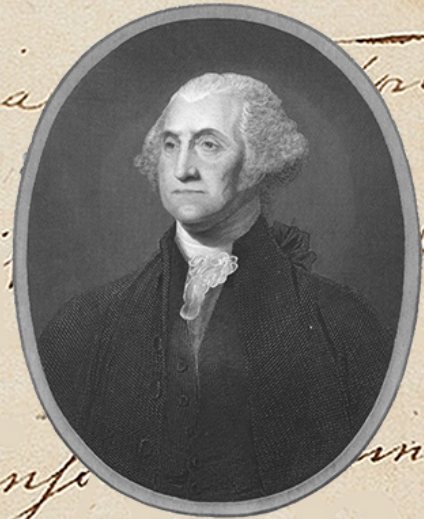


# THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON COLLECTION

## THE STORY OF THE REVOLUTION AND FOUNDING

HIGHLY IMPORTANT ORIGINAL LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, & IMPRINTS

Featuring Hamilton, Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Paine, Burr, The Schuyler Sisters and Brothers, & Many More



*A Church*

*Mr. to Madison*

*Alexander Hamilton*

*Catharine Van Mearns*

*E. Hamilton*

*John E. Kane*

*John Van Rensselaer*

*Dirck van Rensselaer*





# THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON COLLECTION

## THE STORY OF THE REVOLUTION AND FOUNDING

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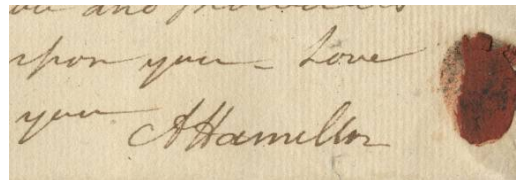
### HIGHLY IMPORTANT ORIGINAL LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, & IMPRINTS

Starring Alexander Hamilton, George Washington,  
Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Eliza Hamilton, Aaron Burr,  
John Hancock & a Chorus of Revolutionary Characters

We are pleased to offer a unique collection of original documents that made American history. These letters, documents, and artifacts tell the story of the orphan immigrant founding father who fought for independence, founded our financial system, and fostered a government capable of surviving internal factions and foreign foes.

Alexander Hamilton letters and documents in the collection include:

- one of his most revealing love letters, calling Elizabeth Schuyler “a little sorceress” who bewitched and rendered him “restless and unsatisfied with all about me”;
- a letter written on behalf of General Washington in October 1777;
- a portion of his letter to Robert Morris on biases that affect New York taxes;
- his letter seeking compensation for successfully arguing on behalf of the government in the first Supreme Court judicial review case;
- note to Robert Troup (the friend who helped publish the Federalist Papers anonymously);
- his draft letter rallying to defeat Jefferson after Washington declined a third term (Hamilton changed his tune four years later, when he considered Burr a greater danger);
- the only known document in Hamilton’s hand on a legal case involving James Reynolds.
- Hamilton document signed two-days before leaving office, remitting a Whiskey tax fine;
- a document signed by Hamilton and Eliza and Angelica and a dozen other Schuyler sisters, brothers, cousins, in-laws, and even father General Philip Schuyler;



Yes, Hamilton’s story includes hubris, infidelity, scandal, and tragedy.

The wider arc of the Revolution and Founding is captured with:

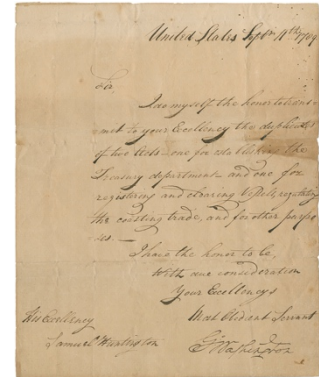
- Declaration of Independence - official facsimile printed by order of Congress;
- letters and documents of leaders and soldiers, among them a pay order for Philip Negro;

The collection features several letters of the first three American Presidents, including:

- Washington preparing for a possible campaign after his victory at Yorktown;
- George Washington’s uncharacteristically tongue-in-cheek letter to close friend Dr. James McHenry, cryptically confiding his dream of leaving the army;
- a great John Adams letter, reacting to the Reynolds scandal, asking of Hamilton: “*Can talents atone for such turpitude? Can wisdom reside with such Gullibility?*”;
- Thomas Jefferson’s letter shielding unfiltered thoughts from “*obloquy from bigots in religion, in politics, or in medicine.*”

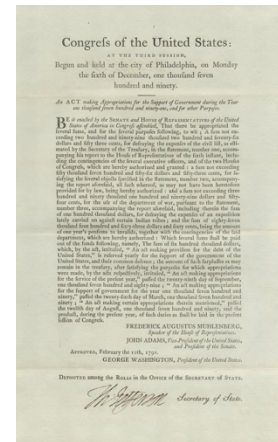
Other documents published by or relating to Hamilton include:

- George Washington’s signed letter transmitting the Act establishing the Treasury Department;
- contemporary printings of Congressional Acts implementing Hamilton’s Assumption Plan, his 1790 Report on Public Credit, the charters for the Bank of the United States and the Society for Useful Manufactures;
- written confirmation of a Livingston slam in a near-riot at Federal Hall, and a letter detailing Hamilton’s related challenge of Commodore Nicholson to a duel;
- a scarce first edition “Reynolds Pamphlet,” in which he admits to infidelity but vigorously denies financial crimes; and, a second edition, reprinted by his enemies;
- a lock of Hamilton’s hair, preserved in his family for generations, with an authentication note from his son;
- a stunning memorial drawn by a student shortly after his death.



The Founding is additionally represented by more than 40 rare original acts of Congress signed by Thomas Jefferson or Edmund Randolph as Secretary of State, including:

- the 1791 budget;
- an *Act for raising a farther sum of Money for the Protection of the Frontiers*, the back-door approach he used to enact his Report on Manufactures tariff proposals.
- the Naturalization act; Whiskey Rebellion acts, etc.



An Addenda features a collection of more than 900 original newspapers from 1800 to 1804, capturing news as it unfolds. Highlights include reports on the Hamilton-Burr duel in his own newspaper, and Jefferson’s First Inaugural and first four State of the Union addresses. Plus, French Revolution and Haiti slave uprising reports, Acts of Congress, landmark legal cases such as *Marbury v. Madison*, and more politics, personalities, events, and issues.



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If you are inspired by personal and patriotic interest, please call to explore this unique opportunity to invest in history- individually or for your company, foundation or an educational institution.

This collection consists of more than 1,000 original historic letters, documents, imprints and artifacts. Everything in this catalog is included in the Collection – as are many additional documents in Part II.

The domain [www.AHamilton.com](http://www.AHamilton.com) is also included to allow the collection to continue to be widely shared.

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# The American Revolution



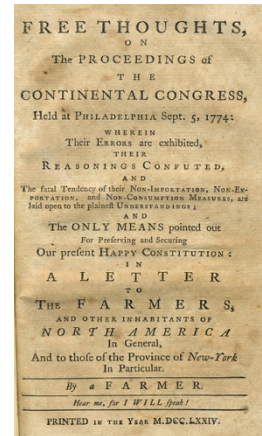


## Samuel Seabury Provokes Hamilton's First Shot

*“Can we expect to force a submission to our peevish and petulant humours... We ought to know the temper and spirit, the power and strength of the nation better. A single campaign ... would ruin us effectually ... Will you be instrumental in bringing the most abject slavery on yourselves?”*

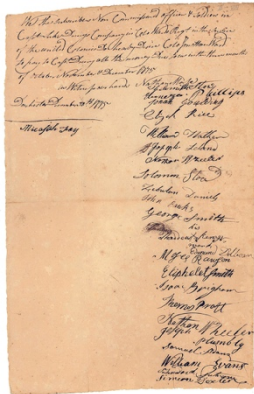
The first bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, Samuel Seabury was a loyalist from the start. Alexander Hamilton, then nineteen years old, was inspired to respond with a scathing critique. His *Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress* fueled patriot sentiments and sparked a pamphlet war. Seabury issued three more publications, and Hamilton responded again.

[SAMUEL SEABURY]. Pamphlet. *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia Sept 5, 1774. Wherein their errors are exhibited, their reasonings confuted, and the fatal tendency of their non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption measures, are laid open to the plainest understandings; and the only means pointed out for preserving and securing our present happy constitution.....* Signed “A.W. Farmer” (A Westchester Farmer). [New York: James Rivington], 1774. #24315



## Lexington Alarm Minutemen Sign on Dorchester Heights a Day Before Enlistment Expires

Revolutionary War documents simply naming groups of militiamen are scarce, but this one is actually signed by 25 militiamen, at least 14 of whom were Minutemen among the first responders to the Lexington-Concord Alarm. Captain Luke Drury and his men had marched 36-miles from Grafton to Cambridge, arriving on the morning of April 20, 1775. The company was soon incorporated into a Continental regiment stationed on Dorchester Heights under Col. Jonathan Ward. On June 17, they fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill (Breed's Hill).



*“[We] desire Colo Jonathon Ward to pay to Capt. Drury all the money Due to us ... October, November & December 1775. As witness our hands. Dorchester December 30<sup>th</sup> 1775”*

Their term expired on January 1, 1776, but many re-enlisted. Two months later, they were ready when Henry Knox arrived with fifty-nine cannon dragged down from Fort Ticonderoga, forcing the British army out of Boston.

MINUTEMEN AND MILITIAMEN. Manuscript Document Signed by 25 soldiers of Capt. Luke Drury's Company, December 30, 1775. #20781.01

(John Hancock's Signed Protest Against Taxation Without Representation, Paul Revere's Boston Massacre print, and other great Revolutionary War documents etc. are offered separately on [www.sethkaller.com](http://www.sethkaller.com))

## Tools Used to Defend New York in 1776

General Washington anticipated that the British troops forced to evacuate Boston would target New York next. From March until August, Washington moved his main army to defend the city. Entrenchments constructed throughout Manhattan and Brooklyn ultimately could not counteract the power of a combined British land and sea force of over 35,000 men. When they came, the British easily seized the most valuable harbor in the colonies, and Washington was soon in full retreat across New Jersey.

Alexander Hamilton had already begun to make a name for himself. He had formed a volunteer unit at King’s College (now Columbia University), and studied artillery with the help of a math professor. On August 23, 1775, while under fire from the British man-of-war *Asia*, his company captured 21 cannon on the Battery in lower Manhattan. Generals William Alexander (Lord Stirling) and Nathanael Greene both asked him to serve as aide-de-camp, but Hamilton wanted a field command. New York named him an artillery captain in March 1776, right around the time of this document.

Using the last of his scholarship money, Hamilton ordered an outfit with a blue coat and buckskin breeches from local tailor Hercules Mulligan. Many presumed Mulligan to be a loyalist, but when the British occupied New York he became one of Washington’s most important spies in New York.

[NICHOLAS QUACKENBUSH, Quartermaster] Manuscript Document, “*Intrenching Tools deliver’d ... to the following Captains,*” March 26 to April 2, 1776. Tools taken and returned include pick axes, saws, and wheel barrows. The majority of listed companies were led by captains from prominent New York families: Remsen, Brevoort, De Peyster, DeWitt and Van Deursen. #21007.35

## The “Gun Wad” Bible—the British Reportedly Used These for Cartridge Paper

3,000 copies were printed, but many are said to have been destroyed during the Revolution. When the British invaded Germantown, Saur fled, and British troops destroyed nearly all the copies of the Bibles he had left behind. The paper was said to have been used for powder cartridges and as litter for their horses.



GERMAN BIBLE. *Biblia, das ist: Die ganze Gottliche Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments.* Germantown, Pa.: Christoph Saur, 1776. Thick quarto, contemporary calf, lacking clasps, early inscriptions on front endpapers include original owner Heinrich Miller of Hempfield, Pa. #24581



## Declaration of Independence—William Stone/Peter Force Facsimile

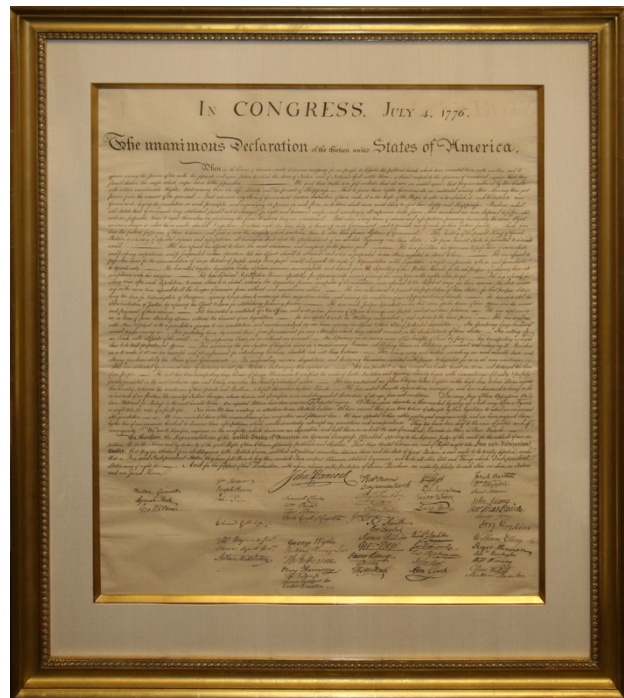
With New York finally on board, Congress resolved on July 19 to have the Declaration engrossed with a new title: “*The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.*” Most of the 56 signers affixed their names on the engrossed document on August 2, 1776. The list of signers was not published until 1777 (except for Thomas McKean, who added his name around 1781). The “National Treasure” document was then somewhat forgotten.

America emerged from the War of 1812 truly independent. The country had survived its second conflict with Great Britain, and the Louisiana Purchase had doubled the nation’s size. Tested in war and peace, The U.S. was on the verge of enormous physical, political, and economic expansion. This optimistic time was widely known as the “Era of Good Feelings.” As the 50th anniversary of independence approached, a new generation sought out connections to our nation’s founding. The Declaration of Independence, with its not-yet-famous signatures, became iconic.

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, noticing the original engrossed document’s deterioration, suggested creating exact copies for posterity. In 1820, with Congressional approval, he commissioned William J. Stone to create a facsimile. Stone finished his copperplate engraving in 1823, and the next year 201 copies were printed on vellum and distributed to our presidents and vice presidents, governors, educational institutions, the Marquis de Lafayette, and the three surviving signers (John Adams, Charles Carrol, and Thomas Jefferson), among others. Just over a quarter of the vellum prints are known to survive.

Several years later, archivist Peter Force wanted to include new facsimiles in his planned 20-volume *American Archives: A Documentary History of the United States of America*. In 1833, Congress authorized the project, and Force immediately went to Stone, who made only two changes: the imprint line was shortened and moved from the top to the bottom left, and rather than vellum he used a thin wove paper suitable for folding into the books. On July 21, 1833, Stone sent an invoice for the 4,000 copies he had printed for Force.

Despite John Quincy Adams’ intentions, the Declaration continued to be mistreated. Display in direct sunlight, disastrously faulty conservation work, and other insults have irreparably damaged the original; about 90 percent is completely illegible today. The Stone/Force printings are the best representation of the Declaration as it was when members of the Continental Congress put their lives on the line to sign in August of 1776.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Copperplate engraving on thin wove paper. “*W. J. STONE SC WASHn*” [William J. Stone for Peter Force, Washington, D.C., c. 1833]. #24957 (For more on the Stone printings, see [www.sethkaller.com/stone-booklet/](http://www.sethkaller.com/stone-booklet/))

## Destruction of George III Statue

On July 9, 1776, upon hearing the Declaration of Independence read to Washington's army in New York, a boisterous crowd of soldiers, sailors and local citizens headed to Bowling Green, toppled the huge, gilt lead equestrian statue of George III, and dragged it down Broadway. It was taken to Connecticut, and most of the statue was melted down, transformed into 42,088 bullets. Ebenezer Hazard remarked that the redcoats "will probably have melted majesty fired at them." (The statue's head was rescued by Tory sympathizers and sent to Britain, where it was later spotted in the home of Lord Townshend.)



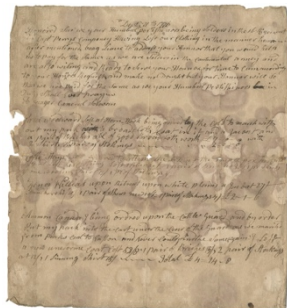
Hand-colored Engraving. *La Destruction de la Statue Royale a Nouvelle Yorck*. Paris: François Xavier Habermann, c. 1776. There was no artist on scene, so this vue d'optique drawing is imagined. The engraving was done in Paris, with the title translated into German, a testament to European interest in events in America. #25065

## Six Days After Crossing the Delaware with Washington to Win the Crucial Victory at Trenton, and Three Days Before Fighting Again in the Battle of Princeton

Having just crossed the Delaware River under the command of George Washington, and between the Battles of Trenton and Princeton, the soldiers of the 16<sup>th</sup> Continental/8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment request compensation for clothing lost in their hard marches and combat. This unit, first tested at Bunker Hill, was part of the pivotal fighting force that dislodged the Hessian stronghold at Trenton.

Partial Transcript (spelling follows the original):

*"we your Humbeel pertishinors being solders in the 16 Regemont in Capt Perrys Compeney Having Lost our Clothing...beag Leave to address your Honnor that you would help us to pay for the same, as we are solders in the Continental army and are also wiling and Ready to Serve your Honnor for time to cum... To ./ Paul Woodward Lost at Horn Hook being ordered by the cold to march without my pack a broadcloth coat in it and a jacoat and a pair of Briches all of good Broadcloth worth £7-0-0... Coffe Hays was ordered to attend the sik at the smallpox hospital... Lost 1 blanket, 1 pair of britches, 36/ 1 pr shews one wooling shirt 12/1 pr of stockings. Zenos Wilkins upon Retreat upon white plains a Jacoat 27/ Handkerchief/ 1 pair of shews new... Ammon Canada I being ordered upon the cattle guard and by order Put my pack into the cart under the caer of the guard as we marched from Peaks Coal [Peekskill] to Easton and Never could find the same again..."*



Manuscript Letter to "mager General Soloven" (Major General John Sullivan), December 31, 1776. #24397



## Powerful Anti-Slavery Argument Likely by John Laurens

“Many Slaves ...share in the dangers and glory of the efforts made by US, the freeborn members of the United States, to enjoy, undisturbed, the common rights of human nature; and THEY remain SLAVES!... The enlightened equity of a free people, cannot suffer them to be ungrateful.”

The pseudonymous author is intimately familiar with day-to-day troubles of the Revolutionary War army and militias. Historian Robert G. Parkinson notes that this was written while John Laurens was first attempting to convince his father Henry Laurens, then the President of Congress, the Congress, and George

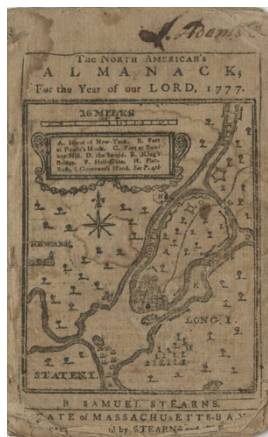


Washington, of the necessity of creating a battalion of slaves. His goal was to prove to Americans that slaves merited freedom and citizenship, and could help rebuild the Continental army, which suffered from a high rate of desertion by free soldiers. Historians have noted the similarities in style and argument of father and son, even when they disagreed with each other. The similarities of the arguments to those of Henry Laurens, assigning equal blame to the Americans for accepting the introduction of slavery, further supports identifying John Laurens as Antibiastes.

Laurens did not succeed. James Varnum of Rhode Island was able to raise a black regiment in early 1778, but was not as sanguine about full emancipation and equality for the formerly enslaved.

ANTIBIASTES (likely John Laurens). “Observations on the slaves and the Indentured Servants enlisted in the Army...” Front page printing, in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, October 13, 1777. Boston: Benjamin Edes. Provenance: Original subscriber Theodore Foster, Esq., U.S. Senator from Rhode Island. #24438

## A Map of New York City's Revolutionary War Defenses



Includes map of New York as a full-page woodcut on the title page showing the defenses of the city (including ships blockading the harbor) and the surrounding countryside as far as Newark. Includes a list of all the major roads between Boston and other principal North American cities, notice of Harvard College's vacations for the year, Oliver Cromwell's prayer on the eve of his death, a list of eclipses, and pages for each month of the year listing religious holidays, cycles of the moon, and weather forecasts.

NEW YORK. Pamphlet. *The North American's Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1777*. Worcester, Mass.: Stearns & Bigelow, 1776. Second issue, with “see P. 4<sup>th</sup>” in key. Stitched. Contemporary ownership inscription “S. [or L] Adams” on title and “County of Suffolk” and “County of Windham” on back cover. #23412



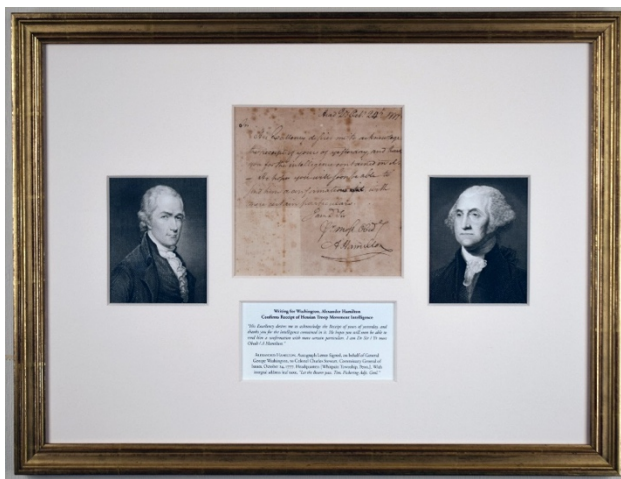
At right: **Washington at Dorchester Heights**

## For Washington, Hamilton Confirms Receipt of Hessian Troop Movement Intelligence

*“His Excellency desires me to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of yesterday, and thanks you for the intelligence contained in it. He hopes you will soon be able to send him a confirmation with more certain particulars. I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir / Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> / A Hamilton.”*

Following the punishing battles at Paoli and Germantown, which left Philadelphia vulnerable to British control for the winter, the Continental Army under Washington spent two weeks recovering at Whitpain, Pennsylvania.

Alexander Hamilton was then Washington’s chief staff aide, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, a position he would hold for four years. He played a crucial role in handling much of the General’s correspondence with Congress, state governors, and other military officers.



Colonel Charles Stewart (1729-1800) had written two letters to Washington on October 22, 1777, from Haddonfield, New Jersey, in the morning, and Burlington later in the day. The first informed Washington of Hessian movements crossing the Delaware River on October 21. Stewart estimated the Hessians numbered between 3,000 and 4,000 soldiers and were planning to attack Fort Mercer. Stewart’s second letter passed on intelligence he received from a man who served as a guide to 2,500 enemy troops—mostly Hessian. He assured Washington that Fort Mercer would be well supplied to withstand an attack.

The Hessian attack on Fort Mercer, located on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River just south of Philadelphia, actually did take place on October 22, but was repulsed by a much smaller American force. The patriots’ victory delayed British plans to consolidate their hold of Philadelphia, and relieved pressure on Washington’s army north of the city. Fort Mercer did not fare as well; a month later it was captured by the British.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter Signed, on behalf of General George Washington, to Colonel Charles Stewart, October 24, 1777, [Whitpain Township, Pa], with note, *“Let the Bearer pass. Tim. Pickering Adj. Genl.”* #24375



## John Jay's *Thoughts on the Necessity of War* 1776 Constitution of Virginia, and Maryland's 1776 Declaration of Rights and Constitution

*“A bankrupt faithless republic would...appear among reputable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons.”*

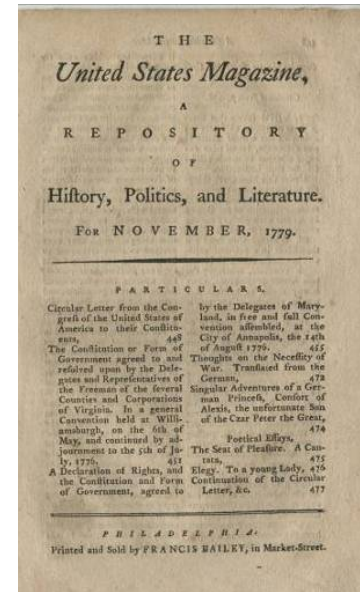
With America's currency becoming “not worth a Continental,” John Jay addresses inflation, payment of wartime debt, and redemption of war bonds. Part one, in a previous issue, discusses the problem of depreciation. Here, Jay tackles the willingness of Americans to pay for debt and bond redemption:

*“Having shewn that there is no reason to doubt the ability of the United States to pay their debt, let us next enquire whether as much can be said for their inclination.... A bankrupt faithless republic would...appear among reputable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons.... It has been already observed, that in order to prevent the further natural depreciation of our bills, we have resolved to stop the press.... Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent than she became insolvent.”*

Also printed in the November issue is *“The Constitution or Form of Government...of Virginia. In a general Convention held at Williamsburgh on the 6th of May & continued by Adjournment to the 5th of July, 1776,”* drafted by George Mason and James Madison. A vital Revolutionary document, printed in full on pages 451-455.

*“A Declaration of Rights & the Constitution & Form of Government agreed to by the Delegates of Maryland in Free & Full Convention Assembled, enacted in November 1776”* is also printed in this issue, on pages 455-472. This document runs to nearly eighteen pages and its forty-two articles foreshadow themes that would reach fruition a decade later in the federal Constitution and Bill of Rights. During its period of publication (January through December 1779), the *United States Magazine* was the only magazine printed here.

[JOHN JAY]. Pamphlet. *United States Magazine*. “Circular Letter from the Continental Congress,” November 1779, Philadelphia: Francis Baile. #23580



## One of Hamilton's Most Revealing Love Letters to Eliza

*“you have made me disrelish everything that used to please me, and have rendered me as restless and unsatisfied with all about me, as if I was the inhabitant of another world. ... I would go on, but the General summons me to ride....”*

In the middle of their whirlwind courtship, Hamilton emphasizes his profound fascination with Eliza Schuyler. While complaining that she is distracting him from important military duties, he pleads with her to distract him even more. Few of Hamilton's letters to Eliza survive from this period. In the midst of authoring a detailed plan to attack the British in New York, Hamilton ends when he is summoned by General Washington.



Complete Transcript:

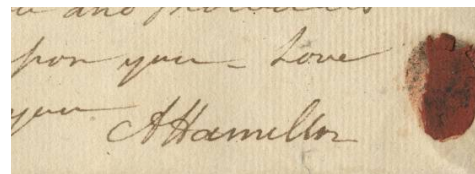
*Immediately after dinner, I stole from a crowd of company to a solitary walk to be at leisure to think of you, and I have just returned to tell you by an express this moment going off that I have been doing so. **You are certainly a little sorceress and have bewitched me, for you have made me disrelish every thing that used to please me, and have rendered me as restless and unsatisfied with all about me, as if I was the inhabitant of another world, and had nothing in common with this. I must in spite of myself become an inconstant to detach myself from you, for as it now stands I love you more than I ought—more than is consistent with my peace. A new mistress is supposed to be the best cure for an excessive attachment to an old— if I was convinced of the success of the scheme, I would be tempted to try it— for though it is the pride <2> of my heart to love you it is the torment of it to love you so much, separated as we now are. But I am afraid, I should only go in quest of disquiet, that would make me return to you with redoubled tenderness. You gain by every comparison I make and the more I contrast you with others the more amiable you appear. But why do you not write to me oftener? It is again an age since I have heard from you. I write you at least three letters for your one, though I am immersed in public business and you have nothing to do but to think of me. When I come to Albany, I shall find means to take satisfaction for your neglect. You recollect the mode I threatened to punish you in for all your delinquen[c]ies.***

*I wrote you a long letter by your father. I suppose you will wait his return before you write. If <3> you do I shall chide you severely and if you do not write me a very long and fond one by him, I shall not forgive you at all. I have written you a short letter since that. We are now at Dobbes ferry.*

*I would go on but the General summons me to ride. Adieu My Dear lovely amiable girl. Heaven preserve you and shower its choicest blessings upon you. Love me I conjure you. /*

*A Hamilton*

<4> [Docketing:] Aug 8<sup>th</sup> / Dobbs Ferry  
[Partial Address:] Schuyler / Albany



Eight years earlier, the then seventeen-year-old orphan had arrived in New York City with little money and few connections. From his tumultuous early life in Nevis and St. Croix, Hamilton had written his way into a scholarship at King's College (now Columbia University), public recognition as a political essayist, and a position as George Washington's aide-de-camp. As both a student and a soldier, Hamilton had taken full advantage of his remarkable intellect to rise up. He also had demonstrable talent for ingratiating himself with influential families with marriageable daughters,



Elizabeth Schuyler was heir to two of the wealthiest and most powerful families in New York. Her father was General Philip Schuyler, and her mother Catherine van Rensselaer, making Eliza one of the most sought-after young women in the state. She had inherited a deep intelligence, and developed an unconventional athleticism and sense of adventure. Her natural energy, sense of humor, and easy warmth made her exceptionally compatible with the equally passionate Hamilton.

Alexander and Eliza met in early 1780, while Eliza was staying with family near the army's encampment in Morristown, New Jersey. Hamilton was immediately smitten, "a gone man" according to friend and fellow aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman. Hamilton, whose faultless memory was previously celebrated, was so distracted by Eliza that he even forgot the password to return to camp one night. Little more than a month after their second meeting, they were engaged.

In a letter he wrote on August 1, he had urged Eliza to consider that their social situation will be "a perfect lottery," and to "examine well [her] heart" to determine whether she is likely to be happy in humble circumstances. By the time Hamilton composed our letter a week later, he seems to have been reassured of her affections, and redoubled his flirtatiousness.

A few months later, Hamilton elaborated on his infatuation in a coy letter to her sister, Angelica: "It is essential to the safety of the state and to the tranquility of the army- that one of two things take place, either that [Eliza] be immediately removed from our neighborhood, or that some other nymph qualified to maintain an equal sway come into it... I solicit your aid." Hamilton developed the subject again in an October letter to Eliza: "I love you too much.... You engross my thoughts too entirely to allow me to think of anything else" (*Gilder Lehrman Collection*, #GLC00773). They married on December 14, 1780.

Hamilton also relished military life, despite his frustration in being denied a command post. The Americans had faced high expectations and hard losses that year. The British had effectively occupied Georgia, and Charleston surrendered in May. In the North, American positions close to Morristown were put under siege in June, in an unsuccessful attempt to draw Washington's army out of its stronghold. In July, the arrival of the Comte de Rochambeau's squadron at Newport inspired confidence that the balance of power would shift in the Americans' favor. Through July and August, Washington's spy network intercepted critical British intelligence, which helped save both Rochambeau's squadron and American troops on the Hudson.

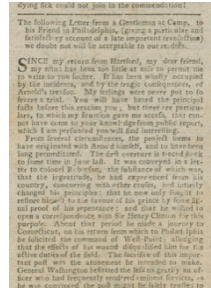


ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter Signed "A. Hamilton," to Elizabeth Schuyler, August 8, 1780, [Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.] #24329

## Hamilton Reports on Benedict Arnold's Treachery

*The Pennsylvania Packet* publishes Hamilton's letter to John Laurens detailing the immediate reaction to the capture of John André and the discovery of Benedict Arnold's treasonous plan to deliver West Point to the British.

*"the project seems to have originated with Arnold himself and to have been long premeditated... that the ingratitude, he had experienced from his country... had intirely changed his principles: that he now only sought to restore himself to the favour of his prince by some signal proof of his repentance.... he solicited the command of West-Point.... The sacrifice of this important post was the atonement he intended to make."*



*"Arnold...insisted on André's exchanging his uniform for a disguise... He [André] had reached Tarry town, when he was taken up by three militia men, who rushed out of the woods and seized his horse. At this critical period, his presence of mind forsook him... he asked the militia men if they were of the upper or lower party.... The militia men replied, they were of the lower party; upon which he assured them he was a British officer and pressed them not to detain him, as he was upon urgent business. This confession removed all doubt.... He was instantly forced off to a place of greater security, where he was carefully searched, and in his stocking-feet were found several papers of importance delivered to him by Arnold.—Among them were a plan of the fortifications of West-Point, a memorial from the engineer on the attack and defence of the place, returns of the garrison, cannon and stores, copy of the minutes of a council of war, held by general Washington a few weeks before."*

Benedict Arnold was having breakfast with Alexander Hamilton on the morning John André was captured. Arnold, who had already turned over valuable strategic information, fled into British lines. While he was escaping, his (second) wife Margaret or "Peggy" feigned hysteria, and convinced Washington and Hamilton that she had no inkling of her husband's planned betrayal. Later, as more evidence of her role came to light, she was banished to British-occupied New York.

This newspaper also prints a letter of David Salisbury Franks (1740–1793), former president of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Montreal, who was jailed for a short time for supporting the right to criticize King George. When the Canadian Expedition reached Montreal, Franks joined, and became paymaster of the American army at Quebec. He returned with the expedition to America, and was made an aide-de-camp to Arnold. When Arnold's treason was discovered, Franks was a target of suspicion, even after being quickly cleared and called back by General Washington. Franks, who publicly requested a thorough investigation, was exonerated, promoted, and soon entrusted to carry secret documents to Benjamin Franklin in Paris and John Jay in Madrid.

Despite his proven innocence and long service, Jeffersonian Republicans continued to attack Franks viciously for his association with Arnold. In 1786, Franks served as an American envoy in treaty negotiations with Morocco but was dismissed from the diplomatic corps later that year and returned to America. Having often spent his own money to pay American troops during the war, he received a grant of land and a position in the Bank of the United States, but he died in poverty a few years later.

[BENEDICT ARNOLD] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, October 14, 1780. Printing the first half of Alexander Hamilton's October 11 letter to John Laurens. (The balance was published in the issue of October 17, 1780). #24807



## A Soldier's Revolutionary War Journal, Including Copy of Order Announcing Arnold's Treason, John André's Letter to George Washington, and Major Galvan's Suicide Note

*"Treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered. General Arnold who commanded at West Point... was about to deliver that important post into the hands of the enemy."*

The account book and journal of Joseph Balcom (1752-1827) provides a unique look at the experience of a Revolutionary War soldier during his war service and return to civilian life.

Balcom reveals himself to be a model 18<sup>th</sup> century New Englander: disciplined in his finances, labor, and trade; civic-minded; conscious of the wider Atlantic economy; and a diligent student of the history unfolding around him. Balcom's accounts open in wartime, with a detailed March 6, 1782, list of his Massachusetts regiment's expenses for "*taylors, shoemakers, barbers, and wash women.*" This list includes the enumerated costs of uniforms and for "*shaving and dressing*" officers.

While enlisted, Balcom copied several important letters into his Journal for posterity. Of particular interest is Nathanael Greene's September 26, 1780 announcement of the discovery of Benedict Arnold's treason. Following that is British Major John André's moving 1780 letter to George Washington, pleading for a gentleman's death by sword, rather than a hanging ("*Buoy'd above the terror of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to honorable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse....*").

Like Nathan Hale, the American spy who had been captured and hanged by the British in 1776, André embodied an ideal of youthful honor and exceptional talent sacrificed to war. Alexander Hamilton met with André several times after his capture, and wrote a lengthy and heartfelt letter to John Laurens following his execution.

Balcom also made a hurried complete copy of Revolutionary War General William Galvan's July 1782 suicide note ("*The only regret I carry with me is that the sacrifice was made to my own ease and not to some nobler and more distinguished motives.*").

Plus excerpts from Thomas Paine's 1782 "*Letter to Abbé Raynal*" ("*There is something exceedingly curious in the constitution and operation of prejudice. It has the singular ability of accommodating itself to all the possible varieties of the human mind.*")

The remainder of Balcom's account book records his return to civilian life in Sudbury as a laborer and merchant. He mentions other local veterans, to whom he continues to refer by their military titles.

JOSEPH BALCOM. Manuscript Journal and Account Book, 1782-1797, Sudbury, Mass. #24455

## After Yorktown Victory, Samuel Huntington Congratulates French Foreign Minister

*“The conduct of Count de Grasse so far as ~~it~~ hath come to my knowledge charms me; his drugging the British fleet sufficient to ~~convince~~ teach them ~~they might not & could~~ to keep at due distance & not ~~enter the Chesapeake or~~ again attempt to Interrupt the siege, & at the same time not suffering himself to be too far diverted from his first & main object...”*

General George Washington and his French allies were planning an attack on British forces occupying New York City in the summer of 1781, when news came from Major General Baron von Steuben of the possibility of attacking and trapping General Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. The British commander had moved his army to the Chesapeake in order to link up with supplies and reinforcements on the way from the Royal Navy. However, Washington had his own powerful naval weapon, to which Huntington refers in this letter: French Admiral Francois-Joseph Paul, Comte De Grasse (1723-1788). The arrival of 29 French warships and 3,000 troops off the coast of Virginia on August 26, 1781, was crucial to victory. On September 5, de Grasse defeated a British squadron under British Admiral Sir Thomas Graves in the Battle of the Chesapeake, and Graves sailed back to New York for repairs, leaving Cornwallis without reinforcements or supplies.

