THE MAKERS OF THE UNION

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

By the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge,

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THE vast machinery by which the revenues of our government are collected and disbursed is still that which was devised and set in motion by the first Secretary of the Treasury. Time and the enormous growth of the nation have brought, of course, additions and extensions, but the system and the methods are still those of Alexander Hamilton. It was a great work, the work of a fertile and inventive mind, to organize a machinery so effective and yet so elastic that it would run for more than a century and work for seventy million people as it had done in the beginning for less than five. Statues have been raised to the memory of many men who have done less than this. Yet the broad pedestal beside the southern steps of the Treasury still waits for the statue of the great Secretary to stand guard over the department he organized.

And yet, the organization of the Treasury Department was the least of Hamilton's achievements. His brilliant intellect left its mark on every part of our government, and men to-day carry out his policies and administer his system who sometimes, it is to be feared, know little more about him than his name. Hamilton's historical fame has been of slow growth, and only gradually has he come to the place which belongs to him. His untimely death, the triumph of his political rival, and the unpopularity and downfall, in name at least, of the party he had founded and led, all tended at the moment to obscure his work and dim his fame. It is only as the years have gone by that we have come to see plainly that the party of Hamilton, while they changed their name, still lived on and kept his principles as their creed and watchword. At last it is clear that the policies he formulated and the doctrines he supported have been the prevailing American policies. Now it is known to all that his methods of administration have been employed by friend and foe alike from the days of Washington to those of McKinley. A hundred years ago Hamilton left the Treasury, and at last all those who know our history are ready to admit, whether they are his followers or his opponents, that he was the greatest constructive statesman alike in conception and in execution that this country has to show.

The policies Hamilton formulated and defended, his work as a statesman, and his career as a soldier, have all been told many times. His work was great, his career was brilliant. They cannot be studied too much or be described too often. Yet, the most remarkable part of the story, after all, is the man himself, with his life full of romantic incidents and startling contrasts. He rose, unaided, from obscurity to greatness. To the country which he helped to free and lived to govern, and upon whose history he left so deep an imprint, he came an unknown *and* almost penniless boy in search of an education. Without family or friends to back him, he rose rapidly to the highest places in the State and allied himself by marriage with the oldest and most famous names of New York. He fell, in the prime of life, before Burr's pistol, and yet his great work was all behind him at an age when most statesmen are only beginning to reap the results of years of toil and training.

His birth gave the little island of Nevis, in the West Indies, a place in the world and its one title to fame. Over his parentage hang a mystery and uncertainty which will now never be cleared up, and even the accepted version is full of contradictions. Yet by that accepted version we must abide, and there was much in the ardent temper and strong passions, combined with the cool head and exact thought, which suggests the French mother and the Scotch father, with the consequent mingling of the qualities of the two races. Hamilton seems to have had no parental care. Who brought him up we do not know, and his education appears to have been of the rudest and most desultory kind.

When he was twelve years old we get for a moment to firmer ground. At that age he was placed in a counting-house, and we have a letter from him to a boyish friend in which he says: "I am confident, Ned, that my youth excludes me from any hope of immediate preferment, nor do I desire it; but I mean to prepare the way for futurity." The extraordinary tone of this letter for a boy of twelve, and the fact that the next year, when only thirteen, he was put in charge of his master's business, have led some historians to question the correctness of January 11, 1757, as the date of his birth. For this doubt there seems no good reason. Little as Hamilton knew of his parents or family, he stated his own age explicitly, and there is no ground to disbelieve him. He was unquestionably very precocious. But he was precocious in a period of precocity. It was the age of revolution. The mind of the Western world was in a ferment. The old systems and the old men who loved them were being torn up and cast into the fire, and triumphant youth came forth to carry on the new work of the new era. Danton and Robespierre had scarcely passed the "mezzo cammin" of Dante when the evolution devoured them. They already had ruled France and shaken Europe. St. Just was twenty-six when he went to the scaffold, whither he had sent so many others. Napoleon was twenty-seven when he took command of the army of Italy, and among the young men who followed his eagles were the future marshals of France. Fox entered the House of Commons at nineteen and was a member of the Ministry at twenty-one. Pitt was Prime Minister and ruled England at twenty-five. If we remember these things, it is less surprising to find Hamilton an orator at seventeen, a brilliant pamphleteer at eighteen, the author of "The Federalist" at thirty, and Secretary of the Treasury at thirty-two. In the revolutionary hotbed of that wonderful time genius and talents were forced to an early and marvellous maturity.

After the boyish letter and the appearance in the counting-house, the mists close down again, and we only know that Hamilton wrote an account of a hurricane which attracted wide attention in the island, and that soon after some vague friends or relatives gave him money to go to the United States for an education, armed only with a letter from Dr. Knox, the Presbyterian clergyman who stands out as the one real figure in these early Nevis days, and who was the loving friend and helper of the clever boy. In October, 1772, Hamilton landed in Boston. There he emerges finally from the darkness which surrounds his early years, and from the Boston wharf he can be followed step by step through his great career to the pitiful end that lovely July morning by the banks of the Hudson.

