

THE CAUSES BEHIND THE AFFAIR OF HONOR BETWEEN ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND AARON BURR

Edward Tung

Abstract

The duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr was probably the most influential and controversial duel in U.S. history. What caused these two American forefathers to become mortal enemies both politically and personally? Early on, it was evident that the two competed with each other militarily. This soon gave way to hatred and bitterness mainly because of sharp personal differences. Hamilton saw Burr as a threat to the young and developing nation because of his lack of morals and principles. Worse yet, Burr was an extremely talented politician and had the ambition to possibly make his way to the presidency. Hamilton, out of fear for the nation and disapproval of Burr's personal and political beliefs, made it his duty to prevent Burr from reaching high government positions. Burr, who had long suspected Hamilton for his humiliating defeats in the election of 1791, the election of 1800, and the election of 1804, finally got his chance to defend his honor and reputation when he got a hold of

Edward Tung is a Senior at Troy High School in Fullerton, California, where he wrote this International Baccalaureate paper for Mr. James Furnell during the 2004-2005 academic year.

the Cooper letter, which specifically quoted Hamilton slandering Burr. The personal characteristics of both men also played an important role in causing the duel. Their egos and stubbornness never let them pardon each other for their mistakes. In addition, neither Burr nor Hamilton ever admitted their attacks against each other in public, for fear of a political downfall and a ruined reputation. Ultimately, it was the influence from others and Burr and Hamilton's military aspirations, political differences, and personal feuds that directly led to the affair of honor on July 11, 1804.

The Causes behind the Affair of Honor between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr

On the chilly morning of July 11, 1804, two men stood facing each other in a clearing in Weehawken, New Jersey. They were calmly loading their pistols, while two aides and a doctor quietly watched. Soon the tranquility and peacefulness of the beautiful Weehawken landscape would be shattered by two gunshots that not only changed the lives of two men, but a nation as well.

Although duels were commonplace during the 18th and early 19th centuries, none came close to matching the magnitude of this particular one. One duelist, Aaron Burr, was the former Vice President of the United States and a renowned lawyer and politician. The other was Alexander Hamilton, the former Secretary of the Treasury and one of the masterminds of the Constitution of the United States. What caused the fates of these two respected men to clash at Weehawken? Military, personal, and political aspirations, as well as the goading from others, were all causes and motives behind the duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, which eventually led to the death of one of America's greatest early leaders and the political downfall of another.

Becoming distinguished military heroes were major goals for both Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton. Both men longed for fame and recognition for their bravery in battle. They got that opportunity during the War of Independence against Britain. Burr, born into a rich and respected family, rose to the rank of lieutenant immediately after enlisting.¹ Hamilton opposed this type of ancestral favoritism. He served in an artillery company for two years before he was recognized by military leaders. In addition, after seeing his fellow soldiers dying and suffering for poor supplies and conditions, Hamilton vowed to reconstruct the Continental Congress and the American government.² This experience proved to be extremely helpful in later years. After participating in the Battle of Long Island in August 1776 and successfully defending Chatterton's Hill in October 1776, Hamilton finally got the attention of General Nathaniel Greene who introduced Hamilton to George Washington.³ Not only was Hamilton now a respected military hero, but he also became a personal aide to General Washington. Washington even dubbed Hamilton his "principal and most confidential aide," while the other aides affectionately nicknamed him "Hammie" or "Ham."⁴

Hamilton successfully accomplished his goal of becoming a recognized military leader; however, his military career was far from over. After becoming Washington's personal aide, Hamilton bore some of Washington's heavy burdens. In essence, all the duties Washington had no desire of doing were left to Alexander Hamilton. While preparing for the British siege on Philadelphia, Washington ordered Hamilton to requisition supplies from Philadelphia residents:

Painful as it is to me to order and as it will be to you to execute the measure, I am compelled to desire you immediately to proceed to Philadelphia and there procure from the inhabitants contributions of blankets and clothing and materials to answer the purposes of both...This you will do with as much delicacy and discretion as the nature of the business demands.⁵

In a war being fought for democracy, the preservation of popular support was all-important.⁶ This task was difficult even for General Washington because he was reluctant to alienate the Philadel-

phians. Hamilton finished the task tactfully by taking very little private property. He did not alienate the city or damage Washington's reputation. Although Hamilton was not known as a military leader by many people, he was recognized by top military men, including Commander-in-Chief General Washington, which proved to be an extremely helpful and beneficial relationship for Hamilton later on. Though Hamilton also sought fame and glory, the main reason why he pursued a military reputation so doggedly was because he wanted to establish himself among the leaders of America. Hamilton evidently achieved this goal.

