

426: N^o 5-

THE
FARMER REFUTED:
OR,
A more Impartial and Comprehensive
V I E W
OF THE
DISPUTE between GREAT-BRITAIN
AND THE
C O L O N I E S,
INTENDED AS A
FURTHER VINDICATION
OF THE
C O N G R E S S:
IN
ANSWER TO A LETTER,
FROM
A. W. F A R M E R,
INTITLED
A VIEW of the CONTROVERSY
BETWEEN
GREAT-BRITAIN *and her* COLONIES:
INCLUDING,
A *Mode* of determining the present *Disputes*
FINALLY *and* EFFECTUALLY, &c.

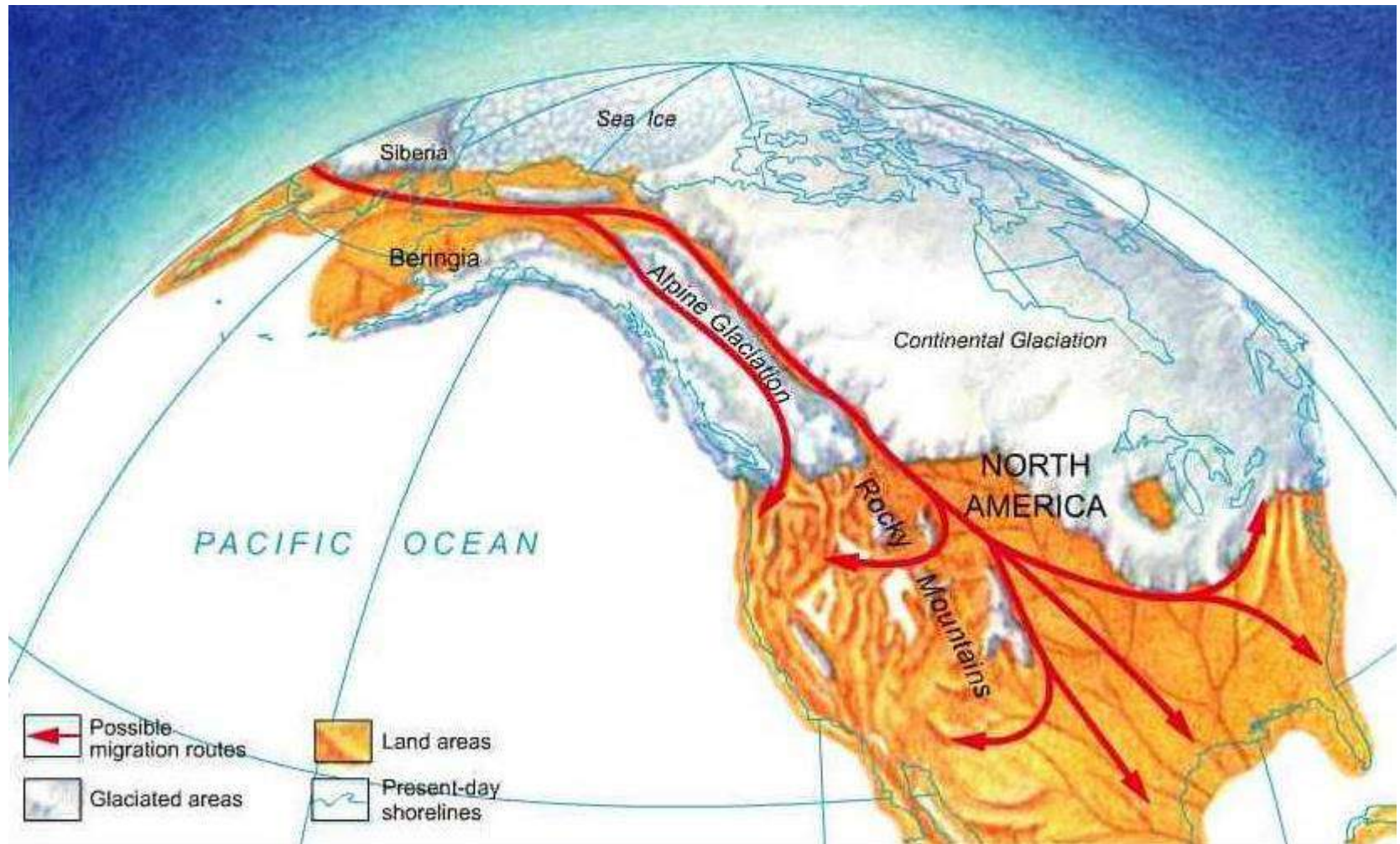
Tituli remedia pollicentur, sed pixides ipsæ venena continent. COKE.
The Title promises Remedies, but the Box itself Poisons.

