

No. 1 - "for in politics, as in religion"

Here Hamilton provides basic context for his endorsement of a constitutional union of the states, and argues that such is in the interest of individual liberty. He says that those arguing otherwise, from a position of states sovereignty and populism, are more likely to conceal a proto-despotism.

No. 2. "Nothing is more certain than"

"With equal pleasure I have" re: ethno-state
Jay here supports his endorsement of a constitutional union by appealing to the reason of the people. While he does acknowledge that doing so can be sanguine, he does give the example that, since the people's trust of the continental congress proved out successfully, a similar trust

in the constitutional convention is warranted

No. 3 "But even if the if ever the governing"
re: state-level govt as shock absorber for ~~misguided~~ misguided populism and myopia of the people.

Jay argues that a federal union offers its citizens the best protection against foreign violence, essentially by aggregating the political clout of the constituent states, thus amounting to a more formidable geopolitical force.

No. 4 - largely supports No. 3 defense-wise
- federal union is better than A) multiple state confederate republics, and B) a loose confederacy of states as sovereign units

No. 5 - UFP, FVC, Warring factions, FRI

"When did the independent states"
re: confederacy,

No. 6 - FVC internal dissent^(ID) + social realism (SR)
republic v monarchy (R/M), anti-utopianism (AU)
Hamilton, like Machiavelli, is a realist in regards to the admixture of pro-social and anti-social motivations at play in society, and that sanguine assumptions of regarding peoples' motivations is dangerous.

"Have we not already seen"

re: SR, AU

No. 7 - Federal restraint^{and resolution} of inter-state ^{discontent} dispute^I (FRI)
~~Consent and Countervailing (CC)~~ (CC: between unified federalism and local confederacy)
~~federal dispute resolution (FDR)~~

"In the wide field of western" re: ~~FDR~~ FRI

"The habits of intercourse" re: FRI

~~National debt and credit (NDC)~~,

"There is, perhaps, nothing more likely"

No. 8, FRI, ID, ~~state~~ security and liberty (SL)

"safety from external danger" re: security, liberty

"it is the nature of war to" re: state of emergency

~~Peacetime and wartime (PW)~~

military state vs civil state (MCS)

"But in a country, where the" re: despotism, military state

"If we are wise enough to preserve"

"wily phantoms" punny polemic!!

reflection: here Hamilton argues that neighboring state sovereignties ~~are~~ naturally engender a more active defense system within a state, and that such military activities tends to degrade civil liberties in the interest of military security. ~~as~~ a number of states, either all sovereign or grouped into regional confederacies, would engender similar ~~engender~~ exigencies

federalist papers (cont'd)

No 9. FRI, * limitations of size of republic
(LSR)

"The utility of a confederacy"

several montesquieu quotes

Cont'd No. 10, MOP, LSR,

"The inference to which we are"

re: FRI

"from this view of the subject
re: limitations of Democracy (LD)

"A republic, by which I mean"

re: definition of 'republic'

"It must be confessed that"

"The other point of difference"

re: dynamics of majority (Dom)
~~consensus~~ consensus and agency

No. 10 "Among the numerous advantages"

re: FRI

"By a faction, I understand a"

"As long as the reason of man"

re: SR

SR,

"But the most common and"

re: SR

Class Conflict (CC) re: machiavelli's points
about the utility of class

"It is in vain to say" conflict to protect liberty

re: SR

No. 11, UFP, FRI, Military Benefits of Union (MBU)
FvC,

"These are rights of great moment"

"An unrestrained intercourse"
re: free trade

"It may perhaps be replied"
re: FvC

"by force and by fraud"
re: Machiavelli

No. 12 UFP, FRI

"It has been found in various"
re: land value

No. 13

"The entire separation of the States"
- central argument

No. 14 "The error which limits"
re: Democracy and Republic (D&R)

LSR, LD,

"As the natural limit of a democracy"

Here Madison makes a distinction between pure democracy and republic and asserts that the proposed federal union is not too large for a republic

Miscellaneous

Machiavelli in the Discourses, says that the plebs/public is rarely wrong in general matters, but is often wrong in particulars

Reflection

Recapitulative Summary

This first section of the series, namely the first 14 papers, has laid out a variety of arguments in favor of a federal union as opposed to the alternative of either a loose alliance of sovereign states or a number of partial confederacies. The primary argument is that, because having the colonies constitute a plurality units of geopolitically sovereign states, there would inevitably arise certain tensions and conflicts between these units and such division would hinder the potential of the new world. They argue that a union, specifically a constitutional union with an energetic federal government will mitigate such conflict, better dissuade foreign conflict, generally better protect citizens of the states, and better facilitate commerce and national revenue, as compared to the alternatives.