Meanwhile, in late August and early September, Washington and French Lieutenant General Comte de Rochambeau marched their armies from New York to Virginia to besiege Cornwallis at Yorktown. The combined British and Hessian forces were trapped, their escape routes blocked on the sea by Admiral de Grasse and on land by the combined forces of Generals Washington, Lafayette, and Rochambeau. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington. French Foreign Minister Comte de Vergennes then served as the chief French representative at the peace negotiations between Great Britain and the United States, France, and Spain, which resulted in the Treaty of Paris in 1783, formally ending the Revolutionary War.



Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes (1717-1787) served as Foreign Minister of France under King Louis XVI from 1774 until his death. On February 6, 1778, de Vergennes and U.S. commissioners Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane signed a Treaty of Alliance and a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with France. The Treaty of Alliance contained the provisions the U.S. commissioners had originally requested, and also included a clause forbidding either country to make a separate peace with Great Britain, as well as a secret clause allowing for Spain, or other European powers, to enter into the alliance.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, Draft Autograph Letter, to Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, Minister of France, November 7, 1781, Norwich, Connecticut. #24776



## Washington's End-Game: Southern States Must Keep up Pressure for Honorable Peace

*“the critical and dangerous situation to which all the southern States were reduced, was owing to the want of a sufficient regular force to oppose to that of the Enemy.... Happily the Scene is changed, and a moment is allowed us to rectify our past errors... But the greatest encouragement to a vigorous preparation is, that it will be the most likely method of gaining new Allies and forcing Great Britain into a negotiation, which we have every reason to suppose would end in a peace honorable to the interests and views of America.”*

Two months after the British surrender at Yorktown, Washington urged the governor of Virginia to ensure that his state meets the quota of troops mandated by Congress. Similar letters were sent to the Governors of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. We locate only two other signed copies of this circular letter, one of which is in an institution.

Complete Transcript:

*Philadelphia 19<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup> 1781*

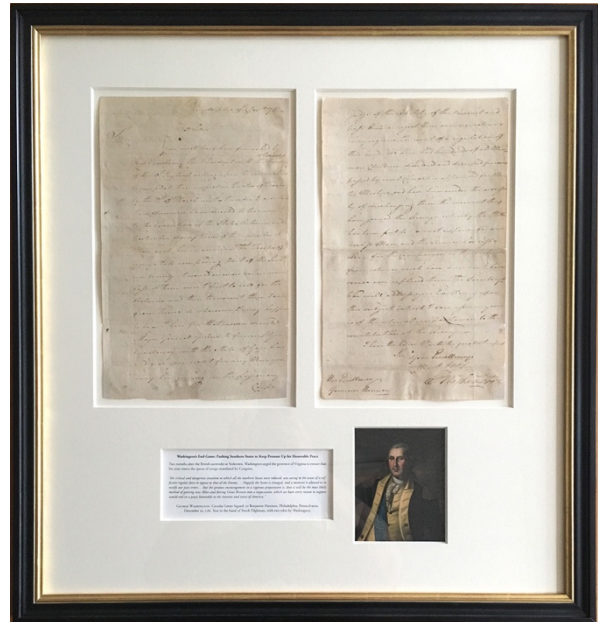
[in Washington's hand: (Circular)]

Sir

*You will have been furnished by His Excellency the President with the Resolves [in Washington's hand: of Congress] of the 10<sup>th</sup>*

*Instant, calling upon the several States to compleat their respective Quotas of Troops by the 1<sup>st</sup> of March next. In order to ascertain the difficiencies, I am directed to transmit to the Executives of the States, Returns, under particular discriptions, of the number of Men each has in service. The Troops of your State composing part of the Southern Army, it would occasion an immense loss of time were I first to call for the Returns and then transmit them back from hence or wherever I may happen to be. I have for that reason directed Major General Greene to furnish your Excellency with the state of your line and give you credit for any Men you may have serving in the Legionary Corps or Artillery—deducting that amount from the Quota assigned to you by the arrangement of the 3<sup>d</sup> & 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1780, will point out exactly your difficiency.*

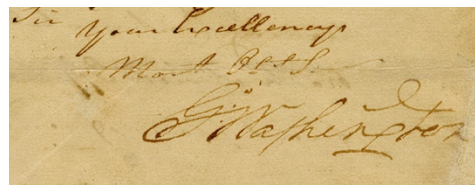
*I flatter myself it is needless to impress upon your Excellency the necessity of complying as fully as possible with the requisition of Congress above mentioned. **It is a well known fact that the critical and dangerous situation to which all the southern States were reduced, was owing to the want of a sufficient regular force to oppose to that of the Enemy, who, taking advantage of the frequent dissolutions of our temporary Armies, had gained such footing in the four most Southern States that their Governments were totally subverted or so debilitated, that they were not capable of exerting sufficient authority to bring a regular Army into the Field.** Happily the Scene is changed, and a moment is allowed us to rectify our past errors, and, if rightly improved, to put ourselves in such a situation, that we need not be apprehensive of the force Great Britain has remaining upon the Continent, or which She can probably hereafter bring. But the greatest encouragement to a vigorous preparation is, that it will be the most likely method of gaining new Allies and forcing Great Britain into a negotiation, which we have every reason to suppose would end in a peace honorable to the interests and views of America.*



*I will take the liberty of recommending a matter to your Excellency which I must solicit you to urge to the Legislature, as absolutely necessary to the filling your Regiments with proper Men, more especially if the mode of drafting should be adopted. It is, stationing Continental Officers of the Rank of Field Officers at least, at the different places of rendezvous, who shall judge of the Ability of the Recruit and pass Him or reject Him as circumstances may require. For want of a regulation of this kind we have had hundreds of old Men, mere Children, disordered and decrepid persons passed by civil Characters appointed for Muster Masters, and have been under the necessity of discharging them the moment they have joined the Army— whereby, the State has been put to a vast expence for an useless Man, and the Service has lost a Man for the Campaign, as the districts from whence such have been sent, have scarce ever replaced them. The Secretary at War will address your Excellency upon this subject, which I can assure you is of the utmost importance to the constitution of the Army.*

*I have the honor to be with the greatest respect  
Sir / your Excellencys / Most Ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup> G<sup>o</sup>: Washington*

[To] *His Excellency Governor Harrison*



Congressional resolves urging the states to complete their troop quotas “in the most pressing manner” had been passed prior to Cornwallis’ October 19, 1781, surrender at the Battle of Yorktown. The American victory there marked the beginning of the end of the Revolutionary War. Washington, however, could not afford to be complacent; the enemy still held New York, Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah.

In a letter drafted two days earlier, Washington had acknowledged receipt of the resolves and written that he was “almost persuaded” that filling the ranks would make the next campaign “almost decisive.” He then struck the statement, evidently fearful that, even with the qualifiers, he was being overly optimistic. In his letter to the governors, however, Washington used that optimism to spur recruitment or, if necessary, conscription. Their previous failure to keep a sufficient force of regular troops in the field had allowed the enemy to virtually overrun the southern states. Now, with the victory at Yorktown, the tide had changed. Fielding a powerful force would likely force Britain into peace negotiations, with America’s having the upper hand.

It worked. Britain abandoned the offensive war and accelerated diplomatic efforts. In the spring of 1782, the British opened formal negotiations with American commissioners. That summer, British troops evacuated Savannah, and a skirmish in South Carolina, the Battle of Combahee River, marked the last fighting between British and American forces. In November, Britain agreed to recognize American independence and to withdraw its forces. The Treaty of Paris was ratified by Congress on April 11, 1783. By the end of the year, the last British troops had evacuated New York City.

Benjamin Harrison (1726-1791) was a graduate of the College of William and Mary and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Harrison served as governor of Virginia from December 1, 1781 until 1784. Four years later, he was elected as a delegate to the state convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution. Harrison was the father of President William Henry Harrison and great-grandfather of President Benjamin Harrison.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Circular Letter Signed, to Benjamin Harrison, December 19, 1781, Philadelphia. Text in the hand of Tench Tilghman, with two edits by Washington. #24417

## Philip Negro, Revolutionary War Black Soldier

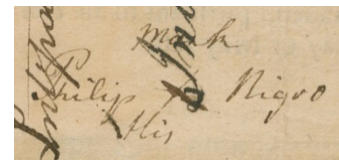
A Connecticut soldier receives pay and interest for his Revolutionary War service.

*“The State of Connecticut doth owe unto [Philip] Negro who hath served in the Conne[cticut Line of] the Continental Army, the sum of Thirteen pounds two [shill]ings & two pence ½...which Sum shall be paid to him or his Order at this Office, in Gold or Silver...with Lawful interest thereof...”*



As many as 1,250 Black soldiers fought in Connecticut's Continental and State regiments. Historians today believe that roughly 5,000 to 6,000 Continentals were of African descent. Both enslaved and free African Americans served as soldiers, marines, artificers, laborers, and servants. In some cases, slaves were offered freedom when they enlisted, though others remained enslaved, fighting in place of their masters. Most fought with integrated units, but a few all-black units were also formed.

The surname “Negro” or “Nigro” was often given by default to enslaved or formerly enslaved persons. Approximately 125-150 Revolutionary War soldiers had that name, though some took new names towards the end of the war. At least three Connecticut men named Philip Negro served in the Revolutionary armies—from Guilford, Simsbury, and Norwich. We have yet to determine to which man this document refers, but the following is a familiar tale. Philip Negro of Simsbury served a full term of six years (1777-1782), whereupon he received his freedom. He had been purchased in Litchfield from Andrew Adams, as a substitute by Ranna Cossitt and Ezra Holcomb, both of Granby, “and freed...for his agreeing to serve as a soldier in the Continental Army.” (The benefit for Cossitt and Holcomb was exemption from active military duty.) After the war, we find Philip Negro and fellow veteran Asher Frank on the Granby town pauper rolls, a fate that often followed those who were only able to rent marginal farm land. Another Philip Negro appears in the 1800 census in Canaan, Litchfield County.



[PHILIP NEGRO]. Document Signed by John Lawrence, Number 10,643, June 1, 1782, Hartford, Conn. Treasury Office. With punch cancellation mark. Docketed on verso with record of seven interest payments from 1783 to 1789, and signed vertically by Negro with his mark (“X”). #24658



## Washington Cryptically Dreams of Resigning, Feigns Insult, and Teases McHenry for Delayed Answer to Queries on Funding the Army

*“I was in pain...resolving (like a man in the last agony) not to follow the trade & occupation of a G---- [General] any more.... Do not my dear Doctor tease your Mistress in this manner – much less your Wife, when you get one.”*

In this highly personal letter, Washington offers a glimpse of the man behind the otherwise stolid image. After victory at Yorktown, Americans were awaiting news of a final peace treaty from Paris. Washington remained at the head of the Continental Army and warily watched British General Sir Henry Clinton’s army in New York City. Washington and McHenry are actually discussing the very serious business of funding and maintaining troop levels to discourage future British actions.

Complete Transcript: *Newburgh 15<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1782*  
*My dear M<sup>c</sup>Henry,*

*Let me congratulate you, and I do it very sincerely, on your restoration to health. I was in pain for you. I was in some for myself - and wished for my PS of M----; and both my P-----e L-----<sup>s</sup>. in J----; resolving (like a man in the last agony) not to follow the trade & occupation of a G----. any more.*

*I attribute all the delays, & my disappointments in this business, to your sickness; for otherwise, I should denominate you an unfeeling – teasing – mortal. In proof of it, I would assert that in March last, I committed a matter to your care of which you took no notice till July following; – and then in such a way, as to set afloat a thousand ideas; which resolved themselves into almost as many anxious questions. These again, you acknowledge the rec<sup>t</sup> of on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, – and on the 3<sup>d</sup> of August promise an answer. When? When? three or four Weeks from that date; during this time my imagination is left on the Rack. I remain in the field of conjecture. – unable to acc<sup>t</sup> for the causes of somethings, or to judge of their effect; In a word, I cannot develop some misteries, the appearance of which gave rise to those quæries, which were made the contents of a letter.*

*Do not my dear Doctor tease your Mistress in this manner – much less your Wife, when you get one. The first will pout, – & the other may scold – a friend will bear with it, especially one who assures you, with as much truth as I do, that he is sincere.*

*Adieu / G:<sup>o</sup> Washington*

[To] *James M<sup>c</sup>Henry Esq.<sup>r</sup>*

[Address leaf]: *(Private) / James M<sup>c</sup>Henry Esq.<sup>r</sup> / Baltimore.*

[Docketing in McHenry’s hand]: *Aug 15<sup>th</sup> 1782 / Washington*

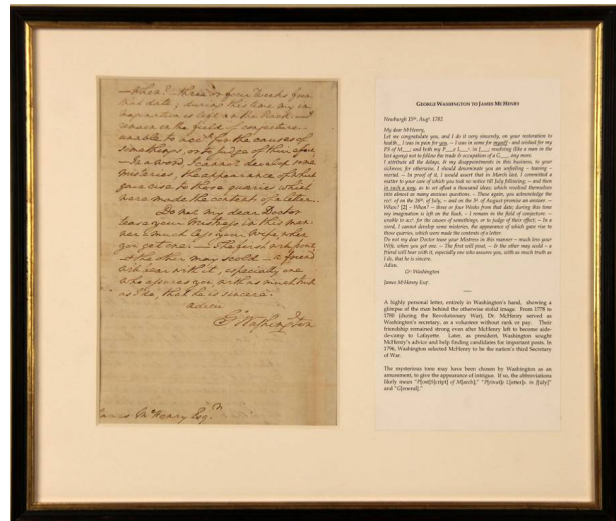
James McHenry was elected to the Maryland Senate in September 1781. After the American victory at Yorktown in October, he and took his post in Maryland government. Washington and McHenry continued their correspondence, with Washington advising McHenry to stress to his colleagues that in order “to make a good peace, you ought to be well prepared to carry on the war.”

Washington wrote McHenry that despite Cornwallis’ surrender, the British were preparing for a new campaign. To compete, the Americans needed men and money, but the government under the Articles of Confederation could only request money from the states. Washington’s letter of “*March last*” (March 12, 1782) reported that the Pennsylvania Assembly had “passed their supply bill without a dissenting voice” but that the Continental Army would still fall short of its quota. In April 1782, McHenry wrote to Washington in agreement that the British were attempting to fight on, but his state was unenthusiastic about recruiting more troops. In July, he finally responded to

Washington's queries about fundraising efforts. Unfortunately, McHenry's conclusion was that Maryland was largely broke and unwilling to send scarce funds out of the state.

The American situation was complicated by the French Navy's loss to the British at the Battle of Dominica in April. "How we are to provide & carry on the war next year," McHenry wrote Washington on July 14, "if we receive no foreign money, is to me a great political mystery." This is perhaps one of the same "misteries" to which Washington refers in the letter.

On July 18, 1782, Washington wrote to McHenry "At present, we are enveloped in darkness; and no Man, I believe, can foretell all the consequences which will result from the Naval action in the West Indies. to say no worse of it, it is an unfortunate affair. and if the States cannot, or will not rouse to more vigorous exertions, they must submit to the consequences. Providence has done much for us in this contest, but we must do something for ourselves, if we expect to go triumphantly through with it."



McHenry had been ill with fever most of the summer and had barely recovered by his August 11, 1782, letter to Hamilton. In it, McHenry expressed frustration that most official positions had already been given out and urged Hamilton to return to the private sector. An educated guess at Washington's cryptic second line shows that he too longed to be done with the war: "I ... wished for my [Peace of Mind] ... resolving (like a man in the last agony) not to follow the trade & occupation of a G[eneral] any more."

**James McHenry** (1753-1816) was born in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, and educated in Dublin. He immigrated to America in 1771 and studied medicine with Dr. Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia. McHenry volunteered in 1775. He was assigned to a hospital in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was soon thereafter named surgeon to the 5<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Battalion. He was captured at Fort Washington on Manhattan in November 1776. Though paroled two months later, he was effectively under house arrest in Philadelphia and Baltimore until formally exchanged for British prisoners in March 1778. He was senior surgeon of the "Flying Hospital" at Valley Forge, and then served as Washington's secretary from 1778 to 1780 as a volunteer without rank or pay. Their friendship remained strong even after McHenry left to become the Marquis de Lafayette's aide-de-camp in August 1780. He was made a Major and served at Yorktown in October 1781.

McHenry was a founding member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and represented Maryland in the Confederation Congress, 1783-86, and also at the Constitutional Convention. His extensive notes are a valuable record of the debates over the creation of the Constitution. A staunch Federalist, McHenry was intimately involved in helping George Washington fill political patronage positions, and in 1796 was appointed by Washington as the third Secretary of War. He reorganized the army in the late 1790s. Fort McHenry in Baltimore is named for him. Disputes with John Adams led him to resign in 1800, and he retired to his estate, Fayetteville, outside Baltimore.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Autograph Letter Signed, to James McHenry, August 15, 1782, Newburgh, N.Y. #20987.99

## Hamilton Countering Biases Affecting New York Taxes

*“...perhaps the true reason was a desire to discriminate between the whigs and tories. This chimerical attempt at perfect equality has resulted in total inequality”*

A previously unrecorded partial draft of Hamilton’s famous letter to Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris. Hamilton discusses the “*situation and temper*” of New York, and its tax plan, which was intended to be based on a fair assessment of her citizens’ circumstances and abilities to pay.

*“The ostensible reason for adopting this vague basis was a desire of equality: It was pretended, that this could not be obtained so well by any fixed tariff of taxable property, as by leaving it to the discretion of persons chosen by the people themselves, to determine the ability of each citizen. But perhaps the true reason was a desire to discriminate between the whigs and tories. This chimerical attempt at perfect equality has resulted in total inequality; or rather this narrow disposition to overburthen a particular class of citizens living under the protection of the government has been resorted upon the contrivers or their friends wherever that class has been numerous enough to preponderate in the election of the officers who were to execute the law. The exterior figure a man makes, the decency or meanness of his manner of living, the personal friendships or dislikes of the assessors have much more share in determing what individuals shall pay than the proportion of property.”*

*“From Massachusettes and other parts of New England we purchase to the amount of about £50.000, principally in Tea & salt.... The immense land transportation of which the chief part is carried on by the subjects of other states is a vast incumbrance upon our trade.... These calculations cannot absolutely be relied on because the data are necessarily uncertain, but they are the result of the best information I can obtain; and if near the truth, prove that the general ballance of trade is against us; a plain symptom of which is an extreme and universal scarcity of money.”*

Robert Morris (1734-1806) immigrated from Liverpool to Maryland at age 13. After studying in Philadelphia, he became a partner in a banking and shipping firm in 1757. In the Second Continental Congress, he opposed the motion for independence but abstained in the final vote and signed the Declaration with the Pennsylvania delegation. He signed the Articles of Confederation in 1778 and the Constitution in 1787. Morris served as Superintendent of Finance from 1781-1784, and personally paid £10 million to fund the American army during the Revolutionary War. He served as Pennsylvania’s Senator from 1789 to 1795. Deeply engaged in land speculation, he bought millions of acres in western New York in 1791, leading to bankruptcy.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Letter fragment, to Robert Morris, c. August 1, 1782, (heavily damaged with text loss) with many edits, from an approximately ten-page draft. The final draft, in Alexander Hamilton’s papers, dates August 13, 1782. #24619



## Washington's Speech Quelling the Newburgh Conspiracy

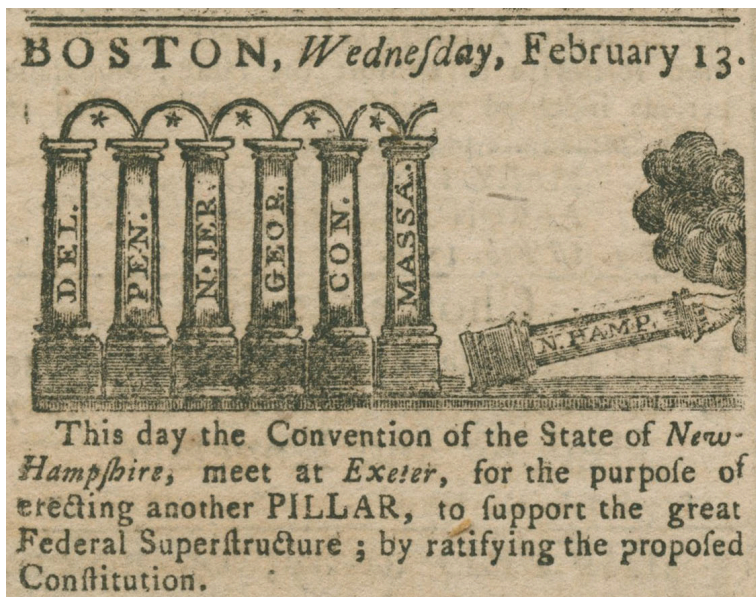
Washington's March 15 speech that famously averted a coup by disgruntled Continental Army officers fills most of the second page.

*“to suspect the man, who shall recommend moderation and longer forbearance, I spurn it... The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.... While I give you these assurances and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you...not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained... And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the sacred rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood.”*

By the winter of 1782-3, many in the Continental Army had not been paid in several years and were deeply in debt. They feared Congress would disband the Army without the promised back pay and pensions. By March, several officers, aided by a few members of Congress who supported a stronger central government, conspired to force Congress and the states to raise money via an impost duty. Washington learned about the conspiracy, and called a meeting of his officers on March 15, 1783. While the meeting chaired by General Horatio Gates was underway, Washington unexpectedly entered and delivered this speech. When he finished, he took a letter from a member of Congress from his pocket and unfolded it. Washington gazed at the paper, then slowly took from his pocket a pair of reading glasses which few of the men had seen him wear, and said: “Gentlemen, you will permit me to put on my spectacles, for I have not only grown gray but almost blind in the service of my country.” Many of the officers were moved to tears, and support for the conspiracy collapsed.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. *The Freeman's Journal: or, The North-American Intelligencer*, April 2, 1783. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey. #21045.99

## After the Revolution



## Madison, Hamilton, and Ellsworth Plan to Pay Off War Debts

*“Critical exigencies...have made it the duty of Congress to review and provide for the debts which the war has left upon the United States, and to look forward to the means of obviating dangers....”*

In this landmark address, Hamilton, Madison, and Ellsworth recommend a uniform consumption tax on imports throughout the states. Most significantly, they seek to empower federal, rather than state, officials in making valuations for tax purposes. Accompanying documents estimate the national debt, rebut anticipated objections to the uniform tax, and estimate the revenue to be gained.

This volume also reprints Benjamin Franklin’s negotiated loan contract with France (1777) funding the Revolutionary War; John Adams’ negotiated loan contract with the Netherlands (1781); early resolutions of the Continental Congress; and George Washington’s “Newburgh Address” (1783) to the unpaid officers of the Continental Army, which succeeded in quelling an imminent rebellion and in assuring them *“that a country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.”*

Alexander Hamilton—working with his mentor, Robert Morris—strongly advocated the centralization of taxation after the Revolution. The weakness of the Confederation Congress hampered their plan at every turn. To impress upon Congress the fragility of a confederation without enforcement power, Hamilton and Morris took a different approach, attempting to organize a controlled rebellion of the officers at Newburgh, in collaboration with Horatio Gates (a political adversary of both Washington and Hamilton’s father-in-law, Philip Schuyler). Hamilton was engaged in an extended correspondence with Washington at the same time and revealed their plan to the General. As Washington sought to pacify his rebelling officers on one side, he repudiated Hamilton’s intimations of a planned military uprising on the other, warning Hamilton that a successful rebellion might weaken federal power.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JAMES MADISON, OLIVER ELLSWORTH]. *Address and Recommendations to the States, by the United States in Congress Assembled*. [Philadelphia: Hudson & Goodwin, 1783; Hartford, Re-printed, 1783]. First Hartford edition. #24322



## Congress Begg the States for the Power to Regulate Trade and Negotiate Treaties

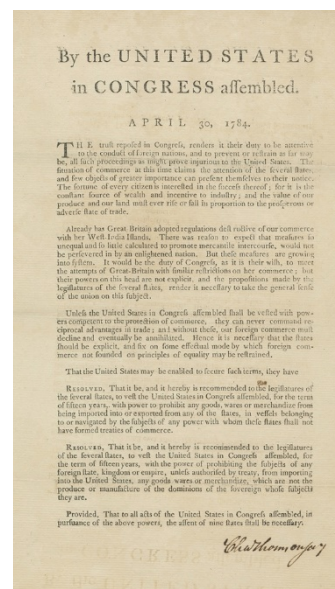
*“The situation of commerce at this time claims the attention of the several states and few objects of greater importance can present themselves to their notice. The fortune of every citizen is interested in the success thereof; for it is the constant source of wealth and incentive to industry; and the value of our produce and our land must ever rise or fall in proportion to the prosperous or adverse state of trade. Already had Great Britain adopted regulations destructive of our commerce with her West-India Islands. There was reason to expect that measures so unequal and so little calculated to promote mercantile intercourse, would not be persevered in by an enlightened nation ... It would be the duty of Congress, as it is their wish, to meet the attempts of Great-Britain with familiar restrictions on her commerce.... is recommended to the legislatures of the several states, to vest the Unites States in Congress assembled, for the term of fifteen years, with power to prohibit any goods... from being imported into or exported...in vessels belonging to or navigated by the subjects of any power with whom these states shall not have formed rates of commerce....”*

After the Revolution, Great Britain continued its enforcement of trade embargoes against the United States in the West Indies. In early 1784, the Continental Congress assigned a committee to investigate and compile a report on effective measures America might take. This committee, which included Thomas Jefferson, submitted their report on April 30, recommending retaliatory non-importation measures against British goods and merchant vessels in America. The report, while aimed at punishing Britain, was also highly favorable to France, with whom America had signed a perpetual treaty of alliance in 1778.

The Confederation Congress’ inability to raise money for defense or to enforce non-importation measures, however, made this resolution unenforceable. The failure of non-importation after the war proved the need for the extensive changes to the structure and strength of the central government advocated by Alexander Hamilton.

Charles Thomson (1729-1824) was an Irish-born American patriot, unanimously elected first Secretary of the Continental Congress in 1774, a post he held until 1789. He was selected to notify Washington of his election to the Presidency.

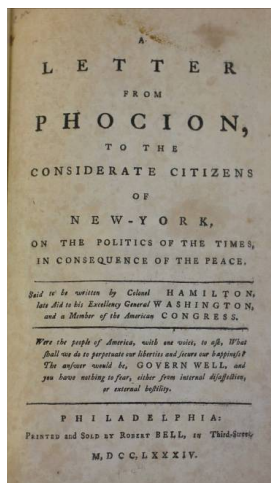
CHARLES THOMSON. Document Signed as Secretary of Congress. “Resolutions Concerning Foreign Commerce,” April 30, 1784, [Annapolis, Md.] #20874



## *A Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York, on the Politics of the Times, in Consequence of the Peace*

Hamilton articulates an early incarnation of the Federalist creed, including compliance with the 1783 peace treaty with Britain, an end to attacks on Tories and Tory property, and the submission of the states to the central authority of the United States. This essay was only Hamilton's third political tract, and the first of his mature writings on policy.

*“It was the policy of the revolution, to inculcate upon every citizen the obligation of renouncing his habitation, property, and every private concern for the service of his country, and many of us have scarcely yet learned to consider it as less than treason to have acted in a different manner. But it is time we should correct the exuberances of opinions propagated through policy, and embraced from enthusiasm; and while we admit, that those who did act so disinterested and noble a part, deserve the applause and, wherever they can be bestowed with propriety the rewards of their country, we should cease to impute indiscriminate guilt to those, who, submitting to the accidents of war, remained with their habitations and property. We should learn, that this conduct is tolerated by the general sense of mankind; and that according to that sense, whenever the state recovers the possession of such parts as were for a time subdued, the citizens return at once to all the rights, to which they were formerly entitled. . . . The common interests of humanity, and the general tranquility of the world, require that the power of making peace, wherever lodged, should be construed and exercised liberally; and even in cases where its extent may be doubtful, it is the policy of all wise nations to give it latitude rather than confine it. The exigencies of a community, in time of war, are so various and often so critical, that it would be extremely dangerous to prescribe narrow bounds to that power, by which it is to be restored. The consequence might frequently be a diffidence of our engagements, and a prolongation of the calamities of war.”*



ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Pamphlet. *A Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York, on the Politics of the Times, in Consequence of the Peace*. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1784. Modern green half morocco and cloth, spine gilt. #24313

## **Hamilton Asserts Federal Tax Rights Under the Articles of Confederation**

Hamilton's speech in the New York Assembly on February 15, 1787, "*On an Act Granting to Congress Certain Imposts and Duties*" foreshadows his rhetorical and negotiation skills as Treasury Secretary. At first voicing sympathy with the delegates' concerns about consequences of giving Congress the power to enact an impost law, he then asserts that Congress already has authority to enact taxation laws without approval from the states, and concludes that the structure of the Congress prevents tyranny. More importantly, Hamilton's speech demonstrates the degree to which he was already acting as if a stronger government were in place, months before the Continental Congress gathered. The June issue of *The American Museum* publishes approximately the latter two thirds of Hamilton's speech on pp. 445-54.

“[I] return to the examination of the question, how far the power, proposed to be conferred upon congress, would be dangerous to the liberty of the people? And here I ask,

“Whence can this danger arise? The members of Congress are annually chosen by the several legislatures. They are removable at any moment at the pleasure of those legislatures. They come together with different habits, prejudices, and interests. They are, in fact, continually changing. How is it possible for a body so composed, to be formidable to the liberties of states, several of which are large empires in themselves?” (p. 446)

Despite Hamilton’s arguments, the Continental Congress rejected the impost tax by a vote of 36 to 21. Those opposed “made no attempt to justify their votes by arguments, or to invalidate the cogent ones alleged in favour of the measure by col. Hamilton.” An observer remarked that “the impost was strangled by a band of mutes (alluding to the Turkish messengers of fate).” (p. 454)

**Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* is printed in full, in installments in January, February, and March.**

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. *The American Museum, or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, Prose and Poetical*. Magazine, January to June, 1787, Philadelphia: Mathew Carey. The ownership signature of **Joseph Bloomfield** (1753-1823), the fourth Governor of New Jersey, appears on the title page for the February issue. #24410

### **Alexander Hamilton, Jr.’s Copy of *The Federalist Papers***

“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 forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force.”

The *Federalist* essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay to garner support for the ratification of the Constitution were initially published individually in New York newspapers under the collective pseudonym “Publius.” The first thirty-six essays of the *Federalist* were re-published in book form in March 1788. The remaining forty-nine essays, together with the text of the Constitution, came out that May. Upon its publication, George Washington noted to Hamilton that the essays would “merit the Notice of Posterity.... in it are candidly and ably discussed the principles of freedom and the topics of government, which will always be interesting to mankind” (Washington, August 28, 1788). Thomas Jefferson, a constant critic of Federalism, called *The Federalist* “the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written.”

Excerpts:

“A dangerous ambition more often lurks behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people than under the forbidden appearance of zeal for the firmness and efficiency of government. History will teach us that the former has been found a much more certain road to the introduction of despotism than the latter, and that of those men who have overturned the liberties of republics, the greatest number have begun their career by paying an obsequious court to the people; commencing demagogues, and ending tyrants.” (Hamilton, *Federalist* No. 1)



*“This intelligent people perceived and regretted these defects. Still continuing no less attached to union than enamored of liberty, they observed the danger which immediately threatened the former and more remotely the latter; and being persuaded that ample security for both could only be found in a national government more wisely framed....”* (Jay, Federalist No. 2)

*“Safety from external danger is the most powerful director of national conduct. Even the ardent love of liberty will, after a time, give way to its dictates. The violent destruction of life and property incident to war...will compel nations the most attached to liberty to resort for repose and security to institutions which have a tendency to destroy their civil and political rights. To be more safe, they at length become willing to run the risk of being less free.”* (Hamilton, Federalist No. 8)

*“If the federal government should overpass the just bounds of its authority and make a tyrannical use of its powers, the people, whose creature it is, must appeal to the standard they have formed, and take such measures to redress the injury done to the Constitution as the exigency may suggest and prudence justify.”* (Hamilton, Federalist No. 33)

*“With so effectual a weapon in their hands as the exclusive power of regulating elections ... a combination of a few such men, in a few of the most considerable States, where the temptation will always be the strongest, might accomplish the destruction of the Union, by seizing the opportunity of some casual dissatisfaction among the people.”* (Hamilton, Federalist No. 59)

*“The ingredients which constitute energy in the Executive are, first, unity; secondly, duration; thirdly, an adequate provision for its support; fourthly, competent powers. The ingredients which constitute safety in the republican sense are, first, a due dependence on the people, secondly, a due responsibility.”* (Hamilton, Federalist No. 70)

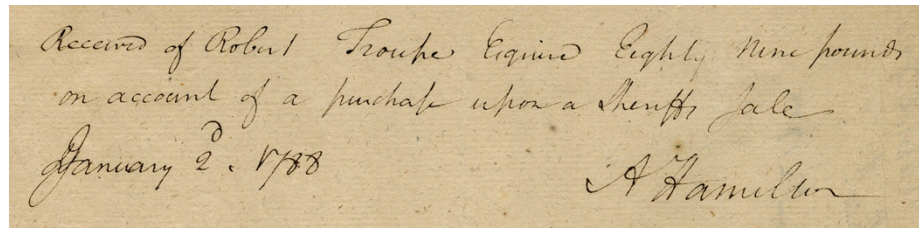
*“The deliberations of all collective bodies must necessarily be a compound, as well of the errors and prejudices, as of the good sense and wisdom, of the individuals of whom they are composed.... How can perfection spring from such materials?”* (Hamilton, Federalist No. 85)

Alexander Hamilton Jr. heavily annotated this copy of the Federalist, adding comments like *“True as the gospel.”* Guarding his father’s memory, the son Hamilton takes exception to the attribution of more than a dozen of the essays to James Madison rather than to his father.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JAMES MADISON, AND JOHN JAY. *The Federalist, on the New Constitution, Written in the Year 1788, by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay: With an Appendix...* Hallowell, Maine: Glazier, Masters & Smith, 1837. #25174

**Hamilton Receives Money from Robert Troup, His Old Columbia College Roommate, Who Was Then Helping Hamilton Publish *The Federalist Papers***

“Received of Robert  
Troupe Esquire Eighty  
nine pounds on account  
of a purchase upon a  
Sheriffs sale. January  
2<sup>d</sup>, 1788  
A Hamilton”



Received of Robert Troupe Esquire Eighty nine pounds  
on account of a purchase upon a Sheriffs sale  
January 2<sup>d</sup> 1788  
A Hamilton

This receipt could pertain to a joint land investment. In any case, while this was happening, Troup played a role in the publication of the *Federalist Papers*, which J. & A. McLean had just announced they would publish in book form. To protect his anonymity, Hamilton sent the essays to newspapers through Troup. Federalist no. 31, on the subject of taxation, first appeared in the *New York Packet* the day before this letter was written, with other New York papers publishing it on this day.

Robert Troup (1756-1832), born in New Jersey, was Hamilton’s undergraduate roommate at King’s College (now Columbia University). He studied law under John Jay, then served as an aide to General Gates. He is depicted in Trumbull’s famous painting of the Surrender at Saratoga. Troup and Hamilton remained close. When Hamilton became Secretary of the Treasury, he turned over all of his still-pending litigation to Troup, and the two were founding members of the abolitionist New York Manumission Society. Troup served as clerk of federal district court in N.Y. from 1789 to 1796, when President Washington appointed him as judge.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Document Signed, January 2, 1788. #24838

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# Cabinet Battles





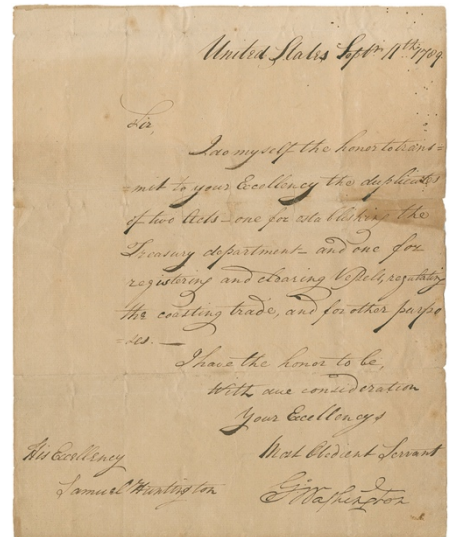
## President George Washington Transmits Act Founding the Treasury Department

*“I do myself the honor to transmit to your Excellency the duplicates of two Acts – one for establishing the Treasury department – and one for registering and clearing vessels, regulating the coasting trade, and for other purposes.”*

To ensure the legal unity of the new nation, Congress made certain that each state had copies of any acts that it passed. On September 15, 1789, Congress made it the duty of the Secretary of State to send two copies of each act of Congress to the executive authority of each state. Prior to the passage of this act, President George Washington sent these copies to the governors of each state.

On September 2, 1789, the First Congress of the United States passed “An Act to establish the Treasury Department.” On the date of this document, September 11, President George Washington submitted his nomination of Alexander Hamilton as the first Secretary of the Treasury, the Senate approved the nomination, and Hamilton took the oath of office. That same day, Congress passed an act that set Hamilton’s annual salary at \$3,500. A busy Friday! Hamilton held the office of Secretary of the Treasury until January 1795.