NEW-YORK: Printed by JAMES RIVINGTON, 1775.

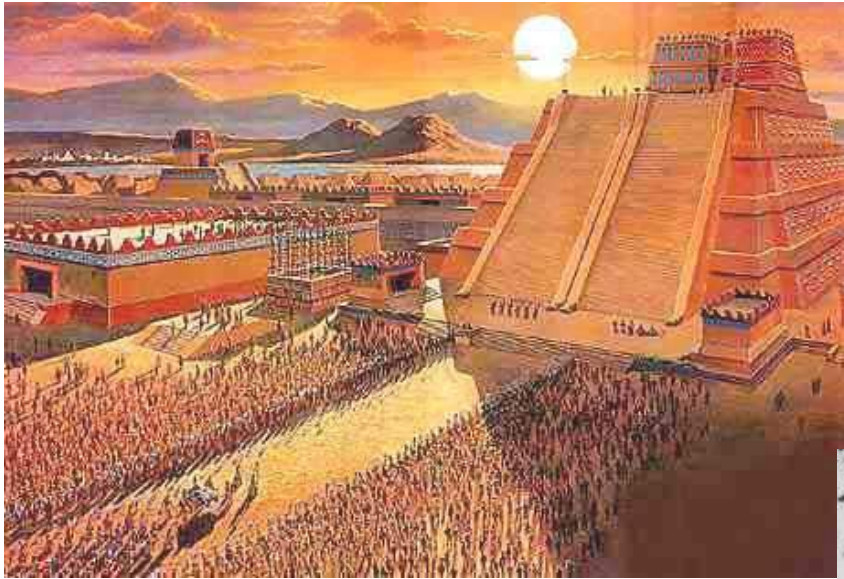
Max. Hamilton

**Farmer
Refuted
Document
at NY
Historical
Society
Museum**

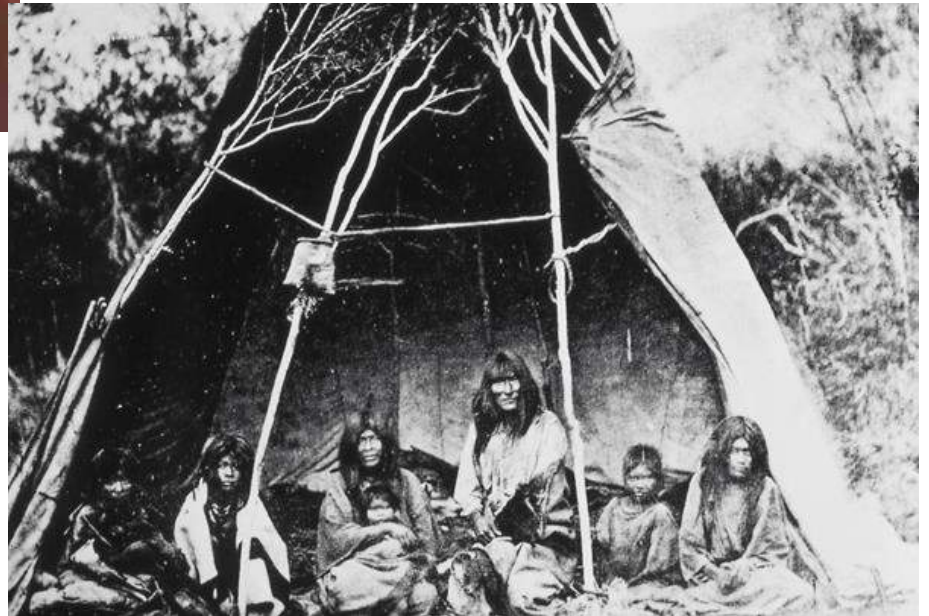
Route to America



The Aztecs



North American Indians



Spain in the Americas



What Is Great Britain?

