

An ORIGINAL DOCUMENT for EVERY SONG

I N

Hamilton: An American Musical

O R,

HAMILTON EXALTED, &c.,

I N T E N D E D A S

An Association of Period Evidence

WITH THE LYRICS OF THE

B R O A D W A Y M U S I C A L,

INCLUDING AN AUTHENTIC STATEMENT OF
THE THEMES of REVOLUTION and FOUNDING,

Together with SUCCINCT PROOF of
the GENIUS of the FRAMERS,

L I N - M A N U E L M I R A N D A,
and ALEXANDER HAMILTON, HIMSELF.

As Presented for

the DISCERNMENT *and* LEARNING

O F

THE HOUSTON BAR ASSOCIATION, APPELLATE PRACTICE SECTION

B Y

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of the Law Firm

QUINN EMANUEL URQUHART & SULLIVAN, LLP

26th April 2018

U. States of America

An Original Document for Every Song
in
Hamilton: An American Musical
or,
Hamilton Exalted

by
Charles Eskridge

A Note on Sources

After a five-month run at The Public Theater, *Hamilton: An American Musical* officially opened on Broadway at the Richard Rodgers Theatre in August 2015. With a record-setting sixteen Tony nominations, in June 2016 *Hamilton* won Tony Awards for Best Musical, Book of a Musical, Original Score, Actor, Featured Actor, Featured Actress, Costume Design, Lighting Design, Direction, Choreography, and Orchestrations. The Original Broadway Cast Recording won the Grammy Award for Best Musical Theater Album and is published by Atlantic Records.

For deeper insight into the musical itself, the reader should consult *Hamilton: The Revolution* by Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, published in 2016 by Melcher Media. *The Revolution* includes the full libretto with annotations by Miranda, together with chapter essays recounting the various developmental stages before Broadway and detailing the abundant talent that worked with Miranda towards the realization of his idea. The official website for *Hamilton: An American Musical* can be found at <http://atlanticrecords.com/HamiltonMusic/>. The homepage provides access to a set of annotated lyrics showing connections within and among the songs, along with some historical references and related literary and musical influences or allusions. It is unclear who exactly the annotators are, however, or how reliable the explanations might be (because, you know, it is the internet).

Lin-Manuel Miranda was inspired to write his musical when reading Ron Chernow's biography, *Alexander Hamilton*, published in 2004 by Penguin Press. Another concise, excellent treatment is *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography*, by Forrest McDonald, published in 1979 by W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

The best single-volume selection of original documents is likely *Alexander Hamilton: Writings*, published and kept permanently in print by The Library of America. With carefully distilled selections from the span of Hamilton's life—the West Indies, the Revolution and Confederation, the framing of the Constitution, the first Secretary of the Treasury, a Federalist leader until his untimely death—the volume can itself be read almost as a narrative. Other volumes in the “*Writings*” series include George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Marshall, and Thomas Paine. (But not Aaron Burr.)

The National Archives itself maintains a website, Founders Online, <http://founders.archives.gov>, to make freely available searchable content devoted to many of our nation's founders. This includes 7,632 documents authored by Alexander Hamilton, with others including George Washington (31,379), Thomas Jefferson (19,501), James Madison (8,449), John Adams (10,249), and Aaron Burr (49). (Take that, Burr.)

The best primary source of curated original documents is *The Founders' Constitution*, edited by Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, as originally published in 1987 by the University of Chicago Press. This remarkable five-volume treatise contains public domain documents with citation to the underlying public sources. The University of Chicago provides a valuable, ongoing public service by maintaining a freely-available internet version at <http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/>.

All lyrics quoted in this paper are as set out in *Hamilton: The Revolution*. All original documents quoted in this paper are as set out either at Founders Online or in *The Founders' Constitution*.

I
Alexander Hamilton

BURR

How does a bastard, orphan, son of a whore and a
Scotsman, dropped in the middle of a forgotten
Spot in the Caribbean by providence, impoverished, in squalor,
Grow up to be a hero and a scholar?

But every child in America should be acquainted with his own country. He should read books that furnish him with ideas that will be useful to him in life and practice. As soon as he opens his lips, he should rehearse the history of his own country; he should lisp the praise of liberty, and of those illustrious heroes and statesmen, who have wrought a revolution in her favor.

A selection of essays, respecting the settlement and geography of America; the history of the late revolution and of the most remarkable characters and events that distinguished it, and a compendium of the principles of the federal and provincial governments, should be the principal school book in the United States. These are interesting objects to every man; they call home the minds of youth and fix them upon the interests of their own country, and they assist in forming attachments to it, as well as in enlarging the understanding.

“It is observed by the great Montesquieu, that the laws of education ought to be relative to the principles of the government.”

In despotic governments, the people should have little or no education, except what tends to inspire them with a servile fear. Information is fatal to despotism.

In monarchies, education should be partial, and adapted to the rank of each class of citizens. But “in a republican government,” says the same writer, “the whole power of education is required.” Here every class of people should *know* and *love* the laws. This knowledge should be diffused by means of schools and newspapers; and an attachment to the laws may be formed by early impressions upon the mind.

*Noah Webster, On the Education of Youth in America (1788)*ⁱ

II
Aaron Burr, Sir

HAMILTON

You're an orphan? Of course! I'm an orphan.
God, I wish there was a war!
Then we could prove that we're worth more
Than anyone bargained for ...

Ned, my Ambition is prevalent that I contemn the grov'ling and condition of a Clerk or the like, to which my Fortune &c. condemns me and would willingly risk my life tho' not my Character to exalt my Station. Im confident, Ned that my Youth excludes me from any hopes of immediate Preferment nor do I desire it, but I mean to prepare the way for futurity. Im no Philosopher you see and may be jusly said to Build Castles in the Air. My Folly makes me ashamd and beg youll Conceal it, yet Neddy we have seen such Schemes successfull when the Projector is Constant I shall Conclude saying I wish there was a War.

Alexander Hamilton to Edward Stevens (11 Nov. 1769)ⁱⁱ

III

My Shot

HAMILTON

A colony that runs independently.
Meanwhile, Britain keeps shittin' on us endlessly.
Essentially, they tax us relentlessly,
Then King George turns around, runs a spending spree.
He ain't ever gonna set his descendants free,
So there will be a revolution in this century.

Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,

That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS:

Resolved, N. C. D. 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty and property: and they have never ceded to any foreign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, N. C. D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved, N. C. D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects, in America, without their consent.

*Continental Congress, Declaration and Resolves (14 Oct. 1774)*ⁱⁱⁱ

IV
The Story Of Tonight

LAURENS, MULLIGAN, LAFAYETTE

Raise a glass to freedom,
Something they can never take away.

HAMILTON

No matter what they tell you.

We came equals into this world, and equals shall we go out of it. All men are by nature born equally free and independent. To protect the weaker from the injuries and insults of the stronger were societies first formed; when men entered into compacts to give up some of their natural rights, that by union and mutual assistance they might secure the rest; but they gave up no more than the nature of the thing required. Every society, all government, and every kind of civil compact therefore, is or ought to be, calculated for the general good and safety of the community.

Every power, every authority vested in particular men is, or ought to be, ultimately directed to this sole end; and whenever any power or authority whatever extends further, or is of longer duration than is in its nature necessary for these purposes, it may be called government, but it is in fact oppression.

Upon these natural just and simple positions were civil laws and obligations framed, and from this source do even the most arbitrary and despotic powers this day upon earth derive their origin.

Strange indeed that such superstructures should be raised upon such a foundation! But when we reflect upon the insidious arts of wicked and designing men, the various and plausible pretences for continuing and increasing authority, the incautious nature of the many, and the inordinate lust of power in the few, we shall no longer be surprised that free-born man hath been enslaved, and that those very means which were contrived for his preservation have been perverted to his ruin; or, to borrow a metaphor from Holy Writ, that the kid hath been seethed in his mother's milk.

To prevent these fatal effects, and to restore mankind to its native rights hath been the study of some of the best men that this world ever produced; and the most effectual means that human wisdom hath ever been able to devise, is frequently appealing to the body of the people, to those constituent members from whom authority originated, for their approbation or dissent. Whenever this is neglected or evaded, or the free voice of the people is suppressed or corrupted; or whenever any military establishment or authority is not, by some certain mode of rotation, dissolved into and blended with that mass from which it was taken, inevitable destruction to the state follows.

“Then down the precipice of time it goes, And sinks in moments, which in ages rose.”

The history of all nations who have had liberty and lost it, puts these facts beyond doubt. We have great cause to fear that this crisis is approaching in our mother country. Her constitution has strong symptoms of decay. It is our duty by every means in our power to prevent the like here.

*George Mason, Remarks on
Annual Elections for the Fairfax Independent Company (Apr. 1775)^{iv}*

V
The Schuyler Sisters

ANGELICA

I've been reading "Common Sense" by Thomas Paine.
So men say that I'm intense or I'm insane.
You want a revolution? I want a revelation
So listen to my declaration:

ELIZA, ANGELICA, PEGGY

"We hold these truths to be self-evident
That all men are created equal."

ANGELICA

And when I meet Thomas Jefferson,

COMPANY

Unh!

ANGELICA

I'm 'a compel him to include women in the sequel!

WOMEN

Work!

I long to hear that you have declared an independancy—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Laidies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more tender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in immitation of the Supreem Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

Abigail Adams to John Adams (31 Mar. 1776)^v

VI
Farmer Refuted

SAMUEL SEABURY
(PEN NAME A.W. FARMER)

My name is Samuel Seabury and I present:
“Free Thoughts On the Proceedings of the
Continental Congress!”
Heed not the rabble who scream revolution,
They have not your interests at heart.

MULLIGAN

Oh my god. Tear this dude apart.

SEABURY

Chaos and bloodshed are not a solution.
Don't let them lead you astray,
This Congress does not speak for me.

BURR

Let him be.

SEABURY

They're playing a dangerous game.
I pray the king shows you his mercy.
For shame, for shame ...

Sir,

I resume my pen, in reply to the curious epistle, you have been pleased to favour me with; and can assure you, that, notwithstanding, I am naturally of a grave and phlegmatic disposition, it has been the source of abundant merriment to me. The spirit that breathes throughout is so rancorous, illiberal and imperious: The argumentative part of it so puerile and fallacious: The misrepresentations of facts so palpable and flagrant: The criticisms so illiterate, trifling and absurd: The conceits so low, steril and splenetic, that I will venture to pronounce it one of the most ludicrous performances, which has been exhibited to public view, during all the present controversy.

