

The Federalist redirects here. For other uses, see [Federalist \(disambiguation\)](#)

# "The Federalist" Papers

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[Title page](#) of the first collection of *The Federalist Papers* (1788)

***The Federalist*** (later known as ***The Federalist Papers***) is a collection of 85 articles and essays written (under the pseudonym Publius) by [Alexander Hamilton](#), [James Madison](#), and [John Jay](#) promoting the [ratification](#) of the [United States Constitution](#). Seventy-seven were published serially in the *Independent Journal* and the *New York Packet* between October 1787 and August 1788. A compilation of these and eight others, called ***The Federalist: A Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution, as Agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787***, was published in two volumes in 1788 by J. and A. McLean.<sup>[1][2]</sup> The collection's original title was *The Federalist*; the title *The Federalist Papers* did not emerge until the 20th century.

Though the authors of *The Federalist Papers* foremost wished to influence the vote in favor of ratifying the Constitution, in "[Federalist No. 1](#)", they explicitly set that debate in broader political terms:

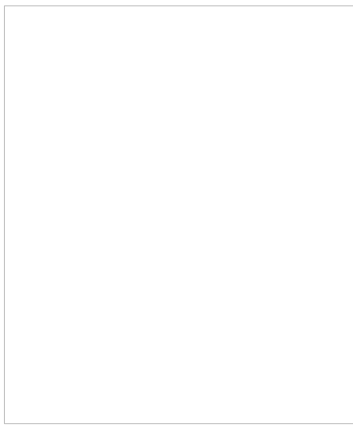
It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force.<sup>[3]</sup>

"[Federalist No. 10](#)", in which Madison discusses the means of preventing [rule by majority](#) faction and advocates a large, commercial republic, is generally regarded as the most important of the 85 articles from a philosophical perspective; it is complemented by "[Federalist No. 14](#)", in which Madison takes the measure of the United States, declares it appropriate for an extended republic, and concludes with a memorable defense of the constitutional and political creativity of the Federal Convention.<sup>[4]</sup> In "[Federalist No. 84](#)", Hamilton makes the case that there is no need to amend the Constitution by adding a [Bill of Rights](#), insisting that the various provisions in the proposed Constitution protecting liberty amount to a "bill of rights". "[Federalist No. 78](#)", also written by Hamilton, lays the groundwork for the doctrine of [judicial review](#) by federal courts of federal legislation or executive acts. "[Federalist No. 70](#)" presents Hamilton's case for a one-man chief executive. In "[Federalist No. 39](#)", Madison presents the clearest exposition of what has come to be called [Federalism](#)". In "[Federalist No. 51](#)", Madison distills arguments for checks and balances in an essay often quoted for its justification of government as "the greatest of all reflections on human nature."

According to historian [Richard B. Morris](#), they are an "incomparable exposition of the Constitution, a classic in political science unsurpassed in both breadth and depth by the product of any later American writer."<sup>[5]</sup>

## History

## Origins



[Alexander Hamilton](#), author of the majority of *The Federalist Papers*

The [Federal Convention](#) sent the proposed Constitution to the Confederation Congress, which in turn submitted it to the states for ratification at the end of September 1787. On September 27, 1787, "Cato" first appeared in the New York press criticising the proposition; "Brutus" followed on October 18, 1787.<sup>[6]</sup> These and other articles and public letters critical of the new Constitution would eventually become known as the "[Anti-Federalist Papers](#)". In response, Hamilton decided to launch a measured defense and extensive explanation of the proposed Constitution to the people of the state of New York. He wrote in [Federalist No. 1](#) that the series would "endeavor to give a satisfactory answer to all the objections which shall have made their appearance, that may seem to have any claim to your attention."<sup>[7]</sup>

Hamilton recruited collaborators for the project. He enlisted John Jay, who after four strong essays ([Federalist Nos. 2, 3, 4,](#) and [5](#)), fell ill and contributed only one more essay, [Federalist No. 64](#), to the series. He also distilled his case into a pamphlet in the spring of 1788, [An Address to the People of the State of New-York](#); Hamilton cited it approvingly in [Federalist No. 85](#). James Madison, present in New York as a Virginia delegate to the Confederation Congress, was recruited by Hamilton and Jay, and became Hamilton's major collaborator. [Gouverneur Morris](#) and [William Duer](#) were also apparently considered; Morris turned down the invitation, and Hamilton rejected three essays written by Duer.<sup>[8]</sup> Duer later wrote in support of the three Federalist authors under the name "Philo-Publius", or "Friend of Publius".

Hamilton chose "Publius" as the pseudonym under which the series would be written. While many other pieces representing both sides of the constitutional debate were written under Roman names, Albert Furtwangler contends that "'Publius' was a cut above 'Caesar' or 'Brutus' or even 'Cato.' [Publius Valerius](#) was not a late defender of the republic but one of its founders. His more famous name, Publicola, meant 'friend of the people.'"<sup>[9]</sup> It was not the first time Hamilton had used this pseudonym: in 1778, he had applied it to three letters attacking fellow Federalist [Samuel Chase](#). Chase's patriotism was questioned when Hamilton revealed that Chase had taken advantage of knowledge gained in Congress to try to dominate the flour market.

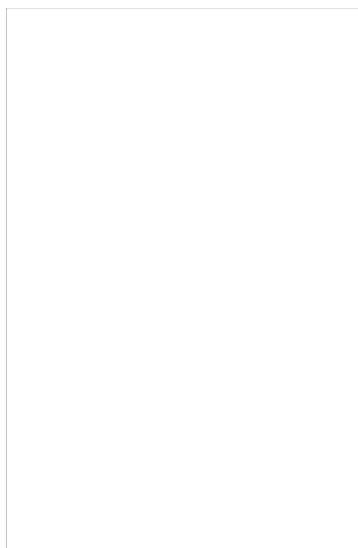
## Authorship

At the time of publication the authorship of the articles was a closely guarded secret, though astute observers discerned the identities of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. Following Hamilton's death in 1804, a list that he had drafted claiming fully two-thirds of the papers for himself became public, including some that seemed more likely the work of Madison (No. 49–58 and 62–63). The scholarly detective work of [Douglass Adair](#) in 1944 postulated the following assignments of authorship, corroborated in 1964 by a computer analysis of the text:

- Alexander Hamilton (51 articles: No. 1, 6–9, 11–13, 15–17, 21–36, 59–61, and 65–85)
- James Madison (29 articles: No. 10, 14, 18–20,<sup>[10]</sup> 37–58 and 62–63)
- John Jay (5 articles: No. 2–5 and 64).