- 925 Kingdom of England
- 1536 Kingdom of England & Wales
- 1707 Kingdom of Great Britain
 - England, Wales, Scotland
- 1801 United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland
- 1922 United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland



The Mayflower



The Colonies



Great Britain

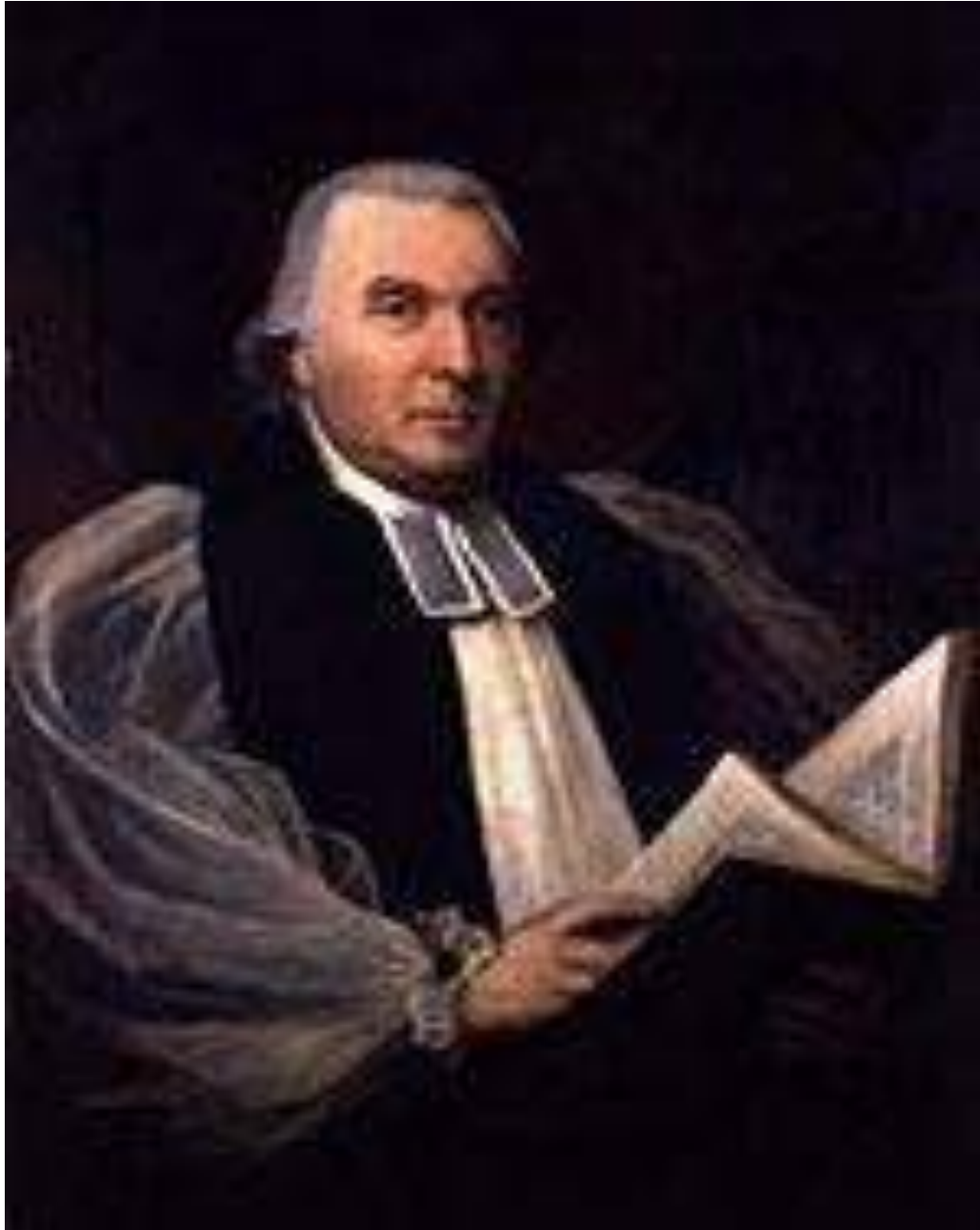
- **Massive debt**
- **Wars**
- **Troops deployed in America**
- **Wants contribution from colonies for that defense**
- **1767 to 1773 light duty on tea**
- **British East India Company vs Boston merchants resulted in...**

The Tea Party



Response to “Intolerable” Acts

- Colonies meet as Continental Congress Sept-Oct 1774 to determine response
- Boycott all trade: imports & exports
- Seabury’s first essay
- Hamilton’s responses



Samuel Seabury, Loyalist

**Wrote 4 essays
attacking
Continental
Congress for the
trade boycott with
Great Britain**

Nov 1774 to Jan 1775

Samuel Seabury

Colonist loyal to the Crown

- **His argument in 4 papers: boycott hurts American farmers in particular & America in general**
- **Episcopal Bishop based in Westchester NY**
- **Leading Loyalist advocate**
- **45**
- **Educated at Yale & Oxford**

A
FULL VINDICATION
OF THE
Measures of the Congress,

FROM
The CALUMNIES of their ENEMIES;
IN ANSWER TO

A LETTER,

Under the Signature of

A. W. FARMER.

WRITTEN

His Sobriety is equalled, his Courage unshaken, his
Designs successful, and his W's ridiculous.