On September 1, Congress passed “An Act for Registering and Clearing Vessels, Regulating the Coasting Trade, and for other purposes.” This act established procedures for registering American ships, granting licenses to trade among the states, and collecting fines and forfeitures for offenses against trade regulations.



GEORGE WASHINGTON. Letter Signed, September 11, 1789, to Governor Samuel Huntington of Connecticut. #24853

## Congress Establishes the Treasury Department

The Act describes the responsibilities of the future Treasury Secretary and principal officers of the Treasury, as well as punishable offenses. A little more than a week later, Washington—in his first cabinet appointment—named Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury.

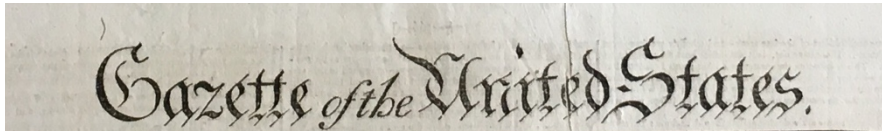
*“It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the revenue, and for the support of public credit; to prepare and report estimates of the public revenue, and the public expenditures; to superintend the collection of revenue; to decide on the forms of keeping and stating accounts and making returns, and to grant under the limitations herein established, or to be hereafter provided, all warrants for monies to be issued from the Treasury, in pursuance of appropriations by law; to execute such services relative to the sale of the lands belonging to the United States, as may be by law required of him; to make report, and give information to either branch of the legislature, in person or in writing (as he may be required),*

*respecting all matters referred to him by the Senate or House of Representatives, or which shall appertain to his office; and generally to perform all such services relative to the finances, as he shall be directed to perform...*”

“No person appointed to any office instituted by the Act, shall ... be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce ... or take or apply to his own use, any emolument or gain for negotiating or transacting any business in the said department, other than what shall be allowed by law.”

*Gazette of the United States*. September 16, 1789. New York: John Fenno. Includes the full text of the September 2, 1789 *Act to Establish the Treasury Department*. #30020.34

Most of the newspapers in this collection are issues of *The Gazette of the United States*—often considered the most significant political newspaper of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The *Gazette* was established as a pro-Federalist voice in New York City in 1789 by John Fenno, and followed the government to its temporary capital in Philadelphia in 1790. Early Acts of Congress and Presidential Pronouncements were often first printed in this newspaper.



### Congress Establishes the State Department

*The Salem Mercury*. August 11, 1789. Salem, Mass: Dabney & Cushing. Includes the full text of the fourth act of Congress of the United States, July 27, 1789, “An Act for Establishing an Executive Department, to be denominated the Department of Foreign Affairs,” signed in type by President George Washington. In September, Congress changed the name to the Department of State, and made it responsible for some domestic duties, particularly in relations between the states and the federal government. Jefferson was appointed Secretary of State on September 26. #30027.31

### Congress Establishes the War Department (Henry Knox appointed September 12.)

**Congress Establishes the Judiciary** (Judiciary Act signed September 24, Edmund Randolph appointed Attorney General on September 26<sup>th</sup>.)

## Hamilton's First Report to Congress as Secretary of the Treasury

Only six days after Hamilton's appointment as Treasury Secretary, Congress requested a report on the nation's finances. Hamilton's response, dated September 19, is published here with the first part of "Schedule No. 1" from his 1789 Report.

*"Schedule No. 1, contains an estimate of the total expenditure of the civil list, for the present year, amounting to two hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars...."*

*"That the schedule No. 2, contains an estimate of the total expenditure for the department of war, for the present year, amounting to one hundred, sixty-three thousand and seventy eight dollars..."*

*"That the schedule No. 3, contains a statement of the amount of warrants issued by the late board of treasury, which remain unsatisfied, being 189,906 dollars, and 38 cents..."*

*"All which is humbly submitted, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury."*

Congress responded to this initial 1789 report, Hamilton's first as Treasury Secretary, by requesting a more complete report, which Hamilton issued as the *First Report on Public Credit* in January 1790. Additional Content includes "New Constitution of France" (p2-3).

Benjamin Franklin's Letter on marriage: *"I shall but make small use of the old man's privilege, that of giving advice to younger friends.— Treat your wife always with respect; it will procure respect to you, not from her only, but from all that observe it.... Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy!"* (Franklin to John Alleyne" also printed in *Pennsylvania Packet* of Oct. 30, 1789. (p1);

[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ET AL] *Gazette of the United States*, October 10, 1789. New York: John Fenno. Includes Hamilton's *Report on the Estimate of the Expenditure for the Civil List and the War Department to the End of the Present Year*. #22871



## Congress Debates Hamilton's Plan, Ben Franklin Calls for Abolishing Slavery, Washington Addresses Dutch Reformed Church on Religious Freedom, Thanksgiving Thoughts, Etc.

*"This fluctuating state of the tax laws became a temptation for particular persons to favor themselves; and jealousy has been gradually introduced between respectable classes of citizens, whose property is in difficult situations...."*

This newspaper issue includes: George Washington's "Address to the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in North America," discussing his gratitude for their support, for the nation's endurance, the peaceful establishment of constitutional government, and the peaceful establishment of religious freedoms (p1/c3); Franklin's complete "Address to the Public from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage" (p2/c1-2); an excerpt from George Washington first "Thanksgiving Proclamation" (p3/c3); a report from Paris about the October Days of the French Revolution, including the Women's March on Versailles and Lafayette's intervention in a deadly mob assault. (p2/c3-p3/c1)

From Washington's "Address to the Dutch Reformed Church":

*"The Citizens of the United States of America have given as signal a proof of their wisdom and virtue in framing and adopting a constitution of government, without bloodshed or the intervention of force, as they, upon a former occasion, exhibited to the world of their valor, fortitude, and perseverance ... and I readily join with you that 'while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support.'" (p1/c3)*

From Franklin's "Address" on Slavery:

*"Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature that its very extirpation if not performed with solicitous care may sometimes open a source of serious evils. ... The unhappy man who has long been treated as a brute animal too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains that bind his body do also fetter his intellectual faculties and impair the social affections of the heart." (p2/c1-2)*

Quoting from the Thanksgiving Proclamation:

*"for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness; and particularly the National one not lately instituted; for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed; and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge" (p3/c3)*

The Thanksgiving Proclamation is a deeply religious document, though not a narrowly denominational one, founded on Washington's belief in a God who superintended the universe and to whom people owed devotion and responsibility. It thus ties directly to the sentiments Washington expressed in many letters to religious groups, including the synagogue in Rhode Island to which he promised that under his direction, the government of the United States would give "to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance," so long as citizens supported it and obeyed its laws.

*Gazette of the United States*. November 25, 1789, New York: John Fenno. Includes excerpts from Alexander Hamilton's Assumption Plan, favorable editorial commentary, and a list of past payments by the Treasury. #23116

## Party in New York Like It's 1789

Print including portraits of **Alexander Hamilton** (fifth from the left) and Eliza Hamilton (second from the left)—along with George and Martha Washington, John and Abigail Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, John Jay, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, and other notables.

This engraving depicts a reception at the second presidential mansion, the Alexander Macomb House before the capital moved to Philadelphia. On January 1, 1790, “the principal gentlemen of the metropolis” waited upon the President at noon. That evening, Mrs. Washington held her reception, “but on no previous occasion had one been graced with so much respectability and elegance.” It was “not the custom for visitors of the President to sit,” but on this occasion, after the guests were seated, servants brought tea and coffee and plum and plain cake. When the clock struck 9 p.m., Mrs. Washington said to the visitors, “The General always retires at nine, and I usually precede him,” at which point the guests arose, “made their parting salutations,” and left.

The president held formal levees, usually for an hour each Tuesday afternoon, with official dinners on Thursdays. On Friday evenings, Martha Washington hosted informal receptions that “respectable” ladies and gentlemen could attend without invitation, to enjoy tea, coffee, lemonade, cake, and ice cream. The First Ladies receptions drew a more diverse group, including political adversaries and individuals from different parts of the government.

*Lady Washington's Reception.* / From the original Picture in the possession of A. T. Stewart, Esq. Engraving by Alexander Hay Ritchie, after an 1861 painting by Daniel Huntington looking back on America's founding. New York: Emil Seitz, 1865. #23068



## Hamilton's Report on Public Credit: A Foundation of America's Financial System

*“To promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice...to cement more closely the union of the States; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy;—these are the great and invaluable ends to be secured by a proper...support of public credit.”*

Alexander Hamilton's seminal *Report on Public Credit* laid out seven key goals: restoring public credit; establishing a sound system of taxation; a national bank; a sound currency; promoting commerce; establishing a liberal immigration policy; and encouraging manufactures.

Congress had responded to Hamilton's initial September 19, 1789, *Report* with a request for more extensive strategy, including “a proper plan for the support of the public credit.” On January 9, 1790, Hamilton delivered with the *First Report on Public Credit*, a strategy for achieving seven key goals for America's financial system. One of his primary recommendations was the Assumption Plan, calling for the federal assumption of all states' war debts. Foreign powers were owed nearly \$11 million. Americans who had sold food, horses, and supplies to the Army were owed \$43 million. And state governments had accumulated \$25 million in war debts. Hamilton's ambitious debt plan aimed to draw these creditors and debtors closer to the federal government by honoring debts in full. Hamilton accordingly urged Congress to assume all war debts and pay off the resulting national debt through a combination of federal taxes and land sales.

Many Southerners opposed the Assumption Plan, believing that it would create a dangerous centralization of power, unfairly penalize the southern states who had already paid off their debts, and give the North too much financial control. Ultimately, in a deal brokered by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, southern legislators agreed to support the Plan in return for locating the permanent national capital on the banks of the Potomac River.

Additional content in the run of the *Gazette* offered here: public responses to Hamilton's *Report*, the Assumption Plan, and the Residence Act (1790): the Society of Cincinnati is supportive (p. 339); “A Jersey Man” is not (p. 341). These issues also feature commentary and debates on the Bill of Rights.

Also include printings of various acts of Congress; several addresses to George Washington, and his responses; editorials on the Census; editorials on religion (“*the word good was originally spelled God*,” p. 337); the Supreme Court's first meeting (p. 339); the meeting of the first federal grand jury, with no one to indict (p. 342); editorials on immigration (p. 342); debates on slavery (p. 351, 354, etc.); and South Carolina's opposition to federal interference in elections.



Hamilton's *Report* is summarized in the Jan. 20 issue. (The Treasury summary is complete on pages 1-2, though pages 3-4 are lacking in this copy), and the full text is printed serially from January 20



through February 27. January 20 (2 pp.), January 30, February 3, 10, 13, 17, 24, and 27 (4 pp. each) are offered here. January 23 and 27 (pages 325-332) are still needed to complete the text.

Hamilton's *Report* was published in a highly sought-after pamphlet at the end of January 1790. This newspaper run is equally rare and includes a great deal of additional related content.

*Gazette of the United States*. Eight issues dated between January 20 and February 27, 1790 (see below). New York: John Fenno. Includes the "*Report of the Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, Relative to a Provision for the Support of the Public Credit of the United States, in Conformity to a Resolution of the Twenty-First Day of September, 1789.*" #30021.64

### **More Legislation, Debates on Public Credit – in 24 Issues of 1790 *Gazette of the U.S.***

Important commentary on the Bill of Rights; the Census Act (March 10); taxation; religious tolerance (April 29); and Washington's journey to N.Y. to assume the presidency (April 22, 29).

*Gazette of the United States*, 24 issues from March to May 1790. New York: John Fenno. Includes: March 3, 6, 10, 13, 24, 27, 31; April 3, 7, 10, 14, 21, 22, 24, 28, 29; May 1, 8, 12, 15, 19, 22, 26, 27. #30021.41-.63, #30000.006, #21555.29, and #22870.

### **Collected Acts of the First Session of the First Congress, Including the Bill of Rights**

The debates of the first session of the first House of Representatives are concluded here with Congress' original "Bill of Rights"—the twelve proposed Constitutional amendments sent to the states for ratification.

The idea of a Bill of Rights was heavily debated. In Federalist No. 84, Alexander Hamilton had warned against the dangers of including a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. Because sovereignty was vested in the people, he argued, "the People surrender nothing; and as they retain everything, they have no need of particular reservations." A Bill of Rights, however, by specifying "various exceptions to powers not granted...on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted."

Madison initially agreed with Hamilton. Written Bills of Rights were critical when constitutional compacts between government and the governed were otherwise unwritten. Madison also saw, like Hamilton, that a statement of narrow rights, added to a written Constitution based on popular sovereignty, might lead officials to abuse the powers of their offices. However, after five state conventions returned proposals for a Bill of Rights alongside their ratifications, Madison recognized that the legitimacy of the Constitution would rest on the inclusion of a Bill of Rights. In July 1789, the House Committee of Eleven honed hundreds of proposals down to nineteen amendments. Congress eventually voted to pass twelve of these on to ratification by the states. The first two amendments, respectively, ensured a perpetual representation in the House of one representative for every 30,000 citizens; and barred Congress from voting itself a pay raise without an intervening election. Though these amendments were not ratified in the eighteenth century, the second became the 27<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1992. The remaining ten amendments were ratified between November 1789 and December 1791, thereby forming the body of the Bill of Rights.

Also printed in this volume is the complete Constitution and the *History of the Proceedings and Debates* of the first House of Representatives.

[FIRST CONGRESS]. Book. *Acts Passed at a Congress of the United States of America, Begun and Held at the City of New York, on Wednesday the Fourth of March, in the Year MDCCLXXXIX.* New York: Hodge, Allen and Campbell for T. Lloyd. #20581

**“Statement of Accounts between the United States and Individual States”**

The “Statement of Accounts between the United States and Individual States” illustrates a critical element of Hamilton’s financial plan for the United States. The *First Report on Public Credit*, of which the “Statement” is a part, emphasizes not only the comparative strength of an economic union, but the challenges facing states which might seek to act as independent economic entities. Here, Hamilton’s calculations draw particular attention to the benefits that northern states, which still bore a heavy share of the confederation’s war debt, stood to gain from assumption.

The verso side, page 21 of the *Report*, includes Hamilton closing statements on the need for an energetic central economy. Signed “*Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury*” in type.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Page leaf, removed from *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, Relative to a provision for the support of the public credit of the United States, in conformity to a resolution of the twenty-first day of September, 1789.* New York: Childs and Swaine, 1790. #24022.047

[SCHEDULE A.]  
Supposititious Statement of Accounts between the United States and Individual States.

S T A T E S.	Ratio.	Proportion of each State's Balance due to the State in full.	Proportion of each State's Balance against certain States.	Proportion of each State's Balance against the Debtors.	Ultimate balance in favor of certain States when the principle of an establishment of the balance is given by the Debtors, and a proportional allowance to the other States, is granted according to the ratio given, and to be paid by the United States.
New-Hampshire	1	57,330	85,000	2,300	300
Maine	1	180,000	270,000	7,500	93,000
Rhode-Island	1	80,000	120,000	3,400	4,000
Connecticut	1	100,000	150,000	4,200	51,000
New-York	4	412,000	618,000	17,400	212,000
New-Jersey	4	78,330	117,500	3,300	40,000
Pennsylvania	8	170,000	255,000	7,200	88,000
Delaware	1	50,000	75,000	2,100	25,000
Maryland	16	110,000	165,000	4,700	57,000
Virginia	16	180,000	270,000	7,700	93,000
North-Carolina	3	90,000	135,000	3,800	46,000
South-Carolina	3	90,000	135,000	3,800	46,000
Georgia	3	90,000	135,000	3,800	46,000
<b>Sum</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>1,370,000</b>	<b>2,100,000</b>	<b>61,000</b>	<b>74,000</b>

**EXPLANATION.**

THE first column shews a Ratio according to the perfect rule of representation.  
The second column exhibits the balance which, on the principle of the former, is payable to be due to the several States.  
The third column shews the apportionment of the aggregate of these balances according to the ratio given among the States.  
The fourth column shews the balance against some States in consequence of this apportionment.  
The fifth column shews the balance in favor of some States, in consequence of the same apportionment.  
The sixth column shews the first Proportions proposed.

THE second Proportions proposed is illustrated by the fourth and seventh columns.  
The fifth shews the Part of each State, according to the ratio given in the amount of the balance against the Debtor States.  
The seventh shews the ultimate balance in favor of certain States, resulting from their proportion of the balance due from the Debtor States.

## Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress Suspending Controversial 1789 “Collections Law”

Jefferson signs and certifies (“*true copy / Th: Jefferson Secy of state*”) the suspension of a controversial section in a July 1789 Revenue Act passed by Congress prior to Hamilton’s appointment as Treasury Secretary. This section, also called the “Collections Law,” discouraged trade along the Potomac River. Virginia merchants requested its repeal. Hamilton, as Treasury Secretary and an advocate of uniform federal regulations, supported the suspension.

The “Collection Law,” comprising part of the July 1789 Revenue Act, required all vessels bound for the Potomac River to deposit a cargo manifest. Merchants and citizens of Alexandria and Dumfries, Virginia, petitioned the House to repeal the provision.

As Charles Lee, collector for the port of Alexandria, Va., explained to Alexander Hamilton in a letter of November 21, 1789, it was widely believed that the Collections Law “Was conceived to have a

most injurious effect in diverting foreign commerce. . . . It was moreover thought partial as a similar regulation was not made as to other parts of America.”

On May 3, 1790, Alexandria merchants petitioned for a full repeal of the Collections Law. Its repeal was signed into law by George Washington on August 4, 1790.

Following a law passed on September 15, 1789, Jefferson signed two copies of each Act of Congress for distribution to each state. Though Rhode Island would not ratify the Constitution and become the 13<sup>th</sup> state until May 29, 1790, Jefferson appears to have forwarded copies of Acts to them as well. It is likely that at most 26 copies were signed by Jefferson. (Smaller, unsigned paper copies were sent to U.S. Senators and Representatives.) Our extensive search of institutional and market records did not locate any other Jefferson-signed copies of this particular Act.



THOMAS JEFFERSON. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act further to suspend Part of an Act, entitled, An Act to regulate the Collection of the Duties imposed by Law on the Tonnage of Ships or Vessels, and on Goods, Wares and Merchandizes imported into the United States, and to amend the said Act, April 15, 1790.* [New York: Childs and Swaine]. #23979



## The Assumption Plan, Passed as Four Acts of Congress

*“Justice and the support of the public credit require, that provision should be made for fulfilling the engagements of the United States, in respect to their foreign debt, and for funding their domestic debt upon equitable and satisfactory terms.”*

On July 26, 1790, Congress accepted the plan laid out in Hamilton’s 1790 *First Report on Public Credit*. The *Gazette of the United States*, the semi-official newspaper of the federal government, published the acts that codified Hamilton’s Assumption Plan in four parts: “An Act Making Provision for the Debt of the United States” (August 4); “An Act to Provide more Effectually for the Settlement of the Accounts between the United States and the Individual States” (August 5); “An Act Making Further Provision for the Payment of the Debts of the United States” (August 10); “An Act making Provision for the Reduction of the Public Debt” (August 12). Also, see below for the “Act Founding the Bank of the United States” (#23392), often considered a fifth part.



The Assumption Plan, the bedrock of Hamilton’s financial strategy, laid out the specific amounts of state debt to be absorbed by the federal government, along with the fiscal scheme making it possible. Most of the debt had originally been held by ordinary citizens. Since the end of the Revolution, however, speculators had bought paper notes for pennies on the dollar and taken on the majority of the federal debt notes. The confederation government had not kept records of the original holders of debt, and there was no way of verifying—after 1787—that the desperate veterans and citizens who had sold their claims to speculators had been the original holders. Hamilton, who knew that paper notes would need to be paid in full to their current holders if the nation were to establish its credit-worthiness, was accused of “rewarding” speculators. This had several consequences for the new government. It publicized that the U.S. financial system would honor its bills, reward risk, and give the holders of the now-federal debt a stake in the new government’s success. It also, however, fueled tensions between those rising in wealth and power under the new federal government and those who felt left behind by the new economic reality, a group that included many disillusioned Revolutionary War veterans.

Additional content: August 7: House “Debate on the Amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts,” noting that “*A message was received from the President of the United States, informing the House that the act to provide more effectually for settling the accounts between the United States and the individual states had received his consent*”; August 14: President Washington’s Proclamation “*of a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States of America and the Creek Nation of Indians*,” signed by Washington on August 13, 1790; August 21: House “Debates on the amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts”; August 28: House “Debates on the amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts” continued.

*Gazette of the United States*, August 1790 (see below). New York: John Fenno. Included in full, all four parts of Hamilton’s Assumption Plan, as passed by Congress, in the issues of August 7, 14, 21, and 28, 1790. #30022.27-.30

## The Residence Act: Jefferson's Quid pro Quo for Accepting Hamilton's Plan

*“A district of territory...to be located as hereafter directed on the river Potomac...is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the government of the United States....”*

While his *First Report* was debated in Congress, Hamilton became more determined to place the new nation on firm financial ground. Jefferson, Hamilton's greatest ideological rival in Washington's cabinet, resolutely disputed Hamilton's proposals. Jefferson feared that the Assumption Plan would make the federal government too powerful, would dangerously cement the centralization of financial power in the Northeast, and penalize Virginia and other Southern states that had already paid most of their war debts.

Both statesmen, seeking a pragmatic resolution, compromised in June of 1790. In exchange for moving the future national capital south to a site on the banks of the Potomac River, and for reducing Virginia's net payments to the government to zero, Jefferson agreed to work with southern legislators on behalf of Hamilton's Assumption Plan. Their compromise, the Residence Act, passed Congress on July 16, 1790, two weeks ahead of Hamilton's Assumption Plan.

The Residence Act provided that Congress would move from New York to Philadelphia in December 1790, then to the permanent capital on the Potomac River in the year 1800.

The issue of the *Gazette* offered here also includes: A lengthy Committee of the Whole “Sketch of the Debate on the Residence Bill”; A report noting that President Washington had informed Congress of his consent to the bill; An announcement that “*The Resolution for assuming the State debts was agreed to in the Senate by a majority of two*”; House debates over the “Post Office Bill” and postage on newspapers; a lengthy report from Marseilles: “*Citizens...attacked the citadel of that place*” (Fort St. Jean) on May 2, demanding its surrender. The soldiers responded with cannon shot, and the citizens mounted another attack; 417 people were reported killed, including the fort's commander.

*Gazette of the United States*. July 17, 1790. New York: John Fenno. Includes complete early printing of “An Act for Establishing the Temporary and Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States,” passed on July 16, 1790. #30022.31

## The Journal of the House of Representatives, 1790

The complete proceedings from January 4 to August 12, 1790, when the House considered numerous matters of critical significance to the new nation. This *Journal*, in printing the discussion and debates rather than the finished legislation, showed the process behind the numerous “*necessary and proper*” resolutions and acts that the legislature passed in its first year.



With the House directing him to prepare no less than twenty reports, Hamilton and the Treasury are ubiquitous in this session of Congress. Beyond House debates on his seminal *Report on Public Credit* (January 28-March 29), Hamilton is mentioned in the *Journal* at least weekly. Until Jefferson took his seat as Secretary of State in March of 1790, Hamilton effectively acted as the head of both departments, and the House leaned heavily on his breadth of knowledge and work ethic.

In addition to Treasury reports on the redemption of state debts, the regulation of duties and foreign trade, and the establishment of a mint, Hamilton was called on to prepare reports on the exploration and settlement of Western territories; the organization and sale of federal lands; the claims of Continental Army officers, soldiers, and civilians for war service pay; the claims of Loyalists for compensation of property losses in the war; the federal operation of lighthouses; and the prosecution of counterfeiters. Hamilton was further directed to respond personally to appeals and petitions from private citizens concerning the local implementation of national policies, and to issue fact-finding reports to the House on these petitions. The House also charged Hamilton with organizing the disbursal of back pay to Continental Army troops and pensions to the families of deceased veterans.

George Washington’s First State of the Union (January 8, 1790) is included, addressing the legislature on the need to provide “*for the common defence*” and recommending “*adequate provision for the support of public credit.*”

*Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*. New York: Childs and Swaine, 1790. First edition. Bound in contemporary quarter calf and marbled boards. Concludes on page 210 with the printed phrase, “*End of the Second Session*” (lacking pp. 211-261). #23943

## Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress Providing a Pension to the Daughter of Hamilton's Close Friend, Revolutionary War Hero John Laurens

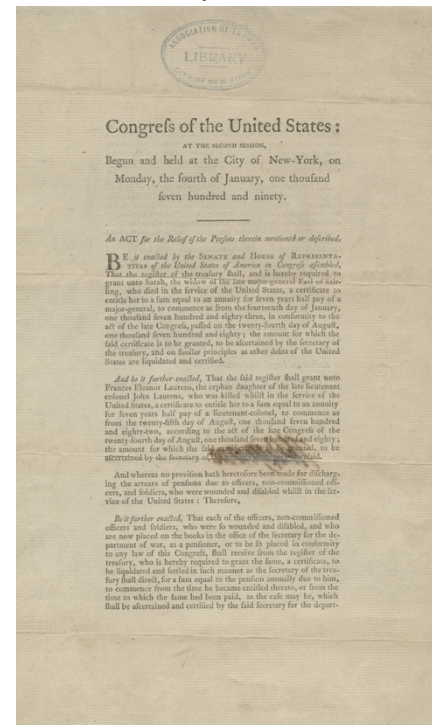
*“That the widow or orphan of each officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier who was killed or died whilst in the service of the United States...entitled to a pension...shall receive a certificate therefor in like manner....”*

This Act of Congress aided wounded Revolutionary War soldiers and provided pensions to the widow of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, and to the orphaned daughter of John Laurens. Laurens and Alexander Hamilton had served together as aides-de-camp to George Washington. Lord Stirling tried—unsuccessfully—to get Hamilton on his staff as aide-de-camp in 1776, and had administered the oath of allegiance to a young Hamilton at Valley Forge in 1778.

*“The register of the treasury shall, and is hereby required to grant unto Sarah, the widow of the late major-general Earl of Stirling, who died in the service of the United States, a certificate, to entitle her to a sum equal to an annuity for seven years half pay of a major-general ... And be it further enacted, That the said register shall grant unto Frances Eleanor Laurens, the orphan daughter of the late lieutenant colonel John Laurens, who was killed whilst in the service of the United States, a certificate to entitle her to a sum equal to an annuity for seven years half pay of a lieutenant-colonel, to commence as from the twenty-fifth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.... And be it further enacted, That the widow or orphan of each officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier who was killed or died whilst in the service of the United States...entitled to a pension...shall receive a certificate therefor in like manner....”*

This financial measure must have been of particular satisfaction to Hamilton; Laurens had been a close friend. As a 21-year-old aide-de-camp to Washington, Hamilton had served as Laurens' second during his 1778 duel with controversial American general Charles Lee. When Hamilton learned of his friend's death in the war, he was disconsolate: “I feel the deepest affliction at the news we have just received of the loss of our dear and inestimable friend Laurens. His career of virtue is at an end. How strangely are human affairs conducted, that so many excellent qualities could not ensure a more happy fate? The world will feel the loss of a man who has left few like him behind, and America of a citizen whose heart realized that patriotism of which others only talk. I feel the loss of a friend I truly and most tenderly loved, and one of a very small number.” (Alexander Hamilton to Nathanael Greene, October 12, 1782)

John Laurens (1754-1782) was born in South Carolina, the son of Henry Laurens, and was educated in Europe. He joined the Continental Army in 1777, while his father served in the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. He served as an aide-de-camp to General George Washington and became close friends with fellow aides-de-camp Alexander Hamilton and Marquis de Lafayette. He wounded General Charles Lee in a duel in December 1778 for impugning Washington's character. He proposed using enslaved African Americans as soldiers and was sent south to recruit a regiment in

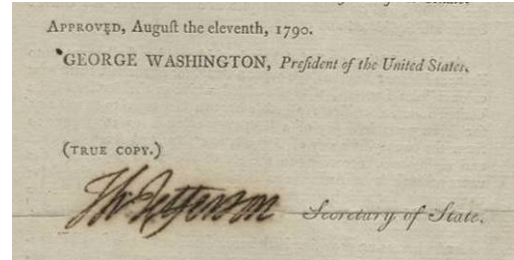




1779. When the British captured Charleston, Laurens became a prisoner and was shipped to Philadelphia on parole. Shortly after receiving this letter from Hamilton, Laurens was freed by a prisoner exchange, and Congress appointed him as a special minister to France, where he obtained a gift and loan for the United States. Laurens returned home to rejoin Washington and Hamilton at the siege of Yorktown. He was killed at the Battle of Combahee River in South Carolina.

William Alexander, Lord Stirling, married Sarah Livingston, the daughter of Philip Livingston and the sister of Governor William Livingston. A major general after 1777, Stirling fought in the Battles of Brandywine and Monmouth. He died in Albany in January 1783.

Jefferson, as Secretary of State, signed two copies of each Act of Congress for distribution to the executive of every state. Rhode Island had ratified the Constitution and become the 13th state in May of 1790. Thus, Jefferson signed 26 copies. This is the only Jefferson-signed copy known in private hands, with only one known institutional copy at Yale University (Franklin Collection 121 1790).



THOMAS JEFFERSON. Document Signed. *An Act for the Relief of the Persons Therein Mentioned or described*. August 11, 1790. [New York: Childs and Swaine] Signed in type by George Washington as President, Frederick Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House, and John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate. #23639

## Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress Funding the Federal Government for 1791

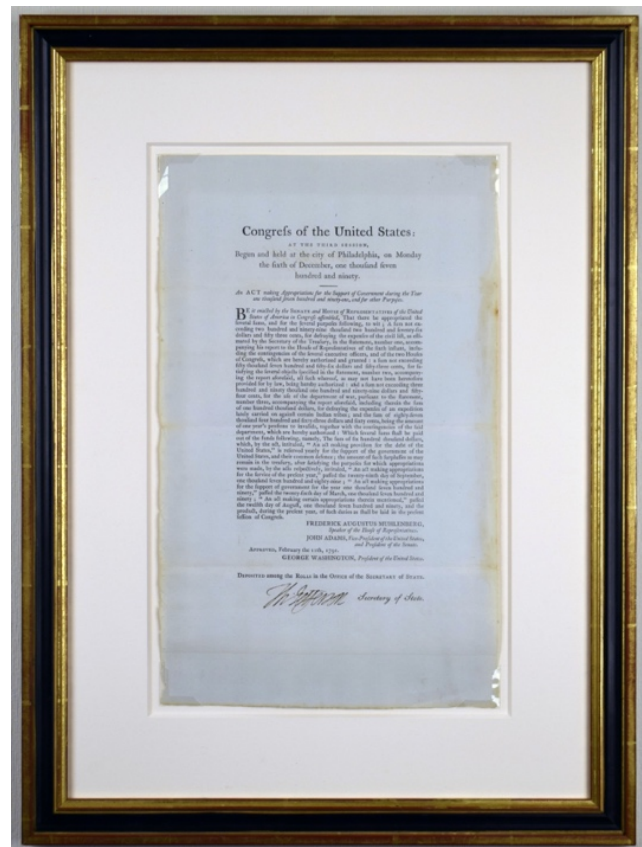
The figures cited—expenses of the “civil list” and the War Department—were taken directly from Hamilton’s *Estimates for 1791* report to the House of Representatives.

*“A sum, not exceeding two hundred and ninety-nine thousand two hundred and seventy-six dollars and fifty-three cents, for defraying the expenses of the civil list... including the contingencies of the several executive officers, and of the two Houses of Congress, which are hereby authorized and granted: A sum, not exceeding fifty thousand seven hundred and fifty-six dollars and fifty-three cents, for satisfying the several objects specified in the statement...accompanying the report aforesaid...and a sum not exceeding three hundred and ninety thousand one hundred and ninety-nine dollars and fifty-four cents, for the use of the Department of War, pursuant to the statement...accompanying the report aforesaid including therein the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for defraying the expenses of an expedition lately carried on against certain Indian tribes; and the sum of eighty-seven thousand four hundred and sixty-three dollars and sixty cents, being the amount of one year’s pensions to invalids....”*

The estimated expenditures in this deceptively short act, funding the third year of government under the federal Constitution, are keyed to Hamilton’s January 6, 1791, Report to Congress.

This is the only Jefferson-signed copy known in private hands. The only two known institutional copies are at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the New York Public Library.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act making appropriations for the support of government during the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety one, and for other purposes*, February 11, 1791. [Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine, 1791]. Signed in type by George Washington as President, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate. #23982

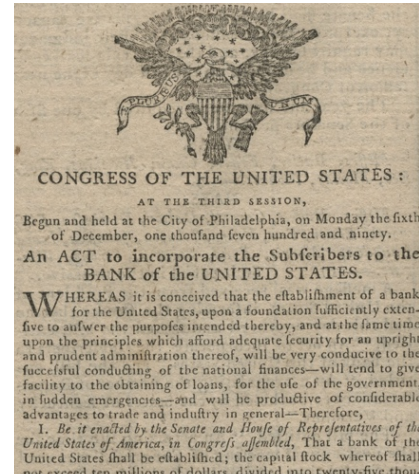


## “An Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States”

“The establishment of a bank for the United States...upon the principles which afford adequate security for an upright and prudent administration.”

This foundational act is printed in full on the front page under an engraving of an early version of the Great Seal of the United States. It is signed in type by George Washington as President, John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House, and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State.

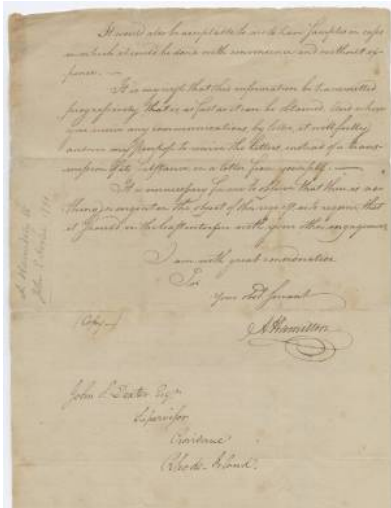
Additional Content: Report on Senate’s reception of President Washington’s notice that he had signed the Bank Act, and note that “The bill supplemental to the act, making provision for the reduction of the public debt,” was engrossed and passed. (pp. 766-67); a report from Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton on the creation of a mint is continued from a previous issue (and continued in a later issue); An Act regulating the number of Representatives for Kentucky and Vermont; a celebration of Washington’s birthday (“*The Anniversary of the Birth Day of the President of the United States has been celebrated in all parts of the union, from which accounts have been received, with the highest testimonials of veneration and affection....*”); and an advertisement proposing the printing of a collection of state papers, which Jefferson endorsed.



*Gazette of the United States*, March 2, 1791. Philadelphia: John Fenno. Includes full text of February 25 Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States. #23392

## Hamilton Solicits Information for His 1791 *Report on Manufactures*

“Having been directed by the House of Representatives to report a plan for promoting manufactures in the United States, I am desirous of obtaining as accurate information as possible of the actual state of manufactures in the several states.... I request therefore that you will give me as accurate information as it shall be in your power to obtain of the manufactures of every kind carried on within the limits of your district, whether incidentally, in the domestic way, or as regular trades—of the respective times of their first establishment,—of the degree of maturity they have obtained—of the quantities periodically made—of the prices at which they are sold—of their respective Qualities—of the impediments, if any, under which they labour—of the encouragements, if any, which they enjoy under the laws of the State....”



Alexander Hamilton’s 1791 *Report on Manufacturers* outlined his practical plan for American economic growth. The *Report* foresaw the U.S. as a manufacturing nation, one that would be independent of foreign powers for essential manufactured goods, “especially military supplies.”

Able to provide for its own defense, the country Hamilton envisioned would have a mutually beneficial relationship with England. This vision created deep divisions between urban capitalists and rural farmers, and split supporters of France and Anglophiles, which hastened the creation of the first political parties.

Congress had requested a Report on Manufactures in January 1790. On January 25, Hamilton sent a circular letter to federal tariff collectors and prominent businessmen, requesting information on manufacturing in the various states. On May 11, Assistant Treasury Secretary Tench Coxe sent a follow-up letter to the same officials, and he began to draft the report in the early months of 1791.

With this letter in June 1791, Hamilton sought information on manufacturing from a second group of federal officials—revenue supervisors created by the excise tax on whiskey—before presenting the *Report* to Congress on December 5, 1791.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Manuscript Circular Letter Signed Secretarially for Hamilton as Treasury Secretary, with address to John Singer Dexter of Rhode Island added by Hamilton. (Similar letters were sent to the revenue supervisors of each state.) June 22, 1791. #22457



## The Prospectus for Hamilton's *Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures*

*“It is an almost self-evident proposition, that communities which can most completely supply their own wants, are in a state of the highest political perfection. And both Theory and Experience conspire to prove that a nation (unless from a very peculiar coincidence of circumstances) cannot possess much active wealth but as the result of extensive manufactures.*

*“While also it is manifest, that the interest of the community is deeply concerned in the progress of this species of industry, there is as little room to doubt that the interest of individuals may equally be promoted by the pursuit of it.”*

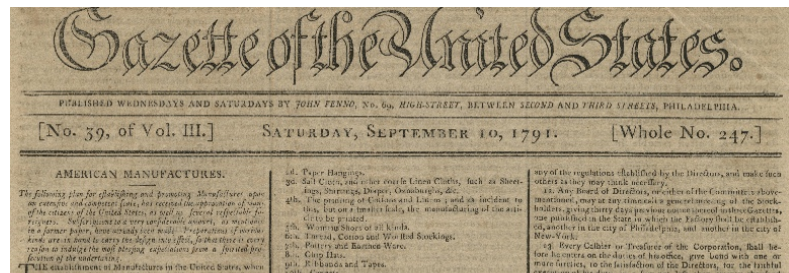
Following their highly influential *Report on Manufactures*, Hamilton and Tench Coxe put their recommendations into practice with the nation's first public-private partnership. The Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures worked to develop a model town,

where ingenuity in American industry could be showcased. Utilizing the water power of the Great Falls on the Passaic River, Hamilton envisioned a planned community that would promote his industrial vision for the nation. Chartered by New Jersey Governor William Paterson in 1791, the site took his name to become Paterson, N.J., which was exempt from property taxes for a decade. The visionary architect Pierre L'Enfant created grand designs for races and sluiceways to harness the waterpower. The notoriously difficult L'Enfant was soon replaced by the more pragmatic Peter Colt, but over time virtually all that L'Enfant envisioned was built.

