"Executive Department" Activities Occurring at 190 High Street by Dr. James Mueller May 12, 2003

Summary: Intrigue, bribes, nepotism, resignations, dismissals, and re-organizations of executive officers characterized the presidencies of Washington (GW hereafter, unless quoted) and Adams at 190 High Street. Such governmental intrigue and ministerial shifts were also commonly-accepted parts of the modern era, Enlightenment governance that America inherited most directly from raucous English politics throughout the eighteenth century. The Washington and Adams administrations were also riddled with internal threats and besieged by external threats to test the power and resolve of the fledgling American nation. These characteristics are quite reticible, given the cultural-historical context.

Most of Washington’s and Adams’ presidential activities were duties directly enumerated in Article II, Sections 2 and 3, of the Constitution, which is appended. These Constitutionally-enumerated activities that are discussed in this brief report and that took place at 190 High include commander-in-chief, written opinions of executive officers, reprieves and pardons, treaty-making, appointment of American ambassadors, judges, officers, etc.; state of the union information and recommendations, and reception of foreign ambassadors and public officials. One time-consuming activity of both presidents of this Age of Federalism (1790-1800) was resolving Cabinet differences. This resolution of opinions among his officers was an “implied” duty based on the Constitution statement, “He [the president] may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer of each of the executive department...” The major points are made in the text, while the endnotes contain supporting details. A map showing locations of executive departments within INDE is also appended.

Washington’s Presidency

The Following historical events are discussed in this first section:
- 1791-2, Cherokee Receptions and the Treaty of Holston
- 1794, Chickamauga Receptions and Treaty
- 1791-94, St. Clair and Wayne vs. Northwest Native Americans
- 1790-96, Annual State of the Union
- 1791-97, Employment of Washington's Family Members
- 1792, First Veto-1:30,000 Representation
- 1792-95, Hamilton-Jefferson Cabinet Differences
- 1793, Citizen Genet Affair
- 1794, Judiciary Consultation and the Whiskey Rebellion
- 1794, Jay Treaty and Confidentiality of Executive Treaty Papers
- 1796, Two-term Precedent
- 1792, GW--Personal
I. Concerning Native Americans--Historic Southwestern Frontier

1. Treaty Making and Commander-in-Chief Threat: Secretary of War Henry Knox had written GW about the American settlers’ “disgraceful violation of the [November 28, 1785] Treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees [requiring] serious consideration of Congress.” The treaty provisions are contained in the endnote. Possible explanations for violations of the territorial boundaries include: 1—local settlers on the frontier may have had no knowledge of the Treaty; 2—local settlers who were sectionalists (“anti-federalists in spirit,” who did not believe in the authority of the new national government); 3—unscrupulous land speculators (such as Andrew Jackson, later in the 19th century).

GW had disliked this Cherokee situation for both humanitarian and political reasons and threatened [as Commander in Chief; my emphasis] to send the regular army to the Indian country to uphold the Indians’ rights. To avert this, the Treaty of Holston was negotiated [and became 7 Stat. 39 on July 2, 1792]. This threat of force was probably GW’s first use of the Commander-in-Chief’s power under the Constitution, Article II, Section 2. GW orchestrated the Treaty by ordering the Cherokees to be at Holston in Tennessee for a treaty council. By upholding Indians’ rights first, GW as Commander in Chief was implying that states’ rights were secondary in this case.

GW was concerned with this “outrageous conduct [that] not only violates the rights of humanity, but also endangers the public peace.” Therefore, in 1792, from 190 High Street in Philadelphia, GW and Thomas Jefferson signed a presidential proclamation offering a $500 reward for the apprehension of “certain lawless and wicked persons of the western frontier in the State of Georgia, [who] did lately invade, burn and destroy a town belonging to the Cherokee Nation, although of amity with the United States, and put to death several Indians of the Nation.”

2. Receiving and Awarding Native Americans at 190 High:
As part of the second round of negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of Holston, GW received Native American officials, as described by Woodward:

“So well did Bloody Fellow [a Cherokee or Chickamauga chief] and his outlaw deputation acquit themselves when they were presented to President Washington and Secretary Knox that a treaty was negotiated by the delegation between the Cherokee Nation and the United States government on February 17, 1792. This [supplemental] treaty provided that, instead of $1,000, the sum of $1,500 be paid the Cherokee Nation annually by the United States.

To seal the bargain, the President gave Bloody Fellow the new name of Iskagua or Clear Sky, as well as an American flag
and a brigadier general's uniform—to be worn with a medal that had been especially struck for him at the President's orders."  

Overall, GW was as concerned with the ability of the new government to honor its treaties as with the treaty's previsions.

3. **Receiving Native Americans at 190 High and Treaty Making:**

"An attempt was made by Washington and Knox to win over Doublehead [a Chickamauga chief] in June, 1794. Conveyed to Philadelphia in an American warship, Doublehead and a deputation of Chickamaugans met with the President and his Secretary of War—as had Bloody Fellow two years before. Every effort was made by Knox and the President to make the Chickamauga as law-abiding as the more-acculturated Cherokee. "In the treaty that resulted from this meeting at Philadelphia, Doublehead managed to boost the Cherokees' annuity from $1,500 to $5,000, in goods paid for in advance by the United States. The date of this treaty xiii was June 26, 1794. Although the meeting ended pleasantly enough, the resultant treaty did not greatly benefit the [Cherokee] Nation [because of the lands that the Cherokee had to surrender by the terms of the treaty]."  

