acres, a magnificent house, orchards, vegetable gardens, fields, etc. Everything is there. The land belongs to a Mr. Kruger, an extremely rich merchant and one who believes he can never be rich enough. His speculative greed had led him to make the worst bargain that ever was made. Counting on the advanced age of General Gates and believing Madame equally close to the grave he leased the land for the lifetime of one or the other in consideration of 5,000 dollars. What was his astonishment when he later saw Mrs. Gates, then only 40 years old and enjoying the best possible health.

It is 7 years since Mr. and Mrs. Gates began to enjoy the house and land. They have retained for themselves only the orchard, the kitchen garden, and enough pasture for 6 cows and 3 horses. They rent out the rest for about 300 pounds in such a way that, some time ago they had already regained their capital. They have a man in their service who takes care of all their business; they give him 200 dollars a year and all the provisions he needs. The rest of the household consists of a negro, a woman cook, and a negro woman servant, all free however; General Gates having freed all his slaves.

Timothy Pickering to George Washington, Trenton, N.J., 13 September 1798

[Pickering's response to President Adams's suggestion of Gates as second in command to George Washington.] As for Gates, he is now an old woman.

Edmund Genět

James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, Baltimore, Md., 16 May 1793

I waited on the new French Minister here, in company with many other Gentlemen, and was very much pleased with him as were I believe all the rest. He is a very handsome Man with a fine open Countenance and pleasing unaffected manners.

Stephen Gerard

Benjamin Rush to John Adams, Philadelphia, 2 June 1812

Stephen Gerard came to Philada from France About thirty years ago in the capacity of a Sailor. Having had some education, and possessing a strong mind, he soon became a master of a Vessel, afterwards a merchant by which employment he has amassed an estate of five millions of dollars, one million of which was in Stock of the late bank of the United States, the rest is in houses, lots, Ships & in the hands of European merchants & bankers. His Character is as singular, as his prosperity has been extraordinary. In the year 1793 he acted as a Superintendant of the yellow fever hospital at Bush hill, and even performed many of the humble offices of a nurse for the sick. With this great Stock of voluntary humanity, to Strangers, he has lately refused to see a Sister with several helpless Children who were Allured from France by the fame of his wealth in hopes of being assisted by him. To his Carpenters, Captains, sailors, and Super cargoes he is always just & sometimes generous, but so despotic, that he once dismissed one of his Captains for bringing a present of a gown or cloak for his mistress after he had sold his priviledge to the owner of the Ship. While receiving an increase of his wealth by hundreds of thousands yearly, he sits down weekly and settles with a tenant of a small farm in the neighbourhood of Philada for five penny pieces and Cents. You may judge of his Religion when I tell you, he has had two Ships called by the names of the Helvetius & the Voltaire. In politicks he has been uniformly democratic. He is however unfriendly to the present measures of Congress. His bank went into operation yesterday. It is said it will soon consist of a Capital of three millions of dollars. It possesses universal & unlimited

Confidence, founded alike in a belief of his resources, his abilities and his integrity. He is the Robert Morris of the years 1779 & 1780.

Elbridge Gerry

John Adams: Diary, 6 December 1775

In this Gentleman I found an ardent persevering Lover of his Country, who never hesitated to promote with all his Abilities and Industry the boldest measures reconcileable with prudence.

John Adams to James Warren, 15 July 1776

The News, you will learn from my very worthy Friend Gerry. He is obliged to take a Ride for his Health, as I shall be very soon or have none. God grant he may recover it for he is a Man of immense Worth. If every Man here was a Gerry, the Liberties of America would be safe against the Gates of Earth and Hell.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 15 July 1776

My very deserving Friend, Mr. Gerry, sets off, tomorrow, for Boston, worn out of Health, by the Fatigues of this station. He is an excellent Man, and an active able statesman. I hope he will soon return hither.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 29 July 1776

Gerry carried with him a Cannister for you. But he is an old Bachelor, and what is worse a Politician, and what is worse still a kind of Soldier, so that I suppose he will have so much Curiosity to see Armies and Fortifications and Assemblies, that you will lose many a fine Breakfast at a Time when you want them most.

Abigail Adams to John Adams, Boston, 5 August 1776

I entreat you to return, and that speedily, Mr. Gerry has recovered his Health and Spirits by his journey. He called upon me a few moments. I knew Him by the same instinct by which I first discovered him, and ventured to call him by Name though his person was never described to me. I cannot account for it but so it was. He appeared a modest Man, and has a fine intelligent Eye.

Nathaniel Peabody to Meshech Weare, Morristown, N.J., 11 June 1780

I have only at this time to recommend to your particular Notice the Honorable Elbridge Gerry Esq—Gentleman of distinguished Honor, integrity & Abilities—whose long and unremitted exertion in the Cause of America—Zeal & attachment to her Interest, has Justly entitled him to the most entire Esteem & Confidence of those Citizens who have had the Honor of an acquaintance with him.

Abigail Adams to Elbridge Gerry, Braintree, Mass., 20 July 1781

When I looked for your Name among those who form the Representative Body of the people this year I could not find it. I sought for it with the Senate, but was still more disappointed. I however had the pleasure of finding it amongst the delegates of this Commonwealth to Congress, where I flatter myself you will still do us Honor which posterity will gratefully acknowledge; and the virtuous few now confess. But as you are no worshiper of the rising Sun, or Adulator at the shrine of power, you must expect with others, who possess an Independent Spirit, to be viewed in the shade, to be eyed askance, to be malign'ed and to have your Good evil spoken of. But let not this Sir discourage you in the arduous Business. I hope America has not yet arrived at so great a pitch of degeneracy as to be given up by those alone who can save her; I mean the disinterested patriot—who possessing an unconfined Benevolence will persevere in the path of his duty. Tho the Ingratitude of his constituents and the Malevolence of his Enemies should conspire against him, he will feel within himself the best Intimation of his duty and he will look for no external Motive.

History informs us that the single virtue of Cato, upheld the Roman Empire for a time, and a Righteous few might have saved from the impending Wrath of an Offended deity the Ancient cities of Sodom and Gomorah. Why then my dear Sir, may I ask you, do you wish to withdraw yourself from publick Life?

You have supported the cause of America with zeal, with ardour and fidelity, but you have not met even with the gratitude of your fellow citizens—in that you do not stand alone.

You have a mind too Liberal to consider yourself only as an Individual, and not to regard both your Country and posterity—and in that view I know you must be anxiously concerned when you consider the undue Influence exercised in her Supreme Counsels. You can be no stranger I dare say Sir, to matters of the Highest importance to the future Welfare of America as a Nation; being now before her Representatives—and that she stands in need of the collected wisdom of the United States, and the Integrity of her most virtuous Members.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, Philadelphia, 14 September 1781

I am not afraid to own to you, my Friend, that I think *old Watchmen* were at no Time more necessary *here*, I do not hint at bad Hearts but at too fruitful Heads, exuberant Genii, erratic Spirits, who require Fabian Controul.

Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, Princeton, N.J., 20 October 1783

. . . though he is far from being distinguished for his talents in Oratory, and cannot boast of the thunder of his voice, the harmony of his periods or any of those high strokes of eloquence which transport and captivate the hearers, nor of a just arrangement of arguments or soft insinuating address which commands the attention of an Audience and leads them insensibly and almost involuntarily to the point he means to carry, yet with his feeble voice and uncouth delivery broken and interrupted with many a heck & hem & repetition of ofs & ands he assumed such a superiority over [his opponents].

Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, Princeton, N.J., 21 October 1783

Mr. Gerry . . . seems to be used as the instrument for setting this continent in a flame. . . .

Elbridge Gerry to John Adams, Philadelphia, 16 June 1784

Here I am after a six Month Session at Annapolis, on my Way to Massachusetts, & altho my Opposition to the same System in America, which You have opposed in Europe, has perhaps rendered me equally obnoxious here to the aristocratic Party, yet I assure You the Pleasure resulting from a Reflection on the Measures adopted by Congress, overbalances every trifling Consideration of the Loss of Friendships, which being for the most part ostensible, are generally applied as Incentives to our Rewards of Servility, Baseness & Treachery, but rarely if ever of Fidelity, Honor or Patriotism.

Francis Dana to Elbridge Gerry, Annapolis, Md., 17 June 1784

I am glad you had so agreeable a journey from hence, and so good an opportunity of entertaining yourself on the way with reflecting upon the congressional scenes: You have acted one of the principal parts in them, & cannot but derive much solid satisfaction from this reflection, “that what has been done, is pro bono publico,* *well done*” The interested views, absurd projects, prejudices, & partialities, of which you speak, are so many irresistible arguments against your conclusion, viz. that your own happiness can never be promoted by partaking in the politics of such an extensive republican government &c. Reflect, my dear Sir, again upon these things, and you will be convinced, that altho a Man shou’d not be able to effect much positive good, in such a heterogeneous a body, yet if he can prevent mischief, ’tis his duty to struggle hard to do it: And what it is our duty to do, that upon due reflection we shall find productive of our happiness. But you are out of your element when you are out of politicks: to talk of making pleasure *your* business, is to attempt a violence upon your disposition. You have not that levity of mind which is alone fitted for the pursuits of pleasure. Be yourself Man, and you will be happy. When I seem to interdict to you pleasurable pursuits, remember I do not mean to oppose an *inkling*, or as the French say the *penchant*, you seem to have to Matrimony. No, quite the contrary, I wou’d encourage it by every means in my power. This is a duty you still owe to God & your Country. “Take unto thyself a wife, & obey the ordinance of God.” But look well to your choice, in that indeed is involv’d much happiness or much misery.

*For the public good.

Francis Dana to Elbridge Gerry, Annapolis, Md., 20 July 1784

I agree you have attacked my position “that out of politicks you are out of your element” with your wonted ingenuity, and shall be thoroughly satisfied if you keep out of them for a short time with a view of entering *bona fide* into the holy state of matrimony. There are many duties incumbent upon us in this life, perfectly consistent with each other; but unless you can settle it in your own mind, that a proper attention to the woman of your choice, will not require of you a renunciation of your political career: I must urge it upon you to remain as you are. For without flattery, my friend, I know of no one in our State, whose experience and abilities have better fitted him to assist in the deliberation & guidance of our great national concerns. And it appears there never was a moment which called louder for the attention of such characters to them. . . . Remember the important matters which have been affected of late, by your personal exertions and perseverance, and which, I verily believe, wou’d not otherwise have been obtained. I know your feelings must have been frequently very sensibly touched by that sort of barbarous opposition you have met with;

but have you not almost constantly borne it down, & carried your points? And what grateful sensations and reflections hath success brought along with it! I renew my charge to you then, *persevere*.

Richard Dobbs Spaight to Edward Hand, Philadelphia, 28 December 1784

This Congress appears to be much better disposed to do business than the last, & I think our residing Northerly will prove advantageous by Uniting all the States to the southward of Connecticut together. You will find by the list, that we have got rid of those two Dealers in troubled Waters, Gerry & Howell. I am affraid they will prove an eternal plague to us.

Thomas Stone to James Monroe, Annapolis, Md., 18 March 1785

I am not surprised that the requisition for Troops should be opposed as I know how obstinate our acquaintance G. is in his opinions. It would give me much uneasiness to hear he had succeeded.

John Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, Auteuil near Paris, 6 May 1785

I promise myself from Mr. Gerry's Attendance in Congress all those changes for the better in the Management of the general Affairs of the Union, which I have often seen proceed from the Clearness of his Head and the goodness of his heart. I know of scarcely any Man of more Address, more Industry or Perseverance. He never appeared in Congress without a great Influence. He deserves to stand higher in the Estimation of Massachusetts than he has appeared to me at this distance to stand. He has merited more of that State than I am afraid they know of.