The financial crash of March 1792, caused in large part by William Duer, who happened to be the organization's governor, led to the bankruptcy of a number of the Society's directors and cast doubt on the viability of Hamilton's program. After a shaky start, however, cotton manufacturing took off in the late 1790s, followed by steel manufacturing in the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1880s, Paterson was the center of American silk production. The Society's eventual successes at Paterson encouraged additional public-private partnerships across the country.

Paterson was a preeminent manufacturing city for more than a century. In 1862, a locomotive that had been manufactured there gained fame after it was stolen and used in the Great Locomotive Chase, an attempt by Union spies to cripple the Confederate rail network. The city also played a role in the manufacture of the second American submarine. And during World War II, more than 1,000 aircraft engines were produced there, especially for the B-17 Flying Fortress bombers, the most notable of which was the *Enola Gay*.

*Gazette of the United States*, September 10, 1791. Philadelphia: John Fenno. Including the Prospectus for the Society of Useful Manufactures in full, and a report on Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk Indian Chief. #30019



## Reporting to Hamilton on Intervention to Counter the Panic of 1792

*“This will be a lesson to them & all violent speculators in future, & if we can parry the present evil, for 15 days, we shall do well, that is not turn out Bankrupts, but smart handsomely, by differences.”*

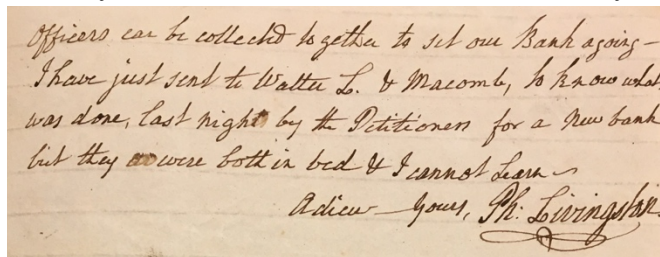
*“I now set down to inform you of the state of things .... Some time after our Director met in the afternoon yesterday Mr Babcock called me out, & shewed me a Letter ... acquainting him that Mr Meredith, purchased that Eveng. on account of Government, & that after purchasing about 13,000 Drs the Stocks rose above his limited prices and closed at with 21/9d Cash for six per Cents, and that our Cashier sat out with the money yesterday morning. In the Evening I went to the Coffee House, & from a state of distraction in the morning, every thing was Joy & Gladness. such a change in countenances, in so short a time I never saw. Poor Macomb & Delafield, at the Directors meeting, in the morning, exhibited <2> such marks of distress & anxiety that I pitied them with all my heart, and my friend Walter L. has been nearly as much alarmed. This will be a lesson to them & all violent speculators in future, & if we can parry the present evil, for 15 days, we shall do well, that is not turn out Bankrupts, but smart handsomely, by differences. The Citizens of the U.S. will be as rich as ever, for Foreigners could not purchase any sums, as Bills for Cash were so low, and the money will return from Boston, to purchase the debt whilst low, which will of course rise until it finds it level. New York will have lost, & Boston gained, by a speculation she made with her sister state.*

*“I am in hopes that the news of last night, will keep up stocks at our sales to day, to Parr for 6 pr Cts from the spirit Meredith created at Philadelphia, but I am afraid, when the news arrives this day with you of our great distress here, that your People, at the sales this Evening will get alarmed & offer Meredith more stock than he has money to spare in which case a Pannick may seize them, if so it will vibrate back here again in some degree.*

*“I shall do every thing in my power the moment our <3> officers can be collected together to set our Bank agoing. I have just sent to Walter L. & Macomb, to know what was done, last night by the Petitioners for a new bank but they were both in bed & I cannot Learn.*

*“Adieu. Yours, Ph: Livingston.”*

Philip Peter Livingston (1740-1810) kept the Secretary of the Treasury informed during the Panic of 1792. U.S. debt securities began to crash in March 1792, and investors withdrew their money from the Bank of the United States. The Sinking Fund Commission, composed of Vice President John Adams, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Attorney General Edmund Randolph, Chief Justice John Jay, and Hamilton were deadlocked, with Jay being absent. A few days later, Randolph sided with Adams and Hamilton and allowed the government to purchase securities on the open market. This, together with support from the Bank of New York and the Bank of Maryland, encouraged by promises from Hamilton, soon stabilized the securities market and ended the Panic of 1792.



*Officers can be collected together to set our Bank agoing -  
I have just sent to Walter L. & Macomb, to know what  
was done, last night by the Petitioners for a new bank  
but they were both in bed & I cannot Learn -  
Adieu Yours, Ph: Livingston*

PHILIP PETER LIVINGSTON, Autograph Letter Signed as president, N.Y. branch of the Bank of the U.S., and a director of the Bank of N.Y., to Alexander Hamilton, March 21, 1792. #24645.08

## Establishing a Mint

*“That a mint for the purpose of a national coinage...be situate and carried on at a seat of the government of The United States, for the time being...there shall be the following officers...a director, an assayer, a chief coiner, an engraver, a treasurer....”*

In a rare instance of like-minded thinking, Hamilton’s 1791 *Report on the Establishment of a Mint* was “in substantial agreement” with Jefferson’s earlier essay “Notes on the Establishment of a Money Unit, and of a Coinage for the United States,” 1784.

The Mint Act, passed on April 2, 1792, made the silver dollar legal tender and created a decimal system for U.S. currency. While the first draft of the Act stipulated that all coins would employ a portrait of the president, Washington felt this to be too monarchical. This final version of the Act called for an image emblematic of Liberty. The Act also authorized construction of a Mint building in Philadelphia. Mint director David Rittenhouse laid the cornerstone on July 31, making it the first federal building constructed.

Under Sec. 14 of the Act, any person could bring gold or silver bullion and have it coined free of charge. Later, for a small fee, people were able to exchange bullion for an equivalent value in coin. For quality control, three coins were set aside from each separate mass of gold or silver used. On the last Monday in July of each year, the Chief Justice, the Secretary and Comptroller of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General were to watch as the coins were assayed. If the coins did not meet the required standards, the officers were disqualified.

Section 19 of the Act established a penalty of death for officers of the Mint who either debased the gold or silver coins authorized, or embezzled the metals. This little-known section of the Act is still in force today and could theoretically still be applied. All other sections of the Act have been superseded.

This *Centinel* issue also reports that the Mint “has occupied the attention of the citizens...and the majority dislike the figure of Liberty being struck...in preference to the Head of the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES” (p2/c4).

This issue also contains a superb editorial by “IRONICUS” (attributed to Benjamin Russell) (p4).



*Columbian Centinel*, April 21, 1792. Boston: Benjamin Russell. Complete printing of the foundational Mint Act of April 2, 1792, signed in type by George Washington. #30027.38



# Jefferson-Signed Act of Congress with Back-Door Implementation of Hamilton's Report on Manufactures Tariff Proposals

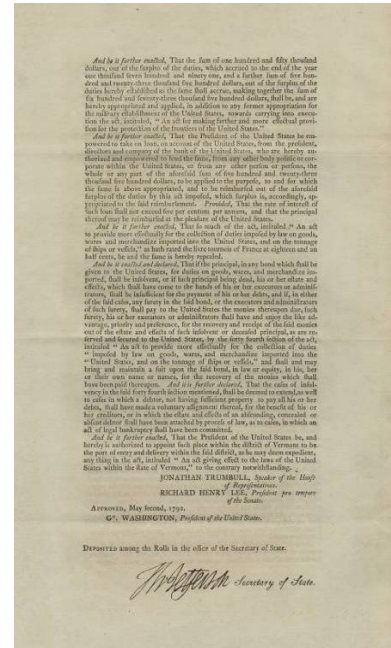
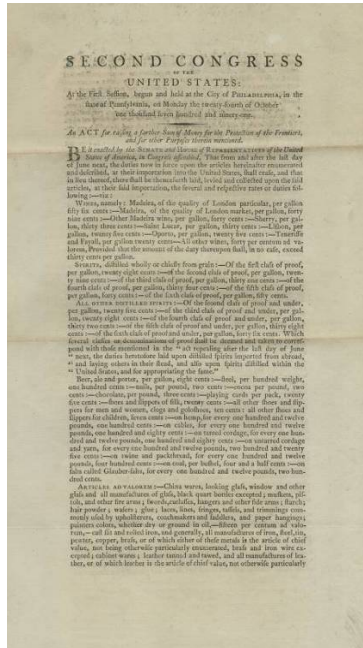
“Wines, namely: Madeira, of the quality of London particular, per gallon, fifty-six cents ... Sherry, per gallon, thirty-three cents ... Spirits, distilled wholly or chiefly from grain: of the first class of proof, per gallon, twenty-eight cents ... All other distilled spirits ... twenty-five cents ... Beer, ale and porter, per gallon, eight cents; steel, per hundred weight, one hundred cents; nails, per pound, two cents; cocoa, per pound, two cents; chocolate, per pound, three cents; playing cards per pack, twenty-five cents; shoes and slippers of silk, twenty cents....”

While Hamilton's Report on Manufactures is now acknowledged as one of the greatest of American economic papers, Congress promptly tabled it upon delivery in December 1791. Having won the hard-fought battle for his Assumption Plan, he did not push for its adoption. But in March 1792, Congress requested ideas to raise additional revenues needed to defend the nation's Western frontiers from British Forces and their Indian allies. Hamilton was able to answer the call for funding with the present act's import tariffs, which boosted American manufactures.

In the *Journal of Economic History*, economic historian Douglas Irwin pointed out in 2004 that a series of scholars had underestimated the Report's effect on policy: “It is true that Congress never considered the report as a package, and that Hamilton's proposals for bounties and other subsidies were not seriously debated. But Hamilton worked to ensure that Congress enacted virtually every tariff recommendation in the report within five months of its delivery. After pushing the report's tariff proposals through Congress, Hamilton yielded to the political opposition to further government support for manufacturing and did not pursue the matter further.”

Kentucky was not admitted as the 15th state until June 1, 1792, so Jefferson very likely signed only 28 copies of this Act. Of those, this is the only Jefferson-signed copy known in private hands, with the Huntington Library holding the only located institutional copy.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act for raising a farther sum of Money for the Protection of the Frontiers, and for other Purposes therein mentioned.* May 2, 1792, [Philadelphia]. Signed in type by George Washington as President, Jonathan Trumbull as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard Henry Lee as President pro tempore of the Senate. #24196





## Hamilton's 1792 Letter to Washington Accusing Jefferson of Subverting the Administration.

*“It is my most anxious wish, as far as may depend on me, to smooth the path of your administration, and to render it prosperous & happy.... If your endeavours should prove unsuccessful, I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion the period is not remote when the public good will require substitutes for the differing members of your administration. The continuance of a division there must destroy the energy of Government....”*

*“I know, from the most authentic sources, that I have been the frequent subject of the most unkind whispers & insinuations.... I have long seen a formed party in the Legislature, under his [Jefferson's] auspices, bent upon my subversion – I cannot doubt, from the evidence I possess, that the National Gazette was instituted by him for political purposes....”*

*“As long as I saw no danger to the Government, from the machinations which were going on, I resolved to be a silent sufferer of the injuries which were done me.... I determined to avoid giving occasion to any thing which could manifest to the world dissensions among the principal characters of the government; a thing which can never happen without weakening its hands, and in some degree throwing a stigma upon it.*

*“But when I no longer doubted, that there was a formal party deliberately bent upon the subversion of measures, which in its consequences would subvert the Government ... I considered it as a duty, to endeavor to resist the torrent and as an essential mean[s] to this end to draw aside the veil from the principal Actors. To this strong impulse, to this decided conviction, I have yielded — And I think events will prove that I have judged rightly....”*

*“Nevertheless I pledge my honor to you, Sir, that if you shall hereafter form a plan to reunite the members of your administration, upon some steady principle of cooperation, I will faithfully concur in executing it during my continuance in office. And I will not directly or indirectly say or do a thing, that shall endanger a feud....”*

The letter offered here is a beautiful and painstaking 1829 fair copy, penned by Hamilton's son, of his father's 1792 letter to Washington. This reproduction was likely undertaken at Mount Vernon, where the majority of Washington's papers remained before Congress voted to acquire them.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Manuscript Document Signed Secretarially. The only known family fair copy of Hamilton's historic September 9, 1792, letter to George Washington, the copy written and signed “*A Hamilton,*” in the hand of his son, James Alexander Hamilton (1788-1878). Docketed on verso as “*A true copy compared with the original Decr. 22d 1829 JAH.*” #24337

## Connecticut Governor and Declaration Signer Samuel Huntington's Copy of Diplomatic Correspondence Implementing the Treaty of Paris

The correspondence of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, mainly with George Hammond, Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain to the United States, regards the settlement of the Peace of Paris following the Revolution. This report contains important content about trade, finance, slaves, foreign relations, and losses due to the Revolutionary War and includes letters of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, James Monroe, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Samuel Huntington, the British peace negotiators, and many others.

From Jefferson's response to a letter of Richard Oswald:

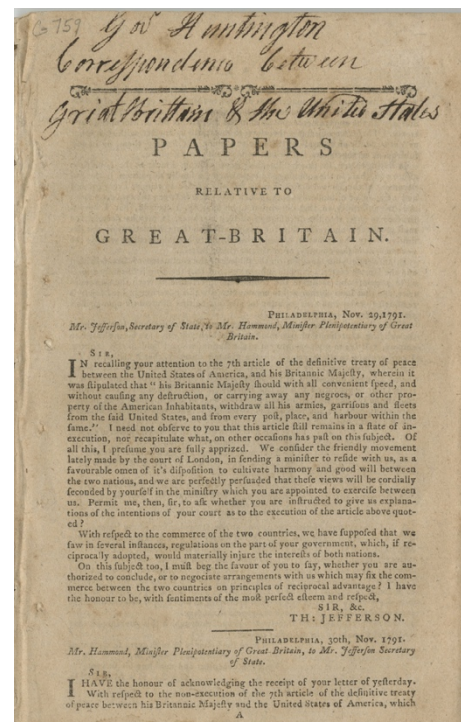
*"we beg leave to repeat what we often said in conversation, to-wit: that the restoration of such of the estates of refugees, as have been confiscated by the Laws of particular States, and in many instances have passed by legal titles through several hands will be difficult, besides, Sir, as this is a matter evidently appertaining to the internal polity of the separate States, the Congress, by the nature of our Constitution, have no power to interfere with it..."*

From John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay letter:

*"As to your demand of compensation to these persons we forbear enumerating our reasons for thinking it ill-founded. In the moment of conciliatory overtures, it would not be proper to call certain scenes into view, over which a variety of considerations should induce both parties to draw a veil...unless on your part it be agreed to make restitutions to our Citizens for the heavy losses they have sustained by the unnecessary destruction of private property...."*

*We have already agreed to an amnesty, more extensive than justice required, and full as extensive as humanity could demand; we can, therefore, only repeat that it cannot be extended further.... We should be sorry if the absolute impossibility of our complying further with your propositions should induce Great Britain to continue the War for the sake of those who caused and prolonged it...."*

[THOMAS JEFFERSON]. Pamphlet. *Papers Relative to Great Britain*, November 29, 1791 to September 25, 1793. Declaration Signer Samuel Huntington's copy, with his autograph inscription signed at top: *"Gov Huntington - Correspondence between Great Britain & the United States."*  
#23353



# The Whiskey Rebellion



## The Whiskey Tax

*“Act Repealing after the last day of June next, the Duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad, and Laying others in their stead; and also upon Spirits distilled within the United States, and for Appropriating the same.”*

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution gave Congress the power to “collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States.” In 1790, with the federal assumption of state Revolutionary War debts, the new government was forced to find sources of revenue. Hamilton proposed that Congress not only increase the existing tax on imported spirits, but add a tax on domestically produced distilled liquor. In addition to helping pay off the debt, the Treasury Secretary argued, the tax would be in the public’s best interest: “The consumption of ardent spirits particularly ... is carried to an extreme, which is truly to be regretted, as well in regard to the health and the morals, as to the economy of the community. Should the increase of duties tend to a decrease of the consumption of those articles, the effect would be, in every respect, desirable.”

Under the Constitution, direct taxes levied by Congress had to be apportioned among the states, according to a decennial census. The arguably indirect whiskey tax was free from the apportionment burden. Plus, soaking up this lucrative revenue source would deprive the states of that potential income, thus strengthening the federal government

This “Whiskey Tax,” passed on March 3, 1791, immediately stoked anger, especially on the frontier: whiskey was the most efficient way for western farmers to process harvests into an easily transportable commodity. It was even used as a currency. The tax hit small producers hardest.

Revenue collectors became as hated and reviled as British troops had been in Boston on the eve of the Revolution. A cartoon of the time, “Excise Man,” minces no words: “Just where he hung the people meet; To see him swing was music sweet; A Barrel of whiskey at his feet.”

[WHISKEY TAX]. *Columbian Centinel*. March 23 and 26, 1791. Boston: Benjamin Russell. Includes the March 3, 1791, *Excise Act*, printed in two parts. The first half appears in the March 23 issue on pages 1, 2 and 4. The second half is printed in the March 26 edition. Signed in type by George Washington as President, Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, and John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate. #30000.77



## Jefferson-Signed Act: Congress Attempts to Ease Protests against Hamilton's Whiskey Tax

*“Be it enacted ... That from and after the last day of June next, the present duties upon spirits, distilled within the United States, and on stills shall cease, and that in lieu thereof, upon all spirits which after the said day shall be distilled within the United States wholly or in part from molasses, sugar or other foreign materials, there shall be paid the duties following ...”*

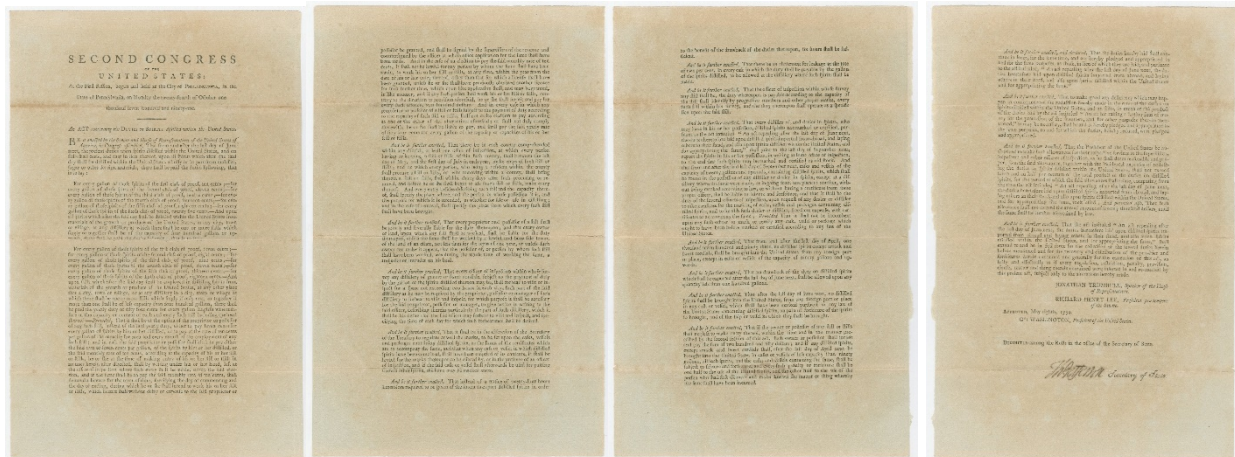
Secretary of State Jefferson signs legislation amending the infamous 1791 “Whiskey Tax,” designed by his archrival, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton. With this revised act, Congress attempted to appease the opposition by easing some regulations and reducing the duties on domestic spirits. But, repeating England’s mistake in responding to Stamp Act protests, this revision caused more problems than it solved. The stringent enforcement scheme enacted here resulted in the Whiskey Rebellion two years later.

To address some of the complaints, Congress passed this May 8, 1792 revision of the earlier law. At Hamilton’s suggestion, this act reduced—but did not eliminate—the duties, and softened some regulations. (As specified in Section 15, the resulting deficiency would be appropriated from the proceeds of the Act for Raising a Farther Sum of Money for the Protection of the Frontiers.) But the outcry continued, and on September 15, 1792, President Washington issued a proclamation condemning those who obstructed the law. Yet another revision, passed on June 5, 1794, was similarly ineffective in quelling the unrest.

### Legislative measures signed by Jefferson as Secretary of State:

Following a law passed on September 15, 1789, Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State, signed two copies of each law, order, vote, or resolution of Congress for distribution to the executive of every state. Kentucky did not become the fifteenth state until June 1, 1792, so Jefferson likely signed only twenty-eight copies of this law. (By the same law, a single copy was distributed to each U.S. senator and representative, though these did not require Jefferson’s authentication. They are unsigned and on smaller paper.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Printed Document Signed, as Secretary of State. An Act Concerning the Duties on Spirits Distilled within the United States, May 8, 1792, [Philadelphia, Pa.]. Signed in print by George Washington as president, Jonathan Trumbull as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard Henry Lee as president pro tem of the Senate. #25195



## Senate Journal, with George Washington's Sixth State of the Union Message

The Third Congress convened in Philadelphia on December 2, 1793. This journal describes the daily operations and proceedings in the Senate from the Second Session, which met from November 3, 1794, to March 3, 1795. On November 19, 1794, President George Washington delivered his State of the Union Address, which included a report of his actions in suppressing the Whiskey Rebellion.

Several other bills related to the insurrection were also passed by the Senate. Other important pieces of legislation discussed include *An Act to establish an uniform rule of Naturalization* and a supplemental act to *An act establishing a Mint, and regulating the Coins of the United States*.

President George Washington presented his sixth annual address to Congress on November 19, 1794. In part, he said, "*When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven by which the American people became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness to which it seems destined, with the deepest regret do I announce to you that during your recess some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our Government and to its stability, which can not be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.*"

*"During the session of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States 'to lay and collect excises.' In a majority of the States scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived; until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and imbibed by the artifice of men, who labored for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence...."*

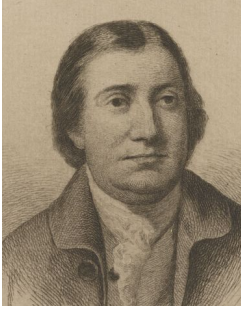
*"Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me that 'in the counties of Washington and Allegheny in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district.' On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed, what might best subdue the crisis...."*

*"Thus, the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march; after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.*

*"It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision the lowest degree of force, competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy and the ease of my fellow-citizens, belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt, and adequate in every view; and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, the governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion an opinion which justified a requisition to the other States."*

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]. Pamphlet. *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, being the Second Session of the Third Congress*. Philadelphia: John Fenno, 1794. #24449

## Introducing Edmund Randolph



After Thomas Jefferson resigned, **Edmund Randolph** became the second Secretary of State on January 2, 1794. Randolph continued signing official copies of Congressional acts for distribution to the States and important government officials. (The practice was discontinued after the Third Congress). This collection contains one of the largest groups of these original signed Congressional Acts, perhaps exceeded only by that in the Library of Congress. For a more detailed biography, and to see additional Acts in the collection, see the section beginning on page 144.

**All of the Randolph-signed Acts offered here were acquired from descendants of Connecticut Governor and Declaration Signer Samuel Huntington (1731-1796).** While President of the Continental Congress, the Articles of Confederation were ratified and the Continental Congress dissolved and re-formed as the United States in Congress Assembled. Huntington became the first President of the United States in Congress Assembled (1779-1781). He served as Governor of Connecticut from 1786 to his death in 1796.

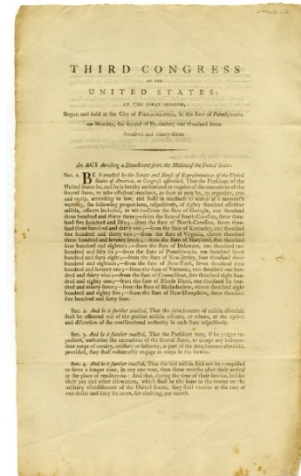
## Preparing to Fight the Whiskey Rebellion: Congress Approves and Funds a Federal Military Force, and Authorizes the President to Call up to 80,000 Militia Men from Four States

*“The President of the United States...is hereby authorized to require of the executives of the several States, to take effectual measures, as soon as may be, to organize, arm and equip, according to law, and hold in readiness to march at a moment’s warning...”*

As with Jefferson before him, Randolph was obliged as Secretary of State to sign Acts of Congress whether he liked them or not. In fact, he was skeptical of the punitive measures the Whiskey Acts represented, recognizing that they would incite unrest in frontier areas. In new Cabinet battles, Randolph opposed Hamilton’s push to put the taxes into effect.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act directing a Detachment from the Militia of the United States*, May 9, 1794. Philadelphia. #24428.02

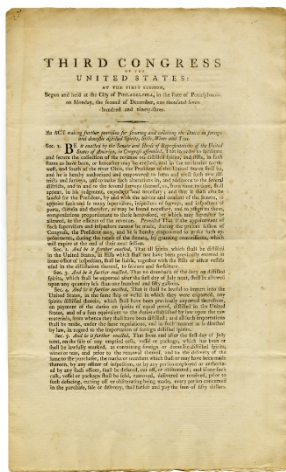
in the office of the Secretary of State.  
*Edm. Randolph*  
Secretary of State.



## “Laying Duties on Licenses for Selling Wines and Foreign Distilled Spirituous Liquors”

This act and the related act (immediately below) passed on the same day were the final straws, as long-simmering resentment flared into open rebellion. The “Whiskey Rebels” attacked a federal marshal and burned the home of a local inspector. Negotiations with the insurgents proved unsuccessful. Invoking the 1792 Militia Act, on August 7, 1794, Washington issued a proclamation ordering the rebels to return peaceably to their homes. He sent peace commissioners to negotiate and simultaneously began raising troops to suppress the insurrection.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act Laying Duties on Licenses for selling Wines and Foreign Distilled Spirituous Liquors by Retail*, June 5, 1794. Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine. #24428.10



## Subjecting Unlicensed Stills to Forfeiture and Confiscation

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act Making further provision for securing and collecting the Duties on foreign and domestic distilled Spirits, Stills, Wines and Teas*, June 5, 1794. Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine. #24428.11

## Hamilton’s Backup Plan: Taxing Sugar and Snuff

“there be levied, collected and paid...for every pound of snuff, eight cents...[and] upon all sugar...a duty of two cents per pound...the duties aforesaid shall be levied, collected and accounted for, by the same officers as are provided by [The Excise Act of 1791].”

As the excise taxes on liquor grew increasingly difficult to enforce, and the possibility of civil war loomed on the western side of the Alleghenies, Hamilton realized that alternate funding sources from the East might be needed to stabilize government finances. This tax, which placed excises on mills and factories that produced snuff and sugar, proved just as unpopular in the cities as the Whiskey Tax was among small distillers. Congress amended the act in 1795 and suspended it in 1797.

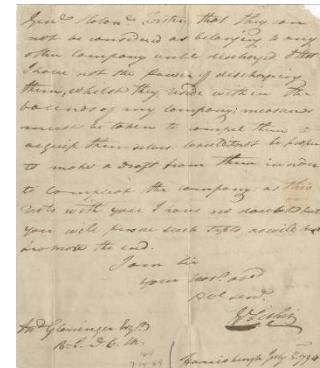
EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act laying certain duties upon Snuff and Refined Sugar*, June 5, 1794. Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine. Signed in type by George Washington as President, Ralph Izard as President pro tempore of the Senate, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House. #24428.12



## A Pennsylvania Militia Vows to Fight for Their Liberty...Against the Whiskey Rebels

*“In conformity to your letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> 26 including drummer & fifer of my company of Light Infantry, at 4 oclock yesterday Morning paraded **completely acquiped & with the Genuine ardour of Freeman agreed unanimously to march at a moments warning, in Defence of their Rights, Liberty & Property.** ... There are also about 35 more, who signed the original association, that have never acquiped themselves ... should you concur in opinion with the Gen<sup>l</sup> & Colon<sup>l</sup> Forster, that they cannot be considered as belonging to any other company until discharged, & that I have not the power of discharging them, whilst they reside within the bounds of my company; measures must be taken to compel them to acquip themselves. Would it not be proper to make a Draft from them in order to compleat the company: as this rests with you I have no doubt but you will persue such steps as will best promote the end...”*

Violent opposition erupted in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in July 1794. U.S. marshals attempting to serve court papers were met by armed citizens and local militia members. Protests included tarring and feathering tax collectors, the destruction of government offices, the destruction of the houses of tax collectors, and the mustering of insurgent forces. After the federalized militia, led by Washington and Hamilton, entered the insurgent counties and arrested several local men as examples (most of the leaders of the rebellion had fled west before the militia arrived), the opposition quickly fizzled. Suppressing the rebellion represented the first real test against internal threats for the newly created Constitutional government.



Militia companies west of the Alleghenies had provided training and an organization structure for the leaders of the rebellion, and federal officials initially feared that Pennsylvania’s militia would sympathize with the rebellion and refuse to fight. But many militia members from eastern and central Pennsylvania proved eager to suppress the rebellion, believing the scale of the disorder threatened their own liberty and security. George Fisher was a captain of a company of light infantry in the Dauphin County, Pa. militia. John Gloninger was brigade inspector.

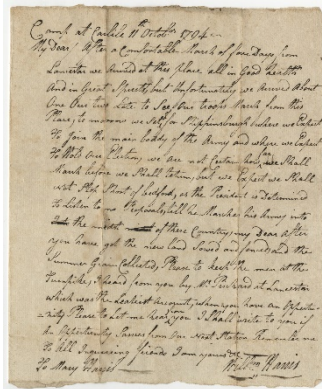
GEORGE FISHER. Autograph Letter Signed, to John Gloninger, Esq., July 5, 1794, Harrisburg, [Pennsylvania]. #23629.01

## Marching to Join Washington’s Army to Put Down the Whiskey Rebellion

*“After a Comfortable March of four days from Lancaster we Arrived at this place all in Good health and in Great Spirits, but unfortunately we arrived about One our [hour] two Late to see our troops March from this Place, tomorrow we set off for Shippensburg where **we Expect to join the main boddy of the Army and where we Expect to hold our election,** we are not Certain how far we Shall March before we Shall Return, but we Expect we Shall not Stop Short of Bedford, as **the President is Determined to Listen to no Proposals, till he Marches his Army into the midst of there Country...**”*

While marching through southern Pennsylvania, trying to catch up with Washington’s main army, William Harris writes his wife. Harris was only a step behind Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton had written to his own wife, Eliza, from Carlisle on October 10 to inform her that “Tomorrow we leave

this for Fort Cumberland” and assuring her that “We are very strong & the Insurgents are all submissive so that you may be perfectly tranquil.”



On September 30, the president and Alexander Hamilton left Philadelphia to rendezvous with a federalized force of 12,950 men at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. They arrived four days later and marched with the militia to Bedford. After reviewing the troops and preparing his officers to advance when ordered, Washington returned to Philadelphia to meet with Congress. Shortly thereafter, General “Light-Horse Harry” Lee led troops into western Pennsylvania and arrested the core of the rebel army. The uprising quickly collapsed.

William Harris (1757-1812) was a farmer and member of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. At the start of the Revolutionary War, he joined the state militia as an 18-year-old. In March 1777, he was appointed a second lieutenant. His regiment was taken into the Pennsylvania Line of the Continental army and saw action at Brandywine and Germantown. Harris again served in 1794, as captain of a Chester County regiment and regimental paymaster, when the militia was called to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion. In 1811, he was commissioned brigadier general. Although called up for the War of 1812, he died before serving.

WILLIAM HARRIS. Autograph Letter Signed, to his wife Mary, October 11, 1794. #23629.02

### Securing the Government’s Financial Stability Following the Whiskey Rebellion

*“the President of the United States be empowered to borrow ... any sum not exceeding two million of dollars, at an interest not exceeding five per cent per annum, reimbursable at the pleasure of the United States, to be applied to such public purposes, as are authorized by law, and to be repaid out of the duties on import and tonnage....”*

Seeking to stabilize the government’s finances, Hamilton wrote to the directors of the Bank of the United States urging them to disburse the entire loan immediately, as “the expence of suppressing the late insurrection has created a necessity for larger anticipations than usual and for a longer term of reimbursement.” The directors granted the request, and Hamilton used the opportunity to solidify the strength of the nation’s credit. Repayment, in \$200,000 installments, began immediately.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act authorizing a loan of two million dollars.* December 18, 1794. Printed with *An Act to authorize the officers of the Treasury to audit and pass the account of the late Edward Blanchard, deceased....* #24428.20

### Paying the Piper

*“for the pay, subsistence, forage and other expenses attending the militia in their late expedition to the western counties of Pennsylvania, a sum not exceeding one million, one hundred and twenty-two thousand, five hundred and sixty-nine dollars and one cent....”*

Washington issued a general pardon for all participants in the Whiskey Rebellion except the few still under indictment. The federal court found only two men guilty of treason and sentenced them to death by hanging. In July 1795, Washington pardoned both convicted men, as well as most of those who had yet to stand trial. In the end, the president was able to uphold federal authority with minimal bloodshed and with overall public approval. Congress repealed the hated “Whiskey Tax” in 1797.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act making appropriations for the support of the military establishment of the United States, for the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety five*, December 31, 1794. Philadelphia: Francis Childs. #24428.21

### Hamilton Remits a Whiskey Tax Fine Two Days Before Leaving the Treasury

Partial Transcript:

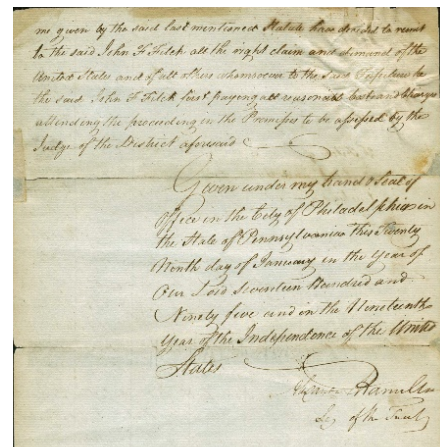
*“To all whom these presents shall come, I Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury of the United States send Greeting*

*“Whereas a Statement of facts with the Petition of John F. Fitch of the Town of East Windsor in the State of Connecticut and Owner of Two Distilleries hereto annexed touching a certain Forfeiture incurred under the Statutes of the United States...*

*“and ‘An Act concerning the duties on Spirits distilled within the United States’ was on the Twenty-sixth day of June last past transmitted to me the said Secretary of the Treasury by direction of the Judge of the United States for the District of New York pursuant to the Statute of the United States intitled “An Act to provide for mitigating or remitting the Penalties and Forfeitures accruing under the Revenue Laws in certain cases therein mentioned” as by the said Statement of facts and Petition remaining in the Treasury Department...*

*[I] have decided to remit to the said John F. Fitch all the right claim and demand of the United States and of all others whomsoever to the said Forfeiture he the said John F. Fitch first paying all reasonable costs and charges attending the proceeding in the Premises to be assessed by the Judge of the District aforesaid.... Alexander Hamilton / Secy of Treasy”*

John Field Fitch (1766-1819) was born in Windsor, Connecticut. In 1788, he married Lucy Mather, and they had at least seven children. He was the nephew of steamboat inventor John Fitch.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Manuscript Document Signed “A. Hamilton / Secy. of the Treasy.” remitting a fine on John F. Fitch, “owner of two Distilleries.” January 29, 1795, with Treasury Department seal. #25083

## The Bank Breaks for Increased Military Spending

The rebellions that broke out after the Revolutionary War convinced Congress of the importance of paying soldiers and officers fairly as well as of the urgent need for a military establishment strong enough to maintain domestic order. Congress accordingly approved two large military loans for 1795, to be drawn on the Bank of the United States. The first, the *Act making appropriations for the support of the Military establishment*, was primarily allocated to compensate militia members and officers who had helped suppress the Whiskey Rebellion.

Both Acts were innovations in military funding. In previous years, the federal government had budgeted each year's military expenses from existing funds. These loan requests immediately followed an emergency loan for two million dollars, which the Bank of the United States had issued to the Treasury in December 1794. The Bank's Directors grew increasingly cautious about making large loans available to the federal government for military centralization.