No. 15 "It is true, as has been"

re: Description of the advantages
argument, perspective

re: central federalist argument

"It is a singular instance"

re: bureaucracy, statecraft, republic

"if the particular states is this"

FvC, SR, AU,

"Government implies the power"

re: rule of law, monopoly on force

"Why has government been instituted"

re: government, social contract

"Regard to reputation has a less"

"Those who have been conversant"

re: difficulty of collective deliberation

(D&D)

No 15 (Cont'd)

"Congress at this time scarcely"
re: inadequacy of existing confederation
(IEC)

No 19 FvC

"From such a parade of"

No 16

Here, I believe Hamilton argues that the federal legislature should supersede upon and override any (would-be sovereign) legislatures of states, in the interests of national coherence, prevention of factions, and prevention of resorts to military enforcement of laws at the level of states.

What said I feel there are aspects of this argument I do not understand, especially as it pertains to "reaching the citizen."

No 20 FvC

"A weak constitution must necessarily"
re: tyranny

"I make no apology for having"
re FvC

No 21

"The next most palpable defect"
"Where the whole power of"
"Impositions of this kind"

No 17 "The regulation of the mere"
re: sanguine logic, federal + state + local government (FSL)

"Upon the same principle that"
re: parochialism of populous (PP)

"The separate governments in a"
re: republic, feudalism, confederacy

No 18 "Had Greece, says a judicious"

re: FRI, FvC

"I have thought it not superfluous"

No 22 "It is indeed evident"

UFP

"The power of raising armies"
re: federal requisitions from states
(FRS)

"The right of equal suffrage"
re: proportional or equal representation
(PER)

"The necessity of unanimity"
"The organization of congress is itself"
"It has not a little contributed"

* No 23 "The principle purposes to be"
 re: UFP, FvC *

unrestrained federal authority necessity of unlimited power UFA federal power (NUF)
 ~~federal~~ "The experiment has, however,"
 re: federal legislation extending to individuals (FLI)

No 24

No 25

"As far as an army may be"
 "Wise politicians will be"

No 26

"It was a thing hardly to"
 "The idea of restraining the"
 re: unrestrained federal power authority (UFA)

No 27 "One thing, at all events,"
 FvC

No 28 "That there may happen"

"Let us pursue this examination"
 re: FvC

"Independent of all other"
 "obstacles to usurpation"

Recap

In this section, (23-36) so far, Hamilton is asserting that a federal union, embodied by a constitutional ~~federal~~ republican confederation, needs to be sufficiently empowered to operate as a sovereign geopolitical unit and to fully realise the potential of this new land, new people, and new civic spirit. He says that certain powers of the federal government such as the legislative authority regarding the raising and maintaining of an army, needs to be minimally fettered by civic or bureaucratic checks, so as to ensure that America is equipped with the agency necessary to respond to the threats which any nation may expect to face.

No 30 UFA, FRS

"Money is, with propriety."

"I believe it may be regarded"

"We say that deficiencies" re: FRS

No 31 UFA, UFP, FRS, FSL

"A government ought to contain"

No 36 Cont'd FSL

"But there is a simple point of view"

"As to the suggestion" → P

"There are certain emergencies"

re: UFA, State of Emergency (SOE)

"I have now gone through the"

re: recap, goal of Federalist papers

No 32 FSL,

"But as the plan of the convention"

"I mean that the states"

"negative pregnant" (A unrelated, but cool)

No 33 UFA, FSL,

"What is a power, but the ability"

re: rule of law

"But it may be asked again"

"A law, by the very meaning"

"Though a law, therefore;"

★ No 37 "But as the ultimate ~~one~~ object"

re: goal of Federalist papers

"It is a misfortune, inseparable"