More of the story:

1. "Each new treaty meant more cessions of land." xiv In this second, or 1794, supplement (7 Stat. 43; dated June 26, 1794) to the Treaty of Holston, a new annual sum of $5,000 was to be paid to the Cherokee, and this sum substituted for "goods suitable for their use" (Article III, last sentence of attached Treaty). The original, 1791 Treaty of Holston allowed the Cherokee both "certain valuable goods" with no dollar limit and an annual sum of $1,000 (cf. Article IV of the attached 1791 Holston Treaty).

2. The new federal government considered this area as stabilized when Spain's inciting of Native Americans (Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, including the Chickamauga) was terminated by the Pinckney Treaty of 1795. Whether local settlers terminated their retaliatory efforts is an unanswered question. The Cherokee term, "Unakas," referring to local, Anglo-American settlers or to federal, Anglo-American officers of this time period, was probably pejorative. xvii

In relation to the Creeks in particular, "Washington himself had bribed a Creek chieftain and ransomed American sailors from Algerian pirates, each at a cost of $100,000. Such bribes were common eighteenth century diplomatic practice..." xviii An example of Adams using this diplomatic technique is presented in "The Undeclared, Quasi War at Sea with France" subsection on p. 9 herein.

4. **General:** Cherokees referred to the president as "their great father General Washington" xviii

"President Washington and his Secretary of War, General Henry Knox, worked together to treat the American Indians
fairly, and as far as possible remedy the wrongs done to them during the haphazard Confederation period.”

“President Washington’s rejection of a third term boded ill for the Cherokees. Never again would they know the kind and just protection of a President whose Indian policy was designed to defend rather than offend the American aborigines.”

Political Context: The above fatherly epithet denoted the protective, paternalistic role of GW, rather than a biological role. The Cherokee’s positive attitude probably derive from GW’s honorable intention to support federal treaties (i.e., the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell) in the face of local, frontier violators of peaceable conditions. In doing so, he also softened the Spanish-Cherokee alliance, helping to secure the southwestern frontier.

II. Concerning Native Americans—Historic Northwestern Frontier

Precedent of Turning over the Administration’s Papers to Congress and Presidential Pardon: To correct the land-based discontent of previous treaties with the Miami Indians, the Treaty of Fort Harmar was executed in 1789. (Context: Under the Constitution, treaty signing was the responsibility of the president, but he was situated in New York at this time.) However, General Harmar’s defeat by the Miami in 1790 and the Treaty of Fort Harmar solved few problems and created a war in which Major General St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory since 1787 and commander of the federal army, was overwhelmingly defeated on Nov. 4, 1791, by a numerically inferior army of the powerful Miami Confederacy. The House of Representative investigation of this military disaster was the first congressional review of the executive department. “Washington complied by ordering Knox to turn over the administration’s papers to Congress, establishing a troublesome precedent.” In spite of the investigation, GW exonerated St. Clair under his Constitutional power of pardon.

More of the Story: After the failures of Harmar and St. Clair and the breakdown of peace negotiations in August, 1793, GW as Commander-in-Chief named “Mad Anthony” Wayne as the major general in command of the rehabilitated federal army to head an expedition in the Northwest Territory against “the Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawotami Indians, reinforced by some Canadian militia.” “On Aug. 20, 1794, he [Wayne] defeated the Indians at Fallen Timbers on the Maumee River near what is now Toledo, Ohio.” This military defeat stabilized the Northwest Territory and caused the Native Americans to accept the Treaty of Greenville (dated August 3, 1795). “In the treaty, at the cost of a $10,000 annuity, the United States bought from twelve tribes the rights to the southeastern quarter of the Northwest Territory…”

Because of this treaty, the new federal government now regarded the old Northwest Territories as stabilized, just as the Pinckney Treaty, according to the Federalists in Philadelphia, stabilized
the southwest area of Tennessee and the surrounding region. The stability in the Northwest Territory was a factor leading to the American insistence on the 1795 Jay Treaty, one of GW’s significant treaty contributions. \textsuperscript{xxviii}

III. Precedent of the President’s Annual “state of the union”

Information to Congress: GW delivered eight such speeches to Congress during his two terms\textsuperscript{xxix} in office even though the Constitution (Article II, Section 3) only required that “He [the president] shall, from time to time [my emphasis], give to Congress information concerning the state of the union…”

The pattern of annual speeches was established in Philadelphia beginning in 1790; only the first speech in 1789 was given in New York. The speeches were delivered in Congress Hall. GW also gave written versions of his speech to Congress. I assume the speeches were written at 190 High, although his writing them at Mt. Vernon is a possibility for certain years.

More of the story: Adams continued in GW’s tradition, but Jefferson’s first state of the union message to Congress was in writing only—no speech.