From Boston he went to New York, thence to a school at Elizabethtown in New Jersey; thence to New York again to King's College, pressing his way through his studies with little regard to classes, but with a devouring eagerness to have done with preparation and get upon the field of action. He had not long to wait. The world was out of joint, and Hamilton, unlike Hamlet, a man of action, was quite prepared to do his share in setting it right. Some one noticed him at this time and set down his remembrance afterward, giving us a pleasant glimpse of the little West Indian student; small of stature, slight, with dark eyes, pacing up and down the Battery of an afternoon for exercise, and talking to himself. Meantime the throb of the great movement was growing stronger, and the roll of the drums, beating the march which was to shake the world, was drawing nearer, for it was here in the remote English Colonies that the beginning was to be made and the old order changed.

There was a meeting in the fields of New York in 1774 to advocate the patriot cause. The expected orators spoke, and when they had finished a boy of seventeen pressed up from the crowd and took the platform, hesitated for a moment and then poured forth an eager speech, saying those things which he thought were still unspoken. What he said has vanished like the people to whom he spoke. We

only know that his speech was a success, that the crowd cheered "the collegian" and that a great speaker then and there made his first speech. The boyish figure with the dark eyes and the eager speech stands out very clearly to us on that autumn day when he made his entrance on the stage of American history, a much more memorable event than any of his hearers guessed. The step was not taken lightly. Hamilton's instinctive prejudices drew him to the ministerial side, the side of power and order. His youth, his heart, his reason, his ambition, his sense of justice carried him to the other side, where he rightly belonged.

The next year he came out as a writer in two very able and admirably written pamphlets on the patriot side, and in reply to the Tories. It was an age of pamphlets and not of newspapers, and the ablest men in the country—and they were some of the ablest men then writing on politics in the English language—sought their public in that way. In this contested field the boy of eighteen took at once a first place, and so distinctly that his opponents made tempting but vain offers to draw him to their side. Those two essays are still good reading, not merely for their historical value, but because they are good literature. They had argument and thought, and the expression was clear and often eloquent. There are sentences instinct with life which we can quote to-day. Whether Hamilton was born with a good style or whether he had taught himself one by much reading, a good style he certainly had when he first began to write and publish.

Events, however, soon moved beyond the stage of speeches and pamphlets. The day of argument passed and that of war began. Hamilton was essentially, at all times, a man of action, and a military career appealed to him strongly. In 1776, the New York convention ordered a company of artillery to be raised, and Hamilton secured the command. He showed his capacity by making his company the best in drill and discipline in the army, and was so successful that he attracted the attention of Greene, who introduced him to Washington. He fought at Long Island, and showed coolness and courage in the way in which he brought up the rear after that defeat. He continued with the army on the retreat up the Hudson, and took part with his battery in the battle of White Plains. Thence he followed Washington to the Jerseys, and shared in the great campaign of Trenton and Princeton. His company had been severely treated in the hard fighting and marching, and now numbered only twenty-five men, but Hamilton had made such a reputation that in 1777 Washington appointed him aid on his staff, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, although he was only twenty years old. There he served for four years, not only performing all his military duties, but taking charge of most of the correspondence, and being entrusted also with the delicate and important mission to Gates, when it was necessary to get troops from him for the main army.

His position brought him also into connection with Arnold's treason, and he did all that a generous and sympathetic heart dictated to lighten the lot of the unfortunate André. The letters he wrote describing this incident are still the best account we have of it.

He left the staff in 1781, owing to a quarrel with the Commander-in-Chief, who had reproved him for keeping him waiting when he sent for him. Hamilton said, in a lofty manner, that he was not conscious of being disrespectful, but since Washington thought he had been, they must part. The outbreak was characteristic of Hamilton's hot temper, and also, it may be supposed, of the feeling which he had that he had not been advanced with sufficient rapidity. It was equally characteristic of Washington that he did not bear the least ill will toward his impulsive aide-de-camp, but on the contrary continued to treat him with all his former kindness. Washington was too great a man to take offense on trivial grounds, and as he was also one of the best judges of men that ever lived, he appreciated Hamilton's great talents and capacity. He gave him an opportunity to serve in the line, and entrusted him with the command of one of the storming parties at Yorktown. Hamilton carried the redoubt which had been assigned to him with one fiery charge, much more quickly than our French allies, to whom the other had been assigned.