While Hamilton was respected by top officials, Aaron Burr was admired by the American public and lower-ranking officers. Burr was seen as a national hero after the Battle of Quebec in September 1775, when he tried to evacuate General Richard Montgomery after he was killed in action during the fighting.⁷ Even though the Battle of Quebec was essentially a failure, Burr was still viewed as a brave and ambitious soldier. Many who met him remarked that he had the air of a man who would go far.⁸ This type of public recognition appealed to Burr as opposed to Hamilton's "behind the scenes" approach. Although Burr was also appointed to be a part of Washington's staff or "family," Burr was disgusted at the type of prosaic work he received.⁹ He immediately quit, failing to see the potential future of the job after the war. Instead, Burr preferred to create a lasting reputation out in the field rather than living under the shadow of the great George Washington, as Hamilton was doing.¹⁰ This act shows Burr's character, and his insatiable appetite for fame and glory. Whether it was to become a successful military leader or to be recognized by the American public, Burr's ambition never died.

However, like their ambitions, the two men were never satisfied. Hamilton, who had support from the top tier of society, envied Burr's support from the public.¹¹ Likewise, Burr envied Hamilton's obvious favor with George Washington and other high ranking military officers.¹² Though Burr attempted to ingratiate himself with Washington, he failed miserably after snubbing the general because of the seemingly humdrum tasks he was assigned

during his time on the staff.¹³ Burr said that he “despised Washington as a man of no talents and one who could not spell a sentence of common English.”¹⁴ Ironically, it was Burr who was born into a rich, upper-class family, while Hamilton was a poor, illegitimate child from the West Indies. Ultimately, both Burr and Hamilton reached their main objectives during the Revolutionary War. That is, Burr earned his name as a war hero and Hamilton earned the respect and trust of America’s early leaders.¹⁵ However, their military aspirations were incomplete and with one man holding the missing attribute of the other’s goal, Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton gradually came to view each other with mistrust and envy.

Personal feuds contributed greatly to the mistrust and strained relationship between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. Though both men were in similar positions during and after the war, their upbringings were completely different. Hamilton, as an illegitimate child from the West Indies, endured great hardships to become one of the most famous men in America.¹⁶ Hamilton was eager and restless to use his brilliance not only to strengthen his own honor and reputation but also to help the nation as well. In a letter to a friend, Hamilton wrote:

To confess my weakness, Ned, my ambition is prevalent, so that I loathe the groveling condition of a clerk, to which my fortune condemns me. I may be justly said to build castles in the air. But I would willingly risk my life to exalt my station.¹⁷

Burr, on the other hand, was the son of the second president of Princeton University and grandson of Reverend Jonathan Edwards, a major religious figure during his time. Instead of working hard during his youth like Hamilton, Burr was courting women and enjoying himself in taverns.¹⁸ As the two got to know one another, they disapproved of each other’s lifestyles. Like Washington, Hamilton disliked Burr’s rowdy womanizing while Burr snubbed Hamilton for his impoverished origins.¹⁹

Although the two seemed very similar in appearance, they were very different in character. Hamilton saw Burr’s lack of principles as a threat to the entire nation.²⁰ And with an ambition

to match Burr's amorality, Hamilton was terrified. Furthermore, Burr was an excellent politician and speaker, able to charm his listeners. Hamilton, on the other hand, tended to be combative rather than charming, which made him a poor politician.²¹ In addition, Hamilton saw himself as a moral and disciplined person. For instance, he forced himself to confess the adulterous affair he had with Maria Reynolds in 1791 in order to save his political and professional career:

The charge against me is a connection with one James Reynolds for purposes of improper monetary speculation. My real crime is an amorous connection with his wife. This confession is not made without a blush.²²

Burr, who had numerous extra-marital affairs, never admitted to them:

When a woman does me the honor to name me the father of her child, I shall always be too gallant to decline the honor.²³

To Hamilton, Burr was an amoral man who could never be trusted. The more Hamilton got to know Burr, the more he feared him, both for himself and for the nation.