IV. Washington and Family Jobs (Nepotism?):

a. GW appointed Martha’s nephew to the position of secretary to the president at 190 High. Bartholomew Dandridge, Jr., served in this capacity from June 1791–March 1797 (except for a summer absence in 1796). \textsuperscript{xxx}

b. He also appointed his consanguineal nephew, Howell Lewis, his sister Betty’s son, to be “a writer in my office...[who] will live in the family.” \textsuperscript{xxxi} This off-again, on-again relationship occurred in the early 1790s and continued until July 1793. \textsuperscript{xxxii} The question of whether Lewis worked in GW’s personal employment or worked as a federal employee for GW qua president is unsettled at this point. \textsuperscript{xxxiii}

c. As an example of expenses at 190 High Street, on March 9, 1793, Bartholomew and Howell were paid 3. and 10., respectively, from “Cash remaining on hand on closing the old Books from April, 1789, to this date as per Ledger A, Folio 68. . . . 292.79.” \textsuperscript{xxxiv} The units of payment are probably dollars, based on Decatur’s introductory note: “Purchases were not longer always by the old currency [the English pound, shilling, pence system] and at the end of 1792, the eventual triumph of the dollar is evident.” \textsuperscript{xxxv}

More of the story: Adams appointed a family member, his son, to a government post.

“In July, 1797, he appointed John Quincy minister plenipotentiary to the new American legation in Prussia. He had wisely consulted George Washington about John Quincy’s new post and Washington replied...[favorably]” \textsuperscript{xxxvi}

V. First Veto of Congressional Bill: During the Second Congress (1791–93), GW made the first presidential veto on April 5, 1792. \textsuperscript{xxxvii} The issue was the apportionment of representatives
(one per 30,000 population, according to the Constitution, Article I, Section 2) based on the 1790 federal census. GW vetoed the Congressional bill dealing with the excess representatives beyond the 30,000 unit in any one jurisdiction. The south would have lost congressional seats, and so Jefferson and Randolph recommended veto of the bill. Hamilton and Knox from northern states recommended GW’s signature on the bill. With a split cabinet, GW himself decided to veto the bill. Congress responded with a bill that divided the population proportionately into 33,000-person units.

VI. Resolving Cabinet Differences from 190 High Street:
“During GW’s first term, Hamilton and Jefferson could not have become more diametrically opposed to each other and neither gave any sign of ameliorating their differences.”

A brief listing of their differences include agricultural v. industrial, pro-British isolationism v. pro-French alliance, commercial dependence v. independence, British system of government, national credit (including First Bank) and debt, and media relations. To resolve these differences,

“In late summer 1792, GW wrote confidentially to Jefferson and Hamilton, urging reconciliation and regretting that ‘internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals’ … He urged Jefferson to have ‘more charity for the opinions and acts of one another.’ He cautioned Hamilton about his temper and mentioned ‘irritating charges’ in the gazettes. He urged both to make ‘allowances, mutual forebearances and temporizing yielding on all sides.’”

More of the story: “What had pushed Washington into even considering a second term of what had become misery for him was the growing rift in his administration.” Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State in December 1793 approximately midway through GW’s two-term presidency. Knox, Hamilton, and Randolph resigned in 1794-95. GW ended up on the Federalist/Hamiltonian side of most issues.

VII. Receiving Ambassadors and other Public Ministers--Citizen Genet Affair:

Context:

“Early in 1793, Citizen [Edmond] Genet [French Minister] landed at Charleston, where he immediately organized a Jacobin Club to support that faction of French revolutionaries…[and] he began to authorize privateers to bring in British prizes and in Philadelphia he continued the process…[and] on April 22, 1793, the president issued a neutrality proclamation [that] simply declared the United States ‘friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers’ and warned American citizens that ‘aiding or abetting hostilities’ or other un-neutral acts might be prosecuted.”

If American citizens could be so prosecuted, then French Minister/Citizen Genet, being un-neutral on American soil, could
be a subject of inquiry. Consequently,
"President Washington, however, received him (18 May) with
cool formality; and on 5 June [1793] Jefferson presented
Genet with a communication from the President stating that
Genet’s grants of military commissions on American soil
constituted an infringement of US national sovereignty.
Genet was also notified that the privateers commissioned by
him would have to leave American waters and could not send
their prizes to US ports...Washington sent to Congress his
full correspondence with the French minister, pointing out
that Genet’s conduct had tended to involve the US in war
[and] carried orders for Genet’s arrest. Due to the French
Reign of Terror, Washington refused to extradite Genet, who
became an American citizen..." xlv

VIII. Judicial Consultation and the Whiskey Rebellion: Hamilton’s
Treasury officials attempted to collect the excise tax on
whiskey, issuing warrants for non-paying, home brewers in western
Pennsylvania. The warrant servers were repulsed and an official’s
house burned to the ground. A vigilante group
“blew up the stills of those who paid the tax, robbed the
malls, stopped court proceedings, and threatened an assault
on Pittsburgh. On August 7, 1794, President Washington
issued a proclamation ordering them home...and getting no
response...a proclamation on September 24 for suppression
of the rebellion.” xliv

The August 7 proclamation was probably issued from INDE’s
Deshler-Morris House where GW was residing and working from July
30 to September 30, 1794.xliii
Before ordering force, GW consulted with U.S. Supreme Court
Justice James Wilson (PA signer of the Declaration) who
“supported Washington’s view that the normal legal steps
had failed to enforce the law and that the government was
justified in nationalizing the state militia to put down
the ‘rebellion.’” xlvii

More of story: The militia suppressed the rebellion with
virtually no opposition, and the strength of the new central
government was improved (a celebratory interpretation). However,
the war between moonshiners and revenuers continued into the 20th
century (an objective interpretation).xlviii As in the St. Clair
investigation, GW also pardoned two participants in Whiskey
Rebellion.