A total of 85 articles were written by the three men in a span of ten months under the pseudonym "Publius", in honor of [Roman](#) consul [Publius Valerius Publicola](#).<sup>[9]</sup> Madison is now acknowledged as the father of the Constitution—despite his repeated rejection of this honor during his lifetime.<sup>[11]</sup> Madison became a leading member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Virginia (1789–1797), Secretary of State (1801–1809), and ultimately the fourth [President of the United States](#).<sup>[12]</sup> Hamilton, who had been a leading advocate of national constitutional reform throughout the 1780s and represented [New York](#) at the [Constitutional Convention](#), in 1789 became the first [Secretary of the Treasury](#), a post he held until his resignation in 1795. John Jay, who had been secretary for foreign affairs under the [Articles of Confederation](#) from 1784 through their expiration in 1789, became the first [Chief Justice of the United States](#) in 1789, stepping down in 1795 to accept election as governor of New York, a post he held for two terms, retiring in 1801.

## Publication



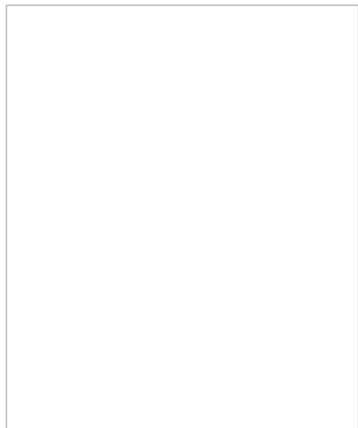
An advertisement for *The Federalist*, 1787, using the pseudonym "Philo-Publius"

*The Federalist Papers* appeared in three New York newspapers: [The Independent Journal](#), the *New-York Packet*, and the *Daily Advertiser*, beginning on October 27, 1787. Although written and published with haste, *The Federalist Papers* were widely read and greatly influenced the shape of American political institutions.<sup>[13]</sup> Between them, Hamilton, Madison and Jay kept up a rapid pace, with at times three or four new essays by Publius appearing in the papers in a week. Garry Wills observes that the pace of production "overwhelmed" any possible response: "Who, given ample time could have answered such a battery of arguments? And no time was given."<sup>[14]</sup> Hamilton also encouraged the reprinting of the essay in newspapers outside New York state, and indeed they were published in several other states where the ratification debate was taking place. However, they were only irregularly published outside New York, and in other parts of the country they were often overshadowed by local writers.<sup>[15]</sup>

Because the essays were initially published in New York, most of them begin with the same [salutation](#): "To the People of the State of New York".

The high demand for the essays led to their publication in a more permanent form. On January 1, 1788, the New York publishing firm J. & A. McLean announced that they would publish the first thirty-six essays as a bound volume; that volume was released on March 2 and was titled *The Federalist*. New essays continued to appear in the newspapers; [Federalist No. 77](#) was the last number to appear first in that form, on April 2. A second bound volume containing the last forty-nine essays was released on May 28. The remaining eight papers were published in the New York newspapers between June 14 and August 16.<sup>[16]</sup>

A 1792 French edition ended the collective anonymity of Publius, announcing that the work had been written by "MM Hamilton, Maddisson E Gay", citizens of the State of New York. In 1802, George Hopkins published an American edition that similarly named the authors. Hopkins wished as well that "the name of the writer should be prefixed to each number," but at this point Hamilton insisted that this was not to be, and the division of the essays among the three authors remained a secret.<sup>[17]</sup>



[James Madison](#), Hamilton's major collaborator, later President of the United States

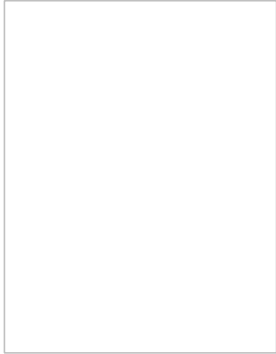
The first publication to divide the papers in such a way was an 1810 edition that used a list left by Hamilton to associate the authors with their numbers; this edition appeared as two volumes of the compiled "Works of Hamilton". In 1818, Jacob Gideon published a new edition with a new listing of authors, based on a list provided by Madison. The difference between Hamilton's list and Madison's formed the basis for a dispute over the authorship of a dozen of the essays.<sup>[18]</sup>

Both Hopkins's and Gideon's editions incorporated significant edits to the text of the papers themselves, generally with the approval of the authors. In 1863, Henry Dawson published [an edition](#) containing the original text of the papers, arguing that they should be preserved as they were written in that particular historical moment, not as edited by the authors years later.<sup>[19]</sup>

Modern scholars generally use the text prepared by Jacob E. Cooke for his 1961 edition of *The Federalist*; this edition used the newspaper texts for essay numbers 1–76 and the McLean edition for essay numbers 77–85.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Disputed essays

The authorship of seventy-three of *The Federalist* essays is fairly certain. Twelve of these essays are disputed over by some scholars, though the modern consensus is that Madison wrote essays Nos. 49–58, with Nos. 18–20 being products of a collaboration between him and Hamilton; [No. 64](#) was by John Jay. The first open designation of which essay belonged to whom was provided by Hamilton, who in the days before his ultimately fatal gun duel with [Aaron Burr](#) provided his lawyer with a list detailing the author of each number. This list credited Hamilton with a full sixty-three of the essays (three of those being jointly written with Madison), almost three-quarters of the whole, and was used as the basis for an 1810 printing that was the first to make specific attribution for the essays.<sup>[21]</sup>