...

I shall, henceforth, begin to make some allowance for that enmity, you have discovered to the natural rights of mankind. For, though ignorance of them in this enlightened age cannot be admitted, as a sufficient excuse for you; yet, it ought, in some measure, to extenuate your guilt. If you will follow my advice, there still may be hopes of your reformation. Apply yourself, without delay, to the study of the law of nature. I would recommend to your perusal, Grotius, Puffendorf, Locke, Montesquieu, and Burlamaqui. I might mention other excellent writers on this subject; but if you attend, diligently, to these, you will not require any others.

Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted (23 Feb. 1775)^{vi}

VII
You'll Be Back

KING GEORGE

You'll be back.
Soon you'll see.
You'll remember you belong to me.
You'll be back.
Time will tell.
You'll remember that I served you well.
Oceans rise.
Empires fall.
We have seen each other through it all,
And when push
Comes to shove,
I will send a fully armed battalion
To remind you of my love!

Then, Sir, from these six capital sources; of descent; of form of government; of religion in the northern provinces; of manners in the southern; of education; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government; from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth; a spirit, that unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us.

I do not mean to commend either the spirit in this excess, or the moral causes which produce it. Perhaps a more smooth and accommodating spirit of freedom in them would be more acceptable to us. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcilable with an arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonists to be persuaded, that their liberty is more secure when held in trust for them by us (as their guardians during a perpetual minority) than with any part of it in their own hands. The question is, not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame, but—what, in the name of God, shall we do with it?

Edmund Burke,
Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies (22 Mar. 1775)^{vii}

VIII Right Hand Man

WASHINGTON

Can I be real a second?
For just a millisecond?
Let down my guard and tell the people how I feel a second?
Now I'm the model of a modern major general,
The venerated Virginian veteran whose men are all
Lining up, to put me up on a pedestal,
Writin' letters to relatives
Embellishin' my elegance and eloquence,
But the elephant is in the room.
The truth is in ya face when ya hear the British cannons go ...

COMPANY

Boom!

When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing; this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation, be considered as the source of present enjoyment or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political or moral point of light.

The Citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole Lords and Proprietors of a vast Tract of Continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the World, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life, are now by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and Independency; They are, from this period, to be considered as the Actors on a most conspicuous Theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity; Here, they are not only surrounded with every thing which can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a fairer opportunity for political happiness, than any other Nation has ever been favored with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly, than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our Republic assumed its rank among the Nations; The foundation of our Empire was not laid in the gloomy age of Ignorance and Superstition, but at an Epoque when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period, the researches of the human mind, after social happiness, have been carried to a great extent, the Treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labours of Philosophers, Sages and Legislatures, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the Establishment of our forms of Government; the free cultivation of Letters, the unbounded extension of Commerce, the progressive refinement of Manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind and increased the blessings of Society. At this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a Nation, and if their Citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be intirely their own.

George Washington, Circular to the States (8 June 1783)^{viii}

IX
A Winter's Ball

BURR

Washington hires Hamilton right on sight.
But Hamilton still wants to fight, not write.
Now Hamilton's skill with a quill is undeniable
But what do we have in common?
We're reliable with the

ALL MEN

Ladies!

And Now my Dear as we are upon the subject of wife, I empower and command you to get me one in Carolina. Such a wife as I want will, I know, be difficult to be found, but if you succeed, it will be the stronger proof of your zeal and dexterity. Take her description—She must be young, handsome (I lay most stress upon a good shape) sensible (a little learning will do), well bred (but she must have an aversion to the word *ton*) chaste and tender (I am an enthusiast in my notions of fidelity and fondness) of some good nature, a great deal of generosity (she must neither love money nor scolding, for I dislike equally a termagent and an œconomist). In politics, I am indifferent what side she may be of; I think I have arguments that will easily convert her to mine. As to religion a moderate stock will satisfy me. She must believe in god and hate a saint. But as to fortune, the larger stock of that the better. You know my temper and circumstances and will therefore pay special attention to this article in the treaty. Though I run no risk of going to Purgatory for my avarice; yet as money is an essential ingredient to happiness in this world—as I have not much of my own and as I am very little calculated to get more either by my address or industry; it must needs be, that my wife, if I get one, bring at least a sufficiency to administer to her own extravagancies. You will be pleased to recollect in your negotiations that I have no invincible antipathy to the *maidenly beauties* & that I am willing to take the *trouble* of them upon myself.

...

After reviewing what I have written, I am ready to ask myself what could have put it into my head to hazard this *Jeu de folle*. Do I want a wife? No—I have plagues enough without desiring to add to the number that *greatest of all*; and if I were silly enough to do it, I should take care how I employ a proxy. Did I mean to show my wit? If I did, I am sure I have missed my aim. Did I only intend to ⟨frisk⟩? In this I have succeeded, but I have done more. I have gratified my feelings, by lengthening out the only kind of intercourse now in my power with my friend.

Alexander Hamilton to John Laurens (c. April 1779)^{ix}

X Helpless

ELIZA, WOMEN

One week later

ELIZA

I'm writin' a letter nightly

Now my life gets better, every letter that you write me.

But now we are talking of times to come, tell me my pretty damsel have you made up your mind upon the subject of housekeeping? Do you soberly relish the pleasure of being a poor mans wife?

Have you learned to think a home spun preferable to a brocade and the rumbling of a waggon wheel to the musical rattling of a coach and six? Will you be able to see with perfect composure your old acquaintances flaunting it in gay life, tripping it along in elegance and splendor, while you hold an humble station and have no other enjoyments than the sober comforts of a good wife? Can you in short be an Aquileia and cheerfully plant turnips with me, if fortune should so order it? If you cannot my Dear we are playing a comedy of all in the wrong, and you should correct the mistake before we begin to act the tragedy of the unhappy couple.

I propose you a set of new questions my lovely girl; but though they are asked with an air of levity, they merit a very serious consideration, for on their being resolved in the affirmative stripped of all the colorings of a fond imagination our happiness may absolutely depend. I have not concealed my circumstances from my Betsey; they are far from splendid; they may possibly even be worse than I expect, for every day brings me fresh proof of the knavery of those to whom my little affairs are entrusted. ... An indifference to property enters into my character too much, and what affects me now as my Betsey is concerned in it, I should have laughed at or not thought of at all a year ago. But I have thoroughly examined my own heart. Beloved by you, I can be happy in any situation, and can struggle with every embarrassment of fortune with patience and firmness. I cannot however forbear entreating you to realize our union on the dark side and satisfy, without deceiving yourself, how far your affection for me can make you happy in a privation of those elegancies to which you have been accustomed. If fortune should smile upon us, it will do us no harm to have been prepared for adversity; if she frowns upon us, by being prepared, we shall encounter it without the chagrin of disappointment. Your future rank in life is a perfect lottery; you may move in an exalted you may move in a very humble sphere; the last is most probable; examine well your heart. ... You must apply your situation to real life, and think how you should feel in scenes of which you may find examples every day. So far My Dear

Betsey as the tenderest affection can compensate for other inconveniences in making your estimate, you cannot give too large a credit for this article. My heart overflows with every thing for you, that admiration, esteem and love can inspire. I would this moment give the world to be near you only to kiss your sweet hand. Believe what I say to be truth and imagine what are my feelings when I say it. Let it awake your sympathy and let our hearts melt in a prayer to be soon united, never more to be separated.

Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Schuyler (c. Aug. 1780)^x

XI
Satisfied

ANGELICA

So so so—
So this is what it feels like to match wits
With someone at your level! What the hell is the catch? It's
The feeling of freedom, of seein' the light,
It's Ben Franklin with a key and a kite!
You see it, right?

I this morning wrote a short and hasty line to your other self and did not then expect I should have been able to find a moment for the more agreeable purpose of dropping a line to you. Your husband has too much gallantry to be offended at this implication of preference. But I can not, however great my hurry, resist the strong desire I feel of thankg you for your invaluable letter by the last packet. Imagine, *if you are able*, the pleasure it gave me. Notwithstanding the compliment you pay to my eloquence its resources could give you but a feeble image of what I should wish to convey.

This you will tell me is poetical enough. I seldom write to a lady without fancying the relation of lover and mistress. It has a very inspiring effect. And in your case the dullest materials could not help feeling that propensity.

I have a great opinion of your *discernment* and therefore I venture to rant. If you read this letter in a certain mood, you will easily divine that in which I write it.

Alexander Hamilton to Angelica Schuyler Church (6 Dec. 1787)^{xi}

XII
The Story Of Tonight (Reprise)

HAMILTON

Congrats to you, Lieutenant Colonel.
I wish I had your command instead of manning George's journal.

BURR

No, you don't.

HAMILTON

Yes, I do.

BURR

Now, be sensible.
From what I hear, you've made yourself indispensable.

I always disliked the office of an Aide de Camp as having in it a kind of personal dependance. I refused to serve in this capacity with two Major General's at an early period of the war. Infected however with the enthusiasm of the times, an idea of the General's character which experience soon taught me to be unfounded, overcame my scruples and induced me to *accept his invitation* to enter into his family. I believe you know the place I held in The General's confidence and councils of which will make it the more extraordinary to you to learn that for three years past I have felt no friendship for him and have professed none. The truth is our own dispositions are the opposites of each other & the pride of my temper would not suffer me to profess what I did not feel. Indeed when advances of this kind (have been made) to me on his part they were rec(eived) in a manner that showed at least I had no inclination (to court them, and that) I wished to stand rather upon a footing of m(ilitary confidence than) of private attachment. You are too good a judge of human nature not to be sensible how this conduct in me must have operated on a man to whom all the world is offering incense. With this key you will easily unlock the present mystery. At the end of the war I may say many things to you concerning which I shall impose upon myself 'till then an inviolable silence.

The General (is a very honest) man. His competitors (have slender) abilities and less integ(riety). His pop(ularity) has often (been essential) to the safety of America, and is still of great importance to it. These considerations have influenced my past conduct respecting him, and will influence my future. I think it is necessary he should be supported.