Mercy Otis Warren to John Adams, Milton, Mass., September 1785

Mr. Gerry will not be eligible by the Confederation as a Delegate after November. I wish his Countrymen may never forget his Merits. But if his Happiness depended on their Favor, probably he might long pursue without ever overtaking the Phantom. But I have Reason to believe he means in future to build on the more solid Base of Domestic Felicity.*

*Gerry, a forty-three-year-old bachelor, was soon to marry.

John Jay to John Adams, New York, 4 May 1786

Our friend Gerry has retired from Congress with a charming, amiable lady, whom he married here. I regret his absence, for he discharged the trust reposed in him with great fidelity, and with more industry and persevering attention than many are distinguished by.

Elbridge Gerry to Ann Gerry, Philadelphia, 29 August 1787

What is the Cause my Dearest Love that you are of late so liable to fainting? I am quite distressed about it. If you do not find relief soon, I shall quit the convention, and let their proceedings take their chance. Indeed I have been a Spectator for some time, for I am very different in political principles from my colleagues. I am very well but sick of being here.

William Pierce: Sketches of Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, c. September 1787

Mr. Gerry's character is marked for integrity and perseverance. He is a hesitating and laborious speaker; possesses a great degree of confidence and goes extensively into all subjects that he speaks on, without respect to elegance or flower of diction. He is connected and sometimes clear in his arguments, conceives well, and cherishes as his first virtue, a love for his Country. Mr. Gerry is very much of a Gentleman in his principles and manners;—he has been engaged in the mercantile line and is a Man of property. He is about 37 years of age.

Unknown to Jefferson, Philadelphia, 11 October 1787

After four months session the house [i.e., the Constitutional Convention] broke up. The represented states, eleven & a half, having unanimously agreed to the act handed to you, there were only three dissenting voices; one from New England, a man of sense, but a Grumbletonian. He was of service by objecting to every thing he did not propose.

Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 24 January 1788

Why gentlemen should be opposed to the introduction of Mr. Gerry [as a guest] to the [Massachusetts ratifying] Convention, we are unable to determine.—His greatest enemies allow him to be a man of ability, integrity, and to use their own expressions, “a politician of mathematical nicety.”

Elbridge Gerry to James Warren, Cambridge, Mass., 28 June 1788

I wish you would so order your arrangements as to favour us with a part of your time, although the alarm of our being together might be such as to station sentries at Charlestown bridge, and the fortifications for the defense of the federalists in Boston.

It is diverting to hear the manner in which these people amuse themselves at our expense. They suggest that I shall not be able to keep this place; and should it be true, I tell them I hope to find purchasers out of Boston. Others say I am much affected by political events, and disposed to grow melancholy, and so long as this is attended with a *mens conscia recti*,* they may think as they please; for melancholy is like madness, which has a pleasure none but madmen know.

*A mind conscious of rectitude.

Abigail Adams Smith to Abigail Adams, New York, 13 August 1788

Mr. G—— called upon me this morning; he tells me that he saw my father and yourself in Boston. He is just the same precise, formal being as he used to be; and speaks so *prettily* that I could not understand him.

Otto's Biographies, Fall 1788

Mr. Elb. Gerry is a small man, very intriguing and without much finesse, who until recently has been rather successful. He has been the most active member of Congress for the longest time. He has acquired a great knowledge of public affairs, which he makes the best use of to appear worthy in the opinion of his fellow-citizens. In 1782 he delivered a speech in the state legislature at Boston to persuade it not to ratify the consular convention. He pretended to like M. Luzerne very much,

but one must mistrust all his noble protestations. In general we have very few friends among the powerful men of Massachusetts. Our commerce does not interest them and our fisheries impede them. Mr. [James] Bowdoin, Mr. [Rufus] King, Mr. Samuel Adams, etc., get all of their political ideas from writing or talking with Mr. [John] Jay and John Adams. The people in general like the French, since they have often seen our ships and they remember the services we have rendered them.

Adolphus, Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 1 January 1789

In the year 1774, Mr. Gerry, being as he now is, a man of generous fortune, and a liberal education, he had no place to seek, no debts to pay, or avoid, nor any post to wish for. He embraced the cause of his country, and risked his life and fortune, from the purest principles of patriotism, and the most ardent, and disinterested love to his fellow citizens. Those who were with him in the Provincial Congress, and in the General Court, in the years 1774, 1775, and 1776, are witnesses to his unshaken firmness, and distinguished abilities. Take not the word of an unknown writer for this; there is not a town in your county which has not many witnesses on this head—*ask them*. From the year 1777 he has been constantly employed in public, and generally in the Congress of the United States, and no day has passed without exhibiting the highest proofs of his zeal for, and ability in, the interest of the states in general, and this state in particular. And it is well known that no man possessed more entirely the confidence of the people than he did, until October 1787.

We will now inquire by what fault of his, he has in any degree lost this confidence; and should it appear, that it was by honesty, united with an ardent love for the liberty, and political happiness of his fellow citizens, you will certainly restore him.

He was a member from this state, appointed to meet in a general Convention, to *revise the Confederation*. When that body met, they, instead of a revision of the Confederation, agreed upon a new form of government for the United States. Whether this was within their commission, or whether this was a good, or bad form of government, we have now no authority to decide; it is adopted by more than nine states, and is to be carried into force, and execution. Mr. Gerry did not approve of it. He had honor and integrity enough, to declare his sentiments. He foresaw undoubtedly, from divers circumstances peculiar to that crisis, that he should lose a share of his popularity, but he knew that an honest man like a light substance overwhelmed by a flood would finally rise on the surface of the public opinion.

James Warren to Elbridge Gerry, Plymouth, Mass., 3 March 1789

I suppose you are now just launching into the ocean of politics, an ocean always turbulent, perhaps now more tempestuous than usual. I wish your habits and Experience may preserve you from Seasickness, while the uniformity of your Conduct, and the rectitude of your Mind may lead you to stem the rolling Billows. Your situation may be singular, but you may as well oppose the Billows as run with an easy Sail before them. Your antifederal Sins will never be forgiven by a Party who while they wish you to support their System, are malignant enough to represent you as puerile and unsteady in your own, that is they report that you was greatly elated with your Election [to the U.S. House of Representatives], and had become the highest federal in the Country. All this & much more would be too Contemptible to be mentioned for any other purpose than to show the Temper of the Party. I often reflect on your situation & think where you will fix your Confidence. A man that has been used to Act with the old Patriots will feel a defect in modern Sentiments & modern views which even Considerable abilities will not supply the place of.

Elbridge Gerry to James Warren, New York, 22 March 1789

I foresaw it was impossible for me to feel easy in a branch of the federal legislature, where I had few or no connections & friends, whilst these were in the same body but politically sequestered. Whatever the State of my case upon republican principles may be, I cannot Separate from my mind the idea of a degradation, when I reflect that the flower of my life has been spent in the arduous business and see a preference to those who have endured very few of the toils of the revolution. But we both know that republican governments never were remarkable & probably never will be for gratitude, & therefore private life is the System which we ought to pursue for happiness whilst the road to preferment is thro the maizes of intrigue, Servility and corruption, & there is no great prospect of attaining it if we mean to preserve a “reverence for ourselves.”

John Tracey to Josiah Harmar, Pittsburgh, Pa., 31 March 1789

I find that Mr. Elbridge Gerry is elected a member of Congress for the County of Middlesex, State of Massachusetts. This is a gentleman of the first abilities. He has ever been as far as our constitution [the Articles of Confederation] would admit a member of Congress, was of the grand Federal Convention at Philadelphia, and a very great enemy to the new Constitution.

New York *Daily Advertiser*, 30 April 1789

[Gerry] has become the avowed friend of the Constitution.

Samuel Henshaw to Theodore Sedgwick, Boston, 14 June 1789

Consult Mr. Gerry—I advise you to take pains to be on good terms with Mr. Gerry—I am sure you wont find a better Man—a better friend.

John Fenno to Joseph Ward, 5 July 1789

Gerry has his politics and is very obstinate; though generally deep in the minority.

Elbridge Gerry to James Warren, New York, 10 July 1789

I am on good terms with the person you allude to [Vice President John Adams], but have kept a distance in consequence of the pompous ideas with which our new Government commenced, for a person sinks in my esteem in proportion as he rises in his Own on account of federal station. I ask no favor of Government & expect none, & therefore hold myself very independent in sentiment & conduct: this I suppose is criminal in the eyes of sycophants, but the society of such is painful to us both & to displease them is the best mode of a separation.

Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, Richmond Hill, N.Y., 12 July 1789

The Senate is composed of many men of great abilities, who appear to be liberal in their sentiments and candid towards each other. The House is composed of some men of equal talents. Others, the debates will give you the best Idea of them, but there is not a member whose sentiments clash more with my Ideas of things than Mr. G——y. He certainly does not comprehend the Great National System which must Render us respectable abroad & energetick at Home and will assuredly find himself lost amidst Rocks & sands. . . . I really believe Mr. G——y to be an honest Man.

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Benjamin Goodhue to Samuel Phillips, 11 August 1789

Gerry . . . has as high notions of profusive grants as any person I ever knew, and has manifested such an illiberal and ugly a disposition since he has been in Congress that I believe no man has fewer friends than Mr. Gerry.

Benjamin Goodhue to Stephen Goodhue, 20 August 1789

I believe you will all stare at the large pay we have allowed ourselves and the persons connected with us, but We have done all in our power to prevent it, I mean our Massachusetts members, (Gerry excepted), the Southern members have high notions and will live in luxurious habits altho' they may be Bankrupts but what is most astonishing is that the Connecticut members should vote for such high grants. perhaps it may not be well to have it publickly Known that Gerry was on that side, but he is a high blade, and a troublesome member.

James Sullivan to Elbridge Gerry, New York, 30 August 1789

Your Enemies wish to find you in an unpopular Singularity that they may the more completely foil you. They represent you as Speaking often and in opposition to all measures but the people have Confidence in you.

Abigail Adams to Cotton Tufts, New York, 1 September 1789

Mr. G—— What can I say. You see him always in the minority, you see him very frequently wrong and the poor man looks ghastly. I believe he is worried, mortified and quite in the horrors. A constant correspondent of W[arre]n and his Wife, all of whom see nothing but ruin & destruction before them, & who will again Set our State by the ears if possible. Watch them closely.

William Ellery to Benjamin Huntington, Newport, R.I., 8 September 1789

I don't think the amendments [to the Constitution] will do any hurt, and they may do some good, and therefore I don't consider them as of much importance. I am glad that the gentleman who talks so much from his stick, was disappointed in all his efforts to procure amendments. He is a restless creature, and if he don't take care, he will weaken the reputation for honesty to which I used to think he was justly entitled.

John Wendell to Elbridge Gerry, Portsmouth, N.H., 2 April 1790

I have heard many ill valued Reproaches of your Integrity but [torn manuscript] stood a warm Advocate for you, and very lately ever since your Speech One Gentleman acknowledged his Mistake & from hence forward would appeal you and whenever you wish your private Sentiments may see daylight I have the Command of the Presses in this State—I have wished often to insert Extracts of your Letters to Me as a Friend but I have avoided the Incurrence of your disallowance—With that Esteem am most sincerely yours without adulation or Sychophancy.

Elbridge Gerry to John Wendell, 16 May 1790

The indisposition of myself & family, & a constant attention to business when in health have induced me of late to suspend answers to all the letters of my friends; indeed the measure has been

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indispensable, for the influenza has disqualified me a great part of the time from attending to any business.

John Page: Speech in U.S. House of Representatives, 8 July 1790

[Gerry] is remarkable for his coolness and his particular attention to every sentiment offered in debate.

