

THE
FEDERALIST,
ON
THE NEW CONSTITUTION,
WRITTEN IN
THE YEAR 1788,
BY
MR. HAMILTON, MR. MADISON, AND MR. JAY:
WITH
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
THE LETTERS OF PACIFICUS AND HELVIDIUS,
ON THE
PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY OF 1793 ;
ALSO, THE
ORIGINAL ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION,
AND THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,
WITH THE
AMENDMENTS MADE THERETO.

A NEW EDITION.
THE NUMBERS WRITTEN BY MR. MADISON CORRECTED BY HIMSELF.

HALLOWELL, (Me.):
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GLAZIER & CO.

.....
1826.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the Eighteenth day of May, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Jacob Gideon, junior, of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words and figures following, to wit:

“The Federalist, on the New Constitution, written in the year 1788, by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay: with an appendix, containing the Letters of Pacificus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also the original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States, with the amendments made thereto. A new edition. The numbers written by Mr. Madison corrected by himself.”

In conformity to the act of the congress of the United States, entitled “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.”

G. DENEALE,
Clerk of the District of Columbia.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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THE present edition of the Federalist contains all the numbers of that work as revised by their authors; and it is the only one to which the remark will apply. Former editions, indeed, it is understood, had the advantage of a revision from Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jay, but the numbers written by Mr. Madison still remained in the state in which they originally issued from the press, and contained many inaccuracies. The publisher of this volume has been so fortunate as to procure from Mr. Madison the copy of the work which that gentleman had preserved for himself, with corrections of the papers, of which he is the author, in his own hand. The publication of the Federalist, therefore, may be considered, in this instance, as perfect; and it is confidently presented to the public as a standard edition.

Some altercation has occasionally taken place concerning the authorship of certain numbers of the Federalist, a few of those now ascertained to have been written by Mr. Madison having been claimed for Mr. Hamilton. It is difficult to perceive the propriety or utility of such an altercation; for whether we assign the disputed papers to the one or to the other, they are all admitted to be genuine, and there will still remain to either of these gentlemen an unquestioned number sufficient to establish for him a solid reputation for sagacity, wisdom, and patriotism. It is not the *extent* of a man's writings, but the *excellence* of them, that constitutes his claim upon his contemporaries and upon posterity for the character of intellectual superiority: and to the reader, the difference in this case is nothing, since *he* will receive instruction from the perusal, let them have been written by whom they may.

The present moment may be regarded as peculiarly favourable for the republication of this work. Mr. Hamilton is dead; and both Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison have retired from the busy scenes of life. The atmosphere of political passions through which their principles

monstrated in times of domestic tranquillity, of internal commotion and of foreign hostility. In return, the advantages which the national government dispenses to the several states are keenly felt and highly relished. When the Constitution was ratified, Rhode Island and North Carolina, from honest but mistaken convictions, for a moment withheld their assent. But when Congress proceeded solemnly to enact that the manufactures of those states should be considered as foreign, and that the acts laying a duty on goods imported and on tonnage should extend to them, they hastened, with a discernment quickened by a sense of interest, and at the same time honourable to their patriotic views, to unite themselves to the Confederation.

The only alteration of importance which the Constitution has undergone since its adoption, is that which changes the mode of electing the President and Vice-President. It is believed that, all things being duly weighed, the alteration has been beneficial. If it enables a man to aim with more directness, at the first office in the gift of the people, it equally tends to prevent the recurrence of an unpleasant contest for precedency, between the partisans of any two individuals, in Congress, to which body in the last resort, the choice is referred. Besides, whether the Constitution should prescribe it or not, the people themselves would invariably designate the man they intended for chief magistrate: a reflection which may serve to convince us that the change in question is more in *form* than in *fact*.

To conclude, the appearance of so perfect an edition of the Federalist as the present must be allowed to be, may be regarded as the more fortunate, as the Journal of the Convention that framed the Constitution is about to be published, and a new light to be thus shed upon the composition of that instrument. The Act of Confederation, and the Constitution itself, have been by permission of Mr. Adams, the Secretary of State, carefully compared with the originals deposited in the Office of that department; and their accuracy may therefore be relied on, even to the *punctuation*.

City of Washington,

May, 1818.

THE FEDERALIST.

No. I.

BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Introduction.

AFTER full experience of the insufficiency of the existing federal government, you are invited to deliberate upon a New Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences, nothing less than the existence of the UNION, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire, in many respects, the most interesting in the world. It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country to decide, by their conduct and example, the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are for ever destined to depend for their political constitutions, on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis at which we are arrived may, with propriety, be regarded as the period when that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act, may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

This idea, by adding the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism, will heighten the solicitude which all considerate and good men must feel for the event. Happy will it be if our choice should be directed by a judicious estimate of our true interests, uninfluenced by considerations foreign to the public good. But this is more ardently to be wished for, than seriously to be expected. The plan offered to our deliberations, affects too many particular interests, innovates upon too many local institutions, not to involve in its discussion a variety of objects extraneous to its merits, and of views, passions, and prejudices little favourable to the discovery of truth.

Among the most formidable of the obstacles which the new



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