Thus his military career closed with a brilliant action. Whether he had a real genius for war there is no means of determining. His service during the Revolution proved that he was a gallant and efficient officer, but he always felt himself that he had in him the capacity for high command and for the largest military operations. His opportunity in this direction never came, but a far larger opportunity was before him in the field of statesmanship,

although he perhaps did not realize when the war closed how great it was.

He became a lawyer and rose rapidly at the bar, but the instinct of the statesman was too strong within him to permit him to become entirely absorbed in his profession. He watched from day to day the growing weakness of the confederation. He maintained a correspondence with leading men throughout the country, looking constantly toward a better form of government. It was to him that we owe the prompt action which converted the very imperfect Annapolis convention into the stepping-stone for the convention which met at Philadelphia and there framed the Constitution of the United States. In that famous body Hamilton, although fettered by two hostile colleagues, who always cast the vote of his State against him, played a leading part, and on the frame of government which finally issued from the convention he left a deep impression. He himself desired, as the great speech in which he set forth his views showed, a much stronger system of government than that which was adopted. The explanation of his general attitude is not far to seek. Hamilton, we must remember, had no local attachments. Coming from a West Indian island he was an American, and not identified with the individual prejudices of the Colonies. His views, therefore, were entirely national, and he was without any of the strong local feeling which was very naturally characteristic of all other statesmen of that period, with the single exception of Washington. This was undoubtedly a source of strength, but it also led him to advocate measures which went too far to be practicable and made him impatient of what he considered very narrow and provincial politics. But although the convention did not adopt his extreme ideas, one of which was to have the governors of the States appointed by the President, there is no doubt that his plan and the manner in which he advocated it had a very powerful effect on the convention, invigorated their action, and strengthened the final result. After that result had been obtained, although it fell far short of his own wishes, he threw himself into the contest which ensued for the ratification of the Constitution. It was he who planned and chiefly wrote the famous papers now known as "The Federalist," one of the most remarkable contributions to the philosophy and practice of government and to the theory and construction of a federal system which has ever been written. It had an enormous effect on public opinion at the time, and has attained a permanent place among the great authorities which we have upon this subject. For a man less than thirty years old, who had never been out of an American colony, it was a marvellous performance. Nor did Hamilton's work for the Constitution stop with "The Federalist." It was owing to his zeal and energy, to his indomitable courage, and to his power in debate that a hostile majority in the New York convention was overcome and the ratification of the Constitution finally carried by a narrow margin.

Thus the government was formed. In April, 1789, Washington was inaugurated, and in September the act creating the Treasury Department was passed, and Hamilton was made Secretary of the Treasury. He was thirty-two years old. From Trumbull's portraits and the Ceracchi bust made from a life mask we can see how he looked. The portrait shows the keen strong face and dark eyes full of force, and also full of passionate energy. In the bust we get the shape of the head, which is almost classic in its symmetry and outline. The brow is high and broad, and the head behind full and ample in space. He must have been, if not regularly handsome in feature, very impressive in look, especially when his face lighted up with the excitement of debate. He was short but well made; slight but active; very quick in his movements, and the general impression he gave was one of great power and restless, untiring energy.

With the Treasury came his opportunity. To tell in detail the way he met it is impossible here, for it would involve a history of those memorable early years when the government was organized and set in motion. The rock on which the old confederation split was the financial question, and therefore the heaviest part in establishing the new government fell to Hamilton. The nation was without credit or revenue. He gave them both. There was no system of banking. He established one. In the first report on the public credit, one of the greatest of our state papers, he laid down a policy which brought us both credit and revenue. By the assumption of the State debts he raised our credit to a still higher point and bound the States to the general government. In his report on the national bank he called into life the implied powers of the Constitution and founded a system of constitutional construction upon which parties

have divided ever since, and which has done more than anything else to develop the power and authority of the national government. In his report on manufactures, he set forth in an argument which has been often contradicted but never answered the policy which was to secure our industrial independence. The American people have clung to that policy ever since, and, although there have been occasional relapses, and parties have fought over the issue, Hamilton's tariff principles have prevailed and have always risen stronger after each assault upon them. In his report on coinage he discussed that difficult subject in all its bearings with a knowledge worthy of a specialist and a breadth and grasp which no specialist could have shown. Within the past year that famous report has been studied and discussed by thousands of men, and Hamilton's name has been heard familiarly in regions where, in his day, no white man's foot had ever trod. Foreign affairs were not within his province, yet his influence was undoubted in this direction when Washington was laying down the great lines along which the country ever since has moved. He mastered them as he mastered every subject, and it was Talleyrand who said of him that "Hamilton had divined Europe."