James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, Boston, 7 October 1792

He is certainly a very agreeable Man, and I am persuaded from every thing I have heard & observed a very worthy one.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 21 June 1795

One of the Company expressed such Inveteracy against my old Friend Gerry that I could not help taking up his Vindication. The future Election of a Governor, in Case of an empty Chair, excites Jealousy which I have long perceived. These Things will always be so. Gerry's Merit is inferior to that of no Man in Massachusetts, except the present Governor [i.e., Samuel Adams], according to My Ideas and Judgment of Merit. I wish he was more enlarged however and more correct in his Views. He never was one of the threads tyed into the knot, and was never popular with that Sett.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 9 January 1797

The Constancy and Fidelity of Mr. Gerry contrasted with the Weathercocksism of [Thomas] McKean & the Rutledges and the Hypocrisy of others touches the inmost feelings of my Heart. I will not explain all I know till I see you.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 11 January 1797

Gerry is Steady, while so many prove as Slippery as Eels.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 14 January 1797

[He wishes the public] would dig up Gerry [i.e., call him out of retirement].

Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams, Philadelphia, 23 June 1797

The packet being detain'd I write you a few Lines further to inform you that Mr. Marshall accepts his appointment, but Judge Dana declines on account of his Health. The President accordingly has Nominated Mr. Gerry. The senate have not yet agreed to it. The N. Englanders do not like this Nomination. You are so well acquainted with Mr. Gerry, and With his sentiments Principles conduct and services, that I need make no observation to you; you will at first sight conceive the reason why he is opposed by Essex Men. They all allow that he is an honest honorable Man, but too stiff and inflexible. For myself I believe Mr. Gerry will have the interest of *his Country* at Heart, and *only that*. We all know that he has on some occasions maintained his own opinions against the

Majority, tho he has peaceably and quietly submitted to the Government, and firmly supported it, When it was adopted.

Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, Philadelphia, 23 June 1797

The President has now nominated Mr. Gerry [as an envoy to France]. This I know will be cavilled at by some, and he will be blamed for it, but the responsibility rests with him, and he must bear it. He would not have nominated him if he had not thought him an honest Man and a Friend to his Country, who will neither be deceived nor warped. I hope he will not refuse.

Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams, Philadelphia, 24 June 1797

The senate have advised and consented to Mr. Gerry 21 yeas to 6 Nays. I am sorry to say amongst the six were our two senators. The other four also are all good Men indeed I must regret that they did not give him their Vote as all of them allowd him to be a Man, of abilities and integrity. Their apprehension was, that by a too rigid opinion upon trivial matters he might obstruct the negotiation; I hope he will not fall into this Error, as he will be carefully guarded against it. He is certainly a Man as impartial with Respect to the two Nations France & England, as could have been pointed out, and will be as much disposed to conciliate our differences. But the successes of that Nation and their Dominering power, give them such a weight that all Nations appear to be Sinking under their Weight.

Elbridge Gerry to Abigail Adams, Cambridge, Mass., 14 July 1797

Whatever may have been the reasons which induced some of the senators to vote against me, if they were influenced by a due regard to the publick welfare, & their opinions in this instance were even erroneous, they did no more than their duty, & I shall honor them, for their independent conduct: but you know, madam, & the first friend of yourself & of this country knows, that interest, prejudices, envy, & even pique, have often effect on great men; & much more, on those who are not blessed with remarkable powers of discrimination. I dissented to the Constitution, it is true, and seven states were dissatisfied with it, for the reasons which influenced me. I was then a representative of this State; saw, or thot I saw a disposition in many of the Convention to have an indefinite Constitution; brot forward, with several others, motions to make it explicit; & saw every motion, to this effect, negative; & under such circumstances, I could not, consistently with a sense of duty to my country, assent to the constitution, as it stood, & have therefore been abused ever since. Admitting I was in an error, had I voted for it under such impressions, I should have sunk in my own esteem & have not risen again: but conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I have never repented, a moment, of my vote on that occasion, & have since seen the constitution amended, as I wished, & the illiberality of those retaliated, who denied me the right of deliberating freely, & of exercising my judgment, when my country demanded it. But is there not, madam, an intimate difference, between voting on a *bill* for a constitution, & negotiating in behalf & under the instructions of a supreme executive? Can any candid mind, judging of my whole political conduct, & even of that part of it, liberally draw from it such inferences as some gentlemen of the Senate have on this occasion? Perhaps it may, but I flatter myself it will hereafter discover its error. I am happy however, to find, that these gentlemen who have manifested such an unfavorable opinion of me, are not of that description, who will “abuse the government, or calumniate its officers”: such characters I dislike, whether for or against me.

Rufus King to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, London, 17 October 1797

Though in some small particulars I am not partial to Mr. G. still I am thoroughly convinced of his Integrity, Patriotism and Honor; entire confidence in which serves to extenuate those subordinate Defects to bear with and to get over which require only patience and a little management. I however know nothing concerning him for the last four years, which have wrought great changes in America as well as elsewhere. I speak of him as of former times.

Fulwar Skipwith to Thomas Jefferson, Paris, 17 March 1798

When we heard that Mr. Gerry was nominated to the Mission the Directory were pleased, and the patriots in Paris of both Countries were delighted in the idea of seeing here one of the tried patriots of 75 and one of the remaining republican chiefs of the American States; but painful is it to me to add that we behold him moving here but as the shadow of what we presumed he was, and we much fear that the longer he stays, the more apt will public opinion be to subscribe the neutrality of his character to the feebleness of his diplomatic talents. We learn in secret whispers from this good old Gentleman (for I venerate the chastity of his moral character while I regret that he has not the courage to shape a political course congenial to the crisis here) that he has a hard and cruel task to think and act with his two associates, and that were he alone he would be able to stop the frightful breach between the two Countries—But I am apprehensive that his paralytic mind would prove too weak to invent, and his arm too feeble to apply the remedy which the disease demands.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Rufus King, Paris, 4 April 1798

I never met with a man of less candor and so much duplicity as Mr. Gerry.

William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, The Hague, 13 April 1798

Though I know that he is a very well informed one upon Congress business, and of a most friendly turn of heart, good husband, father and neighbor, yet I know him so well as to say that of all men I know in America he is perhaps the least qualified to play a part in Paris, either among the men or the women. He is too virtuous for the last, too little acquainted with the world and with himself for the first, and could do no possible good but in a relative character as one of three envoys.

William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, The Hague, 8 June 1798

I do fear a little that man's more than infantine weakness. Of it you can not have an idea, unless you had seen him here or at Paris. Erase all the two lines above. It is true, but it is cruel. If they get hold of him they will convert him into an innocent-baby-engine against the government, and to his utter ruin.

William Short to Thomas Jefferson, Jagouville near L'Havre, 6 August 1798

As I have mentioned Mr. G. I cannot help adding how much he seems to be really attached to you—& how true & good a friend he appears to me to be to his country. . . . Mr. G. seems to feel sensibly all the efforts that will have been made to separate you & the President from each other—he is equally a friend to both & regrets for his own sake & that of his country, that two of the most

upright disinterested & enlightened patriots that any country can boast, men that would do honor to any age—men that have been so useful by their joint exertions—men that have the same decided object, the good of their country, as their only aim, should risk being put asunder, & as it were pitted one against the other; & all this by men, who perhaps have different views from both—but so go the affairs of men.

Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, Trenton, N.J., 15 September 1798

General [Charles Cotesworth] Pinckney in a letter to his brother of April 4th says: “I never met with a man so destitute of candor and so full of deceit as Mr. Gerry”; and Mr. Marshall is of his opinion.

Benjamin Rush to William Marshall, Philadelphia, 15 September 1798

I hope the account you have given me of the pacific disposition of France towards the United States may prove true. If it should, Mr. Gerry will deserve more from his country than ever she can pay him.

John Quincy Adams to John Adams, Berlin, 25 September 1798

Even Mr. Gerry returned home with a full persuasion that the dispositions in France towards us were altogether pacific. That gentleman unfortunately was not qualified for negotiation with such men as now govern France. He was charmed with words; he was duped by professions; he had neither the spirit nor the penetration absolutely necessary for dealing with adversaries at once so bold, so cunning, and so false. Since his departure they have redoubled their pretences of moderation and peaceable positions. They have totally changed their system of conduct but their purposes remain the same.

Robert Troup to Rufus King, New York, 2 October 1798

As to Mr. Gerry, I can say nothing honorable to him, or pleasing to you. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum** is a maxim as applicable to him as if he was in his grave.

*Of the dead say nothing but good.

Timothy Pickering to John Marshall, Trenton, N.J., 19 October 1798

The President ought to be acquainted with Mr. Gerry’s whole conduct. Your journal shows it to have been characterized, not only with timidity, indecision and meanness, but with *treachery*.

Timothy Pickering to George Cabot, Trenton, N.J., 10 November 1798

Gerry has the foolish vanity to imagine that he himself represents the sense and virtue of his immediate countrymen; and, as it was impossible for Marshall, fatigued with his delays and pertinacity in trifling objections, disgusted with his wrongheadedness and indignant at his duplicity, ultimately not to manifest his contempt for him, Gerry has transferred this contempt to his country [i.e., New England].

George Cabot to Timothy Pickering, Brookline, Mass., 17 November 1798

Mr. Wolcott can tell you that in a dispute with the President at his (Mr. Wolcott's) table, concerning the character of Mr. Gerry, I was provoked to be rude; and that I pronounced him "totally unfit to conduct any great affair of himself, and from his captious and jealous temper altogether unqualified to act with others." Such he has always been; such his late colleagues have found him; and such, I am persuaded, even the French now think him.

Abigail Adams to John Adams, Quincy, Mass., 25 January 1799

On Wednesday I received a visit from president Willard and Mr. Gerry. . . . Whoever questions the integrity of Mr. Gerry's Heart, does him an injury, tho I thought yesterday from his Slowness of Speech and his round about and about manner of conveying his Ideas, I would as soon vote for a voluable old woman to be an Embassy, as for him.

George Washington to Timothy Pickering, Mount Vernon, 10 February 1799

I am sorry to hear that Mr. Gerry is pursuing a mischievous path. That he was led astray by his own vanity & self importance, and was the dupe of *Diplomatic Skill*, I never had a doubt; but these doubts were accompanied by faint hopes (faint indeed they were) that he possessed candor, fortitude & manliness enough to have come forward with an open declaration that, he had been practiced upon, & was deceived—But Mr. Gerry's Mind is not enlarged enough for such conduct as this.

George Cabot to Timothy Pickering, Brookline, Mass., 14 February 1799

I think it impossible for any man of common sense to avoid seeing that Gerry is too great a fool to have been employed by a wise government in a business of so much consequence.

Robert Troup to Rufus King, New York, 6 November 1799

Little Gerry is crawling out of his obscurity and giving entertainments as a candidate for the office of Governor of Massachusetts. I understand he expects to be supported by the independent of both parties.

Benjamin Rush: Sketches, c. 1800

He was a respectable young merchant, of a liberal education, and considerable knowledge. He was slow in his perceptions and in his manner of doing business, and stammering in his speech, but he knew and embraced truth when he saw it. He had no local or state prejudices. Every part of his conduct in 1775, 1776, and 1777 indicated him to be a sensible, upright man, and a genuine friend to republican forms of government.

Fisher Ames to Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Dedham, Mass., 2 January 1800

Massachusetts is threatened with Gerry, who, though a weak creature, would unite the confidence of the anarchists and would gain and abuse a portion of that of his adversaries.