IX. Precedent of Not Turning over the Administration’s Papers
to Congress. In contrast to the St. Clair Congressional
investigation, GW refused to hand over, to the House of
Representatives, executive department correspondence relating to
his role in the Jay Treaty.xlix His justification:
“The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution and
success must depend on secrecy...It is perfectly clear to
my understanding that the assent of the House is not
necessary to the validity of a treaty.” 1

The basis for his justification is in the Constitution (Article
II, Section 2): “He shall have power, by and with the advice and
Consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of
the senators present concur;” However, the House attempted to
enter treaty making through control of funding: “the House, now that appropriations were required for commissions of arbitration established by the treaty...” 11 GW prevailed when the House voted on April 29, 1796, to accept his refusal to hand over executive papers.

X. Two-Term Presidency Precedent: GW chose not to run for a third term in 1796 and this set a precedent for future presidents. The two-term restriction became codified as Article XXII in 1951, after Franklin Roosevelt had won four consecutive presidential terms in the elections of 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944. (FDR died in April 1945, shortly after his fourth term inauguration.)

XI. Personal
1. Personal business: caring for his plantation business at Mt. Vernon from 190 High by weekly, Sunday letters to his Mt. Vernon manager (e.g., GW to Andrew Whiting, Nov. 11, 1792. Sundays may have been a day reserved for personal business because Howell Lewis’ employment for GW specifically excluded Sundays. This evidence provides the strongest case for possible separation of personal and public life in GW’s residency/residency at 190 High Street (see Section IV above and endnote xxvii below.

2. Temper:
   a. Early in his unhappy, second term which GW begrudgingly accepted (above in “Resolving Cabinet Differences” section), the Genet affair developed in 1793.
   “Washington was ill with influenza and running a slight fever. His patience frayed, he lashed out at Jefferson in late May over Freneau’s attacks in the National Gazette... At an early August cabinet meeting called to decide whether to publish Genet’s correspondence, GW lost his temper completely. In his diary, Jefferson recorded the scene:
   ‘The President was much inflamed. [He] got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself.”

   b. Benjamin Rush (who, during the early 1790s, lived within the present INDE boundaries) described two examples of GW’s temper in two letters 11v to former president John Adams.

First, on Feb. 12, 1812, Rush wrote:
   “I did not require the anecdote you have communicated to me in your letter of last month to know that I had incurred the hatred of General Washington. It was violent and descended with him to his grave.”
Rush requested several times that Adams destroy this letter after reading because Rush wanted to be remembered as paying homage to GW.

Secondly, on June 4, 1812, Rush wrote:
   “General Washington I have heard felt public abuse in the most sensible manner Mr. Jefferson told me he once saw him throw the Aurora hastily upon the floor with a ‘dam’ of the author, who had charged him with the crime of being a slaveholder. It
is even said that paper induced him to retire from the President’s chair of the United States."

3. Precedent setting, Presidential “working vacations”:
GW frequently left the Philadelphia Capitol City and the Executive Mansion at 190 High when Congress was not in session. This probably started when GW was in transition, going to Mt. Vernon after giving up his NYC residence in September, 1790, and beginning his 190 High, Philadelphia residency/presidency in November 1790. He also used the Deshler-Morris House in Germantown as a secondary workplace at various times, especially during Philadelphia’s yellow fever epidemic of 1793. During his stay at Mt. Vernon, he continued to receive and to correspond with government officials.

John Adams’ Presidency

The following topics are discussed in this section:
➢ 1797-99, Un-common Knowledge and Social Functions
➢ 1798, A Publishing President
➢ 1798-1800, Undeclared War with France
➢ 1798-99, Commander in Chief
➢ 1799, Judiciary Expansion in State of the Union speech
➢ 1799, Death of Washington
➢ 1800, Library of Congress
➢ 1800, The French “War’ and Dismissal of Secretary Pickering
➢ 1800, Moving the Capitol City to the District of Columbia
➢ Personal

Un-common Knowledge: While GW’s levees, dinners, and receptions are generally common knowledge, Adams’ social functions comes as somewhat of a surprise due to his allegedly, occasional dour disposition. His gregarious wife, Abigail, described the very well-attended, June 23, 1797, function at 190 High:
“To day will be the 5th great dinner I have had [sic; in the six weeks since her arrival in Philadelphia on May 10, 1797], about 36 gentlemen to day, as many more next week, and I shall have got through the whole of Congress, with their appendages.”