Burr, who was always wary of Hamilton's presence, respected Hamilton before the malicious mudslinging began. He knew Hamilton was the better orator and said that anyone who tried to compete with Hamilton on paper was lost.²⁴ Prior to their conflicts in the political world, Burr never saw Hamilton as an enemy; rather, he was merely a rival or a competitor. However, the feeling was never reciprocated. Even though Hamilton recognized that Burr was helpful in court, he found that Burr's arguments were superficial:

It is certain that at the bar he is more remarkable for ingenuity and dexterity than for sound judgment or good logic. His arguments at the bar were concise. His address was pleasing, his manners were more—they were fascinating. When I analyzed his arguments, I could never discern in what his greatness consisted.²⁵

Burr's feeling of friendly rivalry and competition soon died and gave way to hatred and bitterness.

There was one thing the two had in common: large egos. Their appearance and reputations were indispensable parts of their characters. Defending one's honor was an important aspect of the political world during that time. For instance, Hamilton's father-in-law urged Hamilton to respond emphatically to personal attacks:

A man's character ought not to be sported with and he that suffers stains to lay on it with impunity really deserves none nor will he long enjoy one.²⁶

Not only was it a personal matter, but a professional one as well, especially with weak political parties. If a man was humiliated and no action was taken, he would be seen as a lesser man to his peers.²⁷ This would also mean a political downfall was imminent. Every assault on a man's beliefs became a personal rather than a political disagreement. Hamilton greatly tarnished Burr's reputation and name during their three political clashes: the election of 1791, the election of 1800, and the election of 1804.²⁸ Burr's ego was too big to let Hamilton insult him. Likewise, Hamilton was too proud himself to ever concede or apologize to Burr, the man he had insulted during those three political battles. Ultimately, it was their pride that killed Alexander Hamilton and led to the political exile of Aaron Burr.

After the war, both Burr and Hamilton became lawyers and practiced politics, which truly threw the two against each other because of disagreements and political quarrelling. In addition, during this time of instability and uncertainty, politics was extremely personal and heated.²⁹ Many men did not trust others with important political tasks because there was no stable system and the government might collapse with the wrong person in power. This time of anxiety immediately after the Revolutionary War further strained the relationship between Hamilton and Burr. From the start of their political careers, Hamilton and Burr already had bad impressions of one another. George Washington, practically Hamilton's second father, disliked Burr's penchant for intrigue, lack of sufficient deference, and his insatiable chasing after women.³⁰ This opinion of Burr made a deep impression on the young Hamilton for the years to come.

The first political clash between Hamilton and Burr took place over a seat on the Senate in 1791. Hamilton, then the Secretary of the Treasury under President Washington, from 1789 to 1795, already had a vision for America's economy. This included a nationalized banking system and the assumption of the states' war debts.³¹ Without proper support from the Senate, Hamilton could never put his economic machine in motion. As a result, Hamilton campaigned for his father-in-law, General Philip Schuyler of Albany to be elected as New York's Senate representative. However, Burr, who had also joined the race, was practically the inventor of modern politics. He avoided controversial topics, used his charisma to sway people to his side, and raised large sums of money from businessmen.³² When Schuyler lost the race, Hamilton was furious that a man of so few morals won the seat:

I fear Mr. Burr is unprincipled, both as a public and a private man. In fact, I take it he is for or against nothing but as it suits his interest and ambition.³³

Hamilton was also humiliated by this defeat after all the support and effort he had thrown behind Schuyler. Hamilton feared Burr's political skills and undying ambition. His greatest fear was Burr reaching a seat of high power and destroying all the work Hamilton had done for the country. It was after this instance that Hamilton became even more wary of Burr's actions:

Mr. Burr is determined, as I conceive, to climb the highest honors of the state. He is bold, enterprising, and intriguing, and I feel it is a religious duty to oppose his career.³⁴

Hamilton detested Burr's opportunistic characteristics and warned many statesmen of Burr's misconduct. Burr, meanwhile, did not allow Hamilton to insult him unanswered. Many of Burr's supporters charged that Hamilton was stealing money from the government and accused Hamilton of being a monarchist.³⁵ Indeed, the reputations of both men were weakened, but both still had the power and prestige to run successfully for office.

