

Gazette of the United States, Sept. 29, 1792

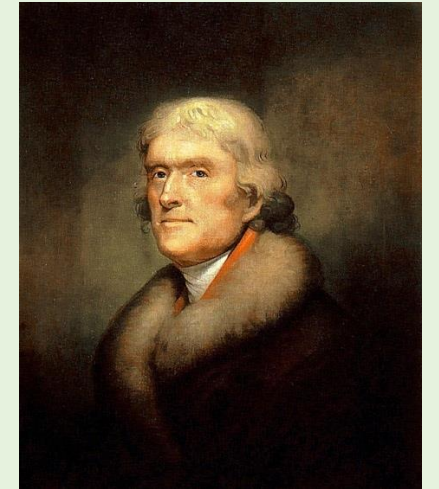


Some time since, there appeared in print certain speculations, which have been construed into an advocacy of hereditary distinctions in government. These ...were ascribed to a particular character—pre-eminent for his early, intrepid, faithful, persevering and comprehensively useful services to his country—a man pure and unspotted in private life, a citizen having a high and solid title to the esteem, the gratitude and the confidence of his fellow-citizens. ...

Does all this proceed from motives purely disinterested and patriotic? Can none of a different complexion be imagined, that may at least have operated to give a *stimulus* to *patriotic* zeal?

No. Mr. Jefferson has hitherto been distinguished as the quiet, modest, retiring philosopher—as the plain simple unambitious republican. He shall not now for the first time be regarded as the intriguing incendiary—the aspiring turbulent competitor.

How long it is since that gentleman's real character may have been *divined*, or whether this is only the *first time* that the *secret* has been disclosed, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the history of his political life to determine; But there is always “a *first time*,” when characters studious of artful disguises are unveiled; When the vizard of stoicism is plucked from the brow of the Epicurean; when the plain garb of Quaker simplicity is stripped from the concealed voluptuary; when Cæsar *coyly refusing* the proffered diadem, is seen to be Cæsar *rejecting* the trappings, but tenaciously grasping the substance of imperial domination.



Gazette of the U.S.:

Hamilton-partisan newspaper, started at his urging in 1789, and bailed out by him once when facing financial difficulty.

Leak of the Hamilton-Reynolds Affair 1797

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES

FOR 1796;

INCLUDING A VARIETY OF
INTERESTING PARTICULARS

RELATIVE TO THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

PREVIOUS TO THAT PERIOD.

PHILADELPHIA:
FROM THE PRESS OF SNOWDEN & MCCORKLE,
NO. 47, NORTH FOURTH-STREET.

1797.

204 HISTORY OF THE
representatives were thinking of, when they successively enacted such self-condemned laws. It is likely that, during the discussion, ten or fifteen were employed in reading newspapers, or in writing letters. About as many more might be in private conversation, at the back of the Speaker's chair, or at the windows. General Samuel Smith, who hath saved the house from many woeful mistakes, is the gentleman alluded to, in the second paragraph of the memorial.

We now come to a part of the work, more delicate, perhaps, than any other. The freedoms which the federal party have taken with those who differ from their opinions, are universally known. The most impartial scrutiny would determine, that, in the arts of calumny and detraction, their publications exceed, beyond all proportion, those of their adversaries. In the first session of the fifth Congress, Mr. Harper has publicly declared to the Representatives, that Mr. James Munroe, our late envoy to France, was guilty of corruption by foreign influence. On being questioned by Mr. Giles, he has promised, in due time and place, to bring evidence of his accusation. This example is only one out of hundreds which might be adduced to shew that the friends of order, for such they call themselves, are resolved to set no limits to their rage and their vengeance. Of course, they cannot expect to meet with that tenderness which they refuse to grant.