Even when Abigail was gone from 190 High, there is evidence that the public functions continued:
“On New Year’s Day, 1799, Mrs. Adams was away but the President wrote her: ‘We had more today than ever upon any occasion. Thirty or forty gallons of punch, wine in proportion and cake in abundance.’”

If the New Year’s Day hospitalities were comparable to those of July 4th, the cost was $500, according to Abigail’s information:
“I have been informed the day [July 4] used to cost the late President [Washington] 500 dollars [sic]. More than 200 wt of cake used to be expended and 2 quarter casks of wine besides spirit.”

Adams as the First President As Publishing/Published Historian and Political Scientist: While presiding over the country and
residing at 190 High, Adams published one new work, *A Selection of the Patriotic Addresses to the President of the United States, Together with the President's Answers, Presented in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Eight and the Twenty-second of the Independence of America* (Boston, John W. Folsom, 1798). Adams was the first president who was an author of books intended for publication. By contrast, GW wrote his own diaries, journals, account books, and volumes of letters, most of which were published posthumously. It is commonly known that Adams was an attorney; however, as an educated man of the Enlightenment, he was also a political scientist.

**The Undeclared, Quasi War at Sea with France:** The primary focus of Adams’ presidency was maintaining peaceful relationships with the newly emerging French government. Adams was caught up in the acrimonious, political triangulation between the newly-emerging sovereignties of post-Revolutionary America and France and England’s desire to control the high seas and maritime trade. Because of these tensions, the XYZ affair, and the remembrances of the Genet affair, fears of French reprisal in American were common. As one example of the need for political refuge, 190 High Street was thrown open so that Adams, in uniform, could meet 1,100 men (of ages 18 to 23) seeking Presidential assurance that they were safe in 1798 in the face of “the reputed plot of French residents in the city [Philadelphia] and French sympathisers [sic] to burn the city.”

As a result of the Jay Treaty with England, an undeclared, quasi war with France had developed during the Adams presidency. Part of this war has been summarized thusly:

“By the time of Adams’ inauguration in 1797, the French had plundered some 300 American ships and had broken diplomatic relations... But before the end of 1798, an undeclared naval war had begun in the West Indies with the French capture of an American schooner.”

Our Revolutionary ally from the 1770s and 1780s had become our adversary due to Atlantic politics in the 1790s. This quasi-war was precipitated partially by the XYZ Affair, XYZ referring anonymously to the three French agents “who suggested a US loan to France and a bribe of $240,000.” The Department of Navy was created during Adams’ administration and “Almost as important as the Act creating the Navy Department, was President Adams’ choice of Benjamin Stoddert, of Georgetown, Maryland, as first Secretary of Navy.” The attacks stopped when the Treaty of Mortefontaine was signed on Sept. 30, 1800, by the second set of Adams-appointed commissioners.

This treaty is also referred to as the Convention of 1800. It formally freed the US from its defensive alliance with France [the well-known alliance of 1778 that contributed significantly to the colonists’ success in their War of Independence]. Thereby, the Convention constituted an early, if not the first treaty abrogation by the new American government. Adams’ role from his office at 190 High consisted of appointing the commission and corresponding with them in France. (However, the Senate ratified
the final version of the Treaty after Adams and the Senate had moved to DC. President Jefferson eventually signed the ratified treaty after Adams left office.)

**Commander-in-Chief Adams:**

- President Adams appointed GW as military commander in 1798 at the start of the undeclared naval war with France. General Washington appointed Alexander Hamilton as his primary field commander—against the wishes of Commander-in-Chief/President Adams.

- Adams also sent army regulars and militiamen to suppress Fries’ Rebellion in Bethlehem, PA, in 1799. John Fries’ group of armed men tried to release tax evaders from prison. The evaders were protesting another tax that was Congressionally imposed to pay for the impending, undeclared, naval war with France.

**States’ Rights, Constitutionalism and the Alien-Sedition Acts of 1798:** The four acts which together form the Naturalization, Alien and Sedition Acts were passed within a month of each other beginning in mid-June, 1798. Adams favored their passage and signed the Congressional legislation, but he had no hand in framing or introducing the legislation. The Naturalization Act extended the period of residence to 14 years (from five years) for an alien to become a citizen. The two Alien Acts combined to remove the power to expel foreigners from the states and gave that power to the president. The Sedition Act was aimed at repressing political opposition by establishing fines and imprisonment.

The three Alien and Sedition Acts stirred constitutional issues and created the rationale for states’ rights. The three acts led to the state-compact theory, the first conceptual principal of Constitutional interpretation. This theory says that states can correct Congress if it has exceeded its constitutional powers, and is based on the idea that the states, by consensual compact in Philadelphia in 1787, had created the powers enumerated in the Constitution. It is strange that President Adams as attorney, historian, and political scientist, did not weigh in on this constitutional issue. Perhaps, divisive politics of the late 1790s between the Hamilton-led Federalists and the Jefferson-led Republicans became too onerous for the president.\(^{xvi}\)

More of the story: The Alien Act expired in 1802 and the Sedition Act remained in force only until the end of Adams’ presidency on March 3, 1801. The Naturalization Act was repealed in 1802 in favor of the pre-existing naturalization law of 1795. The issue of presidential powers in times of national defense and security surfaced again during the War of 1812, World War II and it’s anti-Communist aftermath, and in the post-9/11 world.