"The novelty of the undertaking" ★

re: goal

"Energy in government is essential"

re: governmental energy and stability (GES)

"Here, then, are three sources"

"The history of almost all"

re: DCD

No 34

"It is well known that in the Roman"

"Nothing, therefore, can be more" ★

"What are the chief sources"

"The preceding train of observation"

★ No 38 "Are they agreed, are any two"

re: goal, critiques of ★
proposed constitutions

"It is a matter of both wonder"

re: critiques ★

"Is the importation of slaves"

re: slavery, critiques

No 35

"The idea of an actual representation"

"There is no part of the administration"

"There can be no doubt"

re: grandiose common sense

No 39 "What, then, are the distinctive"

re: republics

PER FSL,

"The difference between a federal"

re: federal vs national govt

No 36 "We have seen that the result"

representation grounded in localism

local familiarity (RL★)

No 40 re: bureaucratic transition

from AOC to constitution

(articles of confederation)

No 41 "That we may form a correct"

re: scope of constitution

FRI, UFP, UFA

checking federal power (CFP)

"The power of levying and"

"The constitution proposed by No"

No 42 "The second class of powers"

"If we are to be one nation"

"It were doubtless to be wished"

re: slavery

"The powers included in the third"

re: FRI

"The necessity of a ~~superintending~~
superintending"

"The power of prescribing by"

No 43

"That useful alterations will"

No 44

"We have now reviewed"

re: recap, goals

No 45 - risks of federal powers to
state autonomy (RFPS)

"It is too early for politicians"

risk of national powers to

state autonomy (RNP)

risk of state powers to

national union (RSP)

"In the action ~~by~~ league"

re: RNP, FSL, PP

"The powers delegated by the proposed"

re: FSL

No 46 "It has ~~already~~ been already"

re: FSL, RNP, RSP

"Were it admitted, however"

re: RNP, RSP

"But ambitious encroachments"

re: RNP, RSP

"That the people and the states"

"The argument under the present"

No 47 "No political truth is certainly"

re: separation of powers

"from these facts, by which"

re: Montesquieu, separation of powers
(this paper compares various state
constitutions)

recap: Here Madison contends
~~with~~ with what he portrays
as an argument against

proposed constitution, namely
that the three branches of
the proposed national government

~~are not~~ ~~sufficiently~~ are too

consolidated. He asserts that

it is impractical to assert

that the three branches be

totally separated, but that

they should rather not be

totally or nearly totally

consolidated. & Even if they

have partial overlap in

authorities, so long as

different seats of power can

check each other to meaningful

degrees powers are sufficiently

separated.

"What I have wished to enerve"

No 65. "The necessity of a numerous"
"would it have been desirable"
re: oceans razor, complexity
of statecraft
"Although this latter supposition"
re: good quote
"If ranked were to resolve" ★
re: good quote.

No 67 "The truth is, that in all"

No 68 "All these advantages will"

prologue!

No 69 "The president of the united
states is to have"
re: legislative veto

"The president is to nominate"
re: US vs UK

"The president of the united
states would be an" ★
re: US vs UK

★ No 70. "Taking it for granted,
therefore"

re: energy of govt vs
republican principles

"That unity is conducive to energy"
re: centralization

"Whenever two or more persons"

"Men often oppose a thing"

"But one of the weightiest objections"

"A council to a magistrate"

despatch
dictatorship

No 71 "It is a just observation" ★

re: MP, populism,

passion vs reason

"The same rule which I
teaches"

re: legislative supremacy

Reflection: Over the last few
centuries, Hamilton has
navigated what may be
considered the central dilemma
of framing the executive
branch of the government.
It seems to me that
this dilemma is compound
in nature, as primarily
consisting of a conflict between
the principles of an
effective executive and a
the principle of
liberal oversight. Within
the former, there is to be
discerned a vested dilemma,
namely that between the energy
and the stability of the
executive agency. The executive
~~may~~ we needs to be agile
enough to respond to
geopolitical circumstances, and
stable and unified enough to
enact long-term plans.
Although, in reconsidering this,
I'm not so sure how much
of a conflict there is between
the energy and stability of the
executive, and rather that
they both seem to benefit
from a unitary executive
rather ~~than~~ than a plural
one.

