Contents

THE WEST INDIES, THE REVOLUTION, AND THE
CONFEDERATION, 1769–1786

To Edward Stevens, November 11, 1769
“My Ambition Is Prevalent” ........................................... 3

To Nicholas Cruger, February 24, 1772
Counting-House Business ........................................... 4

To The Royal Danish American Gazette,
September 6, 1772
Account of a Hurricane ............................................. 6

A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress,
December 15, 1774 ..................................................... 10

To John Jay, November 26, 1775
The Danger of Trusting in Virtue ................................. 43

To Gouverneur Morris, May 19, 1777
The New York Constitution ....................................... 46

To George Clinton, February 13, 1778
The Trouble with Congress ........................................ 48

To Elias Boudinot, July 5, 1778
The Battle of Monmouth ........................................... 51

To John Jay, March 14, 1779
Enlisting Slaves as Soldiers ..................................... 56

To John Laurens, c. April 1779
Hope for a Wife ...................................................... 58

To William Gordon, September 5, 1779
An Insult to Honor .................................................... 61

To John Laurens, January 8, 1780
“I Am Not Fit for This Terrestrial Country” ................ 65

To Elizabeth Schuyler, August 1780
“Examine Well Your Heart” ..................................... 66

To James Duane, September 3, 1780
“The Defects of Our Present System” ......................... 70
# CONTENTS

To Elizabeth Schuyler, September 3, 1780  
*Opinions Regarding the Sexes*  

---

To Elizabeth Schuyler, September 25, 1780  
*The Plight of Mrs. Arnold*  

---

To Elizabeth Schuyler, October 2, 1780  
*The Fate of Major André*  

---

To Margarita Schuyler, January 21, 1781  
*Advice About Marriage*  

---

To Philip Schuyler, February 18, 1781  
*A Break with Washington*  

---

To James McHenry, February 18, 1781  
*Washington Will Repent His Ill-Humour*  

---

The Continentalist No. I, July 12, 1781  

---

The Continentalist No. III, August 9, 1781  

---

The Continentalist No. IV, August 30, 1781  

---

The Continentalist No. VI, July 4, 1782  

---

To Richard Kidder Meade, August 27, 1782  
*The Birth of a Son*  

---

Remarks in Congress on Raising Funds, January 27, 1783  

---

Remarks in Congress on Collecting Funds, January 28, 1783  

---

To George Washington, February 13, 1783  
*The Prospect of a Mutiny*  

---

To George Washington, March 17, 1783  
“I Contending for a Shadow”  

---

A Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York on the Politics of the Day, January 1784  

---

To James Hamilton, June 22, 1785  
“I Feel All the Sentiment of a Brother”  

---

Address of the Annapolis Convention, September 14, 1786  

---

**FRAMING AND RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION, 1787–1789**  

Plan of Government, c. June 18, 1787  

---

Speech in the Constitutional Convention on a Plan of Government, June 18, 1787  

---
CONTENTS

To George Washington, July 3, 1787
  "The Critical Opportunity" .......................... 166

Conjectures About the New Constitution,
  c. late September 1787 .......................... 167