Out of these great policies came not only material and practical results, but a school of political thought, and hence a great political division and a party which believed in Hamilton's principles as the foundation of sound government. The leading idea for which Hamilton stood and stands is nationality; that is, the subordination of the States and the development of the central government. With this went necessarily the doctrine of a liberal as opposed to a strict construction of the Constitution, the establishment of strongly organized departments, effective, affirmative legislation, and the vigorous exercise of all the powers of the United States. Hence it was that as Hamilton developed his policies, and as his scheme of government came out strong, compact, and clear, the leader of the opposition to these ideas rose up by his side in the person of Jefferson, Secretary of State in the same cabinet. Hence came the fundamental division of our parties, and when at last civil war broke upon our country, it was Hamilton's creed of nationality and union which triumphed in the court of last resort.

It was a great work for one man; the greatest constructive work that any man was doing at that time anywhere, and when he left the cabinet after nearly six years' service the task was done. He never held civil office again. He sustained Washington with voice and pen to the end of his administration, and when the alarm of war with France came he was placed next to Washington and in active command of the provisional army. Then came the miserable quarrels and dissensions with John Adams, which divided and defeated the Federalists, and after this all opportunity for future service in public office was at an end. He contributed powerfully to defeat the intrigue which sought to put Jefferson aside and make Burr President, but the few remaining years were given almost entirely to brilliant professional work. At last Burr forced a personal quarrel upon him. Hamilton, haunted by the delusion that a struggle was impending between the forces of order and those of disorder, and that his power and leadership would be lost if he flinched from a duel, accepted the challenge. They met by the banks of the Hudson, and Hamilton fell mortally wounded at the first fire. He was only forty-seven.

The end was tragic, and his death premature, but his work was done and his fame was safe. He was, first of all, a great constructive statesman; but he was distinguished in many other ways. He was a man of accurate and penetrating thought, and a writer of high rank. He had a clear, nervous, and effective style, and it is this which preserves the savor of books, if not the substance, and enables men to quote them and to feel that the thought still lives. His speeches have perished, but we know from contemporary evidence that he was a great orator, full of fire and passion, able to turn a great assembly, as in the New York convention, or to expose a criminal, as when in the darkening court he set the witness between two candles so that all the light was on the man's face, and then, by his cross-examination, broke him down. His errors were those of passion. Passion of one sort led him into the wretched intrigue which he confessed to clear his public honor, and passion of another sort caused the proposition to Jay to defeat the will of the people of New York. The brilliant, cold, penetrating intellect was one side of the man, the passionate, fervid temperament the other. Such a man made devoted friends and bitter enemies. His frankness, honesty, and quick sympathy, his humor, his earnestness, his high spirits, made him be-

loved at home and abroad. His impatience with stupidity or slowness and his commanding temper made for him foes in public life. But that which history preserves and the American people cherish, is his great services to the cause of nationality and the masterly policies which have done so much to make the nation and guide her along the pathway of her mighty destiny.

LIFE PORTRAITS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Born at Nevis, W. I., January 11, 1757? Died in New York, July 12, 1804.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON did not live long enough to make many sacrifices on the painter's throne; yet he has left enough portraits to make his iconography interesting, covering, as it does, nearly a quarter century of his short life. Six original portraits are here reproduced, and the only ones that can be authenticated. They are by Charles Willson Peale in 1778 and in 1791, by John Trumbull in 1792, by Joseph Ceracchi in 1794, by James Sharples in 1796, and one by an unknown hand and of an unknown date, but from its character and interesting history, probably the latest of those here reproduced.

There are three other portraits of Hamilton, known only, however, by engravings; the most diligent inquiry having failed to locate the original paintings. One of these was a miniature painted by Walter Robertson, in 1795. It was engraved by George Graham and published the following year, in New York, by the Tory printer, James Rivington. Soon afterward Rollinson and Tanner each engraved it. Robertson practised in Dublin before he came to this country, and there held the first place in the art of miniature painting in Ireland. His style was essentially his own. His portraits were beautifully executed, but unnatural in their tone and color, being artificial throughout. He wrote to John Jay April 15, 1796, asking him to sit for his portrait, "for the purpose of being engraved as a companion to two prints of the President and Colonel Hamilton." Soon after this Robertson went to India, where he is said to have died. Another lost portrait of Hamilton was painted by Archibald Robertson, who was not related to the preceding or "Irish" Robertson, as he was called. Archibald Robertson was born near Aberdeen, Scotland, and was the eldest of three brothers who practised the art of miniature painting. He came to New York in 1791, and was soon followed by his brother Alexander, while the youngest brother, Andrew, remained at home and became the most eminent artist of the three. There is no record of the year when Archibald Robertson painted Hamilton, of whom he is said to have made two pictures, one, miniature on ivory, of the head, and another, a small cabinet picture on marble, showing the figure at three-quarter length. This last was engraved by William Rollinson immediately after the duel and published, by painter and engraver jointly, September 1, 1804. This portrait of Hamilton is one of the most commonly known from its having been engraved for the "National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans" in 1835, and twenty years later for Irving's "Washington." The third lost portrait of Hamilton was painted by Ezra Ames of Albany, and has been at least twice engraved, by Leney and by Hoogland. It certainly seems remarkable that these three portraits should have disappeared so completely, and it would be highly gratifying if this publication should be the means of discovering any of them.