— IN

A GENERAL ADDRESS

To the Inhabitants of America.

AND

A Particular Address

To the FARMERS of the Province of New-York.

From copies of it possible.
Truth is powerful, and will prevail.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by James MORTON, 1774.

Hamilton's First Response

A

FULL VINDICATION

OF THE

Members of the Congress

FROM

The Calumnies Of their Enemies

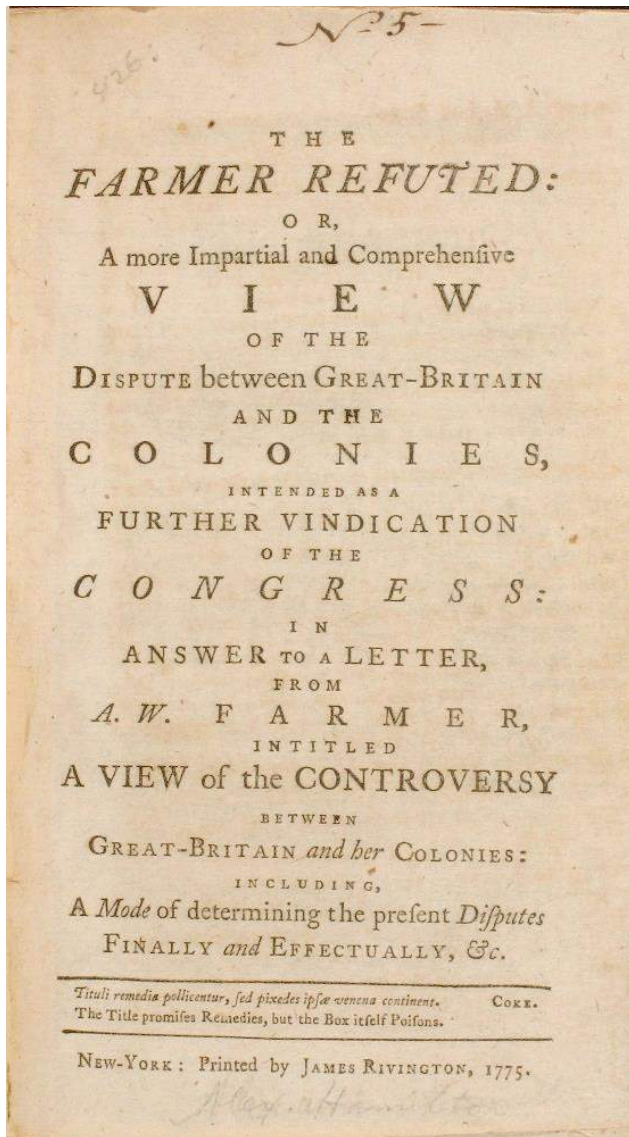
In Answer to

A LETTER

Under the Signature of

A. W. FARMER...

Hamilton's Second Response



The
Farmer Refuted
or
A more Impartial and Comprehensive
VIEW
of the
Dispute between Great-Britain
and the
COLONIES
Intended as a
FURTHER VINDICATION
of the
CONGRESS
in
ANSWER to a LETTER...

Alexander Hamilton, Patriot

- 20 (18)
- 4 weeks & 60,000 words
- Prolific writer: 22,000 pages (Chernow)

22,000/ 29 adult years = 759 pages/year

- Military service, government service, law practice
- Responses are impressive, lawyerly, well-written, powerfully argued

Hamilton's arguments

- Natural law should apply
- British law follows natural law
- Original charters granted rights
- Boycott is a peaceful reaction
- Boycott will *really* hurt Britain
- America can survive a boycott better than Britain
- In the event of war, we win!