The Federalist No. 1, October 27, 1787 .......................... 171
The Federalist No. 6, November 14, 1787 .......................... 176
The Federalist No. 7, November 17, 1787 .......................... 183
The Federalist No. 8, November 20, 1787 .......................... 190
The Federalist No. 9, November 21, 1787 .......................... 196
The Federalist No. 11, November 24, 1787 .......................... 202
The Federalist No. 12, November 27, 1787 .......................... 209
The Federalist No. 13, November 28, 1787 .......................... 215
The Federalist No. 15, December 1, 1787 .......................... 218
The Federalist No. 16, December 4, 1787 .......................... 226
The Federalist No. 17, December 5, 1787 .......................... 232
The Federalist No. 21, December 12, 1787 .......................... 237
The Federalist No. 22, December 14, 1787 .......................... 243
The Federalist No. 23, December 18, 1787 .......................... 253
The Federalist No. 24, December 19, 1787 .......................... 258
The Federalist No. 25, December 21, 1787 .......................... 264
The Federalist No. 26, December 22, 1787 .......................... 269
The Federalist No. 27, December 25, 1787 .......................... 275
The Federalist No. 28, December 26, 1787 .......................... 279
The Federalist No. 29, January 9, 1788 .......................... 284
The Federalist No. 30, December 28, 1787 .......................... 290
The Federalist No. 31, January 1, 1788 .......................... 296
The Federalist No. 32, January 2, 1788 .......................... 301
The Federalist No. 33, January 2, 1788 .......................... 305
The Federalist No. 34, January 5, 1788 .......................... 310
The Federalist No. 35, January 5, 1788 .......................... 316
The Federalist No. 36, January 8, 1788 .......................... 322
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 59, February 22, 1788</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 60, February 23, 1788</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 61, February 26, 1788</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 65, March 7, 1788</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 66, March 8, 1788</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 67, March 11, 1788</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 68, March 12, 1788</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 69, March 14, 1788</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 70, March 15, 1788</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 71, March 18, 1788</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 72, March 19, 1788</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 73, March 21, 1788</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 74, March 25, 1788</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 75, March 26, 1788</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 76, April 1, 1788</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 77, April 2, 1788</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To James Madison, May 19, 1788</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinating a Campaign</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 78, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 79, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 80, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 81, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 82, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 83, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 84, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federalist No. 85, May 28, 1788</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To James Madison, June 8, 1788</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fears of Civil War</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech in the New York Ratifying Convention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation, June 21, 1788</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Speech in the New York Ratifying Convention on Interests and Corruption, June 21, 1788 .......................... 496
To George Washington, September 1788
  Convincing Washington To Serve .......................... 511
To James Wilson, January 25, 1789
  Withholding Votes from Adams .......................... 513
To George Washington, May 5, 1789
  Presidential Etiquette .......................... 515

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, 1789–1795

To Lafayette, October 6, 1789
  “I Hazard Much” .......................... 521
Memorandum by George Beckwith on a Conversation with Hamilton, October 1789 .......................... 523
To Henry Lee, December 1, 1789
  “Suspicion Is Ever Eagle Eyed” .......................... 530
Report on the Public Credit, January 9, 1790 .......................... 531
Report on a National Bank, December 13, 1790 .......................... 575
Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank,
  February 23, 1791 .......................... 613
Report on the Subject of Manufactures, December 5, 1791 .......................... 647
To Philip A. Hamilton, December 5, 1791
  “A Promise Must Never Be Broken” .......................... 735
To Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792
  “A Faction Decidedly Hostile to Me” .......................... 736
To George Washington, July 30, 1792
  The Necessity of Reelection .......................... 751
An American No. I, August 4, 1792 .......................... 755
To George Washington, August 18, 1792
  Political and Personal Defense .......................... 760
To John Adams, September 9, 1792
  Reprimanding Adams .......................... 788
CONTENTS

To George Washington, September 9, 1792
  Responding to a Plea for Peace ................................. 789

Amicus, September 11, 1792 ........................................ 792

To an Unknown Correspondent, September 26, 1792
  An Embryo-Cæsar .................................................. 794

Draft of a Defense of the Neutrality Proclamation,
  c. May 1793 .......................................................... 795

Pacificus No. I, June 29, 1793 ..................................... 801

To Andrew G. Fraunces, October 1, 1793
  “Contemptible As You Are” ..................................... 810

To Angelica Hamilton, c. November 1793
  Advice to a Daughter ............................................. 810

To George Washington, April 14, 1794
  Crisis with Britain ................................................ 811

To George Washington, August 2, 1794
  The Whiskey Rebellion .......................................... 823

Tully No. I, August 23, 1794 ...................................... 827

Tully No. III, August 28, 1794 ................................... 830

To Angelica Church, October 23, 1794
  “Wicked Insurgents of the West” ................................ 832

To Angelica Church, December 8, 1794
  “A Politician, and Good for Nothing” ........................ 833

Memorandum on the French Revolution, 1794 .................... 833

To George Washington, February 3, 1795
  Resigning from Office ........................................... 836

  Federalist Leader and Attorney, 1795–1804

To Rufus King, February 21, 1795
  A Threat to the Public Credit .................................. 841

To Robert Troup, April 13, 1795
  “Public Fools” ..................................................... 842

The Defence No. I, July 22, 1795 ................................ 844

Memorandum on the Design for a Seal of the
  United States, c. May 1796 ..................................... 850
CONTENTS

To George Washington, July 30, 1796
   A Draft of the Farewell Address .................... 851

To William Loughton Smith, April 10, 1797
   Crisis with France .................................. 869

To William Hamilton, May 2, 1797
   Introduction to an Uncle .......................... 879

The “Reynolds Pamphlet,” August 25, 1797 ............... 883

To George Washington, May 19, 1798
   An Appeal to Washington ............................ 911