Alexander Hamilton to Philip Schuyler (18 Feb. 1781)^{xii}

XIII
Wait For It

BURR

Life doesn't discriminate
Between the sinners and the saints.
It takes and it takes and it takes

COMPANY

And we keep living anyway.
We rise and we fall and we break,
And we make our mistakes.

BURR

And if there's a reason I'm still alive
When so many have died
Then I'm willin' to—
Wait for it ...

WOMEN

Wait for it ...

BURR, MEN

Wait for it ...

I was this Morning favoured with your Excellency's Letter of 29th Ulto and my Appointment in Col. Malcolms Reg. I am truly sensible of the Honour done me, and shall be studious that my Department in that Station be such as will ensure your future Esteem—I am nevertheless Sir, constrained to observe that the late Date of my Appointment subjects me to the Command of many who are younger in the Service and junior Officers the last Campaign—With Submission, and if there is no Impropriety in requesting what so nearly concerns me, I would beg to know, whether it was any Misconduct in me or extraordinary Merit or Services in them, which entituled the Gentlemen lately put over me, to that Preference; or if an uniform Diligence and Attention to Duty has marked my Conduct, since the Formation of an Army, whether I may not expect to be restored to that Rank of which I have been deprived, rather, I flatter myself, through Accident than Design: I would wish equally to avoid the Character of turbulent or passive, & am unhappy to have troubled your Excellency with a Matter which concerns only myself, but as a decent Attention to Rank is both proper & necessary, I hope it will be excused in one who regards his Honour, next to the Welfare of his Country.

Aaron Burr to George Washington (20 July 1777)^{xiii}

XIV Stay Alive

HAMILTON

I have never seen the General so despondent.
I have taken over writing all his correspondence.
Congress writes, "George, attack the British forces."
I shoot back, we have resorted to eating our horses.
Local merchants deny us equipment, assistance,
They only take British money, so sing a song of sixpence.

WASHINGTON

The cavalry's not coming.

It is with great reluctance, I trouble you on a subject, which does not properly fall within your province; but it is a subject that occasions me more distress, than I have felt, since the commencement of the war; and which loudly demands the most zealous exertions of every person of weight and authority, who is interested in the success of our affairs—I mean the present dreadful situation of the army for want of provisions and the miserable prospects before us, with respect to futurity. It is more alarming, than you will probably conceive, for to form a just idea, it were necessary to be on the spot. For some days past, there has been little less, than a famine in camp. A part of the army has been a week, without any kind of flesh & the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot eno(ugh) admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been, ere this, excited by their sufferings, to a general mutiny and dispersion. Strong symptoms however of discontent have appeared in particular instances; and nothing but the most active effort(s) every where, can long avert so shocking a catastrophe.

Our present sufferings are not all. There is no foundation laid for any adequate relief hereafter. All the magazines provided in the States of New Jersey, Pensylvania, Delaware & Maryland, and all the immediate additional supplies they seem capable of affording, will not be sufficient to support the army more than a month longer, if so long. Very little has been done to the Eastward and as little to the Southward; and whatever we have a right to expect from those quarters must necessarily be very remote, and is indeed more precarious, than could be wished. When the forementioned supplies are exhausted, what a terrible crisis must ensue, unless all the energy of the Continent is exerted to provide a timely remedy?

George Washington to George Clinton (16 Feb. 1778)^{xiv}

XV
Ten Duel Commandments

**LAURENS, HAMILTON,
LEE, BURR & COMPANY**

The challenge: demand satisfaction.
If they apologize, no need for further action ...
If they don't, grab a friend, that's your second.
Your lieutenant when there's reckoning to be reckoned ...
Have your seconds meet face to face.
Negotiate a peace
Or negotiate a time and place.
This is commonplace, 'specially 'tween recruits.
Most disputes die, and no one shoots.

They approached each other within about five or six paces and exchanged a shot almost at the same moment. As Col Laurens was preparing for a second discharge, General Lee declared himself wounded. Col Laurens, as if apprehending the wound to be more serious than it proved advanced towards the general to offer his support. The same was done by Col Hamilton and Major Edwards under a similar apprehension. General Lee then said the wound was inconsiderable, less than he had imagined at the first stroke of the Ball, and proposed to fire a second time. This was warmly opposed both by Col Hamilton and Major Edwards, who declared it to be their opinion, that the affair should terminate as it then stood.

...

On Col Hamilton's intimating the idea of personal enmity, as beforementioned, General Lee declared he had none, and had only met Col. Laurens to defend his own honor—that Mr. Laurens best knew whether there was any on his part. Col Laurens replied, that General Lee was acquainted with the motives, that had brought him there, which were that he had been informed from what he thought good authority, that General Lee had spoken of General Washington in the grossest and most opprobrious terms of personal abuse, which He Col Laurens thought himself bound to resent, as well on account of the relation he bore to General Washington as from motives of personal friendship, and respect for his character. General Lee acknowledged that he had given his opinion against General Washingtons military character to his particular friends and might perhaps do it again. He said every man had a right to give his sentiments freely of military characters, and that he did not think himself personally accountable to Col Laurens for what he had done in that respect. But said he never had spoken of General Washington in the terms mentioned, which he could not have done; as well because he had always esteemed General Washington as a man, as because such abuse would be incompatible with the character, he would ever wish to sustain as a Gentleman.

Upon the whole we think it a piece of justice to the two Gentlemen to declare, that after they met their conduct was strongly marked with all the politeness generosity coolness and firmness, that ought to characterise a transaction of this nature.

Alexander Hamilton & Evan Edwards,
Narrative of an Affair of Honor Between General Lee and Col. Laurens (24 Dec. 1778)^{XV}

XVI
Meet Me Inside

HAMILTON

If you gave me command of a battalion.
A group of men to lead, I could fly above my station after the war.

WASHINGTON

Or you could die and we need you alive.

HAMILTON

I'm more than willing to die—

WASHINGTON

Your wife needs you alive, son, I need you alive—

HAMILTON

Call me son one more time—

WASHINGTON

Go home, Alexander.
That's an order from your commander.

HAMILTON

Sir—

WASHINGTON

Go home.

The Great man and I have come to an open rupture. Proposals of accomodation have been made on his part but rejected. I pledge my honor to you that he will find me inflexible. He shall for once at least repent his ill-humour. Without a shadow of reason and on the slightest ground, he charged me in the most affrontive manner with treating him with disrespect. I answered very decisively—"Sir I am not conscious of it but since you have thought it necessary to tell me so, we part." I wait till more help arrives. At present there is besides myself only Tilghman, who is just recovering from a fit of illness the consequence of too close application to business.

We have often spoken freely our sentiments to each other. (Except to a) very few friends our difference will be a secret; therefore be silent. I shall continue to support a popularity that has been essential, is still useful.

Alexander Hamilton to Major James McHenry (18 Feb. 1781)^{xvi}

XVII
That Would Be Enough

ELIZABETH SCHUYLER

I don't pretend to know
The challenges you're facing.
The worlds you keep erasing and creating in your mind.

I have only skimmed the surface of the different subjects I have introduced. Should the plans recommended come into contemplation in earnest and you desire my further thoughts, I will endeavour to give them more form and particularity. I am persuaded a solid confederation a permanent army a reasonable prospect of subsisting it would give us treble consideration in Europe and produce a peace this winter.

If a Convention is called the minds of all the states and the people ought to be prepared to receive its determinations by sensible and popular writings, which should conform to the views of Congress. There are epochs in human affairs, when *novelty* even is useful. If a general opinion prevails that the old way is bad, whether true or false, and this obstructs or relaxes the operation of the public service, a change is necessary if it be but for the sake of change. This is exactly the case now. 'Tis an universal sentiment that our present system is a bad one, and that things do not go right on this account. The measure of a Convention would revive the hopes of the people and give a new direction to their passions, which may be improved in carrying points of substantial utility. The Eastern states have already pointed out this mode to Congress; they ought to take the hint and anticipate the others.

And, in future, My Dear Sir, two things let me recommend, as fundamental rules for the conduct of Congress—to attach the army to them by every motive, to maintain an air of authority (not domineering) in all their measures with the states. The manner in which a thing is done has more influence than is commonly imagined. Men are governed by opinion; this opinion is as much influenced by appearances as by realities; if a Government appears to be confident of its own powers, it is the surest way to inspire the same confidence in others; if it is diffident, it may be certain, there will be a still greater diffidence in others, and that its authority will not only be distrusted, controverted, but contemned.

I wish too Congress would always consider that a kindness consists as much in the manner as in the thing: the best things done hesitatingly and with an ill grace lose their effect, and produce disgust rather than satisfaction or gratitude. In what Congress have at any time done for the army, they have commonly been too late: They have seemed to yield to importunity rather than to sentiments of justice or to a regard to the accomodation of their troops. An attention to this idea is of more importance than it may be thought. I who have seen all the workings and progress of the present discontents, am convinced, that a want of this has not been among the most inconsiderable causes.

Alexander Hamilton to James Duane (3 Sept. 1780)^{xvii}

XVIII
Guns And Ships

LAFAYETTE

I go to France for more funds.

COMPANY

Lafayette!

LAFAYETTE

I come back with more

LAFAYETTE, ENSEMBLE

Guns

And ships

And so the balance shifts.

It gave me infinite pleasure to hear from your self of the favourable reception you met with from your Sovereign, & of the joy which your safe arrival in France had diffused among your friends—I had no doubt but that this wou'd be the case—to hear it from yourself adds pleasure to the acct. ... Your forward Zeal in the cause of liberty—Your singular attachment to this infant world—Your ardent & persevering efforts, not only in America but since your return to France to serve the United States. your polite attention to Americans—and your strict & uniform friendship for *me*, has ripened the first impressions of esteem & attachment which I imbibed for you into such perfect love & gratitude that neither time nor absence can impair which will warrant my assuring you, that whether in the character of an Officer at the head of a Corps of gallant French (if circumstances should require this)—whether as a Major Genl commanding a division of the American Army—Or whether, after our Swords & Spears have given place to the plough share & pruning-hook, I see you as a private Gentleman—a friend & Companion—I shall welcome you in all the warmth of friendship to Columbias shore; & in the latter case, to my rural Cottage, where homely fare & a cordial reception shall be substituted for delicacies & costly living.