In the second political clash between Burr and Hamilton, John Adams had already lost the presidential election of 1800 to Thomas Jefferson and the other candidate, Aaron Burr. However,

there was an unexpected tie between Jefferson and Burr for the Presidency. Burr had as much right to become President as Jefferson had. The choice between Jefferson and Burr fell to the House of Representatives, which was controlled by Hamilton's party, the Federalists. Even though Jefferson supported a weak central government and opposed the nationalized banking system, Hamilton threw his full support behind him. Hamilton preferred a man with wrong principles to one devoid of any:

There is no circumstance which has occurred in the course of our political affairs that has given me so much pain as the idea that Mr. Burr might be elevated to the Presidency by means of the Federalists. If the party elected Burr, it would be exposed to the disgrace of a defeat in an attempt to elevate to the first place in the government one of the worst men in the community. The appointment of Burr as president would disgrace our country abroad. No agreement with him could be relied upon.³⁶

The Federalists were wary of choosing Jefferson, an enemy of Hamilton and numerous other Federalists, as the next president. Other members of the party believed Aaron Burr would be a harmless obstacle who, unlike Jefferson, would not completely strip away everything the Federalists had built in the past years.³⁷ Despite Hamilton's harsh words against Burr, nearly half of the Federalist Party still favored Burr over Jefferson. Hamilton then began to persuade state delegates like those from Delaware to vote against Burr. Hamilton continued to argue that Burr lacked any fixed principles and instead played on the floating passions of the multitude.³⁸

Jefferson barely won the election and though Burr became vice president, he was isolated from the affairs of the President. Sarcastically, Burr gave a description of his exclusion from power:

I now and then meet the cabinet ministers in the street.³⁹

Though Burr was infuriated by Hamilton's efforts to hold him back, he failed to achieve any true retaliation against Hamilton. Instead he shot his anger towards the Republican Party, which he thought had deserted and rallied against him. Jefferson and Burr came to hate each other as Jefferson intentionally excluded Burr. Jefferson had even told two New York congressmen that Burr was

officially excommunicated from the Republican Party.⁴⁰ Hamilton paid the price of choosing integrity over political beliefs by watching his bank and strong central government weakened before his eyes. In addition, Hamilton had alienated many Federalists who still thought Burr was a better choice than Jefferson for President. Both men suffered political isolation for the next two years. However, the silence was soon broken.

In the third and final political dispute in 1804, Burr officially announced that he was changing from the Republican Party to the Federalist Party to run for governor of New York. Burr realized that Jefferson would not pick him as his 1804 Presidential running mate. This assumption was reinforced when New York governor George Clinton told Jefferson he would not run in the gubernatorial race in 1804.⁴¹ Burr concluded that he would trade places with Clinton by picking up a number of disgruntled Republican and Federalist votes. To Hamilton, this only enhanced his belief that Burr was merely an opportunist working to raise his own standing. So, once again, Hamilton returned to the political arena to prevent Burr from being elected to office. Though Burr had little support from either party, Hamilton said that Burr was an adroit, able, and daring politician and skillful enough to combine unhappy Republicans and wavering Federalists.⁴² Hamilton began campaigning for Burr's opponent, Chief Justice Morgan Lewis. Some even described Hamilton as being opposed to the election of Colonel Burr with an ardor bordering on fanaticism.⁴³ As one broadside claimed, "Colonel Burr has been loaded with almost every epithet of abuse to be found in the English language. He has been represented as a man totally destitute of political principle or integrity."⁴⁴ Hamilton's grievance against Burr was not their political differences; instead, it was his lack of principles either in morals or in politics. These outcries contributed a great deal to Aaron Burr's political downfall. However, for the time being, Burr dealt with the libel by feigning indifference "as if nothing could shake his perfect aplomb."⁴⁵ In addition, Burr had some idea that Hamilton was behind the libel taking place, but just lacked the hard evidence that would give way to an affair of honor—or duel.