[John Jay](#), author of five of *The Federalist* Papers, later became the first Chief Justice of the United States

Madison did not immediately dispute Hamilton's list, but provided his own list for the 1818 Gideon edition of *The Federalist*. Madison claimed twenty-nine numbers for himself, and he suggested that the difference between the two lists was "owing doubtless to the hurry in which [Hamilton's] memorandum was made out." A known error in Hamilton's list—Hamilton incorrectly ascribed [No. 54](#) to John Jay, when in fact, Jay wrote No. 64—provided some evidence for Madison's suggestion.<sup>[22]</sup>

Statistical analysis has been undertaken on several occasions to try to ascertain the authorship question based on word frequencies and writing styles. Nearly all of the statistical studies show that the disputed papers were written by Madison, although a computer science study theorizes the papers were a collaborative effort.<sup>[23][24][25]</sup>

## Influence on the ratification debates

*The Federalist* Papers were written to support the ratification of the Constitution, specifically in [New York](#). Whether they succeeded in this mission is questionable. Separate ratification proceedings took place in each state, and the essays were not reliably reprinted outside of New York; furthermore, by the time the series was well underway, a number of important states had already ratified it, for instance Pennsylvania on December 12. New York held out until July 26; certainly *The Federalist* was more important there than anywhere else, but Furtwangler argues that it "could hardly rival other major forces in the ratification contests"—specifically, these forces included the personal influence of well-known Federalists, for instance Hamilton and Jay, and Anti-Federalists, including Governor [George Clinton](#).<sup>[26]</sup> Further, by the time New York came to a vote, ten states had already ratified the Constitution and it had thus already passed—only nine states had to ratify it for the new government to be established among them; the ratification by Virginia, the tenth state, placed pressure on New York to ratify. In light of that, Furtwangler observes, "New York's refusal would make that state an odd outsider."<sup>[27]</sup>

Only 19 Federalists were elected to New York's ratification convention, compared to the Anti-Federalists' 46 delegates. While New York did indeed ratify the Constitution on July 26, the lack of public support for pro-Constitution Federalists has led historian John Kaminski to suggest that the impact of *The Federalist* on New York citizens was "negligible"<sup>[28]</sup>

As for Virginia, which only ratified the Constitution at its [convention](#) on June 25, Hamilton writes in a letter to Madison that the collected edition of *The Federalist* had been sent to Virginia; Furtwangler presumes that it was to act as a "debater's handbook for the convention there," though he claims that this indirect influence would be a "dubious distinction."<sup>[29]</sup> Probably of greater importance to the Virginia debate, in any case, were George Washington's support for the proposed Constitution and the presence of Madison and [Edmund Randolph](#), the governor, at the convention arguing for ratification.

# Structure and content

In [Federalist No. 1](#), Hamilton listed six topics to be covered in the subsequent articles:

1. "The utility of the UNION to your political prosperity" – covered in No. 2 through No. 14
2. "The insufficiency of the present Confederation to preserve that Union" –covered in No. 15 through No. 22
3. "The necessity of a government at least equally energetic with the one proposed to the attainment of this object" – covered in No. 23 through No. 36
4. "The conformity of the proposed constitution to the true principles of republican government" – covered in No. 37 through No. 84
5. "Its analogy to your own state constitution" – covered in No. 85
6. "The additional security which its adoption will afford to the preservation of that species of government, to liberty and to prosperity" – covered in No. 85.<sup>[30]</sup>

Furtwangler notes that as the series grew, this plan was somewhat changed. The fourth topic expanded into detailed coverage of the individual articles of the Constitution and the institutions it mandated, while the two last topics were merely touched on in the last essay.

The papers can be broken down by author as well as by topic. At the start of the series, all three authors were contributing; the first twenty papers are broken down as eleven by Hamilton, five by Madison and four by Jay. The rest of the series, however, is dominated by three long segments by a single writer: No. 21 through No. 36 by Hamilton, No. 37 through 58 by Madison, written while Hamilton was in Albany, and No. 65 through the end by Hamilton, published after Madison had left for Virginia.<sup>[31]</sup>

## Opposition to the Bill of Rights

*The Federalist Papers* (specifically [Federalist No. 84](#)) are notable for their opposition to what later became the [United States Bill of Rights](#). The idea of adding a Bill of Rights to the Constitution was originally controversial because the Constitution, as written, did not specifically enumerate or protect the rights of the people, rather it listed the powers of the government and left all that remained to the states and the people. [Alexander Hamilton](#), the author of [Federalist No. 84](#), feared that such an enumeration, once written down explicitly, would later be interpreted as a list of the *only* rights that people had.

However, Hamilton's opposition to a Bill of Rights was far from universal. [Robert Yates](#), writing under the pseudonym *Brutus*, articulated this view point in the so-called [Anti-Federalist No. 84](#), asserting that a government unrestrained by such a bill could easily devolve into tyranny. References in *The Federalist* and in the ratification debates warn of demagogues of the variety who through divisive appeals would aim at tyranny. *The Federalist* begins and ends with this issue.<sup>[32]</sup> In the final paper Hamilton offers "a lesson of moderation to all sincere lovers of the Union, and ought to put them on their guard against hazarding anarchy, civil war, a perpetual alienation of the States from each other, and perhaps the military despotism of a successful demagogue".<sup>[33]</sup> The matter was further clarified by the [Ninth Amendment](#).