Special mention must be made of one important portrait that is not reproduced—important, because, while not painted from life, many claim that it was, and it is well known from having been often engraved. It is in the Governor's room of the City Hall, New York. It was painted by John Trumbull, but has in some unaccountable way had the name of "Weimar" frequently attached to it as the painter, albeit no painter is known bearing this name. Trumbull painted a whole length portrait of Hamilton, in 1792, for the merchants of New York, which was presented by them to the Chamber of Commerce. Early in 1794, Trumbull sailed with John

Jay for England as Secretary of Legation, where he remained ten years, only returning to New York a fortnight before Hamilton's fatal duel. A few months later the corporation of New York requested him to paint a whole length portrait of Hamilton, as a companion to one of Jay previously ordered. In Trumbull's autograph "*Mem. of work done at New York*, 1804-5," now before me, he writes, under date of December 22: "Whole length portrait of General Hamilton for city. Dress black. Background gray architecture, deep orange curtain, mahogany table with books and papers. *Done from Ceracchi's bust.* Successful in point of likeness and a happy composition. $500." He makes a like record in his "Autobiography."

Seeing therefore that this portrait was painted from Ceracchi's marble, and not until after Hamilton's death, it shows that not one of the bust portraits of Hamilton by Trumbull of this same type was painted from life, although the owners of them cling with tenacity to fallacious traditions that they were. One of these is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, bequeathed by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who inherited it from Colonel Perkins of Boston, for whom Trumbull painted it in 1806, "about the same time," Mr. Winthrop says, "with the portrait for Hon. George Cabot, which Mr. Cabot Lodge now [1881] has." Perkins's letter to Trumbull ordering the picture is dated "Boston, April 11, 1806," and in it he says: "We have seen here a painting of Gen. Hamilton which you executed for Mr. I. P. Davis. I understand you have another equally correct as respects resemblance to the original. If this be true and you will dispose of it to me for the same price, which Mr. Davis gave you for his, namely one hundred dollars, I will thank you to send it round to me by first conveyance carefully cased." From Trumbull's MSS. list it would seem that Mr. Davis got (March 3, 1806) two copies of this portrait, which Trumbull enters "Copied from large picture." Opposite the Perkins entry is "Hamilton again. Copy." From November, 1805, to March, 1806, he sold four copies of this portrait.

Trumbull made the great mistake, in both of his whole length portraits of Hamilton, of representing him as a large man, instead of which Hamilton was quite small, under middle size and spare in person, but erect and dignified in his carriage. "His complexion was exceedingly fair, and varying from this only by the almost feminine rosiness of his cheeks." His hair was light, his eyes dark and exceedingly bright, and his face when at rest "had rather a severe and thoughtful expression, but when engaged in conversation it easily assumed an attractive smile."

It was the intention to present portraits of the wives of the eminent men depicted in this series, but the only known one of Deborah Franklin, while full of character, was in such condition as not to lend itself to satisfactory reproduction, and of Martha Washington there were so many portraits that they will be given a distinct monograph. Therefore it is Mrs. Alexander Hamilton whose portraits will first appear, and perhaps it is not inappropriate that the woman most distinguished personally among the wives of "great Americans" should lead.

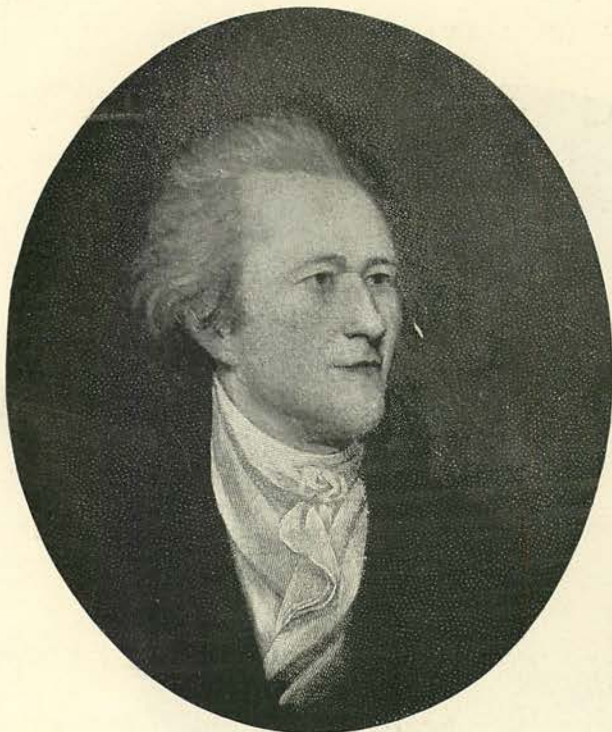
Alexander Hamilton, then an aide to Washington, married, December 14, 1780, at the famed Schuyler homestead, Albany, New York, Elizabeth, daughter of General Philip Schuyler and Katharine Van Rensselaer, his wife. Miss Schuyler was then in her twenty-fourth year and noted for her beauty of mind and person, which grew with her strength and was undiminished when she died in Washington, District of Columbia, on November 9, 1854, past half a century of widowhood and the patriarchal age of ninety-seven years. Brissot de Warville, who knew Mrs. Hamilton in the heyday of her career, describes her as "a charming woman, who joined to the graces all the candor and simplicity of the American wife." She rendered her husband valuable assistance in his labors, kept his books and papers in order for him, and preserved the large collection of manuscripts which she sold to the United States Government a few years before her death, and without which many important pages of our national history would be misunderstood if not wholly unwritten.