Attacks on Mr. Munroe have been frequently repeated from the stock-holding presses. They are cowardly, because he is absent. They are unjust, because his conduct will bear the strictest enquiry. They are ungrateful, because he displayed, on an occasion that will be mentioned immediately, the greatest lenity to Mr. Alexander Hamilton, the prime

205 UNITED STATES.

mover of the federal party. When some of the papers which are now to be laid before the world, were submitted to the secretary; when he was informed that they were to be communicated to President Washington, he entreated, in the most anxious tone of deprecation, that this measure might be suspended. Mr. Munroe was one of the three gentlemen who agreed to a delay. They gave their consent to it, on his express promise of a guarded behaviour in future, and because he attached to the suppression of these papers, a mysterious degree of solicitude, which they, feeling no personal resentment against the individual, were unwilling to augment.

The unfounded reproaches heaped on Mr. Munroe, form the immediate motive to the publication of these papers. They are here printed from an attested copy, exactly conformable to that, which, at his own desire, was delivered to Mr. Hamilton himself. Not a word has been added or altered, and the period of four years may, surely, have been enough to furnish the ex-secretary with materials for his defence. In the letters of Camillus, the most sublime principles of action are every where inculcated. But we shall presently see this great master of morality, though himself the father of a family, confessing that he had an illicit correspondence with another man's wife. If any thing can be yet less reputable, it is, that the gentlemen to whom he made that acknowledgement held it as an imposition, and found various reasons for believing that Mrs. Reynolds was, in reality, guiltless. An attentive critic will be led to enquire what has become of her husband, and why the indignant innocence of Mr. Hamilton, did not promote the completion of public justice against a person, who had treated his name with such gross dis-

Hamilton's Three Reports to Congress, 1791-1792

1. Assumption (enacted by Congress)

- Federal government assumes war debts of the states
- Also honor obligations to veterans and others holding government debt
- Establish confidence in country's ability and commitment to pay debts
- Funding (paying for) the debt:
 - ✓ Import duties (tariffs)
 - ✓ 25% tax on whisky
 - ✓ Profits from shares in National Bank

2. Establish a National Bank (enacted by Congress)

- Public-private ownership shares and profit
(20% of capital from government, 80% from private investors)
- Provide credit (loans) for productive investment and other purposes
- Establish a uniform national currency (bank notes)
- Serve as the bank for deposit and disbursement of Treasury funds

3. On Manufactures (not enacted by Congress, but influences others)

Several proposals to facilitate the growth of U.S. manufacturing capability:

- Direct subsidies ("bounties") to develop new industries
- Import duties on some foreign manufactured goods (not on raw materials)
- Promotion of new inventions
- Investment in transport infrastructure (roads and canals)



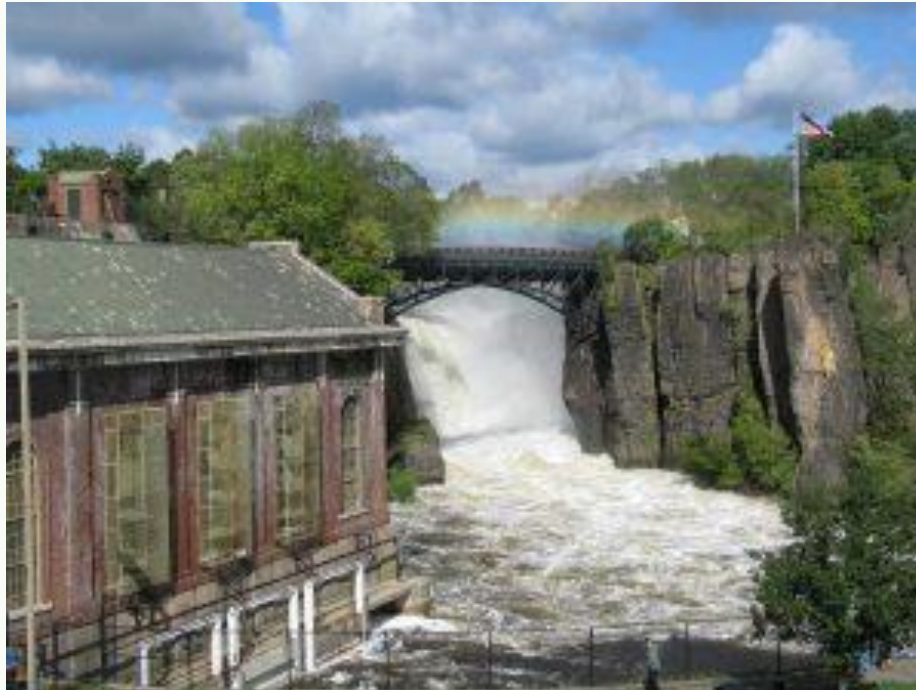
Hamilton's Bank of New York, founded 1784