When Congress approved the military budget on March 3, the Treasury received unambiguous opposition from the Bank of the United States in the form of less-favorable loan terms. On March 20, Oliver Walcott (Hamilton's successor as Treasury Secretary) communicated the difficulty of the situation to the president: "Notwithstanding the terms proposed by the Bank are less favorable than have been obtained on former occasions; yet they are ... such as ought to be accepted, considering the embarrassments of the present moment, and the great proportion of the Bank capital which has been already applied to the use of the Government."

In an attempt to provide a foreseeable endpoint to loans, and thereby give security to the Bank, the Senate attempted to include a twenty-year limit on funding the debt, on the condition that it should be retired within two decades. This contingency was added to the March 3, 1795, *Act making further provision for the support of public credit and for the redemption of the public debt*, but the House struck it out before passing the Act as originally written, with a continued open-end date for funding and retiring the debt.



EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act making further provision for the support of public credit, and for the redemption of the public debt*. March 3, 1795. Philadelphia: Francis Childs. Signed in type by George Washington as President, Henry Tazewell as President of the Senate pro tempore, and Frederick Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House. #24428.37

## Five Acts of Congress, Including Act Providing Relief to Owners of Stills

A document containing five acts of the Fourth Congress, all passed during the final days of their session, between May 28 and June 1, 1796, and are signed in print by President George Washington.

"An Act to regulate the compensation of clerks,"

"An Act for the relief of persons imprisoned for debt,"

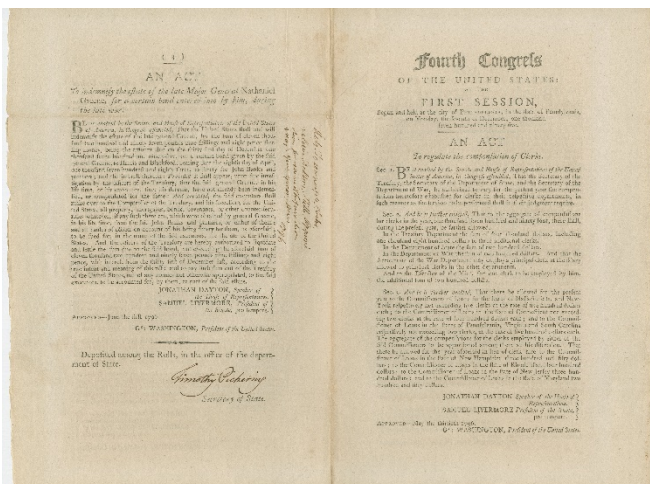


Distillers using stills with a capacity of less than four hundred gallons were to pay 54 cents per gallon of capacity annually. "An Act providing relief to the owners of stills within the United States, for a limited time, in certain cases," included here, allowed distillers to forego paying the 54-cent annual duty and instead pay a 10-cent monthly duty for the time he employed his still because of "the failure of fruit and grain" within the district where he resided. The act could thus reduce the duty for a ten-gallon still from \$5.40 to \$1 or \$2, if the distiller used it for only one or two months.

"An Act making an appropriation to satisfy certain demands attending the late insurrection; and to increase the compensation to jurors and witnesses in the courts of the United States", set compensation at 50 cents per day for both for attending federal court.

Major General Nathaniel Green commanded the Continental Army in the southern theater. In 1782, the War Department authorized Major General Nathanael Greene to obtain clothing for his troops. In doing so, he became responsible for more than £32,000 in debt. After his death in 1786, his estate faced "entire ruin." Hamilton advocated on behalf of Greene's widow Catherine in a report of December 26, 1791, which Congress acted on four months later.<sup>1</sup> But in May 1795, creditors won a lawsuit against Greene's estate by the banking house involved in purchases for the troops. Edward Rutledge, the executor of Greene's estate and youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence, asked Hamilton for help again.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, Congress responded with "An Act to indemnify the estate of the late Major General Nathaniel Green, for a certain bond entered by him, during the late war," included here, which indemnified the estate for £11,297.

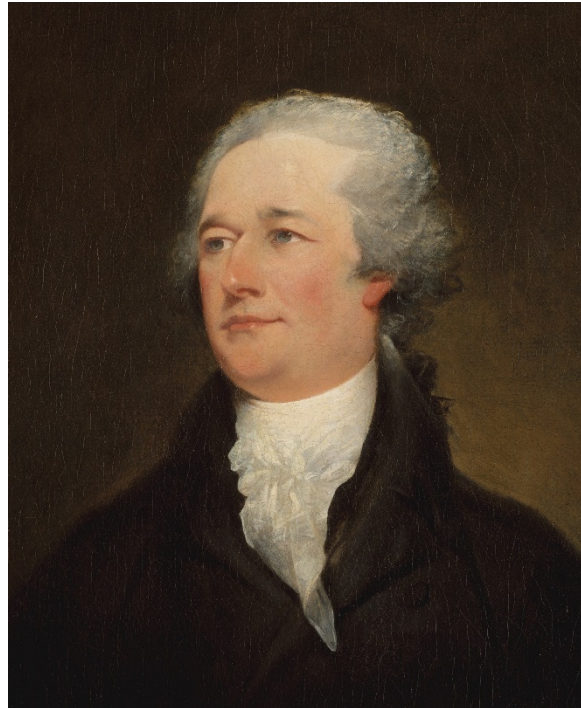
Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard College in 1763. Admitted to the bar in 1768, he entered the Continental Army as a colonel and in 1777 was appointed adjutant general. He served as quartermaster general of the Continental Army from 1780 to the end of the war. In 1785, he moved to Philadelphia, and in 1786, to the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, where he held local offices in Luzerne County. He served in the Pennsylvania convention that ratified the United States Constitution, and then as President Washington's Postmaster General (1791-1795) and Secretary of War (1795). He was the nation's third Secretary of State (1795-1800), in both the Washington and Adams administrations. After the election of 1800, Pickering briefly returned to private life, though maintaining a leading role in opposition to Thomas Jefferson. He served as a Federalist U.S. Senator from Massachusetts from 1803 to 1811, and then as a U.S. Representative from 1813 to 1816.



**TIMOTHY PICKERING.** Printed Document Signed, as Secretary of State. June 1, 1796. The Secretary of State no longer had to sign two copies for every state, so Acts of Congress signed by Pickering are very rare. #25081

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Hamilton, [Report on the Petition of Catharine Greene](#), December 26, 1791.  
<sup>2</sup> [Edward Rutledge to Alexander Hamilton](#), May 27, 1795.

# Hamilton and America Finding Their Place in the World



## Remembering Ben Franklin's Maxims

“\* Want of care does more damage than want of knowledge. \* For want of a Nail the Shoe was lost. And for want of a Shoe the Horse was lost. \* He that by the Plough would thrive himself must either hold or drive. \* When the well is dry they know the worth of water. \*”



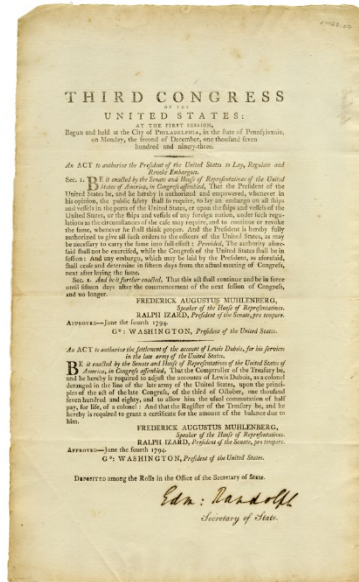
Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), one of America's first great renaissance men, excelled as a scientist, writer, printer, and diplomat. In 1732, he published the first *Poor Richard's Almanac*, combining traditional material and witty maxims. In the 1740s he invented the Franklin stove, and performed a series of key experiments on electricity, becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1756. In 1757, he represented Pennsylvania's interests in England, settling tax and trade disputes. Awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws degree (L.L.D.) from the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, in 1759. In 1764, he lobbied unsuccessfully against the Stamp Act. Returning home, he served in the Second Continental Congress, developed America's postal system, and helped draft the Declaration of Independence. Returning to Europe, Franklin negotiated for military and financial assistance from France, and arranged the commercial and strategic alliance with that country in 1778.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. "Dr. B. Franklin's Maxims / or Moral Pictures for Youth / B. Franklin, L.L.D. F.R.S. / Born at Boston Jan<sup>y</sup> 17, 1706 / Died at Philadelphia April 17, 1790." Rare hand finished English printed cloth textile kerchief. Date unknown. #24600



## Fighting for Neutrality

When war broke out between Revolutionary France and Britain in 1793, the British Navy began targeting enemy vessels across the Atlantic. America was vulnerable in this conflict, as Britain recognized America as a perpetual ally of France (by the treaty of 1778). American merchants eventually lost over 250 ships in the French Caribbean to British capture.



Federalists, whose attachment to France had waned since the onset of the French Revolution, had declared neutrality in the British-French conflict and were reluctant to intervene. The Federalists' preferred long-term strategy of military buildup and negotiations, however, proved inadequate in the face of immediate British hostilities. On March 26, 1794, Congress passed this *Embargo Act*, a thirty-day halt of American shipping, intended to relieve pressure on American sailors and merchants without provoking Britain.

In April, a House Resolution renewed the Embargo by extending the prohibition on American exports for another month. A further Act of June 4, 1794, empowered Washington to renew the Embargo every month at his own discretion. The Embargo, in the short term, protected the lives of sailors and allowed Washington's administration time to build up the nation's military strength and pursue negotiations. However, the 1794 Embargo Act—like embargos before and after it—proved financially damaging to

American merchants, particularly in the northeastern states.

The Embargo consequently divided those Federalists who believed that asserting the United States' sovereignty abroad depended first on America's enforcement of sovereign principles from those Federalists who believed that a perpetually expanding American mercantile power (with access to British manufacturing technology) would give America greater leverage. This distinction proved enduring, and was reflected in the 1808-1809 exchange between Timothy Pickering, who defended British impressments on behalf of American merchants, and John Adams, who advocated American sovereignty as the paramount concern of all foreign policy.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act to authorize the President of the United States to Lay, Regulate and Revoke Embargoes and An Act to authorize the settlement of the account of Lewis Dubois, for his services in the late army of the United States.* June 4, 1794. Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine. #24428.09

## Jay's Treaty—Controversial Attempt to Resolve America's Tensions with England

[JOHN JAY]. *Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between His Britannic Majesty, and the United States of America, conditionally Ratified by the Senate of the United States, at Philadelphia, June 24, 1795. To which is Annexed a Copious Appendix.* Philadelphia: Lang & Ustick for Mathew Carey, 1795. Second edition. Noah Webster's *Curtius's Vindication of Mr. Jay's Treaty* is in the Appendix. Contemporary tree sheep, maroon morocco label. #24400



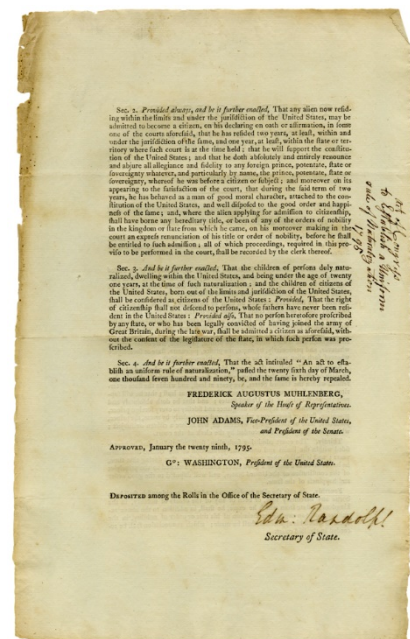
## Laws for Citizenship - the Second Naturalization Act

*“any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, or any of them, on the following conditions, and not otherwise....”*

The Constitution gave Congress the right to determine the process by which foreign-born residents could obtain citizenship, and a 1790 Act of the First Congress laid out the process. This 1795 revision required all persons who wished to become naturalized citizens to go to a court to declare their intention at least three years prior to formal application. They would have to take an oath of allegiance, be a person of good moral character, agree to support the Constitution, and renounce any former sovereign and hereditary titles.

By limiting naturalization to “free white” persons, the early acts effectively prevented any people of color or indentured servants from gaining citizenship. Over the next century and a half, these restrictions were at first reinforced (for instance in the notorious Naturalization Act of 1798, part of the Alien and Sedition Acts, which extended the required residency period to fourteen years), but then eventually eliminated by subsequent revisions.

*“The court admitting such alien shall be satisfied that he has resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States five years; and it shall further appear to their satisfaction, that during that time, he has behaved as a man of a good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.*  
*SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, that the children of persons duly naturalized, dwelling within the United States, and being under the age of twenty-one years, at the time of such naturalization, and the children of citizens of the United States, born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, shall be considered as citizens of the United States: Provided, That the right of citizenship shall not descend to persons, whose fathers have never been resident of the United States: Provided also, That no person heretofore proscribed by any state, or who has been legally convicted of having joined the army of Great Britain during the late war, shall be admitted a citizen as foresaid, without the consent of the legislature of the state, in which such person was proscribed.”*



EDMUND RANDOLPH. Document Signed as Secretary of State. *An act to establish an uniform rule of naturalization; and to repeal the act heretofore passed.* January 29, 1795. Philadelphia: Francis Childs. Signed in type by George Washington as President, John Adams as Vice President, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House of Representatives. #24428.26

## Nearly Launching Several Duels Between the Livingstons and Hamilton at Federal Hall, Edward Livingston Slammed Hamilton: “Beware of Him or He Will Ruin You.”

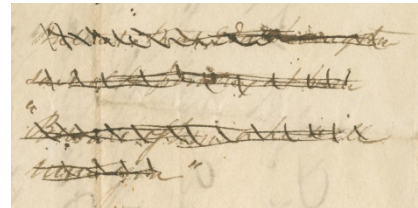
On Saturday, July 18, 1795, a public gathering at New York’s City Hall nearly turned into a riot. News of a recently completed Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Great Britain, negotiated by John Jay and granting significant latitude to Britain, had arrived in the states. Tensions were high, and the meeting turned increasingly raucous. Hamilton attempted to defend the Treaty, but Republicans, carrying American and French flags, shouted down the former Treasury Secretary.

*“The subjoined is to the best of my recollection the precise words used by M<sup>r</sup> Edward Livingston at the publick meeting last Saturday, command my services with great regard your very humble servant / James Farquhar*

*“New York, 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1795”*

*“I certify that M<sup>r</sup> Edward Livingston did declare to a number of people in front of Federal Hall last Saturday, point to Alexander Hamilton, beware of him or he will ruin you.*

*“James Farquhar”*



[Docketing by **Hamilton**, struck out later:]

***“Intimates that Edw<sup>d</sup> Livingston said of H pointing at him ‘Beware of him or he will ruin you’”***

Hamilton wasn’t the only one trying to document what had been said on July 18<sup>th</sup>. Edward Livingston wrote to his mother, Margaret Beekman Livingston, on July 20, 1795:

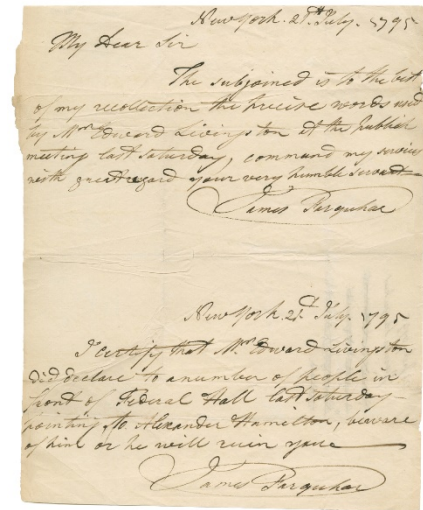
“Nothing can equal the Vexation of the tory party on discovering that their favorite leader [Hamilton] had lost his influence except the indecency with which the leader testified his Mortification—in the afternoon of Saturday a number of gentlemen of [both] parties accidentally stopped at my Door. We entered into Conversation on the politics of the Day, at first coolly and afterwards with some Warmth between Peter [Peter R. Livingston] & Jo. [Josiah Ogden] Hoffman. It at last grew personal & Mr. [Rufus] King, myself and others interposed begging that if there were any personal disputes they might be settled elsewhere. Hamilton then stepped forward declaring that if the parties were to contend in a personal Way, he was ready that he would fight the Whole party one by one. I was just beginning to speak to him on the Subject [of] this imprudent declaration when he turned from me threw up his arm & Declared that he was ready to fight the Whole ‘Destestable faction’ one by one. — Maturin [Livingston] at this moment arrived, he stepped up to him told him very coolly that he was one of the party that he accepted the challenge & would meet him in half an hour where he pleased. Hamilton said he had an affair on his Hands already with one of the party (meaning a quarrel with Commodore Nicholson) & when that was settled he would call on him. Neither Nicholson nor Maturin have as yet heard from him. I mention this Circumstance particularly that you may Judge how much he must be Mortified at his loss of Influence before he would descend [to] language that would have become a Street Bully.”<sup>3</sup>

According to the *New-York Gazette*, “three stones were thrown at Mr. Hamilton, the second of which glanced his forehead but without material injury; one of the others struck another gentleman standing by him.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Edward Livingston to Margaret Beekman Livingston, July 20, 1795, New-York Historical Society.

<sup>4</sup> *The New-York Gazette and General Advertiser* (New York, NY), July 20, 1795, 3:1.

James Farquhar (1742-1831) was born in Scotland and came to New York by 1757. He went to sea and served as a master of ships until 1774, when he married Elizabeth Curson and settled in New York City. He became a wine merchant and a vestryman at Trinity Church from 1784 to 1801. He served as a second in a duel in 1786. In 1800, he was appointed Warden of the Port. In the early nineteenth century, he led New York's assembly dances (forerunner of debutante balls). Historical



The Livingston cousins were all members of the prominent New York family which had migrated from Scotland in the seventeenth century. Edward (1764-1836) graduated from the College of New Jersey, and was an attorney, a Congressman from New York (1795-1801) and leader of the opposition to Jay's Treaty, U.S. Attorney for New York, and mayor of New York City (1801-1803). Later, he served as Congressman (1823-1829) and U.S. Senator from Louisiana (1829-1831), and as U.S. Secretary of State (1831-1833). James (1747-1832) served as a colonel in the Revolutionary War and represented Saratoga in the New York State Legislature (1783-1794). Henry Brockholst (1757-1823) graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and served as a lieutenant colonel in the Revolutionary War. He was private secretary to John Jay (1779-1782), attorney in New York (1783-1802), judge of the State Supreme Court (1802-1807), and associate justice of the United States Supreme Court (1807-1823). Maturin (1769-1847) was a graduate of the College of New Jersey, an attorney, and a delegate to the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1801.

JAMES FARQUHAR. Autograph Document Signed, with ALEXANDER HAMILTON Autograph Note on verso (though struck out), July 21, 1795. #24643

## A Declaration Signer's Son Witnesses Hamilton's Challenging Commodore Nicholson to a Duel During the Near-Riot over Jay's Treaty

A fine letter to his brother Lewis Morris, a former aide-de-camp to Nathanael Greene, who settled in South Carolina following the war. Staats Morris served as an artillery officer in the U.S. Army from 1791 to 1800. In the letter offered here, Morris describes his recent visit to New York City while on leave from West Point. During his visit, Morris witnessed Alexander Hamilton's attempt to rally a hostile crowd in support of John Jay's deeply unpopular Treaty with Britain. After failing to convince the crowd of his argument, Hamilton managed to challenge two prominent men to a duel.

Complete Transcript:

New York July 23<sup>d</sup> 1795

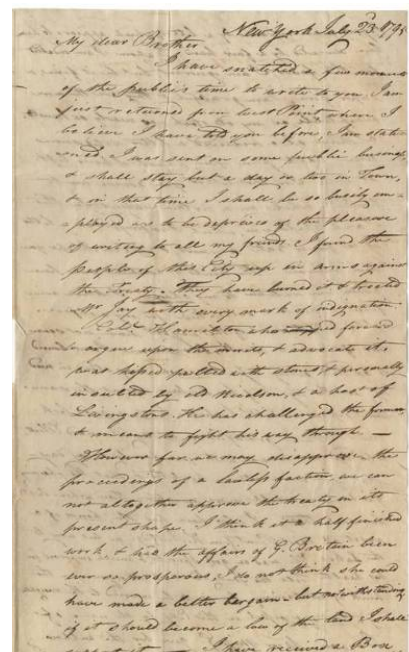
My dear Brother

*I have snatched a few moments of the public's time to write to you. I am just returned from West Point, where I believe I have told you before, I am stationed. I was sent on some public business, & shall stay but a day or two in Town, & in that time I shall be so busily employed as to be deprived of the pleasure of writing to all my friends. **I found the people of this City up in arms against the Treaty. They have burned it & treated M<sup>r</sup> Jay with every mark of indignation.***

***Col. Hamilton who stepped forward to argue upon the merits, & advocate it, was hissed, pelted with stones, & personally insulted by old [Commodore James] Nicolson, & a host of Livingstons. He [Alexander Hamilton] has challenged the former, & means to fight his way through.***

*However far we may disapprove the proceedings of a lawless faction, we can not altogether approve the treaty in its present shape. I think it a half finished work, & had the affairs of G Britain been ever so prosperous, I do not think she could have made a better bargain, but not withstanding if it should become a law of the land I shall support it. I have received a Box of <2> segars [cigars] unaccompanied by a letter, which appears to have been directed by a fair hand. To whom I am indebted for this favor, I am ignorant, but be it fine, or super fine, I am grateful, & they are the more acceptable, as my old stock was nearly exhausted.*

*I have also received a letter dated some time back from you, which I have left at W.P. In this letter you advise me to pause a while, on a certain subject. In this I anticipated you, which I expressed in a letter of a prior date to yours, & which I hope you have received. The hints & cautions you have given me relative to my charge, I know arise from a sincere solicitude for my welfare. She is out of the way, & I have not seen her for near a month, but however I am bound to extend every assistance she may stand in need of, as the agent of her husband but at the same time depend on Col<sup>l</sup>, I shall keep a good look out. I was gratified in meeting Barnard Elliott, who told me he was with your family every day, that you were all in health & that the charming Girls were still more amiable than when last he saw them. I also have had the honor of a visit at West Point from H. Rutledge, on his way to the Lakes. He was in good spirits, & much improved in his heath. Tell the young ladies M<sup>r</sup> Morgan is on the brink of matrimony he is to be married to the daughter of a Cap<sup>t</sup> of a vessel in this city by the name of Bunyan. Poor Miss G give her the willow. <3> I am sorry my Brother, you had not paid yourself the amount of the demands against me, of which I left a*





*memorandum, out of the proceeds of the horses. The set of china that I mentioned in a former letter has been sold for almost nothing & is entirely inadequate to the purpose. The loss upon this- the loss of O Doharty- the expence of my journey & stay at Philad<sup>a</sup> together with the expense of equipping myself with uniform, my mess at West Point to pay off some old demands I have been compelled to borrow 100 Doll<sup>s</sup>, which however I hope soon to replace & when done I shall make you a remittance.*

*My situation at West point is an agreeable one, but one that exposes me to considerable [ex]pence, having the pleasure of seeing all my acquaintances, who go up or come down River, & to whom I must give something to eat a glass of wine &c to wash it down — I have an agreeable mess composed of 3 Captains & the Quarter Master of the Regt. viz Capt. Littlefield an acquaintance of yours, & a brother of Mrs Green, Capt. Mitchell Son of [Stephen] Mix Mitchell Senator to the U.S. from Connecticut & Lieut McClallan of Albany. Capt. Mitchell is a gay young man of good education & only 22 years old. he talks of making a visit to Charleston. the girls must set their caps. James rece<sup>d</sup> a letter the other day from Brother Dan<sup>l</sup> he is well & has written to his mother. Give my sincerest <4> love to my dearest sister & sweet little folks & my best respects to the rest of your charge & believe me with truth*  
*your aff<sup>r</sup> Brother / Staats*

*P.S. enclosed is a letter to M<sup>r</sup> Ewing with whom you deal in Trad S<sup>t</sup> They are all well at Morrisania & busily employed harvesting.*

[Address:] *The Honble Col<sup>l</sup> / Lewis Morris / Charleston / S<sup>o</sup> Carolina.*

[Docketing:] *From Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris. July 23<sup>d</sup> 95*

Staats Morris (1765-1827), the son of Declaration of Independence signer Lewis Morris and served as a captain in the First Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers during the Revolutionary War and as an aide-de-camp to General Anthony Wayne during the Indian wars that followed. He commanded artillery in Baltimore harbor from 1798 and occupied the newly completed Fort McHenry in 1802.

Commodore James Nicholson (1737-1804) was commissioned Captain in the Continental Navy in 1776. He joined Washington at the Battle of Trenton and aided in that key victory. Nicholson had accused Hamilton of profiting from Jay's Treaty with an investment of £100,000 in British securities. Letters between Hamilton and Nicholson reveal that at the July 18 meeting Hamilton had attempted to intervene in a heated argument between Nicholson and Josiah Ogden Hoffman "to prevent," in Hamilton's words, "the continuance of a controversy which might lead to disturbance & riot." Nicholson then accused Hamilton of declining "an interview [i.e., duel] on a former occasion." Wishing to preserve his honor, Hamilton challenged Nicholson to a duel. Nicholson accepted, and the two were to negotiate details shortly. In the meantime, the Republican crowd continued to goad the Federalists. Hamilton confronted them all, offering to fight "the whole detestable faction," one by one. Maturin Livingston accepted the challenge. Hamilton parried by noting he already had one affair of honor on his hands, so he deferred this second challenge until after the first was settled.

Hamilton and Nicholson corresponded over the next several days, while Hamilton put his financial affairs in order. The principals, together with their seconds, Nicholas Fish for Hamilton and DeWitt Clinton for Nicholson, managed to calm passions enough to allow the two men to back away while both preserving their honor. The fight with one or more Livingstons was also averted. Nine years later, Hamilton would not be as lucky.

STAATS MORRIS. Autograph Letter Signed, to his older brother, Lewis Morris Jr., July 23, 1795, New York. #24138

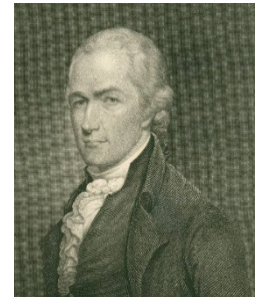
## Hamilton's Carriage Tax Act

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Printed document Signed as Secretary of State. *An Act laying duties upon Carriages for the conveyance of persons...*, June 5, 1794. A scarce copy of the Act that became the focus of important Supreme Court deliberation, described above. #24428.13

## Hamilton Seeks Payment for Arguing on Behalf of the Government in the Supreme Court's First Case of Judicial Review – Defending His Carriage Tax

*“the sum which shall be allowed for my compensation in attending the argument on behalf of the U States, respecting the constitutionality of the Tax on Carriages.”*

In addition to the Whiskey tax and import duties, in 1794 Hamilton proposed and Congress passed “An Act to Lay Duties upon Carriages for the Conveyance of Persons.” Having successfully established America’s financial system, Hamilton resigned from the Treasury on January 31, 1795 and returned to the private practice of law.



Daniel Hylton refused to pay the carriage tax, which he claimed was contrary to the Constitution’s provision that no capitation (poll tax) “or other direct tax” be imposed except in proportion to the population of the states. (By Hylton’s reasoning, in two states of equal population, but with one state having twice as many carriages as the other, a person in the low carriage state would have to pay an effective tax rate twice as high as a person in the high carriage state.) The government prevailed in the federal circuit court of Virginia.

To meet the \$2,000 minimum for federal jurisdiction, Hylton was allowed to stipulate that he owned 125 carriages subject to the tax, though if he lost, he would only have to pay \$16.

Hamilton was brought back to represent the government’s case. He argued successfully that this was not an unconstitutional direct tax, but one that met the requirement that “all duties, imposts and excises “be levied uniformly.” Although *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803 was the first case in which the Supreme Court explicitly asserted the power of judicial review to overturn an Act of Congress (Section 13 of the 1789 Judiciary Act), *Hylton* was actually the first Supreme Court case that weighed the constitutionality of an Act of Congress. (See newspaper addendum for *Marbury*)

Complete Transcript:

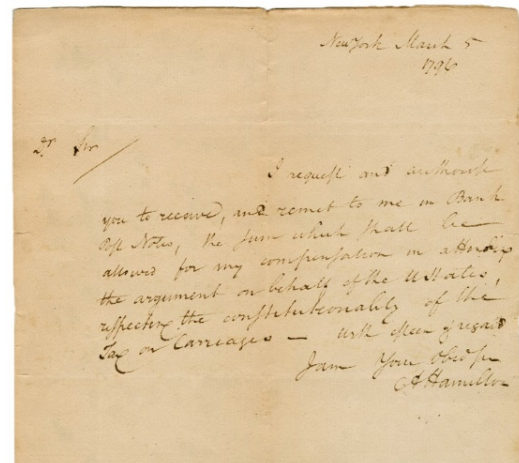
*New York March 5 1796*

*D<sup>r</sup> Sir*

*I request and authorize you to receive, and remit to me in Bank Post Notes, the sum which shall be allowed for my compensation in attending the argument on behalf of the U States, respecting the constitutionality of the Tax on Carriages. With esteem & regard*

*I am Your obed Srv / A Hamilton*

Five days later, Hamilton’s cashbook records the payment of 500 dollars - a large sum at the time.



The **Supreme Court** first convened on February 2, 1790, at the Royal Exchange Building on Broad Street in New York City. (Congress didn't provide the Court with its own building until 1935). Eighteen months later, it issued its first decision.

On February 23-25, 1796, *Hylton v. United States* was heard by Justices Samuel Chase, William Paterson, and James Iredell. Two days later, Justice Iredell wrote that "Mr. Hamilton spoke in our Court, attended by the most crowded audience I ever saw there, both Houses of Congress being almost deserted on the occasion. Though he was in very ill health, he spoke with astonishing ability, and in a most pleasing manner, and was listened to with the profoundest attention."

On March 8, 1796, they issued seriatim opinions, unanimously affirming the constitutionality of the tax. (The court's practice of issuing joint decisions began in 1801).

Justice Chase, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and strong Federalist, noted that "The great object of the Constitution was to give Congress a power to lay taxes adequate to the exigencies of government." Justice Iredell wrote, "I am clearly of opinion this is not a direct tax in the sense of the Constitution, and therefore that the judgment ought to be affirmed." Justice Iredell argued that it would be unfair and impossible to administer such a tax by population. Justice William Paterson, a signer of the Constitution, wrote, "All taxes on expenses or consumption are indirect taxes. A tax on carriages is of this kind, and of course is not a direct tax.... I am, therefore, of opinion, that the judgment rendered in the Circuit Court of Virginia ought to be affirmed." He explained why the rule of apportionment applied only to poll taxes (capitation) and land taxes. Justice James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration and Constitution, had heard the facts and arguments in Virginia; he added "that my sentiments, in favor of the constitutionality of the tax in question, have not been changed."

Hamilton's *Hylton* interpretation held for 99 years. It was overturned in 1895, when the Supreme Court decided in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.* that all taxes on personal property were prohibited. 18 years later, however, it was effectively reinstated with the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment, allowing taxes on income from real estate and personal property. In 2012, Chief Justice John Roberts cited the *Hylton* precedent in his decision accepting the constitutionality of the Obamacare mandate for individuals to buy health insurance or face a tax penalty.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Autograph Letter Signed, March 5, 1796. New York City. #24954

## Hamilton Advises Holland Land Company on New Law Prohibiting Foreign Land Owners

*“It is manifestly the interest of the parties concerned to avail themselves of this act. They are now intirely at the discretion of the Government....”*

New York adhered to the common-law prohibition against foreigners owning land. If a citizen purchased property in his own name but the money came from a foreigner, the purchaser was considered a trustee, and the State could seize the property. But Dutch investors, second only to France in their aid to America during the Revolution, invested heavily in American stocks, bonds, and western lands, working largely through their agent Théophile Cazenove.

The Holland Land Company involved many luminaries of the day, including their attorney Hamilton, Aaron Burr (who paid \$5,000 in bribes on behalf of the company), and other prominent buyers, sellers, and investors. In 1792 and 1793, Robert Morris sold 3.25 million acres in western New York to trustees of Amsterdam’s Six Houses. In December 1792 and February 1794, Declaration and Constitution Signer James Wilson sold 1.4 million acres (more than he could deliver) in western Pennsylvania to trustees of the Six Houses. Morris and Wilson, two of the most influential founders, both spent time in debtor’s prison, in part for their land speculations. Though Morris was out of government at the time, Wilson incredibly served short stints in debtor’s prison while he was a sitting Supreme Court Justice.

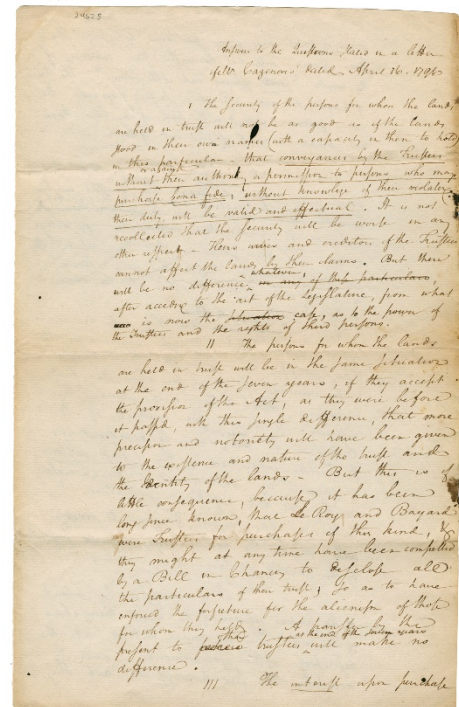
*“Answers to the Questions Stated in a letter of M<sup>r</sup> Cazenove’s dated April 16, 1796*

*“I The security of the persons for whom the lands are held in trust will not be as good as if the lands stood in their own names (with a capacity in them to hold) in this particular, that conveyances by the Trustees without or against their authority or permission to persons who may purchase bona fide, without knowledge of their violating their duty will be valid and effectual. It is not recollected that the security will be worse in any other respect. Heirs wives and creditors of the Trustees cannot affect the lands by their claims. But there will be no difference whatever, after acceding to the act of the Legislature, from what is now the case, as to the power of the Trustees and the rights of third persons.*

*“II The persons for whom the lands are held in trust will be in the same situation at the end of the seven years, if they accept the provision of the Act... it has been long since known that LeRoy and Bayard were Trustees for purchases of this kind, & they might at any time have been compelled by a bill in Chancery to disclose all the particulars of their trust; so as to have enforced the forfeiture for the alienism of those for whom they held. A transfer by the present to other trustees at the end of the seven years will make no difference...*

*“IV Letters as well as more formal powers will suffice to authorize the present Trustees to make the declarations required by the Act....*

*“It is manifestly the interest of the parties concerned to avail themselves of this act. They are now intirely at the discretion of the Government...”*





[File Note, also in Hamilton's hand:] "*Opinion to Mr Cazenove*"

In February, 1796, the Six Houses combined to form the Holland Land Company. However, Indian claims and the lack of surveys and roads dashed their hopes to sell quickly; the last of their lands was not sold until 1840. On April 11, 1796, the New York legislature passed a bill allowing those persons who had taken title as trustees to hold them for a period of seven years. The act gave the Dutch owners that period either to become citizens or to sell the property to American citizens. Five days later, on April 16, 1796, Cazenove wrote to New York Supreme Court Justice Egbert Benson asking a series of questions regarding the security of the Company's lands held by trustees, according to the provisions of the new law. Benson had worked with Hamilton to get the law passed. This document is Hamilton's retained draft of his May 19 response to Cazenove's queries to Benson.

Théophile Cazenove (1740-1811) was a native of Holland and had a brokerage and commercial business in Amsterdam from 1763-1788. He represented the "Six Houses" (Dutch banking houses) in their American business. He arrived in the United States in 1790 and persuaded the banks to invest in western lands. Between 1792 and 1794, Cazenove purchased more than five million acres in western New York and Pennsylvania for his employers. Both Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr advised him on matters of his clients' land and interests in America. Cazenove's house in Philadelphia served as a social center for French émigrés who had fled when the French Revolution began turning on itself, and Cazenove served as a key intermediary between the French émigrés and American financial leaders.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Manuscript Draft, to Théophile Cazenove, c. May 19, 1796.  
#24625

## Honoring Washington and Quoting His Farewell Address (Drafted by Hamilton)

*“Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion....”*

At the end of his second term, Washington sent an open letter emphasizing the importance of unity and warning Americans against entanglements with foreign powers. Though he had initially solicited the aide of Madison in crafting his remarks, he sought out Alexander Hamilton in the composition of a second draft, and most of the material remained Hamilton’s upon completion. The Address, first delivered to Congress in writing, warns against the dangers of sectionalism, and criticizes “*the insidious wiles of foreign influence,*” referring to the pro-French sentiments of Jefferson and the Republicans. Washington’s policy during the wars between Great Britain and France in the early 1790s had been one of strict neutrality, and in the closing paragraphs of his Address he argues for continued American isolationism. America heeded his advice against joining a permanent alliance for more than a century and a half.