Fortunately, Mrs. Hamilton's portraiture exhibits her in three distinct periods of her long life: in 1787, by Ralph Earl; in 1825, by Henry Inman, and in 1846 and 1851, by Eastman Johnson and Charles Martin, respectively. As Mrs. Hamilton lived well into the early days of the daguerreotype, there were doubtless one or more of these mechanical pictures taken of her, but none has come to light.

LIFE PORTRAITS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. AGE ABOUT 21. C. W. PEALE.

Painted by Charles Willson Peale in the winter of 1777–78. Enlarged from the original miniature on ivory, $1\frac{5}{16}$ by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches, now first identified and published. Owned by Miss Mary Burt, of Philadelphia. This portrait, although the first in the series of Hamilton's iconography, is the last discovered, having only come to light since this article was sent to the printer. It is absolutely new. Not only has it never been reproduced, but hitherto it has been unidentified as Alexander Hamilton. It was painted by Peale, doubtless in the winter of 1777–78, when he was with the army, and the officers had little better to do than to sit for their portraits. It remained in his possession and in that of his last surviving child, Titian R. Peale, for a century, when it was purchased by the present owner as a miniature of Washington, and as such the writer's attention was invited to it. That it bore no possible resemblance to Washington, as we know him delineated in more than two-score life portraits, was apparent at first sight, and Peale was too good a draughtsman to get so far away from his subject. Beyond this, the picture bears its own undeniable proof that it was not intended for Washington. That proof is found in the color of the ribband across the breast, which is *green*. By an order issued from headquarters, at Cambridge, July 14, 1775, Washington prescribed that he should be distinguished by "a light blue ribband, wore across his breast between his coat and waistcoat;" Majors and Brigadiers-General "by a pink ribband wore in like manner," and "The Aids de Camp by a *Green* ribband." The color of the ribband in this miniature, therefore, settled that it was the portrait of an aide-de-camp, and left only the identity to be established. With Hamilton's marked physiognomy fresh in one's mind, the identification was not difficult, as the succeeding reproductions will exemplify. Thus we are enabled, by this unexpected discovery at the eleventh hour, to make a most important contribution to the Life Portraits of Great Americans, by presenting a much earlier likeness of Alexander Hamilton than hitherto has been known to exist. It is beautifully executed, as fresh in color as though it were just painted, and most interesting for its typical characteristics. Owing to its minute size it has been deemed advisable to reproduce it here very much enlarged, so that its strong features can be the more readily observed.



HAMILTON IN 1791. AGE ABOUT 34. C. W. PEALE.