*1st Bank of the United States
Philadelphia 1791*

From the Report on a National Bank:

Public utility [usefulness] is more truly the object of **public banks, than private profit**. And it is the business of Government, to constitute them on such principles, that while the latter will result ... to afford competent motives to engage in them, the former be not made subservient to it.



*Great Falls of the Passaic
Paterson, NJ*

From the Report on Manufactures:

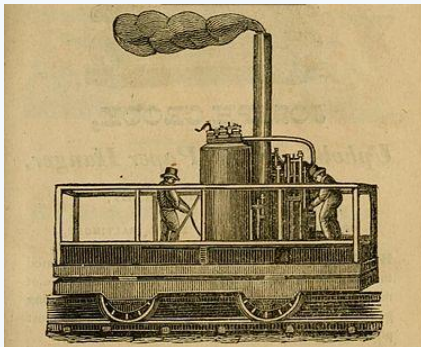
It is therefore of necessity left to the discretion of the National Legislature, to pronounce upon the objects, which concern the general Welfare, and for which under that description, an appropriation of money is requisite and proper. And there seems to be no room for a doubt that whatever concerns the general Interests of *Learning, of Agriculture, of Manufactures, and of Commerce* are within the sphere of the National Councils *as far as regards an application of Money*.

The only qualification of the generality of the Phrase in question ... is this – That the object to which an appropriation of money is to be made be *General* and not *local*; its operation extending ... throughout the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot.

Hamilton: Government must subsidize new industries – they don't happen on their own



Boeing 247,
1933



Peter Cooper's "Tom
Thumb," 1829-1830
(Baltimore & Ohio)

From *Report on the Subject of Manufactures*:

The remaining objections to a particular encouragement of manufactures in the United States now require to be examined.

One of these turns on the proposition, that Industry, if left to itself, will naturally find its way to the most useful and profitable employment: whence it is inferred, that manufactures without the aid of government will grow up as soon and as fast, as the natural state of things and the interest of the community may require.

Against the solidity of this hypothesis..., very cogent reasons may be offered. These have relation to—the strong influence of habit and the spirit of imitation—the fear of want [lack] of success in untried enterprises—the intrinsic difficulties incident to first essays [attempts] towards a competition with those who have previously attained to perfection in the business to be attempted—....

Experience teaches, that **men are often so much governed by what they are accustomed to see and practice, that the simplest and most obvious improvements, in the [most] ordinary occupations, are adopted with hesitation, reluctance and by slow gradations.**

...

The apprehension of failing in new attempts is perhaps a more serious impediment. There are dispositions apt to be attracted by the mere novelty of an undertaking—but these are not always those best calculated to give it success. To this, **it is of importance that the confidence of cautious sagacious capitalists both citizens and foreigners, should be excited. And to inspire this description of persons with confidence, it is essential, that they should be made to see in any project, which is new, and for that reason ... precarious, the prospect of such a degree of countenance and support from government, as may be capable of overcoming the obstacles, inseparable from first experiments.**



To retrieve history we need rigour, integrity, unsparing devotion and an impulse to scepticism. To retrieve the *past*, we require all those virtues - and something more. If we want added value – to imagine not just how the past was, but what it felt like, from the inside - we pick up a novel.