George Washington to Marquis de Lafayette (30 Sept. 1779)

The arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette opens a prospect wch offers the most important advantages to these States if proper measures are adopted to improve it. He announces an intention of his Court to send a Fleet and army to co-operate effectually with us.

George Washington to Joseph Jones (14 May 1780)^{xviii}

XIX
History Has Its Eyes On You

WASHINGTON

Let me tell you what I wish I'd known
When I was young and dreamed of glory.
You have no control.

WASHINGTON, COMPANY

Who lives, who dies, who tells your story.

The time is now near at hand which must probably determine, whether Americans are to be, Freemen, or Slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their Houses, and Farms, are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a State of Wretchedness from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn Millions will now depend, under God, on the Courage and Conduct of this army—Our cruel and unrelenting Enemy leaves us no choice but a brave resistance, or the most abject submission; this is all we can expect—We have therefore to resolve to conquer or die: Our own Country's Honor, all call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion, and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world—Let us therefore rely upon the goodness of the Cause, and the aid of the supreme Being, in whose hands Victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble Actions—The Eyes of all our Countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings, and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the Tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and shew the whole world, that a Freeman contending for Liberty on his own ground is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

The General recommends to the officers great coolness in time of action, and to the soldiers a strict attention and obedience, with a becoming firmness and spirit.

George Washington, General Orders (2 July 1776)^{xix}

Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)

HAMILTON

After a week of fighting, a young man in a red coat stands on a parapet.

LAFAYETTE

We lower our guns as he frantically waves a white handkerchief.

MULLIGAN

And just like that, it's over. We tend to our wounded, we count our dead.

LAURENS

Black and white soldiers wonder alike if this really means freedom.

WASHINGTON

Not yet.

HAMILTON

We negotiate the terms of surrender.

I see George Washington smile.

We escort their men out of Yorktown.

They stagger home single file.

Tens of thousands of people flood the streets.

There are screams and church bells ringing.

And as our fallen foes retreat,

I hear the drinking song they're singing ...

ALL MEN

The world turned upside down.

The rapidity and immediate success of the assault are the best comment on the behaviour of the troops. ... I do but justice to the several corps when I have the pleasure to assure you, there was not an officer nor soldier whose behaviour, if it could be particularized, would not have a claim to the warmest approbation. As it would have been attended with delay and loss to wait for the removal of the abatis and palisades the ardor of the troops was indulged in passing over them.

Alexander Hamilton to Marquis de Lafayette (15 Oct. 1781)

About ten O'clock the Enemy beat a parley and Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of Hostilities for 24 hours, that Commissioners might meet at the house of a Mr. Moore (in the rear of our first parallel) to settle terms for the surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester. To this he was answered, that a desire to spare the further effusion of Blood would readily incline me to treat of the surrender of the above Posts but previous to the meeting of Commissioners I wished to have his proposals in writing and for this purpose would grant a cessation of hostilities two hours—Within which time he sent out A letter with such proposals (tho' some of them were inadmissible) as led me to believe that there would be no great difficulty in fixing the terms. Accordingly hostilities were suspended for the Night & I proposed my own terms to which if he agreed Commissioners were to meet to digest them into form.

George Washington, Journal of the Yorktown Campaign (17 Oct. 1781)^{xx}

XXI
What Comes Next?

KING GEORGE

What comes next?
You've been freed.
Do you know how hard it is to lead?
You're on your own.
Awesome. Wow.
Do you have a clue what happens now?

We may indeed with propriety be said to have reached almost the last stage of national humiliation. There is scarcely any thing that can wound the pride, or degrade the character of an independent nation, which we do not experience. Are there engagements to the performance of which we are held by every tie respectable among men? These are the subjects of constant and unblushing violation. Do we owe debts to foreigners and to our own citizens contracted in a time of imminent peril, for the preservation of our political existence? These remain without any proper or satisfactory provision for their discharge. Have we valuable territories and important posts in the possession of a foreign power, which by express stipulations ought long since to have been surrendered? These are still retained, to the prejudice of our interests not less than of our rights. Are we in a condition to resent, or to repel the aggression? We have neither troops nor treasury nor government. Are we even in a condition to remonstrate with dignity? The just imputations on our own faith, in respect to the same treaty, ought first to be removed. Are we entitled by nature and compact to a free participation in the navigation of the Mississippi? Spain excludes us from it. Is public credit an indispensable resource in time of public danger? We seem to have abandoned its cause as desperate and irretrievable. Is commerce of importance to national wealth? Ours is at the lowest point of declension. Is respectability in the eyes of foreign powers a safeguard against foreign encroachments? The imbecility of our Government even forbids them to treat with us: Our ambassadors abroad are the mere pageants of mimic sovereignty. Is a violent and unnatural decrease in the value of land a symptom of national distress? The price of improved land in most parts of the country is much lower than can be accounted for by the quantity of waste land at market, and can only be fully explained by that want of private and public confidence, which are so alarmingly prevalent among all ranks and which have a direct tendency to depreciate property of every kind. Is private credit the friend and patron of industry? That most useful kind which relates to borrowing and lending is reduced within the narrowest limits, and this still more from an opinion of insecurity than from the scarcity of money. To shorten an enumeration of particulars which can afford neither pleasure nor instruction it may in general be demanded, what indication is there of national disorder, poverty and insignificance that could befall a community so peculiarly blessed with natural advantages as we are, which does not form a part of the dark catalogue of our public misfortunes?

This is the melancholy situation, to which we have been brought by those very maxims and councils, which would now deter us from adopting the proposed constitution; and which not content with having conducted us to the brink of a precipice, seem resolved to plunge us into the abyss, that awaits us below. Here, my Countrymen, impelled by every motive that ought to influence an enlightened people, let us make a firm stand for our safety, our tranquillity, our dignity, our reputation. Let us at last break the fatal charm which has too long seduced us from the paths of felicity and prosperity.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist, No. 15 (1 Dec. 1787)^{xxi}

XXII
Dear Theodosia

BURR, HAMILTON

I'll make the world safe and sound for you ...
Will come of age with our young nation.
We'll bleed and fight for you, we'll make it right for you.
If we lay a strong enough foundation
We'll pass it on to you, we'll give the world to you, and you'll blow us all away ...
Someday, someday.
Yeah, you'll blow us all away, someday, someday.

In pursuing this enquiry, we must bear in mind, that we are not to confine our view to the present period, but to look forward to remote futurity. Constitutions of civil Government are not to be framed upon a calculation of existing exigencies; but upon a combination of these, with the probable exigencies of ages, according to the natural and tried course of human affairs. Nothing therefore can be more fallacious, than to infer the extent of any power, proper to be lodged in the National Government, from an estimate of its immediate necessities. There ought to be a CAPACITY to provide for future contingencies, as they may happen; and, as these are illimitable in their nature, it is impossible safely to limit that capacity. It is true, perhaps, that a computation might be made, with sufficient accuracy to answer the purpose of the quantity of revenue, requisite to discharge the subsisting engagements of the Union, and to maintain those establishments, which for some time to come, would suffice in time of peace. But would it be wise, or would it not rather be the extreme of folly, to stop at this point, and to leave the Government entrusted with the care of the National defence, in a state of absolute incapacity to provide for the protection of the community, against future invasions of the public peace, by foreign war, or domestic convulsions? If, on the contrary, we ought to exceed this point, where can we stop, short of an indefinite power of providing for emergencies as they might arise?

...

A cloud has been for some time hanging over the European world. If it should break forth into a storm, who can insure us, that in its progress, a part of its fury would not be spent upon us? No reasonable man would hastily pronounce that we are entirely out of its reach. Or if the combustible materials that now seem to be collecting, should be dissipated without coming to maturity; or, if a flame should be kindled, without extending to us, what security can we have, that our tranquility will long remain undisturbed from some other cause, or from some other quarter? Let us recollect, that peace or war, will not always be left to our option; that however moderate or unambitious we may be, we cannot count upon the moderation, or hope to extinguish the ambition of others.

Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist, No. 34 (5 Jan. 1788)^{xxii}

XXIII
Tomorrow There'll Be More Of Us

LAURENS

I may not live to see our glory.

ELIZA

Alexander? There's a letter for you.

HAMILTON

It's from John Laurens. I'll read it later.

LAURENS

But I will gladly join the fight.

ELIZA

No. It's from his father

HAMILTON

His father?

LAURENS

And when our children tell our story.

HAMILTON

Will you read it?

LAURENS

They'll tell the story of tonight.

You will perhaps learn before this reaches you that I have been appointed a member of Congress.

I expect to go to Philadelphia in the ensuing month, where I shall be happy to correspond with you with our ancient confidence and I shall entreat you not to confine your observations to military subjects but to take in the whole scope of national concerns. I am sure your ideas will be useful to me and to the public.

I feel the deepest affliction at the news we have just received of the loss of our dear and (inesti)mable 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 Major General Nathaniel Greene (12 Oct. 1782) ^{xxiii}

XXIV
Non-Stop

HAMILTON

Burr, we studied and we fought and we killed
For the notion of a nation we now get to build.
For once in your life, take a stand with pride.
I don't understand how you stand to the side.

To the People of the State of New York.

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

Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist, No. 1 (27 Oct. 1787) (opening remarks)

These judicious reflections contain a lesson of moderation to all the sincere lovers of the union, and ought to put them upon their guard against hazarding anarchy, civil war, a perpetual alienation of the states from each other, and perhaps the military despotism of a victorious demagogue, in the pursuit of what they are not likely to obtain, but from TIME and EXPERIENCE. It may be in me a defect of political fortitude, but I acknowledge, that I cannot entertain an equal tranquillity with those who affect to treat the dangers of a longer continuance in our present situation as imaginary. A NATION without a NATIONAL GOVERNMENT is, in my view, an awful spectacle. The establishment of a constitution, in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a PRODIGY, to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety. I can reconcile it to no rules of prudence to let go the hold we now have, in so arduous an enterprise, upon seven out of the thirteen states; and after having passed over so considerable a part of the ground to recommence the course. I dread the more the consequences of new attempts, because I KNOW that POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS, in this and in other states, are enemies to a general national government, in every possible shape.