**Judiciary Expansion:** In his third annual message (state of the union) to Congress on December 3, 1799, Adams urged “a revision and amendment of the judiciary system.”\(^{xv}\) This recommendation was his early statement that eventuated in his “packing the court.”
Continuation of Story: After the seat of government moved to Washington, DC in the summer of 1800, Congress passed, and Adams signed, the second Congressional legislation creating judicial expansion. (The Judiciary Act of 1789 passed by the first federal Congress in NYC was the first judicial expansion legislation.\textsuperscript{[lxxvii]} Also, the appointments of "The Duke of Braintree's Midnight Judges" (also known as "packing the court") took place after Adams moved into what came to be called the White House in the District of Columbia on Nov. 1, 1800.

Context: 1. The judiciary section of the Constitution (Article III) was shorter than the legislative or executive sections (Articles I and II respectively). Article III left the final design of the judiciary to Congress: "The judicial power of the United States...as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish...the laws of the United States..."  

2. The nomination and appointment, "...with the advice and consent of the Senate ...of ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States..." is part of Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution.

Death of a Former President: When confirmation of the news of GW's death (at Mt. Vernon on December 14, 1799) reached Philadelphia on December 18,\textsuperscript{[lxxviii]} Adams delivered a brief message to Congress, presumably in Congress Hall. Following this announcement,

"The House proceeded as one to the presidential mansion [190 High] to express its condolence and distress; the Senate came in a body several days later to present a more formal statement of grief." \textsuperscript{[lxxviii]}  

After the symbolic funeral procession on December 26, Abigail returned home through the incredible mire and mud to 190 High, "exhausted as she was, she had to sit down with a company of thirty ladies and gentlemen at a formal presidential dinner." \textsuperscript{[lxxix]}

Establishing the Library of Congress: As part of the proposed move to DC, Adams signed the legislation on April 24, 1800, "that appropriated $5,000 to purchase 'such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress.' The first books, ordered from London, arrived in 1801 and were stored in the U.S. Capitol, the Library's first home. The collection consisted of 740 volumes and three maps." \textsuperscript{[lx]}

INDE Context: "Congress appointed a committee on May 1, 1790, 'to report a Catalogue of Books necessary for the use of Congress.' [However] The committee's report was tabled..." This unfinished interest in a Congressional reference library resulted in the acquisition of "over two hundred volumes of all sizes and a number of charts and maps" during the 10 years that the federal Congress was seated in Congress Hall.\textsuperscript{[lx]}  

First Presidential Dismissal of Cabinet Officer: Adams started his presidency with the same cabinet officers who had served at the end of GW's tenure. During Adams' presidency, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering led the pro-war faction of the
Federalists in the cabinet, but Adams adamantly preferred peace with France (which was subsequently obtained in the Convention/"Treaty" of Mortefontaine). Because of Pickering's intrigues and association with Hamilton and other Federalist party politics, Pickering was dismissed from the State Department on May 10, 1800, the first such Cabinet dismissal by a president. Several days earlier, Adams had requested the resignation of Secretary of War McHenry, indicating his differences with the executive officers in a manner similar to GW.

Moving the Federal Government to the District of Columbia: On May 15, 1800, Adams issued the order to federal department heads ordering the relocation of government offices. This directive allowed only 30 days for officials to be relocated and operational in the partially completed office quarters on the Potomac River. Adams was the last president to reside at 190 High.

More of the story: Abigail stayed at 190 High in early November, 1800, en route to DC from Quincy/Braintree, MA, but 190 had already been converted to a privately-operated inn at that time.

Adams--personal:
- Adams' family did not attend his inauguration in 1797.
- Adams' did not attend Jefferson's inauguration in Washington, DC.
Endnotes—Washington’s Presidency

A. “Executive departments” was the exact phrase used in the Constitution (Article 2, first paragraph) and subsequently adopted by GW in his correspondence. The “Executive Branch” term was probably not known during the federal decade. Neither of these two latter terms are found in the Constitution.

In support of the above assertions, Article II, Section 2 reads, with my emphasis:

“he [the president which is never capitalized in the Constitution] may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.”

Near the end of the same Section 2, the Constitution uses the terms “heads of departments,” which is the same term GW used to address his officers (Hamilton, Jefferson, Knox, and Attorney General Randolph) in writing. In other text in Section 2, the Constitution uses such terms as “principal officer,” “public ministers,” and “civil officer.”

In summary, executive officers and executive departments would seem to be accurate linguistic terms of the period. However, the use of the term, branch, to delineate a collection of departments may be a bit of a stretch for the late eighteenth century. More research is needed to verify the appearance of the term, “executive branch.” However, GW’s five department heads, “By 1800, [were] regularly referred to as the “Cabinet” though it was only officially named so in 1907.” (Misra, Seema Anita, “Development of the Executive Branch, 1790-1800,” Division of Cultural Resources Management, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, 1991, p. 6). Misra’s report contains a useful, department-by-department summary of executive departments during the federal decade. Her report is based on the exhaustive, seminal work of Leonard White, The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History (Westport, Connecticut; Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1948, reprinted in 1978). White provides extensive historical context for my paper.