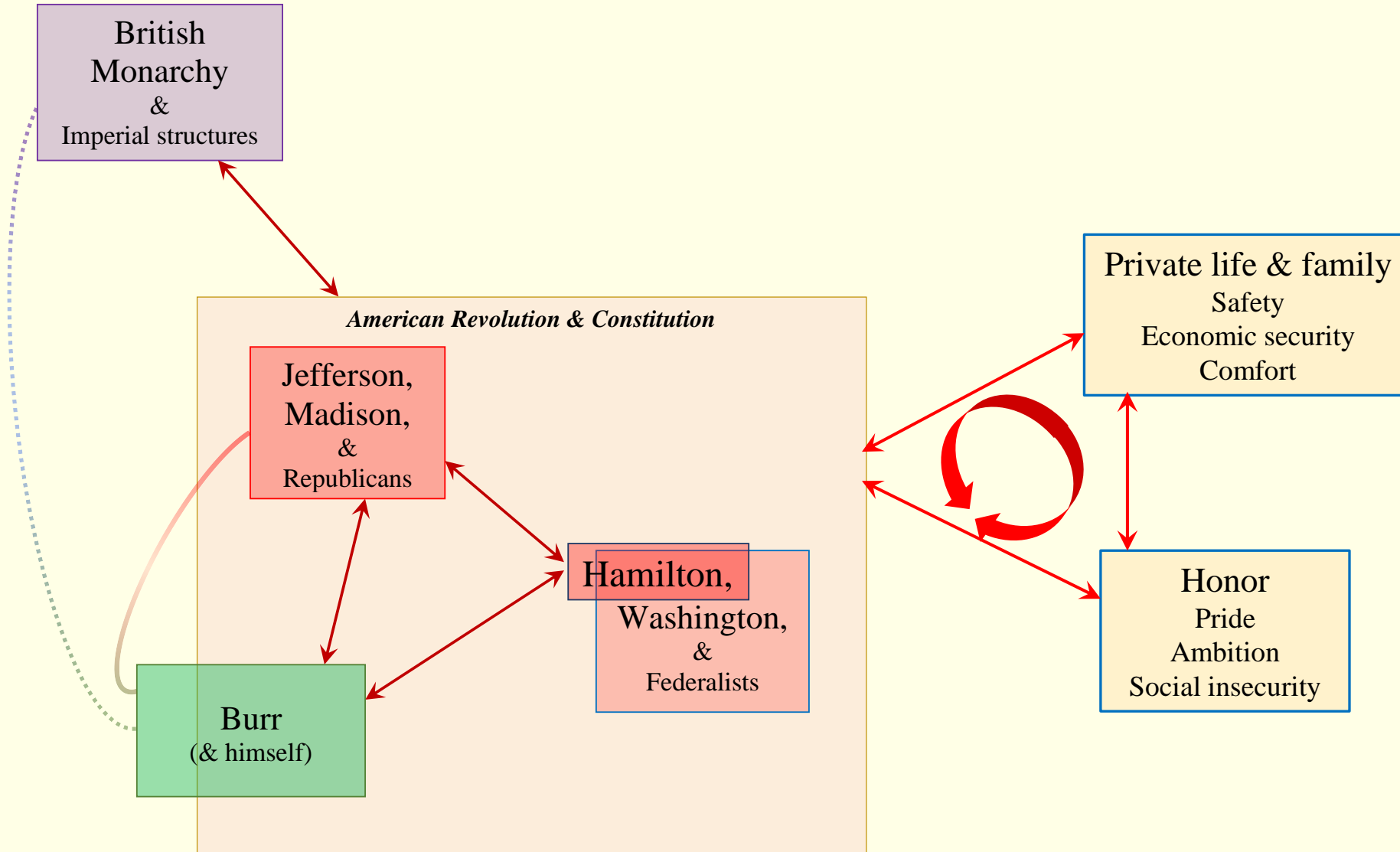
The historian and the biographer follow a trail of evidence, usually a paper trail. The novelist does that too, and then performs another act – he puts the past back into process, into action – **frees the people from the archive and lets them run about, ignorant of their fates, with all their mistakes unmade.**