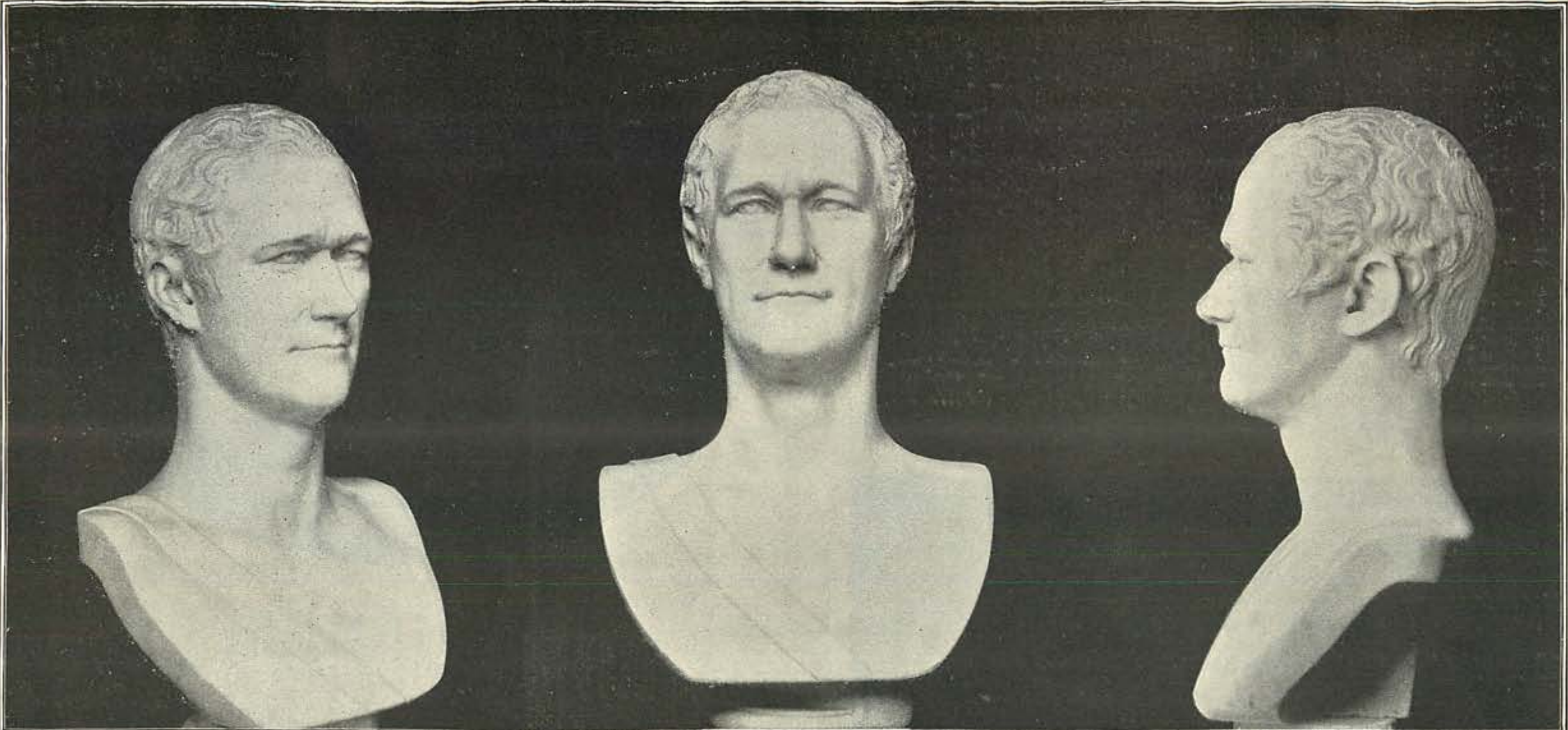
HAMILTON IN 1791. AGE ABOUT 34. PAINTED BY CHARLES WILLSON PEALE.

From the original portrait painted by Charles Willson Peale in 1791, now in Independence Hall, and owned by the city of Philadelphia. Canvas, oval, 19 by 23 inches. Until the very recent discovery of the early portrait shown on page 509, there were supposed to be but two portraits of Hamilton by C. W. Peale in existence—the original here reproduced, and a repetition of it, in military uniform, owned by the New York Historical Society. This one was of particular interest, therefore, as being the earliest portrait of Hamilton known, having been taken when he was thirty-four, assuming the correctness of the date usually assigned for his birth. But Hamilton's mature appearance in this portrait, as well as his achievements, make the year assigned for his birth doubtful. This portrait appears in the first catalogue of the Peale Museum collection, printed in 1795, and thereafter regularly until 1854, when it was purchased by the city of Philadelphia.

HAMILTON IN 1792. AGE ABOUT 35. JOHN TRUMBULL.

From the original portrait painted by John Trumbull in 1792. Owned by Colonel William Jay, Bedford, New York. Canvas, 25 by 30 inches. This portrait was painted by Trumbull for John Jay, with whom he was on terms of familiar intercourse. From it he painted the whole-length picture (58 by 86 inches) for the merchants of New York, now belonging to the Chamber of Commerce of that city. A committee of the merchants writing to Hamilton requesting that he would sit for the latter portrait added, "You will also be pleased to permit the representation to exhibit such part of your political life as may be most agreeable to yourself." To this Hamilton replied: "I shall cheerfully obey their wish as far as respects the taking of my portrait, but I ask that they will permit it to appear not connected with any incident of my political life. The simple representation of their fellow citizen and friend will best accord with my feeling." A comparative study of these two pictures presents a good object lesson in distinguishing between original portraits from life and replicas and copies. The life portrait is full of character and animation, and is drawn with directness and freedom, qualities distinctly lacking in the whole-length picture. Trumbull made several repetitions of this bust portrait, one of them being in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and another in the gallery of the Essex Institute, at Salem, Massachusetts.

HAMILTON IN 1792. AGE ABOUT 35. JOHN TRUMBULL.



HAMILTON IN 1794. AGE ABOUT 37. MODELLED BY CERACCHI.