No 62 cont'd

"A good government government implies"

re: good govt

"Another effect of public instability"

re: Hayek, and his points about how the rule of law provides predictability of government affairs

No 63 "Responsibility, in order to"

~~Recap~~ Reflection:

~~Recap~~ regarding the bicameral structure of congress, and the reasoning behind its framing, it seems that the argument goes as follows: both the people and the states themselves enjoy representation adequately in this arrangement. The lower chamber practices proportional representation, thus giving the people equal representation across states, whereas the upper chamber practices equal representation, thus giving the states themselves equal representation irrespective of ~~their~~ their population. While the Virginia plan advocated for proportional representation throughout congress, and while the New Jersey plan advocated equal representation, the Connecticut compromise ~~advocated~~ constituted a

reconciliation wherein one chamber would practice proportional representation, and the other chamber equal.

"Thus far I have considered"

re: MP, reason vs passion

"It adds no small weight"

re: republicanism, political stability, machiavelli

"But if any thing could"

re: US vs UK

"besides the conclusive evidence"

No 64

"Although the absolute necessity"

re: long-term political agency

"They who have turned their"

"All constitutional acts of power"

Reflection: Jay here is navigating what strikes me as one of the more difficult dilemmas of framing a federal republic, namely the matter of allotting powers to offices which need stability of planning and execution over long period of time, while still ensuring that such powers are subject to sufficient democratic oversight and checks.

No 72 "The administration of

government"

"This position will not be"
re: good quote

"third ill effect"

No 73

"The propriety of ^a the negative"

"It may perhaps be said"

No 74

"But the principal argument"

No 75

"The essence of the legislative"

It must indeed be clear"

No 76

"The sole and undivided"

re: unitary vs plural executive (UPE)
partisan motivations

"It will readily be comprehended"

"Upon a

No 77

"Upon a comparison" → FP

re: accountability

"We have now completed a survey"

re: recap.

No 78

"The standard of good behavior"

"Whoever attentively considers"

re: Montesquieu

"The complete independence of the"

"There is no position which"

re: unconstitutional legislation

"The exercise of judicial"

re: conflicting laws

No 79

"It will be observed that"

No 80

"If there are such things"

"it may be esteemed"

No 81

"A legislature, without exceeding"

"And the inference is greatly"

re: legislative check on judiciary

"The power of constituting inferior"

"To avoid all inconveniences"

"The amount of the observations"

re: recap.

No 82

"The erection of a new government"

re: good quote

No 83

"The friends and adversaries"

"It has been observed"

"Notwithstanding, therefore"

"The best judges of the matter"

No 84

"The establishment of the writ"

"It has been several times"

"There remains but one other"

"But there is another"

re: efficiency of national congress

No 85 DCD

"It is remarkable, that the" &

re: arguments against constitution

"The additional securities" &

re: recap of papers

"I answer in the next place"

re: imperfect plan

"It appears to me susceptible"