- Hilary Mantel,
BBC Reith Lecture July 18, 2020

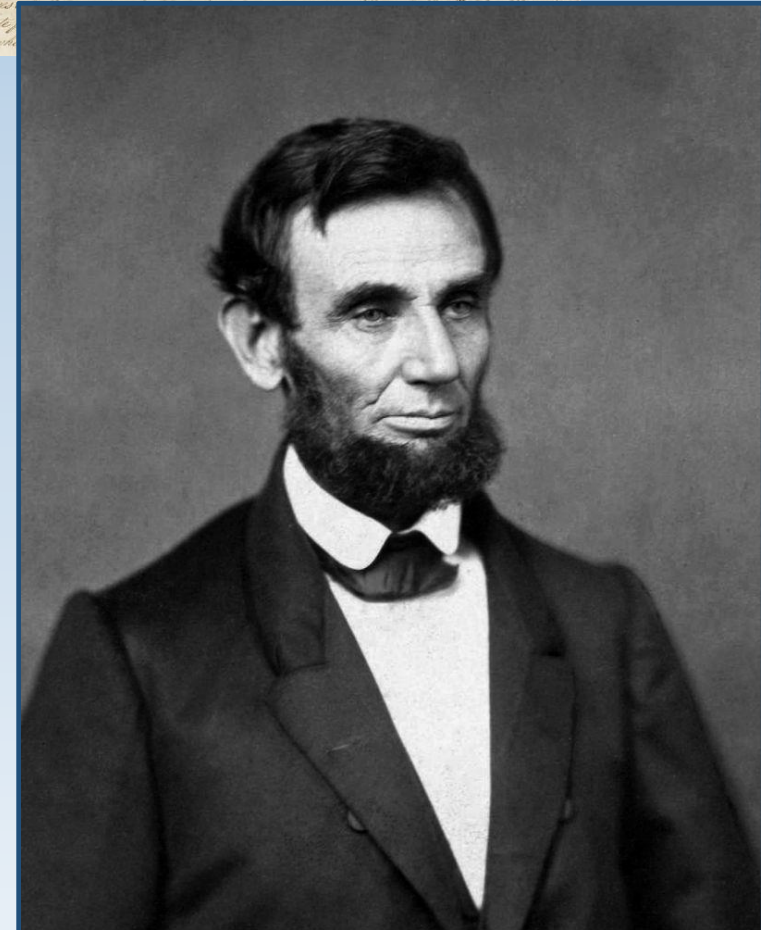
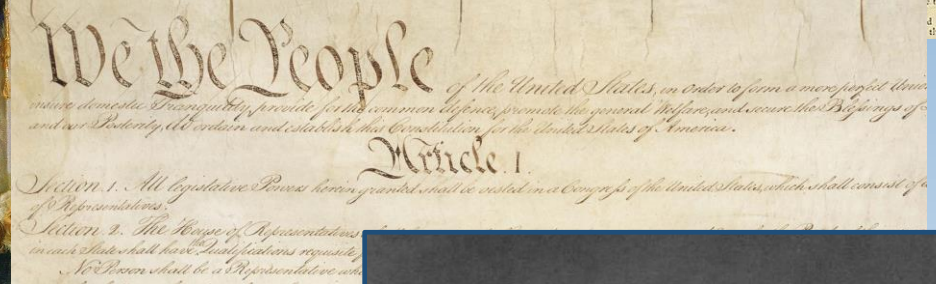
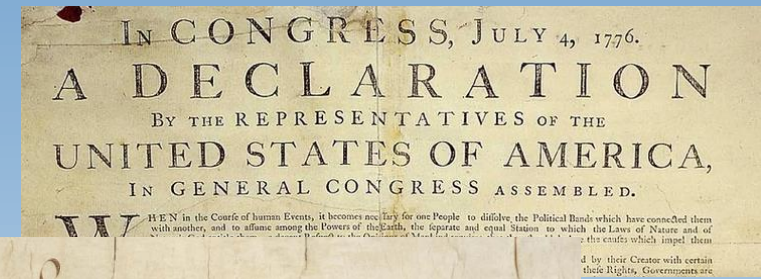
Axes of Conflict in *Hamilton*

(... and in history)