Burr was heavily outvoted in the New York gubernatorial race and once again Alexander Hamilton got his way. Still, Burr held his air of indifference by saying, “The election is lost by a great majority: *tant mieux* [so much the better].” This small saying shows Burr’s life-long self-protective stance and aristocratic disdain.⁴⁶ However, this does not suggest that Burr forgot Hamilton’s libel and slander against him. To restore his reputation, Burr felt he needed to make a dramatic public stand in defense of his honor. Not only had Hamilton blocked his way to the Presidency, but Hamilton also prevented him from becoming the governor of New York. Burr was thoroughly humiliated after the 1804 election by Hamilton, the Federalists, the Republicans, and the newspapers. This was the last time Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton would battle one another politically. The next time the two would clash would be at Weehawken, with pistols.

Another important cause of the duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr that must not be overlooked are the efforts of newspapers and other publications. These third party participants in essence pitted the two men against each other. During the 1804 gubernatorial election, the *American Citizen*, a popular newspaper, played a provocative role in the feud between Burr and Hamilton. The editor, James Cheetham, took pleasure in quoting Hamilton’s blasts against the principles and morality of Burr.⁴⁷ Cheetham even openly called out both Hamilton and Burr and practically goaded them into a duel. On January 6, 1804, Cheetham publicly wrote to Hamilton:

Yes, sir, I dare assert that you attributed to Aaron Burr one of the most atrocious and unprincipled of crimes. He has not called upon you...Either he is guilty or he is the most mean and despicable bastard in the universe.⁴⁸

In addition, Cheetham lured Burr and intensified his anger:

Are you so degraded as to permit even General Hamilton to slander you with impunity?⁴⁹

Although Cheetham’s writings were exaggerations, they did achieve their goal in raising tensions between Burr and Hamilton. Cheetham went even further during the New York election of 1804

and ordered his staff to conduct extensive research on Burr's past. The result was a published list of "upwards of twenty women of ill fame with whom Burr has been connected." Another published list named married women who divorced because of Burr's seductions as well as "chaste and respectable ladies whom he has attempted to seduce."⁵⁰ A number of unnamed authors also published pamphlets and handbills defaming Burr during the race. After Burr was defeated, his reputation was left in ruins. Burr, frustrated at his situation, blamed Hamilton for publishing the slander against him and insulting his honor. Finally, in April 1804, a letter was published that changed the lives of Hamilton and Burr forever. The letter was from Charles D. Cooper, a friend of Hamilton's, to another friend, Andrew Brown. Cooper wrote an account of Hamilton belittling Burr, calling him a "dangerous man and one who ought not to be trusted."⁵¹ Excerpts of the letter were published in the *New-York Evening Post* without Cooper knowing. As soon as Hamilton's defamation reached Burr, Burr could no longer hold his grievances within himself any longer. To a friend, Burr wrote:

It is too well known that General Hamilton had long indulged himself in illiberal freedoms with my character. He had a peculiar talent of saying things improper and offensive in such a manner as could not well be taken hold of...From delicacy to him and from a sincere desire for peace, I have never mentioned these circumstances, always hoping that the generosity of my conduct would have some influence on his.⁵²

Burr had long suspected Hamilton of slandering him, but because many pamphlets never published the author's name, Burr was uneasy. In addition, Burr also suspected that Hamilton had hired the newspapers and other broadsides to write ill about him.⁵³ The Cooper letter finally confirmed his suspicions that Hamilton was behind the scenes causing Burr so much trouble.

On June 18, 1804, Burr sent a letter to Hamilton demanding an apology or denial of any expression used in Cooper's letter. However, because of Hamilton's pride and general disdain for Burr, he refused and quibbled over a small technicality: the word *despicable*:

‘Tis evident that the phrase ‘still more despicable’ admits of infinite shades from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended?⁵⁴

Rather than mending the relationship with Burr, Hamilton infuriated Burr and made the situation a lot worse. However, because of his pride, Hamilton would never apologize to a man he thought to be contemptible. After Burr’s second letter explaining in detail what he was complaining about and demanding a more definite reply, Hamilton’s reply only worsened the conflict. He described Burr’s expressions as rude, offensive, improper, and indecorous.⁵⁵ In the final letter to Hamilton, arrangements were made for the affair of honor.