## Modern approaches and interpretations

### Judicial use

Federal judges, when interpreting the Constitution, frequently use *The Federalist Papers* as a contemporary account of the intentions of the framers and ratifiers.<sup>[34]</sup> They have been applied on issues ranging from the power of the federal government in [foreign affairs](#) (in [Hines v. Davidowitz](#)) to the validity of [ex post facto](#) laws (in the 1798 decision [Calder v. Bull](#), apparently the first decision to mention *The Federalist*).<sup>[35]</sup> By 2000, *The Federalist* had been quoted 291 times in Supreme Court decisions.<sup>[36]</sup>

The amount of deference that should be given to *The Federalist Papers* in constitutional interpretation has always been somewhat controversial. As early as 1819, Chief Justice [John Marshall](#) noted in the famous case [McCulloch v. Maryland](#), that "the opinions expressed by the authors of that work have been justly supposed to be entitled to great respect in expounding the Constitution. No tribute can be paid to them which exceeds their merit; but in applying their opinions to the cases which may arise in the progress of our government, a right to judge of their correctness must be retained."<sup>[37]</sup> Madison believed *The Federalist Papers* were the ideas of the Founders and not just mere expressions. In a letter to [Thomas Ritchie](#) in 1821, he stated that "the legitimate meaning of the Instrument must be derived from the text itself; or if a key is to be sought elsewhere, it must be not in the opinions or intentions of the Body which planned & proposed the Constitution, but in the sense attached to it by the people in their respective State Conventions where it recd. all the authority which it possesses."<sup>[38][39]</sup>

## Complete list

The colors used to highlight the rows correspond to the author of the paper.

 [Alexander Hamilton](#)

[John Jay](#)

[James Madison](#)

| #                  | Date              | Title  | Author  |
|--------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <a href="#">1</a>  | October 27, 1787  | General Introduction   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">2</a>  | October 31, 1787  | Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence  | <a href="#">John Jay</a>                      |
| <a href="#">3</a>  | November 3, 1787  | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence  | <a href="#">John Jay</a>                      |
| <a href="#">4</a>  | November 7, 1787  | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence  | <a href="#">John Jay</a>                      |
| <a href="#">5</a>  | November 10, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence  | <a href="#">John Jay</a>                      |
| <a href="#">6</a>  | November 14, 1787 | Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">7</a>  | November 15, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States                                       | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">8</a>  | November 20, 1787 | The Consequences of Hostilities Between the States   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">9</a>  | November 21, 1787 | The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">10</a> | November 22, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection                           | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">11</a> | November 24, 1787 | The Utility of the Union in Respect to Commercial Relations and a Navy   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">12</a> | November 27, 1787 | The Utility of the Union In Respect to Revenue   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">13</a> | November 28, 1787 | Advantage of the Union in Respect to Economy in Government   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">14</a> | November 30, 1787 | Objections to the Proposed Constitution From Extent of Territory Answered  | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">15</a> | December 1, 1787  | The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">16</a> | December 4, 1787  | The Same Subject Continued: The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union                         | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">17</a> | December 5, 1787  | The Same Subject Continued: The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union                         | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">18</a> | December 7, 1787  | The Same Subject Continued: The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union                         | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[10]</sup> |
| <a href="#">19</a> | December 8, 1787  | The Same Subject Continued: The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union                         | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[10]</sup> |
| <a href="#">20</a> | December 11, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union                         | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[10]</sup> |
| <a href="#">21</a> | December 12, 1787 | Other Defects of the Present Confederation   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">22</a> | December 14, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: Other Defects of the Present Confederation   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">23</a> | December 18, 1787 | The Necessity of a Government as Energetic as the One Proposed to the Preservation of the Union                          | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">24</a> | December 19, 1787 | The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">25</a> | December 21, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered                                | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">26</a> | December 22, 1787 | The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered                             | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">27</a> | December 25, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">28</a> | December 26, 1787 | The Same Subject Continued: The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">29</a> | January 9, 1788   | Concerning the Militia   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |

|                    |                   |   |   |
|--------------------|-------------------|---|---|
| <a href="#">30</a> | December 28, 1787 | Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">31</a> | January 1, 1788   | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">32</a> | January 2, 1788   | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">33</a> | January 2, 1788   | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">34</a> | January 5, 1788   | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">35</a> | January 5, 1788   | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">36</a> | January 8, 1788   | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the General Power of Taxation  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">37</a> | January 11, 1788  | Concerning the Difficulties of the Convention in Devising a Proper Form of Government                         | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">38</a> | January 12, 1788  | The Same Subject Continued, and the Incoherence of the Objections to the New Plan Exposed                     | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">39</a> | January 18, 1788  | The Conformity of the Plan to Republican Principles   | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">40</a> | January 18, 1788  | The Powers of the Convention to Form a Mixed Government Examined and Sustained                                | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">41</a> | January 19, 1788  | General View of the Powers Conferred by the Constitution  | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">42</a> | January 22, 1788  | The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered   | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">43</a> | January 23, 1788  | The Same Subject Continued: The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered                       | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">44</a> | January 25, 1788  | Restrictions on the Authority of the Several States   | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">45</a> | January 26, 1788  | The Alleged Danger From the Powers of the Union to the State Governments Considered                           | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">46</a> | January 29, 1788  | The Influence of the State and Federal Governments Compared   | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">47</a> | January 30, 1788  | The Particular Structure of the New Government and the Distribution of Power Among Its Different Parts        | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">48</a> | February 1, 1788  | These Departments Should Not Be So Far Separated as to Have No Constitutional Control Over Each Other         | <a href="#">James Madison</a>                 |
| <a href="#">49</a> | February 2, 1788  | Method of Guarding Against the Encroachments of Any One Department of Government                              | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">50</a> | February 5, 1788  | Periodic Appeals to the People Considered   | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">51</a> | February 6, 1788  | The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">52</a> | February 8, 1788  | The House of Representatives  | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">53</a> | February 9, 1788  | The Same Subject Continued: The House of Representatives  | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">54</a> | February 12, 1788 | The Apportionment of Members Among the States   | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">55</a> | February 13, 1788 | The Total Number of the House of Representatives  | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">56</a> | February 16, 1788 | The Same Subject Continued: The Total Number of the House of Representatives                                  | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">57</a> | February 19, 1788 | The Alleged Tendency of the New Plan to Elevate the Few at the Expense of the Many                            | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |

|                    |  |   |   |
|--------------------|--|---|---|
| <a href="#">58</a> | February 20, 1788                                  | Objection That The Number of Members Will Not Be Augmented as the Progress of Population Demands Considered | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">59</a> | February 22, 1788                                  | Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">60</a> | February 23, 1788                                  | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members            | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">61</a> | February 26, 1788                                  | The Same Subject Continued: Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members            | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">62</a> | February 27, 1788                                  | The Senate  | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">63</a> | March 1, 1788                                      | The Senate Continued  | <a href="#">James Madison</a> <sup>[40]</sup> |
| <a href="#">64</a> | March 5, 1788                                      | The Powers of the Senate  | <a href="#">John Jay</a>                      |
| <a href="#">65</a> | March 7, 1788                                      | The Powers of the Senate Continued  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">66</a> | March 8, 1788                                      | Objections to the Power of the Senate To Set as a Court for Impeachments Further Considered                 | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">67</a> | March 11, 1788                                     | The Executive Department  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">68</a> | March 12, 1788                                     | The Mode of Electing the President  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">69</a> | March 14, 1788                                     | The Real Character of the Executive   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">70</a> | March 15, 1788                                     | The Executive Department Further Considered   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">71</a> | March 18, 1788                                     | The Duration in Office of the Executive   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">72</a> | March 19, 1788                                     | The Same Subject Continued, and Re-Eligibility of the Executive Considered                                  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">73</a> | March 21, 1788                                     | The Provision For The Support of the Executive, and the Veto Power  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">74</a> | March 25, 1788                                     | The Command of the Military and Naval Forces, and the Pardoning Power of the Executive                      | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">75</a> | March 26, 1788                                     | The Treaty Making Power of the Executive  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">76</a> | April 1, 1788                                      | The Appointing Power of the Executive   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">77</a> | April 2, 1788                                      | The Appointing Power Continued and Other Powers of the Executive Considered                                 | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">78</a> | May 28, 1788 (book)<br>June 14, 1788 (newspaper)   | The Judiciary Department  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">79</a> | May 28, 1788 (book)<br>June 18, 1788 (newspaper)   | The Judiciary Continued   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">80</a> | June 21, 1788                                      | The Powers of the Judiciary   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">81</a> | June 25, 1788 and June 28, 1788                    | The Judiciary Continued, and the Distribution of the Judicial Authority                                     | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">82</a> | July 2, 1788                                       | The Judiciary Continued   | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">83</a> | July 5, 1788,<br>July 9, 1788 and July 12, 1788    | The Judiciary Continued in Relation to Trial by Jury  | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |
| <a href="#">84</a> | July 16, 1788,<br>July 26, 1788 and August 9, 1788 | Certain General and Miscellaneous Objections to the Constitution Considered and Answered                    | <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton</a>            |



## See also

- [American philosophy](#)
- [The Anti-Federalist Papers](#)
- [List of pseudonyms used in the American Constitutional debates](#)

## Notes

1. ↑ *The Federalist: a Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution, as Agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787, in two volumes* (1 ed.). New York: J. and A. McLean. 1788 Retrieved March 16, 2017 – via Library of Congress.
2. ↑ Jackson, Kenneth T. *The Encyclopedia of New York City*. The New York Historical Society; Yale University Press; 1995. p. 194.
3. ↑ *The Federalist Papers*. Toronto: Bantam Books. 1982.
4. ↑ Wills, x.
5. ↑ Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of the Union: 1781–1789* (1987) p. 309
6. ↑ Furtwangler, 48–49.
7. ↑ *Gunn, Giles B. (1994). [Early American Writing](#). Penguin Classics. p. 540. ISBN 0-14-039087-1.*
8. ↑ Furtwangler, 51–56.
9. 1 2 Furtwangler, 51.
10. 1 2 3 4 Nos. 18, 19, 20 are frequently indicated as being jointly written by Hamilton and Madison. However, Adair concurs with previous historians that these are Madison's writing alone: "Madison had certainly written all of the essays himself, including in revised form only a small amount of pertinent information submitted by Hamilton from his rather sketchy research on the same subject." Adair, 63.
11. ↑ Banning, Lance *James Madison: Federalist*, note 1.
12. ↑ See, e.g. Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison*. New York: Macmillan, 1971; reprint ed., Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998. See also Irving N. Brant, *James Madison: Father of the Constitution, 1787–1800* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950.
13. ↑ Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007). *Founding Fathers: The Essential Guide to the Men Who Made America*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons
14. ↑ Wills, xii.
15. ↑ Furtwangler, 20.
16. ↑ Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007). *Founding Fathers: The Essential Guide to the Men Who Made America*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
17. ↑ Adair, 40–41.
18. ↑ Adair, 44–46.
19. ↑ *Henry Cabot Lodge, ed. (1902). [The Federalist, a Commentary on the Constitution of the United States](#) Putnam. pp. xxxviii–xliviii. Retrieved February 16, 2009.*
20. ↑ Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison (Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961 and later reprintings). ISBN 978-0-8195-6077-3.
21. ↑ Adair, 46–48.
22. ↑ Adair, 48.
23. ↑ Jeff Collins, David Kaufer, Pantelis Vlachos, Brian Butler and Suguru Ishizaki, "Detecting Collaborations in Text: Comparing the Authors' Rhetorical Language Choices in the Federalist Papers" *Computers and the Humanities* 38 no. 1 (Feb. 2004).
24. ↑ Mosteller and Wallace.
25. ↑ Fung, Glenn, *The disputed federalist papers: SVM feature selection via concave minimization* New York City, ACM Press, 2003. ([9 pg pdf file](#))
26. ↑ Furtwangler, 21.
27. ↑ Furtwangler, 22.
28. ↑ Coenen, Dan. "[Fifteen Curious Facts about The Federalist Papers](#)". *Media Commons*. Retrieved December 5, 2012.
29. ↑ Furtwangler, 23.
30. ↑ This scheme of division is adapted from Charles K. Kesler's introduction to *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Signet Classic, 1999) pp. 15–17. A similar division is indicated by Furtwangler, 57–58.
31. ↑ Wills, 274.
32. ↑ Jeffrey Tulis (1987). *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton University Press. p. 30. ISBN 0-691-02295-X.
33. ↑ Harvey Flaumenhaft, "Hamilton's Administrative Republic and the American Presidency," in *The Presidency in the Constitutional Order*, ed. Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey Tulis (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 65–114.
34. ↑ Lupu, Ira C.; "The Most-Cited Federalist Papers". *Constitutional Commentary* (1998) pp. 403+; using Supreme Court citations, the five most cited were [Federalist No. 42](#) (Madison) (33 decisions), [Federalist No. 78](#) (Hamilton) (30