Non-Stop

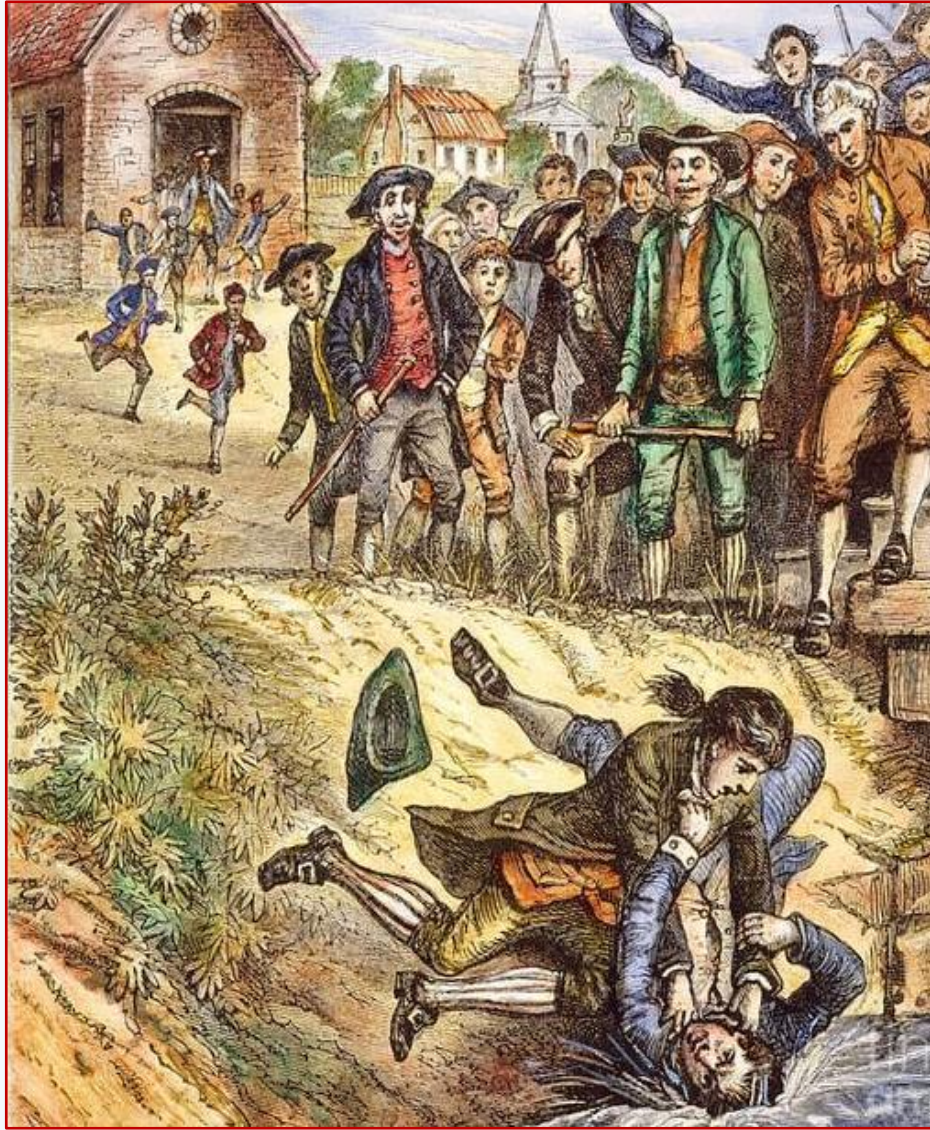
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Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

Shays' Rebellion in western Massachusetts, 1787



Yet where does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Massachusetts? And can history produce an instance of a rebellion so honourably conducted? I say nothing of its motives. They were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion. The people can not be all, and always, well informed. The part which is wrong will be discontented in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive. If they remain quiet under such misconceptions it is a lethargy, the forerunner of death to the public liberty.

We have had 13 states independent 11 years. There has been one rebellion. That comes to one rebellion in a century and a half for each state. What country before ever existed a century and half without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. **What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.** Our Convention has been too much impressed by the insurrection of Massachusetts: and in the spur of the moment they are setting up a kite [hawk] to keep the hen yard in order.

A protester expresses himself to a Massachusetts tax collector outside the Springfield courthouse

- Thomas Jefferson letter from France, Nov. 13, 1787 (re: Constitutional Convention)

Summer in the City

<https://vimeo.com/814452683/8e4edb54ed>