PUBLIUS

Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist, No. 85 (28 May 1788) (concluding remarks)^{xxiv}

XXV
What'd I Miss?

JEFFERSON

France is following us to revolution
There is no more status quo
But the sun comes up and the world still spins.

ENSEMBLE

Aaa-ooo!

JEFFERSON

I helped Lafayette draft a declaration,
Then I said, I gotta go.
I gotta be in Monticello, now the work at home begins ...

ENSEMBLE

Aaa-ooo!

JEFFERSON

So what'd I miss?
What'd I miss?

I will now add what I do not like. First the omission of a bill of rights providing clearly and without the aid of sophisms for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction against monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land and not by the law of Nations. To say, as Mr. Wilson does that a bill of rights was not necessary because all is reserved in the case of the general government which is not given, while in the particular ones all is given which is not reserved might do for the Audience to whom it was addressed, but is surely gratis dictum, opposed by strong inferences from the body of the instrument, as well as from the omission of the clause of our present confederation which had declared that in express terms. ...

Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inference.

Thomas Jefferson to James Madison (20 Dec. 1787)

I wish with all my soul that the nine first Conventions may accept the new Constitution, because this will secure to us the good it contains, which I think great and important. But I equally wish that the four latest conventions, whichever they be, may refuse to accede to it till a declaration of rights be annexed. This would probably command the offer of such a declaration, and thus give to the whole fabric, perhaps as much perfection as any one of that kind ever had. By a declaration of rights I mean one which shall stipulate freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of commerce against monopolies, trial by juries in all cases, no suspensions of the habeas corpus, no standing armies. These are fetters against doing evil which no honest government should decline.

Thomas Jefferson to Alexander Donald (7 Feb. 1788)^{xxv}

XXVI
Cabinet Battle #1

WASHINGTON

Ladies and gentlemen, you coulda been anywhere in the world tonight,
But you're here with us in New York City.

Are you ready for a cabinet meeting???

The issue on the table:

Secretary Hamilton's plan to assume state debt and establish a national bank.

Secretary Jefferson, you have the floor, sir.

The Negative of the President is the shield provided by the constitution to protect against the invasions of the legislature 1. the rights of the Executive 2. of the Judiciary 3. of the states and state legislatures. The present is the case of a right remaining exclusively with the states and is consequently one of those intended by the constitution to be placed under his protection.

It must be added however, that unless the President's mind on a view of every thing which is urged for and against this bill, is tolerably clear that it is unauthorised by the constitution, if the pro and the con hang so even as to balance his judgment, a just respect for the wisdom of the legislature would naturally decide the balance in favour of their opinion. It is chiefly for cases where they are clearly misled by error, ambition, or interest, that the constitution has placed a check in the negative of the President.

*Thomas Jefferson, Opinion on the
Constitutionality of the Bill for Establishing a National Bank (15 Feb. 1791)*

The truth is, that difficulties on this point are inherent in the nature of the federal constitution. They result inevitably from a division of the legislative power. The consequence of this division is, that there will be cases clearly within the power of the National Government; others clearly without its powers; and a third class, which will leave room for controversy and difference of opinion, and concerning which a reasonable latitude of judgment must be allowed.

...

It leaves therefore a criterion of what is constitutional, and of what is not so. This criterion is the *end*, to which the measure relates as a *mean*. If the end be clearly comprehended within any of the specified powers, and if the measure have an obvious relation to that end, and is not forbidden by any particular provision of the constitution—it may safely be deemed to come within the compass of the national authority. There is also this further criterion which may materially assist the decision: Does the proposed measure abridge a pre-existing right of any State, or of any individual? If it does not, there is a strong presumption in favour of its constitutionality; and slighter relations to any declared object of the constitution may be permitted to turn the scale.

*Alexander Hamilton,
Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank (23 Feb. 1791)^{xxvi}*

XXVII
Take A Break

HAMILTON

My dearest Angelica,
“Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day.”
I trust you’ll understand the reference to another Scottish tragedy
Without my having to name the play.
They think me Macbeth, ambition is my folly.
I’m a polymath, a pain in the ass, a massive pain.
Madison is Banquo, Jefferson’s Macduff
And Birnam Wood is Congress on its way to Dunsinane.

It was not ’till the last session that I became unequivocally convinced of the following truth—
*“That Mr. Madison cooperating with Mr. Jefferson is at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to
me and my administration, and actuated by views in my judgment subversive of the principles of
good government and dangerous to the union, peace and happiness of the Country.”*

These are strong expressions; they may pain your friendship for one or both of the Gentlemen
whom I have named. I have not lightly resolved to hazard them. They are the result of a *Serious
alarm* in my mind for the public welfare, and of a full conviction that what I have alledged is a
truth, and a truth, which ought to be told and well attended to, by all the friends of Union and
efficient National Government. The suggestion will, I hope, at least awaken attention, free from
the byass of former prepossessions.

This conviction in my mind is the result of a long train of circumstances; many of them minute.
To attempt to detail them all would fill a volume. I shall therefore confine myself to the mention
of a few.

... [12 pages later] ...

If I were disposed to promote Monarchy & overthrow State Governments, I would mount the
hobby horse of popularity—I would cry out usurpation—danger to liberty &c. &c—I would
endeavour to prostrate the National Government—raise a ferment—and then “ride in the
Whirlwind and direct the Storm.” That there are men acting with Jefferson & Madison who have
this in view I verily believe. I could lay my finger on some of them. That Madison does *not* mean
it I also verily believe, and I rather believe the same of Jefferson; but I read him upon the whole
thus—“A man of profound ambition & violent passions.”

You must be by this time tired of my epistle. Perhaps I have treated certain characters with too
much severity. I have however not meant to do them injustice—and from the bottom of my soul
believe I have drawn them truly and that it is of the utmost consequence to the public weal they
should be viewed in their true colors. I yield to this impression. I will only add that I make no
clandestine attacks on the gentlemen concerned. They are both apprized indirectly from myself of
the opinion I entertain of their views. With the truest regard and esteem.

Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington (26 May 1792)^{xxvii}

XXVIII
Say No To This

HAMILTON

I hadn't slept in a week.
I was weak, I was awake.
You never seen a bastard orphan
More in need of a break.
Longing for Angelica.
Missing my wife.
That's when Miss Maria Reynolds walked into my life, she said:

MARIA REYNOLDS

I know you are a man of honor,
I'm so sorry to bother you at home
But I don't know where to go, and I came here all alone.

Pardon me my love for talking politics to you. What have we to do with any thing but love? Go the world as it will, in each others arms we cannot but be happy. If America were lost we should be happy in some other clime more favourable to human rights. What think you of Geneva as a retreat? 'Tis a charming place; where nature and society are in their greatest perfection. I was once determined to let my existence and American liberty end together. My Betsey has given me a motive to outlive my pride, I had almost said my honor; but America must not be witness to my disgrace. As it is always well to be prepared for the worst, I talk to you in this strain; not that I think it probable we shall fail in the contest; for notwithstanding all our perplexities, I think the chances are without comparison in our favour; and that my Aquileia and I will plant our turnips in her native land.

Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Schuyler (6 Sept. 1780)^{xxviii}

XXIX
The Room Where It Happens

BURR

Two Virginians and an immigrant walk into a room.

BURR, ENSEMBLE

Diametric'ly opposed, foes.

BURR

They emerge with a compromise, having opened doors that were

BURR, ENSEMBLE

Previously closed, bros.

BURR

The immigrant emerges with unprecedented financial power

A system he can shape however he wants.

The Virginians emerge with the nation's capital.

And here's the pièce de résistance:

No one else was in

The room where it happened.

The plan of the federal city, sir, departs from every principle of freedom, as far as the distance of the two polar stars from each other; for, subjecting the inhabitants of that district to the exclusive legislation of Congress, in whose appointment they have no share or vote, is laying a foundation on which may be erected as complete a tyranny as can be found in the Eastern world. Nor do I see how this evil can possibly be prevented, without razing the foundation of this happy place, where men are to live, without labor, upon the fruit of the labors of others; this political hive, where all the drones in the society are to be collected to feed on the honey of the land. How dangerous this city may be, and what its operation on the general liberties of this country, time alone must discover; but I pray God, it may not prove to this western world what the city of Rome, enjoying a similar constitution, did to the eastern.

Thomas Tredwell, New York Ratifying Convention (2 July 1788)^{xxix}

XXX
Schuyler Defeated

HAMILTON

I've always considered you a friend.

BURR

I don't see why that has to end!

HAMILTON

You changed parties to run against my father-in-law.

BURR

I changed parties to seize the opportunity I saw.

I swear your pride will be the death of us all!

Beware, it goeth before the fall ...

Among the numerous advantages promised by a well constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction. The friend of popular governments, never finds himself so much alarmed for their character and fate, as when he contemplates their propensity to this dangerous vice. He will not fail therefore to set a due value on any plan which, without violating the principles to which he is attached, provides a proper cure for it. The instability, injustice and confusion introduced into the public councils, have in truth been the mortal diseases under which popular governments have every where perished; as they continue to be the favorite and fruitful topics from which the adversaries to liberty derive their most specious declamations. The valuable improvements made by the American Constitutions on the popular models, both ancient and modern, cannot certainly be too much admired; but it would be an unwarrantable partiality, to contend that they have as effectually obviated the danger on this side as was wished and expected. Complaints are every where heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty; that our governments are too unstable; that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice, and the rights of the minor party; but by the superior force of an interested and over-bearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true. It will be found indeed, on a candid review of our situation, that some of the distresses under which we labor, have been erroneously charged on the operation of our governments; but it will be found, at the same time, that other causes will not alone account for many of our heaviest misfortunes; and particularly, for that prevailing and increasing distrust of public engagements, and alarm for private rights, which are echoed from one end of the continent to the other. These must be chiefly, if not wholly, effects of the unsteadiness and injustice, with which a factious spirit has tainted our public administrations.

James Madison, The Federalist, No. 10 (22 Nov. 1787)^{xxx}

XXXI
Cabinet Battle #2

JEFFERSON

When we were on death's door.
When we were needy.
We made a promise. We signed a treaty.

...

HAMILTON

We signed a treaty with a King whose head is now in a basket
Would you like to take it out and ask it?