John Wendell to John Adams, Portsmouth, N.H., 6 June 1800

From many years close Correspondence with my Friend Elbridge Gerry Esquire, while at Congress and since, I am happy to assure your Excellency that he is your attached Friend, nor would he have accepted of the Embassy to France but to support your administration, neither his Health or Inclination permitted it, His private Character is too well known to me, to think him Capable of Duplicity And yet he has been pointedly reflected upon from the Press, as leaning too much to the political Views of France, I fully know his mind on that subject,—That he is for maintaining a Peace with all the World, but not at the Expence of the Honour of his Country, rather than that, His individual Voice would be for *war* with all the World, He advanced all of his patrimonial Estate at the commencement of the Revolution, and but for the Justice of his Country, he had been compleatly ruin'd by the Depreciation of the Currency, in which I suffered many Thousands of Pounds: Having the Honours of Harvard, Yale—and Dartmouth Colleges, My Pen has been drawn in Mr. Gerrys Defence & Election the latter he lost by an Accident too late to remedy I was in favour of his Election not in Disparagement of Mr. Strong, but as I know Mr. Gerry is a decided Friend to his Country, I wish to see such a Gentleman in office, and you may be assur'd that he is your Excellency firm and unshaken Friend, though I apprehend that he has been misrepresented to the Contrary.—

Abigail Adams to ?, Quincy, Mass., June 1801

Pray my dear Madam read with attention Govr Gerrys Speech at the opening of the Legislature. do not let the Length of it terrify you. I unite with him in allmost all he has said—The assemblage as he Stiles them, the Leaders particularly deserve all the Chastisement he has given them. The Anglomanes alias the Junto will abuse him for it—but he cares little for that—He has not any pecuniary motive to be their Govenour, but quite otherways—he is superiour to their favors and their flattery he would despice—he Speaks the truth boldly to them and he does it in the language and Stile of a Gentleman—the Speech must be highly approved by every Friend to the honour and interests of our Country.

Mercy Otis Warren, History of the American Revolution, 1805

This gentleman entered from principle, early in the opposition to British encroachments, and continued one of the most uniform republicans to the end of the contest. He was the next year chosen a delegate to the continental Congress. Firm, exact, perspicuous, and tenacious of public and private honor, he rendered essential service to the union for many years that he continued a member of that honorable body.

John Adams: Autobiography, 8 March 1805

The General Court would not excuse me from again attending Congress and again chose me a Member with all my former Colleagues except Mr. Cushing who I believe declined, and in his room Mr. Gerry was chosen, who went with me to Philadelphia, and We took our Seats in Congress on Friday 9 February 1776. In this Gentleman I found a faithful Friend, and an ardent persevering Lover of his Country, who never hesitated to promote with all his Abilities and Industry the boldest measures reconcilable with prudence.

John Adams: To the Boston Patriot, Quincy, Mass., 29 May 1809

[Concerning the appointment of an envoy to France in 1798] No man had a greater share in propagating and diffusing these prejudices against Mr. Gerry than Hamilton, whether he had formerly conceived jealousies against him, as a rival candidate for the Secretaryship of the Treasury: for Mr. Gerry was a financier, and had been employed for years on the committee on the treasury in the old Congress, and a most indefatigable member too. That committee had laid the foundation for the present system of the treasury, and had organized it almost as well, though they had not the assistance of clerks and other conveniences, as at present. Any man who will look into the journals of the old Congress, may see the organization and the daily labors and reports of that committee, and may form some judgment of the talents and services of Mr. Gerry in that department. I knew that the officers of the treasury in Hamilton's time dreaded to see him rise in the House upon any question of finance, because they said he was a man of so much influence, that they always feared he would discover some error or carry some point against them—Or whether he feared that Mr. Gerry would be President of the United States before him, I know not. He was not alone, however. His friends among the heads of departments and their correspondents in Boston, New-York and Philadelphia, sympathized with him very cordially in his hatred of Gerry, and of every other man who had labored and suffered early in the revolution.

Abigail Adams to Abigail Adams Smith, Quincy, Mass., 14 April 1810

Mr. Gerry is a true American; a firm, decided character; a man of moderation and ardour. I wish that he might be able to moderate the heat of party spirit, and heal the animosities which it engenders.

Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams, Quincy, Mass., 11 July 1810

Mr Gerry is well known to you almost from your Infancy. his inflexible Steadiness, his candid and benevolent mind, his upright, and honest zeal in the Service of his Country, are a Security for an impartial and wise administrator of the government.

Cowper says,

“Such men are raised to station and command
When providence means mercy to a land.”*

*William Cowper, *Table Talk*, line 355.

Abigail Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams, Quincy, Mass., 22 September 1810

I shall say little of politicks, but that all is tranquil in this State at present. The gov'r and Leicut Govenour very popular, even the Feds cannot find food for calumny which you will say, is passing strange in heads so prolific in creating.

John Adams to John Quincy Adams, Quincy, Mass., 11 February 1811

Mr Gerry and Mr Gray have conducted in their Stations with as great Ability Integrity, urbanity, and with as great Success and as good Acceptance as any Governor or Lieutenant Governor We ever had. pass in Review Hancock Bowdoin Adams Sumner Strong Sullivan and Gore, and you will find no Mark of Superiority in any particular not even in the Management of the Militia.

John Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse, Quincy, Mass., 11 June 1811

I hope and I pray and believe that Mr Gerry has been and will be one powerful Instrument of Saving Us from a civil War. I am not however as yet under much apprehension and indeed never have been, of such a Calamity. I doubt indeed whether any Man has much apprehension of it, who did not wish it and endeavour to excite it.

John Adams to Benjamin Rush, Quincy, Mass., 21 June 1811

You ought to read Gerry's speech [of 1775]. It is in the genuine Whiggish style of 1765 and 1775. He is the same enlightened, indefatigable and persevering Patriot.

John Adams to Benjamin Rush, Quincy, Mass., 27 January 1812

Mr Gerry's Speech is too long, because it tells too many Solemn Truths. I know of no other Man in the United States whose Nerves would have born him out in telling So many. I Should not have dared; and yet I do not think myself a very timorous Politician. Yet it was necessary. Gerry is a Wedge prepared by Providence to Split a lignum Vitæ* knot here, as hard as Luther had to Split in Germany.

*A dense heavy wood.

John Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse, Quincy, Mass., 11 March 1812

I have known Mr Gerry, very nearly forty Years; and I know him to possess a Sagacity, a Fortitude, an inflexibility, and an indefatigable Application which few Men can equal. Indeed I know of none in the State. These are Virtues, Talents, and Qualities, which at this time are peculiarly requisite, and indispensable. . . . I have Voted for Mr Gerry; and will vote for him this Year; and most ardently hope he will be chosen; because I believe him to be incomparably the most independent, disinterested, and capable Man for the Office that now breaths the Air of Massachusetts.

John Adams to James Madison, Quincy, Mass., 21 May 1812

Mr Gerry is one of the oldest Patriots of the Revolution and like most others of that character, has Sacrificed himself his fortune and his family to the cause of his Country. He is one of the firmest Pillars of that System which alone can Save this country from disgrace and ruin: and if he is not in Some Way or Other Supported, but Suffered to Sink, his Principles and Measures will feel a dangerous if not fatal discouragement, in all this Section of the Union.

John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, Mass., 21 May 1812

Though Mr. Gerry is not too old for the most arduous Service, he is one of the earliest and oldest Legislators in the Revolution and has devoted himself, his fortune and his family in the Service of his Country.

John Adams to Benjamin Rush, Quincy, Mass., 26 May 1812

Colonel Duane it Seems was mistaken; and I am very Sorry for it. You and I respect and Esteem and love [John] Langdon; but We both know that he is no comparison to Gerry in Talents, Education or Information. No Man exceeds Gerry in Attachment to the Constitution or Administration. No Man has more Ardor for Supporting the Independence and Rights of his Country. No Man understands better the Controversies in which We are involved with France and England, and No Man presides with more calmness, patience and Dignity in Counsel, in the Legislature, and in the Executive Seat. Besides Langdon is rich. Gerry has Sacrificed like all the active Patriots of the revolution his Fortune Family Time and Prospects. He is moreover Several Years younger in Age, though older in public Service.

James Madison to John Adams, Washington, 3 June 1812

I can not avail myself, of the indulgent exemption you offer me, so far as not to express my entire assent to the merits of our common friend Mr. Gerry. Though not acquainted with him in the first stages of his public life and less so than you have been, with the latter periods of his services to his Country, I have witnessed enough of his conduct on important and arduous occasions, to regard him as among our Patriots most distinguished for integrity, ability, and zeal for the rights and honor of the American Nation; whilst his private character is equally adorned by the virtues belonging to it.

John Adams to William Plumer, Quincy, Mass., 13 June 1812

As my aged and Respected Friend Mr. Langdon declines the Election as V.P. I hope Mr Gerry's very long and faithful Services, his great Sacrifices and long Sufferings will not be neglected. No Man has better qualifications or Superiour Merits.

John Adams to Richard Rush, Quincy, Mass., 15 July 1813

If Mr Madison Should unfortunately fail Us, Mr Gerry is our Ruler. I know him. I know his Talents. I know his Rectitude. I know his Resolution and Spirit. But I know the load of Passion and Prejudice, and abuse, and misrepresentation he has to Support.

John Adams: Autobiography

In this Gentleman I found a faithful Friend, and an ardent persevering Lover of his Country, who never hesitated to promote with all his Abilities and Industry the boldest measures reconcilable with prudence.

Edward Coles to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, Mass., 23 November 1814

Edward Coles is desired by the President to send Mr. Jefferson the enclosed papers; and to inform him of the sudden death of the Vice President, who expired after a few moments illness, with a kind of paralytick fit, about one hour since.

Rufus King to John Adams, 23 November 1814

Another of the patriots of the revolution is gone; the Vice President was dressed as usual to attend the Senate this morning, went in his carriage to call upon Mr. Nourse of the Treasury department, complained while there of feeling unwell, was helped by Mr. Nourse into the carriage to return to his quarters, distant not more than a quarter of a mile, was senseless when he arrived there & being taken out & laid upon a bed immediately expired without a groan or a struggle. Knowing your long & constant friendship for Mr. Gerry, I have thought it to be my duty to impart to you the melancholy information.

John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, Mass., 11 December 1814

Paine, Lovel and Gerry are gone and I am left alone. Gerry is happy in his Death; for what horrors of Calumny has he not escaped in the Electioneering campaign of next Summer? But what is to be the destiny of an amiable Widow and nine Children all as amiable as they are destitute?

Thomas Gibbons

James Gunn to John Adams, Washington, 21 February 1801

I beg leave to recommend to the notice of the President Mr. Thomas Gibbons as a man Well qualified to fill the office of Judge in the District of Georgia.

Mr. Gibbons is a Gentleman of Great professional abilities, was born in Georgia, and is Independent in his Circumstances.

William Gibbons

James Seagrove to Samuel Blachley Webb, Savannah, Ga., 22 February 1789

A beast a Sot a Vilan & Drunkard—a Wm. Gibbons Senr. brings up the rear [in the election for U.S. the Senate].

Catherine Greene to Jeremiah Wadsworth, Georgia, 18 April 1789

Mr. Gibbons who was once a Member of congress—and for several years Speaker of the house in this state—is one of the candidates [for the federal collector's office]—but according to his abilities there is not a greater Scoundrel in the State of *Georgia*—which is saying enough for any man—he was the person who after receiving the Money for Mulberry Grove [Greene's plantation] Sued for it, because he thought the papers were lost—which was proved in public court—besides the Numberless Acts of this kind—he is now cheating his Brothers and Sisters—he is the greatest Drunkard in the State and a Most profligate character.

Caleb Gibbs

Caleb Gibbs to Alexander Hamilton, Barre, Mass., 16 May 1791

With the most pungent grief did I read your Letter respecting Mr. Tracy's affair. It is too much for me to relate. Nay, My good Hamilton (excuse the freedom) it fairly unmanned me. And what is still more effecting to me, to see my amiable wife looking over the Letter and exclaiming is it possible, is it possible Mr. Gibbs that you have lost that hard earned money you friendly lent that wicked man. Indeed my friend it was too much for her to bear. And more particularly so, considering her situation we have been almost ever since in a state of despair for I have all along held up to her the Idea, that there was hopes of recovering my property more especially as we thought it was in your hands—but now forever lost—not only so but *good money which I borrowed of you* to bear my expenses thrown away in pursuit of what he owes me & god only knows when I shall ever be able to pay you.