Scarce glazed cotton textile, ca. 1806 #24763



## British Printing of Washington’s Farewell Address

*“The period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant...it appears to me proper... that I shall now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered.... I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.... Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.*

*“Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the*

*present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments: which are the result of much reflection....”*

*“The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety...and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.”*

*“Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance...when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.*

*“Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?*

*“’Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it....”*

*The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle, Supplement for 1796. Washington’s Farewell Address runs from p. 1089 to 1095. #24485*

### **The General and Mrs. Washington at their Beloved Mount Vernon**

A superb folk art piece showing the Washingtons at their beloved Mount Vernon. Likely undertaken by an itinerant painter in the early to mid-nineteenth century, satisfying the growing demand for Washington-related iconography in the decades following his death in 1799.

[GEORGE and MARTHA WASHINGTON]. Oil on canvas, c. 1840. #23860









*Should this happen, it will be in my opinion, a most unfortunate policy. It will be to take one only instead of two chances against M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson & well weighed, there can be no doubt that the exclusion of M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson is far more important than any difference between M<sup>r</sup> Adams & M<sup>r</sup> Pinckney. <2>*

[seven lines of text are struck, likely by Hamilton, but possibly by his son and biographer. The next two paragraphs, offering a glowing endorsement of Thomas Pinckney, were suppressed in John C. Hamilton's edition of his father's papers]

*But on the other hand M<sup>r</sup> Pinckney is a tried Patriot, a man of irreproachable private character—a man of real good sense, not deficient in information, of consummate discretion, of conciliatory manners & temper, less en[?] but than any other man that can be brought forward to the violence of party passions—a firm friend to the Government, correct to our foreign relations, and of distinguished firmness of character.*

*However ~~ardently~~ we may wish for Mr. Adam's success, can we extremely regret if the choice should happen to fall on Mr. Pinckney? Can it be a doubt than even at this risk it will be wise to take a double chance against Jefferson?*

*At foot is my calculation of chances as between M<sup>r</sup> Adams & M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson. Tis too precarious. Pinckney has the chance of some votes Southward & Westward which M<sup>r</sup> Adams has not. This will render our prospect in the main point, the exclusion of Jefferson, far better.*

*Relying on the strength of your mind I have not scrupled to let you see the state of mine. I never was more firm in an opinion than in the one I now express, yet in acting upon it, there must be much caution & reserve.*

Hamilton's "double chance" strategy miscarried and made Jefferson vice president.

It has been thought that the present draft was for a letter sent to Jeremiah Wadsworth, a Hartford, Connecticut, merchant who served in the Continental Congress and then the U.S. House of Representatives. On November 8, 1796, Hamilton wrote to Wadsworth, "A few days since I wrote you my opinion concerning the good policy of supporting faithfully Pinckney as well as Adams." Though this might be the earlier letter referred to, we think this is likely closer in date to Washington's farewell speech, and earlier in the election process.

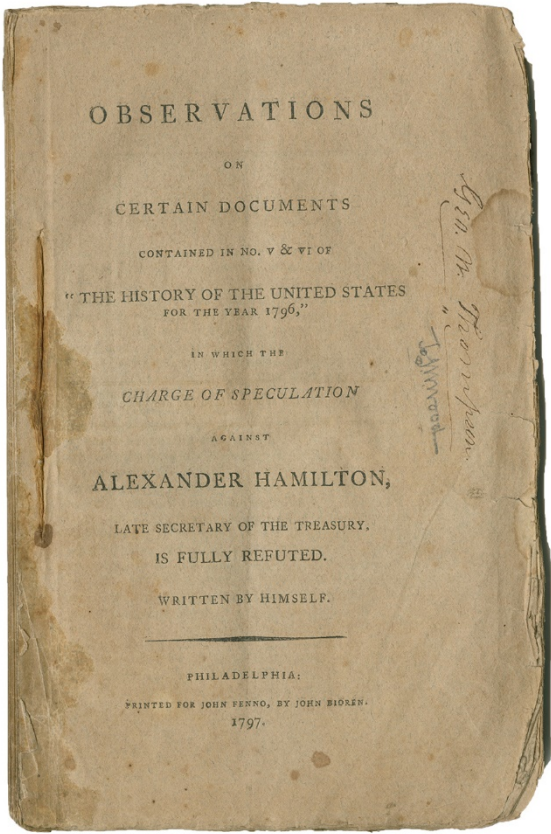
Four years later, Hamilton was even more frustrated with the choices. No supporter of incumbent President John Adams, Hamilton found more to fear from Burr than from Jefferson: "In a choice of Evils let them take the least – Jefferson is in every view less dangerous than Burr.... Mr. Jefferson, though too revolutionary in his notions, is yet a lover of liberty and will be desirous of something like orderly Government. Mr. Burr loves nothing but himself, thinks of nothing but his own aggrandizement, and will be content with nothing short of permanent power in his own hands."<sup>5</sup>

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Draft Autograph Letter, c. October, 1796. Heavily marked and edited draft. Possibly to Jeremiah Wadsworth. #24639

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<sup>5</sup> Alexander Hamilton to Harrison Gray Otis, December 23, 1800, Gilder-Lehrman Collection.

Political, Financial, Real Estate, and  
Other Affairs of Hamilton,  
Reynolds, Burr, Schuylers, etc.

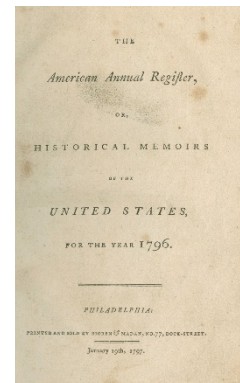


## First Public Airing of the Reynolds Affair – and Hamilton Accused of Financial Crimes

In 1791, Hamilton was called upon by 23-year-old Maria Reynolds. She claimed to have been abused and abandoned by her husband, and she beseeched Hamilton for funds to allow her to return to New York with her small daughter. Hamilton, who had been raised by a young, single mother before being orphaned, agreed. When he called on her at home, donation at the ready, Mrs. Reynolds reportedly desired more than his money. He didn't say no; they began an affair that lasted more than a year.

On December 15, though, an urgent note from Maria informed Hamilton that her husband had returned. James Reynolds next wrote demanding hush money, threatening to expose the affair to Eliza Hamilton, but promising to leave town if paid. Over the next year, Hamilton paid the career swindler Reynolds more than \$1,100. In November of 1792, James was caught in a scheme to defraud Revolutionary War soldiers of back-pay and pension funds. Imprisoned for forgery, he sought Hamilton's help, but was refused. Reynolds then falsely told investigators that Hamilton was involved in the scheme, and had used government funds as hush money.

Having inevitably heard rumors, Senator James Monroe and Congressmen Frederick Muhlenberg and Abraham Venable formed an ad hoc committee in 1792 to investigate charges of financial malfeasance against Alexander Hamilton. They interviewed the accusers, James Reynolds and Muhlenberg's clerk Jacob Clingman. Then they interviewed Hamilton, who privately admitted to the affair but insisted that he had used his own personal funds to pay Reynolds' hush money, turning over his letters from Maria as proof. Satisfied that Hamilton was guilty of adultery and bad judgment but not corruption, the committee agreed to keep the affair private, but they kept a copy of the correspondence for good measure.



It is surprising that the secret held for five years. But in 1797, James Callender published the story. Hamilton blamed the committee and demanded an apology. Monroe replied that he had nothing to do with the publication but refused to fully disavow Clingman's claims that Hamilton had mis-used government funds. After a heated meeting and exchange of letters, Monroe and Hamilton very nearly went to a duel. (It is now thought most likely that the committee's clerk, John Beckley of Virginia, leaked the documents.) Ironically it was Aaron Burr who defused the situation.

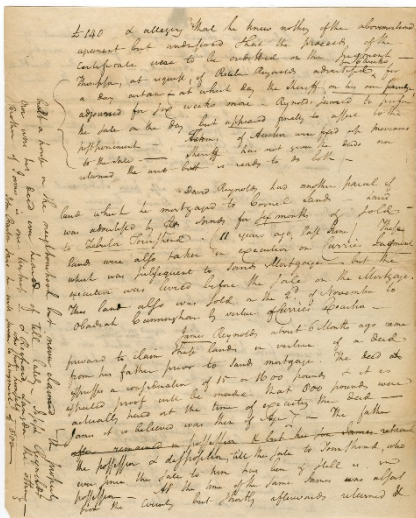
James Thomson Callender (1758-1803) a refugee from Scotland, was described by Jefferson biographer Dumas Malone as "the most unscrupulous of the Republican pamphleteers and the most notorious scandalmonger of the era." With Jefferson's secret support, he made a name for himself with sharp attacks against Hamilton and John Adams, calling Hamilton's push for centralized power a betrayal of the Revolution. Callender used his publication of *The History of the United States for 1796*, published in June, 1797, to air James Reynolds' accusations. Callender charged that Hamilton had been involved in the speculation scheme for which Reynolds was imprisoned. "In the secretary's bucket of chastity, a drop more or less was not to be perceived," Callender asserted. When Callender was himself arrested for seditious libel in 1800, Jefferson, the sitting president, refused him aid. Callender became a Federalist, and in 1802, published the first rumors about Jefferson's relationship with his slave mistress, Sally Hemings. Callender's life ended unglamorously; in a drunken stupor, he drowned in three feet of water in the James River.

JAMES CALLENDER. *The American Annual Register, or, Historical Memories of the United States for 1796*. Philadelphia: Bioren & Madan, 1797. Contemporary half calf and marbled boards. #24654

## The Only Known Hamilton Document on a Legal Case Involving James Reynolds

*“There was also a prior Judgment against David Reynolds & his son James ... but did not return the Execution nor sell till Wednesday the 2<sup>d</sup> of November, when James Reynolds about 6 Months ago came forward to claim these lands in virtue of a deed from his father prior to Sands mortgage.... James was absent from the Country but shortly afterwards returned & built a house in the neighborhood but never claimed the property nor was his deed ever heard of till lately...”*

Here, after Hamilton’s affair was known to James Monroe and very few others, Hamilton was involved in a legal case having to do with James Reynolds just months before news of the scandal exploded. Hamilton seems to have come into this case representing one or more of four Cunningham brothers of Monroe County, N.Y., who had become involved in tangled land titles following lawsuits after David Reynolds defaulted on debts.



*“...James Reynolds about 6 Months ago came forward to claim these lands in virtue of a deed from his father prior to Sands mortgage. The deed expresses a consideration of 15 or 1600 pounds & it is expected proof will be made that 800 pounds were actually paid at the time of executing the deed. [James it is believed was then of Age]. The father... retained the possession & disposition, till the sale to Townshend, who ever since the sale to him has been & still is in possession. At the time of the same James was absent from the Country but shortly afterwards returned & built a house in the neighborhood but never claimed the property nor was his deed ever heard of till lately. Joseph Reynolds, Brother of James is one witness, & Richard Langdon who shot himself the other. John Barbor says he will swear to payment of 800...”*

David Reynolds (d. bef. 1796), born in Dutchess County, New York, served as a commissary of purchases under Jeremiah Wadsworth. He and his son James procured supplies for the army from Orange County, N.Y., from 1777 to 1780, when his credit failed due to private speculation. By April, 1783, he was in prison for public debts. John Currie sued, and won a judgement, but some of the underlying land was apparently sold or mortgaged by Reynolds rather than by the sheriff to execute the judgment.

Hamilton likely made these notes to aid his own understanding of the claims. Very little documentation from this case survives, and before the discovery of this manuscript, nothing was known of this particular connection between Hamilton and Reynolds. We’re sure he would have preferred to keep it that way. Ironically, in May 1793, when Maria filed for divorce from James on the grounds of adultery, her attorney was Aaron Burr. The court granted the divorce in 1795. Maria then married Jacob Clingman, the man who happened to have been Congressman Muhlenberg’s clerk (of the infamous committee), James Reynolds’ partner in crime and prison buddy, and one of Hamilton’s principal accusers. James Reynolds seems to have vanished.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Autograph Manuscript, c. November 1796, notes on *Margaret Currie, administratrix of David Currie v. James Reynolds* (scire facias), c. November 1796. #24624



## Hamilton Exposes His Adultery: The Infamous Reynolds Pamphlet – Scarce First Edition

*“The charge against me is a connection with one James Reynolds for purposes of improper pecuniary speculation. My real crime is an amorous connection with his wife, for a considerable time with his privity and connivance, if not originally brought on by a combination of the husband and wife with the design to extort money from me. This confession is not made without a blush... I can never cease to condemn myself for the pang, which it may inflict in a bosom eminently intitled to all my gratitude, fidelity and love.... The public too will I trust excuse the confession. The necessity of it to my defence against a more heinous charge could alone have extorted from me so painful an indecorum.”*

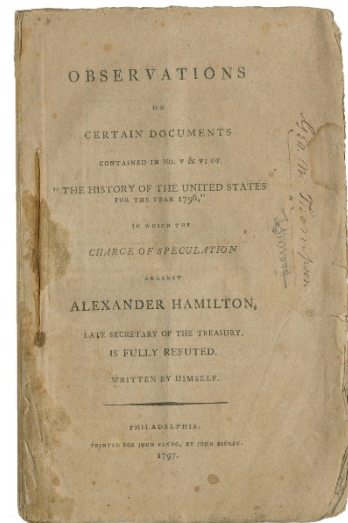
When Reynolds’ accusations were published by James Callender in 1797, Hamilton responded by admitting the affair, publishing his entire correspondence with Reynolds, and denying all charges of financial misconduct. While successful in its main purpose of saving his public character, it destroyed any hope of a further political career on the national stage, provided salacious ammunition for his enemies, and caused a serious breach with his wife and family. Eliza reportedly purchased and destroyed as many copies as she could, making this a rare survival.

*“I dare appeal to my immediate fellow citizens of whatever political party for the truth of the assertions that no man ever carried into public life a more unblemished pecuniary reputation, than that with which I undertook the office of Secretary of the Treasury; a character marked by a indifference to the acquisition of property rather than by an avidity for it. ... Without the slightest foundation, I have been repeatedly held up to the suspicions of the world as a man directed in his administration by the most sordid views; who did not scruple to sacrifice the public to his private interest, his duty and honor to the sinister accumulation of wealth.*

*“Merely because I retained an opinion once common to me and the most influential of those who opposed me, That the public debt ought to be provided for on the basis of the contract upon which it was created, I have been wickedly accused with wantonly increasing the public burthen many millions, in order to promote a stock-jobbing interest of myself and friends...”*

*“The officers and books of the treasury were examined. The transactions between the several banks and the treasury were scrutinized. Even my private accounts with those institutions were laid open to the committee; and every possible facility given to the inquiry. The result was a complete demonstration that the suspicions which had been entertained were groundless.”*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Pamphlet. *Observations on Certain Documents Contained in “The History of the United States for the Year 1796,” in Which the Charge of Speculation Against Alexander Hamilton, Late Secretary of the Treasury, is Fully Refuted. Written by Himself.* Philadelphia: Printed for John Fenno, by John Bioren, 1797. Gathered signatures, string-tied as issued. Early ink ownership signature of George M. Thompson on title page. #24839



## John Adams Gleefully Reacts to the Reynolds Pamphlet

*“Can talents atone for such turpitude? Can wisdom reside with such Gullibility? Mr Locke says the world has all sorts of men. All degrees of human wisdom are mixed with all degrees of human Folly. To me, and I believe, to you, this world would be a Region of Torment, if such a Recollection existed in our memories.”*

This extraordinary letter to his private secretary contains President Adams’ reaction to Hamilton’s “Reynolds Pamphlet.” In his September 12, 1797, letter to Adams, Malcom had commented on Hamilton’s recent “Observations on the fifth & Sixth numbers of the History of United States,” stating simply that he “heard his Confessions with disgust, nothing to admire, but Every thing to Censure.” Malcom also enclosed a copy of the pamphlet with his letter to Adams.

In the letter offered here, Adams informs Malcom that he has “read [the pamphlet] before,” and attempts a philosophical perspective, though he is unable to conceal his incredulity at Hamilton’s “gullibility” and seeming ability to continue political work with a clear conscience after the affair. Conscious of the political need for a united Federalist front, however, Adams urges Malcom to keep their thoughts on Hamilton’s conduct private.

Complete Transcript:

*Quincy, September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1797*

*Dear Malcom*

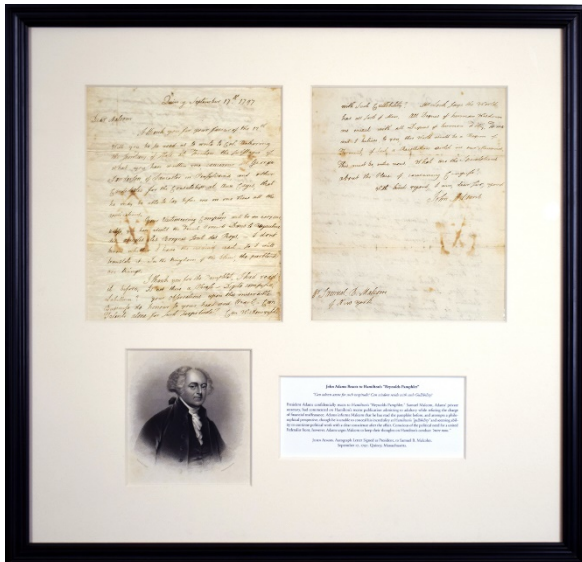
*I thank you for your favour of the 12<sup>th</sup> Will you be so good, as to write to Col. Pickering the Secretary of State at Trenton the substance of what you have written me, concerning Mr George Sanderson, of Lancaster in Pensylvania, and other Candidates for the Consulship at aux Cayes, that he may be able to lay before me in one view all the applications.*

*Your electioneering campaign will be an easy one, unless, you have adopted the French Proverb Dans le Royaulme des aveugles les Borgnes sont des Roys. I dont know whether I have the original exact, so I will translate it. In the kingdom of the blind, the purblind are kings.*

*I thank you for the pamphlet. I had read it before. Is not there a phrase-Digito compesce Labellum?<sup>6</sup> Your observations upon this miserable Business do honour to your head and Heart. Can Talents atone for such Turpitude? Can Wisdom reside <2> with such Gullibility? M<sup>r</sup> Lock says the World has all sorts of men. All Degrees of human Wisdom are mixed with all Degrees of human Folly. To me and I believe, to you, this World would be a Region of Torment, if such a Recollection existed in our Memories. This must be, entre nous. What are the Speculations about the Place of convening Congress?*

*With kind regard, I am, dear Sir, yours*  
*John Adams*

*M<sup>r</sup> Samuel B. Malcom / of New York*



<sup>6</sup> “Lay your finger upon your lips.” Juvenal, *The Satires*, 1:160.

Adams responded to Malcom's news of the recent death of the U.S. Consul to Haiti with his recommendations on possible successors, and comments on the gubernatorial "electioneering" in New York. Adams' allusion here to the French homily, "in the land of the blind," with respect to the contest between John Jay and Chancellor Robert Livingston is likely intended as a slight against Livingston in favor of Jay, whose legal expertise Adams admired.

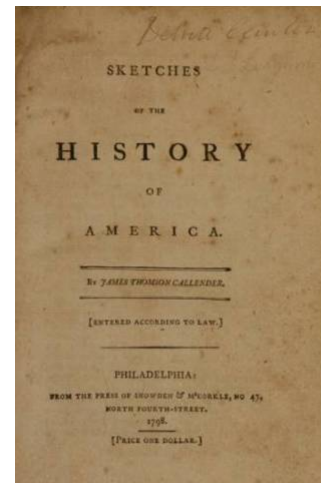
JOHN ADAMS. Autograph Letter Signed as President, to Samuel B. Malcom, September 17, 1797. #24380

### N.Y. Mayor DeWitt Clinton's Copy of Scandal mongering Attack on Hamilton and Adams

"...The object in [Hamilton's] publishing this correspondence is to prove that the connection between Reynolds and the ex-secretary did not refer to the purchase of certificates, but to the charms of Mrs. Reynolds. Yet Mr. Hamilton and his friends have always enlarged on his poverty. The scale of expence in this affair disagrees with that supposition. In eighteen months Maria, must have cost him at least about eighteen hundred dollars. The expence is extravagant in proportion to its end. It revolts against his well known character for economy. He says that he was afraid of having the matter known to Mrs. Hamilton. Yet in her absence, he had frequent interviews with Mrs. Reynolds at his own house. This betrays but small regard for the secret...." [p. 93, on Hamilton's affair with Maria Reynolds]

"So much bustle about a president's speech, evidently shews that we are ambitious of posting towards monarchy. Speaking of the late birth day of general Washington, a federal newspaper has these words. 'Two public companies, and many private parties, observed this POLITICAL CHRISTMAS, and HALLOWED it!' It is believed that no English print was ever polluted with such abject profanation. Mr. Adams was not contented with scolding at France. He hath since been inveighing against those who disapprove his conduct...." [p. 258, on Adams]

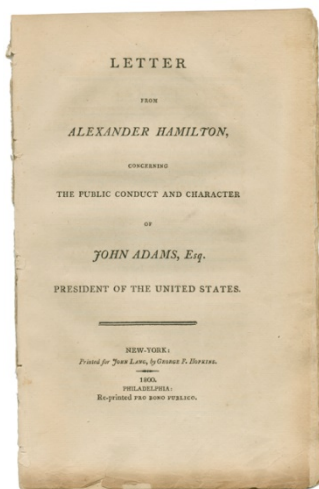
This book continues the assaults on Alexander Hamilton and President Adams and effusively praises Jefferson. Two years later, Callender would be convicted of seditious libel under Adams' notorious Sedition Act. Jefferson refused aid, and Callender turned on his earlier patron.



DeWitt Clinton (1769-1828) graduated from Columbia University. In 1798, Clinton aided journalists and other writers convicted of seditious libel. He helped pay the fine levied against Vermont Congressman Matthew Lyon for libel and assisted in his release from prison. Clinton was a major promoter of the study of natural history and a founder of the New-York Historical Society. He served in the U.S. Senate from 1802-1803, and for three terms as Mayor of New York. Clinton ran for president against James Madison in 1812, but was defeated in a close race. Clinton served as Governor of New York from 1817-1822 and 1825-1828. He was the foremost advocate of the Erie Canal (called "Clinton's Ditch" by opponents), completed in 1825.

DEWITT CLINTON. Signed Book. James T. Callender. *Sketches of the History of America*. Philadelphia: Snowden & M'Corckle, 1798. First edition, period calf backed marbled boards, morocco title label. Signed by Clinton on the title-page. #21414

## Hamilton Attacks John Adams Right Before the Election of 1800

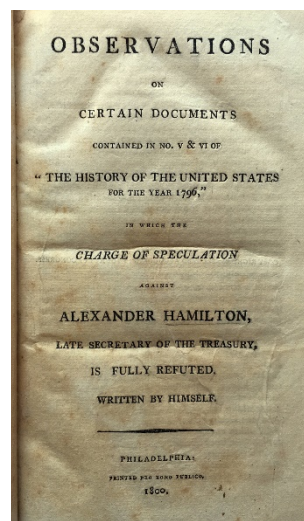


In this notorious letter, which Hamilton had only intended to circulate privately, he aggravated an existing rift within the Federalist Party just ahead of the 1800 election. Hamilton charges that Adams lacked “*the talents adapted to the Administration of Government,*” and that “*there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate.*” Despite Adams’ “*moral qualifications,*” Hamilton—himself jealous of the public affection bestowed upon others—argues that Adams has “*a vanity without bounds, and a jealousy capable of discolored every object.*” He reviews Adams’ career, including his diplomatic service, vice presidency, and presidency. Hamilton concludes the missive by supporting Federalist Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina in the upcoming campaign.

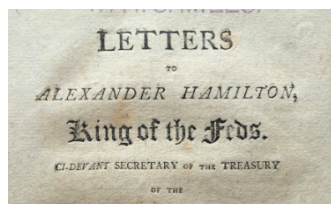
ALEXANDER HAMILTON. *Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq. President of the United States.* New York: George F. Hopkins for John Lang, 1800. Re-printed Pro Bono Publico, Philadelphia. #24424

## Re-Exposure: the Reynolds Pamphlet re-Published by his Enemies During Election of 1800

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Pamphlet. *Observations on Certain Documents* Philadelphia, Pa., [William Duane], “*Pro Bono Publico.*” #24260.



## Piling on Hamilton—and Adams



TOM CALLENDER[?]. Pamphlet. *Letters to Alexander Hamilton, King of the Feds. Ci-Devant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America, Inspector-General of the Standing Armies Thereof Counsellor at Law &c. &c. &c. Being Intended as a Reply to a Scandalous Pamphlet Lately Published Under the Sanction, as it is Presumed, of Mr. Hamilton, and Signed with the Signature of Junius Philaenus.* New York: Richard Reynolds, 1802. #24261



## Philip Hamilton is Killed in a Duel—Same Day Report, in Paper that Hamilton Founded

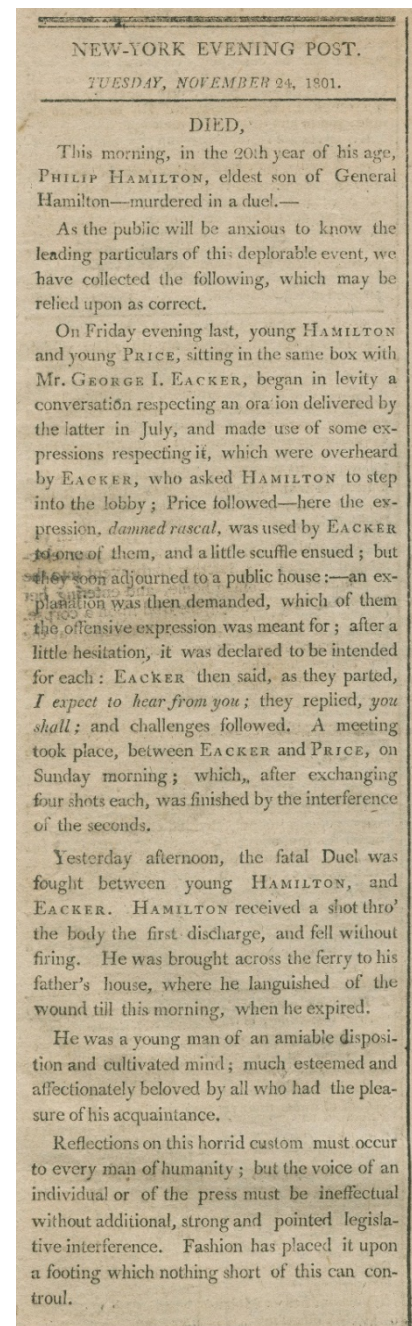
On November 23, 1801, Philip Hamilton was shot by George Eacker in a duel. Philip died the next morning. This issue of the *New-York Evening Post*, which Alexander Hamilton had founded just a few weeks before, was printed only hours later. The fact that the fight was precipitated by Eacker's criticism of Alexander Hamilton was omitted. Three years later, Alexander Hamilton would duel in the same spot, with the same tragic results right down to his mortal wound being attended by the same doctor.

*“On Friday evening last, young Hamilton and young Price, sitting in the same box with Mr. George I. Eacker, began in levity a conversation respecting an oration delivered by the latter in July, and made use of some expressions respecting it, which were overheard by Eacker, who asked Hamilton to step into the lobby; Price followed—here the expression, damned rascal, was used by Eacker to one of them, and a little scuffle ensued...challenges followed....”*

*“Yesterday afternoon, the fatal Duel was fought.... Hamilton received a shot thro' the body the first discharge, and fell without firing.... Reflections on this horrid custom must occur to every man of humanity; but the voice of an individual or of the press must be ineffectual without additional, strong and pointed legislative interference. Fashion has placed it upon a footing which nothing short of this can controul.”*

On July 4, 1801, George Eacker had given a speech (at King's College, now Columbia University), criticizing Federalist policies, many of which were developed by Alexander Hamilton. On November 20, 1801, Philip Hamilton and friend Richard Price went to see a play at Park Theater, and ran into Eacker. A screaming match ensued, and Eacker called them “damned rascals,” a grave insult. Both Philip and Price challenged Eacker to duels. On November 22, Eacker and Price dueled, but neither were injured. The next day, Eacker faced Hamilton, who reportedly took his father's advice and refused to raise his pistol. Eacker did not shoot either—at first. After some time, Eacker raised his pistol, and Philip followed. Eacker shot. The bullet struck Hamilton above his right hip, went through his body, and lodged in his left arm. He died on the morning of the 24th.

[ALEXANDER AND PHILIP HAMILTON]. *New-York Evening Post*, November 24, 1801. No. 8. New York: Michael Burnham. #24810



## A Director of the Bank of the United States Records His Accounts



Alexander Hamilton proposed a central bank as part of his major financial innovations, which also included a mint, a federal excise tax, and assumption of state war debts. Although Thomas Jefferson and others opposed the Bank as unconstitutional, President Washington approved the “bank bill” in February 1791. Its purpose was to stabilize the new nation’s economy, standardize its financial practices, establish a currency, and build its credit in the world. Samuel Coates started this journal only two weeks after his appointment as one of the twenty-five directors of **the First Bank of the United States**.

The bank was well run, paying substantial dividends to its investors. However, James Madison did not renew the bank’s charter when it expired in 1811. Its successor, the Second Bank of the United States, operated between 1816 and 1836.

SAMUEL COATES, Account Book for Bank of the United States, January 21, 1800 to July 16, 1806. Deposits and withdrawals were made in cash and checks, mostly ranging from \$50 to \$10,000. Coates organized the entries and crossed them out when resolved. #24840

## Alexander Hamilton Writes a Female Friend in Puerto Rico, Sympathizing with the Perilous Condition of Haiti as the French are Losing Control

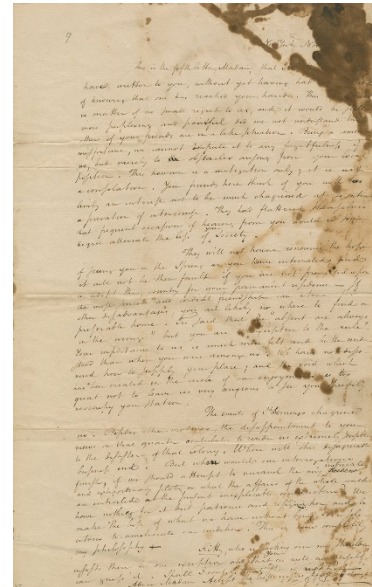
*“The events of S<sup>t</sup> Domingo chagrine us... [T]he disappointment to your views in that quarter contributes to render us extremely sensible to the disasters of that Colony. When will this disagreeable business end? But when would our interrogations finish, if we should attempt to unravel the very intricate and extraordinary plots in which the affairs of the whole world are embroiled at the present inexplicable conjuncture? We have nothing for it but patience and resignation, and to make the best of what we have without being oversolicitous to ameliorate our conditions. This is now completely my philosophy.”*

Inspired by the French Revolution, the Haitian Revolution began in 1791 and kept the island embroiled in violence for more than a decade. Despite interventions by British, Spanish, and French armies, St. Domingue achieved independence and was renamed Haiti by 1804. The Haitian Revolution was marked by brutal warfare, savage reprisals, the death of tens of thousands of European soldiers from yellow fever, and an array of shifting alliances. Most French planters who were not massacred fled the island and their way of life.

**Marie Jeanne Ledoux** (b. 1756) was born in Haiti, and in 1777 married Laurent de Caradeux de la Caye, Count of Caradeux (1752- ca. 1822) of France, member of the colonial assembly, and owner of a sugar plantation near Port-au-Prince in Santo Domingo. During a 1792 slave revolt, Laurent de Caradeux de la Caye fled with fifty slaves and settled near Charleston, South Carolina. In 1799, Haitian leader Toussaint invited French colonists to return, and Caradeux received a passport from the U.S. State Department in August 1799. After the Haitian Revolution of 1802-3, the Count of Caradeux settled in Puerto Rico, where the Countess had been since 1800. In 1820, she still lived in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. She became a naturalized citizen of Spanish Puerto Rico in April 1829.

Note: Numerous reports from Haiti can be found in the first addendum.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Autograph Letter Signed with Initials, to Marie Jeanne Ledoux Caradeux de la Caye, Countess of Caradeux. November 1802. New York, N.Y. #24647





## Alexander & Eliza Hamilton, Angelica & John Church, Philip Schuyler, and Many More

This deed is signed by Revolutionary War Major General Philip Schuyler and his six surviving children: sons Philip Jeremiah Schuyler and Rensselaer Schuyler, and daughters Angelica Church, Elizabeth Hamilton, Cornelia Morton, and Catherine Malcom—along with their husbands John B. Church, Alexander Hamilton, Washington Morton, and Samuel B. Malcom. The Schuylers' two children who lived to adulthood but died by this time, Margarita "Peggy" Schuyler Van Rensselaer and John Bradstreet Schuyler, were each represented by their only children, Stephen Van Rensselaer Jr. and Philip Schuyler Jr. Two of Catherine Van Rensselaer Schuyler's brothers and several descendants of her other two brothers also signed. This type of document is the only kind to have these family signatures in one place.

This transaction's history starts with Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a diamond and pearl merchant from Amsterdam who became a founder and director of the Dutch West India Company, and the only patroon successful in establishing American settlements. (Patroonships were large grants of land with manorial rights granted to encourage Dutch colonization and settlement in New Netherland.) After the English assumed control and New Netherland became New York in the seventeenth century, Rensselaerswyck became an English manor containing all of the land around and south of Albany, New York, along both sides of the Hudson River. The lands descended in the Van Rensselaer family.

In October 1802, Hamilton met with representatives of tenants of Van Rensselaer lands. The tenants claimed parcels of land around Hillsdale, New York, which the Van Rensselaer heirs also claimed as part of their estate. In 1803, the New York legislature passed a law to appoint commissioners to settle the disputes. The commissioners viewed the land in question and received evidence and testimony. The commissioners issued their final opinion on March 17, 1804, valuing the parcels individually. An attorney for the Hamilton heirs drew up deeds for individual parcels that totaled approximately 13,000 acres, ranging in size from less than an acre to almost three hundred acres. This deed conveyed nearly 75 acres to David Spencer in Hillsdale for \$5.50 per acre, or \$412.02.

As heirs to the Van Rensselaer land, twenty-six individuals had to sign each deed. The paperwork involved in these transfers continued into 1805 and perhaps beyond, but only the earliest deeds have the signatures of Alexander Hamilton and Philip Schuyler, both of whom died in 1804. The only other known surviving deed is also dated May 23, 1804, and is at Columbia University. Alexander and Eliza Hamilton signed this deed in New York City on May 25, 1804, fewer than seven weeks before Alexander Hamilton's death.

PHILIP SCHUYLER, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, ELIZABETH HAMILTON, & Others, Document Signed, to David Spencer, May 23, 1804. #24947







# Burr, the Duel, and Memory

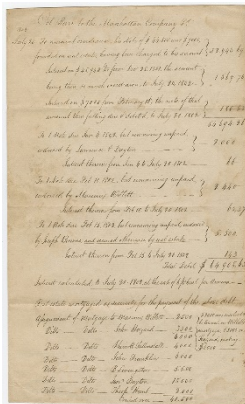




## Aaron Burr in Debt to Manhattan Company Bank He Founded

Burr founded the **Manhattan Company** in 1799, purportedly to bring clean water to Manhattan to combat a yellow fever epidemic. But he included in its charter a clause allowing surplus capital to be used for banking operations; 95% of the \$2,000,000 raised was employed competing with the Bank of New York (founded by Alexander Hamilton in 1784) and the N.Y. branch of the Bank of the United States. Only 5% of its capital was used for the water system. (The Manhattan Company sold its water system to the city in 1808, and continued as a bank. In 1955, it merged with Chase National Bank to become Chase Manhattan, which in 2000 became part of J. P. Morgan Chase.)

Burr earned large fees from his law practice, but spent lavishly. Between 1799 and 1802, he borrowed \$61,440 from the Manhattan Company. (In December 1800, Hamilton wrote that Burr, then the Vice President-elect, “is bankrupt beyond redemption except by the plunder of his country.”) This 1802 summary shows Burr’s debt to the Company of \$64,908.63. Against this, Burr had assigned as security nine mortgages and a promissory note of \$5,500 - still \$7,000 less than the debt.

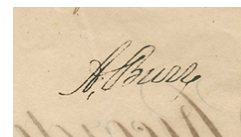


Aaron Burr Jr. (1756-1836) was the third Vice President, serving during Jefferson’s first term, through March 4, 1805. He graduated from Princeton University in 1772, at age 16. As a Continental Army officer, he distinguished himself at the Battles of Quebec, New York, and Monmouth. While Vice President, on July 11, 1804, Burr fatally wounded Alexander Hamilton in a duel. With his political fortunes in decline, Burr is reputed to have formed a conspiracy to establish a private army and set up an empire from portions of Mexico (then belonging to Spain) and/or Louisiana (a U.S. territory). He was brought to trial on August 3, 1807. With Chief Justice John Marshall presiding, he was acquitted on a technicality on September 1. He lived in Europe in self-imposed exile for four years, then returned to New York to practice law. In 1833, Burr married wealthy widow Eliza Jumel; his mismanagement of her assets led them to separate after only four months. Their divorce was finalized on the day he died.