If the Legislature have a right to make war on the one hand—it is on the other the duty of the Executive to preserve Peace till war is declared; and in fulfilling that duty, it must necessarily possess a right of judging what is the nature of the obligations which the treaties of the Country impose on the Government; and when in pursuance of this right it has concluded that there is nothing in them inconsistent with a state of neutrality, it becomes both its province and its duty to enforce the laws incident to that state of the Nation. The Executive is charged with the execution of all laws, the laws of Nations as well as the Municipal law, which recognises and adopts those laws. It is consequently bound, by faithfully executing the laws of neutrality, when that is the state of the Nation, to avoid giving a cause of war to foreign Powers.

...

Those who object to the proclamation will readily admit that it is the right and duty of the Executive to judge of, or to interpret, those articles of our treaties which give to France particular privileges, in order to the enforcement of those privileges: But the necessary consequence of this is, that the Executive must judge what are the proper bounds of those privileges—what rights are given to other nations by our treaties with them—what rights the law of Nature and Nations gives and our treaties permit, in respect to those Nations with whom we have no treaties; in fine what are the reciprocal rights and obligations of the United States & of all & each of the powers at War.

Alexander Hamilton, Pacificus, No. 1 (29 June 1793)

If there be a principle that ought not to be questioned within the United States, it is, that every nation has a right to abolish an old government and establish a new one. This principle is not only recorded in every public archive, written in every American heart, and sealed with the blood of a host of American martyrs; but is the only lawful tenure by which the United States hold their existence as a nation.

It is a principle incorporated with the above, that governments are established for the national good, and are organs of the national will.

From these two principles results a third, that treaties formed by the government, are treaties of the nation, unless otherwise expressed in the treaties.

Another consequence is, that a nation, by exercising the right of changing the organ of its will, can neither disengage itself from the obligations, nor forfeit the benefits of its treaties. This is a truth of vast importance, and happily rests with sufficient firmness, on its own authority.

James Madison, Letters of Helvidius, No. 3 (7 Sept. 1793)^{xxxI}

XXXII
Washington On Your Side

JEFFERSON

Ev'ry action has its equal, opposite reaction.
Thanks to Hamilton, our cabinet's fractured into factions.
Try not to crack under the stress, we're breaking down like fractions.
We smack each other in the press, and we don't print retractions.
I get no satisfaction witnessing his fits of passion.
The way he primps and preens and dresses like the pits of fashion.

The ordinary business of every day is done by consultation between the President and the Head of the department alone to which it belongs. For measures of importance or difficulty, a consultation is held with the Heads of departments, either assembled, or by taking their opinions separately in conversation or in writing. The latter is most strictly in the spirit of the constitution. Because the President, on weighing the advice of all, is left free to make up an opinion for himself. In this way they are not brought together, and it is not necessarily known to any what opinion the others have given. This was General Washington's practice for the first two or three years of his administration, till the affairs of France and England threatened to embroil us, and rendered consideration and discussion desirable. In these discussions, Hamilton and myself were daily pitted in the cabinet like two cocks. We were then but four in number, and, according to the majority, which of course was three to one, the President decided. The pain was for Hamilton and myself, but the public experienced no inconvenience. I practised this last method, because the harmony was so cordial among us all, that we never failed, by a contribution of mutual views on the subject, to form an opinion acceptable to the whole. I think there never was one instance to the contrary, in any case of consequence. Yet this does, in fact, transform the executive into a directory, and I hold the other method to be more constitutional. It is better calculated too to prevent collision and irritation, and to cure it, or at least suppress its effects when it has already taken place. It is the obvious and sufficient remedy in the present case, and will doubtless be resorted to.

Thomas Jefferson to Walter Jones (5 Mar. 1810)^{xxxii}

XXXIII
Cabinet Battle #3
(cut lyrics on “The Slavery Debate”)

JEFFERSON

We cannot cure prejudice or righteous, desperate hate
So back to Africa or do they get a separate state?
It’s a sin. It’s growing like cancer
But we can’t address the question if we do not have an answer.

...

HAMILTON

This is the stain on our soul and democracy
A land of the free? No it’s not. It’s hypocrisy
To subjugate, dehumanize a race, call ’em property
And say that we are powerless to stop it. Can you not foresee?

Col. Mason—This infernal trafic originated in the avarice of British Merchants. The British Govt. constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing States alone but the whole Union. . . . Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of heaven on a Country. As nations can not be rewarded or punished in the next world they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes & effects providence punishes national sins, by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had from a lust of gain embarked in this nefarious traffic. As to the States being in possession of the Right to import, this was the case with many other rights, now to be properly given up. He held it essential in every point of view, that the Genl. Govt. should have power to prevent the increase of slavery.

...

Mr. Pinkney—If slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world. He cited the case of Greece Rome & other antient States; the sanction given by France England, Holland & other modern States. In all ages one half of mankind have been slaves. If the S. States were let alone they will probably of themselves stop importations. He wd. himself as a Citizen of S. Carolina vote for it. An attempt to take away the right as proposed will produce serious objections to the Constitution which he wished to see adopted.

James Madison,
Records of the Federal Convention (22 Aug. 1787)^{xxxiii}

XXXIV
One Last Time

WASHINGTON

I wanna talk about neutrality ...
I want to warn against partisan fighting ...
Pick up a pen, start writing.
I wanna talk about what I have learned.
The hard-won wisdom I have earned.

HAMILTON

As far as the people are concerned
You have to serve, you could continue to serve—

WASHINGTON

No! One last time
The people will hear from me
One last time
And if we get this right
We're gonna teach 'em how to say goodbye,
You and I—

I have the pleasure to send you herewith a certain draft which I have endeavoured to make as perfect as my time and engagements would permit. It has been my object to render this act *importantly* and *lastingly* useful, and avoiding all just cause of present exception, to embrace such reflections and sentiments as will wear well, progress in approbation with time, & redound to future reputation. How far I have succeeded you will judge. ...

If you should incline to take the draft now sent—and after perusing and noting any thing that you wish changed & will send it to me I will with pleasure shape it as you desire. This may also put it in my power to improve the expression & perhaps in some instances condense.

Alexander Hamilton to George Washington (30 July 1796)

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, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow Citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

George Washington, Farewell Address (19 Sept. 1796)^{xxxiv}

XXXV
I Know Him

KING GEORGE

John Adams?!
I know him.
That can't be.
That's that little guy who spoke to me
All those years ago.
What was it? Eighty-five!
That poor man, they're gonna eat him alive!

Let it be the study, therefore, of lawgivers and philosophers, to enlighten the people's understandings and improve their morals, by good and general education; to enable them to comprehend the scheme of government, and to know upon what points their liberties depend; to dissipate those vulgar prejudices and popular superstitions that oppose themselves to good government; and to teach them that obedience to the laws is as indispensable in them as in lords and kings.

...

Other things being equal, that constitution, whose blessings are the most felt, will be most beloved; and accordingly we find, that governments the best ordered and balanced have been most beloved, as Sparta, Athens, Carthage, Rome, and England, and we might add Holland, for there has been, in practice and effect, a balance of three powers in that country, though not sufficiently defined by law. Moral and Christian, and political virtue, cannot be too much beloved, practised, or rewarded; but to place liberty on that foundation only would not be safe; but it may be well questioned, whether love of the body politic is precisely moral or Christian virtue, which requires justice and benevolence to enemies as well as friends, and to other nations as well as our own. It is not true, in fact, that any people ever existed who loved the public better than themselves, their private friends, neighbors, &c., and therefore this kind of virtue, this sort of love, is as precarious a foundation for liberty as honor or fear; it is the laws alone that really love the country, the public, the whole better than any part; and that form of government which unites all the virtue, honor, and fear of the citizens, in a reverence and obedience to the laws, is the only one in which liberty can be secure, and all orders, and ranks, and parties, compelled to prefer the public good before their own; that is the government for which we plead.

*John Adams,
Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States (1787)^{xxxv}*

XXXVI
The Adams Administration

BURR

Adams fires Hamilton.
Privately calls him creole bastard in his taunts.

JEFFERSON

Say what!

BURR

Hamilton publishes his response.

HAMILTON

Sit down, John, you fat mother—[BLEEP]er.

BURR

Hamilton is out of control.

MADISON

This is great! He's out of power. He holds no office.
And he just destroyed President John Adams,
The only other significant member of his party.

I was one of that numerous class who had conceived a high veneration for Mr. Adams, on account of the part he acted in the first stages of our revolution. My imagination had exalted him to a high eminence, as a man of patriotic, bold, profound, and comprehensive mind. But in the progress of the war, opinions were ascribed to him, which brought into question, with me, the solidity of his understanding.

... [35 pages later] ...

It is time to conclude—The statement, which has been made, shews that Mr. Adams has committed some positive and serious errors of Administration; that in addition to these, he has certain fixed points of character which tend naturally to the detriment of any cause of which he is the chief, of any Administration of which he is the head; that by his ill humors and jealousies he has already divided and distracted the supporters of the Government; that he has furnished deadly weapons to its enemies by unfounded accusations, and has weakened the force of its friends by decrying some of the most influential of them to the utmost of his power; and let it be added, as the necessary effect of such conduct, that he has made great progress in undermining the ground which was gained for the government by his predecessor, and that there is real cause to apprehend, it might totter, if not fall, under his future auspices. A new government, constructed on free principles, is always weak, and must stand in need of the props of a firm and good administration; till time shall have rendered its authority venerable, and fortified it by habits of obedience.

*Alexander Hamilton,
Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of
John Adams, Esq. President of the United States (24 Oct. 1800)^{xxxvi}*

XXXVII
We Know

MADISON

You are uniquely situated by virtue of your position—

JEFFERSON

Though “virtue” is not a word I’d apply to this situation—

MADISON

To seek financial gain, to stray from your sacred mission—

JEFFERSON

And the evidence suggests you’ve engaged in speculation—

BURR

An immigrant embezzling our government funds—

JEFFERSON, MADISON

I can almost see the headline, your career is done.

It was never our intention other than to fulfill our duty to the publick, in our enquiry into your conduct, and with delicacy & propriety to yourself, nor have we done otherwise.