Pray for god's sake my friend speak to the President for me. The Surveyship of the Port of Boston is now vacant, cannot you befriend me. Every one who knows (& I know you do) that the great economy used in the Expenditures of the General's family was in a very great degree owing to me. Speak peace to me. Drop but one drop of the balm of Comfort & Consolation. If I am worthy of another line from you, give me it as a Comforter.

James McHenry to Alexander Hamilton, Philadelphia, 8 February 1799

Gibbs, I think would have made a good officer but it is a fact, that his character is very low in Boston, that he is looked upon as a triffler, and has no weight whatever in that quarter of the union.

William Branch Giles

John Marshall to James Madison, Richmond, Va., 29 November 1790

My friend Mr. Giles will present you this. He is particularly desirous of being known to you. I should not presume so far on the degree of your acquaintance with which I have been honored as to introduce any Gentleman to your attention if I did not persuade myself that you will never regret or change any favorable opinion you may form of him.

Edward Carrington to James Madison, Richmond, Va., 25 December 1790

You will find him upon trial to possess real genius, acquired knowledge, and solid honesty such as will make him a valuable coadjutor in our representation.

Edward Carrington to William Irvine, 10 January 1791

Mr. Giles, a Young Gentleman of the Law, whom you will find upon acquaintance to be really clever and honest—I predict that his Services will be found valuable to his country.

Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, Philadelphia, 26 May 1792

For a considerable part of the last session [of Congress], Mr. Madison lay in a great measure *perdu*. But it was evident from his votes & a variety of little movements and appearances, that he was the prompter of Mr. Giles & others, who were the open instruments of opposition.

William Heth to Alexander Hamilton, Shillelah, Va., 6 July 1794

Accept, I pray you, my dear friend, of my sincerest congratulations, on your second, and complete triumph, over the invidious persecutions of a base faction. The report of the Committee of Congress, has turned out precisely, as your friends here, had predicted—"The more you *probe*, examine, & investigate Hamilton's conduct; rely upon it, the *greater* he will appear." But it was a cruel thing in Congress, & some what unprecedented, I presume, to oblige your *persecutor*, & *prosecutors*, to sit as your *Judges*, and, what was more ill-natured, to compel them to make a *Report*: by which, they were obliged—d——d mortification, surely—to *convict* you, of purity of conduct, & unshaken integrity, and a constant watchfulness over the public interest. This was cursed hard upon them, to be sure. And how one of them [Giles] who had *pledged himself* to convict you of nothing less than "*high crimes & misdemeanors*" can get the better of his chagrin, or meet some of his credulous, & deluded constituents without shame & confusion, I am at a loss to account. Nothing surely, can carry him through, but that consummate vanity and ambition, which first tempted him to make so unprovoked, & so unwarrantable an Attack. He has been completely mortified, at a public-meeting, in his own District, since his return. Instead of entertaining all companies, as heretofore, with declamations on the abuses in The Treasury Department; not a single syllable was uttered about Hamilton, or his conduct. He was "*as mute as a fish*." No notice were taken of any of the toasts which *he* gave; while those given by Carrington were *huzzad* and *applauded*.

Abigail Adams to John Adams, Quincy, Mass., 16 January 1795

I See by the papers the *judicious* Motion of Giles as it is another Bone to pick; and brought forward with no other view or design, but to render himself popular with the Sans Culotts I cannot help despising and abhorring a Man, who is governed by Such base and Sordid motives. Giles' face was allways my aversion and his Heart I detest, for I believe it desperately wicked.

Lawrence Taliaferro to James Madison, Rose Hill, Orange, Va., 4 January 1797

Giles is a good Citizen.

John Quincy Adams to John Adams, 24 December 1804

I have had this morning a little wrestling bout with our present sovereign, Mr. Giles, who rules without control as Lord of the ascendant. He has been plunging us from one absurdity to another, until we had got so deep that it was impossible to bear it any longer. . . .

He has been very pointed in his civility to me, out of doors, and in conversation whenever we have met. I am thankful to him for even this. His power is such that if he should move my expulsion from the Senate because he does not like my looks, he would stand a very fair chance of success. But he has nothing insolent in his *manner*, which cannot be said of all his associates.

John Quincy Adams to John Adams, 5 January 1805

Mr. Giles continues to be our *Director*, and in general meets with little opposition to what he thinks beneficial to the public service. He has lost much of the vehemence in his manner which struck me when I first heard him speak in public, in 1791. And he treats his opponents with a very pointed civility. I wish his principles had moderated in proportion to his manners.

John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, Washington, 20 January 1806

Mr: Bayard yesterday took his Seat in Senate; the first time this Session—Mr: Giles would probably have made his appearance at the same time, but on his way was overset, and broke his leg in a manner which is said to be very dangerous—

John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams, Washington, 5 December 1806

Little business done in Congress yet—Mr: Giles is here; but has never recovered from his misfortune of last Winter—He walks with crutches, and can barely stand without them.

Timothy Pickering to John Marshall, Salem, Mass., 24 January 1826

Whether Mr. Giles is or is not a disappointed man, I do not know. For his talents and for his services to the Jefferson Party, he would seem to have had a right to succeed Mr. Madison, in the department of state, when the latter was raised to the Presidency. But to this there were strong objections. From the opinion I had formed of Mr. Giles, able, bold, independent and unmanageable, I should say, that Mr. Madison was afraid to introduce him into his cabinet. In the next place, it would have entirely deranged the plan previously formed by Jefferson, Madison & Monroe.

Alexander Gillon

Pierce Butler to Alexander Gillon, New York, 25 May 1790

[By Gillon's last letter] I find by it with real heart felt satisfaction that Gout and Fever are fled—may they never return!

Nicholas Gilman

William Pierce: Sketches of Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, c. September 1787

Mr. Gilman is modest, genteel, and sensible. There is nothing brilliant or striking in his character, but there is something respectable and worthy in the Man.—about 30 years of age.

Otto's Biographies, Fall 1788

A pretentious young man barely liked by his colleagues; he is derisively called, the Congress. He has, however, the advantage of having represented his state in the great Philadelphia Convention and of having signed the new Constitution. This circumstance proves that there is not a great choice to make in this state or that at least the most intelligent and the cleverest are not rich enough to accept a public position. Mr. Gilman served during the war as an aide de camp. He has a highly esteemed brother who will be appointed commissioner to settle Congress' financial accounts with the various states.

Dyre Kearny to Nicholas Gilman, 30 April 1789

I well know you are a pretty minute observer and have mix'd considerably with the world. From these circumstances and my personal knowledge of you, I do believe you are pretty well acquainted with the human heart, and head too; but however valuable this quality may be to its Possessors, and however it may serve us in our intercourse among *Men*, Yet, I am often led to imagine it is in very many Cases unavailing with Regard to Women. Their Pasions tho' fewer, are perhaps stronger than ours; and perhaps from the levity caprice and inconstancy natural to the Sex, are exhibited in such a variety of contradictory and fantastic Shapes as continually to bewilder and mislead our Judgments, and possibly the only superior faculty they possess to ours, is that of eluding our utmost Sagacity and *penetration*. Had you

John Sullivan to John Pike, 13 July 1790

A wish to serve the interest of America in general & an earnest desire to serve that of New Hampshire in particular occasions me to solicit your influence at the next election that the honorable Nicholas Gilman Esqr. may be appointed a member of Congress the ensuing year. This gentleman I was well acquainted with when he was Captain in our army, & was no stranger to his worth & merit & had if possible a fuller acquaintance with him when he became a Deputy under the late Colo. Scammell adjutant general, & know that his own merit raised him to the office of aid de camp to the late commander in chief, now President of the United States, where his conduct won him the affections of that illustrious character, which he retains to this moment. Permit me to say, my Dear Sir, that if goodness of heart, a talent for business & an uncommon share of influence in Congress & with the President of the United States can be of any avail for the interest of New Hampshire, he is a man as much to be relied on as any that falls within my knowledge.

Benjamin Goodhue

Richard Henry Lee to Charles Lee, New York, 28 August 1789

The Memorials concerning Potomac have been presented & referred to a Committee of the H. of R.* I attended that Committee, and found the Chairman [Goodhue] (a Gentleman from the Eastward) to be sensible, liberal, and accommodating—

*The memorials of the merchants and other inhabitants of the towns of Alexandria and Dumfries, Virginia, and Georgetown, Bladensburg, and Piscataway, Maryland.

Fisher Ames to Thomas Dwight, New York, 17 June 1790

Mr. Goodhue frowns all day long, and swears as much as a good Christian can, about the perverseness of Congress.

James Gordon, Jr.**Burgess Ball to James Madison, Fredericksburg, Va., 8 December 1788**

Our friend Gordon has lost his Reason, and confined in this place. He is something better, and we have hopes of his Recovery.

Andrew Shepherd, Orange County, Va., 14 December 1788

You no doubt have heard of the unhappy State your friend Mr. James Gordon has been lately in, and am afraid it will prove of some duration, if ever he gets fully over it though from the last Accounts of him, it was thought he was getting better, and that his friends proposed moving him Him from Fredericksburg where he has been since he left Chatham.

William Gordon**John Adams: Diary, 16 September 1775**

Parson Gordon of Roxbury, spent the Evening here.—I fear his indiscreet Prate will do harm in this City. He is an eternal Talker, and somewhat vain, and not accurate nor judicious. Very zealous in the Cause, and a well meaning Man, but incautious, and not sufficiently tender of the Character of our Province, upon which at this Time much depends. Fond of being thought a Man of Influence, at Head Quarters, and with our Council and House, and with the general Officers of the Army, and also with Gentlemen in this City, and other Colonies.—He is a good Man, but wants a Guide.

Alexander Hamilton to John Laurens, West Point, N.Y., 11 September 1779

Speaking of a Caesar & a Cromwell—Don't you think *the Cabal* have reported that I declared in a public house in Philadelphia “it was high time for the people to rise, join General Washington & turn Congress out of Doors.” I am running the rogues pretty hard—[Francis] Dana was the first mentioned to me. He has given up Doctor Gordon of Jamaica Plains. You will remember the old Jesuit; he made us a visit at Fredericksburg and is writing the history of America. The proverb is verified—“there never was any mischief but had a *priest* or a woman at the bottom.” I doubt not subordination and every species of villainy will be made use of to cover the villainy of the attack. I have written to Gordon and what do you think is his answer?—he will give up his author, if I will pledge my honor “neither to give nor accept a challenge to cause it to be given nor accepted, nor to engage in any recounter that may produce a duel.” Pleasant terms enough—I am first to be calumniated and then if my calumniator takes it into his head I am to bear a cudgeling from him with christian patience and forbearance; for the terms required if pursued to their consequences

comes to this. I have ridiculed the proposal and insisted on the author, on the principle of *unconditional submission*. What the Doctor's impudence will answer I know not.

Alexander Hamilton to William Gordon, Morristown, N.J., 10 December 1779

The unravelment of the plot in the ridiculous farce you have been acting proves, as I at first suspected, that you are yourself the author of the calumny; such I consider you and such I shall represent you. The representation I am sure will find credit with all who know me, and the notorious bias of your disposition to duplicity and slander will give it sanction with all who are acquainted with you. I shall use the less ceremony as I am well informed you have established a character which in the opinion of every man of sense has forfeited all title to the delicacy of treatment usually attached to your function [i.e., a minister]. I only lament that respect to myself obliges me to confine the expression of my contempt to words.

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap, New York, 21 June 1789

I have not yet had time to read Dr. G.'s History. By the last London ship, he sent me, as a present, a copy on what is called *wove* paper, very elegantly bound. I have read only the two 1st volumes. The Doctor is a valuable friend, but an indifferent historian. His collection of facts will be useful to some future writer who will hold a better pen.