decisions), [Federalist No. 81](#) (Hamilton) (27 decisions), [Federalist No. 51](#) (Madison) (26 decisions), [Federalist No. 32](#) (Hamilton) (25 decisions).

35. ↑ See, among others, a very early exploration of the judicial use of *The Federalist* in Charles W. Pierson, "The Federalist in the Supreme Court", *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 7. (May 1924), pp. 728–35.
36. ↑ Chernow, Ron. "Alexander Hamilton". Penguin Books, 2004. (p. 260)
37. ↑ Arthur, John (1995). *Words That Bind: Judicial Review and the Grounds of Modern Constitutional Theory* Westview Press. p. 41. ISBN 0-8133-2349-5.
38. ↑ Madison to Thomas Ritchie, September 15, 1821. Quoted in Furtwangler, 36.
39. ↑ Max Farrand, ed. (1911). *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*. Yale University Press.
40. [1](#) [2](#) [3](#) [4](#) [5](#) [6](#) [7](#) [8](#) [9](#) [10](#) [11](#) [12](#) One of twelve "disputed papers" to which both Madison and Hamilton laid claim. Modern scholarly consensus leans towards Madison as the author of all twelve, and he is so credited in this table. See [Federalist Papers: Disputed essays](#). See Adair, 93: "The disputed numbers of *The Federalist* claimed by both Hamilton and Madison are Numbers 49 through 58 and Numbers 62 and 63.

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## External links

- [The Federalist Papers](#) public domain audiobook at [LibriVox](#)
- [The Federalist Papers, original 1788 printing](#)
- [The Federalist Papers](#) at [Project Gutenberg](#)
- [The Federalist Papers on the Bill of Rights](#)
- [Teaching The Federalist Papers](#)
- [Booknotes](#) interview with Robert Scigliano on Scigliano's Modern Library edition of *The Federalist Papers*. January 21, 2001.
- [Collection of The Federalist Papers](#)
- [EDSITEment on The Federalist and Anti-Federalist debates on diversity and the extended republic](#)
- ["Federalist, The". \*New International Encyclopedia\*. 1905.](#)
- [National Archives on The Federalist](#)

# [The Federalist Papers](#)

## Authors

[Alexander Hamilton](#) (papers)

[James Madison](#) (papers)

[John Jay](#) (papers)

- [1](#)
- [2](#)
- [3](#)
- [4](#)
- [5](#)
- [6](#)
- [7](#)
- [8](#)
- [9](#)
- [10](#)
- [11](#)
- [12](#)
- [13](#)
- [14](#)
- [15](#)
- [16](#)
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- [63](#)
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- [68](#)
- [69](#)
- [70](#)
- [71](#)
- [72](#)
- [73](#)
- [74](#)
- [75](#)
- [76](#)
- [77](#)
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- [79](#)
- [80](#)
- [81](#)
- [82](#)
- [83](#)
- [84](#)
- [85](#)

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- [Amendments 1–10](#)
- [Amendments 11–27](#)
- [Unsuccessful Proposed Amendments](#)
- [Debates in State Conventions on the Adoption of the Constitution](#)

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and articles**

- [Preamble](#)
- [I](#)
- [II](#)
- [III](#)
- [IV](#)
- [V](#)
- [VI](#)
- [VII](#)

**Amendments**

|                     |                       |  |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--|
|                     | <b>Bill of Rights</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <a href="#">1</a></li><li>• <a href="#">2</a></li><li>• <a href="#">3</a></li><li>• <a href="#">4</a></li><li>• <a href="#">5</a></li><li>• <a href="#">6</a></li><li>• <a href="#">7</a></li><li>• <a href="#">8</a></li><li>• <a href="#">9</a></li><li>• <a href="#">10</a></li></ul>   |
| <b>Ratified</b>     | <b>Others</b>         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <a href="#">11</a></li><li>• <a href="#">12</a></li><li>• <a href="#">13</a></li><li>• <a href="#">14</a></li><li>• <a href="#">15</a></li><li>• <a href="#">16</a></li><li>• <a href="#">17</a></li><li>• <a href="#">18</a></li><li>• <a href="#">19</a></li><li>• <a href="#">20</a></li><li>• <a href="#">21</a></li><li>• <a href="#">22</a></li><li>• <a href="#">23</a></li><li>• <a href="#">24</a></li><li>• <a href="#">25</a></li><li>• <a href="#">26</a></li><li>• <a href="#">27</a></li></ul> |
| <b>Pending</b>      |                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <a href="#">Congressional Apportionment</a></li><li>• <a href="#">Titles of Nobility</a></li><li>• <a href="#">Corwin Amendment</a></li><li>• <a href="#">Child Labor</a></li></ul>  |
| <b>Repealed</b>     |                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <a href="#">Eighteenth Amendment</a></li></ul>   |
| <b>Unsuccessful</b> |                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <a href="#">Equal Rights</a></li><li>• <a href="#">District of Columbia Voting Rights</a></li></ul>  |
|                     |                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <a href="#">List of Amendments</a></li><li>• <a href="#">Bill of Rights</a> (Amendments 1–10)</li><li>• <a href="#">Reconstruction Amendments</a> (Amendments 13–15)</li><br/><li>• <a href="#">Amendment proposals in Congress</a></li><li>• <a href="#">Convention to propose amendments</a></li><li>• <a href="#">State ratifying conventions</a></li></ul>   |