Hamilton's argument #1

Natural law should apply

- **Philosophy of Natural Rights** supports the boycott: All humans born with natural rights from their creator
- **Life, liberty, pursuit of happiness & right to private property**
- In nature, bad actors might interfere
- Government protects citizens from bad actors
- Government is by consent of the people
- **If the gov't does not provide protection, citizens may abolish that gov't**
- British Parliament did not have consent of the people because they couldn't vote
- British taxes interfered with natural rights

Hamilton's argument #2

British law follows natural law

- **British law follows natural law**
- **ERGO: American citizens have the “right” to reject British law for themselves**

Hamilton's argument #3

Original charters granted rights

- **Argument based on real property & contract law**
- **Hamilton reviewed the original charters from the British crown to the American colonies**
- **All are property transfers with the conveyancing terms “to have and to hold”**
 - (Like wedding vows!)
- **All the colonial charters were complete transfers without reservation**
 - (Except a few with royalty interests in any gold or silver produced)
- **No charters with reservation for taxes or legislation**
ERGO no right to tax

Hamilton's argument #4

Boycott is a peaceful reaction

- Continental Congress = best & brightest
- Boston Tea Party destroyed the private property of the East India Company
- **Intolerable Acts punished all**
- Boycott policy communicated to Great Britain respectfully
- **Boycott = peaceful measure likely to succeed**

Hamilton's argument #5

Boycott will *really* hurt Britain

- Boycott will likely succeed in changing British policy
- Explanation of international trade impacts
- Analyzed trade in life's necessities
- **Britain likely to lose £4 million annually**
- It took 200 years to build the current trading position; Replacing the loss would take a long time
- Britain had £144 million in debt which would require 112 years to repay ERGO could not afford boycott
- **Britain would then be vulnerable to European rivals**

Hamilton's argument #6

Colonies can survive the boycott

- Colonies could tolerate the boycott consequences
- **Colonies could redeploy assets** to make the necessities & become self-sufficient due to the land available
 - E.g. Cloth: use animal skins while building sheep flocks
- Boycott would stimulate internal trade & transport, creating jobs & wealth
- Manufacturing development would lead to future prosperity
- **High percent of population had manufacturing skills**
- “Immigrants get the job done”
- Colonists need to be careful, frugal & industrious

Hamilton's argument #7

In the event of war, we win!

- Shows “intuitive judgment of the highest order” (Chernow)
- Love of liberty & country is a force multiplier
- Colonists would catch up in abilities quickly
- Britain's expected troops = 15,000
- America's expected troops = 600,000
- Asymmetrical guerrilla warfare was expected
- Home advantage: **British resupply would be difficult**
- **Prediction that France & Spain would help**
- **If Britain wins, it loses its main trading partner**

**Hamilton's writing was
AMAZING**

Nasty, eloquent, learned, & wise

Hamilton's Writing Style

Nasty!



Hamilton's Writing Style

Nasty!

- Used a false syllogism

“Man is an animal. Horse is an animal.

Therefore by Seabury's logic, man is a horse.”

- Refers to Seabury as

“Ludicrous, illiterate, puerile,

presumptuous, frivolous & foolish”

- Ridiculed Seabury for carrying a walking stick that doubled as a weapon:

“How I tremble”

Hamilton's Writing Style

Eloquent!

To be or not to be

Hamilton's Writing Style

Eloquent!

- He wrote

“Obstacles that to the timid seem like Alps, to the resolute become mere hillocks.”

- Regarding British conduct

“If the sword of oppression be permitted to lob off one limb without opposition, repeated strokes will soon dismember the whole body.”

Hamilton's Writing Style Learned!



Hamilton's Writing Style

Learned!

- In the essays Hamilton argued from the **history** of the Roman Empire, quoted the **poetry** of Alexander Pope and **cited** leading legal **authorities** like Blackstone, Grotium and on natural law cited John Locke.

Hamilton's Writing Style

Wise!



Hamilton's Writing Style

Wise!

- On the peacetime military he wrote

“A long pause produces many effeminate officers who are better suited to marshal the forces of Venus than to conduct the sturdy sons of Mars.”

- On crowd behavior he wrote

“Honor is a great check upon mankind but removed when large bodies of men act together.”

The Results of this Paper War?

Since there was no cable news...

- **What audience would read the essays?**
- **After the paper wars with Hamilton, Seabury was briefly kidnapped by a Patriot group & released**
- **The printer had his shop destroyed**
- **Hamilton became the foremost polemicist for the Patriot point of view**
- **The early essays are the public's first view of his enormous ability, talent & intelligence**
- **Hamilton went on to a very successful career**

Hamilton's Place in American History