Christopher Gore

William Tudor to John Adams, Boston, 30 September 1789

Notwithstanding your kind Hint at the Close of it [last letter], I was chagrined, greatly so, by reading the Paper of this Morning, not because I was not named as a Judge, for I think the Judges from this State are well selected & I know their Pretensions in various Respects better founded than any I could lay claim to—But the appointment of the attorney for the District of Massachusetts, has disappointed me. The Man who has obtained that Place [Christopher Gore] has built up a very handsome Estate in Consequence of his agency for most of the Refugees who had Debts due to them in this Country, & which most lucrative Employment he got by the Solicitations of his Father while, he continued in England as a Refugee. I never heard of any Attachment or Services shown by his Family to *this* Country, but something very different the public Acts of this Commonwealth attest to.

John Quincy Adams to John Adams, Boston, 21 September 1790

Mr. Gore is one of those men whom Cardinal Richilieu would have employed in public affairs. He is a very fortunate man. In his profession he has been remarkably successful; from a combination of circumstance, which a man of inferior abilities to those he possesses might perhaps have improved as well. The family connections have likewise been extremely serviceable to him; and it is said that he has made an independent fortune by speculation in the public funds. I have heard it asserted that he is the richest lawyer in the Commonwealth.

Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, New York, 5 November 1795

An Attorney General I believe may easily be fixed upon by a satisfactory choice. Either Mr. *Dexter* or Mr. *Gore* would answer. They are both men of undoubted probity. Mr. *Dexter* has most *natural* talent & is strong in his particular profession. Mr. *Gore* is I believe equally considered in his profession & has more various information. No good man doubts Mr. *Gore*'s purity but he has made money by agencies for British Houses in the recovery of debts, etc. and by operations in the funds which a certain party object to him. I believe Mr. *Dexter* is free from every thing of this kind. Mr. *King* thinks *Gore* on the whole preferable. I hesitate between them. Either will I think be a good appointment.

John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams, Quincy, Mass., 24 April 1804

I have been into Boston only once since my return home; and that was the day, when I wrote you last—I was to have gone this day, to a public entertainment given Mr. *Gore*, on his return from Europe; but the weather which has been these three days and continues stormy, confines me to the house—I saw Mr. *Gore*, when I was in Boston—He has reduced himself by his diet and regimen, more than any man I ever knew. You will scarcely credit me, when I tell you he is at least as thin as Mr. *Hellen*—His appearance is so much altered, that it was sometime before I recognized his features—He says however that he is in very good health—

Daniel Webster to Thomas W. Thompson, Boston, 26 December 1806

While I write this, Judge *Sullivan* is closing the cause of the Commonwealth vs *Selfridge*. Messrs. *Gore* & [*Samuel*] *Dexter* were heard yesterday. Mr. *Gore* was remarkably impressive, & eloquent. He is really the most courtly, polished Speaker I ever heard.

Nathaniel Gorham

William Gordon to John Adams, Jamaica Plain, Mass., 4 October 1785

[*Thomas*] *Cushing* will probably be continued Lt. Govr. annually, unless *Goreham* should oust him, by his subtle manoeuvring, at which he is reported to me by the knowing ones, to be notably dexterous.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, New York, 16 July 1786

The Massachusetts delegates except the president whose talents and merits have been greatly over rated (tho preferable greatly in the latter instance to his brethren) are without exception the most illiberal I have ever seen from that state.

Benjamin Hichborn to John Adams, Boston, 16 January 1787

I cannot omit mentioning that I suppose *Gorham* the late President of Congress has some expectations of being chosen Governor the next year, but I have not the least doubt of his being disappointed—

William Pierce: Sketches of Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, c. September 1787

Mr. Gorham is a Merchant in Boston, high in reputation, and much in the esteem of his Countrymen. He is a Man of very good sense, but not much improved in his education. He is eloquent and easy in public debate, but has nothing fashionable or elegant in his style;—all he aims at is to convince, and where he fails it never is from his auditory not understanding him, for no Man is more perspicuous and full. He has been President of Congress, and three years a Member of that Body. Mr. Gorham is about 46 years of age, rather lusty, and has an agreeable and pleasing manner.

“Z,” Boston American Herald, 31 December 1787

Mr. Gerry, no doubt, had his motives for opposing the new Constitution, which our Aristocratic Gentlemen are so very violent in support of.—Mr. G——m incontestibly has his.—This last Gentleman’s character, in his political career, is a satire on every principle of consistency—A timid whig, before the war, and a cold friend to the revolution after—*till the danger was over*.—He has learnt his politics in London, and is now (in America) going to give us the first fruits of his travels.—His politics are his bread, and the adoption of the new G——t will, no doubt, secure him a place.—Can we then wonder at his industry—£500 a year to a man not worth a “plumb,” is something very pretty.

John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams, Boston, 17 October 1790

In [the election for U.S. Representative in] Middlesex, indeed, the votes were more divided. Mr. Gorham is a popular man and, if the public report be not fallacious, he has been indefatigable for these two years past in the pursuit of this election. Mr. Gerry, however, has a respectable majority of votes.

Alexander Graydon

John Hancock to William Palfrey, Philadelphia, 6 July 1776

[Graydon is] a very promising young Gentleman of genteel manner and amiable Character, and the Son of a very wealthy Woman in this City of my Acquaintance.

William Grayson

Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, Paris, 11 August 1786

Grayson is lazy.

James Monroe to James Madison, Philadelphia, 12 September 1786

Colo. Grayson came with me in the interval to relax from business & meet his lady here. She is with him—but unfortunately he is afflicted with an extraordinary disease. The physicians differ in

the name. He is often delirious—is afflicted with strange fancies & apprehensions—in the morning he is better, than in the latter end of the day & night at which time his infirmity rages. It is supposed by some to be the floating gout. Shippen [Dr. William Shippen, Jr.] calls it a bilious affection of the nerves. The very close attention he hath lately paid to business with the laborious exercise of the mind & the want of that of the body I fear hath given birth to it. Today he hath been better than heretofore.

To Eliza House Trist, New York, 10 February 1787

I found Mrs. Grayson pretty well. Col. Grayson is rather better than I left him last fall in Philada. but is still a frequent prey to his own imagination. The continuance of his unhappy sensations is really extraordinary, and if they resist the influence of Spring as much as they seem to do that of the Winter, will become a source of apprehension to his friends as well as to himself.

James Madison to James Monroe, New York, 11 February 1787

Our friend Grayson remains nearly in status quo. He is a valetudinarian without being sick, and unhappy without knowing why.

Cyrus Griffin to James Madison, New York, 14 April 1788

. . . Grayson too blustering.

Edward Carrington to James Madison, Richmond, Va., 9–10 November 1788

[In speaking of the Antifederalist attempt to elect George Clinton as the first Vice President] Grayson is warm in such an election. He is indeed the devoted Servant of [Patrick] Henry.

John Murray to Horatio Gates, 6 April 1789

Grayson . . . too indolent to be either good or bad is in my opinion in Senate.

James Madison to Eliza House Trist, New York, 21 May 1789

Col. Grayson has at length joined us. He too considers himself as a member of the invalid corps. But enjoys good spirits which is a proof that his malady is nowise akin to his former one. We have just been together, laughing over a paragraph in one of his speeches in our Convention just come to hand in the 2nd vol. of the debates.

William Grayson to Patrick Henry, New York, 12 June 1789

I arrived here about three weeks ago, in very poor condition indeed; I had a very severe attack of the gout in February, and the consequences of it have distressed me extremely ever since. I am now afflicted with a diarrhea, though I hope I am on the mending hand.

James Madison to William Short, New York, 6 April 1790

We lost Col. Grayson about 3 weeks ago. He was carried off by a Gouty diarrhea which had been wasting him for 18 Months.

Founders on the Founders

Peter Green

William Plumer to John Hale, Londonderry, N.H., 6 October 1786

Peter Green Esq. of Concord has been suspected of favoring the views of the mob and of giving them countenance; but I know of no evidence to support these suspicions. This man is a lawyer, the pupil of our present Chief Justice Livermore; but he is destitute of both his talents and information. He has drawn many writs and done much of what is called *default business*; but he is not a good or a safe councilor. He never attempts to act as an advocate. I never knew him to argue a single cause; and although often a member of the General Court, he spoke none in debate. He is one of the proprietors of the Allen claim, and is devoted to the interest of General Peabody. These two circumstances has injured his popularity. His thirst for office is great; to attain it he would sacrifice his interest and the little reputation he has acquired. He is now Lt. Col. of the Cavalry and justice of the peace. His attachment to the British interest in the time of the revolutionary war, brought him to Exeter prison, where he was some short time confined by order of the Committee of Safety. He has not the reputation of an honest man, and I am confident he is now contracting habits of intemperance which will prove his ruin.

Catharine Greene

Rev. John Murray to Nathanael Greene, Gloucester, Mass., 21 January 1780

Wherever Mrs. Greene is, she will diffuse happiness all around her. Please to present my most respectful regards to that ever Amiable Lady.

Nathanael Greene to Jeremiah Wadsworth, West Point, N.Y., 16 October 1780

Her constitution is so delicate, her passions so warm, and her affections so strong, that I almost dread the effect of the news upon her [i.e., Greene's appointment as commander of the Southern Army].

James Mitchell Varnum to Nathanael Greene, Philadelphia, 17 September 1781

I have lately been honored with a Letter from your amiable Lady; She was in fine Health and obsesses Ambition and Philosophy; and I am certain she is as happy as her Situation will admit of—Not a Word about going to the Southward.

Joseph Reed to Nathanael Greene, Philadelphia, c. December 1781

All your Friends here are well, & partake most cordially of your good Fortune, & the Honor you have gained during your Command. We have endeavored to make Philadelphia as agreeable to Mrs. Greene as possible. Her Merit & the Pleasure of her Company would be sufficient Inducements alone, but when ad[ded] to the great Regard we have for you we think it impossible to do too much.

**Nathanael Greene to Otho H. Williams, Headquarters near Bacon's Bridge, S.C.,
6 June 1782**

Mrs. Greene is not in good health, but gay and Cheerful. They call her the french Lady in Charlestown.

Nathanael Greene to Charles Pettit, Headquarters, Ashley Hill, S.C., 29 August 1782

The fevers fill her with apprehensions. She is a great favorite even with the ladies and has almost rivaled me where I least expected it. Her flowing tongue and cheerful countenance quite triumphs over my grave face. I bear it with great philosophy as I gain on one hand what I lose on the other.

Lewis Morris, Jr., to Nathanael Greene, Keewau, S.C., 4 September 1782

We are much indebted to Mrs. Greene for her vivacity and good humor. She keeps us all in good spirits. . . . Your lady has got her Block Island complexion and looks as she used to do. But I am afraid her dress is too thin. She complained of a pain in her bowels a few days ago and I am convinced it was owing to her dress. Would it not be right, as the weather is growing cooler, and she wears no stays, to send her a flannel vest and recommend her to put it on?

Francisco de Miranda: *Travels in the United States, 1783–1784*

In the afternoon I visited Mrs. Greene, who lives in the section called "The Point" and to whom I delivered letters addressed to her husband (he is in South Carolina). She received me with generosity and kindness. We drank tea, and I remained there in good society until eight o'clock. She is one of the women of most ingenuous manner and festive spirit I have known in this country.

Nathanael Greene

Jonathan Bayard Smith to Joseph Reed, York, Pa., 25 February 1778

Whether Genl. Green will not be too great a loss to the Line, I am not competent to determine. He is certainly one of a very few who made the art of war a study, & are become acquainted with its principles.

Marquis de Lafayette to George Washington, Albany, N.Y., 25 March 1778

I am glad to hear General Greene is quarter master general. It is very interesting to have there an honest man and a friend of yours.