At that point a duel was unavoidable for both men. For Hamilton, it was to preserve his political prestige without taking back all the insults against Burr, which he had truly meant.⁵⁶ For Burr, it was a chance to regain his honor after the disastrous election of 1804.⁵⁷ To call out the man who had been plotting his downfall for fifteen years was truly the only way Burr could continue his career as both a politician and lawyer. Neither of the two men ever considered backing out of the duel. Backing out then would surely have meant political suicide.

Sadly, the duel ended with Alexander Hamilton being mortally wounded on July 11, 1804 and Aaron Burr fleeing the country from charges of treason. Ironically, the duel did not restore Burr’s reputation; it destroyed it. Starting from friendly military competition and personal differences and ending in fierce political slander, the strained relationship between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton gradually culminated in deep-seated hatred for one another. The stubbornness and egos of both men continually worsened relations and only intensified the conflict. Had Burr and Hamilton been more forgiving and understanding, the duel could have been averted. Burr realized this too late and remarked after Hamilton’s death, “If I had read more Stern and less Voltaire, perhaps I would have realized that the world was large enough for both Hamilton and me.”

- ¹ Ron Chernow, Alexander Hamilton (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004)
- ² Arnold Rogow, A Fatal Friendship: Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999) p. 67
- ³ Broadus Mitchell, Alexander Hamilton: A Concise Biography (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 27
- ⁴ Chernow, p. 91
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 99
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 99
- ⁷ Thomas Perkins Abernethy, The Burr Conspiracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 11
- ⁸ Ibid., pp. 11
- ⁹ Chernow, p. 71
- ¹⁰ Jonathan Daniels, Ordeal of Ambition: Jefferson, Hamilton, Burr (New York: Doubleday, 1970) p. 69
- ¹¹ Rogow, p. 84
- ¹² Aaron Burr, Papers of Aaron Burr, 1756-1836 (Glen Rock: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1977) (no page given)
- ¹³ Chernow, p. 91
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 74
- ¹⁵ Hamilton Cochran, Noted American Duels and Hostile Encounters (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1963) p. 57
- ¹⁶ Jacob Ernest Cooke, Alexander Hamilton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982) p. 30
- ¹⁷ Mitchell, p. 65
- ¹⁸ Daniels, p. 65
- ¹⁹ Chernow, p. 74
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 674
- ²¹ Thomas Fleming, Duel: Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and the Future of America (New York: Basic Books, 1999) p. 13
- ²² Abernethy, p. 112
- ²³ Chernow, p. 677
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 190
- ²⁵ Ibid., p. 193
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 149
- ²⁷ Milton Lomask, Aaron Burr: The Conspiracy and Years of Exile (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982) p. 372
- ²⁸ Rogow, p. 94
- ²⁹ Ibid., p. 70
- ³⁰ Chernow, p. 74

³¹ Jean L. Woy, ed., The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002) p. 202

³² Charles Burr Todd, The True Story of Aaron Burr: A Biographical Sketch (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1902) p. 63

³³ Virginius Dabney, "The Mystery of the Hamilton-Burr Duel," (New York, March 29, 1976) p. 38 (no journal cited)

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38

³⁵ Chernow, p. 421

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 631

³⁷ Rogow, p. 65

³⁸ Chernow, p. 461

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 660

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 644

⁴¹ Roger Kennedy, Burr, Hamilton, Jefferson: A Study in Character (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) p. 254

⁴² Alexander Hamilton, Papers Harold C. Syrett, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961) (no page given)

⁴³ Chernow, p. 672

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 672

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 674

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 677

⁴⁷ Rogow, p. 69

⁴⁸ Chernow, p. 677

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 677

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 675

⁵¹ Mitchell, p. 32

⁵² Chernow, p. 681

⁵³ Cochran, p. 72

⁵⁴ Harold Syrett, Interview in Weehawken: The Burr-Hamilton Duel as Told in Original Documents (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press) p. 14 (no date given)

⁵⁵ Chernow, p. 683

⁵⁶ Abernethy, p. 121

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121

Bibliography

Abernethy, Thomas Perkins, The Burr Conspiracy New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. E334.A6. Pollak Library, pp. 7-13, 112-121

Burr, Aaron, Papers of Aaron Burr, 1756-1836 Glen Rock: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1977. E302.6.B9P4x. Pollak Library