re: amendments

federalist papers chronology

			H 1	deliberation is a new institution
		utility of union	J 2	one government or separate confederacies
			J 3	less likely to give just causes of war
			J 4	less likely to invite hostility
			J 5	separate confederacies would lead to quarrels
			H 6	war would follow if disunited
			H 7	causes of war in disunited America
			H 8	consequences of such wars
			H 9	constitution cons. states into one republic
			M 10	republic as remedy for mischief of faction
			H 11	utility of union regarding commerce
			H 12	utility regarding revenue
			H 13	utility regarding government expenses
			M 14	proposed union not too large for republican govt
			H 15	defect of confederation: can only legislate for states
			H 16	need for a govt that reaches persons
			H 17	proposed govt will not absorb state powers
			M+H 18	examples of ancient confederations
			M+H 19	examples of existing ones
			M+H 20	confederations wrong in theory, void in practice
			H 21	other defects of present confederation
			H 22	continuation
			H 23	objects of national govt: common defense
			H 24	govt needs power to have such armies
			H 25	the power should be in national govt, not states
			H 26	neither Britain nor any state prohibits such armies
			H 27	military less likely to execute laws than appears
			H 28	military force needed to preserve public peace
			H 29	national govt must control state militia
			H 30	[taxation] power must be unrestricted
			H 31	fears of federal usurpation considered
			H 32	states will have concurrent power to tax
			H 33	the sweeping and supremacy clauses explained
			H 34	financial needs of the new govt
			H 35	the House will attend to interests & feelings
			H 36	several matters of taxation considered
			M 37	introduction: the convention's difficulties
			M 38	continued
			M 39	constitution is republican: federal + national
			M 40	whether convention was authorized to propose a
			M 41	powers vested: foreign safety (taxation)
			M 42	powers: foreign relations, relations of states
			M 43	miscellaneous powers
			M 44	restrictions on states, sweeping clause
			M 45	whether mass of powers will endanger states
			M 46	same: which level of govt will people favor
			M 47	complete separation of powers not required
			M 48	some blending of powers is necessary
			? M/H 49	how to maintain separation: conventions?
			? M/H 50	how to maintain: periodic conventions?
			? M/H 51	how to maintain: checks and balances
			? M/H 52	HoR qualifications: electors, elected, 2-year term
			? M/H 53	2-year term necessary or useful
			? M/H 54	counting slaves for representation
			? M/H 55	House size: large enough to be safe
			? M/H 56	House: large enough to know people's interests
			? M/H 57	will be sympathetic to mass of people
			? M/H 58	will increase with population
			H 59	congressional regulation of elections
			H 60	congressional regulation
			H 61	congressional regulation
			? M/H 62	qualification of members (senate)
			? M/H 63	size and duration, continued (senate)
			J 64	treaty powers
			H 65	other powers: exche. appointment, impeachment
			H 66	impeachments, continued
			H 67	misrepresentations, power to fill Senate vacancies
			H 68	method of election
			H 69	compared with British king and NY governor
			H 70	executive energy: first ingredient: unity
			H 71	second ingredient: duration, 4 years
			H 72	duration in office, continued
			H 73	third ingredient + fourth ingredient
			H 74	competent powers, continued
			H 75	competent powers, treaties
			H 76	powers: appointment
			H 77	powers: appointment, continued
			H 78	duration in office, good behavior
			H 79	provisions for support or removal
			H 80	extent of judicial power
			H 81	supreme court and inferior courts
			H 82	relation between federal and state courts
			H 83	trial by jury
			H 84	absence of Bill of Rights
			H 85	not perfect but good

UFA, MOP				
UFA, FvC				
UFP, FvC, FRI				
FvC, IO, FRI, SR, RvM, AU				
FRI, NDC				
FRI, IO, SL, MCS				
FRI, LSR				
FRI, SR, CC, MP, LSR, LD, DM				
UFP, FRI, MBU, FvC				
UFP, FRI				
DvR, LSR, LD				
FvC, SR, AU, DCD				
FSL, PP				
FRI, FvC				
FvC				
FvC				
UFP, FRS, PER				
UFP, FvC, UFA, FLI				
UFA				
FvC				
FvC				
UFA, FRS				
UFA, UFP, FRS, FSL				
FSL				
UFA, FSL				
RL, FSL, UFA				
GES, DCD				
PER, FSL				
FRI, UFP, UFA, CFP				
FRI				
RNP, RSP, FSL, PP				
FSL, RNP, RSP				
SR				
PvR				
PvR				
LS, FSL				
MP				
UPE				

PVR - passion vs reason
 CFP - checking federal power
 PER - proportional or equal representation
 FRS - federal requisition from states
 PP - parochiality of politicians
 FSL - federal/state/local govt roles
 UFP - unified foreign policy
 MP - Myopia of politicians
 FvC - federation vs confederacy loose/partial confederacy
 IO - internal discord
 SR - social realism
 RvM - republic vs monarchy
 AU - anti-utopianism
 FRI - federal restraint and resolution of inter-state disputes

GES - govt energy and stability
 RL - representations grounded in localism
 SL - security and liberty
 UFA - unrestrained federal authority
 NDC - national debt and credit
 MCS - military state vs civil state
 LSR - limitations of scope of republic
 CC - class conflict
 LD - limitations of democracy
 DM - dynamics of majority consensus and agency
 MBU - military benefit of union

RSP - risk of state powers to federal union
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 FLI - federal legislation extending to individuals