In this truth, in respect to the enquiry, & to our conduct upon that occasion, you have so often assented, that nothing need now be said on that point. In short I shod. have considered myself as highly criminal, advised as I was of your conduct, had I not united in the enquiry into it, for what offense can be more reprehensible in an officer charged with the finances of his country, than to be engaged in speculation? And what other officer who had reason to suspect this could justify himself for failing to examine into the truth of the charge? We did so. Apprized you of what we had done. Heard yr. explanation and were satisfied with it. It is proper to observe that in the expln. you gave, you admitted all the facts upon which our opinion was founded, but yet accounted for them, and for your connection with Reynolds, on another principle. Tis proper also to observe that we admitted your explanation upon the faith of your own statment, and upon the documents you presented, tho’ I do not recollect they were proved or that proof was required of them.

You will remember that in this interview in wh. we acknowledged ourselves satisfied with the explanation you gave, we did not bind ourselves not to hear further information on the subject, or even not to proceed further in case we found it our duty so to do. This wod. have been improper, because subsequent facts might be disclosed which might change our opinion, and in which case it wod. be our duty to proceed further.

...

The subject is now before the publick and I repeat to you what I have said before, that I do not wish any opinion of my own to be understood as conveyed in the entry which bears my single signature:

because when I entered it I had no opinion upon it, as sufficiently appears by my subsequent conduct, having never acted upon it, and deposited the papers with a friend when I left my country, in whose hands they still are. Whether the imputations against you as to speculation, are well or ill founded, depends upon the facts & circumstances which appear against you & upon yr. defense. If you shew that they are ill founded, I shall be contented, for I have never undertaken to accuse you since our interview, nor do I now give any opinion on it, reserving to myself the liberty to form one, after I see your defense: being resolved however so far as depends on me, not to bar the door to free enquiry as to the merits of the case in either view.

James Monroe to Alexander Hamilton (21 July 1797)^{xxxvii}

XXXVIII
Hurricane

HAMILTON

When I was seventeen a hurricane
Destroyed my town.
I didn't drown.
I couldn't seem to die.
I wrote my way out,
Wrote everything down far as I could see.
I wrote my way out.
I looked up and the town had its eyes on me.
...
I wrote my way out of hell.
I wrote my way to revolution.
I was louder than the crack in the bell.
I wrote Eliza love letters until she fell.
I wrote about The Constitution and defended it well.
And in the face of ignorance and resistance,
I wrote financial systems into existence.
And when my prayers to God were met with indifference,
I picked up a pen, I wrote my own deliverance.

It began about dusk, at North, and raged very violently till ten o'clock. Then ensued a sudden and unexpected interval, which lasted about an hour. Meanwhile the wind was shifting round to the South West point, from whence it returned with redoubled fury and continued so 'till near three o'clock in the morning. Good God! what horror and destruction. Its impossible for me to describe or you to form any idea of it. It seemed as if a total dissolution of nature was taking place. The roaring of the sea and wind, fiery meteors flying about it in the air, the prodigious glare of almost perpetual lightning, the crash of the falling houses, and the ear-piercing shrieks of the distressed, were sufficient to strike astonishment into Angels. A great part of the buildings throughout the Island are levelled to the ground, almost all the rest very much shattered; several persons killed and numbers utterly ruined; whole families running about the streets, unknowing where to find a place of shelter; the sick exposed to the keenness of water and air without a bed to lie upon, or a dry covering to their bodies; and our harbours entirely bare. In a word, misery, in all its most hideous shapes, spread over the whole face of the country. A strong smell of gunpowder added somewhat to the terrors of the night; and it was observed that the rain was surprizingly salt. Indeed the water is so brackish and full of sulphur that there is hardly any drinking it.

Alexander Hamilton to The Royal Danish American Gazette (6 Sept. 1772)^{xxxviii}

XXXIX
The Reynolds Pamphlet

COMPANY

The Reynolds Pamphlet.

JEFFERSON, MADISON, ANGELICA

Have you read this?

BURR, JEFFERSON, MADISON

Alexander Hamilton had a torrid affair.

And he wrote it down right there.

MADISON

Highlights!

I dare appeal to my immediate fellow citizens of whatever political party for the truth of the assertion, 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 an indifference to the acquisition of property rather than an avidity for it.

With such a character, however natural it was to expect criticism and opposition, as to the political principles which I might manifest or be supposed to entertain, as to the wisdom or expediency of the plans, which I might propose, or as to the skill, care or diligence with which the business of my department might be executed, it was not natural to expect nor did I expect that my fidelity or integrity in a pecuniary sense would ever be called in question.

...

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 between the husband and wife with the design to extort money from me.

This confession is not made without a blush. I cannot be the apologist of any vice because the ardour of passion may have made it mine. 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. But that bosom will approve, that even at so great an expence, I should effectually wipe away a more serious stain from a name, which it cherishes with no less elevation than tenderness. 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.

*Alexander Hamilton,
Observations on Certain Documents Contained in No. V & VI of
"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.
("The Reynolds Pamphlet") (31 Aug. 1797)^{xxxix}*

XL
Burn

ELIZA

You and your words flooded my senses.
Your sentences left me defenseless.
You built me palaces out of paragraphs,
You built cathedrals.
I'm re-reading the letters you wrote me.
I'm searching and scanning for answers
In every line,
For some kind of sign,
And when you were mine
The world seemed to
Burn.

I have been extremely uneasy, My beloved Eliza, at the state of health and state of mind in which you left me. I earnestly hope that there has been a change of both for the better. Let me entreat you as you value my happiness to tranquillize yourself and to take care of yourself. You are infinitely dear to me. You are of the utmost consequence to our precious Children. You have every motive to study your own health and repose.

I will not hurry you to return because you must do as duty and affection to your father demand and because I know you will be glad to come back to my arms as soon as possible. These when you arrive will welcome you with increased affection. I always feel how necessary you are to me. But when you are absent I become still more sensible of it, and look around in vain for that satisfaction which you alone can bestow.

I dined with Angelica today—Margaret [Peggy] was with her. My spirits were not very good—though every body tried to make my time pass pleasantly. Give my love to your father & mother. Kiss the dear Children with you for me and receive the assurance of my fond & unalterable tenderness.

Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Hamilton (3 June 1798)

I am always very happy My Dear Eliza when I can steal a few moments to sit down and write to you. You are my good genius; of that kind which the ancient Philosophers called a *familiar*; and you know very well that I am glad to be in every way as familiar as possible with you. I have formed a sweet project, of which I will make you my confident when I come to New York, and in which I rely that you will cooperate with me cheerfully.

“You may guess and guess and guess again
Your guessing will be still in vain.”

But you will not be the less pleased when you come to understand and realize the scheme.

Adieu best of wives & best of mothers. Heaven ever bless you & me in you.

Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Hamilton (19 Nov. 1798)^{x1}

XLI
Blow Us All Away

HAMILTON

Alright. So this is what you're gonna do.
Stand there like a man until Eacker is in front of you.
When the time comes, fire your weapon in the air.
This will put an end to the whole affair.

PHILIP

But what if he decides to shoot? Then I'm a goner.

HAMILTON

No. He'll follow suit if he's truly a man of honor.
To take someone's life, that is something you can't shake.
Philip, your mother can't take another heartbreak.

Rules for *Mr Philip Hamilton* from the first of April to the first of October he is to rise not later than Six O'clock—The rest of the year not later than Seven. If Earlier he will deserve commendation. Ten will be his hour of going to bed throughout the year.

From the time he is dressed in the morning till nine o'clock (the time for breakfast Excepted) he is to read Law.

At nine he goes to the office & continues there till dinner time—he will be occupied partly in the writing and partly in reading law.

After Dinner he reads law at home till five O'clock. From this hour till Seven he disposes of his time as he pleases. From Seven to ten he reads and Studies what ever he pleases.

From twelve on Saturday he is at Liberty to amuse himself.

On Sunday he will attend the morning Church. The rest of the day may be applied to innocent recreations.

He must not Depart from any of these rules without my permission.

Alexander Hamilton, Rules for Philip Hamilton (1800)^{xli}

XLII
Stay Alive (Reprise)

PHILIP

I did exactly as you said, Pa.
I held my head up high.

HAMILTON

Shh, I know you did ev'rything just right.

...

I know, I know.
I know,
Save your strength and
Stay alive ...

I felt all the weight of the obligation which I owed to you and to your amiable family, for the tender concern they manifested in an event, beyond comparison, the most afflicting of my life.

But I was obliged to wait for a moment of greater calm, to express my sense of the kindness.

My loss is indeed great. The highest as well as the eldest hope of my family has been taken from me. You estimated him rightly—He was truly a fine youth. But why should I repine? It was the will of heaven; and he is now out of the reach of the seductions and calamities of a world, full of folly, full of vice, full of danger—of least value in proportion as it is best known. I firmly trust also that he has safely reached the haven of eternal repose and felicity.

You will easily imagine that every memorial of the goodness of his heart must be precious to me. You allude to one recorded in a letter to your son. If no special reasons forbid it, I should be very glad to have a copy of that letter.

Mrs. Hamilton, who has drank deeply of the cup of sorrow, joins me in affectionate thanks to Mrs. Rush and yourself. Our wishes for your happiness will be unceasing.

Alexander Hamilton to Benjamin Rush (29 March 1802)^{xlii}

XLIII
It's Quiet Uptown

HAMILTON

I spend hours in the garden.
I walk alone to the store.
And it's quiet uptown.
I never liked the quiet before.
I take the children to church on Sunday.
A sign of the cross at the door.
And I pray.
That never used to happen before.

It is no less true that the Fœderalists seem not to have attended to the fact sufficiently; and that they erred in relying so much on the rectitude & utility of their measures, as to have neglected the cultivation of popular favour by fair & justifiable expedients. The observation has been repeatedly made by me to individuals with whom I particularly conversed & expedients suggested for gaining good will which were never adopted. Unluckily however for us in the competition for the passions of the people our opponents have great advantages over us; for the plain reason, that the vicious are far more active than the good passions, and that to win the latter to our side we must renounce our principles & our objects, & unite in corrupting public opinion till it becomes fit for nothing but mischief. Yet unless we can contrive to take hold of & carry along with us some strong feelings of the mind we shall in vain calculate upon any substantial or durable results. Whatever plan we may adopt, to be successful must be founded on the truth of this proposition. And perhaps it is not very easy for us to give it full effect; especially not without some deviations from what on other occasions we have maintained to be right. But in determining upon the propriety of the deviations, we must consider whether it be possible for us to succeed without in some degree employing the weapons which have been employed against us, & whether the actual state & future prospect of things, be not such as to justify the reciprocal use of them. I need not tell you that I do not mean to countenance the imitation of things intrinsically unworthy, but only of such as may be denominated irregular, such as in a sound & stable order of things ought not to exist. Neither are you to infer that any revolutionary result is contemplated. In my opinion the present Constitution is the standard to which we are to cling. Under its banners, *bona fide* must we combat our political foes—rejecting all changes but through the channel itself provides for amendments. By these general views of the subject have my reflections been guided. I now offer you the outline of the plan which they have suggested. Let an Association be formed to be denominated, “The Christian Constitutional Society.”