## Formation

- [History](#)
- [Articles of Confederation](#)
- [Mount Vernon Conference](#)
- [Annapolis Convention](#)
- [Philadelphia Convention](#)
  - [Virginia Plan](#)
  - [New Jersey Plan](#)
  - [Connecticut Compromise](#)
  - [Three-Fifths Compromise](#)
  - [Committee of Detail](#)
  - [Signing](#)
  - [Independence Hall](#)
  - [Syng inkstand](#)
- [The Federalist Papers](#)
- [Anti-Federalist Papers](#)
- [Massachusetts Compromise](#)
- [Virginia Ratifying Convention](#)
- [Hillsborough Convention](#)
- [Drafting and ratification timeline](#)

## Clauses

- [Appointments](#)
- [Appropriations](#)
- [Assistance of Counsel](#)
- [Bill of credit](#)
- [Case or Controversy](#)
- [Citizenship](#)
- [Commerce](#)
- [Compact](#)
- [Compulsory Process](#)
- [Confrontation](#)
- [Contract](#)
- [Copyright and Patent](#)
- [Double Jeopardy](#)
- [Due Process](#)
- [Equal Protection](#)
- [Establishment](#)
- [Exceptions](#)
- [Excessive Bail](#)
- [Ex post facto](#)
- [Extradition](#)
- [Free Exercise](#)
- [Free Speech](#)
- [Fugitive Slave](#)
- [Full Faith and Credit](#)
- [General Welfare](#)
- [Guarantee](#)
- [Impeachment](#)
- [Import-Export](#)
- [Ineligibility](#)
- [Militia](#)
- [Natural-born citizen](#)
- [Necessary and Proper](#)
- [New States](#)
- [No Religious Test](#)
- [Oath or Affirmation](#)
- [Origination](#)
- [Petition](#)
- [Postal](#)
- [Presentment](#)
- [Privileges and Immunities](#)
- [Privileges or Immunities](#)
- [Recommendation](#)
- [Self-Incrimination](#)
- [Speech or Debate](#)
- [Speedy Trial](#)
- [State of the Union](#)
- [Supremacy](#)
- [Suspension](#)
- [Take Care](#)
- [Takings](#)
- [Taxing and Spending](#)
- [Territorial](#)
- [Title of Nobility](#)
- [Treaty](#)
- [Trial by Jury](#)
- [Vesting](#)
- [Vicinage](#)
- [War Powers](#)
- [List of clauses](#)

## Interpretation

- [Concurrent powers](#)
- [Congressional enforcement](#)
- [Constitutional law](#)
- [Criminal procedure](#)
- [Criminal sentencing](#)
- [Dormant Commerce Clause](#)
- [Enumerated powers](#)
- [Equal footing](#)
- [Executive privilege](#)
- [Incorporation of the Bill of Rights](#)
- [Judicial review](#)
- [Nondelegation doctrine](#)
- [Preemption](#)
- [Saxbe fix](#)
- [Separation of church and state](#)
- [Separation of powers](#)
- [Taxation power](#)
- [Unitary executive theory](#)

## Display and legacy

- [National Archives](#)
  - [Charters of Freedom Rotunda](#)
- [Independence Mall](#)
- [Constitution Day](#)
- [Constitution Gardens](#)
- [National Constitution Center](#)
- [Scene at the Signing of the Constitution](#)(painting)
- [A More Perfect Union](#) (film)
- [Worldwide influence](#)

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## [Alexander Hamilton](#)

- [Senior Officer of the United States Army, 1799–1800](#)
- [1st Secretary of the Treasury, 1789–1795](#)
- [Delegate, Congress of the Confederation, 1782–1783, 1788–1789](#)

## [United States founding events](#)

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- [The Farmer Refuted\(1775\)](#)
- [Delegate, 1786 Annapolis Convention](#)
- [Delegate, 1787 Constitutional Convention](#)
- [Initiated, main author, \*The Federalist Papers\*](#)
  - written by Hamilton
- [Founding Father](#)

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- [First Bank of the United States](#)
- [Revenue Marine \(United States Coast Guard\)](#)
- [United States Customs Service](#)
- [Hamiltonian economic program](#)
- [Residence Act](#)
  - [Compromise of 1790](#)
- ["First Report on the Public Credit", 1790](#)
- [Funding Act of 1790](#)
- ["Operations of the Act Laying Duties on Imports", 1790](#)
- ["Second Report on Public Credit", a.k.a. "Report on a National Bank", 1790](#)
- ["Report On Manufactures", 1791](#)
- [Tariff of 1790](#)
- [Tariff of 1792](#)
- [Coinage Act of 1792](#)
  - [United States Mint](#)
- [Whiskey Rebellion](#)
- [Jay Treaty](#)



|                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| Military career           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="#">New York Provincial Company of Artillery</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">In the Revolutionary War</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Battles: Harlem Heights</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">White Plains</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Trenton</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">General Washington's Aide-de-Camp</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Princeton</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Brandywine</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Germantown</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Monmouth</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Siege of Yorktown</a></li> </ul>   |
| Other events              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="#">Burr–Hamilton duel</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Founder, Federalist Party</a> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ <a href="#">Federalist Era</a></li> </ul> </li> <li>• <a href="#">Founder, Bank of New York</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Bank of North America</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Advisor, George Washington's Farewell Address</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Founder, <i>New-York Evening Post</i></a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton–Reynolds sex scandal</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Rutgers v. Waddington</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Relationship with slavery</a></li> </ul>  |
| Depictions and memorials  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton (Fraser statue)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton (Ceracchi bust)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton (Conrads statue)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton (Trumbull portrait)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton Bridge</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton High School (Los Angeles)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Fort Hamilton</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton Grange National Memorial</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton Hall (Columbia University)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton Hall (Salem, Massachusetts)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton Heights, Manhattan</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton, Ohio</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton-Oneida Academy</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Postage stamps</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Trinity Church Cemetery</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">United States ten-dollar bill</a></li> </ul> |
| Media and popular culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton (2015 musical)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Hamilton (1917 play)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Alexander Hamilton (1931 film)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Liberty! (1997 documentary series)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">Liberty's Kids (2002 animated series)</a></li> <li>• <a href="#">John Adams (2008 miniseries)</a></li> </ul>  |
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## Family