Nathanael Greene to John Brown, Coventry, R.I., 6 September 1778

[On Courage] I have heard many people foolish enough to suppose that it was only necessary for a General to lead on his forces to ensure success without regard to the strength or situation of the Enemy or the number or goodness of his own troops. Those that have often been in action can

only judge what is to be expected of good, bad and indifferent Troops. Men are often struck with Pannicks and they are generally subject to that passion in a greater or lesser degree according as the force of discipline has formed the mind by habit to meet danger and death. I dare say many a man has gone from home with a determined resolution to meet the enemy, that has shamefully quited the field for want of a habitual fortitude. Men often feel courageous at a distance from danger that faint through fear when they come to be exposed. Pride and Sentiment supports the Officer, Habit and Enthusiasm the Soldier; without these there is no safe reliance upon men. . . .

I recollect your observations to me on board the fleet, that the reputation of the principal Officers depended upon the success of the expedition [against Rhode Island]. I have long since learnt to despise vulgar prejudices and to regulate my conduct by maxims more noble than popular Sentiment. I have an honest Ambition of meriting the approbation of the public: but I will never go contrary to my judgment or violate my honor or conscience for a temporary salute.

Nathanael Green to Archibald Steel, New Windsor, N.Y., 20 July 1779

You mistake me exceedingly if you think I wish to check the spirit of patriotism. So far from it that I wish I could inspire the whole Continent with a generous flame of that kind; as the happiness of Society and the success of our cause greatly depends thereon. This is one of the most noble principles that inhabits the human heart; and is one of the brightest rays that warms the human heart. god forbid therefore that I should throw cold water upon it. I meant to discourage you from engaging in party and faction. These are principles as opposite to the other as light is to darkness. If you are not concerned in the latter evil I am far from thinking you will be led astray by the other temper either in Civil or Military Governments.

Nathanael Greene to Catherine Greene, West Point, N.Y., 16 August 1779

You know my *Creed* is for Women to keep clear of politicks. It has a tendency to make their manners rude and their tempers rough which should be as smooth as the purling streams, and soft as the May morning.

John Collins to Nathanael Greene, Philadelphia, 31 August 1779

I have never heard any attack on your Character as Quartermaster General, but your deputies and deputies' deputies have been much Complained of.

Adam Maxwell to Nathanael Greene, East Greenwich, R.I., 1 September 1779

Your universal Character is that of a Good Soldier, and a general in whom the greatest Confidence is placed by your Country and Superior in command. I never heard any thing said to your personal disadvantage even among your enemies. There are some two or three here who envy you the tribute of Praise which you deserve, of those are one disappointed Gen'l. and a self conceited disappointed Dr.

George Washington to Nathanael Greene, West Point, N.Y., 3 September 1779

The good opinion I have of your abilities and qualifications will make me take pleasure to give you opportunities of rendering service and acquiring military honor in the field as often as it can be done consistent with propriety, the good of the Service and the reasonable pretensions of other

officers. The experience you have already had may satisfy you of my disposition. You have participated in the only two transactions of importance which have happened since your appointment in which the whole, or a considerable portion of the Army has been concerned. But I could not undertake to draw any line, which should determine the particular instances.

Adam Maxwell to Nathanael Greene, East Greenwich, R.I., 24 October 1779

Gratitude obliges me to be your friend in every Situation of Life. It is now better than four years since I saw you. During this absence there was no Man on Earth for whose safety and prosperity I was more concerned for, than for yours, and oft inquired, of both friends, and Enemies concerning you. Your very enemies that has had the opportunity of knowing you, speak well of you as a Gentleman; And the two Gentlemen you mention in yours as your Enemies are not Strictly speaking Such; they Join in your General good Character; but find fault with your Partialities to Individuals. I cannot Join sentiment with you, when you say, it is equally indifferent to you whether they are your Friends or Foes. If you have done nothing to merit their displeasure, you should (it seems to me) be sorry that they have mistaken your intentions. I only mentioned the affair of these Gentlemen to show you had not pleased every body nor ever will nor will you think it strange if many others Join with them.

I am not so partially your admirer as to even think it in your power to please every one; but such were once and now are my sentiments respecting you, that I think you have a Soul incapable of doing a mean Action, either to Friend or Foe.

Nathanael Greene to President Samuel Huntington, Springfield, N.J., 19 June 1780

I pretend not to great abilities, nor was it my wish to have engaged in the business of this department: on the contrary I did every thing in my power to excuse myself, but the Committee of Congress, and the Commander in Chief would not be refused. I have done my best to serve the public and notwithstanding popular clamor, and vulgar prejudices it will be found by after experience, that the public business has generally been both faithfully and prudently conducted. If I have ever betrayed my trust let me suffer.

Marquis de Lafayette to the Vicomte de Noailles, Headquarters, 18 October 1780

General Gates was recalled by Congress; General Washington was asked to name a successor and it will be General Greene, our most senior officer after Gates and Heath, who really has talent and excellent judgment.

George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, Headquarters, 22 October 1780

The entire confidence I have in the abilities, fortitude and integrity of Genl. Greene, founded on a long and intimate experience of them, assures me that he will do every thing his means will enable him to do.

George Washington to George Mason, Passaic Falls, 22 October 1780

In consequence of a resolve of Congress directing an enquiry into the conduct of Genl. Gates, and authorizing me to appoint some other Officer in his place during this enquiry, I have made choice of Majr. Genl. Greene who will, I expect, have the honor of presenting you with this Letter.

Founders on the Founders

I can venture to introduce this Gentleman to you as a man of abilities, bravery and coolness. He has a comprehensive knowledge of our affairs, and is a man of fortitude and resources. I have not the smallest doubt therefore, of his employing all the means which may be put into his hands to the best advantage, nor of his assisting in pointing out the most likely ones to answer the purposes of his command. With this character, I take the liberty of recommending him to your civilities and support.

Nathaniel Peabody to Richard Henry Lee, Morristown, N.J., 27 October 1780

I cannot quit the subject, without congratulating you, my dear Sir, on the appointment of Major General Greene, to take the command of the southern Army. That gentleman's great abilities in the field, his extensive knowledge of the various departments in the Army, gives him the advantage of almost every other General Officer in America, in immediately reducing to order and System an Army and affairs, which at present are almost "without form and void."

Nathanael Greene to Catharine Greene, Camp on the Pedee, S.C., 25 January 1781

I am in perfect good health, and every body is in high spirits about me. But I am of a Spanish disposition always the most serious when there is the greatest need of good fortune. For fear of some ill fated stroke.

Robert Morris to Nathanael Greene, Office of Finance, 3 October 1781

Your Circumstances have long been arduous, but you have hitherto risen so superior to them, that we should be almost as much surprised now, if you were unsuccessful, as we formerly were at your Successes.

Kitty Livingston to John Jay, Philadelphia, 18 October 1781

Before this can reach my dear friends they will have felt the emotions arising from the late joyful accounts of our success to the Southward. Gen. Greene is gaining immortal honour, for *true Glory consists in overcoming difficulties*, and history perhaps does not furnish an instance of more or as many as that great man has had to encounter with. His, poor, ragged, proud, independent army, as he styles them, not only do what men can do, but what before men were not thought equal to. The consequence of that great general's defeats have always been those of victory. America does not know its treasure. General Greene's talents would not probably have been so conspicuously great but for the opportunity and occasion of them in the Carolinas; and many Americans there may be whose abilities want only the same exertions to equal his.

Nathanael Greene to Gouverneur Morris, South Carolina, 21 November 1781

You think I am fond of an Army and a busy scene. You mistake my feelings, I am truly domestic. The more I am in an army and the more I am acquainted with human nature the less fond I am of political life. At this time there is no retreating from it without evident marks of disgrace. I am but too sensible for my own happiness of the fickleness of fortune nor have I any confidence in my own being better than others having felt too many adverse strokes to think myself one of her children. But to retire from the Army into a department of greater responsibility subject to more expense and exposed to equal if not greater misfortunes will be neither wise or prudent. To tell

you the truth my dear Sir I am poor and I wish not to climb to stations from which I may be cast headlong in a moment and left without support. Eminence always begets envy and it is more difficult to support ourselves in high places than to arrive at them.

John Jay to Henry Know, Madrid, 10 December 1781

General Greene has deservedly acquired great Reputation. He has nobly surmounted a Variety of Difficulties, and his Country has fortunately found Resources in his Talents and Perseverance, which the peculiar Situation of the Southern States rendered no less seasonable than important.

Gouverneur Morris to Nathanael Greene, Philadelphia, 24 December 1781

[Benjamin] Lincoln is our Minister of War and the Election to the Office has been to you most honorable, for all agreed that you were the proper Person and nothing prevented your unanimous appointment but an Opinion almost as unanimous that if recalled from your Command you could not be replaced. That you was not chosen I do truly lament for I can with great Truth assure you that I know not a Man who is in my Opinion equal to the Office except yourself.

Nathanael Greene to John Twiggs, Headquarters Round O, S.C., 25 December 1781

Whatever parties or factions may take place I am determined to have no connection with them. I will always pay due respect to Government let who will be in power.

Nathanael Greene to John Adams, Headquarters near Charleston, S.C., 28 January 1782

I was well informed you had let in some prejudices to my disadvantage, such as my being more influenced by men than measures and that in the field I had neither activity or enterprise. However mortifying these things were, my pride would not permit me to undeceive you; and such was my situation at that time hat it would have been difficult, if not impracticable had I attempted it. That I have a very great respect to men, I readily confess, but politically, no further than they are necessary to measures. The good of my country has ever been my first and great object, and I defy malice itself to fix upon a single instance wherein I have departed from this line in consideration of private attachments. I honor virtue wherever I find it, whether in civil or military life. I love my Friends but I have been taught to believe no Man is at liberty to sacrifice the public good to private friendship.

My military conduct must speak for itself. I have only to observe that I have not been at liberty to follow my own genius 'till lately, and here I have had more embarrassments than is proper to disclose to the World.

William Gordon to Nathanael Greene, Jamaica Plain, Mass., 4 March 1782

From what I have heard & *seen*, I know not which to admire most, your courage, conduct or candor. In your department, there has been more downright fighting, than in any other during the whole war, within an equal space of time.

Nathanael Greene to John Steward, Headquarters near Bacon's Bridge, S.C., 26 May 1782

I wish never to be severe; but too much delicacy may become criminal where important objects are at stake. I wish for the friendship of every officer and strive to deserve it; but I never cultivate it at the expense of my duty.

Elkanah Watson: Memoirs, post-August 1784

I remained in the vicinity of Providence for several weeks, and there became familiarly acquainted with Gen. Green, second alone in the annals of our country to Washington himself, for his military exploits and fame.

Henry Lee to George Washington, New York, 11 July 1786

Your friend and servant, the patriot and noble Greene is no more—on the 19th June after 3 days fever he left this world. Universal grief reigns here—how hard the fate of the U. States, to lose such a son in the middle of life—irreparable loss—But he is gone, I am incapable to say more.

Marquis de Lafayette to Thomas Jefferson, Luneville, 30 August 1786

In a late letter of a private Nature, General Knox has acquainted me with the sad, and so much to be lamented account of the death of our friend General Greene. It is a great loss for the United States to which he has been an useful servant, and I may add a great ornament. I have personally lost a friend, and heartily mourn for him. General McDougall had faithfully and ably served during the Revolution. He had a friendship to me and whenever any of my good brother soldiers are mowed by the sword of death, it seems to me I feel the blow. Poor Greene! His last letter was particularly affectionate to me, particularly expressive of his concern in the affairs of his country.

Luigi Castiglioni: Sketches of American Soldiers, 1787

All in America unanimously give due praise to this general, saying that he alone could have in some part taken the place of the immortal Washington. In fact, as testimony to the fine defense he mounted in the southern states, he was presented by the State of Georgia with a vast estate near Savannah, where he went to live with his family. I went to see him at his new home, and in talking with him I found him very well informed about the history of the wars of Italy and much more so about that of his native country and its political situation. But accustomed to a cold and healthful climate and confident in his sturdy constitution, the following summer, while he was attending to his slaves on his new rice plantation, he suffered a sunstroke, a fatal affliction in that unhealthful climate, soon lost consciousness, and, in only two days, his life. The Georgians, who really esteemed him, paid solemn respect to his remains. His death was mourned by all Americans, who retain a lively memory of one of the greatest and best educated generals of their army.