B. Concerning the authority to create new executive departments, the Constitution makes no direct statement. Therefore, this authority must be an implied power of the Congress as stated in the well-known Constitutional language (Section 8, final paragraph):

“To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution [sic] in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof.”

Subsequently, as the first federal Congress later took it upon itself and “During the summer of 1789 Congress [in NYC, and] authorized executive departments corresponding in each case to those
already formed under the Confederation...the shadow of a bureaucracy: a foreign office with John Jay and two clerks [Secretary of State Jefferson]; a Treasury board with little or no treasury [Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton]; a secretary of war with an army of 672 officers and men, and no navy at all [Secretary of War Knox]; a dozen or so clerks who had served the old Congress..." (Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 323).

The Postmaster General was another office that was a carryover from the second Continental Congress (and, presumably, from the Confederation Congress) when Benjamin Franklin directed the new postal system (White, ibid., p. 175). In addition to GW's three authorized "heads of departments" (as he addressed them in writing), he also introduced the position of Attorney General that had not been Congressionally authorized in 1789. GW appointed Edmund Randolph, making a total of five heads of departments during GW's presidency. Adams added a sixth department head, that, today, we call the Secretary of the Navy.

The Treasury was the largest executive department throughout the federalist period." (Misra, ibid., p. 17). Within this department, the positions included the Comptroller, the Auditor, the Treasurer, the Register, the Commissioner of Revenue, the Purveyor of Public Supplies, and the Surveyor General, while the field service, "sub-departments" included the customs service, district attorneys, marshals, and for a while, the postal service. Surprisingly, GW assigned the Mint to the Department of State. The Mint remained in Philadelphia as part of the State Department even after the remainder of the government moved to the District of Columbia in 1800 (Misra, ibid., 17-18, 26-27).

The secretarial system of British governance may have been the existing model for Congress's 1789 authorization. However, the term secretary is not used in the Constitution. The earliest use of the term, "secretary," found during this Native American research inquiry was "H. Knox, Secretary of War" on the February 17, 1792, Treaty of Philadelphia. During the Confederation period, Robert Morris had been appointed Superintendent of Finance (and, later, of the Navy). The important point here is that the title Superintendent was used during the Confederation period preceding the 1787 Constitution.

C. Concerning the President's and the Congress's power to appoint personnel, the Constitution (Article 2, Section 2) reads that the President:

"shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the
courts of law, or in the heads of departments [my emphasis]."
The use of secretaries within the executive department may be a customary practice transmitted down from either the Confederation government, the British secretarial system of governance, or both.

The capitalization protocols used in the U.S. Constitution are followed in this paper. Institutions (e.g., Congress, House, Senate, United States, but not the supreme court) have initial capitals, while specific roles (e.g., senator, president, state of the union) and generic branches of government (e.g., treasury, executive, judicial, and federal, although the latter word is not used in the Constitution) are all lower case. Exceptions include when those words are found in this paper's section titles and also in title-proper name phrases, e.g., President Adams.

Indian affairs were frequently handled by the Secretary of War at this time. As such, Henry Knox or his successor had written to GW several times in 1789, when the federal capital was in New York City, about the Cherokees (Jackson, Helen, *A Century of Dishonor, A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes*, New York, Indian Head Books, 1993, pp. 264-66); in Philadelphia, he had signed 1792 and 1794 Treaties of Philadelphia, to be explained subsequently in this paper; and in 1794.

After GW warned the treaty-ratifying Senate of the number of Cherokee families affected by the "disgraceful violation[s]," the Senate gave the president carte blanche, pre-approval of any new treaty to strengthen the 1785 Hopewell Treaty and to rectify the lawlessness on the southwestern frontier (Jackson, ibid., p. 267). It is not clear if this occurred in NYC or in Philadelphia.

This 1785 treaty "contained thirteen articles. Twelve were articles of friendship, calling for mutual restoration of prisoners, regulation of trade, and respect for laws and boundaries. Article IV described explicitly boundaries between Cherokees and whites and repudiated the treaty signed in June, 1783, on Dumplin Creek." (Merritt B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 1951). This treaty was signed by the Cherokees and by Commissioners of the Confederation Congress--during the Articles of Confederation period of American history. North Carolina protested this treaty in the Confederation Congress because of concerns over its state lands that were being dictated by the Confederation Congress at the national level. Relations between Native and Anglo Americans were embedded in the debate over states' rights and federal power.


Washington, George, and Thomas Jefferson, "Proclamation by the President of the United States," dated "Done at the city of Philadelphia, the twelfth day of December in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety two, and of the

Washington and Jefferson, ibid.

The Chickamauga were a separate tribe that had split off from the larger, more acculturated Cherokee tribe (Joseph A. Romano, personal communication, May 6, 2002).

This original, 1791 Treaty of Holston was signed by William Blount on July 2, 1791. See Pound, ibid., p. 60.