It's objects to be [1st] The support of the Christian Religion. [2nd] The support of the Constitution of the United States. ... Its Means. [1st] The diffusion of information. ... [2nd] The use of all lawful means in concert to promote the election of fit men. ... [3rd] The promoting of institutions of a charitable & useful nature in the management of Fœderalists.

Alexander Hamilton to James A. Bayard (Apr. 1802)^{xliii}

XLIV
The Election Of 1800

ENSEMBLE

Dear Mr. Hamilton: Your fellow Fed'ralists would like to know how you'll be voting.

HAMILTON

It's quiet uptown.

ENSEMBLE

Dear Mr. Hamilton: John Adams doesn't stand a chance, so who are you promoting?

Letters which myself and others have received from Washington give me much alarm at the prospect that Mr. Burr may be supported by the Fœderalists in preference to Mr. Jefferson. Be assured, my Dear Sir, that this would be a fatal mistake. From a thorough knowlege of the character I can pronounce with confidence that Mr. Burr is the last man in the UStates to be supported by the Fœderalists.

1 It is an opinion firmly entertained by his enemies and not disputed by his friends that as a man he is deficient in *honesty*. Some very sad stories are related of him. That he is bankrupt for a large *deficit* is certain.

2 As a poli[ti]cian discerning men of both parties admit that he has but one principle—to *get power* by *any* means and to *keep* it by *all* means.

3 Of an ambition too irregular and inordinate to be content with institutions that leave his power precarious, he is of too bold and sanguine a temper to think any thing too hazardous to be attempted or too difficult to be accomplished.

4 As to talents they are great for management and intrigue—but he is yet to give the first proofs that they are equal to the art of governing well.

5—As to his theory, no mortal can tell what it is. Institutions that would serve his own purpose (such as the Government of France of the present day) not such as would promise lasting prosperity and glory to the Country would be his preference because he cares only for himself and nothing for his Country or glory.

6 Certain that his irregular ambition cannot be supported by *good* men, he will *court* and *employ* the worst men of all parties as the most eligible instruments. Jacobinism in its most pernicious form will scourge the country.

7 As to foreign policies, War will be a necessary mean of power and wealth. The animosity to the British will be the handle by which he will attempt to wield the nation to that point: Within a fortnight he has advocated positions which if acted upon would in six months place us in a state of War with that power—

From the Elevation of such a man may heaven preserve the Country. Should it be by the means of the Fœderalists I should at once despair. I should see no longer any thing upon which to rest the hope of public or private prosperity.

No: let the Fœderalists vote for Jefferson.

Alexander Hamilton to James Ross (29 Dec. 1800)^{xliv}

XLV
Your Obedient Servant

BURR

Careful how you proceed, good man.

Intemperate indeed, good man.

Answer for the accusations I lay at your feet or prepare to bleed, good man.

HAMILTON

Burr, your grievance is legitimate.

I stand by what I said, every bit of it.

You stand only for yourself.

It's what you do.

I can't apologize because it's true.

BURR

Then stand, Alexander.

Weehawken. Dawn.

Guns. Drawn.

HAMILTON

You're on.

It is not my design, by what I have said to affix any odium on the conduct of Col Burr, in this case. He doubtless has heard of animadversions of mine which bore very hard upon him; and it is probable that as usual they were accompanied with some falshoods. He may have supposed himself under a necessity of acting as he has done. I hope the grounds of his proceeding have been such as ought to satisfy his own conscience.

I trust, at the same time, that the world will do me the Justice to believe, that I have not censured him on light grounds, or from unworthy inducements. I certainly have had strong reasons for what I may have said, though it is possible that in some particulars, I may have been influenced by misconstruction or misinformation. It is also my ardent wish that I may have been more mistaken than I think I have been, and that he by his future conduct may shew himself worthy of all confidence and esteem, and prove an ornament and blessing to his Country.

As well because it is possible that I may have injured Col Burr, however convinced myself that my opinions and declarations have been well founded, as from my general principles and temper in relation to similar affairs—I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and it pleases God to give me the opportunity, to *reserve* and *throw away* my first fire, and I *have thoughts* even of *reserving* my second fire—and thus giving a double opportunity to Col Burr to pause and to reflect.

It is not however my intention to enter into any explanations on the ground. Apology, from principle I hope, rather than Pride, is out of the question.

*Alexander Hamilton,
Statement on Impending Duel with Aaron Burr (c. 10 July 1804)^{xlv}*

XLVI
Best Of Wives And Best Of Women

ELIZA

Why do you write like you're running out of time?

HAMILTON

Shhh.

ELIZA

Come back to bed. That would be enough.

HAMILTON

I'll be back before you know I'm gone.

ELIZA

Come back to sleep.

HAMILTON

This meeting's at dawn.

ELIZA

Well, I'm going back to sleep.

HAMILTON

Hey. Best of wives and best of women.

This letter, my very dear Eliza, will not be delivered to you, unless I shall first have terminated my earthly career; to begin, as I humbly hope from redeeming grace and divine mercy, a happy
immortality.

If it had been possible for me to have avoided the interview, my love for you and my precious children would have been alone a decisive motive. But it was not possible, without sacrifices which would have rendered me unworthy of your esteem. I need not tell you of the pangs I feel, from the idea of quitting you and exposing you to the anguish which I know you would feel. Nor
could I dwell on the topic lest it should unman me.

The consolations of Religion, my beloved, can alone support you; and these you have a right to enjoy. Fly to the bosom of your God and be comforted. With my last idea; I shall cherish the
sweet hope of meeting you in a better world.

Adieu best of wives and best of Women. Embrace all my darling Children for me.

Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Hamilton (4 July 1804)^{xlvi}

XLVII
The World Was Wide Enough

HAMILTON

If I throw away my shot, is this how you'll remember me?
What if this bullet is my legacy?
Legacy. What is a legacy?
It's planting seeds in a garden you never get to see.
I wrote some notes at the beginning of a song someone will sing for me.
America, you great unfinished symphony, you sent for me.
You let me make a difference.
A place where even orphan immigrants can leave their fingerprints and rise up.
I'm running out of time, I'm running and my time's up.

Thus then We have seen that a People may be numerous powerful wealthy free brave and inured to War without being Great, and by reflecting on the Reason why a Combination of those Qualities and Circumstances will not alone suffice. We are close to the true Source and Principle of national Greatness. It is in the national Spirit. It is in that high, haughty, generous and noble Spirit which prizes Glory more than wealth and holds Honor dearer than Life. It is that Spirit, the inspiring Soul of Heroes which raises Men above the Level of Humanity. It is present with us when we read the Story of antient Rome. It [s]wells our Bosoms at the View of her gigantic Deeds and makes us feel that we must ever be irresistible while human Nature shall remain unchanged. I have called it a high haughty generous and noble Spirit. It is high—Elevated above all low and vulgar Considerations. It is haughty—Despising whatever is little and mean whether in Character Council or Conduct. It is generous—granting freely to the weak and to the Indigent Protection and Support. It is noble—Dreading Shame and Dishonor as the greatest Evil, esteeming Fame and Glory beyond all Things human.

When this Spirit prevails the Government, whatever it's Form, will be wise and energetic because such Government alone will be borne by such Men. And such a Government seeking the true Interest of those over whom they preside will find it in the Establishment of a national Character becoming the Spirit by which the Nation is inspired. Foreign Powers will then know that to withhold a due Respect and Deference is dangerous. That Wrongs may be forgiven but that Insults will be avenged. As a necessary Result every Member of the Society bears with him every where full Protection & when he appears his firm and manly Port mark him of a superior Order in the Race of Man. The Dignity of Sentiment which he has inhaled with his native Air gives to his Manner an Ease superior to the Politeness of Courts and a Grace unrivalled by the Majesty of Kings.

These are Blessings which march in the train of national Greatness and come on the Pinions of youthful Hope. I anticipate the Day when to command Respect in the remotest Regions it will be sufficient to say I am an American. Our Flag shall then wave in Glory over the Ocean and our Commerce feel no Restraint but what our own Government may impose. Happy thrice happy Day. Thank God, to reach this envied State we need only to Will. Yes my countrymen. Our Destiny depends on our Will. But if we would stand high on the Record of Time that Will must be inflexible.

Gouverneur Morris, National Greatness (c. 1800)^{xlvii}

XLVIII
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story

ANGELICA

Every other Founding Father story gets told.
Every other Founding Father gets to grow old.

BURR

And when you're gone, who remembers your name?
Who keeps your flame?

BURR, MEN

Who tells your story?

ANGELICA, WOMEN

Who tells your story?

As to the rest, I should be a very unhappy man, if I left my tranquillity at the mercy of the misinterpretations which friends as well as foes are fond of giving to my conduct.

Mine is an odd destiny. Perhaps no man in the UStates has sacrificed or done more for the present Constitution than myself—and contrary to all my anticipations of its fate, as you know from the very beginning I am still labouring to prop the frail and worthless fabric. Yet I have the murmurs of its friends no less than the curses of its foes for my rewards. What can I do better than withdraw from the Scene? Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me.

...

I have read your speech(es) with great pleasure. They are truly worthy of you. Your real friends had many sources of satisfaction on account of them. ... You, friend Morris, are by *birth* a native of this Country but by *genius* an exotic. You mistake if you fancy that you are more a favourite than myself or that you are in any sort upon a theatre s(uit)ed to you.

Alexander Hamilton to Gouverneur Morris (29 Feb. 1802)^{xlvi}

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