Chernow, Ron, Alexander Hamilton New York: The Penguin Press, 2004

Cochran, Hamilton, Noted American Duels and Hostile Encounters Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1963. 345.7895. Rowland Heights Public Library, pp. 57-65, 70-72

Cooke, Jacob Ernest, Alexander Hamilton New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982, pp. 30-36

Dabney, Virginius, "The Mystery of the Hamilton-Burr Duel," New York, March 29, 1976, pp. 37-41 (no journal cited)

Daniels, Jonathan, Ordeal of Ambition: Jefferson, Hamilton, Burr New York: Doubleday, 1970. 366.2415. Rowland Heights Public Library, pp. 65-70

Fleming, Thomas, Duel: Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and the Future of America New York: Basic Books, 1999. E302.6.H2F56. Pollak Library

Hamilton, Alexander, Papers Harold C. Syrett, editor, New York: Columbia University Press, 1961

Kennedy, Roger, Burr, Hamilton, Jefferson: A Study in Character New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. E302.5.K462000. Pollak Library, pp. 254-268, 332-350, 378-380

Lomask, Milton, Aaron Burr: The Conspiracy and Years of Exile New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982. E302.6.B9L71x. Pollak Library, pp. 372-375

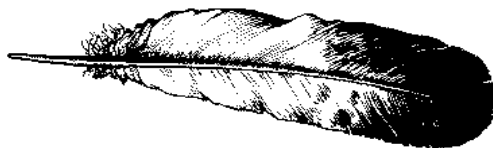
Mitchell, Broadus, Alexander Hamilton: A Concise Biography New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. 342.6784.
Rowland Heights Public Library, pp. 27-32

Rogow, Arnold, A Fatal Friendship: Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.
E302.6.H2R641998. Pollak Library, pp. 67-85, 91-96

Syrett, Harold, Interview in Weehawken; The Burr-Hamilton Duel as Told in Original Documents Middletown: Wesleyan University Press. E302.6.H2S95. Pollak Library, pp. 14-22, 30-51 (no date given)

Todd, Charles Burr, The True Story of Aaron Burr: A Biography New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1902. 358.7584.
Rowland Heights Public Library, pp. 63-70

Woy, Jean L., ed., The American Pageant: A History of the Republic Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002, pp. 214, 223-225



September 1, 2002

William Fitzhugh
Editor and Publisher
The Concord Review
730 Boston Post Road, Suite 24
Sudbury, Massachusetts 01776

Dear Mr. Fitzhugh,

It is a sincere honor to have my work published in such a well-respected publication as *The Concord Review*. The reward of seeing my writing in print can hardly be overstated and also inspires me to pursue further interests in the field of history.

This was an excellent culmination of a long, though fascinating, process. The initial assignment from my teacher Mr. Clement, was that we, the students, were to research and report on an independence movement in a country that we had not previously studied. I chose Mexico for its geopolitical importance with the United States and for my interest in Spanish/Latin American cultures.

My study began, as you might expect, with the reading of current historians, such as Krauze, to gain a general understanding of the situation at the time of the revolution. But, as I delved deeper into the material, I found that what I first thought to be a rather simple colonial revolution actually represented a much broader social and class revolution. There were also vastly different interpretations with the records in Mexico City, most likely compiled by the educated elite, presenting a much more passive and less dramatic turn of events, whereas compilations of Indian accounts recalled an overthrow of an oppressive oligarchy, despite the inequity in financial and military resources.

Furthermore, the interplay between the Church/Indian natives and the Criollos, and how they combined their energies to overthrow the backwards-thinking Viceroyalty, provided an interesting juxtaposition to that of the American Patriots and Loyalists. The way in which the revolution came about also helps to explain Mexican citizens' continual preoccupation with the presence of a strong central government.

It is unquestionable that my recognition in *The Concord Review* will help my chances of admission to my top choices of universities. I am working on the applications now and hopefully, you will be hearing from me again in a couple of months with news of an acceptance.

Once again, thank you for this tremendous honor, and for providing an outlet of success for students of history throughout the nation and around the world.

Sincerely,
Justin B. Ash
Cranbrook Kingswood Upper School, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
Mexican Independence, Fall 2002 Issue (13/1)