- [Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton](#)
  - wife
  - [Schuyler family](#)
- [Philip Hamilton](#) (oldest son)
- [Angelica Hamilton](#) (daughter)
- [Alexander Hamilton Jr.](#) (son)
- [James Alexander Hamilton](#) (son)
- [John Church Hamilton](#) (son)
- [William S. Hamilton](#) (son)
- [Eliza Hamilton Holly](#) (daughter)
- [Philip Hamilton](#) (youngest son)
- [Schuyler Hamilton](#) (grandson)
- [Alexander Hamilton, Jr.](#) (grandson)
- [Allan McLane Hamilton](#) (grandson)
- [Robert Ray Hamilton](#) (great-grandson)

## James Madison

- [4th President of the United States](#) (1809–1817)
- [5th U.S. Secretary of State](#) (1801–1809)
- [United States House of Representatives](#) (1789–1797)
- [Congress of the Confederation](#) (1781–1783)
- [Virginia House of Delegates](#) (1776–1779, 1784–1786)

## "Father of the Constitution"

- [Co-wrote, 1776 Virginia Constitution](#)
- [1786 Annapolis Convention](#)
- [1787 Constitutional Convention](#)
  - [Virginia Plan](#)
  - [Constitution of the United States](#)
  - [Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787](#)
- [The Federalist Papers](#)
  - written by Madison
  - [No. 10](#)
  - [No. 51](#)
- [Virginia Ratifying Convention](#)
- [United States Bill of Rights](#)
  - [27th amendment](#)
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- [1816\)](#)
- [Cabinet](#)
- [Federal judiciary appointments](#)

## Presidency

**Other noted accomplishments**

- [Co-founder, American Whig Society](#)
- [Supervised the Louisiana Purchase](#)
- [Anti-Administration party](#)
- [Residence Act](#)
  - [Compromise of 1790](#)
- [Democratic-Republican Party](#)
  - [First Party System](#)
  - [republicanism](#)
- [Library of Congress](#)
- [Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions](#)
- [Report of 1800](#)

**Other writings**

- [The Papers of James Madison](#)

**Life**

- [Early life and career](#)
- [Belle Grove Plantation, birthplace](#)
- [Montpelier](#)

**Elections**

- [U.S. House of Representatives election, 1789](#)
- [1790](#)
- [1792](#)
- [1794](#)
- [U.S. presidential election, 1808](#)
- [1812](#)

**Legacy and popular culture**

- [James Madison Memorial Building](#)
- [James Madison University](#)
- [James Madison College](#)
- [Madison, Wisconsin](#)
- [Madison Square](#)
- [Madison River](#)
- [Madison Street](#)
- [U.S. postage stamps](#)
- [James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation](#)
- [James Madison Freedom of Information Award](#)
- [James Madison Award](#)
- [James Madison Institute](#)
- [A More Perfect Union \(1989 film\)](#)
- [Liberty's Kids \(2002 miniseries\)](#)
- [Hamilton \(2015 musical\)](#)

**Related**

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- [National Gazette](#)
- [Paul Jennings](#)
- [Madisonian Model](#)
- [American Philosophical Society](#)
- [The American Museum magazine](#)
- [Virginia dynasty](#)

**Family**

- [Dolley Madison](#) (wife)
- [John Payne Todd](#) (stepson)
- [James Madison, Sr.](#) (father)
- [Nelly Conway Madison](#) (mother)
- [William Madison](#) (brother)
- [Ambrose Madison](#) (paternal grandfather)
- [James Madison](#) (cousin)
- [George Madison](#) (paternal second-cousin)
- [Thomas Madison](#) (paternal second-cousin)
- [John Madison](#) (great-grandfather)
- [Lucy Washington](#) (sister-in-law)

• [← Thomas Jefferson](#)

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- [WorldCat Identities](#)
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The Difference Between Federalists and Federalism and the Different Types of Federalism. The term Federalism can be confusing due to its varied uses over time, however, generally speaking: Federalism describes a union of entities under a central government, and the different types of Federalism denote how power sharing works.[1] [2] [3]. A Basic Introduction to Federalism. TIP: Federalism (the way power sharing works and a concept of political philosophy), Federalist (a member of the Federalist party or a supporter of Federalism in general; often implying the favoring of a central government), Federal (a term that describes a central government; like the U.S. Federal Government), Federation (a federalist system of entities; like the. The Federalist Papers, specifically Federalist No. 84, are notable for their opposition to what later became the United States Bill of Rights. Hamilton didn't support the addition of a Bill of Rights because he believed that the Constitution wasn't written to limit the people. It listed the powers of the government and left all that remained to the states and the people. The Federalist Papers are a series of 85 articles or essays advocating the ratification of the United States Constitution. The Papers are authored as follows: Alexander Hamilton (51 articles: nos. 1, 6–9, 11–13, 15–17, 21–36, 59–61, and 65–85), James Madison (26 articles: nos. 10, 14, 37–58 and 62–63) and John Jay (5 articles: 2–5 and 64). (Nos. 18–20 were the result of a collaboration between Madison and Hamilton.) I affect not reserves, which I do not feel. Alexander Hamilton, No. 1