To Elizabeth Hamilton, November 1798
   “My Good Genius” ................................ 912

To Theodore Sedgwick, February 2, 1799
   The Problem of Virginia ............................ 913

To James McHenry, March 18, 1799
   Displaying Strength “Like a Hercules” .............. 915

Memorandum on Measures for Strengthening
   the Government, c. 1799 ............................. 915

To Josiah Ogden Hoffman, November 6, 1799
   “The Force of the Laws Must Be Tried” ............... 920

To Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, December 22, 1799
   The Death of Washington ............................ 922

To Martha Washington, January 12, 1800
   “So Heart-Rending an Affliction” .................... 922

To John Jay, May 7, 1800
   An Electoral Stratagem ............................. 923

To Theodore Sedgwick, May 10, 1800
   Withdrawing Support from Adams .................... 925

To Charles Carroll of Carrollton, July 1, 1800
   Supporting Pinckney ............................... 926

To John Adams, August 1, 1800
   Response to an Accusation ........................ 928

To Oliver Wolcott Jr., August 3, 1800
   “I Am in a Very Belligerent Humour” ............... 929

To William Jackson, August 26, 1800
   “The Most Humiliating Criticism” .................... 930
### CONTENTS

Rules for Philip Hamilton, 1800 .................................. 932  
To John Adams, October 1, 1800  
“A Base Wicked and Cruel Calumny” ................................. 932  
Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq. President of the United States, October 24, 1800 ............ 934  
To Gouverneur Morris, December 26, 1800  
Jefferson Over Burr .................................................. 972  
To John Rutledge Jr., January 4, 1801  
Anxiety About the Election ......................................... 972  
To James A. Bayard, January 16, 1801  
Burr Has “No Fixed Theory” ....................................... 977  
Proposal for the New York Legislature for Amending the Constitution, January 1802 ................................. 982  
Remarks on the Repeal of the Judiciary Act,  
February 11, 1802 .................................................... 983  
To Gouverneur Morris, February 29, 1802  
“Mine Is an Odd Destiny” .......................................... 985  
To Benjamin Rush, March 29, 1802  
The Death of Philip Hamilton  ..................................... 987  
To James A. Bayard, April 1802  
The Christian Constitutional Society .................................. 987  
To Rufus King, June 3, 1802  
“A Most Visionary Theory Presides” ............................... 991  
To Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, December 29, 1802  
“Refuge of a Disappointed Politician” ............................ 994  
To Elizabeth Hamilton, March 17, 1803  
“A World Full of Evil” .............................................. 995  
Purchase of Louisiana, July 5, 1803 .............................. 996  
To Timothy Pickering, September 16, 1803  
Explaining a Plan of Government .................................... 1002  
Speech to a Federalist Meeting in Albany,  
February 10, 1804 .................................................... 1004  
Propositions on the Law of Libel, February 15, 1804 ............. 1006
## CONTENTS

From Aaron Burr, June 18, 1804
  *Origins of a Dispute* .......................... 1008

To Aaron Burr, June 20, 1804
  *Declining to Avow or Disavow* ....................... 1010

From Aaron Burr, June 21, 1804
  *New Reasons for a Definite Reply* ................ 1012

To Aaron Burr, June 22, 1804
  *"Expressions Indecorous and Improper"* .......... 1013

From Aaron Burr, June 22, 1804
  *"The Course I Am About to Pursue"* ........... 1014

Response to a Letter from William P. Van Ness,
  June 28, 1804 ........................................ 1015

Statement Regarding Financial Situation,
  July 1, 1804 ............................................. 1016

To Elizabeth Hamilton, July 4, 1804
  *"Fly to the Bosom of Your God"* ................... 1019

Statement Regarding the Duel with Burr,
  c. July 10, 1804 ........................................ 1019

To Theodore Sedgwick, July 10, 1804
  *"Our Real Disease: Which Is Democracy"* ....... 1022

To Elizabeth Hamilton, July 10, 1804
  *An Obligation Owed* .................................... 1023

### APPENDIX: STATEMENTS ON THE HAMILTON-BURR DUEL

Joint Statement by William P. Van Ness and
  Nathaniel Pendleton, July 17, 1804 .............. 1027

Statement by Nathaniel Pendleton, July 19, 1804 .... 1028

Statement by William P. Van Ness, July 21, 1804 .... 1030

*Chronology* .............................................. 1035

*Note on the Texts* .................................... 1052

*Notes* .................................................. 1056

*Index* .................................................. 1090