[AARON BURR]. Manuscript Document (not Burr’s hand, but an original written at the time). Account of Debts to the Manhattan Company, ca. July 20, 1802. #24702

## Burr Resells 20 Lots in Greenwich Village After Initial Buyer Couldn’t Pay Mortgage to the Manhattan Company – Burr’s Predecessor of JP Morgan Chase

On October 22, 1802, Aaron Burr had conveyed 20 lots in New York City bounded by Downing, Bedford, and Carmine Streets (present-day Greenwich Village, near New York University) to Timothy Green. As partial payment, Green gave Burr a \$4,000 promissory note for \$1,000 a year at 6 percent interest. Green secured the note with a mortgage, which Burr transferred to the Manhattan Company. Green could not make the first annual payment, so on October 22, 1803, Burr did so. Ten days later, Burr re-sold the same 20 lots to David Gelston, who paid Burr \$2,300 and assumed the remaining \$3,000 debt, which he paid over three years. In September 1812, the deed was recorded in the New York Register’s office.

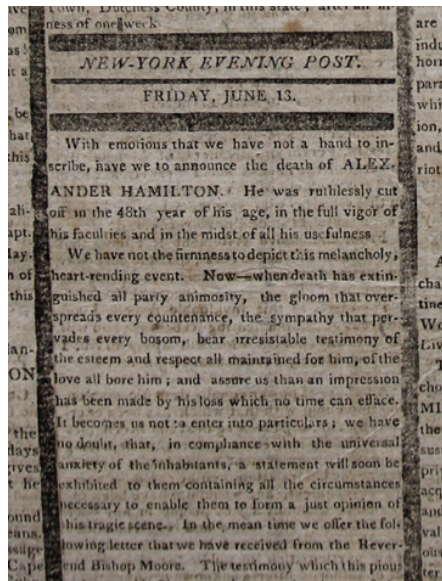


AARON BURR, Manuscript Document Signed, November 1, 1803, Deed to David Gelston for twenty lots in New York City. #24022.088

## The Duel and Hamilton's Death, as Covered by Alexander Hamilton's Own Paper

The *New-York Herald* was the semi-weekly edition of the *New-York Post*, founded in part by Alexander Hamilton in 1801. Both papers acted as a Federalist counterpoint to the Jefferson administration and figured prominently in public debates on Congressional legislation.

This run of the 1804 *New-York Herald* includes three black-bordered issues related to the death and funeral of Alexander Hamilton, copious reporting on the Hamilton-Burr duel, and the final issue of the newspaper (July 11, 1804) published under Hamilton's ownership. Other major national and international events include the beginning of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, the ratification of the 12th Amendment, the beginnings of U.S. administration of the newly acquired Orleans territory, the Barbary Pirate War, the humiliating loss to Barbary powers of the USS *Philadelphia* and Stephen Decatur's burning of the captured American frigate, Napoleon becoming Emperor of France, among many other news and opinion items.



Excerpt (July 13):

*“With emotions we have not a hand to inscribe, have we to announce the death of ALEXANDER HAMILTON. He was ruthlessly cut off in the 48<sup>th</sup> year of his age, in the full vigor of his faculties and in the midst of all his usefulness.*

*“We have not the firmness to depict this melancholy, heart-rending event. Now—when death has extinguished all party animosity, the gloom that overspreads every countenance...bear irresistible testimony of the esteem and respect all maintained for him, of the love all bore him; and assure us than an impression has been made by his loss which no time can efface....”*

Excerpt (July 18, p1):

*“The shocking catastrophe which has recently occurred, terminating the life of Alexander Hamilton, and which has spread a gloom over our city that will not be speedily*

*dissipated, demands that the circumstances which led to it, or were intimately connected with it, should not be concealed from the world. When they shall be truly and fairly disclosed, however some may question the soundness of his [Hamilton's] judgement on this occasion....*

*“The following is the correspondence that passed between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr....”*

*New-York Herald*, July 13, 1804, and July 18, 1804. New York: M. Burnham. #30040.01



## Reporting on the Duel and Refuting “Foul Calumny” Published Against Hamilton

The September 11, 1804, issue of the *Balance, and Columbian Repository*, a prominent Federalist newspaper, offered here includes an “Extract from the Rev. E. Nott’s Sermon, on the death of GENERAL HAMILTON”: “If he [Burr] be capable of feeling, he suffers already all that humanity can suffer. Suffers, and wherever he may fly will suffer, with the poignant recollection, of having taken the life of one who was too magnanimous in return to attempt his own.... Stained with blood as he is, if he be penitent, I forgive him.”; and an “Extract of a letter from General Washington, to the President of the United States” [John Adams], dated September 25, 1798, stating: “I have no hesitation in declaring, that if the public is to be deprived of the service of Col. Hamilton in the military line, that the post he was destined to fill will not easily be supplied.... his opportunities, as the principal and most confidential aid of the Commander in Chief afforded him the means of viewing every thing on a larger scale.... HIS LOSS WILL BE IRREPARABLE.”



### Additional content—Slavery

“According to a late act of the state of Virginia, a slave receives twenty lashes for being found in a house devoted to the worship of Almighty God!!”

(p. 292) “Now this is liberty, and it is equality, too— and, above all, it is genuine republicanism, and it is religion, and it must be right, because Virginia does nothing wrong. This must be very consoling to the friend of freedom and religion, and to the philanthropist.... There, it is not enough to deprive human beings of their liberty—it is not enough to compel them to drag out a miserable existence, on the plantations, under the torturing lash of the overseer: As a refinement in

barbarity, those wretched slaves, must be debarred from the comforts and consolations of the gospel—they must be robbed of the last and dearest hope of man—they must not be permitted to hear the promise of liberty and happiness beyond the grave.” (p. 291)

Front page editorial on President Thomas Jefferson’s lack of action against the British impressment of American sailors: “I presume not to say what our government ought to do with regard to the late aggressions on our commerce. I am of the minority. I rank with the opposition: And in these days of liberty, those who differ from the powers that be are told, by authority, that they must not hazard opinions.... I will however, say, that something ought to be done...will it not be unpardonable for our government to slumber over these accumulated wrongs?” (p. 289)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. AARON BURR. Newspaper. *The Balance, and Columbian Repository*, September 11, 1804. Hudson, N.Y. Issue 37. Including news of the Burr-Hamilton duel and its deadly outcome, criticism of Jefferson’s presidency, and denouncement of cruelty against slaves in Virginia. #23765.03

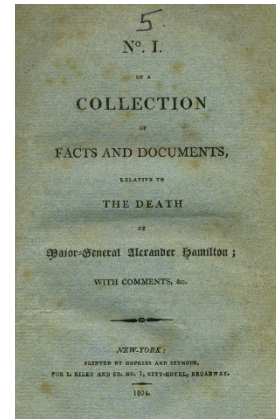
## The Editor of Hamilton's *New-York Evening Post* Reports on His Life and Death

*“At this moment we forget every mischief but the present; we think not of him [Burr] as a chief among the original authors of our political ruin, but we start with horror from those hands now reeking with the blood of Hamilton.... This last sin has swallowed up every other.... It is a spot which nothing can wash out.... Col. Burr may, if he pleases, enjoy the glory of this transgression.... Col. Burr will be remembered and have celebrity, it will now be, because ‘Damned to everlasting fame.’ It is impossible it should be otherwise.”*

Coleman was the editor of Hamilton's newspaper, the *New-York Evening Post*, as well as Hamilton's personal friend. He compiled this *Collection* at the specific request of Eliza Hamilton, shortly after her husband's death. This volume contains the complete correspondence of Burr and Hamilton leading to their duel; Hamilton's final letter, putting his affairs in order; an eyewitness account of Hamilton's final hours and death; Hamilton's last will and testament; obituaries and funeral rites; tributes, poems, and memorials from “*several daily newspapers*” and societies around the nation; invectives against Burr; reprinted letters of Washington and others recommending Hamilton's character; and lengthy biographical articles.

*“In the following pages will be found a satisfactory account of the shocking catastrophe which has deprived America of her most valuable citizen, and our age of the greatest man; together with some brief remarks.... Perhaps the most satisfactory manner of introducing the reader to his subject, will be to begin with the Correspondence which led to the fatal interview.”* Burr's June 18, 1804, letter to Hamilton leads off.

WILLIAM COLEMAN, Book of five pamphlets, issued serially in 1804, bound together. New York: Hopkins and Seymour, 1804. Vol. I, with full title: *A Collection of the Facts and Documents Relative to the Death of Major General Alexander Hamilton; With Comments: Together With the Various Orations, Sermons, and Eulogies That Have Been Published or Written on His Life and Character.* [September 1804.] Vol. II, [September 1804.] Vol. III, September 1804. Vol. IV, October 1804. Vol. V, October 1804. Complete, and four with their original publisher wrappers. #24131



### A Superb Alexander Hamilton Carved Ivory Miniature

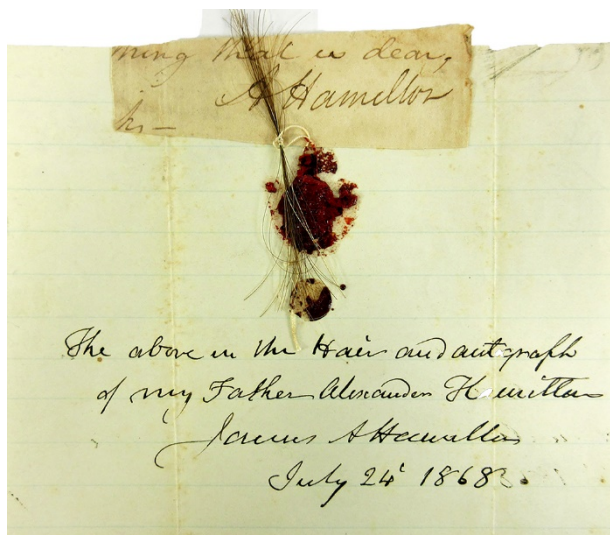
Very few period objects honoring Hamilton are known, and the precise origins of this beautiful ivory miniature are speculative. It is of the highest quality, and due to the use of rose gold for the “Alexander Hamilton” inscription, it is presumably a one-of-a-kind creation. With no memorial or mourning flavor, this could possibly date from the late 18th century.

Housed under slightly convex glass in original case covered with shagreen, a stingray or shark skin abraded to make a smoother surface. Shagreen was used in Asia since the Han Dynasty. It came into vogue in Europe in the mid-18th century, achieving the height of its popularity in France, where it was favored by many, including Louis XV’s mistress Madame de Pompadour. #24792



### Alexander Hamilton’s Hair—a Family Relic

The hair is lightly affixed by a wax seal, which also attaches to a signature of Alexander Hamilton, clipped from an Autograph letter. A couple of Hamilton’s words are tantalizingly present: “[every]thing that is dear.”



The personal note from Alexander’s son, James A. Hamilton, provides wonderful provenance: “The above is the Hair and autograph of my Father Alexander Hamilton. James A Hamilton, July 24<sup>th</sup> 1868.”

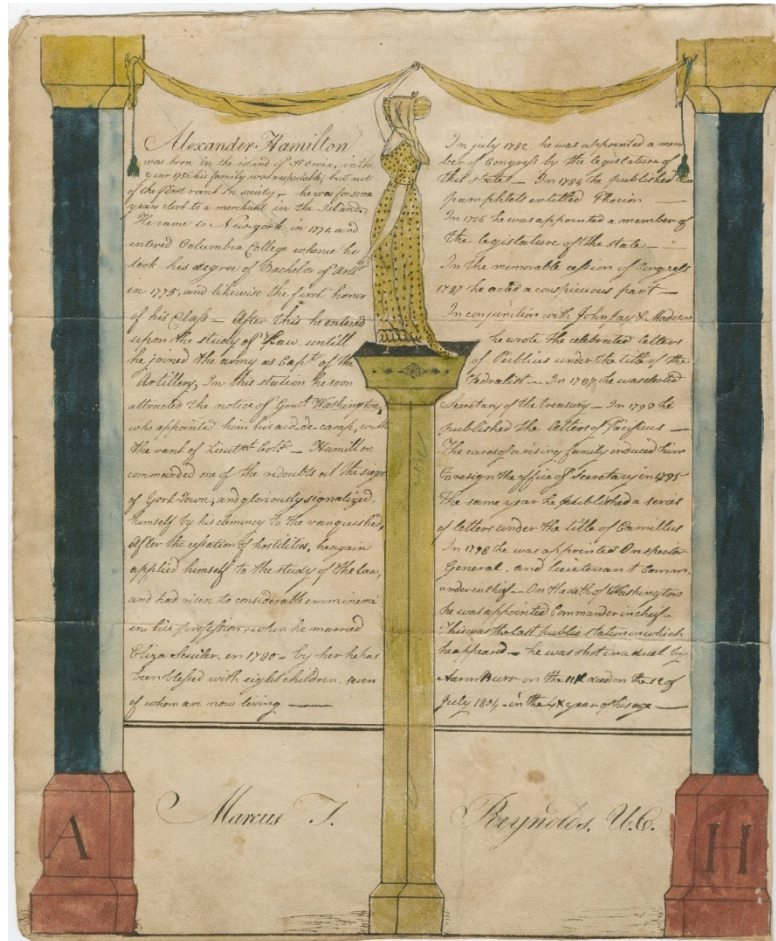
ALEXANDER HAMILTON – Lock of hair, and signature, affixed to a page with James A. Hamilton Autograph Note Signed. #24864



## Unique Tribute to Alexander Hamilton by Union College Student Marcus Reynolds

This colorful memorial features a center column with a female figure, perhaps a representation of Hamilton's widow Eliza, holding a curtain up between two taller columns. Reynolds pens a brief overview of Hamilton's revolutionary war service, his family, his political writings, and his services to his country. Drawn and signed by Marcus T. Reynolds while a student at Union College (founded in 1795 in Schenectady, N.Y., the first non-denominational institution of higher education in America).

Marcus T. Reynolds (1788-1864) was born in Florida, New York. He started at Union College in 1805, and graduated second in his class in 1808. Over four decades, he appeared in as many cases before the New York Supreme Court and the Court for the Correction of Errors as any other lawyer in the state. He married Elizabeth Anne Dexter (1797-1840) in 1823. Reynolds' tribute to Hamilton is similar in form to a funerary stele, an upright stone slab decorated with figures or inscriptions, often used in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome.



### Partial Transcript (original spelling)

*“Alexander Hamilton was born in the island of St Croix, in the year 1756 his family was respectable, but not of the first rank in society, he was for some years clerk to a merchant in the Island. He came to New-york in 1771, and entered Columbia College whence he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1775, and likewise the first honor of his Class. After this he entered upon the study of Law untill he joined the army as Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Artillery. In this station he soon attracted the notice of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, who appointed him his aid-de-camp.... In the memorable cession of Congress 1787 he acted a conspicuous part. In conjunction with John Jay & Madison he wrote the celebrated letters of Publius under the title of the Federalist. In 1787 he was elected Secretary of the treasury.... The cares of a rising family induced him to resign the office of Secretary in 1795.... In 1798 he was appointed Inspector General, and lieutenant Commander in chief. On the deth of Washington he was appointed Commander in chief. This was the last public station in which he appeared. he was shot in a duel by Aaron Burr on the 11th died on the 12 of July 1804, in the 47 year of his age.”*

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON]. MARCUS T. REYNOLDS, Autograph Document Signed, Decorative Memorial to Alexander Hamilton. c. 1805-1808. #25069



***An Oration Commemorative of the Late Major-General Alexander Hamilton—with his Last Will and Testament***

*“His ideas of a government which should elevate the character, preserve the unity, and perpetuate the liberties of America, went beyond the provisions of [the Constitution].... He knew...a government stable and vigorous; adequate to all the forms of national exigency; and furnished with the principles of self-preservation...would crown peace at home with respectability abroad; but would never infringe the liberty of an honest man.”*

This “eloquent, impressive, and instructive” political biography of Hamilton went through several editions in the U.S. and Britain. In it, Jonathan Mason delivers a stirring tribute to Hamilton as a personal friend and a national visionary. This first edition contains an Appendix, excluded from later reissues, with Hamilton’s Last Will and Testament, Hamilton’s reasons for meeting Burr in the duel, and Bishop Moore’s and Dr. Mason’s accounts of Hamilton’s death.

JONATHAN MITCHELL MASON. Pamphlet. *An Oration Commemorative of the Late Major-General Alexander Hamilton; Pronounced Before the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati on Tuesday, the 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1804*. New York: Hopkins and Seymour, 1804. First edition. #24324

***Eliza Hamilton Petitions Congress to Publish Alexander Hamilton’s Writings***

Elizabeth Hamilton spent over forty years meticulously organizing and selecting the most important parts of his writings into five expansive volumes. On April 20, 1846, the Library Committee of the Senate reported its decision to authorize an allowance to Alexander Hamilton’s widow, Eliza, to print one thousand copies of his collected writings for the public benefit. The Senate approved.

[ELIZABETH SCHUYLER HAMILTON]. CONGRESS. Printed Document. *Report of the Committee on the Library, to which was referred the petition of Elizabeth Hamilton, the widow of Alexander Hamilton, asking for the assistance of Congress in the publication of the works and writings of that distinguished statesman*. Washington: Ritchie and Heiss, 1846. #24401

## Two Former Members of John Adams' Cabinet Excoriate His Slander of Hamilton

*"If you have not read M<sup>r</sup> Adams' first 18 letters... I pray you to read them. His virulence against Hamilton is unexampled: but the integrity & talents of Hamilton are above the reach of his veteran slander. Yet [Adams] ought to be scourged with scorpions."*

After Adams' election in 1796, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering and Secretary of War James McHenry continued to seek Hamilton's advice. But Hamilton and Adams clashed over who should serve as second in command to Washington during the Quasi War, as well as Adams' decision to send peace commissioners to France. After George Washington's death, Adams refused to appoint Hamilton head of the military forces, dismissed Pickering, and forced McHenry's resignation.

In the presidential contest of 1800, Hamilton published a scorching "*Letter... concerning the public conduct and character of John Adams, Esq....*" Adams did not respond at the time, but in 1809, he published in the *Boston Patriot* a series of eighteen letters offering a point-by-point rebuttal of Hamilton's criticisms. Adams wrote that Hamilton's *Letter* was "from his mere imagination, from confused rumors, or downright false information." Adams called Hamilton ignorant of foreign affairs, and claimed he wanted to take over the government in order to further his own interests. Adams' letters provoked several prominent defenders of Hamilton, including Pickering. In this letter, Pickering, then a U.S. Senator (whom the Senate had just censured for violations of the Logan Act), asks McHenry to read the letters. Pickering's venomous closing indicates that he was still seething over his "dismissal" by Adams.

*"A question I asked him [Adams' Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert] led him to say, that he had long since read M<sup>r</sup> Adams's first eighteen letters published in the Boston Patriot - and in consequence had written to M<sup>r</sup> Adams a long letter, stating his errors or misrepresentations - that he had rec<sup>d</sup> a short, but polite answer - and that he would furnish me with copies of both. He said explicitly that he had no knowledge of the cause of my dismissal. I informed him of the corrupt motive...*

*"I cannot imagine that M<sup>r</sup> Dana can have taken offence - because I believe you incapable of intending one, and that he is too sensible & too candid to admit an interpretation of an ill aspect where he must believe that a candid & friendly face alone was intended to be presented. -*

*"If you have not read M<sup>r</sup> Adams' first 18 letters... I pray you to read them. His virulence against Hamilton is unexampled: but the integrity & talents of Hamilton are above the reach of his veteran slander. Yet he ought to be scourged with scorpions."*

James McHenry replied to Pickering that he had read the letters and concluded that Adams was guilty of "coarse and unmanly abuse of a deceased statesman." Pickering's February 27 letter to McHenry flayed Adams as an "open apostate" and a "malignant slanderer" whose "atrocious conduct calls for a severe scourging which he shall receive."

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Autograph Letter Signed, to James McHenry. February 11, 1811.  
Washington, D.C. #24955

## Jefferson Forestalls “bigots” in Religion, Politics, or Medicine

Long retired to private life, Jefferson declines the request of Dr. James Mease for copies of his correspondence with Dr. Benjamin Rush. Mease had hoped to include them in a volume of Rush’s letters, and specifically requested letters pertaining to Rush’s views on religion and politics. Jefferson explains his view on differences between personal and official correspondence, and public versus private expression. He closes with assurances of his great respect for Mease.

Complete Transcript:

Dear Sir

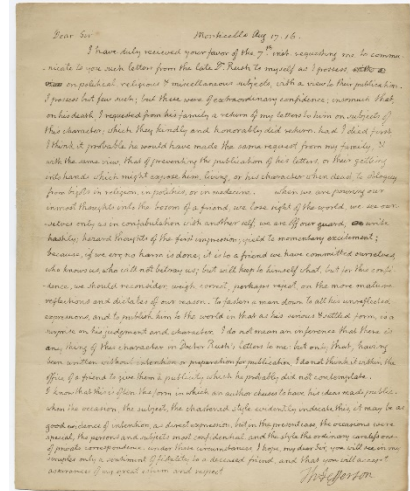
Monticello Aug. 17.16

*I have duly received your favor of the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. requesting me to communicate to you such letters from the late D<sup>r</sup> Rush to myself as I possess, on political, religious, and miscellaneous subjects, with a view to their publication. I possess but few such; but these were of extraordinary confidence; insomuch that, on his death, I requested from his family a return of my letters to him on subjects of this character; which they kindly and honorably did return. had I died first, I think it probable he would have made the same request from my family, & with the same view, that of preventing the publication of his letters, or their getting into hands which might expose him, living, or his character when dead, to obloquy from bigots in religion, in politics, or in medicine.*

*When we are pouring our inmost thoughts into the bosom of a friend, we lose sight of the world, we see ourselves only in confabulation with another self; we are off our guard; write hastily; hazard thoughts of the first impression; yield to momentary excitement; because, if we err, no harm is done; it is to a friend we have committed ourselves, who knows us, who will not betray us; but will keep to himself what, but for this confidence, we should reconsider, weigh, correct, perhaps reject, on the more mature reflections and dictates of our reason. to fasten a man down to all his unreflected expressions, and to publish him to the world in that as his serious & settled form, is a surprise on his judgment and character. I do not mean an inference that there is anything of this character in Doctor Rush’s letters to me: but only that, having been written without intention or preparation for publication, I do not think it within the office of a friend to give them a publicity which he probably did not contemplate.*

*I know that this is often the form in which an author chuses to have his ideas made public. when the occasion, the subject, the chastened style evidently indicate this, it may be as good evidence of intention, as direct expression, but in the present case, the occasions were special, the persons and subjects most confidential, and the style the ordinary careless one of private correspondence. under these circumstances, I hope, my dear Sir, you will see in my scruples only a sentiment of fidelity to a deceased friend, and that you will accept assurances of my great esteem and respect*

Th: Jefferson

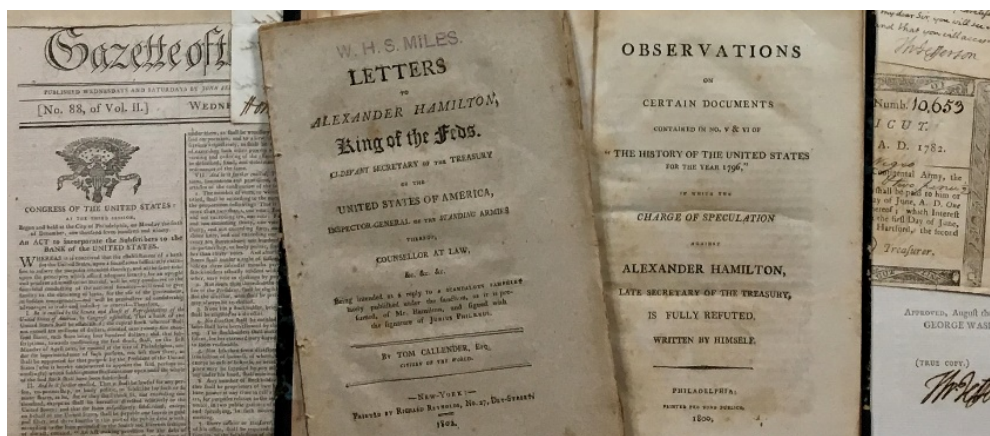


Dr. Benjamin Rush (1746-1813), the subject of this request, was one of Jefferson’s most important correspondents—as evidenced by his eventually published letters. Religion is the first topic Jefferson mentions here that could expose a writer to “obloquy” (abusively detractive language or utterances). Throughout his presidency, he had been attacked as an infidel and atheist. He blamed this on the baneful influence of orthodoxy. He and Rush shared an essentially deistic view of the world, and he sought to shield his friend’s legacy from similar, posthumous attacks.

Jefferson considered supernatural aspects of worship as incompatible with reason, and deeply distrusted the interference of religious leaders in civic matters. As he wrote to Rush on September 23, 1800, "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Jefferson's attitude toward a higher being was deeply considered and complex. He embraced the moral teachings ascribed to Christ while rejecting much of Christian doctrine. In another letter to Rush, on April 21, 1803, Jefferson stated simply, "I am a Christian, in the only sense in which [Jesus] wished any one to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other." Jefferson's famous 1802 letter to the Danbury Baptist Association praised the First Amendment's Establishment Clause for "building a wall of separation between church and State."

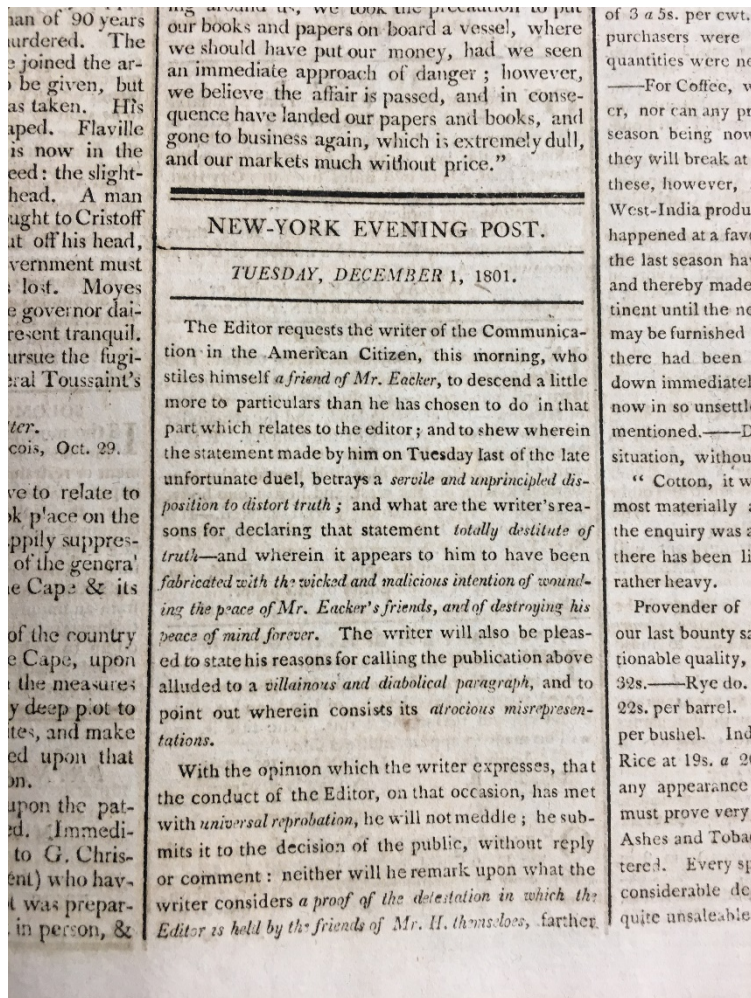
James Mease (1771-1846) studied medicine under Benjamin Rush and became a prominent Philadelphia doctor and scientific thinker. He helped develop a scientific vineyard, was a member and curator of the American Philosophical Society, and was a founder and the first vice president of the Philadelphia Athenaeum. He served as a surgeon during the War of 1812. He devoted considerable time to correspondence among other scientifically minded individuals around the United States and the world on subjects of horticulture, geology, penal and criminal reform, technology, and medicine. His book, *The Picture of Philadelphia, Giving an Account of its Origin, Increase, and Improvements in Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Commerce and Revenue* (1811), charted the city and its inhabitants' rise to prominence in American life.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Autograph Letter Signed, to James Mease. With conjoined franked address leaf in Jefferson's hand. August 17, 1816. Monticello, [Charlottesville, Va.] #23233





# Original Newspapers That Capture the Unfolding Stories



Washington's funeral; the "Revolution of 1800"; Hamilton's election as President of the Society of the Cincinnati; westward expansion; pro-Federalist commentary; debates in Congress; official legislation; important speeches, letters, addresses by and about Jefferson.

**The Columbian Centinel, January to December, 1800.** Newspaper. Boston: Benjamin Russell. 101 issues, 404 pp. total. Nearly complete edition. The *Centinel* was printed Wednesdays and Saturdays, with 104 or 105 four-page issues for the year. Lacking only January 4, 8, 11, and June 21. #30027.42

Jan. 15 Death of George Washington, "Funereal Solemnities in Honor of the Memory of the Now Sainted Washington." (p1/c2-4). Dispatches from around nation printed through Feb 1.

Jan. 25 Napoleon Bonaparte seizes power, Nov. 1799. "Another Revolution in France!"

May 3 Sedition Act, Justice Chase rules in trial of Thomas Cooper: "All governments punish libels upon government... there is nothing we should more dread than the licentiousness of the Press." (p1)

June 11 James Callender indicted on sedition charges for "The Prospect Before Us" a pamphlet criticizing President Adams (secretly financed by Thomas Jefferson).

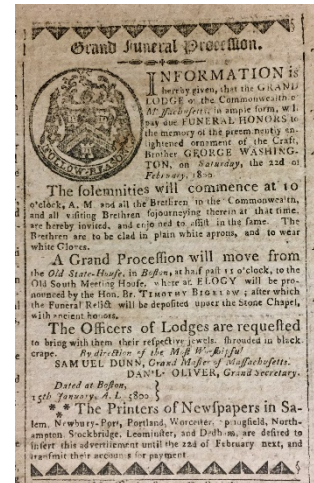
June 25 "The Jeffersoniad" by Decius (attributed to an aide of Hamilton), on the dangers of a Jefferson presidency. Complete series of sixteen published serially, through Sep. 20.

Oct. 15 "The Latitudinarian." Series of essays (printed serially through Dec. 27), including attacks on Mary Wollstonecraft's female adherents in America as "unsexed Innovators." This series provoked vigorous debates in Boston about the rights of women within the Federalist party. (p1/c3)

Dec. 10 John Adams' Final State of the Union Address, on Washington's death, the capital's move to Washington, DC, defense, strong economy, etc.

Dec. 20 Quasi-War Ends. "Convention Between the French Republic and the United States of America" October 3, 1800. Peace treaty signed by Joseph Bonaparte, Oliver Ellsworth. (p2/c2; p3)

Dec. 24 Election of 1800. Votes tied. House of Representatives will decide election: "It is asserted, and generally conceded, that Messrs. Jefferson and Burr will each have a majority of votes for President of the United States.... Should this prove to be the fact, the citizens... will yet have another chance to elect a Federal President." (p2/c3)



**Hamilton's reelection as councilor to the New York Manumission Society; Gabriel Prosser's Slave Rebellion; Toussaint L'Ouverture's Proclamations; Jefferson's election and Inaugural Address; Congress Convenes its first session in Washington, D.C.; President John Adams appoints John Marshall Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.**

***New York Spectator*, October 4, 1800–September 30, 1801.** Newspaper. New York: G.F. Hopkins. 105 issues, 420 pp. total. #23484

Oct. 25 Gabriel Prosser executed on Oct. 10 in Richmond. Anger following Prosser's planned rebellion leads directly to outlawing of free blacks in Virginia (1806), and much stricter laws against the education and free travel of slaves. (p1/c1)

Nov. 8 Quasi-War Ends: Treaty with France promising mutual "amity and commerce" signed at Paris (September 30). (p2/c3) Full text of Convention printed in December 24 issue.

Nov. 29 John Adams' last State of the Union, on Washington's death, Congress' first assembly in Washington, D.C., and the state of the nation's military. Further correspondence between Adams and Congress, printed on December 3 and 6.



Nov. 29 Hamilton Defended. *NY Gazette* asserts that Hamilton's intended audience for the inflammatory Letter "Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams" had been only a few Federalist officials. Hamilton's scathing Letter was instead circulated publicly, embarrassing and dividing the Federalist party just ahead of the critical 1800 election. (p3/c1)

Dec. 3 Presidential Election Results: First count of votes returned, by state and party: "Adams & Pinckney... 66... Jefferson & Burr... 57" (p3/c2). Further vote returns, commentaries, and reports printed through December 17.

Jan. 24 Alexander Hamilton reelected Councilor of New York Manumission Society.

Feb. 25 Jefferson Elected President on 36<sup>th</sup> Ballot. "10 States for Mr. Jefferson ... 4 States for Mr. Burr" (p3/c5). Further coverage of Jefferson's election on February 27.

Feb. 27 John Adams submits his "midnight" nominations for circuit judges; nominates Charles Lee for Attorney General. (p3/c3)

March 11 Thomas Jefferson's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801 (p. 3, c. 3)

*"A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry ... advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye...."*

*"Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things.... We have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions...."*

“[E]very difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated.”

March 14 Jefferson names cabinet appointments, including Madison as Secretary of State.

March 21 Jefferson’s response to Baltimore’s New Jerusalem Church

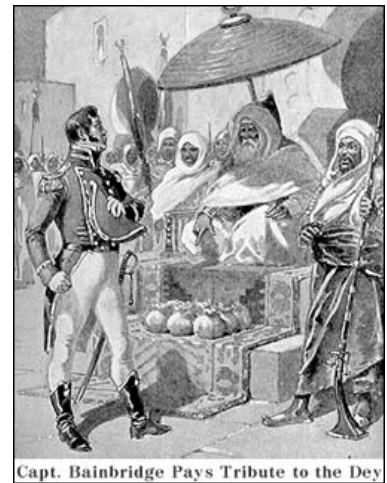
April 29 Jefferson, to the inhabitants of Warren County, N.C.: “*Nothing is more important to the interest of our country, than the absolute exclusion of every degree of foreign influence.*”

May 13 republishing from the *Gazette of the United States* all 25 “Phocion Letters,” which questioned Jefferson’s temperament for the presidency, accused him of hypocrisy on slavery, and hinted at his relationship with Sally Hemings. (Hamilton had used that pen name in 1784, so some observers believed him to be the author. However, William Loughton Smith, a Federalist Congressman and Hamilton ally from South Carolina, has since been identified as the more probable author of the 1796 Phocion letters.)

June 10 “*The Dey of Algiers has DECLARED WAR against the United States.*”

July 25 Jefferson’s “*Reply to the ‘Remonstrance of the Merchants of New-Haven,’*” Jefferson, already suspected of partisan motives in dismissing many Federalist office-holders, drew sharp criticism when he denied the substance of the merchants’ complaint. (p1/c5)

Aug. 8 “*Whatever claims to eminence Dr. Franklin may have...there is no point of light in which his character shines with more luster, than when we view him as a man or a citizen. He was eminently great in common things.... Nothing ever passed through his hands without receiving improvement; and no person ever went into his company without gaining wisdom.*”



Aug. 15 Toussaint L’Ouverture, Address to the People of Santo Domingo, commemorating their new Constitution. (p1/c4) Constitution printed in full in Aug. 19 issue.



**Rare run of first year of Hamilton's Paper, including many of his pseudonymous letters, Coverage of the duel that killed Philip Hamilton, Addresses by and about Jefferson, etc.**

**The New-York Evening Post, November 18, 1801 to May 15, 1802.** Newspaper. New York: William Coleman, ed. 153 issues, 612 pp. total. Nearly complete. The *Evening Post* was printed daily except Sundays. Lacking only the first two issues. #24683

This run of the *New-York Evening Post* includes a complete series of eighteen articles entitled "The Examination," signed "Lucius Crassus." First appearing in the *Post*, "The Examination" was the Federalist answer to Thomas Jefferson's first annual message to Congress on December 8, 1801. Letter I was printed on December 17 and reprinted the next day. Subsequent letters were printed on December 21, 24, 26, 29, January 2, 7, 12, 18, 19, Feb 3, 23, 27, March 2, 3, 19, 20 and April 8. Among the other Hamilton-related content was an extensive report on November 28, 1801, of the duel that killed his son Philip.

Nov. 19, 1801. Editor William Coleman expresses his devotion to the "*cause of FEDERALISM*" but also pledges to promote "*a spirit of harmony*" among all who are "*disposed to unite in their exertions to maintain the CONSTITUTION and LAWS.*"

Nov. 20. Announcement that "*PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE have been signed between GREAT-BRITAIN and FRANCE.*" The Treaty of Amiens, signed in March 1802, temporarily ended hostilities during the French Revolutionary Wars.