Thomas Jefferson to William Johnson, Monticello, 27 October 1822

Greene was truly a great man, he had not perhaps all the qualities which so peculiarly rendered Genl. Washington the fittest man on earth for directing so great a contest under so great difficulties. Difficulties proceeding not from lukewarmness in our citizens or their functionaries, as our mili-

tary leaders supposed; but from the pennyless condition of a people, totally shut out from all commerce & intercourse with the world, and therefore without any means for converting their labor into money. But Greene was second to no one in enterprise, in resource, in sound judgment, promptitude of decision, and every other military talent.

Ray Greene

Theodore Foster et al. to John Adams, Washington, 16 February 1801

In the event of the Hon. Benjamin Bourn being appointed a *circuit* judge in the *first* circuit, under the act providing for the more convenient organization of the courts of the United-States, we beg leave to recommend to you the Hon. *Ray Greene*, for the office of judge for the district of Rhode-Island, now held by Mr: Bourn.

Mr. Greene has been uniformly and deservedly esteemed in private life, as a man of integrity and honour. As an evidence of his professional acquirements we deem it proper to state, that he was several years successively *elected* Attorney General of R. Island by the Freeholders of that State, and discharged the duties that devolved upon him, in a manner satisfactory to them and honourable to himself. He sustained at the same time the office of district-attorney, under the government of the U. States, with ability and fidelity. He has been for three years past a member of the Senate of the U. States, and your knowledge of him in that capacity, renders it unnecessary for us to say a word respecting his political character. In short, as a private, public, and professional man, we think he has a well-founded claim to the office for which we recommend him. And we are persuaded, that his obtaining it would afford satisfaction to all the good citizens of Rhode Island.

William Greene

Nathanael Green to Catherine Greene, New Windsor, N.Y., 20 July 1779

I love the Governor and reverence his Character.

Adam Maxwell to Nathanael Greene, East Greenwich, R.I., 24 October 1779

You intimated a desire that I should be much in the Good graces of Govr. Greene. I am in his grace as much as I ought to be; he is an amiable Gentleman tho' not a Shining One. But, the Integrity of his Heart and rectitude of his intentions ought in some measure to atone for his other deficiencies. But I can perceive that he is not to rest easy long at the head of this State.

James Greenleaf

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 23 January 1796

It is also reported that Mr. Greenleaf has taken Advantage of the Gullability of the Boston Speculators in whose Estimation Dollars seem of no more Value than Cents ought to be to make an enormous hall of fishes to the amount of half a Million of Dollars by a very Artful Sale of shares at a monstrous Price in a purchase he made of Mr. Gun of Georgia Lands at a very trifling one.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 20 December 1796

Greenleaf I fear will loose Character, Fortune Wife and all together. I wish I may be mistaken.

Thomas Greenleaf

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap, New York, 5 March 1788

. . . the brainless *Greenleaf* of New York

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap, New York, 12 April 1788

Have you seen any of the Attacks upon me about News Papers?—Oswald & Bailey (the anti-federal Printers in Phila.) & Oswald's Echo (*Greenleaf*) in this City have been pelting me at a most unmerciful Rate.

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap, New York, 10 May 1788

I have mentioned *Greenleaf*:—he is *our* antifederal Printer;—a poor thick-sculled Creature, & so much in debt to Oswald for his printing Office, as not to dare to offend him: I suspect this made him antifederal:—*he* has got into a Scrape too; but as the Story is too long for me to tell I will *lend* you the Papers:—return them when you have read them.

Cornelia Jones to Samuel Jones, New York, 27 January 1789

I am much surprised at you for voting *Greenleaf* for state printer when you know he has proved himself a rogue.

Isaac Gregory

Hugh Williamson's Recommendation to Offices in North Carolina, 5 February 1790

Cambden is a new Port.

Genl. Isaac Gregory is recommended as a Gentleman whose Character as Soldier and Citizen stands high in the universal Esteem of his fellow Citizens. He is a Man of respectable Principles; has the full Confidence of his Country and is the constant Enemy to public Officers suspected of corrupt Practices.

Cyrus Griffin

Brissot de Warville: New Travels in the United States of America, August 1788

I should also fail to repay a debt of gratitude if I did not mention here the kindness shown me by the President of Congress, Mr. Griffin. He is a handsome, well-built Virginian, witty, soft-spoken, affable, and polite.

Miles King to James Madison, Hampton, Va., 3 March 1789

Mr. Griffin is the Representative from our District [for the U.S. House of Representatives]. You May think it odd I did not Vote for him as he and myself was both in favour of the Constitution, but Sir as a friend to my Country I Could not think him a proper Man. You know his Inattention to Business and being two fond of pleasure, I thought we ought to send Men of Example. Mr Harrison nor Mr Selden pleasd. Me but hope Mr Griffin will be More Attentive than he Was in Our Assembly.

George Washington to Edmund Randolph, New York, 30 November 1789

[Edmund Pendleton declined nomination as U.S. district judge.] Under these circumstances I have by the Power of the Constitution, appointed Mr. Cyrus Griffin during the recess of the Senate. My reasons for this appointment in preference to any other except Mr. Wythe are because he has (as I am informed) been regularly bred to the law—has been in the Court of Appeal—Has been discontinued of the Council in Virginia (contrary to the expectation of his friends here at the time, who thought that his temporary appointment as a Negotiator with the Southern Indians would not bring him under the disqualifying law of Virginia) and thereby throw him entirely out of employment—and because I had it in my power to ascertain with precision his acceptance. I shall say nothing of his being a Man of amiable character & of competent abilities, because in these respects some of the present Judges in that State may be his equals—but to what I have said, may be added, he has *no* employment now and *needs* the emolument of one as much as any of them.

Samuel Griffin

Miles King to James Madison, Hampton, Va., 3 March 1789

Mr. Griffin is the [U.S.] Representative from our District. You May think it odd I did not Vote for him as he and myself was both in favor of the Constitution, but Sir as a friend to my Country I Could not think him a proper Man. You know his Inattention to Business and being too fond of pleasure, I thought we ought to send Men of Example . . . but hope Mr. griffin will be More At-tentive than he Was in Our Assembly.

Roger Griswold

Abigail Adams to William Smith, Philadelphia, 6 February 1798

Mr. Griswold is a very respectable member from the state of Connecticut, a Gentleman of Strong sensibility and high spirit, but very fortunately on this occasion so far respected the House and the Decorum due to it whilst sitting, that he restrained his uplifted Hand, and withheld the blow he was just going to lay upon Lyon.

Jonathan Grout

“Politicus,” *Massachusetts Spy*, 26 February 1789

Mr. Grout has had a very liberal education, though not a collegiate one. He has been much, and for a long time, improved in public life; has an extensive knowledge of mankind, and acquaintance with the world; is well versed in geography; and acquainted with the relative situations and interest of the several states in the Union. He has uniformly expressed himself in favor of amendments. In fine, I believe his character, as a citizen, a friend, or a patriot, stands unimpeached.

Samuel Phillips Savage to George Thatcher, 31 March 1789

You doubtless know that Mr. *Grout* is chosen for Worcester, I would fondly hope he has honesty, Sense, and patriotism, for if he has not something excellent within to ballance the inharmouniousness of his Name, I cannot conceive any person who is blessed with Ears would ever vote for him.

James Gunn

Nathanael Greene to George Washington, Charleston, S.C., 25 April 1785

[Greene had just refused to accept the challenge of Gunn to a duel.] The man is without reputation or principle. Indeed he is little better than a public nuisance being always engaged in riots and drunken flaunts.

Catherine Greene to Jeremiah Wadsworth, 31 January 1789

[Gunn is] the Most ignorant and infamous fellow in the whole Army—he was disgraced—ran away to Georgia, married a pretty fortune here found means to purchase the votes of the common people (which the assembly is composed of) and which have made him a Senator.

James Seagrove to Samuel Blachley Webb, Savannah, Ga., 22 February 1789

Our other Senator [Gunn] I expect no Friendship from; I despise the Man as altogether unworthy of the appointment he has—and as I warmly opposed him in hope of getting General [Anthony] Wayne—I know he will wish to disappoint me.

Pierce Butler to John Houstoun, New York, 27 September 1790

[Concerning the Treaty of New York with the Creeks] Gunn behaved well on this occasion and shewed more talents than many thought he possess'd.

Pierce Butler to James Gunn, Philadelphia, 31 August 1791

I am very sincerely sorry that any thing should disturb Your domestic happiness. I hope my friend You will not encrease Your uneasiness by an injudicious indulgence of even a just resentment. I think in the course of Our acquaintance I have discovered in You a desire not only to avoid any controversy with low characters, but to keep Your name, as the term is, out of vulgar mouths; adhere then my friend, in Your present delicate situation to that system. The chastising of a bad Man, or still worse, putting him to death will not restore to You the domestic happiness You have lost. If You are convinced of Her infidelity the more silently You make arrangements the better; let her have a decent maintenance, & part from her. The Chastisement of a Scoundrel will neither restore her reputation, lighten Your distress, nor better the matter in any light whatever. As to any improper construction being put on Your forbearance, *that* can not be, because Your character as a Man of spirit is as fixed as fate, and the foulest breath of calumny can not affect it. Out of delicacy & pity the less stir that is made the better. The instruments of her disgrace are not worthy Your notice.

Button Gwinnet

George Walton to Lachlan McIntosh, 1 May 1777

“The preceeding subject having necessarily drawn me into the mention of this man [B. Gwinett] I cannot readily dismiss him; not from any partiality to his virtues, but from an abhorrence of his vices. Mark him at the first moment of his arrival in that Country & trace him (if it be possible to follow him thro the great variety of his shiftings & turnings) down to the present crisis; and you will find no criterion by which you might fix any character. A mere Proteus in principle, he makes virtue subservient to his vices; to cover the multitude of the latter he affects to be possessed of the former. With the loudest clamorings for Liberty he would ruin the Country whose cause he pretends to advocate; and with the warmest declaration of Friendship he would stab the most virtuous of Characters. Counteract one machination and he will have recourse to another. Disgrace him for discovered crimes, he will seek a palliation and founds a reestablishment in the delusions of Patriotism. Has he not deserted all parties with which he was ever known to be engaged? Has he ever professed a friendship (save one perhaps [Lyman Hall]) but to betray? Did he not consent to put you at the head of a Regiment when he could not keep it himself with a premeditated intention to ruin you? Did he not betray the trust of his Country when he was here [Philadelphia] respecting arms and ammunition for the second & third Battalions of Georgia Troops & Denying me the necessary support in getting them sent from hence or procuring an order on our Agent in Martinique to send a Vessel to Georgia with them, either of which could have been obtained. He without my knowledge applies to the secret committee; and assuring them with his accustomed confidence that he could mighty easily get them at the Mole, Hispaniola & I don't know how many places they readily furnished him with 20,000 dollars for the purpose of supplying these Battalions with Arms &c and they were to be ready long before the troops were raised.(4) Whether he has performed this contract with the United States let Colonels Elbert & Screven declare. Thinking the continent, the State & myself ill used in this business I mentioned the matter with all the attendant circumstances in a public letter(5) to my late worthy friend Mr President Bulloch who I am informed sent the letter to the convention. The secretary delivered it to the Speaker (Mr Gw——tt) and he suppressed it. The iniquity of the proceeding speaks so loudly that it calls for vengeance &c &c. This self elected Demaacque [Demagogue] is dispised more or less every where. His election by his own vote is detested beyond measure. If he has not fascinated the senses of the whole people and has not the power of preserving the infatuation, he must, sooner or later atone for these things,” &c &c.