Modelled by Joseph Ceracchi in 1794. From the original marble in the Lenox Gallery; owned by the Public Library of New York. Ceracchi's bust of Alexander Hamilton has always been accorded the first place as a correct resemblance of the great financial statesman. No more convincing recognition of its value as a likeness could be given than by Trumbull's selecting it, instead of his own portrait from life of two years earlier, from which to paint the head in the whole-length picture ordered by the city of New York, after Hamilton's death. This bust remained in the possession of Mrs. Hamilton until her death, when it became the property of her son, Mr. James A. Hamilton, from whom it was inherited by his son, Alexander Hamilton, who died in 1889, having bequeathed it on the death of his widow to the Astor Library. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, the second, died in the spring of last year, when the bequest became operative, and this fine marble became the property of the public. Cut in the back of the bust is this inscription: "De Facie Philadelphiæ ex ectipo Florenciæ Faciebat. Jos. Ceracchi. CIↃDCCLXXXXIV." An unknown writer more than half a century ago said: "It has been Hamilton's good fortune that his lineaments have gone down ennobled by the genius of Ceracchi, and that solemn and majestic face, which would not have been particularly striking under any ordinary hand, is literally a part of his fame."

HAMILTON IN 1796. AGE ABOUT 39. SHARPLES.

HAMILTON IN 1796. AGE ABOUT 39. JAMES SHARPLES.

From the original pastel by James Sharples, 1796; owned by Dr. Allen McLane Hamilton, New York. Size, 6 by 8 inches. There are two original portraits of Hamilton by Sharples; the one here reproduced, profile to right, and another, owned by the Misses Hamilton, profile to the left. Otherwise than as showing different sides of the face there is no material difference in the two pictures. A crude copy by Felix T. Sharples is in the New York Historical Society. When Talleyrand came to this country in 1794, he soon became intimate with Hamilton, and before returning to France, two years later, had repeatedly asked Mrs. Hamilton for this recently drawn Sharples crayon of her husband, which she declined to let him have. When Talleyrand called to take farewell, Mrs. Hamilton was not at home. He took the picture from the wall, and telling Hamilton that he must make his peace with Mrs. Hamilton, carried off the prize. After the duel, Mrs. Hamilton sent word to Talleyrand that she wished him to restore the picture. This he did, first having two miniature copies made on porcelain by Chatres, one of which he sent out to the general's son, William Hamilton, with the original, and it has become known as "The Talleyrand miniature of Hamilton." The story is told that Aaron Burr, calling upon Talleyrand in France, was confronted with this miniature hanging over the mantel-piece, and was so disconcerted by it that he retired in confusion, without making known the object of his visit. The miniature copy that came to this country is owned by Mr. Philip Schuyler, of Irvington, New York.

HAMILTON ABOUT 1797. AGE ABOUT 40.

From the original picture, by an unknown artist, in the possession of General Schuyler Hamilton, New York. This portrait is of especial interest from having been given by Hamilton to his classmate and putative brother, Dr. Edward Stevens (the resemblance between the two is said to have been very striking), as the latter was leaving for his home in the West Indies, with the remark, "It is said to be the best likeness of me yet taken." Subsequently Dr. Stevens's son gave it to Mr. John C. Hamilton, who thought so highly of it as a likeness that he early invoked the aid of photography to copy it, and freely presented the prints to admirers of his distinguished father. The uniform would indicate that it was painted prior to Hamilton's appointment as Inspector-General of the provisional army in 1798.

HAMILTON ABOUT 1797. AGE ABOUT 40.

1787. AGE 30.

1825. AGE 68.

1846. AGE 89.

1851. AGE 94.

FOUR LIFE PORTRAITS OF MRS. ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The first of these four portraits is from an original owned by Mr. Philip Schuyler, Irvington, New York, and painted by Ralph Earle in 1787, when Mrs. Hamilton was thirty years old. The artist at the time was in prison for debt, and Mrs. Hamilton sat to him in order to aid in his release.—The second portrait is from an original miniature on ivory painted by Henry Inman in 1825, when Mrs. Hamilton was sixty-eight, and now owned by the Misses Hamilton, New York.—The third portrait is from an original pencil drawing made by Eastman Johnson in 1846, when Mrs. Hamilton was eighty-nine. It has never been reproduced before, and is reproduced now by the special permission of the artist, who himself owns it. In March, 1846, Mr. Johnson had a studio in the Capitol at Washington, and one day Mrs. Hamilton wandered into it. Mr. Johnson got her permission to make this sketch, of which he writes, "It was a perfectly good likeness of a pretty, frowzy old lady."—The fourth portrait is from an original crayon made by Charles Martin in 1851, when Mrs. Hamilton was ninety-four, and now owned by Mr. Philip Schuyler, Irvington, New York.