Nov. 24. Death of Philip Hamilton. (Described separately, but in the collection). #24810

Nov. 28. Announcement "*TO THE PUBLIC*": "*The friends of young Mr. [Philip] Hamilton sincerely regret that the unfortunate affair, which terminated his life, should have become matter of newspaper discussion. But since it has so happened they feel it to be due to his memory, that a correct statement of facts should vindicate him from more blame than is imputable to him, and should show that the catastrophe which ensued, might probably have been avoided, if, in the subsequent stages of the transaction, the moderation, as well of Mr. H. as of his friends, had been favorably met....*

*"On the evening of Friday, the 20th instant, at the Theatre, Mr. Hamilton and another young gentleman, Mr. P—, went into a box where Mr. Eacker was, and entered into conversation together, casting pointed ridicule upon an oration delivered by Mr. Eacker, on the Fourth of July last, and afterwards printed.... Mr. E. seized Mr. H. by the collar and exclaimed, 'I will not be insulted by a set of rascals.'... they united in opinion, that the retaliation of Mr. E. had been of so violent a nature as to render it impossible for Mr. H. to decline taking further notice of it....*

*"Mr. E. first undertook to deliver his answer verbally, but after some hesitation, and embarrassment of expression, he drew from his pocket a paper from which he read it—it was to this effect, 'the expressions I made use of towards Mr. Hamilton at the Theatre on Friday night last, were produced by his conduct on that occasion; I thought them applicable then, AND I THINK SO STILL.'...*

*"In the mean time Mr. H. still reflecting, that in the origin of the controversy, the blame lay with him, averse in principle to the shedding of blood in private combat, anxious to repair his original fault, as far as he was able without dishonor, and to stand acquitted in his own mind, came to the determination to reserve his fire, receive that of his antagonist, and then discharge his pistol in the air....*

*"Unhappily the first fire of Mr. E. took effect, and by mortally wounding Mr. H. defeated the execution of this generous intention....*

*“It is a small tribute due to the memory of this estimable but unfortunate young man, to say, that the witnesses to this fatal scene testify the display of a steady resolution on his part, which evinced the most deliberate courage....”*

*“He received his wound about three o’clock, and languished till five the next morning int eh full possession of his faculties, supporting the pain of his faculties, supporting the pain of his situation with the utmost fortitude, without a murmur or a reproach—soothing occasionally his afflicted parents, and piously resigned to the event.”*

Nov. 30. “REFLECTIONS ON THE PEACE.” In the peace between France and Great Britain, there is “one danger, far more menacing to all the interests of our country.” The Spanish cession of Louisiana to France, territories “adjoining our’s on this side the Mississippi,” could “anticipate evils of enormous magnitude, and of the most mischievous tendency.”

Dec. 1. In response to an article in the *American Citizen* that accused editor William Coleman of having “a servile and unprincipled disposition to distort truth” and describing the statement on Philip Hamilton’s duel as “totally destitute of truth,” Coleman wrote, “He feels himself authorized to add, that the terms on which he has since stood with the nearest connections of Mr. H. while it refutes the calumnious insinuation, affords him a consolation, equally grateful to his sensibility, and flattering to his pride. He is satisfied with having acted from upright motives....”

Dec. 2. “REFLECTIONS ON THE PEACE, NUMBER II.” “France assuredly will be now, more than ever, an object of jealousy to all the powers of Europe; because she is now, more than ever, to be feared.”

Dec. 17. “THE EXAMINATION, NUMBER I” by LUCIUS CRASSUS [Alexander Hamilton]. “The Message of the President, by whatever motives it may have been dictated, is a performance which ought to alarm all who are anxious for the safety of our Government, for the respectability and welfare of our nation. It makes, or aims at making, a most prodigal sacrifice of constitutional energy, of sound principle, and of public interest, to the popularity of one man.... What will the world think of the fold when such is the shepherd?”

Dec. 21. “THE EXAMINATION, NUMBER II.” “How reconcileable is this with the wanton and unjust clamours heretofore vented against those who projected and established our present system of public credit; charging them with a design to perpetuate the debt under the pretext that a public debt was a public blessing? It is not to be forgotten, that in these clamours Mr. Jefferson liberally participated! Now, it seems, the tone is entirely changed. The past administrations who had so long been calumniated by the imputation of that pernicious design, are of a sudden discovered to have done too much for the speedy discharge of the debt, and its duration is to be prolonged by throwing away a part of the fund destined for its prompt redemption. Wonderful union of consistency and wisdom!”

Dec. 24. “THE EXAMINATION, NUMBER III.” “the adepts of the new-school have a ready answer: Industry will succeed and prosper in proportion as it is left to the exertions of individual enterprise. This favorite dogma, when taken as a general rule, is true; but as an exclusive one, it is false, and leads to error in the administration of public affairs. In matters of industry, human enterprize ought, doubtless, to be left free in the main, not fettered by too much regulation; but practical politicians know that it may be beneficially stimulated by prudent aids and encouragements on the part of the Government. This is proved by numerous examples too tedious to be cited; examples which will be neglected only by indolent and temporising rulers, who love to loll in the lap of epicurean ease, and seem to imagine that to govern well, is to amuse the wondering multitude with sagacious aphorisms and oracular sayings.”

Jan. 12, 1802. "THE EXAMINATION, NUMBER VIII." "It appears from the last census, that we have increased about one third in ten years; after allowing for what we have gained from abroad, it will be quite apparent that the natural progress of our own population is sufficiently rapid for strength, security and settlement. By what has been said, it is not meant to contend for a total prohibition of the right of citizenship to strangers, nor even for the very long residence which is now a prerequisite to naturalization, and which of itself, goes far towards a denial of that privilege. The present law was merely a temporary measure adopted under peculiar circumstances and perhaps demands revision. But there is a wide difference between closing the door altogether and throwing it entirely open; between a postponement of fourteen years and an immediate admission to all the rights of citizenship. Some reasonable term ought to be allowed to enable aliens to get rid of foreign and acquire American attachments; to learn the principles and imbibe the spirit of our government; and to admit of at least a probability of their feeling a real interest in our affairs. A residence of at least five years ought to be required."

Feb. 24. Another editorial attributed to Hamilton: "Were we to attempt a correct definition of a Republican Government, we should say, 'That is a Republican Government, in which both the Executive and Legislative organs are appointed by a popular Election, and hold their offices upon a responsible and defeasible tenure.'... General Hamilton did never propose a monarchy.... To arraign the morals of any man because he entertains a speculative opinion on government different from ourselves, is worse than arrogance. He who does so, must entertain notions in ethics extremely crude, and certainly unfavourable to virtue."

Apr. 8. "THE EXAMINATION, No. 18." "Though adventitious circumstances may have aided the result, it is certain that a penetrating and comprehensive mind could be at no loss to foresee a progress of our affairs, similar to what has been experienced. Upon this anticipation the assumption of the state debts, and other apparently bold measures of the government were avowedly predicated, in opposition to the feeble & contracted views of the LITTLE POLITICIANS, who now, triumph in the success of their arts, and enjoy the benefits of a policy, which they had neither the wisdom to plan nor the spirit to adopt.... Already the cause of truth has derived this advantage from the crude essays of their Chief, that the film has been removed from many an eye. The credit of great abilities was allowed him by a considerable portion of those who disapproved his principles; but the short space of nine months has been amply sufficient to dispel that illusion; and even some of his most partial votaries begin to suspect, that they have been mistaken in the OBJECT OF THEIR IDOLATRY."

May 11. Advertisement for *The Examination of the President's Message*, "Revised and Corrected by the Author," a book of 127 pages, was available at the newspaper's office for 50 cents. "It is believed that every person who duly estimates the political discussions which have appeared in the *E. Post* in a series of numbers, under the signature of LUCIUS CRASSUS, will wish to have them in their best form. That they may be read without interruption, they are offered in the shape of a pamphlet, and are recommended by the revision and correction of the author.— Whoever is desirous of comprehending the schemes of the party now in power, in their true light, and in all their consequences, will peruse this book with entire satisfaction."

May 13. Announcement of the signing of the Treaty of Amiens between Great Britain and France on March 27, which brought hostilities in the French Revolutionary Wars to a halt, until they resumed in May 1803.

## Repeal of Federalist legislation; The New Naturalization Act; Callender turns on Jefferson; Jefferson's Second State of the Union

***New-York Herald*, March 31–December 22, 1802.** Newspaper. New York: M. Burnham. 80 issues, plus 2 pp. index. The *Herald* was the semi-weekly edition of the *New-York Post*, founded in part by Alexander Hamilton in 1801. Both papers acted as a Federalist counterpoint to the Jefferson administration and figured prominently in public debates on Congressional legislation. Signed by prominent Hartford lawyer Enoch Perkins (1760-1828). #30038

Mar. 31 Repeal of 1801 Judiciary Act, signed in type by Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

Apr. 1 Fire destroys Princeton College. Contributions solicited for rebuilding (p1/c3). Further content on rebuilding in May 15 issue.

Apr. 7 William and Mary College, Student Riot following a Duel: “*For this gross violation of the rules of the College, they were both expelled, which so enraged all the rest of the Collegians, that they assembled, went into the church, broke and destroyed all the windows, cut down the pulpit, tore out all the leaves of the bible. ... These may be considered as some of the blessed effects of the modern, or Jeffersonian system of religion.*” (p1/c2)

Apr. 7 US Mint. House Debate on dissolution, and repeal of Mint Law. (p2/c4)

Apr. 21 Public Debt Satire: “*Instead of pursuing the old-fashioned aristocratical way of ... paying off the debt, our sagacious committee of ways and means have originated a much less expensive plan ... by borrowing money at a higher rate of interest.*” (p1/c2)

May 1 Naturalization Act of 1801, signed by Jefferson and Burr (p1/c1)

May 8 Luther Martin, a staunch Anti-Federalist, defends Hamilton against charges of monarchism. (p1/c1)

May 29 John Stanley “Report on the Activities of the Congress,” advocating transparency. “*It is of the first importance that the citizens of a free country should be acquainted with the acts of those to whom they have committed the administration of their affairs.*” (p1/c1)

May 29 Letters parody John Wood’s book, *Narrative of the Suppression by Col. Burr, of the History of the Administration of John Adams*. (p2/c2-3)

May 29 Death of Martha Washington, May 22, 1802, at Mount Vernon. (p3/c4)

June 2 “Female Aeronaut!” In Paris, Jeanne Genevieve Labrosse, “*only 20 years of age*” ascended in a balloon, observed by 43,000 people. (p3/c1)

June 5 Letter to Thomas Jefferson, signed “*A Christian*”: “*You were, I believe, permitted by heaven as a scourge to punish the licentiousness and wickedness of the times.*” (p3/c4)

June 9 George Washington, Journal, excerpt recounting an ambush during his 1753-54 mission to assert Virginia’s claims in the Ohio Valley. (p2/c2)



July 14 James Callender reveals Jefferson bribed him to denounce Washington and Adams.

July 24 John Wood (attributed), "A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr, Esq. Vice President of the United States." (p1/c4) Printed serially through July 28.

July 24 Hamilton's 1780 "Letter respecting the fate of Major John Andre" to John Laurens: "*Never, perhaps, did a man suffer death with more justice, or deserve it less.*"

July 28 Duel between General James Jackson and Col. Watkins, Jackson wounded. (p3/c3)

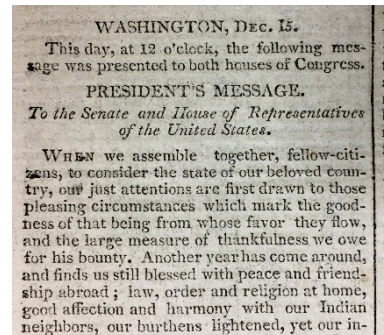
Aug. 18 Cato Letters (poss. Thomas Paine). Two letters written directly to the *Herald*, Aug 18 and 25 on the "Revolution of 1800": "*When the storm is once raised; when 'the tempestuous sea of liberty' is once put in agitation, it will be found no easy task to allay its fury....*"

Dec. 4 Report of Thomas Paine's Return to the U.S.: "*Mr. Paine now stands before the world the avowed Author of 'The Age of Reason' ...too blasphemous to meet the public eye.*"

Dec. 4 Thomas Paine, Four Letters "To the Citizens of the United States." Printed serially through Dec. 15. "*After an absence of almost fifteen years, I am again returned to the country in whose dangers I bore my share, and to whose greatness I contributed my part.*" (p3/c1)

Dec. 22 Jefferson's 1802 State of the Union Address. Discussing Indian relations, outlining negotiations to fix the boundaries, and continuing warfare between the US and Tripoli. Domestically, Jefferson praises the strong state of finances that have allowed the redemption of a large portion of the national debt. (p2/c1-3):

*"Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad; law, order, and religion at home; good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbors; our burthens lightened, yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet, and we remark with special satisfaction those which under the smiles of Providence result from the skill, industry, and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions ... A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruisers, and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary Powers may eventually require that force to be augmented.... [T]o keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union as the only rock of safety—these, fellow citizens, are the land-marks by which we are to guide ourselves in all proceedings."*



Dec. 22 Excerpt of Preface to new edition of *The Federalist Papers*. (p2/c5)

Dec. 22 Response to State of the Union: "*In truth Mr. Jefferson, the people expect a little flattery from you, they have been accustomed to it ... but when you treat them in a manner that could hardly pass with a miss in her teens, is there not some little danger they may open their eyes when you least expect it, to the paltry artifices which are played upon them?*" (p3/c3)

**Louisiana Purchase; *Marbury v. Madison*; Debates over Naturalization Laws and Freedom of the Press, Jefferson's Third State of the Union.**

**The *New-York Herald*, January 1–December 31, 1803.** Newspaper. New York: M. Burnham. 103 issues, 412 pp. total. Printed on Wednesdays and Saturdays. This volume lacks only June 4. (The March 26 issue had been removed, but we were able to acquire another separately, and include it here. That key issue contains Justice John Marshall's opinion, in *Marbury v. Madison*, the landmark case establishing the principle of Judicial Review.) #30039

Prominent in this run of the 1803 *Herald* are debates over the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, printings of recently passed Acts of Congress, reports of July 4th Celebrations, and impeachment proceedings against Judges John Pickering and Samuel Chase. The *Herald* provides an impressive snapshot into the workings of the federal government, foreign affairs, and the dastardly deeds of officials big and small.

Jan. 19 James Callender imprisoned in Virginia. Concerns about freedom of the press. (p1/c1)

Jan. 19 Jefferson names James Monroe Minister Extraordinary to France and Spain. (p3/c1)

Feb. 5 "Revolutionizing America," 1794 tract originally attributed to Thomas Paine, giving detailed instructions for a French invasion and radicalization of America. Paine denied authorship. (p3/c3)

Feb. 9 Judiciary Act of 1801, House debates repeal, constitutionality of removing judges. (p1/c1)

Feb. 19 Essay defending Irish immigrants in Pennsylvania who petitioned for Naturalization Law reforms. (p4/c1)

Feb. 26 Abolition of the Slave Trade, House Debates. (p3/c3)

March 5 Report finds Yazoo Land sales illegal, signed James Madison and Albert Gallatin.

March 19 Smallpox inoculations research in London leads to a more effective vaccine. (p3/c3)

March 26 *Marbury v. Madison*: Landmark Supreme Court case which established the principle of judicial review. Chief Justice John Marshall, writing for the unanimous majority, outlines argument that "*It is undoubtedly the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is.*" Consequent to this ruling, the Court had jurisdiction to void unconstitutional Congressional legislation. (This issue, while lacking from the run in the bound volume, was acquired separately and is included in the collection.) (#30039.01)

April 13 Jefferson, "Letter to George Clinton," on the necessity of strong state militias. (p3/c2)

July 2 "Two Millions of Dollars!!" Congressional Act making allowance for "*extraordinary expenses ... incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations.*" With editorial criticizing Jefferson's hypocrisy. (p1/c4-5)

July 2 Louisiana Purchase: April 29, 1803. (p2/c4)

July 9 Burr “*unanimously elected a member*” of the Society of the Cincinnati. (p2/c5)

July 13 Fourth of July toast: “*Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold----may Traitors always meet their reward.*” (p2/c4)

July 27 William Cooper of Cooperstown announces new settlement in DeKalb, N.Y. (p4/c4)

Oct. 1 King George III justifies war against Napoleon in lengthy address. (p1/c1-5)

Oct. 15 France preparing to invade England, seize land. (p3/c1)

Oct. 22 Jefferson’s Third State of the Union, (October 17, 1803).

*“Free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide-spread field for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.”*

Delivered just three days before the final ratification of the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson urges Congress to absorb the resulting \$13,000,000 of new debt without raising taxes. American negotiators James Monroe and Robert Livingston were authorized to purchase the port of New Orleans only, but after the loss of Haiti to Toussaint L’Ouverture’s forces, Napoleon offered the entire 828,000 acres to the United States for \$15,000,000, or about 3 cents an acre. It was one of the best land deals in history. Jefferson, a strict Constitutional constructionist, engaged in a little hand-wringing over his principles but ultimately favored the acquisition. The Constitution was silent on the matter of acquiring new territory, and some in Congress questioned the legality of the purchase. Most, however, came to support the acquisition as a phenomenal opportunity for the young nation. For all its positive benefits, however, national expansion created unforeseen harms, most notably the expansion of slavery and Indian removal.

Oct. 26 12th Amendment passes in Congress, advances to state legislatures. (p1/c1)

Oct. 26 Treaty and Convention between the United States and France, re control of Louisiana: “*For the payment of the sum of sixty millions of francs ... Louisiana shall be taken possession of in the name of the government of the United States,*” signed James Monroe and R. R. Livingston.

Nov. 2 Spain remonstrates against France and United States for the sale of Louisiana. (p1/c2)

Nov. 9 Congress passes “An Act to Enable the President of the United States to take possession of the territories ceded by France to the United States,” October 31, 1803. (p2/c2)

Nov. 23 “An Account of Louisiana,” including geography, cultural descriptions, and records from the Departments of State and the Treasury (p1/c4; p2). Printed serially through Nov. 26.

## Hamilton-Burr Duel, Hamilton's Funeral, & Thomas Jefferson's Fourth State of the Union, News of Louisiana Purchase

**New-York Herald, January 4–December 29, 1804.** Newspaper. New York: M. Burnham. Includes three black-bordered issues related to the death and funeral of Alexander Hamilton, copious reporting on the Hamilton-Burr duel, and other major national and international events including the beginning of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, the ratification of the 12th Amendment, the beginnings of U.S. administration of the newly acquired Orleans territory, the Barbary Pirate War, the humiliating loss to Barbary powers of the USS *Philadelphia* and Stephen Decatur's burning of the captured American frigate, Napoleon becoming Emperor of France, among many other news and opinion items. Contemporary marbled boards. #30040

*Note:* This is a fuller description of the item introduced on page 121.

Jan. 25 Louisiana officially ceded to United States.

March 28 Jefferson, Report to Congress on the loss of the USS *Philadelphia*, run aground in Tripoli harbor, with Commodore Bainbridge's letter reporting the loss. Further dispatches, commentary, and content on May 19.

June 26 12th Amendment Ratified following vote in New Hampshire Legislature.

July 4 Philadelphia Board of Health, Rules for Containing Yellow Fever

July 7 New York City's Independence Day festivities

July 11 The last issue of the Herald under Hamilton's ownership before the duel.

July 13 *"With emotions we have not a hand to inscribe, have we to announce the death of ALEXANDER HAMILTON. He was ruthlessly cut off in the 48<sup>th</sup> year of his age, in the full vigor of his faculties and in the midst of all his usefulness.*

*"We have not the firmness to depict this melancholy, heart-rending event. Now- when death has extinguished all party animosity, the gloom that overspreads every countenance ... bear irresistible testimony of the esteem and respect all maintained for him, of the love all bore him; and assure us than an impression has been made by his loss which no time can efface...."*

July 14 Hamilton's July 11 duel with Burr, Hamilton's death on July 12. Including testimonials, news of the procession, and two pages with funerary black borders.

July 18 Testimonials and commentary on Hamilton's death and a complete report of the "Funeral Obsequies," including Gouverneur Morris' funeral oration. Pages in black borders. *"The shocking catastrophe which has recently occurred, terminating the life of Alexander Hamilton, and which has spread a gloom over our city that will not be speedily dissipated, demands that the circumstances which led to it, or were intimately connected with it, should not be concealed from the world. When they shall be truly and fairly disclosed, however some may question the soundness of his [Hamilton's] judgement on this occasion.... The following is the correspondence that passed between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr."*



July 21 Further reports on Hamilton-Burr duel, also black bordered.

Oct. 10 Jefferson's Address to the Chiefs of the Osage tribe.

Nov. 7 Burr indicted for murder of Alexander Hamilton.

Nov. 7 College of New Jersey (Princeton). Trustees announce rebuilding of College following its destruction in a fire, plus construction of several additional buildings.

Nov. 14 Thomas Jefferson's Fourth State of the Union Address.

*"The objections which had been urged by [the Spanish] Government against ... our title to ... Louisiana have been withdrawn.... With the nations of Europe in general our friendship and intercourse are undisturbed.... The activity and success of the small force employed in the Mediterranean in the early part of the present year ... will ... reduce ... Tripoli to the desire of peace on proper terms.... With the Indian tribes established within our newly acquired limits, I have deemed it necessary to open conferences for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighborly relations between us."*

Dec. 5 Thomas Paine's "To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana"- anti-slavery.

## First Printings of Thomas Paine Essays; News of the Hamilton-Burr Duel; Hamilton's Funeral Proceedings; Louisiana Purchase Celebrations; Jefferson's Fourth State of the Union

***The Aurora*, January–December 1804.** Prolonged debates over the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, printings of recently passed Acts of Congress, impeachment proceedings against Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase, and many other topics made 1804 a banner year. Several new Thomas Paine publications, including his “*Remarks on Gouverneur [sic] Morris’s Funeral Oration of General Hamilton*,” “*Nonsense from New York*” on Hamilton’s death, and his major anti-slavery screed, “*To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana*,” signed “Common Sense”). The sitting Vice President killed a national hero (Duane was still printing letters between Hamilton and Burr five months after the duel). The nation tripled in size. This rare run of the *Aurora*, with an anti-Federalist attitude, provides an impressive snapshot into the workings of the federal government, foreign affairs, and the misdeeds of public officials. Many Jefferson reports, including his 4<sup>th</sup> State of the Union Address.

Newspaper. Philadelphia: William Duane. Hamilton-Burr Duel, Hamilton’s Funeral, Thomas Jefferson Presidency. Thomas Paine. Contemporary half calf marbled boards. *The Aurora* was published Monday to Saturday. 312 editions of the *Aurora* were printed for 1804, 2 pp. each. This volume lacks only March 13 and 19. #30037

June 26 The 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment (to avoid a repeat of the contentious election of 1800, the Vice President must meet the same constitutional requirements as provided for the President, and would run on one ticket) becomes part of the Constitution upon New Hampshire’s ratification.

July 4 A printing of the Declaration of Independence.

July 13 News of Hamilton’s death. “*Burr and Hamilton have this morning fought a duel, general Hamilton is wounded, and it is said mortally! ... I have just now heard (half past 12 o’clock) is dead. ... The greatest man in America has this morning fallen in a duel!—GENERAL HAMILTON!—yes—HAMILTON!—the pride of every true American, is, by this time no more!*”

July 19 A complete report of Hamilton’s funeral.

Aug. 7 Thomas Paine’s “Remarks on Gouverneur [sic] Morris’s Funeral Oration of General Hamilton,” signed “Common Sense.” Criticizing praise of Hamilton and his political achievements.

Aug. 23 Thomas Paine’s “Nonsense from New York” on the death of Hamilton, signed “Comus.”

Sept. 22 Thomas Paine’s “To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana,” signed “Common Sense.”

Nov. 12 Thomas Jefferson’s 4th State of the Union Address.



## Edmund Randolph Signed Acts of Congress

An archive of thirty documents containing forty-three Acts of Congress signed in type by George Washington as President and John Adams as Vice President and President of the Senate, from 1794-95. Edmund Randolph, Jefferson's successor as Secretary of State, personally signed each document and sent them to Connecticut Governor Samuel Huntington. Randolph became the second Secretary of State on January 2, 1794. As Congress directed, he continued signing copies of Congressional acts for the States. With the examples in the Collection proper, this is likely the largest such group outside of the Library of Congress.

**Edmund Randolph** (1753-1813) joined the war effort as an aide-de-camp to General George Washington. In 1779, he was selected as a Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress, serving through 1782. He maintained his legal practice, handling a number of issues for George Washington. He also trained John Marshall in the law; when Randolph was elected governor in 1786, Marshall took over his law practice.

**Samuel Huntington** (1731-1796). Under Huntington's presidency of the Continental Congress, the Articles of Confederation were ratified and Congress dissolved and re-formed as the United States in Congress Assembled. As the first President of the United States in Congress Assembled (1779-1781), Huntington established a Court of the Admiralty and appointed John Jay to aid in peace negotiations with Great Britain. While winning the war, lack of funding from the states forced Congress to repudiate the Continental dollar; bills were exchanged at the ratio of 40 to 1. After the war, in 1786, Huntington was elected Governor of Connecticut, where he worked to improve schools and roads, to establish a more humane legal system, fiscal reform, toleration of all religions, and the abolition of slavery. He was re-elected annually until his death. His support for "useful Manufactures" laid the foundations of Connecticut's future industrial expansion. He also brokered the Treaty of Hartford that resolved disputed western land claims between Massachusetts and New York. In 1787 he supported the Northwest Ordinance and was a strong voice for the adoption of the Constitution. Randolph was a delegate to the Annapolis Convention and the Constitutional Convention. He favored prohibition of slave importation, and wanted three chief executives from various parts of the country. His Virginia Plan proposed two houses, both with delegates based on state population. Seeking to correct a significant gap in the Articles of Confederation, Randolph's proposal for a national judiciary was adopted without dissent. However, fearing insufficient checks and balances, a Congress that could become too strong, as well as a federal judiciary that could overrule state courts, he was one of three members who refused to sign the Constitution. At the Virginia Ratifying Convention, Randolph at first argued for amendments before the Constitution was adopted. However, after June 2 when eight other states had already ratified, he changed his position and convinced enough other delegates to do so as well, insuring passage by a narrow margin.

President Washington appointed Randolph as the first U.S. Attorney General in September 1789. He was a useful neutral voice in frequent disputes between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. When Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State, Randolph succeeded him. The major diplomatic initiative of his term was the 1794 Jay's Treaty with Britain; Hamilton had managed those negotiations. Randolph opposed the treaty, but had to sign it. As a corrective, he pushed negotiations for what became Pinckney's Treaty. In 1795, the British Navy intercepted correspondence from Joseph Fauchet, French minister, to the U.S. The letters, which Britain turned over to George Washington, showed Randolph exposing cabinet debates to the French. Washington affirmed his support for Jay's Treaty, and with the entire cabinet gathered, demanded that Randolph explain the



letters. Randolph immediately resigned. (Ron Chernow, in his Washington biography, concluded that Randolph's action was due to a lapse of judgment rather than bribery or other illicit motives). Randolph returned to Virginia to practice law. In 1807, in John Marshall's court and to Jefferson's great chagrin, Randolph successfully defended Vice President Aaron Burr against charges of treason.

*An Act limiting the time for presenting claims for destroyed Certificates of certain descriptions*, April 21, 1794. Hamilton directly advised the House in creating this law to lay out parameters for reimbursing holders of government-issued bonds. In late December 1793, he received a letter from House committee member Richard Bland Lee, seeking more information about the practicality of redeeming different types of certificates including loan records, soldier pay securities, and bonds issued to civilians by the army in exchange for goods and services during the war. Hamilton responded, advising Congress to "confine the provision to Loan Office Certificates... [and] Register's Certificates... The reason of a distinction in their favour is that the Public books are in respect to them the Evidences of the Debt." In contrast, bonds issued to soldiers and civilians, which had changed hands many times since the war, were the "only memorandums of what they contain," and the government had no means of verifying ownership without presentation of the original certificate. Though without reliable records, it isn't clear what other course the Treasury might have taken, Hamilton's position was highly controversial. In the midst of a string of tax rebellions, and rumors (some true) that government officials had passed inside information to speculating friends (who then bought bonds wholesale from rural and impoverished veterans), this Act reinforced a perception that, while the government was committed to establishing critical credit strength and international legitimacy, it was indifferent to rural concerns. #24428.01

*An Act prohibiting for a limited time Exportation of Arms and Ammunition, and encouraging Importation of the same*, May 22, 1794. This law prohibited for a year the export of any arms, ammunition, and cannon, and removed duties on importation, due to concern about ongoing tensions with Europe, and the limited capacity for arms manufacturing in the United States. Right after the Act's passage, Hamilton urged all customs inspectors to strict compliance. Even his close oversight could not overturn centuries of arms smuggling, though. In August of 1794, Hamilton was obligated to issue a warning letter to Robert Purviance, Collector of the Port of Baltimore, over lax enforcement and ongoing export of arms and ammunition. #24428.03

*An Act further extending the time for receiving on Loan the Domestic Debt of the United States*, May 30, 1794, and *An Act to compensate Arthur St. Clair*, May 31, 1794. Arthur St. Clair (1737-1818) was born in Scotland. He was apprentice to a physician before purchasing a lieutenancy in the British Army during the Seven Years War. He then settled in western Pennsylvania, eventually becoming the region's largest landowner. St. Clair served in the Continental Army during the whole Revolutionary War, rising to the rank of Major General. He was elected to the final Continental Congress in 1787, then served as the military governor of the new Northwest Territory, before being appointed (civilian) governor. He was forced to resign his military commission after the disastrous Battle of the Wabash in 1791, in which Little Turtle's forces outmaneuvered his troops, resulting in over 600 American soldier and civilian casualties. St. Clair, a devoted Federalist, was removed as territorial governor by Jefferson in 1802. This Act was one of the few times the government reimbursed St. Clair for his extensive expenditures on the public's behalf in the west. Uncompensated government expenses combined with St. Clair's tendency to land acquisitions and lending of large sums to private western investments, eventually led to his poverty. #24428.05

*An Act making Provision for the Payment of the Interest on the Balances due to certain States...*, May 31, 1794. #24428.06

*An Act for extending the benefit of a Drawback and terms of credit, in certain cases...*, June 4, 1794. #24428.07

*An Act providing for the Payment of the Second Instalment due on a Loan made of the Bank of the United States*, June 4, 1794. #24428.08

*An Act authorizing a settlement of certain expenses of the Commissioners of Loans and An Act allowing additional compensation to the principal Clerks...*, June 5, 1794. #24428.14

*An Act laying additional Duties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandise imported into the United States*, June 7, 1794. #24428.15

*An Act concerning invalids and An Act for Relief of Nicholas Rieb*, June 7, 1794. #24428.16

*An Act in addition to the Act for making further and more effectual provision for Protection of the Frontiers of the United States and An Act for remission of Duties on certain Distilled Spirits destroyed by Fire*, June 7, 1794. This act reflected the influence of certain wealthy distillers. Jabez Rogers, a large Vermont distiller who lost much of his equipment to fire, was relieved of his tax burden on whiskey he had already sold, a courtesy not available to smaller distilleries. Aggravating tensions was the fact that large-scale (and usually wealthier) distillers of whiskey and liquors actually benefitted from the tax. As the tax burden on large distilleries was proportionally small, the tax almost entirely eliminated their competition from smaller distillers. #24428.17

*An Act supplementary to the act intituled Act to promote the progress of Useful Arts*, June 7, 1794. #24428.18

*An Act to amend ... an act to enable the officers and soldiers of the Virginia line on Continental establishment, to obtain titles to certain Lands and An Act making Appropriations for Certain Purposes therein expressed...*, June 9, 1794. #24428.19

*An Act for the relief of Peter Covenhoven*, January 1, 1795, and *An Act authorizing the transfer of the stock standing to the credit of certain States*, January 2, 1795. #24428.22

*An Act to regulate the pay of the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the militia of the United States...*, January 2, 1795. #24428.23

*An Act providing for the payment of certain instalments of foreign debts; and of the third instalment due on a loan made of the bank of the United States*, January 8, 1795. #24428.24

*An Act further extending the time for receiving on loan the domestic debt of the United States and An Act to authorize the settlement of the claim of Samuel Prioleau*, January 28, 1795. Congress sought not only to strengthen the nation's credit, but to ally the wealthiest families as closely as possible to the government's financial health and stability. With this Act, Congress lengthened the subscription period for potential domestic creditors of the national debt. Though many Americans, especially emerging Jeffersonians, protested the anti-Democratic nature of this approach, Hamilton, among others, recognized its necessity. History furnished abundant examples of powerful families completely subverting democracy. #24428.25

*An Act making further provision in cases of drawbacks*, January 29, 1795. #24428.27

*An Act to authorize the allowance of drawback on part of the cargo of the ship Enterprize and An Act to ... making alterations in the Treasury and War Departments*, February 13, 1795. #24428.28

*An Act relative to the compensations of officers employed in collection of duties of impost and tonnage*, February 14, 1795. #24428.29

*An Act for the reimbursement of a loan authorized by an act of the last session of Congress*, February 21, 1795. #24428.30

*An Act supplementary to the act concerning invalids and An act authorizing the erection of a lighthouse near the entrance of George-Town harbor ...*, February 21, 1795. #24428.31

*An Act to establish the office of Purveyor of Public Supplies*, February 23, 1795. #24428.32

*An Act supplementary to the Act, intituled An Act to provide more effectually for the collection of the duties on goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States, and on the tonnage of ships or vessels*, February 26, 1795. In 1795, having amended, suspended, repealed, and rewritten two complete acts on duties and imposts, Congress and the State and Treasury departments were still flooded with complaints of merchants and customs officials urging reforms. Though this supplement was not able to address all of the 1793 Act's weaknesses, it did consolidate the US Customs Service. All evaders—both citizens and foreigners—would now be subject to uniform rules and punishments. This amendment represented a clear end to salutary neglect, a holdover practice from the colonial period which had been popular when customs enforcement was uniformly neglected in the colonies, but unpopular when only some ports benefitted from light enforcement. #24428.33

*An Act to provide some present relief to the officers of government and other citizens who have suffered in their property by the insurgents in the western counties of Pennsylvania and An Act for the relief of Angus M'Lean*, February 27, 1795. #24428.34

*An Act relative to the passing of coasting vessels between Long Island and Rhode Island and An Act for the relief of Spencer Man and Frantz Jacob Foltz*, March 2, 1795. #24428.35

*An Act to alter and amend the act, intituled An act laying certain duties upon snuff and refined sugar*, March 3, 1795. #24428.36

*An Act making further appropriations for the military and naval establishments, and for the support of Government*, March 3, 1795. #24428.38

*An Act for the more effectual recovery of debts due from individuals to the United States, and An Act authorizing the exportation of arms, cannon and military stores in certain cases*, March 3, 1795. #24428.39

*An Act to authorize a grant of lands to the French inhabitants of Gallipolis...*, March 3, 1795. #24428.40

*An Act to regulate the compensation of Clerks*, March 3, 1795. #24428.41

# Expanding the Collection

The ALEXANDER HAMILTON COLLECTION is complete in itself, but can also become the cornerstone of the next great museum of American history, ideas, and ideals! We would be delighted to continue building the collection on behalf of the new owner. Great properties that we have previously sold, but hope to have access to again one day, include:

## A UNIQUE AND VIBRANT REMBRANDT PEALE

Painted ca 1819-1822, as Peale was developing his now iconic “Pater Patria” Washington portrait.



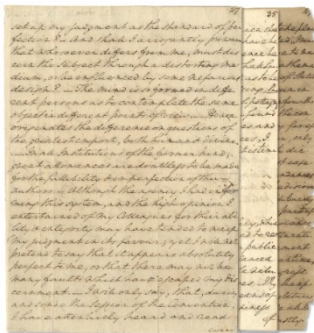
**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SIGNERS**, rare complete set of letters and documents, July 1776 printings of the Declaration, and more from the Revolutionary War and Founding.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON’S FIRST PRESIDENTIAL THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION, praying to

“Render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a Government of wise, just and constitutional laws, discretely and faithfully obeyed...”, and expressing gratitude “for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed; and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge...” Washington had asked Madison if issuing such a proclamation would be appropriate. After a fascinating debate, Congress officially asked the President to do so; their request was passed on the day they approved the Bill of Rights, the last day of the first session of the First Federal Congress.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON’S UNDELIVERED INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Washington’s draft of his first inaugural address can be considered his greatest political manifesto, detailing his thoughts on the Constitution, Bill of Rights, foreign relations, finance, religion, and other issues from the Founding that still effect our lives today.



“The Constitution, is really in its formation a government of the people... purely, a government of Laws made and executed by the fair substitutes of the people alone...”

“The preliminary observation that a free government ought to be built on the information and virtue of the people will here find its proper place.... Happily our Citizens are remarkably instructed by education... & ingenious for making improvements...”

“let a supreme regard for equal justice & the inherent right of the citizens be visible in all your proceedings on that important subject...”

The “undelivered” collection is currently on hold for the New York Harbor Conservancy and the **Federal Hall National Memorial**. Ask if you’d like information on efforts to create a new day at Federal Hall, including a George Washington Inaugural Gallery.



## ADDITIONAL HISTORIC OPPORTUNITIES

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David Ben-Gurion letters: basing Israel's future on science and technology rather than the sword, defense, the Bible, the Hebrew language, etc.

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Collection featuring John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. *"To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war."*

**JESSE OWENS COLLECTION**, including his Congressional Gold Medal and 1936 Olympic Certificates for victories in the long jump and 200 meter.



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