This supplemental treaty is referred to as the first (or 1792) Treaty of Philadelphia at http://northerncherokee.net/treaties/philadelphia-treaty-1792.htm.

Woodward, ibid.

In this second, or 1794, supplement (7 Stat. 43; dated June 26, 1794) to the Treaty of Holston, a new annual sum of $5,000 was to be paid to the Cherokee, and this sum substituted for "goods suitable for their use" (Article III, last sentence of attached Treaty). The original, 1791 Treaty of Holston allowed the Cherokee both "certain valuable goods" with no dollar limit and an annual sum of $1,000 (cf. Article IV of the attached 1791 Holston Treaty). The 1794 supplement increased the annual stipend to $5,000, but deleted the delivery of "certain valuable goods."

Ibid., p. 115.


Wilkins, ibid., p. 35.

Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 352.


Woodward, ibid., p. 110.

Woodward, ibid., p. 122.


Malone, ibid., p. 295, and U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 2: "and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment."


Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 342.


Tyndal and Shi, ibid., p. 342.
Two important points that the Americans earned in the ratified treaty were: "British evacuation of the northwestern posts by 1796 [and] reparations for the seizures of American ships and cargoes in 1793-94..." (a celebratory interpretation). In return (and an objective interpretation), the American Jay had been out-negotiated to the point where he was obliged to concede the British definition of neutral rights.... accepted the principals that naval stores were contraband, that provisions could not go in neutral ships to enemy ports, and the 'Rule of 1756,' by which trade with enemy colonies prohibited in peacetime could not be opened in wartime ....the British need not compensate Americans for the slaves who escaped during the war and that the old American debts to British merchants would be adjudicated and paid by the American government." (Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 341).

To the British, American also granted "most-favored trading nation" status and the promise of non-outfitting of French privateers in American ports.

The first of these was presented to the Congress seated in New York in 1789, while the remainder were given in Philadelphia. In his first annual message to the New York-seated Congress he enunciated the principle: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." ("Washington, George," in Malone, ibid., Vol. 19, p. 525.)


Toogood, ibid.

In his offer to Howell's mother, GW proposes that Howell would be a "writer in my office" (GW to Betty Washington Lewis, April 8, 1792, in Decatur, ibid). However, a subsequent applicant for Howell's replacement uses the phrase, household: "Mr. Lewis who lately fill'd a department in your Excellency's household..." (Letter, "Simon Wilmer to GW, Chester Town Maryd 5th Aug. [1791]," in Mastromarino, Mark, editor, The Papers of GW, Presidential Series, Volume 8, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1999, p. 404). The annotations for the August letter present a combined, family-Presidential slant on employment: "GW's [other] nephew Robert Lewis left GW's official family early in 1791..." (Mastromarino, ibid., p. 405). After Howell came on board, GW himself uses the term family to include all members of the combined, family-presidential household at 190 High Street: "my family now Howell is admitted into, will be more than full..." (Letter, "GW to Charles Carter, Mt. Vernon, Saturday, May 19 [1792]" in Baker, William S., "Washington After the Revolution, 1792" in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography [PMHB], Volume XX, Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1896, p. 338.


Decatur, ibid., p. xv.


Randall, ibid., p. 477.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 482.

Ibid., p. 477.

This local Jacobin Club was one “chapter” of about 2,000 interrelated clubs in France of the early 1790s that “acted as a parliamentary pressure group, deciding a political line before a matter was discussed in the National Assembly ...[but later the term] became synonymous with ‘radical activist’.” (Jeremy Black and Roy Porter, editors, *The Penguin Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century History*, London, Penguin Books Ltd, 1996)

Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 339.


Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 343.


Randall, ibid., p. 488.

Tindall and Shi, ibid., p. 344.


Randall, ibid., pp. 490-91.

Ibid.


Baker, ibid., p. 262.

---Endnotes---Adams' Presidency---


Ibid., p. 109 and 177.

Six other works of political science were published prior to his Presidency; *Thoughts on Government* is an example of a work many states used to prepare their constitutions. After his Presidency, 11 works were published, of which many were his letters. In this later series, *Discourses on Davila* (Boston, 1805) represents a major effort in political science. Source: Malone, “Adams, John,” in Malone, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 81-2.


Morris, *ibid.*, p. 128. The first set of U. S. Commissioners for the XYZ Affair created this anonymous name for the French agents. These commissioners were appointed by Adams from 190 High.


This summary of the Alien and Sedition Acts is based on a compilation of all the preceding sources used in this document. A contrasting view that these laws did not create a constitutional test case also exists.


“Jefferson’s Legacy: A Brief History of the Library of Congress” at http://www.loc.gov/loc/legacy/loc.html. While seated in Congress Hall during the federal decade, the Congress also may have had use of the books of the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin (Coxey Toogood, personal communication, May 1, 2003).


Company (an apparent conflict of interest?), GW's financial support of local institutions and education; GW's Neutrality Proclamation (related to the Hamilton-Jefferson Differences, the Citizen Genet affair, and the Jay Treaty, discussed in this report), GW's relations to the press (i.e., the Aurora), and GW's unspoken Farewell Address in 1796 (upon rejecting a third Presidential term). Such topics, among others, constitute subjects for future research.